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TRAVELLING PREACHERS AND LAY POPE: THE CASE OF R.M. MACBRAIR

FOREMOST among the lay dynasties of Wesleyan Methodism were the Pococks.¹ They reigned in London and the Home Counties, men of property and piety, with alliances in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Their Methodism was at once traditional and living. It had begun (prompted by his wife) with William Pocock (1750-1835), the master carpenter, who was in at the building of City Road and was visited by John Wesley. It flowered with William Fuller Pocock (1779-1849), the master carpenter's gentleman architect son, and it was in its prime with Fuller Pocock's sons, William Willmer (1813-99) and Thomas Willmer (1817-89), the former an architect and the latter, when his health permitted, a surgeon. Here were professional men with good practices, their prosperity confirmed by sensible marriages and shrewd property development. Fuller Pocock was known in the secular world for carefully angled books on *Rustic Cottages... Villas etc* and *Modern Finishings for Rooms*.² He was known in the religious world for Centenary Hall on Bishopsgate (1839-40). W. W. Pocock stamped the secular world with Carpenters' Hall (1876-77), whose master he became in 1883, and he stamped the religious world with Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle (1861), for whose name he claimed the credit.³ When he died an age died with him or so the *Methodist Recorder* felt as it looked back on men like Pocock, London's lay popes, 'strong, well-to-do laymen' whose 'spirit of lay masterfulness lived long and died hard':

¹ The Pococks are the subject of C. Binfield, "Architects in Connexion: Four Methodist Generations", in Jane Garnett and H.C.G. Matthew eds: *Revival and Religion since 1700*. 1993

² *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages... Villas etc.*, 1807, 1819; 1823; *Modern Finishings for Rooms*, 1811, 1823, 1837.

³ Extracts from some Reminiscences of William Willmer Pocock, Architect, p. 14. RIBA Mss.

In that atmosphere Mr. Pocock's father lived; and he himself was born and bred in it. That explains some of the lines he once took.⁴

Yet mid-Victorian Methodism owed much to such 'Connexional' men as W.W. Pocock and his brother. If Surrey's 'Methodist Wilderness' had any Wesleyan flowers in it at all it was 'very largely because of the works, gifts and pleading of the Brothers Pocock'.⁵ Theirs was a lay Methodism. They nurtured local preachers. They kept travelling preachers in their place.

W.W. Pocock. was a keen, perhaps hard, critic of sermons; but he delighted in old-fashioned truths preached earnestly. Straight talk rather than the quotation of poetry was his choice. The local preacher was less likely to be strongly criticised than a Professor of Theology, a Doctor of Divinity, or a popular orator, especially if by any chance he thought – rightly or wrongly – that they did not stick to Wesley's Notes and the Fifty-three Sermons as closely as they should, and as the fathers did in the days of his youth.

There can be no doubt that if Mr. Pocock had been a member of the Committee for the examination of candidates for the ministry, some would have found the sieve finer than they expected. He would have applied tests that might have troubled many aspiring souls. He certainly would not have been satisfied with a declaration of an inward call. He was of the cult that believes that if a man thinks himself called to preach, and can find only few who wish to hear him preach, he ought to decide that the inward call was misunderstood... Somehow his heart did not glow at its warmest towards young folks, especially young ministers. But it was very warm for the local brethren, and in latter years it melted with reference to others, especially for Home Mission workers and Army men.⁶

Doubtless that mellowing and its antecedent exasperation owed something to the facts that Pocock had a clerical uncle, two clerical brothers-in-law and a clerical nephew and that such men can be social lightning conductors. In Victorian Nonconformist families it was the ministers who were the most consistent agents of social mobility. Of Pocock's four close clerical kinsmen two were Anglican, one was Wesleyan and the fourth was Wesleyan turned Congregationalist. Each illustrates the force of family connexion although it is on the fourth that this paper will concentrate.

⁴ *Methodist Recorder*, 21 September, 1899.

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid*

The two Anglicans, George Pocock (1788-1875) and Frederick Pearce Pocock (1819-89), were father and son. They were certainly patterns of social consolidation. George was the only brother with whom Fuller Pocock maintained close contact. He was a shrewd man of property who had not been implicated in the financial collapse which engulfed Fuller's other brothers and his interests in Leyton, Bloomsbury and Sussex enabled him, when he took Anglican orders, to buy the advowson of Hailsham and then to exchange it for that of St. Paul's Marylebone. His wife preferred his property to his piety. In W.W. Pocock's dry recollection:

Mrs. George in early life had determined two points for her future guidance, first, that she would not have a clergyman for her husband, and second, would not live in the country. The die once cast she could not alter the abandonment of the former, but she now after a good many years, had the opportunity of securing the latter.⁷

Mrs. George Pocock's liking for a London life was passed on in godly measure to her clerical son (who was W.W. Pocock's brother-in-law), Frederick Pearce Pocock, editor of Bowdler's *Theological Essays* (1844), in the shape of forty years of metropolitan chaplaincies and curacies.⁸ These issued in the social security of a medical son in North Kensington and a daughter who married into Mincing Lane.

For W.W. Pocock's Wesleyan nephew there was to be no such English consolidation. Thomas Willmer Pocock Jr (1846-1929) was the heir to Glenridge, the delicious property near Virginia Water which Fuller Pocock had turned from a summer lodge to the capacious family house set in 120 acres. From Glenridge the elder T.W. Pocock set about his duties as a county magistrate and planned his strategies for Wesleyan chapel extension. All this was jeopardised by his eldest son's determination to become a Methodist missionary. The younger Pocock served in South Africa from 1876 to 1893 when he became a supernumerary. He pioneered as an army chaplain in the Zulu campaign of 1878-79 and, although Glenridge would be given up, his marriage at the war's conclusion into a family settled in Cape Colony since 1820 opened up the prospects for a South African Glenridge.⁹

That sort of social colonialism was echoed more conventionally when the younger T.W. Pocock's younger sister, Maud Mary (1859-

⁷ W. W. Pocock, *In Memoriam William Fuller Pocock FRIBA 1779-1849*, priv. p. 51. A clergyman by 1827, when he was at Bedfont, he was at Arundel by 1833, Hailsham by 1840 and St. Paul's Chapel, Marylebone by 1846. He officiated at the marriage of his niece Anna Fanny Pocock to George Goldsmith, barrister, and of his niece Harriet Pocock to his son Frederick Pearce Pocock.

⁸ For F.P. Pocock (1819-89) see F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, 1908, (1965 edn).

1936), married Samuel McAulay (1856-1920) of Aylesby, near Grimsby. By most reckonings Mary was marrying into a prosperous, commerce-backed, farming enterprise with all the makings of an agricultural dynasty: her husband became a magistrate, high sheriff and deputy lieutenant, and only war put paid to longer-term hopes. But Sam McAulay was a Wesleyan minister's son and their meeting was engineered by one of the Brothers Pocock's weightiest minister friends, Sam's 'wicked old uncle', Alexander McAulay, former President of Conference, Secretary of the Home Mission Department and an indefatigably and literally travelling preacher.¹⁰

The McAulay connexion was gratifying. Like the ancestral meetings with John Wesley it could enrich family love. Yet the relationship with ministers in full connexion was not an easy one. W.W. Pocock recalled that although his father spoke sparingly on ministerial conduct in the pulpit he commented freely on their conduct 'in the government and secularities of the Church'.¹¹ It has been already noted that W.W. Pocock was always more of a local preachers' man and that his brother was alarmed at his elder son's decision to minister overseas.¹² Was it that the travelling ministry was an order, a married Society of Jesus? Certainly Fuller Pocock regarded it

as little short of a miracle that so large and variously endowed a body of men should maintain such close union, uniformity of doctrine, and purity of character for so many years after the death of the founder of their system, and considering it the strongest possible proof of the presence of God with them that from year to year, amidst circumstances of disappointment... they should submit to be stationed in their respective circuits by the voice of their brethren.¹³

⁹ Revd. Thomas Willmer Pocock (1846-1929) married Fanny Matilda Kidwell of Burghersdorp (b. 1853). They had ten children and were settled at Fort Beaufort from 1893. A letter from T.W. Pocock to a Hampstead uncle (10 February 1900, in the possession of his great niece Mrs. R. M. Dunk of Sheffield) is a significant reminder that Dissenters and Little Englanders were by no means synonymous. Pocock played his part in the consolidation of South African Society. When he and Fanny returned to South Africa at the end of their wedding tour they were accompanied by Walter Gurney (b. 1853), the Old Millhillian brother of the fiancée of Pocock's brother Percy. Gurney's business had just failed, he had married without telling his family, and he had been declared bankrupt. In South Africa this redeemed remittance man prospered, became Auditor-General and was knighted in 1918. Pocock's Zulu War service is mentioned in O.S. Walters, *Soldiers and Preachers Too* n.d., (c. 1906), p. 244.

¹⁰ (Grace Hunter), *Maud Mary McAulay: A Memoir*, 1939, p. 32. For Alexander McAulay (1818-90) see also W. Sampson, *Rev. Alexander McAulay As I Knew Him*, 1893. The McAulay-Pocock marriage led to further clerical connexions when their daughter, Grace McAulay, married Leslie Stannard Hunter (1890-1983), son of the famous Congregational minister, John Hunter (1848-1917), and Bishop of Sheffield from 1939 to 1962.

¹¹ *In Memoriam*, p. 61.

¹² Grace Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹³ *In Memoriam*, p. 59.

The career of Fuller Pocock's son-in-law, Robert Maxwell MacBrair (1808-74), tested the miracle to its limits, illustrating the tensions within the ministry as agency of social mobility. The rest of this paper concentrates on him.

MacBrair is not a big name. There is no Connexional obituary, because he died outside the Connexion. He surfaces in a few chapel histories as a name and occasionally as a correspondent yet he was a man of parts whose sanctified energies took him to Africa, whose denominational credibility secured him increasingly responsible spheres of service and whose drive was allied to the administrative abilities so necessary for successful church extension.

MacBrair was a Scotsman, educated at Edinburgh University, 'where he gained some important prizes'.¹⁴ He was a Wesleyan preacher from 1833, first in Africa, then, from 1838, in Britain. He ceased to travel in 1855 and from 1856 to 1868 he was a Congregational minister with stated pastorates in London and Sheffield. His missionary career, as encapsulated by the *Evangelical Magazine*, was usefully path-breaking:

He... went abroad and studied modern languages. Having offered his services to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, he was sent to Western Africa as linguist, to grapple with one or more negro tongues. He soon succeeded in forming a grammar of the Mandingo, and translating the Gospel into the same language. He also drew up a sketch of the Foolah language (the most difficult of African dialects, and previously unknown to Europeans), which has lately been published by the Admiralty.¹⁵

The missionary on furlough, moving in deputation from pulpit to pulpit was a standard excitement in a Victorian chapel's life. He is easily discounted since he had to tell what the missionary society wanted him to tell and what countless local missionary auxiliaries expected to hear and the chasm between the realities of the mission field and the expectations of the missionary society boardroom was hard to bridge. Yet the task he performed in enlarging horizons, in bringing quaint customs, strange words, the taste of myth and ritual and language and culture to thoroughly ordinary home communities cannot be overstated. Hence, no doubt, the pot-boiling air of some of MacBrair's publications.¹⁶ In such ways Methodist families knew strange places intimately. Sometimes they associated that knowledge with commercial possibilities, even with political reali-

¹⁴ *Evangelical Magazine*, 1855, p. 600; quoted in *Cambridge Chronicle*, September 1855.

¹⁵ *Ibid*; his *Oeuvre* included his translation of St. Matthew's Gospel (Isal' Anjilo, kila Matti... Mandinga Kangoto, 1837); *A Grammar of the Mandingo Language*, c. 1842; *Grammar of the Fulah Language* [ed. E. Norris from Ms by R. M. MacBrair], 1854.

ties. Sometimes they kept it in separate compartments. Either way their consciousness steadily grew. Chapel life was a training in the larger imperialism.

It was also training in earthy domestic politics. MacBrair's British years as a circuit minister coincided with the golden age of Wesleyan disruption. He travelled in eight circuits between 1838 and 1855: Caernarvon, Newark, Portsmouth, Rochester, Sheffield Carver Street, Nottingham Halifax Place, Edinburgh Nicolson Square and Cambridge Hobson Street. That was a respectable progression, its prospects greatly enhanced by his marriage on 30 July 1839 to Mary Anne Fuller Pocock (1812-1901). One cannot imagine a sounder connexion for a youngish minister with his way to make, whose experiences so far had been restricted to Africa and Caernarvon.

That year Conference stationed MacBrair in Newark, whence Mary Anne wrote to her father eleven months later. It was a chatty letter with its manse-eye view of health ('I have been very poorly ... Do you want any more pills?'), the missionary anniversary ('the old men wept like children'), the prospect of a jaunt to Edinburgh when Conference met at Newcastle, and provincial distrust of London Wesleyan pretensions as shaped by the 'really magnificent' new Centenary Hall,

'...the front as white as alabaster and forming a striking contrast with the smoky buildings which surround it'...but all descriptions end with the remark that it is 'too fine for the Methodists'. Of course I always defend the Londoners without saying *who I am*..¹⁷

There was also a strong hint of Wesleyan Conservatism:

There is plenty of democracy in this place, but religion does not flourish amongst it. A knot of blue ribbons and the *Patriot* newspaper are the badges and password of the mobility.¹⁸

Mary Anne had her Scottish jaunt, with Edinburgh, Stirling, the Trossachs and all the sights, while her husband did his duty at Conference, speaking up on the establishment's side during a Sheffield-initiated debate on the proper connexion between

¹⁶ *Sketches of a Missionary's Travels in Egypt, Syria, Western Africa 1839; The Africans at Home, being a popular description of Africa and the African condensed from the accounts of African travellers from the time of Mungo Park With maps and ... Illustrations*, 1861, 2nd. ed. 1864.

¹⁷ Mary Anne MacBrair to W.F. Pocock, 26 June 1840, *In Memoriam*, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Newark's M.P. in 1840 was W.E. Gladstone, under the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle, a nobleman for whom the farthest right was too far left. Blue was the Whig colour and *The Patriot* was a Dissenting journal, and the "mobility" was the mob, even in ducal Newark.

Sheffield's Wesley College and Conference. MacBraith's view was that college already had as much connexion with Conference as was good for it, and debate turned thereafter on the uses of a pulpit gown.¹⁹

Newark was followed by Portsea and there Mary Anne's health collapsed. Come Spring 1841 she was unable to stand, or to wash herself. She was very thin and had great pain in her left thigh. Her sister, Harriet, who later married their first cousin, F.P. Pocock and so had a life of London parsonages ahead of her, had to come down to take charge, reporting to Trevor Terrace on what she found in the Prince George Street manse, with Robert off to Salisbury on mission work, leaving Mary Anne with 'a young servant-girl. So what could have been done, had I not been allowed to come, I cannot tell'. Still, she approved of Robert MacBraith:

I am delighted to find how much he is liked here among the people, and as I know him more I myself love him better. I never saw a more tender and affectionate creature than he is towards our dear Mary Anne, and I assure you she could stand nothing of a contrary sort.²⁰

Mary Anne's illness endured into 1842. At noon that New Year's Day she wrote one of her judiciously chatty letters to her father, conjuring up yester-year (in the shape of the old minister who 'likes to talk of London when it was all one circuit, and six preachers and two clergymen did all the work of it' and who asked after Grandmamma Pocock's cough recipe, the best ever known and lost these forty years), and the weather for the time of year, before getting down to her own health and the goodness and busyness of Robert.²¹ He was now a scribbling as well as a preaching and speaking Robert. In Spring 1841 Harriet Pocock had written of his 'little book', *The Goodness of Divine Guidance Explained and Illustrated* :

It is really excellent. If you have not read it you will find pleasure in doing so. I wish we could get it into our Sunday-school. It is in a great many of the schools of the Connexion as rewards.²²

Already in March 1840 MacBraith had written very prudently to Jabez Bunting:

¹⁹ B. Gregory, *Sidelights on the History of Methodism*, 1899 ed., p. 297.

²⁰ Harriet Pocock to W. F. Pocock, Portsea, 12 April 1841, *In Memoriam*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²¹ Mary Anne MacBraith to W. F. Pocock, 1 January 1841, *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

²² Harriet Pocock to W. F. Pocock, 12 April 1841, *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

Excuse the liberty which I take in asking your opinion upon a short paper which I had drawn up on the subject of Natural and Religious Education, well knowing the interest you take in this important matter. I find great ignorance prevailing amongst our people upon this subject, whilst some are even beginning to regret that they signed our late petitions to Parliament against the late Ministerial scheme, having been influenced by Dissenters and Liberals (so called) to wish for a plan of National Education which shall *exclude all religious tuition*. Thinking to communicate some just ideas upon this subject, I have just put down a few thoughts upon paper ...

Will you be kind enough to give me your frank opinion as to whether publishing the enclosed would be likely to do any good in this way at *this juncture?*. And if so, are there any passages liable to objection?²³

It was a wise Wesleyan with an eye to the right profile who took care to get Bunting on his side, but clearly the man who compiled grammars of Mandingo and Fulah had the pedagogic streak in him²⁴ and perhaps it is here that a more liberal MacBrair emerged. In March 1840 the MacBrairs were still in Tory Newark, disdainful of its blue-ribboned mobility and critical of the Whig government's foolhardy proposals for the funding of education. Those proposals pleased Dissenters but displeased Anglicans and Wesleyans. Whether or not Bunting wet-blanketed MacBrair's 'few thoughts', they may have surfaced five years later with MacBrair's *Chapters on National Education*. By then outraged at the crassness of Sir James Graham's Tory educational proposals of 1843, Wesleyans were ranged with Dissent on the matter and a crucial step had been taken in the shaping of the Nonconformist Conscience. MacBrair's own contribution to 1843 had been *Geology and Geologists; or Visions of Philosophers in the Nineteenth Century*.

MacBrair was now firmly part of the Pocock network. Five of his children, four sons and a daughter, would survive into adult life and he was on hand to baptise infant nephews and nieces, notably three of T.W. Pocock's children. Rochester, Sheffield and Nottingham followed Newark and Portsea. It was from Nottingham that Robert and Mary Anne travelled down for Fuller Pocock's death bed and it was from Nottingham that he wrote again to Jabez Bunting with one of his bright ideas:

I beg to submit to your judgment the outline of a scheme which I have

²³R. M. MacBrair to Jabez Bunting, Newark, 7 March 1840, W. R. Ward, *Early Victorian Methodism: The Correspondence of Jabez Bunting 1830-1858*, Oxford University Press, 1976, pp. 239-40.

²⁴'Education is a subject which has long occupied my mind. My views may appear singular, when I state that I believe education, properly so called to be yet in its very infancy, since there is no real *training of the mind* or *culture of the moral nature* in our public and private schools'. *Ibid.*, p. 239

long thought of, and which I have often heard mentioned by others as very desirable. The time seems to be *come* for having a *Wesleyan* weekly journal – not to supersede the *Watchman*, but to prevent other newspapers which do incalculable harm to our Connexion. *The Watchman* is upheld for the purpose of Conservatism and is not read by the majority of Methodists. I have heard many of our people who now read *Kaye's Times* say, that they would gladly take in a journal which was not connected with any kind of *Politics*. Other people object to those usual appurtenances of a modern newspaper, 'dreadful accidents, murders, etc.' etc., and would like a paper which might be unreservedly placed in the hands of their children, for their information and profit.

The present generation *will* read newspapers so they ought to be furnished with one to which no moral or political objections could be made, which would be interesting and instructive to all readers, and to the educated young in particular. Such a journal would soon *swamp* *Kaye's Times* and prevent the establishment of another of like principles; and would eventually find its way into religious families of all denominations.²⁵

No doubt it would, but no such journal was to appear under MacBrair's imprint. Instead he contented himself with writing *The Happy Church* and contributing a sermon, 'The Character and Privileges of the Children of God', to a collection of *Sermons by Wesleyan-Methodist Ministers*. This was the brainchild of William Horton, superintendent minister of the Edinburgh circuit, who had naturally written about it to Jabez Bunting:

The sermons...are to come out in monthly numbers, and in a cheap form. Each number is to contain about two sermons and to sell for two pence. The object is to show the people of Scotland what Methodist teaching really is, and to supply our own people everywhere with choice edifying sermons for their reading...²⁶

Horton was keen to stress how each year's twelve numbers would 'form a very handsome and cheap volume' each dedicated to 'some eminent lay gentleman of our Connexion'. Since the first was to be dedicated to Thomas Farmer of Gunnersbury (a client of both W.F. and W.W. Pocock), Horton was particularly keen to land a Bunting sermon for it. 'If possible, I think it should stand foremost in the series'.

²⁵ R. M. MacBrair to Jabez Bunting, Nottingham, 5 July 1850, *Ibid.*, pp. 398-99.

²⁶ W. Horton to Jabez Bunting, Edinburgh, 20 October 1849, A. J. Hayes and D. A. Gowland eds., *Scottish Methodism in the Early Victorian Period. The Scottish Correspondence of the Revd. Jabez Bunting 1800-57*, Edinburgh University Press, 1981, p. 128.

Although Bunting did not rise immediately to the bait, Horton swiftly secured a dozen good names, those of MacBraith and ('I think I may add') Bunting's son, William, among them and he pressed for Bunting's sermon on Justification by Faith. 'It would thus be read by multitudes who have never seen it in its present shape'.²⁷

Did this collection of sermons for Scottish Methodists prompt MacBraith's stationing in Edinburgh, his hardest ministry?

No circuit minister could be unaffected by the Connexional disruptions of the 1840s and 1850s. Shortly before his father-in-law died MacBraith contributed *A Short dialogue about Conference and the expelled* to the Conference side of the Everett agitation. F.J. Jobson drew it to Bunting's attention.²⁸ There was fierce opportunity for dialogue in Edinburgh.

When Robert MacBraith succeeded William Horton at Nicolson Square, circuit membership was 322. After he left it was 252. That was in 1853 and the decline continued: membership stood at 226 in 1855.²⁹ The trouble did not start with MacBraith. Horton had already been in the thick of it when Everett, Dunn and Griffith had been to Edinburgh in 1850, and already membership had dropped by over thirty in a year. This was, perhaps, unsurprising in a circuit where Samuel Dunn had ministered in the late 1830s and Samuel Warren in the late 1820s. MacBraith's travails began shortly after his arrival in October 1850 with a letter to Jabez Cole, a local preacher who had chaired an Everett meeting and now showed sign of regretting it:

I think myself justified after consulting with the leaders to restore your ticket of membership. Your name appears on the new Local Preachers plan without any appointment, and you will regard your suspension from this as not yet cancelled. I wish you could bring your mind to give a promise of relinquishing the reform movement (so called) at least until next Conference....³⁰

That weary tone was amply justified. Jabez Cole was the first of a long line of stiff-necked local preachers, each taxing all MacBraith's patience. Two of them, so MacBraith told his Leaders' Meeting, had been to the fore in a meeting (shades of Newark's blue 'mobility') 'summoned by a party calling themselves a Wesleyan Reform

²⁷ W. Horton to Jabez Bunting, 14 November 1849, *Ibid.*, p. 129.

²⁸ F. J. Jobson to Jabez Bunting, London, 25 September 1849, *Early Victorian Methodism*, pp. 383-84.

²⁹ A. J. Hayes, *Edinburgh Methodism 1761-1975: The Mother Church* Edinburgh, 1976, p. 168. I am indebted to Mr. Alan N. Cass for this reference.

³⁰ R. M. MacBraith to J. Cole, 9 October 1850, *Ibid.*, p. 144.

Committee, for the especial purpose of electing a delegate to what they term a 'People's Conference',³¹ and one of those two was to be that delegate. Both were removed from their offices at Nicolson Square. Three more had been handing out leaflets at the chapel gate on Sunday mornings – surely tantamount to Sabbath-breaking. MacBraith wrote to one of them:

I did not intend to put you away from our Society for the offence of Sabbath week, heinous though it seemed to myself and to many of our people, but... I have no alternative... Praying that you may find a place in some Christian Community which more nearly harmonises with your opinions - as it is very dangerous to be out of a church and a sore evil to be connected with one in which a man cannot be at peace with his brethren and submit to them that are over him in the Lord.³²

One follows these painful meetings and their echoing letters with a vexed admiration for all sides. MacBraith's concern for good order, so naturally transmuted into reliance on the law's letter ('The minutes distinctly say....'), was the equally natural consequence of the Wesleyan minister's passion for the quietness of true Christian unity, 'that morality of the New Testament'. These things warred with the pastor's sympathy for the flesh and blood of his society. 'I feel reluctant for your own sake and that of your family to force you away from our church', MacBraith wrote to the hardest nut to crack, Mr. Forrest, in September 1851. MacBraith had felt bound to ask for Forrest's class book while stressing that he might meet in any other class than his own. At that Forrest worked himself into a fine fury; he would meet with his class as usual; the return of his class book was 'a matter for consideration'; he had 'no idea of binding [his] conscience to any Wesleyan Preacher's dictums'. MacBraith's letter 'will be kept as one of the best specimens of irresponsible power possessed by Wesleyan ministers....'

It was a classic confrontation. The next Sunday morning MacBraith went to meet Forrest's class. The moment he appeared they struck up a hymn and whenever the minister tried to get a word in edgeways they sang him down until, worsted in song, he left. Forrest had not quite finished. 'I am desirous to know' he wrote to MacBraith at the end of the year, 'if I am to be allowed the privilege of a Member of the Methodist Church or Society in Nicolson Square Chapel previous to taking my sittings; an answer tomorrow will oblige...' That answer was firm; 'The Leaders have no objection to your continuing as a token member but they cannot

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45

³² *Ibid.*, p. 148

receive you into Class, until you have complied with the condition formerly stated'.³³

In this war of attrition awash with letters and Leaders' Meetings, MacBair's concern seems to have been to leave the high constitutional ground for the more immediate levels of local goodwill. Perhaps this reflects his own unease with the broader issues at stake. Viewed constitutionally could any Wesleyan disruption in Scotland be seen quite so easily by a loyal minister so soon after the Presbyterians' Great Disruption?

These troubles rumbled on into April 1852. And then MacBair got his reward. Cambridge was to follow Edinburgh. It was not to last. Three years later the religious press picked up reports in the local press that MacBair had resigned his appointment and withdrawn from the Connexion, 'expressing his dissent from some parts of the Wesleyan economy and discipline'.³⁴ That, according to family lore, was because of circuit interference in his private life, 'chiefly... with regard to decorating and furnishing manses'.³⁵ It may have been so. Such straws do break camels' backs. But the *Evangelical Magazine* had a different gloss:

...dissatisfaction with the present state of discipline in the Conference has not ceased. Mr. MacBair is a quiet, cultivated man, who cannot give the homage of conscience to its recent proceedings, and therefore chooses to resign a position which he can no longer honourably hold. We hope sincerely he will be able to see his way into the Congregational body. We *know* him to be a most truly respectable and devoted man, and could commend him to the confidence of our churches, with much cordiality, as 'brother beloved', and a man of power, likely to do good service to the cause of Christ among us.³⁶

So it proved. There was a year of rest and reflection and then the *Evangelical Magazine* reported the outcome: MacBair's induction, surrounded by the big men of London Congregationalism's more conservative side, to the Barbican Chapel, one of the City's best-known Congregational churches, famed for its missionary tradition, but now, admittedly, on the downward slope. Already there were optimistic reports: 'the church and congregation are... beginning to have an increase of numbers'.³⁷

It was as the Barbican's minister that MacBair baptised a Wesleyan Pocock nephew, and a Wesleyan niece. In 1861, however,

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-48.

³⁴ *Cambridge Chronicle*, 1 September 1855, quoted in *Evangelical Magazine*, 1855, p. 600.

³⁵ So his granddaughter told her daughter: Mrs. A. Haythorne to author, 11 September 1989.

³⁶ *Evangelical Magazine*, op. cit., pp. 599-600.

³⁷ *Evangelical Magazine*, 1857, p. 99

he returned to old haunts and moved to Sheffield for the most restlessly energetic years of his English ministry. When he was last in Sheffield (1845-47) the town had been a borough for two years. Fifteen years later it was well into boom. MacBrair's call was to Lee Croft, a cause which had prospered for twenty years and was now at a watershed. The last minister had no sooner settled than he took many of his flock to a newly built chapel in the west end. A week before MacBrair's own arrival, Lee Croft too decided to move. MacBrair was the man for the moment. He took charge. The endowments were transferred. The buildings were sold. The new chapel was built and Lee Croft had turned into The Tabernacle, Albert Terrace Road, admirably sited where clerks and shopkeepers met artisans. From arrival to opening took sixteen months.³⁸

MacBrair the Congregationalist was more the building type than the building-up type. No sooner had the Tabernacle opened than he copied his predecessor and moved up hill and up market to Broompark. That too he built.

Broompark was born of a need and a bicentenary. The need, socially as well as geographically, was for another west end church. The bicentenary was that of the Great Ejectment of 1662.

While this was not an anniversary to speak pressingly to a recent Wesleyan, the recent Wesleyan now had a useful track record. The Tabernacle was opened on 21 March 1863; Broompark followed on 31 January 1864, with a church of twenty members formed a week later and MacBrair recognised as its stated pastor. In between it was MacBrair who took the matter up, and practically took it out of the hands of the Committee', just as it was MacBrair who secured the site (next to Wesley College), the architect (a local Congregationalist), the stonemason and donations from the biggest denominational names.³⁹

Broompark's congregation was select rather than large and in MacBrair's day there were no deacons. He had had his fill of leaders. Late in 1868 he resigned from its even-tempered ways to 'preach to the working classes in public rooms'.⁴⁰ There was, however, to be no Sheffield working men's Congregational church formed or chapel built by MacBrair and from 1868 he survives simply as a Yearbook name, listed as 'out of charge' between 1869 and 1872 (which might suggest the preaching in rooms) and as 'retired'

³⁸ H. H. Oakley, *The Beginnings of Congregationalism in Sheffield*, Sheffield 1913, p.84; *Sheffield Congregational Year Book*, 1930, p.57

³⁹ *Sheffield Congregational Year Book*, 1915, p.42.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.43, quoting *Sheffield Independent*, 23 November 1868

thereafter. He died in Switzerland in May 1874. His widow returned to London, where she died in 1901.⁴¹

MacBrair's career is a salutary reminder of the eddies at work beneath the mainstream of denominational tradition. The decade which saw him, fresh from those tumults of Connexional disruption which had ended in the shifting of his own allegiance, ministering to key figures in the shaping, organising and communicating of Liberalism in industrial England's radical heartland, saw his brother-in-law W. W. Pocock standing as a Liberal parliamentary candidate in Guildford, country-town England's conservative heartland. The political and ecclesiological issues at stake interacted. Such shifts notwithstanding, careers like MacBrair's bear out the role of ministers as prime, perhaps the prime, social and intellectual intermediaries in Nonconformist family networks.

CLYDE BINFIELD

(Dr J. C. G. Binfield is Reader in History in the University of Sheffield)

⁴¹ Although descendants remained loyal to Sheffield Congregationalism into the 1980s there was to be no revival of the Pococks's prosperity. The venture of MacBrair's eldest son, William (d. 1923), into setting up his own engineering business was halted by the financial difficulties of two younger sons who were sent to Australia. William salvaged what he could as stationer, bookseller and newsagent. A fourth son became a surveyor and moved to Lincoln. I am indebted to Mrs. A. M. Haythorne for this information.

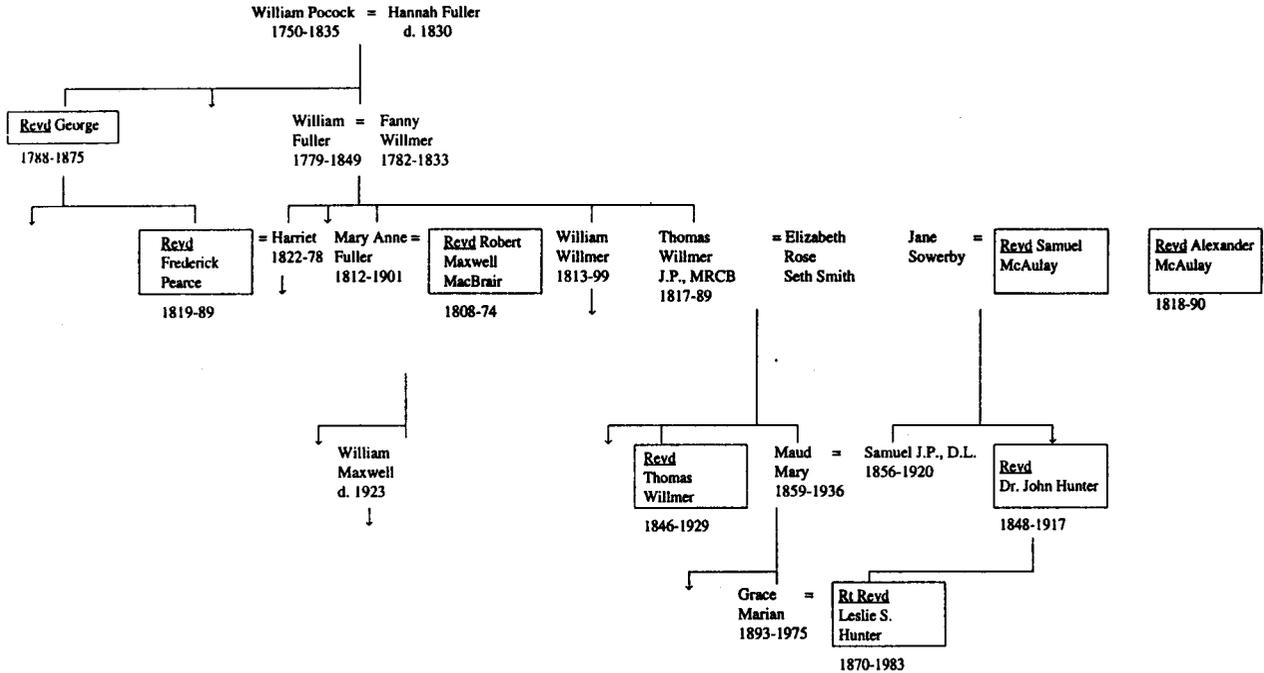
William Dowson, 1830-1879. Teesdale Lead Miner and Wesleyan Methodist Missionary (1992, pp36. £3.00 post free from Mary Lowes, 4 Bowlees, Newbiggin-in-Teesdale, Barnard Castle, DL12 0XE)

The lead mining area of the Northern Dales has produced many men for the Methodist ministry. William Dowson, brought up at Newbiggin, went eventually to Antigua. He was a contemporary at Richmond College of Joseph Race from nearby Weardale who went out to China, and their experiences were not dissimilar. This short biography captures nineteenth-century life in the Dale, with its wild flowers and hay-making. Dowson died from yellow fever after four years in the Caribbean but the family continued to serve overseas until recently. The author is to be congratulated on her enterprise in producing a brief but fascinating account.

D.C.D.

Since its publication in 1989, Henry Rack's *Reasonable Enthusiast* has established itself as the standard scholarly life of John Wesley. The Epworth Press have now issued it in paperback at £19.50, with an updated bibliography and other minor corrections.

The Pocock - Willmer-McAulay connexion



THE ORIGINS OF WESLEY HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE

Wesley House is the monument to Mr. and Mrs. Gutteridge. With sound instinct they saw that the key men in Church life are the ministers. They had great ideas and ideals of the Christian ministry. Instead of criticizing those who fell short, they said, "We will do all in our power to help."¹

IT can be said that without Michael Gutteridge, Wesley House would not have existed. The necessary finance was not available, and indeed even the idea of such a scheme was impossible until Gutteridge made it possible.

Michael Gutteridge was that typical product of the nineteenth century, a self-made man. He had not received a University education himself but had devoted himself to a life in commerce and become very wealthy through his business dealings, largely in Italy. He spent much of his life in Naples, and had become very well known locally. At the outset of his career in Naples he was faced with the choice of whether to open his business house on Sundays, as was the custom there. Risking his slender capital he decided not to open, and the sensation that he caused by so doing seemed to earn him admiration, goodwill and success. In the novel '*La Ballerina*', by Mathilde Serao, Michael Gutteridge is one of the leading characters. He appears as 'the Englishman', as 'il justo', the just man.

On his retirement and return to England, Gutteridge attended the Wesleyan Conference of 1911 and, during the debate on the work and administration of the theological colleges, moved a resolution to the effect that 'The Conference consider the desirability of establishing a Hostel at Cambridge'. He backed up this motion by saying:

The great need for more spiritual power in the ministry might be explained by the fact that they had not kept pace with changing conditions and increasing education.²

He then went on to say that if the Conference was prepared to consider such a scheme he would contribute £5,000 towards the cost. An offer of such generosity was hardly likely to be turned down. The gift was accepted and was the first of many benefactions which formed the basis of a Trust Fund.

¹ W. Bardsley Brash, *The Story of Our Colleges* (1935) p.107

² Frank Tice, *The History of Methodism in Cambridge* (1966) p.91

Two years after this offer was made, another wealthy layman, William Greenhalgh, became interested in the project and when he died in 1920, his will revealed that he had bequeathed £20,000 to the project at Cambridge, his only stipulation being that the College always should allot some places to non-graduates. William Greenhalgh started life as a weaver near Bolton and was very successful. He was self-educated, having been in the habit of rising at 4.00a.m. and throwing pebbles at the window of somebody else in the village who could read and write, so that he could have some teaching before he went to work at 5.00a.m.

Both Gutteridge and Greenhalgh had had the very slenderest of educational resources available to them, and had picked up their knowledge when and where they could, and yet they were both determined to make the very best of resources available for those in training for the ministry. Gutteridge, in particular was very concerned that the education of the Methodist ministry was not keeping pace with the improvement in the general educational standards of the nation as a whole. He was determined that the education that had been denied him should be available to the ministry of his beloved Methodist Church, and when the possibility of being the founder of an educational establishment presented itself to him, he was only too willing to bring all of his resources of time and energy and wealth to bear.

It could be thought from reading the account of the Conference of 1911 that the action of Michael Gutteridge in proposing a new venture in theological education in Cambridge came as a complete surprise to everybody and had no context of previous reflection or thought. While it seems to be true that most delegates of the Conference were taken by surprise by Gutteridge's generous offer, it would be wrong to assume that the idea was completely new. Indeed it seems that the possibility of a Methodist theological college at Cambridge had been mooted as early as 1871. During this period there were discussions about the setting up of a Methodist educational establishment in Cambridge (later to become the Leys School). Derek Baker in his account of the history of the school records that Joseph Ryder (founder of the firm that later became Ryder and Amies of King's Parade, Cambridge), a Cambridge figure and a member of the Committee of higher education, left an account of some of the events that led up to the founding of the Leys written on pages torn from an exercise book. The original manuscript appears to have vanished but, from a copy, we find these words:

But a High School was only one part of the Cambridge Scheme. The question of Hostels in place of lodging houses, the students to be connected with any College and a branch of the Theological Institution was

also put forward in the Scheme, upon which the late Dr. (George) Osborn said to the Writer, "No doubt the day will come when the Methodist Connexion will see the Theological part of the Scheme to be desirable, but it is not now, and if you do not drop that part of the Scheme you will sink the ship".³

Thus the scheme for a theological college in Cambridge seems to have been discussed as early as 1872 as part of the scheme that was later to see the foundation of the Leys School. The important question to ask then is: was Michael Gutteridge aware of this idea when he made his proposal to the Conference in 1911? Indeed was the inspiration for his offer this earlier scheme? There is no certainty on this matter but there is a strong possibility that he had heard of the 1870s plan. Michael Gutteridge was born in 1842 and raised in Selby. Joseph Ryder was born at about the same time, and his family moved from Masham in Yorkshire to Selby early in Joseph's childhood. It is reasonable to assume, in a community of the size and cohesion of the Wesleyan Church in Selby, that two boys of around the same age would at least know of each other, and very possibly be friends. Thus Gutteridge and Ryder could well have formed an acquaintance early in life, and Gutteridge may well have heard that a plan to have a theological college at Cambridge was suggested in the early 1870s but never fulfilled.

Another character in the story is J.H. Ritson, who entered the Wesleyan ministry in 1891 and possibly knew about the Cambridge scheme from the 1870s. He was a great supporter of the plans for Wesley House, and at that time was secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. As one of the Vice-Presidents, and a member of the Committee of the Society, Gutteridge often went to the Bible House, and would obviously have been in contact with Ritson quite frequently. Even before this, Ritson had visited Mr. and Mrs. Gutteridge in their home in Naples in 1906, and may well have recalled the earlier scheme to Gutteridge and encouraged the proposal. The hard evidence for any of this is rather slim, but it is an attractive surmise in view of the undoubted fact that the possibility of a theological college in Cambridge had been raised before. It would also answer the question as to why Gutteridge insisted that Cambridge be the site of the new college, when Methodism historically had had stronger connections with Oxford. The evidence presented at least provides a context for what might otherwise seem a rather strange condition on Gutteridge's part. When presenting this plan to the Conference in 1911, Gutteridge would have mentioned

³ Derek Baker, *Partnership in Excellence* (1975) p.68

none of this, not wanting to prejudice the chances of the success of the scheme by presenting it as something that important figures in the Church had thought of forty years before and turned down.

It is quite obvious from the words that Gutteridge used to introduce the idea at the Conference that he was becoming increasingly worried that the standard of education of the Methodist ministry was falling dangerously behind the changing conditions of the time. Ministers were increasingly faced with highly educated congregations, and were finding it difficult to cope. The clergy needed better education, and Cambridge was an ideal place to provide it. However it would be a mistake to believe that everybody shared these opinions with him. There was still a great deal of suspicion of education within the Methodist Church, a general feeling that preaching should come from the heart, and indeed that too much education would only serve to confuse, and in the end, disable preachers from their proper task – that of confronting people with the gospel. It is interesting to note that Gutteridge specifically linked the need for more ‘spiritual power’ in the ministry to education, because this was not a link that would have taken place automatically in the minds of his hearers. He may have included this reference to forestall any worry or debate on this point. Gutteridge was also enough of a realist to see that the project would never pass through the Conference without the promise of substantial funding attached to it. Again, Gutteridge forestalled any debate on this point by offering the funding himself. Thus he altered the decision that the Conference had to make from whether a theological college in Cambridge was desirable to whether such a generous offer could be turned down.

The scheme was passed to the Committee of the Theological Institution which drew up a report for the Conference of the following year:

5. Proposed Hostel at Cambridge. The Committee, having carefully considered on what lines the Conference may safely and profitably take advantage of the generous offer made by W. Michael Gutteridge with a view to securing some University training at Cambridge for certain of the Candidates of our Ministry, has prepared a scheme to be presented to the Conference by which a Hostel might be provided at Cambridge for twelve students under a Resident Tutor, and has considered the lines on which such a scheme might be developed without committing itself at this stage to the details involved, the Committee regards the proposal with favour and advises the Conference to approve it general-

ly, with a view to completing the scheme and acting upon it at such time as the additional £20,000 needed may be forthcoming.⁴

The Committee felt that it could not fully commit itself to the scheme without knowing where the rest of the money was going to come from. Conference would be unlikely to vote it, and without the money that came from William Greenhalgh in his will Wesley House may have been in real financial difficulty. This proposal was drafted in the summer of 1912; in 1914 war broke out and the whole of Methodist theological training was thrown into disarray. In 1915 the Wesleyan Conference made the following resolutions:

(1) That in the present National emergency, one of the Colleges of the Theological Institution be placed at the disposal of the Government, or some other public authority, on suitable conditions and for some well-defined National purpose.

(2) That Handsworth College be first named as the one most likely, architecturally and in other respects, to meet the special requirements; and that if it is accepted, the Principal shall remain in residence, and the other Tutors shall be appointed by Conference if possible in the neighbourhood of Birmingham.

(3) That in the event of none of the Colleges being required for public purposes, no provision shall be made for filling the place of the Rev. Dr. Moulton during his absence in India, and the staffs of the other three colleges shall be reduced by the withdrawal from each of them of one Tutor, who shall not be a Principal nor a House-Governor.⁵

In the event it was Richmond College and not Handsworth that got involved in helping the war effort. Westminster College became the home of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, and the students who were resident at Westminster moved into Richmond. Indeed, as the war dragged on, all but one of the Wesleyan Theological Colleges were closed down. The Conference, aware that when the war ended new conditions would have to be met, set up a special committee to consider all the questions involved in the supply and training of candidates for the ministry. That committee finally reported in 1919, and its report makes interesting reading because it shows the stage of thinking that had been reached at the time:

IV Number of Colleges.

⁴ *Minute Book of the Theological Institution of the Wesleyan Methodist Church* General Committee, June 27th, 1912.

⁵ *Conference Journal of the Wesleyan Methodist Church*, 1915, p.65.

The Committee has carefully considered the question of the number of the Colleges that may be required, but finds it impossible to forecast definitely the needs of the future. It considers that we can only be guided by the facts as they arise in successive years.

V Curriculum

(a) The Committee is guided by the consideration that the Institution exists, not to provide universal education, but to train and as far as may be, suitably to equip, Christian Evangelists, Pastors and Missionaries for the work of the Methodist Church in the Twentieth Century.

(b) It is of opinion that every student during his college course should receive instruction in: the English Bible, Greek Testament (subject to the judgement of the Tutors' meeting in special cases), Theology (systematic and pastoral), Methodist History and Church Polity, Christian Ethics (individual and social), Homiletics, Elocution and Theory of Teaching, with special reference to the problems of child-life...

(c) The above subjects shall form the main body of the curriculum in all our Colleges. The rest of the course of study shall be differentiated in the various Colleges as follows :-

College A. In this College special stress shall be laid on the English Bible, English Literature and Language, the study of History and of Natural Science.

College B. Special stress shall be laid on the Languages and Literature of the Bible, and on Church History.

College C. Special stress shall be laid on Psychology, Philosophy, the Philosophy of Religion and Comparative Religion.

College D. The particular character of this College might be left for the present, and be decided later when the need for it arises.

(d) Any scheme of differentiation should be sufficiently elastic to allow of the advantageous use of local University Courses, provided that the consent of the Committee has been obtained in every case.

(e) In the carrying out of the above scheme, full liberty should be given to the Committee to employ such expert assistance, whether ministerial or lay, as may be advisable.

(f) In the above scheme, differentiation in curriculum does not involve any difference in status or educational grade, but provides opportunity for meeting the diverse needs of the students as may be found advisable or necessary...

X College at Cambridge

The Conference resolves in accordance with the decision of the Conference of 1913 that :-

(a) There shall be established at Cambridge a post-graduate college for 20 or 30 students. These shall be graduates of a University, but a limited number of non-graduate students may be admitted on the nomination of the Theological Institution Committee, provided that the number so admitted be not such as to alter the character of a College intend-

ed mainly for post-graduate students.

(b) The College shall have accommodation for a Principal and at least one other tutor, One of these should be Professor of Dogmatic Theology, the other of Pastoral Theology, and some other subject. Arrangements for lectures in other subjects can probably be made with the staff of the Westminster College of the English Presbyterian Church and of Cheshunt College, and advantage may be taken of facilities granted by the courtesy of University Professors.⁶

One must question whether the author of this report seriously believed that some of its recommendations could ever be put into practice. The desire to be able to teach a wide and varied curriculum must be applauded, but the inclusion of English Literature and Language, Psychology, Philosophy, History and Natural Science as potential specialist subjects for some of the colleges was surely out of the question. This illustrates the constant tension there is to be found in ministerial training between pure education and vocational training.

The tension between these two approaches to ministerial training can be seen in the committee's report, and in the rather optimistic view that subjects as broad as English literature and natural science could be an acceptable part of the vocational training of a Methodist minister. It also shows how far the attitude of many towards education of the Methodist ministry had come from the day when many were deeply suspicious of educating the ministry at all.

Item X of the report reveals that now that the war was over thoughts were turning again towards the foundation of the Cambridge college, and that some concrete thinking had been done. The College was to be largely a post graduate institution and to that extent academically elitist and intentionally so. The aim of Gutteridge was to have a ministry that was educated in the best environment possible. He wanted to make available to a small number of people the best standard of academic investigation. He wanted there to be a number of Methodist ministers who could hold their own with the best minds in the country and to make their mark on the academic life of the nation. The condition that there always be room in the college for occasional non-graduates to do degree courses was the idea of Greenhalgh, who wanted the possibility of people being able to benefit from this type of training who had not already done degrees elsewhere. The staff necessary for a college of twenty to thirty students was deemed to be at least

⁶ *Ibid*, 1919, p.51.

two, and two chairs were to be created, one in dogmatic theology and the other in pastoral theology. This was obviously to be supplemented by the students being part of the University system, and therefore being able to go to lectures within the Divinity School and to have tutorials and supervisions with members of the University staff. An ecumenical aspect to the training at the new college was envisaged from the outset in that it was presumed from a very early stage that the staff of Westminster Presbyterian and Cheshunt Congregational colleges would be able and willing to lend their expertise to the training programme as well.

Gutteridge was always in the background pushing the scheme along, writing letters and pressing people to get things done. Whenever the project seemed to be running out of steam he would be there to get it started again. He was not willing to wait, and indeed, even though no site in Cambridge on which to build the College had yet been found, the Methodist Conference in 1920 took the step of appointing a Principal of Wesley House to take up his duties in September of the following year. The person that they appointed was the Rev. Dr. Maldwyn Hughes. Obviously the role of being the first Principal of a new theological training institution is an appointment of more than usual importance, and Dr. Hughes was chosen carefully. He was born at Trefeglwys, Montgomery in 1875, into a minister's family, his father being John Hughes D. D. Maldwyn Hughes was educated at Kingswood School, and the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth. He trained for the ministry at Didsbury College and had a wide and varied circuit experience including stays at Leominster, Birmingham, Southport, Edinburgh and Clapham in London. Greenhalgh had come to Hughes when a minister in Southport and expressed his wish to make a benefaction to the Church and asked for suggestions of worthy projects. Hughes, having heard of the Wesley House plans, introduced the two men to each other. Is it then impossible to suppose that when the post of Principal of Wesley House was being discussed Gutteridge and Greenhalgh should have put forward as a strong candidate the man who had introduced them to each other in the first place?

However, to argue that Maldwyn Hughes was offered the job of Principal simply because of his part in bringing the two major sponsors of the college together would not do justice to his obvious gifts. The early students of Wesley House all bear testimony to the warmth of their feeling for the first Principal, and the amount of respect that he engendered was impressive. He was affectionately known as 'the Boss' by everybody:

Maldwyn Hughes was a father figure who we venerated; and I think we picked up, rather than learnt, a conception of the pastoral office as being a kind of father to the flock. But this was not made explicit, this was just what we were expected to pick up from going about the place with him. He was the friend of us all, we all loved him.⁷

He preached with the strength and eloquence of his Welsh background, but his health was not good, and when he was elected President of the Wesleyan Conference it was in 1932, the year of the Methodist Union, so that he held office for a few weeks only, and was spared the arduous travelling around the country that most Presidents undertake. He was a sound and steady scholar rather than startling in any way, indeed his students sometimes bear witness to the dullness of his lecturing style as he virtually read verbatim to them chapters from his own work, *Christian Foundations*. However, this does not dull the devotion in which his past students hold him, and this was perhaps the area of his genius, to be able to inspire devotion and respect through his quiet humility and obvious but not flamboyant wisdom.

When Hughes was elected as Principal of the new College in 1920 the Foundation Deed for Wesley House which set up its governing structures had been in place since February of the previous year. This Deed is an important one because it secured for Wesley House a unique place within the Methodist Church, and a relationship which has not always been without its problems. The Deed states that:

...a fund might be created to enable the establishment of a college or hostel within the precincts of the University of Cambridge for the theological and pastoral education of accepted candidates for the ministry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church the intention being to provide a post graduate course in which students should have the full benefit of University life and tuition side by side with such distinctive teaching of the history constitution theology and polity of that Church as would enable them to maintain in the Church Universal those doctrines of experimental religion and especially spiritual holiness upon which John Wesley laid emphasis.⁸

The aim, then, was to provide students with the best University education available together with instruction in distinctive Methodist doctrine, expressly in order that they should be able to

⁷ *Taped Interview*, Revd. Rupert Davies.

uphold and maintain those emphases within the wider Church. Gutteridge was quite clear that he wanted specifically Methodist training and nothing else. The property was to be administered by six 'Foundation' Trustees and six 'Theological' Trustees (distinguished largely by the way they were appointed), and this arrangement, and the power and authority that the Trustees of Wesley House enjoyed gave the college an independence enjoyed by no other Wesleyan theological college. This obviously meant that the Wesleyan Conference held less authority over the Cambridge college than over any other theological institutions, and that indeed once instituted, although the Conference could refuse to send students to Wesley House, it could not close it down. The conference did appoint for Wesley House, as it did for all the other theological institutions, a body of Governors, comprising the twelve Trustees, the Chairman of the London North-East District (in which the College was set), the Superintendent of the Cambridge Circuit, the Headmaster of the Leys School, a representative of the University, Connexional officers and other persons. The duties of the Trustees under this agreement was clear; they were answerable in law for the property and funds of the College. The duties of the Governors were never so precise, because what would have been their normal responsibilities overlapped so widely with the authority of the Trustees, that they effectively had no real area of authority at all.

It is possible to speculate that in framing the Trust Deeds of Wesley House in the way that he did, Michael Gutteridge was taking the college out of the direct authority of the Methodist Conference on purpose. It was his project, his dream, and he was determined that the decisions that affected its future should be made by the Trustees of the College themselves, not by the Conference. Also, in this way, he could secure for himself as much personal authority in the day to day running of the College as possible. He had invested a huge amount of thought, effort and money into this project, it is therefore, perhaps, not surprising that he wanted to maintain as much personal power over the future of the college for as long as possible.

So, by the end of 1920, the Trust Deeds of the new College had been hammered out and accepted, the first Principal had been appointed, all that was left now was to find a suitable site in Cambridge for the buildings of this new Methodist enterprise. During 1920 Michael Gutteridge had made a number of visits to Cambridge with Albert Reid of London (who had also given £5,000 to the project) in a vain attempt to find and negotiate the sale of

⁸ *Foundation Deed of Wesley House, 24th February, 1919.*

some suitable land. Nothing seemed to be forthcoming and it became obvious that Wesley House was going to have to open without buildings of its own. However arrangements had been made with the authorities of Cheshunt (Congregational) College to rent a house at 2, Brookside, which in addition to providing accommodation for the Principal and his family, had rooms suitable for a Lecture Room and Common Room. Sir Henry Holloway was appointed Treasurer of the scheme having shown interest in it from the beginning, and in June of 1921 Maldwyn Hughes and his family moved to Cambridge in order to make the necessary preparations for the arrival of the first group of students in the October.

After all the pushing and persuading, the money raising and the arguing it must have seemed hardly possible to Michael Gutteridge that Wesley House, though without buildings of its own, was about to open its doors to its first intake of students and usher in a new phase of ministerial training within the Methodist Church.

PAUL GLASS

(The Rev. Paul Glass is a minister in the Ilkley circuit)

THE ANNUAL LECTURE

Will be delivered in
 Stapleford Methodist Church
 on
 Monday, 28th June 1993 at 7.30 p.m.
 by
Dr E. Dorothy Graham BA BD
(General Secretary of the WHS)
'Chosen by God: The Female Itinerants of
Early Primitive Methodism'

Chairman: Mr Geoffrey E. Milburn, MA.
 The Lecture will be preceded by TEA *for members at 5 p.m.
 and the Annual Meeting at 6 p.m.

** Please notify the Secretary of your intention to be present.*

Travel Directions: Take A52 out of Derby. At the very first roundabout, turn left at Bardills Garden Centre into Toton Lane, straight down hill, *just before* the traffic lights turn left into Eatons Road. The Methodist Church is on the right-hand side. There is a large car-park at the end of the church drive which is beside the church.

LOCAL BRANCHES REPORT 1993

IT is a cause for mingled surprise and rejoicing that so many aspects of daily life and culture within the British Isles have not been steamrollered into a grey uniformity. In Devon the farmer who says he is 'g'wain out the back 'ouse to crack lightings' will describe his minister approvingly as 'a smart chap'. Not too many miles away other Methodist farmers will use different ways to describe the cutting of kindling-wood in a scullery or a business-like cleric and this variation is a timely reminder of subtle or profound regional differences.

Associated with the parent Society are no less than seventeen Local Branches and Societies which cover much of England, Ireland and Scotland and their publications and activities reflect subtle and profound regional diversity. Is there a hint of a cultural divide in that some Branch visits end with a substantial meal, while others enjoy tea and biscuits? Despite a very proper concern with local affairs many Branches do look to wider horizons by inviting speakers and contributors on important topics and others note significant anniversaries - Cumbria's editor notes that Bernard Lord Manning was born 100 years ago, in the North East Bulletin John Bowmer writes about the 250th anniversary of Susanna Wesley's death and in the Bulletin of the Yorkshire Branch Bernard Crosby remembers the 1932 Union, just prior to which he had been accepted for college by the last P.M. Conference. Although not associated with anniversaries the North Lancashire Group Bulletin includes timely biographies on Vincent Taylor (1887 - 1968) and Jimmy Butterworth (1897 - 1977) both very different, both Wesleyan ministers and both Lancastrians.

Of course Branch visits most closely reflect regional variations although the London Branch went to Cambridge, where they had lunch at the Leys School. The Cornish members bussed around Hayle, St Ives, Mousehole and Mullion. The East Midlands branch visited Madeley (Staffs) to see the Wedgwood Pottery Museum before joining forces with the Bristol and West Midlands Branches to visit that other Madeley associated with John Fletcher. This is claimed as possibly the biggest WHS Branch 'coming-together' and of course it ended with a meal. The North East Branch went to the colliery area of the Deerness Valley, from East Anglia a party went to Wymondham and from Yorkshire a party went to Teesdale and Weardale.

Branches have an important role in preserving as well as exploring Methodist history and it is encouraging to see so many signs of

this. The West Midlands Branch Bulletin lists recent archive acquisitions up to number 338, while the Yorkshire Branch is up to number 6465. The Manx Society have housed their library in a Douglas church and the North East Branch have published a most useful index from 1962 to 1992 by Eric Dykes of their Bulletin, outings and lectures, thereby making a mass of information more accessible. The Scottish Journal draws attention to a scrapbook of material from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries including a letter from Valentine Ward.

A common feature of Branch events and journals is an enthusiastic interest in non-Wesleyan Methodism, so that the Lincolnshire Journal describes some Primitive Chapels, the West Midlands Bulletin refers to a New Connexion Plan of 1816, and the North East Bulletin unexpectedly has a piece on the Bible Christians. The Plymouth and Exeter Branch notes the death at 96, in 1992 of William Whitehead of Plymouth, who had been a Primitive Methodist local preacher for 17 years and then a Methodist preacher of 60 years, making him one of the Connexion's longest serving local preachers. He is a reminder that our senior members are an historical resource in themselves.

ROGER THORNE

Secretaries of local branches of WHS:

(Corrected 8 February 1993)

WHS East Anglia Branch, c/o Mr David Elvidge, 14, Avon Road, South Wotton, Kings Lynn, PE30 3LS (Newsletter Summer 1992)

WHS Bristol Branch, c/o Rev. T.S.A. Macquiban, Wesley College, College Park Drive, Henbury Rd, Bristol, BS10 7QD (Bulletin No 63, 1992)

Cornish Meth Hist Soc. c/o Mr W.E. Walley, Park View, Ponsanooth, Truro TR3 7JA (Journal Volume 8 No 2 1992)

WHS Cumbria Branch c/o Mr E Leteve, 6, Beech Grove, Houghton, Carlisle, Cumbria, CA3 0NU (Journal No 30 Autumn 1992)

WHS Irish Branch c/o Mr John Weir, 5 Aberdelghy Gardens, Lambeg, Lisburn, Co. Antrim BT27

4QQ (Bulletin Volume 2 Part 3 Summer 1992)

WHS Isle of Man Branch, c/o Mrs T Wilson, Westend, 28 Droghad-fayle Road, Port Erin, Isle of Man (Newsletter No. 15 April 1992)

N. Lancs. Methodist History Group, c/o Miss H Spencer, 77 Clifton Drive, Lytham St Annes, Lancs. FY8 1AT (Bulletin No 16 Autumn 1992)

WHS Lancashire & Cheshire Branch c/o Mr E A. Rose, BA, 26 Roe Cross Green, Mottram, Hyde, Cheshire SK14 6LP

WHS Lincolnshire Branch, c/o Mr Harold Jubbs, 3a, Church Road, Upton, Gainsborough, Lincs (Journal Volume 4 No 4 Spring 1992)

WHS London Branch c/o Mr Nigel McMurray, 146 New North Road, Islington, London, N1 7BH (Bulletin No 46 Autumn 1992)

WHS East Midlands Branch c/o Rev S.Y. Richardson, 22 Garton Road, Loughborough, Leics. LE11 2DY (Heritage Volume 3 No 8, October 1992)

WHS West Midlands Branch c/o Dr. E.D. Graham, 34 Spicelands Road, Northfield, Birmingham B31 1NJ, (Bulletin Volume 5 No 10, Autumn 1992)

WHS North East Branch, c/o Mr Bryan Taylor 22, Nilverton Avenue, Sunderland, Tyne and Weir, SR2 7TS, (Bulletin No. 58 September 1992)

WHS Plymouth and Exeter Branch c/o Mr Roger Thorne, 31, St

Marys Park, Ottery St Mary, Devon, EX11 1JA

(Proceedings Volume 7 No 10 October 1992)

WHS Scottish Branch c/o The Treasurer, Rev W Jamieson, 39 Whitelaw Drive, Bathgate, West Lothian, EH4 81RL

(Journal Vol 22 1992)

WHS Shropshire Branch c/o Margaret Swafford, The Brambles, Shawbury, Shropshire, SY4 4JG

WHS Yorkshire Branch c/o Mr Colin Dews, 4 Lynwood Grove, Leeds, LS12 4AU (Bulletin No 61 Sept 1992)

BOOK REVIEWS

Aldersgate Reconsidered edited by Randy L. Maddox (Kingswood Books, 1990, pp. 181, \$13.95. ISBN: 0 687 00984 7)

John Wesley and Christian Antiquity: Religious Vision and Cultural Change by Ted A. Campbell (Kingswood Books, 1991, pp.x, 176, \$18.95. ISBN: 0 687 20432 1)

The Wesleyan Theological Heritage, essays of Albert C. Outler, edited by Thomas C. Oden and Leicester R. Longden (Zondervan Publishing House, 1991, pp. 267, \$15.95. ISBN: 0 310 75471 2)

The steady flow of titles under Abingdon's 'Kingswood' imprint and edited by Rex Matthews is an indication of the extent to which Wesley studies are increasingly a transatlantic phenomenon. Attractively produced on acid-free paper and at a reasonable dollar price, these volumes need to be readily available to British scholars. But, alas, the international Methodist book trade has still to put its house in order and its continuing impotence makes it difficult to keep up to date with what is being published across the Atlantic, and still more to obtain copies.

Meanwhile, it is important at least to record what is already in print. Two Kingswood titles have already been reviewed in these pages (*Mirror and Memory* by Richard P Heitzenrater and *The Limits of 'Love Divine'* by Steve Gunter). The third and final volume of *The Unpublished Poetry of Charles Wesley*, edited by Kimbrough and Beckerlegge, is now available under the same imprint, together with a collection of papers given at the Charles Wesley Colloquium of 1989 under the title *Charles Wesley: Poet and Theologian* (\$19.95).

Two further titles under this imprint call for notice here. *Aldersgate Reconsidered* is a collection of papers dealing, as the title indicates, with aspects of John Wesley's 'conversion' experience. Reviewing recent re-interpretations of the event, the editorial Introduction identifies a consensus that 'it should not be viewed as *the* decisive experience that marked the beginning of Wesley's authentic Christian life', but rather as '*an* important further step in his spiritual development'. Wesley initially read too much into it, but was soon distancing himself from both the Moravians and their Lutheran roots. Hence 'it is Wesley's *mature reflections* on Aldersgate that should be most significant' for our contemporary theology and spirituality. (p.18) For the 'mature' Wesley, 'faith is not an end in itself, ... but the necessary means towards the increase of love' (p.102); and the spirituality which has a right to claim itself as his heir 'is not a private matter, a once-for-all experience of "being saved", but 'has to do with Christian life as a journey, a pilgrimage, a dynamic process of perfecting, of maturing faith, hope and love' (p.119). The seven contributors to this symposium explore the background of these claims in a rich variety of detail.

Ted Campbell's book is a study of how Wesley understood the doctrine and practices of the primitive church and used them as both a source of authority (alongside scripture, reason and experience) and a model for the Methodist societies. The study throws fresh light on the ambiguities and equivocations of Wesley's churchmanship. Inclined in his early years to idealise primitive Christianity, he later recognised the existence of corruption even in the pre-Constantinian church and had reservations about some of the early Councils. More surprisingly, he looked favourably not only on Montanism (a kind of proto-Methodism), but on such early heresies as Donatism, Novatianism and even Pelagianism. Especially interesting is the extent to which, in translating and editing patristic and other early texts for his *Christian Library*, Wesley deliberately selected those passages which suited his purpose, to the extent of 'distorting or skewing' (p.82) his sources. Similarly, his selective use of the writings of Fleury, Cave and Mosheim was determined by the needs of the Methodist movement as it developed.

A notable omission from Campbell's bibliography is this Society's *Proceedings*, of which he appears to have made no use. One result is that his treatment of the variant first editions of the *Sunday Service* (pp.95-6), ignoring the contributions of Wesley Swift, Hamby Barton, Raymond George and others, is quite inadequate. Nevertheless, this is a valuable study, despite occasional factual slips (Mary Pendarves was not one of the Kirkham sisters, p.26) and misleading statements (Wesley's use of sick visitors scarcely amounted to re-instituting the office of deaconess, p.74).

The final book to be noted comes from a different stable, but is equally important in its own field. The rehabilitation of John Wesley as a theologian to be taken seriously was Albert Outler's crusading battle-cry for nearly three decades at the end of a distinguished and fruitful academic career. Fifteen substantial lectures and articles from those years are usefully gathered together in one volume. It has to be said that on the few occasions when he digresses into history (e.g. pp. 147, 149, 178) Outler is less reliable as a guide than he is on the theology. Nevertheless, here is a rich treasure-store indeed, both learned and readable, and always with half an

eye at least on contemporary relevance. The editors have taken upon themselves to translate such Latin tags as *ars moriendi* (p.52) and *annus mirabilis* (p.84), leaving one wondering about the readership they have in mind; but, somewhat strangely, they offer no such help with the technical jargon that from time to time invades Outler's otherwise lucid prose (e.g. 'polysemous' p.34; 'paranetic', p.103; 'sublated', p.183). But they and the publishers have put the world of Wesleyan scholarship in their debt by making these papers more accessible.

JOHN A. VICKERS

Stages in the Development and Control of Wesleyan Lay Leadership 1791-1878 by Margaret Batty. (Published on behalf of World Methodist Historical Society by Methodist Publishing House, 1988, pp. 275, spiral binding, £12.50. ISBN: 0 946550 93 X)

It is good to see this very complicated period of Wesleyan Methodist history dealt with in such meticulous detail as it receives here. Minute books, pamphlets, local histories and private letters are all grist to Mrs. Batty's mill in her study of the many cross-currents which tore apart local preachers, trustees, leaders, prayer leaders, Sunday School workers in those turbulent years. She has not relied on what so-and-so, however authoritative, has written about her subject, but has delved into original sources every time. For example, it is good to have the Leeds Organ Case (nothing to do with the mahogany!) of 1827 investigated by reference to the contemporary documents - Minutes of leaders and trustees meetings - and not to standard, often second-hand, histories of the period.

The substance of the thesis is that Wesley's conception of the ministry, namely 'to watch over souls as he that must give an account' (p.8) was taken over by the Wesleyan itinerants in what is known as 'The Pastoral Office', but it was adopted in a high-handed manner which resulted in the division of the parent body. Mrs. Batty illustrates this by a careful examination of the parts played by various lay groupings which formed the grass roots and life of the Movement. In particular: class leaders (Ch.3) found class meetings restrictive, so they developed wider concerns which the itinerants frowned upon; local preachers (Ch.4) were discouraged by Conference in attempts to 'improve' themselves in study and discussion; tight regulations were imposed; prayer leaders (Ch.5), meeting often in private houses were suspected of too much independence; Sunday School workers (Ch.6) were suspected of political activity, so were severely curtailed in their work, even the teaching of writing on the 'Sabbath' was banned; trustees (Ch.7) were regarded as a stabilising influence and Connexional committees, largely nominees of Conference, were men of 'wealth, leisure, ability and conservative instincts' (p.242). The Committee of Privileges did excellent work, especially under the guidance of Thomas Allan.

Having covered the ground up to the climactic year, 1827, the year of the Leeds Organ Case, Mrs. Batty devotes the remainder of her thesis to a detailed discussion of the outworkings of the previous chapters, ending with a verdict of 'disenchantment' (p.244) leading to the admission of lay-

men to the Conference in 1878. Her summing up (Ch.17) runs like this - this is 'a depressing account' (p.253) of the 'failure of Wesleyan Methodism'. It was not a failure in evangelism, but it was (a) a failure to trust the leading of Providence and to open the direction of Wesleyan life to the laity; (b) a failure in generosity, a refusal to extend the benefits of brotherhood to lay leaders; (c) when the ministers 'recognised brotherhood developing in the lay agencies they saw only the destructive tendencies of growing power and cut it back' (p.252). Depressing as this may be, the thesis ends on a note which is not without hope: 'The essential life of the Church is always found among members who joyfully recognised that Christian ministry is an expression of the work and service of the whole Christian community as it is constantly humbled and renewed by the Holy Spirit' (p.253).

I have no hesitation in commending this 'new look' as one of the most significant contributions to the history of Wesleyan Methodism in recent years, simply because it penetrates below the VIPs to the people who 'worked' the circuits and societies. Furthermore, in its use of wide-ranging and well-sifted material and in its extensive bibliography, it is itself source material for further studies. For example, one could continue by asking 'Why did the Wesleyan ministers act in the high-handed way they did?' What pressures bore upon them - theological, political, social, cultural, etc?' These are touched upon in the book, but deserve further consideration. Secondly, 'Why did the Wesleyan conception of the Pastoral Office break down?' One reason is, as I have pointed out elsewhere (*Pastor and People*, p.254) the Wesleyans were too complacent and too self-satisfied; but deeper still, how far is it possible, human nature being what it is, for any person, however devout, to 'watch over souls committed to their care as one that must give an account?' (Wesley's definition of a Pastor, and an epithet also applied by Adam Clarke to class leaders (p.38). Thirdly, one would like to see, sometime, an exposition of the Free Methodist conception of the ministry - and there was one, witness the literature which poured out in pamphlets and magazines in reply to the claims of the Pastoral Office - grist for another mill!

Though by title dealing with Lay Leadership, this book is, by implication, also a study of the Pastoral Office and therefore goes far to demonstrate that to write the history of Wesleyan Methodism without due consideration of that factor (as some historians have done) leaves untouched the mainspring of the Movement.

Any would-be historian who attempts to chart the rough seas of nineteenth-century Methodism will use this book with undoubted profit, or neglect it with untold loss.

It is not easy to get an academic thesis published nowadays - this is a London Ph.D. - so I congratulate and thank the Methodist Publishing House and the World Methodist Historical Society for giving us this one and hope it will enjoy a wide readership.

JOHN C. BOWMER

Amos: Rev. Amos B Matthews, Victorian Methodist traveller, by John Matthews (Hanley Siran, Worcs, The Self Publishing Association Ltd., in conjunction with John Matthews, 1992, pp224, illus, £14.95 ISBN: 1 85421 186 2)

John Matthews' biography of his grandfather, Amos B. Matthews, combines the warmth of a work of family piety with a critical assessment of the social and religious scene in which his hero exercised his ministry. The 'traveller' of the title refers both to Amos Matthews' itinerancy within the United Methodist Free Churches from 1864 to his death, aged 58, in 1900, and to a holiday jaunt in 1876 - free of family encumbrances - to the French and Swiss Alps. Amos' account of this tour, written up by him as a lecture, forms some 30 pages of the book, and provides a useful insight into his platform style, and into the style of eloquence to which his audiences, and presumably his congregations, were exposed.

John Matthews has researched assiduously in the local records of the several circuits where Amos was brought up and ministered - Exeter, his home, and Newcastle-under-Lyme, Burton-upon-Trent, Matlock, Lincoln, Liverpool, Wakefield, North Shields, Sheffield and in Lancaster, and the accounts he gives of the situation in these places provide illuminating cross-sections of church life in Free Methodism as it developed between the trauma of 1849-51 and the end of the century, with the Union of 1907 as a staging post which Amos would have approved. It is unfortunate that John Matthews uses the term 'ecumenism' to describe those developments outside the Wesleyan tradition which are rather experiments in co-operation in articulating ministry and fellowship, in a complex and kaleidoscopic social and political environment, which the Wesleyan tradition could not come to terms with. Local historians and archivists will appreciate the contribution which their work and collections can make to our understanding of church history, especially in its denominational aspects, and John Matthews has presented case studies of the continuing tension between freedom and order out of which Free Methodism arose and which its strategies sought to resolve. In Wakefield Amos' problem was to provide a coherent and responsible structure for ministry and fellowship; in the Sheffield Surrey Street Circuit the problem was to challenge the power of an overweening lay patron, the wealthy steelman Charles Wardlaw. The tithe war which Amos found himself engaged in Lancaster has moments of high comedy - *à la* Clochemerle or Alan Bennett - which are evocative of a peculiarly English provincial ethos - mutual fear, resentment and misunderstanding between Anglicans and Nonconformists - which it seems that even two World wars and a generation of the ecumenical movement have not eliminated, when we find today that even Nonconformists repeat the Anglican mis-spelling of Non-conformists - with a hyphen.

John Matthews is sensitive to the family circumstances of the itinerant ministry, and notes that Amos' wife had private means which were available to give his daughters an education for careers in teaching. Did this resource also give Amos a certain freedom of movement which less favoured ministers might not have enjoyed?

Amos' ministry was a provincial English one. He did not benefit from the Scottish experience which lay behind the policy of Kilham and Thom in shaping the Methodist New Connexion, and which, in the shape of Fairbairn's Aberdeen Congregationalism to which the young William Redfern was exposed, surfaced in the United Methodist constitution of 1907. Amos entered the ministry too early to have a theological training at a college - his favourite authors were Henry Ward Beecher and Oliver Wendell Holmes, and perhaps only his personal manliness and humour kept him from dwindling into that strain of optimistic religiosity which P. T. Forsyth pilloried as of no more use than "a maid in a mob, a gull in a gale, a yacht in a storm,".

If it is a measure of John Matthews' success that he prompts these enquiries into the peculiar experience of one part of Methodism, it is unfortunate that his bibliography shows no awareness of the work done by E.R. Taylor, John Kent, W.R. Ward, David Gowland, and, however wrong-headedly, Robert Currie, which might have spared his readers a rehearsal of the threadbare 'liberal' soap opera of the tyrannical Bunting and his heroic opponents. Nor would Joseph Parker of the City Temple have appreciated being cited (p.196) as the spokesman of the Wesleyan attitude in deprecating the posture of the Nonconformists in the Lancaster tithe war, though many Wesleyans would have endorsed the attitude of a 'responsible' metropolitan grandee distancing himself from the boisterous horseplay of the provincials. When Robert Perks united the two streams - provincial ambition and metropolitan aggressiveness - the result was the Westminster Central Hall, for Ramsay MacDonald in 1919 'the embodiment of a tasteless and pretentious Wesleyanism'. Amos Matthews' pilgrimage would not have ended thus; the ministry and fellowship he practised and nurtured articulated aspirations which need not have been the pretensions of the next generation and the embarrassments of their heirs.

A.N. CASS

John Potter: An Eighteenth Century Archbishop, by Leslie W. Barnard (Ilfracombe, Stockwell 1989. pp.128, £3.95)

After a distinguished career in theological teaching and research largely devoted to the patristic age, Dr. Barnard now gives us a thorough and sympathetic study of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1736-1747), who had been Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford (1708-1736) and from 1715 Bishop of Oxford also. From his birth in Yorkshire c.1674, he was a diligent and unobtrusive worker. Called from the archiepiscopal staff at Lambeth to teach at Oxford, he was obliged to serve, and finally to lead, the Church of England in days of political bitterness. He gave theological lectures to graduates both as professor and as diocesan, and was therefore a teacher of the Wesley brothers as well as their ordaining bishop. He edited the writings of Clement of Alexandria (1715), and helped to introduce the brothers to one of the authors who provoked their thought. His contacts with the Wesleys were friendly and encouraging; both the brothers record his fatherly counsel with appreciation. Many details of Potter's life are now irrecoverable, but Leslie Barnard has given us a realistic and compelling portrait of a gentle man of integrity and learning. The style of the book matches the character of its subject.

DAVID TRIPP

NOTES AND QUERIES

1462. WESLEY GAVELS

I have in my possession a gavel almost identical to the one described by David Ensor (Note 1457). The material, handle, silver band, relief portrait and text are precisely the same excepting that I can find no hallmark. The motif encircling the portrait is a little more ornate, consisting of a design of flowers and leaves, rather than a pattern similar to basket weave. Such differences are not in themselves sufficient to suggest a different artist/manufacturer.

The gavel was a gift from a former member of mine in Blackburn. There was a vague family tradition that it had been used by a relative many years before to lay the foundation stone of a Wesleyan chapel in the Preston or Garstang area of Lancashire, and this at least ties in with the apparent North Western origin of Mr. Ensor's item. Clearly they were not standard production items but made separately and thus slightly different in design. These attractive and quite beautifully wrought 'gavels' were probably in fact described as hammers or mallets as their use would be in the symbolic laying of stones rather than keeping any meeting in order.

WILLIAM PARKES

1463. THE REV D. BURNHAM RIGBY

Following the article 'An Unusual Discovery' (*Proceedings* May 1992) concerning D. Burnham Rigby and his imminent departure to Australia in 1868, I have received additional information from Australia *via* Eric G. Clancy who has kindly done some research.

According to the Australian Wesleyan *Minutes*, 1869, Daniel B. Rigby (*sic*) was stationed as a probationer minister in the Sydney (York Street) Wesleyan Circuit and recorded as having 'travelled' two years. He succeeded the Rev. Robert Lamb and is reported as having addressed the North Shore Sunday School Anniversary public meeting on Monday, 21st December 1868, but there is no mention of his presence at a function held on Good Friday, 1869. His name does not appear in the 1870 *Minutes*. Mr. Clancy writes, 'What happened to him remains an intriguing question. Did the nature and demands of the work daunt him to the extent that he became dispirited and resigned? Did he return to England? did he remain in the colony and settle down to follow some other vocation?' It seems that we shall never know.

ALAN O. BARBER

1464. THE PAPERS OF J.H. RIGG.

Mr. John T. Smith, 17 West Pasture, Kirkbymoorside, York, YO6 6BR, is anxious to locate any surviving papers of the Rev. Dr J.H. Rigg, (1821-1909), twice President of the Wesleyan Conference. There is no significant material on Rigg in the Methodist Archives or in Bristol. Any information should be sent to Mr. Smith at the above address.

EDITOR

The Rev. Dr. Arthur Skevington Wood 1916 - 1993

Dr Wood was born in Ashbourne in Derbyshire, was educated privately and at Yarm Grammar School where his father was the headmaster, and later studied for the Methodist ministry at Wesley College, Headingley, Leeds. He served Scottish circuits in Glasgow, Coatbridge, Airdrie and Paisley and in England at Brierley Hill, Sunderland and York. Between 1962 and 1970 he served full-time with the Movement for World Evangelisation and this took him on preaching tours to many parts of the world. He was appointed tutor in Church History and Christian Doctrine at Cliff College in 1970 and served there as Principal from 1977 until his retirement in 1983.

Graduating BA in Theology from London University, he received a Ph. D. degree from Edinburgh University for his research in the life and work of the eighteenth-century evangelical Anglican, Thomas Haweis. This thesis was published in 1957 as *Thomas Haweis* and this was the beginning of a literary output that numbered twenty-nine book titles and well over one hundred reviews and articles in the *Evangelical Quarterly*, the *Epworth Review*, the *WHS Proceedings* and other historical and theological journals.

His life-long interest in the Reformation led to the publication of his erudite study of Martin Luther, *Captive to the Word* (1969). His interests in the devotional life, revival in the Church, biblical exegesis, eschatology and preaching bore fruit with *The Greatest Things* (n.d.), *The Gift of Love* (1987), *And With Fire* (1958), *Paul's Pentecosts* (1963), *Signs of the Times* (1970), *I Want to Know what the Bible Says about God* (1980), *Love Excluding Sin* (1986), *Third Wave or Second Coming* (1991), *Heralds of the Gospel* (1963) and *For All Seasons* (1979).

Eighteenth-century Church History became Dr. Wood's special interest and this bore fruit with his *The Inextinguishable Blaze* (1960) *William Grimshaw* (1963) and *Brothers in Arms* (1992). His *magnum opus* was his 1967 study of John Wesley as an evangelist, *The Burning Heart*. Achieving something of a literary record by being in continuous publication from 1967 until 1992, it was acclaimed as undoubtedly the best study of Wesley as an evangelist and among the very best of all the works done on John Wesley. At his homecall he was researching the life and ministry of the Wesleyan preacher and revivalist, William Bramwell. This research was in preparation for the Annual Lecture of the Wesley Fellowship of which he was made President at its beginning in 1985.

Arthur Skevington Wood was an unashamed Methodist, a preacher of power and conviction, a scholar with an international reputation and a man of Christian grace, integrity and warmth. The wide circle of his friends and admirers inside and outside Methodism was indicated by the large congregation in attendance at the Thanksgiving Service for his life and work held in Victoria Hall Methodist Church, Sheffield, on Friday 5th. February.