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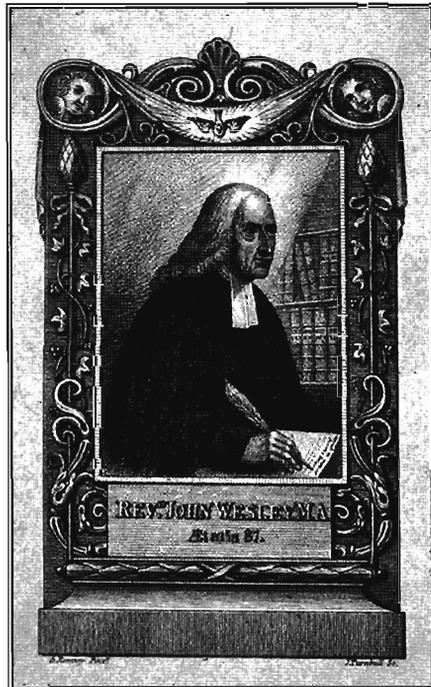
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Proceedings of the **Wesley Historical Society**



THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

was founded in 1893 to promote the study of the history and literature of early Methodism. Over the years the range of its interests has been enlarged to include the history of all sections of the Methodist Church which were united in 1932, other Wesleyan and Methodist Connexions and United Churches which include former Wesleyan or Methodist denominations.

Registered Charity (No. 283012).

Website www.wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk

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Cover Illustration:

*John Wesley at 87 Painted by George Romney, Engraved by J Turnbull and Published
by W Booth, 32 Duke Street Manchester 1826*

John Wesley, Cigarette Cards and his Advice on tobacco

From 1 July 2007 the United Kingdom ‘smoke free’ law came into force and made it a punishable offence to smoke in virtually all ‘enclosed’ and ‘substantially enclosed’ public places and workplaces. The practice of smoking or chewing tobacco started in Central America around 1000 BC where a species of the tobacco plant *Nicotiana* grew.¹ In 1493 one of Christopher Columbus’s fellow explorers, Rodrigo de Jerez, is thought to have been the first European to smoke tobacco and also to have been the first victim of the anti-smoking lobby! When Rodrigo de Jerez returned to his hometown of Ayamonte in Spain and lit up his cigar the locals seeing smoke coming from his mouth, reported him to the Spanish holy inquisitors who accused him of ‘consorting with the devil’ and he was thrown into prison for seven years.² By the time Rodrigo was released the habit of smoking tobacco had become more acceptable. The first suggestion that tobacco was a health risk was voiced in 1858 in *The Lancet*, almost one hundred years before the link between smoking and lung cancer was published in the *British Medical Journal* in 1950 by Richard Doll and A Bradford Hill.³

John Wesley and Tobacco

In the present ‘no smoking’ climate it is interesting to remember that John Wesley made some beneficial claims for the use of tobacco as a cure for ear ache and piles, even though some eminent members of the medical profession in the seventeenth century had cast doubts on the use of tobacco and smoking as a medical cure. Physicians such as W. Vaughan (1612) quoted the rhyme: ‘Tobacco that outlandish weed, Doth spend the braine and spoile the seed, It dulls the spright, it dims the sight, It robs a woman of her right.’⁴ Dr James Hart in 1633 warned that tobacco was not the golden elixir and that it had little medical benefit. He also said that tobacco indiscriminately used was the cause of diverse and dangerous diseases.⁵ In *Primitive Physic: Or An Easy and Natural Method of Curing most Diseases* (1747), John Wesley acknowledged his indebtedness to Dr George Cheyne’s, *An Essey on Health and Long Life* (1725).⁶ Although Wesley’s *Primitive Physic* was criticised by Dr William Hawes in 1776, harshly and rather unfairly, Wesley’s

¹ <http://www.forestonline.org/output/home.aspx>.

² <http://www.tobacco.org/>

³ Richard Doll and A Bradford Hill, ‘Smoking and Carcinoma of the Lung: Preliminary Report’, *British Medical Journal*, ii (1950), 739-48.

⁴ William Vaughan, *Directions for Health, both Naturall and Artificial: derived from the best physitions as well moderne as auncient* (London: T Snodham for R Jackson, 1612).

⁵ James Hart, *KAINIKH: or the diet of the diseased* (London: John Beale for Thomas Allot, 1633), pp. 7-8

⁶ John Wesley, *Primitive Physic or An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Disease* (London, 1747), section 16.

book went through 23 editions in his life time⁷ and continued to be published until at least 1847 and is still being reprinted today. In *Primitive Physic* ‘disease number 76. The Ear-Ach and receipt 273. Wesley recommends ‘blow the *smoke of tobacco* strongly into it’ [the ear]. Wesley also recommends in ‘disease number 171. The Piles (to cure) receipt 528 [apply] ‘a *tobacco-leaf* steeped in water twenty-four hours.

On Thursday 27 September 1739, John Wesley had good reason to be thankful for bales of tobacco which saved him from being injured or possibly killed. He writes in his *Journal*, ‘I went in the afternoon to a society at Deptford, and thence at six came to Turner’s Hall; which holds (by computation) two thousand persons. The press both within and without was very great. In the beginning of the expounding, there being a large vault beneath, the main beam which supported the floor broke. The floor immediately sank, which occasioned much noise and confusion. But, two or three days before, a man had filled the vault with hogsheads of tobacco. So that the floor, after sinking a foot or two, rested upon them, and I went on without interruption’.

Although Wesley advocated the use of tobacco as a cure for illness he was against its social use. In the Directions given to the Band Societies, December 25 1744 direction 7 reads: ‘To use no *needless self-indulgence*, such as taking snuff or tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician.’⁸ The Minutes of Several Conversations, Question 44 asks: ‘Are there any other advices, which you would give to the Assistants? Answer 4: Vigorously, but calmly enforce the rules concerning needless ornaments, drams, snuff, and tobacco.’⁹ In question 51 to be asked of new ‘Helpers’: ‘Do you know the rules of the Society? Of the Bands? Do you keep them? Do you take no snuff, tobacco, drams? Are you willing to conform to them?’¹⁰ In a letter written in Bristol October 9, 1766 to Thomas Rankin, who he had appointed as ‘Assistant at Epworth’, Wesley writes: ‘William Brammah, [Rankin’s colleague] will do much good, if he continues to sleep early and rise early, and denies himself with regard to tobacco and eating flesh suppers.’¹¹ In a letter to Richard Steel of Armagh written from Londonderry April 24, 1769 Wesley urged the recipient to ‘use no tobacco unless prescribed by a physician. It is an uncleanly and unwholesome self-indulgence; and the more customary it is the more resolutely should you break off from every degree of that evil custom.’¹² Wesley in the same letter continues to give the same instruction to the taking of snuff and the drinking of alcohol. Given John Wesley’s abhorrence of the social use of tobacco it is ironic to see that a

⁷ W. R. Ward and R. P. Heitzenratter (eds), *The Works of John Wesley, volume 19: Journal and Diaries. II (1738-1743)* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990) pp. 99-100.

⁸ Rupert E. Davies (ed.), *The works of John Wesley, volume 9: The Methodist Societies, History, Nature, and Design* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989) p. 79.

⁹ John Wesley, *Minutes of Several Conversations between John Wesley And Others 1744 – 1789* (London: John Kershaw, 1827), p. 29

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 36

¹¹ John Wesley to Thomas Rankin, 9 October 1766, in John Telford, *The Letters of the Rev John Wesley, A.M.*, volume V (London: Epworth Press, 1960), p. 28.

¹² John Wesley to Richard Steel, 24 April 1769, in *ibid.*, 1334.

number of tobacco companies in the twentieth century used his image on their cigarette cards.

Cigarette Cards

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tradesmen such as snuff makers produced cards to advertise their wares. When cigarettes were hand packed some shopkeepers used strips of paper on which they printed information or sketches. One such example is the set of twelve sketches celebrating the Alaska Gold Rush with accompanying doggerel on the wrappers used by Mr R. Ellis of High Street, Hastings.¹³ In the 1870's when cigarette wrapping machines began to be used in America, manufacturers needed to protect the cigarettes in the paper packets from damage whilst in transit. They did this by inserting 'stiffeners'. These were thick white cards which gave rigidity to the paper packets. In 1871 Allen and Ginter in Richmond, Virginia, began to put 'stiffeners' in their packets and in about 1876 they began using the 'stiffeners' to advertise their products. In the 1880's Allen and Ginter began to put pictures on the stiffeners as a means of encouraging purchasers to remain loyal to their brand.¹⁴

Au Bon Marche (1872) and Liebig (c.1870) followed the practice of the Paris department store owner Mr Aristide Boucicaut by opening Bon Marche, the first departmental store in Paris and possibly in the world. In 1865 he hit on the innovative idea of giving each child and mother in his shop an illustrated card as a present. Each Thursday new cards were issued to keep the children and their mothers coming back to the store. The idea quickly caught on and other manufacturers and shops followed the trend, including chocolate manufacturers Phillipe Suchard of Neuchatel and Swiss manufacturer Jean Tobler and Sons in Berne.

In Great Britain the first manufacturer of cigarettes was Robert Golas, a veteran of the Crimea war. He, like many British soldiers in the Crimea, was introduced to the 'Papirossi' [cigarettes] by the Turkish soldiers. Many soldiers brought home these Turkish cigarettes. When Robert Golas returned home he started manufacturing cigarettes in a factory in Walworth, London.

The first British company to issue advertising cards was W. D. & H. O. Wills in the 1880's. Their first issue of coloured illustrated cigarette cards was in 1897 with the title 'Ships and Soldiers'. It was not until they issued the set entitled 'The Kings and Queens' in 1897 that they put a set of notes on the back of the cards. Cigarette cards became an important type of children's encyclopaedia. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century newspapers only printed black and white pictures, whereas the cigarette cards were printed in colour, often to a very high standard. Most families could not afford to buy books and many not even newspapers and whilst there were Free Libraries in many cities and towns lots of people did not use them. The cigarette card became a valuable source of information for both adults and children of interesting facts in a memorable

¹³ *The Complete Catalogue of British Cigarette Cards* (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1981).

¹⁴ www.pasttimes.biz/aboutcards.htm.

form. They gave children a coloured picture gallery of famous people, sports personalities, artists and historical characters with easily remembered facts. Some cigarette cards gave valuable advice such as the keeping fit series by Lambert and Butler in 1937 and the BAT 1931 series of 40 cards giving 'Safety First' advice. The subjects on the cards ranged from historical events to proverbs. Arnold Bennett said 'some boys will grow up with cigarette cards as their sole education'.¹⁵

Whilst John Wesley was critical of tobacco products, cigarette cards did introduce him to vast numbers of people who may otherwise not have heard of him or at least knew nothing about him except his name.

John Wesley Cigarette Cards

This area of Wesleyana is largely overlooked by collectors of Methodistica, yet it is an interesting insight into the way Wesley was respected by an unexpected group of businessmen. The first time that John Wesley appeared on a cigarette card was in 1913. It was in the Chairman Cigarette Card issue: 'Old Pottery and Porcelain (English)'. It was number 172 of a set of 250 cards issued in three tranches from 1908 to 1914. Chairman cigarettes were made by R. J. Lea who is first mentioned in the *Manchester and Salford 1861 Trade Directory* as 'Robert John Lea (Tobacconist), 15 Market Street & 12 Market Place. In 1869 Robert John Lea was at the same address and was listed as a wholesale tobacconist and cigar importer. In 1912 the *Directory* entry records R. J. Lea Ltd, Tobacco and Cigarette Manufacturer, Chairman Factory, Broughton Lane, Lower Broughton. Lower Broughton is in Salford about a mile north of Manchester city centre. The firm continued as an independent cigarette manufacturer until it was bought by John Sinclair of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1937.

The 1913 cigarette card has a coloured picture of the portrait bust of John Wesley sculpted in 1781 by Enoch Wood. The picture of the bust on the card is from the Enoch Wood Second series which was produced after 1791. On the front of the card and below the bust is the inscription WOOD and CALDWELL with the trade mark ENOCH WOOD & SONS, BURSLEM (illustrated by Godden).¹⁶ On the back of the card printed in red FOURTH SERIES, CHAIRMAN CIGARETTES, (172) STAFFORDSHIRE FIGURES. The finely-moulded portrait bust at South Kensington Museum is inscribed: 'The Rev John Wesley, M. A., died March 8 1791, aged 88. Enoch Wood Sculptor, Burslem'. This inscription would suggest that the piece was made after the partnership was established between Enoch Wood and James Caldwell in 1790. A companion bust is that of the Rev George Whitefield. Other well-known subjects are Wellington and Napoleon. Alexander I. Caldwell retired from the firm in 1818 and it was carried on as Enoch Wood and Sons till 1846.

¹⁵ www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/BLACKBURNcig.htm

¹⁶ Geoffrey A. Godden, *Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1991), p. 685.



In 1914 the same card was re-issued printed on white silk with a card backing. The picture is the same as the 1913 issue with the Enoch Wood and Sons trade mark but the words WOOD and CALDWELL do not appear. Printed on the backing card in blue: CHAIRMAN CIGARETTES, STAFFORDSHIRE. Enoch Wood succeeded his father, Aaron Wood, in 1770. Aaron served his apprenticeship to Thomas Wedgwood and was a clever cutter of moulds for stoneware. His son, who was also a sculptor, made many fine busts of eminent men. A partnership was established in 1790 between Enoch Wood and James Caldwell. This fine Bust, inscribed 'Rev. John Wesley, M.A., died March 8, 1791, aged 88. Enoch Wood, Burslem' is in the South Kensington Museum, R. J. Lea Ltd, Manchester.

The third cigarette card to have John Wesley's image on it was issued in 1924 by Ogden's of the Imperial Tobacco Company. Thomas Ogden founded the business when he opened a tobacconist's shop in Park Lane, Liverpool, in 1860. He quickly opened a number of tobacconists in different parts of Liverpool and by 1866 he started manufacturing cigarettes in a factory in James Street, Liverpool. By 1899 it was clear that a large set of premises was needed so that all the aspects of the business could be on one site. A modern factory was built on Boundary Lane, Liverpool. When the factory opened in 1901 it was able to produce around 900 million cigarettes a year. In 1901 the 'Tobacco Wars' in Great Britain broke out when the American tobacco tycoon James B. Duke of New York who had created the American Tobacco Company [ATC] sailed to Liverpool and bought Ogden's. He is reputed to have said to J. D. and W. G. Player: 'Hello boys, I'm Dook from New York come to take over your business'.¹⁷ He was shown the door. Undismayed he went to a number of other British tobacco firms and they also turned him down. As a result of Duke's brusque and ruthless attitude W. D. & H. O. Wills, John Player and Sons along with another eleven companies formed the 'The Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain and Ireland) Limited'. The newly formed Imperial Tobacco Company [ITC] decided to attack Duke's American dominance by going to America to try to buy up American tobacco companies. Duke quickly saw the risk of letting the giant ITC into the American market and in September 1902 sold Ogden's to ITC with the agreement that the ITC would keep to the British market and the ATC would be restricted to the American market.

In 1924 Ogden's Imperial Tobacco Company issued a set of cigarette cards entitled Leaders of Men. No 49 in the set of 50 was a picture of John Wesley. Wesley is facing $\frac{3}{4}$ front right. It is a reproduction of the John Michael Williams portrait painted c.1742 when Wesley was around 39. It is considered to be the best likeness of Wesley as a

¹⁷ <http://archive.liverpool.gov.uk/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=>

young middle-aged man.¹⁸ The painting was displayed at the Methodist Theological Institute at Didsbury, Manchester and went to Wesley College, Bristol,¹⁹ when Didsbury College transferred to the Bristol site.²⁰ The portrait shows Wesley with his own brown hair, some say auburn and others black.²¹ Above the picture is the inscription OGDEN'S CIGARETTES and below JOHN WESLEY. Printed in green on the back of the card, 49 LEADERS OF MEN, A SERIES OF 50, John Wesley (1703-1791), English divine and founder of Methodism; born in Epworth Rectory, Lincolnshire, 1703. Went to Oxford 1720, ordained 1725, appointed Greek lecturer at Oxford 1726, and became conspicuous for his religious earnestness. Preached in London, Oxford and Bristol, 1738-1742. Methodism spread from Bristol into many other counties in England, Ireland, 1747; Scotland, 1751 and in 1768 a Methodist chapel was opened in New York. Wesley generally travelled 5,000 miles a year, and preached fifteen sermons a week. As a social reformer he was far in advance of his time. He preached his last sermon at Leatherhead, February 23rd. and died March 2nd 1791. ISSUED BY OGDEN'S, BRANCH OF THE IMPERIAL TOBACCO CO of Great Britain & Ireland LTD.



The next published portrait of John Wesley's was on a cigarette card issued by Carreras. The Spanish nobleman Don Jose Carreras Ferrer started the Carreras tobacco business in London in the early nineteenth century when he started selling cigars. The ancestors of Don Jose Carreras Ferrer were apothecaries in Spain and Carreras claims to have been established in 1788. The business developed when his son Don Jose Joaquin came into the business and started to blend tobacco and snuff. In a short time he had Edward, Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII and other royalty and notable persons such as the 3rd Duke of Craven as his clients. When the Russian-American Bernhard Baron joined the firm in 1903 he introduced his newly developed cigarette making machine which allowed the company to break into the mass production market.²² The firm continued to develop new lines such as the Craven A (named after the 3rd Lord Craven) first as a tobacco in 1913 and then as a cigarette in 1914. They developed the corked tipped cigarette. Carreras merged with Rothmans in 1958 and eventually in 1991

¹⁸ Joseph G Wright, 'Notes on Some Portraits of John Wesley', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 3, part 7 (1902), 186.

¹⁹ Peter S. Forsaith, 'John Wesley: A Provisional Iconography' (unpublished), p. 7.

²⁰ Vickers (ed.), *Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*, p. 94

²¹ S. J. Rogal, *The Historical Biography and Artistic Background of Extant Portrait Paintings and Engravings of John Wesley (1742-1951)* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003) pp. 4-6.

²² Howsden and Chakra, *Collecting Cigarette and Trade Cards*.

the company became Carreras Rothman Ltd. Carreras did not introduce cigarette cards until 1916.²³

In 1935 Carreras issued the 'Celebrities of British History' series. John Wesley is number 23 of a 50 card set. The portrait shows John Wesley $\frac{3}{4}$ front left and he is holding a red backed book in his left hand. The portrait is a detail from the Nathaniel Hone R.A.'s painting of John Wesley (1766). In the original three quarter length painting John Wesley is depicted preaching by a tree in an open landscape. The detail on the cigarette card is a half-length and three quarter width portrait of John Wesley. On the bottom of the picture in a light brown ribbon is the inscription, John Wesley. On the back, printed in brown; *This back has a Gummed Surface*. There is a lion rampant either side of a shield with a Union Jack on it. Below is printed CELEBRITIES OF BRITISH HISTORY A SERIES OF 50. No 23, JOHN WESLEY (From the painting by Nathaniel Hone, at the National Portrait Gallery). Prepared for a clerical career at Charterhouse and Oxford, Wesley would fain have remained within the Anglican fold, but the Church's discouragement of his missionary ardour forced him to found a new sect. To enlighten the poor and untaught he rode 250,000 miles on horseback and delivered more than 40,000 sermons, many in the open air. His eloquence went straight to the hearts of the roughest of his hearers, but some of his bigoted associates were shocked at the broad tolerance of his views about eternal punishment. CARRERAS LTD (Estd 1788). ARCADIA WORKS, LONDON, ENGLAND. KEEP THIS HISTORICAL SERIES OF 50 PORTRAITS IN THE ATTRACTIVE ALBUM OBTAINABLE FROM ALL TOBACCONISTS (PRICE ONE PENNY).



The most unusual and unexpected use of John Wesley's image on a cigarette card was produced in 1937 by the Ardath Tobacco Company. Their factory was at 44 Worship Street, which runs off the end of Tabernacle Street, which is the street that runs alongside the back entrance of Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London. Ardath was begun around 1895 by Albert Levy & Thomas, Ledenhall Street, London, EC. They started by selling State Express cigarettes. In 1901 the firm changed its name to Ardath Tobacco Company and in 1912 it became a limited company. In 1925 the British American Tobacco and Imperial Tobacco Company jointly purchased Ardath and it started trading on 30th June 1926 with the now knighted Sir Albert Levy as Chairman. The firm stayed in business in Worship Street until around 1960. Ardath Tobacco Company issued photogravure cards from 1913 to 1917 when they stopped issuing cards altogether. In 1928 they started to issue cards for the overseas market only. It was not until 1934 that cards were issued for the British market. 'Your Birthday Tells Your Fortune'. The card for the 17th [John Wesley's was born on the 17th June 1703] has the image of a white bust of John Wesley

²³ http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carreras_Tobacco_Company

on a pedestal. The image is in the manner of the John Barry painting. The bust is three quarters front right. It is set against a graduated rose pink background. On the pedestal is a tri-pointed passion cross with a plain passion cross in the centre. Below the pedestal is an open book [Bible] with double columns on each page. To the left is a Caucasian family and to the right is an American Indian in full feathered head-dress. At the top on a white ribbon is the inscription: IS THE 17th OF THE MONTH ALSO YOUR BIRTHDAY? SEE OTHER SIDE. At the bottom of the picture in a ribbon: JOHN WESLEY, BORN 17.6.1703, FOUNDER OF METHODISM. On the back of the card printed in white on a dark blue background: YOUR BIRTHDAY TELLS YOUR FORTUNE. Printed in blue Card No. 17. For those born on the 17th. To learn your fortune read this card together with Nos. 39 and 48. (See other cards for other birth dates). Your birthday portends enterprise, and you have the fine quality of sticking to right - through thick and thin. You have faith in human



nature, and like to help those less fortunate than yourself, finding happiness in the joy of giving. Encourage yourself not to talk more than you think, do not be afraid to alter your course if you find it wrong, weigh up every action first. This series is issued solely for amusement. This surface is adhesive. Printed in white on a dark blue background: ARDATH TOBACCO CO LTD, Manufacturers of STATE EXPRESS and ARDATH CIGARETTES. Card 39 tells of the properties of diamonds in influencing your fortune and card 48 speaks about rose being the destiny colour of those born on the 17th.

Wesley and fortune telling

The putting of the image of John Wesley on a set of 'Fortune Telling' cards, even cards 'for amusement' is rather incongruous. Wesley made a number of scathing remarks about people who believed in chance, good fortune and the practice of fortune telling. In his *Notes on the Old Testament* published in 1765 commenting on Leviticus 19:26: 'Ye shall not eat anything with the blood: neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times', Wesley writes: 'For Christians to have their nativities cast, or their fortunes told, or to use charms for the cure of diseases, is an intolerable affront to the Lord Jesus, a support of idolatry, and a reproach both to themselves, and to that worthy name by which they are called. Nor observe times – Superstitiously, esteeming some days lucky, others unlucky.'²⁴ Similarly Wesley comments on Ezekiel 10 which deals with: 'God's Glory Departs From the Temple'. Verses 9 onwards talk about the wheels and the Cherubims. Wesley's comment on verse 17 is: 'For - There is a perfect harmony between second causes in their dependence on, and subjection to, the one infinite, wise, good, holy, and just God. The spirit of God directs all the creatures, upper and lower, so that they shall

²⁴ John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes on the Old Testament* (Bristol, William Pine, 1765).

serve the divine purpose. Events are not determined by the wheel of fortune, which is blind, but by the wheels of providence, which are full of eyes.²⁵

The next appearance of John Wesley on a cigarette related card was in 1951. From 1890 cigarettes were sold in a cigarette packet which is made up of a hull and a slide. The hull is the outer packaging and the slide is the inner part which slides outwards like a drawer to reveal the cigarettes. Turf Cigarettes, which were manufactured by Carreras, from 1947 to 1956 produced cigarette packet slides with pictures on them. In 1951 they issued a slide with a blue reproduction of the 1935 Carreras John Wesley card. Above the picture is inscribed TURF CIGARETTES and below in a ribbon John Wesley. On the bottom edge is printed 50 CELEBRITIES OF BRITISH HISTORY, NO. 47. Carreras did not print information on the back of these slides.



The last cigarette card to carry the image of John Wesley was the first series of Figures Historiques une serie de 25 by Domino in 1961. Domino Cigarettes of Mauritius were made by the British American Tobacco Company Ltd. After the tobacco trade wars in 1902, the Imperial Tobacco Company and the American Tobacco Company set

up the British America Tobacco Company. The purpose of the company was to trade outside both the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In 1960-2 the British American Tobacco Company Ltd issued two sets of Figures Historiques. No 16 in the first set is a head and shoulders portrait facing three quarters front right. It is a detail in the manner of the William Hamilton R. A. portrait completed in 1788. The portrait is on a cream background and shows John Wesley with white hair. He is wearing a cravat and preaching bands and a black gown. Below the picture is printed John Wesley. On the back printed in green; FIGURES HISTORIQUES, UNE SERIE DE 25, No 16 JOHN WESLEY 1703-1791. John Wesley etait le fils du Recteur d' Epworth et grandit dans une famille tres religieuse et deja tres connue. Il entra un dans les Ordres de Anglicane en 1735. Il etait un predicateur doue et infatigable et avait de grandes aptitudes d'organisateur. Sa ferveur et son zele insirerent un re-nouveau evangelique gui amena la creation de l'Esglise Methodiste. Latout imbattable! DOMINO FILTER.²⁶



²⁵ Wesley, *Explanatory Notes on the Old Testament*.

²⁶ English translation: HISTORICAL FIGURES. A series of 25, No 16, JOHN WESLEY 1703-1791. John Wesley was the son of the Rector of Epworth and grew up in a well-known, very religious family. He was ordained into the Anglican Church in 1735. He was a talented and untiring preacher, and had great organisational skills. His fervour and his zeal inspired an evangelical revival, which led to the formation of the Methodist Church. The unbeatable! DOMINO FILTER.

Other trade cards

Whilst it is not a cigarette card The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge issued a series of 'Gift Cards' cards around 1940 with the title Scenes from English Church History. Number 11 in the series of 12 shows John Wesley on horseback preaching by a market cross. On the back printed in black: S.P.C.K., V. SCENES FROM ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY 11. John Wesley on a preaching tour. Wesley was a clergyman of the Church of England, who founded the Society of Methodists. He is the greatest influence for good in eighteenth-century England, and covered the whole country in his preaching tours. S P C K. MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN.



The significance of Wesley's image on cigarette cards

The tobacco companies' sole purpose in putting cigarette cards in their packets was to promote sales and to keep customers loyal to their brand. The aim of every new series of cards was to discourage the smoker from changing their loyalty to another manufacturer. The cards were not chosen at random they were chosen to promote sales and to do that they put high quality coloured cards in their cigarette packets. They were cards that would have a major impact and huge interest by showing important information such as first aid, sporting events, the British Coronation, British history, puzzles, aeroplanes, trains, birds and animals. They also produced high quality cards of famous people and hero's such as film stars, music hall personalities, sporting champions, politicians, U.S. presidents and famous historical leaders. On the reverse of the cards was a thumb-nail, carefully and accurately worded, series of facts about the subject on the obverse side. The fact that John Wesley was used by several tobacco manufacturers to promote their product and sales by using him boldly and confidently on their cigarette cards gives us a significant insight into how highly he was regarded by the general public as well as commercial enterprises. The cigarette industry did not use subjects or people on their cards that would be of little interest or would alienate the smoker or collector. John Wesley's image on the cards is a reminder of how considerable his place in British history was to the twentieth century public as well as it was in his own lifetime.

DONALD H. RYAN

Laity in Denominational Leadership; Methodist Vice-Presidents, 1932-2000

Introduction

Unlike the earlier article on the Vice-Presidents (VPs) of the Primitive Methodist (PM) Connexion¹, this study does not attempt a comprehensive collective biography, not least because comparable Census and biographical sources are not yet available. Instead, it takes as its starting point the most contentious aspect of the PM VP legacy, namely the almost exclusive reliance on men of business and wealth as VP. Not only were the Victorian VPs men in business but, for the most part, they were men in small and medium businesses and their education was limited, compared to their Wesleyan and Anglican counterparts. Could the habit of relying on such a restricted pool of talent for the VP really continue in a rapidly changing world utterly different from that of the Victorians? This article begins with a thumbnail sketch of the twentieth-century's changing contexts for church leadership and then attempts to assess aspects of the VP position in the Methodist Church between 1932 and 2000.

I. Changing twentieth century contexts for church leaderships

Between the formation of the Methodist Church in 1932 and the year 2000, 69 individuals were elected VP of the Methodist Conference (see Appendix). In 1932-33 the VP was the leading lay person in a church of 841,000 members; by 1998 that figure had shrunk to 353,300 members.² This parlous situation was not confined to Methodism. Churchgoing in Britain reportedly fell from a peak of 33 per cent of church membership in the British population as a whole in 1900 down to 25 per cent in 1950, 23 per cent in 1965, and then 12 per cent in 2000.³

Besides the challenge of stemming or adjusting to rapidly shrinking church membership and the spreading climate (especially after 1960) of secularism and the rejection of Christian values, there were many changes in the external environment of

¹ David J. Jeremy, 'Laity in Denominational Leadership: Vice-Presidents of the Primitive Methodist Church, 1872-1932', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 57 (October, 2010), 246-272.

² W. A. Sturdy, *Methodist Finance: Past, Present and Future* (London: Epworth Press, 1932), p.66. Contrast this with Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 143 who give 769,000 members. Methodist Church, *Minutes of Conference and Directory*, 1999, p. 67. [Hereafter MCD].

³ Peter Brierley, 'Religion in Britain, 1900 to 2000' in Heather Wraight and Peter Brierley (eds), *UK Christian Handbook, 2000/2001* (Harper Collins Religious, 1999), p.25. Peter Brierley, 'Religion', in A. H. Halsey (ed), *British Social Trends since 1900* (Macmillan, 1988), p.540 does not agree with the more pessimistic figures of Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (Routledge, 2001), p.164.

the churches in Britain in these seventy years. At home came unemployment in the 1930s; another World War; a shift to the Left after 1945 and the completion of the welfare state and nationalisation; a swing back to the Right after 1979 and a new entrepreneurial age in which the City and the financial sector thrived but much of the UK's traditional manufacturing base disappeared. The expansion of higher education after the 1960s and the transformational impact of science and technology, especially in aerospace, genetics, and computing, ensured that new generations possessed knowledge and expectations far surpassing those of their parents and grandparents.

Abroad, post-1945, the supplanting of Britain by the USA, the Cold War, the arms race, decolonisation (commencing for Britain with India and Pakistan in 1947), and the formation of the European Economic Community heralded a new world that continued until the Iron Curtain fell, the Soviet Union collapsed, and eastern European states adopted democratic and capitalist institutions after 1989. Simultaneously, Japan, then China and India, tilted the global economy towards Asia. Meantime the world's big businesses metamorphosed into globalised corporations. At century's end, the threat of fundamentalist Islam, persisting Arab-Israeli conflict, the global environmental crisis, and consequent population migrations yet again reshaped the external contexts of Christianity and church leadership.

At one level, these changing contexts may be understood as interactions between the motives of power, money, sex, knowledge and ideology. Though increasingly technical and channelled through organisations of growing complexity, informing them all were age-old questions of morality.⁴ In these circumstances, it may be asked whether the inherited practice of selecting businessmen for the position of VP was still adequate for advising about anything other than the morality of money, or even that at times when the prevailing political current was in a socialist direction. More broadly, whether the Methodist Conference sufficiently exploited the full potential of lay leadership for the post of VP? To test the proposition that lay leadership *was* well utilised, the rest of this article investigates four questions relating to the office and holders of the Methodist VP. Who were the VPs? If the post honoured leading lay persons, was it fit for purpose? How did the wider membership of the Methodist Church view the status of VP? What dilemmas undermined the concept of a VP in the Methodist Church?

II. Who were the VPs of the Methodist Church between 1932 and 2000?

Were the VPs equipped by their aggregated experience to offer the church leadership in facing the challenges of the twentieth century? The appropriateness of the experience brought to the position of VP may be generally gauged by looking at the collective

⁴ In the domain of money and business this can be glimpsed in the British context in David J. Jeremy, 'Ethics, Religion, and Business in Twentieth Century Britain', in Richard Cooney and Peter Lyth (eds.), *Business in Twentieth Century Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

characteristics of the whole group. To capture some idea of change after the 1960s, the group has been split between the Mid-Century set, those in office between 1932 and 1959, a total of 28 VPs; and the Latter-Century set, in office between 1960 and 2000, a total of 41 VPs. These characteristics can then be compared to the changing social contexts in Britain and the wider world. Comparisons with the Primitive Methodist VPs before 1932 are also sometimes instructive.

i. Age structure

In their age structure the Mid-Century VPs were an older group than their PM predecessors. In turn the Latter-Century group were a younger set, either than their PM counterparts or the Mid-Century VPs. See Table 1.

Age structure	Primitive Methodist Connexion			Methodist Church	
measures	1872-1913		1914-1932	1932-1959	1960-2000
	(30 V-Ps)		(19 V-Ps)	(28 V-Ps)	(41 V-Ps)
Average age	56.84		55.53	61.4	51.9
Standard deviation	10.85		8.26	9.5	4.3
Median	55		57	62	56
Youngest	41		40	41	38
	(Frederick Caesar Linfield)		(James Gray)	(Philip Race)	(Douglas Brown)
Oldest	84		68	83	69
	(Thomas Bateman)		(Sir Thomas Robinson)	(Sir Robert Perks)	(Mrs Esther Waterhouse)
Missing cases	0		0	0	4

In response to the emerging post-1960's youth oriented culture, the Methodist Conference was evidently moving in the right direction with respect to VP appointments.

But was a median age of 56 really young enough? It was no better than that of the late Victorian PM VPs.

ii. *Location*

Several developments with this characteristic seem significant, as seen in Table 2.

Region	Prim itive Methodist Connexion				Methodist Church			
	1872-1913		1914-1932		1932-1959			
	(30 V-Ps)		(19 V-Ps)		(28 V-Ps)		(41 V-Ps)	
London	1	3%			3	11%	8	20%
Other								
South-East	1	3%	1	5%	2	7%	4	10%
East Anglia	1	3%			1	4%	2	5%
South West	1	3%	1	5%	3	11%	8	20%
West Midlands	0		3	16%	1	4%	2	5%
East Midlands	3	10%	3	16%	2	7%	1	2%
North West	7	23%	4	21%	2	7%	5	12%
Yorkshire & Humberside	6	20%	4	21%	10	36%	5	12%
North	8	27%	2	11%	1	4%	3	7%
Wales					1	4%	2	5%
Scotland	2	7%	1	5%	2	7%	1	2%
TOTAL	30	100%	19	100%	28	100%	41	100%

First, both in the Mid-Century and Latter-Century sets, London representation was appreciably and increasingly stronger than under the PMs. Together, London and the southeast accounted for a third of VPs in the Latter-Century set. Apparently Metropolitan perspectives were gaining over provincial outlooks in the counsels of the Methodist Conference. A second locational feature appears in the relative positions of the provincial regions. Whereas the north-west and Yorkshire-Humberside were the persisting strongholds of VP representation in Primitive Methodism, after 1932 Yorkshire-Humberside and the North West remained in contention but in the Latter-Century set the southwest produced as many VPs as London. One assumption would be that this reflected membership. This remains to be tested. Equally, it may reflect the preferences of schools and teachers and of retirees.

iii Occupational composition

Table 3									
Occupational composition of Methodist Vice-Presidents, 1872-2000									
Occupations	Primitive Methodist Connexion				Methodist Church				
	1872-1913		1914-1932		1932-1959		1960-2000		
	(30 V-Ps)		(19 V-Ps)		(28 V-Ps)		(41 V-Ps)		
	in business								
Primary industries	1	3%	3	16%	1	4%	1	2%	
Manufacturing	10	33%	6	32%	4	14%	4	10%	
Services									
transport & communications					2	7%			
distributive trades	12	40%	4	21%	3	11%	1	2%	
financial services	2	7%	3	16%	3	11%	4	10%	
legal services	1	3%			5	18%	4	10%	
accountancy services		0%	2	11%					
other business services	1	3%							
miscellaneous services	3	10%							
Business share	30	100%	18		18		14		
Education					2	7%	8	20%	
Academia			1	5%	4	14%	2	5%	
Medicine					2	7%	4	10%	
Church					1	4%	1	2%	
Church mgl hierarchy							5	12%	
Government							3	7%	
Social work							1	2%	
Media							2	5%	
Housewives					1		1	2%	
Totals	30	100%	19	100%	28	100%	41	100%	
Business share		100%		95%		64%		34%	

Of all the aggregated characteristics studied here, occupational patterns exhibited the most drastic changes. Table 3 tells its own story, almost.

Involvement in business collapsed, and most catastrophically, after 1932 — and by the same 30 percentage points again after 1960. What was happening to attitudes towards business and, by implication, capitalism? One initial inference must be that the Methodist Conference experienced a huge shift to the Left. On the face of it, twentieth-century VPs were increasingly ill-equipped to pronounce on the capitalist entrepreneurial economy that returned to Britain after 1979, or on the economic changes in the wider world noted above. Was this really true?

Since former VPs remained on central committees of the Methodist Church, their experience could have a snowball effect out of all proportion to their numbers in the current office of VP. Again, the exclusion of ‘media’ from business share cloaked the presence of Sir Michael Checkland, Director-General of the BBC, whose outlook by definition was informed by both modern and international trends. In addition it was perfectly possible for individuals to keep themselves fully abreast of current global trends in culture and politics. For example, Lowry Creed, headmaster of Kingswood School, and his wife visited the newly formed Methodist Conferences in Nigeria and Italy.⁵

Three VPs after 1945, all of them university professors of scientific subjects, were ostensibly capable of understanding and interpreting the challenges posed by science and technology after 1945: Pawson (1951, agriculture), Coulson (1959, mathematics and FRS), and Hindmarsh (1970, atomic physics) whose death in his early forties robbed the church of an outstanding scientist and Christian.

The table indicates other developments. After the 1960s 12% of VPs were recruited from current or retired officials in the central administrative structures of the Methodist Church. This implied the possibility of bias against those outside church bureaucracies and a close alliance with ministerial interests (for example, in financial matters siding with the central institutions of the church against local church interests). On the other hand Metropolitan bases gave greater knowledge and insight into circumstances internal to the Methodist Church at home and abroad, as well as opportunity to access global networks linked to London. A lot more research would be needed to assemble a fuller and more accurate picture.

An even denser thicket of networks flourished behind the numbers of Table 3, as John Lenton, the son of one former VP informed me. These were the family networks that linked the VPs to members of the Methodist ministry, the professional clergy.

‘David Ensor [VP] was the son and father of ministers. In addition his paternal grandmother was a Walters, a member of another ministerial family. She had two Presidents as brothers. Two of her sisters married ministers, one being Eric Waterhouse, father of John, husband of Esther [VP]. The daughter of John Blake [VP] entered the ministry as Revd Rosemary Dale. So did the son of David Blatherwick [VP]. William Hartley Vernon Booth was designated VP 1951 but died first. He belonged to a

⁵ *Methodist Recorder* 7 Feb 2002, p. 22.

ministerial family and his widow married a minister. David Foot Nash [VP] was a nephew of Isaac Foot [VP]. The grandfather of Philip Race [VP] was a missionary in China; his four sisters married Methodist ministers one being the famous evangelist Thomas Cook. The brother of Rosemary Wass [VP] is Stephen Heath, a minister.⁶ Sir Robert Perks (the first VP in the United Methodist Church) was a son of the manse. Russell Hindmarsh's father-in-law was a district chairman.

While these alliances of interest between those who became VP and the professional clergy had the potential for less desirable outcomes (such as a less than rigorous scrutiny of ministerial stipends) they gave the VPs concerned an insider view of the Methodist ministry. John Lenton has a different opinion: 'To my mind the links with the ministry partly explain why they got elected rather than others. It did not necessarily mean they were influenced by the interests of the ministry, unless they believed these to be needing protection. Most were prominent individuals in their own line who would stand out for what they considered to be right.'⁷

iv. VPs' Gender

A change as dramatic as the precipitous decline of business experience among the VPs of the Methodist Church between 1932 and 2000 was the arrival of women in their midst. The glass ceiling was first pierced in 1948 by Mrs Mildred Lewis, daughter of the Revd. Henry Babb and widow of David Lewis (d. 1942), a Bilston iron founder. In the Mid-Century group only two women, or 7%, were elected. However, in the Latter-Century set 16 women, or 39% of the whole set, became VPs. This was a shift as sensational in its results as the collapse of the business presence.

As a percentage of the labour force, women rose from 29% in 1911 to 31% in 1961 and then to 44% in 1998.⁸ So, arguably, female participation in VP office-holding still had some way to go before it more adequately reflected society's labour market participation rates. This, of course, says nothing about the pressures behind these changes, or the nature of women's work, or the theological arguments for or against these trends.

III. If the post honoured leading lay persons, was it fit for purpose?

If the post was an honour, its fitness for purpose might be assessed by a test of worthiness. To avoid casting aspersions on the living, I confine the test to VPs in the

⁶ John H. Lenton, e-mail to the author, 8 October 2010. I am grateful to John for this information and hope that he will write up a full treatment for these networks.

⁷ John H. Lenton, e-mail to the author, 12 October 2010

⁸ Duncan Gallie, 'The Labour Force' in A. H. Halsey and Josephine Webb (eds.), *Twentieth Century Social Trends* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 292.

1930s. This test of worthiness requires two questions to be answered. What, in the period concerned, was the most challenging task facing the church's laity? Second, were those heading and successfully completing such a project ever elected VP?

In the 1930s, without doubt, the most difficult task for the Methodist Church, besides reaching the un-churched millions, was to implement the merger of the three Methodist connexions after union in 1932. Structurally, the consolidation of the three connexions (Wesleyans, PMs, and United Methodists (UMs), was a huge task, as can be glimpsed in Table 4.

Methodist ministers, membership, property, and finance at Union				
	Wesleyan	Primitive	United	
	Methodist	Methodist	Methodist	Totals
Ministers in work	2,077	901	559	3,537
Circuits	764	663	318	1,745
Members	500,156	199,544	141,270	840,970
Trusts				
number	9,491	4,977	2,231	16,699
valuation, 1932 (£m)	50.0	14.8	8.7	73.5
trust income	1.280	0.585	0.287	2.152
debts on trusts (£m)	1.043	0.742	0.419	2.204
Ratio of property value/debt	2.1%	5.0%	4.8%	3.0%

Unifying the legal, property, and financial components of the three Methodist connexions required both accurate reporting at the level of chapels and circuits and also careful and informed skills and judgements at the central, national level. The amount of property and finance involved was comparable to that of some of the largest businesses in Britain. For example Imperial Chemical Industries (formed in 1926) at merger had £72.8 millions of capital employed and 47,000 employees, compared to the £73 million of property belonging to the new Methodist Church in which over 3,500 employees had to be paid and 800,000 members had to be persuaded to provide most of the funds. By 1935 ICI had capital employed of £96.1 million and 50,000 employees. By this time it was the eighth largest employer in the British economy.⁹ By a happy coincidence the man at the centre of the fusion of ICI's financial systems was Josiah Charles Stamp

⁹ See William J. Reader, *Imperial Chemical Industries: A History* (2 vols; London: Oxford University Press, 1970-75), II, p.497; David J. Jeremy, *A Business History of Britain, 1900-1990s* (Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 570.

(1880-1941), an outstanding example of the new breed of big business managers and perhaps the leading Methodist (ex-Wesleyan) layman of his day.¹⁰

As may be seen from Table 4, of the £73.5 million (1932 values) of Methodist Church property, the Wesleyans contributed 68%, the PMs, 20%, and the United Methodists (UMs), 12%. These yielded £2.16 million annually, 59% of which came from the Wesleyans, 27% from the PMs, and 13% from the UMs. Debt burdens were lightest with the Wesleyans but heaviest with the PMs. In other words, the Wesleyans, in material terms, had twice the resources of the other two connexions put together. With their very substantial advantages in property, finance and members (just over 500,000 members out of the estimated 841,000), the Wesleyans would have to be careful to respect the sensibilities of the laity among the PMs and the UMs, who had both broken from the Wesleyans over one hundred years earlier in order to escape clerical domination. And especially so after 1932 because, in contrast to the PMs, the annual Conference was divided into two sessions, one in which clergy and laity were represented, the Representative Session; the other exclusively confined to the clergy, the Ministerial Session.

All the figures were set out in a small booklet explaining, with practical examples, how chapel and circuit financial systems would work, based on the foundation of an envelope system of regular giving.¹¹ This was written by William Arthur Sturdy CBE (b. 1877), a senior Civil Servant who had been Auditor of the Indian Home Accounts (in charge of the India Audit Office and ranking for stipend with an Assistant Under Secretary, third down from a Permanent Under Secretary in the Civil Service): clearly a man comfortable with large-scale financial systems.¹²

Sturdy was also a member of the national committee entrusted with the duty of overseeing the welding together of the finances of the three connexions. The other members were, not surprisingly, Sir Josiah Stamp, by 1932 President and Chairman of the London, Midland, & Scottish Railway Co., the second largest employer in the British economy¹³; and Leslie William Farrow (b. 1888), an LSE-trained accountant. They were given five years to complete their task and in 1935 were still at work on it.¹⁴

Having identified pivotal laymen engaged on the largest secular task facing the Methodist conference in the 1930s, the second part of the test of this VP fitness for purpose can be applied. How many of these men were elected VP? Table 5 presents a summary of those who were nominated for the Vice-Presidency of the Methodist Conference in these years, showing those who were elected.

¹⁰ See biographical entries by Michael Bywater in the *DBB* and by Jose Harris in the *ODNB*.

¹¹ W. A. Sturdy, *Methodist Finance: Past, Present and Future* (London: Epworth Press, 1932).

¹² *Whitaker's Almanack*, (1935), pp. 299-300.

¹³ Jeremy, *Business History of Britain*, p. 570.

¹⁴ *Methodist Recorder* 25 July 1935, quoted in David J. Jeremy, *Capitalists and Christians: Business Leaders and the Churches in Britain, 1900-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p 346.

Table 5

Attempts to secure election as Methodist Vice-president, 1930s set

			DoB	Age in 1932	Firm ownership	Industry	Old Meth conn	Years standing for election	
1	bus	Bellman, Sir Harold	1886	46	md	building socs	w	1933, 1937	never
2	bus	Bird, Sir Charles Hayward	1862	70	p	chemical mfr	u	1932	never
3	bus	Bourne, Moses	1867	65	d	coal	p	1932	1933
4	bus	Clegg, William Ernest	1871	61	m	insurance	p	1932, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939	1940
5	bus	Crowlesmith, John JP			d	publishing	w	1937, 1938, 1939	never
6	bus	Duckworth, James	1869	63	p	provisions merchant	u	1936	never
7	X	Dymond, G. P. Alderman	1864	68		headmaster	u	1932, 1933	1934
8	bus	Essex (Richard) Sir Walter	1857	75	p	Wall-paper mfr	u	1933	never
9	bus	Foot, Isaac, MP	1880	52		solicitor	w	1933, 1935, 1936	1937
10	bus	Gerrad, Thomas Lee	1858	74	p	Building contractor	p	1932	never
11	bus	Gray, James, ex Bailie	1876	56	p	Ferro-concrete mfr and contractor	p	1932, 1935	1936
12	bus	Holden, Isaac, JP	1867	65	d	worsted	w	1935, 1937, 1938	1939
13	bus	Ibberson, Herbert	1880	52	p	solicitor	u	1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941	1942
14	bus	Izzett, Percy Alexander	1873	59	p	retail, draper	w	1938	never
15	bus	Knight, George	1874	58	p	draper and silk mercer (ret)	w	1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1943, 1944	1945
16	bus	Laplough, Edmund S	1860	72	p	Lloyd's underwriter	w	1932, 1933, 1934	1935
17	bus	Lunn, Sir George	1861	71	mem	Tyne Impt Commission	w	1934, 1935	never
18	bus	Lunn, Sir Henry, MD	1859	73	p	travel company	w	1935, 1936	never

			DoB	Age in 1932	Firm ownership	Industry	O l d Meth conn	Years standing for election	Year of VP
19	bus	Mackintosh, Sir Harold Vincent	1891	41	p	confectionery mfr	u	1932	never
20	bus	Mallinson, William	1854	78	p	timber importer (ret)	u	1932, 1933	never
21	X	Murray, A Victor	1890	42		academic	p	1932, 1936, 1939, 1940, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946	1947
22	bus	Nightingale, Charles T	1876	56	d	solicitor and insurance co director	w	1938, 1940, 1942	1943
23	bus	Perks, Sir Robert William	1849	83	d	railway company director (ret)	w	Unanimous election	1932
24	bus	Rank, Joseph Arthur, DL, JP	1888	44	d	flour miller and film magnate	w	1938	never
25	bus	Rank, Joseph	1854	78	d	flour miller	w	1935	never
26	X	Richards, Arthur A				evangelist, Wesleyan	w	1937	never
27	bus	Rochester, Lord	1876	56	d	elect .engineering (ret)	w	1934, 1938, 1939, 1940	1941
28	bus	Solomon, Richard	1875	57	d	manufacturer (textile?)	w	1935	never
29	bus	Stamp, Sir Joseph	1880	52	d	railway company president	w	1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938	never
30	bus	Tomlinson, Robert Parkinson	1881	51	p	corn merchant	w	1935, 1936, 1937	1938
31	bus	Turner, Wilfred, JP	1880	52	p	worsted spinner	w	1937, 1940, 1941, 1943	1944
32	X	Walton, (William) Sydney	1882	50		journalist	p	1932	never
33	bus	Ward, Joseph	1864	68	d	master cutler	u	1932, 1933	never

Abbreviations

- d director
- m manager
- md managing director
- p partner

Sources

Methodist Recorder, Conference reports each July.

Of the three (Sturdy, Farrow, and Stamp), as may be seen, only Stamp allowed his name to go forward for election to VP. However, despite trying every year between 1934 and 1938 he never mustered enough votes to get elected. Why? He was one of the most prominent public figures in Methodism, frequently reported in the *Methodist Recorder* and often addressing the annual meeting of the Abbey Road Building Society where his friend and fellow Methodist Sir Harold Bellman was managing director. On his home patch, he was a popular layman moving easily between the boardroom of the Bank of England and the chair of a public meeting in one of the Wesleyan chapels or Central Halls of London Methodism. Perhaps his Wesleyan background counted against him because in the first few years of the newly-formed Methodist Church the VP position seems to have rotated between the three parent connexions. The other point to emerge from Table 5 is that by the late 1930s only the most persistent seem to have been elected: Murray tried eight times; Ibberson and Knight, six times. Stamp's chances of emulating Murray were snuffed out when he was killed by a German bomb in 1941.

At any rate, on this simple test the VP position seems to have failed for it signally left some of the most talented and generous Methodists of the 1930s unrecognized by the highest office in the denomination - Sir Harold Bellman, Sir Charles Bird, Sir Henry Lunn, Sir William Mallinson, Joseph Rank, J. Arthur Rank, and Joseph Ward. All were generous, all were wealthy, all were in business, and perhaps it was this last feature which made them suspect among the rank-and-file delegates casting their votes in the Methodist Conferences of that era.

IV. How did the wider membership of the Methodist Church view the status of VP?

Evaluating the status of the VP in the denomination is difficult. One measure is the extent to which the office received esteem in the denominational newspaper. This makes a number of assumptions, not least that status equates with public esteem (which, depending on the holder of the office, it may not); and that esteem is reliably indicated by levels of publicity (when publicity may be inverse to respect). Above all, it depends on the judgement of journalists, editors, and their masters. Nevertheless, it is used here.

If public denominational attention is a proxy for status levels, an appropriate methodology is content analysis.¹⁵ This requires measuring variations over time in the amount of space devoted to a given topic in a particular printed source; and then analysing and comparing contents. Table 6 summarises an exercise in content analysis which spans both PM and Methodist VPs, in the *Primitive Methodist Leader* and the *Methodist Recorder* respectively, between 1910 and the 1980s. It must be emphasised that the sampling is not microscopic, that is every allusion to President or VP is not counted; rather, where whole paragraphs relate to the President or VP they are included.

¹⁵ For this research technique, see for example, Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (2nd edn., Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 2004).

In any case a much more intensive study, sampling more months and more years, is really needed to confirm the following results.'

One conclusion from this preliminary table is that there were significant changes over twentieth-century decades in the publicity given to the Presidents of Conference, compared to that devoted to the VP. As might be expected, the PMs, the most lay-orientated and anticlerical of the nineteenth century Methodist sects, displayed the lowest P/VP ratio. Indeed in the months before the Conference month, the PM President appears to have received no obvious notice whilst the VP attracted some attention.

A second finding is that the relative attention paid Presidents and VPs in the national denominational newspaper varied over the course of twelve months. Naturally, when Conference was sitting, these two officials took leading ceremonial parts. Yet the yearly fluctuations in the P/VP ratio of the PMs and the Methodist Church of 1981 seems similar. In this respect the Methodist Church of 1935 stands out. In all three sample months the two officials and their activities received publicity. At the same time, the relative position of the VP and the President utterly changed to the advantage of the latter.

Third, the percentage change in the amount of space given to the VP was greatest between the PMs in 1911 and the first generation of the Methodist Church in 1935. By 1981 percentage of VP space was close to the 1911 level.

In absolute terms the column centimetres devoted to the VP changed little in the first two of the three sample years: 241 cm in three months (including 176 cm in the Conference month) in 1911; 260 cm in 1935 (187 cm in the Conference month) in 1935. However, in 1981 the VP received 437 cm of attention, all in the Conference month.

What do these comparisons show? Unsurprisingly, the VP like the President received most coverage during the Conference month when their ceremonial duties and addresses or sermons were concentrated at gatherings of ministerial and lay leaders. Over time the shift to a united Methodist Church saw a reduction in the public profile of the VP compared to the President. But these comparisons relate only to space. Content was another matter.

In 1911, during the PM Conference month of June, the VP's activities were described comprehensively: details of nominations and the VP election; the vote of thanks proposed to the retiring VP, James Sivil; a photo of the President and VP and other officials plus another photo of the VP and a profile of the newly elected Tom Fletcher; the VP's address at a Grand Civic Reception in the Cartwright Memorial Hall, Bradford; and details of the Conference Centenary Meeting presided over by the VP.¹⁶ In these proceedings the VP was virtually equal to the President.

In the new Methodist Church in 1935, space was found in the pages of the *Methodist Recorder* to publish matters relating to the VP during all three of the sample months. During May the paper reported George Dymond's activities in chairing the Home Mission May meeting and in conducting engagements on his Spring tour and his

¹⁶ *Primitive Methodist Leader*, 15, 22, 29 June 1911.

Table 6				
Space (in per cent of column cms) given to the President and Vice-President of Conference in the denominational weekly newspaper (excluding obituaries and others than past, present, and next officials) 1911, 1935, 1981				
1911	Primitive Methodist Leader			
	May		June	October
			Conf month	
maximum	7,776		12,528	7,344
space in col cms				
Pres percentage	-		2.5	-
V-P percentage	0.84		1.41	-
Ratio of P/VP	-		1.77	-
1935	Methodist Recorder			
	May		July	October
			Conf month	
maximum	26,752		25,344	21,120
space in col cms				
Pres percentage	0.32		2.94	1.37
V-P percentage	0.23		0.74	0.05
Ratio of P/VP	1.39		3.97	25.13
1981	Methodist Recorder			
	May		July	October
			Conf month	
Maximum Space	17,784		26,208	23,400
Pres percentage	2.54		4.40	2.26
V-P percentage	-		1.67	-
Ratio of P/VP	-		2.63	-

Northern tour.¹⁷ In the Conference month of July, several subjects appeared: Dymond's Concluding tour; a profile and induction of the new VP, Edmund Lamplough; the election of the following year's VP, James Gray, and his profile; and Dymond's address to the

¹⁷ *Methodist Recorder*, 2, 9, 23 May 1935.

Conference Meeting of local preachers.¹⁸ In October the *Recorder* noted Lamplough's visit to Shebbear College and, in an interview, found him a very reticent individual.¹⁹

In 1981, besides the previous year's voting results, the *Methodist Recorder* in the Conference month of July carried a profile of the new VP, David Ensor; a record of his address to Conference; voting results for the following year's VP and a photograph of the person elected, Mrs Pamela Luke.²⁰ In all three years much of the the President's newspaper space derived from reports of his sermons and addresses.

What may be concluded from this investigation of the VP's status? If the national denominational newspaper aimed, by means of space and content, to project what its editor of the day perceived to be the proper status of the VP, then two things seem clear: the VP did not carry the same weight in Conference or in the Districts and Circuits as did the President of Conference; and the VP in the Primitive Methodist polity was relatively more important than he became in the polity of the Methodist Church. Further work would be needed to discover whether, by the late twentieth century, the VP's activities and influence related more to the annual Conference than to the Circuits. Indeed, whether the functions of honour and ceremonial outweighed the role of the VP as a laypersons' voice. At any rate, given the impreciseness and the post- 1932 lowered status of the VP, could it really be expected to attract the most appropriately qualified laypersons?

Did indeed VPs have much scope for either initiating consideration of, or investigating, or commenting upon, topics of contemporary significance? My sampling of three years of the *Primitive Methodist Leader* and the *Methodist Recorder* suggest that they had no such roles that were open to public knowledge. John Lenton's evidence suggests, on the contrary, that they did: 'I think post 1955 some did. My mother, for example, who was General Purposes treasurer for a period post 1978, pushed the theme of the family in worship (before during and after her time in office as VP) and later was instrumental in getting Brian Beck into the Secretary's chair.'²¹

V. What dilemmas of theology and polity undermined the concept of a VP in the Methodist Church?

In 1948, following the year in which he was the 16th VP of the Methodist Church, Victor Murray published a trenchant commentary on the status of the office as he found it. He recalled that in 1932, at the Methodist Union ceremonies in the Albert Hall, so slight was the respect for the Vice-President that neither he, as the last VP of the PM Connexion, nor Sir Robert Perks, the first VP of the new Methodist Church, and indeed

¹⁸ *Methodist Recorder*, 11, 18, 25 July 1935.

¹⁹ *Methodist Recorder*, 3, 31 October 1935.

²⁰ *Methodist Recorder*, 2, 9, July 1981.

²¹ John H. Lenton e-mail to the author, 12 October 2010. See also John A. Vickers, 'Mary Lenton', in Vickers; and Susan Howdle, 'General Purposes Committee' in Vickers, *Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*.

architect of Methodist Union, was initially offered a platform seat. Only his protestations secured a reversal of the situation. Neither then nor since did he perceive any clear understanding of the function of the VP. In 1948 Murray objected most to a VP's chain of office because it was wholly unclear what this might symbolise. His remarks are worth quoting:

The President's gown and Bible are conferred by the Church and are a sign of his authority. Of what authority should the Vice-President's chain be a sign? At present the Vice-President is neither a deputy nor the symbol of any theological position, unless his exclusion from the Ministerial Session is held to mark the distinction between priest and layman. His position at Conference is very nebulous. There is no necessity for him ever to be called upon to preside over a single session. And last year was the first year since Union that the Vice-President signed the Conference Journal, and even then it was doubtful whether he signed it as of right or simply as an act of grace. My own view is that these matters stand in need of definition and that if they are not defined and the position made an office and not simply an honour, the conferment of a chain will be a mere decoration with no significance whatever.²²

Forty years later another appraisal of the Vice-Presidency recorded the persisting dilemmas at the core of the VP position in the Methodist Church, relating particularly to issues of function and authority. David Lindsay, convener of the support committee for the President and Vice-President of Conference to help officeholders prepare for their year, reported that the VP still had no job description: incumbents 'are able to make of it what they will.'²³ Minimally a VP was required to preside at Conference in the President's absence or, by the 1980s, if the President invited the VP to chair Conference. In the forty intervening years one change was notable in offering the potential for specification of function. This was the co-ordinated partnership in 1982 between the President and the VP (Revd Norwyn E. Denny and Mrs Pamela Luke respectively). Later VPs also sometimes fitted their visits to the Districts into the timetable of the President, for one of the expectations was that the VP would visit the Districts and either address or preach at meetings and services. Further inhibiting functional potential was reliance on part-time, unpaid holders of the VP post.²⁴

The authority of the office of VP remained theologically problematic too, as both Murray and Lindsay hinted. Under PM polity the VP position, along with a single ministers-and-laity session in Conference, symbolised the Reformation doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. When the *Methodist Recorder* referred to the President of conference as 'the Chief Pastor of Methodism,' the Revd Dr John T. Watson protested;

²² A. Victor Murray, 'The Office of Vice-President', *Methodist Recorder*, 8 July 1948, p. 4.

²³ David Lindsay, 'Changing Role of the Vice-President', *Methodist Recorder* 22 June 1989, 12.

²⁴ *ibid.*

We still believe, I trust, in the priesthood of all believers; we all delight to honour the person who is elected by Conference to sit in Wesley's chair for a period, but the President remains a Methodist minister and *primus inter pares*.²⁵

Among Wesleyan ministers, however, there was a small minority, members of the Sacramental Fellowship for example, who inclined towards a more sacerdotal view of their clerical status. For them, yoking the VP with the President only served to diminish a priestly role for the Methodist ministry and complicated ecumenical dialogue and potential union with the Church of England. So the office continued as an *ad hominem* honour limited to ceremonial duties with the occasional opportunity to voice lay concerns.

Then, it was charged by the Revd Professor Peter Stephens in 1989, that there were problems relating to the Vice-Presidency because there was insufficient democracy, transparency and accountability built into Conference itself.²⁶ Returning to Conference, he noted the practice of using the first slate of candidates in the vote for the current VP as a list of nominations for the VP designate. This, he declared,

is an opportunity for those who know the system to manipulate the voting for the next few years. An organised group can lobby support for their man or woman; then if he or she gets 10 votes that person is on the list read to Conference. The result is that that person becomes a 'possible' the following year, for Conference members will be reminded of that name in the *Methodist Recorder*. This scandalously undemocratic system should be replaced by one in which nomination by a five or ten people is required, otherwise a minority of the Conference is prepared for decision-making while the majority is uninformed and in effect manipulated.²⁷

Conclusion

What may be concluded about the position of VP in the twentieth century Methodist Church from the evidence of these four tests? In the test of appropriateness of aggregated experience, it was commendable that the median age after 1960 was driven down, responding to some extent to the expanding youth culture of the following decades. It might have been driven down further. Likewise the advance of female participation went some way to keeping up with the sexual revolution in the second half of the twentieth century. Rather more worrying was the introversion suggested by reliance on professional Methodist administrators, active or retired. So too was the paucity of scientists and engineers.

In testing the post for its functional effectiveness as an honour for the Church's leading lay servants, in the 1930s at least, it signally failed. But who was worthy of

²⁵ *Methodist Recorder*, letters, 28 May 1981, 7.

²⁶ *Methodist Recorder*, 22 June 1989, 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

honour? The teaching of Jesus pointed to the first being last and the greatest of all being the servant of all. Perhaps it was too easy to succumb to worldly standards of merit for honour?

The third test is the least satisfactory. The equation of newspaper coverage with readers' esteem is not entirely convincing. However, the test does show that denominational journalists in Primitive Methodism devoted more attention to the VP in relation to that President than did those after union in 1932. To that extent it implied a downgrading of the position and therefore a loss of esteem.

Last, in looking at the underpinnings of function and authority it is clear that the position of VP was ill defined and to that extent weakened. Perhaps the problem was that its scope was too elastic. Was it an honour? Or a ceremonial function? Or a leadership role of substance? Or was it a symbol of the priesthood of all believers? These unresolved matters of authority and function may well have deterred potential candidates. At the very least a wider range of experience may have been recruited if the position was more clearly defined and if there were a number of VPs simultaneously holding it.

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APPENDIX										
Laity in Denominational Leadership: Vice-Presidents of the Methodist Church, 1932-2000										
	Date	Vice-President			DoB	Age at V-P	DoD	Occupation		Location
1	1932	Perks, Sir Robert	bus	22	1849	83	1934	railway manager, retired		London
2	1933	Bourne, Moses	bus	2	1867	66	1941	colliery secretary		Burton-on-Trent
3	1934	Dymond, George Pearse	ed	25	1864	70		headmaster - Plymouth GS		Plymouth
4	1935	Laplough, Edmund Sykes	bus	24	1860	75	1940	Lloyds' underwriter & (former?) steamship owner		London
5	1936	Gray, James	bus	16	1876	60	1948	ferro-concrete manufacturer and contractor		Renfrewshire
6	1937	Foot, Isaac, Rt Hon	leg	25	1880	57	1960	solicitor		Plymouth
7	1938	Tominson, Robert Parkinson	bus	23	1881	57	1943	miller & corn merchant		Poulton-le-Fylde
8	1939	Holden, Sir Isaac Holden	bus	13	1867	72	1962	worsted manufacturer		Southport
9	1940	Clegg, William Ernest	bus	24	1871	69	1951	insurance co manager		Leeds
10	1941	Rochester, Lord (Lamb, Ernest Henry)	bus	22	1876	65	1955	transport contractor (retired)		Croydon
11	1942	Ibberson, Herbert	bus	25	1880	62	1959	solicitor		Barnsley
12	1943	Nightingale, Charles Thomas	bus	25	1876	67	1961	solicitor; insurance company director		Edinburgh
13	1944	Turner, Wilfred	bus	13	1880	64		worsted spinner		Bradford
14	1945	Knight, Sir George	bus	23	1874	71	1951	draper (Williams & Hopkins) (retired)		Bournemouth
15	1946	Soper, Richard John	bus	23	1878	68		timber merchant		Barnsley

16	1947		Murray, Albert Victor	ac	25	1890	57	1967	emeritus prof of Education, Hull U; Pres, Cheshunt Coll	Cambridge
17	1948	f	Lewis, Mrs Mildred Clarissa	home	home	1886	62	1982	widow of David Lewis JP (1878-1942), ironfounder	Bilston
18	1949		Stead, John Arthur	bus	12	1883	66		razor blade mfr, Sheffield	Sheffield/ Hathersage
19	1950		Towson, Clifford William, PhD	ed	25	1889	61	1963	headmaster - Woodhouse Grove	Pudsey, Leeds
20	1951		Pawson, Henry Cecil	ac	25	1897	54	1978	professor of Agriculture, Newcastle U	Newcastle-upon- Tyne
21	1952	f	Farrar, Sister Dorothy Hinckman, PhD	cler	25	1899	53	1987	deaconess and academic: Vice-Principal, Wesley Deaconess College	Ilkley
22	1953		Kay, Leslie Ward MB ChB	med	25	1901	52		medical practitioner	Sheffield
23	1954		Chester, Harold Guylée	bus	24	1887	67	1973	Lloyd's underwriter	London, Muswell Hill
24	1955		Jessop, Thomas Edmund	ac	25	1896	59	1980	professor of Philosophy, Hull U	Hull
25	1956		Blatherwick, Douglas Pursey	bus	25	1909	47	1973	solicitor	Newark-on-Trent
26	1957		Race, Philip H	bus	25	1916	41		lawyer	Lincoln
27	1958		Gibbs, John Morel	med	25	1912	46	1996	psychiatrist and academic	Penarth
28	1959		Coulson, Charles Alfred, PhD	ac	25	1910	49	1974	professor of Mathematics, Oxford U	Oxford
				Avge			61.4			
				St dev			9.5			
Laity in Denominational Leadership: Vice-Presidents of the Methodist Church, 1932-2000										
	Date		Vice-President			DoB	Age at V-P	DoD	Occupation	Location
1	1960		Thomas, Thomas George, Lord Tonypany	pol	27	1909	51	1997	schoolmaster	Cardiff
2	1961	f	Lonsdale, Mrs Marjorie Walton, PhD	ed	25	1915	46		school headmistress	Southport
3	1962		Creed, Albert Lowry	ed	25	1909	53		headmaster - Kingswood	Bath

Laity in Denominational Leadership: Vice-Presidents of the Methodist Church, 1932-2000										
	Date		Vice-President			DoB	Age at V-P	DoD	Occupation	Location
4	1963		Nash, David Foot	leg	25	1902	61		solicitor	Plymouth
5	1964		Brown, Douglas Vernon	bus	24	1926	38		estate agent and insurance broker	Doncaster
6	1965	f	Webb, Miss Pauline Mary	media	26	1927	38		writer and broadcaster	London
7	1966		Bailey, Albert	bus	23	1901	65	1976	shopkeeper	Chadsmoor, Staffordshire
8	1967		Backus, Percy L, MD	med	25	1892	75		consultant psychiatrist	London
9	1968		Blake, John C	leg	25	1901	67		solicitor and Civil Servant	London
10	1969		Leese, Kenneth J T, MB ChB	med	25	1923	46	2001	medic	Bury, Lancs
11	1970		Hindmarsh, W Russell, DPhil	ac	25	1929	41	1973	professor of Physics, Newcastle U	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
12	1971		Kellaway, John W	bus	24	1912	59	2009	regional bank director, Midland Bank	Southport
13	1972		Souster, Howard, MRCS	med	25	1919	53	2004	medical missionary	Ipswich
14	1973		Miller, John Ireland	leg	25	1912	61		solicitor	Poole
15	1974		Armstrong, Ernest	pol	27	1915	59		MP; ex-headmaster	Bishop Auckland
16	1975		Cockell, William A	bur	25	1915	60		youth worker: MAYC Connexional Secretary	London
17	1976		Bennett, Cyril J	bur	25	1913	63		Financial Secretary, Methodist Missionary Society, 1954-75	Surrey
18	1977	f	Waterhouse, Mrs Esther M, MB BS	med	25	1908	69	1995	medical practitioner	London?
19	1978	f	Lenton, Mrs Mary I	ed	25	1913	65	1998	teacher	London
20	1979		Welch, Patrick W	bus	12	1927	52		steel shelving manufacturer	Birmingham?
21	1980	f	Moult, Mrs Elsie	home	home	1920?			housewife	Scotland, Arbroath

Laity in Denominational Leadership: Vice-Presidents of the Methodist Church 1932-2000									
	Date		Vice-President			DoB	Age at V-P	DoD	
22	1981		Ensor, David	bus	18	1924	57		managing director, Croydon Advertiser Group Croydon
23	1982	f	Luke, Mrs Pamela	ed	25	1929	53		teacher; wife of Chairman of Cornwall District (retired) Bodmin
24	1983		Lang, Paul Gordon Bartlett	bus	24	1931	52		secretary, Joseph Rank Benevolent Trust Reigate
25	1984	f	Lunn, June Elizabeth	ed	25	1928	56		teacher; wife of Chairman of Bristol Methodist District Bristol
26	1985		Murray, Leon	cftsman	7	1938	47		toolmaker Telford
27	1986	f	Knighton, Anne Mary	ed	25	1934	52		teacher (died in office) Cardiff
28	1987		Burrell, Derek William	ed	25	1925	62	1999	headmaster, Truro School Truro
29	1988	f	Carpenter, Jennifer Mary	pol	27	1940	48		town planner Sheffield
30	1989		Hindmarsh, John Bryan	bus	24	1933	56		Lloyds Bank manager, Penrith Penrith
31	1990	f	Wass, Rosemary	bus	1	1948	42		farmer (organic); trained as radiographer Kirbymoorside
32	1991		Weekes, Ivan	bur	25	1930	61		Methodist Secretary for Racial Justice Notting Hill
33	1992		Marshall, Edmund Ian PhD	ac	25	1940	52		lecturer in management science, Bradford U Wakefield
34	1993	f	Howdle, Susan Ruth	leg	25	1948	45		bamster Leeds
35	1994	f	Walters, Sister Christine	cler	25	1943	51		Warden Methodist Diaconal Order London
36	1995	f	Bristow, Stella Georgina	bur	25	1942	53		secretary of Methodist Network Charbury
37	1996	f	Pickard, Janice Mary Sutch	bur	25	1944	52		editor, Connect magazine Manchester/New Mills
38	1997		Checkland, Michael	media	26	1936	61		Director-General of the BBC Horsham, Sussex
39	1998	f	Parker, Margaret	socw	25	1939	59		counsellor/supervisor of counsellors Manchester
40	1999		Thornton, Brian	bus	18	1939	60		CEO, Methodist Publishing House Peterborough
41	2000	f	Williams, Elizabeth Eluned	ed	25	1935	65		NCH residential social worker (retired) Dolgellau, Gwynedd
				average			53.2		
				st deviation			6.5		

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND LECTURE 2010

Welcoming members and Friends of the Wesley Historical Society to Methodist Central Hall on Saturday 26 June 2010 on behalf of the ministerial team, the Revd Gordon Newton provided an introductory survey of the vibrant ministry of this Methodist mission at the heart of the capital almost a century on from its opening in 1912. Paul Moynihan, Visitor Services Manager and Archivist and his predecessor, Richard Ratcliffe, then led an informative guided tour of the building revealing many aspects of its history and archival resources.

After lunch in the Conservatory, the President, the Revd Dr John A. Newton then took the chair for the society's Annual General Meeting, which approved the society's revised constitution and the society's accounts, appointed officers for 2010-11, paid tribute to members who had died and received reports on the wide-ranging activities and publications nationally and regionally during the year. The President thanked the retiring officers, including Mr E. Alan Rose for his devoted thirty-year service as Editor of the society's *Proceedings* and Mr Roger Thorne, the long-serving former Branches Secretary and welcomed Professor Michael Collins who was elected to the new role of Regional Historical Societies Liaison Officer. Dr John A. Hargreaves, the General Secretary, in his report, referred to the independent recognition of the contribution to the understanding of Methodist history by three distinguished octagenarian members of the society, two of whom, the Revd Dr John A. Newton and Dr John Vickers had recently been the recipients of festschrifts and the third of whom, the Revd John Munsey Turner, was about to publish a volume of his collected essays on historians and theologians in dialogue. He also announced details of the society's residential conference at Launde Abbey, Leicester on 3-5 May 2011 exploring the theme of 'Memorializing and Remembering: Life stories in Methodism' [enquiries to david.hart@methodist.org.uk].

After opening worship, the Revd the Lord Leslie Griffiths of Penbury, Chair of the Methodist Heritage Committee took the chair for the society's Annual Lecture by the Revd Robin P. Roddie, Hon. Archivist of the Wesley Historical Society in Ireland. His subject of 'Keeping the Faith: Ireland's Primitive Methodism' was ground breaking and illuminating. For almost ninety years after John Wesley's death a branch of Methodism in Ireland uniquely perpetuated a form of Methodism modelled on Wesley's design for his Connexion maintaining close links with the Established Church. The lecturer explained how under the Revd Adam Averell, an Anglican ordained deacon, and an influential lay leadership, the 'Church' Methodists established a rival Methodist connexion throughout Ireland, complete with preaching houses, an itinerancy and a sophisticated home-missionary arm. Indeed, only following Disestablishment in Ireland in 1869 and the failure of the original Methodist-Anglican 'conversations' of 1870-71, did the Primitive Wesleyan Methodists unite with the Irish Wesleyans in 1878, though a remnant continued within Anglicanism into the twentieth century.

Next year's Annual Meeting and Lecture will be held at the national Gladstone Memorial Library at St Deiniols, Hawarden [www.st-deiniols.org] on Saturday 25 June, 2011, when the lecturer will be Dr Eryn White of the University of Aberystwyth and her subject 'Wesley, Whitefield and Wales'. Participants will have the opportunity to discover more about Methodism in Wales and its borders and view the large Nonconformist and religious history collections at this remarkable library with optional overnight accommodation; advanced booking is essential for this event [enquiries to Dr John A. Hargreaves, 7 Haugh Shaw Road, Halifax. HX1 3AH; johnahargreaves@blueyonder.co.uk].

JOHN A. HARGREAVES

**WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL LECTURE
SATURDAY 25 JUNE 2011
THE GLADSTONE LIBRARY, HAWARDEN, FLINTSHIRE**

The Annual Lecture and AGM of the Wesley Historical Society for 2011 will be held at The Gladstone Library at St Deiniol's, Hawarden, Flintshire CH5 3DF on Saturday 25 June. The Annual Lecture will be given by Dr Eryn White, Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Aberystwyth on the subject 'Wesley, Whitefield and Wales'. Specializing in the history of religion, education and society in eighteenth-century Wales, Dr White is the author of *The Welsh Bible* (2007) and co-author of *Calendar of the Trevecka Letters* (2003). Her lecture will focus on the impact of Wesley and Whitefield on Wales. By the time of the Religious Census of 1851, Calvinistic Methodism had become the largest Nonconformist denomination in Wales, with Wesleyan Methodism in fourth place after the Welsh Independents and the Baptists. Both John Wesley and George Whitefield had links with the leaders of Welsh Methodism in the early years of the Revival and both visited the country on several occasions. On the occasion of his first visit, Wesley commented that Wales was 'ripe for the gospel'. Yet Wesleyan Methodism struggled to reap the harvest of the Revival. In the year of the bicentenary of the founding of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in 1811, it is worth examining again how the Calvinistic and Wesleyan groups competed in Wales and why it was the Calvinistic Methodists who proved most influential.

The Gladstone Library, founded in 1894 by William Gladstone (1809-98) in the north Wales village of Hawarden is the only national library in the UK commemorating a British Prime minister and is recognised as Britain's finest residential library. It

includes Gladstone's vast personal library, much of which he transported to the site from his home by cart and wheelbarrow, supplemented in the century since his death by numerous acquisitions including a particularly extensive collection of books on religious history. Our meetings will take place in the chapel and as accommodation will be limited for this event we are requesting that those interested in attending reserve places in advance, by contacting the General Secretary by 1 May 2011, which will also assist catering provision. It will also be possible for anyone who wishes to stay overnight in the comfortable residential accommodation at the library to book overnight accommodation on the Friday and/or the Saturday at attractive group rates, with plenty of opportunities to view the permanent Gladstone Exhibition and the Library. Bookings for overnight accommodation should be made directly with the Library as soon as possible making it clear that you will be attending the WHS event [The Gladstone Library, St Deiniol's, Church Lane, Hawarden, Flintshire CH5 3DF].

For both residential and day visitors on arrival tea and coffee will be available for purchase from 10.30 am. After opening devotions at 11.00 a.m., the Revd Donald H. Ryan will introduce the morning's programme with a twentieth-century perspective on Methodism in Wales and at 11.30 a.m. Mr E. Alan Rose will speak about the history of Methodism in Cheshire and the Welsh borders. At 12 noon there will be a break for lunch, which may be purchased in the Cafeteria, and opportunities to view the exhibition and library. There will be no charge for the day's programme but an offering will be taken at the Annual Lecture to cover expenses. The Annual General Meeting chaired by the Revd Dr John A. Newton will begin at 12.45 pm, to conclude no later than 2.15 pm. The Annual Lecture, chaired by Mr Lionel Madden will begin at 2.30 pm, to conclude no later than 4.00 pm. Further details of the meeting will be available on the Wesley Historical Society website [www.wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk] and of the venue on the Library website [www.st-deiniols.com/]. Further enquiries about the Annual Lecture should be addressed to Dr John A. Hargreaves, 7 Haugh Shaw Road, Halifax. HX1 3AH (Tel. 01422 250780; E-mail: johnahargreaves@blueyonder.co.uk).

JOHN A. HARGREAVES

THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY: ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION, 1893-2010.

From the founding of the Wesley Historical Society in 1893 until 1950 the Society was run very effectively without a formal written constitution. The origins of the Society go back to around 1888 and George Stampe (1836-1918) who owned and ran a successful timber merchant's in Grimsby.¹ He was a Wesleyan, an avid collector of books, letters, pamphlets and portraits relating to John Wesley and early Methodism. The idea of forming a Wesleyan historical society began when George Stamp wrote to *The Methodist Recorder* floating the idea of an historical society. He seems to have had only two replies; one from Charles D. Hardcastle (1824-1903) of Leeds and Joseph. B. Leslie (1846-1898) of Morley who both became founding members of the Society. George Stampe, undeterred by the sparse response, talked to the Revd Richard Green (1829-1907), the Governor of Didsbury Wesleyan College, Manchester, of the desirability of starting a Wesley Historical Society similar to the American model.² Having listened to the idea Richard Green responded: 'What's to be done must be begun'.³ In a letter dated 20 June 1893, Richard Green wrote the following to about twenty people: 'My Dear Sir, Having resolved to form a Methodist Historical Society, I have drawn up the accompanying rules. Will you oblige me, first by making any alterations in them, and secondly by informing if you will become a member'. The objects of the Society were then outlined.⁴ Richard Green with the help of the Revd Dr Richard Waddy Moss (1850-1935) and George Stampe drew up the following 'Programme' or 'Prospectus' for a Methodist Historical Society which, in effect, was an elementary form of a constitution.

METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE OBJECT OF THE SOCIETY TO BE:

- To promote the study of the History and Literature of Methodism.
- To accumulate exact knowledge of all subjects bearing on the same.
- To provide a medium of intercourse on all questions relating to the above.

MORE PRECISELY:

1. To aid in obtaining exact Lists of – (1) Works by J. and C. Wesley; (2) by other Members of the Wesley Family; (3) Works by Ministers and Laymen; (4) Works relating to Methodism; (5) Lives of the Wesleys; (6) Local Histories

¹ John A. Vickers (ed.), *Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2000).

² *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 7 (1910) 145ff.

³ *ibid.*, vol. 6 (1908), 64.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. 24 (1945), 26ff.

of Methodism; (7) Anti-Methodist Works; (8) Works relating to the Divisions of Methodism; (9) Portraits of the Wesleys and eminent Methodists – paintings and engravings.

2. To encourage the writing of Local Histories of Methodism and Methodist Buildings.
3. To seek a solution of historical and other difficulties relating to the Methodist Church. To register information respecting the location of portraits and other paintings, valuable Methodist books, letters, manuscripts, relics &c.

METHOD OF WORKING:

Manuscript journal or journals to be circulated by post amongst the members. Journals to be written on 4^{to} paper, and forwarded post-paid within four days by each member to the next member on the list. The Journal to pass twice round the entire number of members (the form), and then to be preserved by the Secretary. For each section a secretary or steward to be appointed, who shall tabulate the information in his own section.

MEMBERSHIP:

The *one condition* of membership to be the contribution of a least two pages of information and enquiries, every time the Journal is received. If two or more Journals be circulated, the members shall be divided into as many sections each member being required to write only in the Journal belonging to his own section. But every member is urged to seek and add any information he can in reply to any inquiries made. There will be an initial charge of One Shilling to defray expenses and provide suitable paper. It is not expected that any other subscription will be needed.⁵

Members of the society were committed to receiving a manuscript journal which was an exercise book that Richard Green started to circulate amongst the 24 founding members in 1893. In this first 'stiff backed exercise book', Richard Green wrote an address to the members and an article on 'Some portraits of John Wesley'. The circulation of the manuscript journal was, in effect, the founding of the Methodist History Society and made Richard Green the founding father and first President, also making Didsbury Wesley College, Manchester, the birthplace of the Society.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. 6 (1908), 65ff.

The Manuscript Journal.

Members were committed to writing at least two pages of information on an aspect of Methodist history or interest and to add or reply to enquiries. By 1913 there were four journals in circulation.⁶ The members paid a subscription of one shilling a year. When the Revd Dr William F. Moulton (183598) of the Leys School, Cambridge, one of the founding members, who had written an article in the journal on *The Wesleyan Hymnbook*, found the pressure of work prevented him from contributing to the journal he suggested to Richard Green that he be allowed to become an honorary member which would not require him to write in the journal, but would allow him to read it. He offered to pay ten shillings a year for the privilege. Richard Green saw this as an opportunity to raise money for the society which would underwrite the publications of sections of the journal. In the autumn of 1895 the two types of membership were established, the 'Working Members' who continued to write in the journal and the 'Honorary Members' who were allowed to read the journal without the requirement of contributing any articles. The manuscript journal which was the first project of the Society continued until pressure of other work brought the journal to an end in 1931.⁷ It was announced at the 1933 Annual Meeting that: 'The circulation of the manuscript journal had been in abeyance for some time. It was also felt that it would not be worthwhile to try to revive it and the distinction between Working and Honorary Members should cease'⁸ In the 1950 Annual General Meeting of the Society the Revd Wesley F. Swift (190061) announced that there had been enough interest shown to justify the 'resuscitation of the manuscript journal'. The meeting appointed Revd John C. Bowmer (19112000) as the manuscript journal secretary⁹ Eventually the manuscript journal ended.

The First Annual Meeting

The first meeting of the Methodist Historical Society was held in 1894 during the time of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Birmingham. The first item on the agenda was to decide what the Society should be called. The name Wesley Historical Society was adopted and although there have been suggestions that the Society should revert to the earlier name of Methodist Historical Society this has been resisted. When the 2010 constitution was being reviewed the change of name to the Methodist Historical Society was suggested, but by a large majority vote, the Executive Committee recommended to the AGM that the name of the Society should continue to be the Wesley Historical Society.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. 9 (1913), 15ff.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. 24 (1950) 34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 19 (1934), 71.

⁹ *ibid* 1943 Volume 27 p. 162

The first officers of the Society were President Revd Richard Green, the Editing Sub-Committee: Revd Richard Green and Revd R Waddy Moss. The Treasurer, Revd George Stringer Rowe (1830-1913) and the Secretary Revd Frederick M. Parkinson (1851-1947)

The Proceedings

The first issue of the *Proceedings* appeared in 1897 and it has continued in print, without a break, until the present day. The manuscript journal and the *Proceedings* ran alongside each other from 1897 to about 1932 and then again in the 1950s. Many of the more important entries in the journal were, as Richard Green had envisaged, printed in the *Proceedings*. Volume 1 Part 1 of the *Proceedings* was ‘Privately Published’ and printed for the Society in 1897 by B. Moore, Burnley. It had a blue cover and contained 32 pages. The layout of the front cover is very similar to the present issues of the *Proceedings* except that there was no logo. Although the logo does not appear on the front cover until volume 27, part 1 (March 1949) it did appear on the back cover from volume 5, part 1 (1905). The heading on the first issue was *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, volume I, part I. Its contents included:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| Annual Meeting, 1896 | Mr. George Stampe. |
| List of Local Histories | Revd. R. Green. |
| Scripture Playing Cards | Dr Moulton. |
| The Wesleyan Hymnbook | |
| Notes and Queries (there were 22 of these). | ¹⁰ |

The Index

The first index for the *Proceedings* was compiled by Francis M. Jackson (died 1905) of Bowden for volume 3 and there has been an unbroken run of indexes to volume 56 with an index being prepared for volume 57. In 1928 Leslie T. Daw (1905-82) of Birmingham compiled *A Skeleton Index to the Publications IIV and Proceedings vols I–XVI*. In 1960 a *General Index to the Proceedings, vols. IXXX and Publications 1897-1956 compiled by John A. Vickers* was published. This was followed by the *General Index to the Proceedings, vols 31-50 and to Book Reviews in vols 2650, compiled by John A. Vickers* (c. 1998). The Society is presently looking into the possibility of putting the whole index of the *Proceedings* onto the Wesley Historical Society website.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. I (1897).

Publications

From the beginning of the Wesley Historical Society, one of its major aims has been to publish documents of primary importance. In 1896 the first publication was John Bennet's copy of the *Minutes 1744*. This was followed in 1897 by *Articles of Religion, prepared by order of Conference of 1807*. The next was *Mrs Susanna Wesley's Conference with her Daughter*, 1898 and in 1899 an *Index to Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley* was produced. The Society continues to produce important occasional publications, a full list of which may be viewed and copies purchased on the Wesley Historical Society website.

The Annual Lecture

The Annual Lecture was inaugurated on Wednesday 25 July 1934 during the Methodist Conference at Leicester. The lecture was held at Bishop Street Methodist Church, Leicester, when the Revd Dr. Henry Bett MA, (18761953) of Handsworth College, Birmingham, spoke on 'The Early Methodist Preachers'. The Chairman was the Revd John Telford BA (18511936), the President of the Wesley Historical Society. Since then there has been an annual lecture held either at the time of the Methodist Conference or in conjunction with the Annual General Meeting.¹¹

The Library

The library was created mainly from the bequest of books and other materials from the estate of the Revd Francis Fletcher Bretherton BA (18681956) a founder member and former President of the Society. The library was housed in the crypt of Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, and was opened on the 3 April 1959. The event was opened in prayer by the minister of Wesley's Chapel, the Revd Max W. Woodward (190196). The Secretary, the Revd Dr Frank Baker (191099), introduced the chairman, Mr W. Sydney Walton CBE MA BLitt (18821964), who spoke appreciatively of the life and work of the late Revd Francis Fletcher Bretherton. Mr Frank O. Bretherton formally opened the library. The Librarian Mr Leslie E. S. Gutteridge (19142000) displayed the first volume which was a bound copy of the writings of the Revd Francis Fletcher Bretherton's which had originally appeared in the *Proceedings*. The event was brought to a close by the President of the Wesley Historical Society, Revd Lamplough Doughty BA BD (18811966).¹² In 1972 the library was moved to Epworth House, City Road, London and then to Southlands College, Wimbledon. In 1992 the library was transferred to Westminster College, Oxford, and is now housed at the Oxford Centre for Methodism

¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. 19 (1934), 177.

¹² *ibid.*, vol. 32 (1959), 38ff.

and Church History, Oxford Westminster Institute of Education, Oxford Brookes University.

Exhibitions and Displays

At the invitation of the Revd E. Aldom French (1868-1962) and the members of the Methodist Union Committee, representing the three uniting churches, was the first major exhibition that the Wesley Historical Society was responsible for. It was arranged to celebrate the 1932 Union of the Wesleyan, United Methodist and Primitive Methodist Churches to create the Methodist Church. The exhibition was in three sections. First, in the Benson Room in Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, there was an exhibition of important artefacts from Mr Edmund S. Lamplough's (1860-1940) collection. Second, in the Board Room of the Methodist Publishing House, City Road, London there was an exhibition arranged by the Connexional Book Steward, the Revd Edgar C. Barton (1873-1953) (and the Connexional Editor of *The Treasures of the Publishing House and the Connexion*). Finally, in Wesley's House, City Road, London, there was a display of relics and artefacts that were associated with Wesley's life and ministry.¹³

Over the years the Society and its officers have been involved with mounting exhibitions and displays in conjunction with the Annual Methodist Conference and other events. The more recent exhibitions have been arranged by the Revd Donald H. Ryan, including for the re-opening of Wesley's Chapel on the 1 November 1978; the National 250th anniversary of the conversion of John Wesley, held in 1988 at the Potteries Museum, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent; the 2003 Methodist Conference exhibition held at Springdale Methodist Church, Wolverhampton and the 2009 Methodist Conference exhibition held in the Bantock House Museum, Wolverhampton.

The Branches

The autonomous Irish Branch has been affiliated to the parent Society since its formation in 1926.¹⁴ The first 'local branch' was formed in East Anglia in 1958. There are now regional Methodist Historical Societies in Bristol, Cornwall, Cumbria, East Anglia, East Midlands, the Isle of Man, Lincolnshire, London and the South East, North East England, North Lancashire, Scotland, Shropshire, the West Midlands and Yorkshire. There is a Society being considered for Wales. Each regional society is autonomous, but is loosely associated with the Society. The regional societies choose their own names, arranges lectures, events and pilgrimages. They also publish a journal or bulletin and have extensive libraries and archives, many of which are housed in libraries or

¹³ *ibid.*, vol. 18 (1932), 182ff.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, vol. 17 (1929) 76 & 167.

universities. One of the valuable principal aims of these societies is to research Methodist origins and development in their own areas.

Residential Conferences

In July 1973 the first World Methodist Historical Society Regional Conference was held at Wesley College, Bristol, with just over 50 people attending.¹⁵ The conference theme was 'Methodism in its Cultural and Evangelical Setting'. The success of this conference was the inspiration for a World Methodist Historical Society (British Section) conference which was held in July 1975 at Kingsmead College, Selly Oak, Birmingham. The 1982 Wesley Historical Society Annual General Meeting created 'a new office of Conference Secretary' and since that time the Society has arranged residential conferences at regular intervals.

Website

With the growing importance of the World Wide Web, in 2003 the Society established its own web page: www.wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk. The Revd Donald H. Ryan was appointed Webmaster.¹⁶ The site has been developed and its scope extended to 11 pages with more planned. The most recent page is dedicated to the *Proceedings* which has abstracts of all articles and notes of all book reviews from volume 51. There is a list of all publication still in print with an order form. One page gives details of how to join the Society and has an application form for membership.

Electronic Version of *A Dictionary of Methodism In Britain and Ireland*

In April 2007 the Wesley Historical Society Executive received a request from Dr John A. Vickers, editor of *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*, asking if the Society would put an electronic version of the dictionary on the website. After receiving further information from John Vickers the Society agreed in 2008 to host the dictionary. A separate page was created by Stephen Vickers with a search facility. New entries and additional information and pictures are regularly being added to the dictionary. The 2010 Executive meeting received a request from John Vickers asking the Society to take over the responsibility for maintaining and developing the dictionary. The 2010 AGM agreed to change the status of the dictionary from being hosted by the Society to being fully responsible for the maintenance and development of the dictionary. The meeting also agreed to appoint an editor for the electronic *Dictionary of Methodism*

¹⁵ Ibid 1977 Volume 38 p. 191 & 1977 Volume 41 p. 32

¹⁶ Ibid 2003 Volume 54 p. 120

in Britain and Ireland and a system manager for the electronic *Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*.

Constitution

The first official Constitution of the Wesley Historical Society was proposed by Revd Frank Baker (191099) in March 1950. He printed the proposed constitution which had the headings: Objects, Publications, Membership, Privilege of Membership, Branches, Offices, Executive Committee, Annual Meeting, Gifts. The constitution was approved at the AGM on 19 July 1950. At the 1960 AGM the constitution was amended to create the office of Librarian and to give guidance to the administration of the newly opened Wesley Historical Society library and the gifts it had received. It gave authority to loan items to other bodies such as the three prints that were displayed at the Epworth Old Rectory. The Constitution was further amended in 1981 to conform to the requirements of the Charity Commissioners and so allow the Society to become a registered charity. To meet the changing activities of the Society and regularise the transfer of the library from Southlands College, London, to Westminster College, Oxford and the 'Sharing Agreement', dated 28 July 1982 a new constitution was approved at the AGM held at Springdale Methodist Church, Wolverhampton in 2002. The new constitution clarified the relationship between the Wesley Historical Society and the local branches and widened its scope by adding the other continuing Wesleyan and Methodist Connexions to those Methodist sections, which were reunited in 1932.

The following constitution was unanimously passed by 24 members at the Annual General Meeting on 26 June 2010 at the Methodist Central Hall, Westminster. This latest constitution clarifies the activities of the Website and the electronic *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*. It allows for the creation of new officer posts and subcommittees. For two years the Wesley Historical Society has hosted the electronic *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland* on its website. The constitution commits the Society to 'maintain and develop' the dictionary and to appoint an editor to work with John A. Vickers, the editor of the printed and the electronic versions of the dictionary. The new editor will eventually take over the complete editorship. A new System Manager will be sought to look after the IT side of the electronic Dictionary. The new constitution makes clear the direction of the Society for the foreseeable future.

DONALD H. RYAN,
Wesley Historical Society
Registrar/Administrator
July 2010

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONSTITUTION OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Approved at the Wesley Historical Society Annual General Meeting 26th June 2010
12.45pm held at Methodist Central Hall Westminster, London SW1H 9NH

Wesley Historical Society Members attending 24.

Vote In favour 24. Against none. Neutral none.

1. PREAMBLE

The Wesley Historical Society was founded in 1893 in order to promote the study of the history and literature of early Methodism. Over the years the range of its interests has been enlarged to include the history of all the sections of the Methodist Church which were united in 1932, other Wesleyan and Methodist Connexions and United Churches which include former Wesleyan or Methodist denominations. In the pursuit of these interests it has published its Proceedings periodically, since 1959 has administered a reference library and from 2008 has hosted A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland

2. OBJECTS

The advancement of the education of the public in connection with the history of Methodism (which history is hereinafter referred to as the Special Subject). In furtherance of this object but not further or otherwise the Society shall have the following powers:

- (a) To provide and preserve books, manuscripts, other documents in any medium and artefacts relating to the Special Subject or some aspect thereof and to provide facilities for the study or display of the same.
- (b) To promote conferences, public lectures or pilgrimages and an Annual Lecture given by an acknowledged authority on some aspect of the Special Subject.
- (c) To publish the *Proceedings* of the Society three times a year or at such other intervals as the Executive Committee may determine and occasional Publications on the Special Subject.
- (d) To raise, invite and receive contributions from any body, person or persons whatsoever by way of subscription, donation, grant or otherwise, providing that the Society shall not undertake any permanent trading activity in raising funds for its purposes.
- (e) To encourage, support and advise Regional Methodist historical societies and those wishing to form one; to keep in touch with them, report their activities and list their Secretaries in the *Proceedings* and on the Society's Website through the "Regional Methodist Historical Societies Liaison Officer", providing that the Wesley Historical Society shall not assume or have any financial or other responsibility for these societies.
- (f) To maintain a Website to promote the interests, activities and publications of the Society and the Regional Methodist Historical Societies.
- (g) To maintain the on-line version of *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*

3. GIFTS

The Society shall also be entitled to receive, at its discretion, whether by way of gift or bequest such books, manuscripts, other documents in any medium, portraits, pictures, ceramics,

artefacts or articles as shall appear to the General Secretary, the Administrator and the Librarian to relate to the Special Subject or some aspect thereof. An accession register to record all gifts shall be maintained and a security copy of the accession register maintained and kept off site. All objects shall be marked or labelled with accession numbers

4. LIBRARY

By a Sharing Agreement dated the 28th Day of July 1992 and in July 2007 a 'Legal Agreement' with the Westminster College Oxford Trust Ltd and Oxford Brookes University, the Society's Library is currently housed at The Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History, Westminster Institute of Education, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford and is available, subject to the Library rules of the Society and of Oxford Brookes University for study by members of the Society, the staff and students of the University, as well as by such members of the public as may be approved by the Society's Librarian.

5. A DICTIONARY OF METHODISM IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In 2000 *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*, edited by John A. Vickers, was published by the Epworth Press. Since then John A. Vickers has continued to edit an Electronic version of the Dictionary. The Electronic version of the Dictionary includes the revised version of the printed edition plus extensive new and updated entries. From 2010 the Society has accepted the responsibility for maintaining, revising, and adding new entries to the Dictionary. A copy of a letter from the Methodist Publishing House giving John A. Vickers permission to use the material in the printed version of the Dictionary in the electronic version is in the archive of the Society. So that the Dictionary can be maintained and developed the Society shall appoint an editor and a system manager. If the Society decides to discontinue maintaining the Electronic Dictionary the Society will use its best efforts to find another organisation or person that will be willing to take over the responsibility. In the first instance the Methodist Archives and Research Centre at the University of Manchester John Rylands Library shall be given the opportunity of taking over the responsibility for the continuing development of the Dictionary.

6. MEMBERSHIP

Any person or body may be admitted to membership of the Society, without previous nomination, upon making such subscribing in respect of annual, or periodical, membership as shall have been determined by the Annual General Meeting, notice whereof shall have been published in the *Proceedings*. Where two people sharing the same address wish to be members one may be an associate member at a reduced subscription rate. An associate member shall not receive a separate copy of the *Proceedings* but in all other respects have the rights of a member including the right to vote at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting

7. PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERSHIP

All members other than associate members are entitled to one free copy of the *Proceedings* of the Society as issued, and may purchase extra copies and back numbers, if available, at reduced rates. Subject to editorial approval any member may insert historical notes or queries in the *Proceedings*, and these entries shall be made without charge. All members are entitled to attend the Annual General Meeting of the Society and any lecture, conference, event or pilgrimage organized by the Society.

8. OFFICERS

The Society shall be served by honorary Officers appointed at each Annual General Meeting, the Annual General Meeting having power to appoint from time to time such of the following as it shall deem desirable

President,
Registrar,
Editor,
Librarian,
Publishing Manager,
Conferences Secretary,
Distribution Manager
Webmaster
Independent examiner of accounts

Members of the Society may submit nominations for the election of officers to the Society by giving notice in writing to the General Secretary at least fourteen clear days before the Annual General Meeting

9. ELECTED MEMBER

There shall be an 'Elected Member' for the purposes of section 11 below, elected by the Annual General Meeting to serve for a period not exceeding three years and not immediately re-electable. Members of the Society may submit nominations for the election of the 'Elected Member' by giving notice in writing to the General Secretary at least fourteen clear days before the Annual General Meeting.

10. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

An Annual General Meeting open to all members of the Society shall be held at a time and place agreed by the Executive Committee. At least three months notice of the Annual General Meeting shall be published in the *Proceedings* or sent by post to every member at his/her or their last recorded address.

11. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee shall meet annually prior to the Annual General Meeting and at other times as deemed necessary. The constitution of the Executive Committee shall be the Officers appointed under section 8 above, with the exception of the President Emeritus and the independent examiner of accounts, together with the Elected Member and the World Methodist Historical Society (British Section) Secretary, if a member of the Wesley Historical Society.

12. SUB COMMITTEES

The following sub-committees shall be constituted and meet as required: Library Committee, Publications

Committee (Special Publications), Editorial Board (*Proceedings*). The Library Committee shall consist of the Librarian, General Secretary, Assistant Librarian, Treasurer and any other person(s) appointed by the Executive Committee. The Publications Committee (Special Publications) shall

consist of the Publishing Manager and 4 persons appointed by the Executive Committee. The Editorial Board (*Proceedings*) shall consist of the Editor, Assistant Editor, Bibliography Editor, General Secretary, Administrator and one other person appointed by the Executive Committee. The Annual General Meeting may appoint other sub-committees as necessary

13. SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

A Special General Meeting may be convened by decision of the Annual General Meeting or the Executive Committee to expedite the business of the Society. The Special General Meeting shall have the same powers as the Annual General Meeting. At least fourteen days notice must be published in the *Proceedings* or sent by post to every member at his/her or their last recorded address.

14. QUORUM

Ten members shall be a quorum at an Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting.

15. CONSTITUTION

The Constitution may (subject as hereinafter provided) be amended by a two-thirds majority of the members present at an Annual General Meeting or Special General Meeting provided that fourteen days notice of the amendments intended to be proposed shall have been published in the *Proceedings* or sent by post to every member at his/her or their last recorded address and further provided that nothing herein contained shall authorise any amendment which might cause the Society to cease to be a charity at law.

16. DISSOLUTION OF THE SOCIETY

In the event of the dissolution of the Society the Westminster College Oxford Trust Ltd shall be offered the ownership with the responsibility for the ongoing maintenance of the Library. Any assets remaining after satisfaction of all the Society's debts and liabilities shall be used to endow the Library. Should the Westminster College Oxford Trust Ltd not wish to receive the Library and the endowment, the Society shall, upon recommendation by the Executive Committee, resolve in Special General Meeting to dispose of the Library and the Society's assets to such charitable or educational body registered in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as will be best able to fulfil the Object of the Society.

26 June 2010

Donald H Ryan
Administrator

Wesley Historical Society

Wesley Historical Society Conference

3 – 5 May 2011



Memorializing and Remembering: Life stories in Methodism

About the theme.....

Life stories and biography have always been important in Methodism. From the earliest volumes of John Wesley's *Arminian Magazine*, the lives and deaths of preachers, class leaders, members and their families have been recorded, often as exemplars of holy living and holy dying, as well as memorials to the more materialistic contributions they made to Methodism.

About the programme.....

The keynote speakers include:

Peter Forsaith from Oxford Brookes University will be introducing us to the newly digitised sources of Methodist magazines and newspapers held in the WHS library.

Gareth Lloyd, the Methodist archivist at the John Rylands University of Manchester Library will present a paper, 'In the Shadow of the Founder: Methodist memorialization of John Wesley'. Barbara Prosser will talk about Wesley's *Arminian Magazine*, Clive Field will talk about collective biographical sources and their research potential and Professor Peter Ackers will explore the biography of Hugh Clegg.

In addition, there will be range of shorter presentations given by conference members ranging from an exploration of the Methodist oral history project, the reflections on Methodist family history by a museum curator and much more.

How to book

Complete the booking form enclosed with this edition of the *WHS Proceedings* and send it, with your cheque for £165 per person, to:

The WHS Conference Organiser

38 Northumbria Drive

Henleaze, Bristol

BS9 4HP

Places are limited, and early booking is strongly advised.

The Venue

The Conference will take place at the Launde Abbey Retreat Centre, East Norton, Leicestershire, LE7 9XB. Standing in 450 acres of parkland, the Abbey is the conference and retreat centre of the Anglican dioceses of Leicester and Peterborough. Following a major modernisation programme in 2010, all rooms are en-suite and are provided with hospitality facilities. There are rooms for those who are disabled and there is full mobility access throughout the centre.



Launde is 45 minutes drive from Leicester and about 15 minutes by taxi from Oakham station. If you require a taxi to meet you from a specific train, please inform the Conference organiser.

The cost of the conference, with full board from afternoon tea on 3 May to lunch on 5 May will be £165.

BOOK REVIEWS

American Saint: Francis Asbury and the Methodists, by John Wigger. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 543. Hardback. £27.50. ISBN 978-0-19-538780-3).

Of the making of books on Methodists there seems no end, yet Francis Asbury has been a conspicuous exception. Why? Saint or not, he played the pivotal role in establishing and nurturing Methodism in the early years of the American republic, and under him the denomination grew rapidly. However, his authoritarianism, combined with a rigid regime of self-denial, makes him a rather dull subject, largely lacking in human interest. John Wigger, an American historian, now has pointed his pen in Asbury's direction.

Asbury was born near Birmingham in 1745. Following a few years of rudimentary schooling he was employed as a labourer in metal works in the Wednesbury area, which he left in 1766 to begin Wesleyan circuit preaching. The only English annual Conference he ever attended was at Bristol in 1771, where John Wesley called for further men for America. Within a month, Asbury sailed from Bristol and never saw England or his parents again. His arrival in America was greeted with the muffled drum-beats of revolution. Like the Wesleys themselves, most Methodists opposed the American cause; indeed, all the preachers from Britain spoke out against it and returned home. All but one: Asbury stayed, yet fell silent, living for two years in seclusion. However, he refused to swear official loyalty to the patriot cause and never became an American citizen. From the outset, Asbury maintained that the church should have as little to do with politics as possible. In his own life he lived that principle.

Asbury accepted the rugged and ragged emotionalism of the frontier revivals which marked extraordinary growth in American Methodist numbers. He was an enthusiast for enthusiasm and did not share the concern of some of his fellow preachers regarding these excessive manifestations, which reached their highest pitch during the prolonged camp meetings of the early 1800s: jerking, shrieking, groaning, barking, shouting, shaking, wailing. However, like Wesley, he himself never experienced these 'exercises'. The introduction of Methodists into America's religious landscape brought a major change: hitherto, religious leadership, whether Anglican, Presbyterian or Independent, had been university-educated; but the new Methodists shunned formal theological training, and Asbury was instrumental in scuppering plans for a permanent Methodist college. Revivalism spread 'Methodist culture' across much of the nation.

The formal organisation of American Methodism had a decidedly bumpy beginning. In 1784 Wesley began to ordain preachers for America – his first ordinations – and commissioned Thomas Coke to travel there and to ordain Asbury a joint Superintendent (with Coke) to administer the American work. However, Coke announced that he had come to ordain Asbury 'a Christian bishop', in the process implying that Coke also was a 'bishop'. As Wigger says: it was clear to the American Methodist preachers 'that they

were establishing an episcopal polity completely independent from the Church of England, and, ultimately, from Wesley himself' (p. 114). 'How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called Bishop?' (p. 161), Wesley wrote in the last letter Asbury ever received from him.

In any case, 1784 marked the formal beginning of the 'Methodist Episcopal Church', and Asbury, whose work was his wife, tirelessly continued to travel for the next thirty years, repeatedly presiding over the ever-increasing number of annual Methodist state conferences. Never a persuasive public speaker, he published nothing of note. It was his steely control over his itinerant preachers that maintained his authority, and he effectively saw off each of the numerous attempts by others to 'democratise' the denomination's administration. Another cause of tension during these formative decades was American Methodism's attitude towards black slavery. At the outset, Asbury followed Wesley's outspoken abhorrence of the practice, a position the new church bravely proclaimed. Yet over the years it became clear that if Methodism was to grow, especially in the southern states, it would have to modify its position. This it did, and by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century Asbury's firm anti-slavery stand of the 1780s had transmogrified:

Would not an *amelioration* in the condition and treatment of slaves have produced more practical good to the poor Africans, than any attempt at their *emancipation*?

Wigger addresses the problem of the paucity of Asbury source material by expanding the book into 'a collective biography of those Asbury knew best, mostly the itinerant preachers under his control' (p. 13). This produces some interesting stories, and Asbury's resulting frequent disappearance from the stage is understandable. Facilitated by a decent index, this biography serves better as a source for revealing the lives of many lesser players than as a sharply-focused treatment of Asbury. Wigger's portrayal of Thomas Coke is revealing, showing him to have been a man of gadfly enthusiasms who flitted off to England and the West Indies with bewildering frequency and who finally erased himself from the American picture. Coke was, Wigger rightly says, 'an interloper in America' (p. 215).

The book is longer than it needs to be. Often there are several quotations from different sources saying exactly the same thing. In addition, we are sometimes told more than may be deemed necessary. Referring to 'Quarterly meetings', Wigger feels obliged to add that they 'met every three months as the name implies' (p. 59). A reference to the Channel Islands is followed by '(located in the English Channel off Normandy)' (p. 289). And the interesting, if unexpected, question of whether sentiment has totally fled the lives of American historians is raised by Wigger's statement that a couple 'exchanged frequent letters, as was typical in the romances of the time' (p. 236).

The book is exhaustively researched and richly detailed, underpinned by 100 pages of notes, yet the lack of a bibliography is regrettable. The writing is adequate, if rather pedestrian and lacks flair. It occasionally can be tin-eared, as with the following: one

preacher ‘was attacked by two men who nearly dislocated both of his shoulders. In January 1778, he married and located, but continued to preach locally’ (p. 117). If copy editors no longer exist, authors must learn to do the job themselves. This would also have caught a direct contradiction: ‘Wesley saw conversion as a vocation, not a one-time event’, but thirteen lines later that ‘like conversion, Wesley believed that sanctification was based on “a simple act of faith”, and therefore could be an instantaneous event occurring at almost any point in a believer’s life’ (p. 30). Or caught a misspelling, such as ‘publically’ (p. 52), or an incorrect choice of words, such as ‘mitigated against’ (p. 54). However, such blemishes, albeit irritating, are minor and infrequent.

Thoroughly broken in health, Asbury died in 1816, to the end pushing himself as hard as he pushed his men. Towards the close of this book, Wigger writes a reasoned, balanced and far from uncritical evaluation of his subject’s career, yet ends it by rather undermining that balance: ‘If ever there was an American saint, it was Francis Asbury’ (p. 417), and by calling him a ‘Christ-like figure’ (p. 404). One wonders how Christ-like it was for Asbury to write to his grieving erstwhile colleague that perhaps Coke’s wife had died because Coke had ‘loved her more than God’ (p. 392). By his constant presence and single-minded perseverance, Francis Asbury should certainly be respected and even admired. Whether this elevates him to sainthood – American or otherwise – perhaps should be left to a higher authority than mere historians to determine.

BOYD STANLEY SCHLENTHER

Wesley and Methodist Studies, vol. 1. Edited by Geordan Hammond and David Rainey (Didsbury Press, 2009, pp. 96, £8.00, ISBN 978-0-9552507-1-2).

Wesley and Methodist Studies sets out to make available recent research in the said field, and in so doing the editors have succeeded in attracting some thoroughly insightful additions to the academic debate surrounding prominent eighteenth-century Methodists, not least of all John Wesley.

Henry Rack’s, ‘A man of reason and religion?’ is an impressive opening essay to the journal, and is an even-handed analysis of what has become a fairly contentious topic. Rack convincingly demonstrates how Wesley used enlightenment philosophy and adapted it so that it could be applied to Christianity. Rack’s section on reason, empiricism and the ‘spiritual senses’ is particularly revealing, demonstrating how, if people would consider the possibility of a spiritual sense, John Locke’s empiricism can be easily applied to evangelical religion. It is, of course, a big step for anyone to take; one might even call it a leap of faith, but if one can begin to understand Wesley’s viewpoint, as Rack certainly appears to, then everything seems to fall into place. This is perhaps the greatest achievement of Rack’s article: it allows us to see into Wesley’s mind, and

discover a new way of looking at empiricism. The article as a whole lends weight to David Bebbington's argument that Evangelicalism was Christianity's response to the Enlightenment. Far from being a knee-jerk reaction to it, Evangelicalism was actually shaped by its intellectual and cultural context. The only conclusion one can come to, if one is to follow Rack's reasoning, is that Evangelicalism was, in essence, enlightened Christianity.

D. R. Wilson's article, 'Thou shalt walk with me in white', is an important addition to the current scholarly literature on Mary Fletcher (*née* Bosanquet). Wilson brings some very interesting insights into her views of salvation history and their impact on her ministry. Perhaps the most notable quality of this article is that it manages to bring together strands of Bosanquet's thought concerning ultimate salvation, and various visions which Bosanquet received over the course of her life. Wilson then links these in with Bosanquet's views of her ministry and indeed that ministry's success. Particularly relevant here was her interpretation of the 'double portion' which Elisha prayed for in the Old Testament. She seemed to interpret this as two portions of revelation, one intellectual, the other spiritual; the spiritual one being an ability to speak with those saints now in glory. She related this to her visions of her late husband, John Fletcher of Madeley. It was these visions, Wilson claims, which allowed Bosanquet to continue in her ministry in the parish of Madeley for thirty years after Fletcher's death. Surely another instance of the proclivity of Methodism to veer off into enthusiasm? If there is one critical comment to make it is that this article leaves the reader with a strange sensation that there is so much more to Bosanquet's life and theology which has remained untouched. It is almost an injustice to confine it to such a small piece, and so this may be an opportunity to call for an updated academic biography of Mary Bosanquet.

One more article really seemed to stand out amongst the rest in this first volume of *Wesley and Methodist Studies*; that by Joseph Cunningham on pneumatology. Perhaps the reason it stood out was that it challenged, to a large degree, the perception that Wesley was indeed the 'reasonable enthusiast', as Rack terms him. Indeed, Cunningham even goes so far as to call Wesley's response to a letter by John Smith on pneumatology as 'seemingly sub-rational' and 'bewildering for a man whose theological method is supposedly shaped by the authority of reason'. This is a bold statement to make, especially given Rack's article in the same volume which so convincingly argues *for* Wesley's rationality. In fact, Cunningham even contradicts Rack calling him, albeit indirectly, someone who doesn't take empiricism seriously, purely because he allows for a spiritual realm in addition to mainstream *physical* empiricism. Whatever our view on Wesley's rationality, one thing is clear: either the editors of this volume have presented it so as to give a balanced view on Wesley's rationality, and promote debate on the subject, or they have made a very surprising *faux-pas* in putting Rack's and Cunningham's articles side by side.

Overall, therefore, this journal's ability to provoke further debate is perhaps its greatest quality. It shows great promise and, this first volume set a high standard. *Wesley*

and Methodist Studies is a promising new venture, and should complement the long running *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*.

CHRIS S. ADAMS

Sarah Biller of St Petersburg: A Sheffield Teacher in 19th Century Russia, by John Dunstan (York: William Sessions, 2009, pp. 150. Paperback, £8.99. ISBN 978-1-85072-399-8).

This book tells the story of Sarah Biller, the eldest daughter of Alexander Kilham of Epworth, the founder of the Methodist New Connexion. It helps to expand the study of the children of Dissent in an earlier issue of this present *Proceedings* (vol. 57, no. 4 (February, 2010), p 155). Sarah was born in her mother's home, but lost her father at the tender age of nine. She joined her step family at Sheffield and with them also the Quakers. She had interests in St Petersburg, and in 1819, following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, relocated there herself.

Sarah Biller's main work was in education and she was a disciple of the Lancastrian system. With state support, Sarah remained at her work in the capital. For a time she was associated with a charismatic congregation in St Petersburg, which also had leanings towards Congregationalism. While in St Petersburg, Sarah was involved with many charitable organisations, including the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was probably through her work with that society that she met her husband, but the marriage was only to last for six years as a result of William Biller's premature death in 1838. Sarah did not remarry, and the direct Kilham line was to die with her as a consequence. Eventually, Sarah returned to England in 1850 and ended her days at Evesham in 1852. The book concludes with an account of the St Petersburg work after her days. Like her father, Sarah was a pioneer with an indomitable and resolutely independent spirit.

This is a carefully researched book, and the author has taken great pains to track down relevant sources. While he freely admits the weaknesses of some of those sources in places, the book is a genuine labour of love. So while there are certainly some loose ends in the work, its reading has been an illuminating and delightful journey.

GILBERT D. BRAITHWAITE

Prim. Aldershot: an account of the Primitive Methodist Mission in Aldershot and the surrounding areas and its links with the Army by Margaret A Collier and Rosalind M. Sherwood (Stoke-on-Trent: Tentmaker Publications, 2010; pp. viii, 302, £15.95, ISBN 978-1-89900351-8).

[Obtainable from the authors at: Aldershot Methodist Church, Herrett Street, Aldershot, GU12 4ED. Cheques payable to: Aldershot Methodist Church]

Methodism abounds with local histories, sometimes of quite small village chapels and their congregations. These are our equivalent of parish church guidebooks, with the significant difference that the Anglican focus is usually on the building and its architectural development, with little if any attention to the people who formed its congregations or held office there.

The present book, therefore, joins a numerous and worthy company, and fully deserves an honourable place there. For one thing, it is a very substantial bound volume, attractively produced and pleasant to handle; no mere pamphlet here. For another, it is the fruit of very painstaking research, written up in an attractive and very readable way: a labour of love for which the authors deserve to be commended.

The book has many more specific virtues. For one thing, it focuses on Primitive Methodism (a welcome change from blinkered preoccupation with the Wesleyans) and fleshes out the existing accounts of that denomination, which are predominantly connexional in scope. From time to time the authors draw attention to ways in which the Prims sought to return to the original Methodism (open-air witness, lay participation, etc.) from which nineteenth-century Wesleyans were distancing themselves more and more. Well into the new century there were parts of the country still largely untouched by Methodism. The northern parts of Hampshire were one example in the rural south and this is the story of how the Prims set about colonising the area.

The story is set in a wide context, exploring the heroic efforts by which Primitive Methodism put down roots in rural parts of Wiltshire and moved from there across the county border into northern Hampshire. Hardship and local hostility (often from Anglican quarters) were the lot of the pioneer itinerants, at a time when Wesleyan ministers were courting respectability. Another strength: the detailed account of how the Prims established their work in Aldershot and adjacent villages is not treated in isolation from the wider social history of the time, but presented against its wider background. The 1850s saw the beginning of the transformation of a village on the Hampshire/Surrey border into the headquarters of the British Army. Population growth, urbanisation and other features of Victorian society, and in the case of a garrison town the transient nature of the military population, were among the factors that influenced the Church's mission. The development of work among the soldiers who passed through the camps receives detailed treatment. The Wesleyans were, of course, also at work among both the military and civilian populations. The role of significant individuals

laymen as well as ministers, women alongside men is fully acknowledged, and some of them are included among the illustrations, since we have reached the era of photography.

Fittingly, the last two chapters deal with the negotiations that led to Methodist Union in 1932 and its aftermath - the effect of Union on the Primitive Methodist mission in the town. The book is to be warmly commended, not least for what it adds to our knowledge, both local and more general, of grass-roots Methodism, healthily distanced from the 'corridors of power', yet at the same time heavily reliant on connexional support. The weakest feature of the book is a very poor index. Both the book and its authors fully deserved a much better one.

JOHN A. VICKERS

The Altar's Fire: Charles Wesley's Hymns on the Lord's Supper, 1745 Introduction and Exposition, by Daniel B. Stevick. (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2004, pp. 276. Paperback. £19.99. ISBN 0-7162-0586-6).

Methodists all over the world celebrated the 300th anniversary of the birth of Charles Wesley in 2007. Yet, if Charles had had his way, distinct Methodist denominations would never have existed. He was loyal to the Church of England to his dying day, and remained very much in the theological tradition of the Caroline divines. His intense attention to every aspect of the divine drama of the Eucharist should have put him among the ranks of the early eighteenth century non-Jurors, but any suspicion of Jacobite sympathies would surely have completely negated his ministry, just as it destroyed those of many of the non-Jurors themselves. The year before 'Bonnie Prince Charlie's' invasion of England had seen Charles suspected of Jacobite sympathies and interrogated by a magistrate; his brother, by contrast, penned a fulsome tribute to the king, George II.

First published in 1745, this was the context of Charles Wesley's, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* which are replete with ideas that in the immediate past had been aired solely by non-Jurors and their sympathisers. Publication posed a problem to which the Wesley brothers found an ingenious solution. Much of the ideology behind the hymns had been expounded before 1688 when the non-Jurors had first emerged, and the Wesleys could plausibly marry the collection of hymns to the choicest of these expositions: *The Christian Sacrifice and Sacrament*, published in 1673 by Daniel Brevint (161695). The heavy influence of John Johnson and the so called 'Usager' group of non-Jurors on the Wesley brothers has been well documented. In self-protection they removed this influence from the record, and to avoid inconsistency they mentioned *no* other authors.

But it is clear from the hymns that some of them lack any link to *The Christian Sacrifice and Sacrament*. Geoffrey Wainwright observed an alternation between sequences of hymns which follow Brevint closely, and stretches that do not. He pondered whether some other unidentified sources were being massively exploited. As John Bowmer has already noticed, the 'Usagers' undoubtedly constitute one of these sources. Two of the liturgical uses entirely absent from Brevint's work are the *epiklesis*, the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements, and the mixture of a little water with the wine. These innovations figure prominently in several of Charles Wesley's hymns. As Frank Baker has observed, Charles Wesley 'made no attempt to write a verse paraphrase of Brevint, or even of John's abridgement; but took his own direction'. Another example of this is Wesley's constant emphasis on the Holy Spirit, whom Brevint hardly mentions.

The Altar's Fire is a detailed commentary on the *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, which is largely devoted to teasing out links with *The Christian Sacrifice and Sacrament*, with relatively little attention to other influences. So to this extent it is inevitably blinkered. Yet it is a labour of love, with the noble aim of reviving an aspect of the Christian's devotional life which is totally alien to most modern Methodists. Sadly, it is unlikely to achieve this aim. One reason is that, unlike Rattenbury, Stevick does not include the full text of the hymns. Fortunately, this has recently been reprinted by the Charles Wesley Society. Another is the impracticability of developing a strongly Eucharistic piety alongside the arrangements for worship in most Methodist churches. In the eighteenth century the non-Jurors were unique in making Holy Communion the main service every Sunday morning. It is evident that the Wesleys aspired to this, but found it impossible to achieve it alongside their insistence on the presidency of an episcopally ordained priest. Today, it is Anglican churches influenced by the Parish Communion movement in which Stevick's message might find sympathetic ears.

PAUL BURNHAM

NOTES

We are pleased to welcome the following new members:

Rev Derick Chambers BA	Kenilworth
Miss Carol Hartley	Banstead
Rev Peter Jennings MA	Llandudno
Professor David J Jeremy	Whaley Bridge, High Peak
Mr Clive M Norris MA Msc	London
Ms Lynne Oliver	Preston.
Mr John P Tuck MA	Ducklington, Oxfordshire

We send our sympathies to the families of the following who have died.

Professor William R Ward FBA	Petersfield
Rev Kenneth Tibbetts	Prestatyn