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AUTHORITY AND LIBERTY

John Wesley's View of Medieval England

THOMAS W. SMITH

ABSTRACT

This article is the first detailed analysis of John Wesley's view of medieval England in his neglected *Concise History of England* (1776). Although tangled and sometimes contradictory, Wesley's views on medieval royal and ecclesiastical authority, representative government and liberty, were broadly coherent in their emphasis on the necessity of the monarchy to the preservation of freedom, and the requirement that popular uprisings be grounded in a just cause and not conducted against the king. It is argued that Wesley's views expressed in the *History* help to explain his rapid, and supposedly unexpected, shift in political views in 1775 from supporting the American rebellion to opposing it.
Keywords: John Wesley; Concise History of England; Medieval England; Middle Ages; American Revolution.

John Wesley's *A Concise History of England, from the Earliest Times, to the Death of George II*, published in London in 1776, has received almost no attention from historians to date.[1] There appear to be two principal reasons for this neglect. The first is that, like many of the works Wesley produced, much of the text was edited from existing histories, rather than being an 'original' work in

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1. John Wesley, *A Concise History of England, from the Earliest Times, to the Death of George II*, 4 vols (London: printed by Robert Hawes, 1776). [Hereafter abbreviated to *CHE*.]

the modern sense. The second is that, in spite of its title, the *Concise History* is anything but, running to four volumes and nearly 1,400 pages in total. It is not surprising that as a work at once unoriginal, long, and now of little use as a work of history, the *Concise History* has occupied a less than prominent place in the vast canon of Wesley's literary output, which was probably greater than that of any other author, editor, or publisher in eighteenth-century Britain.[2] Yet although the *History* did not achieve a lasting influence, it appears to have been well received when it first appeared—it sold well enough to allow Wesley to donate £200 from the profits to the poor.[3]

The historiography on the *History* is almost non-existent. In 1900 R. Butterworth published a very short piece on Wesley's spirited defence of the reputation of Mary Queen of Scots in the *History*.[4] Butterworth drew attention to the fact that Wesley worked too rapidly and formed judgements too hastily—a serious flaw in Wesley's skill as an historian.[5] Butterworth's article seems to have generated little scholarly interest in the *History* though, and in his 1940 book, *John Wesley as Editor and Author*, Thomas Herbert helped to ensure the continued obscurity of the *History* by stating that 'as a history his book is of course utterly worthless today'.[6] Nevertheless, Herbert did recognize that its worth lies in Wesley's independent, and potentially controversial, judgements of maligned monarchs, such as Richard III and Mary Queen of Scots, which reflect his ideas about royal power.[7]

So what is the value of the *History* today aside from as an historical curiosity? The answer can be found in the context in which Wesley was composing the work. The preface is dated 10 August 1775—thirteen days before the issue of King George III's Proclamation of Rebellion on 23 August, which made it a treasonous act to show support for the American revolutionaries.[8] This was precisely the time at which Wesley performed a *volte face* in his political views, from a stance in favour of the American cause to one opposing it, supposedly in response to being swayed by Samuel Johnson's *Taxation No Tyranny* (1775)

2. Isabel Rivers, 'John Wesley as Editor and Publisher', in Randy L. Maddox and Jason E. Vickers, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to John Wesley* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 145.

3. Thomas Walter Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor and Author* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), 114.

4. R. Butterworth, 'Wesley on Mary Queen of Scots', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 2/5 (1899/1900), 111–14.

5. Ibid. 111.

6. Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor*, 114.

7. Ibid.

8. Glen O'Brien, 'John Wesley's Rebuke to the Rebels of British America: Revisiting the *Calm Address*', *Methodist Review*, 4 (2012), 43, <http://www.methodistreview.org/index.php/mr/article/view/62> accessed 17 Sept. 2014.

pamphlet, but more likely, according to Glen O'Brien, as a result of the king's proclamation.[9] Wesley went from sympathizing with the Americans in June 1775 as an oppressed people struggling for liberty and their legal rights, to publishing the Loyalist pamphlet *A Calm Address to Our American Colonies* in September 1775 (much of which was lifted from Johnson's own pamphlet), which supported the right of Parliament to tax the colonies and highlighted the liberties already enjoyed under the Crown.[10] That two of the key themes in Wesley's *History* are authority and liberty, and that it was composed before the ban on expressing support for the Americans—the date of Wesley's preface to the *History* was nothing if not fortuitously timed—make the *History* a useful mirror for Wesley's thought around this time.

This article explores the first volume of the *History*, which covers England from the 'earliest times' to the reign of King Richard II (1377–99). Beginning with an overview of Wesley's role as an historian, this article then moves on to analyse Wesley's views on royal and ecclesiastical authority, as well as representative government and liberty in detail.[11] It is argued that Wesley's ideas about authority and liberty as found in the *History*—though inconsistently expressed and sometimes incompatible—were broadly coherent in his emphasis on the absolute necessity of the British monarchy to the preservation of freedom, and his requirement that popular uprisings be grounded in a just cause and not conducted against the king. The implication of this argument is that it provides some contextualization of Wesley's rapid turnaround in political views between June and September of 1775, perhaps making it less surprising.

Wesley as Historian

In addition to the *Concise History of England*, Wesley also produced two other works of history: the *Short Roman History* (1773) and the *Concise Ecclesiastical History, from the Birth of Christ to the Beginning of the Present Century* (1781).[12]

9. Ibid. 42–3; Samuel Johnson, *Taxation No Tyranny; an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress* (London: printed for T. Cadell, 1775).

10. O'Brien, 'John Wesley's Rebuke', 41–2, 32; John Wesley, *A Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (Bristol: printed by Bonner and Middleton, 1775).

11. Professor Gibson is currently researching the subsequent volumes of the *History* as part of a project in cooperation with Professor Jeremy Black on the writing of history in the eighteenth century. He is also the author of a paper entitled '"The Past is Another Country": John Wesley's History of Britain', which will be made available on the Oxford Institute of Methodist Theological Studies' online depository, <http://oxford-institute.org/2013-thirteenth-institute>.

12. Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor*, 114. For an impression of Wesley's views on medieval heresy in his *Concise Ecclesiastical History*, see Chris Wilson, 'The Medieval Church in Early

All were edited from the works of others, something that Wesley did not try to conceal. In the preface to his *Concise History of England* he named the main sources he relied on and how he used them:

> The following volumes . . . contain the substance of the English History, extracted chiefly from Dr. Goldsmith, Rapin, and Smollet; only with various corrections and additions. But ten thousand dull passages are omitted; which could be inserted for no other purpose, than to enlarge the volume, and consequently the price; to oblige the Bookseller, rather than the Reader.[13]

In Wesley's view, his role was to propagate important works further by making them more accessible, abridging them to draw out the main points and to reduce the costs, thus making them available to a wider market.[14] The abridgement of works for others was one of the means that Wesley used to 'devote his life to God.'[15] He was not unique in merging the functions of author, editor, and abridger into one.[16] In fact, two of his main sources, the histories of Goldsmith and Smollett, were themselves compilations of the work of others.[17] Goldsmith stated in his preface that he had extracted his own text chiefly from the history by David Hume (and had also used Smollett and Rapin).[18] Wesley was therefore relying on a longer tradition of English histories that appear to have been considered a common store from which to draw freely. Yet according to Henry Rack, Wesley was, even by the less stringent standards of his own time, 'remarkably cavalier in his borrowings.'[19]

Methodism and Anti-Methodism', in Peter D. Clarke and Charlotte Methuen, eds, *The Church on Its Past*, Studies in Church History 49 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 201–4.

13. Wesley, *CHE*, I:vi–vii; Oliver Goldsmith, *The History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II*, 4 vols (London and Dublin: printed for A. Leathley and others, 1771); Paul Rapin de Thoyras, *The History of England*, tr. N. Tindal, 21 vols, 4th edn (London: printed by assignment from Mr Knapton for T. Osborne and others, 1757–9); Tobias Smollett, *A Complete History of England, from the Descent of Julius Caesar, to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748*, 4 vols, 3rd edn (London: printed for James Rivington and others, 1758).

14. Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, 3rd edn (London: Epworth Press, 2002), 348.

15. Rivers, 'John Wesley as Editor', 147.

16. Ibid. 146.

17. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 348.

18. Goldsmith, *History*, vi–vii; David Hume, *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, 8 vols (London: printed for James Williams, 1769).

19. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 346.

That Wesley was copying from other historians at speed is one explanation for why his views on liberty and authority feature inconsistencies. It does not, however, invalidate the utility of the *History* as a source for estimating these ideas. Despite his liberal attitude toward borrowing, Wesley displayed evidence of independent thought in his analysis. Whereas much of the text of Wesley's *History* was taken from Goldsmith, his favourable analysis of King John's reign and attempted rehabilitation of that king's reputation is one of the major points of difference between the two historians. Wesley and Goldsmith disagreed entirely over John, whom Goldsmith considered was 'detested by all mankind'.[20] Such a departure from his main source demonstrates that Wesley *was* thinking critically about the material he included in his work—he was not merely lifting it wholesale and without thought. Conversely it confirms the validity of interpreting Wesley's borrowed text as being indicative of his views—if he included it, he must have approved of it.[21]

Whether he was the 'original author' of much of the text of the *History* was a question that was certainly not important to Wesley himself.[22] Wesley's name on the title page of the *History* was his *imprimatur* mark—his seal of approval—that the ideas contained within reflected his own outlook. As Isabel Rivers argues, Wesley's inclusion of his name on the title pages of works largely borrowed from others 'drew to the attention of his readers the fact that these works were his because they were chosen, shaped, and published by him, and that through this process he had given them a specific meaning.'[23] She makes the case that because Wesley considered the works he edited to be 'part of his own *oeuvre*', historians should likewise.[24]

Indeed, in the preface to the *History* Wesley expressed a keen awareness of the importance of using his own judgement when selecting material for inclusion and also of impartiality when dealing with it (although he did not always manage to achieve this).[25] Wesley perceived his role as editor-author to be crucial to the shaping of the *History*, and articulated his admiration for, and desire to imitate, the Roman historian Tacitus, who passed over insignificant matters with a light pen, dwelling judiciously only on those of importance.[26] He certainly considered himself to be adding value to the histories he was working from. In a letter to his brother Charles, dated 13 January 1774, Wesley wrote of

20. Goldsmith, *History*, 214.

21. Such an approach is also pursued in Wilson, 'The Medieval Church in Early Methodism and Anti-Methodism', 201–4.

22. Rivers, 'John Wesley as Editor', 153.

23. Ibid. 154.

24. Ibid. 158.

25. Wesley, *CHE*, I:iv.

26. Ibid. I:iii–iv.

his sources that 'Goldsmith's History and Hooke's are far the best. I think I shall make them better.'[27]

Wesley's principal aim in editing his *History* was to create a narrative that emphasized the role of God in the affairs of men—something he felt was lacking in all other histories of England.[28] As an approach to the writing of history it was a continuation of his endeavours in his other published works.[29] Ironically, though, this was something that Wesley singularly failed to achieve in the first volume, aside from some cursory remarks sparsely peppered throughout when he could think of no other explanation for a monarch's downfall. Wesley was aware of some of his failings, though, and admitted himself at the end of the preface that he had found it difficult not only to remain impartial, but also to achieve his overriding aim to 'see God in all the affairs of men'.[30]

The first volume betrays another flaw of the *History* to which Wesley did not admit, conversely it was one of the things of which he was most proud: the selection of material for inclusion. Wesley's judgement on this matter was determined by what captured his interest, rather than what would create a unifying theme. As a result, the first volume is unbalanced (as is the second volume with Wesley's analysis of Richard III, which amounts to nearly a third of that volume). Wesley was fascinated by 'great men' and devoted disproportionate attention to those historical figures whom he considered to be great, such as kings Alfred, Harold, William I, and Edward III, at the expense of those whom he did not. Volume one of the *History* therefore begins with the ancient Britons and dispatches them cursorily, moving rapidly through the Romans and the Anglo-Saxons. This early part of the *History* is a narrative of things happening *to* the Britons. One senses that Wesley was racing toward King Alfred, who was the first great figure to spark his interest. The *History* then advances through the reign of each king of England with varying amounts of analysis depending upon Wesley's level of interest in them. There is uneven coverage not only of the monarchs of England but also of Wesley's thematic interests. For instance, from the reign of Edward I (1272–1307) onward, Wesley turned his attention from the themes of law-giving, parliament, and liberty, which had been among the most prominent earlier in the volume, and concentrated instead on war. An extremely long section is devoted to Edward III and the Hundred Years' War, something which not only unbalances the volume in terms of length and thematic focus, but also draws the reader's attention to the fact that by this

27. *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, ed. John Telford, 8 vols (London: Epworth Press, 1931), VI:67.

28. Wesley, *CHE*, I:v–vi, ix.

29. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 349–50.

30. Wesley, *CHE*, I:viii.

point in the volume, Wesley had completely lost sight of his original aims to select material judiciously and to emphasize the role of God in human history.

While Herbert went too far when he said that Wesley's *History* was utterly worthless as a secondary historical source, it is apparent to any reader that it no longer passes muster as a reliable guide to medieval history. It is not my purpose in this article, however, to correct Wesley's mistakes as an historian. In fact, whether Wesley's *History* was factually accurate or not is somewhat inconsequential to the aim of this article, which is to analyse *how* his views on medieval English history might reflect his ideas about authority and liberty around the mid-1770s.

Wesley on Medieval Royal Authority

Wesley was a firm proponent of the notion that true civil and religious liberty could be achieved only through the authority of the Crown and Parliament, a notion which he expressed in the *Calm Address*.[31] In his *History* the best kings were those who protected their subjects and attended to their needs. According to Wesley, King Alfred was one of the most 'truly glorious princes that ever wore the crown' because he devoted the entirety of his reign to increasing the happiness of his subjects.[32] This success Wesley attributed to divine intervention—God used Alfred as his vessel to bring this about.[33] Similarly, it was King Harold's clear sense of responsibility to his people in 1066 that made him a good king. When the news of Tostig's invasion of northern England reached Harold, he rushed to meet his enemy in battle, which Wesley stated was for 'the protection of his people' and an expression of 'the utmost ardour to shew himself worthy of their favour.'[34] Indeed, Wesley believed that Harold received his sovereignty from the people, suggesting that his conception of the ideal relationship between a king and his subjects was a mutually beneficial one (it was also convenient given the circumstances of Harold's accession).[35] Wesley highlighted the influence of the people on royal authority wherever possible in the *History*. In his portrayal of William I's coronation, he therefore imagined

31. O'Brien, 'John Wesley's Rebuke', 35; Wesley, *Calm Address to Our American Colonies*, 16–17.

32. Wesley, *CHE*, I:44.

33. Ibid. I:35–6.

34. Ibid. I:69.

35. Ibid. I:73.

that the new king was concerned 'to have his election considered rather as a gift from his subjects, than a measure extorted by him.'[36]

Wesley's anti-American views sharpened after the publication of his *Calm Address*, however, which in turn invalidated some of the arguments found in his *History*.[37] In his 1776 pamphlet, *Some Observations on Liberty: Occasioned by a late Tract*, Wesley argued that the people did not possess, and never had possessed, the power to grant sovereignty to a monarch: 'I seriously desire . . . any zealous assertor of the king-making right of our sovereign lords *the people*, to point out a single instance of their exerting this right in any age or nation . . . [with one exception] I know of none. And I believe it will puzzle any one living, to name a second instance, either in ancient or modern history.'[38] Thus Wesley countermanded his views on the importance of the people that featured in his *History*, which, although figurative, were diametrically opposed to the ideas that he was propagating less than a year later.

One of the prevalent themes in the first volume of the *History* was justice and law-giving, which Wesley considered to be among the greatest measures of a king's success in protecting his people. Indeed, the 'happiness of being protected by laws' was one of the great benefits of being a British subject that he sought to point out to the colonists in his *Calm Address*, along with their 'duty of obeying them', thus revealing a certain continuity in thought between the *History* and the *Calm Address*.[39] In his view English law did not develop in a smooth progression throughout the Middle Ages. Rather, Wesley adhered to the idea that there was an ancient corpus of laws which was repeatedly reinstituted by successive kings. Although individual monarchs shaped this corpus by introducing new laws and abolishing old ones, thus affecting a certain amount of evolution over time, Wesley nevertheless sought to emphasize the continuity with the past, which was reinforced with each reissue of the corpus.

Wesley interpreted the arrival of the Saxons as a moment both of legal innovation and continuity, when the existing laws of the Britons and Romans were combined with ancient German ones.[40] As part of his panegyric on King Alfred's great reign, Wesley admired him as a law-giver, with the codicil that despite his reputation for instituting a body of laws, they appeared 'to be chiefly the laws already practised in the country by his Saxon ancestors'.[41] Alfred was

36. Ibid. I:78.

37. O'Brien, 'John Wesley's Rebuke', 50.

38. John Wesley, *Some Observations on Liberty: Occasioned by a Late Tract* (London: printed by R. Hawes, 1776), 12.

39. Wesley, *Calm Address to Our American Colonies*, 9.

40. Wesley, *CHE*, I:75–6.

41. Ibid. I:42.

therefore more of a continuator than an innovator. The introduction of capital punishment by the mid-tenth-century king, Edmund, was a subject which provoked Wesley to criticism, although not of the king himself, whom Wesley praised. Wesley was opposed to capital punishment and articulated his opinion that 'this was then reckoned a severe law; for, among our early ancestors, all the penal laws were mild and merciful.'[42] In his narrative Wesley often harked back to happier times past, and seems to have taken pleasure in recording that when Edward the Confessor acceded to the throne in 1043, thus restoring the Saxon monarchy after Danish rule, 'all things seemed to remain in the same state in which those conflicts [between the Anglo-Saxons and Danes] began. These invasions from the Danes produced no change of laws, customs, language, or religion.'[43]

Wesley also stressed continuity in English laws between Anglo-Saxon and Norman rule. Even when William I brutally quelled insurrection in England in the years immediately following 1066, Wesley was quick to point out that William did not go so far as to replace all the English laws with those of Normandy. Instead he contented himself with making only 'several innovations'.[44] According to Wesley, William therefore merely shaped the existing corpus of law in a similar way to Alfred. Unlike some of his other views in the *History*, Wesley's praise for William's decision not to replace English laws with Norman ones reverberated in his *Observations on Liberty* pamphlet, when he argued that the British retained French laws and religious freedoms in Canada after the Seven Years' War. Despite believing British laws and religion to be 'unquestionably' better than those of the French, Wesley maintained that 'this gives us no right to impose the one or the other, even on a conquered nation'.[45]

When Wesley wrote on William I's abolition of trials by ordeal and single combat and their replacement with trial by a jury of twelve men, Wesley sought to stress the continuity with the past and noted how trial by jury had been 'common to the Saxons, as well as the Normans, long before'.[46] Again, in Wesley's opinion the king was merely confirming the long-standing laws and customs of England. Wesley's judgement of William's justice shifted,

42. Ibid. I:46. On Edmund, and his laws, see Ann Williams, 'Edmund I (920/21–946)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter abbreviated to *ODNB*] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.odnb.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/view/article/8501> accessed 25 July 2014.

43. Wesley, *CHE*, I:63.

44. Ibid. I:85. William 'claimed to govern according to the laws of King Edward.': David Bates, 'William I (1027/8–1087)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.odnb.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/view/article/29448> accessed 25 July 2014.

45. Wesley, *Observations on Liberty*, 30.

46. Wesley, *CHE*, I:87.

however, when the king changed Anglo-Saxon hunting laws after depopulating a thirty-mile swathe of Hampshire in order to create a hunting park (the New Forest), having destroyed villages and churches in the process without making compensation.[47] Wesley lamented that while under the Anglo-Saxon kings, 'all noblemen without distinction' had enjoyed the right to hunt in royal forests, William had curtailed this by establishing laws which punished the killing of the king's deer, boars, and hares with the loss of the criminal's eyes, at a time when the killing of a man was punishable by only a fine.[48]

Continuity with the Anglo-Saxon legal system was supposedly restored when Henry I seized the throne in 1100. As part of his attempt to curry favour with his new subjects in order to secure his position, he promised to govern according to the laws of Edward the Confessor.[49] Nevertheless, when Wesley summed up Henry I, he expressed mixed views. Despite Wesley writing that 'his justice seemed to approach cruelty', that he made theft a capital offence for the first time, and that he punished coining with death and mutilation, he weighed this against the king's grant of a charter and privileges to the city of London, from which he considered 'we may date the origin of English liberty'.[50] This delicate balancing act provided the justification for Wesley's judgement that one might 'find more to admire than to love' in Henry's rule.[51]

In his analysis of royal authority Wesley was prone to contradict himself. Despite his opposition to capital punishment in England under Edmund and Henry I, he praised the introduction of such legislation under Henry II. In the 1176 Assize of Northampton, Henry II enacted harsher punishments for a number of offences.[52] Wesley relates that Henry's 'domestic regulations were as wise as his political conduct was splendid. He enacted severe penalties against robbery, murder, coining, and burning of houses; ordaining that these crimes should be punished by the amputation of the right-hand and the right-foot.'[53]

Wesley's view of justice under Edward I was also incompatible with his views on the rights of the people. In Wesley's view, Edward's 'strict justice' was 'marked with an air of severity' which was 'formidable to the people, indeed, but adapted

47. Ibid. I:94.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid. I:111. Henry used his coronation to demonstrate aspects of continuity with the law of Edward the Confessor and his father, William I: C. Warren Hollister, 'Henry I (1068/9–1135)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.odnb.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/view/article/12948> accessed 25 July 2014.

50. Wesley, *CHE*, I:122.

51. Ibid. I:121.

52. For the Latin text of the Assize, edited by Professor Nicholas Vincent, see the Early English Laws project, <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/ass-nor> accessed 25 July 2014.

53. Wesley, *CHE*, I:164.

to the ungovernable licentiousness of the times.'[54] He disapproved of Edward's treatment of the Jews, who were the only subjects 'refused that justice which the king made boast of distributing.'[55] Yet despite his obvious distaste for aspects of Edward's justice, Wesley did not censure him robustly. The king's harsh justice was instead justified by Wesley as being warranted by the civil unrest during his reign. Wesley's account of Edward was a mixed one. He included a generally positive, but nevertheless quite cool, account of his reign. Wesley praised his piety, his justness (at least in England), his martial abilities, and that he protected the rights of the people. He thought that the English people acquired 'great happiness' and a 'degree of power' under Edward, which was the 'true value' of his reign.[56] But he could not excuse Edward's 'injustice and cruelty' in Scotland, which he considered to be the 'great blemish in his character'.[57]

Early on in the *History* Wesley was damning of kings as warriors and criticized Egbert of Wessex, who fought off Danish invasions and 'secured the kingdom from invasion for some time', by concluding that 'he was doubtless a great warrior, that is, a great robber and murderer. Hereby he acquired the surname of Great, such is the wisdom of the world!'[58] Yet only a few pages later he displayed his double standards by glorying in the victories of Alfred over the Danes, in which they were 'cut to pieces' and 'totally destroyed' by the king.[59] Wesley interpreted this rather as 'well-timed severity' which brought peace to his subjects.[60] Wesley's supposed distaste for warfare is also at odds with his long history of Edward III's campaigns during the Hundred Years' War. His inconsistencies on this matter can probably be attributed to his partiality for particular monarchs—Alfred and Edward III were both subjects of Wesley's admiration, whereas Egbert was not.

The account of Richard I's reign also reveals further inconsistencies in Wesley's thoughts on the exercise of royal authority. Wesley noted that when Richard was preparing for his crusade, not only did he raise money through the sale of offices, but also 'numerous exactions were practised upon people of all ranks and stations.'[61] Elsewhere in the *History*, Wesley was a firm proponent of the liberty of the people and a fierce critic of tyrannous rule, yet despite Richard's extortions, Wesley went on to write a favourable account of the king

54. Ibid. I:240.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid. I:266.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid. I:33.
59. Ibid. I:42.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid. I:173–4.

and his crusade, emphasizing that he was the 'beloved monarch' of the people.[62] It is apparent from the examples above that Wesley's views on royal authority in general were not entirely clear-cut. This probably derives from the fact that his concerns to uphold both royal authority and the liberty of the people were not always complementary. Wesley's narrative demonstrates that he clearly struggled to reconcile these two viewpoints effectively, and this resulted in inconsistencies.

Although he was not uncritical of kings, Wesley often delegated the responsibility for making an overall judgement on a reign to the reader, especially when he could not reconcile his unbending support for the institution of monarchy with his affection for the people of England. For instance, he wrote that in bypassing the succession to seize the throne in 1135, King Stephen's accession led to misery for the people because the new king had to appease the barons by tolerating their petty tyrannies throughout the kingdom.[63] Given Wesley's position as a firm defender of liberty elsewhere in the volume, one would expect his overall judgement of Stephen, as a facilitator of tyranny, to be negative. Whilst summing up that 'England was never more miserable than during his reign' and that Stephen's personal successes were negligible, Wesley nevertheless praised the king's personal qualities of bravery and generosity as well as his attempts 'to destroy a vile aristocracy, that oppressed the people'.[64] Wesley thus attempted to sidestep the problem—not at all deftly—by juxtaposing two different judgements without making any effort to reconcile them in order to create an overall conclusion.

Wesley shied away from completely condemning any monarch's reign. Aside from some of the Anglo-Saxon kings whom Wesley dismissed in a perfunctory fashion, he perhaps came closest to writing a critical account of an English king with his narrative of the reign of Henry III. Wesley thought that the gentle king was unsuited to rule England at a time when 'every order was aspiring to independence'.[65] Wesley was a fierce critic, however, of the English nobility, who had rebelled against both King John and Henry III, writing that during Henry's reign 'the nobles were now, in effect, the tyrants of the people . . . having almost totally destroyed the power of the crown'.[66] During such testing times, Wesley thought that England needed a strong king, and lamented that Henry was weak and dominated by his favourites such as Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches

62. Ibid. I:179.

63. Ibid. I:125. Cf. Edmund King, 'Stephen (c. 1092–1154)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.odnb.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/view/article/26365> accessed 25 July 2014.

64. Wesley, *CHE*, I:134.

65. Ibid. I:212.

66. Ibid. I:213.

and their foreign attendants.[67] Yet Wesley still managed to find something to admire in the king's weakness. He considered that it was during Henry's reign that the people managed to obtain liberty through the granting of corporation charters: 'the flame of freedom had now diffused itself from the incorporated towns through the whole mass of people.'[68] Weighed against 'the advantages of freedom and security', in Wesley's opinion, the rebellion of Henry's barons and the civil war 'were considered as nothing.'[69]

Wesley also used his *History* to rehabilitate maligned kings such as King John.[70] His view of John is interestingly favourable, and he devoted a considerable amount of space in the *History* to proving that John was not widely despised. Yet despite writing in support of John, strangely Wesley prefaced his account by stating that the king's marriage to Isabella of Angoulême was unlawful. As a result, Wesley claimed that all of his successors lacked rightful claims to the throne and 'the Stuarts in particular'.[71] Only King George I and his descendants had a claim because they were descended from the Empress Matilda.[72] Wesley was clearly skewing history in order to suit his own purposes as a committed supporter of the Hanoverian monarchy. What is so surprising, though, is that he was utterly unconcerned that such an inflammatory statement undermined his rehabilitation of John's royal authority that followed.

Wesley's motive in painting John in favourable colours was clearly to discredit the papacy's interventions in England under Innocent III, who excommunicated John and placed the kingdom under interdict because of the king's refusal to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury. Wesley argued that 'the monks have painted king John in the blackest colours, in order to excuse the Pope's proceedings against him. And some faults undoubtedly he had: but he could not possibly be such a monster as they make him.'[73]

Wesley repeatedly cited evidence of John's successes in raising large armies and securing financial aids to fund defence after his excommunication as proof that he was not generally hated: 'could this have been, if he had then been so odious and contemptible, as he is generally said to have been?'[74] Similarly, Wesley commented on John's successful expedition to quell disorder in Ireland for which he raised a large army: 'can anyone believe, that king John was at this

67. Ibid. I:215.
68. Ibid. I:235.
69. Ibid.
70. Butterworth, 'Wesley on Mary', 111.
71. Wesley, *CHE*, I:189.
72. Ibid. I:189.
73. Ibid. I:207.
74. Ibid. I:194.

time universally hated and despised?'[75] Wesley returned to this theme again when he directly linked supposed popular support for the king with John's ability to field an army, writing that he must have been 'much esteemed by the generality of his subjects; otherwise he could never have raised such armies'.[76]

Wesley's view of John was afflicted by the same inconsistencies that litter the *History*. Wesley was patently wrong, and knew it, when he stated that John 'scarce ever lost a battle'.[77] John was, of course (and as his main source Goldsmith had stated), almost singlehandedly responsible for the loss of great swathes of Angevin possessions in France, and this is something which Wesley chose to ignore in his analysis of the king.[78] It was clear that he was not ignorant of it, though, because he slipped a retrospective criticism of John into his discussion of Edward I. After Edward's successes in Wales and Scotland, Wesley recorded that Edward directed his war machine against France 'to recover a part of those territories that had been usurped from his crown, during the imbecillity of his predecessors.'[79] He was clearly referring to John's reign here, but nevertheless chose not to name him. Wesley's reluctance to censure the king was in all likelihood a product of his staunch royalist and anti-papal views. He was probably concerned that critiquing John might undermine the arguments he had articulated against Pope Innocent III's interventionist attitude in the governance of England.

Wesley often contradicted himself and undermined his own arguments by articulating double standards for what he considered to be acceptable royal behaviour. Thus he alternately despised and lauded kings as warriors, criticized and justified the introduction of severe laws, and lamented royal failings whilst glorying in the concurrent acquisition of liberties by the people. Yet Wesley's views on the importance of royal authority were clear: the king was essential to the preservation of freedom. Indeed, he believed so fervently in the value of the institution that he found it difficult to criticize the kings of England in his *History*, even when he evidently found their actions troubling.

Wesley on Medieval Ecclesiastical Authority

Wesley's treatment of the Church in the first volume of his *History* was, like many other topics, uneven. His focus was lopsided in that he devoted more

75. Ibid.
76. Ibid. I:207–8.
77. Ibid. I:208.
78. Goldsmith, *History*, 214.
79. Wesley, *CHE*, I:249.

attention to the papacy than the Church in England. His interest reached a crescendo with papal provision to English benefices in the mid-thirteenth century, and then dropped off almost entirely. Unlike his treatment of royal authority, however, Wesley's views on the papacy and its interactions with England were generally more consistent. In his estimation, the papacy was continually plotting to enlarge its authority in England by any means possible, and he considered its influence on royal authority to be inherently negative. Wesley's stance in the *History* reflected the common prejudices against Catholics of his time and also his concern regarding the threat that 'popery' posed to the English state.[80]

Wesley developed a coherent narrative of papal intrusions into the governance of England from the Early Middle Ages onward. In his view the 'wretched monarch' Ethelwulf was distracted from defending the realm against the Danes by 'the dictates of monkish superstition.'[81] Wesley expressed an insular view of medieval kingship and was unconvinced by the political benefits to be gained from currying favour with the Pope. He lambasted Ethelwulf for going on pilgrimage to Rome for a year—during which the king's brother conspired to overthrow him—as something he considered to be the negligent abandonment of the royal duty.[82]

It was around the mid-tenth century, Wesley thought, that the papacy and the monks began to encroach upon the royal authority in England: 'about this time, the monks, from being contented to govern in ecclesiastical matters, began to assume the direction in civil affairs; and, by artfully managing the superstition of the people, erected an authority that was not shaken off for several centuries.'[83] The driving force behind this shift was the papacy, and specifically papal attempts to impose celibacy and to secure the independence of the clergy from civil authority, so that 'the kingdom was in a fair way of being turned into a papal province' through the machinations of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, and his influence over King Eadred.[84] Wesley condemned this influence, and asserted that before this time the monks had been 'a kind of secular priests, who, though they lived in communities, were neither separated from the rest of the world, nor useless to it. They were often married; they were assiduously employed in the education of youth, and subject to the commands of temporal superiors.'[85] In essence they had been more 'High Church', and

80. Richard P. Heitzenrater, *The Elusive Mr. Wesley*, vol. 1: *John Wesley His Own Biographer* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984), 201, 209.

81. Wesley, *CHE*, I:34.

82. Ibid. I:34.

83. Ibid. I:47.

84. Ibid. I:48.

85. Ibid. I:47–8.

therefore in Wesley's opinion had been more useful before the papacy began extending its authority into the realm.

As part of his opposition to papal authority, Wesley also expressed support for those outside of the established hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Thus Peter the Hermit, an unofficial preacher of the First Crusade, was called a 'man of great zeal, courage, and piety.'[86] Likewise, the Albigensian heretics in the south of France, against whom the Church directed crusades to eradicate, also received a positive portrayal. Wesley considered that their only 'great fault was their serious, unaffected piety, and opposition to some of the errors of Popery.'[87] Wesley must have drawn at least partial parallels with the Methodists, whose relationship to the Church of England was often in question, and whose preaching activities were also controversial.[88]

Wesley heaped criticism on the clergy in this period for meddling in political affairs. He related the scurrilous tale that Abbot Dunstan had Eadwig's wife abducted and later killed, and then rounded on him again for apparently assuming a leading role in a rebellion that placed Eadwig's brother Edgar on the throne.[89] The monks were censured again for intervening in the succession following Edgar's death in 975.[90] Nevertheless, Wesley once again contradicted himself by later complaining that during the baronial rebellion of Henry III's reign, the clergy had distanced themselves from political affairs and 'were little concerned in the commotions of the state.'[91]

According to Wesley, the papacy was regularly plotting behind the scenes to turn England into a 'papal province'. In addition to its steady encroachments facilitated by agreeable English ecclesiastics, the papacy also attempted a more direct method by supporting the Norman Conquest. Hoping to extend papal authority in England, Pope Alexander II gave his full support to the invasion by declaring King Harold to be a usurper and by sending William a consecrated banner.[92] Wesley thus effectively styled the Pope as an opponent of the English people, the very people from whom Harold had received his sovereignty.[93] Yet Wesley soon changed his depiction of William from a papal puppet into a firm exponent of royal authority who brought the Church back under secular authority, establishing royal power as greater than that of the Pope and clergy

86. Ibid. I:104.

87. Ibid. I:218.

88. David N. Hempton, 'Wesley in Context', in Maddox and Vickers, eds. *Cambridge Companion*, 63.

89. Wesley, *CHE*, I:50–1.

90. Ibid. I:54.

91. Ibid. I:222.

92. Ibid. I:72.

93. Ibid. I:73.

in the process.[94] Wesley saw a continuation of such papal scheming in Pope Innocent III's appointment of Stephen Langton as archbishop in direct opposition to King John's will, which was 'an encroachment the see of Rome had long been aiming at'.[95]

Just as with his account of royal law-giving, Wesley was inclined to portray the history of the Middle Ages as being relatively static rather than progressive, which he achieved through a cyclical portrayal of events. Although he had depicted William as conclusively settling the issue of competing authorities during his reign, it would raise its head once again at a later date. One of the key historical battlegrounds in the struggle between royal and ecclesiastical authority in Wesley's *History* was King Henry II's conflict with Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. Wesley interpreted this period as a time when the power of the clergy was increasing to such an extent that it 'would shortly annihilate the authority of the sovereign himself.'[96] Wesley condemned the 'great number of idle and illiterate persons' who entered holy orders so as to gain benefit of clergy and to avoid being tried for crimes in secular courts, and stated that the 'bishops themselves seemed to glory in this horrid indulgence', which murderers used to avoid punishment.[97] The time was therefore ripe for the reform of these abuses and for the monarch to reassert the power lost since the death of William I. Wesley linked this reassertion of royal authority by Henry II with the liberty of the people by stating that the king 'resolved, by a bold struggle, to free the laity from these clerical usurpations', a desire which manifested itself in the Constitutions of Clarendon issued in 1164.[98] For Wesley it was the institution of monarchy that was supposed to be the defender of the liberty of the people, not the Church, which he portrays as its oppressor. The struggle between the Crown and the Church therefore had wider implications for Wesley regarding the liberty of the English people.

In the ensuing conflict between Henry and Becket after Clarendon, Wesley successfully depicted Becket as an arrogant firebrand cleric and interpreted his actions as part of a papal-archiepiscopal alliance against the king, as well as emphasizing Becket's connection with the king of France, 'who hated Henry'.[99] Wesley saw Henry as being the model of reason and desirous of a reconciliation, and argued that the king had no part in Becket's eventual murder. According to

94. Ibid. I:86.

95. Ibid. I:192.

96. Ibid. I:138.

97. Ibid. I:141, 138.

98. Ibid. I:142. For the Constitutions, see the Early English Law project, <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/con-clar> accessed 25 July 2014.

99. Wesley, *CHE*, I:147.

Wesley, the king became suspicious of the intentions of the four knights planning to kill the archbishop when they made their sudden departure from his court. Despite sending messengers 'to overtake and forbid them, in his name, to commit any violence', they arrived too late to stop the knights, whom Wesley considered the king's 'most resolute attendants'.[100] Wesley went further in his attempt to absolve Henry from blame by stating explicitly that the king was innocent of the murder.[101] Wesley's barely concealed impartiality on this episode stands in stark opposition to the claims he made in his preface, but fits his staunchly pro-royal stance.

Wesley's criticism of the papacy during the reign of Henry III was robust and centred around papal provision in England, which he termed 'the rapacity of the see of Rome'.[102] By this time Wesley was of the opinion that 'the pontiff having, by various arts, obtained the investiture of all livings and prelacies in the kingdom, failed not to fill up every vacancy with his own creatures.'[103] The total annual income of these foreign clergy was claimed to be 70,000 marks by Wesley, more than three times that of the king.[104] Again Wesley linked this insult to the royal authority with the situation of the people of England, and supplied a subtly favourable portrayal of their direct action in protest: 'these abuses became too glaring even for the blind superstition of the people to submit to; they rose in tumults against the Italian clergy, pillaged their barns, wasted their fields, and insulted their persons. But these were transient obstacles to the papal encroachments.'[105] Wesley had no qualms about expressing support for uprisings directed against Catholic clergy, whom he considered were simultaneously obstacles to the exercise of royal authority and oppressors of the people. Despite some contradictory statements, Wesley viewed the Catholic Church as an interfering competitor to royal authority in England, which mirrored his anxieties about the threat posed by contemporary 'popery' to the realm. The medieval Church was, in his opinion, a threat to popular liberty, a view which allowed him to portray Henry II's struggle against Becket as being tied into preserving the liberty of his subjects.

100. Ibid. I:151.

101. Ibid. I:153.

102. Ibid. I:216. This view has been a staple of the English historiography, although cf. Geoffrey Barraclough, *Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History Constitutional, Legal, and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1935).

103. Wesley, *CHE*, I:217.

104. Ibid. This figure is an enlargement of 60,000 marks given by Matthew Paris, one of the most famous and influential thirteenth-century chroniclers: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores [Rolls Series] 57 (London: Longman, 1872–83), IV:419.

105. Wesley, *CHE*, I:217.

Wesley on Representative Government and Liberty in the Middle Ages

While Wesley noted some isolated instances of representative government in the early Middle Ages, he dated the beginnings of the House of Commons to the mid-thirteenth century, in the reign of Henry III.[106] Unsurprisingly, he found one of his earlier examples of more representative royal government in the reign of one of his favourite kings, Alfred, which only added to the greatness of his rule: 'all his resolutions concerning public affairs, passed thro' three different councils: The first consisted of his particular friends, the second of the nobility. The third was the general assembly of the nation which derived their meeting from his Saxon ancestors.'[107] By emphasizing the role of distinct 'councils', Wesley was probably drawing a comparison with the different houses of his contemporary British Parliament, although he did not go into further detail about the composition of the 'general assembly of the nation'. He also pointed out the mixed 'assemblies' of nobility and clergy that were convened to discuss the Danish invasions during the reign of Ethelred, although he implied that the poor policy decision to pay off the Danes was a product of the involvement of the clergy in the affairs of state.[108] In addition, Wesley commented on the councils that Henry I called in order to pronounce Matilda free to marry him and also to decide on the best way to deal with his rebel brother Robert.[109] Nevertheless, these councils merely seem to have served to rubber-stamp the king's decisions, and Wesley does not see them as being genuinely representative.

It was in the 1258 Provisions of Oxford, where 'twenty-four barons were appointed, with supreme authority, to reform the abuses of the state', that Wesley first discerned 'the rude out-line of the house of commons'.[110] This committee of barons then ordered that 'four knights should be chosen by each county, who should examine into the grievances of their respective constituents, and attend at the ensuing parliament'.[111] While Wesley clearly approved of such a development, he remained deeply suspicious of the barons, whom he considered aimed not at 'the security of the people, but the establishment of their own power'.[112] Wesley was critical of the committee of twenty-four because they 'not

106. On representative government in England during the Middle Ages, see J. R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924–1327* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

107. Wesley, *CHE*, I:42–3.

108. Ibid. I:56.

109. Ibid. I:112, 114. Hollister, 'Henry I'.

110. Wesley, *CHE*, I:220. See Maddicott, *Origins of the English Parliament*, 234–5.

111. Wesley, *CHE*, I:220.

112. Ibid.

only abridged the authority of the king, but of parliament, giving up to twelve persons all parliamentary power between each session.'[113] Although Wesley clearly considered that some form of proto-Parliament had been established, he thought that the future of liberty in England hung in the balance because the barons were subverting it for their own means: 'Thus these insolent nobles, after having trampled upon the crown, threw prostrate all the rights of the people, and a vile oligarchy was on the point of being established for ever.'[114]

Wesley was convinced that representative government required the influence of a strong monarch in order to benefit the people, and was of the opinion that 'the people now only wanted a leader to subvert this new tyranny [of the barons]'.[115] Henry III was not up to the task of saving the 'sinking nation' and so it fell to the 'knights of the shire, who for some time, had regularly assembled in a separate house'.[116] They fixed their hopes upon Prince Edward. Yet Wesley's habit of contradicting himself crept in here again, and despite setting up the future Edward I as the saviour of the people and condemning the barons in the strongest terms, he attributes the founding of the House of Commons to the leader of the rebel barons, Simon de Montfort.[117] Wesley writes that after de Montfort's victory at the Battle of Lewes in 1264 he called a parliament in order to secure his position. The difference between this assembly and the one established before Lewes was that this assembly consisted not merely of the barons alone, but also two knights from every shire and deputies from the boroughs, 'which had been hitherto considered as too inconsiderable to have a voice in legislation.'[118] Wesley noted that the assembly of January 1265 was 'the first confirmed outline of an English house of commons.'[119] Thus in Wesley's opinion, what began as the project of a 'haughty baron' designed 'more completely to tyrannize' the people, ended up becoming a bulwark of British liberty.[120]

In common with his other views in the *History*, Wesley did not interpret the development of representative government as being a smooth progression throughout the Middle Ages. The handful of early medieval examples of kings holding councils that Wesley found did not evolve organically. Instead Wesley

113. Ibid. I:221.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid. I:222.

116. Ibid. I:221.

117. Maddicott writes of the notion that Montfort founded Parliament that it is 'a popular myth which is astonishingly difficult to dispel.': Maddicott, *Origins of the English Parliament*, 234.

118. Wesley, *CHE*, I:227.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid. I:228.

fixed its invention as a product of the barons' war during the reign of Henry III. Although Wesley stated that 'the people had been gaining some consideration [in government] since the gradual diminution of the force of the feudal system', this was but an afterthought in his analysis and finds almost no support in his narrative, which instead adheres to Wesley's cyclical, and thus relatively static, interpretation of history.[121]

Wesley was deeply concerned for the liberty of the people, and supported direct action against tyrannical rule, provided it was grounded in a just cause. Yet although a champion of liberty, Wesley's views were relatively complex. He was a firm believer in the importance of the state as the guarantor of liberty, and expressed support in the *History* for rebellion against unjust governors, but not English kings. Wesley also interpreted rebellions conducted outside England differently to those within the kingdom. One example of the nuances in his views can be found in his account of the Roman invasion. He saw no obstacle to supporting Boadicea's rebellion against the Romans on account of the 'greatness of their taxes', the 'cruel insolence of their conquerors', and their 'cruel treatment of Boadicea', whilst at the same time extolling the benefits of Roman governance after her defeat.[122] After the Romans had put down the Britons and extinguished their liberty, Wesley no longer saw them as oppressors, but as benevolent protectors and peacemakers who civilized and humanized the Britons.[123] Wesley gives the impression that liberty had a negative effect on the Britons, and that they flourished under Roman rule. Thus after the Romans had left British shores, although the Britons regained their liberty, they were attacked by the Picts and Scots and found themselves 'in a miserable condition'.[124] Such a viewpoint clearly resonated with America, where Wesley considered British rule to be similarly beneficial, and he dwelled upon the protection afforded to the colonies in his *Calm Address* to the Americans: 'A few years ago, you were assaulted by enemies, whom you were not well able to resist. You represented this to your Mother-country, and desired her assistance. You was [*sic*] largely assisted, and by that means wholly delivered from all your enemies.'[125] Wesley was warning that if the Americans threw off British rule, they would forfeit this protection and open themselves to attack from their enemies, and he perhaps had the historical example of the ancient Britons in mind.

121. Ibid. I:227–8.
122. Ibid. I:10.
123. Ibid. I:12.
124. Ibid. I:15.
125. Wesley, *Calm Address to Our American Colonies*, 12–13.

Wesley was a supporter of popular uprisings in the *History*, but only if they were conducted against oppressive and tyrannical rule. He also drew a distinction between rebelling against the king and against governors, and when he expressed support for rebels in his account, their grievances were always with others than the king. For instance, when Edward the Confessor sent Harold Godwinson north to put down an uprising against his brother Tostig, Harold refused to take punitive action when the people presented definitive proof that Tostig was an oppressor of the people: 'They enumerated the grievances they had sustained from his tyranny, brought the strongest proofs of his guilt, and appealed to Harold's equity for redress.'[126] In the face of such evidence, Harold obtained the king's pardon for them and 'confirmed the governor whom the Northumbrians had chosen in his room.'[127] Wesley portrayed the revolt favourably because the rebellion aimed to remove only Tostig and not the king himself: 'they had no intention to rebel, but had taken up arms merely to protect themselves from the cruelty of a rapacious governor.'[128]

This also explains Wesley's support for the rebellion against the two governors whom William I had left in charge when he departed England for Normandy. These two officers were 'no longer controlled by his [William's] justice' and 'took all opportunities of oppressing the people.'[129] Wesley was generally supportive of the popular uprising because the people were denied legal redress: 'Thus, legal punishment being denied, they fought for private vengeance; and a day seldom passed, but the bodies of assassinated Normans were found in the woods and highways.'[130] Nevertheless, Wesley exhibited a different view of a rebellion against William in Normandy. While the English rebels against the Norman governors were fighting to reassert their lost freedom and had a just cause in attempting to throw off their oppressive governors, Wesley interpreted the Norman revolt in a less sympathetic fashion. It had a negative effect on England because it distracted William at a time when he was 'giving laws for the benefit of all.'[131] He also appreciated the irony of William using 'brave troops' from England to reduce the 'revolters to submission' in Normandy: 'Thus we see a whimsical vicissitude of fortune; the inhabitants of Normandy brought over for the conquest of the English, and the English sent back to conquer the Normans.'[132]

126. Wesley, *CHE*, I:67.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid. I:80.
130. Ibid. I:83.
131. Ibid. I:87.
132. Ibid. I:88.

Therefore Wesley did not give his support to an historical revolt which was conducted by Normans against an English king.

While Magna Carta was a totem of liberty for Wesley, and he recorded that Runnymede was 'still held in reverence by posterity, as the spot where the standard of freedom was first erected in England', nevertheless he was acutely aware of the fact that 'the famous bulwark of English liberty' did not grant liberty to all.[133] Wesley's view of Magna Carta was multifaceted. As an opponent of the nobility and the Catholic clergy, he was uneasy that the charter stemmed from baronial conspiracy, egged on in secret by the archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton.[134] Though Wesley clearly recognized Magna Carta's importance in the history of English freedom, he was somewhat ambivalent about the manner in which it was brought about and its effect at the time of its issue in 1215. He pointed out perceptively that Magna Carta 'either granted or secured very important privileges to those orders of the kingdom that were already possessed of freedom, namely, to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen; as for the inferior, and the greatest part of the people, they were yet held as slaves.'[135] The orders that benefitted from Magna Carta were those against which Wesley had expressed grudges throughout the *History*, which explains his reservations about the impact of the charter upon liberty. Nevertheless, as was typical in the *History*, Wesley slightly weakened his own position on the negligible importance of Magna Carta to the freedom of the people by relating the content of the clauses which benefitted the freemen, such as the rights to justice, freedoms from tolls, and standardization of weights and measures.[136] Wesley attempted to make clear, however, that this made no difference to the lives of the serfs, 'the people who tilled the ground, who constituted, the majority of the nation.'[137] He went further in his pamphlet, *Observations on Liberty*, and asserted that the people did not enjoy either civil or religious liberty 'from the time of William the Conqueror till the revolution', which again contradicted the examples of liberties that Wesley picked out in his *History*.[138]

Wesley also made a distinction between the liberty possessed by the people in the towns and those in the countryside. To Wesley, the grant of corporation charters under Henry III was instrumental to the liberty of the people because

133. Ibid. I:200.

134. Ibid. I:198. The idea that Langton was the 'author' of, and driving force behind, Magna Carta, held sway later in the nineteenth century, although see now Nicholas Vincent, *Magna Carta: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 64–6.

135. Wesley, *CHE,* I:200.

136. Ibid. I:202–3.

137. Ibid. I:203.

138. Wesley, *Observations on Liberty*, 21.

it 'encreased not only the power of the people, but their ardour to be free.'[139] By the reign of Richard II, Wesley considered that the serfs in the countryside had seen the townspeople become free and therefore 'they panted for a participation of those advantages.'[140] Yet at the beginning of Richard's reign, an 'unjust act of parliament' rendered previous purchases of freedom invalid and an 'unjust poll-tax' was levied which inflamed the anger of the people.[141] By absolving the young king from the responsibility for these decisions, though, and attributing them to Parliament, Wesley was laying the groundwork for a sympathetic account of the subsequent Peasants' Revolt because it was not directed against Richard but those governing around him.

Wesley criticized previous historians for treating the baronial rebellions lightly while castigating those of the people.[142] Wesley supported the leader of the rebels, Wat Tyler, and portrayed him as an honourable man defending his daughter when he accidentally sparked the rebellion by killing a tax collector.[143] In the subsequent confrontation between Richard II and the rebels in London, Wesley included a favourable account of the accommodation they reached, but lamented that the king's grants to the rebels were betrayed by the nobles who hijacked Parliament for their own ends:

> These grants, gained the king great popularity; and it was his desire to have them continued. But the nobles had long tasted the sweets of power, and were unwilling to admit any other to a participation. The parliament soon revoked these charters; the people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before, and several of the ring-leaders were punished with capital severity.[144]

Wesley's account of the Peasants' Revolt confirms his views on liberty expressed elsewhere in the *History*. It reveals that his support for rebellions was clearly contingent upon them having a just cause and not being directed against the king personally.

In drawing the first volume of his *History* to a close, Wesley continued on from the Revolt to cover the later deposition of Richard II by his nobles and stated in summing up that 'it is exceeding hard to discover, what the real faults

139. Wesley, *CHE*, I:228.
140. Ibid. I:318.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid. I:321.
143. Ibid. I:318–19.
144. Ibid. I:321.

of King Richard were', but fortunately remembered here to bring God into his *History*, and concluded simply that 'how then came he to be so unfortunate? —God putteth down one, and setteth up another!'[145]

Conclusion

John Wesley's views on medieval authority and liberty in his *Concise History of England* contextualize to some extent the swift turnaround of his views on the American rebellion in 1775. He was a firm exponent of both royal authority and the liberty of the people, yet the way he constructed his views in the *History* was often inconsistent, primarily because these concerns were not always mutually agreeable, but also because he was copying text from other sources at speed. To Wesley, the role of the king was crucial to the maintenance of liberty. His support for the monarchy and royal authority was so strong that he failed to achieve the stated aim in his preface of remaining impartial in his analysis. Aside from the perfunctory manner in which he dealt with some of the Anglo-Saxon kings, it is clear that Wesley struggled to criticize the kings of England, even when he disagreed with their actions, perhaps best epitomized by his analysis of the reigns of Henry I, Henry III, and Edward I. To Wesley, defects in royal authority could be considered as nothing when weighed against the preservation and extension of liberty, yet it is apparent that royal exactions were troubling to him and required justification.

While the *History* demonstrates that Wesley supported the right of the people to take direct action in order to defend their freedoms, he imposed important limits on the circumstances in which revolt was acceptable. It had to be grounded in a just cause and supported by incontrovertible proof of tyrannous oppression (something which he thought the Americans lacked). In addition, Wesley's support for people's rebellions in the *History* was limited to those which aimed only at throwing off the unjust rule of governors, but not the king. In his 1777 pamphlet *A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England* Wesley admitted that he had initially supported the American cause because 'still the Americans *talked* of allegiance, and *said*, they desired nothing but the liberty of *Englishmen*. Many in *England* cordially believed them: I myself for one.'[146] Wesley's opinion of the revolt seems to have shifted when the aim of the colonists turned from asserting their liberties to throwing off the rule of the British

145. Ibid. I:335.

146. John Wesley, *A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England*, 2nd edn (London: printed by R. Hawes, 1777), 11.

monarch and they 'declared themselves Independent States, openly renounced their Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, [had] taken up arms against him, and prosecuted the war in an unheard of manner'.[147] Wesley could never accept such an assault on the authority of the king. His tangled explanations, obfuscations, and justifications of royal exactions and popular uprisings in the *History* reveal an inherent tension in his outlook before his realization of the true extent of the aims of the Americans. It is the conflict of interests observable in Wesley's *History* which makes the public shift in his views of 1775 less surprising. Wesley was prepared to support those struggling for liberty, but not at any cost, and he drew the line with those who rebelled against the British sovereign.

147. Ibid. 15.

JOHN BYROM AND THE CONTEXTS OF CHARLES WESLEY'S SHORTHAND

TIMOTHY UNDERHILL

ABSTRACT

This article demonstrates that Charles Wesley's use of shorthand over many years carries biographical as well as textual significance. Surveying his acquaintance with the poet and stenographer John Byrom (1692–1763), it explores aspects of the wider 'textual community' of Byrom's system, which embraced several others in early Methodist circles. It considers how the Wesley brothers first became acquainted with this 'universal English shorthand', explores its diverse applications, and considers Charles Wesley's involvement in moves toward promulgating it by subscription publication, pointing to dimensions such as the aesthetic and linguistic, which might partly explain early Methodists' esteem for it.

Keywords: John Byrom; shorthand; Charles Wesley; manuscripts; John Clayton

I

Scholars have long been familiar with Charles Wesley's extensive use of Byrom's shorthand. While the task of deciphering it was approached with varying degrees of success in the two centuries following his death, subsequent editorial work has culminated in important new editions of his sermons, journals, letters, and poems, in all of which shorthand transcription has played a significant part.[1] Readers of such print texts should bear in mind that those do not obviate

1. *The Sermons of Charles Wesley: A Critical Edition*, ed. Kenneth G. C. Newport (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); *The Manuscript Journal of the Reverend Charles Wesley, M.A.*, ed. S T Kimbrough Jr and Kenneth G. C. Newport, 2 vols (Nashville: Kingswood Books,

returning to the documents themselves, not least because this transcription is sometimes provisional. But deciphering by no means exhausts the work to be done on Wesley's shorthand.

Although it cites numerous examples, what follows is not a comprehensive survey of how shorthand is deployed in Wesley's many surviving manuscripts. Rather, this article focuses on contextual matters to strengthen the foundations for any future exploration of the materiality of Wesley's texts. These contexts include family tradition and personal contacts, the diverse applications of shorthand and motives for learning it, and the system's wider 'textual community',[2] to which he and his brother John belonged when he started using it over three decades before its printed publication. This article also considers the contexts of Wesley's involvement in moves toward this system's promulgation by subscription, pointing to some linguistic dimensions which may partly explain his esteem for it. Above all, I aim to bring its inventor John Byrom (1692–1763) more into the story, arguing that a fundamental reason why the brothers used the shorthand they did was because they knew this inventor personally.[3]

In view of 'a need to study Methodist history from the perspective of others', Byrom is a valuable witness because his diaries, correspondence, and poems contribute to the fuller record without being John-centred.[4] His fascination with the circles in which Wesley moved, during a critical period for his

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2007); *The Letters of Charles Wesley: A Critical Edition*, vol. I: 1728–1756, ed. Kenneth G. C. Newport and Gareth Lloyd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Center for Studies in the Wesleyan Tradition, Duke Divinity School, 'Charles Wesley's Manuscript Poetry', <http://divinity.duke.edu/initiatives-centers/cswt/wesley-texts/manuscript-verse> accessed 6 Aug. 2014. Richard Heitzenrater's edition of Wesley's 'letter journals' is keenly awaited at the time of the present article's submission.

2. For this term and a definition of 'material text', see Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology: 1450–2008* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 414–15, 251–2.

3. This article thereby supplements Oliver A. Beckerlegge (with Kenneth G. C. Newport), 'Charles Wesley's Shorthand', in Kenneth G. C. Newport and Ted Campbell, eds, *Charles Wesley: Life, Literature, and Legacy* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2007). This was drawn from Oliver A. Beckerlegge, 'Charles Wesley's shorthand', *Methodist History*, 29/4 (1991), 225–34, previously published, with a separate section on 'Reading Charles Wesley's Shorthand', as *The Shorthand of Charles Wesley* (Madison: Charles Wesley Society, 2002). In Timothy Underhill, 'Another Look at Charles Wesley's Shorthand', *Proceedings of the Charles Wesley Society*, 17 (2013), 35–48, I give some palaeographical reasons for my view that Beckerlegge unduly 'de-Byromized' Wesley's shorthand. See also William J. Carlton, 'The Wesleys and the Winged Art', *Magazine of the Wesleyan Methodist Church*, 13 (1915), 470–4; Martin E. Brose, 'Charles Wesley und die Kurzschrift', *Mitteilungen der Studiengemeinschaft für Geschichte der Evangelisch-methodistischen Kirche*, NS 15/2 (1994), 33–9; Timothy Underhill, 'John Byrom's Shorthand: An Introduction', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 108 (2008), 61–91.

4. Gareth Lloyd, *Charles Wesley and the Struggle for Methodist Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 241. In the present article, 'Wesley' indicates Charles Wesley.

shorthand's promotion, is touched on here, but it remains a topic for fuller treatment, as does his contact with the brothers during the course of three decades.[5] Nevertheless, something must be sketched at the outset about the person John Wesley praised as 'an uncommon Genius, a man of the finest and strongest understanding.'[6] He was always far closer to Charles, who reckoned him 'my candid friend and censor',[7] notwithstanding a rift over mysticism, quietism, and William Law's theology. Today he is usually remembered—when he is remembered at all—as author of 'Christians awake', the Christmas Day hymn which in redacted form has long featured in Methodist hymnals. Medic, linguist, FRS, poet, local political activist, and, to quote of one of the first Cambridge Methodists, 'friend of God's people in every denomination' (to which might be added 'those of none'): he defies simplistic pigeonholing.[8] Although never a Methodist himself, his involvement with Little Britain and Fetter Lane circles accounted for George Stonehouse's observation in 1739 that he was 'taken for one'.[9] Stonehouse was an early Methodist convert and vicar of the church where Wesley then served as curate; his also being a learner of shorthand is just one example of how the presence of other figures from the eighteenth-century evangelical world in Byrom's 'textual community' was more than coincidental.

II

Charles and John Wesley might be seen as continuing a family tradition in adopting shorthand. Along with enigmatic initials and abbreviations, brief sequences of shorthand-type symbols occur in their mother's journal meditations; these have so far eluded confident deciphering.[10] (A cropped fragment of shorthand in

5. In the meantime, see Elijah Hoole, *Byrom and the Wesleys* (London: William Nichols, 1864), repr. from *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, 86 (1863), 597–601, 728–35, 789–98, 904–15, 1011–17, 1101–12; John Telford, 'Dr. Byrom and the Beginnings of Methodism', *Methodist Review*, 75 [*recte* 76] (1894), 1–26; Timothy Underhill, '"Parson and Methodist": An "Imperfect" Verse Tale by John Byrom', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 59/3 (2013), 81–8.

6. *Arminian Magazine*, 3 (1780), vii.

7. Wesley, *Manuscript Journal*, ed. Kimbrough Jr and Newport, 2:647.

8. Francis Okely, writing to Byrom in 1757: *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom* [hereafter *Remains*], ed. Richard Parkinson, 2 vols in 4 parts (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1854–7), II.645n. For an overview of his life and writing see Timothy Underhill, 'John Byrom (1692–1763)', in Jay Parini, ed., *British Writers: Supplement XVI* (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons; Gale Cengage Learning, 2010), 71–87.

9. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:228.

10. *Susanna Wesley: The Complete Writings*, ed. Charles Wallace Jr (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 320, 323, 331, 353 (and respectively 333 n. 2, 335 n. 24; 337 n. 72, 362 n. 108).

another system, forming the reverse of the address panel of a letter to 'Mrs Wesley/ Tiverton', is evidence of other family knowledge of stenography, assuming this material was intended for the recipient's eyes.[11]) More accessible abbreviations can be seen in their father's private correspondence, where suspensions, superscripts, and macrons to indicate letter omission saved time and paper—a shorthand of sorts, but one not apparent to readers of a print edition where a textual policy of silent expansion has been implemented. A very similar system of longhand contraction dominates what might be termed 'family manuscripts', such as John's neat transcription of a miscellany of English poems. Here techniques such as using a dot for '-ing', and underlining a letter to indicate its being followed by 'y' ('Fan̲c̲, Sprightl̲ Nymph'), likewise helped save space and time; a lengthy key to these contractions (e.g. *T* for 'thee' or 'thou', *Hn* for 'Heaven', *ū* for 'but') shows that the manuscript was designed to be reread by others.[12] Sister Kezia's verse miscellany (commenced in 1729), to which others including Charles also contributed, makes widespread use of these abbreviations too, as do John's early 1730s diaries.[13]

The brothers first sought to learn shorthand at a time when many established seventeenth-century systems were being republished, and when Byrom faced competition from contemporary stenographers also, notably the belligerent James Weston, author of the era's most lavish manual, *Stenography Compleated* (1727). Arriving at a reliable estimate of the number of systems available to them is difficult, however, because of the proliferation of unprinted methods, and the extremely low survival rates of others in both print and manuscript.[14] Another complicating factor is the way elements of earlier manuals were commonly adapted or plagiarized. Studied by both brothers before they abandoned it for Byrom's, the alphabet that Weston promulgated is a good example: it was appropriated from the mid-seventeenth-century manuals of Theophilus Metcalfe. When Wesley changed from Weston's shorthand to Byrom's, 'he said that he had learnt Weston's before, that it would do well if everybody learnt Weston's first, and then ours would be such an ease to them'.[15] Assessing the extent to which this view was justified would require a full technical analysis

11. Methodist Archives and Research Centre, The John Rylands Library, University of Manchester (hereafter MARC) DDWF 27/1, addressed presumably to Susanna or her daughter-in-law Ursula, at some stage after Samuel junior's appointment to Tiverton School in the early 1730s. Longhand words within the shorthand (which resembles Weston's system) do not appear to be in either brother's hand.

12. MARC, Colman 1.1 'Miscellany Verses'. 'Feb. 6. 1729/30' appears on p. 80 (Wesley's pagination), but the handwriting suggests compilation over a period beforehand.

13. MARC, Colman 4, 9, and 10. George Whitefield used similar abbreviation methods in his diary: British Library, Add. MSS, 34,068.

14. The standard enumerative bibliography is R. C. Alston, *Treatises on Shorthand* (corrected repr., Ilkely: Janus Press, 1974), but this needs updating.

15. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:182.

beyond the present article's scope; in any case, shorthand's multiple, at times conflicting, purposes complicate the criteria needed to make such an assessment. But at the risk of oversimplifying and implying a teleology of shorthand systems, two important technical areas that arguably distinguish Byrom's from numerous earlier and contemporary shorthands are worth highlighting, as they would have been important factors in its appeal. The first was its rejection of 'arbitrary' symbols to denote whole words and phrases, symbols that overcomplicated so many other systems. The second was its proclaimed 'rational' basis, achieved by relating character shapes to consonant frequency and in signifying common sound combinations by the more easily joined characters.

Byrom's system was reasonably well established by the time the Wesleys got to know of it. Byrom had developed it in Cambridge and Manchester between 1715 and 1723—with some subsequent fine tuning—because he was dissatisfied with other systems. He had studied one with his college contemporary Thomas Sharp, whose father, the archbishop of York, had suggested they should learn it. (By nice coincidence, Byrom's shorthand was used at the rear of a book giving evidence of contact that Wesley later had with Sharp.[16]) In 1723 he started a subscription campaign to raise funds to print his 'New Method', targeted mainly at a professional clientele in London, with subscription terms of a guinea—half on deposit and half payable on delivery. Hampered by his perfectionism and prevarication, the campaign folded embarrassingly, and by 1725 he was returning subscription monies. Printing plans were postponed while he gave tuition in the system instead, usually for a large fee of five guineas, one which was at the very top end for shorthand teaching in the 1720s.

Beckerlegge felt that 'it would be interesting to know just how many people in Wesley's lifetime had learned [Byrom's] script, but such information is not available'.[17] In fact there is much that can be established here, at least about those who learned prior to its print publication in 1767. Research on Byrom's shorthand prior to 1767 has so far established that over 300 men and women learned it.[18] By the end of 1735, around the time the Wesleys were starting to use it, there were over 230 people who had. Although ascertaining anything beyond surnames for about a third of them currently seems unlikely, more can be established about the other two-thirds than about the pupils of

16. George John Stevenson, *Methodist Worthies* (London: T. C. Jack, 1884), I:117, refers to a copy of Sharp's *The Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer* (1753), containing manuscript notes 'of additional items' communicated to Wesley by Sharp, followed by 'eight pages more of his elegant shorthand notes (John Byrom's system)'. I have not traced this copy, owned by Stevenson.

17. Beckerlegge, 'Charles Wesley's Shorthand', 350.

18. Based on updating of the prosopography in Timothy Patrick Underhill, 'John Byrom: Sources & Shorthand', PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 2001), Appendix B.

any other pre-nineteenth-century shorthand teacher (not to mention most non-institutional lecturers or teachers of the time). The vast majority of the 'known' pupils were based in London, Cambridge, or Manchester when they learned, and of these most were entered at or associated with the Inns of Court and/or Cambridge University, including several who later achieved public eminence. There is enough evidence to disprove the notion, sometimes mentioned in biographical accounts, that the death of his brother in May 1740 led to Byrom's abandonment of shorthand. Although he did reduce direct contact with new pupils, and became more willing to subcontract tuition to trusted former pupils, he was still personally teaching his system in the early 1760s.

While the Wesley brothers' immediate background was not typical of most 'Byromites', scrutiny of Byrom's diaries and correspondence reveals their circles overlapped, which could explain how they first knew about his shorthand. *Remains* refers to at least five people (Byrom suspected others) who apparently cracked it from materials they chanced upon. For Wesley biographers one of these is of particular interest: Mary Pendarves (better known later as Mrs Delaney), 'Aspasia' to Charles's 'Araspes' and John's 'Cyrus'. Byrom recorded his pupil John West, Baron De La Warr, informing him in April 1731 'that Mrs. Pendarvis had read my last letter to him by looking at the alphabet in an instant; I went to the Duke of Devonshire, and he followed me there and told the Duke of her, and said she had copied the alphabet; I told him to desire her to keep it to herself.'[19] Both aristocrats featured in a list of all pupils to date that Byrom compiled in a notebook during 1729–31, making some additions in 1732.[20] But as Pendarves did not, it can be assumed she never properly learned it or never paid for her knowledge. Earlier that month she told John Wesley 'I am a little at a loss for some words, not being used to shorthand, but I believe I shall be able to find them out', something her sister Ann Granville echoed in May: 'There are some words puzzle us, not understanding shorthand. We must beg of you to explain them, for we can't consent to lose one word.' The explanation seems to be that the references are to 'occasional symbols in Wesley's abbreviated longhand'.[21] Pendarves's expression of confidence in her deciphering ability is intriguing, nevertheless, coming as it does within a week of Byrom's diary entry, even if the juxtaposition of these merely illustrates a point about the relative ease of cracking a substitution cipher as opposed to a code; for a system like his was effectively more like the former than the latter, which was its strength, not its shortcoming.

19. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, I:488.

20. Chetham's Library, MS A.2.167, fol. 55r–v.

21. *Letters I: 1721–1739*, ed. Frank Baker [vol. XXV of *The Works of John Wesley*] (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 274, 280, 274 n. 1.

This has not yet established when the Wesley brothers first started learning Byrom's system, but it was almost certainly after 1731 on the evidence of their names not appearing in Byrom's list of pupils by 1731–2, a list which included names of those taught by others. *Remains* contains no reference to any Wesley until a passing one in October 1733,[22] but this does not preclude previous contact. Conceivably Byrom might have encountered Charles as early as April 1725, when he heard scholars declaiming verses at Westminster School's election ceremony, including some Byrom had written for the occasion; as school captain, Charles would presumably have been present.[23] But it is more likely that they became acquainted the following decade. A significant intermediary in this connection would have been John Clayton, a key figure in Byrom's High Church-Tory/Jacobite circle in the Manchester region, who, together with their friend Thomas Deacon, greatly influenced the Wesleys with regard to 'primitive' piety.[24] Byrom knew Clayton from the time before the latter attended Oxford as an undergraduate, visiting him there in 1731. Just as Clayton was involved in promoting Deacon's scholarly endeavours when in Oxford—the subscription to publish his translation of Tillemont's *Mémoires*[25]— so it may originally have been from Clayton in Oxford that the Wesleys first came to hear about Byrom's shorthand, rather than through any direct overture from Byrom himself.

There was a typically eighteenth-century associational dimension to learning shorthand: Byrom had convened a London shorthand society in the mid-1720s underpinned by mock-Masonic conviviality, in which he was jokingly styled the 'Grand Master' to whom his pupils pledged allegiance and secrecy. Other learners formed themselves into loose club circles for better improvement of writing practice. Clayton had learned it by September 1729, attending a shorthand club in Manchester, where for practice the task of transcribing different *Spectator* papers was assigned. Since Clayton proposed levying a shilling fine on homework defaulters, it was ironic that he himself became one.[26] The opportunities such forums gave Byrom for discussion with his pupils on topics other than shorthand usually made teaching a pleasure for him, especially because of the potential cultivation of 'brethren in shorthand and morality'.[27] In this spirit another club of pupils in the North West occasionally met to discuss

22. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, I:523.

23. This was mooted by Telford, 'Dr. Byrom', 13.

24. See Henry Derman Rack, 'The Wesleys and Manchester', *Proceedings of the Charles Wesley Society*, 8 (2002), 6–23; Geordan Hammond, *John Wesley in America: Restoring Primitive Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 30–41.

25. My interpretation of Deacon's remark to Byrom, 'Clayton does bravely for me at Oxford': Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, I:497.

26. See Underhill, 'John Byrom's Shorthand', 78–9.

27. Chetham's Library, MS A.2.167, fol. 122r.

the writings of his two then favourite seventeenth-century thinkers—Nicolas Malebranche and Antoinette Bourignon—as well as shorthand; Clayton may have been involved with this club too. Like Deacon (some of whose correspondence with Byrom in shorthand survives) and their Manchester friend Joseph Hoole, rector of St Ann's, Manchester,[28] Clayton was one of Byrom's system's public recommenders later in the 1730s. He was a sufficient 'insider' to have sight of attempts in Manchester to cast type for its printing—but unlike its inventor, he thought progress on that vital front by that time was satisfactory, which, unfortunately for Byrom's publication hopes, it was not.

Clayton's name crops up in connection with the learning of the system by one Mr Lambert. (Lambert's identity remains unclear: could he have been the surveyor John Lambert, Wesley's brother-in-law?) In June 1735 Lambert visited Byrom's London lodgings to learn shorthand, although his further tuition was left to one of Byrom's recent pupils, the barrister John Balls. Byrom recorded that Lambert 'was of Brasenose College, it seems, and knew Mr. Clayton'. As the College registers do not record any such name, presumably he had misheard or misunderstood that detail, but evidently Lambert had connections with early Methodists: in February 1739, in the company of Charles and John Wesley, George Stonehouse related that he 'had paid five guineas to Mr. Lambert for learning my shorthand'.[29] This was news to Byrom, who would have had ample cause to feel indignant had he lost out on the money, especially as Lambert's teaching had been ineffective.

John Wesley, who had studied Weston's *Stenography Compleated* in 1732,[30] was conversant with Byrom's shorthand by September 1735—or at least in a position to have someone else decipher it for him—on the evidence of a shorthand letter written to him by Clayton from Manchester that month.[31] (He probably used it in correspondence with Clayton, but that purpose was short-lived: in a letter of May 1738—one that is illuminating about John's relations at the time with Byrom and Byrom's cousin Josiah—Clayton complains, 'Why did you not write in shorthand? have you forgot it?'[32]) As he visited Manchester during journeys between Oxford and Epworth over 1733–5, he most likely got sight of the system there, perhaps on 16 May 1733, when he visited Byrom's

28. Hoole had been a Wesley family acquaintance when he was curate at Haxey near Epworth, and seems to have known Byrom before moving to Manchester.

29. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, I:621, II:215.

30. Richard Paul Heitzenrater, 'John Wesley and the Oxford Methodists, 1725–35', PhD diss. (Duke University, 1972), 525. John Wesley's account book (MARC Colman 3/17) lists Weston's book in 1731 and 1733, and also 'Shorthand' in 1734, which might suggest he tried another printed system.

31. Wesley, *Letters I*, ed. Baker, 433 and 433 n. 1.

32. MARC, 1977/610/41 (transcribed slightly differently in Wesley, *Letters I*, ed. Baker, 539).

house.[33] His diary for 6 December 1736 notes that he 'began shorthand', and subsequent entries suggest he was by now immersing himself in its study. Previously he had briefly used Weston's system in diarising, but this was supplanted by Byrom's system, which predominated once the diaries shifted from the 'exacter' columned layout to an earlier paragraph-style format.[34] We will probably never establish his very earliest extant use of it, but one contender is an ownership inscription in shorthand in his copy of Patrick Middleton's *A Short View of the Evidences . . .* (1734), which reveals a beginner's mistakes in vowel dot placement and misunderstanding of prepositions.[35]

Charles Wesley is not known to have made similar visits to Manchester at this time, so it was probably from John that he first got to know its workings. Byrom's diary account of their meeting on 10 June 1737 supports the idea that John first obtained proper knowledge of his system in Manchester, and shows that Benjamin Ingham was another convert to it. Ingham had previously employed Weston's shorthand from October 1733 within his methodical diary, as well as for poetry and prayer transcriptions. He made several references to shorthand as a pursuit in his Oxford schedule in January–February 1734, suggesting dedicated study of it or perhaps its use in transcription. Back home in Ossett, on 8 July 1734 he 'Began to learn shorthand'. There are twenty further references to it being a time-allocated activity thereafter up to 29 August (near the end of this diary manuscript): the last of these records 'shorthand with Charles Wesley'.[36] As Richard Heitzenrater suggests, 'began' may indicate no more than a resumption of studying Weston's method; but the possibility that Ingham was looking at a different system by this stage might be strengthened by the fact of Charles's presence here—could one of them have been teaching the other?

Another noteworthy case of conversion from Weston's to Byrom's shorthand occurred in May 1735, when a recent pupil, the MP James Erskine, got Byrom to win over an apparently diehard Westonian, Charles Douglas, 3rd Duke of Queensbury; both Erskine and Queensbury thereafter gave public support to Byrom's subscription project. This episode's link with the world of the opposition court camp is significant in the wider story of Byrom's search for patronage at this time, but of greater interest for a study of Byrom's contact with evangelical circles is the connection with Erskine, who was to become Wesley's

33. MARC, Colman 9 (1732–1733 diary), 75 (John Wesley's pagination). Byrom is subsequently mentioned twice on 3 June, and again on 4 June, but John may well have met him in company with other Manchester friends mentioned May–June passim.

34. W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater, eds, *Journal and Diaries I (1735–1738)* [vol. XVIII of *The Works of John Wesley*] (Nashville: Abingdon, 1988), 452, 303–4.

35. MARC, 1977/527.

36. *Diary of an Oxford Methodist: Benjamin Ingham, 1733–1734*, ed. Richard P. Heitzenrater (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1985), 231, 255.

legal adviser. Byrom was taken by his 'old scholar' to hear Spangenberg preach at Fetter Lane in June 1742, and in July 1748 encountered Erskine in Wesley's presence: 'to the Methodist church, English Common Prayers; he preached'.[37] Erskine's interest in Byrom and his shorthand could have informed—or at least been informed by—its take-up within early Methodist circles, rather than being merely coincidental.

Byrom's June 1737 diary entry was his first known documented encounter with Wesley, but it was probably not their very first: he had already sought information from James Oglethorpe and Charles Rivington on Wesley's whereabouts once the latter had returned to England, implying they were already known to each other. His acquaintance with Oglethorpe (whose support Byrom sought and gained in the early 1730s while canvassing against the controversial Manchester Workhouse Bill) and with Rivington (from whom he purchased copies of John's Kempis abridgement, getting them specially bound for family members) is further evidence of overlapping social circles.

Wesley's earliest surviving use of Byrom's shorthand appears to be from February 1736: a note at the end of his longhand transcription of John's sermon on Matthew 6:22–23, '{on board the Simmonds within sight of Carolina}'.[38] Writing from Boston to John in Savannah in October 1736, he urged its use for private communication: 'If y^{u} are desirous as I am of a correspon^{ce}, y^{u} must set upon Byrom's shorthand immediately. {I am amazed you yourself did not propose < > short hand before our parting, when you know it is our ^only^ way of conversing, like the needles of the 2 friends, and when poor Charles Delamotte d< > it for this very reason}.[39] (The allusion is to the 'sympathetic telegraph', imagined by John Baptista Porta, by which separated friends used magnetic dial plate needles to communicate.[40]) A preceding section in Greek also recommends use of shorthand, and later there is further evidence that Delamotte too was privy to Byrom's system: '{I expect a constant account both of Oglethorpe's proceedings and yours. My namesake will transcribe your journal as everything else in short hand}.'

I have not established any friendship between Byrom and Delamotte, nor traced any writing by Delamotte in shorthand, but the two are known to have come into contact, and Charles's letter suggests that he had far more than a nodding acquaintance with it. That would account for one of the most

37. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:440.

38. MARC, CW, Box 6; Wesley, *Sermons*, ed. Newport, 313. Shorthand transcription is enclosed in {curled brackets}.

39. MARC, Colman 5/6. Lacunae are indicated by <angled brackets>; these probably denote a part or whole word in each case. My transcription differs slightly from that in Wesley, *Letters*, ed. Newport and Lloyd, I:58. See Underhill, 'Another Look' for further discussion.

40. He probably knew of this from Addison's account, derived from Famiano Strada's *Prolusiones Academicæ*, in *Spectator*, 241 (6 Dec. 1711).

intriguing displays of Byrom's shorthand prior to its printing: the inscription on the funerary monument for Delamotte's wife Jane (née Carnegie) (d. 1761) is cut entirely in it. The monument can still be seen, not quite in its original position, in St Mary's church, Sculcoates, in whose rebuilding Delamotte as churchwarden played an active part.[41] Ascertaining why shorthand was used would give us a better handle on interpreting the inscription. As most people seeing it would be unable to decipher it, maybe it testified to the existence of a private communication system linking wife and widower, or the wider family. Perhaps the shorthand served to illustrate a lesson about time-saving and economy or, with Jane's identity effectively hidden, about humility.

III

There were manifold reasons for wanting to write shorthand. One was its potential for keeping things secret. Wesley had for some time been interested in writing something that could be read only by the initiated. Seeking advice about how best to keep a diary in 1729, he had asked John, 'What cipher can I make use of?'[42] 'Cipher' was sometimes employed as a synonym for shorthand, given the latter's long associations with cryptography, a field in which Byrom maintained an amateur interest. Secrecy was highlighted in promotion of two systems some early Methodists were familiar with: Weston's and Macaulay's.[43] John Bennet made brief use of Macaulay's shorthand in his letter-book, partly for purposes of secrecy (just as he used a form of cipher in the course of his diary) in transcribing correspondence from John Wesley.[44] Using a published shorthand method for secret writing was not considered a contradiction in terms: Newton, Pepys, and Jefferson all used Shelton's *Tachygraphy* (originating in the 1630s) for confessional or masking

41. See M. E. Ingram, 'The Delamotte Family and a Monument at Sculcoates', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 63 (1991), 139–52.

42. MARC, DDCW 1/2.

43. See James Weston, *Stenography Compleated* (London: The author, 1727), A3r (lifted from remarks on shorthand in the 3rd edn [1695] of Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*); Aulay Macaulay, *The New Short-Hand* (Manchester: Aulay Macaulay, *c.*1750), 7–8, 12.

44. *Letters II: 1740–1755*, ed. Frank Baker [vol. XXVI of *The Works of John Wesley*] (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 391–3, 406. Macaulay realized Wesley's circle were potential patrons, and Methodist sympathies in the Macaulay family seem to explain Bennet's taking it up: see *Mirror of the Soul: The Diary of an Early Methodist Preacher, John Bennet: 1714–1754*, ed. S. R. Valentine (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 2002), 149–50. While Macaulay's orthographically based system lagged well behind the sophistication of Byrom's, the fact that they lived in the same town must have been uncomfortable for Byrom, especially as Macaulay advertised much cheaper tuition rates.

purposes. But a far more restricted, because unprinted, system must have offered greater potential in this respect, notwithstanding Byrom's accrual of scores of pupils by the time Wesley began learning it.

Wesley's correspondence contains numerous examples of Byroms's shorthand being thus deployed. His journals[45] are even better known for using it to hide matters of particular sensitivity. (Paradoxically, 'hide' may be misleading, though. For within a predominantly longhand context, shorthand actually draws attention to itself, particularly when so neatly and distinctly written as it is here, positively inviting a decoding.) This material was left undeciphered in Thomas Jackson's edition (1849), and John Telford exercised discretion in his (1910) by including only some of what Nehemiah Curnock had transcribed for him. Thanks to the recent Kimbrough-Newport edition, where underlining in the transcription helpfully highlights shorthand's occurrence, the content and implications of this material have become better known. Behind it, Wesley's tone ranges from outrage at the impact of coarse slander ('{James Hutton informed me what I could scarce believe, that a memorandum is entered in the Trustees' books of my confining Welch, that I might have an opportunity with his wife}') to intimate retrospection, with tenderness followed the next day by self-criticism ('{At night my dearest Sally, like my guardian angel attended me . . . I condemned my own rashness and almost wished I had never discovered myself}').[46] In the 1736–9 journal, shorthand covers material relating to charges about sexual impropriety in Georgia. In the 1740–51 journal, what it covers had even bigger implications, particularly with regard to relations between the brothers and their attitudes to marriage, masking a far more complex and nuanced picture than used to be presented or assumed. The vast majority of it conceals a meditation '{written to a bosom friend}'; reference to accusations by Catherine Edwin; an extract from an emotional '{letter to a friend}'; an account of a meeting at Lady Huntingdon's with '{that messenger of Satan}', probably Edwin again; confused feelings about Sarah Gwynne and the marriage proposal; John's disarming verdict and Vincent Perronet's more reassuring views about the prospect of '{a provision, in case I married}' and William Holland's and Elizabeth Cart's views on the proposal; rifts with John and related correspondence with Vincent Perronet over the tense winter 1749–spring 1750 period; and further evidence in June 1750 and the first half of

45. Inspection of MARC, DDCW 10/12 shows that the plural is more appropriate than a singular 'journal'.

46. MARC, DDCW 10/12, 190 (first document section), 340 (second document section). My transcriptions of the shorthand differ in several respects from those in Wesley, *Manuscript Journal*, ed. Kimbrough Jr and Newport, I:156, II:527.

1751 of continuing dismay over John's marriage plans and the brothers' further estrangement.[47]

Keeping things private was hardly the most important reason for using shorthand, though. For anyone heedful of Jeremy Taylor's first rule of holy living, shorthand's time-saving potential was probably paramount; as Wesley reminded Sarah, 'Time & paper are precious.'[48] At a time long before mechanized copying and sound-recording, its mastery would enhance habits of efficiency and economy: less time spent on writing, and less paper required. Attendant advantages were reducing time expended on pen cutting and dipping, consequently reducing strain on the writer's neck and shoulders. Contrasting with the Baroque strikings and Rococo flourishings of writing masters' longhand styles, Byrom's shorthand might, furthermore, be seen as in tune with Methodist aesthetic sensibilities in its minimalism of ink or lead on the page and its simplicity and plainness. Its geometric basis and its principle of lineality, requiring that characters did not extend above or below the writing line, helped bestow a print-like neatness and clarity upon scribal work, as seen in Wesley's painstaking transcriptions of the Gospels, Book of Common Prayer, and Young's *Night Thoughts*.[49]

Although never as accomplished a shorthand penman as his brother— witness the larger, unsteadier, more deliberated formations of his character outlines—John Wesley was still using Byrom's shorthand in his private manuscripts just days before his death. Its advanced abbreviation rules would have aided the recording of regularly occurring phrases such as 'religious talk' ({rt.}) and 'necessary talk religious' ({ntr.}). Shorthand helped not just in writing matters up, but also in reviewing them over an extensive period, when combined with longhand: longhand proper names and Arabic numeration stand out against the main-body shorthand. In advertising his system, Byrom highlighted benefits of reducing the labour of transcribing: 'common-placing' and 'copying Letters, &c' accompanied tasks of 'Writing Sermons' and 'taking Tryals'.[50] As well as for taking sermon notes, widely practised in the seventeenth century, shorthand could offer a quick, economical way of disseminating them, for example, in a pre-print publication state: 'You *must* let B. Thornton copy your new Oxford sermon in shorthand, and send it to me for my approbation', Wesley advised John in October 1747.[51] Shelton's estimate in the

47. Ibid. I:4–8, I:21–7, I:40–3, I:156, II:341, II:432–4, II:440, II:527–8, II:530, II:559–60, II:563, II:583–9, II:595–6, II:602–6. In the far shorter third journal section of 1756, shorthand is used only to conceal the names of two itinerant preachers (II:631, II:639).

48. MARC, DDWes 4/51.

49. MARC, DDCW 9/1, 8/6, 8/10. See Underhill, 'Another Look', for more on this area.

50. *Evening Post*, 2265 (30 Jan.–1 Feb. 1724), 4, and numerous subsequent advertisements.

51. Wesley, *Letters II*, ed. Baker, 267. B (= Brother?) Thornton has not been identified. The topic of shorthand and sermon-taking (Methodist and otherwise) deserves further study; for

earlier seventeenth century of one page/hour of shorthand to six of longhand was reiterated by several stenographers well into the eighteenth. For active correspondents, therefore, there were savings to be made in both paper and postage costs: the postal system charged by the sheet, and charged more for letters penned by more than one writer. Byrom bemoaned having to pay double for a family letter 'because of being writ in two hands so visibly'.[52] Here motives of secrecy surface again: shorthand could allow more than one person to contribute to a letter without such easy detection.

The context of copying of a written source can fairly be assumed in the Thornton case, but the scenario of copying from delivered or dictated speech should not be ruled out. Transcribing the spoken word was another important function of shorthand that interested Wesley. His early journal contains two clear instances of material based on shorthand transcripts of speech: First Mate Graham's conversation with Captain Indivine in September 1736, and, back in England, Captain Corney's 'narration' about Peter Appee in January 1737. Other important matter presented as speech might similarly have been derived from shorthand transcription, notably his conversation with Oglethorpe about Mrs Hawkins, and a subsequent conversation with Mrs Welch in April 1736; an exchange with an abrupt-sounding William Law on 9 September 1737; 'conferences' with Archbishop Potter on 14 November 1738 and 24 March 1739; arguments with Thomas Broughton (13 March 1739) and Henry Seward (24–5 March 1740); and interrogation by justices of the peace (15 March 1744). In all these cases Wesley dramatizes the encounter by letting juxtaposed direct speeches prevail; the Kimbrough-Newport edition builds on this in supplying script-like layouts for the interlocutors.

The episode of Captain Corney's narration suggests Wesley required more than one writing attempt to arrive at a record with which he was satisfied: 'This account I made the Captain repeat two or three times, and took it down from him in shorthand.'[53] Even had his writing speed been faster, he could not realistically have looked to Byrom's or other contemporaneous systems for truly verbatim recording. Before nineteenth-century reporting shorthands, the much trumpeted ideal of word-for-word accuracy in rendering speech was a standard promotional conceit of stenographers, one which Byrom in fact avoided making. Byrom took shorthand in churches and law courts himself, but while he initially advertised his system's benefits for such activities, his revamped 1739 subscription

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a starting point, see W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson* (London: SPCK, 1932), 30–8.

52. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, I:235.

53. Wesley, *Manuscript Journal*, ed. Kimbrough Jr and Newport, I:76.

Proposals struck a note of caution, noting that learners might 'in a few Months be able to follow a Speaker', even if it was 'not yet known what is the utmost Expedition to which a Person may arrive in it'; 'following' was not tantamount to verbatim recording.[54] Whether or not it relates to shorthand, Wesley's journal entry 'Transcribed the declarations taken from their mouths' is just one reminder that there is a stage between the immediate 'taking' and its subsequent writing up, a stage within which syntax and vocabulary would be tidied as a matter of course distancing us from the spoken. If shorthand was drawn on in any of the instances noted earlier, it could only have enhanced a sense of actuality, nevertheless: 'I took it down in shorthand, as they were speaking.' And if Charles employed shorthand when he 'took notes' of Stonehouse's 'thundering sermon' on 1 May 1739 or 'took down the case' of accused robber Catherine Hyfield on 8 October 1740, it would have helped him capture for the record more of what had been uttered.[55]

The implications of theft and piracy behind the idea of 'taking speech' are one explanation why stenographers were sometimes viewed with suspicion, even hostility, at this time. There was a telling contrast between the 'long squabble' embroiling Byrom when trying to record John 'Orator' Henley's preaching in December 1727, and the way that the Moravian company 'had no objection' when he 'took out my book after a while and wrote what they said in shorthand' during simultaneous spoken English translation of Zinzendorf's discourse, which he heard in April 1739; a desire to capture and thence broadcast the occasion may have made them actively encourage it.[56]

IV

Plans to print Byrom's shorthand manual had been revived by this time, supported in particular by David Hartley, who was convinced that this would be of major public utility. With some coaxing, Byrom decided that doing so by subscription might again be feasible. The Wesley family had much experience of this type of collective, organized philanthropy, both as instigators and supporters. Byrom later subscribed to Wesley's two-volume *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1749)—the terms set at five shillings, 'half to be paid down, the rest on the Delivery of the Books, in Quires'[57]—and Wesley's actual walk-on

54. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:293n.

55. Wesley, *Manuscript Journal*, ed. Kimbrough Jr and Newport, II:610 (relating to charges against itinerant preacher James Wheatley in June 1751), I:52, I:173, I:280.

56. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, I:290–1, II:242.

57. [Charles Wesley], Dec. 18, 1748. *Proposals for Printing by Subscription, Two Volumes of Hymns and Sacred Poems* [n.p.], single sheet; a copy is glued in MARC, DDCW 8/18.

appearance within a neglected piece of Byrom verse is explained by another subscription context.[58] When it came to considering Byrom's own subscription plans, Wesley must surely have been mindful of the subscription for his father's *Dissertationes in Librum Jobi* (1736).[59] This magisterial work was fairly typical of scholarly subscription books, not least for the wide gap between announcement and delivery; such delays gained subscription a poor reputation, of which Byrom was all too conscious. The difficulties faced by subscription receivers (those who managed the payments) were the subject matter of Samuel junior's poem 'The Bond-Men: A Satyr', 'Occasioned by a Report, that some Persons had enter'd into Bonds not to subscribe for Books'.[60]

In May or June 1737 a *Recommendation of Mr Byrom's Short-Hand* appeared, a four-side folded sheet, on which forty-five former pupils' names were subjoined to a paragraph praising Byrom's system and stressing its avoidance of 'arbitrary' characters.[61] Rather than a formal subscription proposal, it contained a statement of the intention to raise a subscription, 'if Sufficient Encouragement be given thereto'. The mooted price was one guinea, 'low terms' in the opinion of Hartley, who had moved to charge more. Although he was not part of the core group launching the *Recommendation*, Wesley was aware of their activities, and came into contact with Hartley in that connection: this ephemeral document, or a subsequent state of it, is referred to in Byrom's account in July of a conversation about shorthand, amongst other matters: 'I told him [Wesley] upon his asking if I had a copy of Dr. Hartley's paper, No, that the Dr. had it himself, and I went with him thither and the Dr. gave it him.'[62] The separately

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'Dr Byrom 2.6' appears in a short scored-through list of names headed 'Sept 27 Dr R.' at the back of a notebook used in the North of England in the mid-1750s (MARC, DDCW 8/1, rear endpaper pastedown). My interpretation is that Wesley recovered an outstanding half-crown subscription balance from him. For notes on subscriber payments, frequently annotated in shorthand, see DDCW 8/18–20. 'Miss Byrom {given}' appears in a list of subscribers made in 1762 (8/20, fol. 8v), maybe suggesting Wesley received it from one of Byrom's daughters.

58. See John Byrom, *Miscellaneous Poems*, 2 vols (Manchester: J. Harrop, 1773), I:271, showing Wesley acting as subscription intermediary for John Robinson in 1756.

59. The terms of subscription for standard copies were one guinea down followed by half a guinea on completion: *Proposals for Printing by Subscription, Dissertationes & Conjecturae in Librum Jobi* [London: n.p., 1729].

60. Samuel Wesley, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: E. Say, 1736), 245–59. *Poems* was itself published by subscription.

61. Only two copies are known to have survived: one is in the Lewis Walpole Library, and other is in The John Rylands Library. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:160–1n cites a printed copy of the recommendation in Byrom's subsequently destroyed papers with twenty names appended; those were very probably original signatures at a slightly earlier stage.

62. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:158, II:182. Hartley inscribed a copy of his *Observations* to him in June 1753 (MARC, MAW CW 66), which might suggest (surprisingly?) that cordial contact was maintained.

listed network of deliverers of receipts 'signed by *Mr. Byrom*' links the 1737 *Recommendation* to another figure in early Methodism: it concludes with 'the Reverend Mr. *Kinching*; Fellow of *Corpus Christi College*, at Oxford', extolled by Wesley as '{my earliest friend, than life more dear}'.[63] Unlike those of the eight others in this receiver network (who covered Bath, Cambridge, London, and Manchester), Charles Kinchin's name does not appear in the main body list. While Kinchin can be assumed to have known something about the system, this suggests he was not yet sufficiently familiar enough with it to testify to its merits. A letter from Byrom to Wesley in March 1738 shows that if Kinchin had made any further progress in it, he was certainly not adept at—maybe not even aware of—more advanced abbreviation conventions. It also shows Byrom's willingness to entrust Wesley with teaching shorthand on his behalf:

> When you go to Oxford, I beg my hearty respects to all our shorthand friends and others there. I have thought often of writing to Mr. Kenchin about contractions, but the tediousness of explaining that matter by writing, and the ease of doing by conversation, has made me defer it in hopes of meeting with some occasion of doing it the latter way; but as I have had the pleasure of talking with you a little upon that subject, you will be able to give him some satisfaction in that particular, or anything relating to the art[.][64]

Because the *Recommendation* advertised Byrom's shorthand as 'capable of the greatest Contractions, which yet are all formed out of the same Characters, and liable to no Ambiguity' (the former true, the latter arguable), it would have been important to him that Kinchin could promote that aspect to potential subscribers. Byrom might well have had the opportunity for the conversation he desired later that very month, when John Wesley and Kinchin visited Manchester, where they were 'much refreshed and strengthened' by Clayton and 'the rest of our friends here'.[65] Nothing more is known of Kinchin's activities as a subscription receiver. Byrom's *Remains* contains just one further mention of him, at a further remove: a reference to 'Mr. Hutchins . . . poor Kinchin's curate' in 1744, i.e. John Hutchins/Hutchings. Like Kinchin, Hutchins was an Oxford Methodist who later turned Moravian. Byrom referred to him as having been

63. MARC, 1977/565: 'An Epistle to a Friend, July 1743', l.487.

64. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:196.

65. Wesley, *Journal and Diaries I*, ed. Ward and Heitzenrater, 230 (17 Mar. 1738). Charles mentioned this visit to brother Samuel: Wesley, *Manuscript Journal*, ed. Kimbrough Jr and Newport, I:99.

his 'shorthand scholar', and it is very likely that his interest in learning had been sparked by Kinchin or Wesley.[66]

To gain large-scale support, Byrom sought the imprimatur of both English universities. He had established valuable contacts within Cambridge, and in the course of over three decades of regular shorthand teaching stints, built up a strong support base there. Oxford had proved less fruitful terrain. Shortly after launching his first subscription, he paid a visit to Oxford in July 1723 to promote it. There, he looked to Brasenose in particular, a college which had long recruited students from his home region: the young Clayton was to go up to Brasenose two years later. But after Clayton had left his Brasenose fellowship, Byrom had few, if any, contacts in Oxford, so Wesley's offer of promoting shorthand there must have been especially welcome, not least as it was strategically useful given the university's centrality in establishment church culture.

By this time shorthand was often associated with Dissent: according to one turn-of-the century jest, ''Tis wisely done . . . of a Chirurgeon, to live next Door to a Bawdy-house; of a Shorthand Teacher, to a Meeting-house; and one that has a good Hand at Pimping, to place himself near the Court; for then they may expect Business.'[67] Byrom's revived subscription campaign came soon after Dissenting Minister Philip Gibbs emerged as the most important stenographer since Weston, publishing *An Essay Towards a Farther Improvement of Short-Hand* (1736). To promote his system, Gibbs could draw readily on a support network of Dissenters; the same was true of his *An Historical Account of Compendious and Swift Writing* (1736), which numbered Isaac Watts amongst its subscribers.[68] Shorthand was to become widely taught at the Dissenting Academies, influenced by Philip Doddridge's promulgation of an adaptation of Jeremiah Rich's seventeenth-century system,[69] and the links between Nonconformity and shorthand were subsequently reinforced in publications by John Angell, whose printed 'Forms of Prayer' by eminent Dissenters were claimed to have been

66. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:374. In writing 'poor', Byrom was either lamenting Kinchin's early death, or contrasting him with his curate: he informed his wife that Hutchins had 'married a fortune'.

67. *The Fourth and Last Volume of the Works of Mr. Tho. Brown*, 3rd edn (London: Sam. Briscoe, 1715), 121.

68. A subscribers' list is bound in the British Library's copy: 1043.1.12 (1).

69. In a letter revealing the use of another system by an early Methodist, Doddridge wrote to Whitefield on 23 Dec. 1738, 'If he [John, or possibly Charles Wesley] have learnt Mr [James] Hervey's shorthand, he may, to save time, make use of it to me, for I am perfectly acquainted with it and taught the person from whom good Mr. Hervey learnt it.' See Graham C. G. Thomas, 'George Whitefield and Friends: The Correspondence of Some Early Methodists [Part 3]', *Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/ National Library of Wales Journal*, 27/1 (1991), 65–96, 73.

taken verbatim in shorthand,[70] and Peter Annet, whose manual *Expeditious Penmanship* (*c.*1750) contained a prefatory poem by the young Joseph Priestley. While he had Nonconformist friends and supporters, Byrom would have found an automatic association between shorthand and Dissent alarming and worth challenging. He was seeking at this time to build further support for his own system within the established Church. In a lengthy shorthand letter written in 1738 he told Hartley '{I think that Dr John Potter Archbishop of Canterbury should be made acquainted with our recommendations that he make suitable representation to his brethren for the benefit of the clergy}.'[71]

Wesley's willingness to involve himself in the project is revealed by a shorthand letter of 25 September 1737 in which he informed Byrom:

> Next week I return to Oxford, and will then find time to look about for subscribers. Between twenty and thirty have given me in their names. The printing your proposals would bring in great numbers, and give me an opportunity of trying my interest before I leave England. Dr Richardson . . . and others of your Cambridge friends, take it a little ill they hear nothing of the proposal from you. People, I much believe, would come generally into it, was there any time, however distant, mentioned, wherein the thing would probably be published . . . By your leave and written communication I would immediately begin to take subscriptions. My very humble service to all friends at Manchester, Mr Clayton in particular.[72]

Wesley penned this at the quarters of Byrom's friend, merchant William Chaddock. In contrast with the other names mentioned who were amongst the 'known gentlem[e]n' supporting Byrom's shorthand, Chaddock was 'not a known person',[73] but was nevertheless listed by Byrom as a subscription receiver at his London warehouse. He had attended the same Manchester shorthand club as Clayton, and he shared Byrom's interest in mystic writers. Chaddock also wrote to Byrom on the same piece of paper as Wesley, or on a covering enclosure.

Chaddock's section of the correspondence (not included in *Letters I*) was readily distinguished from Wesley's because on this occasion he eschewed

70. John Angell, *An Essay on Prayer . . .* (London: The author, 1760), 225–304. Angell published *Stenography; or Short-Hand Improved* in 1758.

71. Letter from Byrom to Hartley, 15 Apr. 1738 (property of the Hartley Russell family): transcribed in Underhill, 'John Byrom: Sources & Shorthand', 240. One of the two known surviving copies of Byrom's 1739 proposals is at Lambeth Palace Library: YC911.30.11a.

72. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:188, the source of Wesley, *Letters*, ed. Newport and Lloyd, I:62.

73. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:222.

shorthand for longhand: 'If you wonder how I came to write in Mr. W's letter, know that he let me copy the verses inclosed; and I write at large (alias longhand) to cover the shorthand and prevent our peepers in the posthouse from opening it, which is constantly done when the shorthand is perceivable through.'[74] This aside alludes to paranoia about anti-government plotting having justified interception of correspondence by the authorities: shorthand occasionally came to the attention of Walpole's Deciphering Branch, alert to its potential as a medium for secrecy.[75] While the Wesleys' links with Byrom and his Manchester friends are highly pertinent to the complex and contested topic of early Methodist political allegiance, it would be wrong to think Byrom's shorthand would have been associated with sedition in their minds; its broader textual community had long embraced Hanoverian Whigs, after all. Nevertheless, it might be noted that Byrom's Jacobite circle had made use of it in the 1720s to keep under cover their involvement in pamphleteering against the erastian Whig Bishop Samuel Peploe.[76]

The rest of Chaddock's letter is highly interesting for revealing Chaddock's own religiosity and his desire to communicate his admiration of Wesley. To return to the letter he 'covered': Wesley's intelligence about members of Byrom's Cambridge circle might just as well have been gleaned in London as in Cambridge. 'Dr Richardson' was the antiquary William Richardson, who learned shorthand in April 1735 before becoming master of Emmanuel College. His surprising elevation to Cambridge's vice-chancellorship in 1737 was potentially useful to Byrom, as the approach eventually made to him the following February demonstrates. The identities of the other 'Cambridge friends' of Wesley are not known. If they were Richardson's associates, they probably formed part of a high-Tory network of senior fellows. The possibility that instead they were younger men belonging to a circle of Cambridge Methodists cannot be ruled out, but it was some years before Byrom's friendship with Francis Okely was established, and Okely is not known to have had knowledge of shorthand. (Nevertheless, the fact that the 'first' Cambridge Methodist, William Delamotte, was brother of the Byrom system user Charles Delamotte should be noted.)

Wesley was writing at the time when Byrom, on further advice, had postponed the subscription project until the winter season and had returned home. While he was aware that his eagerness might be irksome, Wesley's implicit

74. Ibid. II:189. The 'verses' were by John Gambold.

75. See Kenneth Ellis, *The Post Office in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Administrative History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 60–77.

76. On this and Byrom's Jacobitism, see Timothy Underhill, '"What have I to do with the ship?": John Byrom and Eighteenth-Century Manchester Politics, with New Verse Attributions', *Manchester Region History Review*, 17 (2008), 95–119.

wish that there should be no prevarication, and that Byrom should be more businesslike, chimes with the sentiments of the Hartley-centred group, which reconvened in September in Byrom's absence. Hartley reiterated the need for publication, enjoining Byrom 'to alter, expunge, add, or any way correct the proposals last drawn up'. But by the end of 1737 Byrom had done little more than circulate drafts amongst Manchester friends who advised against bookseller involvement, and it was to be over two years before proper subscription proposals were published, containing a fuller recommendation of the system. Absence of a journal in 1738 limits our knowledge of that year's progress in 'subscriptionary events', but a letter from Chetham's librarian Robert Thyer to Byrom in March, by when he was back in London, implies Byrom had bemoaned their slowness. Tellingly, Thyer brought 'the visiting of a Methodist, or some other original genius' into his teasing sketch of a typical day in his friend's life at the time, which he depicted as beset by problems and conflicts caused by subscription raising.[77]

Eventually a full set of *Proposals for Printing by Subscription, A New Method of Short-Hand for General Use* was finalized by late August 1739, and printed by William Bowyer.[78] This eight-page document comprised a general introduction signed by Byrom, followed by the first paragraph of the 1737 *Recommendations*, then a 'General Description' of the shorthand composed mainly by Hartley. Without betraying any secrets, some ways in which Byrom's shorthand character was 'perfectly regular and beautiful and . . . the shortest possible' were sketched, and its diverse applications outlined with accompanying claims about ease of learning. The eighty-two signatories to the 'General Description', Wesley among them, included all but two of those signing the 1737 *Recommendations*; Wesley's name is one of the vast majority in the list asterisked to indicate endorsement of both the recommendation and the description sections. The proportion of recommendations from clergymen increased by 1739. Some of the eminent figures in whose company Wesley appeared were playwright Benjamin Hoadly, astronomer Robert Smith, Greek scholar John Taylor, and barrister and Foundling Hospital philanthropist Taylor White. These and the other recommenders should be distinguished from subscribers proper, but it can be assumed that the former would in turn have subscribed. Bold predictions by Byrom's friends two years earlier expected the project to be one of the major subscriptions of the day, but although assorted overtures were made to well-placed potential patrons, Wesley's report of his 'twenty or thirty names'

77. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:186, II:183, II:198.
78. Repr. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:289–95n.

is actually the largest known indication of support—and even this cannot be taken as evidence of actual subscription.

In April 1741 the Hartley group undertook raising further subscriptions in return for Byrom's assurance of a book's imminence, and a new impression of the *Proposals* was published that month. Apart from one new signatory, the names list was identical to that in the 1739 *Proposals.* Press notices and a considerably expanded run of *Proposals* later that year were further indications that a very ambitious project was envisaged. So was the expansion in subscription receivers, from just the three names of Byrom, Chaddock, and Hartley in 1739 to a wider network together with five booksellers based in London, Cambridge, Bath, and Tunbridge Wells. Again, a link between early Methodists and subscription raising emerges: one of these new bookseller receivers was James Hutton, with whom Wesley was lodging at the time of his first known meeting with Byrom.

Byrom for some time had been keen to engage Hutton in his project, as shown by his account of an animated encounter with the Hartley group in February 1739. By now he had started to back down from earlier opposition to bookseller involvement, but once more felt unfairly attacked for prevarication, justifying himself with a reference to Whitefield's second journal, which he had recently been reading:

> Dr. H. said it would not do without my stirring, and that we must have the bookseller to take in . . . he named Mr. Harding (his bookseller or printer I fancy), but I told him if we must have a bookseller it must be Mr. Hutton, because he was a scholar, and that I would rather pay him something more than others if there should be occasion, upon which all difficulties, the Dr. said, were over on that point, that I must see Mr. Hutton immediately; . . . he often said, Well come, this is losing time . . . and I quoted Mr. Whitfield, the mower losing no time while he was whetting his scythe.[79]

Assorted references to encounters with 'the shorthand bookseller' Hutton and visits to his family and premises suggest some affinity between the two men. Hutton was Byrom's 'chief intelligencer' about Whitefield's preaching activities, and proved useful for procuring him further contacts within Moravian circles.[80]

Byrom did not live to see his campaign come to fruition. The spreading and decentralizing of its receiver control in the 1740s were counter-productive in

79. Ibid. II:222. Byrom alluded to Whitefield's 'second journal' entry for 14 Oct. 1738, quoting from Matthew Henry's *Exposition* commentary on Ecclesiastes 10: *George Whitefield's Journals* (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1960), 169. Writing to his wife a few days earlier, he quoted Whitefield's account of his Dec. 1738 visit to Manchester: Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:218.

80. Ibid. II:249, II:256.

weakening the thrust of active subscription management, although through a Parliamentary Act in 1742 he secured a twenty-one-year period protecting rights over the system. His death three months after that period precipitated his family's consent to publication by a circle of former friends and pupils, who had good grounds to fear piracy if they delayed. Another set of subscription *Proposals* duly appeared in April 1765, with wording and signatory list largely unchanged from the 1741 *Proposals*' 'Description', and with the addition of seven new names.[81] Together with the other signatories, 'The Rev. Mr. *Charles Wesley*' was thence carried forward to the recommenders' list within the manual's prefatory material.[82] It was not until 1767 that this was published, based on unfinished manuscripts, abridged and conflated by Byrom's editors. Its title page bore a watchpaper-like device illustrating the ellipsis-based properties of his alphabet's curvilinear characters.[83] Underneath it, the appearance of Byrom's contracted family motto 'Frustra Per Plura'—'a shorthand motto . . . the meaning of which is that it is vain to use more means to bring any thing about when fewer will do'—was somewhat ironic.[84]

V

Wesley's esteem for the system is shown not just by his long continuing personal use of it but also his teaching it to others. In July 1737 Byrom had learned that Wesley 'was to go to one Mr. Hooke in Hertfordshire, a clergyman that was of Trinity College, to teach him shorthand, for he would learn if my book was not to come out in a twelvemonth, which I told him that it would not'.[85] Assuming he did so, at an early stage he was part of an elite and trusted group of Byromites teaching on Byrom's behalf on condition that they did not compromise the system's security. The arrangements for teaching Hooke are not clear, but Wesley's understanding of the need for discretion can be assumed from references in letters to Walter Sellon in the mid-1750s. Sellon appears to have learned shorthand from an unapproved source, and Wesley commented on his limited skills,

81. *A General Description of Dr. Byrom's New Method of Short-Hand* (Manchester: [Joseph Harrop], 1765). The sole known copy of this single sheet is in Senate House Library, London: CSC 907.

82. John Byrom, *The Universal English Short-Hand* (Manchester, Joseph Harrop, 1767), ix.

83. Thomas Boys, 'Byrom's Short-Hand', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. (1857), IV:292–3, claimed that it concealed a tiny portrait of Whitefield: 'His venerable wig is distinctly traceable, and a good magnifier will show even the cast in his eye.' Whitefield is not known to have used shorthand, but it is noteworthy that Thomas Chatterton referred to his 'shorthand saints' poised to take a sermon as he delivered it in 1769: Donald S. Taylor, ed., *Complete Works* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), I:372.

84. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, I:78–9.

85. Ibid. II:182. This was John Hooke (*c.*1704–53), vicar of Hatfield Regis.

implying that because his teaching was unauthorized, Byrom never received his rightful fee. To assist Sellon he floated the possibility of remedial assistance: 'You are a poor Writer of Shorthand. Perhaps I may teach you better, when we meet, on Dr Birom's condition, y^{t} you purchase a Book when published. Whoever taught you your scraps was a Thief & a Robber.' So even after the second subscription project's stagnation, Wesley still expected a printed manual to appear. Conscious of the risk of the system being leaked in the meantime, in a subsequent letter he exhorted Sellon to 'Keep yr scraps of Shorthand to yrself.'[86]

It is conceivable that Wesley's fondness for the system also lay behind its use in correspondence by Edward Perronet in 1753, and its more extensive use by John Russell.[87] This might likewise explain its use, albeit brief and basic, by John Jones in writing to Wesley; Jones's painstaking vowel dotting suggests a far from confident or practised stenographer.[88] Shorthand featured on the syllabus for the 'sixth class' at Kingswood School at its foundation;[89] as Jones was the school's first headmaster and one of its language teachers, the case for the prescribed system being Byrom's is strengthened.[90] Wesley very likely taught shorthand to Sarah Gwynne when they were engaged, signing off a letter to her in August 1748 'Don't forget yr shorthand.' A few years after their marriage he wrote in a similar vein in a coda penned in the clearly formed and heavily vowelled shorthand outlines one would employ if writing to a relative novice: {If you desire to oblige me, go on with your shorthand and music. You will never be more at leisure for both}, and a few months later he implored her again not to 'neglect' her shorthand (along with her music and prayers).[91] In the later 1770s he claimed shorthand formed part of an improving course of study he devised for young Miss Morgan, whom he cited as an exemplar for his daughter

86. Letters to Walter Sellon, 14 Dec. 1754 and 4 Feb. 1755, Drew University Methodist Library, via the ATLA Digital Resources Initiative, <https://www2.atla.com/digitalresources/#drew> accessed 1 Jan. 2013.

87. See Wesley, *Letters II*, ed. Baker, 524 (Perronet); National Art Library London, MS 1925/1838; 1929/605–612, 630–631, 633–634 (Russell).

88. MARC, DDPr 2/29.

89. Henry D. Rack, ed., *The Methodist Societies: The Minutes of Conference* [vol. X of *The Works of John Wesley*] (Nashville: Abingdon, 2011), 218 n. 656.

90. By the early nineteenth century Byrom's system became more widely disseminated via adaptations aimed at a growing vocational and schools market, notably those by Thomas Molineux; it was probably from a Molineux manual that Methodist youth attending Woodhouse Grove School learned it. See J. T. Slugg, *Woodhouse Grove School: Memorials and Reminiscences* (London: T. Woolmer, 1885), 105. Molineux taught the Methodist waverer Joseph Nightingale (1775–1839), who advocated the superiority of Byrom's system over later rivals.

91. MARC, DDCW 5/5, 5/81, 5/68.

Sally to follow, with the strong implication that he hoped Sally would continue the family tradition by learning shorthand too.[92]

Like his brother, Wesley wrote shorthand into his old age. That he could even do so on horseback to draft hymns[93] shows its value to him as a medium for readily capturing thoughts, and his continuing employment of it for endorsing or drafting letters proved helpful in more routine matters. But these and assorted other applications for shorthand noticed earlier do not fully explain his earlier keenness that Byrom's system should be promoted.

To get to the heart of this we might go back to their first documented meeting in 1737, when Byrom reported that Wesley

> told me that he was to go again to Georgia, that he had several books written in shorthand, which had been of very great use to him in America; that Mr. Ingham had applied the universal alphabet (which I had given to his brother when he was at Manchester) to the Indian language, and that it did very well for all the letters and sounds which were to be met with in that language; that Mr. Ingham had composed a catalogue of half the words in their language already; that he himself had taken down the conferences which had been between the Indians and the English in shorthand[.][94]

This is corroborated by Wesley's own account nearly a year earlier: 'I was at court while the Creek Indians had an audience of Mr Oglethorpe, which I took down (as several afterwards) in shorthand.'[95] Byrom's reference to Wesley's visit to his lodgings a second time that day reveals he was privy to shorthand material which may even have been the very source of this account:

> Mr. Charles Westley came and drank tea with me, and had his book again of shorthand, Georgian matters, in which I found many odd things and strange accounts of them, and could not tell what to make of Mr. Oglethorpe, who understands, as he says, St. Paul about celibacy so oddly, would not allow it to be so much as a permission, and Charles himself talked, I thought prettily at last.[96]

92. MARC, DDWes 426.

93. See Henry Moore, *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M*, 2 vols (London: John Kershaw, 1824–5), II:369.

94. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:171. 'His brother' is ambiguous. I assume that John Wesley is meant, but this conceivably refers to John, Joseph, or William Ingham.

95. Wesley, *Manuscript Journal*, ed. Kimbrough Jr and Newport, I:44.

96. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, II:172.

The description of Byrom's alphabet as 'universal' draws attention to hopes that some Byromites held for it in the longer term, hopes quite at odds with shorthand's secret uses noticed earlier: they thought it might facilitate communication across countries and cultures. I believe that a sense that shorthand might therefore have its part to play in evangelizing would have informed Wesley's keenness that Byrom should revive his plans at this time to publish it.

Several earlier language projectors' attempts at constructing artificial, universal, or 'philosophical' languages, often motivated by concerns about religion and about trade, were influenced by stenography. Interest in such schemes may have waned in the first half of the eighteenth century, but the broader agenda remained; in Geneva the mathematician Jean-Louis Calandrin was excited to hear about Byrom's system because of a 'particular taste for shorthand deciphering and a universal character and language'.[97] Byrom's alphabet was never conceived as what linguists called a 'real' character: ideographic aspects of earlier systems were quite alien to it. But if far less theoretically sophisticated, his shorthand was more writable, readable and legible—quite simply, *usable*—than the products of the earlier language planners, sufficiently so for Hartley to enthuse 'If we were possessed of a philosophical Language it ought to be denoted by this character, *mutatis mutandis*.'[98] Byrom's posthumously published manual's title merits citation in full because it highlights his concerns in developing it: *The Universal English Short-Hand; or the Way of Writing English, in the most Easy, Concise, Regular, and Beautiful Manner, Applicable to any other Language, But particularly adjusted to our own*. He hoped to establish his method as 'the common Shorthand of our country', even a universal script system; it was envisaged in 1736 that in a decade Byrom writers would be able to 'lay aside longhand' altogether. While Byrom had a more realistic understanding than some of his supporters and rivals of the limitations of his system, he still thought his shorthand might aid 'foreigners, for . . . it is very feasible for another language'. Ingham's reported success with using the 'universal alphabet' to record a Muskogean tongue must have been gratifying and inspiring.[99]

Sharing the motives of some of the seventeenth-century language planners, a now very rare pamphlet published anonymously in 1741 promoted a 'New Method of Reading, Writing, and Printing, all Languages in Short-Hand, by a New and Universal Alphabet; and of Learning all Arts and Sciences, by a Real Character and Philosophical Language'. Its author's overriding concern stemmed from missionary activity: to be able to print the Bible in all the languages of the world (including those which had never been written down), but saving time and

97. Ibid. II:191.

98. David Hartley, *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations*, 2 vols (London and Bath: S. Richardson et al., 1749), I:318.

99. Byrom, *Remains*, ed. Parkinson, I:220, II:8, II:324.

cost in casting type by employing the same script system for all. The pamphlet incorporated what purported to be a 'Collation of Mr. *Byrom*'s and Mr. *Weston*'s Short-Hand Alphabets, &c' (although this 'Collation' bears limited resemblance to either system). More investigation remains to be done on this fascinating, bibliographically complex publication. That it was surely connected with Wesley's world, as well as Byrom's, is revealed by its title: *The Methodist*.[100]

100. *The Methodist* (London: n.p., 1741), quotations from subtitle, 36. I have examined the British Library's copy, 1043.a.61, seemingly incomplete. *STC* lists only one other, at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, not yet examined.

SECESSION AND REVIVAL

Louth Free Methodist Church in the 1850s

D. W. BEBBINGTON

ABSTRACT

At Louth in Lincolnshire there emerged in the 1850s a Free Methodist Church. Wesleyans had been hugely successful in the area, but there was internal opposition to Methodist Conference policies. The corn merchant J. B. Sharpley led a secession from Wesleyanism, contributing ideas about the rights of lay leaders. The new denomination gathered support from tradesmen and shopkeepers, and made efforts to recruit waverers. Its members became keen on entire sanctification and turned ardently to revivalism, but eventually, in 1859, the difficulty of securing ministers dictated merger with the United Methodist Free Churches.

Keywords: Secession; revival; Louth; Lincolnshire; Methodism

A grand new chapel was opened in the Lincolnshire market town of Louth on 31 December 1854. The visiting preacher spoke on 'The Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ', dwelling on the manifestation of the Saviour's power. At the conclusion of the sermon, however, the speaker turned his attention to his hearers in order to extend a blessing to the 'preachers, leaders, officers, and people, connected with this sanctuary'. '*Your spot*', he told them with emphasis, '*has been the very Crimea of religious conflict and agitation.*'[1] They were telling words. The country had been at war with Russia for almost two years, with the Crimean peninsula the main theatre of struggle. The battles of Balaclava and Inkerman had

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1. *Revivalist* [hereafter *R*] (London and Louth), Feb. 1855, 23 (James Bromley).

taken place within the previous two months. Louth, the preacher was suggesting, had been the scene of similar hand-to-hand fighting, but between Methodists. The preacher was James Bromley, a Wesleyan preacher who had been active in the internal disputes of the connexion twenty years before.[2] The context of his sermon in 1854 was the greatest convulsion suffered by Wesleyan Methodism in its history, the disruption over reform in the middle years of the century. The audience consisted of members of a circuit that seceded in that revolt against the Wesleyan authorities around Jabez Bunting to form a distinct ecclesiastical body, the Louth Free Methodist Church. It remained an entirely separate Church for the rest of the 1850s. This study is an analysis of the emergence and work of this remarkable body. For contemporary Methodism its appearance on the religious landscape could seem an episode as momentous as the Crimean War for Britain.

The field has been helpfully explored by previous historians. David Gowland's *Methodist Secessions* examines a series of agitations against the policies of Jabez Bunting and his circle who dominated the Wesleyan Conference between the 1820s and the 1850s. Gowland's central concern, however, is with three case-studies in Lancashire, and thus he does not touch on Lincolnshire.[3] Reg Ward's *Religion and Society in England, 1790–1850* traverses some of the same ground, culminating in a chapter on the schism precipitated by the reform crisis around 1850. Again, however, Ward's evidence, though extending to East Anglia, is drawn chiefly from the north of England and does not embrace Louth. Conversely, the telling study of south Lindsey, the part of Lincolnshire containing Louth, between 1825 and 1875 by James Obelkevich called *Religion and Rural Society*, while discussing the Methodism of the area, deliberately excludes coverage of the reformers of around 1850.[4] William Leary's overview of *Lincolnshire Methodism*, on the other hand, does give a brief account of the creation of the Louth Free Methodist Church; and Oliver Beckerlegge's short book on the United Methodist Free Churches, the denomination that the Louth reformers eventually joined in 1859, includes mention of the amalgamation of the two.[5] There is a valuable essay by P. W. Robinson in the journal of the Lincolnshire Methodist Historical Society for 1977 that sets out the

2. W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790–1850* (London: Batsford, 1972), 161–2.

3. D. A. Gowland, *Methodist Secessions: The Origins of Free Methodism in Three Lancashire Towns* (Manchester: For the Chetham Society by Manchester University Press, 1979).

4. James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825–1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

5. William Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism* (Buckingham: Barracuda Books, 1988), 80–2; Oliver A. Beckerlegge, *The United Methodist Free Churches: A Study in Freedom* (London: Epworth Press, 1957), 71.

broad parameters of what happened.[6] The most useful account, however, is by Rod Ambler in his volume of the history of Lincolnshire on religion between 1660 and 1900. Ambler places the development in the broad context of the county's Methodist history.[7] Yet there is scope for further examination. The Lincolnshire County Record Office contains not only preaching plans, minutes, and similar basic records, but also documents drawn up by the reformers in the course of their creation of the Free Methodist Church. Even more revealingly, it holds manuscript notebooks on the crisis written by two of the Wesleyan ministers resolutely hostile to reform. Here all the failings of their opponents are mercilessly exposed. Furthermore the British Library possesses a set of the monthly magazine issued by a leading figure in the Church throughout its existence. The magazine's title, *The Revivalist*, points to a central preoccupation of many of the Free Methodists. So there are ample resources for a fuller scrutiny of the Louth Free Methodist Church.

Louth, a town in north-east Lincolnshire within fifteen miles of the North Sea coast, stands on the banks of the River Lud. This relatively small stream nevertheless made a noisy impression on the early Anglo-Saxon settlers because the name of river and town alike means 'loud'. Laid out in the eleventh century by the first Norman bishop of Lincoln, the town prospered from the wool trade during the Middle Ages. The resulting wealth enabled the inhabitants to build a sumptuous parish church dedicated to St James, crowned in the early sixteenth century by a fine spire that is often the visitor's chief memory of the town. In 1536 the townsfolk participated in the Lincolnshire Rising against Henry VIII's religious innovations, but the Reformation subsequently put down deep roots. Nevertheless the vicar from 1780 to 1830, Wolley Jolland, was no more than an amiable eccentric, so surrendering some of the traditional hold of the Church of England on the townspeople. Enclosure in 1801 reinforced that process by allotting more than a third of the town lands to the vicar, together with the Anglican master of the grammar school, and so creating significant resentment. Partly as a result, the town proved a favourable environment for the growth of Methodism. The most marked development of the early nineteenth century, however, was sharp population growth, from just over 4,000 in 1801 to well

6. P. W. Robinson, 'Louth and the Rise of Free Methodism', *Lincolnshire Methodist Historical Society* 3/1 (1977), 2–9. There is also William Leary and D. N. Robinson, *A History of Methodism in Louth* (Louth: Louth Methodist Church, 1982).

7. R. W. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities of Lincolnshire, 1660–1900* [vol. IX of *A History of Lincolnshire*] (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 2000).

over 10,000 fifty years later. By the 1850s Louth had become the third largest town in the county after Lincoln and Boston.[8]

Why did the Free Methodist Church come about in the town? A catalogue of the causes must begin with the prosperity of Louth. The town stands at the eastern edge of the Wolds, a broad chalk ridge five to eight miles in width stretching forty-five miles from Spilsby in the south to Barton on Humber in the north. During the earlier years of the nineteenth century this area had been turned into a showpiece of high farming. Large farms, modern equipment, and intelligent use of crop rotation had dramatically increased the production of wheat, barley, oats, turnips, wool, and mutton.[9] On the other side of the town, toward the North Sea, there lies the Marsh, a low-lying region much like the Fens in appearance. The part of the Marsh closer to the town, consisting of poorly drained clay land, was in the nineteenth century much less profitable than the Wolds, but in the Outer Marsh along the coast there were many smallholders making good incomes from cattle fattening.[10] Louth was recognized, according to a directory of 1856, as 'the emporium of a rich grazing and agricultural district'.[11] Its role had been enhanced when, in 1848, the Boston to Grimsby railway opened a station in the town.[12] Carriers plied regularly between the villages and the town, taking poultry, eggs, fruit, and dairy products to the urban population and bringing back goods ordered from the shops, so that there was a tight bond between Louth and its hinterland.[13] The town displayed its growing wealth ostentatiously. In 1853 an imposing Corn Exchange was opened, boasting a figure of Ceres bearing a wheatsheaf over the entrance. In the same year the Mechanics' Institute, begun in 1834, acquired the town's former assembly rooms as its headquarters. A new town hall was erected in 1854 and in the following year over £1,500 was expended on paving and lighting the main streets.[14] Louth was pulsating with energy and self-confidence. It was no accident that the Free Methodist Church emerged in precisely these years. It too was an embodiment of the spirit of progress, improvement, and civic pride.

Methodism was unusually strong in the area. Lincolnshire, the home county of John Wesley, had proved especially susceptible to his message. He had frequently visited Louth, finding by 1766 that earlier mob resistance had

8. Richard Gurnham, *A History of Louth* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., 2007), 1–131.

9. Charles K. Rawding, *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century*, Studies in the History of Lincolnshire, 1 (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 2001), 1–27.

10. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 6.

11. *White's Directory of 1856,* quoted in Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, 37.

12. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 131.

13. Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, 44.

14. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 131, 135, 127.

faded away.[15] The town became head of its own circuit in 1799.[16] In 1808 a sizeable chapel was erected in Eastgate, the principal thoroughfare of the town, and in 1835 it was enlarged to hold 1,600 people.[17] In the following year there were as many as 700 Wesleyan members living in the town alone.[18] In 'point of number, intelligence and respectability', according to the superintendent minister, the Louth congregation was 'certainly not exceeded, and perhaps hardly equalled by any in the County'.[19] In addition there were sixty-six regular preaching places in the circuit with a total (including those on trial) of 2,333 members. The demands on the three travelling preachers were immense. In 1836 nine villages on the circuit plan never received a visit from the preachers and they attended six more places only once a quarter for the distribution of class tickets. Consequently, the degree of pastoral contact was slight. A gulf was emerging between pastors and people. Although a fourth preacher was added to the circuit staff that year and subsequently maintained, numbers of members continued to grow, so that personal rapport between the preachers and many in their flocks was minimal.[20] Underlying the great success of Methodism in the circuit there was potential alienation, based on a sense of neglect, among the people against the travelling preachers. These embers of antipathy could be fanned into a flame of agitation when the conditions were right.

Despite the overwhelmingly agricultural character of the town and neighbourhood, industry was not absent from Louth. A canal was opened in 1770 linking the town to Tetney Haven on the coast, so greatly enhancing facilities for the despatch of corn and wool and the receipt of coal and household goods.[21] The canal made Louth a busier port than the nearby coastal town of Grimsby.[22] An industrial suburb sprang up around the canal basin on the eastern edge of Louth. There were two shipbuilding yards, a bone-crushing mill, and a number of oilcake factories. In the 1850s Louth boasted six agricultural machine makers, five iron and brass foundries, and four lime-burning businesses.[23]

15. Ibid. 113.

16. T. Galland Hartley, ed., *Hall's Circuits and Ministers* (London: Methodist Publishing House, [1914]), 335.

17. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 139.

18. William Horton to Jabez Bunting, 29 July 1836, in W. R. Ward, ed., *Early Victorian Methodism: The Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 1830–1858* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 155.

19. Ibid. 156.

20. William Horton to Jabez Bunting, in Ward, ed., *Early Victorian Methodism*, 154–6, especially 154 n. 4.

21. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 108.

22. Neil Wright, 'Transport in the Wolds', in D. N. Robinson, ed., *The Lincolnshire Wolds* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2009), 57.

23. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 128, 131.

The commercial and industrial development had a direct bearing on Methodism. Not only did many of the members at Eastgate Chapel work for these firms, but also the circuit decided to cater for them by erecting a second chapel close to the canal. This was Riverhead Chapel, an unpretentious single-storey structure, opened in 1849.[24] Riverhead rapidly acquired an unsavoury reputation with the travelling preachers who represented Conference authority. In 1852 one of them judged the chapel to be 'A failure, & a nest of Radicals'.[25] The bulk of the inhabitants of the area decided to stay away from the chapel in protest against Conference policies. In October 1853 William Nicholson, a coal porter of Riverhead, taunted the assigned preacher about the tiny congregation there until the man left without delivering his sermon, and Nicholson challenged a second regular preacher in another chapel a fortnight later.[26] In the following year Nicholson was serving as an exhorter in Free Methodism.[27] Three local preachers from Riverhead became what the Wesleyan ministers classified as troublemakers. One of them, Thomas Topham, was labelled 'one of the Fa[the]rs of Agitation'.[28] The local Wesleyan authorities decided to suppress the nuisance by closing Riverhead Chapel.[29] The building was dismantled in 1854 and transferred to Theddlethorpe, a village needing a Wesleyan presence.[30] It is clear that Riverhead, with its less settled commercial and industrial population, was a centre of reforming zeal. It provided some of the impetus for schism.

Politics also undergirded the Methodist troubles of mid-century. Lincolnshire, traditionally a Whig county, was divided by the Reform Act into two separate constituencies. At the 1832 general election the new North Lincolnshire division that included Louth returned two Liberals.[31] Emboldened by the Reform Act, a group of more advanced Liberals determined to press new issues to the fore. In 1834 a committee was formed to resist church rates, rousing sympathy among the many Methodists who did not see why they should

24. R[obert] Bond, 'Louth Circuit Memorandums', in 'Volume of Manuscript Memoranda and Printed Pamphlets, 1853–1858' [hereafter 'MM'], Lincolnshire County Record Office, Lincoln, Meth B/Louth [uncatalogued].

25. J[ames] Loutit, 'The Louth Case, 1852', [hereafter 'LC'], Lincolnshire County Record Office, Lincoln, Meth B/Louth/32/5, f. 30. Although the author signed himself 'Loutitt', on other occasions he and others gave his surname as 'Loutit'.

26. MM, South Willingham, 23 Oct. 1853; River Head, 9 Oct. 1853.

27. *Louth Circuit Plan of the Free Methodist Preachers, from April 2nd, to July 30th, 1854*, Lincolnshire County Record Office, Lincoln, Meth B/Louth.

28. LC, f. 24. The others were W. Phillipson and Michael Clipsham: LC, ff. 30, [13].

29. LC, f. 30.

30. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 172.

31. J. Vincent and M. Stenton, eds, *McCalmont's Parliamentary Poll Book: British Election Results, 1832–1918* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1971), 175.

pay for their parish church as well as for their own chapel.[32] The official policy of the Wesleyan Conference, however, was to have nothing to do with such radical causes, and so tensions arose within Methodism.[33] When the Municipal Corporation Reform Act was carried in 1835, the new Louth council appointed the organizer of the anti-church rate campaign as its first town clerk.[34] A rising Wesleyan corn merchant, John Booth Sharpley, soon became a prominent figure on the council, serving three times as mayor.[35] Sharpley was a resolute Liberal in county elections.[36] In 1841, when there was a keenly contested general election, he was a champion of the Liberal candidate. The official Conference policy of 'no politics', on the other hand, did not prevent its leaders from endorsing the Conservative cause.[37] The travelling preachers, taking their cue from Conference, were usually strong Conservative sympathizers. There can be little doubt that at least one of the Louth ministers, James Loutit, was among them.[38] In the constituency as a whole, twenty-seven Wesleyans cast both their votes for the Liberal whereas twenty-five supported the two Conservative candidates.[39] The almost equal split reveals a deep fissure within Methodism, separating the ministers from some of their leading laymen such as Sharpley. The next contested election, in 1852, when two Conservatives were returned because of strong protectionist feeling among the farmers, inflamed old political antipathies at the very time the Wesleyan reformers were edging toward separation.[40] Partisanship in secular politics fostered the growing division within Methodism.

Ecclesiastical politics, however, formed a far more important factor. Resentment had gradually built up against the tight control exercised over the Wesleyan connexion by Jabez Bunting, officially a secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, but in reality the dominant decision-maker in denominational affairs. In 1834–5 Wesleyanism was racked by controversy about the new Theological Institution over which Bunting was to preside. Some of the reformers of this period abandoned the Wesleyans in order to found a new body, the Wesleyan Methodist Association. So eager was the Association to exclude authoritarianism that it called its annual gathering an 'assembly' rather than a

32. Ibid. 142.

33. David Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750–1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), 186.

34. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 141–2.

35. Ibid. 146.

36. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities*, 162.

37. Hempton, *Methodism and Politics*, 187.

38. LC, written by Loutit, has a strong tone of order throughout.

39. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 211.

40. R. J. Olney, *Rural Society and County Government in Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire* [vol. X of *History of Lincolnshire*] (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1979), 153.

'conference'. At its first assembly, in 1836, there was a representative from Louth.[41] Soon there was a small Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel on Watergate in the town, an extreme rarity in Lincolnshire. Although the cause collapsed and the chapel was sold in 1846, its leading figure, William Brown, remained true to his anti-despotic principles. In 1849, as the Wesleyan reform crisis gathered momentum, Brown published a pamphlet to encourage the Wesleyan membership to rise up against the Conference.[42] A further disturbance in ecclesiastical politics occurred in Louth in 1841–2. John Hanwell, the superintendent minister, tried to enforce Buntingite measures locally. Bunting and his friends insisted that only ministers possessed pastoral responsibility. An implication was that the leaders' meeting, consisting of laypeople, held no authority for the admission or expulsion of members. Accordingly Hanwell decided to abandon the accustomed practice of reading the names of new members to the Louth leaders' meeting. The issue caused a stir: why should class leaders, those responsible for the weekly spiritual nurture of the members under their care, not hear the list? The Louth leaders' meeting petitioned the 1842 Conference to allow the traditional procedure to continue. Conference, however, replied that the practice was improper and must stop.[43] This apparently technical issue symbolized something far greater. Should Conference take powers to override local sensibilities? Many in Louth thought not and were deeply hurt by the abridgement of their liberties. Although at the time the dispute was contained, it was remembered a few years later when the reform crisis broke out.

Other groups beyond the Wesleyan ranks played a part in the lead-up to the secession. The Primitive Methodists also possessed a presence in Louth. They had arrived in Grimsby in 1819 and shortly afterwards established a preaching station in Louth.[44] During the 1830s they expanded hugely under a young preacher in his first charge, John Stamp. Over the three years 1835–8 the members of the Louth station grew in numbers from only 204 to 610. They also erected as many as sixteen chapels.[45] The local Primitives greatly overreached themselves, saddling their poor members with enormous debts. Happily for them, however, a large-scale farmer, John Maltby of Louth Park, one of the few Primitives who had achieved gentility and who subsequently served as general treasurer of their missionary society, was able, with a colleague, to bail

41. Beckerlegge, *United Methodist Free Churches*, 24.

42. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities*, 162, 169 n. 56.

43. Benjamin Gregory, *Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism* (London: Cassell, 1898), 326, 337.

44. R. W. Ambler, *Ranters, Revivalists, and Reformers: Primitive Methodism and Rural Society: South Lincolnshire, 1817–1875* (Hull: Hull University Press, 1989), 38.

45. H. B. Kendall, *The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, 2 vols (London: Edwin Dalton, [1899]), I:452.

them out.[46] By 1850, therefore, they were able to extend their Louth chapel to accommodate 800 and at the religious census of 1851 they drew 700 evening attenders.[47] There was expansion during the 1850s in the surrounding countryside. In 1854, for example, advancing work was reported at Yarborough and Ludborough.[48] The Primitives therefore provided an example to the Wesleyan reformers of an effective Methodist agency free from clerical pretensions. The reformers' magazine, *The Revivalist*, gave space to the Louth Primitive Methodist minister, Thomas Greenbury, in its third issue. He recounted the story of the deathbed conversion in Louth of a woman who ended her days crying, 'Hallelujah! Hallelujah! I'm going to Heaven! I'm going to Heaven!'[49] That was the type of soul-saving ministry that many reformers wanted to pursue. It is significant that when the Louth Free Methodist Church secured its first full-time minister in 1855, he was lured away from the Primitives.[50]

An aspect of chapel life that was flourishing among the Primitives but restricted among the Wesleyans was temperance work. Louth possessed its full share of drink outlets. In 1856 there were twenty-seven inns and twenty-five beerhouses. Eight of the inns brewed their own beer and there were five other breweries in the town.[51] Hence there existed a sense of rivalry between chapel and public house. 'Dancing and revelry in the temple of Satan', remarked a Methodist reporting on a Louth revival meeting of 1857, 'a few yards distant, at the same hour, excited a feeling of pity in the breasts of God's people.'[52] Because of the opposition between revivalism and the tavern atmosphere, the Primitives embraced the temperance movement at an early date. Their general committee approved the radical policy of teetotalism in 1841.[53] Already John Sharp, while in Louth during the mid-1830s, had championed the cause. John Maltby, the Primitive Methodist proprietor of Louth Park, served as president of the local temperance society, which in 1845 used the Primitive phrase 'camp meeting' for its annual festival.[54] The Primitives gave unstinted support to the battle

46. Ibid.

47. R. W. Ambler, ed., *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship, 1851*, Lincoln Record Society 72 (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1979), 183.

48. *R*, April 1854, 172.

49. T[homas] Greenbury, 'A Brand Snatched from the Fire', *R*, Aug. 1853, 39.

50. *Eastgate Methodist Church: 1854–1954* [Louth: Eastgate Methodist Church, 1954], 9. O. A. Beckerlegge, comp., *United Methodist Ministers and Their Circuits* (London: Epworth Press, 1968), 135.

51. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 134, 156.

52. *R*, Feb. 1858, 26.

53. Ambler, *Ranters, Revivalists, and Reformers*, 80.

54. Robinson Cheeseman, *The Earnest Christian: Or a Biographical Sketch of John Maltby, Esq., of Louth Park* (London: E. Davies, 1864), 54. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 145. I owe the former reference to Rod Ambler.

against the bottle. The Wesleyans, by contrast, were ambiguous. It is true that there was a total abstinence society among their number in Louth by 1849,[55] but the official Conference policy, upheld by the travelling preachers, was that teetotalism was a dangerous alternative to the gospel. Here was another cause of tension within the Wesleyan ranks. Conference insisted on retaining fermented wine for communion; the temperance party wanted it dropped.[56] In its very first issue, the Louth reformers' magazine carried an elaborate allegory in which Alcohol proclaimed that it would make his chosen stronghold 'the temple of the Most High, and men shall deem it sacrilege to molest me in my work of murder'.[57] The magazine carried many articles favouring the temperance movement and notices advertising its literature over subsequent years.[58] Once more an underlying issue tended to separate the more progressive chapel members from their more conservative pastors.

Not only the Primitive Methodists operated alongside the Wesleyans in Louth. There were also two Baptist chapels, both General Baptist, but one of the Old Connexion and another of the New. The Old Connexion chapel on Walkergate, less evangelical in its outlook, attracted only 152 to its evening service on census Sunday in 1851, but the enthusiastically evangelical New Connexion chapel on Northgate drew in 420.[59] The New Connexion Baptists, Arminian in their theology, differed little in ethos from the Methodists and so it is not surprising that they lent the Wesleyan reformers their chapel for communion services and their schoolroom for public meetings.[60] The Independents, whose Cannon Street chapel assembled 200 for the evening service on census Sunday, soon copied the Baptists in allowing the reformers the use of their building.[61] A British School teaching undenominational religion and so supported by the Baptists and Independents existed in the town, but it was not started by these bodies of Dissenters. Rather the initiative had been taken in 1840 by J. B. Sharpley, the Liberal Wesleyan corn merchant, during his first term of office as mayor.[62] The Wesleyan reformers naturally occupied the premises of the British School for Sunday worship while they were awaiting the construction of their own building.[63] Not least because of the cooperation with the

55. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 145.

56. Timothy Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality: Nonconformist Politics in Mid-Victorian England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 176.

57. *R*, June 1853, 15.

58. For example, *R*, Feb. 1856, 24; Dec. 1856, back cover.

59. Ambler, ed., *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census*, 182–3.

60. 'Louth', 28 Feb. 1853, MM; 'The Wesleyan Chartists', May 1853, MM.

61. Ambler, ed., *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census*, 182. 'Louth', 28 Feb. 1853, MM.

62. Gurnham, *History of Louth*, 146.

63. 'Sunday evening Louth, 2 October 1853', MM.

Dissenters in the British School, the progressive Wesleyans felt an affinity for them. In particular the ecclesiology of the Baptists and Independents found an echo in the developing ideas of the reformers. The Dissenters believed that each local church held the authority to govern itself without external interference. The reformers, though asserting the rights more of the circuit than of individual congregations, were similarly averse to outside meddling in their affairs. The influence of the Independents can be traced more precisely. When the reformers started holding communion services without their Conference preachers, they passed the bread and cup from hand to hand in the manner of the Independents.[64] The Wesleyan practice was for the travelling preachers to give the elements to the worshippers, but the reformers wanted to symbolize their fraternal equality. A leaven of Dissenting thought and practice was affecting the party opposed to Conference.

Another, and more potent, factor at work in the prelude to secession was revivalism. The authorities in the Wesleyan connexion were not opposed to revivals, but Bunting wanted them to be orderly so that they would not offend respectable folk, whether Wesleyans or not.[65] The epitome of irregular revivalism in the later 1840s was James Caughey, an Irish-American preacher who travelled round Britain rousing audiences with fiery oratory and reaping harvests of spectacular conversions. The 1846 Conference, however, prohibited Caughey from speaking on Wesleyan premises because he refused to accept the discipline of the British Conference.[66] Nevertheless many dissatisfied Wesleyans flocked to his meetings. *The Wesleyan Times*, a new weekly launched in 1849 to represent the Liberals in the connexion, declared 'Revivalism to be an essential part of pure and healthy Methodism'.[67] The newspaper's Louth readers objected to the obstacles placed by Conference in the path of revival. For many in the town the ideal of a Methodist leader was George Nicholson, a hired local preacher who served the circuit and was a dedicated revivalist. Long before, in 1818, Nicholson had toured the area preaching with John Oxtoby, 'Praying Johnny', a man who shortly afterwards became a pioneer Primitive Methodist evangelist in the north. Together they promoted revival in a string of north Lincolnshire villages. One of their converts, Gilbert Tyson of Welton, was to serve as a Free Methodist local preacher and class leader in his village nearly

64. Ibid.

65. D. W. Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 95.

66. Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 128–30.

67. *Wesleyan Times* (23 Jan. 1849), 35.

forty years later.[68] Nicholson himself, a man of independent spirit, refused to bow to the authority of the travelling preachers if they inhibited the chances of revival. Thus in 1853, when one of them stopped a weekly prayer meeting after the evening service in Louth because the radicals seemed to abuse the event, Nicholson insisted on restarting it.[69] He became something of a popular hero among Free Methodists. Once they had separated from the Wesleyans and so had no ministers, they made Nicholson their main preacher.[70] After his death in 1855, steel engravings of the man were sold for one shilling each.[71] The Louth circuit clearly appreciated Nicholson's orientation toward revival. A belief that the powers that be in Wesleyanism constituted an obstacle to revival was a major explanation for why so many turned against them.

So far the long-term causes of secession have been surveyed, but there were also short-term factors at work. From 1844 to 1849 a series of *Fly Sheets* voiced all the resentments against Bunting's London-based bureaucracy, which had been building up nationally for years. They were eagerly read in Louth.[72] The crisis became more acute when, in 1849, the three men held responsible for the *Fly Sheets* were expelled by Conference. Fifty officers of the Louth circuit, incensed at this turn of events, invited the dismissed men to speak in the town. In November 1849 all three appeared during a tour of the provinces. Samuel Dunn preached in the Primitive Methodist chapel, James Everett addressed sympathizers in the Mansion House, and William Griffith roused enthusiasm in the Guildhall. Although the charge for admission to each meeting was the large sum of one shilling and sixpence, together they attracted more than 600 attenders.[73] The circuit was naturally represented at a national delegate meeting of reformers at Albion Street Independent Chapel, London Wall, in March 1850, and sent a memorial to the 1850 Wesleyan Conference calling for reforms to restore the peace of the connexion.[74] Conference, however, was in no mood for compromise. The president, Dr John Beecham, had written an *Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism* (1829), which had laid the intellectual foundations for Bunting's high doctrine of the pastoral office. Ministers alone, Beecham asserted, held the commission of Christ for the welfare of his Church. Under no circumstances might

68. George Shaw, *The Life of John Oxtoby ('Praying Johnny')* (Hull: William Andrews and Co., 1894), 23–6.

69. 'Louth', 11 Apr. 1853, 6, MM.

70. *Louth Circuit Plan of the Free Methodist Preachers*.

71. *R*, Feb. 1857, back cover.

72. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities*, 162.

73. Ibid. 163. Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, 81.

74. Beckerlegge, *United Methodist Free Churches*, 36. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities*, 164–5.

they share the responsibility with laymen.[75] Accordingly the Conference of 1850 took a stern line. Preachers were required, before they were assigned to circuits, to declare that they would 'uphold the discipline of the body by visiting delinquent Radicals with due punishment'.[76] When, in September 1850, the Louth superintendent, William Bacon, asked Beecham as president how to deal with members who were withholding financial contributions, the reply was robust. Beecham, who came from Barnoldby-le-Beck, within ten miles of Louth, would tolerate no insubordination in the town.[77] He told Bacon to abandon conciliation and adopt 'measures equal to the emergency'.[78] By March the following year Bacon was expecting that 400 names might have to be dropped from the class lists,[79] but, probably because the ex-mayor J. B. Sharpley was still at this stage trying to maintain the cohesion of the circuit, no decisive action was taken. The 1851 Conference therefore selected a man as superintendent for Louth who would execute its policies to the letter: James Loutit.

Loutit was a stormy petrel of a minister. He knew the circuit well, for he had served there as a junior preacher in 1839–41, at a time when ecclesiastical and political troubles were both brewing.[80] He was immediately recognized by the county press on his return in 1851 as 'a high-toned Conference man'.[81] Elsewhere superintendent ministers, though commissioned by Conference to keep control, often used tactful diplomacy and deft manoeuvre. In Cornwall, for example, the district chairman, Robert Young, ensured by mild but firm measures that there were virtually no losses of members during the reform crisis.[82] Loutit, by contrast, believed in confrontation. 'There are certain notorious and inveterate agitators in this circuit', he wrote to Bunting in December 1851, 'whom I cannot rid Methodism of but by a trial.'[83] Knowing the procedure would be contested, he sought the best advice on how to expel members without risking failure. 'A separation in Louth', he concluded, 'is not only unavoidable but desirable.'[84] Loutit took measures to limit the power of the malcontents. He started issuing preaching plans on a quarterly, not a half-yearly, basis so as to keep the local preachers on a tighter rein. He brought in preachers from other

75. Ward, *Religion and Society*, 149–52.

76. Quoted in ibid. 270.

77. John A. Vickers, ed., *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland* (London: Epworth Press, 2000), 25.

78. Quoted in Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities*, 165.

79. Ibid.

80. Hartley, ed., *Hall's Circuits and Ministers*, 335.

81. Quoted by Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 186.

82. Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 96–8.

83. James Loutit to Jabez Bunting, 17 Dec. 1851, in Ward, ed., *Early Victorian Methodism*, 411.

84. Ibid. 413.

circuits, paid at his own expense, who aroused anger because his opponents resented the intrusion of such strangers. He terminated the lovefeasts at Eastgate because these experience meetings were, as he put it, 'just what the Agitators & Moderates wished th[e]m'.[85] And he proceeded to institute a formal trial against the three men who had represented the circuit at the London reform meeting in the previous year. Events hurried toward a crisis.

Loutit's chief opponent was the corn merchant J. B. Sharpley. The ex-mayor, one of the most prominent men of Louth, served as an efficient member of the local bench, 'a kind of leading star among the magistrates'. As a public speaker he could make a strong impression with his 'clear, ringing' voice. Like many another self-made businessman of his generation, he could also be brusque. A friend described him as 'a little impatient with impudence and wilful ignorance.' The chief bane of his life, the friend continued, were the impudent and ignorant 'when strutting abroad in sacerdotal vest', that is, preachers of Loutit's stamp.[86] Sharpley, with the other senior officers of the circuit, had exerted himself to keep the Wesleyans together in previous crises,[87] but Loutit's aggression had turned him into the leader of the reformers. Sharpley held a variety of local offices in Methodism. He acted as a class leader, but he was also secretary of the local preachers and treasurer of the trustees of the country chapels.[88] His role as trustee was pivotal. At the trustees' meeting, he and a colleague, John Larder, could determine decisions. 'The principle of this meeting', reported Loutit darkly, 'is not healthy. It has no rules of action but the will of one or two persons in Louth.'[89] The title deeds of Eastgate Chapel were kept in an iron safe in the vestry, and since Sharpley held one of the keys, he could tell when the superintendent, the other key-holder, was consulting the legal documents.[90] He could also ensure continuing access to the Eastgate premises. Classes and business meetings of the reformers continued on the site long after Loutit had excluded them from the connexion.[91] It was Sharpley who made the resistance to the Conference in Louth formidable, and subsequently it was Sharpley who moulded the reformers of the circuit into a new denomination.

Sharpley contributed more than organizational ability to the movement, for he was also a man of ideas. Possessing a substantial library, he would sit 'among

85. LC, ff. 26, 25, 22.

86. Richard Chew, *James Everett: A Biography* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1875), 472.

87. *The Regulations of the Louth Free Methodist Church, with Introductory Observations* (Louth: Edwin Squire, 1856), 1–2.

88. LC, ff. 26, 27.

89. LC, f. 27.

90. LC, f. 28.

91. [Address to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference re Reform Movement in Circuit, 1853], Lincolnshire County Record Office, Lincoln, Meth B/Louth/9/5, 3.

his books like an astrologer among his spheres'.[92] He was well read in theology and the constitutional issues of Methodism. As a political Liberal, he readily deployed the discourse of English constitutionalism. He spoke with feeling of 'full liberty of speech' and the reformers' 'right of being tried by their peers'. By contrast he condemned the doctrine of 'divine right'. He therefore spoke of the antithesis between the 'Christian liberty' of the reformers and the 'despotic power' asserted by the ministers.[93] The central issue for the Wesleyans, he urged, was whether the pastors could act alone in determining policy, as the Conference claimed, or whether the leaders' meeting should have a say in such questions. Sharpley claimed that a Conference resolution of 1797 allowing lay participation in decisions on membership matters confirmed 'the rights and immunities which had always been enjoyed in the Louth Circuit'.[94] He gave the reformers of the circuit a firm rationale for their case. Furthermore, Sharpley had been influenced by the constitutional conflict of another church in the previous decade. In 1843, at the culmination of a ten years' struggle, the Free Church of Scotland had left the established church north of the border because it was not allowed its spiritual privileges. The Free Churchmen had argued that Christ was the sole head of the Church and so the liberties enjoyed by a Church looking to his authority must not be infringed.[95] Sharpley thought similarly, claiming that the 'Headship of Christ' over the Church meant that Christian freedom must be defended.[96] The Scottish influence is evident in Sharpley's adoption of the Presbyterian practice of calling prominent laymen 'elders', men responsible as 'ruling elders' for the welfare of the flock alongside the ministers, the 'teaching elders'. Sharpley saw Methodist class leaders, including himself, as elders. 'I am an ordained Elder of this Church', he claimed in February 1852. 'I was ordained 30 years ago when I was appointed to the office of Leader.'[97] That was why he felt able to preside at the Lord's Supper in February 1853 as the reformers moved toward independence.[98] It was Sharpley who drew up the constitution of the Louth Free Methodist Church at the end of 1854, incorporating the ideas of the Scottish Free Churchmen. The new body, he wrote, 'at once, and for ever, repudiates the right of any man, or order of men, to assume

92. Chew, *James Everett*, 472.

93. *Regulations of the Louth Free Methodist Church*, 2–3.

94. Ibid. 2.

95. Stewart J. Brown, 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843', in Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry, eds, *Scotland in the Age of Disruption* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 1–27.

96. *Regulations of the Louth Free Methodist Church*, 3.

97. 'Notes of J. B. Sharpley's Address at Eastgate Chapel, February 3rd, 1852', MM.

98. 'Louth', 28 Feb. 1853, MM.

headship over, or independence of, *the Church*'.[99] The amateur constitutionalist provided an intellectual groundwork for secession.

Events moved toward a crisis in the spring of 1852. In March Loutit summoned a Special District Meeting, a device invented by Bunting in the 1830s to impose discipline on refractory members. The three men who had attended the delegate meeting in the previous year were expelled. At an adjourned session of the Special District Meeting held in the nearby town of Horncastle in May, Sharpley and his fellow class leaders were required to pledge faithfulness for the future. When they refused, they were dismissed from office.[100] An appeal to Conference against the ruling was summarily rejected.[101] Sharpley and several other class leaders refused to accept tickets from the ministers the following month.[102] Technically at that point they ceased to be Wesleyan Methodists even though they continued to attend worship, meet their classes and hold business meetings as if they remained in the connexion. A decisive step had been taken, but the results were still to be worked out.

Who were the Louth reformers who were forced out in 1852? Rod Ambler has shown that in Lincolnshire the reformers who became Free Methodist trustees were far less likely to be farmers than among the Wesleyans. Large numbers were tradesmen and shopkeepers. In Louth circuit only 16 per cent of Free Methodist trustees were farmers compared with 48 per cent among the Wesleyans, but 32 per cent of Free Methodist trustees were shopkeepers.[103] Among the local preachers and class leaders of Louth there were a few nearby farmers such as John Ashton of Eastfield.[104] But there were far more tradesmen who conducted worship or led classes: they numbered in their ranks two hatters, a joiner, a basket maker, a paper hanger, a tanner, and a builder. Some ran shops in the centre of Louth—men such as Joshua Kime, a butcher of Eastgate, and George Slight, a tailor and draper of the same street. In the villages, where there were as yet few shops, the occupations were more agricultural, but there were also tradesmen such as a shoemaker called Colbeck in Utterby, who was dismissed by Loutit as an 'incurable Radical'.[105] One of the most prominent reformers was Henry Boothby, a boot and shoe salesman in Louth Market Place who, according to another of the Wesleyan preachers, was 'one of the

99. *Regulations of the Louth Free Methodist Church*, 3.

100. Ibid. 2–3.

101. LC, f. 14.

102. Ibid. 24.

103. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities*, 166–7.

104. LC, f. 13. The following individuals are taken from the *Louth Circuit Plan of the Free Methodist Preachers*.

105. LC, f. 33.

notorious agitators'.[106] Because Boothby sent regular reports of the oppressions of the travelling preachers to *The Wesleyan Times*, he was one of the first targets for dismissal and was excluded in March 1852.[107] Another expelled at the same time was Richard Hurley, a grocer in Eastgate who was particularly proud of his 'Improved English Baking Powder'.[108] Hurley, who attended Sharpley's class, subsequently preached a sermon on 'The Universal Reign of Christ', in which he denounced what he called 'Anglo-papacy' within each denomination, a thrust at the authoritarianism of the Wesleyan ministers.[109] So the pioneers of the Free Methodist Church in Louth were a solid bloc of successful small businessmen, individuals who prospered as a result of the economic developments of the day.

The women involved in the secession are harder to identify. We know that, of the twelve loyal Wesleyan class leaders in the Louth society in 1852, the remarkably high proportion of five were women.[110] So women may have been less inclined to tread fresh ecclesiastical paths. Yet there were two female class leaders in Louth who did leave the Wesleyans. One, predictably, was J. B. Sharpley's wife Elizabeth. She exercised a powerful influence over her class: when invited to take Wesleyan tickets in the autumn of 1852, when eleven were absent, only three accepted but seven refused.[111] By 1858 Elizabeth Sharpley was responsible for three classes in the Free Methodist Church, more than anyone else.[112] The second formidable female class leader was Mildred Crampton, a woman of firm opinions. When Loutit called on her in August 1852, she refused to acknowledge the authority of the Special District Meeting held in the spring and told the Wesleyan preacher she paid her money to the dissentients.[113] In 1858 she was still a class leader in the Free Methodist Church. Other women contributed to the cause. Mrs Sanderson, who was a keen supporter of revivalism, held a bazaar to support reform in 1852.[114] And, in one of the villages, Sotby, 'Miss Storin blotted her own name fr[o]m ye [Wesleyan] Class book.'[115] Women had their reward in Free Methodism. The female right to vote in all meetings except disciplinary cases was entrenched in its regulations.[116] Although women did

106. *R*, Feb. 1856, back cover. 'Louth', 11 Apr. 1853, p. 9, MM.
107. Loutit to Bunting, 17 Dec. 1851, in Ward, ed., *Early Victorian Methodism*, 413. LC, f. 8.
108. LC, f. 10. *R*, Mar. 1856, back cover.
109. *R*, Sept. 1853, 52.
110. LC, f. 2.
111. 'Mrs Sharpley's Class', MM.
112. *List of Leaders in Connexion with the Louth Free Methodist Church, 1858*.
113. LC, [f. 3].
114. LC, f. 8. Cf. Ambler, *Ranters, Revivalists and Reformers*, 74.
115. LC, f. 33.
116. *Regulations of the Louth Free Methodist Church*, 9.

not participate in the leadership of the reform movement, there were some who were convinced adherents.

Other people in the circuit, however, were waverers. An address by Louth loyalists to the 1853 Conference claimed that 'to a small extent' some of those who had adopted reform views had been reclaimed.[117] Eight local preachers who had withdrawn their names from the Wesleyan plan asked to be restored to it in October 1852. Others were approached by the superintendent to see if they could be persuaded to return, and two more did so in December.[118] The most significant waverer was Joseph Hay, the sole circuit steward. In the spring of 1852 he identified with Sharpley's party, even giving instructions that the Wesleyan travelling preachers were not to have the use of the circuit horses and gig. 'We are to walk', exclaimed Loutit in vexation at the time.[119] The next year's ministers, however, were to win Hay round. By the spring of 1853 he was at the head of the Louth officials who sent a loyal address to Conference.[120] There must have been many such individuals in the villages who felt torn between the two sides. Thus in Covenham there lived a man called Wright who was visited by Robert Bond, the second Wesleyan preacher, in October 1852. Bond recorded Wright in his notebook as 'A Radical', but the preacher found him friendly, giving tea to his visitor.[121] There was a great deal of scope during 1852–3 for the two sides to compete for the allegiance of the Methodist people.

Hence the Free Methodist Church emerged gradually. The reformers first produced a rival preaching plan in November 1852.[122] They issued their own society tickets from December.[123] Yet they still called themselves, to the chagrin of the Wesleyans, 'The Louth Wesleyan Methodist Society'.[124] George Nicholson, the hired revivalist, long straddled the boundary between the two factions, but in the spring of 1853 resigned as a Wesleyan local preacher and started to take pulpit assignments that meant ousting the planned preachers loyal to Conference.[125] In May 1853, for example, he supplanted the official Wesleyan preacher at Riverhead.[126] With the rival preaching plans in operation,

117. [Address to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference re Reform Movement in Circuit, 1853], 2

118. Minutes of the Local Preachers' Meetings in the Louth Circuit [1852–70], Meth B/Louth/18/1, Lincolnshire County Record Office, Lincoln, 19 Oct. 1852, 5; 30 Dec. 1852, 8.

119. LC, ff. 19, 21.

120. [Address to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference re Reform Movement in Circuit, 1853], 5.

121. 'Covenham', 31 Oct. 1853, MM.

122. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities*, 165.

123. 7 Oct. 1853, MM.

124. [Address to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference re Reform Movement in Circuit, 1853], 3.

125. 'The Louth Circuit', 1853, MM.

126. 'George Nicholson', MM.

local confrontations multiplied over the next few months. A calculated campaign to send reform preachers into villages without a significant existing body of supporters is discernible. Thus Nicholson went in June to North Cotes, where only two class tickets had been withheld by the Wesleyans from malcontents a year before.[127] In the following month, Nicholson, accompanied by Richard Hurley and two others, went to Theddlethorpe. They failed to secure the pulpit at the morning service, but at its end Hurley announced from the gallery that Nicholson would preach that afternoon in the chapel yard and twenty came to hear him.[128] These efforts amounted to a deliberate recruitment drive. It was not until the end of the year, however, that the Louth Free Methodist Church was formally established. Sharpley drew up the regulations, proudly declaring that it possessed the allegiance of about 600 members in Louth and 800 in the surrounding villages.[129] A new venture was launched.

The question of buildings took some time to resolve. In early 1853 Sharpley held a meeting of the trustees of the whole circuit, voting Wesleyan loyalists off and replacing them with reformers. There were instances of the fitting of new locks and the forcing open of doors. The scheme of the reformers to seize control of the existing village chapels largely failed because the Conference party was able to invoke the law on its side.[130] Only one former Wesleyan building, apparently the chapel at Benniworth, remained in reforming hands by 1855.[131] Consequently the reformers had to erect their own. By December 1853 they had eleven, with five more under construction.[132] The countryside around Louth is studded with chapels dated 1853, 1854, and 1855, sometimes saying 'Methodist Chapel' over the door with the preceding word, once 'Free', erased.[133] In some places the Free Methodists were highly successful. At Binbrook, for example, a village north-west of Louth in the Market Rasen circuit, they had great appeal. Binbrook was an unusually commercial village. At the 1851 census, of the 532 working people, as many as 140 were in crafts or retail.[134] A meeting in 1853 attracted 300 reformers and two years later a chapel with 500 sittings was built, remarkably large for a village.[135] Meanwhile in Louth, the reformers were using

127. Ibid. LC, f. 33.

128. 'George Nicholson', MM.

129. *Regulations of the Louth Free Methodist Church*, 4.

130. [Address to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference re Reform Movement in Circuit, 1853], 4.

131. *Eastgate Methodist Church: 1854–1954*, 6. James Loutit to Robert Bond, 10 Mar. 1855, MM.

132. *Regulations of the Louth Free Methodist Church*, 4.

133. For example, Conisholme, a chapel still functioning in 2012.

134. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, 67.

135. Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, 220.

the newly erected Corn Exchange for worship.[136] A relation of J. B. Sharpley, Roger Sharpley of Kelstern Hall, however, provided a site for a Free Methodist Chapel on Eastgate, in the centre of the town. Situated opposite J. B. Sharpley's house, it became known as 'the house that Jack built'. It was graced with eight Corinthian pillars outside and accommodated 1,200 inside.[137] Opened, as we have seen, at the end of 1854, it provided a worthy headquarters for the new denomination.

The big issue facing the Free Methodists was where to find ministers. Since there was no question of taking Wesleyans, some other source had to be discovered. At first there seems to have been thought of an arrangement with the Methodist New Connexion (MNC), the first body to secede from the Wesleyans over half a century earlier. William Martin, a reformer from Manchester who favoured merger with the MNC and eventually joined that body, was one of the speakers at the laying of the foundation stone of the new Eastgate Chapel in July 1854.[138] During that month a MNC minister, Silas Henn, preached in the Louth area for the Free Methodists.[139] Henn, however, was put off by the biting attacks of the seceders on the Conference. The reformers, he observed, 'do not appear to me to pay the respect to Christian ministers which they ought'.[140] Instead of Henn the new body made do with the local George Nicholson. Although never ordained, Nicholson was acceptable as a teaching elder in Free Methodist ecclesiology. He preached at the Corn Exchange on most Sundays, also visiting most of the villages.[141] The Wesleyans were horrified that he 'publicly administers the Sacraments, and assumes the office of a regular minister'.[142] Nicholson was assisted by two others in the work of ministry. One of them, David Robertson, was a Scot who preached in the Corn Exchange on a majority of Sundays in the spring and early summer of 1854.[143] He seems to have been especially concerned to evangelize young people, writing an 'Epistle to Young Converts' in *The Revivalist* for their benefit.[144] Nicholson, however, died in 1855 and Robertson moved on, so that the problem of providing pastoral ministry arose again.

136. *Louth Circuit Plan of the Free Methodist Preachers.*

137. Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, 82, 102.

138. Ibid. 87. Gowland, *Methodist Secessions*, 63.

139. *S. Henn's Journal of Christian Experience and Labours*, pt 2 (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1855), 27–9. I owe this reference to Rod Ambler.

140. Ibid. 34.

141. *Louth Circuit Plan of the Free Methodist Preachers.* Nicholson was assisted by two others.

142. [Address to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference re Reform Movement in Circuit, 1853], 5.

143. *Louth Circuit Plan of the Free Methodist Preachers.*

144. *R*, Apr. 1854, 161–5.

This time the Free Methodists turned to an ex-Primitive Methodist, securing James Kendall, who remained in post until the end of the Louth Free Methodists as a separate denomination. Kendall was only twenty-seven years old, but had already served as a minister within the Primitives. He was an uncle of H. B. Kendall, the historian of the Primitives, and so near the heart of his denomination.[145] He was a Lincolnshire man, from Brigg, and his local connexions may have attracted him to Louth. If a sermon published in 1856 is a fair sample, he preached rather fancifully. Called 'The Spiritual Sailor's Voyage from Earth to Heaven', it identified the chart as the Bible, the compass as the Holy Ghost, pride as a dangerous rock, and so on.[146] The other ministers were drawn from the Wesleyan reformers elsewhere, still in an embryonic state before their consolidation in the United Methodist Free Churches (UMFC) in 1857. W. M. Hunter, another Lincolnshire man, from Holbeach, had entered the ministry in 1850 and was now thirty-one. T. W. Townend, though originally born in Lancashire, was called to ministry when he lived in Louth itself at the age of twenty-one. And Alfred Jones came at the age of twenty-four from Free Methodist service in Worcester. All these young men were to go on to become president of the UMFC.[147] They were men of energy and ability who put the fledgling denomination in Louth on a firm basis. For a while, the problem of ministry appeared to have been solved.

The Free Methodists flourished in other ways. They issued a *Local Preachers' Magazine*, edited for a while by W. Harris, the third of their first batch of ministers.[148] A Louth printer who adhered to the reforming cause, Edward Squire, began a monthly periodical, *The Revivalist*, in June 1853. Although it was pan-evangelical in tone, regularly publishing anecdotes of great preachers of the past such as George Whitefield and John Berridge,[149] it was of special interest to Free Methodists. It published the occasional sermon by one of their preachers; it advertised the wares of the denomination's Louth shopkeepers. It proudly proclaimed to be the sole magazine of any kind published in the county, but its circulation was far wider, extending to Norfolk and even Cornwall. By June 1856 it was printing 3,500 copies per issue. Yet its largest clientele remained in Louth and neighbourhood.[150] The magazine gave the fledgling denomination a sense of identity and mission.

145. Beckerlegge, comp. *United Methodist Ministers*, 135.
146. *R*, Feb. 1856, 17–28.
147. Beckerlegge, comp. *United Methodist Ministers*, 123, 238, 130.
148. *R*, Feb. [1854], back page. No copies of the *Local Preachers' Magazine* have been found.
149. For example, *R*, [Sept. 1853], 63, 57.
150. *R*, July 1856, front cover.

The changing contents of the magazine are instructive. At first there was no distinctive theological line beyond the standard evangelical priorities, with conversion to the fore. Gradually, however, the teaching of entire sanctification took a substantial place. The doctrine was the idea, derived from John Wesley, that a perfect form of holiness is attainable before death. Sin, many Methodists believed, can be eradicated from human life through faith in Christ.[151] Members of band meetings were expected to be seeking the experience. It may therefore be significant that Nicholson held a band meeting in the town in October 1853.[152] We know that earlier in the same year an individual testified to having been cleansed from all sin.[153] The experience was therefore known in the circuit even before the formation of the Free Methodist Church. From April 1855, however, the subject of heart purity frequently appeared in the magazine. 'This', claimed an article of that month, 'is the secret of many of the mightiest deeds of Methodism: you must look for it in this doctrine of "holiness by faith now."'[154] William Braimbridge, a revivalist from the East Riding of Yorkshire, urged the editor to press the teaching on the readers of his pages.[155] This brand of holiness teaching became a staple theme, creating a sense of heightened spiritual expectation.

The temper fostered by entire sanctification was closely associated with revivalism. The title chosen by Squire for his periodical, *The Revivalist*, shows that the interest in the subject that had preceded the reform crisis continued afterwards. The magazine deliberately encouraged attention to the topic, for example, by offering a prize for an essay on revivals in 1856 with the three Free Methodist ministers of Louth as the judges.[156] R. D. Maud, a reformer secured from Wakefield in 1856 for ministry in Louth, preached in a revival meeting at Grainthorpe in the following year.[157] More significant, however, were revivalists from outside the circuit. Sarah White, a Methodist from Northampton, toured the villages holding revivals during 1857.[158] She was joined by William Braimbridge from East Yorkshire and followed by Richard Poole from Sheffield, both notable Methodist conductors of revivals.[159] 'Confusion there

151. David Bebbington, 'Holiness in Nineteenth-Century British Methodism', in W. M. Jacob and Nigel Yates, eds, *Crown and Mitre: Religion and Society in Northern Europe Since the Reformation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 161–74.

152. 'Saturday Band Meeting', 8 Oct. 1853, MM.

153. *R*, Sept. 1858, 137.

154. 'Preaching on Heart Purity', *R*, Apr. 1855, 52.

155. William Braimbridge to editor, *R*, May 1856, 73.

156. *R*, June 1856, inside front cover.

157. *R*, May 1857, 70. Cf. Beckerlegge, comp. *United Methodist Ministers*, 158.

158. *R*, Mar. 1857, 44; Apr. 1857, 51; May 1857, 70.

159. Ibid. 43–5; Apr. 1857, 49–50; May 1857, 74–9; July 1857, 107–8; Feb. 1858, 25–6.

might be', it was said of Poole's three-week revival meetings in Louth during December 1857, 'but it was the confusion of battle when the enemy is routed.'[160] These events were clearly lively affairs where soul-saving proceeded amidst cries and groans. Some of the Free Methodists, such as 'the flaming spirits of Grimoldby', became active revival workers.[161] The persistent revivalism contributed a major portion of the growth of the Church. By April 1857, the editor of *The Revivalist* claimed that the Free Methodists had garnered over the previous four years 'Upwards of 1000 souls'.[162] The crowning glory of their life as a separate denomination was a visit in June and July 1859 by James Caughey, the revivalist who had fallen under the censure of the Wesleyan Conference in the 1840s. Unprecedented crowds thronged the town as Caughey delivered nightly addresses in the Free Methodist chapel. A single afternoon prayer meeting gathered an estimated 1,500 people. Over one hundred names were taken of those who received special blessings, either conversion or entire sanctification, through Caughey's visit.[163] It was a triumph of Methodist revivalism. In 1858 *The Revivalist* noted that newly organized churches generally concentrate on 'the *sole* and *simple* truth of the Gospel'.[164] That seems to have been the case with the Louth Free Methodist Church. It became a powerful channel for the revival spirit of the age.

Nevertheless the problem of providing ministers persisted. John Schofield, a preacher recruited from Louth itself in 1858, was to resign from the ministry only eleven years later and, despite staying in the town until 1862, may have had a relatively disappointing time there.[165] In any case, a regular supply of home-grown preachers could not be expected. The Louth Free Methodists therefore decided to approach the UMFC, the body that was the outcome of a merger in 1857 between the bulk of the Wesleyan reformers and the Wesleyan Methodist Association. Robert Eckett, long the driving force of the Association and then the president of the united denomination, was invited to speak at Louth on the constitution of the UMFC. Stressing circuit independence, he made a good impression.[166] Accordingly, the Louth circuit affiliated with the UMFC, allowing it to secure ministers from that source from September 1859 onwards. The first superintendent, Thomas Pearson, was an experienced man of fifty-four who remained for three years: the arrangement proved satisfactory.[167] Thus the

160. *R*, Feb. 1858, 25.
161. *R*, Apr. 1857, 49.
162. *R*, May 1857, 79.
163. *R*, Sept. 1859, 142–3.
164. *R*, Feb. 1858, 25.
165. Beckerlegge, comp. *United Methodist Ministers*, 208.
166. Beckerlegge, *United Methodist Free Churches*, 71.
167. Beckerlegge, comp. *United Methodist Ministers*, 180.

experiment of a denomination coextensive with a single circuit came to an end. Thirty years later, however, the class tickets still bore the words: 'Free Methodist Church [not 'Churches', as in the UMFC title]. Louth Circuit.'[168] The memory of the independent Church had not disappeared.

The origins of the Louth Free Methodist Church belong in the developments, secular and religious, of the previous half-century or so. The prosperity of the town gave the people the self-confidence to create a new Church. The very success of Wesleyan Methodism in the area created a distance between the Conference preachers and their flocks. The industrial/commercial population of Riverhead gave an impetus to separation, and political Liberalism mobilized leading laymen against the Toryism of the travelling preachers. Ecclesiastical politics played a more major role, for there was a history in the town of resistance to Conference policy. Primitive Methodism gave an example of lay initiative, and its temperance enthusiasm, when imitated by a number of Wesleyan laypeople, dug another fissure between them and the official version of Wesleyanism. Baptists and Independents gave further examples of freedom from pastoral tyranny. At the same time, sympathy for revivalism in the Louth circuit caused strong reservations about Conference restrictions on gospel efforts. So long-term factors constituted the necessary conditions for the upsurge of discontent between 1849 and 1853. Yet similar influences swayed Wesleyans in other parts of the country where there were no explosions. Consequently, the immediate prelude to the establishment of the Free Methodist Church was crucial in bringing about division. The *Fly Sheets* controversy caused passionate debate all over the country. Loutit was sent to Louth to put down radical sentiments, thereby alienating Sharpley, whose activities and ideas were the chief precipitants of the schism. Tradesmen and shopkeepers were in the van, and several women played significant parts. The reformers campaigned to recruit waverers at the same time as struggling over buildings. The chief problem of the new denomination was continuity in the provision of ministers, though for a while it obtained the services of able men. The Free Methodists produced literature, became keen on entire sanctification, and turned ardently to revivalism. Although the problem of ministry eventually, in 1859, dictated merger with the UMFC, the revivals ensured significant growth. The reformers of Louth were unusual, though probably not unique, in creating a strong separate identity with revivalism as a prominent component. Born in secession, the Louth Free Methodist Church became an agent of revival.

168. Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, 84.

THE DESIGN OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY WESLEYAN SPACE

Re-reading F. J. Jobson's Chapel and School Architecture

RUTH MASON

ABSTRACT

F. J. Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture as Appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists* (1850) has conventionally been used to demonstrate the architectural patterns of nineteenth-century Wesleyan chapels. However, this emphasis has overlooked elements of its recommendations and motivations. This article proposes an alternative approach. Positioning Jobson's text within theories of space, it challenges the conventional importance given to his physical recommendations by discussing how the function and users of Wesleyan spaces also influenced his designs. Examining Jobson's designs for Sunday schools and vestries in addition to chapels, this article considers the relationship between Wesleyan theology and Jobson's proposed designs.

Keywords: F. J. Jobson; architecture; space; material culture

In 1850, the Methodist minister F. J. Jobson published *Chapel and School Architecture as Appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists; Particularly to Those of the Wesleyan Methodists; With Practical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-Houses*.[1] Jobson's text has been well studied by academics,

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the contemporary popularity of its architectural recommendations enabling scholars to use it to demonstrate the architectural patterns of nineteenth-century Wesleyan chapels. However, as the opening section of this article will demonstrate, the emphasis placed on Jobson's text as an architectural treatise has resulted in several aspects of his recommendations being overlooked and simplistic readings of the motivations behind Jobson's design proposals being made.

This article proposes an alternative approach to Jobson's text. By positioning Jobson within the discourse of space, it challenges the conventional importance given to his physical recommendations and considers how he proposed designs based on the functionality and users of a space, as much as physical form. Using space as a lens through which to reconsider Jobson's text, this article expands on the conventional subjects within it that have been considered of interest and importance, and develops ideas about the relationship between Wesleyan theology and Jobson's proposed designs.

In so doing, this article will not only challenge the conventional ways in which *Chapel and School Architecture* has been read, but also perceptions of Nonconformist material culture and its academic importance. The pervasive belief that Nonconformist Protestant communities did not have a distinctive material tradition has resulted in minimal academic research being carried out into their material culture and design. The rare studies that do exist have generally been characterized by a tone of surprise and discovery, normally taking the form of catalogues or descriptive narratives with the sole intention of illustrating that this material exists.[2] This article is therefore part of a broader project, analysing

1. F. J. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1850); G. W. Dolbey, *The Architectural Expression of Methodism; The First Hundred Years* (London: Epworth Press, 1964), 18; H. W. Turner, *From Tent to Meeting House: The Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979), 250–1; C. F. Stell, 'Nonconformist Architecture and the Cambridge Camden Society', in C. Webster and J. Elliot, eds, *A Church As It Should Be; The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 317–30, 326.

2. G. E. Evans, *Vestiges of Protestant Dissent* (Liverpool: F. & E. Gibbons, 1897); A. E. Jones, 'Old Silver Communion Plate of English Nonconformity', *The Magazine of Fine Arts* (Nov. 1905–Apr. 1906), 280–5, 371–4; G. E. Evans, 'Our Communion Plate and Other Treasures', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, 4 (1927–30); O. A. Beckerlegge, 'Non-Wesleyan Class Tickets', *Proceedings of the Wesley History Society*, 32/2–4 (1959), 34–7, 48–51, 88–90; O. A. Beckerlegge, 'Non-Wesleyan Class Tickets', *Proceedings from the Wesley History Society*, 33/8 (1962), 160; J. Kendall, 'The Development of a Distinctive Form of Quaker Dress', *Costume*, 19 (1985), 58–74; J. Harvey, *The Art of Piety; The Visual Culture of Welsh Nonconformity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995); A. Jones, *Welsh Chapels* (Worcester: Alan Sutton, 1996); C. F. Stell, *Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England: Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses*, 4 vols (London: Her Majesty's Office, 1986–2002); P. Ashbridge, *Village Chapels; Some Aspects of Rural Methodism in the East Cotswolds and South Midlands 1800–2000* (Oxon: Kershaw Publishing, 2004); A. Eatwell and C. Barry, 'Nonconformist

the design of locations of nineteenth-century metropolitan Wesleyan practice; providing an innovative investigation into the existence of nonconformist design and how it is interesting material, worthy of further sophisticated consideration.[3]

The examples used in this article have been primarily drawn from London during the second half of the nineteenth century. Concerned by its unrepresentative character, historians have generally avoided studies of metropolitan Wesleyanism. Despite this, London has been used here on the merit of its provision of a neat geographical location and the large quantity of previously unstudied material it provides.

After demonstrating how the existing literature has tended to approach Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture,* this article will reposition this text within the discourse of space, expanding on conventional perceptions of it as an architectural treatise. This approach will facilitate discussion of Jobson's advice for the design of schoolhouses, classrooms, and vestries and will use such sections to raise new questions and re-examine the place of theology in his recommendations.

Existing Approaches to Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture*

Although Jobson subsequently became an influential member of the Wesleyan Church, appointed as the book steward of the Wesleyan Publishing House in 1864 and elected president of the central Wesleyan legislative body, the Conference, in 1869, *Chapel and School Architecture* was his first published work.[4] Initially printed in 1850, it expounded suggested chapel designs

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Silver in England', *Silver Studies; The Journal of the Silver Society*, 21 (2006), 59–72; C. F. Stell, *Nonconformist Communion Plate; And other Vessels* (London: Chapels Society, 2008); P. Forsaith, 'Methodism and Its Images', in Charles Yrigoyen Jr, ed., *T&T Clark Companion to Methodism* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2010), 350–68.

3. Rare examples of more analytical approaches to the material culture of nonconformity: S. Keen, 'Quaker Dress, Sexuality, and the Domestication of Reform in the Victorian Novel', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 30/1 (2002), 211–36; B. Edginton, 'The Design of Moral Architecture at the York Retreat', *Journal of Design History*, 16/2 (2003), 103–18; J. M. Burks, 'Faith, Furniture, and Finish: Shaker Furniture in Context', in G. Lees-Maffei and R. Houze, eds, *The Design History Reader* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 336–42; A. Connelly, 'Methodist Central Halls as Public Sacred Space', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Manchester, 2010).

4. 'Jobson, Frederick James, D.D', in *Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*, <http://wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk/dmbi/index> accessed 15 Mar. 2012; G. C. Boase, 'Jobson, Frederick James (1812–1881)', rev. Tim Macquiban in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <www.oxforddnb.com> accessed 24 Apr. 2012.

that had been presented to the Conference by the Wesleyan Model Plan Committee in 1849. Established three years earlier, the Committee was comprised of a range of Wesleyan ministers who had been given the task of developing recommendations for how to construct aesthetically pleasing and economically viable chapels. Although a young and relatively unknown Wesleyan minister, Jobson was asked to join the Committee on the basis of his architectural knowledge, having served an apprenticeship under the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical architect Edward James Willson prior to his ordination.[5]

Jobson described *Chapel and School Architecture* as an 'attempt . . . to prevent extravagant expenditure, and unsuitable forms and proportions, in the erection of Wesleyan chapels and school-houses', and scholars have therefore predominantly read his book as an assemblage of proposals for the ideal internal and external design of nineteenth-century Wesleyan chapels and school buildings.[6] As such, they have focused their attention on Jobson's avocation of the external application of the Gothic style and promotion of internal designs for chapels determined by their religious functions.

Emphasis on Jobson's architectural recommendations has resulted in the first third of *Chapel and School Architecture*—entirely devoted to Jobson's belief that Wesleyan chapels should be externally decorated in the Gothic style—receiving the most attention in the existing literature.[7] Using biblical and historical examples, Jobson argued that locations of divine worship should be designed to the highest quality in order to offer suitable worship to God.[8] Emphasizing the uniquely consistent Christian heritage of the Gothic style, he concluded that it was the most suitable external form for Wesleyan chapels and their holy purposes.[9] Despite its potential for controversy, due to the Gothic's

5. B. Gregory, *The Life of Frederick James Jobson, D.D; With the Funeral Memorials of Dr Osborn and Dr Pope, and Ten Original Sermons*, ed. Elizabeth Jobson (London: BiblioBazaar, 1884), 4.

6. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, v; Dolbey, *Architectural Expression of Methodism*,18–19; J. Thomas, 'The Meaning of "Style" in Traditional Architecture: The Case of Gothic', *Journal of Architecture*, 5/3 (2000), 293–306, 294; Stell, *Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses*, IV:33, 161, 162; C. Wakeling, 'Nonconformity and Victorian Architecture', in Bridget Cherry, ed., *Dissent and the Gothic Revival; Papers from a Study at Union Chapel Islington* (London: Chapels Society, 2007), 39–71, 48–50.

7. Dolbey, *Architectural Expression of Methodism,* 18–19; Thomas, 'The Meaning of "Style" in Traditional Architecture', 294; Stell, *Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses*, IV:33, 161, 162; Wakeling, 'Nonconformity and Victorian Architecture', 48–50.

8. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 3–13.

9. Ibid. 15.

contemporary connotations of the Oxford Movement and High Anglicanism, Jobson's promotion of Gothic Wesleyan chapels has been considered *Chapel and School Architecture's* most important contribution. George Dolbey, for example, argued in his history of the first one hundred years of Methodist architecture that Jobson's stylistic recommendation was actually motivated by a desire to elevate the Wesleyan church to the same status as the Anglican communion.[10] Furthermore, although the Gothic Revival style was contemporarily well established within the Church of England before 1850, Jobson is often credited as the principal reason for its application to Wesleyan chapels.[11] Therefore, the existing literature has often striven to demonstrate the frequent, if not consistent, application of the Gothic style to Wesleyan chapels in the second half of the nineteenth century; physical examples including Lady Margaret Road Chapel built in 1864 and the 1869 Mostyn Road Chapel (see Figure 1). However, although in a summary of his survey of religious practice in London, published in 1903, Charles Booth noted that the external style of Wesleyan chapels usually followed 'a style of modern gothic', implying that Gothic exteriors were sufficiently common to make them a characteristic feature of metropolitan Wesleyan Methodism, a quick flick through Christopher Stell's inventory of Nonconformist chapels reveals how diverse the styles of nineteenth-century Wesleyan chapels were.[12]

It is not only Jobson's recommendations for the external design of Wesleyan chapels that have been prioritized in the existing literature. Much attention has also been paid to his suggestions for the internal arrangement of the chapel. Internally, Jobson recommended that the chapel should be arranged around three central focal points: the pulpit, from which the minister preached the sermon; the communion table, where the bread and wine used during the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper were positioned and consecrated; and the communion rail, at which communicants knelt to receive the Sacrament.[13] Jobson also suggested that congregational seating be provided on the ground floor—bench-like pews, arranged in three columns with no central aisle, facing the pulpit, communion rail, and communion table.[14] Then, if necessary, extra seating

10. Dolbey, *Architectural Expression of Methodism*, 18–19.

11. Wakeling, 'Nonconformity and Victorian Architecture', 48.

12. Charles Booth, ed., *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 3rd series, Religious Influences, Summary, 7 vols (London: Macmillan, 1903), 231; Stell, *Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses*.

13. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 175–7.

14. Ibid. 77; C. Wakeling, 'Sitting Around: Some Nonconformist Shapes of Worship', presented in 'Sitting in Chapels, Nonconformist Contributions to the Story of Pews, Benches, and Chairs', Chapels Society Conference, Birmingham, 2 Mar. 2012. Here, Wakeling discussed how the three-aisle system was not only a response to the lack of ritual in Methodist services,

FIGURE 1 Lady Margaret Road Wesleyan Chapel, 2012. Photograph by author.

could be provided in specially constructed galleries along the side and back walls of the chapel.[15]

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but also intended to make sure that the preacher was looking at the congregation rather than an empty space.

15. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 75.

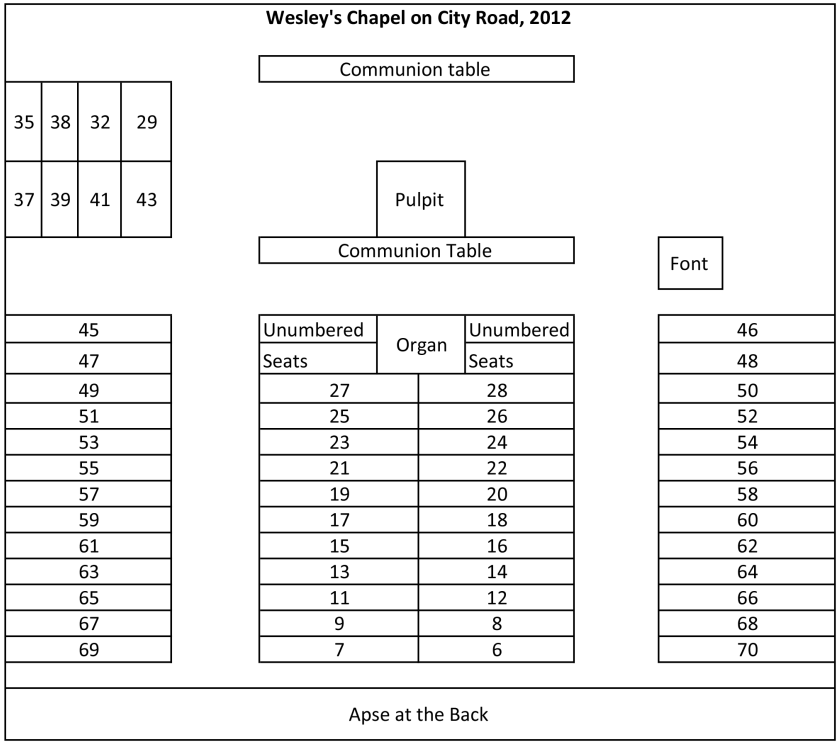

FIGURE 2 Arrangement and numbering of pews on the ground floor at City Road Chapel, instigated *c.*1890, extant 2012. Diagram by author.

Unlike his promotion of the application of the Gothic style to the exterior of Wesleyan chapels, Jobson is not necessarily credited with the innovation of the internal designs for chapels that he promoted. Instead, although considering Jobson's ideals to have influenced the continued use of these arrangements, the existing literature has identified his debt to pre-existing traditions.[16] For example, the extant internal arrangement of John Wesley's Chapel on City Road, first opened in 1778 and remodelled in 1896, and the nineteenth-century ground plans of Great Dover Street and Hinde Street chapels, demonstrate that the internal ideals proposed by Jobson were implemented during the second half of the nineteenth century (see figures 2 and 3).[17] However, they also illustrate the conservative nature of these interior suggestions. Constructed in 1835, the initial implementation of Great Dover Street Chapel's interior design predates Jobson's text. Although the extant internal design of City Road Chapel,

16. T. Saw, 'The Methodist Chapel Interior (1739–1839) in Relation to Contemporary Church Arrangement', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 32/3 (1959), 53–8, 53.

17. London Metropolitan Archives, ACC/2978/001; James Weir, *Building News* (4 Nov. 1887).

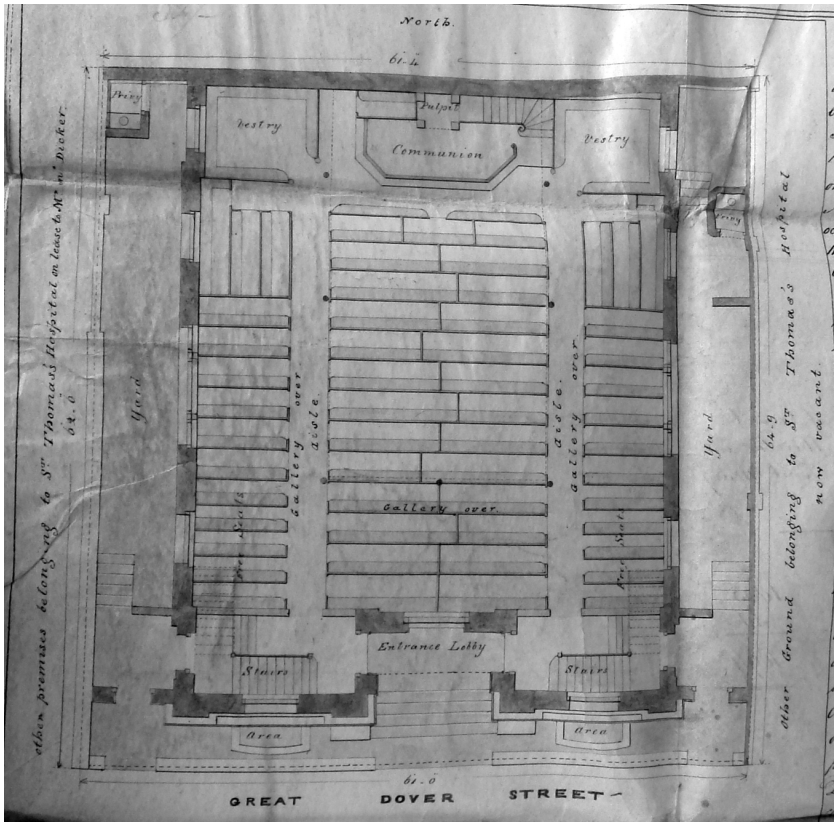

FIGURE 3 Great Dover Street Chapel floor plan, from the lease for the construction of a chapel on Great Dover Street, 1835, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London: ACC/2978/001. Photograph by author, courtesy of the London Metropolitan Archives.

implemented in 1890, demonstrates close conformity to Jobson's mid-century recommendations, it is also indebted to its original design instigated by John Wesley in the eighteenth century. New pews were installed and coloured stained-glass windows added, but its general internal arrangement, inspired by the extant 1748 design of the New Room in Bristol, remained largely the same.[18] However, constructed over a period of sixty years, the internal designs of the Great Dover Street (1835), Hinde Street (1886), and City Road (1890) chapels are remarkably similar, therefore demonstrating the existing literature's consensus that Jobson's internal designs were influential, if not innovative.[19]

18. C. Stell, 'Wesley's Chapel City Road, Islington; Anniversary Address 1993', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 38 (1994), 15–29.

19. LMA, ACC/2978/001; *Building News* (4 Nov. 1887).

In addition to recognizing Jobson's debt to pre-existing Wesleyan internal design, scholars have regularly positioned these arrangements within the context of Wesleyan liturgy and its functional requirements.[20] Emphasizing how Wesleyanism was grounded in the traditions of Post-Reformation Protestantism, the existing literature has appreciated that the denomination's liturgical emphasis on the Word of God (presented in Bible readings, prayers, and sermons) and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (or communion) influenced Jobson's recommendations for chapel design.[21] John Butler, for example, has argued that Jobson's promotion of a centrally positioned pulpit was a simple attempt to create chapels in which the Word of God could be easily heard.[22] Such analyses illustrate a long-standing awareness that Jobson did not advocate physical forms in isolation from their functions, demonstrating the beginnings of approaches to Jobson's text which move beyond its purely architectural recommendations.

Exploration of the relationship between liturgical practices and the internal designs Jobson proposed in *Chapel and School Architecture* therefore begins to demonstrate that this text went beyond simple architectural recommendations. Furthermore, it helps to identify the two principle theoretical foundations on which it was constructed. Firstly, Jobson argued that his designs were always solely influenced by Wesleyan theology: '*The Bond of Methodism* [i.e. Methodist theology], which is felt, and so successfully acted upon, in all other important concerns—should be equally influential on the subject of Chapel Architecture [as it is on all other areas of Wesleyan practice].'[23] Restricting the influences on chapel design to theology alone, Jobson implied that his ideal designs were not affected by the concerns

20. J. F. Butler, 'Methodist Architecture in Relation to Methodist Liturgy', *Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture; Research Bulletin* (1977); Turner, *From Tent to Meeting House,* 250–1; Stell, 'Nonconformist Architecture and the Cambridge Camden Society', 326.

21. The general format of these services recorded in the denomination's liturgical text, *The Sunday Service of the Methodists*; *With Other Occasional Services*. Throughout the eighteenth century, John Wesley had advised that *The Book of Common Prayer* continue to be used in Methodist chapels. However, in the nineteenth century, his 1784 adaptation of this Anglican liturgical text for American use, *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America*, was appropriated for use in England. However, although *The Sunday Service of the Methodists* did contain a few adaptations and additions which made it better suited to Wesleyan practice, it remained common for nineteenth-century Wesleyan chapels to opt to use *The Book of Common Prayer*: *John Wesley's Sunday Service of the Methodist in North America*, with an introduction by J. F. White (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1984).

22. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 73, 78.

23. Ibid. 12.

or priorities of contemporary society, the comfort of the congregation, or recent developments in technology.

Secondly, Jobson proposed that his ideal chapel designs related to their sole theological influences in a very particular way. Arguing that theologically determined function and physical design should be connected in a one-way line of influence, he desired the theological function of a space to always determine its form, but rejected any possibility that this form would then influence the denomination's practices: 'It is not contended that good Architecture in ecclesiastical buildings will, of itself, add to the efficiency of the worship, or to the power of the ministry.'[24] Jobson's recommendations for Wesleyan chapel design were therefore highly prescribed.

Although there is an awareness within the existing literature of the relationship between Jobson's physical designs and the theological purposes of these spaces, these approaches have overemphasized the liturgical functions of Methodist spaces, rarely discussing the influence of other aspects of Wesleyan theology on chapel design.

Conventional approaches to Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture* have therefore been dominated by three specific perspectives: (1) consideration of the text as an influential architectural treatise; (2) focus on Jobson's recommendations for the design of the chapel, rather than its vestries, classrooms, or schoolrooms; and (3) emphasis on the relationship between the liturgical function of Wesleyan chapels and their design. Despite occasional expansions and variations on these approaches, they form the methodological thrust of existing responses to Jobson's text. The rest of this article will explore an alternative approach to analysing *Chapel and School Architecture* and the insights this provides.

Alternative Approach: Positioning Jobson within the Context of Space

In order to investigate the previously unexplored depths of Jobson's recommendations, *Chapel and School Architecture* can be placed within a discourse of 'space'. As a concept, 'space' has had many interpretations and reincarnations, with various theoretical approaches to space, and more specifically

24. Ibid. 9.

religious space, having been proposed.[25] Despite their differences, many of these theories are united by an appreciation that space is not a neutral container of activity, but has a characteristic of its own, which contributes to, and is affected by, the activities and relationships that occur within it. One illustrative example of the multiple ways in which theorists have perceived space is Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space,* which provides a useful demonstration of how thinking spatially can result in different insights into Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture.*[26]

Written in 1974, *The Production of Space* was primarily a vehicle for Lefebvre's Marxist politics.[27] Consequently, his personal atheism and deterministic approach to history pose potential problems for the application of his spatial theories to the study of religious history. However, Fraser MacDonald's analysis of worship in Scottish Presbyterian chapels has provided a useful illustration of how Lefebvre's theories can be successfully employed to examine religious space.[28]

Lefebvre theorized space as the product of a triad of influences. Firstly, he argued that a space's character was influenced by its physical form: its architectural design, the objects present inside it, and the nature of its surrounding area. Secondly, he noted that spatial character was influenced by ideal conceptions of that space that were imposed by official authorities: the intended uses of a space, the intended process of entering and exiting a space, the intended associations people should have with a space, etc. Thirdly, Lefebvre argued that space was also created by users and the way in which they experienced that location: their personal response to, or emotions within, a space.[29] Consequently, Lefebvre did not consider space to be determined by physical form alone, but rather proposed that the physicality, use, and users of space all equally contributed to its construction.

Additionally, Lefebvre argued that the production of space was driven by a reciprocal relationship between society and space. On the one hand, it was only

25. M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, tr. Steven Randall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, tr. Alan Sheridan (New York: Penguin, 1991); M. Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, 16/1 (1986), 22–7; H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, tr. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); K. Knott, 'Religion, Space, and Place: The Spatial Turn in Research on Religion', *Religion and Society: Advances in Research*, 1/1 (2010), 29–43.

26. Lefebvre, *Production of Space.*

27. M. Gottdiener, 'A Marx for Our Time: Henri Lefebvre and *The Production of Space*, *Sociology Theory*, 11/1 (1993), 129–43, 132; L. Stewart, 'Bodies, Visions, and Spatial Politics; A Review Essay on Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*', *Environment and Planning D; Society and Space*, 13/5 (1995), 609–18, 611.

28. F. MacDonald, 'Towards a Spatial Theory of Worship; Some Observations from Presbyterian Scotland', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 3/1 (2002), 61–80.

29. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 33, 38–47.

when space was used, experienced, and thus perceived in a particular way by users that it gained spatial character. Yet on the other, Lefebvre also argued that these social relationships were simultaneously informed by the nature of the space in which they were conducted. For Lefebvre, spaces were therefore in a cyclical exchange with the social activities they hosted: activities within spaces informed spatial characteristics, and spaces' characters were simultaneously informed by the activities they contained.[30]

Lefebvre's ideas therefore facilitate consideration of how Jobson not only made recommendations for the physical architectural design of places of Methodist practice, but also suggested ideal ways in which they should be used and who they should be used by. Lefebvre's triad of approaches to space encourages simultaneous consideration of the physical form, social use, and personal relationships individuals had with a space and therefore demands questions about the use and users of space, in combination with explorations of physical architectural proposals. Using Lefebvre's ideas to position Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture* within the discourse of space will therefore enable different questions to be asked about the book's recommendations.

Asking New Questions

The existing literature's approaches to Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture* have focused on the text as an architectural treatise, have predominately discussed only his recommendations for the design of the chapel, and have only briefly begun to explore the relationship Jobson envisaged between Wesleyan theology and the design of Wesleyan space. Repositioning this text within a discourse of space liberates the analytical approaches taken to it and enables alternative questions to be raised about its content and influence. Consideration can be paid to sections of the book previously thought to have little architectural importance, specifically Jobson's recommendations for schoolhouses, classrooms, and vestries and broader discussions are facilitated around the implementation of Jobson's ideal of theologically inspired design.

Space: Thinking Beyond Architectural Design

In addition to recommendations for the design of the exterior and interior of chapels, Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture* provided instructions for

30. Ibid. 26.

the construction of a number of additional locations of Methodist practice: vestries, classrooms, and schoolhouses.[31] Due to the lack of concrete architectural instruction or the subsequent influence of these aspects of his text, they have largely been overlooked in the existing literature. However, when read within the discourse of space, these sections provide new insights into Jobson's recommendations and the intended design of Wesleyan architecture in the mid-nineteenth century.

The second section of Jobson's book was devoted to the design of schoolhouses.[32] As the locations of weekday and Sunday school classes, schoolhouses were an important element of most contemporary Christian institutions; the Church, rather than the State, provided the majority of basic literacy and numeracy education for society's lower classes until the 1870s.[33] However, by the 1840s there was growing debate about the extent to which religious groups should provide education influenced by their denominational biases. In this context, Jobson's discussion of schoolhouses has predominantly been interpreted as a polemical presentation of the benefits of retaining specifically Wesleyan education for the working classes, C. C. Pond asserting that Jobson was at the forefront of this debate.[34]

Jobson's recommendations for ideal educational practices in Sunday and weekday schools were influential. For both, he emphasized the importance of religious education and a strong connection between each school and chapel.[35] He modelled ideal Wesleyan education practice on the Glasgow Training System, where students were subdivided into four tiers of education, moving though each as they grew older or more able.[36] Articles published in the *Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine* in the 1870s—twenty years after the publication of *Chapel and School Architecture*—demonstrate the practical implication of Jobson's ideals.[37] Reports from Hackney Road and Kings Cross Wesleyan

31. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 58.

32. Ibid. 107–54.

33. The provision of state education remained minimal until the establishment of the School Board system in 1870: M. E. A. Boultwood and S. J. Curtis, *An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800* (Cambridge: University Tutorial Press, 1960), 74.

34. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 109; C. C. Pond, 'The Sunday School and the Life and Design of the Chapel', in Cherry, ed., *Dissent and the Gothic Revival*, 72–83, 73; P. B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780–1980* (Surrey: National Christian Education Council, 1986).

35. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 112–29.

36. Ibid. 135.

37. *The Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine and Journal of Education* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office); New Series, 1870, vol. 5; New Series, 1871, vol. 6; New Series, 1872, vol. 7; New Series, 1874, vol. 9.

Sunday schools in 1871, illustrate that importance was placed on religious education and the implementation of pupil stratification according to age and ability.[38] This apparent success of Jobson's educational ideals makes the attention they have conventionally been paid in the existing literature important.

However, in addition to explaining ideal educational practice, Jobson also provided instructions for the physical design of schools.[39] He recommended that schoolhouses should comprise of a single, large school hall, with a tiered gallery at one end, in which students could sit, and one or two separate classrooms.[40] He provided a number of model schoolhouse designs, incorporating a number of variations and allowing for alterations in accordance with the location of the school and the number of pupils it was likely to accommodate. For example, while his design for village and town schools were single storey with varying sized halls and classrooms, his city school design had two stories and three separate halls, each with their own classrooms attached; this allowed infants, girls, and boys to be taught separately.[41] Jobson also provided recommendations for the arrangement of desks, the positioning of the gallery at the back of the school hall, and the mechanics of an outside swing.[42] Nevertheless, all of these specific recommendations for the physical design of schoolhouses have consistently been overlooked.

The lack of attention conventionally paid to Jobson's physical recommendations may reflect the largely unobtainable nature of his designs. Despite both the physical school designs and educational practices he proposed conforming to the contemporarily favoured principles laid out by the government's Committee of Council on Education, many chapel communities had insufficient money or land to implement these ideals.[43] In 1857, the London Sunday School Union visited 162 different Sunday schools, producing a highly critical report that judged most to be unsuitable for effective education.[44] The report

38. Anon, 'Extract from Hackney-Road Wesleyan Sunday-Schools Report, for the Year ending Lady-day 1871', *The Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine and Journal of Education*, New Series, vol. 6 (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871), 138–9; 'Annual Report of King's-Cross Wesleyan Sunday School', in ibid. 139–42.

39. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 109, 117–51.

40. Ibid. 148–51.

41. Ibid. 149–51.

42. Ibid. 151.

43. M. Seaborne, *The English School: Its Architecture and Organisation*, vol. I: 1370–1870 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), 199; M. Seaborne and R. Lowe, *The English School: Its Architecture and Organisation*, vol. II: 1870–1970 (London: Routledge, 1977); T. A. Markus, *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (London: Routledge, 1993), 48–53.

44. Cliff, *Sunday School Movement*, 148.

particularly highlighted the common shortage of desks and the poor design of many galleries, the superintendent unable to see the children who sat in them.[45] Although not all of these schools were associated with the Wesleyan Church (the London Sunday School Union was a non-denominational organization), the report still suggests that although Wesleyan schools were implementing Jobson's ideal educational practices, his physical recommendations were not directly executed. Indeed, the ideal design features which Jobson promoted in 1850 were still considered ideals by 1873—the Wesleyan minister Rev. John W. Jones arguing that: 'Other Sabbath-schools may be held anywhere,—in barn, kitchen, chapel, or church, but the Sabbath model school is not in a church, certainly . . . but in a suitable school-building'.[46] As a completed scheme, the architectural form of Jobson's model schoolhouse designs were therefore rarely implemented.

However, the form and the function of Jobson's ideal Wesleyan schoolhouse were closely related, demanding consideration of schoolhouses as more than architectural shells. Analysing Jobson's recommendations for schoolhouses as spaces rather than architecture demonstrates that key elements of his spatial recommendations were regularly implemented, even if his physical suggestions were unobtainable. Rooms and separate buildings for the express purpose of schooling were common in nineteenth-century chapels; examples found in metropolitan chapels include Brunswick, Denbigh Road, Globe Road, Spitalfields, Mostyn Road, and Hinde Street.[47] The 1858 London Sunday School Union survey found that although sixty-two schools were taught in a place of worship, thirty-one under a place of worship, and seven over a place of worship, forty-two were held in their own building devoted to school teaching and thirty had separate spaces for the education of girls and boys.[48] Although these findings suggest that it was more common to hold Sunday schools within the chapel than in a separate building, they also reveal that it was not uncommon for metropolitan institutions to construct separate Sunday school premises and even subdivide these spaces for the education of girls and boys—as Jobson recommended. Therefore, although not all chapels were necessarily

45. Ibid.

46. Revd John W. Jones, 'Practical Papers: A Model Sabbath-School', *The Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine and Journal of Education,* New Series, vol. 8 (Oct. 1873), 217–23, 218.

47. London Metropolitan Archives, N/M/042/012; London Metropolitan Archives, LMA/4451/03/008; London Metropolitan Archives, N/M/042/001; London Metropolitan Archives, N/M/042/010; Lambeth Archives, IV/137/12; Westminster Archives, 594/141.

48. Cliff, *Sunday School Movement*, 148.

able to construct separate schools, they regularly created dedicated space for educational purposes.

Similar attempts to create spaces with the desirable characteristics, even when exact physical designs were not possible, were undertaken to accommodate separate Bible classes for senior scholars. These classes were intended to introduce scholars over the age of fourteen to various aspects of the Wesleyan, Christian, faith in order to advance the ultimate aim of Sunday school education—encouraging continuation on the Christian walk.[49] Jobson proposed that 'these [Bible classes] are usually met in rooms adjoining the general school-rooms, by the most intelligent and best qualified teachers'.[50] However, even if separate classrooms was not available, it seems likely that Sunday schools found alternative spaces—distinguished from activities in the main Sunday school—for these Bible classes; the *Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine*, for example, provided advice on how to specifically engage older scholars.[51] Thinking spatially about Jobson's recommendations reveals that the physicality of separate classrooms was only one component of the spatial character he recommended for older scholars' Bible classes. He considered the spatial character of the location of Bible classes to also be dependent on the space's evangelical purpose, its use by older scholars and well-qualified teachers, and its temporary status as the location of Bible classes. Although not every chapel school could have perfectly replicated his architectural proposals, there was room for negotiation to create similar spaces. Therefore, the discourse of space facilitates broader discussion about Jobson's recommendations and their implementation, highlighting interest in sections of his text generally overlooked when judged from an architectural perspective.

Jobson's recommendations for the design of schoolhouses is not the only element of his text which has been overlooked by the architecturally preoccupied existing literature. Jobson also provided instructions for the most effective design of vestries and classrooms.[52] Dating back from the fourteenth century, vestries were common features of all nineteenth-century churches; the location of vestments, vessels, and records, they were used by clergymen and choirs when

49. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 121–2.

50. Ibid.

51. W. Aston, 'What are the claims of our elder scholars, and what special efforts should be made to bring them to Christ and the Church?', *The Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine and Journal of Education,* New Series, vol. 6 (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871), 6–9, 29–33.

52. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 58.

preparing for services.[53] By contrast, classrooms were specifically Methodist spaces, which, as their name suggests, were predominantly used to host class meetings: small groups of no more than thirty members, who met weekly to pray, share personal experiences of God, and encourage each other in faith.[54] Apart from stipulating that all Wesleyan chapels should have a least one vestry and one classroom, Jobson did not detail how either location should be designed.[55] Even when he included several accounts of pre-existing vestries and classrooms as suitable designs for emulation, they rarely provided any more concrete physical instruction.[56] For example, his description of the vestries at the New North Road Chapel in Hoxton stated that they were 'enclosed under the same roof with the chapel' and could 'be readily removed, if the enlargement of the chapel shall be found necessary'.[57] When reading *Chapel and School Architecture* as an architectural treatise, these comments suggest that Jobson encouraged a changeable, even ephemeral, form for vestries. However, by thinking about it as a comment on space, it becomes clear that by circumventing the physical design of these vestries, Jobson was suggesting that it was the variable functions of classrooms and vestries that informed their commendable character, demonstrating that his text was intended to influence more than a chapel's architectural structure.

Indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century his simple recommendation that they exist had been heeded and both vestries and classrooms were necessary components of Wesleyan chapels. In 1888, *The Methodist Recorder* published an article entitled 'Wanted—A Vestry—[a letter] to the editor of the Methodist Recorder'.[58] From the steward of a chapel in Leicester, the letter explained how the congregation met in a small building with no classrooms or vestries and was now struggling for space after two recent spiritual revivals in the local population. The letter appealed to the newspaper's readers for money toward their cause and demonstrated that, even if not always present in nineteenth-century chapels, vestries and classrooms were sufficiently commonplace to be expected or desired by all.

Despite not offering advice for the physical design of vestries and classrooms, Jobson did make suggestions about their ideal purpose. Identifying that

53. 'Vestry, n[1],' in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://oed.com> accessed 18 Apr. 2012.

54. 'Class Meetings', in *Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*, <http://www.wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk/dmbi/index.php?do=app.entry&id=633> accessed 21 Jan. 2012; H. D. Rack, 'Wesleyan Methodism 1849–1902', in R. Davies, A. R. George, and G. Rupp, eds, *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (London: Epworth Press, 1983), III:119–66, 160.

55. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 58.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid. 95.

58. Ibid. 58; *The Methodist Recorder and General Christian Chronicle*, 28/1559 (1888), 89.

classrooms were primarily used for class meetings, he recommended that this should not be their only purpose and that both they and vestries would ideally host multiple activities. References in chapel records suggest that these rooms were commonly used for various functions. Wesleyan vestries were often used to store important documents and objects required for religious practices, host trustees' meetings, accommodate tea meetings, and as the location of children's services conducted at the same time as regular divine worship.[59]

Therefore, although Jobson provided minimal physical instructions for the design of vestries and classrooms, his more general recommendations were regularly found in Wesleyan chapels. This raises questions about conventional interpretations of Jobson's text. Consideration of schoolhouses, classrooms, and vestries has demonstrated that it contains more than purely architectural recommendations and begins to suggest that his principle of theologically inspired design stretched beyond the liturgical requirements of the chapel.

Space: The Extent of Theologically Inspired Design

The existing literature has demonstrated an appreciation for the relationship between Jobson's chapel designs and Wesleyan liturgical practices. However, a spatial reading of the text suggests that Wesleyan theology more broadly had an integral influence on the design of all aspects and locations of the denomination's practices.

Moving beyond the theological principles embraced by Wesleyan liturgy, the theology of nineteenth-century Wesleyanism can be summarized as: belief in the necessity of faith in God, personal experience of his presence, trust in God's free grace, and hope in the possibility that by faith alone grace can be received by all.[60] These principles became the foundation of all Wesleyan practices, which were essentially divided into three categories: divine worship, fellowship, and evangelism. Wesleyan worship was arranged around the Word of God and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, both intended to remember—and gain a better understanding of—Christ's death and the resulting fundamental theological truth of free grace. Fellowship was intended to provide opportunities

59. Mostyn Road Circuit stored their important documents in a safe in the Mostyn Road Chapel Vestry: Lambeth Archives, IV/186/2/1/1 (1872–91); The Spitalfields Chapel 'Rules and Regulations' for their chapel keeper stipulated that one of his roles was helping the minister move his possessions and notes from the vestry to the pulpit at the beginning of the service, London Metropolitan Archives, N/M/42/10/001 (30 Mar. 1869).

60. K. Cracknell and S. J. White, *An Introduction to World Methodism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 93, 98, 137.

for individuals to share their experiences of God. Contemporarily referred to as connexionalism, and most notably taking the form of class meetings, it aimed to provide mutual encouragement and advance each individual's belief and understanding of God's free grace.[61] Finally, evangelism was a response to God's grace and an attempt to disseminate teaching about God's gift of salvation. In the second half of the nineteenth century, this was most notably demonstrated through the work of the Forward Movement, which aimed to convert members of the working classes to Wesleyanism by responding to the appalling living and working conditions of many of the working class and providing social and welfare support.[62]

By considering schoolhouses, classrooms, and vestries, illustrations of the three principal facets of Wesleyan theology (worship, connexionalism, and evangelism) influencing the design of multiple locations of Wesleyan practice have already been provided. Jobson explicitly argued that each of these spaces were 'indispensable to the working of Methodism', an importance accorded largely as a result of the activities conducted within them and the people using them.[63] As sites of class meetings, classrooms and vestries became the location of the prime example of connexionalism. Class meetings were particularly important to connexionalism during the nineteenth century as chapel membership was dependent on class attendance.[64] Similarly, as the location of Sunday schools, schoolhouses were important locations of Wesleyan evangelism, providing space for Wesleyans to engage with members of the surrounding community.[65] However, the theologically inspired character of spaces Jobson discussed was not only the result of their uses and users. Jobson made recommendations for their physical design intended to facilitate their use as places of worship, connexionalism, and evangelism.

To facilitate more careful consideration of the theological implications of Jobson's physical, functional, and social recommendations for Wesleyan spaces, it is helpful to use Walter Benjamin's concept of porosity. In 1924 Benjamin,

61. H. D. Rack, 'The Decline of the Class Meeting and the Problem of Church Membership in Nineteenth-Century Wesleyanism', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 39/1 (1973–4), 12–21.

62. 'Forward Movement', *Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*, <http://www.wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk/dmbi/index.php?do=app.entry&id=1040> accessed 1 June 2014.

63. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 58; Rack, 'Wesleyan Methodism 1849–1902', 160.

64. Rack, 'Wesleyan Methodism 1849–1902', 160.

65. Cliff, *Sunday School Movement*.

a German thinker, published an essay on the Italian city of Naples.[66] In this essay, Benjamin developed the term 'porosity' to describe how potential contradictions and stable boundaries were blurred within the city's culture. He argued that the nature of Naples's buildings, the function of its spaces, and the behaviour of its inhabitants suggested that the old and the new, the public and the private, and the sacred and the profane were not delineated in its society, but were in constant conversation.[67] For Benjamin the city's character was defined by these intersections and blurred boundaries, movement between conventional distinctions actively influencing both sides of the border. Benjamin provided multiple explicit demonstrations of porosity. For example, he discussed how the people of Naples often brought furniture from inside their homes out onto the streets, conducting their private lives within these public spaces. Porosity occurred as private and public spaces merged and influenced each other. Not only was the nature of the private influenced by its new public context, but the public space of the street was also redesigned as a result of its domestic interaction. Porosity is therefore a useful tool for conceptualizing the spatial implications of communications and relationships between differences and distinctions.

Benjamin's concept of porosity can be used to interpret Wesleyan theological principles as the promotion of religious practices intended to inspire porous relationships. Divine worship ideally encouraged porosity between humans and God, connectionalism promoted uninhibited exchange between Wesleyans, and evangelism sought meaningful interaction between Wesleyans and non-Wesleyans. When reading Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture* spatially, one can identify attempts to reflect Wesleyan theology's porosity within the design of its spaces. Jobson's combined recommendations for the form, use, and users of chapels enabled him to comment on relational designs and how they contributed to the design of space, as much as the architectural structure of these spaces. For example, it was common practice in nineteenth-century Wesleyan chapels for individuals to rent a pew in which they would sit every

66. W. Benjamin, 'Naples', in Peter Demetz, ed., and Edmund Jephcott, tr., *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 163–76.

67. S. Buck-Morris, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 28–9; G. Gilloch, *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge: Polity, 1996), 25–36; A. Benjamin, 'Porosity at the Edge', *Architectural Theory Review*, 10/1 (2005), 33–43; L. Lu, 'The Asian Arcades Project: Progressive Porosity', *Perspecta*, 36 (2005), 86, 89–91.

week.[68] In order to rent a pew, one had to be a member of the chapel, rather than just a congregational adherent. Rented pews were therefore supplemented by 'free seats', used by non-chapel members, those who could not afford the pew rent, and children from the chapel's Sunday school. In *Chapel and School Architecture*, Jobson stipulated that the form of the free and rented seats should be the same, advising that backs be provided for both.[69] He criticized chapels that provided insufficient seating for the poor, or positioned their free seats in awkward and undesirable positions, describing with disgust how he visited chapels in which 'the poor's seats are like sheep-pens, in the four corners of the building and behind the pulpit. . . .'[70] Therefore, Jobson encouraged Wesleyan chapel seating to be arranged according to the denomination's theological belief in equality obtained through divine grace. By criticizing examples in which the congregation was segregated according to their worldly wealth, Jobson implied that Wesleyan seats would ideally foster engagement between their various users and therefore foster the porous relationships desired by Wesleyan theology.

A spatial reading of *Chapel and School Architecture* therefore demonstrates that Jobson's ideal of theologically driven design was not limited to designing chapel spaces in order to facilitate liturgical practices. Although his careful stipulations for the internal arrangement of chapels did formulate a practical context for the instigation of liturgy, their pre-eminent intention was to cultivate porosity between humanity and God. Furthermore, Jobson also made proposals for the ideal design of chapel congregations that had no connection to the liturgy of divine worship, but attempted to encourage human relationships in line with Wesleyan evangelism and connexionalism. Similarly, his suggestion that vestries and classrooms should have malleable forms and variable functions were made with no reference to liturgical requirements as divine worship was never conducted in these spaces. Instead, it was hoped that this changeability would result in these sites being used by a vast array of different people, thus abetting and directly engaging with the theological ideals of connectional and evangelical porosity.

68. E. R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969), 72.

69. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, 78.

70. Ibid. 65.

Conclusion

Existing approaches to F. J. Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture* have focused on how the text functioned as an architectural treatise. By doing so, they have prioritized the architectural recommendations Jobson made, overlooking sections of his book where concrete physical suggestions were scant or subsequently had little influence on architectural design. Primarily, this was manifested through a preoccupation with the design of the Wesleyan chapel, a bias further demonstrated through discussions about Jobson's ideal of theologically inspired design being solely centred around liturgical influences on chapel design. This article has proposed a rereading of Jobson's text through positioning it within the discourse of space.

Broadening attention beyond architectural merit and demonstrating that Jobson's recommendations also contained suggestions about the function and users of locations of Wesleyanism, this article has emphasized the importance of simultaneously studying all aspects of Jobson's text. Its appreciation of Jobson's recommendations for schoolhouses, classrooms, and vestries has also challenged conventional considerations of Jobson's ideal of theologically inspired design. It has become clear that the spatial designs Jobson proposed for these locations—embracing their physical form, use, and users—were also theologically driven. Using Walter Benjamin's concept of 'porosity', it has been suggested that Wesleyan theology encouraged various porous relationships, blurring boundaries and distinctions between the divine and the human, the Wesleyan and the unchurched. Identification of these porous relationships has facilitated more subtle appreciation of how Jobson promoted spatial designs inspired by theological principles.

Therefore, positioning Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture* within the discourse of space allows a more nuanced approach to his text, extending the reasons why this text is considered interesting and important, while also facilitating more subtle considerations of the relationship between his recommendations and nineteenth-century Wesleyan theology.

EVANGELICAL DISSENTIENTS AND THE DEFEAT OF THE ANGLICAN-METHODIST UNITY SCHEME

ANDREW ATHERSTONE

ABSTRACT

During the ecumenical heyday of the 1960s and early 1970s, evangelicals within Methodism and Anglicanism played a major part in helping to defeat the proposed Anglican-Methodist reunion scheme. This article examines the rhetoric of two groups of dissentients, one from each denomination—the Voice of Methodism, and the Calvinist circle around Anglican theologian J. I. Packer. It demonstrates that although their objections to the scheme were broadly similar, focused upon its Catholic ecclesiology, they had less in common theologically than they assumed. Although they portrayed themselves as close allies, there was little dialogue across the denominational divide nor any agreement about the nature of the evangelicalism they reputedly shared.

Keywords: Anglican-Methodist Unity Scheme; ecumenism; episcopacy; evangelicalism; J. I. Packer; Gordon Rupp; Voice of Methodism

Preaching before the University of Cambridge in November 1946, Geoffrey Fisher, the archbishop of Canterbury, proposed an innovative 'step forward' in Church relations. To stimulate ecumenical progress in postwar Britain, he suggested that nonconformist denominations take episcopacy 'into their own system' and 'try it out on their own ground first'. This would open the door to intercommunion with the Church of England and perhaps also, in due course, to organizational unity.[1]

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1. Geoffrey Fisher, *A Step Forward in Church Relations* (London: Church Assembly, 1946), 10.

It was one of the more creative proposals during the ecumenical heyday of the mid-twentieth century, as many began to advocate the reunion of all Britain's mainstream denominations. The Methodist Conference of 1953 was the first to take up Fisher's challenge, leading to a long series of conversations over the next decade. The result was a slim report, published in February 1963, proposing a two-stage process. At Stage I, Methodism would become episcopal and existing Anglican and Methodist ministries would be harmonized through a special 'Service of Reconciliation', akin to ordination, during which an Anglican bishop would lay hands on the heads of the Methodist ministers with the words, 'Take authority to exercise the office of a priest', and a Methodist presiding minister would lay hands on the heads of the Anglican bishops and priests with the words, 'Take authority to exercise the office of a minister'. Stage II, at an indeterminate future date, would see the two Churches joined in full organic union.[2] After further clarification, and the setting up of a new Anglican-Methodist Unity Commission, the final scheme was published in April 1968.[3] All was now ready for the plunge into what would surely be one of the twentieth century's most momentous ecumenical achievements. The Methodist Conference voted overwhelmingly in favour. The Anglicans, notoriously, got cold feet at the last moment and pulled out. Twice it was brought forward for official Church of England approval—to the Convocations in July 1969, and to the new General Synod in May 1972. Both times it failed to achieve the necessary majority. Anglican-Methodist unity was dead in the water, and the Methodists were left embarrassed and in the lurch. The prospect of ecumenical triumph had dissolved into ecumenical farce.[4]

Through the 1960s and early 1970s evangelical dissentients, both Methodist and Anglican, played a major part in helping to defeat the scheme. Their voices were prominent among the thousands of published pamphlets, platform speeches, symposia, journal articles, newspaper articles, and open letters which engulfed both Churches for a decade. These exhausting debates raised

2. *Conversations between the Church of England and the Methodist Church: A Report* (London: Church Information Office/Epworth Press, 1963). The proposed 'Service of Reconciliation' is at 37–47. The conversationalists had previously published *Conversations between the Church of England and the Methodist Church: An Interim Statement* (London: SPCK/Epworth Press, 1958).

3. *Anglican-Methodist Unity*, Part I: *The Ordinal* (London: SPCK/Epworth Press 1968); *Anglican-Methodist Unity*, Part II: *The Scheme* (London: SPCK/Epworth Press, 1968). The commission had previously published *Toward Reconciliation: The Interim Statement of the Anglican-Methodist Unity Commission* (London: SPCK/Epworth Press, 1967).

4. For overviews of these debates, see George Thompson Brake, *Policy and Politics in British Methodism 1932–1982* (London: Edsall, 1984), 99–150; John Munsey Turner, *Conflict and Reconciliation: Studies in Methodism and Ecumenism in England 1740–1982* (London: Epworth Press, 1985), 194–214.

for evangelical commentators a number of significant questions about the theological identities of Methodism and Anglicanism. This article examines the rhetoric of two groups of dissentients, one from each denomination—the Voice of Methodism, and the Calvinist circle around J. I. Packer and Latimer House, Oxford, an Anglican evangelical research institute. It shows that although their objections to the union scheme were broadly similar, focused upon its Catholic ecclesiology, they both criticized the theological tone of the other denomination. Both believed the proposed scheme was detrimental to evangelicalism, but approached it from contrasting Wesleyan and Calvinist perspectives. The article concludes that although these dissentients portrayed themselves as close evangelical allies, they fought on separate fronts with minimal contact, and had less in common theologically than they assumed.

Methodist Evangelical Views of Anglicanism

Four Methodist representatives dissented from the initial *Conversations Report*—Kingsley Barrett (professor of divinity at Durham University), Thomas Jessop (emeritus professor of philosophy at Hull University), Thomas Meadley (principal of Cliff College near Sheffield), and Norman Snaith (former principal of Wesley College, Headingley). They believed the unity scheme, although 'well-intentioned', to be 'in principle sectarian and exclusive', leading to certain division within Methodism and possibly within Anglicanism too.[5] They argued that the Methodist Church was evangelical, as laid down by the 1932 Deed of Union, which stated that 'in the Providence of God Methodism was raised up to spread Scriptural Holiness through the land by the proclamation of the Evangelical Faith'.[6] In contrast, they said, the Church of England was far from evangelical. If Methodism were absorbed by Anglicanism, the evangelical cause in Britain would be 'fatally weakened':

> The more scriptural Church order would have been swallowed up by the less, and the exclusiveness which bars the Lord's people from the Lord's Table would have strengthened its grip. . . . It is indeed true that there are questions of minor importance on which divergent opinions may properly be held within one body, but there are also matters of great moment where divergent opinion can only

5. 'A Dissentient View', in *Conversations Report*, 57.

6. Deed of Union, paragraph 30, in Harold Spencer and Edwin Finch, eds, *The Constitutional Practice and Discipline of the Methodist Church*, 4th edn (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1964), 276.

> be a sign of weakness and of doctrinal levity. . . . to move from a Church committed to the evangelical faith into a heterogeneous body permitting, and even encouraging, unevangelical doctrines and practices, would be a step backward which not even the desirability of closer relations could justify.[7]

In particular, Barrett and his associates objected to the imposition of the 'historic episcopate' (an ambiguous phrase), which they dismissed as 'completely without support in the New Testament', claiming in their defence none less than John Wesley himself, who once wrote that uninterrupted apostolic succession was 'a fable, which no man ever did or can prove'.[8] Indeed, in the scriptural sense, Methodism already possessed episcopacy, since the word *episkopos* was used in the New Testament to denote a minister. Furthermore, they believed that the Service of Reconciliation implied an ordination to 'the office of a priest' and therefore 'casts an intolerable (though certainly unintended) slur on Methodist ordinations and ministries in the past.' As far as the dissentients were concerned, the Church of England could keep its bishops and its sacrificing priesthood for itself: 'For what outward continuity may be worth, most Methodists would prefer to be visibly one with the Churches of the Reformation than with medieval and un-reformed Christendom.'[9]

It was a damning indictment, suggesting the incompatibility of Methodist and Anglican identities, which assumed that Anglo-Catholicism was representative of Anglicanism. Their strictures were dismissed by a fellow Methodist as 'flimsy' and 'emotive', nothing more than a fearful assault upon 'a few Anglican Aunt Sallys' and 'the porcupine fringe of Anglo-Catholics'.[10] Yet outside the constraints of their minority report, the dissentients felt able to express themselves even more freely. The Voice of Methodism Association was founded in response to the *Conversations Report*, and in a letter read to its inaugural conference at Westminster Central Hall in January 1964, Snaith proclaimed:

> My reason – the basic reason – for not signing the Report is quite simple. I believe that salvation is by grace alone through faith alone and I believe, with Luther and John Wesley, that the very essence of the Gospel is to be found in Ephesians 2.8: 'For by grace are ye saved

7. 'Dissentient View', 62.

8. John Wesley to Charles Wesley, 19 Aug. 1785, in *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley*, ed. John Telford, 8 vols (London: Epworth Press, 1931), VII:284. The dissentients were rebuked for misleadingly equating 'historic episcopate' and 'apostolic succession': Richard G. Jones, *The Dissentient Mystery* (London: Epworth Press, 1964), 9.

9. 'Dissentient View', 58–60.

10. Jones, *Dissentient Mystery*, 9, 13–14, 22.

> through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God.' This is 'the Word of God in the Bible'. It is the essence of Protestantism and it is the Gospel.[11]

Snaith reminded his hearers that Methodism had come into existence precisely as a result of Wesley's discovery of grace alone through hearing Luther's introduction to the Book of Romans at Aldersgate Street. He likened Anglicans, in contrast, to the very Judaizers against whom Paul wrote in Romans and Galatians, and concluded: 'I say, as a Methodist, as a Protestant, as a Christian who knows that he can be saved only by grace and only through faith—I say that I cannot sign this Report. I believe that to sign this Report is not only a denial of Methodist doctrine: it is a denial of my own religious experience.'[12]

The Voice of Methodism Association (VMA) was just one of several small and diverse Methodist groups which were brought together by their opposition to the union scheme. They collaborated with members of the Methodist Revival Fellowship (founded in 1952), the National Liaison Committee (an umbrella group for Methodist dissentients, founded in 1965), and Conservative Evangelicals in Methodism (CEIM, founded in 1970).[13] The VMA was the most outspoken, having been established specifically to promote 'uncompromising opposition' to the scheme,[14] which it saw as 'a betrayal of our Protestant and Free Church heritage'.[15] The organization described its own purpose as 'working to revive the cause that Wesley founded . . . to prevent Methodism being lost for ever',[16] believing that 'the smothering of this "Voice" will profoundly affect the cause of Evangelical Christianity throughout the world.'[17] It complained that the proposed scheme 'subordinates the pulsating Pentecostal power of the Holy Spirit to a pale and rigid and pre-Christian ecclesiasticism.'[18]

11. Norman H. Snaith, 'Why I Did Not Sign the Report', *Voice of Methodism*, 1 (Feb. 1964), 8.
12. Ibid. 9.
13. See further: Arthur Skevington Wood, *The Kindled Flame: The Witness of the Methodist Revival Fellowship* (Ilkeston: Headway, 1987); Martin Wellings, 'Renewing Methodist Evangelicalism: The Origins and Development of the Methodist Revival Fellowship', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds, *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 286–96; Robert J. Kitching, 'The Conservative Evangelical Influence in Methodism, 1900–1976', MPhil thesis (Birmingham University, 1976).
14. *Voice of Methodism*, 1 (Feb. 1964), 2.
15. Bertrand J. Coggle, 'The Voice of Methodism and Democratic Procedure', *Voice of Methodism*, 4 (Aug. 1964), 8.
16. *Voice of Methodism*, 4 (Aug. 1964), 4.
17. *Voice of Methodism*, 1 (Feb. 1964), 5.
18. Ibid. 3.

Much of the VMA's polemic was dedicated to a vociferous attack upon Anglicanism as unevangelical and unreformed, and therefore incompatible with Methodism. Page after page of the bimonthly *Voice of Methodism* bulletin was filled with examples of Anglicanism's Romeward leaning. For instance, in 1964 the Church of England legalized stone altars and medieval vestments for the first time since the Reformation, despite Protestant objections that these symbolized a sacerdotal priesthood.[19] In every town, it was claimed, there was an Anglican church which could be mistaken for a Roman Catholic church—holy water at the porch, Stations of the Cross around the walls, the reserved sacrament and confessional booths, statues and shrines.[20] After describing an Anglican pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham—an event 'replete with error and superstition', dominated by the 'flummery of ecclesiastical haberdashers'—the *Voice of Methodism* asked, 'What communion has light with such darkness?'[21] Archbishops of Canterbury enjoyed audiences with the Pope, and an Anglican delegation was sent to Rome to observe the Second Vatican Council.[22] The VMA feared that if Methodists joined with Anglicans, they too would soon be swept into the Church of Rome—they saw the union scheme not as an exciting step forward but as a disastrous lurch backwards toward medievalism.[23]

Other dissentients understood Methodism to be bound up not only with evangelical doctrine and anti-Catholic sentiment, but with social status. There were cultural and educational barriers separating chapel and church.[24] One Methodist complained about the *Conversations Report*:

> It is full of abstruse verbosity and complicated theological phrases. And there are words in it that the average Methodist has never even heard of, let alone used in ordinary conversation. Thousands of loyal and faithful Methodists up and down the country have never matriculated at a university or been to college or public school. They have never studied theology. They have not learned Latin and

19. John Maiden and Peter Webster, 'Parliament, the Church of England, and the Last Gasp of Political Protestantism, 1963–4', *Parliamentary History*, 32 (June 2013), 361–77.

20. *Voice of Methodism*, 2 (Apr. 1964), 12.

21. *Voice of Methodism*, 4 (Aug. 1964), 2.

22. John Moorman, *Vatican Observed: An Anglican Impression of Vatican II* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1967). The World Methodist Council also sent a delegation to Rome: see Albert C. Outler, *Methodist Observer at Vatican II* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1967).

23. *Voice of Methodism*, 5 (Nov. 1964), 3.

24. Robert Currie, *Methodism Divided: A Study in the Sociology of Ecumenicalism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968).

> Greek. Amongst them are housewives and typists, farm labourers and barrow boys, jobbing gardeners and shop assistants. Who is to blame them if they find the Report quite unintelligible . . .[25]

Some dissentients accused the Methodist hierarchy of promoting union with the Church of England because it would improve their social standing and establishment connections, winning them bishoprics, deaneries, archdeaconries, and other ecclesiastical dignities. The *Voice of Methodism* carried the following limerick:

> From bishops I hold me aloof,
> Tho' my friends think I'm rather uncouth.
> Yet tho' I've lost status
> And episcopal gaiters,
> At least I've held on to the truth.[26]

Episcopacy bore the brunt of Methodist protests, despite the fact that many branches of global Methodism already had bishops. To English dissentients, a Methodist bishop was an oxymoron. Another contributor to the *Voice of Methodism* offered a parody of Samuel Stone's hymn, *The Church's One Foundation*, presumably to be sung in the new united Church. It began:

> The Church's one foundation
> Is the Episcopate;
> It is no new creation,
> Though magnified of late;
> To glorify the prelates
> The Saviour taught and died;
> To honour priestly zealots
> Our Lord was crucified.
>
> Though of your sins repenting,
> In love and charity
> Your enmity relenting,
> Christ's guests you fain would be:
> Yet to the Holy Table
> Your way you've wrongly wormed;

25. James Bristow, 'Confusing the Issue', *Voice of Methodism*, 3 (July 1964), 5.
26. *Voice of Methodism*, 5 (Nov. 1964), 11.

To taste you are not able,
Unless you've been confirmed.[27]

Franz Hildebrandt, a leading dissentient, declared that for Methodists to accept episcopacy was 'an open betrayal of the Reformation and of the Gospel itself'. He proclaimed: 'Wesley changed order for the sake of the Gospel; we change the Gospel for the sake of order.'[28] Disillusioned by these developments within Methodism, Hildebrandt resigned from Methodist ministry in 1968 and joined the Church of Scotland.[29] The National Liaison Committee did not advocate secession, but it began to plan for 'a continuing Methodist Church' in the likely event that the Methodist Conference accepted the reunion scheme.[30] In Lancashire several evangelical ministers and congregations resigned from Methodism *en masse* in 1971, alarmed by the denomination's theological trajectory, and formed the Free Methodist Church.[31]

Anglican Evangelical Views of Methodism

From the other side of the divide, from an Anglican evangelical perspective, the prospects seemed equally bleak. Their campaign against the scheme was led by J. I. Packer (warden of Latimer House, a research institute founded in Oxford in 1960), who spoke often and published widely on the question. He was the only dissentient invited on to the Anglican-Methodist Unity Commission in 1965 and refused to subscribe to its final report.[32] Packer was particularly influential among younger clergy within the resurgent 'conservative evangelical' movement in the Church of England, and Gordon

27. *Voice of Methodism*, 2 (Apr. 1964), 7.

28. Ibid. 10–11. See also, Franz Hildebrandt, *Critique of Two Reports* (London: Epworth Press, 1964).

29. See further, Amos Cresswell and Max Tow, *Dr Franz Hildebrandt: Mr Valiant-for-Truth* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2000). There is also a German biography: Holger Roggelin, *Franz Hildebrandt: ein lutherischer Dissenter im Kirchenkampf und Exil* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999).

30. National Liaison Committee statement, Apr. 1968, in G. E. Duffield, ed., *Anglicans and Methodists* (London: Church Book Room Press, 1968).

31. Derek Tidball, '"Secession is an Ugly Thing": The Emergence and Development of Free Methodism in Late Twentieth-Century England', in David Bebbington and David Ceri Jones, eds, *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom During the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 209–29.

32. 'A Note by the Reverend Dr J. I. Packer', *Anglican-Methodist Unity*, Part II, 182–3. See also, J. I. Packer, ed., *Fellowship in the Gospel: Evangelical Comment on Anglican-Methodist Unity and Intercommunion Today* (Marcham: Marcham Manor Press, 1968).

Rupp (one of the Methodist conversationalists) caustically observed, 'among his fellows he is evidently Sir Oracle, and he does not so much argue as utter "ex cathedra" pronouncements'.[33]

Alister McGrath, in his biography of Packer, claims that Anglican evangelicals opposed the scheme because in their view, 'Methodism had become deeply influenced by a theological liberalism which they had no desire to see spread in the Church of England.'[34] There is some truth in this assessment of Anglican evangelical motivation, as will be seen, but it was far from their dominant concern. In fact, that perspective was hardly ever expressed in public by Anglican evangelical dissentients. Admittedly they worried about advice in the *Conversations Report* that the united Church should not be 'bound too strictly by doctrinal and other such formulations which may quickly be out of date.'[35] Colin Buchanan (tutor at the London College of Divinity from 1964) wondered whether this was 'a covert attack on the Thirty-Nine Articles' and believed that the Church of England's doctrinal formularies were 'one of the richest contributions that Anglicans can make to a future united church.'[36] Was doctrinal subscription now to be abandoned? Likewise Roger Beckwith (Packer's deputy at Latimer House) later described the union scheme as one in which 'everything distinctively Anglican (and indeed everything theological) seemed liable to perish.'[37] Yet the Anglican evangelical dissentients showed little hostility toward Methodism *per se*, and often reiterated their keen desire for urgent reunion of the Churches, if only the right scheme could be found. Their two major reasons for opposition had nothing to do with Methodist liberalism. Instead they argued, first, that it was the wrong scheme theologically—that it rested upon 'a sectarian understanding of episcopacy' which would 'undermine the gospel of free grace' by imposing an Anglo-Catholic view of ordained ministry.[38] And second, that it must be rejected because it would split the Methodist denomination since many evangelical Methodists would refuse to countenance

33. Gordon Rupp, *Consideration Reconsidered* (London: Epworth Press, 1964), 26.

34. Alister McGrath, *To Know and Serve God: A Life of James I. Packer* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997), 113.

35. *Conversations Report*, 52.

36. Colin Buchanan, 'Ends and Means', in J. I. Packer, ed., *The Church of England and the Methodist Church* (Marcham: Marcham Manor Press, 1963), 55.

37. R. T. Beckwith, 'Keele, Nottingham and the Future', in D. N. Samuel, ed., *The Evangelical Succession in the Church of England* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1979), 102.

38. Open Letter Concerning Anglican-Methodist Unity, June 1968, in Duffield, ed., *Anglicans and Methodists*. See also Open Letter of Feb. 1964, in J. I. Packer, ed., *All in Each Place: Towards Reunion in England* (Marcham: Marcham Manor Press, 1965), 15–16.

the united Church.[39] Instead they looked for a viable model to the Church of South India, where no quasi-reordination was required for non-episcopal ministers (advocated in 1965 in *All in Each Place*) or to piecemeal reunion between local congregations (advocated in 1970 in *Growing into Union*).[40] They wanted to reopen the conversations, not merely between Anglicans and Methodists, but to include other Protestant denominations like Congregationalists and Presbyterians as well.

What then of McGrath's claim that Anglican evangelicals were troubled by Methodism's theological trajectory? There was an appreciation that Methodism was changing. For example, Packer wrote:

> It is not long since the great body of Methodists were looking askance at the Church of England as an ecclesiastical Esau, lured by Anglo-Catholic Jacobs into selling its Protestant birthright for a mess of sacramentalist pottage . . . Therefore the enthusiasm of so many Methodists for the proposed scheme of organic union is startling.[41]

Nevertheless, most commentators continued to accept Methodism's evangelical credentials at face value—or at least were too polite to question them in public.[42] Some even saw this heritage as a strong reason to support the scheme, since to combine forces would bolster the evangelical cause. Towards Anglican-Methodist Unity (TAMU) was a cross-denominational grouping, founded in 1963 to encourage dialogue about the reunion proposals. Its secretary, Peter Morgan, argued that because John Wesley and his followers were 'thoroughgoing Evangelicals', therefore 'Evangelical Anglicans ought to be way out in front leading the movement towards Anglican-Methodist unity, not digging

39. See, for example, Philip Crowe, ed., *Keele '67: The National Evangelical Anglican Congress Statement* (London: Falcon, 1967), para. 98.

40. C. O. Buchanan, J. I. Packer, E. L. Mascall, and G. D. Leonard, *Growing into Union: Proposals for Forming a United Church in England* (London: SPCK, 1970). See further: Andrew Atherstone, 'A Mad Hatter's Tea Party in the Old Mitre Tavern? Ecumenical Reactions to *Growing into Union*', *Ecclesiology*, 6 (January 2010), 39–67.

41. J. I. Packer, 'Wanted: A Pattern for Union', in Packer, ed., *All in Each Place*, 17.

42. For reflections on Methodist evangelicalism, see Martin Wellings, *Evangelicals in Methodism: Mainstream, Marginalised or Misunderstood?* (Ilkeston: Moorely's, 2005); Martin Wellings, 'British Methodism and Evangelicalism', in William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Martin Wellings, 'Methodism and the Evangelical Tradition', in William Gibson, Peter Forsaith, and Martin Wellings, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to World Methodism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013).

trenches in the rear and preparing to defend non-essentials to the last shot.'[43] Likewise Martin Parsons (vicar of Emmanuel Church, Northwood) wrote:

> The Methodist Church . . . has a heritage which the Church of England badly needs. The distinctive doctrines of the Wesleys, such as the witness of the Spirit and sanctification by faith, and not least their buoyant confidence in the power of the gospel to save even the dregs of humanity, are sorely lacking today. It may be argued that they are not noticeably prominent in present-day Methodism either, but the fact is that they form part of the tradition of that Church, and in unity we may all recover together the former zeal for evangelism.[44]

Parsons was convinced that the reconciling of the Churches would 'bring new hope to our country. Anglicanism at its best has dignity and order, and deep devotion, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. Methodism at its best has fire and zeal, and a passion for holiness, as enshrined in the Methodist Hymn Book. Combine the two, and things will happen.'[45] Parsons was one of an influential group of sixteen 'convinced Evangelical churchmen' who wrote to the *Times* appealing for their evangelical friends to support the scheme wholeheartedly, because 'Our two churches are one in Christ, one in the Gospel, and joint-heirs of the Evangelical revival.'[46] A fellow signatory, Frank Colquhoun (chancellor of Southwark cathedral), likewise tried to persuade his Anglican evangelical readers:

> On one point we are surely agreed. We all desire to achieve a larger measure of unity with our Methodist brethren. We are already close to them in matters of faith. Both they and we owe an immeasurable debt to the Wesleys, and as heirs of the Evangelical Revival we stand together in the same biblical and reformed tradition.[47]

43. Peter Morgan, ed., *The Anglican-Methodist Conversations: An Evangelical Approach* (London: SPCK, 1964), 6.

44. Martin Parsons, 'The Service of Reconciliation', in Morgan, ed., *Anglican-Methodist Conversations*, 28.

45. Ibid. 31.

46. 'Anglican-Methodist Reunion: The Debate Continues', letter from Russell B. White and others, *Times* (2 June 1969), 9.

47. Frank Colquhoun, *Evangelicals and Methodist Unity* (London: Oxley, 1969), 26. This essay was published as a combined pamphlet with Eric W. Kemp's *The Anglican-Methodist Unity Scheme*.

However, there was little assessment of the divergent expressions of evangelicalism within Methodism and Anglicanism. It is doubtful, for example, that many Wesleyans would have agreed with Colquhoun that they stood within the 'reformed tradition', nor would many Calvinists have agreed with Parsons that evangelicalism could be distilled as 'zeal for evangelism'. This mismatch of expectations among dissentients about evangelical identity was usually ignored, though sometimes it surfaced. Amos Cresswell (minister of Cheadle Hulme Methodist Church in Cheshire, and himself a dissentient) explained to the *Church of England Newspaper* that an evangelical, from a Methodist perspective, was someone 'who practices evangelism in any and every way that is biblical, sincere, and feasible.' There was no parallel in Methodism to the Church parties of Anglicanism, therefore in a united Church Methodists would ally themselves 'with any group where the preaching of the gospel is number one priority', rather than those who subscribed to particular doctrines of the Bible or the Atonement.[48]

Yet this was precisely what perturbed some Anglican evangelical dissentients. Richard Hindley had once been a Methodist layman, but was ordained in 1963 as an Anglican clergyman. He defined evangelicalism as a commitment to the absolute supremacy of Scripture as the revealed Word of God, the centrality of the cross as a substitutionary and completed work, and the necessity of New Birth. Do not be fooled, he warned his Anglican friends—by this definition Methodist evangelicals were 'a tiny and scattered minority'. To unite with Methodism would not strengthen the evangelical cause, but weaken it, he argued. Hindley acknowledged that Wesley's Forty-Four Sermons and Notes on the New Testament were 'thoroughly evangelical', but observed: 'The lamentable fact is that this standard of doctrine means as little to most Methodist ministers as the 39 Articles do to many Anglicans.'

Hindley carried his analysis further, offering three main reasons for the scarcity of Methodist evangelicals: (1) the influence of nineteenth-century liberalism upon all the nonconformist denominations; (2) the Methodist system of training for ministers and local preachers, which was 'liberal right through' and 'weeds out many evangelical candidates'; (3) the structure of the Methodist circuit, which 'can make life very difficult for an evangelical' and prevented the establishment of an evangelical tradition in any locality. It was no surprise, concluded Hindley, that 'evangelicals are so thin on the ground in Methodism. No man can be blamed for succumbing to four years in a liberal college, followed by circuit work in a liberal team, with the nearest evangelical miles away.' He

48. Amos Cresswell, 'But What Do You Mean By an "Evangelical"?', *Church of England Newspaper* (26 June 1970), 7.

acknowledged that Anglicans could learn from the Methodist spirit of devotion and fellowship, but not their doctrine.[49]

Beckwith also criticized Methodist theology, though his point of attack was different, reminiscent of the VMA's anti-Catholicism. He discerned a leaning toward Rome not only among Anglo-Catholics, but among contemporary Methodists too. For example, the 1963 *Conversations Report* included a statement on sacramental doctrine which was said to be 'fairly representative of Methodist teaching' and an indication of close doctrinal agreement with the Church of England.[50] Beckwith published a scathing critique, suggesting that the Methodist conversationalists were 'naïve' and had misunderstood both historic Methodism and historic Anglicanism. If their view of Methodist identity was correct, he explained, then it was clearly incompatible with the reformed Church of England. He lambasted their statement as

> not what one would expect from a church which stems from John Wesley and which still, in its Deed of Union, acknowledges John Wesley as its great norm of orthodoxy. The authors seem rather to have attempted to work up historic Methodist teaching into something as much like Anglo-Catholicism as they can. . . . they are under the misapprehension that the nearer they get to the views embraced by Anglo-Catholics, the nearer they will get to the teaching of the Church of England. Whereas the reverse is in fact the case. The nearer they get to Anglo-Catholicism, the further they stray from the official teaching of the Church of England, expressed in its authorised formularies.[51]

Beckwith was surprised that the Methodists should ally themselves with 'those who favour Tractarian novelties' and found it hard to believe they 'would be so disloyal to the Evangelical heritage which the Methodist Church and the Church of England have in common, as to be willing to fall in with changes which would tend to undo the Reformation.'[52] In particular, he discerned in the Methodist teaching on Eucharistic sacrifice a direct dependence on Gregory Dix and Eric Mascall, two leading Anglo-Catholics.[53] The *Conversations* statement described John and Charles Wesley's *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*

49. Richard Hindley, 'Three Reasons Why They Are So Scarce', *Church of England Newspaper* (26 June 1970), 7.

50. *Conversations Report*, 29.

51. R. T. Beckwith, *Priesthood and Sacraments: A Study in the Anglican-Methodist Report*, Latimer Monographs no.1 (Appleford: Marcham Manor Press, 1964), 49.

52. Ibid. 49–50.

53. Ibid. 79–83.

as 'an indispensable exposition of Methodist eucharistic doctrine',[54] and yet gave them an Anglo-Catholic spin as if Wesley and Pusey were in agreement, which Beckwith saw as 'a complete anachronism'.[55] He praised those hymns as 'perhaps the greatest collection of eucharistic hymns that Christendom can boast', yet warned that because of the pervasive influence of Tractarianism, even within Methodism, they were now 'so liable to misconstruction that it is hardly expedient for Protestants to use them today'.[56] Elsewhere he summed up the Methodist statement on baptism as 'not Methodist, Anglican, or New Testament teaching: it is the teaching of the Church of Rome.'[57]

The most vociferous and cutting response to the Anglican evangelical dissentients came from the pen of Gordon Rupp, who rebuked them for their 'inability to think beyond their own evangelical jargon' and for 'putting the interests of an ecclesiastical party before the welfare of the whole Church of Jesus Christ'.[58] He warned that these Anglican dissentients, with their love of the Thirty-Nine Articles, wanted to bind Methodists within 'the prison house of evangelical legalism' and to drag the Church back into 'the petrified forest of Victorian Anglicanism'.[59] Playing on the parallels with the VMA, Rupp declared:

> Despite their claim to be the Voice of 'historic' Anglicanism, there are many signs of a minority complex, and a capacity for detecting hidden plots which recalls the persecution mania of the older Protestant Underworld.[60]

> Dr Packer and his friends are better at laying down the law than the gospel, and nothing is more depressing than their willingness to write off any appeal to the grace of God as mere verbiage, ecumenical good manners, or even theological agnosticism. Methodists have not so learned their Bibles or their Charles Wesley.[61]

In particular, Rupp argued that Anglican evangelical dissentients and Methodist evangelical dissentients had little in common. The Anglicans were

54. *Conversations Report*, 31.
55. Beckwith, *Priesthood and Sacraments*, 62.
56. Ibid. 68–9.
57. R. T. Beckwith, 'The Gospel and the Sacraments', in Packer, ed., *The Church of England and the Methodist Church*, 21.
58. Rupp, *Consideration Reconsidered*, 9, 58.
59. Ibid. 45, 49.
60. Ibid. 10.
61. Ibid. 12.

'conservative evangelicals' schooled within the Inter-Varsity Fellowship, rigid Calvinistic puritans, and 'wooden fundamentalists', who treated the Bible as 'propositional revelation' and believed in its 'infallibility'. Their rejection of the union scheme would be 'cold comfort', predicted Rupp, to urbane biblical scholars like Professor Barrett and his dissentient allies within the Arminian tradition.[62] After a scathing and mocking critique which pulled no punches, Rupp concluded with a backhanded compliment: 'I am not being mealy-mouthed when I say that I should nevertheless covet to live in the one household of faith with Dr Packer and his friends. I am sure they are more pleasant than their opinions would suggest.'[63]

Conclusion: Pulling Together?

Although evangelical dissentients within Anglicanism and Methodism were united in their antipathy to Catholicism, and their desire to see the reunion scheme fail, they did not occupy the same theological ground. There was little dialogue across the denominational divide and most of their campaigning work was directed toward opposing the scheme within their own Churches. There was some limited collaboration between the two sides, but only toward the end of the 1960s. For example, Barrett and Packer spoke on the same platform at the Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen in September 1968,[64] and again at a prominent VMA rally in Birmingham in July 1969. In that rare address to the Methodist dissentients, Packer proclaimed their spiritual unity under a broad but undefined 'evangelical' banner: 'There are many thousands of Evangelicals in the Church of England who wish to affirm their fellowship with you. If the scheme goes through, there will be complete understanding if Methodists feel compelled to pull out, and we extend to you the right-hand of fellowship.'[65] Collaboration was also promoted by Gervase Duffield, a vocal dissentient in the Church of England's House of Laity. He welcomed Methodist contributors to the leading Anglican evangelical journal, *The Churchman*, which he edited. As proprietor of Marcham Manor Press near

62. Ibid. 7–8, 15–16, 58.

63. Ibid. 59.

64. J. I. Packer, 'The Church of South India and Reunion in England', *Churchman*, 82 (Winter 1968), 249–61; C. Kingsley Barrett, 'Anglican-Methodist Relations: A Question of Conscience', *Churchman*, 82 (Winter 1968), 262–77. See further: Andrew Atherstone, 'The Cheltenham and Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen', in Andrew Atherstone and John Maiden, eds, *Evangelicalism and the Church of England in the Twentieth Century: Reform, Resistance, and Renewal* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), 109–35.

65. *Voice of Methodism*, 32 (Nov. 1969), 6.

Oxford, he also published some Methodist dissentient works,[66] and supported the miscalculated attempt of Oliver Beckerlegge (literary secretary of the VMA) to revive the historic *Methodist Magazine*, which the Conference discarded in 1969.[67]

Nevertheless, the relationship between the dissentients was not an equal one. Anglican evangelicals saw themselves as riding gallantly to the aid of their weaker and more beleaguered Methodist brethren. For example, when five representatives of the Church of England Evangelical Council (led by Packer) met at Cheadle Rectory in September 1967 with eight representatives of 'Minority Methodism' (led by Barrett), Packer encouraged the Methodists: 'Hold fast, for help is near!'[68] Methodist dissentients felt sidelined and silenced within their own denomination. There were persistent complaints that Methodist officialdom (as represented by the Conference and the *Methodist Recorder*) was 'gravely out of step with the rank and file of the Methodist people'.[69] Some dissentients warned that the union scheme was being forced through by 'ministerial and Conferential despotism',[70] and reported bully-boy tactics such as 'brow-beating, vilification, distortion of facts, closing of chapels to critics, refusal to hear them in journals . . .'[71] One Anglican evangelical commentator, Colin Brown (senior tutor at Tyndale Hall, Bristol), claimed that members of the Church of England enjoyed 'a liberty which Methodists have good cause to envy'. He went so far as to suggest that 'The Methodist form of government is like the Kremlin . . .'[72] These accusations were vigorously contested by the Methodist hierarchy, but the disillusioned dissentients remained powerless to stop Conference approving the scheme. Their only hope was that their Anglican allies would 'save Methodism from the most dangerous step in her history' by voting it down in the Convocations of Canterbury and York.[73] It was not so much a case of Methodist and Anglican dissentients fighting side by side in the same battle, but two battles in two Churches with two minority armies, in occasional contact.

Methodist evangelical dissentients were defeated again and again within Conference. Anglican evangelical dissentients were finally victorious in the Church of England, after an unexpected alliance with traditional Anglo-Catholics, who

66. See, for example, T. E. Jessop, *Not This Way: A Methodist Examination of the Union Scheme and a Plea for Integrity* (Marcham: Marcham Manor Press, 1969).

67. *Voice of Methodism*, 32 (Nov. 1969), 12–13; *Voice of Methodism*, 41 (Oct. 1972), 3; *Churchman*, 83 (Winter 1969), 255–6.

68. *Voice of Methodism*, 23 (Feb. 1968), 15.

69. B. J. Coggle, 'Differ and be Brothers', *Churchman*, 85 (Spring 1971), 43.

70. Ibid. 44. See also B. J. Coggle, 'The Voice of Methodism and Democratic Procedure', *Voice of Methodism*, 4 (Aug. 1964), 7–8.

71. Oliver Beckerlegge, 'Bureaucratic Juggernaut', in Duffield, ed., *Anglicans and Methodists*.

72. Colin Brown, 'Some Practical Problems', in Packer, ed., *The Church of England and the Methodist Church*, 47.

73. Coggle, 'Differ and be Brothers', 45.

also believed the scheme was insufficiently doctrinal. There was remarkably little dialogue between Anglicans and Methodists over the nature of the evangelical identity they reputedly held in common, apart from a nod in the direction of John Wesley and the eighteenth-century revivals. The scheme was stopped only when Calvinist and Catholic dissentients within Anglicanism hammered out an agreed ecclesiology.[74] The theological unity between evangelical dissentients across the two denominations was frequently proclaimed and was an important part of their rhetorical strategy in defeating Anglican-Methodist reunion, but was never put to the test.

74. Atherstone, 'A Mad Hatter's Tea Party'.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A Note on John Wesley's Visit to Herrnhut in 1738

KAI DOSE

ABSTRACT

In early August 1738 John Wesley travelled to Germany, specifically to see Herrnhut in Saxony, as he wished to experience the spiritual life of the Moravian congregation. Surprisingly, he described the burial of a child at length. This research discloses the father's (a tailor) and child's name. Moreover, it confirms that Wesley had been present in Herrnhut on 19 August 1738 (New Style/Gregorian calendar).

Keywords: John Wesley; Moravians; Herrnhut/Saxony; Burial; Johann Friedrich Dietrich [or Dittrich]

In autumn 1735, John Wesley, then a young thirty-two-year-old clergyman, travelled to Georgia with his brother Charles and two friends. On board the *Simmonds*, he became acquainted with the Moravian bishop David Nitschmann (1696–1772), who accompanied twenty-four brethren and sisters from the congregation of Herrnhut in Saxony to Savannah. After his arrival in Savannah on 17 February 1736, Wesley remained in close contact with the Moravians who settled there. He enjoyed their community, hymns, and services. His first hymn-book, published in 1737 in Charlestown (now Charleston, South Carolina), contains a hymn by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60), founder of the renewed Moravian Church, and four hymns from other Pietists associated with Halle. Wesley got to know these hymns and translated them from the then very new Herrnhut *Gesang-Buch* (1735).[1]

1. Wesley seems to have spoken German fluently. He learned the language during his sea voyage to and his stay in Georgia in talking to Moravians. This continued with his conversations with Peter Böhler and others in London in 1738. It seems that he struggled to speak German in Herrnhut in August 1738: 'I usually spent the day [in Marienborn], chiefly in conversing with those who could speak either Latin or English; not being able (for want of practice) to speak German readily': W. Reginald Ward (Journal) and Richard P. Heitzenrater (Manuscript Journals and Diaries), eds, *Journal and Diaries I (1735–38)* [vol. XVIII of *The Works of John Wesley*] (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988), 260. See also the newest

Early in 1738 John Wesley was back in London. Here he met with other Moravians who had recently arrived, particularly Peter Böhler (1712–75) and Friedrich Wenzel Neisser (1716–77). Apparently this moved him to travel to Herrnhut to experience for himself the Moravian Church at the original settlement after their flight from Moravia. According to his journal, Wesley arrived in Herrnhut on 1 August 1738 (Old Style/Julian calendar)[2] at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.[3] Wesley took every chance to meet leading persons of the community, among them the famous carpenter Christian David (1692–1751)[4] and the potter Johann Martin Dober (1703–48). Wesley exchanged ideas on matters of faith and shared in the spiritual life of the Moravians. In his diary he talks of their various types of gatherings and mentions the buildings of the village. On Tuesday, 8 August 1738, he described at some length and in great detail a child's burial and the funeral procession, noted especially the position of the acting Lutheran minister from Berthelsdorf, and wrote of the minister's ceremonial clothing. He also explained the layout of the '*Gottesacker*' (God's Acre, i.e. the graveyard) and the order of liturgy.

After the burial, Wesley talked to the child's father, still standing at the graveside. Of this conversation he wrote: 'Seeing the father (a plain man, a tailor by trade) looking at the grave, I asked, "How do you find yourself?" He said, "Praised be the Lord, never better. He has taken the soul of my child to himself. I have seen, according to my desire, his body committed to holy ground. And I know that when it is raised again, both he and I shall be ever with the Lord."'[5] To judge from the detail of this record, the father's reaction and faith made a deep impression on Wesley.

This burial is confirmed by the Church Records of the Lutheran Parish in Berthelsdorf, Saxony:

> August 17. [1738; No:] 46 | Gottlob, | Johann Friedrich Dittrichs,[6]
> Schneider in Herrnhut Kind | starb seines Alters ¾ Jahr | begraben.[7]

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publication: Geordan Hammond, *John Wesley in America: Restoring Primitive Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

2. The Gregorian calendar was already in place in Germany whereas in England the Julian calendar was kept until 1752, so Wesley's diary entries are eleven days earlier than the dates quoted from local records.

3. *Works of John Wesley*, ed. Ward and Heitzenrater, XVIII:266.

4. Christian David was in fact a founding father of this Church; see the newest biography: Edita Sterik, *Christian David (1692–1751) Ein Lebensbild des Gründers von Herrnhut und Mitbegründers der erneuerten Brüderunität* (Herrnhut: Hernhutter Verlag, 2012).

5. *Works of John Wesley*, ed. Ward and Heitzenrater, XVIII:269.

6. There is a minor difference in writing the name 'Dittrich' or 'Dietrich' (compare the records quoted). However, there is no significance to different spellings of names in early modern times.

7. Kirchenbuch Berthelsdorf, Beisetzungen, 1738, p. 198, no. 46. Translation: 17 August [1738, No:] Gottlob, Johann Friedrich Dittrich, tailor in Herrnhut, child died at the age of ¾ years, has been buried.

In the early days, until 1748, the Herrnhut Moravians officially belonged to the Lutheran parish in Berthelsdorf, although from the very beginning they developed and kept their own rites in addition. Therefore, the burial registers of the Herrnhut Moravian congregation record:

> Nr. 246. Gottlob, | Johann Friedrich Dietrichs; Schneiders, Söhnlein,
> geboren in Herrnhut den 29. October 1737, 17. August [1738].[8]

Both records confirm the child's day of death. But the Daily Diary of the Moravian congregation even mentions the day of the child's burial:

> [Dienstag] d[en] 19ten Aug[ust 1738]
> wurde Schneider Dietrichs Kind begraben.[9]

Thus we know the child's name, Gottlob Dietrich, at whose grave John Wesley stood, as well as the name of his father, the tailor Johann Friedrich Dietrich, whose faith impressed Wesley so deeply. However, neither the exact location of the grave, nor a headstone has survived. Even an old map of the '*Gottesacker*' from *c.*1760 gives only a hint where this child might have been laid into the ground. Unfortunately, the Daily Diary of the Moravian congregation fails to mention the visit by John Wesley. But the local records verify and flesh out this very human detail that Wesley shared in his journal.

An important study by Richard P. Heitzenrater about the emergence of Methodism as a new religious movement in England focuses on John Wesley's role, having developed step by step in Oxford, Georgia, and London.[10] At each stage, Wesley came into close contact with Moravians: during the ship voyage

8. Records: 'Entschlafene' [deceased] 1722–1822, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut (i.e., Moravian Archives Herrnhut), R.121.315.35, p. 24, no. 246. Translation: No. 249. Gottlob, son of Johann Friedrich Dietrich, born in Herrnhut on 29 October 1737, [died] 17 August 1738. Compare the slightly different entry within another Moravian Church Record: 'Aug[ust 1738] 17. [No] 246. | das Knäblein Gottlob Dietrich. Johann Friedrich Dietrichs Söhnl[ein] 9 [Monate]' ('Entschlafene', 1722–1822, Nr. 1–2946 (Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, R.121.315.35). Translation: August 1738. 17th. [No.] 246. The little boy Gottlob Dietrich, son of Johann Friedrich Dietrich nine months [old has died].

9. Herrnhuter Diarium 1738 (Abschrift Harck), p. 34 (Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut R.6.A.b.6.i). Translation: the 19th of August 1738 tailor Dittrich's child has been buried.

10. 'Als er [John Wesley] sich jedoch entschloss, im Rahmen seiner Ecclesiastical History ('Kirchengeschichte', 1781) eine Geschichte der Methodisten zu schreiben, gab er drei deutlich unterscheidbare Stationen an, die das Aufkommen des Methodismus vor 1739 markieren: Oxford, Georgia und London' (Richard P. Heitzenrater, John Wesley und der frühe Methodismus, Göttingen 2007, S. 53 [compare: Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995)]).

on way to Georgia, while he lived close to their community in Savannah, and also back in London, when he talked—among others—to their preacher Peter Böhler. During his visit, Wesley stayed with Count Zinzendorf at Marienborn Castle near Frankfurt am Main (from 4 to 19 July 1738).[11] However, about this visit Wesley recorded merely the Count's thoughts on justification; nothing seems to have moved him spiritually.[12] Is this an early indication of his opposition to the Count? From Marienborn Wesley travelled the long way eastward to Herrnhut, where he stayed from 1 to 14 August 1738.[13]

According to Heitzenrater, Wesley watched and took notice of the Moravians' spiritual life, conferences, and love feasts.[14] Heitzenrater does not mention at all what seems to have been a deeply moving experience for Wesley: the meeting with the theologically uneducated and simple tailor by his child's grave, who expressed to him his deep faith in God. Wesley seems to have been struck with the contrast between his own insecurity about his mortality and the father's calm. Perhaps this is why Wesley recorded his exchange with that father.

11. *Works of John Wesley*, ed. Ward and Heitzenrater, XVIII:259–61.

12. Ibid. XVIII:261.

13. Ibid. XVIII:266–97.

14. Within the translation of Heitzenrater's research, the term 'Liebes*feste*' is used. This expression connotes any kind of event between both sexes. The term 'Liebes*mahl*' instead would remind the reader of the 'Abend*mahl*' (Eucharist) and is the proper German translation of the biblical term 'Agape'. Several radical Pietist groups held 'Liebes*mahl*'. See David B. Eller, 'The Recovery of the Love Feast in German Pietism', in Fred van Lieburg, ed., *Confessionalism and Pietism* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 11–30.

A Zealous (but Respected) Adversary: John Lewis's Correspondence with John Wesley

INTRODUCED, TRANSCRIBED, AND ANNOTATED BY RANDY L. MADDOX

ABSTRACT

This article contains annotated transcriptions of several previously unknown letters between John Wesley and Revd John Lewis of Holt, Wiltshire, in the mid-1740s. Holt's letters articulate the concerns of a typical Anglican parish priest about irregular ecclesial practices and some doctrinal emphases of the Methodist revival. Wesley's responses contain his most frank (or pessimistic) evaluation of Anglican clergy—that two thirds of those he has known are 'blind leaders of the blind, dumb dogs that cannot bark, priests of Baal rather than God'. Together the letters provide an instructive window into the reception of early Methodism.

Keywords: Church of England clergy (eighteenth century); conversion; enthusiasm; John Lewis; John Wesley; Methodist revival; new birth; schism

As the Methodist revival gained momentum in the mid-1740s, it also drew increasing opposition, particularly from Church of England clergy. Many of these opponents made their case in print, and drew public responses from John Wesley. Prominent examples include Josiah Tucker,[1] Edmund Gibson (anonymously),[2]

1. Josiah Tucker, *A Brief History of the Principles of Methodism* (Oxford: James Fletcher, 1742); to which Wesley replied in *The Principles of a Methodist* (1742) [vol. IX of The Bicentennial Edition of *The Works of John Wesley*] (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984–), IX:48–66. This edition cited hereafter as *Works*.

2. [Edmund Gibson], *Observations on the Conduct and Behaviour of a Certain Sect, Usually distinguished by the Name of Methodists* (London: E. Owen, 1744); [Edmund Gibson], *The Case of the Methodists Briefly Stated* (London: Edward Owen, 1744). Wesley replied in *Farther Appeal to Men or Reason and Religion*, Part I (1745), III:2–9, and VI:4–12 (*Works*, XI:119–30, 178–86).

WESLEY AND METHODIST STUDIES, Volume 7, 2015

Richard Smalbroke,[3] and Thomas Church.[4] These public exchanges focused particularly on doctrinal and moral issues, charging Wesley with enthusiasm and antinomianism; but they touched as well, in varying degrees, on irregular ecclesial practices like engaging in field-preaching and encouraging lay preachers.

Wesley also carried on private correspondence with clerical critics in the early years of the revival. One of these was Revd John Lewis of Holt, Wiltshire.[5] In October 1750 Wesley described Lewis as 'one of the most zealous adversaries we have in England'—then added that when he visited Lewis in person, he 'found a calm, sensible, venerable old man; and spent above an hour in friendly altercation'.[6] The joining of these two characterizations piqued my interest in their prior exchanges. A perusal of the relevant volume of the Bicentennial Edition of *The Works of John Wesley* revealed that Frank Baker was aware of only one surviving letter, from Lewis to Wesley.[7] Checking various listings, I learned that Lewis's manuscripts (comprising five volumes) were held by the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.[8] However, inspection of this collection uncovered no further letters between Lewis and Wesley, or mention of their correspondence.

Just as resignation was setting in, I stumbled upon a record of Wesley's correspondence with John Lewis in an unanticipated spot—a manuscript notebook among the papers of Revd John Wight (1707–77).[9] The notebook includes transcriptions of (an initial draft of) Lewis's letter to Wesley known to Baker, an earlier letter to Wesley, and two of Wesley's letters in reply.

3. Richard Smalbroke, *A Charge Delivered to . . . the Clergy in Several Parts of the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry* (London: John & Paul Knapton, 1744); to which Wesley replied in *Farther Appeal*, Part I (1745), V.4–32 (*Works*, XI:141–76).

4. Thomas Church, *Remarks on the Reverend Mr. Wesley's Last Journal* (London: M. Cooper, 1745), which drew Wesley's *An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Church's Remarks* (*Works*, 9:81–122); and Church, *Some Further Remarks on the Rev. Mr. Wesley's Last Journal* (London: M. Cooper, 1746), which was answered in *The Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained* (*Works*, IX:161–237).

5. John Lewis (b. 23 Aug. 1685; d. 1761), a graduate of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, was master of the school at Tetbury (1705–12), then rector of Great Chalfield and curate of Holt and Atford (or Atworth) in Wiltshire (1712–61). He resided in Holt.

6. Wesley, *Journal* (23 Oct. 1750), in *Works*, XX:364.

7. John Lewis to John Wesley, 5 Oct. 1747, in the Methodist Archives and Research Centre (MARC), The John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, accession number MA 1977/610/95. Frank Baker published an abridged form in *Letters II: 1740–1755*, ed. Frank Baker [vol. XXVI of *Works*] (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 262–5.

8. Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. misc., e. 23–27.

9. The notebook is held in the Gloucestershire Archives, item D6755/3/1. The transcribed letters appear in the midst of the notebook, on the verso side of twenty unnumbered pages, with a discourse on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch occupying the recto side of each page.

The overlap with the known letter supports the authenticity of these transcriptions, which also appear to be in the same hand as Lewis's materials at Oxford. The main puzzle is how it came into the hands of Wight. Wight served as vicar of Tetbury, Gloucestershire, between 1741 and 1777. John Lewis began his career as master of the school at Tetbury (1705–12) before moving to Holt. Lewis and his wife Esther purchased a house in Tetbury in October 1754.[10] So Lewis quite likely knew Wight, and may have given this notebook to him (which also included sermon notes and other pieces). There seems little reason to doubt the authenticity of the transcribed letters contained therein.

One result of this discovery is that we can update Frank Baker's proposed timeline of exchanges between Lewis and Wesley.[11] Lewis's first letter to Wesley was in February 1746 (not May). Wesley sent a brief reply immediately, including some tracts and wondering whether Lewis desired a more detailed response. Wesley then sent a longer reply in July 1747 (which was apparently not triggered by an intervening letter from Lewis). This drew Lewis's letter of 5 October 1747 (which appears in the notebook in an early draft dated 18 September). One of Wesley's lay preachers next gave Lewis a couple of recent Wesley publications, apparently in early 1750, and Lewis recorded reflections on these in the notebook. Finally came Wesley's visit with Lewis in Holt in October 1750 (recorded in his *Journal*).

While these letters will eventually appear in a set of additions and corrections to the Bicentennial Edition,[12] they are of sufficient interest to publish now separately. They capture the concerns of a typical Anglican parish priest about irregular ecclesial practices of the Methodist revival. And they include what is likely John Wesley's most frank (or pessimistic) evaluation of his fellow Anglican clergy—that two thirds of those he has known are 'blind leaders of the blind, dumb dogs that cannot bark, priests of Baal rather than God'!

What follows, then, are annotated transcriptions (following the style of the Bicentennial Edition[13]) of what were themselves transcriptions of letters. The only original letter mailed between Lewis and Wesley known to survive is dated 5 October 1747 and is in the Methodist Archives.

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10. Gloucester Record Office, item D566 T2/3/9.

11. See *Works*, XXVI:262 n. 16.

12. In volume 31, the last volume of letters, to be published several years from now.

13. This includes updating archaic spellings, expanding contractions, and adapting to modern principles of capitalization and punctuation.

Transcription of John Lewis's Correspondence with John Wesley

The Revd. Mr. Westley,[14] who is the head of the Methodists, having sent the Revd. Mr. John Lewis of Holt, Wiltshire one of his books entitled *A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*,[15] he wrote and sent him the following answer.

Holt, Feb. 4, 1745/6[16]

Sir,

I had the favour of your book, and thank you for it. I have read it over without prejudice or partiality, being determined to hear all you say with an unbiassed mind. You make your appeal therein to reason and religion, and having consulted that small share I have of both, I here send you the result of my thoughts on the principles you defend and the measures you pursue, by which you may see I do not entirely approve of either.

I have no objection to the former part of your book,[17] which is a severe satire to the age we live in, for I am afraid your observations and reflections of that head have too much truth in them. It is a melancholy subject that cannot but raise the grief and pity of every considerate person that has a due regard for the glory of God and the good of mankind. I would gladly lend an helping hand, according to my poor abilities, to amend and make it better; but not by irregular methods, as I have reason to think those to be which you have taken.

You seem very sanguine, and talk with great confidence of the work of God in your hands, and how it has prospered there by your own labour and those of your adherents, to the reformation of vast numbers all over the kingdom. But sir, while we are doing God's work, we should be careful to keep in God's way, and not to aim at promoting his glory and the good of our Christian brethren by such ways as are inconsistent with that obedience we owe to his

14. I have retained the transcriber's spelling of Wesley's name.

15. *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion* (London: W. Strahan, 1745) was issued in two volumes (Part I in vol. I; Parts II to IV in vol. II). Lewis's page references in this letter are to the second volume. Wesley also sent the second volume of *Farther Appeal* to his anonymous critic 'John Smith' in Feb. 1746; see the letter of 'John Smith' to Wesley, 26 Feb. 1746, *Works*, XXVI:184.

16. The location and date appear at the end of the transcription of this first letter. I have moved it to the top to parallel the transcription of the other letters.

17. That is, *Farther Appeal*, Part II (the opening section of vol. 2), *Works*, XI:203–71.

commands. This would be doing evil that good may come, and you know that no intention of any end can justify the choice of wrong means to effect it.

The church of Christ of which you are a member is a society wherein some are to govern and others to be governed. As your station places you among the latter, you are in duty bound to pay obedience to those that have the rule over you. But this obedience you refuse to pay, though an apostle has expressly enjoined it,[18] and though you bound it on your own soul by a solemn promise at your ordination.[19] To say that you will obey them in all things of an indifferent nature, but preaching the gospel is not so, is a very fallacious way of arguing.[20] For who is to be the judge? You, or your spiritual governors, who gave you authority to preach the gospel? And who can give a dispensation for a breach of any of their rules or orders? I cannot see how you can justify your conduct in this point either to God or man.

As little justifiable is that part of your proceeding wherein you authorize or at least permit and encourage a set of illiterate unordained persons to preach the gospel. Nay and now at last you go on (I am sorry to see it) to defend the practice and bring what arguments you can pick up to vindicate their taking upon them the sacred office. St. Paul asks, 'How shall they preach except they be sent?'[21] But you say they may preach without being sent, without a regular mission by imposition of hands. To say they have an inward call to the work and are well qualified for it is a weak pretence, for who is to be the judge of their qualifications but he who has authority to send them? And you know the church of Christ from the apostles' days down to the present times never allowed an inward call sufficient for the ministry without an outward designation.

Methinks it should make you very cautious how you encourage such doings to consider what terrible consequences followed from it in the last century when persons of all ranks and opinions that had good fronts and voluble tongues set up for teachers in

18. Cf. Heb. 13:7 (which Lewis assumes is by Paul).

19. The service for ordination in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer includes a required positive response to the question: 'Will you reverently obey your Ordinary, and other chief Ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over you; following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting yourselves to their godly judgements?'

20. Lewis is alluding to *Farther Appeal*, Part III, I.11, *Works*, XI:278.

21. Rom. 10:15.

religion and thereby let in such a deluge of errors as overwhelmed the land, overturned the established Church and left the minds of multitudes of well-meaning people under the deepest perplexity, in a maze of errors many of which remain to this day, and may to our latest posterity. I wish this liberty assumed in your way may not produce the same effects and that you may not soon see cause to repent of promoting such a practice.

Again it is the duty of every Christian, especially of every minister of Christ, to study the peace and unity of the church, and promote it by all the ways he can. But do you act in this manner? Do you consult the peace and unity of the church in setting up separate assemblies and thereby drawing people from their own parish churches? And when you and your associates depreciate and vilify the Church [of England] clergy, reproaching them as blind leaders of the blind and dumb dogs that cannot bark, and priests of Baal? When you set up a new scheme of religion and tell your hearers that the true gospel of Christ, the true way of salvation, is not taught in our churches, and that they cannot be true Christians but by adhering to your doctrine and taking you for their guide? Do you consult the peace of the church when you suffer or encourage common mechanics, mere laymen, to preach the gospel without any authority, and thereby break in on its established order? And when you uphold irregular assemblies no way countenanced by the laws of God or man? Is not this an actual breach of the church's peace and is not that a sin? And can such ways be agreeable to the will of God who has declared himself a God of peace and order? This deserves to be well considered by you.

But you seem to think the good effects produced by this new method will justify every thing and answer all objections. There is such a reformation, you say, all over the land that plainly demonstrates it to be the work of God. What may be in other places I cannot say, but when I look round my own neighbourhood I see no such thing. I do not see any notorious ill-livers converted from their wicked ways. And for others of a sober life and serious turn of thought who have gone after you, I shall only make this remark of one of the greatest devotees in that way, that I see her much seldomer in the house of God either on Sundays or holy days than she used to be.

However if there be such a real reformation as you speak of elsewhere, I bless God for it and wish those changes may prove

durable and lasting to the saving of souls. But there is room to fear the contrary, since experience has often shown the deceitfulness of such sudden conversions, especially when founded upon imaginary inward feelings, and on transient alarms of conscience.

This would lead me to look into your principles and doctrines. But as you speak of them in general only in your book I shall confine my remarks to two points you mention [on] p. 87,[22] where you assert that your tenets are throughly scriptural and pure from enthusiasm. If they are really grounded on Scripture as you affirm, I should readily submit to them. But my present thoughts are that they have no foundation there. For as to sudden or instantaneous new birth, or conversion (if this be your meaning), and its being wrought on the soul in an irresistible manner; or that faith is given in a moment, and we are justified by it; that a good life is no condition at all of our acceptance with God, or that this faith gives an immediate assurance of pardon and salvation—I do not find any texts of Scripture that assert these doctrines.

But the writers of the New Testament seem to teach us otherwise. When St. Paul says our inner man is renewed day by day,[23] not in an instant but by gradual steps. And St. Stephen tells the Jews they resisted the Holy Ghost.[24] And St. James assures us that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.[25] And accordingly St. Paul commands us to work out our own salvation,[26] though still so as wholly to depend on the merits of that precious blood which was shed on the cross for sin. And if faith gives us the immediate assurance of salvation, St. Paul seems to have been without it about twenty years after his conversion. For in his First Epistle to the Corinthians he is under doubts and fears of becoming a castaway.[27] And if so great a man as St. Paul dreaded this, what cause have all Christians to work their salvation out with fear and trembling, and not to be overconfident that it is already secured.

As to the point of enthusiasm, I cannot but think the pretences made in yours and Mr. Whitefield's *Journals* to extraordinary

22. See Wesley, *Farther Appeal*, Part III, I.10, *Works*, XI:277. Lewis consistently refers to pages of a book as 'folios' (f.); I have substituted 'page' (p.) as more familiar to modern readers.

23. Cf. 2 Cor. 4:16.

24. Cf. Acts 7:51.

25. Cf. James 2:14–17.

26. Cf. Phil. 2:12.

27. Cf. 1 Cor. 9:27.

presences of God and immediate revelations and directions from him savour strongly of enthusiasm. As do likewise the sudden agonies, agitations, and ecstasies of some of your followers, and their imaginary feelings of the operations of the Spirit within them.

And when you come to clear your principles from this charge [on] p. 87, instead of speaking to these points where the charge lies, you very malapropos[28] ask whether there be any enthusiasm in the love of God, of our neighbour, etc. This, sir, you must own is trifling. And I cannot but conclude you could defend that point no better when I see so shifting and evasive an answer to so material a question[29] from one that can reason well when he has truth on his side.

There are other things liable to exception in your book, such as your notion of schism, your speaking of inspiration in so indeterminate a manner, and your making church order to consist chiefly in discipline rather than in a due subordination of inferiors to superiors. But that which I would principally remark is that you seem to me too censorious and even uncharitable in your bitter reflections on your brethren the clergy, and your making a question whether any of our people are alive unto God (p. 118[30]) except such as take you and yours for their guides.

But you are sure the cause you are engaged in is God Almighty's, and you seem to think that will justify everything you do or say. If you really are sent of God, I think you have exceeded your commission. And you would do well calmly and coolly to consider everything that has been urged against your way, remembering what Solomon says in his Proverbs, that a way may seem right unto a man when the end thereof are the ways of death.[31]

However I do not say but that God may have raised you up for many wise and good reasons. For I look upon what has been done by you as an alarm to the nation in general to repent and reform and turn from their evil ways and doings. But how? Not by leaving their lawful pastors, that are set over them in the Lord, and running after irregular and unordained teachers, but by applying their minds to practical religion with zeal and a due concern for the saving of their souls.

28. That is, 'inappropriately'.
29. Lewis actually wrote 'an answer', but surely meant to write 'a question'.
30. See Wesley, *Farther Appeal*, Part III, III.22, *Works*, XI:305–6.
31. Cf. Prov. 14:12.

And further you may be intended to witness against that deism and Socinianism which has infected great numbers in the nation and was increasing among several of high station in the Church [of England] about the time when you first set out—when many rejected Christ and his religion, and many others disallowed any atonement made for sin by his sufferings, and placed the main of religion in the observance of moral duties. And you might be designed to remonstrate against this growing infidelity, and to call people to an acknowledgment of that faith and that mediation through which alone they can be saved. But still it should have been done with a due regard to your spiritual governors, and no allowance or encouragement should have been given to the laity to invade the ministerial office.

Moreover I look upon what has been done by you as a loud call to the parochial clergy to mind the care of their people more, and to exert themselves with greater zeal and assiduity in promoting the glory of God and salvation of souls. And this is the use that with the help of God I design to make of it.

Thus I have hastily thrown together some of the thoughts that occurred to me upon reading your *Appeal*. By sending it to me you seem to expect my sentiments upon it, and I have given them with that same freedom I would desire others to use toward me. I am sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble servant

John Lewis

Mr. Westley's answer to the foregoing letter was as follows.

Bristol, Feb. 14, 1745/6

Reverend Sir,

I sincerely thank you for your favour of the 4th instant, and beg your acceptance of the little tracts sent herewith.[32] I did not

32. Among the likely tracts sent would be *The Character of a Methodist* (1742), *Works*, IX:32–46; *The Principles of a Methodist* (1742), *Works*, IX:48–66; *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion* (1743), *Works*, XI:45–94; *A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, Part I (1745), *Works*, XI:105–202; *An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Church's 'Remarks'* (1745), *Works*, IX:81–122; and *Advice to the People Called Methodists* (1745), *Works*, IX:123–31. Nothing by Wesley appears in Lewis's undated manuscript catalogue of his library (Bodleian Library,

know whether a more particular answer would be acceptable. I am, reverend sir,

Your obliged and affectionate brother and servant

John Westley

About 18 months after this he sent me a long letter dated at St. Ives near the Land's End in Cornwall.

Mr. Westley's answer to Mr. Lewis's first letter

St. Ives, July 2, 1747

Reverend Sir,

From the time I received the favour of yours, which is now near eighteen months ago, I determined to answer it when I should have opportunity. The candour with which you write even on the tenderest points convinces me you fear God and desire both to know and do his will. Therefore I am not without hope that (whether I may profit you or not) you may be profitable to my soul.

You mention that your thoughts were hastily thrown together, otherwise I should never have imagined it. Your arguments are clearly and strongly urged, and that in so dispassionate and serious a manner, a manner so becoming a gentleman as well as a Christian, that they cannot but oblige if they do not convince.

I desire coolly and calmly to consider all you urge whether against my doctrine or practice, beginning with those points which (as you touch them but lightly) may be dispatched in a few words.

As to the good effects produced by this new method you observe, [‹]it may be in other places, I cannot say, but when I look round my own neighbourhood I do not see any notorious ill livers converted from their wicked ways.[›] I undertake, if it pleases God to bring me back to Bristol, to send you the names of 40 (not to encumber you too much) who are within six miles of Holt, any of whom will be ready to give you as minute an account of the particulars as you desire.

Most of these, from the time their conscience was alarmed, could have no rest in their spirit till they inwardly felt that love of

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MSS Eng. misc. e. 24)—which may indicate that the list predated 1746, or that Lewis chose not to retain the volumes that Wesley sent.

God and love of man, which soon appeared in the entire change of their outward conversation.

You next object to what was said in the *Farther Appeal*, page 87. The former paragraph of those you refer to is this: 'No stress has been laid on anything, as though it were necessary to salvation but what is undeniably contained in the Word of God. And of the things contained therein the stress laid on each had been in proportion to the nearness of its relation to what is there laid down as the sum of all, the love of God and our neighbour. So pure from superstition, so throughly scriptural is that religion which has lately spread in the nation.[']33

Be pleased to observe that I am here speaking not of doctrines but of practical religion. Of doctrines I had spoken at large in the first part of the larger *Appeal*, where I had likewise explained on the head of inspiration as well as inward feelings.[34]

Nor was it my business here to clear either Mr. Whitefield or myself from the charge of personal enthusiasm. This also I had done again and again. I was here concerned only to show that the main constituent parts of the religion practised and taught among those whose hearts God had touched were sober, rational, divine, and diametrically opposite to enthusiasm.

I cannot own that here is anything shifting or evasive. I apprehend it is full and home to the point. P. O.[35] extraordinary presences of God, and sudden agony or ecstasies, be they real or imaginary (i.e. enthusiastic) are not the religion of those men; not at all, but the love of God and man. And who can charge this with enthusiasm?

Concerning schism, all that I there assert is this: 1) That it is a causeless separation from the church of Christ. 2) That you have many steps to take before you can prove that a separation from a particular national church, such as the Church of England is, whether with sufficient cause or without, comes under the scriptural notion of schism.[36] I think this a very difficult point to be proved, but I am willing to weigh whatever you advance concerning it. That true Christian discipline whereby all the living members of Christ

33. Wesley, *Farther Appeal*, Part III, I.9, *Works*, XI:277.

34. As mentioned in footnote 15, Part I of *Farther Appeal* was issued in a separate vol. I, and the Lewis had been responding to vol. II (Parts II–IV).

35. This is possibly an abbreviation for '*pro obvio*', meaning 'to make it explicit or obvious'.

36. Wesley, *Farther Appeal*, Part III, III.30, *Works*, XI:312.

are knit together in one necessarily implies a due subordination of inferiors to superiors. I am not conscious of any bitterness towards my brethren, though I use great plainness of speech. But I never condemn them indiscriminately. And I could on some say abundantly more than I do. I do indeed make a question concerning some of these whether any of their people are alive to God, though I dare not determine it in the negative. I leave their souls to him that made them.

I come now to consider your main objection, which you most largely and strongly insist upon, that if I am really sent of God I have exceeded my commission. You seem inclined to believe that I ought (as I am able) to witness against deism and Socinianism, against them who either reject the whole religion of Christ or at least disallow the atonement made for sin by his sufferings, and who place the main of religion in the observance of moral duties. You think I may be designed to remonstrate against this growing infidelity, and to call people to a due acknowledgment of that faith and that mediation through which alone they can be saved. But still it should have been done [<]with a due regard to your spiritual governors and no encouragement given to the laity to invade the ministerial office[>].

I know you desire I should speak freely. I trust I have not exceeded my commission. I believe I ought to witness not only against the open bare-faced deism or Socinianism of those who stand in high places but against every approach thereto, whether in high or low, rich or poor. It appears to me that I cannot refrain without destroying my own soul from witnessing against all those who either explicitly reject the religion of Christ, or the atonement made by his blood, or implicitly do the same thing, whether by living in open sin or by seeking to establish their own righteousness as the ground of their reconciliation with God.

I apprehend myself equally to remonstrate against the growing infidelity of open deists, of open sinners, and of those who place their own works in the room of the blood of the covenant, which seems to me to be full as dangerous a species of unbelief as the placing the main of religion in the observance of moral duties. In opposition to all these fatal and still increasing mistakes I would fain call people to an acknowledgment of that faith and that mediation through which alone they can be saved.

But what people should I call? One great question lays here. People of my own, strictly speaking, I have none; so that I must call either those that are in the parishes of other men or I must never open my lips. For a time I did this at the request or by the consent of several ministers. But when they began to look upon me as a beast of prey, and to drive me out from among them, I began to call unbelievers to a living holy faith wherever I had opportunity. Though still with all the regard to my spiritual governors which could consist with my not departing from the work; still without encouraging or allowing laymen to do anything that I conceive to be peculiar to the ministerial office.

Although it is not easy to determine how far the extraordinary situation I am in may justify as meet to require some steps that are not regular, that are not agreeable to those rules which in ordinary cases ought to obtain, you would gladly lend an helping hand to mend an age sunk in vice and infidelity. But you cannot prevail upon yourself to attempt it by *irregular* methods. I know not why you should, having a *regular* sphere wherein you may make full proof of your ministry. But I have not. I have no other choice than this, either not to preach the gospel at all (and that I cannot answer either to God or my own soul) or to preach in an *irregular* manner.

[‘]But is not this inconsistent with that obedience which you owe to his commands? Since in the church some are to govern, others to be governed, and you are among the latter, you are in duty bound to pay obedience to those that have the rule over you.’[37] I still answer [‘]I will obey them in all things indifferent, but preaching the Gospel is not so.’ You reply [‘]But who is to be the judge? You or your spiritual governors?[’] O sir is not this your πρῶτον ψεῦδος?[38] Who is to be the judge of my conscience? No man living upon earth, no more than the pope of Rome. I call no man rabbi. The last resort must be ever in my own breast. Is not this the grand Protestant principle?

If I implicitly obey any man, or number of men—whatever I am, I am a poor hoodwinked papist still. I would beg you sir whether such an implicit obedience to the governors of the church would not have continued us forever in papal darkness, and have cut off the possibility of a reformation?

37. Here and following Wesley distils Lewis’s letter of 4 Feb. 1746.
38. ‘First error’, or most basic error.

[‘]But England is reformed now![’] Is it indeed? Is it so much as reformed from erroneous doctrines? Do not heresy and infidelity of every kind overwhelm our land as a flood? How much are we reformed in practice? O God thy compassions fail not![39]

[‘]But still you ought not to encourage laymen to preach. For how shall they preach except they be sent?[’] I firmly believe they are sent of God. None can do those works except God be with him.

[‘]But is an inward call sufficient for the ministry without an outward? Without episcopal ordination?[’] In ordinary cases I conceive it is not. In the present case I believe it is sufficient (all circumstances considered)—not for the ministry, but for openly calling sinners to repentance. In the last age as well as this, national sins loudly called for national judgments. And when the decree was gone forth, the land was given into the hands of blood-thirsty and cruel men. These made use of many learned and many unlearned preachers to colour over their dark designs. But it was not even then the preacher, it was the statesmen that overwhelmed the land and overturned the established church.

You add ‘Do you consult the peace and unity of the Church [of England] in setting up separate assembly and then by drawing people from their churches?[’] I answer: 1) Parochial unity so called I do not understand. I could never in my life find any Scripture proof that a man ought to confine himself to his own parish church when he can profit more at another. 2) We do not assemble at any place in the time of Church service, because we would not withdraw the people therefrom. 3) Those assemblies we do hold we know not to be contrary to any law either of God or man. 4.) What unity, what peace, what order can subsist among the barefaced servants of the devil? Show me a church, a congregation of faithful people, of loving, holy believers in Christ, and I will lay down my life (by the grace of God) to preserve their order, peace, and unity. But are not these mere empty sounds among them that know not God, nor obey the gospel of Jesus Christ?

That two thirds of the clergy whom I have personally known are in fact [‘]blind leaders of the blind, dumb dogs that cannot bark, priests of Baal[’][40] rather than God, dragging them to hell rather than leading them to heaven, I do now sir, between you and me, seriously

39. Cf. Lam. 3:22.
40. Wesley is echoing Lewis’s charge in the 4 Feb. letter.

aver before God. But I have never said this in public; nor, I believe, any of my associates. I dare not. I cannot because I love them, and because I am not convinced it would be for the glory of God.

Shall we call these pastors of the flock? They ought to be, but are not. Is not a pastor one *qui pascit oves*?[41] That act is the foundation of this relative title, which has no place where this is not done. He is therefore no pastor who does not feed the flock, who does not give them their meat in due season, who does not lead them forth in the paths of righteousness, to the Great Shepherd of their souls.

It is sure[42] those poor sinners against their own souls, who are called pastors but are not, do not preach the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. As neither do they live the gospel. The true way of salvation is not taught in their churches. They cannot teach it, for they know it not. They talk a little in a dull, dead, and superficial way of the outward circumstances of religion, but not of the substance of Christ for and in the heart, of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. So the people perish for lack of knowledge and God requires their blood at the watchmen's hands.

Once more, [']you tell your hearers that they cannot be true Christians but by adhering to your doctrines, and following your way.' I have heard this objection an hundred times. But it appears to me the most trifling of all others. Why, does not every preacher do so too? Do not you tell your hearers the same? Namely that they cannot be Christians but by adhering to that which you describe as the Christian doctrine? That they cannot be saved but by walking in that way which you point out as the way of salvation? Most certainly, whether mine be the Christian doctrine or no, I must preach it as such or not at all. I must tell all men they cannot be saved but by walking in that way of salvation which I believe to be such—viz., the way of loving faith renewing the soul in the whole image of God, and making us holy as he that hath called us is holy in all manner of conversation. I am sir,

Your obliged and affectionate brother,

John Westley

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41. 'Who feeds the sheep.'

42. Lewis's initial transcription reads 'It is not sure', but he inadvertently duplicates the line a little later (and strikes it out), this time omitting 'not'. This is clearly the wording that fits Wesley's argument.

The Second Letter to Mr. Westley

Sept. 18, 1747[43]

Reverend Sir,

I had the favour of yours from St. Ives in Cornwall, near eighteen months after your receipt of mine; and should have returned an answer in less than eighteen days if I had known how to have directed to you. But I considered you was an *individuum vagum*,[44] continually moving from place to place, and I was afraid my letter, in running to the Land's End, might lose itself before it found you.

I expected after so long silence to have received a full answer to all that I objected, but must say that on reading your letter I found my expectations disappointed. However, I shall now reply to the several heads contained in yours, in the order they lie before me. And though perhaps you will think my language in some places a little harsh, as not suited to your way of thinking, yet as all I aim at is the vindication of the truth of religion, and pointing out some of the errors you are fallen into, I persuade myself you will give me a patient hearing.

[1.] As to the reformation you boasted of in your *Appeal*, and which I told you I could not discern among my neighbours, I still adhere to the same thoughts. All that I know within my own district (and I do not look beyond that) were religiously disposed before they fell into Methodism; and I do not find they understand religion one bit better, or live one jot more Christian lives, than they did before. They are mostly weak women that go after this new way. Only two men in this place are fallen in with them, and those two very silly fellows,[45] whose heads were well fitted to receive new light, being very dark before, and having no judgment to discern between right and wrong.

But supposing that elsewhere there may be reformations wrought, yet I look upon them all as built upon unsound principles, for such I take yours to be. And if this foundation be laid wrong, the superstructure cannot be firm or lasting. It is an house

43. This is a draft (or transcription of a draft) of the letter Lewis mailed to Wesley, dated 'Oct. 5, 1747', now found in MARC (MA 1977/610/95). I reproduce the text as found in the notebook, annotating substantive variants in the letter at MARC.

44. 'A wandering individual.'

45. 'Very silly fellows' changed to 'such' in the letter at MARC.

built on the sand, and when it falls it is to be feared they that set up their rest in it will perish in the ruins.[46]

As to the heterodoxy[47] of your principles, I will speak to that point by and by, and at present only ask you this question: What is that religion good for that has not a proper regard to the great duties of justice, mercy, and charity?

And what can I think of your reformations, when I see some devotees[48] in your way carry their religion to such a pitch of fanaticism as (like Muggleton in the last age[49]), with great confidence and a seeming self-satisfaction, most uncharitably to denounce damnation against their neighbours (perhaps as righteous as themselves) because they do not herd with them or express a dislike of their ways; and when I see others so far to forget and overlook moral honesty as to run in people's debts and take no care to pay them? Is not this hypocrisy? And will you call that a reformation which only changes a libertine into an hypocrite, or a sober-minded Christian into a fanatic?

2. Your answer to the charge of enthusiasm in your *Appeal* I cannot but still think to be evasive. You endeavour to clear it from that imputation by saying that you was there speaking, not of doctrines, but the practical constituent parts of Methodism. But sir, if I may be allowed to judge by what I read in your *Appeal*, you are there vindicating the new religion you teach both as to doctrine and practice from the charge of enthusiasm. For [on] p. 86, par. 9, where you assert the purity of your religion, these are your words: 'I speak particularly with regard to the doctrines held by us',[50] which you go on to show are free from superstition and enthusiasm. And you challenge us to say that you and yours do not closely adhere to what our church delivers as pure doctrine; or to point out any body of Christians that approve themselves more orthodox, more sound in their opinions. Moreover after you have spoken to the point of enthusiasm you go on to assert that your doctrines are free from bigotry and affirm that the Methodists are in no wise bigoted

46. Cf. Matt. 7:24–7.

47. 'Heterodoxy' changed to 'unsoundness' in the letter at MARC.

48. 'Devotees' changed to 'zealots' in the letter at MARC.

49. Lodowicke Muggleton (1609–98). Muggleton and an associate, claiming to be the 'two witnesses' in Rev. 11:3, gathered followers of their new revelation, while condemning in the strongest terms competing groups like the Quakers.

50. Wesley, *Farther Appeal*, Part III, I.9, *Works*, XI:277.

to opinions, but do indeed hold right *opinions*.[51] So that it is very evident your business in that paragraph which I pointed at was to vindicate the set of doctrines peculiar to the Methodists, and by which they stand distinguished from all other sects as free from enthusiasm.

And is not your answer then evasive when you shift the point in question, and ask whether there be any enthusiasm in the love of God, etc.? Was ever any objection of this kind made to those practical duties? Did ever any person say that there was any enthusiasm in the pure love of God or our neighbour? You know that censure was laid on the pretended revelations and seraphical flights in yours and Mr. Whitefield's *Journals*, and on the ecstatic fits and fancied impulses, feelings, and visions of some of your followers, all of which have certainly a strong tincture of enthusiasm. And as to speculative points, that censure was likewise passed on the Methodist doctrines of an imaginary new birth, an imaginary new faith, and an imaginary assurance—in all which, on the closest inspection I can make into them, I think there is enthusiasm in a very high degree. For as those doctrines (as held by you) have no real foundation in Scripture, but dwell only in the imagination, so being taught and maintained as divine doctrines and gospel truths without ground, I cannot see how you can clear them from the charge of enthusiastic fancies.

For what is enthusiasm when applied to teachers and doctrines but the asserting things for divine truths upon a strong but false imagination that they are such? If then those doctrines of yours abovementioned are unscriptural, and yet preached up by you and received by your hearers for gospel truths, Methodism will still be obnoxious to the charge of enthusiasm. And if you make the observation, I dare say you will find that these novel doctrines are most readily imbibed by persons of a natural or complexional enthusiasm; i.e., people of strong imaginations and weak judgments.

3. You own schism to be a causeless separation from the church of Christ; but that to divide and separate from a particular national church does not come under the notion of schism. But sir, how can you be in union with the catholic church of Christ but by being in union with some branch of it, or some national church, and particularly with that within the verge or pale of which providence has

51. Ibid. I.11, *Works*, XI:278. This entire sentence is omitted in the letter at MARC.

cast your lot? But you are not in union with such a national church, nor consequently with the catholic church unless you live in due subjection to your spiritual rulers, and in unity and concord with your Christian brethren, and submit to the authority and discipline of that church.

I do not indeed charge you with direct schism because you have not completed your separation by setting up altar against altar. But by your forming distinct religious societies, holding separate assemblies, forsaking episcopacy, and setting up laymen to be public teachers, I think you have gone a great step towards it. And nothing remains now but for some of your preachers to take upon them to administer the sacrament, which I am very inclinable to believe they will shortly do, as the French prophets[52] heretofore did, and then the schism will be complete.

4. When I said in my letter that God might have raised you up, I did not allow that he had authorized or commissioned you to do what you have done. I only supposed that in his wise providence he had permitted this new spirit to arise and pass through the land, to remonstrate against the wickedness of the age, against deism and infidelity, and against the remissness of church discipline, and of the pastoral care. But you know God does not approve of all he permits. He makes use of the sins and follies of men to good ends. And perhaps enthusiasm is now suffered to arise and increase when formality and deadness in religion too much abound. In like manner the spirit of Quakerism sprung up about a hundred years ago with the divine permission, probably with design to witness against common swearing and perjury, equivocation in trade, pride and superfluity in clothes, vain compliments and flattering titles, etc., then grown too much in vogue. And I am apt to think that all the dissenting sects, along with their manifold errors, carry something in them of truth to upbraid the members of the Church [of England] of what they are defective and blameworthy in. I mean not as to doctrine but as to practice. And I am of opinion that if we would reform and amend what they seem to tell us is amiss, they would all soon disappear and drop like meteors, that make a blaze awhile and are extinguished.

52. A small group of French Protestant emigrants in London in the early eighteenth century, led by Elie Marion, who claimed prophetic gifts of the Holy Spirit. See Hillel Schwartz, *French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

If you think that God has raised you up to witness against the deism and infidelity of the present age, give me leave to ask you one question on that head, viz: Among the multitudes that you say you have reclaimed from vice and ungodliness is there any one infidel brought over to the Christian faith? There is no reformation that I can hear of wrought on that side, whereas your scheme is certainly calculated for the conversion of unbelievers and not for the reforming of such as profess the faith of Christ. For you seem to suppose us all destitute of faith, and under a necessity of being new born in order to salvation, and you do not distinguish between the state of the world at the first publication of the gospel and the present state of the Christian church which has been a means to lead you into all your errors.

5. You seem to think that, not having a cure and flock of your own, you are authorized, or at least at liberty, to invade the province of others and to gather a flock out of other men's folds. This cannot be right in the church of God, because if generally practised (as it may be with the same reason) it must introduce strife, confusion, disunion, and every evil work. If you had no cure of your own wherein to exercise your ministry, you should with leave of the diocesan have served a cure for some other clergyman, and waited with patience till providence had opened a way for you, which without all question it would long ago have done. But you was impatient and would not wait God's leisure, as I think you ought to have done, and so you burst the door open, and would break into the fold of Christ by extra-regular ways.

And I cannot help making this observation on what you have done, that one error treads upon the heels of another, and by this first false step you have been led to propagate unscriptural fancies for gospel truths, to break down the pale of episcopal ordination, and on your own head let in a set of illiterate persons to exercise the ministerial office without a lawful call. What the consequence of this may be, God only knows. But when such numerous detachments of these uncommissioned officers swarm throughout the kingdom, and with great zeal labour to gather congregations and fill people's heads with new fangles in religion, what can we expect but blind zeal and religious frenzy—which when overheated may produce the most fatal effects, even though there be no actors behind the scenes to use them as tools and engines for accomplishing their own designs. Those that are sent out by you may

perhaps keep themselves within some tolerable decency, and hold to your plan as long as you live and preside over them; but what may they not do when you are gone? And what may be done by those many others who set up of their own heads, some of whom teach strange doctrines and broach dangerous opinions. Whatever mischief it may occasion, I think the blame will rest with you, and your brother, and Mr. Whitefield. For you opened the sluice. And however fair the pretences for doing it may seem to you, you must be answerable in some degree for the inundation of evils, that shall thence afterwards follow.

6. When I said, in the words of an apostle of Christ, that you was in duty bound to pay obedience to those that have the rule over you, and you tried to evade the force of that injunction by saying that you would obey them in all things indifferent but preaching the gospel is not so, then I ask: Who is to be judge, you or your spiritual governors? And you cry out this is my πρῶτον ψεῦδος;[53] no man is to be judge of your conscience. Do not you see a fallacy in this way of reasoning? The apostolical injunction is plain, and not to be overruled by any sophistry—viz., that you are to obey your spiritual governors. The only question is, how far you are to obey them. Is not obedience due to such governors in all things except where by obeying them you shall disobey an express law of Jesus Christ? But where is that law in the book of God which you shall disobey if you forbear preaching, and comply as others do to the established rules and canons of the church of which you are a member?

Supposing the case doubtful, I still ask who is to be judge how far the obligation of the law reaches? The governor or the governed? The legislator or the subject? If the latter, then the force of any law may be eluded and interpreted away; then laws are but words, and words but wind, etc.; and good and evil, duty and sin, will be the most precarious things in the world and vary as men's opinions do. Besides sir, if you may act in this manner, every other minister may do the same. And if private persons may thus make themselves judges in matters of public cognizance, and practice upon their own judgment contrary to the established laws, then farewell all law, rule, or order, decency, or discipline in the church. All will be governors and then it will be nothing but misrule and

53. 'First error.'

confusion. And if such doings were allowable no society, sacred or civil, could subsist.

Remember sir, the only authority you have for preaching the gospel was conveyed to you by these your governors. And when they gave you this authority it was under this express restriction, that you should exercise that power of preaching God's word to the congregation where you should be lawfully appointed thereunto.[54] If then you take upon you to exercise your ministry in direct contradiction to this limitation, and there is no law of Jesus Christ that enjoins you (in the circumstances you are in) to preach his gospel, what are you doing every day you preach but breaking an express law of God under a false persuasion that you shall sin if you forbear preaching?

In short, God's law is the rule of conscience and that expressly enjoins you to obey your governors. The only question then is: What law of God you shall transgress by forbearing the exercise of your ministry? Unless you can produce some express command from the sacred text that requires you to preach the gospel independent of those human laws, you as a subject ought to obey. Your preaching must be a thing indifferent and consequently you ought to be guided and directed therein by your spiritual governors to whom by the apostolic injunction your obedience as well as mine is due. To call this an implicit obedience is giving it a very unfair turn.[55] For both the divine and human law are explicit and clear. And as these are the rule by which your conscience is to be guided, so your obedience cannot be blind and implicit. For the general commands to obey are very plain; and if the command to disobey, in the particular instance under consideration, be not equally plain and positive, I do not see how it can possibly justify your disobedience.

7. As to the peace and unity of the Church [of England], it is too evident that you do not consult it, as a presbyter of the Church should, when you refuse subjection to its governors, break decent order, and uphold irregular assemblies, whereby people are drawn from their own parish churches; and when you throw such odious aspersions on the Church clergy, and tell your hearers that we

54. 'Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in the congregation, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto' (1662 Book of Common Prayer service for 'The Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests').

55. 'Very unfair turn' changed to 'wrong name' in the letter at MARC.

do not teach the true gospel of Christ; and moreover when you invade other men's provinces, and gather congregations out of their folds, and encourage unlearned mechanics to usurp the ministerial office. All these measures plainly tend to introduce strife, envy, dissension, and numberless other mischiefs inconsistent with the peace and unity of the Church.

8. As to your lay preachers, it is absolutely an indefensible point, and the necessity you allege for it does not appear. But the mischiefs that flow from it are already too apparent, and will every day, I doubt, grow worse and worse.

9. I should be very sorry if all you say of the parochial clergy be true. But I consider it is a good plea to justify your own measures, and therefore I am willing to believe that the account you give is not quite impartial, nor exactly true. However if what you say was true in fact, though it might be allowable to insert it in a private letter, yet I think in prudence and Christian charity you should not have published it so openly to the world as you have done in your *Appeals*, when no good could come from such a publication, but much harm.

10. As to the last head, wherein you reply to the objection that you confine Christianity to your own party, and say that none can be true Christians who do not adhere to your doctrines, etc. You say you have heard this objection a hundred times. Methinks that should have put you upon a close examination of your doctrines, whether they are perfectly agreeable to the Word of God or not. But you look upon it as too trifling a censure to be regarded, because you say every clergyman does the same. But surely, there is some difference between preaching a set of peculiar[56] doctrines of private invention, and preaching doctrines established by the authority of the Church as consonant to, and plainly deduced from the Word of God, and supported by the judgment and practice of the primitive fathers in the first and purest ages.

But do you really think none can be saved but those that come into your way, and pass your new birth in the manner you describe it, and feel your new faith produced in them by a new creation? Then let me ask you one question. Are the doctrines you preach the same which are taught in the Church [of England] or not? If they are (as in some of your writings you would persuade us they be),

56. 'Peculiar' changed to 'new' in the letter at MARC.

then the gospel of Christ and the true way of salvation is taught by the Church-clergy as well as by you and your partisans. If they are not the same, then you have a scheme of religious principles, which you call the gospel of Christ, peculiar to yourselves; and then all the members of the Church who do not embrace your doctrines and put in practice your rules are by your assertion excluded from salvation. For if we are not true Christians who do not fall in with your plan, we can have no interest in Christ nor salvation by him. And then surely it concerns us to examine well your principles and see upon what grounds you lay down so uncharitable a position.

In casting my eye on your last *Appeal* after I had sent you my thoughts upon it, I was much alarmed by reading what you say towards the end of your book, where you speak of your being engaged in the work of God with as much confidence as if you had a commission under the broad seal of heaven in your pocket.[57] And you seem to be astonished that we do not all fall readily in with your scheme and design; judge us inexcusable, stupid, and infatuated; and almost denounce an anathema against us for rejecting and opposing, or even not encouraging your measures. This put me upon examining your doctrines, which I have done with a sincere desire and endeavour to discover the truth. And I take the freedom with all sincerity to tell you that upon comparing them with the Rule of Truth, I believe them in general, from first to last, to be erroneous—excepting where you say that everything that is good in us proceeds from the operation of the Spirit of God, and that there is no final justification without holiness and good works.

You will smile to hear this, I suppose, and pity my ignorance. But let the error rest where it ought. What I here say has no regard at all to the practical duties of the love of God and our neighbour, of inward piety and outward holiness of life, wherein you would place the essence of Methodism. These are quite out of the question, being taught in the Church by the lawful pastors, and pressed with as much earnestness as you or yours can do it, and all upon sound principles. These therefore are no part of Methodism, strictly speaking, or considered as a distinct sect.

They are the speculative points of a new birth, new faith, etc., which have an influence on practice, that I here condemn. But

57. See, for example, Wesley, *Farther Appeal*, Part III, III.33, *Works*, XI:314–15; and IV.9–18, *Works*, XI:320–5.

I should much exceed the bounds of a letter to expatiate on these heads as I might, and therefore will only just give you a hint where I think your πρῶτον ψεῦδος[58] lies.

I first lay it down as a truth that in Scripture there is no new birth but the baptismal, nor is there any justification spoken of by St. Paul but the baptismal and the final. And I think it is evident beyond all contradiction that the justification by faith asserted by that apostle is no other than the baptismal, when adult converts were, on embracing Christianity and declaring their faith in Christ, received into covenant with God and into the membership[59] of Christ's church by baptism; and then[60] were justified from all their past sins[61] by faith alone in that mediator whose religion they became converts to.[62] But you misapply all that the Scripture says of the new birth in baptism to a new birth subsequent to baptism. And what the Scripture saith of justification by faith in baptism, you misapply to a justification by faith after baptism; whereas it is very certain that all justification after baptism depends on our fulfilling or not fulfilling the terms of the covenant we then enter into.

You may think perhaps our case differs very much from that of the adult converts in the Apostles' days, who could make an explicit declaration of their faith in Christ by which they were justified. But I think that alters the case very little. For as we are in our baptism in infancy regenerate by the Holy Ghost and admitted into covenant with God (as the Jewish children were in circumcision) on the faith of our parents, and on the declaration we make both of faith and future obedience by the mouth of our sponsors, we are thereby savingly born both of water and of the Spirit and consequently put into a justified state.

As to your definition, or rather description, of the new faith which you imagine to be produced and perfected in an instant after baptism, and on which as a foundation all your religion rests, I cannot find it in the New Testament. It is quite unscriptural, and was never heard of in the church of Christ for fifteen hundred years. I am told it was coined at Geneva by J[ohn] Calvin, and thence

58. 'First error.'

59. 'Membership' changed to 'communion' in the letter at MARC.

60. 'Upon their repentance' added after 'then' in the letter at MARC.

61. 'How wicked soever they had been' added after 'sins' in the letter at MARC.

62. 'And this I take to be the sense of our Church in her Articles and Homilies' added as an additional sentence in the letter at MARC.

brought hither by our English divines who fled thither from Queen Mary's persecution. And I admire how you come to lay such stress upon it when it has no foundation in the book of God.

I hope you will weigh and consider these hints with an unbiased mind, and not reject them till you have thoroughly examined them. And believe me to be,

Your affectionate brother and humble servant,

John Lewis[63]

Some time after this epistolary correspondence ended, one of Mr. Westley's disciples brought me two books,[64] desiring me to read them and hoping they would give me a better opinion of the Methodist religion. With reluctance, after much pressing, I took the books and having cursorily looked them over returned them with the following remarks.

One was Mr. Westley's answer to a book entitled *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared*; which, if written by Mr. John Westley, is one of the worst performances that I have seen to bear his name.[65]

If the Bishop of Exeter (as is generally believed) was the author of that book, Mr. Westley does not treat him with common decency but in a scurrilous abusive manner, very unbecoming a clergyman towards a governor of the church. [On] p. 36 of his tract he insinuates that the bishop has no regard to truth, but with him truth must always give way to wit;[66] that by comparing Methodists with papists he blasphemes the great work of God,[67] viz., in the reformation wrought by the Methodist preachings. And further he tells the bishop it is time

63. The letter at MARC adds a postscript: 'The definition of faith which I tax as unscriptural is that which you give in your *Farther Appeal*, Part I, p. 3, line 24, etc.' Lewis's reference is to Part I, I.4, lines 3–6, *Works*, XI:107: 'a sure trust and confidence that Christ dies for *my* sins, that he "loved *me* and gave himself for *me*". And the moment a penitent sinner believe this, God pardons and absolves him.'

64. The two books mentioned were published by late Feb. 1750. They were likely given to Lewis, and this response penned, prior to Wesley's visit with Lewis in Holt in late Oct. of that year, since there is no indication of the visit in Lewis's remarks.

65. *A Letter to the Author of the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd* (1750), *Works*, XI:361–76; replying to *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd* [Part I] (London: J. and P. Knapton, 1749), which was indeed published anonymously by George Lavington, bishop of Exeter.

66. See Wesley, *Letter*, §30, *Works*, XI:372.

67. Ibid. §33, *Works*, XI:375.

for him to leave his skulking place,[68] and intimates what an inconsiderable creature he will appear when he puts off his fool's coat.

But Mr. Westley does not clear himself or his new sect from the charge of enthusiasm, which I think is made good against them in many flagrant and notorious instances. For the bishop's book plainly shows that the Methodists and popish saints very much resemble one another in various particulars. They both alike condemn fine clothes and recreations of every kind and degree. Both alike talk of the pangs of the new birth, of dereliction, of despairings and combats with Satan. Both alike assert a new created faith, and that the new birth or conversion of a sinner is in an instant. He shows likewise that the Methodists and popish enthusiasts do assert an absolute assurance of forgiveness and salvation, and lay claim to perfection and an unsinning state. How they both alike boast of inspiration, revelations, illuminations, and special presences of God, of Christ appearing among them and familiar conversation with him. They both alike lay presumptuous claims to inspiration of the Holy Ghost in their preaching and doctrine to special directions from God, internal voices and calls by immediate revelation. And the writings both of Methodists and Papists abound with seraphic rhapsodies of divine love. And in a multitude of other instances the bishop shows a great resemblance between our modern enthusiasts and those of the Church of Rome.

The other book recommended to my perusal was a volume of Mr. Westley['s] sermons on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount,[69] in which he has vented many unscriptural doctrines in the way of Methodism, concerning faith, justification, a new birth, and assurance. But I shall here make only one remark on his twelfth discourse, in which he has cast very uncharitable and scandalous aspersions on the Church [of England] clergy, whom he reproaches with great virulence and bitterness of expression as blind guides, false prophets, traitors to God and man, the first-born of Satan, and murderers of souls, as leading their people to hell and to be damned themselves. They are his own words, and that he means the Church [of England] clergy seems evident from p. 44, secs. 3, 4, 5, etc.;[70] and from his numbering them at ten thousand,[71] which is the main body of the English clergy.

On the other hand he there and elsewhere magnifies the success of his own preaching and the goodness of his followers in a fulsome manner and compli-

68. Ibid.

69. See Wesley, *Sermons on Several Occasions*, vol. III (London: Strahan, 1750).

70. See Wesley, Sermon 32, 'Sermon on the Mount, XII' (on Matt. 7:15–20), II:3–5, *Works*, I:679.

71. Ibid. I:7, *Works*, I:678.

ments the Methodist preachers as true prophets and teachers sent from God; but warns the people to beware of the Church ministers, for they only destroy and devour the flock and neither can nor will lead them to heaven, and to beware of their doctrine for that they preach lies. But does not Mr. Westley in these severe censures on his brethren the clergy betray a very unchristian and uncharitable spirit? I wish both he and his followers (who freely denounce damnation on such as do not herd with them) would seriously consider what the Apostle teaches in the 13th chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians and the church in her collect for Quinquagesima Sunday[72]—viz., that all our doings without charity are nothing worth, that it is the bond of peace and of all virtues, and without it whosoever liveth is counted dead before God.

J. L.

72. The final Sunday before the beginning of Lent.

Mark Burden, *A Biographical Dictionary of Tutors at the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660–1729*. London: Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, 2013. 543 pp. Available free online at: http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/Mark/bd.pdf

This remarkable resource is a product of the Dissenting Academies Project at Queen Mary University of London and Dr Williams's Library. In it Mark Burden, whose PhD was on the work of the dissenting academies, provides a biography of all the known tutors at academies between the Restoration and the opening of Phillip Doddridge's academy in 1729. The fifty-seven-page introduction makes a clear case for the production of a biographical dictionary rather than a series of institutional histories. Most of the academies were developed around one or two tutors, and tutors were the principal architects of dissenting education. As a result, the academies were migratory and often experienced periods of disuse or interruption when tutors moved or died. The other anchor of the dissenting academies was their libraries, often developed from tutors' private collections, which were similarly merged and combined as academies moved and itinerated. Burden's goal for the introduction is to provide a 'wide-angle lens' for the biographical entries that follow. In general he achieves that aim, covering the precarious legal status of the academies both before and after the Toleration Act of 1689, although it might have been interesting to pursue the details of the impact of the Schism Act of 1714, which appears to have closed some academies temporarily. Burden's account of the education provided by the dissenting academies is carefully measured. He regards the education as comparable to that offered by the universities and gives strong evidence of the rigorous regimen in the academies. The study of Locke was proscribed at the universities in 1703, but was common in the academies, and this suggests that they were more educationally liberal than Oxford or Cambridge. It is an interesting speculation that this may have been one of the roots of the tendency of Dissent in the eighteenth century to split over the issue of Trinitarianism and Arianism.

An important aspect of both Burden's introduction and the individual biographical entries is the breadth and diversity of dissenting academies and tutors, which makes some generalizations problematic. Some academies incorporated ministerial training with the education of gentlemen others did not; some used Latin others English as the language of instruction, and some academies accepted students all year round. The 'private' nature of the academies lay principally in the ways in which the tutors organized and ran their courses. Only when the Presbyterian Fund Board and the Coward Trust funded students' training did some convergence and standardization occur.

Following the introduction are ninety-one biographical entries, covering almost 500 pages. Burden has produced biographical articles which compare well with those in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Each entry includes a list of the tutors' works, archival sources, and references for the article. Even where a tutor has an *ODNB* entry Burden's articles go beyond this with information on the tutors' work, libraries, publications, and connections with other dissenting ministers. The entry on Thomas Amory (1701–74), for example, demonstrates the meticulous scholarship that comprises the dictionary. Burden has also adopted practical solutions to some of the problems that confront scholars of dissenting academies. In the case of the Coventry Academy separating the work of John Bryan, Obadiah Grew, and Thomas Shewell in local schools and the academy is difficult, especially where there is local lore about the work of such scholars. Consequently, Burden had combined some entries. This enables the work of the Coventry Academy to be seen in the work of various contributing tutors.

It is clear that Burden's outstanding work will be a resource for scholars of dissenting academies for years to come. He is to be congratulated on a superb contribution to the study of dissenting academies in their formative years.

Reviewed by William Gibson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford Brookes University

Randy L. Maddox (ed.), *Doctrinal and Controversial Treatises I* (*The Works of John Wesley*, volume 12). Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2012. xiv + 490 pp. £42.99/$59.99 hb. ISBN: 978-1-4267-4430-3.

It is indeed encouraging that volumes of the Bicentennial Edition of *The Works of John Wesley* are now appearing very regularly after a hiatus of many years' duration at the beginning of the present millennium. Volume 12 initiates a

sequence of three volumes containing doctrinal and controversial treatises, and this volume includes Wesley's early treatise (really more of a tract) on 'The Doctrine of Salvation, Faith, and Good Works' (1738), an 'Extract of Mr Richard Baxter's *Aphorisms of Justification*' (1745), an extract from the Westminster *Shorter Catechism* (1753), and Wesley's lengthy doctrinal treatise on *The Doctrine of Original Sin* (1757). Volume 13, which includes works on Christian perfection and works addressing Calvinist teachings, has already appeared (edited by Paul Wesley Chilcote and Kenneth J. Collins), and volume 14 will contain materials addressing specific controversies with London Moravians, works addressing Catholic beliefs and practices, and miscellaneous other doctrinal works.

The present volume, as the first in the series of doctrinal and controversial works, includes Professor Randy Maddox's historically contextualized introduction to this three-volume sequence as well as more detailed introductions to each of the works presented in it. The general introduction to the series of volumes allows Maddox to take up the case for Wesley's 'practical theology', an argument at the heart of Maddox's earlier study of Wesleyan theology entitled *Responsible Grace* (1994). But Maddox's introduction in this volume updates the discussion with reference to more recent material on English theological developments in the decades prior to Wesley, including studies of English Puritanism that have made a parallel case for the 'practical divinity' of Puritan writers.

Some readers may be surprised to learn of Wesley's extract of the Westminster *Shorter Catechism*, or may be relieved to know that Wesley did not signal full affirmation of this work by his publication of the extract. Maddox shows that it was published, as Wesley's publication of a number of Puritan works of divinity, as containing generally edifying material. Maddox points out that Wesley deleted a great deal of the *Catechism* dealing with issues of limited atonement and election, and yet enough remains to show 'the broad extent of shared Christian conviction across the Reformed/Arminian divide' (90). Perhaps it allows Wesleyans to claim for themselves that lovely response to the first question of the *Catechism* that affirms that the 'chief end' of humankind is 'to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever' (93).

Readers will not be surprised to find that Maddox, who serves as Associate General Editor of the Wesley Works Project, has set a very high standard for editorial work in this volume, including the contextualization of these works and extensive notes on the sources that Wesley used and invoked within them. I wish I could say equally flattering things about the production of the work, but it is not as strong. Illustrations are not well reproduced, and although the slipcover of the volume matches that of earlier ones, the binding and printing

on the binding looks like amateur work, especially sitting in a row of volumes on a library shelf where the bindings are exposed.

Reviewed by Ted A. Campbell, Associate Professor of Church History, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

Paul Wesley Chilcote and Kenneth J. Collins (eds), *Doctrinal and Controversial Treatises II* (*The Works of John Wesley*, volume 13). Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013. xiv + 596 pp. £34.21/$59.99 hb. ISBN: 978-1-4267-6697-8.

This latest contribution to the Wesley Works Project is a companion volume to Randy Maddox's edition of John Wesley's soteriological treatises. Here, Paul Wesley Chilcote and Kenneth J. Collins supply critical editions of Wesley's writings on two subjects which embroiled him in protracted and often bitter controversy with other leaders of the Evangelical Revival, and sometimes with others within the Wesleyan movement itself. Professor Chilcote deals with Wesley's treatises on Christian Perfection, a doctrine described by Wesley as 'the grand depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly he appeared to have raised us up', but which puzzled Wesley's contemporaries and has embarrassed his heirs. As well as *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (1766), this edition includes a range of shorter texts, from Wesley's preface to *An Abstract of the Life and Death of . . . Thomas Halyburton* (1739) to 'Brief Thoughts on Christian Perfection' (1783). The general introduction to the section and the comments on the individual texts trace developments in Wesley's thought and place the works in context; the footnotes helpfully identify biblical, classical, and literary references, and give brief biographies of individuals mentioned.

If the articulation of Christian Perfection drove Wesley to successive restatements to explain himself to followers and critics, his Arminianism brought him into conflict with the champions of Calvinism. Professor Collins introduces and edits a section devoted to 'controversy over Calvinist emphases', from the dispute with Whitefield in the early 1740s via the clash with James Hervey in the 1750s to the pamphlets of the 1770s in often acrimonious dialogue with Richard Hill. While the eirenically inclined and ecumenically minded may regret that when Wesley cast lots to decide what to do about his sermon on 'Free Grace', the outcome was 'preach and print', and while Methodists should

heed Collins's observations about the common ground between Wesley and the Calvinists, this edition also makes clear the robust Arminianism which is fundamental to the identity and mission of the Wesleys' Methodism. Useful in itself, in combination with the treatises on Christian Perfection this is a particularly valuable insight into the theological heritage of Methodism in the tradition of the Wesleys.

Reviewed by Martin Wellings, Book Reviews Editor of Wesley and Methodist Studies

Kevin M. Watson, *Pursuing Social Holiness: The Band Meeting in Wesley's Thought and Popular Methodist Practice.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. xi + 221 pp. £50/$74 hb. ISBN: 978-0-19-933636-4.

That the economy of Methodism was a complex web is undeniable. The enquirer after faith was met with a system of meetings which could be affective in the experience of seeking faith and ultimately also the establishment of holiness in daily life. From the moment of awakening to the point of death, the early Wesleyan movement had a meeting to accommodate each person.

Watson's book sets out to describe the Band Meeting, the earliest of the small group meetings organized by John Wesley, drawn into Methodism from the experience of Fetter Lane. This voluntary group became the vehicle for those actively pursuing holiness.

A major premise of the volume is that the Band Meeting was a synthesis of Moravian and Anglican practice and represented a vibrant means to develop a sense of holy living in a communal setting. The book, however, bypasses some other aspects of Wesley's faith development—his reading of Eastern mysticism and correspondence with the Manchester Non-jurors, his reading of the groups arranged by the Marquis de Renty (who was the single most mentioned individual in Wesley's writing), his reading and acceptance of à Kempis, William Law, and Jeremy Taylor and his personal experience of travelling to Georgia in search of Primitive Christianity. That John Wesley described Methodism as Primitive Christianity in 1778 at the opening of City Road Chapel suggests that he did not entirely discard those early influences.

Watson has researched the Band Meeting in detail and sets out his thesis clearly—that the Band was the place in which holiness could be attained in a

social setting. He draws upon firsthand accounts of Band Meetings and uses anti-Methodist polemic, and published material to support this. The *Rules* which were set out for the operation of the Band Meetings are examined in detail.

Much is made throughout the book of the Band Meeting as a means of grace. This phrase is used by many who wrote diaries and journals or who corresponded with others. The Band was a providential means of grace—a means of use to the individual's growth in grace and holiness—rather than an instituted means of grace, given by Dominical command. Critical examination of this phrase would assist the book in its argument. Why was this phrase so common among the Methodist people and what did they understand it to mean in practice, particularly in relation to the instituted means which Methodists became increasingly unwilling to engage in at the local parish church? Was there a mimetic quality to the term which developed over time and its original meaning was lost to the people as it became repeated? An alternative reading of the anti-Methodist polemic used to support the Band as a means of grace could be to understand this polemic along the lines that the phrase was used but little understood.

The important material used within this book has brought together a variety of personal experiences and describes how an individual grew in grace and holiness in a challenging, but ultimately supportive environment. The book would benefit from a description of what difference those who belonged to the Band Meeting made to the rest of the societal life of Methodism. Nothing is said within the book about the Wesley's regulation of the Classes and Bands. Some engagement with the process of regulation within early Methodism, described in detail in both Charles and John Wesley's *Journals*, could offer insight into this.

Published accounts of the proceedings in both Band and Class Meetings are uncommon, primarily because these were not meetings which were to be reported to others. The use of published material in this book alongside manuscript description of Band Meetings requires careful critique. The Wesley brothers sought out accounts for publication as a means of propaganda to counter anti-Methodist feeling. It is therefore important to recognize that accounts were sanitized for publication. John Valton's diary is helpful here. When submitting his manuscript diary for publication he struck through any account which was derogatory of the Methodist movement. This was further revised, firstly by John Wesley himself and later by the editors of *The Arminian Magazine* or *The Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers*.

It is disappointing that Watson fails to engage with writers with whom he disagrees within the text of his book. Offering a brief critique in footnotes is not

a sufficient means with which to properly understand the reasoning behind a disagreement.

Overall, this book is helpful to any person who wishes to know more about the Band Meeting. Read with other accounts of early Methodism, this book will assist any person who is eager to understand how Methodism was formed and developed in the eighteenth century.

Reviewed by Andrew Goodhead, Methodist Minister and the Chaplain at St Christopher's Hospice, Sydenham, London

Brett C. McInelly, *Textual Warfare and the Making of Methodism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 256 pp. £50/$99 hb.
ISBN: 978-0-19-870894-0.

Since the publication of Albert Lyles's thorough overview of anti-Methodist satire, *Methodism Mocked* (1960), and Donald Kirkham's 1973 doctoral study on eighteenth-century anti-Methodist pamphlets, literary opposition to early Methodism has largely remained an understudied topic.

In the first chapter of *Textual Warfare*, it immediately becomes clear to the reader that McInelly has complemented and, more importantly, expanded on these earlier studies by exploring how anti-Methodist literature informed the thoughts and actions of early evangelicals. Indeed, McInelly cites numerous instances where Methodists responded to their critics directly in print, including John Wesley's rebuttal of the anti-Methodist sentiments which Tobias Smollett expressed in his *History of England* (1766). Furthermore, McInelly effectively demonstrates that Whitefield utilized such opposition to his advantage by portraying himself and his followers as a persecuted people in his publications.

The second chapter considers the theme of rhetoric, with particular reference to the role that spiritual autobiographies and conversion narratives played in forging a shared sense of identity amongst Methodists. Although the evangelical New Birth is described as something which was contrary to the 'rational scheme' (81) of many contemporary Anglicans, McInelly is careful to emphasize the Lockean roots of John Wesley's experiential approach. Similarly, while McInelly describes the Methodists' emphasis on benevolence as something which 'had much in common with the Culture of Sensibility' (86), he also notes that the volume of anti-Methodist literature far outweighed the number of attacks on eighteenth-century sentimental novels. Rather than fence-sitting, what

McInelly is actually doing here is demonstrating that it would be far too simplistic to pigeon-hole Methodism into the Enlightenment, the Counter-Enlightenment, or Sentimentalism because Methodists interacted with all of these conflicting cultures and ideologies.

Chapter Three focuses on the theme of performances, or, more specifically, how Whitefield's theatrical and oratorical style was perceived by Samuel Foote and David Garrick. When considering the former, this chapter benefits from a contextual overview of Foote's 1760 anti-Whitefield play, *The Minor*, which includes some useful information on how this play inspired later pieces of anti-Methodist literature and how pro-Methodist authors responded to these critiques. Equally pleasing are McInelly's references to earlier anti-Methodist plays which have gained significantly less scholarly attention—namely the polemical play, *The Mock-Preacher* (1739), and *Methodism Display'd* (1743).

In the fourth chapter, McInelly examines the Methodists' practice of hymn singing and how it was informed by anti-Methodist attacks. McInelly commences this section by detailing John Wesley's concerns about the heightened emotionalism and enthusiasm which regularly resulted from his revivals. This leads to a stimulating discussion on the way in which the Wesley brothers utilized hymn singing as a means of controlling the emotional outbursts of their congregants. However, rather than portraying hymn singing as merely submissive and reactionary, McInelly effectively demonstrates the paradoxical nature of this practice by examining Charles Wesley's negative depictions of his anti-Methodist opponents in his hymns.

Chapter Five examines the 'sexualized' language of early Methodism and how such preachers as Whitefield were able to appeal to their female congregants by comparing one's relationship with God to a wife's intimate and submissive relationship with her husband. This leads to a discussion on the rumours and allegations which resulted from Methodism's appeal to women and the practice of convening evening Love Feasts. McInelly approaches this topic objectively by pointing out that, whilst such gossip was usually unfounded and false, there were several genuine cases of sexual deviance amongst early Methodist leaders (most notably Wesley's antinomian brother-in-law). This is followed by a discussion on John Wesley's thoughts on celibacy, which McInelly places within the context of the aforementioned allegations.

The final chapter deals with infighting amongst Methodists. Although the Arminian versus Calvinism debate between Wesley and Whitefield is a topic which has already gained much scholarly attention, McInelly adds a new dimension to these discussions by examining the way in which anti-Methodists perceived such internal bickering.

Given the wide variety of themes and authors which McInelly discusses in this work, it would be churlish to dwell on what this study is missing. Nevertheless, the reader does get the impression that clerical anti-Methodist literature has been somewhat neglected in favour of satirical assaults. Although McInelly makes numerous references to the bishop of Exeter, George Lavington's famous three-volume polemic, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared* (1749–51) and (to a lesser extent) Joseph Trapp, it was surprising to see that Edmund Gibson, the bishop of London, is mentioned only in passing on a couple of occasions. It was similarly surprising to see only one reference to William Webster's *The Weekly Miscellany*, which was the most ardently anti-Methodist newspaper during the early years of the revival.

Despite these observations, *Textual Warfare* remains a laudable and well-researched study which enhances our contextual understanding of early Methodism through its careful examination of the way in which Methodists and their critics interacted in print.

Reviewed by Simon Lewis, doctoral candidate in history, University College, Oxford

Anna M. Lawrence, *One Family Under God: Love, Belonging, and Authority in Early Transatlantic Methodism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 282 pp. £28/$42.50 hb. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4330-7.

About two decades ago (with the 1993 publication of Gregory Schneider's *The Way of the Cross Leads Home*) American religious historians—who up until that point had been far more interested in New England Puritans—discovered that Methodists were interesting. It took the American guild somewhat longer—urged on in fact by Northern Irish historian David Hempton's 2005 *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*—to discover that Methodists were also British. Hempton began a tradition of fine books which take the transatlantic nature of Methodism into account.

This well-written, entertaining book is worthy of standing in that line, though its conclusions may be most relevant to the American context. Lawrence focuses on the idea of family, which she has rightly seized on as being central to early Methodist discourse. How does viewing one's religious movement as a family define the movement? How does it change the way one views one's own families? Through writings of Methodists in Britain and America—and

of their critics, who often found their relational and emotional language highly suspect—Lawrence probes these questions. Surprisingly, she concludes that many aspects of the modern family, which no one would dream were rooted in Methodist experience, in fact draw on the way Methodists made themselves a family and made the family their own.

Within the Methodist societies, 'men and women related to one another within this rapidly growing transatlantic network of familial relations and . . . claimed authority over the personal decisions within their own lives and within the family as a whole' (2). Methodist experience, especially the experience of befriending and sometimes marrying fellow Methodists, was central, Lawrence argues, to the change from viewing marriage as a result of economic needs and filial obedience to viewing marriage as a romantic love match.

How did this happen? Classes, bands, and societies redefined family even as they redefined and encouraged discipleship: 'One was not born into it; one had to earn it . . . Conversion made individuals members of a transnational and unearthly family, one in which members might not even meet in this world but were guaranteed to do so in the next' (43). People often separated from their birth families and social 'customs' as a result of conversion. Conflict ensued from the resulting 'class and gender transgressions' (69). Women especially committed such 'transgressions', and Lawrence mentions three famous Methodist women who became transatlantic models of this journey: Catherine Livingston [Garrett], Mary Bosanquet [Fletcher], and Hester Ann Roe [Rogers].

Lawrence also explicitly notes something I had intuitively known: that early Methodists used *all* the common family terms—fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters—to describe their relationships to each other in society, class, and band. Critics often zeroed in on the emotional intensity of these relationships. Methodists 'employed sensual language to describe their most ecstatic, God-centred feelings and relationships. . . . The passion normally reserved for couples or family members was transferred to unrelated Methodists' (130). Yet since Methodists also encouraged restrained and modest sexual mores, they had a constant need to 'make a strict accounting of their sensations . . . to sift through what was divine and what was devilish' (130). The encouragement of celibacy, especially for male itinerants, was a matter of economic necessity, but it also put them at 'odds with the predominant cultural and parental pressures' towards marriage and family life (157). When Methodists did marry, it was often a 'tortuous and deliberative' event with 'romantic and religious destiny' both at stake in 'choosing the correct soul mate' (185–6).

Finally, Lawrence notes that Methodists in America also used the language of family and authority to explain their independence from their British family, first acknowledging themselves as Wesley's 'sons in the gospel', but later writing

him out of the *Discipline* (at least as their 'father') (203). The attention to family also had interracial complexities in the American context.

In the nineteenth century, Methodists became more respectable. In the US they became the de facto established Church and in Britain they operated in the shadow of one, but in both places among their mainline strand 'the radicalism of [their] voluntary social organization faded, and these romantic, sentimental bonds found outlet in the more traditional sense of the Methodist household, a bounded nuclear unit' (223). Given where Methodists had started out, this was a very ironic place to end up.

In many ways, this book speaks particularly to the American religious experience, especially the evangelical experience. Methodists are not the only source of modern evangelical emphases on the nuclear family, on conversion as an intimate relationship with Jesus, or the 'exaltation of the "soul mate" as a central consideration for marriage' (2)—but Methodist language on these matters has turned out to be pervasive. Certainly my own experience within American holiness and evangelical subcultures have shown them operating with many of the subconscious presuppositions Lawrence outlines here.

But this book can also adjust one's vision of Methodism itself. American Methodists in particular navigate a modern Church that operates like a large, bureaucratic company yet still defines itself in terms of family relationships. Recognizing that Methodism at heart treats its dysfunctions as family quarrels is perhaps the first step to repairing them.

Reviewed by Jennifer Woodruff Tait, Managing Editor of Christian History Magazine, Richmond, Kentucky

Barry W. Hamilton, *The Role of Richard Watson's Theological Institutes in the Development of Methodism after John Wesley.* Lewiston and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2014. ix + 415 pp. $49.95 pb. / £134.95/$199.95 hb. ISBN: 978-0-7734-0072-6.

Richard Watson (1781–1833) was a key figure in Methodism in the years of controversy and expansion which followed John Wesley's death. Watson entered the Wesleyan ministry in his late teens, left for the New Connexion in 1800 after accusations of Arianism, and was reinstated as a Wesleyan preacher in 1812. A friend and close ally of Jabez Bunting, Watson served as a secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, rose to be President of

the Conference in 1826 and was chosen by the Connexion to reply to Robert Southey's provocative *Life of Wesley* (1820). His posthumous reputation, however, rested largely on his *Theological Institutes* (1831), the first work of systematic theology produced by a Wesleyan Methodist. The *Institutes* were influential in the formation of Methodist preachers in Great Britain and North America for much of the nineteenth century, and their genesis and context are investigated in this informative study by Barry Hamilton, Professor of Historical and Contemporary Theology at Northeastern Seminary/Roberts Wesleyan College, Rochester, New York, and author of a number of articles on Watson and early nineteenth-century Wesleyan theology.

Professor Hamilton's thesis is that the rapid growth of Wesleyan Methodism in the generation after Wesley provoked and was then threatened by several developments. Externally, the movement's ecclesiastical and political critics responded to the expansion with vigorous polemics and with proposals for restrictive legislation (notably Lord Sidmouth's 1811 bill to curtail the activities of local and itinerant preachers). Internally, Methodist preachers who leant toward Rational Dissent, and preachers and people who inclined to radical politics, threatened the theological cohesion and constitutional strength of the Connexion. Hamilton argues that Bunting and Watson led a campaign to assert the authority of the Conference against the 'advocates for rebellion' (229) and to reinforce evangelical Arminianism and Athanasian orthodoxy against theological speculation. Watson's *Institutes*, he suggests, drew extensively on a wide range of recognized Anglican sources and authorities, rather than on Wesley's works, precisely in order to demonstrate Methodism's place within the ecclesiastical, theological, and political mainstream. Puzzlement at the paucity of references to Wesley in the *Institutes*, he claims, reflects a misunderstanding of the apologetic purpose of Watson's enterprise.

Hamilton has read widely in the pamphlet literature of the 1790s and 1800s, and he supplies extensive discussions of anti-Methodist polemics (chapter 1), the controversy within Wesleyanism over Adam Clarke's views on the Eternal Sonship of Christ (chapter 2), and internal and external criticisms of Wesleyan polity (chapter 3). These chapters offer much detail, and rescue some pugnacious authors from historical obscurity, as well as drawing attention to major figures like Clarke who are ripe for further investigation. Two chapters (4 and 5) set the *Institutes* against the broad sweep of English theological debate from Hooker via Locke, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Butler, and Waterland to Van Mildert. At times it is easy to lose sight of Richard Watson in the extensive and extensively footnoted discourses on sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century theology, and the work sometimes loses its focus on Watson's appropriation of insights from an apparently eclectic assortment of divines and philosophers.

More concise summaries of the authorities and closer attention to whether Watson understood them and how he used them would have been welcome. A synopsis of the *Institutes*, its structure and arguments would also have been helpful, and might perhaps have helped the work toward a clearer presentation of its central and thought-provoking thesis. A book with such a wealth of detail also deserves a much fuller index: the present one lacks entries for Jabez Bunting, Adam Clarke, Thomas Coke, and Watson himself, among other leading *dramatis personae* in the story. That said, Hamilton is to be congratulated on his erudition, and on challenging modern Wesleyan scholarship to engage more effectively with Richard Watson and with the *Theological Institutes* in their proper intellectual, ecclesiastical, and political contexts.

Reviewed by Martin Wellings, Book Reviews Editor of
Wesley and Methodist Studies

Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt, *American Methodism: A Compact History*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2012. 276 pp. $39.99 pb. ISBN: 978-1-4267-4227-9.

Students of the history of American Methodism and others interested in the subject waited for several decades for a new and thorough treatment of the topic. They had largely depended upon Frederick A. Norwood's *The Story of American Methodism* (1974) and a few older works. There was clearly a need for a fresh treatment of the subject which would include more recent historiographical insights and features. Recognizing this necessity, Abingdon Press turned to three outstanding historians of American Methodism—Russell E. Richey (Duke University), Kenneth E. Rowe (Drew University), and Jean Miller Schmidt (Iliff School of Theology). This threesome designed a two-volume work, both volumes of which have been published: Volume I, *The Methodist Experience in America: A History* (2010) and Volume II, *The Methodist Experience in America: A Sourcebook* (2000). Yes, the sourcebook was published approximately ten years before the narrative history.

The volume under review is basically a condensation of the larger historical narrative (Volume I). Helpfully, for those who want to explore the topics discussed in more detail, the compact version provides notes which refer readers to the documents in the *Sourcebook* and to sections of the larger narrative volume. Although the *Compact History* cannot provide the detail found in the other two volumes, it will probably be more appealing to an audience

searching for a quicker, thoughtful read. This is a superb book for college and seminary students as well as clergy and laypeople. The main text opens with Methodism's beginnings in North America in 1760 and proceeds chronologically through twelve major periods to 2000.

In the estimation of some, one shortcoming of the book has to do with its title vis-à-vis its contents. While it may appear from the title that the volume is a survey of the history of American Methodism in its many denominational forms (e.g., Primitive Methodism, Wesleyan Methodism, the African-American Methodist denominations, the holiness churches, Pentecostalism, etc.), that is not its primary purpose. While many denominations in America claim the Wesleys and Methodism as their parent, the major focus of the 'compact history' is on the origin and development of denominations which at present compose United Methodism, the largest Methodist denomination in America. Obviously, time and space do not permit extensive recital of each and all the stories of other Methodist bodies. If those stories were included, it is unlikely that this volume would be a 'compact history'.

American Methodism: A Compact History takes its place among the premier histories of Methodism in America. It is a worthy addition to that literature.

Reviewed by Charles Yrigoyen Jr, General Secretary Emeritus, General Commission on Archives and History, the United Methodist Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Durwood Dunn, *The Civil War in Southern Appalachian Methodism*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013. xvi + 264 pp. $42.00 hb. ISBN: 978-1-62190-001-6.

Denominational history could not be better done.

In the US it comes in several flavours: local, conference or state, national (mine/ours), and increasingly global. Seldom, at least in Methodist studies, do the local and conference/state treatments position regional developments in relation to national and national/denominational religious and social trends. Seldom, as well, do denominational studies make sense of Methodist life at the congregational level, bring the regional differentia into adequate view, or test national interpretive arguments against local and state patterns. One early exception to such foci-restrictive studies was *The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula, 1769–1820* (1984). There William Williams set the pattern for much subsequent Methodist studies by closely examining American societal

strains and patterns on race (including slavery), gender, class, politics, authority, and interdenominational conflict. He did so modelling how to address such huge issues with a regionally delimited and conference focus. Looking through the Delmarva lens, Williams saw and shot the big picture of Methodist history.

Like Williams's study in its societal breadth but regional focus, Dunn's examines one loop on what was Methodism's greatest strength, the middle-states-and-west slave-owning and slavery-opposing belt across the nation (and devotes one of his five chapters to 'Slavery and Free Blacks'). And also like Williams's, Dunn's can be read as a remarkable study of the whole denomination, of the conference(s) in east Tennessee (Holston), and of Methodism at the local level. Folks who know little about American Methodism (haven't read my/our books) can start here, get the big picture, understand the Church's adjustment to the new nation, and grasp the importance of denominational practices (class meetings, quarterly conferences, annual conferences, camp meetings, the several preacher levels, episcopal authority, Church college, and national and regional Methodist newspapers). All readers will come to grasp, *especially*, how racial traumas effectively broke the denomination's heart or broke it at its heart.

The study is 'Dedicated to the memory of the antislavery local preachers of Holston Conference who remained fiercely loyal to the Union.' The dedication gets at one of the study's really important historiographical corrections, namely how, at least on that section of the Methodist belt, local preachers and conference members differed on slavery and slave-holding. Tracking Methodist life, with attention to gender, race, social status, and local patterns, Dunn demonstrates that the ministerial division and an intra-conference Methodist civil war on slavery had gone on for five decades before the nation itself divided. In tracking the yawning ministerial and ecclesial cleavage on slavery and on post-slavery race relations, he makes very effective and extensive use of the Church's regional newspapers, especially as edited by William G. 'Parson' Brownlow and Richard N. Price. The latter worked his slavery-glossing perspective as well into the important and here heavily used (and criticized) five-volume *Holston Methodism from Its Origin to the Present Time* (1904–13). The former, whose views on slavery evolved, became an important campaigner for northern Methodism's post-Civil War evangelization in Tennessee but also throughout the South (he served briefly as the state's governor). Dunn features these two, throughout the book, prominent actors in Methodism's dramatic division. Their vitriolic editorials contributed to the enmity that persisted in the largely overlapping conferences and competitive local ministries of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) and Methodist Episcopal Church South (MECS) up to the 1939 unification.

No 'brotherly love' among these Christians: 'every small town and village had *two* Methodist churches: one Northern and the other Southern' (147).

Two appendices, 'Numbers of Traveling Preachers and Local Preachers, Holston Conference, 1838–1860' and 'Local Preachers Elected to Deacon's or Elder's Orders in the Holston Conference, 1824–1860', the latter twenty pages in length, well illustrate how close to the ground Dunn takes this study. They also symbolize how remarkably he has unearthed and portrayed the ministries, advocacy, and courage of the local preachers whose important roles lay outside or beyond the Church's record-keeping. (Methodism's mistreatment of the locals constituted one of the organizing causes for the Methodist Protestants apparently not effectively championed in the terrain Dunn covers.)

The local's anti-slavery and Unionist wartime commitments and harassment by slavery-embracing Church leaders led many into the newly formed northern (MEC) conference. And Dunn intimates that such Unionist behaviour on the part of the local preachers may have informed the MECS's structural and ministerial postwar changes, particularly those that effectively marginalized the local's role. 'If American Methodism contained a single, deadly flaw in its operational structure', insists Dunn, 'that flaw was surely the institution of the local preacher' (19). So, again, a conference-focused study that alters our view of a key Methodist office, two-thirds of preachers for the period covered, and so alters our understanding of American Methodism as a whole.

Over fifty pages of endnotes and an extensive bibliography demonstrate as well his conversation with current and prior scholarship. Great graphics too.

Reviewed by Russell E. Richey, Dean Emeritus of Candler School of Theology, and William R. Cannon, Distinguished Professor of Church History Emeritus, and Research Fellow, Center for Studies in the Wesleyan Tradition, Duke Divinity School.

Todd Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists: British Wesleyanism and the Formation of an Evangelical Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ontario and Quebec.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013. xvii + 236 pp. £54/$85.00 hb.
ISBN: 978-0-7735-42044.

It is well known that Methodism met with resounding success in North America. By 1861 in Upper Canada, as author Todd Webb notes, Methodists had

become the largest religious group in the colony (163). This story has tended to be told as an unfolding and flowering of Canadian nationalist identity. Webb, an assistant professor of history at Laurentian University in Ontario, Canada, believes this reading belies a more tangled reality. In *Transatlantic Methodists*, which was shortlisted for the Canadian Historical Association's 2014 John A. Macdonald Book Prize for best scholarly book in Canadian history, Webb employs meticulous research and a lively style to build a compelling argument about the formation of Methodist identities in the Canadas (now the provinces of Ontario and Quebec). He suggests that to understand this history, one must take into account events and relationships on both sides of the Atlantic during the nineteenth century.

Webb mined minute books, journals, correspondence, and publications on both sides of the Atlantic to tease out a fuller story. What emerges is a nuanced coming-of-age narrative for Methodism's Canadian daughter, one that details negotiations about what it meant to be British, to be Methodist, and to be Canadian, for both Canadians and their British parent Church. In the end, argues Webb, Methodism in Upper and Lower Canada was 'integrated into a British world' (15). Having laid aside their American and other attachments, by the 1870s Canadian Methodists were British and Wesleyan, formally linked to British Wesleyanism, and looking much like it in structure and worship life. However, intriguingly, they were also ready to 'leave home'—to part ways amicably with their British Connexion in order to form new Methodist unions in Canada. Webb takes the reader on a journey from mission field to autonomous denomination that entails fascinating voyages not only back and forth across the cold North Atlantic, but into colonialism, identity formation, and the relentless quest to keep John Wesley's theology and ecclesiology alive and flourishing. The book is accessible to non-specialist readers interested in the development of Methodism, British colonial history or Canadian history, yet its scholarship is rigorous enough to appeal to specialists.

While the thesis of *Transatlantic Methodists* is complex, its structure is clear. After introducing the topic and context, Webb outlines four intersecting nineteenth-century issues that helped shape Methodism in the Canadas: (1) the British Wesleyan foray into Lower and Upper Canada, where American Methodists had already begun missions; (2) the battle for unity and hegemony between the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Methodists; (3) the thorny issue of transatlantic mission financing; and (4) debates about the competing authority of revivals and the ordained clergy. As they negotiated these challenges, Methodists in both Britain and Canada struggled to understand what it meant to be engaged in a colonial relationship and in the formation of new ecclesial and national identities. Do 'true' Wesleyans support Establishment,

both in Britain and in Canada? When should a colony start to fund its own missionary enterprise? (As soon as possible, said many Brits; not so fast, the Canadians replied). At what point does a deeply felt 'religious awakening' become unwanted 'extravagance and enthusiasm' (142)? In the end, Webb concludes, Methodists in Canada developed a 'conservative, but subversive sense of self,' as they saw themselves as 'the guardians of a pure version of Britishness and Wesleyanism, uncorrupted by the worldly diplomacy of the home connexion' (163).

Todd Webb's work is significant in several ways. It claims a British Wesleyan identity for Methodism in Canada, and in so doing speaks to the depth and power of the colonial project. It suggests the value of a trans-oceanic appraisal by historians of all missionary enterprises, Methodist and otherwise. The book also challenges theologians to consider the ways that wider political and economic circumstances helped to shape the ecclesiology of Methodists worldwide. And while Webb focuses on the British-Canadian relationship, his research invites further investigation into the ongoing effects on Canadian Methodism by their American Methodist neighbours.

Finally, as he makes his substantial scholarly contribution, Webb weaves his narrative in a way that honours the deeply personal and affective nature of Methodism itself. At every turn we hear the real voices of Methodists in full rhetorical flight, pleading for transatlantic solidarity, for generosity, or for loyalty to sovereigns, temporal and heavenly. Webb surveys the scene with a gently ironic touch, yet enough poignancy that when, in the final pages, the Canadian Methodists go their own way, our hearts break a little at the parting.

Reviewed by Sandra Beardsall, Professor of Church History and Ecumenics at St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada

John Read, *Catherine Booth: Laying the Theological Foundations of a Radical Movement*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013. 234 pp. £17.50/$27 pb. ISBN: 978-1-62032-492-9.

In this readable and stimulating book, John Read does a fine job of drawing attention to the importance of Catherine Booth, not just as a co-founder of the Salvation Army and a role model for women preachers, but also significantly as the theological brains behind the Army's beliefs and practices. In documenting and exploring the implicit theology in her addresses, publications, and journals,

he makes clear her Methodist theological framework—a fact noted in her own day as the *Methodist Times* described her as 'the greatest Methodist woman of this generation', but a fact overlooked in previous studies, which have tended in general to focus on a biographical and anecdotal eulogy of the mother of the Army.

In contrast, Read gives a brief biographical summary showing how determined Catherine was to engage in systematic study of theology and Church history in addition to her study of the Bible—her thorough knowledge of which was demonstrated by Timothy Larsen in *A People of One Book*. Against the earlier opinion of Roger Green, Read asserts that Catherine had 'a nuanced understanding of her Wesleyan heritage' and that her addresses do, in fact, reveal a strong grasp of 'detailed and precise theological issues' as Green called them (209). Read analyses Catherine's soteriology, which encompasses the doctrines of justification and sanctification, followed by an analysis of the ecclesiology, doctrine of ministry, and view of the sacraments that issued from it.

Read, who is a Salvation Army officer, achieves his aim of demonstrating how Catherine's evangelical convictions formed the conceptual structure which undergirded her Salvationism. He makes clear how her belief in prevenient grace and the Church's task of expressing that grace 'gave birth to a movement within the Church marked by extraordinarily effective cross-cultural mission' (25), and he gives careful attention to the complex question of the competing claims for influence on her doctrine of entire sanctification from the thought of John Wesley, that of John Fletcher, and from American holiness preaching.

Great interest has been shown in the emerging field of recovering sources of biblical interpretation by women in past times when they were not expected to be in either the pulpit or the academy. Read's work is exciting since he moves to the next stage of the task—to analyse and evaluate Catherine's work in terms of its theological content and the influences upon it. In discussing Catherine's theology in relation to an Augustinian view of the Trinity, for example, and not just her praxis or use of the Bible, he gives due recognition to the fact that women, as well as men, thought and argued theologically in the nineteenth century, whether or not they had had what was regarded as a theological education.

As an Army officer, Read is well placed to judge how far Catherine's theology has been overlooked, and his book acts as a call to Salvation Army members to re-examine the value of her theological legacy today. However, this work also makes an important contribution to the field of nineteenth-century religious history as it challenges all to evaluate the significance of Catherine's theology and the role Methodist thinkers played in forming it.

Read draws attention to Catherine's unusual status as a Church leader with the 'intellectual and theological perspective . . . of a woman' (212), but he does

not suggest whether he believes that being female made a difference to her theology. Did her gender affect her 'theological perspective'?

Though Read does not mention this, the great Wesleyan leader Hugh Price Hughes also worked alongside W. T. Stead, Catherine Booth, and Josephine Butler in the campaigns against trafficking and the sexual exploitation of young girls. Butler, whose biblical interpretation led Hughes to declare that 'the Bible will never be properly understood until women as well as men expound it', and Catherine were two of the women Hughes most admired, and both their examples must surely have contributed to his practice of encouraging women to study theology. Katharine Price Hughes, who was the first woman to address the Methodist Conference, was also influenced by the examples of Butler and Catherine Booth.

Clearly, Catherine had an impact not only on the Army but on the Methodists of her day and Read's work points the way to further comparison between the theology and praxis of Booth and that of her Methodist forebears and contemporaries.

Reviewed by Amanda Russell-Jones, who has just completed her PhD at the University of Birmingham on Josephine Butler's biblical interpretation

Margaret Reeson, *Pacific Missionary George Brown: 1835–1917 Wesleyan Methodist Church.* Canberra: Australian National University E Press, 2013. 351 pp. $24.95 pb. ISBN: 978-1-9218-6297-7.

Margaret Reeson is well qualified to write on the life and ministry of renowned Methodist missionary and denominational leader, Revd Dr George Brown. Reeson has served as a Methodist missionary in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea, she has researched and published on Pacific history and missionary life, and she has served in denominational leadership in the Uniting Church. The thorough research, which is evident in every one of the 350 pages of *Pacific Missionary George Brown*, suggests that Reeson has a deep understanding of Brown's experiences and it hints at some personal empathy with Lydia Brown's service as a missionary spouse.

Margaret Reeson traces George Brown's adventurous life through his wanderings as a restless youth, his missionary service in Samoa and New Britain, and his denominational leadership in Australia, which included founding the Methodist mission along the coast of Papua and in the Solomon Islands. Reeson makes this all the more meaningful by providing the historical backdrop

to so many of these adventures, specifically in the transfer of mission leadership from England to Australia in 1855, Australian federation in 1901, union of Methodist groups in Australia in 1902, the impact of German relations and the coming of World War I in 1914, and generally through the civil unrest of the shearer's strikes, the financial and employment struggles, and the search for recognition for women in ministry in the early twentieth century.

Much has previously been published on the life of George Brown, including several works by his co-workers, his autobiography in 1908, and the valuable 2006 publication by Helen Gardner, *Gathering for God: George Brown in Oceania*. However, Margaret Reeson's work adds to these in that, apart from the exhaustive extent of her research, she consistently highlights Lydia Brown's role in ministry and she explores George Brown's denominational role in Australia with as much thoroughness as she did his island ministry. In doing this she has sought out details that Gorge Brown left out of his autobiography, and Reeson goes to some length to imagine the feelings and pressures of Lydia Brown's trials.

Margaret Reeson is very honouring of George Brown's faith, which is essential in understanding his life choices. She provides a good overview of Brown's Samoan missionary service, in contrast to Brown's own minimal record on this fourteen-year period of ministry, although I would recommend reading Helen Gardner's descriptions of this period for some additional perspective. Reeson deals comprehensively and fairly with the notorious New Britain retaliation attack of 1878, and consistently exposes Brown's humanity, through bouts of depression, exhaustion, and illness.

Reeson has woven the fruit of exhaustive research into a storytelling style to produce a book that must become a key resource for future students of Methodism in the South Pacific. Her writing is an interesting blend of academic and narrative. Some might find that her imaginative sections detract from the academic value of the book, but I found the opposite. As Reeson explores Lydia's feelings of loneliness and grief, it brings a deeper sense of realism to the historic record. Reeson becomes poetic at times, such as in her description when 'the steep green suede and corduroy of the familiar hills receded, and the tearful faces of beloved friends faded' (20). At other times she ventures into speculation, such as, 'At midnight that night, the missionary community would have held their Watchnight Service . . . And together they would have said the old words, quietly, perhaps with tears, perhaps with rising hope' (163). These descriptive passages never wander from what is highly probable, though, and altogether I found that they contributed to make her book more than just a valuable academic resource, but a great read as well.

Some may regret the absence of detail in naming of island ministers or in merely passing descriptions of George Brown's scientific work, but I believe that Reeson was justified in what she delved into and what she did not pursue. Since the book is a biography about Brown's life, it is reasonable that Reeson names only those Fijian, Samoan, Tongan, and New Guinean workers who had a particular relationship with Brown, such as 'Ahongalu, Bulu, Baledrokadroka, Naucukidi, Levu, and Lelei. At other times the many island ministers are simply numbered, such as, 'some of their own Samoan people died' (104), or 'nine men, six of them with wives and families, were chosen from the many' (77). Nonetheless, Reeson takes much trouble to highlight George Brown's enormous admiration for island ministers, as well as the time given to his scientific collections and the accolades that he received.

I consider *Pacific Missionary George Brown* to be a valuable addition to my library, and I congratulate Margaret Reeson for this service to the Pacific community.

Reviewed by Lindsay Cameron, Minister in the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Australia and doctoral candidate at the Australian National University Canberra, Australia

Joel B. Green, *Reading Scripture as Wesleyans*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010. 186 pp. £9.43/$15.99 pb. ISBN: 978-1-4267-0691-2.

Much has been written about Wesley's choice and use of Scripture in both his sermons and his *Notes upon the New Testament*. Joel Green's book, however, will be a valuable addition to this body of scholarship—not least because of his own excellent pedigree as a biblical scholar and teacher, and as a Wesleyan pastor. The eleven chapters each focus on a book—or, in a couple of cases, two books—of the New Testament, seeking a Wesleyan understanding of its message and key themes. Green's primary concern, as he himself identifies it, is to highlight not so much what Wesley says about scriptural passages as how he actually uses them. The book is also not primarily about Wesley's hermeneutic or methodology, but more about the themes which Wesley himself, or those who call themselves Wesleyan, draw from Scripture. The passages are chosen for the use made of them in the *Notes*, which accounts also for the absence of any Old Testament passages. The books covered include all four Gospels, The Acts of the Apostles, a few Pauline and non-Pauline epistles, and Revelation.

Green sets Wesley's scholarship within the context of the history of biblical studies, as a preacher living through the early birth pangs of the historical-critical movement. He thus compares Wesley's thoughts with earlier or contemporary thinkers, including the Authorized Version of the Bible, which would of course have been most people's primary exposure to the Bible in English. Green notes points of disagreement, including where Wesley's knowledge of the Greek allows him to vary from or improve the accepted translations, or where his developing, distinctive theology draws on Scripture for support.

The book is not, however, targeted at the detached or secular historian. It is written for Wesleyan Christians with a general understanding of Wesleyan theology and of the Bible. With this in mind, Green does not hesitate to highlight those areas where a scriptural theme might chime with a key Wesleyan theological emphasis, but where Wesley is silent or—as with the encounter between Jesus and Nicodemus in John 3—more recent developments in biblical scholarship have opened up translations or interpretations which could enhance Wesley's theological arguments.

That it is a book which is intended to be read and used by Christians as an aid to their faith and biblical understanding is seen in the challenging but valuable questions for reflection found at the end of each chapter. These will make this a useful resource for individual Christians, small groups, or whole congregations who want to deepen their connection between Bible, ecclesiology, and daily life. They are questions which any of us engaged in the business of discipleship—perhaps especially those of us charged with Church leadership—should find helpful and show that Joel Green is a man who understands not only academic biblical scholarship but also its relationship with the Church's engagement with Scripture. Here, profound learning and depth of scholarship are offered as a means of profound and deep encounter with God.

The book is intended, in part, as a companion to *The Wesley Study Bible*. Each chapter begins with a brief outline of main themes of the biblical book or books under consideration, then a list of key Wesleyan sermons preached from it, before moving on to the main analysis. It is accessible but without being simplistic. Through an explanation of how Wesley presented texts, written for first-century Christians in the Roman Empire, in a way relevant to eighteenth-century British Methodists, new life is breathed into them for twenty-first century American (and British) Wesleyan Christians—no mean achievement!

Reviewed by Catrin Harland-Davies, Methodist Minister and Chaplain at the University of Sheffield, UK

Don Thorsen, *Calvin vs Wesley: Bringing Belief in Line with Practice.* Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013. 158 pp. £10.99/$17.99 pb. ISBN: 978-1-4267-4335-1.

Don Thorsen is Professor of Theology at the Haggard Graduate School of Theology, Azusa Pacific University, Azusa, California. In this book he argues that, when it comes to practice, most Christians are closer to Wesley than to Calvin and that this is regardless of their stated theological position. In support of this thesis he offers a comparison between the two on the issues of the sovereignty of God, the authority of Scripture, predestination, prevenient grace, the scope of salvation, the quest for holiness, the nature of the Church, and the nature of ministry. In each case, he provides a clear and comprehensive account of the theology of each before comparing and contrasting the two. All technical words are clearly explained, making this a suitable introduction for those who have little or no prior knowledge of either the two men or theology, and of interest to the general reader.

Despite the title, Thorsen makes clear that Wesley and Calvin agreed with each other more than they disagreed and, while he admits that his sympathies lie with Wesley, it is clear that he has striven to be fair to Calvin. That said, he characterizes Calvin as a systematically oriented theologian and he sees this ultimately as a weakness, arguing that Calvin allowed rational unity in theology to supersede individual experiences of faith and Spirit-led encounters.

The book can clearly be recommended as an introduction to what each man said and in one sense it does exactly what it set out to do. However, the lack of a sense of historical context is regrettable. At times this came out simply in minor anachronisms, such as the fact the Wesley is regularly described as Anglo-Catholic. At other times, however, the book would have benefitted from a better awareness that the issues facing Calvin in the sixteenth century were simply different to those facing Wesley in the eighteenth, particularly when dealing with the issue of the relationship between Church and State. For example, the death of Servetus receives an inevitable mention, with no explanation of the different attitude to the nature of heresy which was prevalent in the early modern world.

While the reading of both men is generally good, it is difficult to avoid the sense that Wesley always gets the more sympathetic interpretation. Issues in his theology are smoothed out slightly—for example, on Christian perfection—while the disagreement with Whitefield is played down, as is his lax attitude to Anglican Church discipline. Equally, in subtle ways, Calvin receives the opposite treatment. While the reading of Calvin put forward is certainly a reasonable one, the union with Christ receives disappointingly little attention and the

argument that Calvin emphasized God's sovereignty over God's benevolence is not as clear-cut as Thorsen implies.

Thorsen states from the beginning that he intends to focus on Calvin's and Wesley's own writings and, indeed, nearly all references are to primary documents. There is also no bibliography or any kind of guide for further reading.

Reviewed by Judith Rossall, Tutor in Church History, Queen's Foundation, Birmingham, UK

David J. Hart and David J. Jeremy (eds), *Brands Plucked from the Burning: Essays on Methodist Memorialisation and Remembering.* Evesham: Wesley Historical Society, 2013. xv + 271pp. £14.95 pb. ISBN: 978-0955452796.

This attractively produced and richly illustrated collection originated in the 2011 conference of the WHS, 'Memorialising and Remembering: Life Stories in Methodism'. In an introductory essay Hart identifies the formative nature of stories on the establishment of Methodism, the role of memorialization in passing on the story to successive generations, and the relationship between collective and individual biography as tools for Methodist historians. Six essays on the role of remembrance follow, almost entirely focused on the Wesleyan tradition.

Jeremy looks at a variety of aspects of memorialization within Wesleyanism, including tablature and statuary. His comparisons of the funeral arrangements of Connexional leaders hint at power struggles for status: John Wesley's rejection of a hearse and his burial in woollen garments to symbolize economic self-denial is contrasted with the opulence of Jabez Bunting's final journey, followed by sixteen mourning coaches and heralded with a forty-five-minute extempore prayer, and a four-hour eulogy!

Jeremy's suggestion that Clarke's *Commentary* is 'now unfairly remembered for its identification of the serpent in Genesis as an ape' (37) is itself somewhat unfair on a work valued for its extensiveness within Methodism for many years. It also unclear why he thinks that Wesley's forty-four sermons were part of British Methodism's standard statement of belief only 'until the late twentieth century' (66 n. 118). Quibbles aside, Jeremy's treatment is engaging, especially in its account of the politics of Connexional remembrance around the 1839 Wesleyan centenary, re-examining the subtexts of Henry Perlee Parker's famous painting of the Epworth Rectory fire.

Parker makes another appearance in Hurst's 'Biographies in Church Monuments', which is primarily a study of William Smith and Jane Vazeille, daughter of Mary from her first marriage. In the same churchyard where they lie in Newcastle upon Tyne is Parker's infant son Robert's grave, and Hurst speculates that had Henry not died penniless in London in 1873, it may have been his intention to be buried alongside. This sad postscript is testament to selective Methodist memorialization: A much-loved painting of the infant Wesley escaping death is long remembered, but the separation of its painter from his own infant in death due to financial hardship might be forgotten but for Hurst.

Prosser traces the metamorphosis of the *Arminian Magazine*, from its origins in 1778 as John Wesley's theological repost to Calvinist periodicals like *The Gospel Magazine*, into the much broader 'instructional miscellany which guided the movement into the new century' by the late 1780s. Accounts both of the lives of living preachers and deathbed scenes, Prosser argues, 'ensured that the voices of early Methodism would safely echo from its pages to tell their own inimitable story.' These stories were instrumental in the later conversion of Hugh Bourne, and from the editorial control of the movement's narrative maintained by Wesley through the pages of the *Arminian Magazine* to the end of his life, echoes can be found in Bourne's similar vice-like grip on the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* up until the 1840s: here Methodist remembrance led to recurrence.

In Lloyd's contribution on Methodism's remembrance of its founding he outlines how bickering about Wesley's legacy after his death and a lack of any nominated successor reinforced the idea that for Methodists there would never be another 'King in Israel'. This pervasive mindset led to any perceived departure from 'the old plan' being a cause for dissension and even schism, as in the case of the proposal in the 1830s for a Theological Institution. Lloyd notes that later revivalists—the Bible Christians and the Primitive Methodists—did not use Wesley's name or image 'to any significant degree', though it is worth recalling with Beckerlegge that the United Methodist Free Churches were still issuing hymn-books with Wesley's portrait in as late as 1878. Lloyd concludes with the current state of Wesley remembrance, contrasting those who regard him as a contemporary spiritual and organizational resource, with others who feel that looking to the past belies an institution with no future to look forward to.

In an extension of his far-reaching study *John Wesley's Preachers* (2009), Lenton focuses on the varied reasons why Wesleyan ministers left the Connexion. He reveals not only the varied reasons for resignations and expulsions but also the difficulties in tracing some individuals using the Minutes of the Conference. Making a valuable companion piece to Lenton's work is

the research of Kelly, giving accounts of the preachers' wives of the Wesleyan itinerancy, who often showed great strength of character and faith in facing illness, child bereavement, and financial hardship.

The final article in the collection, Field's study of collective biography in Methodism, covers similar methodological ground to Lenton and Kelly but widens the focus to look at sources of prosopography within all branches of Methodism. Field's comprehensive study serves as a starting point for any historian searching for biographical details from any Methodist tradition, and in bringing greater breadth to an otherwise largely Wesleyan-focused anthology is a fitting end to a fascinating collection.

Reviewed by Tim Woolley, Ministry Development Officer, East Central Region, Methodist Church of Great Britain

Mary Elizabeth Mullino Moore (ed.), *A Living Tradition: Critical Recovery and Reconstruction of Wesleyan Heritage*. Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2013. 280 pp. $39.99 pb. ISBN: 978-1-4267-7751-6.

As a practical theologian with expertise in religious education, Mary Elizabeth Mullino Moore, Dean and Professor of Theology and Education at Boston University School of Theology, brings an academic viewpoint about the practice of ministry to her work in Wesleyan and Methodist studies. The book she has edited shows this concern in a collection of essays that explore how Wesleyan and Methodist history may continue to inform the life of present-day communities. The book was conceived in connection with a conference held at Candler School of Theology in 2003, which celebrated the tercentenary of John Wesley's birth.

According to the first chapter, this book aims 'to exemplify approaches to historical recovery and reconstruction that follow appropriately the mentorship of John Wesley and the living tradition that has emerged from his witness' (2). As this stated purpose suggests, the essays in this volume not only engage in historical work but also imagine the relevance of that history for living communities. Richard Heitzenrater's essay (chapter 2) sets the tone for this project. As he addresses the 'myths' of Methodism, he argues for the importance of having an accurate understanding of the past in order for a living tradition to be faithful to its heritage. The other essays engage in significant examination of some aspect of Wesleyan and Methodist history (for instance

hospitality and prophetic witness), and each one considers what lessons can be learned from that history for our time.

In these essays, the exercise of exploring what can be learned from the past involves critical evaluation, as well as positive appropriation of Wesleyan and Methodist history. The contributors are quite willing to point out, as one author puts it, 'perils of the past' (55) so that learning from history does not mean repeating its mistakes. The result is thoughtful retrieval that seeks the accuracy Heitzenrater commends and also pays attention to the new needs of a new time.

One feature of this volume that sets it apart from many collections of essays is that the contributors are clearly aware of each other's work. They freely refer to points made in other chapters, and this gives the collection a coherence that is often lacking in multi-author works.

Although the book was conceived at a conference that marked an event specific to John Wesley, the volume recognizes that the living tradition draws more widely than only from his life and work. It seeks to show some of the diversity of that tradition, while at the same time it recognizes that this one volume does not cover the full range. For instance, it acknowledges focus on the Western hemisphere, mostly the United States. Despite this acknowledgement, one cannot help but notice some gaps. Although it reaches back to highlight the life of Susanna Annesley Wesley, no chapter focuses on Charles. Only one chapter moves beyond the United States to Argentina, and it is written by a scholar from the United States. The impression this gives is that the collection may have been shaped by factors other than intentional decisions about diversity in what to include.

As a collection of essays intended to exemplify how a living tradition may make good use of its history, this volume begins to move Wesleyan and Methodist studies into a more constructive phase. As the field has matured, the good historical work that has been and continues to be done prepares the way for just this move. These essays do model what the first chapter calls 'critical recovery and reconstruction of the Wesleyan theological legacy' (1). In doing so, the book will be of special interest to theologians who want to do their constructive reflection intentionally within and for the Wesleyan and Methodist tradition. A living tradition needs precisely such work.

Reviewed by Sarah Heaner Lancaster, Professor of Theology at Methodist Theological School in Ohio, Delaware, Ohio

Sean Winter (ed.), *Immense, Unfathomed, Unconfined: The Grace of God in Creation, Church, and Community—Essays in Honour of Norman Young*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2013. 378 pp. £27.99/$39 pb. ISBN: 978-1-62564-313-1.

'What difference does it make if we believe in God as creator? How does it affect the way people live in the world in the present and face the future?' (15). The editor of this collection frames the book with these two questions by Norman Young, asked and answered over fifty years in his teaching, research, and ordained life. The collection published here derives from a 2010 Melbourne Conference celebrating Professor Young's work, and is deeply affectionate in tone. The essays are grouped in sections which loosely reflect the 'Wesleyan' quadrilateral: the editor builds a picture of the nature and work of grace in Scripture, Christian theological tradition, Methodist tradition, and a variety of experience-related areas. A sense of urgency runs through the collection: Norman Young's questions challenge a global Church in his view out of step with its own history (as with emphasis on individualistic piety or prosperity teaching), or with the dilemmas posed by ethnic conflict, the abuse of the earth, and popular cultures. This collection shows mature scholars grappling with the work of God's grace in full awareness of the tragedies and joys of the new millennium in an international Methodist theological voice.

The book is edited with a refreshingly light hand, and makes no attempt to bring the contributions into explicit dialogue. Nonetheless the editing guides the reader into critical conversation with and between contributors' themes. How will the paradox of self-emptying love and ultimate power in Charles Wesley's hymns speak to Christian understanding of the earth as a 'first sacrament'? (Geoffrey Wainwright juxtaposed with Theodore Runyon) How does the claim for the pre-colonial experience of Christ by first peoples, made in the Preamble of the Uniting Church constitution, relate to the Wesleys' thinking on intra-faith love? (Wes Campbell juxtaposed with Tim Macquiban) We have in this collection a glimpse of the internal intellectual economy of a global Methodist diaspora as it considers the implications of incarnation, atonement, and eschatological hope. This makes the collection a useful reference point for present emphases in North/Western hemisphere and South/Eastern hemisphere English-speaking Methodist theology.

By way of answer to the editor's initial questions, the collection offers a rich anatomy of grace and its action: grace is the way God enters the world, in summary. Contributions keep evidence of their origin as spoken papers,

as in the wry humour of the reflection on 'grace and grumbling' in the late section 'the life of grace'. This collection is clearly aimed at theologically aware practitioners as much as the academy. The reader is well advised to read the final essay first, in which Professor Young offers a reflective theological autobiography: as he has it, the grace of God is 'manifest supremely in the incarnation' and 'helps me to face the reality of the present with hope for the future' (365, 366). This gives the entry point to understanding the nature and action of grace reported in the twenty-five essays that precede it. Because grace is as it is, the reality of God's grace for Young will always lead to a cruciform ethics characterized by gratitude, and many of the essays develop this theme.

This collection is weighted toward the Australian contributors, with notable North American and European voices, but it would be interesting to see how a wider Methodist diaspora would critically engage the themes in this account of grace. In Young's voice, grace is the call on our lives that comes not just from a 'desire to flee the wrath to come' as John Wesley might have had it. Our responsible living has its first motive in gratitude and blessing, not fear, and the dominant account of atonement Young offers is reconciliation. To reword the editor's first questions only slightly, 'How should we live, given that God entered the world in this particular way, embodied in this particular man's life, death and resurrection?' It is a worthwhile effort to join the collection's contributors to reflect on the meaning of the incarnation and atonement in English-speaking Methodist tradition at this particular moment of global urgency in the early twenty-first century. Has our tradition enough to say to a world with exponentially increasing population, broken by war, economic collapse, and environmental uncertainty? The resounding voice of this collection is yes.

Reviewed by Jennifer Smith, Superintendent Minister of the Ealing Trinity Circuit, London District, Methodist Church of Great Britain

Helmut Renders and José Carlos de Souza (eds), *Teologia Wesleyana, Latino-Americana e Global: Uma homenagem a Rui de Souza Josgrilberg. Série Teologia Wesleyana Brasileira, Edição Espécial*. San Bernardo do Campo, SP: Editeo, 2011. 288 pp. R$35.00/£9.21/$15.50 pb. ISBN: 978-85-8046-005-6.

The future of Wesleyan theology depends to a great extent on its ability to nurture an increasingly global conversation. *Teologia Wesleyana, Latino-Americana e Global* is a valuable contribution to that future. The book is part of the *Série Teologia Wesleyana Brasileira*, a series on Wesleyan theology published by the Faculdade de Teologia of the Brazilian Methodist Church. The series has the goal of fertilizing the fields of Wesleyan theology in Brazilian soil. It has produced books on scriptural hermeneutics, anthropology, pneumatology, and eschatology among others.

The present book is a Festschrift to Rui de Souza Josgrilberg. The tribute is well deserved; Professor Josgrilberg is a Wesleyan systematic theologian whose decades of service to Methodist theological education in Brazil has led to the formation of what many recognize as the most significant centre for Methodist studies in Latin America. The essays that make up this homage cover a range of topics.

First, the collection includes essays celebrating the teaching ministry of Rui Josgrilberg. Paolo Tarso de Oliveira Lockmann and Otoniel Luciano Ribeiro offer biographical sketches that highlight (with pictures) Josgrilberg's service as rector of the Faculty of Theology at the Methodist University of São Paulo. Essays by Bishop Adriel de Souza Maia and Almir de Souza Maia focus on the intellectual contributions of Professor Josgrilberg to the field of Methodist studies. Of special importance in this connection is Rui de Josgrilberg's consistent characterization of Methodist theology as a theology of *caminho* (the way). In Wesleyan theology there is a long-standing discussion as to whether Wesley's soteriology is best understood as an *ordo salutis* or a *via salutis*. Professor Josgrilberg decisively embraces the latter, not only because he understands the work of God's grace as dynamic, but because he understands that Methodism as a whole is born from the journey. The Wesleyan *caminho* is more of a march for holistic (social, personal, and ecological) holiness than a solo race to sanctity.

Second, the collection contains essays reflecting on topics that are significant for Josgrilberg and Wesleyan theology. Tercio Machado Siqueira, Paulo Roberto Garcia, Ely Eser Barreto César, and Randy Maddox explore issues pertaining to scriptural interpretation. By variously bringing John Wesley, modern biblical scholarship, and the Latin American context into conversation with the Bible, these authors present a mosaic of what a *homo unius libri* should look like in the twenty-first century. Walter Klaiber and Claudio de Oliveira Ribero

give us a compelling vision of a Wesleyan theology that takes its context seriously. In particular, both authors look for a Brazilian Methodist theology that stretches the Wesleyan quadrilateral by intentionally making space for the poor and for the natural creation. José Carlos de Souza, Levy da Costa Bastos, and Helmut Renders bring our attention to the Brazilian Methodist Church and to the challenges and promise of living in a Wesleyan way in a context where ecumenism is contested, the prosperity gospel is powerful, and popular religiosity is theologically ambiguous. These authors dispel the facile characterizations of Global Methodism common among First World Methodists. The Brazilian Methodist Church resists easy labels and categorizations. It is a Church that is growing numerically and at the same time faces a crisis of identity and mission. Turning to issues of moral theology, Manfred Marquardt, Jung Mo Sung, and Theodore W. Jennings Jr examine the shape of Christian life in the contemporary world. They do so in different ways: Marquardt by attending to the ethical implications of the doctrine of the imago Dei; Sung by exposing the challenges that globalization presents for holy living; Jennings by promoting a dialogue with Lenin. Finally, Blanches de Paula and Magali do Nascimento Cunha remind readers of the importance of practical theology for Methodists and seek to draw lessons from the Wesleyan movement for Christian engagement with modern media.

Looking at *Teologia Wesleyana, Latino-Americana, e Global* as a whole, I have to admit that the results are uneven. Not surprisingly, some essays end up doing more of the heavy lifting and not all the authors are rowing in the same direction. More significantly, it is strange that a book that purports at one level to offer a Latin American theology does not include contributors from Latin America outside of Brazil. Nevertheless, the book accomplishes its goal. It honours Josgrilberg and his labours by presenting a vision of Wesleyan theology that is very Brazilian in origin and global in scope. For this reason, this book should be of interest not only to Brazilian Methodists but to the Wesleyan diaspora seeking to spread scriptural holiness throughout the world.

Reviewed by Edgardo Colón-Emeric, Assistant Professor of Christian Theology, Duke Divinity School, Durham, North Carolina

SHORT NOTICE

Kenneth J. Collins and Jason E. Vickers (eds), *The Sermons of John Wesley: A Collection for the Christian Journey*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013. xxiii + 656 pp. £30.99/$49.99 pb. ISBN: 978-1-4267-4231-6.

The present volume illustrates the enthusiasm for Wesley as a spiritual guide in world Methodism. It is driven by a desire to use Wesley's sermons for theological and spiritual formation, and in this it differs from, for instance, Albert Outler's four-volume scholarly edition of sermons in the Bicentennial Edition of Wesley's *Works*. Professors Collins and Vickers have taken the forty-four sermons defined as the doctrinal standard in Wesley's 1763 Model Deed, added eight of the nine published by Wesley in the 1771 edition of his *Works*, and added a further eight of their own choosing, to 'offer a better and more accurate picture of [Wesley's] overall practical theology.' Instead of a chronological arrangement showing the development of Wesley's thought over time, the sixty sermons here are arranged according to Collins's and Vickers's understanding of Wesley's soteriology, spanning twenty-one stages, from the goodness of creation, the fall and free grace through justification, regeneration, and assurance to Christian perfection, judgement, and glorifying grace. Each sermon is given a very concise introduction (typically two or three paragraphs) and a structural outline. The text used is Outler's, but without his notes, so Greek and Latin quotations are left untranslated. There is a brief general introduction, explaining the project and the publishing history of Wesley's sermons. There is no index and no bibliography, although some suggestions for further reading may be gleaned from the general introduction and the list of abbreviations. This volume will be useful for readers seeking an accessible edition of the sermons, and interesting for students of the post-Outler renaissance in Wesleyan studies.

Reviewed by Martin Wellings, Book Reviews Editor of Wesley and Methodist Studies.

Clarification

The Letters of Charles Wesley, Volume I, 1728–1756 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), ed. Newport and Lloyd, was reviewed in the last issue, volume 6, of *Wesley and Methodist Studies*, pp. 201–3. This review contained a statement (p. 202) suggesting that the first letter in the volume [Charles Wesley to John Wesley, Jan. 20, 1727] was misdated by the editors. It should be made clear that the accuracy of the dating of letters in the volume is not questioned.

THE MANCHESTER WESLEY RESEARCH CENTRE AND THE OXFORD CENTRE FOR METHODISM AND CHURCH HISTORY

The Manchester Wesley Research Centre (MWRC)

The MWRC supports the research of scholars in Wesley and Methodist Studies, particularly from MWRC partner institutions. Each year visiting research fellows are welcomed for short periods of intensive research in Manchester. The MWRC helps facilitate access to the world-renowned Methodist Archives and Research Centre at the John Rylands Library in Manchester. It also has its own specialist library with research space for visiting research fellows and PhD students studying at MWRC partner institutions. The Centre hosts student-led research colloquiums, an annual lecture by a leading scholar in Wesleyan studies, and occasional international conferences. For more information about the Centre and upcoming events, go to: www.mwrc.ac.uk or contact the Centre's director, Dr Geordan Hammond: ghammond@nazarene.ac.uk

The Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History

The Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History is a research centre of Oxford Brookes University, which embodies the relationship between the university and the trustees of the former Westminster College, Oxford. The Centre is home to important resources, including the Wesley Historical Society Library and a number of archive and art collections, as well as the Methodist Collection of Modern Art. The Centre offers a small number of visiting research fellowships each year to enable scholars to come to Oxford to use its resources. It also sponsors lectures, conferences, and other research activity. For more information, go to: www.brookes.ac.uk/wie/research/ocmch or contact the Centre's director, Professor William Gibson: wgibson@brookes.ac.uk

Oxford-Manchester Methodist Studies Seminars

The Manchester Wesley Research Centre and Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History have established a biannual seminar series which takes place in

spring and autumn. These seminars provide opportunities for established and emerging scholars of Methodist studies to present the findings of their research and scholarship. We conceive Methodist studies broadly and aim to provide opportunities for students of history, theology, literature, art, material culture, and other fields related to Methodism. For further information, visit: www .mwrc.ac.uk/methodist-studies-seminars/

'George Whitefield at 300' Conference

The Manchester Wesley Research Centre and Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History were sponsors (along with Aberystwyth University and the Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University) of 'George Whitefield at 300', an international tercentenary conference that met at Pembroke College, Oxford, from 25 to 27 June 2014. For details about the conference, visit: http://www .mwrc.ac.uk/whitefield-conference/ When available, information about publications resulting from conference papers will be posted on the website.

CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS W. SMITH is conducting post-doctoral research into medieval papal petitions at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, funded by the Leverhulme Trust (Study Abroad Studentship). He received his PhD from Royal Holloway, University of London, in 2013. He held a Scouloudi Junior Research Fellowship at the Institute of Historical Research, London, between 2012 and 2013, and a Visiting Research Fellowship at the Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History between 2013 and 2014. He is currently preparing his monograph on Pope Honorius III and the crusades to the Holy Land, which is to be published by Brepols in the series '*Outremer*—Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East'.

TIMOTHY UNDERHILL is Assessment Manager for English at Cambridge University's international assessment department. His doctoral thesis was on John Byrom and he has published a number of articles on his life, writing, and shorthand. He has deciphered shorthand materials to inform texts of Charles Wesley's manuscript verse published online by Duke Divinity School's Center for Studies in the Wesleyan Tradition, and also for the Oxford University Press edition of Charles Wesley's *Letters* (ed. Kenneth G. C. Newport and Gareth Lloyd). He is working on an edition and fuller biographical study of Byrom and his circle.

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