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# Proceedings

OF THE

## Wesley Historical Society

Editor: E. ALAN ROSE, B.A.

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Volume 51

February 1997

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### ANOTHER PAWSON LETTER

**N**O sooner was the third and last volume of the *Letters of John Pawson* in the press than a further letter turned up in the Bridwell Library at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. A copy was provided by Mrs. Wanda Smith, but it was too late to be incorporated in the volume. It is an early letter whose rightful place is in the first volume of the *Letters* and we are grateful to Mrs. Smith and the Bridwell Librarian for making the letter available and allowing us to print it here.

Matthew Mayer, the son of a prosperous Cheshire farmer, was an outstanding local preacher who ranged widely through Lancashire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire. Pawson would have made his acquaintance while stationed in the Lancashire Circuit in 1766-1768. For two earlier letters to him, see *The Letters of John Pawson*, 1, pp.15-16, 21.

To: Matthew Mayer  
at Portwood Hall,  
near Stockport  
Cheshire

Bristol,  
Feb. 26, 1773

[Salutation missing]

...I must confess that I had nearly (if not quite) given up all hope of being favour'd with a Letter from Bro[the]r Mayer: but was glad to find that you had not quite forgot me. I do assure you my Friend that I do not envy you at all, but I hope can sincerely bless God for your happy situation in life: and pray that this may abound yet more and more. I have always thought it a very great happiness when a Persons mind is

brought down to his present circumstances, so that he is truly contented, (although they are not quite so comfortable as might be desired) till an All-wise God shall see it good to bring him into a more agreeable situation. I do not know that ever I shall Marry, nor have I taken any step towards it at present: though I cannot say that I am quite contented to abide as I am as might be desired.<sup>1</sup> Respecting Miss E.<sup>2</sup> I have always thought the same as I told you, before ever you spoke to her. She is certainly an agreeable person, but I always thought that none of that Family (as well as they seem'd to love me) besides herself, would ever consent to any such thing. Be not surprized if in a few weeks you should hear that her name is Mrs Gifford. You know the Man, you went in his Carrage [*sic*] (I think) to preach at Brantford [*sic*]. Money you know makes every thing agreeable, 'tis the one thing needfull, tis every blessing in one. I believe that he is not much more then [*sic*] twice her age, but this will signify nothing, as he firmly believes that he shall never dye. I heard that Old Mr. E. is much for it, and I queson [*sic*] if some others of the Family are not of the same mind. but I cannot believe that she either has, or can have a proper regard for him, nor do I believe that she would ever think of Marrying him, but merely to oblige her Friends. She is much to be pity'd.

I hear that Tomey is gone to the Revd Mr Hattons in Shropshire, to prepare for Ordination.<sup>3</sup> We expect Mr Wesley here the 9th of next Month, when he leaves us, perhaps I may go with him as far as Worster, then perhaps I may see something of the Marston people, but I think I shall not have time to go there: neither would it be well for me to go, as I heard that Mr Gifford is coming along with Mr. W. and it is probably may take Miss E home with him. I am the rather led to think so because I have this moment receiv'd a Letter from Tomey in which he says, 'Mr Gifford has not Married my sis[te]r yet. but I suppose will do very soon, most of the Family are for it very much so. So you see meracles [*sic*] are not yet ceased.'

<sup>1</sup> Pawson was twice married: first to Grace Davies of Bristol, on 23 July 1773, just six months after this letter, and after her death in 1783, to a Mrs. Wren of York.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly, from the general context, this was one of the Eden family of Broad Marston, near Chipping Campden, described by Pawson as 'one of the most amiable families I had ever known' (*Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers*, vol 4 p.37). There are four letters from Pawson to her brother William in *Letters*, Vol. 1. It may be doubted whether, even without a rival in the shape of Mr. Gifford, Pawson rated his chances of marrying into so affluent a family very highly. If this is the 'Ally Eden' to whom John Wesley refers in a letter of 12 December 1773 to Ann Bolton (*Standard Letters*, VI pp. 58-9), she seems to have married in haste only to repent at leisure. Another candidate is the Susanna Eden to whom Wesley wrote on September 11, 1779 a letter now in the Bridwell Library and printed in *I am Your Affectionate Brother*, J. Wesley (Dallas, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Eden became vicar of Ilminster, Somerset, and married a sister of Ann Loxdale (*Standard Letters*, VI, 52-3). This is the 'Tomey' to whom Pawson refers in a letter of 4 July 1769 (*Letters*, 1, p.6).

I think we go on tolerable well in Bristol and in most of the Coun[t]ry places, though we have no very considerable increase in Number. We have had nothing very particular happen'd lately, only old Mrs Pollard is gone to Paradiſe, and Miss Stokes<sup>4</sup> is gone to the Quakers, intending I am told to turn Preacher. perhaps some may be a little ſorry but I cannot ſay that I am ſo at all.

T: Eden informs me that Mr Hill has juſt now publiſh'd another Book to Mr Weſley, Intitl'd A Farrago double diſtill'd,<sup>5</sup> and one to Mr Fletcher call'd the finiſhing ſtroke<sup>6</sup>: ſo I ſuppoſe we have not done with controverſy [sic] as yet.

I do not wonder that your Father and Aunt ſenſibly feel the Infirmity [sic] of Old age comeing quick upon them. may the good Lord ſanctify every affliction, and make them both meet for the enjoyment of himſelf. I always found a good deal of love and pity for your poor dear Father. may the Lord Jeſus give him Redemption in his Blood. I never thought you wanting in kindneſs to him, elſe ſhould ſay, treat [sic] him in the moſt tender & affectionate manner you poſſibly can. I well remember after my dear Fath[er] was Dead, my heart was ready to Bleed, leſt I ſhould not have been ſo tender towards him as I ought. not that I could accuſe myſelf of any thing particular. Reſpecting myſelf, I bleſs the Lord, I enjoy a good ſtate of Health in the general. I hope that I am more determin'd then [sic] ever to Devote my all to God, as the happieſt and beſt thing in the World. I think I have been more aſtoniſh'd at the conduct of Chris[tia]n Friends of late than I ever was in my life. Mrs Iles of Stroud<sup>7</sup> and Miſs E. at Marſton, has [sic] cauſed me to think much of them [sic] words '*I have ſeen an end of all Perfection*'.

As to my being at Manchester the next Year, I think it is quite too ſoon, as you know I was two years before. My kindeſt love to your Dear Spouſe, to your aged Parents and Aunt and all Friends. Br[other] Allens love to the ſame. I remain in the ſincerity of frienſhip your very affectionate Bro[the]r

J. Pawſon

Do you intend to pay us a viſit this Year? we ſhall all be exceeding glad to ſee you.

JOHN A. VICKERS

<sup>4</sup> For Miſs Stokes, ſee Curnock's note in the *Standard Journal*, VI p.185.

<sup>5</sup> Clive D. Field, 'Anti-Methodiſt Publications of the eighteenth century' (in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, Vol. 73, Number 2, Summer 1991), no. 455. The main title is *Logica Weſleiſiensis*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, no. 456.

<sup>7</sup> See *Standard Journal* V, p.71 for a reference to 'Mr. Iles of Stroud'; and cf V, p. 275, where Weſley calls Siſter Iles 'a jewel'.

# THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## A Review Article

THIS curious phrase is often used of the period from the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1689 to the era of the French Revolution of 1789 or even extending to the end of the Napoleonic Wars or to Catholic Emancipation in 1829 when England ceased to be a confessional state. To attempt to review the enormous amount of research in eighteenth century historiography since I studied it under the late Professor Norman Sykes and Sir John Plumb in 1952 would be ludicrous and we must be selective.<sup>1</sup> At that time Sir Lewis Namier was still a brooding presence about to launch the important History of Parliament project which continued his style of analysis of members of parliament with an apparent, but illusory, antipathy to any ideology.<sup>2</sup> Sir Herbert Butterfield's *George III and the Historians* (1957) is still in print giving a summary up till then of the long debate about the nature of the rule of George III.

We begin with Norman Sykes. He and his pupils have been accused of sprinkling holy water over the prelates of that age but his massive contribution to eighteenth-century studies cannot be gainsaid. The biography of *Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London* (OUP 1926) and *Church and State in the Eighteenth Century* (CUP 1934) showed the many positive features of the Hanoverian church countering the denigration of it by Evangelicals, Methodists and High Churchmen who had their own agendas. This is still an essential starting point but in the 1950s Sykes filled out the earlier picture. The mammoth biography of *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury* (2 vols. CUP 1957) revealed much ecumenical activity involving the continental churches followed up in *Old Priest and New Presbyterian* (CUP 1957) which pointed to the negotiations on ministry which marked the Anglican-Methodist conversations and very recently the 'PORVOO' agreement between the Church of England and the Scandinavian Lutheran churches. *From Sheldon to Secker, Aspects of English Church History 1600-1768* (CUP 1959) completed Sykes's work showing the falsity of the innuendo of R. H. Tawney that the Church of England had ceased to think about social ethics. Sykes had the great gift of pointing his pupils to areas which needed explanation without creating a 'school' or inhibiting new insights. His first pupil, Gordon Rupp, ended his career with a book covering the whole period: *Religion in England 1688-1791* (OUP 1986) which includes a fine summary of the Evangelical revival and Methodism (pp 326-490), even if some might find it rather old-fashioned now on the sociological side. It can be compared with the recent chapter by W. R. Ward in the *History of Religion in Britain* ed. S. Gilley and W. J. Sheils (Blackwell 1994) entitled 'The

<sup>1</sup> cf. L. Stone. 'The New Eighteenth Century' in *The Past and the Present Revisited*. R.K.P. 1987, pp. 222-240. John Kent. *The Unacceptable Face*. SCM Press 1987, pp. 74-131.

<sup>2</sup> L. Colley. *Lewis Namier*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1989.

Evangelical Revival in Eighteenth-Century Britain' pp. 252-272.

The late G. V. Bennett whose suicide after the Crockford's Preface affair in 1987 robbed us of a fine historian, showed the continuing ideological basis of the Jacobites and the non-Jacobite Tories at the beginning of the century. *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1830: Francis Atterbury*. (OUP 1976) analyses the working of minds in the Church of England like that of Samuel Wesley. In a rather different style Professor Linda Colley shows the continuing ideological thread of Toryism in her *In Defiance of Oligarchy; the Tory Party 1714-1760* (OUP 1982) and more recently in *Britons, Forging the Nation* (Yale USA 1992) uncovers a continuing thread of intense patriotism and anti-Catholicism throughout the eighteenth century. John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* were still immensely popular. There is no doubt that much of this ethos rubbed off on John Wesley, whose Toryism was no mere shadow show. Colin Haydon has recently convincingly shown how the Roman Catholic community was thought 'outlandish' and unpatriotic in his *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*. (Manchester UP 1993). Wesley's ambivalent view of Catholicism has to be seen in this context.

Professor Geoffrey Best's first major book *Temporal Pillars - Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England* (CUP 1964) shows how the church used money in defining and establishing its mission especially after Blomfield's reforms but this is a much broader book than the title suggests, showing the breakdown of the old parish system, what Robert Southey called 'the little commonwealth'. The 'gentleman in the parish' was becoming too much dependent on the squire and the advancement of tithes and other agricultural changes were aiding nonconformity. This serves to illustrate the contrast between the cumbrous machinery of the Establishment and the various dissenting 'Connexions' especially Methodism. Deryck W. Lovegrove's *Established Church, Sectarian People, Itinerancy and the Transformation of Establishment 1780-1830*. (CUP 1988) depicts the old dissent copying the new to good effect leading to increasing denominational awareness. Some of the possible complacency of Sykes's approach is compensated for in Peter Virgin's *The Church in an Age of Negligence. Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform 1700-1840*. (James Clarke 1989). He analyses both the defects and increasing wealth, social standing and unpopularity of the clergy with a quarter of Justices of the Peace being clergymen in 1831. The more churchly professional clergy - Evangelical and Tractarian - were yet to come.

In recent years Dr. John Walsh has done more than anyone to shift the whole emphasis of eighteenth-century church historical studies, making clear as had Sykes, that church history demands the same rigour as any other branch of history and that secular historians would do well not to ignore the heart of ecclesiastical life which is its spirituality and its motivation. In about twenty major chapters and articles he has shown both the varied nature of Evangelicalism and the varied influences which activated it and flowed into it. 'Simple chronology disposes of the

stereotype of the whole revival as a chain reaction from the Aldersgate Street experience and of John Wesley as a solitary Moses striking the rock of petrified Anglicanism to release a sudden stream of revival'.<sup>3</sup> Puritanism, Religious Societies, high church spirituality, Pietists and Herrnhuters all play their part and from it stem the groups cohering around Whitefield, Wesley and the other 'Connexions'. Walsh shows why people were both attracted and repelled by Wesley<sup>4</sup> and Wesley's own development in social thinking from a yearning for a community of goods to this later thinking about rich and poor. He shows, too, the reasons why and where Methodism spread and among whom. The ever-recurring 'Halévy thesis' both in its earlier form concerning the 1740s and the more famous assertion that Methodism was the 'trigger' behind England's stability in the next century are tackled head on in some of Walsh's most significant essays.

John Walsh is a great stimulator of research students, the fruit of which can be seen in *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833. From Toleration to Tractarianism* edited by John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (CUP 1993). This is now the best one-volume approach to the whole century, prefaced by a superb introduction which, without wasting a word, sets out new views of the long century and its main features. It is significant that it is the beginning and ending of the period which are now prominent, typified by John Spurr's *The Restoration Church of England 1646-1689* (Yale University Press 1991) and J. A. C. Champion's *The Pillars of Statecraft, the Church of England and its Enemies 1660-1730*. (CUP 1992). At the other end of the century the late F. C. Mather<sup>5</sup> showed the strength of the high church party typified by Horsley who incidentally saw Methodists at one time as the dupes of the French - dangerous English Jacobins! More recently Peter Nockles has opened up again the background of the

<sup>3</sup> G. V. Bennett & J. D. Walsh. (eds) *Essays in Modern English Church History*. Black 1996. p. 134. I note some of Walsh's more recent essays:

- i. 'Religious Societies Methodist and Evangelical 1738-1800.' *Studies in Church History*. Blackwell 1986, pp. 279-302.
- ii. 'Methodism and the Local Community in the Eighteenth Century.' *Vie Ecclesiale* University Press 1989, pp. 141-153.
- iii. 'John Wesley and the Community of Goods' in K. Robbins (ed). *Protestant Evangelicalism...* SCH Subsidia 7. Blackwell 1990, pp 25-50.
- iv. "'Methodism" and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism.' in M. A. Noll et al. (eds) *Evangelicalism*. OUP 1994, pp 19-37.
- v. 'Wesley versus Whitefield. The Conflict between the Two Giants of the Eighteenth Century Awakening.' *Christian History* XII No. 2. 1993, pp 34-7.
- vi. 'The Church and Anglicanism in the "long" eighteenth century' in J. Walsh et al. (eds) *The Church of England 1689-1833*. CUP 1993, pp 1-64.
- vii. *John Wesley 1703-1791*. Dr Williams's Trust, 1993.

We await the publication of the Birkbeck Lectures.

<sup>4</sup> cf. W. S. Gunter. *The Limits of Love Divine*. Abingdon, Nashville. 1989.

<sup>5</sup> F. C. Mather. *High Church Prophet. Bishop Samuel Horsley 1733-1816 and the Caroline Tradition in the late Georgian Church*. OUP 1993. *Ibid.* 'Georgian Churchmanship Reconsidered. Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship 1714-1830'. *JEH* 36, 1985, pp. 255-283.

Tractarians in *The Oxford Movement in Context. Anglican High Churchmanship 1760-1857*. (CUP 1994). No longer is it possible to talk of a 'thin red line' of high churchmen linking the Non-Jurors to the Oxford Movement. The whole picture is far more complex and far more rich, as was the diversity of rational thinking at the beginning of the century.<sup>6</sup> Along with Nockles should be read Robert Hole's *Pulpit, Politics and Public Order in England 1700-1832*. (CUP 1989) which shows a secularization of political thought occurring in the churches and that religion was still used as a means of social control to maintain public order and stability in a rapidly changing society - Hole includes Methodists like John Stephens and Adam Clarke in his analysis of the pulpit. The same period concerns A. M. C. Waterman *Revolution, Economics and Religion. Christian Political Economy 1798-1883*. (CUP 1991). The contributions of Thomas Malthus, Copleston, Whateley, J. B. Sumner and Thomas Chalmers are shown to be weighty even if in the end their approach runs into the sand as was shown by Boyd Hilton in *The Age of Atonement, the Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1785-1865* (OUP 1988). The parallelism of *laissez-faire* economics and the stress on the Atonement and the later parallelism of the corporate state and the doctrine of the Incarnation are made clear. There are limitations in Hilton's thesis - Methodists like Pope and Lofthouse and Lidgett and Congregationalists like Dale and Forsyth still stressed Atonement at the end of the nineteenth century and one must ask if the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Fatherhood of God, which clearly came to prevail, really influenced politics and policy. These are complex and intriguing books well worth critical analysis.

One of the paradoxes of recent historiography has been the neglect of Protestant Dissent as distinct from Methodism. *The English Presbyterians* had some coverage in C. G. Bolam et al (Allen and Unwin 1968) and Michael Watts *The Dissenters from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (OUP 1978) filled a need for an up to date summary but now James E. Bradley *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism. Nonconformity in the Eighteenth Century* (CUP 1990) opens up new approaches using prosopography and psephology (to use the horrid jargon!). This means analysing *the people* who were the dissenters and their voting habits in centres of Dissent like Colchester. Bradley uses a 'Namierite' approach but shows that Namier's view that local affairs dominated politics is not the case. The American Revolution very much fuelled a combination of religion and radicalism in men like Caleb Evans of Bristol, who clashed with John Wesley on this issue. Far more dissenters had the vote than was perhaps thought to be the case. Dissent is shown as paving the way to radicalism. This is hardly a new idea, but it is presented with a wealth of statistical material difficult to refute. One might have hoped for more on the religious life of Dissent - I doubt if they were always discussing politics. But oh for a

<sup>6</sup> cf. D. Pailin. 'Rational Religion in England from Herbert of Cherbury to William Paley' in S. Gilley & W. J. Sheils. (eds) *A History of Religion in Britain*. Blackwell 1994, pp. 211-233.

historian with the style of Bernard Manning!

What of politics in general? For general accounts one can recommend Speck and Christie.<sup>7</sup> Ian Christie's more specialized book *Stress and Stability in late Eighteenth Century Britain. Reflections on the British Avoidance of Revolution* (OUP 1984) is significant in that the 'non-event' of an English revolution is shown to be a non-event! England was never really in such danger. Christie takes the line, taught by Kitson Clark in the 1950s, that England's social structure was quite different from that of France. I wonder! Lurking behind all thinking on eighteenth-century history is Jonathan Clark. Three of Clark's books are germane here: *English Society 1688-1832. Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice During the Ancien Régime* (CUP 1985), the shorter polemic *Revolution and Rebellion, State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (CUP 1986) and *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832. Political Discussion and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (CUP 1994). Behind all the amusing historians' infighting and constant pot shots at the 'old hat' Whigs and Liberals and the 'old guard' Marxists, Uncle Tom Cobleigh and all, Clark makes vital points. England, he claims, was still an *ancien régime*, the Church of England was still the dominant ideological force in the localities. There was a semblance of law and order and a ruling ideology more traditional than Lockean. This is to turn Namier on his head with a vengeance! Clark even sees Methodism as a sign of the vitality of the Church of England since it produced it, which is like saying that Martin Luther was a sign of the vitality of the late medieval church. Clark, too, attempts to show that England was still a confessional state and remained so until the legislation of 1828-9 ended the political isolation of Roman Catholics as well as Dissenters. The Church of England was then, even though it has never recognized it, one among many, a point I have made also.<sup>8</sup> Clark's latest book shows indirectly the way in which Wesley reflected Tory opinion on the American Revolution though once it had occurred he accepted it since, as W. R. Ward points out, 'Methodism offered them a way of affirming their Englishness without being Anglican, the last thing that Clark's model permits'.<sup>9</sup>

If Clark is caviare for the general and the argument rages, a more sober approach is to be found in Paul Langford's *A Polite and Commercial People. England 1727-1783* (OUP 1992), the first of the New Oxford History of England series. Langford stresses the stability of England in this period compared to the continent and the growth in commerce, industry and consumerism, taking up the argument of McKendrick and Plumb that England was going through a consumer boom which affected most of the population.<sup>10</sup> This is a change in life style remarked on frequently in Wesley's *Journal* and other writings with his rather obsessive comments on

<sup>7</sup> W. A. Speck. *Stability and Strife. England 1714-60*. Arnold 1977. I. R. Christie *Wars and Revolution England 1760-1815*. Arnold 1982.

<sup>8</sup> J. M. Turner. *Conflict and Reconciliation*. Epworth 1985, ch. 7.

<sup>9</sup> S. Gilley etc. op cit p. 268.

<sup>10</sup> cf. N. McKendrick, J. Brewer. J. H. Plumb. *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. London 1982.

ladies' hats, finery, and silk dresses from Macclesfield. He might also have noticed the false bosoms and cork bottoms! Certainly the Methodists - largely artisans and many women, were increasingly prosperous. This is much more than just another 'rising bourgeoisie' theory and it clearly has weight. There is, of course, much more in Langford's elegant account, but it can be balanced by the late E. P. Thompson's *Customs in Common* (Merlin Press 1991, Penguin 1993) who calls Langford's account 'patrician', while he is no doubt 'plebeian'. The plebeian's living standards were very different from the aristocrats or the men of commerce. This is the world of food riots often led by women, of the 'crowd', of wife-selling and 'rough music' and the smugglers whom Wesley sought to tame. Thompson was very like William Cobbett with a hatred of the Industrial Revolution. Allowing for this romanticism, here is an essential read along with *Whigs and Hunters*, (Penguin 1977) and D. Hay (Ed.) *Albion's Fatal Tree* (Allen Lane 1975). Thompson has one last comment on Methodism. 'The church was profoundly Erastian; had it performed an effective, a psychologically compelling paternalist role, the Methodist movement would have been neither necessary nor possible.' (*Customs* p. 49). Roy Porter's *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Penguin 1982) is a good summary. He starkly depicts the life of the 'labouring classes' but asserts also 'Theirs was not the expropriated hopeless begging-bowl destitution of parts of the present-day third world. The ordinary Georgian working family did not bask in a folksy golden age, but neither did it have one foot outside the refugee-camp'. (p. 160). Porter, who could harshly call John Wesley an 'egomaniacal authoritarian prophet' (p. 194) is lively and readable on this period when Britain lost one Empire and gained another and when Methodism became one more part of God's strange people but, for the statistical and sociological analysis now needed, I would recommend John Rule's *Albion's People, English Society 1714-1815* (Longman 1992) with its companion volume *The Vital Century, England's Developing Economy 1714-1815* (Longman 1992).

The tale could continue loud and long. The endless fascination of sex and marriage can be explored with Lawrence Stone<sup>11</sup> - John Wesley's 'last love' and loveless marriage fits Stone's theory about the change to romantic love superbly! But two historians we dare not omit. The first is W. R. Ward.<sup>12</sup> Professor Ward's first book was on the *Land Tax in the Eighteenth Century* (1953). Recently alongside the editing of the *Journal of John Wesley in the Bicentennial Edition* have come a stream of books and articles showing the international character of the Evangelical Revival and the fascinating parallels between Europe, America and Great Britain. The other

<sup>11</sup> L. Stone. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*. Penguin 1982. *Ibid.* *The Road to Divorce 1530-1987*. OUP, 1995 *Ibid.* *Uncertain Unions and Broken Lives. Marriage and Divorce in England 1660-1857*. OUP 1995.

<sup>12</sup> W. R. Ward. *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*. CUP 1992 *Ibid.* *Faith and Faction*. Epworth 1993. *Ibid.* 'The eighteenth-century Church: a European view.' in J. Walsh et al (eds) *The Church of England* op cit pp. 285-298. *Ibid* in S. Gilley et al. (eds) op cit pp. 252-274.

is David Hempton<sup>13</sup> who has opened the whole matter of the relationship of Methodism not only to Roman Catholicism but to Irish history, so easily neglected by the English. His survey article 'Religion in British Society 1740 - 1790' in J. Black (ed.) *British Politics and Society from Walpole to Pitt 1742-1789* (Macmillan 1990) quite admirably summarizes the sheer variety of Georgian religion. If in 1750s Great Britain ninety per cent of churchgoers were 'Establishment', in 1851 half were nonconformists. In between is not only Methodism - 'an associational amid voluntarist form of religion which was a direct challenge to the confessional and territorial model of a state church' but also the vibrant traditional Evangelicalism which is now being explored by a new generation of historians led by David Bebbington and Mark Noll.<sup>14</sup> Whatever else this survey shows it is clear that eighteenth-century studies are alive and well. Finally, we can be thankful that we have in Henry Rack's *Reasonable Enthusiast* (Epworth 1989) a life of John Wesley and an account of the rise of Methodism which fits well into the new styles of historiography we have described.

#### JOHN MUNSEY TURNER

- <sup>13</sup> 'Methodism and the Law 1740-1820.' *John Rylands Library Bulletin* 10 No 3 1988. pp. 93-107. cf. 'John Wesley and England's "Ancien Regime".' in S. Mews. (ed) *Modern Religious Rebels*. Epworth 1993, pp. 36-57. *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland*. CUP, 1996.
- <sup>14</sup> D. W. Bebbington. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. Unwin Hyman 1989. Mark A. Noll, et al. (eds) *Evangelicalism. Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond 1700-1990*. OUP 1994. Mark A. Noll. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. Eerdmans 1992.

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The Wesley Fellowship is holding a residential conference at Cliff College, Derbyshire, 13-15 May 1997. The cost is £58.00. Further details and booking forms from the Secretary, Paul Taylor, Stonebridge Cottage, Back Lane, Shearsby, Nr Lutterworth, Leics, LE17 6PN. The papers delivered at the 1995 WF Conference have now been published under the title *Wesley Pieces*. They include William Parkes on Elizabeth Evans ('Dinah Morris'), David Guy on the influence of the Wesleys on William and Catherine Booth, John Andrews on John Wesley's translations of German hymns and Stephen Hatcher on the Primitive Methodist Experience of Holiness. There are also two sermons and some shorter contributions. *Wesley Pieces* is £4.25 post free from Paul Taylor at the above address.

## THE REVIVAL OF RELIGION 1923-1926

### A subject waiting for a researcher?

WHEN John Edward Reilly returned to circuit life from active service as an army padre in 1919 he found that 'The settling down and readjustment after the war [had] created a spirit of antagonism to organised religion' among the demobilised ex-servicemen. In the course of the six years that he spent at Ashington, in Northumberland, he saw 'great changes in the attitude of people towards religion.' A mission Hall was built and at the prayer meeting held on the evening before the Hall was opened in March, 1924 'the atmosphere of revival was there', and the Hall itself became 'the scene of many conversions and glorious class meetings.'<sup>1</sup> Charles Hulbert had a similar experience at Blackburn where, 'Between 1921 and 1925 there was a revival of religion as remarkable and dramatic as anything seen under comparable circumstances. This manifestation of the power of the Holy Spirit was associated with the building of a Central Hall and its opening, free of debt.'<sup>2</sup> Hulbert registered 920 conversions in those years.

These two accounts of revival give some local colour to John Kent's statement that the years between 1921 and 1928 were 'the last flicker of expansion in modern Methodism.' In these years Wesleyan Methodism grew by 36,660 members.<sup>3</sup> According to the calculations of Frank Musgrove this was the first time in the history of Wesleyan Methodism that the expansion in the number of Wesleyan Methodists had exceeded the rate of population growth since 1841.<sup>4</sup> The increase took place mainly between 1923 and 1926 when there were 7,058 new members in 1923 followed by 8,536 in 1924, 5,994 in 1925, and 4,995 in 1926.

This Wesleyan Methodist revival seems to have been part of a wider national revival of religion which began at Yarmouth, in East Anglia, during June 1921 under the ministry of the Rev. Douglas Brown who testified to receiving the Baptism of the Holy Ghost whilst in his study. There were 96 converts at his evening service the following Sunday. Revival seems to have broken out simultaneously on the East Coast of Scotland where ten to twelve thousand conversions were reported. Revival also broke out in Northern Ireland at Newtownards under the ministry of the Rev. W. P. Nicholson.<sup>5</sup>

Here, then, as far as I know, is an exciting subject waiting for a researcher.

C. H. GOODWIN

<sup>1</sup> Sarah A. Reilly, *I Walk With The King. The life story of John Edward Reilly* (1932), pp.77-82.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Hulbert, *Passion for Souls. The story of Charles H. Hulbert Methodist Missioner* (1959), pp.41-54.

<sup>3</sup> John Kent, *The Age of Disunity* (1966), pp.5-6.

<sup>4</sup> Frank Musgrove, *The North of England. A History from Roman Times to the Present* (1990), p.276.

<sup>5</sup> I. R. Govan, *Spirit of Revival. A Biography of J. G. Govan.* (1950) pp.180-183.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Religion in Hertfordshire, 1847 to 1851*, edited with an introduction by Judith Burg (Hertfordshire Record Publications, Volume 11, Hertfordshire Record Society, Hitchin, 1995, pp. xxxviii, 226, £18.00 + £1.60 p&p (United Kingdom) or £5.00 p&p (overseas), from the Society, 14 Westbury Close, Hitchin, SG5 2NE, ISBN: 0 9523779 0 X).

This volume comprises transcripts, generally made to a very high standard, of the two most important primary sources of religion in mid-nineteenth-century Hertfordshire.

The first source is 'Statistics of the religious condition of the County of Hertfordshire', compiled by William Upton (1796-1865), a Baptist minister in St Albans, on behalf of the Hertfordshire Union of Baptists and Independents (an organization founded in 1810 to promote rural evangelism), mainly in 1847 and 1848, but with many subsequent corrections and additions (in at least one case until 1861). This is a much neglected research tool; indeed, only since its deposit in the Hertfordshire Record Office in August 1990 has it effectively seen the light of day. For each of 132 parishes, arranged in alphabetical order, Upton faithfully gathered details of the denomination, minister, accommodation, services, attendance and 'character of ministry' for every place of worship (149 Anglican and 175 Nonconformist), and added comments about Sunday and day schools, local societies for moral improvement and general observations on the religious and educational state of the parish (highlighting, as appropriate, the potential for Dissenting evangelistic work).

The second set of transcripts, made from the originals at the Public Record Office, is of the manuscript enumeration returns for 160 Anglican and 188 Nonconformist congregations in the county from the 1851 ecclesiastical census of accommodation and attendance. Hertfordshire is, in fact, the tenth English county for which such an edition has been published during the course of the past twenty years (the others being Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Derbyshire, Devon, Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Sussex), in addition to two volumes covering the whole of Wales. The returns appear in the Census Office's own collation order, by Hertfordshire registration district, sub-district and parish (excluding Hertfordshire registration parishes in Middlesex, Essex, Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire), although (most unhelpfully) Burg has omitted the actual names of the districts and sub-districts, so, superficially, the returns may seem to follow no logical order whatsoever. It is also regrettable, especially when an important point is being made (for example, schedules which are marked as duplicate), that notes appear as endnotes rather than footnotes.

The two transcripts are preceded by an excellent introduction of thirty-two pages which discusses the methodology and interpretation of the surveys and draws comparisons between their findings. The existence of a

local religious investigation so nearly contemporaneous with the 1851 ecclesiastical census is relatively unusual, and these comparisons thereby afford independent proof of the reliability or otherwise of the census. At the aggregate (county) level, they display a quite striking degree of similarity in terms of numbers of churches, sittings and attendances, but at a parochial level important differences are revealed. The introduction also contains a useful account of Upton's life and an explanation of the editorial conventions used. The volume is elegantly printed and bound, with five illustrations and consolidated indexes to both sources arranged by persons, places and subjects.

In spite of the fact that Hertfordshire had witnessed Methodist evangelism since the days of Wesley, as Upton himself noted in his description of Hinxworth, the county was not renowned as a centre of Methodist influence. Well over half of all Nonconformist activity was, in fact, attributable to the Independents and the Baptists. So far as can be determined, considering the very imprecise information often given about the names and locations of places of worship, and omitting duplicate returns for three Wesleyan chapels in 1851 (where both the minister and a lay official each filed a return), a total of 72 Methodist chapels and cottage meetings occur in the 1847 and 1851 surveys, of which 54 were Wesleyan and 18 were Primitive Methodist. Of these 72, 14 were recorded in 1847 only and 16 in 1851 only, with 42 appearing at both dates. Taken at face value, these figures would seem to suggest a very high degree of turnover in chapels and preaching stations in a space of just four years. In practice, however, they are more likely to be indicative of the fact that neither list was entirely comprehensive. In particular, Upton certainly seems to have overlooked several small centres of Primitive Methodist activity which show up in 1851, whilst several reasonably strong Wesleyan chapels from 1847 (for example, Chipping Barnet and Flamstead) are suspiciously absent from the 1851 returns. Conflating the two sets of evidence, it looks as though the Methodists in mid-century Hertfordshire had at least 60 chapels and preaching stations, with 9,000 sittings and congregations at the best-attended service on Sunday of 6,500, rather less than 10 per cent of the total for all Christian churches. Just under half of these places of worship had Sunday schools, with about 1,500 scholars in attendance in all. The population of the county was 167,000. The vast majority of chapels were small in size and in attendance; just two Wesleyan chapels, Hitchin and St Albans, had more than 500 seats.

Although the principal value of both sources lies in their statistical data, they also contain a range of useful qualitative information about Methodism. For instance, Upton's remarks on the character of ministry of each place of worship are revealing and, for the Wesleyans whose preaching was often rated as inefficient and ineffective, not always flattering; less was said about the Primitive Methodists, but at St Albans their ministry was alleged to be 'energetic, but wild'. Upton also furnished evidence of the extent to which Wesleyan advance in the county could be

dependent upon evangelistic foundations laid by the Hertfordshire Union of Baptists and Independents; thus, at Flamstead the Wesleyan chapel had been formerly rented by the Union, at Kimpton the outdoor preaching of the Union's agent prepared the way for the erection of the Wesleyan chapel in 1845, and in St Stephen's parish the congregation at the Union's chapel was said to have been diminished by the opening of a new Wesleyan place of worship. The remarks section in the 1851 returns and the occasional accompanying letter to the Registrar General can similarly help to elucidate some of the basic statistics. With regard to accommodation, it is clear that many Methodist places of worship, both Wesleyan and Primitive, had not been purpose-built; examples included Furneux Pelham (where a barn was used), St Albans Park Ward East ('a cottage lent by the owner for a short time to the society for the purpose specified'), and Long Marston ('merely a cottage with the central partitions removed and fitted up with free seats'). In respect of attendance, the opportunity was sometimes taken to explain way below or above the average congregations; thus 'affliction' was the cause of congregations at Harpenden Wesleyan chapel being about one eighth below the norm, but a special service at Great Gaddesden was the reason for the afternoon attendance being half as much again as usual. Another useful feature of the 1851 census is the detail which it gives about the names, offices, residences and occupations of the, in the main, lay officials who completed the Methodist returns (three of whom were women).

CLIVE D. FIELD

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*Krieg und Frieden. Die Stellungnahmen der methodistischen Kirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten, Grossbritannien und Kontinentaleuropa* by Martin Gerhard Kupsch. (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XXIII Bd.455, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/New York/Paris/Wien: Verlag Peter Lang, 1992. S. 905+LXIV.)

This very solid study aims to trace the development of Methodist attitudes to the subject of war and peace on the basis of official church pronouncements in America, Britain and central Europe, filled out with a certain amount of semi-official material from denominational journals and the like. There are clearly two difficulties with this method of proceeding. One is that there is no way of relating the views of committee-sitters and public-pronouncers here faithfully recorded to those of the flock at large, the more so as it is a Methodist characteristic to show a sublime and healthy disregard for official pronouncements which are not absolutely compulsory, or even to fail to discover what they are. This problem has got worse over the past generation in Methodist (as in other churches) as the ordained ministry has compensated for social marginalisation by taking up political views well to the Left of those of the church membership generally. Nor does the author ease the problem by indicating the ecclesiastical vested

interests, and especially those of the missionary societies, which tend to have a disproportionate influence on pronouncements on global social justice. The second difficulty is that Kupsch's method affords no clue as to how far the official draughtsmen were simply uttering clichés or urging policies picked up off-the-peg, though in the most recent periods he gives some indication as to the considerable degree to which the British documents were influenced by ecumenical or American models. This omission is rather important at the beginning as it obscures the degree to which Wesley's attitude to war was equivocal. Wesley emerged from a Jacobite milieu, and there was no way in which the Jacobites could regain power in Church or state except by rebellion. When Jacobite rebellion actually came in 1745, Wesley had no option but to make professions of loyalty in order to protect his movement; and later, like other evangelicals, he concluded that the Seven Years War was actually a war of religion, and was prepared actively to defend the Protestant cause. This now meant the championship of a dynasty which he had once found distasteful, and whose effect on the Church appeared to him ruinous.

Despite these difficulties the book is a success. All the views expressed in it have certainly been held by considerable numbers of Methodists, though in what proportions it is impossible to say. And following the Methodist connexions through considerable periods of time shows up, first of all, significant differences among them; and secondly, as the narrative approaches the present day, growing resemblances between each other and non-Methodist churches making pronouncements in this field. Amongst the British churches it is clear that the Wesleys in the nineteenth century were much more John Bull-ish than the radical Methodist bodies, and especially the Primitives; and there were similar differences among and within the American connexions, one extreme wing taking the view that the best or only contribution Methodists could make to peace was by converting as many individual sinners as possible, others, completely assimilated to average American opinion, giving knee-jerk support to any government policy of the day. What was common form was a unanimous willingness to deplore the evils of war, a willingness to believe that some wars could be justified by the ways of Providence, and an unwillingness to accept a pacifist position or persecute those few pacifists who were generally to be found in their midst.

On both sides of the Atlantic the emergence of the social gospel encouraged a readiness to believe that wars had social or economic causes, a belief sometimes asserted with quite preposterous intensity, and a belief which made it much more complicated to arrive at a prescription for peace. Since the Second World War this difficulty has been compounded by a quite proper desire to avoid generalities, to speak to concrete situations; and it has also been aggravated by the federal constitution of American Methodism which ensures that issues may be discussed repeatedly in local yearly conferences, as well as in the quadrennial national conferences. It is this plethora of American material which contributes more than anything to the

inordinate length of the thesis. The more the connexional spokesmen convince themselves that social and constitutional injustices anywhere in the globe constitute a threat to international peace, the more their peace-mongering is characterized by bellicose economic pronouncements and manipulation. The fact that ideological opposition might lead to conflict is occasionally acknowledged in the case of communism, but never in the case of Islam. The more ecumenical and marginalised the spokesmen become, the more they rant against the evils of big government, and the less sensitive they are to the evils of big ecclesiastical government. And in striking contrast with all the rest, the German Methodists; totally committed under the Third Reich to the support of *Obrigkeit*, as though Methodism was a German ideology, they behaved post-war as though it were two German ideologies, one tending towards 'the church in socialism', the other still very reluctant to take up explosive themes. In all these matters Dr Kupsch's material points to matters of much broader concern than his immediate field.

W. R. WARD

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*Prophet Harris, the 'Black Elijah' of West Africa* by David A. Shank. Abridged by Jocelyn Murray. (Studies of Religion in Africa 10. Leiden: E. J. Brill 1994, pp xxi + 309, no price stated, ISBN: 90-04-09980-8, ISSN 0169-9814).

The Prophet Harris legend has been repeated so often by so many, including the present reviewer, that we can repeat it by heart. 'For eighteen months in 1913-14, the Liberian prophet William Wadé Harris went from place to place in the Ivory Coast, converting some 200,000 people. He told them to throw away their fetishes, and wait for the white man who would come to read to them The Book. For ten years they prayed and waited. Then indeed the white man, William J. Platt, discovered them, and the Methodist Church in the Ivory Coast was born.'

David Shank's 1981 doctoral thesis completes a process, begun in 1971 by Gordon Haliburton's *The Prophet Harris*, of showing that things were not so simple. To begin with, Harris (unintentionally, like John Wesley) was the spiritual founder not of one church but of at least three: Methodism; the 'orthodox' Harrist church, within which Dr Shank has lived and worked; and other groups which claim descent from Harris, but who practise a more syncretistic faith.

A fuller form of the Methodist story recalls that in 1926, Platt sent his French colleague Pierre Benoît to visit Harris in Liberia, and he came back with a document in which Harris stated: 'All the men, women and children who have been called and baptised by me must enter the Wesleyan Methodist Church, I myself am also a Methodist.... Mr. Platt, the Director of our Methodist Church, is appointed by me as my successor to the Head of the churches which I have founded' (p.260). This document is, in a sense, authentic; but it is one of five versions extant, and this particular version is a

later back-translation from Benoît's French, a language which Harris did not speak. Moreover, two years later, Harris was also visited by John Ahui, later spiritual head of the 'orthodox' Harrist church, whom he appointed 'his representative on Ivorian territory', and to whom he gave a document, the 'exact text' of which Shank reproduces, which implicitly criticises the Methodist practice of requiring payment for baptism and confirmation, and which (from a Methodist point of view) startlingly concludes:

Again I am telling you in the name of God. If you are able to marry two women is all left with you if you can do so. God is not protest against it only thing you must follow your God. Don't let anybody deceive you. If you can marry 10 women do so only follow God's law. (p.271f)

Harris, himself a polygamist, claimed a prophetic dispensation to allow polygamy among his converts, but strongly and consistently condemned adultery.

This is only part of a complex ecclesiology which Shank untangles with great patience and sensitivity. The situation, as he sees it, may be summed up as follows. Harris was the son of a Methodist mother and a non-Christian, polygamist father. He became, and remained at heart, a Methodist, rarely referring in later life to the twenty years he spent in the employment of the Liberian Episcopal Church. During his brief period of mission in Côte d'Ivoire, he at first encouraged those whom he baptized to attend any church within reach, which usually meant a Roman Catholic church; only later, in response to attacks by Catholics, did his own attitude to them harden. Only where there were no other churches did he encourage his followers to build them. He welcomed Benoît, indeed he claimed spiritual foreknowledge of his visit. Benoît's use of the Huguenot cross impressed Harris favourably, in contrast with Liberian Methodist leaders' rejection of any cross as a papist symbol; Harris constantly carried a simple, disposable cross. He understood his agreement with Benoît as appointing Platt as his representative, not his replacement, in Côte d'Ivoire, to which he always planned to return. By 1928, however, he had become somewhat disillusioned with certain aspects of Ivorian Methodism as it had developed under missionary direction, and he was therefore willing to support John Ahui and his group.

The book would be worth its high though unspecified price for this clarification alone; but it contains much, much more: a careful and detailed account of Harris's early life, giving due credit to Haliburton and others, though correcting them at several points; a description of traditional beliefs and political currents in the Liberia of Harris's youth; a study of Harris's 1910 'trance' vision of the Angel Gabriel, the indirect source of his missionary motivation; a vibrant rehabilitation of the eschatological dimension of Harris's message, which some have understated; and accounts of his prophetic self-understanding; his use of the Bible; the rôle in his ministry of 'spiritual' phenomena (prescience, spiritual leading, exorcism,

healing, speaking in tongues, signs and miracles); his varied use of physical symbols; and, 'most important' (p.223), his prophetic message, which has a chapter to itself.

Dr Shank does not describe the later history of either Methodism or the Harris Church in Côte d'Ivoire, though he defends the use of sources much later than the lifetime of the prophet himself, and refers to the work of contemporary Methodists such as Emmanuel Yando and John Pritchard. The book is well organized, exhaustively documented, and physically well produced, though a number of minor misprints remain. Dr Jocelyn Murray is to be particularly commended for her ruthless topiary work on an 800-page dissertation.

PAUL ELLINGWORTH

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*Nineteenth-Century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect* edited by D. G. Paz (Greenwood Press, 1995, pp.xiv, 232, £43.95, ISBN 0 313 29476 3)

This symposium in the series 'Contributions to the Study of Religion' is a survey of recent scholarly work on different Victorian denominational groups. Besides Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, these include 'Orthodox Nonconformity', 'Quakers and Unitarians' (unlikely bed-fellows!), 'Methodism' and 'the Protestant Sects'. Mindful that among the Victorians there was often 'more faith in honest doubt' than in religious orthodoxy, there is also a chapter by Edward Royle on 'Freethought'.

Apart from a concluding discussion of the missionary dimension of nineteenth-century Church life, cross-fertilization between the chapters is minimal, reflecting no doubt the extent to which denominational historians have still to follow the lead given by secular historians and sociologists in transcending denominational boundaries. There is some consideration of the relationship between Methodism and evangelical Anglicanism. But, whether as cause or symptom, references to the Religious Census of 1851 are noticeably few and brief.

The chapter on Methodism needs little commendation beyond naming its author, David Hempton (one of only three British-based contributors). His starting-point is Clive Field's 'massive bibliography' in Volume 4 of the new *History*, in which he notes the shift of emphasis from theology, spirituality and biography to 'the personal, social and political impact of Methodism on English localities'. (Local and regional studies are seen as offering fresh insights into old issues, and he offers the interesting observation that recent Methodist studies have used both telephoto and wide-angle lenses, the latter to take in the international dimensions of the evangelical revival.)

The chapter then surveys the debate on explanations of Methodism's growth and decline, concluding that 'religious attraction or repulsion is neither a straightforwardly economic nor political transaction'. The 'facts', where they can be determined, are more complex than the theories of a

Thompson or a Hobsbawm allow. The debate over Bunting's role in the development of 'high Wesleyanism', the rise of revivalism, mid-century tensions and secessions, the Sunday School movement (curiously ignored by other contributors) and the interaction of Church and society, faith and secular culture, and finally the status and involvement of women: all are dealt with, with a wealth of bibliographical detail.

There has clearly been some delay in getting the book into print, with the result that the most recent work by Chilcote, Earl Kent Brown and our own Dorothy Graham is absent from Hempton's documentation in the section on women's participation in church life. Having written as long ago as 1989, he finds it necessary to add a concluding postscript, drawing attention to the ground covered in his WHS Lecture of 1994. But the fact that such surveys are inevitably beginning to date by the time they appear in print witnesses to the healthy state of on-going research. Both this chapter and the book as a whole provide an indispensable starting point for any serious study of the Victorian religious scene.

JOHN A. VICKERS

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*Proceedings of the Charles Wesley Society, Volume 1, 1994; Worship in Eighteenth-Century Anglicanism and Methodism*, ed. by S. T. Kimbrough, Jr. (The Charles Wesley Society, 1996, pp. 135. Available in the U.K. from 26, Roe Cross Green, Mottram, HYDE, Cheshire, SK14 6LP, £7.50 post free).

The Charles Wesley Society held its fifth annual meeting at Princeton, New Jersey, in October 1994; the subject was 'Worship in Eighteenth-Century Anglicanism and Methodism'. The papers then presented have now in 1996 been published; some of them are of considerable length and one suspects that only extracts were actually needed. Geoffrey Wainwright's paper is entitled 'Our Elder Brethren Join', sub-titled 'The Wesleys' *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* and the Patristic Revival in England', it shows how much these hymns were indebted to patristic sources, particularly how they echo the themes of traditional eucharistic thanksgiving prayers. Gareth Lloyd, the Methodist Archivist at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, in a paper on 'Charles Wesley and Methodist Religious Life, 1750-1755' uses extracts from unpublished letters held at the Library to paint a picture of Charles Wesley and indeed of Methodism which is somewhat different from that hitherto in vogue, which was based on his published material. One wonders whether steps should not be taken to publish some of this material. Timothy S. A-Macquibban deals with 'Changing Patterns of Worship in Britain Wesleyan Methodism, 1780-1828'. He shows how the primitive pattern of Methodist worship which prevailed at the beginning of this period changed as Methodism drew apart from the Church of England. Ted A. Campbell, Assistant Professor of Church History, Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, DC, covers new ground in discussing 'Contributions of Welsh and English

Calvinists to Worship in Eighteenth-Century England' under the title 'Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah'. He shows how in eighteenth-century Evangelicalism generally something like 'Evangelical sacramentals' emerged, for example into extended eucharistic celebrations, in experience meetings, and in covenant services. John Lawson traces Charles Wesley's spiritual pilgrimage, and claims him as 'A Man of the Prayer Book'. Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, Assistant Professor of Liturgical Studies, Duke University, Durham, NC, in 'John Wesley's Prayer Book Revision: The Text in Context' considers *The Sunday Service of 1784*, John Wesley's revision of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, in the light of his own earlier criticisms of the 1662 book and of the general liturgical climate in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This is a splendid volume, containing much new material. It is interesting that of the six contributors, four are British, though of these one used to teach in America and one still does so. The Charles Wesley Society, an international body founded as recently as 1990, has made an excellent start with this and other publications, and deserves the fullest support.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE

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Frank Lambert, *"Pedlar in Divinity"; George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. 238 pp. \$24.95. ISBN: 0 691 03296 3).

Historians have traditionally sought to explain George Whitefield's enormous success in popularizing the Great Awakening with reference to his electrifying oratorical abilities. In *Pedlar in Divinity*, Frank Lambert approaches the great revivalist from a new perspective, that of the world of print. Without denying the importance of Whitefield's spoken sermon delivery, Lambert argues that the Grand Itinerant's innovative use of advertising, advance publicity, and manipulation of 'news' were central to his popularity.

Whitefield's popularity cannot be understood without a grasp of his historical context. Whitefield emerged in the midst of an eighteenth-century consumer revolution. Social and economic changes in the marketplace made a vast array of choices available to consumers throughout the transatlantic world. Accompanying these changes were new techniques of merchandising and promotion. Though Whitefield condemned the materialism associated with this consumer revolution, he nonetheless appropriated its marketing techniques to advance a revival of religion. Whitefield marketed himself by advertising his sermons, and writing third-person 'objective' newspaper accounts of his gatherings. In general, the printed word was far more important to Whitefield's success than previous writers have led us to believe. Lambert offers numerous testimonials to support his assertion that many of the Grand Itinerant's followers saw their conversion or "new birth" either initiated or confirmed as a consequence of

careful study of Whitefield's many published works. In Whitefield's mastery of a new medium and his success in self-promotion, Lambert sees the roots of modern evangelism.

Lambert has added to our knowledge of Whitefield, the Great Awakening, and the eighteenth century by examining this previously unexplored dimension of the Grand Itinerant's career. Readers should maintain a sense of balance, however, in assessing the significance of Lambert's findings. Afro-Americans and frontiersmen, most of whom were neither literate nor privy to the eighteenth-century consumer revolution, were nonetheless very much 'awakened' by Whitefield and his message. Lambert's observations supplement those of previous historians, they do not supersede them. Students of the Great Awakening will find a novel approach to the event in *Pedlar in Divinity*. Those seeking a fuller, more rounded assessment of Whitefield's career and its significance might begin by consulting Harry Stout's *The Divine Dramatist*.

JAMES F. COOPER, JR

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*Benjamin Ingham: Preacher amongst the Dales of Yorkshire, the Forests of Lancashire and the Fells of Cumbria.* By H. M. Pickles (published by the author, 117 Dane Road, Coventry. CV2 4JT, 1995, pp. 152, £6.95, ISBN 0 9526950 06).

Benjamin Ingham (1712-72) is one of the most neglected and elusive figures of the Evangelical Revival. Over thirty years ago Dr Frank Baker pronounced him the 'first outstanding evangelist in the north', but there have been few studies of his trailblazing ministry in the West Riding, Lancashire and Cumbria after 1734. Tyerman, in his memoir of the Oxford Methodists in 1873, and Heitzenrater, in his 1985 edition of Ingham's Oxford diary, focused on his previous involvement with the Holy Club. Apart from an unpublished thesis exploring his relationship with Anglicans, Methodists, Moravians and Glassites and an article in a local history journal examining his response to food riots in Dewsbury in 1740 (neither of which Pickles appears to have utilised), the only other account of his northern mission is R. W. Thompson's brief sketch published in 1958.

Pickles, like Thompson, with Inghamite family roots, provides a sympathetic, but not uncritical, account of Ingham's ministry, together with detailed maps of his circuits and illustrations of many of his chapels. He draws extensively on the account of Ingham's ministry by his assistant, William Batty, but appears not to have consulted Dr John Gillies' memorable account of the northern revival, derived from William Grimshaw. Moreover, neither Baker's biography of Grimshaw, nor Rack's biography of Wesley, both of which help to place Ingham's ministry within the context of other evangelistic initiatives in the north during this period,

are cited in the bibliography. The book will consequently be of limited value to those seeking to understand the complexities of the evangelical revival in the north but will appeal to those interested in exploring the historical roots and surviving traces of the Inghamite presence in Cumbria, Lancashire, and West Yorkshire.

JOHN A. HARGREAVES

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*The Arminian Methodists* by William Parkes (Cannock: The Wesley Fellowship, 1995, pp50, £4.00 plus postage from the author at 423 Springfield Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 6AP)

This monograph fills a gap in Methodist history. The Arminian Methodists were a small, short-lived group whose basic tenets were 'belief not faith as such' and that 'the route to both salvation and sanctification was through the exercise of belief as faith.' They held to four simple basic rules: '1st. Believe, that God has promised it in the Holy Scripture. 2nd. Believe, that what God hath promised he is able to perform. 3rd. Believe, that he is able and willing to do it now. 4th. Believe that he doth it.' (p.47).

Dr Parkes brings out the little appreciated fact that Arminian Methodism swiftly disintegrated as an identifiable body once it joined the Wesleyan Methodist Association, though its beliefs continued in some form or another elsewhere.

Although this monograph is not easy to read, especially the first chapter, it is worth persevering, for it covers ground about which most of us know very little. I suspect the main problem is that Dr. Parkes has 'lived' with the Arminian Methodists for so long that they and their beliefs are much clearer to him personally than his narrative manages to convey to the reader. There are some (typographical?) errors and I feel some confusion, at least in the mind of the reader, between 'Faith' and 'faith' in chapter one and surely '1937' on p.35 should be '1837'.

I commend this monograph to serious students of Methodist history and Dr. Parkes is to be congratulated for searching out and assiduously delving into many hitherto little-explored sources.

E. DOROTHY GRAHAM

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A number of new titles have appeared in the Methodist Publishing House series: 'People Called Methodists'. Some cover familiar ground, albeit in a convenient and concise format: *Methodist East Enders* (McAulay, Jackson and Peter Thompson) by Ron Gibbins, *William Grimshaw* by Allan Longworth, *Thomas Birch Freeman* by Paul Ellingworth and *Thomas Bowman Stephenson* by Gordon Barritt. Others, however, are the only biographies available: *Harold Roberts* by John Lenton, *Donald Braithwaite Childe* and *Thomas Frank Davey*, both by Geoffrey Senior. Finally, a triumvirate of troublemakers feature in Oliver Beckerlegge's *The Three Expelled* - James Everett, Samuel Dunn and William Griffith. The booklets average about 36 pages, are attractively illustrated and cost £2.60 each, plus postage, from MPH.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### 1498 DR TAYLOR IN CORK

Who was the stranger 'hugely daubed with gold' who 'thrust violently in' when Wesley was meeting the society in Cork on Sunday evening, August 10, 1760? The *Journal* concludes: 'By his appearance I should have judged him to be some nobleman, but I was afterward informed it was Dr Taylor.' This clearly implies that 'Dr Taylor' is a name well-known to the readers, and this can only be Dr John Taylor of Norwich. Taylor's treatise on Original Sin had provoked Wesley to a full-length reply, published four years before this incident, and the *Journal* has several references to Taylor's pernicious influence (as Wesley saw it). The index to Curnock's edition, and Sugden's introduction to number XXXVIII of the Standard Sermon (II.208), both accept this identification without demur; but in the new bicentennial edition of the *Journal* it is ignored, and the intruder is treated as unidentified. No independent evidence for the presence of John Taylor in Cork that evening has come to light, and probability is entirely against it. Taylor had moved from Norwich to be a tutor in the new Academy in Warrington in 1757; there he seems to have aged prematurely, so crippled with rheumatism that he had to use crutches, and he died there in 1761, only months after this incident. The ageing, hobbling, mild-mannered and probably soberly-dressed dissenting minister can have borne no resemblance whatever to this gaudy, ill-mannered intruder.

The search for evidence to substantiate Wesley's assumption turned up the following paragraph in *The Cork Journal* for August 4, 1760:

#### CORKE

Yesterday morning the Chevalier TAYLOR arrived at the Widow Sarsfield's near the Exchange in this City, and this morning, and every morning about 12, (as in Dublin) the Gentlemen, the Ladies, the Faculty, &c are invited to see his manner of restoring Sight. The Evening for the Assembly on account of his Superb APPARATUS will be fix'd Tomorrow Morning, and notice as usual, will be given to all of distinction.-From his many Engagements with Persons afflicted in the Eye in this Neighbourhood, he will not be able to return to Dublin 'till the latter end of next week, of which all to whom he promis'd his aid are desir'd to take Notice. The Poor as usual, (if properly taken care of) are always free to have his best Assistance.

There follows in small print a list of his travels, his many titled patients in various countries, and his writings in many languages, which are said to include '45 Works on the Eye, and the Art of restoring Sight'.

This 'Chevalier Taylor' may well have been referred to as 'Dr Taylor' by those interested in his ophthalmic work; and the flamboyant character

suggested by his advertisement and his title 'Chevalier' accord well with the picture of a man 'hugely daubed with gold', looking like a nobleman and pushing his way in among folk he would regard as his social inferiors. Is it possible that this visitor to Cork, hearing of the presence there of the well-known evangelist, had the curiosity to spend a leisure Sunday evening by going to have a look at him? Some member of the Society might then have said to Wesley, 'That's Dr Taylor', and he, ever ready to scent that ubiquitous influence, leapt to the mistaken conclusion. It would be interesting to know more about this 'Chevalier Taylor', such as his appearance and bearing, and whether there is any further record of his stay in Cork that might lend credence to this surmise.

(I am indebted to the Revd Robert P. Roddie, B.A., of the Irish Conference, for a copy of the relevant page of the Cork newspaper and to Kieran Burke, Local History Librarian, Cork.)

G. THACKRAY EDDY

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#### 1499 SOURCE OF A WESLEY DOXOLOGY:

Further to Note 1488, John Wesley did not print this doxology in his *Charleston Collection of Psalms and Hymns, 1737*. Certainly it did not appear in Samuel Wesley's *Poems on Several Occasions, 1736*, nor do I find any reference to it in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*. This doxology did not appear in Part I of *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love, Bristol, Farley, 1741*, of which there are several versions, confused by an interruption of the printing processes. In this there was a total of 36 pages. The doxology did appear, however, in what eventually was termed Part II of the same work, containing 60 pages, printed by William Strahan of London (according to his ledgers), on March 23, 1742. This ended with eleven poems entitled 'Gloria Patri', of which this was No. VI. In the 2nd edition of this combined work; published in London in 1756, and first identified as 'Part II', the eleven 'Gloria Patri' were reduced to five, of which this doxology was the last, numbered 5, and thus it remained in subsequent editions, up to 1792.

FRANK BAKER

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Many readers will have pleasant memories of the Methodist Guild Guest House at Grange-over-Sands, Abbot Hall. It was, in fact, the first permanent Guild Guest House, and its history has now been written by its present manager, David Mycock, under the title *Eighty Years Onward 1916-1996*. It is lavishly and nostalgically illustrated and can be obtained from Abbot Hall, Kents Bank, Grange-over-Sands, Cumbria (no price stated).