

**A NEW APPEARANCE ON THE FACE OF THINGS:
RETELLING THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST CREATION NARRATIVE.**

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2013

TIMOTHY R. WOOLLEY

SCHOOL OF ARTS, LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

This research was undertaken at Cliff College.

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Abstract

This research looks at the emergence of the Primitive Methodist Connexion in the period 1800-1812, from a revival at Harriseahead, Staffordshire. It examines the 'creation narrative' the Connexion told about its beginnings, posing two questions: How influential was the first chronicler and founder of the community, Hugh Bourne, on subsequent accounts? Can a fuller story be told which places Primitive Methodist origins and Bourne's early influences in a wider context? Use is made of contemporaneous material published by Bourne and William Clowes, the Connexion's other recognised founder, their surviving MSS, extant records of the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit and Chester District, New Connexion, Wesleyan and Independent Methodist connexional records, as well as parish registers and later published accounts.

An outline of Primitive Methodist historiography is given in the introductory chapter. Primitive Methodist origins are then re-examined in four phases. In the years 1797-1800, a context is set of division in Burslem Wesleyanism brought about by the emergence of the Methodist New Connexion. The formative years of Lorenzo Dow, John Riles and William Edward Miller are surveyed, and the influences they brought to bear on later events identified. In 1800-1804, when the revival gathered pace, the role of Daniel Shubotham, Bourne's cousin, is re-assessed. Changes in the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit in 1805-1807 included the arrival of Miller and Riles, and the visit of American maverick evangelist Dow, and the impact on the revival of the resultant changing dynamics are explored. The aftermath of the revivalists holding a camp meeting on 31 May 1807 was a Wesleyan ban and a circuit dispute, causing rifts between Bourne, Shubotham and Clowes. This delicate subject for Primitive Methodist historiography is re-examined, as is the likely role of Superintendent John Riles, and the question of whether in 1808-1812 a linking of the camp meeting Methodists with the New Connexion was ever likely.

In conclusion, three key influences upon Hugh Bourne in the emergence of Primitive Methodism are identified. Firstly the Methodist New Connexion gave a context for Bourne's early ministry in a weakened circuit, and for the emergence later of a separate revivalist community. Secondly, Shubotham's spirituality was influential for Bourne despite the fissure between them. Lastly, the 'self-superintending' ministry of Dow inspired Bourne to continue to hold camp meetings and divided him from Shubotham and Clowes. These second two factors are to be found in Bourne's writings, but the dominance of his first full-length published account led to the forging of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative at an early stage. Attention to all three factors enables a contextually richer story to emerge.

Declaration

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Acknowledgements

I could not have wished for a more knowledgeable guide to eightieth and nineteenth century Methodism than my supervisor The Rev. Dr. Martin Wellings, whose help, advice and encouragement have been vital and hugely appreciated. In his 1823 History of the Primitive Methodists¹, Hugh Bourne wrote 'A good work was established at Englesea Brook, in Cheshire; which place has done great service to the connexion'. That good work continues and especial thanks must go to The Rev. Dr Stephen Hatcher, Dr Kevin Watson and Margaret Veal for their generous help and advice on my many visits to Englesea Brook Chapel and Museum. Research on Lorenzo Dow was undertaken during participation in the Wesleyan Studies Summer Seminar at Asbury Theological Seminary in Kentucky in June 2012 and the contribution of seminary staff and fellow seminarians who are now friends is greatly cherished. In addition I am very grateful to the staff of the following libraries and archives for their help in this research: Bodleian Library, Oxford; Duke Divinity School Library, Durham, North Carolina; John Rylands Library, Manchester; Staffordshire County Record Office, Stafford; Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library, Stoke on Trent; Wesley Historical Society Library, Oxford. Hugh thanks too for the patient and diligent proof reading skills of The Rev. Catrin Harland.

Lastly, but certainly not least, comes my appreciation for the loving support and forbearance of my family. Actor Kelsey Grammer said 'I think it's your duty to overcome what you inherit in life.' I suspect my ten-year old son Oliver has this feeling when he comes into my study to see me amidst my collection of Primitive Methodist artefacts, with which my wife Hilary has often threatened him 'It'll all be yours one day.' Hopefully that 'one day' he might also inherit something of the fascination I have with the story that they tell.

¹ Bourne, H. (1823). History of the Primitive Methodists, giving an account of their rise and progress, up to the year 1823. Bemersley, Printed for the Author.

‘Other Personalities and Complex Activities’: Revisiting Mow Cop

Heritage in Britain has long been big business² but in recent years it has become big business within British Methodism too. Resulting from a report to the 2008 Methodist Conference,³ the formation and branding of ‘Methodist Heritage’ as ‘the new name for the work of the Methodist Church in Britain aimed at preserving its heritage and using it as a tool for contemporary mission’⁴ has brought welcome recognition of the role of community stories in identity formation, and of the resource of historic chapels, places and artefacts as illustrations of those stories in support of the missiological task. There has been an acknowledgement too that this development raises some difficult issues with regard to the stories being illustrated. In seeking to provide ‘a theological rationale for Methodist Heritage’ a report to the 2010 Methodist Conference⁵ noted:

As we inhabit the Gospel story for now, we will always be shaped by the faithful community who gave that story to us...In reconnecting and celebrating, in learning and relishing our story, we are compelled to live now open to the same renewing, recreating , and loving God of our past story, and the future God opens before us.⁶

There is a danger when we divorce church history from mission history and view the history of the Church in the light of the master narrative of Christendom, the Western European and ‘establishment’

² See for example, Cowell, B. (2008). The Heritage Obsession : the battle for England's past. Stroud, Tempus.

³ (2008). “Methodist Heritage and Contemporary Mission.” The Methodist Church Annual Conference 2008 Agenda. 2 vols. London, Trustees for Methodist Church Purposes. ii: 317-325.

⁴ . “Methodist Heritage.” Retrieved 30 March 2013, from <http://www.methodistheritage.org.uk/about.htm>.

⁵ Methodist Heritage Committee (2010). “Report of the Methodist Heritage Committee of work undertaken in its first full year of operation, February 2009–March 2010.” Retrieved 30 March 2013, from <http://www.methodist.org.uk/downloads/conf10a-31-heritage-160211.pdf>.

⁶ Atkins, M. and M. Wakelin (2012). “Welcome”. Methodist Heritage Handbook 2012-2013. London, Trustees for Methodist Church Purposes. 2.

tradition of Christianity since Constantine. The danger is that this history becomes ‘commodified’, packaged and sold to a consumer population of tourists and in the process history as the authority of tradition and our contextual identity becomes subverted’ (Irvin, pp.5–8). Tradition, moreover, can fossilise the dynamic nature of religious movements and ossify them in static structures.

The report went on to discern two points for Methodism from this danger:

One concerns the interpretation of key events. To what extent, for example, if we are to be faithful witnesses to the Aldersgate story, do we allow Wesley’s own interpretation of his heart-warming experience to take primacy over the interpretation of others or our own reading in the light of the social and theological context of his time? And to what extent do we allow the predominant motif of Wesleyanism to determine our reading of Methodist theology and practice?⁷

This first point is arguably two points, the second of which, the danger of the inevitable prominence of Wesleyanism, is borne out by the presence of only one non Wesley-related site amongst the four heritage sites ‘recognised currently as being of particular Connexional significance and... [whose] sustainability and improved presentation are fundamental to the developing Methodist Heritage Strategy.’⁸ In addition, the fact that, amongst nineteenth century connexions, the United Methodist Free Churches features in the latest Methodist Heritage handbook only in an erroneous flow diagram⁹ should in no way detract from the excellent resource produced by Methodist Heritage, but does suggest that there is work to be done in identifying and preserving some of the remaining chapels of the UMFC before they all disappear along with the theology and practice which they embodied.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ . “Key Heritage Sites.” Retrieved 30 March 2013, from <http://www.methodistheritage.org.uk/keyheritagesites.htm>.

⁹ (2012). Methodist Heritage Handbook 2012-2013. London, Trustees for Methodist Church Purposes.8. It is unfortunately designated ‘United Wesleyan Free Church’ and its formation date recorded as 1957 as opposed to a hundred years earlier.

It is, however with the first part of this point, the interpretation of key events, and their role in shaping identity that this study is concerned. The 2010 Report of the Methodist Heritage Committee... continued:

The other question relates to the question of Methodist identity. Can we allow the different voices of Methodism, often from the margins, to challenge the 'establishment' view? The recovery of different stories questions a false universality, which would seek to create a homogenous Methodist identity, which in fact was rarely present... Any faithfulness to our heritage and the total Methodist story must own up to the ways in which that story has sometimes been distorted in the past... The tercentenary of the births of John (2003) and Charles (2007) Wesley and the Primitive Methodist bicentenary (2007) have provided more recent opportunities to re-tell the story of Methodism. But to what extent do such celebrations, sometimes marred by folksy trivialisation, focus upon the founders... without necessarily acknowledging the diversity of the movement and its dependence on the voices at the margins? Traditional interpretations, accepted uncritically, can become static dogma, which stifles the voices of experience and reason and contradicts the gospel imperatives.¹⁰

This rationale builds upon earlier work of Methodist theologians such as Barbara Glasson. Glasson noted the huge role played by stories in Methodism and how they 'are one way in which people account for the experience of their individual lives or communities... [and] provide a sense of connection to our history and to other people.'¹¹ Glasson urged more care in hearing past the dominant voices retelling the narratives which give meaning and identity: 'What about the stories that the stories do not tell? Who is telling the tales and who has been excluded? What and where are the

¹⁰ Methodist Heritage Committee (2010).

¹¹ Glasson, B. (2004). "Stories and Storytelling: The Use of Narrative Within Methodism". Unmasking Methodist Theology. C. Marsh, B. Beck, A. Shier-Jones and H. Wareing. New York ; London, Continuum. 99.

stories in the Methodist tradition and where are the silences?’¹² Glasson’s questions provide a useful framework for revisiting one familiar story in Methodism.

‘Tell Me The Old, Old Story’: Memory and Community Formation.

Tell me the story often, for I forget so soon;

The early dew of morning has passed away at noon.

Tell me the old, old story... of Jesus and His love.¹³

Lenton has observed:

Methodist history was written by those who won, by John not Charles, by the preachers who stayed not those who left, by Coke and Moore not the Church Methodists, by male not women preachers. Too much of early British Methodist history has been seen through the prism of John Wesley’s extensive writings.¹⁴

Lenton makes the point about Wesley’s legacy and in doing so underlines the danger of ‘the predominant motif of Wesleyanism’ but his contention that ‘Methodist history was written by those who won’ does not just apply to the eighteenth century. The one non Wesley-related site amongst the key four heritage sites is Englesea Brook Chapel & Museum of Primitive Methodism in Cheshire. An early Primitive Methodist chapel (1828), it is the site of the grave of one of the founders of Primitive Methodism, Hugh Bourne (1772–1852). Bourne’s leadership of a revival at Harseahead on the Staffordshire-Cheshire border resulted in the holding of a camp meeting, a day long gathering for prayer and preaching, inspired by lengthier American rallies, on 31 May 1807 at nearby Mow Cop. The consequent prohibition of such meetings by Wesleyanism at local and connexional level and Bourne’s

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Hankey, K. ‘Tell Me The Old, Old Story’ (1912). The Primitive Methodist Hymnal Supplement, with Tunes. Compiled by a Committee appointed by the Conference of 1910. Edited by G. Booth and W. Heslop. The harmonies revised by H. E. Button, etc. London, W. A. Hammond. no.87.

¹⁴ Lenton, J. (2009). John Wesley’s Preachers : A social and statistical analysis of the British and Irish preachers who entered the Methodist itinerancy before 1791. Milton Keynes, Paternoster.420.

continual holding of them was followed by his expulsion from Wesleyanism in 1808 and the emergence of a separate Christian community under the leadership of Bourne and William Clowes, which adopted the designation 'Primitive Methodist Connexion' in 1812. After the account of Wesley's conversion, this story is perhaps the most familiar in the Methodist tradition in Britain. The appeal of the story was summed up well by Robert Wearmouth: 'How two men became a community of two hundred and twenty two thousand souls is one of the romances of modern religious history. The process begun by Hugh Bourne and William Clowes covers the period of 1807-1932.'¹⁵

Bourne's legacy, in terms of the history of the church to which his actions gave birth, to is no less dominant than that of Wesley. Bourne's writing, through his journals, his articles for the Primitive Methodist Magazine and its forerunner, and his History of the Primitive Methodists,¹⁶ are the only contemporaneous or near contemporaneous accounts of the events of 1800-1812. It is Bourne's account of this period which was used as the source and the template by successive denominational historians throughout Primitive Methodism's 125 year existence and it remains understandably pervasive today. How then, if we are to be faithful witnesses to the 'Mow Cop story,' do we approach this issue? If Bourne was the one 'telling the tales,' who has been excluded?

The history of Methodism in the nineteenth century was usually written by Methodists and, most frequently, by Methodists of the same stripe as the story being told. This led to selectivity in the treatment of anything that did not reflect favourably on the denomination of the writer and the exclusion of things which demonstrated success of seceding or dissenting causes. The result of this was often the loss of contemporaneous or near contemporaneous accounts of the effect of divisions and controversies on the whole of 'the people called Methodist.' To give one example pertinent

¹⁵ Wearmouth, R.F. (1950). "'The Evolution of Primitive Methodism'." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society 27.6. 135.

¹⁶ Bourne, H. (1823). History of the Primitive Methodists, giving an account of their rise and progress, up to the year 1823. Bemersley, Printed for the Author.

to this study: Congleton, Cheshire was a centre of revivalism during the period 1804-1808 and Lorenzo Dow preached there on a number of occasions. A large number of participants from Congleton attended the first Mow Cop camp meeting on 31 May 1807. The effect on Congleton Wesleyanism of these events and the influence on the revival of those who remained within the parent body was not the concern of the chronicler of Primitive Methodism in the town¹⁷ and as no mention of any of them is to be found in Wesleyan accounts¹⁸ this wider perspective is lost.

Reasons for this loss were helpfully explored by the theologian John Franke. In defining the nature of community, Franke¹⁹ identified the role of history in providing a constitutive narrative that 'begins with the paradigmatic event(s) that called the community into being.' The use of this narrative, according to Franke, functions in an identity-forming manner, as the community 'retells the story of its beginnings and the crucial milestones that mark its subsequent trajectory.' In addition, it also serves to call to mind 'persons who have embodied or exemplified the meaning of community and who thereby serve as models for life in the present.' In articulating the narrative in this identity-forming manner, Franke contended, 'a community functions as a community of memory.' Peter Forsaith has noted the role of ceramic artefacts in this process within Wesleyanism:

... [B]usts, plaques, plates, statuettes and pulpit figures of Wesley were extensively produced, circulated and displayed through Methodism in the nineteenth century. These, together with visual images reinforced the creation myth of providential causality that

¹⁷ Birchenough, A. A. (1888). "Congleton: Its Historical and Ecclesiastical Associations" The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1888. London.

¹⁸ See Dyson, J. B. (1856). The History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Congleton Circuit, London, John Mason.

¹⁹ For what follows see Franke, J. R. (2005). The Character of Theology : An introduction to its nature, task, and purpose. Grand Rapids, Mich., Baker Academic.177.

Wesley himself had arguably originated as he described himself as ‘a brand plucked from the burning.’²⁰

During its existence, as well as the wealth of writings explored in chapter one, the community of Primitive Methodism also told its story of beginnings in a visual way, with their Staffordshire origins producing a plethora of commemorative items from local potters, especially during the centenary celebrations. Along with items such as commemorative class tickets and motto cards, these ceramics repeated a familiar story; some included significant milestones on them,²¹ but almost all told a story of origins, with the image of Mow Cop representing the paradigmatic event of the first camp meeting, the ‘myth of providential causality’ often underlined with the phrase ‘The little cloud increaseth still, which first arose upon Mow Hill.’²² Portraits of the two men regarded as founders were always included, underscoring J Day Thompson’s dictum ‘Primitive Methodism cannot be understood without Bourne and Clowes.’²³ For Primitive Methodists, here were the ‘persons who have embodied or exemplified the meaning of community and who thereby serve as models for life in the present’.²⁴

Yet, as Wearmouth then went on to say, ‘Other personalities and complex activities were involved.’²⁵ Just as Wesleyans often reduced the

²⁰ Forsaith, P. (2013). “Material and cultural aspects of Methodism: architecture, artifacts and art”. The Ashgate Research Companion to World Methodism. W. Gibson, P. Forsaith and M. Wellings. Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 400.

²¹ All Primitive Methodist Class tickets issued from the August 1829 quarter onwards bear the legend ‘First class formed March 1810’, along with the date of the first camp meeting. Some Centenary commemorative plates and motto cards include images of the first and/or subsequent chapels.

²² The earliest known commemorative plate ‘Primitive Methodist Preachers’ (1830) included this phrase and it appeared widely at the time of the centenary, including on the many varieties of the popular Wood & Sons plate. See Lee, R. (1988). Wesleyana and Methodist Pottery : A short guide. London, R. Lee. 33-35.

²³ Thompson, J. Day. (1912). The Church That Found Herself: The Story of Our Centenary Commemoration, 1907-1911. London, W.A. Hammond, Primitive Methodist Publishing House. 55. The 1830 plate adds James Bourne, and a Doulton plate of 1910 further adds James Steele but this is not usual: Lee, R. (1988). 33.

²⁴ Franke, J. R. (2005). 177.

²⁵ Wearmouth, R.F. (1950). 135.

eighteenth century Evangelical Revival to the (nevertheless important) roles of John and Charles Wesley, in reading Primitive Methodist history one soon becomes aware of other characters who make cameo appearances and whose narrative significance is regarded as being for one particular 'plot twist' in the story. Daniel Shubotham provides a foil for Bourne in being his first successful conversion and uttering the words which are regarded as a prophecy of Bourne's organisation of the first English Camp Meeting. Lorenzo Dow arrives at just the right time to preach about the virtues of holding such a meeting and to provide pamphlet-sized ammunition for Bourne's triumphant march to Mow Cop. Other figures, like William. E. Miller and John Riles, provide the opposition Bourne needs to inspire him to push onwards. Clowes on the other hand, becomes Bourne's faithful lieutenant, the preacher who inspires the camp meeting crowds whilst Bourne gets on with organising the fledgling connexion of churches.

All of this makes for a stirring narrative, but as it is read two things become very apparent. Firstly, as Rowan Williams wrote of personal history, so is true of the history of a movement becoming a church like Primitive Methodism: 'Every 'telling' of myself is a retelling and the act of telling changes what can be told next time.'²⁶ As will be explored in Chapter One, the story of the origins - what might be termed the 'creation narrative' - underwent alterations in emphasis over time, depending on the context and reason for its telling, and not least in the hands of Hugh Bourne himself. Secondly, as the primary focus was on the development of community through a shared story, little attention was paid to the broader context of events or characters in the story: the wider context of Methodism in the Potteries does not feature in the narrative, other than as a factor in the need for revival, and the experiences and views of some of the 'minor' characters in other places and times before the Burslem Circuit in 1800-1812 are rarely acknowledged as being factors in the events which led to the emergence of the Primitive Methodists as a separate religious community. They thus have a flat, one dimensional role in the story, which lessens the potential to understand the true extent of their influence on events. Contemporaneous or

²⁶ Williams, R. (2000). Lost Icons : Reflections on cultural bereavement. Edinburgh, T&T Clark.144.

near contemporaneous sources need to be studied carefully to measure the influence of those supportive of initial developments but who at pivotal moments retained their first loyalties and were subsequently neglected in the 'creation narrative' of the seceders. In addition, the effect of the proximity of other Methodist communities excluded from the denominational histories of their neighbours and too concerned when recounting their own story to stray too far beyond it also needs to be recovered as part of a fuller retelling of denominational origins.

'Stories That The Stories Do Not Tell': Re-Examining Aspects Of The Primitive Methodist Creation Narrative.

The purpose of this study is to re-examine some of those characters and a little of the context of the creation narrative of Primitive Methodism to see if the story can be told afresh and with a little more attention to neglected details. It does not purport to be a comprehensive revisiting of every aspect of the years 1799-1812 and the absence of some important characters and events should not be taken as an unawareness of their significance. Rather, the narrative is revisited through a number of key foci which emerge primarily from the reading of Hugh Bourne's numerous retellings of the story.

In his History, Bourne portrays the revival at Harriseahead which began in 1800 as emerging from a spiritual vacuum amongst '...colliers, [whol] appeared to be entirely destitute of religion, and much addicted to ungodliness.' The area, Bourne declared to be 'reckoned a profane neighbourhood above most others.'²⁷ The nearest Methodist Society, according to Bourne, was at Mow, 'about a mile and a half distant; and where there was preaching usually once a fortnight, and had been for some years'²⁸. Bourne made this implied criticism of the Wesleyan circuit for the spiritual state of the area more explicit in his use of circuit statistics in several published writings during the 1830s and only at the end of his life was this critique accompanied by any analysis of why it might have been

²⁷ Bourne, H. (1823). 5.

²⁸ Ibid.

that the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit was in a poor shape at the turn of the nineteenth century. The context for this, the bitter split out of which the Hanley Methodist New Connexion Circuit emerged, is examined here as is the question of the extent of the contact between these two fledgling Methodist groups at key points in the developments of 1800-1812, to explore whether the New Connexion could ever have been a destination for the revival movement which emerged at Harriseahead and on Mow Cop.

The leadership of that revival is another key concern of this study. Bourne and subsequent historians placed great significance in the words of Daniel Shubotham, Bourne's cousin who at a prayer meeting in the early stages of the revival at Harriseahead in 1801 said, 'You shall have a meeting upon Mow some Sunday, and have a whole day's praying, and then you'll be satisfied.'²⁹ Shubotham's words, given prophetic significance, became a key part of the creation narrative, but Shubotham himself is often reduced to this one moment of prophetic inspiration, due largely to his remaining as a Wesleyan once the issue of the camp meetings became a polarising one in the Burslem Circuit. His role in the early days of the revival and in the events leading up to the holding of the first camp meeting, as well as his continuing relationship with Bourne after it is one of the silences in later Primitive Methodist retellings of their story which this study seeks to break into, to reassess the extent of Shubotham's contribution.

One whose contribution is much more widely known is that of Lorenzo Dow. According to Bourne, on a visit to England in 1805-1807 the American maverick evangelist 'spoke largely of the camp meetings, both in public and private, and printed several tracts on the subject' and as a result, 'the desires to see a camp meeting were raised very high.'³⁰ Dow's influence has always been acknowledged in Bourne's advocacy of an English camp meeting and the nature of this is re-examined here. Dow has been described as a 'bugbear'³¹ to Wesleyan Methodism yet the numerous preaching

²⁹ Ibid. 6.

³⁰ Ibid. 8.

³¹ Turner, J. M. (1985). Conflict and Reconciliation : Studies in Methodism and ecumenism in England 1740-1982. London, Epworth. 83.

engagements he fulfilled whilst in England suggest a more complex picture than uniform opposition. Here a number of sources, including Dow's published journal material is analysed in order to build up a fuller picture of his activities and their reception, to investigate whether Dow's effect on Wesleyanism is one of 'the stories that the stories do not tell.' Dow's visit to England is placed within the context of his activities up to that point and in particular the ecclesiology or seeming lack of it that they reflected, and his influence on Primitive Methodism through the nineteenth century is also explored.

The influence on individuals of previous activities and attitudes to their reactions to and influence on the events of 1800-1812 is the emphasis of the final focus of this study, in examining the 'stories that the stories do not tell' of two Wesleyan itinerants stationed in the Burslem Circuit in the period of the revival. William Edward Miller and John Riles were to play key parts in the creation narrative of Primitive Methodism as told by Bourne and subsequent historians. Miller's influence was described by Bourne as having been a negative one, but which led to the first camp meeting:

Early in the year 1806, owing, as it was thought, to some steps taken by the under travelling preacher, the revival at Harriseahead made a pause, which was cause of grief to many, and the more so as upwards of twelve months elapsed without a single conversion taking place. During this interval, many wished the day's meeting upon Mow to be held hoping it would be a means to increase or revive religion.³²

The 'steps' Bourne referred to included the normalisation of the relationship between the Harriseahead class and the circuit, through persuading Daniel Shubotham as class leader to permit no one else (i.e. Bourne) to lead it. This study looks at the context for Miller's stationing to the Burslem Circuit provided by his active opposition to New Connexion encroachments elsewhere. John Riles, the superintendent minister who led the circuit in opposition to camp meetings after allowing the first one, also had previous encounters with the 'Kilhamites' of a much more supportive nature. His

³² Bourne, H. (1823). 8.

character, revealed by his correspondence and published writing, is examined as another factor in the narrative of the events that led to the creation of a separate Primitive Methodist community.

In ‘reconnecting and celebrating,...learning and relishing’ this important story in the Methodist tradition, the circumstances of the emergence of Primitive Methodism as a separate community within it will be the focus of the concluding remarks of the study. In relation to Bourne and Clowes as the ones who exclusively wrote much of the early story, what do the broken silences add to our understanding of the paradigmatic events that brought the Primitive Methodist community into being?

Stories and Silences: Approaches to Source Material.

In seeking a fresh retelling of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative, it is impossible and indeed undesirable not to use Hugh Bourne’s writings as the main primary source. Following Glasson, the question is rather ‘what and where are the stories’ that Hugh Bourne told, which have been given prominence over others in the retelling of the story and which should continue to be viewed as the guiding narrative today. In this, Bourne’s extant journals for the period 1803-1804 and 1808-1812 are given eminence due to their first hand nature. This does not mean that everything Bourne writes in them should be accepted as unchallengeable truth, but rather that later claims by both Bourne himself and by other writers are tested against what he did or did not think important enough to record in his journals at the time. More controversial is the place of Bourne’s unpublished autobiographical manuscripts, written between 1845 and 1851, the use of which remains contentious. The reasons for this are examined as is their role in shaping the narrative as the nineteenth century progressed, and their value in their treatment of Shubotham and Clowes is scrutinised.

In terms of published material, Bourne’s earliest published writings ‘On Camp Meetings’³³ receive particular attention, containing as they do oft-ignored details about the early role of Daniel Shubotham. Attention is also

³³ Bourne, H. (1818). ‘On Camp Meetings.’ A Methodist Magazine....conducted by the Society of people called Primitive Methodists. Leicester, J. Fowler. 26-31.

given to later issues of the Primitive Methodist Magazine, containing the subsequent retellings of the creation narrative by Bourne as well as material on other figures in the story. The subsequent published histories and biographies written during the life time of the Connexion including the Journal of William Clowes are dealt with in detail in Chapter One, and the context and purpose for which each was written is taken into account in the assessment of their contribution to the retelling of the narrative. The work of John T Wilkinson, and more recently Julia Stewart Werner are amongst the few book-length retellings of Primitive Methodism's early story since Methodist Union in 1932, and these along with shorter accounts in the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society are also considered in the opening historiographical survey. All of these sources are viewed in the light of the extant records of the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit, the Chester District and the connexional records of the Wesleyan, New Connexion and Independent Methodists, as well as parish registers of births, marriages and deaths of the period, in order to build up as full a picture of the foci of the study as possible.

In 'reconnecting and celebrating,...learning and relishing' this important story in the Methodist tradition of the emergence of the English camp meeting movement, the story of many of the events of 1800-1812 will thus be told again, to gauge how later historians drew on Bourne's various retellings, and to discern which of his interpretations of events came to be hegemonic and to what extent a synthesis of his varying views and the interpretations of later writers is needed in the light of a re-examination of extant primary sources, so that a fuller picture may be told and paradigmatic themes drawn out. Hugh Bourne wrote in 1819, 'It seems as if at this time, a new system arose, and a new line of proceedings opened; the camp meetings introduced such changes, as put a new appearance on the face of things.'³⁴ This study aims to re-examine the appearance on the face of things once again.

³⁴ Bourne, H. (1823). 19.

‘Events Began To Thicken Upon Each Other And To Increase In Importance’:

Primitive Methodists Telling Their Story

This survey of Primitive Methodist historiography will focus upon the telling of the denominational story of origins or ‘creation narrative’ from the first attempt at a connexional magazine in 1818 to the present day. At different stages of the life of Primitive Methodism, including once part of a reunited Methodist Church, the narrative of its creation as a separate Christian community was retold for particular purposes and these are explored, along with the emphases of those retellings, to survey who has told the story, what sources were used to tell it and in what circumstances and for what reason it has been told. Whilst the main focus is the telling of the origins of the church during its lifetime, the process of retelling the creation narrative in the context of reunited Methodism after 1932 is also part of the process of locating Primitive Methodist identity in a story of origins and so a selective survey is also included of books, pamphlets and articles which include a retelling of that story. The nature of Bourne’s material and how it was used by successive generations of denominational historians is given some attention here, but is investigated more fully in the chapters that follow.

‘To Preserve The Unity Of The Connexion’ 1818-1842

Up until the 1840s, the telling of the Primitive Methodist story lay largely in the hands of the Bourne brothers and the first phase of Primitive Methodist historiography is characterised by Hugh Bourne’s writing of the narrative for the purpose of community formation, and his own centrality in that narrative.³⁵ At the beginning of 1818, Hugh Bourne began planning a small quarterly connexional magazine, and in March had secured an

³⁵ For a full discussion of the extent of this, see Baker, F. (1956). “James Bourne (1781-1860) and the Bemersley Book Room “ Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society 30: 138-150.

estimate for printing it from John Tregortha, of Burslem. Bourne had planned for 2000 copies but only about 1100 seem to have been printed the following month. A Methodist Magazine....conducted by the Society of people called Primitive Methodists appeared again in July 1818 but the magazine was not a success and no further issues followed until January 1819. A series of articles in this first abortive run of the magazine, “On Camp Meetings,” were Bourne’s earliest published writings on the origins of the movement and as will be seen in chapter three these are important in offering the fullest account of Daniel Shubotham’s character and his importance to the Harriseahead revival.³⁶

According to Petty, by the end of 1818 ‘a person in the Loughborough Circuit strongly urged the propriety of issuing a *monthly* magazine and by plausible arguments prevailed upon Mr Bourne to seek the accomplishment of this desirable object.’³⁷ A letter from Bourne to Robert Stone in Derby states that the suggestion was made on 5 November 1818 by one of the travelling preachers in Leicester, who proposed a charge of 3d per issue.³⁸ Bourne felt that the proposal had a lot of support and that it could be a good source of income, an important consideration since he had borne the financial loss of the initial venture. 500 subscribers were sought to this end, and on 11 January 1819 Bourne put the magazine in the hands of John Fowler of Leicester. Bourne became ill soon afterwards and was unable to resume the editorship until 1820, when the magazine was relaunched as The Primitive Methodist Magazine. In the preface to the 1841 volume of the magazine, it was stated that ‘a person at Leicester’ edited the first eight numbers of the relaunched magazine in Bourne’s stead³⁹: Kendall noted that Robert Culley, the preacher who had first made the suggestion died in

³⁶ Bourne, H. (1818). “On Camp Meetings”. A Methodist Magazine....conducted by the Society of people called Primitive Methodists Leicester, J. Fowler. 26-31.

³⁷ Petty, J. (1860). The History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion from its origin to the Conference of 1859, London, Richard Davies, 65.

³⁸ Bourne, H. (n.d.)[1818]. To Robert Stone. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester

³⁹ Petty, J. (1860). 65.

Nottingham on 6 January 1819 and so it was William Goodrich who became the temporary first editor in Bourne's stead.⁴⁰

Whilst there were no dissenting voices when the first Conference of 1820 appointed Hugh Bourne connexional Editor, hesitation at the concentration of power in Tunstall led the Hull District, hosts to both the Conference and since the previous year to the missionary endeavours of William Clowes, to put forward a rival candidate, Edward Taylor, for the position of Book Steward against James Bourne. The resulting minutes read:

60. Q. Who shall be Book Steward?

A. If the Magazines are printed in Hull Circuit, E. Taylor. If in Tunstall Circuit, J. Bourne. ⁴¹

It is unclear what happened to Taylor subsequently: his name disappeared from the stations the following year, although at the 1822 Conference he was one of five asked to see to the execution of the Deed Poll and was appointed treasurer of the Contingent Fund for the Hull District Committee.⁴² He was certainly overlooked for the role of Book Steward in the minutes of the 1821 Conference⁴³:

48. Q. How shall the book concern be managed?

A. James Steel, James Bourne, Hugh Bourne, Charles John Abraham, and John Hancock, are elected as a book committee, to manage the concerns for the ensuing year. These are to receive and examine all matters to be inserted in the magazine, and all other matters which it may be necessary to print. H. Bourne is appointed editor, and J. Bourne book steward... The committee are empowered to establish a general book room, and a printing press, for the use of the connexion.

⁴⁰ Kendall, H. B. [1906]. The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church. 2 vol. London, Edwin Dalton. i.331.

⁴¹ Kendall, H. B. [1906]. ii. 2-3; Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). Hugh Bourne, 1772-1852. London, Epworth Press.118.

⁴² Baker, F. (1956). 140, n.12.

⁴³ P. M. Connexion. (1821). General Minutes of the Meeting held by the Primitive Methodist Connexion. Bemersley, James Bourne. 13-14.

This decision concentrated power in Tunstall, where the Conference was meeting and where all of the book committee resided. As Baker noted 'The Bournes and their Tunstall colleagues appear to have won a silent victory over Clowes and Hull, and they retained their tactical advantage for twenty years.'⁴⁴

Bourne's next published writing on the beginnings of Primitive Methodism came in the form of the first history of the movement. The impetus for an annual meeting seems to have come from the rapidly expanding Nottingham Circuit in June 1819, 'to preserve the unity of the connexion, and to promote a regular exchange of travelling preachers.'⁴⁵ The preparatory meeting which commenced in Nottingham on 18 August can be seen as a regularisation of the four existing circuits, Tunstall, Nottingham, Loughborough and Hull into a connexion with an enhanced Methodist identity expressed through an annual conference and a system of itinerant preachers. It appointed the first Annual Meeting to be held at Hull, to commence on 2 May 1820, and decided that the method of delegation would be the same as that adopted by circuits for Quarterly Meetings, consisting of three delegates from each circuit, one only of whom should be a travelling preacher. The procedures for the Annual Meeting, including in receiving and stationing travelling preachers, were drawn up and nine pages of rules for the general use of the connexion were composed. As Wilkinson contends, the Preparatory Meeting acted in reality as a precursory legislative body, in that 'it laid down the foundation of the polity of the new denomination.'⁴⁶ At the same meeting as an ecclesiological identity began to take shape, a request was made that an account of connexional origins be written. Bourne first mentions his writing of it in a journal entry for 12 October 1819 and the completed work, History of the Primitive Methodists, was read to the first Annual Meeting in Hull in May 1820, then serialised in the Primitive Methodist Magazine from January of the following year. It was published separately by James Bourne in 1823, running to a second edition in 1835,

⁴⁴ Baker, F. (1956).140.

⁴⁵ Bourne, H. (1823).45.

⁴⁶ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). Hugh Bourne, 1772-1852. London, Epworth Press.111.

and was to be the standard account of the connexion during Bourne's life time. It was also to be the source of a bitter rift between Bourne and Clowes, after the published book version contained a picture of Bourne as its frontispiece and appeared to Clowes to ensure he had been 'kept in the background.'⁴⁷ Clowes had a point: Any doubts as to who were to be the central characters in the story were to be banished from the outset of the History, which began with an account of the birth of the Bourne brothers. Bourne acknowledged in his preface the importance of his own private journals and other documents in his possession for the writing of the story and these along with his own memory were the source for the account.

In giving an description of the building of the first chapel at Tunstall in 1811, Bourne noted that like many chapels that followed, it was built in house form so that if the cause failed it could be sold for domestic use: 'this cautious method was made use of because it could not be known whether or not the connexion would be of any long continuance...in the eyes of many there was scarcely any visible bond of union.'⁴⁸ In writing his History, Bourne gave the movement the first account of its own separate identity and a narrative which could create a sense of unifying distinctiveness. In relying entirely on his own memories and private writings to place himself at the centre of the account Bourne might have hoped to emerge from his History as the focus for such a unity. Whatever his intention, Bourne's account was instead to provide a focus for division with Clowes, who in Primitive Methodist iconography later became, with Bourne and the looming image of Mow Cop, one of the three foci for a unified connexional identity. Of greatest significance for this study, Bourne's History was also to provide the often undigested raw material for much of the writing of Primitive Methodist history that was to follow. In his preface to the first part of the serialised version in the 1821 volume of the Primitive Methodist Magazine, Bourne acknowledged the role of the Tunstall book committee in having 'bestowed much time and trouble in duly ascertaining the facts and examining the

⁴⁷ Clowes, W. (1836-1838). Notebooks. William Clowes Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. DDCL 1/4. 8.

⁴⁸ Bourne, H.(1823).39.

circumstances,’⁴⁹ suggesting that they were unsurprisingly content to accept Bourne’s view of events and his placing of himself at the centre. In fact, if there had been a challenge to the Bourne brothers’ control of the narrative, then the publication of *any* narrative could have been under threat, since as Book Steward James Bourne was in the strong position from 1822 of not only managing the printing press and the Book Room at Bemersley, but personally owning both. No rental was paid to him until 1833 for the connexional use of the premises, which never left his ownership.⁵⁰ At the 1833 Conference, at Sunderland, the bitter dispute between Primitive Methodism’s two founders reached a new level when Bourne spoke from the platform for over two hours, castigating Clowes’ character as one of an idle drinker, suggesting his management of connexional money was poor, and being critical of the Hull Circuit and its preachers. Clowes responded robustly and although, as Hatcher noted, ‘Very little of this found its way into print and the Conference journal remained unsigned,’⁵¹ the attacks on the Hull Circuit continued after the Conference. A circular appeared from the Bookroom at Bemersley soon after the 1833 Conference entitled A Few Plain Facts – Faith and Industry Superior to High Popularity, As manifested in the Primitive Methodist Connexion between the Conference of the year 1824, and that of 1833 – nine years’ which purported to show that ‘Low Popularity’ Districts (among them Tunstall) had added many more members to the Connexion than ‘High Popularity’ Districts (which included Hull). The barb was clearly aimed at Clowes with both Antliff⁵² and Kendall⁵³ being clear that Bourne was the ‘anonymous’ author.

Around this time from the Bookroom there also appeared a pamphlet A Nine Years Progress of the Primitive Methodist Connexion From the

⁴⁹ Bourne, H. (1821). History of the Primitive Methodists. The Primitive Methodist Magazine for 1821. Derby, Richardson and Handford 6.

⁵⁰ Baker, F. (1956). 143

⁵¹ Hatcher, S. (1993). The origin and expansion of Primitive Methodism in the Hull Circuit, 1819-1851. PhD, University of Manchester. 193.

⁵² Antliff, W. (1872). The Life of the Venerable Hugh Bourne. London, George Lamb. 329.

⁵³ Kendall, H. B. [1906] ii. 361-62.

Conference Held in the Year 1824, to that of 1833 ⁵⁴ which purported to be 'Intended As a Continuation of the History of the Primitive Methodists.' It is a useful listing of circuits and membership totals of the period and its statistical cataloguing of progress was an approach that Petty was to follow in a much less detailed way in his later work but there are several reasons to suspect that its primary purpose may well have been to further Bourne's attacks against Clowes. The introductory page emphasises the 'greatly prospering' Tunstall District several times, and in the statistical tables the increase of the district is recorded as 7942 since 1824, as opposed to the Hull figure of 346. The totals take into account the loss and gain of circuits due to re-organisation, which left Tunstall with twenty-nine circuits as opposed to eighteen in 1824, and Hull with fourteen as opposed to eighteen but the bare statistics offered without commentary do not take into account the size of population groups, and subsequent lost potential for district growth that the removal of circuits represented, which for Hull, losing London Circuit from 1829, was considerable. A reply to the original circular from the Hull Circuit had claimed that a quarter of the entire membership of Primitive Methodism had been brought in by Clowes: no fewer than 14,116 members between 1819 and 1835.⁵⁵ In this light the declaration in the preface of A Nine Years Progress... that as a continuation of the church's history its form was 'perhaps the best and most impartial' reads like special pleading and the claim that 'Here all will be clear, here will naked fact as given in, upon the circuit reports, at the district meetings and the Annual Conferences' seems somewhat polemical. The inclusion of a rare extant copy of the pamphlet in Bourne's Journal volume for 1845-48 suggests that towards the end of his life the statistics were a way of feeding his sense of injustice that Clowes had become acknowledged as the connexion's founder on an equal footing with him.

⁵⁴ (n.d.). A Nine Years Progress of the Primitive Methodist Connexion From the Conference Held in the Year 1824, to that of 1833. Bemersley, James Bourne.

⁵⁵ Kendall, H. B. [1906] ii, 362

In 1834 Notices of the Life of Hugh Bourne,⁵⁶ a series of three connexional tracts were published which were unattributed but are believed to be the work of Bourne himself. In them he went further than in the History in elucidating the reasons as he saw them for the infrequency of open-air worship in the Burslem Circuit at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ The public airings at the 1833 Conference of the bitterness which now existed between Bourne and Clowes, spurred Bourne to once again make public his narrative of the formative years of the connexion. Bourne was to do this again in 1836, a series of articles “On the Origin of the Primitive Methodist Connexion” in the Primitive Methodist Magazine. The spur for these articles was a piece written by Thomas Harris of Burslem in The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine the previous year, “Methodism in Tunstall and Its Vicinity,” in which Harris had described the beginning of Primitive Methodism as a distinct community thus:

... but in the year 1812 a very serious division took place in the society, and nearly one half of the members left, and formed themselves into a separate body. They afterwards assumed the name of Primitive Methodists; and Tunstall continues to be their most important and influential Circuit.⁵⁸

Bourne felt that to suggest that the Primitive Methodist Connexion arose as the result of a split was inaccurate and his response outlined at length Wesley’s original development of Methodism before leaving the reader in no doubt as to the parallel:

H Bourne was inclined to open-air worship, for besides that introduced by Mr Whitfield, and Mr Wesley, he had read of it among the quakers [sic.] and others. But it chiefly consisted of what was termed field preaching. It was mainly confined to one person; and up to July 12th 1801, H Bourne had no idea of any other general system.

⁵⁶ Bourne, H. (1834). Notices of the Life of Hugh Bourne. Bemersley, James Bourne.

⁵⁷ See Chapter Two for more details of this.

⁵⁸ Harris, T. (1835). “Methodism in Tunstall and Its Vicinity.” The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. London, John Mason, Wesleyan Conference Office.519.

But one that remarkable day the Lord, in his providence, opened another system before his eyes, a system he had not before thought of; and the Lord gave him wisdom, at once, so see into its excellency and its suitableness, both to open-air worship and in door worship. And here was the true ORIGIN of the system or work, which finally, in the hand of Divine Providence, issued in the Primitive Methodist Connexion.⁵⁹

In emphasising the idea that the occasion of his preaching at Joseph Pointon's house for the first time in 1801 was the germ of the Camp Meeting idea at the expense of the more complex and multi-vocal process by which it did emerge, Bourne once again placed himself at the centre of the creation narrative. In this account, Bourne also made public his view of the role of the now-deceased Burslem Superintendent Minister John Riles⁶⁰ in the split from Wesleyanism as the camp meetings became regular events.

Finally in 1838 John Hallam, who had been appointed 'Assistant Editor' two years previously, replaced James Bourne as Book Steward thus ending the anomaly whereby James Bourne the Book Steward ensured that as official printer he himself carried out his contract satisfactorily. In 1842, in response to Aaron Leese's history of Wesleyan Methodism in Tunstall and the surrounding area⁶¹ Hugh Bourne once again wrote and published his version of events, in pamphlet form.⁶² Bourne focussed on correcting, as he saw it, the deficiencies in Leese's account of the condition of Wesleyan Methodism in the area at the turn of the century, using membership figures

⁵⁹[Bourne, H.] (1836). "On the origin of the Primitive Methodist Connexion, with notices of the origin of the Wesleyan Connexion." Primitive Methodist Magazine For the year of our Lord 1836. Bemersley, James Bourne. 261.

⁶⁰ Riles having died in 1826.

⁶¹Leese, A. (1842). An Account of the Introduction and Progress of Wesleyan Methodism in Tunstall and the surrounding neighbourhood; By an Old Local Preacher. Burslem, R. Timmis. The only known surviving copy of this pamphlet, in the Stoke on Trent City Archives in Hanley, has been mislaid.

⁶² Bourne, H. (1842). An Account Of The Work Of God At Harriseahead Near Mow, In Staffordshire, Which Originated The Camp Meetings And The Other Things; In TWO LETTERS To An Old Wesleyan Local Preacher. Bemersley, James Bourne.

which he had first included in the series of articles in 1836⁶³. With the last of these letters end-dated 20 September 1842 by Bourne, this was to be his last published retelling of the story of Primitive Methodist origins. Forced to resign as editor and superannuate by a vote at the Conference of that year, Bourne was now deprived of his official platform for control of the narrative, and began writing his own autobiography two years later. The three autobiographical manuscripts written by Bourne in 1844-1851 give a wealth of details on the early years of the camp meeting movement. The manuscripts, Texts A, B and C, were divided into chapters with the list of subjects covered at the head of each in the style of nineteenth century biographies, and there is no reason to doubt Wilkinson's assertion that Bourne intended publication.⁶⁴ Text A⁶⁵ was written during 1844, Text B⁶⁶ by the latter half of 1849, and Text C⁶⁷ in 1850-1851. Each of the autobiographies covered Bourne's early life, conversion, and the beginning of the revival at Harriseahead and as will be seen, painted a different picture of his relationship with Clowes in the period 1805-1812 than is to be gleaned from his published accounts.

'A Sober And Truthful Record Of Facts' 1842-1906

Primitive Methodism's second connexional editor, John Flesher is now remembered chiefly for the editing of a controversial revision and enlargement of Hugh Bourne's hymn book⁶⁸ but his more positive legacy was a much needed upheaval in the denomination's publishing operation. During

⁶³ See page 55 below.

⁶⁴ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952).184

⁶⁵ Bourne, H. (n.d.) [1845]. Manuscript [Text A] of Hugh Bourne's autobiography. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester.

⁶⁶ Bourne, H. (n.d.) [1849]. Manuscript [Text B] of Hugh Bourne's autobiography. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. The date is not 1845 as claimed by Wilkinson, since in Text B, 157 Bourne mentions both The Wesleyan newspaper for 5 August 1846 and the Primitive Methodist Conference held at Sunderland in June 1849. See Wilkinson, J. T. (1952).184.

⁶⁷ Bourne, H. (n.d.) [1850/1]. Manuscript [Text C] of Hugh Bourne's autobiography. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester.

⁶⁸ Chapman, D. M. (2006). Born in Song : Methodist worship in Britain. Warrington, Church in the Market Place Publications 298.

a fifteen month stay at Bemersley, Flesher uncovered irregularities in the business of the Bookroom, with no clear delineation between James Bourne's personal finances and those of the Connexion, and doubtful business speculations involving other leading Tunstall Methodists.⁶⁹ As a result of Flesher's investigations the 1843 Conference took away the printing contract from James Bourne, and the Bookroom was moved to London. In an unpublished account 'Memorandums of certain things which transpired at Bemersley and the neighbourhood beginning on Sept 10 1842' Flesher expressed his conviction that the result of the Bournes' control of Primitive Methodist publishing had been a partial telling of the movement's story:

... I find that many people call the Primitive Methodist people at Tunstall and other places in Staffordshire Clowesites, and the chapels where they worship Clowes Chapels. I asked if there were any chapels in Staffordshire called Bourne's Chapels, and any people called Bournites, but was answered by all whom I consulted in the negative. And though I have frequently asked this question I have always been answered in the negative. If the facts of the case be as the people speak of them the history of Primitive Methodism, as published by H. Bourne must be defective, in as much as Clowes is there comparatively hidden, whereas he ought to be brought before the public as one of the founders of the Connexion, if not *the* founder. To say the least of the affair it is deserving of enquiry, and I think a history of the connexion ought to be written which will place the rise of the connexion on a legitimate basis.⁷⁰

Flesher's time at Bemersley might have confirmed him in already-held suspicions but he was hardly an unbiased observer: He had accompanied Clowes as early as 1822, had been a preacher in the Hull Circuit between 1822 and 1827 and had been secretary of the Quarterly Meeting at Hull as recently as 1836. Flesher wasted little time in beginning to right what he perceived as a wrong, by the publication in 1844 of William Clowes'

⁶⁹ For a full account of this see Baker, F. (1956). "John Flesher and the Bemersley Book-Room "

Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society **30.8**: 171-178.

⁷⁰ Ibid.177.

Journals.⁷¹ From extracts in the Primitive Methodist Magazine relating to the period 1820-24 it seems William Clowes did keep a now-lost contemporaneous journal, but of his papers only seven notebooks, dating from 1836-38, are now extant and his published Journals were probably written from memory at the end of the 1830s. It is clear from Bourne's unpublished journals that the publication of Clowes' version of events was far from welcome. On 20 June 1844, Bourne wrote 'My mind exercised on account of misrepresentations and untruths published by....'⁷² Despite Clowes' view that Bourne's History side-lined him, his book in fact gave no suggestion of disagreement between the two men, although he notably paints a very different picture of The Rev. W.E Miller, for Bourne a hindrance to revival but to Clowes a mentor figure. Clowes' extant private notebooks written after the 1833 Conference episode show a degree of bitterness towards Bourne and a level of idiosyncrasy in spelling and punctuation which suggests that Clowes' son-in-law, The Rev. John Davison, who undertook the compilation of the published Journals for the press, may have had to undertake a great deal of editing in the process. How much of this involved removing or altering material as well as standardising punctuation and spelling is impossible now to ascertain.

Following the death of Clowes in 1851 and of Bourne the following year, Bourne's papers passed to his nephew John Walford and his two-volume work Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Hugh Bourne⁷³ appeared between 1855 and 1857, drawing extensively on Bourne's previously unpublished journals and his autobiographical manuscripts. The volumes had an additional editorial credit for William Antliff, who later claimed in the foreword to his own biography of Bourne that he had no responsibility for 'the construction and character'⁷⁴ of Walford's work. Walford's two

⁷¹ Clowes, W. (1844). The Journals of William Clowes, a Primitive Methodist preacher. London, Hallam and Holliday.

⁷² Bourne, H. (8 Feb.1844-12 Feb.1845). Journal, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester.20 June 1844.

⁷³ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). Memoirs of the Life and Labours of the late venerable Hugh Bourne. 2 vols. London, T. King.

⁷⁴ Antliff, W. (1872). The Life of the Venerable Hugh Bourne. London, George Lamb. vii.

volumes remain the most comprehensive work on Bourne, although as will be seen, his sympathetic use of Bourne's journals appeared to have involved some redaction. There is a suggestion in a disavowing review of the first volume of Walford's work in the Primitive Methodist Magazine that this was known at the time of publication:

Not having read the manuscripts, he has revised (save a small portion of the former part), and not knowing how far his licence of revision has extended, we are not in circumstances to judge of the manner in which he has performed his task though we doubt not he has done his best under the circumstances in which he has been placed. Our duty to the Connexion will be performed when we have simply announced that the work is not a Connexional one; that is to say, it is neither Connexional property, nor has any of the Connexional publishing committees been in any way connected with its publication.⁷⁵

The Primitive Methodist Conference meeting in Cambridge in June 1857 decided 'That a history of our denomination shall be published, under the sanction of the Conference, as an appropriate volume to commemorate the approaching first Connexional Jubilee' and the Minutes recorded an amount 'paid for Mr Hugh Bourne's papers and manuscripts £150' in addition to 'Mr Petty's travelling expenses from Hull to Cheshire about Mr H Bourne's papers and manuscripts £2 1s 4d'⁷⁶. John Petty had been made assistant editor to John Flesher in 1851 and became editor-in-chief the following year. Perhaps wary of what had happened when an ineffective accountability process had been put in place for the 1823 History the Connexion this time wished to remain firmly in control of the narrative as is made clear by the process outlined in the Minutes for Petty's task:

That Brother J. Petty shall be desired to write the said intended history, in connection with the Book Committee, and as the work

⁷⁵ (1856). Notices of Publication: Memoirs of the Life and Labours of the late venerable Hugh Bourne... The Primitive Methodist Magazine for The Year of Our Lord 1856. London, Thomas King. 36.

⁷⁶ P. M. Connexion. (1857). General Minutes of the Meeting held by the Primitive Methodist Connexion Held at Cambridge June 3-12 1857. London, Thomas King.50

passes through the Press, a sheet or two at a time, in letter-press, shall be forwarded to the respective District Publishing Committees, which shall be desired carefully to examine the said sheets, offer their official remarks in writing, and then return the sheets, with their remarks, to Brother Petty without delay.⁷⁷

Each Primitive Methodist district was, by the mid nineteenth century, 'like a petty kingdom within the wider connexion'⁷⁸ and how stressful the process of having every page vetted by ten District Publishing Committees all offering their comments must have been for John Petty can only be imagined. The compilation of a history by this method was never likely (nor indeed intended) to result in a fresh interpretation of events, and so it was to prove. What it did do was to avoid any repeat of the 1830s conflict between districts as to whose contribution to the growth of the church was most significant and prevent the second official history from becoming a focus for supporters and detractors of Bourne and Clowes as the first one in 1823 had come to be. What Petty's History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion,⁷⁹ provided instead was a year by year account of the growth of a movement that by time of the publication of the book had developed into a national church, with 123,863 members worshipping in 2166 chapels across Britain.⁸⁰ His style was workmanlike, with a Methodical attention to statistical detail represented at the end of each chapter in numerical summaries of the decade covered.

Subsequent chroniclers of the movement tried not to emulate Petty's dry style. His biographer James McPherson was critical both of Petty's writing style and his use of material: 'possibly the facts recorded by Mr Petty in his history may some day be exhibited to greater advantage than they have been by him.'⁸¹

⁷⁷ Ibid. 27.

⁷⁸ Milburn, G. E. (2002). Primitive Methodism. Peterborough, Epworth Press. 23.

⁷⁹ Petty, J. (1860).

⁸⁰ Ibid. 424.

⁸¹ Macpherson, J. (1870). The Life and Labours of the Rev. John Petty. London, George Lamb, Conference Offices. 465.

There was too, though, an acknowledgement of the pressures Petty found himself under:

Although Mr Petty was largely distinguished by independence of mind, still in the execution of this work he wished as far as he could consistently with truth and candour to accommodate himself to the tastes and feelings of others; and under the circumstances he acted wisely.⁸²

According to the preface to Petty's History, Bourne's journals and papers were 'entrusted to the care of the author to assist him in his undertaking,' yet a further question about the work concerns what material he had of Bourne's to use. According to a letter sent to Conference from John Petty and Thomas Bateman, Bourne's papers were by now 'torn, dirty and thrown together in confusion, like waste paper, utterly worthless' and after sifting, those 'found to reflect on the character of individuals and courts'⁸³ were destroyed, although at what point it is not clear. It seems that Hugh Bourne began to keep a journal in 1803 and that he continued to do so until February 1852, seven months before his death, but most of those volumes which now survive date from February 1808 onwards, with one volume covering the period February 1803-August 1804.⁸⁴ In addition to those extant journals, Walford quoted extensively from Bourne's now lost journal from the period February-April 1805, and briefly from June and August 1807, suggesting that he had access to material no longer extant. Petty, too, seems to have had access to this material, since he quoted an entry from Bourne's journal from 27 March 1805⁸⁵ which is not referred to by Walford. Wilkinson believed that the earliest missing journal material was likely to have been destroyed in a fire at Bemersley in 1834.⁸⁶

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952).182.

⁸⁴ Bourne, H. (1803-1852). Journals, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester.

⁸⁵ Petty, J. (1860).14.

⁸⁶ Ibid 183

That Petty chose not to use any of Bourne's later manuscripts to compensate for missing journal material is unsurprising for several reasons. Firstly, Bourne's derogatory view of Clowes expressed in them would not have been helpful for healing old wounds within the connexion over the two men's respective legacies. More than this, though, in a funeral sermon for him, Petty had spoken of how in his opinion of Bourne, 'the depth of his sorrow and the painful exercise he experienced on some occasions materially affected the soundness of his mind'⁸⁷ a view of Bourne's later years held by both contemporary and modern commentators. The introduction to the Primitive Methodist Missionary Report for 1853 reflected on the recently deceased Bourne that 'In the judgement of many...his intellect was occasionally obscured, so that his views but ill accorded with propriety.'⁸⁸ Bateman respectfully suggested that the decision to relieve Bourne of his duties by the Conference of 1842 was due to the fact that 'his natural strength and mental powers began sensibly to decline.'⁸⁹ In 1856, in a biography of his recently deceased brother John, William Garner wrote of Bourne's 'symptoms of mental decay'⁹⁰. Amongst twentieth century writers, Bourne suffered mental deterioration in the opinion of both Wilkinson⁹¹ and Hatcher.⁹²

One of Bourne's contemporaries who did not accept this view was George Herod, whose Biographical Sketches of Some Preachers of the Primitive Methodist Connexion...⁹³ is a valuable source of information, especially on the role of Lorenzo Dow in the early story of Primitive Methodism. Herod's work, appearing from the publishing house in 1855, was the first comprehensive acknowledgement of the role of others alongside

⁸⁷ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). ii. 444.

⁸⁸ Herod, G. (1855). Biographical Sketches of Some of Those Preachers Whose Labours Contributed to the Origination and Early Extension of the Primitive Methodist Connexion. London, Thomas King. 487.

⁸⁹ Bateman, T. (1853). "A Sketch of the Life and Labours of the Venerable Hugh Bourne." Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1853. London, Thomas Holliday. 649.

⁹⁰ Garner, W. (1856). The Life of Mr. John Garner, Sen. London, Thomas King. 85.

⁹¹ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 177.

⁹² Hatcher, S. (1993). 201-04.

⁹³ Herod, G. (1855).

Bourne and Clowes in the development of the movement. Herod was converted under the preaching of Clowes in 1818⁹⁴ but this did not prevent him from critiquing both the accuracy of Clowes' dating in his published Journal and his role in support of Bourne as the camp meeting movement gathered momentum.⁹⁵ These comments may have been what prompted the book's reviewer in The Primitive Methodist Magazine to express dissatisfaction with its sketches of Bourne and Clowes:

We regret the introduction of several things which we cannot regard as conducive to the glory of God or the prosperity of his cause; and conscientiously differ in opinion from several of Mr. H.'s statements and conclusions. These objectionable things will militate against the usefulness of his book, many parts of which we are happy to commend.⁹⁶

In 1854, John Davison wrote The Life of the Venerable William Clowes,⁹⁷ which although it was not commissioned by the connexion was issued by the publishing house. By now Clowes' published Journal had sold out and Davison's stated aim was to produce a life 'incorporating most of the said Journals, the circumstances attending his death, and one of his original discourses.'⁹⁸ He did also suggest that other Clowes material, now lost, may have been available to him in the form of 'unpublished manuscripts, which he left behind.'⁹⁹ Davison's style, florid in every sense of the word (the preface begins 'I BEG to present a collection of flowers...' and continues in similar vein) did not prevent the edition of four thousand copies selling out. In 1865 the Conference, having bought the rights to Davison's work, commissioned William Garner to write a standard life of Clowes and William Antliff to produce a companion for Bourne. Garner's volume appeared three

⁹⁴ Ibid. 418.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 398-400.

⁹⁶ (1856). "Notices of Publication: Biographical Sketches ..." The Primitive Methodist Magazine for The Year of Our Lord 1856. London, Thomas King. 37.

⁹⁷ Davison, J. (1854). The Life of the Venerable William Clowes, one of the founders of the Primitive Methodist Connexion. London, Thomas King; Ward & Co.

⁹⁸ Ibid. iii.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 183.

years later¹⁰⁰ but Antliff's was not published until 1872.¹⁰¹ Garner's Life was reliant on the published sources of Davison, Petty, Herod and Clowes own Journal¹⁰² whilst Antliff used Bourne's journals and manuscripts, as well as drawing on Walford, Petty and Thomas Bateman's memoir in the Primitive Methodist Magazine.¹⁰³ In contrast to Davidson's work on Clowes, Bourne's biography was praised in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for its avoidance of hagiography:

Dr. Antliff has a high admiration of his hero, but does not worship him. On the contrary, with a fidelity too uncommon in biography, he does not hide his failings and defects...The style of the writer is vigorous and clear, and his own comments on the events which he narrates are marked by sound, strong common sense.¹⁰⁴

Published over a period of thirty five years, Thomas Church wrote prolifically on the denomination's history, his works including Sketches of Primitive Methodism,¹⁰⁵ Popular Sketches of Primitive Methodism...¹⁰⁶ and The Founders of the Primitive Methodist Connexion: Their Life and Work.¹⁰⁷ Church's 1869 offering, A History of the Primitive Methodists,¹⁰⁸ reduced the story in sixty pages to profiling only Bourne and Clowes but some twelve years later, his expanded two-part A History of Primitive Methodism¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰ Garner, W. (1868). The Life of the Rev and Venerable William Clowes, One of the Patriarchs of the Primitive Methodist Connexion. London, William Lister.

¹⁰¹ Antliff, W. (1872).

¹⁰² Garner, W. (1868). xi.

¹⁰³ Antliff, W. (1872). viii.

¹⁰⁴ (1872). "Select Literary Notices: The Life of the venerable Hugh Bourne". By William Antliff, D.D. London: George Lamb. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for the year 1872. London, Wesleyan Conference Office: 1125-1126.

¹⁰⁵ Church, T. (1847). Sketches of Primitive Methodism London, T. Ward & Co.

¹⁰⁶ Church, T. (1850). Popular sketches of Primitive Methodism: Being a link in the chain of British ecclesiastical history. London, Published by the Author.

¹⁰⁷ Church, T. (1882). The Founders of the Primitive Methodist Connexion: Their life and work. . London, Primitive Methodist Book Room.

¹⁰⁸ Church, T. (1869). A History of the Primitive Methodists. London, Primitive Methodist Bookroom.

¹⁰⁹ Church, T. (1881). History of Primitive Methodism. Parts I. and II. London, Primitive Methodist Book Room.

included biographical sketches of Hugh and James Bourne, William Clowes, James Crawfoot, James Nixon, James Steel, and Lorenzo Dow and was lauded in the Primitive Methodist Magazine:

Nothing that has yet been written on our Connexional history supersedes Mr. Church's monograph, and we shall rejoice if it find its way to every home and every Sunday-school library in the Connexion.¹¹⁰

The relative scarcity of the volumes today suggests that the reviewer's wish remained unfulfilled.

To meet the need for more popular, accessible accounts of the lives of the founders, the Primitive Methodist Book Committee commissioned two more accounts of Bourne and Clowes, written by Jesse Ashworth¹¹¹ and Thomas Guttery¹¹² respectively. Appearing around 1888, at 132 pages in length each, the target audience is identified in the preface to the Bourne volume:

The writer hopes and prays that this work may prove a blessing to tens of thousands of our young people especially, and...that it may be useful to numerous Christians beyond the pale of our own denomination.¹¹³

The first of these aims was prevalent in Methodism in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, when books such as Historic Sketches of Free Methodism,¹¹⁴ Origin and History of The Wesleyan Reform Union,¹¹⁵ and The Roots of Methodism¹¹⁶ addressed a concern for young

¹¹⁰ (1881). "Literary Notices: A History of Primitive Methodism. By Thomas Church..." The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1881. London, Ralph Fenwick. 698-699.

¹¹¹ Ashworth, J. (c.1888). The Life of the Venerable Hugh Bourne. London, Joseph Toulson.

¹¹² Guttery, T. (c.1888). The Venerable William Clowes. A Sketch. London, Joseph Toulson.

¹¹³ Ashworth, J. (c.1888). 1.

¹¹⁴ Kirsop, J. (1885). Historic Sketches of Free Methodism. London, A. Crombie.

¹¹⁵ W.R.U. (1896). Origin and history of the Wesleyan Reform Union : with a brief summary of Methodist secessions. Sheffield, Wesleyan Reform Union Book Room.

¹¹⁶ Fitzgerald, W. B. (1903). The Roots of Methodism. London, Charles Kelly.

people growing up within the various branches of the tradition that 'No care has been taken to indoctrinate them into the principles, or instruct them in the history of the body.'¹¹⁷

John Petty's account was to remain the standard history for over forty years, being updated in 1860 and again in 1880. On the second occasion, Macpherson's stated desire to see 'a better history of the Connexion' had the possibility of being realised when he himself was given the task of producing an enlarged volume but Macpherson's changes were largely to writing style rather than to Petty's original content. The additional sixty-five page supplement¹¹⁸ added to the 1880 edition focused on the ecclesiological units which now made up an international church: The Districts, overseas mission stations, the Beneficent Fund, the theological colleges, and the Sunday School Union. Petty's updates on statistics for the decade at the end of each chapter were not continued into the additional chapters, but a history which began with conversions and revival some eighty years previously now ended with an update on the progress of the connexional Insurance Company: To a story of sixty years of evangelistic progress was now added a record of institutional development and respectability.

'Through Memory's Sunset Air' 1906-1932

The final flourishing of Primitive Methodist storytelling, during the Centenary celebrations of 1907-1910, produced what is still regarded as the standard history of the denomination, as well as a large number of celebratory popular volumes. The Conference of 1903 meeting in Newcastle resolved to appoint a committee 'to consider how we may best celebrate the Centenary of the Connexion'¹¹⁹ and when the committee met on 26 April the following year the decision was made that the celebrations should span 1907-10. The Conference of that year meeting in Birmingham enlarged the initial fifty-strong group to one hundred and in Leicester in March 1905 this

¹¹⁷ Kirsop, J. (1885). v.

¹¹⁸ Petty, J. and J. Macpherson (1880). The History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion: A New Edition Revised and Enlarged by James Macpherson. London, John Dickenson. 583-648

¹¹⁹ Thompson, J., Day. (1912). The Church That Found Herself: The Story of Our Centenary Commemoration, 1907-1911. London, W.A. Hammond, Primitive Methodist Publishing House. 6.

now unwieldy gathering was split into three smaller committees, Evangelistic, Literature and Educational, and Financial.¹²⁰ The remit of the Literature and Educational committee included the issuing of ‘a History of our church for younger readers and one for more advanced readers.’¹²¹ The publication for younger readers was The Miraculous River, The Story of Our Church for Young People and had a circulation of 80,000 but in young hands not too many seem to have survived.¹²² Like much else produced for the centenary, it stresses ‘the romantic beginnings of our church’, comparing its development to the river blessing everything it touches in the vision of Ezekiel.¹²³ HB Kendall, Connexional Editor from 1892-1901, was entrusted with the task of meeting the need of ‘the more advanced readers.’ In 1888 Kendall had produced a pocket-sized History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion¹²⁴ of around 120 pages, which was enlarged in 1902 and again in 1919, the year of his death. In the original book Kendall made a veiled criticism of Petty’s writing style, declaring his aim in writing Primitive Methodist history:

Surely not a catalogue of names and dates, though arranged with never so much relation to truth and chronological order but an honest attempt to convey a life-like impression of the method and surroundings, the toils and struggles of our founders and fathers.’¹²⁵

Kendall’s History of the Primitive Methodist Church¹²⁶ was initially published in ten monthly parts during 1904 and then in two huge volumes totalling some 1100 pages around 1906. Milburn summed up the idiosyncratic nature of Kendall’s History as:

¹²⁰ Ibid. 9

¹²¹ Ibid.10.

¹²² Thompson, J. D. (n.d.). The Miraculous River: The Story of Our Church For Young People. London. A very delicate copy survives in Englesea Brook Chapel and Museum Library.

¹²³ Ibid., 3. The reference is to Ezekiel 47.1-12

¹²⁴ Kendall, H. B. (n.d.) [1888]. History of The Primitive Methodist Connexion. London, Joseph Toulson.

¹²⁵ Ibid.36.

¹²⁶ Kendall, H. B. [1906].

...an enormous and erudite work with no table of contents, no list of sources, a paucity of references, a frustratingly inadequate index, and a strange distribution of material which devotes 900 pages to the period from c.1800 to 1843, and the remaining 200 pages to the following sixty years.¹²⁷

Kendall's disproportionate emphasis on the identity-forming narrative of the formative years of Primitive Methodism is in keeping with the accent on the romanticism of the celebrations, and unlike previous historians he does seem to have made use of Bourne's autobiographical MSS, albeit selectively.¹²⁸ Amongst Kendall's other publications was the now scarce memorial volume "What Hath God Wrought!" A Centenary Memorial of the Primitive Methodist Church¹²⁹ which 'did fine service as a text book for examinations as well as for general reading.'¹³⁰ One can see why this would have been so: Kendall broke the story down into distinct phases, telling the story of the Connexion's origins and its spread before breaking the middle period into two chapters, covering the years 1842-53, 'The Transition Period' of Bourne and Clowes' superannuation and death, and then the development into 'A Connexion of Districts' between 1853-1885, before completing the story with an account of overseas mission, and the process behind the 1902 adoption of the title 'Church' in the place of 'Connexion.' Once again there was a prominence given to the creation narrative, with eighteen of the eighty-eight pages describing the period 1800-1810 of the story.

Probably the most widely found book on Primitive Methodism still in circulation today, Joseph Ritson's The Romance of Primitive Methodism¹³¹ sold 30,000 copies.¹³² Ritson (1852-1932) was appointed connexional editor in 1906 and his book was based upon the Hartley Lecture he gave at the

¹²⁷ Milburn, G. E. (1995). "Methodist Classics Reconsidered: 3: H.B. Kendall's Origin and History of the P.M. Church." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society 50.3.108.

¹²⁸ Chapter Five outlines an example of this.

¹²⁹ Kendall, H. B. (n.d.) [c.1907]. "What Hath God Wrought!" : A Centenary Memorial of the Primitive Methodist Church. London, Edwin Dalton.

¹³⁰ Thompson, J.D. (1912). 85.

¹³¹ Ritson, J. (1910).

¹³² Howdle, S. (2007). "Unmasking Primitive Methodism." Epworth Review 34.2.17.

Primitive Methodist Conference at Southport in 1909. Produced as a popular centenary celebration volume, Ritson states his purpose candidly:

History records the hard facts associated with the origin and growth of the Primitive Methodist Church. In dealing with the romance of the story, the facts will still have to be considered; but they will form the background of the picture, and emphasis will be laid upon those elements which, whether viewed “through memory’s sunset air, or in the light of all that goes before and after, inspire us with light and wonder.”¹³³

This approach did cause Ritson to exclude from what is a substantial volume those less than romantic elements of the story, particularly with regard to the relationship between Clowes and Bourne. Also published for the centenary in a similar style was Henry Woodcock’s The Romance of Reality,¹³⁴ written as a source of historical anecdotal material for ‘Ministers, Local Preachers, Class Leaders and other officials and members generally.’¹³⁵ Ritson indicated that Woodcock was one of his sources, along with a number of local souvenir publications, and ‘Mr Kendall’s monumental work.’¹³⁶ Woodcock’s volume is now scarce, but the popularity of Ritson’s work makes it both indicative of Primitive Methodist self-identity during the years of the Centenary celebrations and continually influential in Primitive Methodist studies after Methodist Union in 1932. In a similar vein, and still prevalent, the final volume published during the life of Primitive Methodism as a separate connexion, A Methodist Pageant,¹³⁷ was issued in 1932 as Methodist Union drew near. Its purpose was described by its compiler, Connexional Editor B Aquila Barber as ‘not to present an exhaustive historical record... [but] simply to serve as a souvenir...of a distinctive

¹³³ Ritson, J. (1910). 4.

¹³⁴ Woodcock, H. (n.d.) [c.1907]. The Romance of Reality: Being sketches of homespun heroes and heroines and the part they played in the making of Primitive Methodism. London, Edwin Dalton.

¹³⁵ Ibid. 8

¹³⁶ Ritson, J. (1910).iii-iv.

¹³⁷ Barber, B. A. (1932). A Methodist Pageant : A Souvenir of the Primitive Methodist Church. London, Holborn Publishing House.

ministry over a period of one hundred and twenty years.’¹³⁸ The lavishly illustrated book’s bibliography indicates that apart from Bourne’s journal for 1808, all other references Barber used were from printed sources.¹³⁹

‘Into The Common Store Its Own Contribution Of Treasure’¹⁴⁰ 1932-2013.

In the years since Methodist Union, substantial historical works on Primitive Methodism have been surprisingly few in number. Most retellings of the story of the church in the years following Methodist Union were written solely by former Primitive Methodist ministers or laypeople: a notable exception to this appeared in 1942 with the publication of Mow Cop and The Camp Meeting Movement¹⁴¹ by Arthur Wilkes and Joseph Lovatt. Wilkes had entered the Primitive Methodist ministry in 1887, served at Tunstall 1918-23 and since 1928 had been a supernumerary minister residing there. He would have thus been very aware of the standing locally of Joseph Lovatt (1873-1945), a former Wesleyan local preacher and trustee of Harriseahead Wesleyan Chapel. Lovatt invested the money he built up from a successful bakery business into buying and quarrying land around Mow Cop, which caused much opposition from locals concerned at potential damage to the castle, until the site was donated to the National Trust and Lovatt left for Kids Grove in 1937.¹⁴² In his preface, Lovatt described his co-operation with Wilkes:

The appearance of this book is the fruition of my long cherished dream and at the same time a response to the expressed wishes of many friends. It has seemed to them as well as to me that that something of the kind is needed to clear away some lingering misconceptions in the

¹³⁸ Ibid. xiii.

¹³⁹ Ibid. 306.

¹⁴⁰ Wilkes, A. and J. Lovatt (1942). Mow Cop and the Camp Meeting Movement : Sketches of Primitive Methodism. Leominster, Orphans' Printing Press Ltd. xvii.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² “Mow Cop Interactive: A Past and Present look at Mow Cop. Joseph Lovatt (1873-1945)”; [anon.]. (1937). “Mow Cop, A Recent Celebration.” Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society 21.2: 41-42.

local mind. Hence the narrative of events leading up to the gifts of the historic site and tower to the nation.¹⁴³

This aim only took up the first ten pages of the book, edited by Wilkes,¹⁴⁴ and the bulk of the remaining chapters were written by him. Apart from a chapter on local worthies, the only chapters Lovatt contributed to are sketches of Dow, Bourne and Clowes and accounts of the first three camp meetings, which contain inaccuracies in places. For example, the mention of the Tunstall Wesleyans' invitation to 'a certain female preacher, who had a dubious ephemeral reputation...intended to detract from the crowds at Norton'¹⁴⁵ refers to Mary Dannel being asked to provide pulpit supply on the Sunday of the three-day camp meeting of 22-24 August 1807, a move in reality designed to keep her from being able to attend, some four years before allegations of bigamy were made against her. For Wilkes' part, one of his motivations was the fact that all of the previous connexional histories were now out of print.¹⁴⁶ The work's greatest value is in its short sketches of a large number of lesser known lights in the Connexion in its later stages of development, many of whom were Wilkes' personal acquaintances, rather than adding new insights into the church's formative years.

The focus of the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society (PWHS) before Methodist Union was overwhelmingly on Wesleyanism. The first contribution on 19th century separated Methodism after union seems to have been The Rev. Henry Smith's "A Memento of the Methodist New Connexion,"¹⁴⁷ in September 1933. The article is followed by a footnote:

Membership in the W.H.S. has never been confined to Wesleyan Methodists, but as a matter of fact nearly all the members have belonged to that Church. With the consummation of Methodist Union we welcome some newly-joined members who were formerly of the

¹⁴³ Wilkes, A. and J. Lovatt (1942). v.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. vii.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 62

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. vii.

¹⁴⁷ Smith, H. (1933). "A Memento of the Methodist New Connexion." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society. 19.3. 65-68.

Primitive or United Methodist Churches. We hope as time goes on to receive many more. We are especially pleased to print this contribution from an Ex-President of the United Methodist Conference.¹⁴⁸

Judging by the infrequency of articles on other branches of Methodism for a number of years it seems that it took some time before the WHS established itself as a forum for wider Methodist research. For Primitive Methodism the centenary anniversaries of the deaths of Bourne and Clowes were to be a catalyst for a number of articles appearing in the early 1950s. Already cited in the introduction to this study, Dr Robert F Wearmouth's article, "The Evolution of Primitive Methodism,"¹⁴⁹ opted for a similar romantic approach to the writers of the 1909-1932 period. In doing so it included the restating of a number of myths. Consider for example the following statement about Bourne and Clowes:

...both were Wesleyan Methodist officials, the one a class leader and the other a local preacher; both were expelled from membership because of irregular evangelism.

Wearmouth was most probably incorrect in every respect here: Bourne was only listed as a class leader officially for one year, 1803,¹⁵⁰ and that jointly with Daniel Shubotham, Clowes only got as far as being a preacher on trial¹⁵¹ whilst Bourne was expelled from membership for failing to attend class and Clowes for attending camp meetings, whether he preached at them or not.¹⁵² As Farndale noted 'It must also be distinctly affirmed that all through his life Bourne meant by camp meeting an open-air gathering in which praying was predominant'¹⁵³, thus rendering too simplistic

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 68

¹⁴⁹ Wearmouth, R. F. (1950).

¹⁵⁰ (1803-1805). Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book. Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Archives 1796-1819, Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library. Stoke on Trent.

¹⁵¹ Wilkinson, J. T. (1951). William Clowes, 1780-1851. London, Epworth Press. 27,n.2.

¹⁵² Clowes, W. (1844). 84-5.

¹⁵³ Farndale, W. E. (1952). "Hugh Bourne and the 'Spiritual Manifestation'." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society. 28.7. 134.

Wearmouth's suggestion that they were 'in reality a revival of the "field preaching" of Wesley and Whitefield.'¹⁵⁴

The 1950s saw a number of publications around both the centenary of the deaths of Bourne and Clowes and the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the first camp meeting. Ordained in Primitive Methodism, John Wilkinson (1893-1980) spent thirty years as a circuit minister before being appointed tutor in Church History and English Literature at Hartley Victoria College in 1946, becoming Principal seven years later. His biographies of William Clowes¹⁵⁵ and Hugh Bourne¹⁵⁶ remain the standard works to this day. His volume on Hugh Bourne is extensive and valuable with his copious foot notes referencing all Bourne's writings, including his rarely referenced autobiographical MSS. Clowes' biography, whilst still useful, is a much slimmer volume, reflecting the paucity of Clowes' extant primary source material. In an appendix Wilkinson offered an exploration of the relationship between the two founders, acknowledging previous historians' reluctance to approach the subject.¹⁵⁷ Taken together Wilkinson's two books represented the first, and as yet in book length the only attempt at a critical appraisal of Bourne and Clowes. Based upon his research, Wilkinson also wrote PWHS articles on Clowes¹⁵⁸ and Bourne¹⁵⁹ for the respective centenaries of their deaths.

William E Farndale (1881-1966) entered the Primitive Methodist ministry in 1904 and served post-union Methodism with distinction as Chairman of the Lincoln and Grimsby District (1933-1952), President of the Conference (1947) and tutor at Cliff College (1952-1959). His two retellings of Primitive Methodist origins, the 1950 WHS Lecture The Secret of Mow

¹⁵⁴ Wearmouth, R. F. (1950). 136.

¹⁵⁵ Wilkinson, J. T. (1951).

¹⁵⁶ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952).

¹⁵⁷ Wilkinson, J. T. (1951). 94-101.

¹⁵⁸ Wilkinson, J. T. (1951). "William Clowes, 1780-1851: A Centenary Tribute." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society. 28.1. 8-12

¹⁵⁹ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). "Hugh Bourne, 1772-1852: A Centenary Tribute." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society. 28.7. 126-130.

Cop¹⁶⁰ and the pamphlet Mow Cop After 150 Years¹⁶¹ asked questions of some of the myths of the tradition, including the accuracy of calling Bourne's meetings 'Camp Meetings',¹⁶² the reasons for Bourne's expulsion from Wesleyan Methodism¹⁶³ and the causes of Wesleyan opposition.¹⁶⁴ His treatment of this last subject is particularly insightful.¹⁶⁵

Leonard Brown was in training at Hartley College at the time of Methodist Union and so was one of the final ministerial candidates to be accepted through Primitive Methodist procedures. His two-part 1964 PWHS article "The Origins of Primitive Methodism"¹⁶⁶ began with a somewhat speculative discourse about the effect of Hugh Bourne's upbringing on his conversion but his treatment of the role of the Harriseahead chapel and of Wesleyan attitudes towards it is insightful, if frustratingly under-referenced. He also made connections with the discord within the Burslem Circuit over the Methodist New Connexion schism which represented a broader view of factors in the Harriseahead revival than had been previously offered. In other matters, a lack of engagement with Clowes' few extant sources and selective use of Bourne's later MSS meant that a largely familiar story was told.¹⁶⁷ Much more revisionist was Brown's exploration of Bourne and Clowes relationship "Hugh Bourne - Born 3rd April 1772: A Bicentenary Reflection,"¹⁶⁸ in which Brown argued that Bourne's 1833 Conference diatribe against Clowes concerned the future direction of the church rather than past grievances.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁰ Farndale, W. E. (1950). The Secret of Mow Cop. A new appraisal of the origins of Primitive Methodism. London, Epworth Press.

¹⁶¹ Farndale, W. E. (1957). Mow Cop: After 150 years. Its spiritual significance. London, Epworth Press.

¹⁶² Farndale, W. E. (1950). 31-32.

¹⁶³ Ibid. 35-36

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 32-33. Farndale, W.E. (1957). 7-10.

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter Five.

¹⁶⁶ Brown, L. (1964). "The Origins of Primitive Methodism." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society. 34.4, 79-96. 34.5, 114-125.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter Four.

¹⁶⁸ Brown, L. (1972). "Hugh Bourne - Born 3rd April 1772: A Bicentenary Reflection." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society 38.5: 121-126.

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter Five for a discussion on this.

With the passing of most of the ministers and laypeople who had known Primitive Methodism as adults, the retelling of its story has been left to those with an academic interest in nineteenth century revivalism, and those who have childhood memories of the tradition. In the former case, Primitive Methodism had been one of many traditions explored in works on the period by W. R Ward, John Kent, John Munsey Turner, David Hempton, Deborah Valenze, Nathan Hatch and Richard J. Carwardine to name but a few.¹⁷⁰ Only American historian Julia Stewart Werner devoted a whole volume to the Connexion in her The Primitive Methodist Connexion: Its Background and Early History.¹⁷¹ Werner offered a social history of the movement up to 1820 in which she presented useful discussions of both the social and religious contexts in which the movement emerged including the role of Lorenzo Dow. Surprisingly, Werner made no reference to either Bourne's journals or his MSS in her bibliography. Produced for more popular consumption was the entry into the Epworth Press 'Exploring Methodism' series by Geoffrey E. Milburn (1930-2006), Primitive Methodism,¹⁷² which, although relying largely on published sources, offered an insightful and accessible account of the movement, including in its earliest years.

Due to their focus on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most of those works reflecting on Primitive Methodist childhoods have little to say about earlier years. Kenneth Lysons' A Little Primitive however, did include an account of the church's origins which rehearsed

¹⁷⁰ Ward, W. R. (1972). Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850. London, Batsford, Kent, J. (1978); Holding the Fort : Studies in Victorian revivalism. London, Epworth Press; Hempton, D. (1984). Methodism and Politics in British society 1750-1850. London, Hutchinson; Turner, J. M. (1985). Conflict and Reconciliation : Studies in Methodism and ecumenism in England 1740-1982. London, Epworth Press; Valenze, D. M. (1985). Prophetic Sons and Daughters : Female preaching and popular religion in industrial England. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press; Hatch, N. O. (1989). The Democratization of American Christianity. New Haven, CT, Yale University Press; Carwardine, R. (2006). Transatlantic Revivalism : Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790 - 1865. Milton Keynes, Paternoster.

¹⁷¹ Werner, J. S. (1984). The Primitive Methodist Connexion: Its background and early history. Madison, WI., University of Wisconsin Press.

¹⁷² Milburn, G. E. (2002).

some of the arguments around Bourne's exclusion but without reference to Clowes' account.¹⁷³

Anniversaries continue to be occasions for revisiting Primitive Methodist identity and of particular value in contributing to the Primitive Methodist creation narrative were 2002's Chapel Aid Lectures on the 150th anniversary of Hugh Bourne's funeral¹⁷⁴, which included an exploration of Hugh Bourne's relationship with the Independent Methodists by Independent Methodist historian John Dolan. A previous Chapel Aid lecture, How Primitive was Primitive Methodism? by Henry Rack included an exploration of the role and form of open-air preaching in the creation of Primitive Methodism.¹⁷⁵

A Community of Memory: Some Themes in Primitive Methodist Historiography

In nearly two hundred years of the telling of the Primitive Methodists' story of origins, a number of themes can be observed. Firstly, it has until very recently been the prerogative of Primitive Methodists to tell it, both before and since 1932: When one reviewer of Werner's book noted that she was 'providing the first modern non-sectarian account of the early years'¹⁷⁶ his inclusion of the category 'modern' was scarcely necessary. Bowmer noted with frustration the lack of any account of Primitive Methodist origins written from a Wesleyan point of view,¹⁷⁷ and the acknowledgement of the

¹⁷³ Lysons, K. (2001). A Little Primitive. Buxton, Church in the Market Place Publications. 12. For other examples of this 'childhood' genre see two Chapel Aid lectures: Miller, H. (1995). Growing Up With Primitive Methodism. [Englesea Brook], [Englesea Brook Chapel and Museum]. (1995); Banks, J. (1997). A Primitive Cradling. Englesea Brook, Englesea Brook Chapel and Museum.

¹⁷⁴ Rack, H., J. Anderson, D. Garratt and J. Dolan (2003). James Crawfoot and the Magic Methodists. Englesea Brook, Englesea Brook Chapel and Museum.

¹⁷⁵ Rack, H. D. (1996). How Primitive was Primitive Methodism? Englesea Brook, Englesea Brook Chapel and Museum. 7-11.

¹⁷⁶ Kirkham, D. H. (1986). "Book Reviews and Notes: 'Julia Stewart Werner The Primitive Methodist Connexion: Its Background and Early History'." Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture. 55.123.

¹⁷⁷ Bowmer, J. C. (1975). Pastor and People : A study of church and ministry in Wesleyan Methodism from the death of John Wesley (1791) to the death of Jabez Bunting (1858). London, Epworth Press.82.

reliance on Bourne's accounts of the period and the task of navigating through the differences in them remain primary concerns for any historian of Primitive Methodism.

Secondly, the *raison d'être* for telling the story has changed over time. For Bourne's first authorised History of 1823, an identity-forming narrative accompanied a rulebook, procedures and a legislature to shape an emerging ecclesiology from four separate circuits. In the 1830s, the issuing of the pamphlet A Nine Years Progress..., the tracts of 1834 Notices of the Life..., and the narrative retold in the Primitive Methodist Magazine in 1836 became a way for Bourne to attempt to remind the connexion of his role in the face of rancour with Clowes. Clowes himself redressed that balance somewhat in his own published account of 1844, but once the two men died the story could be told again by Petty as an account of on-going progress from a modest beginning. In this account the development of a revival movement into an institution was further emphasised in Macpherson's 1880 revision of Petty's work.

By the early twentieth century a now-established denomination could look back with nostalgia at what were now regarded as romantic origins through the writings of Kendall, Ritson and Barber. In the early days of post-union Methodism, if the PWHS are indicative, formerly separated Methodists were reluctant to retell the stories of nineteenth century divisions, whilst the minutiae of Wesley's life was regarded as part of the shared story of his newly reunited heirs. Lovatt and Wilkes' 1942 volume is a notable exception to this, but one wonders if without Lovatt's desire for self-vindication over the ownership of Mow Cop the book would have been published.

The 1950s' flurry of Primitive Methodist anniversaries saw a return to a retelling of the story by ex-Primitive Methodists, in a mildly analytical vein, and particularly in Wilkinson's case with the first thorough investigation of all of the sources, including Bourne's later MSS. Brown's PWHS contributions in the 1960s and early 1970s represent the last flowering of this approach before more detached observers and those looking

back to childhood became the custodians of the story. The latter group for obvious reasons have had more to say about the twilight years of the church as they experienced it in the early twentieth century. Amongst those detached observers, a thorough revisiting of extant sources has yet to be undertaken,¹⁷⁸ which is one of the primary reasons for this study.

The third and final aspect of Primitive Methodist historiography which has remained a constant is the importance of anniversaries. From the Jubilee celebrations of 1860 which produced Petty's volume, through the Centenary of 1907-10 (Kendall, Ritson et al), the centenary of Bourne and Clowes death in 1951-2 (Wilkinson), the 150th celebrations of 1957 (Farndale), the centenary of Bourne's birth in 1972 (Brown), down to 2002's Chapel Aid Lectures on the 150th anniversary of Hugh Bourne's funeral and the 2007 centenary, significant milestones have always prompted the retelling of the Primitive Methodist story. Such retellings have been undertaken at such times of celebration, in John Franke's words to 'revisit the story of its beginnings and the crucial milestones that mark its subsequent trajectory,'¹⁷⁹ as a record of progress or a focus for romantic nostalgia. At other times the focus has been to rehearse 'those paradigmatic event(s) that called the community into being'¹⁸⁰ to help with connexional formation in Primitive Methodism's early years, or to call to mind those 'who have embodied or exemplified the meaning of community and who... serve as models for life in the present'¹⁸¹ during times of conflict between Bourne and Clowes. Since Methodist Union the retelling of the Primitive Methodist story can be seen as a contribution to the quest for what Brian Beck has termed the 'elusive Methodist identity'¹⁸² and, Werner aside, comparatively little academic revisiting of the genesis of the church has been undertaken. How these processes have treated 'other personalities and complex

¹⁷⁸ For work in this field see Anderson, J. H. (2007). "Sidelights on the Origins of Primitive Methodism." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society 56.2: 33-45.

¹⁷⁹ Franke, J. R. (2005). The Character of Theology : An introduction to its nature, task, and purpose. Grand Rapids, MI., Baker Academic.177.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Beck, B. E. (2000). "The Elusive Methodist Identity: Who are we?" Epworth Review 27:1. 22-30.

activities'¹⁸³ of the beginnings of that story will be the focus of the rest of this study.

¹⁸³ Wearmouth, R.F (1950).135.

‘Perhaps The Pure Primitive Flame Was Much Diminished’:

1797-1800

Hugh Bourne’s History began with his birth in 1772 and that of his brother James in 1781. Soon after, he outlined the nature of his conversion:

In the year 1799, H. Bourne become [sic] acquainted with the nature of by faith, that is, the justification of the ungodly by faith; and with the doctrine of the remission of sins; and of being born again. A pious person at Burslem lent his mother a volume consisting of various religious publications bound up together. It had a sermon on the Trinity, by Mr. Wesley, which was exceedingly useful to H. Bourne...¹⁸⁴

Bourne then quoted at length from Wesley’s sermon “On the Trinity” on the difference between opinion and religion. The evangelical language Bourne used and the influence of Wesley marked him out as a Methodist but although Bourne then joined ‘the old Methodist Connexion’ in June 1799, that was not the only choice available to him in Burslem at this time. The ‘Kilhamite’ controversy which had rocked Wesleyan Methodism in 1797 had a great impact locally leading to the establishment of a number of societies of ‘the New Itinerancy’ (soon to become the Methodist New Connexion) and a seepage of members from the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit.

This chapter looks at those events and their impact on the Primitive Methodist creation narrative. In the absence of surviving local New Connexion records, other than a handful for Hanley Bethesda, it utilises New Connexion Conference records, the Methodist Magazine or Evangelical Repository and local histories. The New Connexion was also to have a profound impact upon two other men who were to play key roles in the story

¹⁸⁴ Bourne, H. (1823) 3-4.

of Primitive Methodist origins, William Edward Miller and John Riles, and their involvement with the nascent ‘Kilhamites’ is also explored through surviving papers and published biographies of Alexander Kilham. Lastly, the final few years of the eighteenth century were also to be formative ones for another key figure in the Primitive Methodist creation narrative, Lorenzo Dow. Dow’s early ministry in the U.S. and his visit to Ireland are important for understanding the impact his visit to England was to make and so his published journals, a history of Irish Methodism of this period, and a rare surviving letter of Dow’s provide insights as to his outlook and his activities at this time.

‘Smith & Co’: The Emergence of the Methodist New Connexion in Hanley and Burslem

Howdle¹⁸⁵ has noted the eirenic nature of the withdrawal of the Primitive Methodists from the Burslem Wesleyans and the tone of the official historians Petty and Kendall in describing the events later, and both writers chose to make no comment on the state of the Burslem Circuit at the turn of the nineteenth century. Bourne makes no mention of it in his own History but in later writings he was to make much of the state of the Wesleyan cause before the outbreak of revival at Harriseahead. Bourne outlined the membership figures for the circuit, showing how 860 members in 1797 had fallen to 810 for 1798 and 1799 before falling further to 750 in 1800.¹⁸⁶ To Bourne in 1836 this was clearly due to ‘a very great departure from Methodism in its primitive state.’ The fruits of such a departure were catastrophic: ‘Open air worship was generally opposed, ministerial family visiting almost totally neglected, the converting work was much lost sight of, and praying mourners into liberty was scarcely known.’¹⁸⁷ Bourne repeated

¹⁸⁵ Howdle, S. (2007). 21.

¹⁸⁶ [Bourne, H. (1836)].” On the Origin of the Primitive Methodist Connexion, with notices of the Origin of the Wesleyan Connexion.” Primitive Methodist Magazine For the year of our Lord 1836. Bemersley, James Bourne. 221.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

his contention and statistics in print again in 1842¹⁸⁸ this time excepting Thomas Allen of Burslem from the accusation of abandonment of open-air worship but adding neglect of 'the out-places' to the charge sheet. It was not until Bourne's first unpublished autobiography of 1844 that he acknowledged the role of 'the great split called the Kilham's division' speculating that as a result 'perhaps the pure primitive flame was much diminished.'¹⁸⁹ When an account of Alexander Kilham's trial and expulsion from the Wesleyan ministry was published soon after their 1796 Conference eighty copies were requested from within the Burslem Circuit from Hanley.¹⁹⁰ On 20 August Kilham's wife Sarah wrote to him from Newcastle upon Tyne informing him that two letters had arrived for him 'both replete with generous kindness and professions of friendship', one of which was from William Smith 'of Newcastle Under Lyme.'¹⁹¹ William Smith (1763-1799) was a partner in the pottery manufactory of Job and George Ridgeway, who were to become influential leaders both locally and nationally of the New Connexion. Smith had been appointed as an itinerant by John Wesley around 1785 but had relinquished his appointment on account of his business arrangements.¹⁹² Support for Kilham's cause seems to have solidified and gathered pace in Hanley in the first half of 1797. A circular letter sent out to Kilham's supporters, A Serious Address to the Methodist Societies in General and to Trustees, Leaders, Stewards, and Local Preachers in Particular, dated 10 November 1796,¹⁹³ does not list Hanley amongst the subscribers but when Kilham visited Hanley on a preaching

¹⁸⁸ Bourne, H. (1842). An Account Of The Work Of God At Harriseahead Near Mow, In Staffordshire, Which Originated The Camp Meetings And The Other Things; In TWO LETTERS To An Old Wesleyan Local Preacher. Bemersley, James Bourne.

¹⁸⁹ Bourne, H. (n.d) [1845]. 15.

¹⁹⁰ Kilham, A. and J. Blackwell (1838). Life of the Rev. A. Kilham ... one of the founders of the Methodist New Connexion in the year 1797. Including a full account of the disputes which occasioned the Separation. London, R. Groombridge. 301n.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 293.

¹⁹² Smith, H. (1899). Bethesda Chapel Hanley, A Centenary Record. Hanley, New Press Printing Co.18.

¹⁹³ Oastler, R. (1796). A Serious Address to the Methodist Societies in General and to Trustees, Leaders, Stewards, and Local Preachers in Particular [n.p.] [pub.unknown.]

tour in the summer of 1797¹⁹⁴ he noted ‘We have a good opening in these parts. If the preachers will not accede to the measures of reform that have been proposed, many are determined to separate and build two or three chapels in that neighbourhood.’¹⁹⁵ In the view of Briggs the origins of the New Connexion in the area could be traced back to the Hanley Wesleyans’ desire to receive the Lord’s Supper and to decide their own hours of preaching which only later ‘proceeded to a more comprehensive list of reforms.’¹⁹⁶ This certainly seems to have been the view of Hanley New Connexionists when recounting their origins much later.¹⁹⁷ Smith understood that the society unsuccessfully petitioned the Wesleyan Conference twice on the matter and in the face of local unanimity he laid the blame for opposition firmly on the majority of Burslem-based trustees who ‘being high Churchmen’ set preaching hours for Hanley at 7am on Saturdays and 7 and 9am on Sundays to avoid clashing with parish worship in the church hours. This was of little concern to the Hanley society: ‘We found these to be very unseasonable hours and thought we had a right to fix our own time of worship, consistently with the plan of the circuit.’¹⁹⁸ A further meeting was held in Hanley, which appointed William Smith to petition the Wesleyan Conference. If Stacey was correct, the concerns of the Hanley society now reflected the broader agenda of Kilham’s supporters and the substance of the petition was as follows:

That no preacher should have power to receive or expel members but by the sanction of the leaders or Quarterly Meeting.

That the people should choose their own class leaders.

That no one should preach to our people without having been previously approved by the Quarterly Meeting.

¹⁹⁴ This seems not to have been his first visit – see John Riles’ letter below.

¹⁹⁵ Kilham, A. and J. Blackwell (1838). 320.

¹⁹⁶ Briggs, J. H. Y. (1988). ‘The Radical Saints of Shelton: The Ridgway family, Methodist pottery manufacturers.’ *Business and Religion in Britain*. D. J. Jeremy (Ed.). Aldershot, Gower Publishing Company. 49.

¹⁹⁷ Smith, H. (1899). 13.

¹⁹⁸ Stacey, J. (1862). *A Prince in Israel: or, Sketches of the life of John Ridgway*, London. 84.

That no local preacher should be suspended, or silenced, but by the same authority.

That no persons should be called out to travel but such as were approved by the people amongst whom they lived, and were recommended by the Quarterly Meeting.

That one preacher and one lay delegate (chosen by the people) from each circuit or district, should compose the Conference; each having equal power in the transaction of all business.

That the lay delegates should take charge of all moneys to the Conference, and attend to their disbursement.¹⁹⁹

The reaction of the trustees at Hanley to these demands was to throw all those who had voted in favour of the petition out of the chapel as 'no longer a member of our societies.' The door was then locked, and the key taken to Burslem. According to Young, this course of action was at the behest of the Circuit Superintendent²⁰⁰ who urged the Burslem based trustees 'Now exert your powers.'²⁰¹ At the next Quarter Day meeting, William Smith, John Mort and Job Ridgeway's expulsion from Wesleyan membership was affirmed, in the face of their protests, and this was repeated at the following District Meeting.

New Connexion histories have marked the decisive beginning of the denomination as being the Conference held at Ebenezer Chapel in Leeds on

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. 85-86.

²⁰⁰ John Mason was Burslem Superintendent and stationed in the circuit for 1796 only before poor health forced his superannuation: Warren, S. and J. Stephens (1827). Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism. 2 vols. in 1. London, John Stephens. ii 42. "John Mason (1733-1810)". The Methodist Archives Biographical Index Retrieved 21. Dec.2011, from <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/searchresources/guidetospecialcollections/methodist/using/biographicalindex/mcallumtomyne/>.

²⁰¹ Young, J. (1903). After a Hundred Years: A review of a century's work in Bethel Church and Sunday School, Burslem; With a short sketch of the other churches in the Burslem Circuit, Methodist New Connexion. Altrincham, Artistic Printing Co. 22.

9 August 1797, ‘all hope of necessary reform having now passed away.’²⁰² There exists in Kilham’s extant papers, however, minutes of an earlier gathering held on 20 May.²⁰³ The venue is not named but as Ebenezer, a former Baptist chapel, had been bought by sympathisers and opened with a sermon from Kilham on 5 May it seems likely that this preparatory meeting would have been held there too. After agreeing unanimously that the gathering would comprise both preachers and delegates, it was then moved ‘that the circuits should be called over, to know the number of preachers and delegates.’ Hanley was amongst the eleven circuits present, with its representation listed as W Tate, R Bridge, William Smith and George Ridgeway. The meeting went on to draw up regulations on such matters as the admission and trial period of preachers, the assessment of their character and conduct, yearly collections and moving allowances.

Not quite all hope had yet gone of reconciliation, and William Smith, leader of the largest class in the society and a local preacher took the Hanley petition to the Wesleyan Conference in Leeds in July 1797. It was rejected, allegedly with the declaration that ‘the conference would sooner go to shivers²⁰⁴ than admit of any alterations’ and with a condemnatory proclamation from the Conference pulpit that the petitioners ‘had neither sense nor grace; were enemies to the King and Country, indeed were the very dregs and scum, which God would sweep away with the besom of destruction’²⁰⁵ Upon its failure, Smith opened his house in Shelton for New Connexion worship.²⁰⁶ Both Smith and James Mort were present at the first New Connexion Conference in Leeds in August 1797, where Smith requested a preacher to be sent to Hanley for the new society.²⁰⁷ The growing society

²⁰² Crothers, T. D., T. Rider and G. Packer. The Centenary of the Methodist New Connexion 1797-1897. London, G Burrows. 79.

²⁰³ Kilham, A.(untitled). Alexander Kilham: (MNC) (1762-98) Papers. John Rylands Library, Manchester.

²⁰⁴ i.e. To break or shatter into many small pieces or splinters.

²⁰⁵ Young, J. (1903). 22. It is quite possible of course that this may have been an embellishment on the part of the New Connexion author.

²⁰⁶ Crothers, T. D., T. Rider and G. Packer. 81. Shelton lies midway between Newcastle under Lyme and Hanley.

²⁰⁷ Smith, H. (1899). 14.

at Hanley converted the Albion Street coach house in Hanley into a chapel to hold 150 and when this became too small they built the first Bethesda Chapel in June 1798 to seat 600. The opening service was conducted by Alexander Kilham and William Thom, with John Grundall, who the following year was elected President of the Conference and stationed to what was now constituted the Hanley Circuit.

‘Smith & co.’ were blamed in the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit book for ‘the Division’ which reduced the Wesleyan membership in Hanley from ninety-six in 1796 to thirty-six the following year.²⁰⁸ William Smith and his wife were present with Kilham at Hockley in the final few days of his life in December 1798, but Smith himself was also ailing and exactly two months later ‘another serious loss was sustained by the Connexion’²⁰⁹ when Smith died on 20 February 1799. Smith’s initiative did much to establish the new movement in Hanley, building upon an initial fission caused by demands for reform no doubt undergirded by a desire to exert independence: At the time of Wesley’s visit to the area the previous decade Hanley was ‘with reference to Methodism, a dependency on Burslem’²¹⁰ and this view of the power relationship within the circuit had clearly lasted in the minds of the Burslem-based trustees. Young affirmed that there was an element of status as well as churchmanship at play:

The Majority of the Hanley trustees lived at Burslem, ‘the head of the circuit’, and the ‘Mother town of Staffordshire Potteries’; and with such social distinctions, it was considered meet and right to assert themselves, and end all controversy as to superiority and power.²¹¹

The consequences were to be much greater than reshaping such internal circuit relationships: By 19 September 1797, just six weeks after the first Conference there were New Connexion societies at Hanley, Newcastle,

²⁰⁸ (1796 [-1799]). Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book. Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley.

²⁰⁹ T. R. Allin, W. R. Cooke, S. Hulme and P. J. Wright (1848). The Jubilee of the Methodist New Connexion, being a grateful memorial of the origin, government and history of the denomination. London, John Bakewell.248.

²¹⁰ Stacey, J. (1862). 78.

²¹¹ Young, J. (1903).21.

Burslem, Lane End [Longton] Etruria, Sneyd Green, Knutton Heath and Werrington. At Burslem, the society was started from Bethesda in house of a Mr Rowley in Hot Lane. A Wesleyan class leader Isaac Simpson lived in the vicinity, and his was one of eight Wesleyan classes which ceased to meet in Burslem between 1796 and 1797 with a loss of 156 members, over half of the total society membership of 297²¹² a number of which must have joined the 'New Itinerancy' as it was initially called. Rowley's house was soon too small to hold them all, and so on 19 July 1798 Job Ridgeway bought a piece of land nineteen by twelve yards to build a chapel which he named Zoar but which was known by most others as 'The Salt Box.' It was licensed as for Dissenters' worship on 18 December 1799 at Stafford.²¹³ Galleried on three sides, it held 500 and to avoid further troublesome trustees it was held in ownership by the Ridgeway family.²¹⁴ As well as securing the new causes, the focus of the newly formed Hanley New Connexion Circuit was on implementing the principles which had caused the schism, its representatives to the second New Connexion Conference in 1798 being chosen by direct election of all the members, four names being voted on by the classes.²¹⁵

Beyond the environs of Burslem and Hanley, the New Connexion's emergence was to have a formative effect on the ministries of two other men who were to play leading roles in the Primitive Methodist creation narrative, William Edward Miller (1766-1839) and John Riles (c.1765-1826), as well as impacting to a lesser degree on the ministry of Lorenzo Dow.

'In All The Ardour Of First Impressions': William Edward Miller

Born in Doncaster on 1 June 1766, W.E. Miller was called to the office of Local Preacher soon after his conversion following his hearing a sermon by William Bramwell in Sheffield. The 1795 Conference had appointed Bramwell to Sheffield, a circuit where a revival was already flourishing

²¹² (1796 [-1799]). Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book.

²¹³ Young, J. (1903).44-45.

²¹⁴ Ibid. 26-27.

²¹⁵ (1900). Methodist New Connexion Magazine. London, Methodist New Connexion Bookroom. 210.

under the leadership of Alexander Mather and during his time there Bramwell was to witness ‘some of the greatest movements of the Spirit he saw anywhere in his entire ministry.’ Bramwell was seen as sympathetic to Alexander Kilham’s cause and Kilham visited Sheffield in May 1797 and met in secret with Bramwell and his fellow itinerant Henry Taylor. Kilham returned to Sheffield during the inaugural New Connexion Conference in August to meet with sympathetic local preachers, leaders and members and to preach at Scotland Street chapel, then under the jurisdiction of Thomas Bryant, a former Wesleyan-turned Calvinist independent, but which was soon to become the Sheffield New Connexionists home.²¹⁶ In the midst of the disruption was ‘a young convert in all the ardour of first impressions,’ William Edward Miller. According to his biographer James Dixon, Miller drew up a declaration of allegiance to the Wesleyans in protest against Kilham’s followers and obtained the signatures of as many of the society as he could persuade. This had the effect of ‘staying the plague to some degree, and introducing a more settled state.’²¹⁷ Whether the identity of the ‘pious, popular and useful preacher’²¹⁸ Dixon claimed that he persuaded to remain was either Bramwell or Taylor is unclear but remain they did, much to Kilham’s disapproval.²¹⁹ A copy of a circular broadside To the Methodist Society in Sheffield²²⁰ by Henry Longden and Miller is present amongst Kilham’s papers, as is a subsequent reprinting of it dated 12 August 1797 following the Leeds Wesleyan Conference, with a commendation from Thomas Coke as President and Samuel Bradburn as Secretary of the ‘two

²¹⁶ For a discussion of how this came about, see Parkes, W. (1965). Thomas Bryant, Independent Methodist. An examination of the history of the foundation of the Scotland Street Church, Sheffield, and the rise of the Methodist New Connexion ... Being the summer lecture of the Wesley Historical Society, Yorkshire Branch, 1965, etc. London, [WHS Yorks.] 17-19.

²¹⁷ Dixon, J. (1842). Memoir Of The Late William Edward Miller. London, Hamilton, Adams and Co. 78.

²¹⁸ Ibid.79.

²¹⁹ Kilham, A., J. Grundell and R. Hall (1799). The Life of Mr. Alexander Kilham, Methodist Preacher.... Nottingham, C. Sutton..154.

²²⁰ Longden, H. and W. E. Miller (1797). To The Methodist Society In Sheffield. Sheffield. [pub. unknown].

worthy Brethren' for their 'most excellent address.'²²¹ The Conference unanimously recommended 'the perusal of this Letter to our People everywhere.' Longden and Miller's letter focused upon the repudiation of allegations of financial irregularities and travelling preachers' indulgent lifestyles and did not address the major issues of lay representation, the timing of worship or the administration of the Lord's Supper at all. Claiming 'there never was a division from Methodism that prospered' it ended with an appeal to unity:

Remember ... Go where you will – leave us – forsake us – think hardly of us – trample upon us – we will follow you in our tears, our prayers and our blessings....you may break our hearts, but you shall never tear away our affection...our last prayers shall be, may Methodists be one...

The circular seems higher on emotion than on reasoned argument and if it is the same declaration to which Dixon refers, far from 'introducing a more settled state' its immediate effect seems to have been to stir up passions further. Two responses came swiftly to it, very different in their tone. In a broadside To Messers H. Longden and E. Miller²²² dated 26 August six Leeds local preachers responded to 'rectify your rather intemperate assertions.' As well as addressing the dismissal of complaints about financial improprieties, the broadside made a case for separation as the best way to cease 'biting and devouring one another.' The writers quoted from Longden and Miller's circular directly to address the points it made and the mention of a split in Macclesfield to refute the idea that 'no division from Methodism had ever succeeded' is significant, as will be explored later. The broadside writers resisted what they saw as the idea that it is not possible to prosper outside the Wesleyan fold:

²²¹ Longden, H., W. E. Miller, T. Coke and S. Bradburn (1797). To The Methodist Society In Sheffield. Leeds. [pub. unknown].

²²² Fowler, J., B. Fowler, R. Oastler, T. Hannam, B. Langstaff and W. Wild (1797). To Messers H. Longden and E. Miller. Leeds. [pub. unknown].

You seem...to insinuate that Methodism and Christianity run only parallel to each other. Hath the Lord Jesus, think you, no sheep amongst the various classes of Dissenters? Are there no conversions by means of ministers of the established church? Then ought not your challenge to hope, that at least a board of the ark of the Lord will go with us also?

Although dated 26 August 1797, The Leeds Preachers' broadsheet appears to have been drafted *before* the Wesleyan Conference promotion of Longden and Miller's circular as an additional response was appended to it, expressing grief at the Wesleyan Conference 'catching at this address and spreading it thro' the nation' and cynicism that the original circular is 'proof of love' as the Conference had claimed. Was it not rather 'proof of their uncharitable determination to support their uncharitable measures against the interests of the people?' This is one of the few personal attacks in the response, however, which ended with a plea:

Let us learn to rejoice in others welfare. May you gather your tens of thousands and we our thousands. There are yet sinners – millions of sinners, unconverted upon the face of the earth. Let us therefore say to each other – Go, Go there is room enough in the world both for thee and me. The Lord grant it!

The Leeds preachers' response to Longden and Miller was robust but largely focused on addressing their text in detail, appealing for harmony in diversity in response to their pleas for unity: The imagery used in places would not seem out of place in ecumenical discussion today:

Different sects of religion like the various colours of the prism...the rays of which, when blended together, form one luminous white: or like so many flowers from one mother root, which though individually various, form one beautiful whole.

The Leeds preachers' riposte to Longden and Miller is in stark contrast with the other response to it. Also amongst Kilham's extant papers is a letter written by him to Bramwell, Longden and Miller on 16

September²²³ in response to the circular. Alleging that ‘some do not consider it a matter of indifference but take it seriously to heart’ Kilham railed against ‘your late colleagues’ infamous conduct in the north.’ He demanded that the writers circulate an acknowledgement of their ‘misrepresentations of the affairs of the connexion’ and threatened to publish his letter if no such action was forthcoming. Kilham ended his letter by underlining the personal slight he felt on behalf of himself and his supporters:

God knows, and you know, we are not worthy of the treatment we have met from you and your brethren...I am an infamed, persecuted man by the preachers in general.’

Reading Longden and Miller’s circular alongside Kilham’s response it is hard to see what caused him such great offence. Only in the suggestion that by ‘making a rent in the Church of God’ those agitating for reform were ‘exposing precious souls to the danger of everlasting destruction, and opening a wide door for the Wolf of Hell to enter and devour the flock of Christ’ can a personal attack on Kilham or his supporters be construed. The Leeds preachers’ retort, detailed and forceful though it is, seems a more proportionate response but whilst Kilham’s letter undoubtedly reflects something of a man characterised by ‘brashness and [an] overdeveloped urge to publicise his opinions’²²⁴ its tone indicates that not all those who were assembled in Leeds for the first New Connexion Conference were as temperate in their response to Langdon and Miller’s intervention as the published response shows. From the responses it is clear that the name of W. E. Miller was well known, but hardly loved, amongst New Connexionists in their formative years. In 1799, Miller entered the Wesleyan itinerancy.

²²³ Kilham, A. (1797). To William Bramwell, Henry Longden, William Edward Miller. 16 Sept. Alexander Kilham: (MNC) (1762-98) Papers, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester.

²²⁴ Hempton, D. (1984). 67.

'With Truth And A Good Conscience': John Riles

Born at Chesterton, around seven miles west of Burslem,²²⁵ John Riles entered the Wesleyan itinerancy in 1788. Whilst stationed in the Sunderland Circuit, Riles wrote to Alexander Kilham in April 1796 expressing his support and his conviction that 'our present mode of admitting and excluding members; appointing stewards and leaders; the calling out local and travelling preachers, and the disbursement of our collections is contrary to the New Testament.'²²⁶ Following Kilham's expulsion at the 1796 Wesleyan Conference in London Riles, now stationed in the Stockton Circuit, wrote again assuring him that 'Although you are considered as unworthy of being in the Methodist connexion, I can assure, you, you have still a place in my esteem.'²²⁷ Riles also offered familial help with the distribution of Kilham's newly established newspaper: 'If you have no particular friend in the Burslem Circuit to procure you subscribers for your Monitor, my brother Samuel Riles, who is a warm friend, will do all he can to promote the sale of them.' Riles mentioned his brother again in a letter dated 21 Jan 1797 telling him of a visit Kilham had made to the area and 'the brotherly treatment' Kilham had met in opposition from a Mr Mason. Riles reassured Kilham that despite this, 'truth must overcome all obstacles at last, and reign triumphant.'²²⁸ Riles continued writing in support until a few months before the final break in Leeds. In what was to be a final letter, on 7 June 1797, Riles expressed his hope that he would 'ever act consistently with truth and a good conscience' and for Kilham's part: 'keep your health and spirits; keep close to the New Testament as your rule... may the Lord stand by you at all times.'²²⁹

Whatever the divine intention for Kilham, Riles remained with the Wesleyans. As Kilham saw it Riles was one of 'many that had been very zealous while the conference was at a distance, [who] now began to shrink

²²⁵ I am grateful to John Lenton for background information on John Riles.

²²⁶ Kilham, A., J. Grundell and R. Hall (1799) 197.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid. 201.

²²⁹ Ibid. 203.

back at the time of trial.’²³⁰ It is significant that Kilham felt the blow of Riles’ desertion strongly enough to include six of his letters in the appendix to his memoir. For Riles’ part, his removal after just one year from Stockton Circuit to Ashby-de-la-Zouch at the Wesleyans’ Leeds Conference may have been instrumental in his change of heart. Whether his brother remained within the Burslem Wesleyan fold is unknown: A Samuel Riles, potter, trading as Riles and Bathwell, occupied a pot works in Red Street, Wolstanton until 1815, a trade which would have put him in contact with the likes of the Ridgeways and Elias Hawley,²³¹ but no positive identification has yet been made.

‘No Countenance Should Be Shown The Stranger’: Lorenzo Dow

Successive Primitive Methodist historians acknowledged the importance of the visit of Lorenzo Dow (1777-1834) in the Primitive Methodist creation narrative.²³² Dow has been rightly identified as a catalyst for holding of camp meetings in England through his influence on Hugh Bourne and the Harriseahead revivalists but his role in the antagonism of the Wesleyan authorities towards such meetings has been less thoroughly explored. Primary source materials for Dow are scarce: his written journals do not survive and only a few letters in Dow’s own hand are known to be extant. Only one full length biography of him has been written, some eighty years ago,²³³ along with a handful of articles. Dow himself however was a prolific writer, in his biographer Sellers’ opinion exercising ‘exhibitionistic egotism.’²³⁴ Sellers compiled a useful list of twenty six Dow-authored publications but admitted that ‘In the confusion of new editions and altered titles, even a chronological list cannot be accurate.’²³⁵ Dow’s journals, first published in the US in 1804 as Experience Exemplified, appeared in print in updated forms in various ‘complete works’ collections

²³⁰ Ibid. 153.

²³¹ See Chapter Five for an account of Bourne’s relationship with Hawley.

²³² See for example Petty, J. (1860) 18; Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i. 58; Ritson, J. (1910) 56.

²³³ Sellers, C. C. (1928). Lorenzo Dow. The Bearer of the Word. New York, NY, Minton, Balch & Co.

²³⁴ Ibid. 267.

²³⁵ Ibid.

through the nineteenth century.²³⁶ Of particular significance to his Irish and English tours is Recapitulation,²³⁷ written in 1833 and appended to later editions of Experience.... This added to Dow's story from 1818 onwards, where his original account ends, as well as retelling his story from birth. Also included in Dow's complete works was Vicissitudes in the Wilderness,²³⁸ the journal of his wife Peggy (1780-1820), published first in 1814 but updated by Dow after her death. Some of Dow's 'complete works' collections included the American edition of Bourne's 1823 History²³⁹ in them. For Dow's visits to Ireland, in addition to his own writings there is an account in the second volume of C H Crookshank's History of Methodism in Ireland.²⁴⁰

Dow came to the attention of British Wesleyans some eight years before the events that led to the first English camp meeting, during his visit to Ireland in 1799. His relationship with American Methodism was formative for the threat his unauthorised revivalism presented in Ireland and England. Born in Coventry, Connecticut, Lorenzo Dow was converted around the age of thirteen in 1791, partly as a result of a dream and then through the subsequent preaching of Hope Hull (1763-1818), Methodist itinerant and revivalist.²⁴¹ Soon after, he felt a call to preach and on 14 November 1794 Dow offered his first public exhortation.²⁴² In January 1796 Dow began to travel and preach unofficially, accompanying Nicholas Snethen (1769-1845) on his round. Snethen, who was to become a fierce opponent of Dow, alerted British Wesleyan authorities to his coming. Later travelling as private secretary to Francis Asbury, Snethen left the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) to join the newly formed Methodist Protestant

²³⁶ All references in this study are to here are to Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). The Dealings of God, Man, and the Devil; as exemplified in the life, experience and travels of Lorenzo Dow; Together with his writings complete. To which is added the vicissitudes of life by Peggy Dow. 2 vols. in 1. New York, Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman.

²³⁷ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.160-183.

²³⁸ Ibid.197-262.

²³⁹ Ibid. 265-291.

²⁴⁰ Crookshank, C. H. (1886). History of Methodism in Ireland. 2 vols. London, T. Woolmer. Ii. 178-179, 190, 192, 205, 209-210, 273, 280, 286-287, 295.

²⁴¹ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.10.

²⁴² Ibid.15.

Church over the issue of lay representation in 1829 and his one biography²⁴³ is written in the light of his later career, offering no mention of Dow or of Snethen's later hostility to him. It is clear, though, that even at this early stage, Snethen had mixed feelings about Dow, telling him 'You are but eighteen years of age; you are too important, and you must be more humble, and hear and not be heard so much... it is my opinion that you will not be received at the next conference.'²⁴⁴ Snethen's judgement of character seems prescient and his prediction of the mind of the District Conference, which met at Thompson, Connecticut²⁴⁵ in September 1796, was correct. In July presiding elder Jesse Lee had issued a letter about Dow:

In several places he was liked by a great many people, at other places he was not liked so well, and at a few places they were unwilling he should preach at all. We have therefore thought it necessary to advise him to return home for a season, until further recommendation can be obtained from the society and preachers of that circuit.²⁴⁶

Dow's ability to polarise opinion was thus already becoming evident, as was his attitude to Methodist discipline. He was given a written licence to preach, and offered a credential for the Conference at the forthcoming Quarterly Meeting at Enfield and it was suggested that Dow might preach around the Tolland Circuit until then. However Dow decided that as the circuit included his home town he would visit his sister in New Hampshire instead.²⁴⁷

An exchange with Nicholas Snethen at this time is revealing about Dow's understanding of divine guidance as being solely individual and not

²⁴³ Freeman, H. L. (1950). Francis Asbury's Silver Trumpet: Nicholas Snethen: Non-partisan Church Statesman and Preacher of the Gospel, 1769-1845. Nashville, TN., Parthenon Press.

²⁴⁴ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i. 16.

²⁴⁵ All New England Conference dates and venues are from Mudge, J. (1910). History of the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1796-1910. Boston, MA., MEC New England Conference. 449.

²⁴⁶ Dow, L. (1841). The Eccentric Preacher; or, A sketch of the life of the celebrated Lorenzo Dow, abridged from his journal; and containing the most interesting facts in his experience. Lowell, MA., E. A. Rice & Co. 21.

²⁴⁷ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i. 19.

corporately discerned which was to make him such an irritant to Methodist authorities on both sides of the Atlantic. Meeting him in Vermont in June 1797, Snethen told Dow that he needed to attend the next Quarterly Meeting and that '[Jesse] Lee disapproves of your travelling into so many new places, and what will you do provided that he forbids your preaching?' Dow was unimpressed:

I told him it did not belong to J. L. or any other man to say whether I should preach or not, for that was to be determined between God and my own soul; only it belonged to the Methodists to say whether I should preach in their connexion; but as long as I feel so impressed, I shall travel and preach, God being my helper; and as soon as I feel my mind released, I intend to stop, let people say what they will. ²⁴⁸

The inaugural New England Conference meeting in Wilbraham in September 1797 permitted Dow to be employed, but not admitted on trial. Jesse Lee and others opposed his admittance, suggesting he should be sent home, or even expelled. Following impassioned speeches from New York District delegates Joseph Mitchell and Shadrach Bostwick, about two-thirds of the Conference voted to admit Dow on trial, but, in Dow's words '... still those who were against me would not suffer me to be admitted on trial, nor my name printed in the minutes.'²⁴⁹

In the year that followed, despite poor health²⁵⁰, Dow preached regularly and in September 1798 he came to the New England Conference at West Granville with a letter of recommendation signed by over thirty preachers, class leaders and stewards carried by Timothy Dewey, who spoke in his favour. Dow was admitted on trial, he received a written licence from Francis Asbury and his name was now printed in the minutes. He was assigned as the junior preacher on Cambridge NY Circuit. At this time preachers were often moved every six months, and he finished the year on

²⁴⁸ Ibid.21.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.23.

²⁵⁰ Amongst other ailments, Dow suffered from chronic asthma.

the Pittsfield MA Circuit.²⁵¹ He continued to undertake a great amount of preaching despite poor health and at the June 1799 Conference²⁵² he was continued on trial. He had requested a leave of absence to travel at sea for health reasons, but was assigned to the Essex VT Circuit on the Canadian border. In the Essex VT Circuit Dow preached in the towns bordering the Mussisque Bay, Onion and La Moille rivers with ‘zeal, energy and success’²⁵³ but by the September Quarterly Meeting a desire to sail for Ireland had grown strong and despite the circuit’s entreaties to stay, Dow sailed for Quebec on 29 October 1799 and thence to Ireland.

If Dow’s attitudes are examined in his period on trial as an itinerant, his threat becomes clear. Dow’s approach to the discipline of the church stemmed from his understanding both of his call and the reception of that call. Dow’s comments to Snethen in Vermont in June 1797 underlined this: his call to preach was a matter ‘to be determined between God and my own soul.’ Thus, events which happened to *him*, such as his illnesses and dreams, were interpreted as direct indications in that process of determination, but decisions of the wider church concerning his ministry were not. Dow’s restlessness, coupled with his propensity to interpret dreams and occurrences without recourse to anyone else’s experience or expertise meant that neither Conference rebuffs, nor the final acceptance of his candidature on trial were taken by Dow as indicators of divine guidance one way or another. This is made particularly clear in the vain attempts of Sylvester Hutchinson and others to dissuade Dow from deserting his station for Ireland in 1799:

Wherefore, it is inconsistent (said they) that he could require you to go away three thousand miles, into a strange country, without friends, leaving the circuit in this situation, (forfeiting the confidence which

²⁵¹ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.162.

²⁵² The date of MEC New England Annual conference moved from September to June /July as of 1799 onwards.

²⁵³ Dow, L. (1841). 33.

the conference have placed in you, by giving you the care of the circuit,) and none to supply your place.²⁵⁴

That such an argument did not dissuade Dow from leaving underlined the lack of any ecclesiological element in his self-understanding of a call to preach. As Strong noted, Dow ‘saw himself as...an independent anti-establishmentarian, and as a religious cosmopolitan – a messenger called by God to extend the universal imperative of the gospel’²⁵⁵ and this personal call for Dow to reach as many people in as many places as possible with the Gospel far outweighed any uses the Conference might have for his ministry in the circuit to which it had stationed him, or the possibility that God could be discerned through that process. Reflecting on why he went to Ireland without permission, Dow was clear that decisions about his ministry were no business of anyone else, least of all the church:

‘In matters of Religion, Conscience is involved. And how can another judge for you better than yourself? Unless GOD has given them clearer views ; and even then they cannot act for you; you must act for yourself; for everyone must give an account for himself to GOD.’²⁵⁶

Dow’s indifference to ecclesiology was further emphasised in his later polemic writings. A good example of this is found in A Dialogue between the Curious and the Singular. Published in 1812 as a dialogue between a ‘curious’ questioner (‘C’) and the ‘singular’ Dow (‘S’) with its focus on questions of salvation, assurance, justification, covenant and miracles it developed into something akin to a Wesleyan catechism, albeit a somewhat eccentric one, and one lacking ecclesiological concerns. It began with some self-justification on the part of Dow:

²⁵⁴ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.35.

²⁵⁵ Strong, D. (2010).” The Eccentric Cosmopolite”. From Aldersgate to Azusa Street : Wesleyan, Holiness, and Pentecostal visions of the new creation. H. H. Knight.(Ed.) Eugene, OR., Pickwick Publications. 81.

²⁵⁶Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.101.

C. Suppose all Christians should be like you, there would be no form or order in the world; and of course, confusion would come in at the door.

S. To say 'if all should do like me,' you might as well say on the same principles, where would be the Carpenters if all were Blacksmiths? It is no just mode of reasoning. As the different branches of mechanism are necessary for society, so these different gifts are necessary, as the eye, hand & foot etc. to constitute one perfect body. As a whole is composed of parts, and the parts collectively form one whole. – As to confusion - - - what is termed confusion with and by men, may be in order with God who sees not as men see. ²⁵⁷

Dow was content to use 1. Corinthians 12 to justify his calling to be an itinerant evangelist rather than (say) a circuit preacher, but paid no heed to the wider context of in which Paul wrote about such differentiation of ministries, that 'God hath tempered the body together.'²⁵⁸ One does not have to hold to a high ecclesiology to see the issues such individualism raises for any community trying to move from a being a revivalist movement to a settled church. Revival accompanied Dow's preaching in many places, but as Mudge put it, '...the brethren, though they admired his zeal and diligence, his ability and success in making converts, were rightfully afraid of his aberrations.'²⁵⁹ The tension between an ordered ministry and such revivalist aberrations was to be magnified on Dow's visits to Ireland and to England, where the issue had become further developed by the turn of the nineteenth century.

Dow arrived in Ireland at a time when Wesleyanism there found itself facing both Catholic hostility and an uneasy relationship with Calvinistic Irish Presbyterianism, as well as a need to demonstrate loyalty in the febrile atmosphere which followed the 1798 rebellion, resulting in Methodism's

²⁵⁷ Dow, L. (1814). All the Polemical Works of Lorenzo Complete. New York, NY., J.C. Totten. 224.

²⁵⁸ 1 Corinthians 12.24 (KJV).

²⁵⁹ Mudge, J. (1910). 60.

increasingly politicisation.²⁶⁰ Dow's unlicensed revivalism thus received a mixed response during his first visit there. Arriving at Larne, County Antrim on 27 November 1799 he gathered large crowds to his preaching for a few weeks before travelling south to Dublin. Here he was initially welcomed and assisted at services in Gravel Walk and Whitefriar Street chapels.²⁶¹ During a service in the latter of these, Matthew Tobias confronted Dow and forbade the local preachers and leaders from inviting Dow again.²⁶² Some seven years into his itinerancy Tobias (1770-1845) was on the way to becoming one of those indigenous leaders 'raised up to guide and direct the affairs of the church'²⁶³ after Thomas Coke's death, and was, by the 1820s, a confidant of Jabez Bunting.²⁶⁴ Hempton observed that it was of little surprise that Dow's 'unkempt appearance and odd ideas scarcely endeared him to the Dublin Methodist elite.'²⁶⁵ Dow had a much better reception on the rural fringes of the city, being invited to preach at the barracks at Chapelizod and Islandbridge, and then preaching to large open-air crowds further west at Mountmellick, but even there he was refused use of the chapel and denied admission to a love feast.²⁶⁶ Returning to Dublin, Dow found several letters requesting his return to Larne, and he set sail for the north, arriving at Belfast on 22 January 1800. Here he received a welcome from itinerant Andrew Hamilton Jr., and as well as giving Dow permission to 'improve round his circuit'²⁶⁷ Hamilton gave Dow money to send a letter to America 'to get justice to my character.'²⁶⁸ In April, Dow was arrested for street preaching and Hamilton spoke to the arresting officer on his behalf,

²⁶⁰See Hempton, D. (1986). "Methodism in Irish Society, 1770-1830." Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fifth Series, Vol. 36: 117-142.

²⁶¹ Crookshank, C. H. (1886). ii.179.

²⁶² Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.39.

²⁶³ Townsend, W. J., G. Eayrs and H. B. Workman (1909). A New History of Methodism. 2 vols. London, Hodder & Stoughton. ii.12.

²⁶⁴ Ward, W.R. (1972). The Early Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 1820-1829. London, Offices of the Royal Historical Society . 202-203.

²⁶⁵ Hempton, D. (1986). 122.

²⁶⁶ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.40.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

defending Dow's actions as 'a privilege allowed us by government.'²⁶⁹ Dow later returned to the south, where he spent the spring preaching in Queen's County and Wexford.²⁷⁰

On 18 July 1800 the Irish Conference met in Dublin under the presidency of Thomas Coke, where the case of Dow was discussed. Coke offered to send him as a missionary to Halifax or Quebec; but Dow refused to accept. The Conference response was to shun him:

There being a strong feeling that to permit any man to travel through the country, under the apparent sanction of the Society, and yet not under its control, was a serious responsibility which the Conference should not undertake, it was agreed that no countenance should be shown the stranger.²⁷¹

Around this time Dow contracted smallpox, and on his recovery he discovered that some Wesleyan chapels were closed to him as a result of the Conference resolution. He was still not without friends though, and Matthew Lanktree in Wicklow and Zecharah Worrell in Waterford ignored the Conference decision and gave him free reign of their circuits. He returned to Dublin by January 1801 and amongst Wesleyans there was now confined to mainly addressing gatherings in private houses. Following a tour of King's County,²⁷² where his preaching, as usual, attracted large crowds, Dow embarked for America, on 2 April, subscriptions having been raised to pay his passage.²⁷³

It is easy to understand why the Wesleyan leadership would have sought to be rid of Dow as quickly as possible: his arrest as an avowed republican who identified himself as a Methodist at every opportunity to the authorities rang especially loud alarm bells. Although in a foreign land, and operating without the authorisation of his own Conference, Dow made no

²⁶⁹ Ibid. 42.

²⁷⁰ Crookshank, C. H. (1886) ii.190. County Laios was known as Queen's County before 1922.

²⁷¹ Ibid.192.

²⁷² Known as County Offaly since 1922.

²⁷³ Crookshank, C. H. (1886). ii. 210.

attempt to seek approval of the Irish Wesleyan leadership for his wanderings. Yet in Ireland as in the US there were those at a local level, such as Andrew Hamilton Jr., Matthew Lanktree and Zecharah Worrell who recognised the power of his preaching and the potential for circuit growth that it offered. According to Dow's later A Cry from The Wilderness²⁷⁴ and Recapitulation, Coke's offer to send him to the Canadian mission field was subject to the promise 'equal to an oath' to remain there for six years and was accompanied by a threat to have him jailed on the orders of Lord Castlereagh.²⁷⁵ This account has been accepted by subsequent historians of Methodism.²⁷⁶ However earlier, in the unappended Experience Exemplified, Dow described an altogether more sympathetic encounter:

Dr. Coke requested me to go a missionary to Halifax or Quebec; and upon conditions that I would promise obedience to what he should direct, for six years would bear my expenses; and I should want nothing of books, clothes, &c. Having twenty-four hours consideration, I weighed the matter, and returned my answer in the negative; as in tender conscience I durst not leave the kingdom yet: believing it the will of God I should stay. At which time tears flowed plentifully, and it seemed as if my head was a fountain of waters. The doctor grasped me in his arms, gave me a hug, and went his way.²⁷⁷

Clearly the key purpose of Coke's offer was to remove the troublesome American far from Irish anxieties. However, if the account in Experience Exemplified, in the public domain in America from 1804, is accurate, Coke's reaction does not rule out recognition of Dow's capabilities as an evangelist and an attempt to harness them in an authorised capacity for the church. This would be unsurprising coming from Coke, who was open to the potential offered by revivalism as his later attitude to camp meetings was to

²⁷⁴ Published in 1830, it was described by Sellers as a 'mingling of prophecy and exhortation': Sellers, C. C. (1928). 273.

²⁷⁵ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). ii. 125; i.162.

²⁷⁶ See for example Hempton, D. (1984).94; Turner, J. M. (1985).83; Carwardine, R. (2006). 104; Werner J.S. (1984). 45. In no case is any primary reference given.

²⁷⁷ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i. 45- 46.

demonstrate. When Dow recorded his next encounter with Coke in Augusta in 1803 on the eve of the MEC General Conference, he again claimed to receive a warm welcome from Coke, who declared ‘your warning to the people of Dublin had like to prove too true.’²⁷⁸ Another friendly encounter followed in Charleston in January of the following year²⁷⁹ and it is not until 1806 when Dow attended a service in London at which Coke was preaching, that Dow recorded, in updated versions of ‘Dealings...’ any hostility shown towards him²⁸⁰. Dow’s later allegation against Coke’s conduct in Ireland was part of a broader attack in A Cry from the Wilderness against a man whom Dow alleged was ‘the first regicide among the Methodists’²⁸¹ in introducing an episcopal form of church government into US Methodism which Dow believed would not have been Wesley’s will.

Another factor in the Irish situation at the time was the emergence of a rival Methodism in the form of the New Connexion. As in England, dissatisfaction had grown ‘in regard to the course adopted by the Conference as to the ordinances and lay representation’ and this led to the expulsion of thirty-two stewards and leaders in the Lisburn Circuit, despite an appeal to the 1798 Irish Conference.²⁸² By 1800 New Connexion societies also existed at Bangor, Newtownards, Belfast, Knockbreckan, Milltown, Broombedge, Maze, Kilwarlin, Magheragall, Moyrusk, Priesthill and Dublin.²⁸³ Following the Irish Wesleyan Conference’s repudiation of his ministry, Dow preached a number of times for the Dublin and Lisburn New Connexion societies, was impressed by their decorum and felt welcomed. In New Connexion meetings in The Weavers Hall in Dublin in 1800, the congregation ‘in general were solemn and quiet, and some were melted to tenderness... In their meetings also, I had liberty to speak what I felt.’²⁸⁴ A New Connexion meeting in

²⁷⁸ Ibid. 83.

²⁷⁹ Ibid. 84.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. 119.

²⁸¹ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). ii. 124.

²⁸² Crookshank, C. H. (1886). ii. 146.

²⁸³ Ibid. 193.

²⁸⁴ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i. 47.

Lisburn in early 1801 was for Dow a ‘solemn and tender’ occasion.²⁸⁵ Dow appears not to have encountered the New Connexion until this final year of his stay in Ireland, but their hospitality was to be extended to him in further trips to the British Isles and he was to give an account of their origins in England and Ireland as part of his anti-episcopacy polemic in ‘A Cry From The Wilderness’ some thirty years later.²⁸⁶

Dow returned to the USA on 26 April 1801 and at the New England Conference of that year in Lynn²⁸⁷ he reluctantly agreed to be stationed once again. In his published journal Dow expressed no remorse for his Irish trip and avoided discipline on the grounds (as he understood it) that ‘one on trial has a right to desist as well as they to reject.’²⁸⁸ For their part the Conference seems to have leniently concluded that his previous desertion of Cambridge Circuit was justified for health reasons. Dow was reinstated to his former status of continued on trial and assigned, with David Brown and William Thatcher, to Dutchess and Columbia Circuit under the presiding eldership of Freeborn Garretson (1752-1827). Dow’s published account of this period claimed that he had accepted being stationed again reluctantly, as he had ‘returned to America with a view to travel the Continent at large for a season’ and that when friends offered the justification for collective discernment ‘that it was more likely for one to be mistaken, than twenty’, Dow was ‘prevailed on to yield my judgment to theirs; which circumstance I conceive was an error in my life.’²⁸⁹ One of the few extant letters written in Dow’s hand comes from this period, addressed to his father Humphrey from New York, on 23 June.²⁹⁰ Here he stated without rancour that ‘The Conference agreed to receive and restore me to my place as I was when going

²⁸⁵ Ibid. 55.

²⁸⁶ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).ii.24.

²⁸⁷ Mudge has the conference convening on 17 July but the dating of Dow’s letter to his father (below) would suggest that the conference took place in June: Mudge, J. (1910). 449

²⁸⁸ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i. 56.

²⁸⁹ Ibid. 162.

²⁹⁰ “Lorenzo Dow: A Rare Archival Acquisition.” Retrieved 15 June 2012, from <http://www.lycoming.edu/umarch/chronicles/2005/9.lorenzo.pdf>. The original is in the possession of the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the UMC.

to Europe – before I offered to join them at all to take a circuit.’ The letter concluded with an assurance to his family ‘Don’t be anxious concerning me, for all is well now’ suggesting a more peaceful state of mind about his resumption of ministry in the MEC than his published journal would suggest. However, in a paragraph promising to visit home ‘not short of five nor exceeding ten weeks,’ Dow’s outlook hinted at the possibility that his re-emersion into circuit life might not be a long term prospect: ‘I am a short-sighted creature. I can’t see far before me. I only proceed as the door opens, with my trust in God who is my comfort provider, protector and support.’

For the first quarter in the circuit he diligently fulfilled his appointments but illness again struck, in the form of an ulcerated lung, and Dow once more saw providence at work since ‘this he imagined as an evidence that he was out of his sphere.’ Instead he was directed by Garretson to preach in the Litchfield, Connecticut Circuit which he did until November 1801. After that month’s Quarterly Meeting Dow left his station once again, this time bound for New York, his destruction of the license given to him by Garretson for the Dutchess and Columbia Circuit marking his final break, although as elsewhere he was welcomed into local pulpits for many years afterwards. In Mudge’s appendix listing the full members of the Conference from its beginning, ‘Lorenzo Dow does not appear because, though received on trial, in 1798, he got no further.’²⁹¹

Conclusion

The years 1797-1800 feature little in Primitive Methodist historiography apart from in their accounts of Hugh Bourne’s conversion. As a result, in documenting the emergence of Primitive Methodism, Hugh Bourne and those that followed him paid little attention to the rise of another alternative to Wesleyan Methodism in the Burslem area at that time, in the form of the Methodist New Connexion. In none of the published historical accounts documented in chapter one is there any mention of the disruption in the Burslem Circuit which preceded the revival at Harriseahead. Amongst later writers, Werner acknowledged the existence

²⁹¹ Mudge, J. (1910). 431.

nationally of the New Connexion as an important part of context from which Primitive Methodism emerged²⁹² but unlike her treatment of the Independent Methodists,²⁹³ she did not explore their local proximity. Yet the agitation at Hanley was to provide a test of authority for the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit in which the upholding of order was to prove costly and to provide both the context for the revival at Harriseahead – i.e. a weakened Wesleyan Circuit- as well as a potential alternative Methodism in a strong local New Connexion presence for the revivalists to engage with. The events of 1797-1800 elsewhere also shaped the ministries of William Edward Miller and John Riles, who were to play key roles in the events of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative. It was during this time too that Lorenzo Dow was to begin his unauthorised itinerant evangelistic ministry and to come to the attention of the Wesleyan authorities in Ireland, as well as developing links with New Connexion congregations, a practice he was to continue once in England in 1805-1807 and to widen to include other dissident Methodist groups. For Dow in particular, his attitude towards any accountability in his ministry, his eclectic choice of Methodist contacts and the anxiety which these things began to provoke in Wesleyans on both sides of the Irish Sea were all formed in the immediate years before the Harriseahead revival broke out. The roles of Miller, Riles and Dow, as well as the proximity of the New Connexion, all deserve re-appraisal in the telling of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative.

²⁹² Werner, J. S. (1984). 22-25.

²⁹³ Ibid. 27.

‘Two Flames of Fire’

1800-1804.

‘Few better names are known in connection with the events which led to the establishment of Primitive Methodism than Daniel Shubotham.’²⁹⁴ The accolade of an anonymous author in 1872 is accurate on one level: Shubotham, Hugh Bourne’s cousin, is indeed ever-present in the retelling of the Primitive Methodist story of origins. However his role in the creation narrative has arguably been underplayed and his part in its early stages is reduced to being the first conversion for Hugh Bourne and a prophetic voice whose words others acted upon. Yet as the revival in Harriseahead gathered pace during the opening years of the nineteenth century, the relationship between Bourne and Shubotham was to be of central importance.

Whilst Hugh Bourne and William Clowes glare at each other across the landscape of Mow Cop on numerous surviving commemorative plates, centenary class tickets and motto cards, any knowledge of Daniel Shubotham’s physical appearance is now lost. The exact location of his grave is lost, and his sole tangible legacy is now used as a work shed with only a few parts of the original walls remaining. Shubotham was a common name in the Potteries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and so tracing Daniel is not a straightforward task. However, his wife Hannah can be identified with some confidence from the extant records of his class²⁹⁵ and in an entry from Bourne’s journal reproduced by Walford,²⁹⁶ so using marriage and death records to make an identification, some of the details of Shubotham’s early life can be surmised. The baptismal register of St James, Newchapel records the baptism of one Daniel Shufflebotham on 5 March

²⁹⁴ [Anon.] (1872). Earnest Men, Sketches of Eminent Primitive Methodist Ministers and Laymen. London, F.H. Hurd.17.

²⁹⁵ Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book. Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Archives 1796-1819, Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library. Stoke on Trent. See Chapter Five for more details of this.

²⁹⁶ See page 106 below, n.393.

1772 along with a twin, Joseph, sons of Daniel and Mary.²⁹⁷ Bourne's earliest account of Shubotham's role, in the series "On Camp Meetings" in the first volume of A Methodist Magazine..., described him as being an only surviving child²⁹⁸ so Joseph can have been no older than a teenager when he died. Bourne also described Shubotham as 'a working collier and a married man, having two children.'²⁹⁹ Wolstanton Parish registers contain the marriage on 2 December 1798 of Daniel Shufflebotham, collier, and Hannah Baddeley.³⁰⁰ One of the couple's children can be positively identified, since the parish burial registers show that on 1 July 1821 Daniel, son of Daniel and Hannah Shufflebotham was buried at St James, Newchapel, aged twenty.³⁰¹ Intriguingly the only mention of a Daniel Shufflebotham fathering a child in the Wolstanton Baptismal Registers is an entry for the baptism of 'Joseph' on 24 February 1799, with no mother's name given. The use of Daniel's recently deceased brother's name and the alleged lifestyle of Daniel's pre-conversion days make it a possibility that this could have been Daniel and Hannah's first child, conceived before they married.

'How Great A Matter A Little Fire Kindleth!': Shubotham as Convert.

Despite knowing him as a childhood cousin, Shubotham's first adult encounter with Hugh Bourne came in 1800 when working at Stone Trough colliery, a farm in Wolstanton with a collection of 'basic and primitive shallow workings... in the farm yard itself.'³⁰² The first of the two roles in which Shubotham was to become established in the telling of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative was that of Hugh Bourne's first convert on or

²⁹⁷ (1741-1789). St. James the Apostle Newchapel. Register of baptisms, marriages and burials, Staffordshire Record Office. Shufflebotham was Daniel's full second name, and appears on all extant documentation of the period, but the shortened version was used by Bourne and subsequent writers. On the parish register for his marriage to Hannah Baddeley, he was referred to as 'Shufflebotham' but signed his name 'Shubotham' suggesting that this was his preference. Hannah made her mark 'X'.

²⁹⁸ Bourne, H. (1818). 27.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ (1790-1812). St Margaret Wolstanton. Register of marriages, Staffordshire Record Office.

³⁰¹ (1813-1842). St. James the Apostle Newchapel. Register of burials, Staffordshire Record Office. 1813-1842). St. James the Apostle Newchapel. Register of burials, Staffordshire Record Office.

³⁰² "Mow Cop Interactive: A Past and Present look at Mow Cop. Coal Mining & The Tramways." Retrieved 24 May 2010, from <http://www.mowcop.info/htm/industry/coal.htm>.

around Christmas Eve 1800. Bourne laid great stress upon this in his earliest writings on the movement's origins. In the series of articles "On Camp Meetings" in the first two issues of A Methodist Magazine....conducted by the Society of people called Primitive Methodists Bourne gave an in-depth account of Daniel's pre-conversion character, recounting how he had squandered the seven hundred pounds left to him by his father, 'a coal master and farmer.'³⁰³ Given that at 2013 values that is squandering to the tune of around £22,500, Shubotham's addictions to fighting and 'profane swearing'³⁰⁴ must have been more than matched by his love of gambling and drinking. To these misdemeanours was later added the claim that he was 'a boxer, a poacher, and a leading character in crime.'³⁰⁵ Despite all this, Shubotham does seem to have had some semblance of Christian faith when he and Bourne became reacquainted around 1800. Hindmarsh has noted the idea of conversion as 'theological emancipation from Calvinism' in the narratives of the early Methodist preachers of Wesley's day³⁰⁶ and there is a parallel here in the suggestion that Shubotham was clinging to the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints to make sense of the discontinuity between his belief and behaviour when challenged by Bourne:

I endeavoured to show him, that he was not justified, nor as yet in the way of heaven, that he must have an inward change: be justified by faith and have peace by God through our Lord Jesus Christ and that without this he could not be saved. But he so stuck to his 'once in grace, always in grace' that all I could say seemed to be lost upon him.³⁰⁷

³⁰³ Bourne, H. (1818). 27.

³⁰⁴ Ibid. 28. In a footnote Bourne told an anecdote that even Evans, a local farmer and renowned foul-mouth told Daniel he was 'the ugliest swearer he had ever heard in his life,' giving Shubotham pause for thought.

³⁰⁵ Bateman, T. (1853). "A Sketch of the Life and Labours of the Venerable Hugh Bourne." Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1853. London, Thomas Holliday.579

³⁰⁶ Hindmarsh, D. B. (2005). The Evangelical Conversion Narrative : spiritual autobiography in early modern England. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 243-247.

³⁰⁷ Bourne, H. (1818). 28-29.

Bourne later attributed this to Shubotham's acquaintance with a 'drunken shoe maker' whose Calvinism prejudiced Daniel against Methodism, and he 'learned from this man to talk of religion' thus sounding as if he was 'on the way to heaven.'³⁰⁸ Bourne's own intense dislike of alcohol and bias against Calvinism seem likely to have been combined in this unlikely portrayal of an inebriate witness, yet the story was still being told over ninety years later.³⁰⁹ A later variation to the story of Shubotham's conversion first appeared in Bourne's account of his early life published as a series of connexional tracts in 1834³¹⁰ and was subsequently to be found in both Walford and Antliff's accounts. On one occasion in the smithy of a mutual acquaintance, Thomas Maxfield, Shubotham's criticism of his shy cousin led to an exchange between him and Maxfield, who had been the recipient of a written testimony from Bourne of his own conversion.³¹¹ The blacksmith defended him, saying 'he's a safe mon.' Daniel's response was 'I'll be a safe man, for I'll go and join him'³¹² at which point he sought out a conversation with Bourne.

It was a visit by Bourne to Shubotham's house on Christmas Day 1800, with Robert Barclay's Catechism,³¹³ that brought about a change in Shubotham's view:

...While I was reading a part of it, Daniel was made sensible that his whim 'once in grace, always in grace' was unscriptural and would not stand, and at the same time he was also made sensible that he himself was not really in the way to heaven.³¹⁴

The two men went for a walk to pray and study the scriptures, and Bourne gave Shubotham his conversion account to read, but with Bourne

³⁰⁸ Bourne, H. (n.d) [1849].57.

³⁰⁹ Birchenough, A. A. (1896). "Hugh Bourne's Christmas-Tides." Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1896. London, T.Mitchell.908.

³¹⁰ [Bourne, H.] (1834). i.9.

³¹¹ Dated 17 August 1800, this account was written for Maxfield's benefit and was in the hands of Walford in 1855. See Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i. 68 n.

³¹² Walford in particular makes great play of this. See Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856).i. 68-70.

³¹³ Robert Barclay's Catechism and Confession of Faith was first published in 1673, and was still popular enough to reach a thirteenth edition in 1803.

³¹⁴ Bourne, H. (1818).ii.29.

‘thinking he took no notice,’³¹⁵ the two men parted. Petty later wrote that at this point ‘Daniel became decided, and soon after found peace through faith.’³¹⁶ This understandably concise version of events written for a denominational history spanning sixty years somewhat condensed Shubotham’s conversion experience and emphasised Bourne’s role in it. Thus Bourne’s encounter with Shubotham became a demonstration of his dedication as a preacher³¹⁷ and, even in their final years of separate denominational existence, as a conversational model to be emulated by Primitive Methodists.³¹⁸ Yet these perspectives mask a spiritual struggle for a man described by Bourne as one who ‘began to seek the Lord with purpose of heart’ with ‘convictions for sin... deep and strong.’³¹⁹ Shubotham at the same time ‘took to exhorting and reproving’ and this led to an attempt on his life by a gang of his workmates from the colliery, waylaying him as he returned from work one day. According to Bourne, Shubotham ‘went straight away amongst them, and began to talk so earnestly and feelingly of heaven and hell’³²⁰ with the result that one collier later became a convert, whilst all the rest melted away.

Bourne’s role during this spiritual struggle was in fact far from straightforward, as he himself admitted. Bourne advised Shubotham to ‘beware lest the enemy had deceived him’ once Daniel reached a point where he believed God had pardoned his sins. This advice, Bourne readily acknowledged, was unhelpful, with the result that Shubotham ‘cast away his confidence, sunk into unbelief and lost his evidence’³²¹. Daniel, however, persevered and Bourne then recounted a remarkable vision Shubotham experienced after finishing work a few days after his discouraging

³¹⁵ Ibid.: see also Walford, J. and Antliff (1856).i.71-72. Walford apparently quotes from a now-lost Bourne journal for 1800 for this episode.

³¹⁶ Petty, J. (1860). 8.

³¹⁷ Trusler, G. (1905). “Striking Features of Early Primitive Methodism.” The Aldersgate Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1905. London, Edwin Dalton.484.

³¹⁸ ‘H.J.T’. (1929). Hugh Bourne’s Way. The Aldersgate Primitive Methodist magazine for the year of Our Lord 1929. London, John Swinden.. 711.

³¹⁹ Bourne, H. (1818). ii.29.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid.30.

conversation with Bourne. This vision, which caused Shubotham to immediately evangelise, is outlined in detail only in “On Camp Meetings”:

He fancied that he saw near him as it were a mountain of light, and Jesus Christ upon the cross; and while he was looking at the Lord, he thought a number of neighbours whom he knew well, came and looked at him also. Immediately he was filled with heaven, his heart overflowed with righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Christ; and it was under that influence that he ran to inform his neighbours.³²²

Shubotham’s conversion account as outlined by Bourne in 1818 has several intriguing elements. On the face of it, it displays the narrative shape, noted by Hindmarsh, of fall from innocence and return provided by the Bible for many descriptions of evangelical conversion.³²³ Less usually, it is a mystical vision of Jesus which finally seals Shubotham’s conversion, a detail which disappeared from Primitive Methodist historiography early on. There is also in the telling of the story a humility in Bourne’s recounting his own role in Shubotham’s conversion which presaged further indications of the nature of their relationship and its importance as it develops. Bourne stressed his own diffidence, especially in the early conversations with Shubotham on faith, where Bourne was ‘timid and fearful of conversing...of being injured.’³²⁴ Bourne admitted that ‘I certainly did him an injury’³²⁵ in urging caution once Shubotham had come to a point of assurance.

There is no doubting the *significance* Bourne attaches to Shubotham’s conversion in his lengthy and detailed account of it. Shubotham’s story was being retold as the first conversion of many in what was to become Primitive Methodism. Writing nearly twenty years later, Bourne continued to underscore the importance to Primitive Methodism’s later development of Shubotham’s coming to faith:

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Hindmarsh, D. B. (2005). 8.

³²⁴ Bourne, H. (1818). ii.29.

³²⁵ Ibid. 30.

As these Camp Meetings proved themselves to be of the Lord, it will be a satisfaction to many to be able distinctly to trace the starting place. And this starting may be providentially in the work set on foot in H Bourne's visit to D Shubotham, December 25th 1800.³²⁶

The importance of Bourne in Shubotham's journey to faith should thus not be underestimated but in his own initial telling of it Bourne made clear that his testimony was only one part of Shubotham's experience and that his subsequent advice was not entirely helpful. Bourne continued to underline the importance of Shubotham's conversion for the beginning of the revival and these perspectives were reflected in early reflections on Hugh Bourne's legacy after his death:

...Mr. Bourne opened to him the Scriptures, and earnestly besought him to flee from the wrath to come. *This led the way to Daniel's conversion* to the establishment of the Harresehead [sic.] prayer meetings, to the introduction of the English camp-meetings, and to what Eternity must tell: "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!"³²⁷

It is perhaps trite to observe that it was a vision of Jesus rather than words of Bourne that finalised Shubotham's conversion to Christian faith, but by emphasising their conversation rather than Shubotham's revelation later writers brought Bourne's role to the fore and removed any ambiguity in his counsel to Shubotham, in a way in which Bourne himself commendably refused to do in 1818. From Petty in 1860 a flattening of the narrative led to Bourne's role being emphasised over and above any other influence on Shubotham and the importance of Bourne as an evangelist in serving as a 'model for life in the present' became more significant than the role of Shubotham's conversion as a 'paradigmatic event that called the community into being', which Bourne had understood its importance to be. Rather, the initial trigger for community formation in Primitive Methodism became entirely identified with the first camp meeting of 1807. Yet arguably,

³²⁶ [Bourne, H.] (1836). 225.

³²⁷ Bateman, T. (1853).580.[emphasis added]

without Shubotham, the revival would have lacked impetus and leadership in the beginning, as Bourne himself acknowledged in his early writings. As will be explored in the next chapter, Shubotham's role leading up to the holding of the first camp meeting in 1807 has also arguably been underplayed by subsequent chroniclers of those events.

'Earnest Men': Shubotham, Bayley and Bourne.

In "On Camp Meetings", Bourne went on to outline Shubotham's growing friendship with Matthias Bayley, another converted collier, and their growing regularity in praying together. At this point, the article ends.³²⁸ In Bourne's next published writing on the period, his History, the account was brief and to the point, describing Bourne, Shubotham and Bayley as 'earnest men' and outlining 'a considerable awakening'³²⁹ and the establishment of prayer meetings. It was in this phase that Bourne and Shubotham's relationship developed further, as Bourne himself outlined in his 1834 connexional tract Notices of the Life... Bourne contrasting his own timidity with Shubotham's 'free open profession of religion, speaking of it with boldness and confidence,'³³⁰ qualities which new convert Bayley also now shared. Bourne described how it wrought a change in him after he 'saw its excellence, and got into it.'³³¹ Writing a couple of years later in a series of articles for The Primitive Methodist Magazine, Bourne made it clearer that this change was due to a challenge from Shubotham. The importance that Bourne attached to the conversation makes it worthwhile reiterating in full:

Daniel and Matthias bore all down before them. And one day Daniel questioned H. Bourne as to why he did not do the same. H. Bourne's timidity stood in his way. But Daniel would not allow this to be as a reasonable objection. H. Bourne had talked him to a purpose and why not to others. And he saw no reason for talking in a doubting hesitating way about religion. H. Bourne observed that if he should

³²⁸ See Chapter One.

³²⁹ Bourne, H. (1823).5.

³³⁰ [Bourne, H.] (1834). ii. 2.

³³¹ Ibid.

talk about religion and afterwards fall away it would make things worse than if he had not talked; and the thought of this brought a fear upon him. But Daniel said H Bourne had nothing to do with the falling away; he had to talk, and leave the Lord to do the falling away. That if all were to reason as H. Bourne did no body must talk, and people would be left to go to hell in their sins. Finally in that one conversation, H. Bourne was fully brought out of his former way. He saw at once the excellence of Daniel and Matthias' way, and fully entered into it; and in that respect fully entered into a NEW course. And from that hour to the present, H. Bourne has laboured with all the diligence in his power to promote that course; and, through the mercy of God, it has great root in the Primitive Methodist Connexion, and has been the means of many being convinced of sin, and converted to God, and strengthened in the way of holiness.³³²

Bayley soon became a member of Joseph Pointon's class, just over the Cheshire border. Shubotham appears to have held back from becoming a Wesleyan initially, being advised by Bourne to attend St James, Newchapel as the nearest Anglican church, advice which he does not appear to have taken.³³³ He did undertake to visit Bayley regularly, however, and this contact and attendance at a Sunday Wesleyan service seemed to remove any remaining vestiges of his prejudice against Methodism.³³⁴ By now Shubotham and Bayley were meeting for prayer and when Shubotham's faith-sharing drew four other colliers into their orbit a more formal prayer meeting was suggested. Whilst neither Shubotham nor Bayley felt their prayer was good enough for a larger public meeting, Bourne still felt unable to pray in public at all. However, at this stage no 'proper person' was forthcoming from a request to the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit and so a meeting went ahead at the home of Jane Hall, allegedly the only Methodist in Harriseahead before the revival began.³³⁵

³³² [Bourne, H.] (1836).178.

³³³ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 31.

³³⁴ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856).76.

³³⁵ [Bourne, H.] (1834). ii. 5.

The role of Shubotham and of Bayley in the early days of the revival has usually merited only a few lines at best in subsequent histories, though in 1847 John Petty described them as:

Poor and unlettered men, little known and little esteemed by the wise and the great, but known and loved of God; men of strong faith, ardent piety and glowing zeal; men whose conversation was in heaven, and whose hearts melted with compassion for the unconverted portion of their neighbours.³³⁶

Petty's description of Shubotham gave a very different picture to Kendall's later dismissal of him as 'impressionable and variable of mood'³³⁷ and captured well the sense of determination in Shubotham which was to make him the key figure in Bourne's spiritual journey as the revival gathered pace.

'Some Time In Talking With Daniel': Shubotham as Mentor

Shubotham seems to have been instrumental in Bourne's spiritual development, in turns by persuasion and reassurance. Both he and Bayley 'insisted that H. Bourne should take a part in praying in the proposed prayer meeting...they urged conscience, and a variety of motives, as well as his having been in the way to heaven much longer a time than they had.'³³⁸ Shubotham then relayed to Bourne after one meeting that Bayley had felt his prayer had been inferior to those offered by Bourne. Bourne replied that he had preferred Bayley's words, but the episode gave him confidence in the public ministry of prayer: he reflected 'On what a slender thread hangs everlasting things.'³³⁹ In his first extant journal entry for 12 February 1803, Bourne described how 'This week I had greater tryals [sic.] than I ever had since I set out.'³⁴⁰ In the months that followed, Bourne turned to Shubotham as a mentor. Bourne recorded in his Journal for 25 February, 'At night

³³⁶ Petty, J. (1847). "Mow Hill and its Religious Associations". *Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1847*. London, Thomas Holliday. 615.

³³⁷ See Chapter Five.

³³⁸ [Bourne, H.] (1836). 180.

³³⁹ [Bourne, H.] (1834). ii. 5.

³⁴⁰ Bourne, H. (12 Feb.1803-14 Aug. 1804). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester.12 Feb.1803.

talked with Daniel he is determined in spite of all opposition to press on.’³⁴¹ This steadfastness in the face of hostility is a very different characteristic from the wavering over camp meetings he is later portrayed as demonstrating, as will be explored in Chapter Four. Shubotham thus acted as a sounding board for Bourne in his personal spiritual struggles:

After meeting I spent some time in talking with Daniel. I told him of being tempted to pride and lightness and that in the meeting and after I was strong for temptation to think I should not be able to walk in holiness but was aiming at something beyond which any man was ever able to perform.³⁴²

Shubotham also encouraged Bourne in his studies, which were to bring great benefit to the Primitive Methodist Connexion in the years ahead:³⁴³

We likewise discussed the question, whether it would be right for me to devote part of my time to study of discourses after a set manner. We concluded that every manner of improvement was right if done with a single eye to the glory of God.³⁴⁴

It is clear that Shubotham’s counsel was sought and his opinion valued whenever Bourne was wrestling with an issue in his faith at this time and that self-examination was undertaken with Daniel in what would now be termed an ‘accompanying’ role:

This is a fast day. This morning I related the matter to DS and we examined it over. We found that I was fallen into a hole that the weakest believer at Harriseahead would scarce have fallen into. I was living upon human wisdom, was seeking after men pleasing and was

³⁴¹ Ibid. 25 Feb. 1803.

³⁴² Ibid. 14 Mar. 1803.

³⁴³ See Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 189-198 for an overview of Bourne’s literary contribution to Primitive Methodism.

³⁴⁴ Bourne, H. (12 Feb. 1803-14 Aug. 1804). 14 Mar. 1803. Bourne is probably using the term ‘discourse’ to refer to published sermons here.

falling in a variety of ways but the Lord in his mercy has stopped me and lifted me out of the mire.³⁴⁵

These qualities in Shubotham were put to good use as the appointed class leader at Harriseahead.

‘They Laid It Open To Daniel’: Shubotham as Class Leader

Being leader of a class at Harriseahead was a key development which was to shape Shubotham’s relationship with Bourne and with the Burslem Wesleyans. The praying group formed themselves into a Monday night class, to meet in the chapel when completed, but in the meantime in Shubotham’s house.³⁴⁶ The lack of surviving records make it impossible to date the official Wesleyan recognition of Shubotham’s class but extant class records from the circuit exist for 1803³⁴⁷ which show three classes listed in ‘Harrissey-Head’ [sic.]. Joseph Pointon’s class, just over the Cheshire border, had twenty-five members and a second, led by Shubotham, had twenty-two. For this year only, Shubotham and Bourne were listed as joint leaders of a class of seven at Lane Ends, near Harriseahead. This is the only time Bourne was ever listed in a Wesleyan official capacity as a class leader, and the class itself became part of Pointon’s from the following year. Shubotham, in contrast, was to remain leader of a Wesleyan class in Harriseahead for the rest of his life.

Bourne was later to claim Shubotham was unwilling to undertake the leadership of the Harriseahead class alone³⁴⁸ and in an article for the Primitive Methodist Magazine in 1840 Bourne identified the resulting variety in class leading as being a key development:

In the year 1801, I formed a class at Harresehead [sic.]. This was my first attempt of the kind. I put in Daniel Shubotham to be leader: but I myself, and Matthias Bayley, and Thomas Cotton, had to lead it in

³⁴⁵ Ibid. 5 April 1803.

³⁴⁶ Bourne, H. (1834). iii.2.

³⁴⁷ (1803-1805). Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book. Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Archives 1796-1819, Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library. Stoke on Trent.

³⁴⁸ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i. 98.

turn; and it went on in this system upwards of six years; and I never knew a class more owned of the Lord. It was at a class meeting of this class, that the first Mow Camp meeting was appointed; and much more did the Lord effect by means of this class. Also this system, namely, variety in class leading, was established in the Providential origin of the Primitive Methodist Connexion.³⁴⁹

As will be seen in Chapter Four, even taking Bourne's starting date for the class as being 1801, with the arrival of William E. Miller the 'system' actually lasted no longer than four years. It is also striking that when Bourne referred to the Harriseahead class in his journals for 1803, in almost every case he refers to it as 'Daniel's class'³⁵⁰ including on the two occasions when he wrote of leading it, suggesting that the variety in class leading at Harriseahead, if it happened, became more significant to Bourne after Miller's arrival than it was at the time. Bourne's claim to favour multiple class leaders was bolstered by Walford by the reproduction of Wesley's Conference Minute of 1744:³⁵¹

Q Can anything further be done in order to make the meeting of the classes lively and profitable?

A1. Let the leaders frequently meet each other's classes.

[The second part of the answer actually makes it clear that this is a judgement for the circuit not the individual class leaders:]

A2 Let us observe which leaders are most useful to those under their care; and let these meet the other classes as often as possible

Bourne claimed that his instigation of a shared leadership was to bring him into conflict with Shubotham as well as with William Edward Miller.³⁵² Whatever the truth of Bourne's claim, the formation of the class certainly

³⁴⁹Bourne, H. (1840). "Journal Notices etc." Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1840. London, John Hallam. 32.

³⁵⁰Bourne, H. (12 Feb.1803-14 Aug. 1804). 24, 28 Feb., 14, 18, 21 Mar.

³⁵¹ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). 53-54.

³⁵² See Chapter Four.

proved to be the beginning of Shubotham's official link with the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit. His leadership was orderly, trusted and collegiate, as Bourne generously acknowledged in 1836:

...the freedom of talking experience was of service. And they all applied to Daniel, and especially if anything particular occurred in their experience; and he usually consulted on these things with Hugh Bourne or with him and Matthias...None were allowed to pray in public unless they walked circumspectly. And in case they were overtaken in a fault they laid it open to Daniel and he advised with them. They hardly ever attempted to hide a fault.³⁵³

Bourne's only brief listing as a class leader being alongside Shubotham at Lane Ends in 1803 suggests that, as with personal spiritual growth, in the leading of meetings Shubotham seems to have been Bourne's mentor rather than the other way around.

'A Meeting Upon Mow Cop Some Sunday': Shubotham as Prophet

It was probably Daniel Shubotham's standing as a class leader which gave weight, at the time he uttered them, to the words by which he is remembered in most accounts of Primitive Methodism. In the second of the "On Camp Meetings" articles, Bourne makes the first known published reference to the occasion when "The first motion towards this meeting appeared amongst some pious colliers at Harriseahead in the year 1801, in the idea of 'A DAY'S PRAYING UPON MOW.'³⁵⁴ From the earliest history of Primitive Methodism³⁵⁵ to the most recent full length study,³⁵⁶ Shubotham's key role has been seen as foretelling the events of 1807 when at an overrunning prayer meeting in 1801 he said 'at the close of a lively meeting' when some would have liked to have stayed longer, 'You shall have a meeting upon Mow Cop some Sunday and have a whole day's praying and

³⁵³ [Bourne, H.] (1836) 224.

³⁵⁴ Bourne, H. (1818). 26.

³⁵⁵ Bourne, H. (1823). 6.

³⁵⁶ Werner, J.S. (1984). 60.

then you will be satisfied.’³⁵⁷ This quote became part of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative for its supposedly prophetic qualities – it has been variously described as ‘a project substantially accomplished,’³⁵⁸ ‘the germ of the English Camp Meeting’³⁵⁹ and ‘a promise [which] received historic fulfilment.’³⁶⁰

Revivalist open-air encampments popularly became known of in England amongst Wesleyans at this time due to regular news of them appearing in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. These accounts began in the edition for June 1802 with the reproducing of a letter written in August 1801 from a Presbyterian minister in Kentucky to another in Philadelphia. The reports had a great focus on the huge numbers of people involved but also atmospheric accounts of meetings and some informative outlines of what actually happened. One extract may be taken as representative of many more. The issue for February 1803 contained a letter from Colonel Robert Paterson of Lexington, Kentucky to The Rev Dr John King, written on 25 September 1801.³⁶¹ Writing from Concord, Paterson provided an evocative description of ‘a thick grove of beechen timber’ candlelit by the congregation on a still calm night, with about four thousand attending, and two hundred and fifty communicating in a tent, and twelve wagons present. Paterson then offered descriptions of meetings at Stoney Creek, Lexington and Indian Creek, giving similarly detailed breakdowns of the numbers attending, and the quantity of wagons and carriages, as well as those communicating (at what were still sacramental occasions at this point), and how many were ‘struck down’ by the Holy Spirit. After mentioning in passing meetings at Walnut Hill, Salem, Beaver, and Blue-Spring, ‘all familiar to those I have described,’ Patterson then gave a general description of the pattern of a meeting. He wrote of large congregations assembled in woods, of ministers preaching night and day, and of the camp ground

³⁵⁷ Bourne, H. (1823).6.

³⁵⁸ Petty, J. (1864). 9.

³⁵⁹ Ritson, J. (1910). 56.

³⁶⁰ Barber, B.A. (1932). 6.

³⁶¹ (1803). “Letters: Extract of a Letter from Colonel Robert Paterson, of Lexington, Kentucky, to the Rev. Dr John King.”. The Methodist Magazine for the Year 1803. London, George Whitfield. 82-93.

illuminated with candles on trees, wagons and tents. His account described how persons falling down were carried out of the crowd by those next to them and taken to some convenient place where ‘prayer is made for them’ and a suitable hymn or psalm sung. Patterson continued:

...if they speak what they say is attended to being very solemn and affecting (many are struck under such exhortations) but if they do not recover soon, praying and singing is continued, alternately, and sometimes a minister exhorts over them, for generally a large group of people collect and hang around, paying attention to prayer and joining in singing. Now suppose of those groups around; a minister engaged in preaching to a large congregation in the middle; some moaning, some rejoicing and you will form some imperfect idea of the extraordinary work. Opposers call this confusion! But in any of these parties, employment for the mind may be found. The work being engaging, persons subsist with less sleep and food than at other times.³⁶²

Some of the other accounts were in similar form of letters written to prominent Methodists, including Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury; Ezekiel Cooper, the Superintendent of the MEC’s Book Concern was the possible source of some of the others.³⁶³

It is not hard to see why the Harriseahead revivalists would find the accounts of these meetings inspirational. It is most unlikely Shubotham, however, had in mind such a camp meeting when he spoke of a meeting on Mow Cop. The term ‘camp-meeting’ only began to appear in the accounts from September 1803 onwards,³⁶⁴ some two years after Shubotham’s words. Bourne claimed in the 1823 History that after Shubotham used the same words on a similar occasion a few nights later ‘the people began to take it

³⁶² Ibid.86.

³⁶³ Richey, R. E. (1991). Early American Methodism. Bloomington, IN., Indiana University Press. 30.

³⁶⁴ (1803). “Letters: Extract of a Letter from the Rev. George Roberts, of Philadelphia, to Mr. William Myles, Minister of the Gospel, in London.” The Methodist Magazine for the Year 1803. London, George Whitfield. 419. My grateful thanks to John Lenton for drawing my attention to this point.

up.’³⁶⁵ The statement clearly lingered in the minds of the Harriseahead revivalists but it only became linked with the camp meeting concept once the Methodist Magazine articles began to circulate. It is perhaps an indication of Shubotham’s standing as a leader amongst the class at this time if Bourne’s later claims were accurate:

It became the conversation of the neighbourhood; it became a matter of desire and prayer to Almighty God; unexpected opposition afterwards rose, but there was no moving it out of the people’s minds, till after near six years’ prayer, it, by the good hand of God, issued in the English Camp meetings.³⁶⁶

As explored below, the absence of any mention of the idea in Bourne’s extant journals for 1803 and 1804 suggests that it might have been the visit of Lorenzo Dow in 1806-1807 that was the catalyst to bring Shubotham’s still-remembered words and the camp meeting concept together.

‘To Continue With The Old Connexion’: Shubotham as a Wesleyan.

In his Notices... of 1834 Bourne states ‘On Friday July 31, 1801, H. Bourne was informed that it was proposed to build a chapel at Harriseahead, and that Daniel Shubotham would give a piece of his garden for the purpose.’³⁶⁷ Bourne gave an account of how he gave the timber, costing ‘near £50,’³⁶⁸ and built the chapel himself in the face of the elements, with ‘scarcely...any assistance from any quarter’³⁶⁹ although a later writer claimed that ‘The building work was undertaken by Daniel Shufflebotham and the woodwork by Hugh Bourne.’³⁷⁰ Given that the impetus for the new chapel being erected in Shubotham’s garden came from the growing band of colliers meeting for prayer³⁷¹ it seems likely there would have been

³⁶⁵ Bourne, H. (1823). 6.

³⁶⁶ [Bourne, H.] (1836). 226.

³⁶⁷ [Bourne, H]. (1834). iii. 1.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid. 2.

³⁷⁰ Harper, W. J. (1907). “Mow Cop and Its Slopes: A Short History.” Retrieved 4 May 2009, from http://www.harriseahead.com/church_history.htm.

³⁷¹ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856).i. 50.

involvement from him and his Stonetrough colleagues, but the greater significance of the chapel lay in Shubotham's relationship with the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit. The chapel was finally completed in 1803³⁷² and measured 8.12" long by 8.6" wide. Among later writers, Bateman emphasized the generosity of Bourne in the building of the chapel:

Money earned by hard toil and labour, and husbanded with prudence and care, was not hoarded up. in his coffer no, not even to meet the exigencies of affliction and old age but was again and again cheerfully presented a free-will offering to God. Witness Harriseahead chapel...³⁷³

There is no doubt that the investment of time, money and effort by Bourne can be seen as a strong indication of his commitment to the revival at Harriseahead but it raised an issue of through which denomination this 'free-will offering to God' might be made. Bourne answered this question quickly, securing the chapel to the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit near to its completion, by a Deed of Trust dated 3 February 1803,³⁷⁴ but this option might not have been as straightforward as at first seems. Valenze suggested that both Bourne and Shubotham later regretted the resultant institutionalisation of worship that came with chapel discipline³⁷⁵ and regular circuit preachers, and that Shubotham's famous 'prophetic' words about a meeting on Mow were a reaction to this, but in fact they were spoken in 1801 some two years before the chapel was finished and handed over to the Wesleyans by Bourne. As has been noted, from at least 1803 when extant records begin Shubotham, unlike Bourne, was the official class leader, and his wavering over the issue of camp meetings and eventual loyalty to the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit suggest he accepted the institutionalism of the revival more readily than Bourne. Writing in his History Bourne claimed that he had felt increasingly that the chapel

³⁷² Wilkinson, J. T. (1952).35, n.20.

³⁷³ Bateman, T. (1853). 710.

³⁷⁴ Brown, L. (1964). 86.

³⁷⁵ Valenze, D. M. (1985). 85.

appearing on the circuit plan, appointed for ten and two every Sunday, 'was overdoing it' and a hindrance to the revival:

The work had been raised up chiefly by means of pious conversation and prayer meetings; and so very much preaching at such a place, and under such circumstances, seemed not to have a good effect; it seemed to hinder the exertions of the people. And the preachers, in general, were unfavourable to the day's praying upon Mow.³⁷⁶

However, as has been seen above, Bourne's account of this period in his later writings is not always substantiated by his extant journal of the time: from this source, Bourne seems rarely to have been in Harriseahead on Sundays in 1803 and 1804, instead leading classes and preaching elsewhere and meeting more often with the Harriseahead class during the week. No adverse comments about the chapel hosting two services on a Sunday can be identified in his journal in this period. What *is* clear from one of the first extant entries of his surviving 1803 journal is that by the beginning of that year, Bourne did feel that 'the people here had been persecuted by, and had stood it out against both preachers and people, a number of whom had opposed them.'³⁷⁷ As explored above this did lead to Bourne feeling under pressure but it did not stop him vesting the chapel in the Wesleyans, even though another alternative seems to have presented itself. Bourne later claimed that around this time Shubotham had informed him that his class at Harriseahead had received overtures from another community.³⁷⁸ Bourne's reply was that if the class decided to join that community he would not go with them for 'I shall not leave the Old Methodists.' In a few days Shubotham had resolved 'to continue with the old connexion.' The phraseology used by Bourne suggests that the approach was from the New Connexion, and the telling of the story, in a public letter in response to Aaron Lee's local history of Wesleyanism, underlined Bourne's professed loyalty to the church which was eventually to expel him. In 1803, though, at a time when class leading was a source of conflict for Bourne it may also

³⁷⁶ Bourne, H. (1823). 7.

³⁷⁷ Bourne, H. (12 Feb.1803-14 Aug. 1804). 17 Feb. 1803.

³⁷⁸ Bourne, H. (1842). iii.9.

have indicated his reluctance to join a church whose polity empowered the local congregation with the choice of class leader:³⁷⁹ in any popularity contest at Harriseahead with Daniel Shubotham Bourne seems likely to have come off second best, whereas at this time he was getting limited official recognition from the Wesleyans as a joint class leader at Lane Ends, as well as unofficial experience in a number of other places.³⁸⁰ There is a possibility in Bourne's journal entry for 11 March 1803 that this episode might have occurred during the early months of that year when he was facing great opposition from within the circuit and that the approach may have resulted in resentment from Bourne which outlasted that of Shubotham:

I was telling Daniel that I was beset with prejudice at religion prospering in other societies and was under great bondage thereby. He told me he was delivered from it and advised me to seek deliverance. We had prayers and were blessed.³⁸¹

Bourne's loyalty to the Wesleyans might well have coloured his experience of the New Connexion at this time. On Saturday 26 March 1803 Bourne's journal³⁸² recorded a visit to 'Albutt the stationers at Hanley who is a Kilham preacher.' Thomas Albutt (1777-1857) was a prominent Hanley businessman and as well as being a local preacher was also a trustee at Hanley Bethesda New Connexion chapel. In 1807 he was a representative to the New Connexion Conference in Leeds and from that year on was the printer of the New Connexion Methodist Magazine or Evangelical Repository. Albutt served as Book Steward and Connexional Editor 1816-1826³⁸³ and was buried at Hanley Bethesda.³⁸⁴ In 1803, however, he failed to

³⁷⁹ As requested by Hanley's petition amongst many others. See Howdle, S. R. (2000). "Leaders' Meeting". A Dictionary Of Methodism In Britain And Ireland. J. A. Vickers. Peterborough, Epworth Press. 200.

³⁸⁰ See Chapter Four for a discussion of this.

³⁸¹ Bourne, H. (12 Feb.1803-14 Aug. 1804).11 Mar.1803.

³⁸² Ibid. 26 March 1803.

³⁸³ Garlick, K. (1983). Garlick's Methodist Registry 1983. London, B. Edsall & Co. I xii.

³⁸⁴ "People of Stoke-on -Trent, Allbut Family: Thomas Allbut b.1777 d.1857." Retrieved 3 May 2012, from http://www.thepotteries.org/people/allbut_t.htm.

impress Bourne, who was appalled by his 'vain and foolish talking and jesting [which] almost gave me a distaste to the society of men and a desire to turn hermit sooner than live among such people.'³⁸⁵ Bourne claimed his experience was not an isolated one: that evening he recorded a conversation with a tailor who relayed his experience at Wherrington where 'a Kilham round preacher came to preach and before preaching began to talk and jest with him and till the people in the house were ashamed.'³⁸⁶ Bourne, regarding such frivolous conversation as immoral, concluded 'The Lord deliver me from such preachers.' Bourne's attitude was based upon a perceived failure to match his own personal standard of morality, but also may have been genuinely indicative of his own loyalty to the Wesleyans at the time, even whilst subverting their discipline in his range of class leading and preaching. If Bourne did regret securing the chapel to the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit in the years that followed, his actions did not belie this: he remained a trustee of Harriseahead chapel for over twenty years *after* his exclusion from Burslem Wesleyanism, retiring only when the trust was reconstituted on 21 June 1829.³⁸⁷

In Walford the claim was made that the first appearances of the camp meeting accounts in the Methodist Magazine led the colliers to demand one by the summer of 1802 but that since the Harriseahead class had been joined to the Wesleyan Circuit, Daniel 'had suffered himself to be led into strong opposition to open-air worship...and so far succeeded as to put aside the meeting at that time.'³⁸⁸ As the first accounts of open-air meetings did not appear in the Methodist Magazine until June of that year this is a very unlikely timescale. Writing in 1834, Bourne claimed it was in the years 1803 and 1804 that 'there was much zeal for holding a day's meeting on Mow' but that 'the preachers having turned Daniel Shubotham against it, excluding all prospect though it was a subject of much prayer'³⁸⁹ If this is so once again it is odd that Bourne's extant journals for this period make no explicit

³⁸⁵ Bourne, H. (12 Feb. 1803-14 Aug. 1804). 26 Mar. 1803.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Brown, L. (1964). 86.

³⁸⁸ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.103.

³⁸⁹ [Bourne, H.] (1834), iii.7.

mention of any discussion of an open-air meeting. The closest Bourne's journal comes is in the entry for 5 March 1803:

I went in the afternoon with Daniel Shubotham to Congleton. We thought it right to pray for and expect the same power in this country as there is now in America: where sinners of every denomination are convinced.³⁹⁰

Here is a suggestion of the two men having read the American revival accounts in the Methodist Magazine, but no indication here or anywhere else in the journals for 1803-4 that they might take practical steps to emulate them. In his 1823 History Bourne's chronology suggested that the idea of a day's meeting on Mow 'began to be called a camp meeting'³⁹¹ before 1804 but the lack of use of the term for this in his extant journal, together with it only coming into use in the Methodist Magazine from September of 1803 belies this suggestion.

What is clear from the entries for this period, however, is that at the same time that Shubotham was being recognised officially within the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit as being leader of a class at Harriseahead which they now regarded as their own, Bourne was increasingly coming into conflict with a group of the preachers. In February 1803, Bourne recorded that Shubotham informed him that 'the preachers were offended at my using freedoms with them'³⁹² and that 'there was a great charge laid against me at Burslem among the preachers' for which Shubotham 'blamed my conduct.'³⁹³ That Shubotham was the conduit for this information to Bourne suggested that he increasingly had the confidence of the men now visiting the chapel in his garden at ten and two every Sunday.

Conclusion

During the period 1800-1804, a number of relationships were established which were to shape the emergence of Primitive Methodism as a

³⁹⁰ Bourne, H. (12 Feb.1803-14 Aug. 1804). 5 Mar. 1803.

³⁹¹ Bourne, H. (1823). 7.

³⁹² Ibid. Feb. 21 1803.

³⁹³ Ibid. Feb, 23 1803.

separate community. Daniel Shubotham has been remembered in Primitive Methodist historiography as Hugh Bourne's first convert, and a prophet foretelling of the first camp meeting on Mow Cop. In fact his considerable importance to the story lies more in his early role as mentor to Bourne and, in his appointment as class leader, as a focus for official Wesleyan oversight of the nascent society at Harriseahead. When Shubotham was approached by what seems to have been the New Connexion, Bourne affirmed the affiliation of the chapel to the Wesleyans. The contact with the preachers which resulted from this affiliation bound Shubotham more firmly to the Wesleyan cause. It also seems to have helped expose Bourne's irregular behaviour to the circuit authorities. A later Wesleyan writer expressed surprise at Bourne's position as the revival gathered pace:

At this distance in time, it seems to us remarkable that Hugh Bourne's preliminary evangelistic efforts escaped the attention of the Burslem Superintendent. We should have supposed that their value would have been perceived, and that the ardent worker would have been equipped with a 'note' and empowered to preach within the bounds of his own circuit. But, as far as we know, his work at this stage was entirely without recognition.³⁹⁴

Apart from a brief recognition as a class leader this seems to have been the case and the consequences of leaving Bourne without official sanction were to be great.

³⁹⁴(1886). "The Origins of the Primitive Methodist Connexion". London Quarterly Review, T. Woolmer. LXVII. 27. Although originally anonymous, the author has been identified as John S. Simon. See Houghton, W. E., J. H. Slingerland and J. L. Altholz (1987). The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900. Toronto, University of Toronto Press ; London : Routledge. 415. I am grateful to the Rev. Dr Martin Wellings for bringing this to my attention.

‘Any Means To Raise The Work Again...’

1805-1807

During 1805 William Clowes was converted, W.E Miller was stationed to the Burslem Circuit and Lorenzo Dow came ashore in Liverpool. Their contributions to the creation narrative of Primitive Methodism led to the transforming of old relationships and the forging of new ones, and had an impact not only on Shubotham and Bourne, but also on the Wesleyans both locally and nationally, thus making the community-forming ‘paradigmatic event’³⁹⁵ of the Mow Cop camp meeting and its consequences multicausal. Whilst understandably Hugh Bourne’s determination in driving both the first and subsequent camp meetings was lauded as having ‘embodied or exemplified the meaning of community’ thereby serving as a model ‘for life in the present’ in the telling of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative, a richer retelling will acknowledge the place of the ‘other personalities and complex activities [that] were involved.’³⁹⁶

‘A Plan To Depress Hugh Bourne’: The Changing Dynamics of the Revival

Daniel Shubotham’s loyalty to Hugh Bourne was to be challenged from 1805 onwards by a growing closeness to William Clowes. The two men first met on 27 January 1805 at a love feast at Harriseahead, only a week after Clowes’ conversion.³⁹⁷ In Clowes’ 1844 Journals Shubotham was referred to as ‘my friend’³⁹⁸, a designation Bourne never achieved in the book. Bourne was not slow to recognise the bond that formed between the two men. In March of that year, a dispute arose in the society around Bourne’s experience of ‘a spirit of burning.’ Upon Bourne’s suggestion,

³⁹⁵ Franke, J. R. (2005).177.

³⁹⁶ Wearmouth, R. F. (1950).135.

³⁹⁷ Clowes, W. (1844). 25.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.36, 37, 65.

Clowes received the same experience in prayer³⁹⁹ and after conversing with Clowes and others, Shubotham previously in opposition to the teaching was convinced and in a rare appearance in Bourne's writings 'Hannah Shubotham got it at the two o'clock preaching.'⁴⁰⁰ Bourne reflected, 'Daniel Shubotham was extremely fond of the Tunstall men, that is, of William Clowes and Richard Cartledge. He desired me to be with them as much as possible.'⁴⁰¹

In securing the fledgling Harriseahead class through the official leadership of Daniel Shubotham, a strong influence in the Burslem Circuit from 1805 came in the shape of William Edward Miller. Miller had followed William Bramwell at Nottingham in 1802, where a disputation over Hockley Chapel had resulted in the majority of trustees seceding to the New Connexion in 1797. This was an astute piece of stationing by the Wesleyan Conference, as Dixon noted: 'In consequence of the part Mr Miller had taken in these disputes, his knowledge of the leading men, and also of the people generally, at Nottingham...he was peculiarly fitted for this place.'⁴⁰² Sending Miller next to the Burslem Circuit in 1805 moved him to an area where the New Connexion was expanding even more rapidly, and the stationing of a well-known and established opponent of the New Connexion to Burslem was an effective way of warning the Hanley New Connexion Circuit from any designs on the revival in Harriseahead. In this light, circuit control over the class leadership of Harriseahead was an issue taken seriously by Miller. He may well have been particularly wary that George Wall, also previously in Nottingham, had been stationed by the New Connexion to their Hanley Circuit in the same year Miller had arrived. By this time Bourne was sharing in the leading of classes on an occasional basis at Burslem, Ridgway and Norton but Miller persuaded Shubotham to allow no-one but himself to lead his class at Harriseahead. Up until this point Shubotham and Bourne and to a lesser extent Matthias Bayley had led the revival with vocal

³⁹⁹ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.117.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid. 118.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Dixon, J. (1842). 79.

opposition from some of the preachers but without any real influence or interference from the wider circuit. Bourne's reaction to Miller's sway over Shubotham and the resulting reduction of his own influence on the class was to regard it as a personal slight on his leadership, and in his History he claimed that the outcome was spiritual stagnation:

Early in the year 1806, owing, as it was thought, to some steps taken by the under travelling preacher, the revival at Harriseahead made a pause, which was cause of grief to many, and the more so as upwards of twelve months elapsed without a single conversion taking place.⁴⁰³

The remaining Burslem Circuit class records do suggest that Bourne might have been right in his assertion that the revival faltered at this point, whether Miller was a factor or not. Shubotham's class had a membership of twenty-five in 1805, out of a total of eighty-seven for the Harriseahead society. Figures for 1806 are not available and those for 1807, included in the 1808 class book, only show society totals, but with Harriseahead having declined to sixty two.⁴⁰⁴ The figures for 1808 show Shubotham's class down to twenty, which suggests that the revival had reached its high water mark before the first Mow Cop camp meeting and that once the meetings became a bone of contention within the Wesleyan Circuit they did not result in an influx of new members at Harriseahead.

Some forty years later Bourne was still bitter about what he saw as Miller's interference in the pattern of class-leading that hindered the revival. He recognised, though, that as a Wesleyan sympathetic to revivalism Miller could much more readily influence opinion than previous itinerants. In Text A, he wrote:

We had not had a travelling preacher that knew so much of the converting work as Mr Miller, so he could fall in with the Harriseahead people. But he had peculiarities. Harriseahead class had been favoured with variety in its leading but this variety he set

⁴⁰³ Bourne, H. (1823). 8.

⁴⁰⁴ (1808) Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book. Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Archives 1796-1819, Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library. Stoke on Trent.

aside by prevailing with Daniel Shubotham to suffer no one to lead it but himself. This did injury...But they were so taken up with Mr Miller that my warning was disregarded.⁴⁰⁵

Bourne suggested that the hindrance provided by Miller acted as a spur to subsequent events on Mow Cop:

... [T]he changes he introduced weakened the peoples' energies, and the converting work so stopped that for full twelve months not a single soul was brought to God at Harriseahead or Mow. These changes instead of turning us from the idea of a camp meeting turned us fully to it. Not one of us could think of any means to raise the work again except a camp meeting.⁴⁰⁶

There is a contradiction here, as elsewhere Bourne claimed that Miller's period in the circuit was one in which Shubotham became less enthusiastic about the idea, when in fact, as will be seen below, by Bourne's own admission in 1836 Shubotham was as much responsible for the germ of the idea in 1807 as he was. The catalyst for this seems to have been the arrival of Lorenzo Dow, and its effect on Shubotham and Bourne, rather than the negative influence of Miller. In Text B, Bourne was even more scathing of Miller, and his words suggest that Miller's impact on his own ministry, rather than on the revival was the source of his ire: '...it appeared to be one of Mr Miller's main aims to upset all that the Lord had set on foot for Hugh Bourne...And many were glad when he left the circuit.'⁴⁰⁷

It seems likely that if Shubotham did change his mind about the idea of an open-air gathering, the developing strength of these relationships from 1805 onwards with both Miller and Clowes and their proximity to the preachers from Tunstall, frequently later cited by Bourne as 'the chief seat of opposition' to camp meetings,⁴⁰⁸ were the cause. Whereas before 1805 Bourne and Shubotham had discerned together where the Holy Spirit was

⁴⁰⁵ Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]). 22.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]). 159.

⁴⁰⁸ Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]). 46, 48, 49; (n.d [1849]). 203.

leading the revival, now Shubotham was increasingly amongst other spheres of influence, and the relationship between the two men would never be quite as close again.

Hugh Bourne's first meeting with William Clowes, also probably occurred during the early months of 1805. The portions of Bourne's now lost journal for 1805 included in Life and Labours suggested they were initially close. Bourne described Clowes' faith as 'uncommon,' 'very solid' and growing 'at a very great rate.'⁴⁰⁹ Clowes for Bourne was 'such an example of living by faith that I scarcely ever met with, and which I am not present [sic.] able to follow.'⁴¹⁰ In an entry dated 20 April, Bourne wrote of Clowes:

He is one raised up immediately by God - a man of uncommonly deep experience, of an unusual growth in grace, deep humility, steady zeal and flaming love; such a man I scarcely ever met with. O God this I desire, that thou would make me like him. ⁴¹¹

Clowes' Journal similarly indicated that the rapport between the two men was good at this time:

Among others, Hugh Bourne frequently visited me for the purpose of spiritual conversation, which was long before the camp meeting on Mow Hill took place. Our conversation on these occasions principally turned on faith, the inward experience of the things of God, and the nature of a present full and free salvation.⁴¹²

In his History some fifteen years after their first meeting Bourne wrote nothing to suggest anything other than a strong connection with Clowes following his coming to faith:

A number were converted to God, who proved very firm in the cause of religion, amongst whom were William Clowes, James Nixon and William Morris. And between these people and H. and J. Bourne an

⁴⁰⁹ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856).i. 120.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.121.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.122.

⁴¹² Clowes, W. (1844). 37.

intimacy grew and particularly between H. Bourne and William Clowes.⁴¹³

It is clear, however, from both Clowes' Journal and Bourne's autobiographical MSS, that relations between Clowes and W E Miller were much warmer than Bourne would have liked. In his Journal, Clowes writes of an occasion when Miller, addressing a band-meeting, 'told the people that in a conversation with me I had been an instrument of strengthening his faith in the Lord.'⁴¹⁴ The feeling was clearly mutual, as Clowes continued: 'Many, however, of the suggestions and instructions of Mr. Miller were of great use to me whilst he travelled in the circuit. He, for instance, desired me to refrain from striking the form with my hands whilst praying, and to adopt natural and becoming gestures in religious exercises.'⁴¹⁵ The most important influence Miller had upon Clowes was in his persuading him to lead a class at Kidsgrove. This, as well as demonstrating trust in Clowes' loyalty to the circuit, gave him a place on both the leaders' meeting and the Quarterly Meeting. The Kidsgrove class, Clowes claimed, 'rose into vigour and usefulness in a short time, and many of the roughest colliers were brought to God.'⁴¹⁶ This was the second class to be formed at Kidsgrove, the first one dating from Hugh Bourne's efforts amongst colliers there in 1801.⁴¹⁷ Initially Bourne had led it himself, but following the service at Joseph Pointon's house where Bourne first preached, on Sunday 12 July 1801, Bourne 'prevailed with Matthias [Bayley] to lead the Kidsgrove class that Sunday morning; and then ...prevailed with him to take it wholly. And when the circuit authorities took up Kidsgrove they continued him in the office and he held it a number of years.'⁴¹⁸ Clowes being given the new class to lead caused ill-feeling with Bourne, who believed Matthias Bayley should have been appointed to lead it. Bourne later claimed that the result of Miller's decision was that 'there was much boasting...eventually it issued in the total

⁴¹³ Bourne, H. (1823). 8.

⁴¹⁴ Clowes, W. (1844). 46.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid. 44.

⁴¹⁷ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856).i. 88.

⁴¹⁸ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]). 91.

ruin of the class, a ruin so complete, there was not one single member left.’⁴¹⁹ The extant class records do not bear this claim out, at least not under Clowes’ leadership, nor do they suggest that a rising into ‘vigour and usefulness’ led to any great increase in numbers. Due to the lack of separate class figures for 1806 and 1807 it is impossible to know when the second class was formed but Clowes was first listed as a class leader in Kidsgrove in 1808 with a class of eighteen members. This had risen to twenty-two by 1810, after which Richard Chadwick took over the class following Clowes’ expulsion the following year.⁴²⁰

Bourne’s resentment of the influence of Miller on the circuit and particularly on those that he himself had hoped to nurture was still present at the end of his life when he wrote his autobiographical MSS. In his Text B, Bourne claimed Miller was acting ‘apparently unconstitutionally’⁴²¹ and that ‘he thrust himself forward, at times, into the supers [sic.] place.’⁴²² In Text C, Bourne took personally Miller’s installation of Clowes as Class leader as ‘part of a plan to depress Hugh Bourne.’⁴²³ For Clowes’ part, in his Journals he described how later, on a visit to Leeds in 1820 ‘I had an interview with Mr. Miller...under whose ministry I had many glorious seasons.’⁴²⁴ Birchenough’s summary of Miller’s impact on Clowes suggests the development of an influence with both the potential to overshadow that of Bourne, and to strengthen Clowes’ ties with the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit before the turbulence caused by the 1807 camp meetings:

No one can overestimate the spiritual stimulus that William Clowes derived from Rev William Edward Miller...there is not a doubt that the refined cultured, and evangelical young Methodist minister exercised a powerful ascendancy over the mind, heart and life of his

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. 151. The ‘ruin’ of the second Kidsgrove class is also mentioned in Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856).i. 88, without naming Clowes.

⁴²⁰ (1810-1811). Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book. Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Archives 1796-1819, Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library. Stoke on Trent.

⁴²¹ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]). 155.

⁴²² Ibid. 151.

⁴²³ Bourne, H. (n.d [1850/1]).101.

⁴²⁴ Clowes, W. (1844). 185.

disciple, William Clowes, that ripened into extensive usefulness during his powerful, revivalist ministry.⁴²⁵

Miller's installation of Clowes as class leader at Kidsgrove, as with his encouragement of Shubotham's sole class leadership at Harriseahead, underlined his determination to secure the circuit more firmly to the Wesleyan cause, in the face of New Connexion growth locally. According to Birchenough, Miller later wrote 'This circuit was nearly lost to Methodism but blessed be God the plot has failed, and our people are again united, encouraged and revived. They receive me as a messenger of Jesus, and the word seems attended with uncommon blessing.'⁴²⁶

Another initiative which began around 1806 which may well have pushed Clowes closer to the Burslem Circuit establishment and away from Bourne was a formal and well organised group, which Clowes describes as a 'theological institution'⁴²⁷ which met at his house each Saturday night. The meeting consisted of circuit preachers with Clowes, not even on trial at this point, as the host. Garner gave a full description of proceedings:⁴²⁸

After singing and prayer, a president and secretary were appointed. An original paper, on some religious topic, was then read to the meeting. Next a text of Scripture was announced by the president, on which each person present was expected to offer his sentiments. Then followed a free discussion. The views of the meeting were finally taken and recorded in a book for future reference. Prayer was then offered to God, and the meeting concluded. In connection with the institution a library was formed, and supported by subscriptions, donations, and fines.

It is hard to imagine that in the atmosphere of the Burslem Circuit in the following year the topic of open-air preaching was never discussed in this

⁴²⁵ Birchenough, A. A. (1906). "The Mentor of William Clowes". Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review. XXVIII. London, Edward Dalton, Primitive Methodist Publishing House.. 226.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Clowes, W. (1844). 42.

⁴²⁸ Garner, W. (1868).108.

way. The group seems to have been one which produced men loyal to the Wesleyan cause: Clowes named Joseph Marsh, who entered the ministry in 1807, and James Allen, who entered in 1806 amongst its members.⁴²⁹ In Bourne's MSS Text A he described the effect this meeting had on Clowes' attitude to camp meetings in making him 'teazing [sic] and troublesome on the subject.'⁴³⁰ His line of argument against open-air worship, according to Bourne's Text B, was that 'though right in Mr Wesley's days, it was wrong in ours because there were chapels.'⁴³¹ Clowes' growing desire to converse on spiritual matters was met both through his relationship with Miller and in the meetings with the Tunstall preachers in the theological institute. These relationships tied Clowes more readily into the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit structures at a time when Bourne was becoming increasingly independent of them.

'A Noise That Would Blow The Roof Of The House'; Lorenzo Dow in England

Following his return to the United States from Ireland Lorenzo Dow had spent the next few years in unauthorised itinerant preaching across a number of states, and he recalled 'the first camp meeting I ever attended' being at Shoulderbone Creek, Georgia in early 1803.⁴³² By 1804 Dow had begun to organise camp meetings himself in the Richmond District⁴³³ and elsewhere. Feeling 'my heart still bound to the European world'⁴³⁴ Dow began to prepare for another trip to Ireland, but this time to prevent a repeat of his brush with the law he obtained a letter of attestation from the Public Notary of New York State, which was witnessed by Nicholas Snethen, who was stationed in New York for the period 1804-1806. Dow and his wife Peggy⁴³⁵ set sail on Sunday 10 November 1805. Dow later alleged that Snethen spent the day preaching in three different meeting houses against

⁴²⁹ Clowes, W. (1844). 43. He also names Thomas Davison, of whom no subsequent trace can be found.

⁴³⁰ Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]). 25.

⁴³¹ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]).159.

⁴³² Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.75.

⁴³³ Ibid. 88-99.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.114.

⁴³⁵ The couple had married on 3 Sept. 1804.

him⁴³⁶ and a week later Snethen put his name to another two letters to Ireland and England. The English one, written to Joseph Benson,⁴³⁷ has not survived but the text of the Irish letter, sent to Matthias Joyce, is reproduced in Dealings...⁴³⁸ Snethen referred obliquely and hypocritically to the letter of attestation bearing his own signature when warning ‘Mr. Lorenzo Dow has embarked again for Europe, better furnished perhaps for success than when he was with you last.’ As well as containing a personal attack on Dow’s manner (‘clownish in the extreme’) and habits and appearance (‘more filthy than a savage Indian’) Snethen drew a distinction between ‘the true and the false itinerant... the Methodist preacher and his ape.’ The true Methodist preacher, by Snethen’s implication, would abide by the church’s discipline and propriety whereas Dow by contrast ‘estimates truth and right, not so much by principle as by success.’ Dow’s use of the gift of prophecy in assuming ‘a recognizance of the secrets of men’s hearts and lives, and ... pretending to foretell, in a great number of instances, the deaths or calamities of persons, &c’ was seen by Snethen as a challenge to this discipline and propriety and a ‘vulgar’ one at that. In response, Snethen sought to quash any impression that ‘Methodist preachers in America, have so departed from Wesley and their own discipline, as to countenance and bid God speed such a man as Mr. Dow’ and hoped that ‘our brethren in Europe will unanimously resolve to have nothing at all to do with him.’ As Strong noted, ‘at the same time that Dow was...uplifting plain folk eccentricity, institutional Methodism was attempting to become more “respectable”’⁴³⁹ and Snethen’s letter was a rallying cry for the respectable institution, despite his ambiguous role as a representative of it in aiding Dow’s passage.

Lorenzo and Peggy Dow left the boat to go ashore at Liverpool on 17 December 1805.⁴⁴⁰ The visit to Merseyside was only planned to be a stop off on the way to Dublin but five times weather prevented the next leg of the

⁴³⁶ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.115 n.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.125.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.163 for what follows.

⁴³⁹ Strong, D. (2010). 84.

⁴⁴⁰ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.117.

journey.⁴⁴¹ Instead, Dow became acquainted with Henry Forshaw, a printer who was to produce Dow's works over the next two years during his stay in England. A vote at the local Wesleyan leaders' meeting declined to give Dow any encouragement or assistance but he was welcomed by the New Connexion. Whilst preaching at their Zion chapel in Maguire Street, Dow met Peter Phillips⁴⁴² and made contact with the Quaker Methodists of Warrington. Dow claimed that he spoke at Zion 'not many times...the preacher was prejudiced.' Soon after this he visited Manchester, preaching again in a New Connexion chapel, and distributing a thousand advertising handbills, resulting, according to Dow, in congregations of five hundred and a thousand on successive nights.⁴⁴³ The need for publicity, however, seems to have been the reluctance of the church to allow the publicising of his meetings from the pulpit: according to Dow the preacher and trustees merely agreed 'to be passive, if I could obtain an assembly.'⁴⁴⁴ Dow recorded another visit to Manchester soon after, when he spoke in 'Zion's Temple, belonging to the Kihamites,' probably Mount Zion Methodist New Connexion church in Nicholas Croft High St. Here though, Dow was not well received: he claimed that he was not allowed to preach again 'as I once spoke on A-double-L-partism'⁴⁴⁵ but as the New Connexion was as solidly Arminian as the original body, it seems more likely that Dow's irregular style would have more readily have earned him an exclusion.

Although he was already placing himself outside of the Wesleyan mainstream, Dow still sought to make links with the original connexion and whilst in Manchester he unsuccessfully tried to contact one of the itinerants there, Jabez Bunting. Bunting would grant Dow no audience but Dow did hear him preach the following morning. Dow then visited 'Brodas [sic.] Bandroom.' Since the 1790s The Bandroom in North Street had been the scene of revivalist meetings which caused Wesleyan Circuit authorities great

⁴⁴¹ Ibid. 118.

⁴⁴² Herod, G. (1855). 181-182; Dolan, J. (2005). 38.

⁴⁴³ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i. 118.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid. 118.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. 119. Dow was fond of saying of God's election 'And A double L does not spell part, nor some, nor few, but it means all'

concern: Bunting, whose trial sermon there as a nervous nineteen year old had been delayed by lengthy praying,⁴⁴⁶ was now at the forefront of efforts to rein it in. Dow's designation of it as 'Brodas' Bandroom may indicate that his visit was after the congregation had separated from Wesleyan Methodism, on 31 January 1806 under the leadership of draper John Broadhurst. There Dow received an offer of lodgings for two days.⁴⁴⁷

Dow had now made links within a few months of arriving with what were for Wesleyans three of the most contentious groups in the North West of England but he still sought the approval of the parent church. A trip to London brought him into contact with Adam Clarke, who according to Dow 'treated me as a gentleman.' However, on attending a service where Thomas Coke was preaching, Dow experienced what he interpreted as a cold shoulder,⁴⁴⁸ Coke having shaken hands and bid farewell to all in the room except Dow, despite having seemed at first friendly.

Dow spent most of the next few months⁴⁴⁹ preaching in Lancashire and Cheshire amongst the Quaker Methodists and 'free-gospellers' who later in the year were to meet up to form an embryonic union of Independent Methodist churches. On 4 May 1806, some six months after arriving in England, Dow recorded speaking at Leigh 'in the first chapel of the old Methodists into which I was voluntarily invited by what they call a *round* preacher' [i.e. itinerant]. On 18 May Lorenzo and Peggy Dow set sail for a two month visit to Ireland, coinciding with the Irish Conference. At this stage, Snethen's letter does not seem to have caused Dow much opposition: he recorded it being rejected by the Dublin Leaders' Meeting as having been written 'in a bad spirit,' and Wesleyan pulpits, including one at Ranelagh were offered to him by the travelling preachers. The Irish Conference of that year gave the letter similarly short shrift.

⁴⁴⁶ Bunting, T. P. (1859). The Life of Jabez Bunting, D. D., with Notices Of Contemporary Persons And Events. 2 vols. London, Longman, Brown, Green, Londmans & Roberts;. i, 96.

⁴⁴⁷ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.118.

⁴⁴⁸ Bunting, T. P. (1859).119.

⁴⁴⁹ For what follows see Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i.120-124.

Dow returned to England on 12 July and after making some arrangements with Henry Forshaw regarding books⁴⁵⁰ he continued a preaching ministry amongst disaffected Methodist groups including an ex-New Connexion group in Stockport⁴⁵¹ and a congregation of Christian Revivalists or free-gospellers in Macclesfield. Dow mentioned them in connection with a visit to the Wesleyan Superintendent Joseph Bradford, who was keen to offer Dow access to his pulpit but was met by objections from the trustees.⁴⁵² At this point, the future Burslem Superintendent, John Riles, was stationed in the Macclesfield Circuit. One place where Dow did receive a welcome into a Wesleyan pulpit at this time was Knutsford,⁴⁵³ and his reflection on the experience made it clear where he felt most at home: 'There seems to be a hardness over these meeting houses in England, so I don't have such good times in them as in Ireland and America, or even the third division here.'⁴⁵⁴ By 'the third division' Dow referred to the Independent Methodist groups, as opposed to 'the second division' of the New Connexion, and it was one such 'third division' group which invited him to Leeds at the time of the Wesleyan Conference at the end of July 1806. Dow went with Dr Paul Johnson, whom he had first met in Ireland and who was to be a supporter of Hugh Bourne in the future. Johnson was a friend of Adam Clarke, who told Dow when he met him for the second time that 'his mind was made up against the camp meetings in America, as being improper, and the revival attending them, as a thing accountable for altogether on natural principles.'⁴⁵⁵

The Methodist Magazine for April 1806 contained a letter from a presiding elder in Delaware District to Francis Asbury, written on 5 August 1805, giving a detailed description of a number of camp meetings in the district. After this, following four years of 'revival intelligence', camp meetings ceased to be featured in the Magazine. Dow's presence at the July

⁴⁵⁰ Dow's 1806 publication An Account of the Origin... probably dates from this time.

⁴⁵¹ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i.123.

⁴⁵² Ibid.123.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid. 124.

meeting at the Conference is likely to have been a factor in this. Shunned by Coke, Dow attempted to get copies of his journal⁴⁵⁶ into the hands of District Chairmen via an itinerant who took them into the Conference. They were all returned although Clarke later bought one from Dow.⁴⁵⁷ The Conference of which Clarke had now been elected president heard Snethen's letter read out and, amidst allegations of impropriety in the suggestion of Dow having taken \$200 in one contribution, resolved to have nothing to do with him. Snethen's letter had been sent to Joseph Benson,⁴⁵⁸ who since 1804 had been Connexional Editor.

Benson, who only missed two meetings of the fortnightly Wesleyan Bookroom Committee in the period between 1804 and 1817, was a commanding figure. Jones described the *modus operandi* of the Bookroom under him:

The committee determined magazine content, since the well-being of the entire Conference was involved. But the choice of specific articles, reviews, and obituaries was almost always left to the editor and his staff...[the editor] had an enormous amount of power in that he determined what item would be printed... it was a rare occasion that the Committee questioned Benson or overruled him.⁴⁵⁹

It is important to note that Clarke's opposition to them was the first mention Dow made in his account of his visit to England of camp meetings. Nowhere did he write of advocating them up to this point. Yet it seems likely that their sudden disappearance from the Magazine in 1806 following the letter from Snethen to editor Benson having been read to the Conference was due to fear of the unrestrained American revivalism they represented, previously safely thousands of miles away but now personified at the door of the Conference by Lorenzo Dow. Further evidence of the Wesleyan volte-face over American camp meetings after Dow's appearance in Leeds came later in

⁴⁵⁶ Most likely the 1804 edition of Experience Exemplified.

⁴⁵⁷ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i.125.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid. 124.

⁴⁵⁹ Jones, M. W. (1995). *Pulpit, Periodical, and Pen: Joseph Benson and Methodist Influence in the Victorian Prelude*. PhD, University of Michigan. 207-209.

the year. Francis Asbury had written a letter to Coke from New York on 7 May 1806 including descriptions of revivals at camp meetings ('harmony, zeal and order animates the whole camp meetings') and a lengthy passage describing a 4 day camp meeting 'about 20 miles North East of New York' about which Asbury acclaimed 'O the power of overwhelming power! Upon the preachers, the members, the people of the world.' Coke asked Benson to reprint the letter in the Methodist Magazine as evidence that he and Asbury 'did always labour together in love' amidst persistent rumours of bad feeling between them. Benson did so, but omitted all references to camp meetings when publishing the letter in the Methodist Magazine in November 1806.⁴⁶⁰

Dow set sail again once more for Dublin on 6 August 1806 before returning to England in late October. Once again, his preaching round took in 'third division' causes, at Warrington, Macclesfield, Risley, and Lymm as well as at the New Connexion's Zion chapel in Liverpool.⁴⁶¹ On November 13 Dow once again made contact with local Wesleyans:

Some months ago I took tea in company with a preacher's wife of the name of Beaumont, and gave her a Camp meeting book. They were stationed this year at Congleton, and the account which she gave of me, caused a desire in the breasts of the official members that I should pay their town a visit, particularly after they had heard of the revival in Macclesfield, and some of them had heard me preach. It was tried at the leaders' meeting whether I should be invited there. Some strenuously opposed it, among whom was the young preacher, Beaumont the assistant was silent. However it was carried by a great majority...⁴⁶²

There followed five days of well attended meetings amongst the Congleton Wesleyans. The silence of John Beaumont as Superintendent at the Leaders' Meeting, however, is intriguing; he later commented to Dow that 'he would

⁴⁶⁰ Clark, E. T., J. S. Payton and J. M. Potts, Eds. (1958). The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury. 3 vols. London, Epworth Press. iii. 341-344.

⁴⁶¹ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i. 129-131.

⁴⁶² Ibid. 131. The young preacher was James Fussell (1783-1839).

rather have a noise that would blow the roof of the house than have all the people dead', but in an area where schism was rife Beaumont might well have reluctantly decided that allowing Dow to preach for a few days was the best way of keeping the society together. At this point Wesleyans were the only Methodist grouping in Congleton and Dow hinted that Beaumont was under pressure from 'a great majority of the leaders &c [who] were determined to leave the society if the invitation was prevented.'⁴⁶³ Along with Theophilus Lessey, and John Riles, Beaumont was one of the delegates to the 1807 Wesleyan Conference who can be identified as having allowed Dow into pulpits in his circuit.

Watson has contended that 'These were tense times in which the perceived threat of revolution was in the air so it is little wonder that Dow found many Methodist pulpits closed to him.'⁴⁶⁴ Yet despite this background and the opposition at the Leeds Conference to him, which does not appear to have been formally minuted, some Wesleyan pulpits *were* opened to Dow in the North West following his return to England in autumn 1806. He now found Wesleyan platforms at Macclesfield, Knutsford, and Northwich, as well as holding meetings in a barn which were to inaugurate the Stockton Heath Independent Methodist congregation, and preaching for the New Connexion in Chester.⁴⁶⁵ Dow sailed once again for Ireland in December 1806 and before landing back in Liverpool on 1 March 1807 he recorded having 'travelled about seventeen hundred English miles, and held about two hundred meetings, in most of which the quickening power of God was to be felt.'⁴⁶⁶ In his absence Peggy had been unwell and their four month old daughter Letitia had died in January. During this traumatic time Peggy had stayed in Warrington with Peter and Hannah Philips. Dow's momentous visit to the Burslem Circuit seems to have stemmed from a 'farewell' trip to Congleton where Dow was pleased to note that 'more than a hundred had

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Watson, K. (2013). "The Price of Respectability: Methodism in Britain and the United States, 1791-1865". The Ashgate Research Companion to World Methodism. W. Gibson, P. Forsaith and M. Wellings.(Eds.) Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.37-38.

⁴⁶⁵ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i. 133.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. 136.

been taken into society' since his successful visit of the previous November. 'I also visited Boslem in Staffordshire and many other places'⁴⁶⁷ came in Experience... as an aside from a man now keen to get his grieving wife back home to America, a return which was delayed until 6 May due to a leaky boat.⁴⁶⁸

Unlike many other episodes during his seventeen month stay, Dow mentioned no detail of any of the services he conducted in Harriseahead, Burslem or Tunstall and as ever made no mention of commending camp meetings at any point. Indeed, the camp meeting book given to John Beaumont's wife was the only mention Dow made in Experience... of his advocacy of camp meetings in England during his 1805-1807 visits. In his pamphlet On Camp Meetings Dow wrote 'In 1805, 6, and 7, my lot was in Europe. My desire to revive street and field meetings, and to introduce Camp Meetings into that region, was my object, should Providence permit.'⁴⁶⁹ Internal dating evidence puts this publication at no earlier than 1820, after his second visit to England had revealed the events that followed his previous trip. During his visits to the British Isles, Dow's only mention of speaking about 'the nature, &c of camp meetings' was in September 1806 in Ireland.⁴⁷⁰ Dow included in later issues of Dealings a copy of a letter of commendation⁴⁷¹ "To the church of God in every place" dated 16 April 1807 from 'the undersigned ministers and members of the people (called Methodist Quakers)' signed by 'upwards of one hundred persons or more' including named signatories Peter Phillips, Richard Harrison, Richard Mills, William Maginnis⁴⁷² and George Brimelow, all preachers of the Warrington Friars Green chapel⁴⁷³. In commending Dow's conduct and preaching, no

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Dow, P. "Vicissitudes in the Wilderness; Exemplified in the Journal of Peggy Dow" in Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i. 209.

⁴⁶⁹ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).ii. 250.

⁴⁷⁰ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i. 128.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.194.

⁴⁷² Ironically, Maginnis had received his first class ticket from Joseph Benson in Manchester in 1794.

⁴⁷³ Dolan, J. (2005). The Independent Methodists : a History. Cambridge, James Clarke. Dolan, J. (2005). 17; Dolan, J. (1996). Peter's People: The Story of the Early Independent Methodists of Warrington and Their Leader, Peter Phillips to Mark the Bicentenary of Friars Green Church. Wigan, Independent

mention of camp meeting advocacy was made. Yet during the lifetime of the Primitive Methodist Connexion, Dow's preaching about camp meetings was identified by its chroniclers, along with his publications and his personal influence, as being of key importance.⁴⁷⁴

'An Admixture Of Truth': Dow's Preaching.

Whilst it is impossible now to get a full idea of just what Dow's preaching was like, it seems clear from nineteenth century descriptions that his manner and appearance combined to make a strong impact upon his hearers, and it was this combination, rather than expository skill or precision which had the most effect:

No man of his day, more powerfully impressed the multitudes that crowded to hear him preach. There was much about his person and manner to excite the wonder and command the attention of his hearers. His spare form and solemn air, his long hair and beard, his rather clownish habits, the suddenness of his appearance and disappearance, the sharp, loud, "Hark," with which he often began his sermons, all conspired to give him an air of mystery wherever he was seen. His sermons, it is said, were often mere rhapsodies, and he not infrequently took some trite aphorism for a text, but there was an admixture of truth in all his harangues, that reached the conscience and aroused the feelings of his hearers. Many looked upon him as inspired, and it must be acknowledged that his peculiarities rather tended to deepen than remove this conviction.⁴⁷⁵

When Dow preached at Macclesfield in the autumn of 1806⁴⁷⁶ Daniel Shubotham heard him and in Wilkinson's words 'was restored to the conviction of the value of open-air preaching which he had lost.'⁴⁷⁷ Bourne

Methodist Churches Resource Centre.2; Mountford, A., G. Hunter and J. Vickers (1905). A Short History of Independent Methodism. Wigan, Independent Methodist Bookroom. 6.

⁴⁷⁴ Petty, J. (1860). 18; Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i. 59; Ritson, J. (1910). 59.

⁴⁷⁵ Bennett, W. W. (1871). Memorials of Methodism in Virginia, from its introduction into the state, in the year 1772, to the year 1829. Richmond, VA., Pub. by the author.462-463.

⁴⁷⁶ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i. 129: October 28th 'Set off on foot for Macclesfield.'

⁴⁷⁷ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 45.

believed this was because Dow ‘spoke so much of the American camp meetings’⁴⁷⁸ but in the light of their lack of prominence in Dow’s own accounts of the period, another explanation is possible. Dow’s preaching in Macclesfield was accompanied, according to Herod, by an instance of miraculous healing and ‘a great revival of religion’ followed⁴⁷⁹ and so it may have been the power and the results that accompanied the act of open-air meeting, rather than the *content* of Dow’s preaching which influenced Shubotham. This probably led to the invitation to Dow to preach at Harriseahead the following April, where Bourne heard him for the first time. Both Bourne⁴⁸⁰ and Clowes⁴⁸¹ recorded being present at Dow’s Burslem appointment at 4pm on the same day, but only Clowes commented on Dow’s ‘remarkably singular’ manner and ‘uncommonly pointed’ preaching. Clowes recalled Dow asking for people to covenant to pray for a revival, by a show of hands, at the close of this service.⁴⁸² Clowes recorded that Dow also preached at Tunstall at 7pm that evening (at which he was not present) and then at Congleton the following day at 5am, where Clowes was present. Both he and Bourne recorded their attendance along with James Bourne at Dow’s service at Congleton at 9am that day, which was the occasion of Hugh Bourne purchasing camp meeting pamphlets from Dow. Clowes once again recalled Dow’s content specifically:

In his sermon he told us an anecdote which was very affecting, and also addressed a woman who sat in the gallery of the chapel, warning her and exhorting her to do her duty, and be faithful in the discharge of it.⁴⁸³

It is intriguing that Clowes chose to include these details in his recall almost thirty years later, and is probably indicative of his hearing Dow’s illustrations with the ears of a preacher, as well as of Dow’s impact upon him

⁴⁷⁸ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.129.

⁴⁷⁹ Herod, G. (1855).184-185.

⁴⁸⁰ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i, 129.

⁴⁸¹ Clowes, W. (1844). 67.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

generally. Clowes described Dow as one who ‘preached and spoke a little on the American camp-meetings.’⁴⁸⁴ Yet the lack of any mention of camp meetings in Clowes recollections of Dow’s content, along with the possibility of an alternative interpretation of the effect of the Macclesfield episode upon Shubotham, does raise the question as to whether Dow’s preaching always contained as much about camp meetings as did his publications. Dow himself only mentioned preaching on the subject in Staffordshire years later:

When in this country before, a meeting on “*Mow Hill*” where I was drawn to speak on the origin and progress and consequence of *camp meetings* in America, which affected the minds of the people who were in revival.⁴⁸⁵

Written in 1833 in Recapitulation this was part of Dow’s reflection on his 1818 visit when, meeting up with a now growing Primitive Methodist community, it was more apparent that there was retrospective credit to be had, a charge that could also be levelled at Dow’s claims as to the purpose of his 1805-1807 visits in his On Camp Meetings. Whilst Dow never spoke ‘on Mow Hill’ itself in 1807, it is likely he was referring to his appointment at Harriseahead, of which Bourne wrote in his History:

...[H]e spoke largely of the camp meetings; observing that, occasionally, something of a pentecostal power attended them; and that for a considerable time, in America, as much good had been done, and as many souls brought to God, at the camp meetings, as at all the other meetings put together.⁴⁸⁶

In the light of Bourne’s account, it seems likely that Dow did speak about camp meetings to a congregation at Harriseahead eager to hear about them, even if his own journals and the account given by Clowes might suggest that this subject was not as regular a topic for his preaching in England as Bourne and others were later to claim.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid. Emphasis original.

⁴⁸⁵ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). ii. 170.

⁴⁸⁶ Bourne, H. (1823). 9.

‘A Sort Of Newness’: Dow’s Publications

If Dow’s preaching was much more varied than simply being an advocacy of camp meetings, the topic was the focus of his published output whilst in Britain and there is little doubt as to its impact. Amongst Bourne’s purchases, Wilkinson⁴⁸⁷ identified two camp meeting pamphlets by Dow and one by S K Jennings, published on Dow’s initiative in Liverpool in 1806, along with Dow’s camp meeting hymnal.⁴⁸⁸ Dow’s earlier pamphlet An Account of the Origin and Progress...⁴⁸⁹ is seemingly now untraceable, but a copy of his Thoughts on the Times...⁴⁹⁰ is in the Englesea Brook Library collection and its text was reproduced in Herod’s character sketch of Dow⁴⁹¹ as was his hymnal.⁴⁹² Samuel K Jennings’ A Defence of Camp Meetings⁴⁹³ was reproduced by Dow himself in volume two of Dealings...⁴⁹⁴ As recorded by Walford, Bourne’s reaction to these suggested that they affected him in a way that the accounts of American camp meetings that had appeared in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine since 1802 had not: ‘For about five years I had been accustomed to monthly camp meeting readings; yet there appeared a sort of newness in these and I read them with pleasure.’⁴⁹⁵

Jennings’ work contained a lengthy defence of camp meetings against six charges, namely⁴⁹⁶:

1. ‘Too much time is spent in vain’,

⁴⁸⁷ Wilkinson, J.T. (1952) 45. n.57

⁴⁸⁸ Dow, L. (1806). A Collection of Spiritual Songs used at Camp Meetings in the Great Revival in the United States of America. Liverpool, H. Forshaw.

⁴⁸⁹ Dow, L. (1806). An Account of the Origin and Progress of Camp Meetings and the Method of Conducting Them. [Dublin or Liverpool], [pub.unknown.].

⁴⁹⁰ Dow, L. (1807). Thoughts on the Times and Camp Meetings, with a Word to the Methodists. Liverpool, H. Forshaw.

⁴⁹¹ Herod, G. (1855). 190-198.

⁴⁹² Ibid. 216-240.

⁴⁹³ Jennings, S., K. (1806). A Defence of the Camp Meetings, (North America) in Six Objections. Liverpool, H. Forshaw.

⁴⁹⁴ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).ii. 254-264.

⁴⁹⁵ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.129.

⁴⁹⁶ For what follows see Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).ii. 254-262.

2. 'By attending upon such meetings, health is exposed and injured',
3. 'The principal advocates of these meetings are ignorant and illiterate Methodists',
4. 'Preachers... are vehement, boisterous and ostentatious',
5. 'The solemn worship of God ought to be performed in houses dedicated to that sacred use [and that] it cannot be thought proper to assemble in mixed multitudes in the woods',
6. 'The exercises and engagements of the people at such times and places are absurd. Their opinions are enthusiastic, and their practices disgusting. In a word the whole business is intolerable.

That Jennings conducted his defence with liberal use of Scripture is unsurprising; the appearance of the Roman poet Horace ('neither matter nor method will be wanting upon a well digested subject')⁴⁹⁷ is perhaps less expected. Jennings included in his work brief descriptions of twenty American camp meetings, emphasising each time the number of people converted.

Dow's Thoughts on the Times... contained a brief outline of the origin and spread of the camp meeting in America, a description of the layout and logistics of preparing the camp ground and publicising the event, and a testimony of the conversion, via camp meetings in Georgia of a Deist, Judge Stith, and his wife and family. Dow concludes with 'A Word to the Methodists' aimed at those he was about to leave behind in England on his return to the U.S.

The 'newness' Bourne found in the publications he got from Dow had a number of possible foci. Jennings' objections would have found echoes in some of the hostilities expressed within the Burslem Circuit to the idea of a camp meeting: 'ignorant and illiterate Methodists' who prayed too long and did not lead classes in the prescribed way had already been the motivation behind securing the Harriseahead chapel to the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit,

⁴⁹⁷ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).ii. 256.

with regularised worship and a recognised class leader in Daniel Shubotham. In Bourne's later autobiographical MSS, he alleged that William Clowes had made the same argument as found in Jennings fifth point, under the influence of the 'theological institution' of Tunstall preachers then meeting at his house. Bourne referred to Jennings' Scriptural apologetic for camp meetings in his pamphlet account of the first meeting of 31 May.⁴⁹⁸ From Jennings Bourne got a justification of the meetings as being entirely consistent with Methodist tradition: A Defence of Camp Meetings was in part a counterblast against those in America who dismissed the innovation of the camp meetings in light of them being associated with the Methodists. Jennings took Paul's instructions to Timothy, 'Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine'⁴⁹⁹ and then contended 'Whether the Methodist preachers do not, in a very considerable degree, act up to this exhortation; will scarcely admit of a question.'⁵⁰⁰ Bourne surely would also have been impressed by Jennings' terse accounts of the conversion of over thirteen hundred people through the agency of twenty camp meetings. Dow's pamphlet Thoughts on the Times... gave Bourne a template for the organising of a meeting, which in terms of publicity and organisation was to prove particularly helpful to adapt when planning the second gathering at Mow Cop for 19 July 1807,⁵⁰¹ one of only two in England that were to follow the American model of extending over several days or more. The account of the Stith family conversions is also undeniably powerful, but the most significant part of Dow's pamphlet would have been the final section, 'A Word to the Methodists', where the departing American wrote;

'Being about to sail to the land of my nativity, I entreat all into whose hands this may come, to pay attention to the following remarks:-
....There is a need for a pious and holy body to have recourse to *first*

⁴⁹⁸ Bourne, H. (1807). An Account of a Memorable Camp Meeting, that was Held by the Methodists on Sunday the 31st of May, 1807, on the Top of a High Mountain, called Mow Cope... Warrington. 2.

⁴⁹⁹ 2 Tim. 4:2. KJV.

⁵⁰⁰ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).ii. 256.

⁵⁰¹ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i 156-160.

principles; therefore it is not amiss to read the old magazines to see if there be any contrast.’⁵⁰²

This was Dow’s rallying cry to local Methodists of all ‘divisions’ who had welcomed him in contrast to those Wesleyans at connexional level who had expressed their distrust of him at the 1806 Leeds Conference and in the hands of Bourne it found its target: as Kent noted ‘there was certainly a connexion between Dow’s appeal for a return to first principles and Bourne’s attempt to revive ‘primitive Methodism.’⁵⁰³ It must have seemed to Bourne that the accounts of American camp meetings in the not-so-old Wesleyan Methodist Magazine pointed to a first principle of earlier Methodism, which contrasted with what he perceived as lukewarm official local attitudes to the revival in Harriseahead and to the idea of open-air meetings at this time.

‘Have Our People Been Sufficiently Cautious...’ Dow’s Impact.

Hatcher noted that the role of Dow in the emergence of Primitive Methodism was in his effect upon the Wesleyan authorities as well as his inspiration of Bourne and others:

Because of his travels in England in 1806, and his attempts at contact with various Methodist leaders during that time, he may also have served as a catalyst in bringing about Wesleyan rejection of camp meetings. He had afforded a sufficient number of Wesleyans opportunity to form a judgement about camp meetings on the basis of what they had seen of Lorenzo Dow.⁵⁰⁴

As has been outlined above, Hatcher is surely right about Dow’s impact on the Wesleyan leadership, but it is hard to find any evidence that at this stage local attitudes were especially hostile to him personally. On 20 May, two weeks after Dow’s departure, the Chester District Meeting gathered in Northwich. Since July 1806, despite the resolve of the Wesleyan Conference, Dow had preached in Wesleyan pulpits in Burslem, Congleton,

⁵⁰² Herod, G. (1855). 197-198.

⁵⁰³ Kent, J. (1978). 51.

⁵⁰⁴ Hatcher, S. (1993). 69.

Harriseahead, Knutsford, Macclesfield, Northwich, and Tunstall, yet no mention is to be found in the minutes of Dow's visits. With Theophilus Lessey as Chair and with Burslem Superintendent John Riles and William E Miller both present, the meeting's recommendation to the forthcoming Conference was 'to give directions to the Legal Committee, to prepare as soon as may be, a proper Methodist Deed, that may be generally used in every part of the Connection [sic].'⁵⁰⁵ Perhaps the meeting's silence on Dow is not surprising: Riles and Lessey had both been in the Macclesfield Circuit at times when the American had been welcomed there.⁵⁰⁶ Miller's opposition to the New Connexion might not have been a factor as Dow did not appear to make contact with the New Connexion locally as he had in Liverpool, Manchester and Chester. Held eleven days before the first Mow Cop camp meeting, unsurprisingly no mention of camp meetings is yet to be found in the District Meeting minute books.

Anderson⁵⁰⁷ suggested that Riles was responsible for both the Wesleyan Conference resolutions against camp meetings and 'American preachers' in 1807, owing to his experiences of Dow in the Macclesfield Circuit. If he was, it seems surprising both that Dow was then allowed to preach in Burslem, Harriseahead and Tunstall under Riles' Superintendency and that neither he nor his former Macclesfield colleague Lessey felt that Dow's activities needed to be a concern for the District Meeting. In addition, as has been outlined in Chapter Two,⁵⁰⁸ Riles demonstrated his fair-minded outlook in his writings towards the New Connexion long after he had pledged his loyalty to the Wesleyans and does not seem a likely upholder of the attitude of 'guilt by association'. It seems more likely then, that question twenty at the Wesleyan Conference held on 27 July – 11 August 1807 was a pointed reminder to the Chester District, along with others in the North

⁵⁰⁵ Minutes of the Chester Wesleyan District Meeting Assembled at Northwich on 20th May 1807. Chester District Minutes 1800-1814, John Rylands Library, Manchester.

⁵⁰⁶ Warren, S. and J. Stephens (1827). *Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism*. 2 vols. in 1. London, John Stephens. ii. 138.

⁵⁰⁷ Anderson, J. H. (2007). 40.

⁵⁰⁸ Pages 14-17.

West where Dow had been allowed to preach, as to the view of him expressed in the previous year's Conference:

Q: Have our people been sufficiently cautious respecting the permission of strangers to preach to our congregations?

A: We fear not: and we, *therefore again direct*, that no stranger, from America or elsewhere, be suffered to preach in any of our places, unless he come fully accredited; if an Itinerant Preacher, by having his name entered on the Minutes of the Conference of which he is a member; and if a Local Preacher, by a recommendatory note from his Superintendent.⁵⁰⁹

In this the British Conference's resolve would have been further strengthened by the Irish Conference which had begun meeting on 2 July: Despite the 1800 Conference's disavowal of him there had been continual toleration of Dow at a local level in a number of places on his visits, and so a fresh resolution was passed 'disowning all responsibility with regard to Mr. Dow, and enjoining that if he should return to the country, the preaching-houses should not be opened to him on any account.'⁵¹⁰

The question addressing Dow at the Liverpool Conference was followed by the more widely known question twenty-one:

Q: What is the judgment of the Conference concerning what are called camp meetings?

A: It is our judgment, that even supposing such meetings to be allowable in America, they are highly improper in England and likely to be productive of considerable mischief and we disclaim all connection with them.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹ Wesleyan Methodist Church. (1813). Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from the first, held in London, by the late Rev. John Wesley, A.M. in the year 1744. Vol.II .London, Conference-Office, Thomas Cordeux, 403. [Emphasis mine.]

⁵¹⁰ Crookshank, C. H. (1886). ii. 295.

⁵¹¹ Wesleyan Methodist Church. (1813). 403.

The source of this second question *was* more likely to have been local. Given that it was an issue specifically located within the Burslem Circuit beginning only some two months before the Conference began, and only having been condemned by the Circuit Leaders' Meeting less than three weeks before, it is hard not to conclude that the intention for the question came as some kind of emergency resolution from within the circuit. If so on this occasion suspicion does fall on John Riles who was present in Liverpool for the Conference: for support the Chairman of the District Theophilus Lessey, stationed in nearby Macclesfield, and Congleton Superintendent John Beaumont were both members of the Legal Hundred and also thus present.⁵¹² Farndale noted that the President of the Liverpool Conference, The Rev. John Barber, a family acquaintance of Jabez Bunting, was no friend to revivalism⁵¹³ and so would have welcomed the sentiments of the resolution. He had also spent a year as Superintendent of the Burslem Circuit in 1803, and so would have been familiar with many of the protagonists.⁵¹⁴

Whilst it was certainly no coincidence that the questions concerning camp meetings and Dow were discussed together at the 1807 Conference, there thus seems to be more than one dynamic at work. Ward described the way that 'connexional organisation forced local disputes up to the centre and central policies down to the fringe'⁵¹⁵ and both of these factors seem to have been at work at the 1807 Conference. Most likely question twenty-one was an example of the former tendency from a panicked Burslem Circuit where it seemed a significant minority of Wesleyans were set to ignore the Leaders' Meeting in attending the second Mow Cop meeting, a week before the Conference began. At the same time, question twenty can be seen as an example of an attempt by the Wesleyan leadership to do the latter and take 'central policies down to the fringe' with regard to the previous Conference's debate about Dow. His unfettered revivalism made camp meetings guilty by

⁵¹² (1807). Journal of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Conference, begun in Liverpool, July 27, 1807: between the preachers late in connexion with the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. John Rylands Library, Manchester.

⁵¹³ Farndale, W. E. (1957). 9.

⁵¹⁴ Warren, S. and J. Stephens (1827). ii. 42.

⁵¹⁵ Ward, W. R. (1972). 75.

association, as the ceasing of all mention of them from the Methodist Magazine following the 1806 Conference had already indicated. However, for the Burslem Wesleyans, happy to tolerate Dow in their pulpits while he had been in England, local disobedience of the Leaders' Meeting was a much greater ground for fear of the gatherings at Mow Cop and elsewhere in the spring of 1807 than any alleged guilt by association with Lorenzo Dow.

The New Connexion leadership initially was no more eager to allow local churches to invite Dow into their pulpit than their Wesleyan counterparts and may well have had Dow in mind when at their Conference at Hanley in May 1806 a resolution was passed stating 'that no person except the Circuit and planned Local Preachers, shall be allowed to preach in any of our societies, without first obtaining permission from the Circuit Preachers.'⁵¹⁶ Similar tensions between connexionally stationed preachers and unaccountable revivalists can be seen to be present here in the New Connexion as in Wesleyanism, but they were to be played out in a slightly different way: Before the Wesleyans passed their similar resolution in Liverpool the following year, the New Connexion's prohibition was rescinded at their Leeds Conference of May 1807. For some the need to obtain permission from the circuit preachers had perhaps smacked too much of the Wesleyanism they had left and so less draconian guidance replaced it:

...as it was designed solely to prevent improper and designing men from introducing themselves upon our Societies in consequence of the abolition of the law it is earnestly recommended to all our people to consult with the preachers and leaders in any case which may appear doubtful.⁵¹⁷

Dow's appearances in New Connexion pulpits in the North West underlined the difficulties that uncontrolled revivalism could cause for a settled ministry in any connexion, New or old.

⁵¹⁶ (1806). Minutes of Conversations between preachers & delegates, in the Methodist New Connexion, held in Hanley, on the 26th, &c., of May, 1806. Hanley, T. Allbut. 6.

⁵¹⁷ (1807). Minutes of Conversations between preachers & delegates, in the Methodist New Connexion, held in Leeds, on the 18th, &c., of May, 1807. Nottingham, Sutton and Fowler. 15.

‘Getting Undecided In Their Minds’: Shubotham, Clowes, Mow Cop And After.

Bourne portrayed the organisation of the first camp meeting on Mow Cop on 31 May 1807 as largely his idea and subsequent writers followed this. Petty claimed that after his purchases from Dow, ‘the reading of these pamphlets caused Mr. Bourne to determine to hold a camp-meeting at Norton, to counteract the evils of the wake, or annual parish feast,’⁵¹⁸ whilst Ritson pondered ‘How little the members of that Harriseahead class meeting, before whom Hugh Bourne laid his plans for the Norton Camp Meeting, dreamed of the outcome of their seemingly haphazard discussion.’⁵¹⁹ However, in his early writings the meeting was credited by Bourne to be much more Shubotham’s doing than some subsequent accounts allow. Whilst the role of Shubotham in identifying the date of 31 May as a Sunday when sympathetic preacher Thomas Allen was planned for Harriseahead did not go unnoticed,⁵²⁰ Bourne writing in 1836 gave him a more prominent role still:

Hugh Bourne arrived before meeting time, entering into a conversation with Daniel Shubotham, but felt timid at the thought of mentioning his real business. But to his surprise talk, as follows, passed between them:-

DS: we are to have a camp meeting

HB: Are you?

DS: Aye, upon Mow. Will you assist us?

HB: Aye, I’ll be with you.’⁵²¹

This is also the sequence of events suggested in Walford,⁵²² and if accurate indicates that whilst Bourne had the idea for a meeting

⁵¹⁸ Petty, J. (1860). 18.

⁵¹⁹ Ritson, J. (1910). 60.

⁵²⁰ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i. 63; Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i. 120.

⁵²¹ [Bourne, H.] (1836). 302.

⁵²² Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i. 120.

independently following Dow's visit to Harriseahead, it was Shubotham as leader who had already suggested it to his class before Bourne had arrived that Monday night. Once again the impression is given that Shubotham was able to give decisive leadership to the class, and that the idea of a camp meeting as a venture arranged to enhance the work of the revival and enthuse those caught up in it was as much Shubotham's as it was Bourne's. Once the meeting date of 31 May was set, it continued to have Shubotham's whole-hearted support; the two cousins prayed fervently with Matthias Bayley for its success,⁵²³ and on the evening of 30 May, Shubotham hosted Clowes overnight at Harriseahead in readiness for the next morning.⁵²⁴ Bourne felt that at Mow Cop the following day, 'Daniel Shubotham was great: he and his wife has covenanted together to set the converting work agoing. God was with them...'⁵²⁵

The encouragement of the camp meeting was due as much to Shubotham's class leadership and his prayer in 1807 as it was to his better remembered words of 1801 and at this point he had arguably much justification to be regarded as one of the founders of the camp meeting movement alongside Bourne. The next step for the revivalists was to arrange another meeting on Mow Cop to begin on 18 July before the one, originally intended to be the first, at Norton on 22 August. Events in the Burslem Circuit following the first Mow Cop meeting were now to impact decisively upon Shubotham. At the Quarterly Meeting at Burslem, on Monday 29 June, all the local preachers with one exception (presumably James Bourne, on full plan in the Wesleyan Circuit at this time),⁵²⁶ the leaders and stewards, and the travelling preachers, 'solemnly engaged to discountenance, and as far as possible, to prevent any further meetings of that kind.'⁵²⁷ This decision was

⁵²³ [Bourne, H.] (1836). 374.

⁵²⁴ Clowes, W. (1844). 68.

⁵²⁵ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i 130.

⁵²⁶ (1807). A Plan for the Local Preachers in the Burslem Circuit, in connection with the Methodist Conference February- July 1807. Frank Baker Collection Duke Divinity School Library.

⁵²⁷ [Burslem Wesleyan Circuit] (1807). Camp Meetings – An Address to the Methodists. Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library. Stoke on Trent.

supported by the Burslem Society Leaders' Meeting on Monday 6 July⁵²⁸, and these declarations were published in a handbill Camp Meetings – An Address to the Methodists two days later.⁵²⁹ Shubotham had already been signatory to another handbill advertising the second camp meeting, which Wilkinson's narrative⁵³⁰ suggested appeared after Thursday 16 July when Bourne obtained a licence to preach under the Toleration Act, but given the tightness of the timing this would seem unlikely: writing in 1834 Bourne writes of the aftermath of the publication of his handbill:

...the opposers soon turned D Shubotham against the Camp meeting. And they laboured with Matthias until he regretted giving his name to the hand bill...they circulated it that the Methodists from Burslem and Tunstall would attend no more Camp meetings and that they regretted having been at the first Camp meeting. ⁵³¹

Shubotham was a member of both the Quarterly and Leaders' Meetings and was not recorded as voting against either in Camp Meetings – An Address... suggesting that Shubotham's change of heart came no later than the Quarterly Meeting on 29 June, and that the handbill advertising the second camp meeting had been published in the early weeks of June. If later than this it seems odd that Shubotham's name appeared on it. Shubotham's outlook has been described during this period as being 'like a weather vane'⁵³² in its changeability but actually a consistent loyalty to the circuit can be argued. Through his official recognition as a class leader and his friendships with William E, Miller and William Clowes and the Tunstall preachers, Shubotham had been content to accept circuit discipline. The preachers may have been able to cause him to doubt the legitimacy of having a camp meeting around 1805 but the subsequent visit of Dow and his acceptance into Wesleyan pulpits at Burslem, Harriseahead and Tunstall in 1806-7 had settled the matter in Shubotham's mind as being acceptable, not

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 52.

⁵³¹ [Bourne, H.] (1834). ii. 376.

⁵³² Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i. 160.

least because Dow's ministry seemed to be acceptable in circuit churches. Once the circuit declared the meetings inappropriate on 29 June, they were inappropriate to Shubotham as a loyal member of the Quarterly Meeting and he appears to have voted against their prohibition neither then nor at the Leaders' Meeting of 6 July.

In his later autobiographical manuscripts, Bourne suggested that Shubotham had promised that even though he would not defy the Wesleyans by supporting the meeting, he would not actively oppose it either, but that a mutual acquaintance had other ideas:

On the Tuesday afternoon we heard that W. Clowes was at D. Shubotham's. And late in the afternoon they both came to my camp meeting; and it would seem as if they both had been acting the part of 'un-repentants' Now D. Shubotham had given his word that he would not go to H. Bourne's Camp meeting; but W. Clowes had caused him to break his word.⁵³³

At the point where William Clowes entered the story in Bourne's later autobiographies, it was in opposition to the idea of camp meetings *before* the holding of the first one on 31 May 1807. In MSS Text B, Bourne suggested that part of the initial reluctance to publicise the first Mow Cop meeting lay in opposition from elsewhere in the circuit: 'I expected that some at Tunstall and in particular the reformed profligate, would be zealous against it.'⁵³⁴ In the same manuscript when describing the first Mow Cop meeting, he grudgingly acknowledged Clowes' presence there, referring to him using a phrase used many times in his second autobiography: 'The reformed profligate... and a companion of his, stopped a considerable part of the day and they did not behave amiss.'⁵³⁵ This account of Clowes' attendance was less generous than Bourne's published view in the 1823 History where he stated 'At the first camp meeting there were an abundance of local preachers

⁵³³ Bourne, H. (n.d [1850/1]). 121; See also Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]).36.

⁵³⁴ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]).161. In many episodes in this second autobiographical MSS, Bourne referred to Clowes not by name but only as 'the reformed profligate.'

⁵³⁵ Ibid. 165.

and praying labourers of the Old Methodist Connexion...From Tunstall there were a considerable number who were not preachers but who laboured diligently, among whom were William Clowes and James Nixon.’⁵³⁶

Clowes’ version of events in his published Journals went into some detail to underline his commitment, or at the very least lack of opposition, to the idea of holding the first camp meeting. If the detail of Clowes’ encounter with Lorenzo Dow in April 1807⁵³⁷ is correct this would suggest his mind was at least still open and his presence on 31 May would confirm this. In addition, Bourne’s contemporaneous account of the first Mow Cop meeting was published in pamphlet form soon after the meeting,⁵³⁸ and it is claimed in the Journals that Bourne showed him the account before it went to press,⁵³⁹ suggesting that he still valued Clowes’ input at this stage.

Following the 31 May Mow Cop camp meeting, Bourne and Clowes together visited the Magic Methodists and their leader James Crawfoot in Delamere Forest on 26-29 June. This could be taken as a sign of the continuing friendship of the two men: No account of the Delamere Forest visit appeared in Bourne’s History, but in Walford’s Life and Labours, in amidst entries from now lost portions of his 1807 journal an account apparently written by Bourne seemed to suggest an amiable partnership for the journey.⁵⁴⁰ However Bourne claimed later in MSS Text B that he took Clowes along only reluctantly: ‘This getting to be known at Tunstall, the reformed profligate pressed and teased [sic.] to be allowed to go with me, saying he had heard of the Forest people when he was at Lea Hall. It was a trying case but I yielded.’⁵⁴¹ Bourne expressed a sense of betrayal: ‘I had allowed the Tunstall reformed profligate to go with me to Delamere Forest, being the first time he ever had been there; but he became an enemy to my

⁵³⁶ Bourne, H. (1823). 14.

⁵³⁷ Clowes, W. (1844). 67.

⁵³⁸ Bourne, H. (1807). Observations on Camp Meetings, with an Account of a Camp Meeting held on Sunday May the 31st 1807 at Mow, near Harriseahead. Newcastle-under Lyme, [pub. unknown].

⁵³⁹ Clowes, W. (1844). 72.

⁵⁴⁰ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i. 154.

⁵⁴¹ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]).169.

Camp meetings.’⁵⁴² Bourne presumably included the information that this was Clowes’ first visit to contradict Clowes’ own claim in his Journals that he visited Delamere Forest prior to their trip together,⁵⁴³ a claim accepted by Clowes’ nineteenth century biographer Davison, but not by Wilkinson.⁵⁴⁴ Bourne’s phrasing here suggested, contra to other statements in the autobiographical MSS, that Clowes’ opposition to camp meetings was a later development, after their visit to see Crawfoot. The fragment of Bourne’s journal in Life and Labours recorded his return from Delamere Forest on 29 June, ‘to undergo trials beyond the common lot.’⁵⁴⁵ No indication is given of whether Bourne knew of the Quarterly Meeting on that day, at which, like Shubotham, Clowes as a class leader was entitled to be present. If Clowes was there, the published declaration, Camp Meetings – An Address..., gave no suggestion that anyone present opposed the prohibition of the meetings. As will be explored in Chapter Five, there is evidence that Walford redacted material that suggested a breach between Bourne and Clowes and so it is possible that any reference to Bourne’s reluctance to take Clowes may have been removed, but it is equally possible that Clowes did not declare opposition to them until the Quarterly Meeting, or, if he did not return in time, until the Leaders’ Meeting on 6 July.

It is in the treatment of the second camp meeting at Mow Cop, a three day affair which began on 18 July 1807, where the starkest dichotomy between Bourne’s earliest published writings and his later autobiographical writing on the other occurs. In the preparations for the second Mow Cop meeting, Clowes’ Journals included the detail of Bourne and Clowes going together to buy ‘pottery articles’ at the works where Clowes worked for the forthcoming meeting⁵⁴⁶. Including this detail suggests Clowes having a

⁵⁴² Ibid. 181.

⁵⁴³ Clowes, W. (1844). 65. It is clear from internal evidence elsewhere in Bourne’s autobiography that he had read Clowes’ book and significantly Bourne began writing his first autobiography soon after Clowes’ was published.

⁵⁴⁴ Davison, J. (1854). 43; Wilkinson, J. T. (1951). 22 n14.

⁵⁴⁵ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i. 155.

⁵⁴⁶ Clowes, W. (1844). 72

supporting role to Bourne at this formative time for the camp meeting movement but Bourne in MSS Text B was again much less charitable:

...being at Tunstall, I asked the reformed profligate where I could conveniently purchase a little earthenware. He pointed it out but he quickly removed to a distance. Before asking him I was aware that he was no friend to the Camp meeting. Had he been a friend he would have described if it had been a penny or a halfpenny for say so of the thing. But he soon became one of my greatest Camp meeting opposers.⁵⁴⁷

In his History, Bourne had written non-committally of Clowes' presence at the second meeting on Mow Cop, that he 'was there with several others from Tunstall, although some of them were getting undecided in their minds.'⁵⁴⁸ Clowes' Journals had him admitting of the event 'I laboured but little at this meeting, but I felt equally interested in its success and defended it against all its opponents.'⁵⁴⁹ He went on to make comment about the power and effect of James Nixon at the meeting: 'In giving out that hymn which begins with the words 'Stop, poor sinner' every word appeared to shake the multitude like the wind the forest leaves. Truly the word was with power, with the Holy Ghost, and with much assurance.'⁵⁵⁰ Bourne too recalled both Clowes and Nixon at the meeting but in his most detailed account of the meeting in MSS Text C he painted a very different picture of their intent:

When the meeting was going on with power, I was aware of W. Clowes and J. Nixon, and others; and the sight so pained my mind that I set off to meet them; but they forthwith separated to distances from each other. But I caught W. Clowes and began to expostulate with him for coming in such a manner; but he slipped away and got among other people; and so did the rest. And I occasionally saw W. Clowes loitering about, but never saw him engage in worship. And in the

⁵⁴⁷ Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]).187.

⁵⁴⁸ Bourne, H. (1823). 14.

⁵⁴⁹ Clowes, W. (1844). 73

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. The hymn he refers to is probably John Newton's "Stop, Poor Sinner! Stop And Think." Newton, J. and W. Cowper (1779). Olney Hymns, in three books. London, W.Oliver.

afternoon I had the satisfaction of seeing him and J. Nixon and their fellows march off.⁵⁵¹

Bourne claimed that late on the Tuesday afternoon Clowes was instrumental in stirring up former camp meeting advocate Daniel Shubotham with disruptive consequences:

Our last preacher was preaching when they arrived but they set on and made a split in his congregation. And a man near me said of W. Clowes “that man’s no friend! that man’s no friend!” But they soon left that place, and, coming near to where I stood, W. Clowes threw blackguardism in my face, and they both walked off. And that meeting settled down again in peace and went on in peace to its conclusion.⁵⁵²

Bourne portrayed the summer of 1807 as being one of strong and sustained opposition from Clowes. In MSS Text A Bourne named a witness to Clowes’ opposition at the time of the Norton camp meeting on 23 August as being ‘Mr Edward N. McEvoy, a school master, one of the newer Tunstall converts.’ In making it clear that there was strong opposition to the camp meetings continuing in Tunstall, McEvoy ‘named none of the opposers but William Clowes.’⁵⁵³ Bourne continued:

The opposition of William Clowes and his fellows was well known to me. But still Mr McEvoy detailing it over, fixed it so deeply and keenly in my mind, that I did know whether it would not be my duty to drop all further fellowship with W Clowes. His persecuting conduct on the Tuesday, at the second Mow Cop Camp, would have discredited an unconverted person, but I had borne with his weakness, and had not upbraided him with it. But his being a main man in this last blow, struck deep.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ Bourne, H. (n.d [1850/1]).121.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]).49. By 1813 McEvoy’s opposition to camp meetings had clearly been overcome since he served with Bourne and James Steele on an abortive committee charged with drawing up a code of rules for the new denomination: Wilkinson, J. T. (1951). 97.

⁵⁵⁴ Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]).49.

The question of the legitimacy of Bourne's claims of Clowes' opposition to camp meetings at this stage will be considered in the next chapter and it is sufficient here to note the good reason to believe that an early loss of intimacy between the two men resulted from Clowes increasingly being spiritually fed by the local circuit during the period 1806-1807, whilst Bourne sat more and more lightly to its discipline. A comparison of their respective characters shows why this is not surprising: Bourne's personality was one of inner strength, with a complex mind, and a dominant will, which contrasted with the much more relational, warm approach to spiritual discernment found in Clowes.⁵⁵⁵ There is evidence that Clowes was beginning to find other such sources of discernment within Burslem Wesleyanism at this time, such as in the 'theological institute' of preachers and his relationship with Miller, may well have led to conflict with Bourne.

Conclusion

In the iconography of Primitive Methodism, the events of 31 May 1807 hold a central place. The image of Mow Cop's ruined 'castle' summerhouse and the faces of Bourne and Clowes was to be found on visual retellings of the creation narrative on commemorative ceramics and class tickets, and the occasion was always held as a foundational event of the denomination in the pages of its authorised histories. Yet as Primitive Methodism 'retells the story of its beginnings and the crucial milestones that mark its subsequent trajectory,'⁵⁵⁶ there is a danger of the events becoming too readily simplified. This is not a mistake made by Bourne himself, as he readily acknowledged the role of Shubotham in the suggesting of the first camp meeting, and later, more bitterly, challenged the role of Clowes in the aftermath. The role of Dow benefits from a more nuanced consideration too. If the lack of prominence given in his journal, *Experience...*, to preaching on camp meetings whilst in England is any indication, his influence was most strongly expressed in the pamphlets he left behind with Bourne, and on the role model that he offered. His part in the alienating of Wesleyanism does not seem to have been straightforward either. As Ward noted, connexionalism

⁵⁵⁵ Hatcher, S. (1993). 87-88.

⁵⁵⁶ Franke, J. R. (2005).177.

has a number of dynamics to it and local and national reactions to Dow exerted different pressures in 1806-1807. The national leadership of the church, mindful of Dow's resistance to discipline and propensity to offer support to dissident Methodist groups, avowed at the Leeds Conference of 1806 to shun him and under the influence of Joseph Benson stopped carrying reports in the Methodist Magazine of American camp meetings with which Dow had become closely associated. The need to reiterate this with question twenty-one at the Liverpool Conference of 1807 underlined just how little notice had been taken of the debate in the previous year when in the meantime Dow had preached in Wesleyan pulpits in a number of places in the North West and North Midlands. One such place was the Burslem Circuit, and here it was the refusal of elements to uphold circuit discipline and to cease the holding of camp meetings, rather than Dow's association with them, that led to the asking of question twenty and the Wesleyan disavowal of camp meetings. Shubotham and Bourne were to fare very differently in the telling of the story of all that was to follow, and Dow's legacy was to wax and wane.

'The Lord's Will Be Done'

1808-1812 and Afterwards

The catalyst for the camp meeting supporters being formed into a separate Christian community was the decision of the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Quarterly Meeting on 27 June 1808 to expel Hugh Bourne from society membership. In his journal entry for the following day, Bourne wrote:

My brother Jas. told me that both Him and me were put out of the society. The Lord's will be done. I am put from the society [amended to include 'class'] which I first joined together and whom I have supported and watered and by the man whose family I have in a degree supported. O this fondness for preeminence [sic]...⁵⁵⁷

The decision was to be portrayed by subsequent chroniclers as further reinforcement of Bourne as the camp meeting champion who supremely exemplified the meaning of the community of Primitive Methodists that was to result. The identity of the 'man whose family I have in a degree supported' is unclear and an exploration of the possibilities helps to avoid the marginalisation of some other key protagonists and the evasion of awkward issues.

'He Was In One Connexion And Me In Another': William Clowes' Loyalties

In his journal Bourne recorded for Monday 27 June, 'At night I went to Tunstall I saw Clowes and went with him to the tract meeting.'⁵⁵⁸ Intriguingly between the two entries of 27 and 28 June five lines of as-yet

⁵⁵⁷ Bourne, H. (2 May 1808-28 Jun. 1808). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. Jun. 28 1808.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid. Jun. 27 1808.

untranslated shorthand are written, indicating there was something about the events of 27 June that Bourne wished to record but to keep secret. It is possible that Bourne believed at the time that Clowes was involved in supporting the decision and the shorthand refers to him. However Bourne was later to state that Clowes' vote at the meeting was an act which was 'long kept secret from me.'⁵⁵⁹ As recently as 6 January 1808 James Bourne had been planned to preach at Harriseahead⁵⁶⁰ and presuming he was still preaching on the following plan he would have been at the Quarterly Meeting. Thus the entry for Tuesday 20 May implies that Bourne was hearing the news first-hand from his brother, suggesting that Clowes had not mentioned it to him the night before. In his autobiographical MSS, Bourne was clear that he blamed Clowes who 'was concerned in unrighteously putting me out of the Wesleyan Connexion.'⁵⁶¹ Throughout his autobiographical MSS, Bourne made this charge some seven times in one form or another and in his first manuscript he outlined what he saw as Clowes' ingratitude as to the beneficial effect the revival had made on him and his family:

Mr Clowes might have said that the mighty work the Lord had employed H Bourne to begin and lead up, had been a means of keeping him out of the bottomless pit, his profligacy having reduced his wife to such a state of desperation that she meditated taking away his life with an axe. And that the mighty work had saved up Kids Grove, where he was the second class leader and which entitled him to a seat on that meeting.⁵⁶²

Clowes made no secret in later life of having been at the Quarterly Meeting and contrasted his own expulsion from the Wesleyan fold with that of

⁵⁵⁹ Bourne, H. (n.d [1850/1]). 167.

⁵⁶⁰ (1807). A PLAN for the METHODIST PREACHERS in the BURSLEM CIRCUIT [August 1807-January 1808]. Frank Baker Collection, Duke Divinity School Library.

⁵⁶¹ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]). 307.

⁵⁶² Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]). 62.

Bourne's, which he claimed was not as subsequent accounts following Bourne's 1823 History had portrayed it:

W Clowes was turned out of the Wesleyan Connexion for attending at the Camp meetings and because he would not promise that he would not do so any more....this was the charge brought against him when they turned him out. But when they turned H Bourne out it was for no charge of Camp meetings but for none attendance [sic.] of his class and not for holding Camp meetings for they were never mentioned to my knowledge and I was there at the time for it was the Quarter Day.⁵⁶³

Whilst Petty was to give it credence,⁵⁶⁴ later denominational historians tended to dismiss Clowes' testimony as to the reason for Bourne's expulsion, preferring to see his removal from membership rather as a further indicator of Bourne's determination to press on with the holding of the camp meetings. Antliff⁵⁶⁵ was quite clear that Bourne's 'insubordination to the anti-camp meeting law' was the cause of his expulsion rather than his non-attendance at class: 'On account of his many religious and missionary tours, he would often be away from his class-meetings; but was he ever absent when within reach? But had he not always very substantial and justifiable reasons for his absence?' Barber⁵⁶⁶ also dismissed the idea of Bourne's expulsion for class non-attendance as 'inexplicable in view of his manifold Christian activities.' Yet in reality, those 'manifold Christian activities' which took Bourne away from his class actually added to the substantial charge sheet of irregularities for which he could have been expelled. Bourne claimed in his second autobiographical manuscript that '...being in Mr Riles [sic.] company in regard to trustee business, I remarked his having put me out. He intimated me having a tendency to setting up other places of worship.'⁵⁶⁷ Bourne had

⁵⁶³ Clowes, W. (1836-1838) iv. 16-17.

⁵⁶⁴ Petty, J. (1860). 33-34.

⁵⁶⁵ Antliff, W. (1872). 112.

⁵⁶⁶ Barber, B. A. (1932).25.

⁵⁶⁷ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]).62.

erected a building on the site of the second Mow Cop meeting in order to qualify the location for a licence under the 1689 Toleration Act⁵⁶⁸ and this site was used for a third camp meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the first one, on 29 May 1808. In addition, the 1803 Wesleyan Conference had adopted a resolution passed the previous year by the London Quarterly Meeting:

That if any member of the Methodist Society in this Circuit apply to the Quarter Sessions for a licence to preach, without being approved as a preacher by the Quarterly-Meeting meeting, as expected by the seventh section of the Large Minutes of the Methodist Conference printed in 1797, such person shall be expelled the Society [sic.].⁵⁶⁹

Bourne had obtained just such a licence on 16 July 1807 in preparation for the second Mow Cop meeting. A Wesleyan writer was later to list the catalogue of transgressions which all contributed to Bourne's expulsion:

He rarely met in class; he preached in his own circuit without the authority of the superintendent, or of the local preachers meeting; he visited other circuits without the necessary invitation and authorization; he had taken out a licence in the face of plainly expressed Methodist laws; he had held a meeting which had been condemned beforehand by the decisions of the officials of his own circuit, and above all by the deliberate judgement of the Conference; but still he considered himself a member of the Methodist Society.⁵⁷⁰

As outlined in the previous chapter, in his later autobiographical MSS Bourne portrayed Clowes as being in opposition to camp meetings until late 1808. When Clowes began attending camp meetings again on 4 September 1808, Bourne's journal entry from the day before simply noted 'I started with

⁵⁶⁸ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 51.

⁵⁶⁹ Wesleyan Methodist Church (1833). 185.

⁵⁷⁰ (1886). "The Origins of the Primitive Methodist Connexion". 32.

[?] Hancock and Wm Clowes to Ramsor where we had meeting.’⁵⁷¹ However in his later autobiographical MSS, Bourne was keen to describe their journey as being one undertaken together reluctantly on his part and fraught with disagreement:

He pressed teased [sic] and urged until he got me to allow him to go with me... And when we were got about halfway, he began to declaim against open-air worship. I was thankful that he was in one connexion and me in another. I suddenly and firmly said “If you cannot approve of it, you may find your way home again!” He suddenly turned around and I allowed him to go on, and he did not further misbehave himself.⁵⁷²

Comparison of the differing phases of Bourne’s writing about his early relationship with Clowes raises the issues as to why Bourne took this view of significant events in later life, and whether there could be any truth in his picture of Clowes as an opponent to camp meetings in 1807-1808. As Bourne’s journals from late 1804 to early 1808 are no longer extant there is no source of contemporary material from Bourne earlier than the 1823 History to verify or challenge his later version of his relationship with Clowes during this period. In this absence a number of explanations can be offered as to why Bourne re-told the story as he did in later accounts. The first is that he did so out of a feeling of bitterness at what he perceived as a diminution of personal standing within Primitive Methodism at a time when William Clowes’ role was being readily appreciated afresh. By 1844, when the first autobiographical manuscript was written, Bourne felt a sense of loss of control and power within the Connexion. The 1842 Conference, of which he was President, had superannuated Bourne, and in 1843 the Connexional Bookroom had moved to London, away from Bemersley and the Bourne brothers’ influence. The publication in 1844 of William Clowes’ Journals, one of the first fruits of this liberation, was far from welcome to Bourne as has

⁵⁷¹ Bourne, H. (2 Jul. 1808-7 Dec. 1808). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 4 September 1808.

⁵⁷² Bourne, H. (n.d [1850/1]). 167.

been outlined in Chapter One.⁵⁷³ The situation was to worsen from Bourne's perspective when Clowes, also now superannuated, was elected President of the Conference for three successive years from 1844. All this sustained further long-held resentments between the two men. Clowes had nursed the enduring feeling that he had been marginalised by what he saw as the self-aggrandisement of Bourne in the 1823 History.⁵⁷⁴ This was compounded by friction between Bourne and the powerful Hull circuit where Clowes was based from 1819 onwards, and the conflict between the two men became a very public one at both the 1831 and 1833 Conferences.⁵⁷⁵ Clowes' response to Bourne's attack in 1833 was recorded in one of his extant notebooks. Claiming that (for) more than two hours ... [Bourne] took a route to rehearse things from the beginning of the Connexion,⁵⁷⁶ Clowes defended himself against what he perceived as Bourne's charge that he was opposed to camp meetings in the beginning:

William Clowes was at the first camp meeting held at Mow Hill early in the mornings for he went up to Harriseahead over night and he was there at the prayer meeting in the morning....and William Clowes stood up about 10 o'clock and gave an exhortation to multitudes of people there and that he laboured in the last prayer meeting till it was concluded at night, but Hugh Bourne Mr Chairman has been careful not to mention this in his History. There William Clowes is hidden. How it is that he has not said that William Clowes give an exhortation at Mow Hill first camp meeting...And why does he tell you Master Chairman where I preached my first sermon? Is it to show that I had

⁵⁷³ Bourne, H. (8 Feb. 1844-12 Feb. 1845). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 17, 20 Jun. 1844; Bourne, H. (Jan. 1845-14 Apr. 1848). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 14 May 1846.

⁵⁷⁴ Wilkinson, J. T. (1951). 88-90.

⁵⁷⁵ Hatcher, S. (1993). 192-197.

⁵⁷⁶ Clowes, W. (1836-1838).iv.10. In cases like here where their meaning might be obfuscated due to their idiosyncratic style I have standardised spelling and punctuation in extracts from Clowes' notebooks.

nothing to do with things at the beginning of the connexion till then?⁵⁷⁷

Clowes' lingering resentment towards Bourne's History, his refusal to embrace Bourne's tee-totalism, and friction between Bourne and the Hull circuit⁵⁷⁸ were among the factors that continued to drive the men apart in later years and this undoubtedly contributed to Bourne's decision to offer a harsh re-appraisal of Clowes' role in his last autobiographical writings.

The second factor in understanding Bourne's later writings is the possibility of deteriorating mental capabilities, outlined in Chapter One. Thomas Bateman, Bourne's biographer in the connexional magazine, certainly felt this was the part of the explanation for Clowes' treatment in the later writings:

And let it be clearly understood, that in all his early journals which the writer has yet seen, Mr Bourne speaks of his companion Mr Clowes in terms of the highest praise. And if in after life, either through the overweening fondness or mistaken zeal of some friends, or the false and improper misrepresentation of other persons, or through the weakness and imbecility of old age, he spoke or wrote otherwise, it is deeply to be deplored.⁵⁷⁹

However, even allowing for both Bourne's increasing resentment towards Clowes arising from a feeling of powerlessness, and his possibly deteriorating mental condition, not all his allegations against Clowes in the later autobiographical writings were necessarily groundless, for two reasons.

Firstly as has been outlined in the previous chapter there are good reasons to believe that an early loss of intimacy between the two men resulted from Clowes increasingly being spiritually fed by the local circuit during the period 1806-1807, through the 'theological institution' of

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.10-12.

⁵⁷⁸ See pages 26-27 above for an account of how this manifested itself in publishing.

⁵⁷⁹ Bateman, T. (1853). 854.

preachers meeting at his house, and through relationship with W.E. Miller, at a time when Bourne sat more and more lightly to its discipline.

A second argument for Bourne's later manuscript accounts of Clowes' active camp meeting opposition not necessarily being inventions of a bitter old man can be made from silence. The silence during the period engendered by the loss of Bourne's journals is matched by that of Clowes and almost all of his subsequent biographers on his role for much of the period 1807-1808. It is widely accepted that after the second Mow Cop meeting William Clowes stayed away from subsequent camp meetings until the one held at Ramsor on 4 September 1808. Clowes nowhere in his extant writings contradicted this: in his Journals he wrote, soon after his account of the second Mow Cop camp meeting, 'I will now take the liberty, in breaking the chain of my narrative, to introduce a circumstance which should have been noticed before'⁵⁸⁰. An account of prayer ministry with Jane Hall follows and then Clowes declared 'In resuming the chronological order of my narrative, the first Ramsor camp-meeting falls under my notice'⁵⁸¹. Herod was alone amongst nineteenth century biographers of Clowes in being ready to point out the implication of Clowes' phrasing here:

We are rather at a loss to know what is meant by "the chronological order of my narrative". If we are to understand it as relating to the origin of circumstances that under providence resulted in originating the Primitive Methodist Connexion, we find an important link is wanting: viz an account of the six camp meetings held in his absence...but if "the chronological order..." is to be understood as comprehending only the time of his adherence to the supporters of the Camp-Meetings, omitting the thirteen months of his absence from them, we consider he is correct...⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ Clowes, W. (1844). 77.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid. 79-80.

⁵⁸² Herod, G. (1855). 399-400.

Elsewhere in Biographical Sketches Herod argued that Bourne was 'of as sound mind in his latter days as ever in his life'⁵⁸³ and so if he had seen the later autobiographical material it is unsurprising he gave it credence.

The first Mow Cop meeting on 31 May was a time of fluctuating attitudes for many local Wesleyans, and Clowes' close friendship with Daniel Shubotham may well have led to reticence becoming opposition at the eleventh hour before the second Mow Cop meeting as Bourne later suggested. From 15 February 1808 onwards Bourne's personal journals are extant and in these there is the suggestion that the breach was healed between the two men before Clowes began to attend camp meetings again. The entry for Wednesday 6 April for example suggests a return to former intimacy: 'I called on Wm Clowes at Tunstall. He spoke of an assurance that he should obey only God to eternity and of being every moment subdued to God and clean through the word spoken' ⁵⁸⁴

The irony in Hugh Bourne's anger in wanting at the end of his life to remind people of Clowes' initial opposition lies in the pervasiveness of his own 1823 History both in telling the constitutive narrative when denominational identity was being formed, and then being a key source for subsequent volumes commissioned to affirm that identity. Despite Clowes' view that Bourne's History side-lined him, it gives no suggestion of disagreement between the two men. When Clowes' own Journals came out in 1844 they offered no challenge to this narrative. Bourne's final version of events appears to have made little impact upon denominational historians that followed, Herod aside, despite being available to Walford, Petty and Kendall. Walford made clear at the end of the second volume of Life and Labours that he was not amongst those who believed Bourne's mental capacity was diminished in later life,⁵⁸⁵ yet he declined to use the later material in a way which could have been damaging to the story of origins and the exemplifying figures of a now well established Primitive Methodist community. In addition, in several places there is evidence of Bourne's later

⁵⁸³ Ibid. 487.

⁵⁸⁴ Bourne, H. (25 Feb. 1808 -1 May 1808). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 7 March 1808.

⁵⁸⁵ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). ii. 444-445.

material being used in a reshaped form. Bourne's description in his second autobiographical manuscript of the first Mow Cop camp meeting reads

The satisfactions were immense; and the anti-methodistic zeal against open-air worship was so swept away that we had a number from Burslem and even from Tunstall; and from there we had some who had been the most zealous teasers against open-air worship; the reformed profligate for instance and a companion of his, stopped a considerable part of the day and they did not behave amiss.⁵⁸⁶

This passage is reproduced in Walford's Life and Labours much more ambiguously as 'the anti-methodistic zeal against open-air worship was so swept away that ...my esteemed friends from Burslem and Tunstall were there and laboured famously in the prayer meetings...even those who had previously been opposed to open-air meetings, and had teased me much, now manifested a zeal rarely seen.'⁵⁸⁷ Whilst there is no way of making a comparison as to whether Walford exercised similar editorial sanction over Bourne's now lost journal there is a suggestion of this. The episode when Bourne met the Tunstall teacher McEvoy on the way to the camp ground at Norton⁵⁸⁸ was included by Walford as an entry for Sunday 23 August from a now-lost 1807 journal and followed the same structure as the autobiographical MSS account: When Bourne met McEvoy, he was told of the Tunstall opposition. Bourne admitted his prior knowledge of this but wrote that 'his account of it made so deep and painful an impression on my mind that I began to look for a break up.'⁵⁸⁹ Missing in Walford's account however is any damaging mention of Clowes being part of that opposition.

For Kendall, the Centenary celebration of 1907-1910 was not the time to disturb the settled view of Bourne and Clowes' early closeness. It is clear from Kendall's History that he shared Petty's view of Bourne's declining years, citing the 1833 Conference incident as evidence that 'the stress of

⁵⁸⁶ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]). 165.

⁵⁸⁷ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.130-131.

⁵⁸⁸ See page 140 above.

⁵⁸⁹ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.173-174.

years had disturbed the fine balance of imagination and judgement...making him look at men and things through an atmosphere of illusion, especially at all related to W. Clowes and the Hull District.’⁵⁹⁰ Presumably for this reason, like Petty he made no mention of the existence of Bourne’s later autobiographical writings. Like Walford, however, he seems to have used them as a source. Kendall included an account of the final day of a three day camp meeting which has a cameo appearance of Daniel Shubotham, come to protest at the continued defiance of the Wesleyan Conference decision. Kendall named the meeting as Norton, but his source was almost certainly Bourne’s autobiographical MSS account of the second Mow Cop meeting where it was claimed that Clowes brought Shubotham along to disrupt the meeting. Clowes’ status as someone ‘who embodied or exemplified the meaning of community’ for Primitive Methodists could not be challenged by uncomfortable speculation at a time of great celebration and it was not until Wilkinson re-examined the lives of the two men in the early 1950s that any hint of their earliest conflict was to be found in the retelling of the story again.⁵⁹¹

‘Henceforth Daniel Will Be Absent From This History’: Shubotham’s ‘Fall’

Another possible identity of the ‘man whose family I have in a degree supported’ was Daniel Shubotham. He was a member of the Quarterly Meeting, and Bourne knew Hannah his wife and was a regular visitor to their household: In his journal for 19 March 1803 Bourne recorded saving the family home on one such visit by breaking into the empty house to put out a fire which had already burned ‘nearly all the children’s clothes, Daniel’s shirt, a sheet, and other clothes, and an Oak table & a chair, on both which the clothes lay.’⁵⁹²

Following the Wesleyan decisions at circuit and connexional level against the camp meetings and the continued holding of them in defiance of those decisions at Norton and Mow Cop, Daniel Shubotham disappears from

⁵⁹⁰ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). ii.361.

⁵⁹¹ Wilkinson, J. T. (1951). 94-101.

⁵⁹² Bourne, H. (12 Feb.1803-14 Aug. 1804). 19 Mar. 1803.

narrative of Primitive Methodist origins as subsequently written. In all three of his unpublished autobiographical manuscripts Bourne alleged that this was the beginning of a drifting away from Methodism altogether for Shubotham, as he ‘never did any good after; and soon after that affair he was put out of the methodist [sic.] society as a fallen man; and he never after was a member of any religious society to his dying day.’⁵⁹³ This Bourne blamed squarely on Clowes, who led the circuit preachers in ‘being instrumental in his fatal falling from grace. They also put him down from class-leading, and put him out of their society, and then quite neglected him.’⁵⁹⁴ Bourne claimed that ‘neither did WC ever visit him after.’⁵⁹⁵ Bourne’s hostility to Clowes at this late stage in this life was undoubtedly behind this allegation but it is important to note that chroniclers of Primitive Methodism, if they gave the matter any thought at all, took at face value Bourne’s account in later life of Shubotham’s decline, whilst removing any negative role for Clowes. Walford claimed Daniel was left ‘as an outcast, without one word of consolation,’⁵⁹⁶ Kendall, in confusing the second Mow Cop meeting with that at Norton on 23 August, declared that ‘Henceforth Daniel will be absent from this history’⁵⁹⁷ and Wilkinson also repeated Bourne’s later version of events unquestioningly.⁵⁹⁸ Yet Bourne himself never *published* anything about his cousin’s subsequent life, other than in his 1823 History when in a footnote he wrote that Shubotham and Bayley had both ‘since died happy in the Lord.’⁵⁹⁹ In fact, extant Burslem Circuit class books show that Shubotham continued to lead the Harriseahead class, and Bourne’s own journals show that he continued to visit Shubotham regularly for a number of years and was still in regular attendance at Harriseahead after his expulsion. In the period March 1808 – November 1810, Bourne recorded in his journal thirteen occasions of visits to or contact with Shubotham. This is

⁵⁹³ Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]).36.

⁵⁹⁴ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]). 267.

⁵⁹⁵ Bourne, H. (n.d [1850/1]). 121.

⁵⁹⁶ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.164.

⁵⁹⁷ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i.81.

⁵⁹⁸ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 53.

⁵⁹⁹ Bourne, H. (1823).5n.

reflective of Bourne's increasingly itinerant ministry as the camp meeting movement began to develop, but the entries reveal both a continuing relationship with moments of close fellowship, as well as an underlying tension resulting from the increasingly diverging paths of the two men.

In 1808, Bourne recorded contact with Shubotham on three occasions. The first of these, on 10 March, showed Shubotham to be still active in encouraging the revival at Harriseahead and acting pastorally as a class leader:

I was at Daniel Shubotham who informed me that the work was broke out at Bradley Green and goes on well. Samuel Rider is travelling honestly toward the kingdom. At a preaching at Harriseahead when in prayer and the preaching was strong Daniel shouted "Sam where art" This struck him to the heart, he would have gone out but his strength failed. When he got home he could eat no supper. He tried to shake conviction off but could not. He then strove against sin a fortnight but it was too strong for him then he broke his mind to Daniel who told him to pray.⁶⁰⁰

Later in the month, Bourne attended Harriseahead class⁶⁰¹ and then on Thursday 30 March preached in the chapel,⁶⁰² an occurrence repeated on 26 May⁶⁰³ ('spoke in the travelling preachers place'). Three days after this, on Sunday 29 May, the third Mow Cop camp meeting was held. Bourne still appears to have been hoping that Shubotham might return to the cause, since he recorded in his journal 'we had some opposition and were forsaken by Daniel Shubotham and William Maxfield but we had no want of Labourers. Glory be to God forever.'⁶⁰⁴ Even if Shubotham was no longer in attendance at camp meetings, there is a suggestion that he was not active in

⁶⁰⁰ Bourne, H. (25 Feb. 1808 -1 May 1808). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 10 Mar. 1808.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid. 21 Mar. 1808.

⁶⁰² Ibid. 30 Mar. 1808.

⁶⁰³ Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 26 May 1808.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid. 29 May 1808.

opposition since following the next camp meeting on Mow on 17 July Bourne recorded 'we had a meeting in the Chapel at Harriseahead, it was a glorious time, Jesus was mightily with us and the place was glorious because of his presence.'⁶⁰⁵ Bourne preached again at Harriseahead on Sunday 11 September⁶⁰⁶ and attended 'a very powerful love feast' there the following Sunday.⁶⁰⁷ There was still a dialogue going on between Shubotham and Bourne, who clearly had not given up on persuading his cousin as to the rightness of his actions in the face of growing Wesleyan opposition: '...I then came back to Daniel Shubotham's as he had requested me and he began to examine me. They had incensed him against me I stated every point to him and the Lord enabled him to strengthen my hands.'⁶⁰⁸ Bourne spent the eighth anniversary of Shubotham's conversion with him, in what may have been a poignant visit for both men: 'I then went to see Daniel Shubotham. He saw Matthew Goodwin sometime ago and talked with him thus the Lord works. Glory be to his name for ever.'⁶⁰⁹ Depending on how this is interpreted, Bourne here was either hopeful of a positive influence being exerted on Shubotham, or believed him to still be an influence for good himself.

Bourne's first recorded contact with Shubotham in 1809 occurred on Thursday 9 March: 'I went to Mow and Harriseahead, I was with Daniel Shubotham and amongst the things I explained to him the priestly office of the saints. He was pleased and surprised. He before thought I was losing time by visiting old James Crowfoot, now he thought it one of the best things ever happened.'⁶¹⁰ Bourne was still undertaking to justify his actions to Shubotham and felt it worth recording when he felt he was being successful in doing so. On Friday 2 June Bourne recorded that 'at night I was at

⁶⁰⁵ Bourne, H. (2 Jul. 1808-7 Dec. 1808). 17 Jul. 1808.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid. 11 Sept. 1808.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid. 18 Sept. 1808.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ Bourne, H. (10 Dec. 1808-7.Mar. 1809). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 26 Dec. 1808.

⁶¹⁰ Bourne, H. (26 Feb.1809-13 Oct. 1810). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 9 Mar. 1809.

Harriseahead and appointed to preach there on Wednesday night next'⁶¹¹ Since this was not a service on the plan and Bourne was not a local preacher and was now expelled from the Burslem Wesleyan circuit the 'appointing' would have presumably been done by informal local invitation. On Wednesday 7 June Bourne 'worked at Milton and went by appointment to Harriseahead. The meeting had not been sufficiently given out but we prayed in the open-air and it was a solemn time. It had run in my mind that DS would neglect publishing the meeting and I could not get a text.'⁶¹² Again here the question of just who is 'appointing' is a moot one and the suggestion of Shubotham's reluctance to publicise it suggests both that he as class leader was not involved in the decision to invite Bourne, and that his loyalty to the Wesleyan Circuit's decisions was not necessarily matched by other Harriseahead Wesleyans. That Bourne was still keen to maintain close links with them was demonstrated by his decision to postpone the Mow Cop camp meeting scheduled for the second anniversary of the initial one until 18 June since 'DS said they must have a charity sermon for the school at that time but it was put off'.⁶¹³ The day after the Camp Meeting, Bourne recorded calling into to see Shubotham on his way to preach at Newchapel.⁶¹⁴

In the autumn of 1809 come the most intriguing entries in Bourne's journal from this period:

Monday October 16th '... at night was at Harriseahead. I had a good time And I believe I proved to have a message to Daniel Shubotham and preaching. He is called but does not come forward. He promises to endeavour to come forward. And I promised on that condition to endeavour to pray for him. ⁶¹⁵

⁶¹¹ Ibid. 2 Jun. 1809.

⁶¹² Ibid. 7 Jun. 1809.

⁶¹³ Ibid. 18 Jun. 1809. The original date would have been 28 May.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid. 19 Jun. 1809.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid. 16 Oct. 1809.

Bourne proved as good as his word for on the following night he recorded 'I had a good time at Clowes house especially praying for Daniel Shubotham.'⁶¹⁶ Bourne and Clowes' prayers appeared to have been answered quickly since he recorded on a visit to preach at Harriseahead on 9 November, 'I stopped late with Daniel Shubotham. He goes on in Preaching. O lord prosper him.'⁶¹⁷ It has not yet been possible to verify whether in fact Shubotham was preaching only at Harriseahead or whether he appeared on note on the Burslem Wesleyan plan, since the earliest plan of this period in the Englesea Brook archive is for 1812, and Shubotham is not on it. Tantalisingly, when writing in 1855 George Herod was clearly in possession of the plan for 5 November – 11 March, which would have resolved this question, as he mentioned it in relation to Clowes' listing on it.⁶¹⁸ Shubotham's occurrence or otherwise on the list of preachers went unremarked, since by this time he no longer featured in the narrative.

Sunday 26 November saw Bourne and Clowes praying at Shubotham's after a day of preaching and a love feast at Harriseahead and soon afterwards Bourne wrote 'Sometime ago DS informed me that the steps I took and what I suffered on account of the people at the Cloud had all turned to good account and the people were convinced that I was right.'⁶¹⁹ Clearly fellowship between Bourne and Shubotham continued to include both prayer and counsel and a valuing of Shubotham's opinion. Bourne was travelling extensively in Lancashire and Cheshire during the early part of 1810 but on 16 March he went to Harriseahead and talked with Hannah Shubotham.⁶²⁰ The next visit he recorded to Daniel was on Thursday 10 May. After commending the 'great revival and the visionary work' happening at Harriseahead, Bourne then 'had some conversation with DS and William Maxfield.'⁶²¹

⁶¹⁶ Ibid. 17 Oct. 1809.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid. 9 Nov. 1809.

⁶¹⁸ Herod, G. (1855). 402.

⁶¹⁹ Bourne, H. (26 Feb.1809-13 Oct. 1810). 26 Nov. 1809.

⁶²⁰ Ibid. 16 Mar. 1810.

⁶²¹ Ibid. 10 May 1810.

There now developed tensions between the two cousins. Bourne recorded in his journal for Wednesday 6 June, 'I called on DS but had no union.'⁶²² The timing of this entry, three days after the Ramsor camp meeting of Sunday 3 June, makes it probable that the cause of the tension was the attitude of the circuit preachers towards Clowes, who wrote in his Journal that 'About this time much uneasiness began to show itself amongst certain parties in the Burslem circuit on account of the camp meetings and my attending them.'⁶²³ Clowes' presence and preaching at the Ramsor meeting is believed to be the final factor in his omission from the preachers' plan at the June Quarterly Meeting, a prelude to his removal from membership three months later.⁶²⁴ Each of these decisions were taken at meetings at which both Clowes and Shubotham were entitled to be present and by now it would have been clear to Shubotham that the battle lines that had been drawn by Bourne's persistence in holding the camp meetings were becoming ossified and that, as Hatcher observed, Bourne's 'dogged determination' had finally and decisively carried Clowes 'through to the camp meeting side.'⁶²⁵

Even now, however, Bourne and Shubotham kept up the bonds of fellowship, though something of Shubotham's dilemma can be glimpsed. On Tuesday 24 July Bourne recorded a visit to Thomas Knight, whose 'meeting has been grievously opposed by James Hancock, William Maxfield and others. Daniel Shubotham opposed at first and then supported it.'⁶²⁶ After attending Knight's meeting, Bourne visited Shubotham 'and had a good time with him'. Shubotham had news which altered Bourne's immediate future plans:

He told me that there was a Camp meeting appointed to be at Gratton next Sunday but one. At this I wondered that we'd never heard of it.

⁶²² Ibid. 6 Jun. 1810.

⁶²³ Clowes, W. (1844). 83.

⁶²⁴ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 80-81.

⁶²⁵ Hatcher, S. (1993). 44

⁶²⁶ Bourne, H. (26 Feb.1809-13 Oct. 1810). 24 Jul. 1810.

On this account I thought it right to defer any journey into Cheshire & Lancashire till after that time.⁶²⁷

Both Knight's meeting and the proposed camp meeting at Gratton some seven miles from Harriseahead illustrate the increasingly diffuse nature of the revival, which now exceeded both Bourne's immediate orbit and the Wesleyan discipline Shubotham was inclined to uphold. Bourne's reaction to new developments was to cancel his travel plans to be able to join in;⁶²⁸ Shubotham still fluctuated between holding the official line on unauthorised meetings and seeing the good that they did, hence his indecision regarding Knight's gathering.

On Wednesday 17 October, following an afternoon spent with Thomas Knight, Bourne wrote, 'I then went to Daniel Shubotham's and had a wonderful time in prayer in the Chapel – I found Daniel and his wife going on better than usual.'⁶²⁹ Whether this is a reference to the couple's health, spiritual state or marital harmony is unclear. On Saturday 10 November 1810, Hugh Bourne recorded 'I came to Harriseahead and called on Daniel Shubotham. 'Oh! How are the mighty fallen.'⁶³⁰ After nearly ten years of walking in faith together, this is the last mention of Shubotham in Bourne's journals. What caused the final breach between two men seemingly enjoying 'wonderful time on prayer' less than a month before is unknowable, but it is significant that whilst Bourne's expulsion from the Wesleyans in 1808 did not end their relationship, it did not very long survive Clowes' removal in September 1810. At this point it must have been clear to Shubotham, whose divided loyalties had been increasingly tested over the past three years, that Bourne and now Clowes were walking on an increasingly divergent path to his. Bourne's phraseology could suggest a fall from grace on the part of Shubotham, rather than a final fall from his support of Bourne's actions, but

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Bourne gave a brief account of the meeting, at Blackwood Hill, on Sunday 5 August. See Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.290.

⁶²⁹ Bourne, H. (14 Oct. 1810-24 Oct. 1813). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 17 Oct. 1810.

⁶³⁰ Ibid. 10 Nov. 1810.

contrary to Bourne's later claims extant Burslem Wesleyan class books confirm that Shubotham was a Wesleyan class leader at Harriseahead until 1813 after which time he is absent from the records.⁶³¹

Parish burial registers show that on 15 March 1814, Daniel Shufflebotham was buried at St James Church at nearby Newchapel. The entry gives the deceased's age as 42 and his parents as Daniel & Mary Shubotham.⁶³² The church was rebuilt in 1880 and extended in 1914 and if Shubotham's grave was originally marked no trace of it now remains. Neither Bourne nor Clowes made any written reference to Shubotham's death apart from Bourne's note in his History. In the Burslem Circuit class books, Hannah Shufflebotham who was listed first in Daniel's class remained there after he ceased to be class leader up to at least 1818⁶³³ after which extant records end. In Shubotham's garden, Harriseahead Wesleyan chapel was enlarged in 1823, with the addition of a gallery and Sunday School buildings in 1838⁶³⁴ and 1856.⁶³⁵ The chapel itself became the Sunday school for a new chapel opened in 1876⁶³⁶ and remained in use as such until the Methodist Conference of 1967 decided to sell the site. This 'roof under which the venerable Hugh Bourne began his religious experiences'⁶³⁷ was sold to Mr F. Gallimore for the sum of £150-00. It remains, with only a few parts of the original walls still standing, to the rear of the premises of Bailey & Gallimore, Coal & Solid Fuel Merchants at 57, High St. It serves its current owners as a work shed and historians as a reminder of the location for the origins of the Harriseahead revival and Daniel Shubotham's part in them.

⁶³¹ (1813-1814). Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book. Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Archives 1796-1819, Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library. Stoke on Trent.

⁶³² (1813-1842). St. James the Apostle Newchapel. Register of burials, Staffordshire Record Office. 1814. 9.

⁶³³ (1818). Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book. Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Archives 1796-1819, Stoke on Trent City Archives, Hanley Library. Stoke on Trent.

⁶³⁴ Bourne, H. (1842). iii. 8n.

⁶³⁵ Harper, W. J. (1907).

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

As a class leader and confidant of Bourne and Clowes, that part was a substantial one. Yet as outlined in Chapter Two, Shubotham's contribution to Primitive Methodist origins was all too often to be reduced by subsequent denominational historians to his comment at the end of a long prayer meeting in 1801, thus reducing his to a one-line speaking part, predicting 'a days praying on Mow' some six years before the first camp meeting took place there. Even on later occasions when Bourne's erroneous picture of him falling away from faith was rejected and his memory restored to a more central place in the life of the connexion, his importance was still recognised in these terms. This was the case in the sermon preached by J. E. Parkinson in Beverley on 11 March 1860 as part of the Primitive Methodist Jubilee Celebrations:

We should rejoice on account of these who have been saved through the instrumentality of this connexion. Daniel Shubotham, in whose mind the bright idea first occurred of a day's prayer on Mow Hill, is now doubtless before the throne.⁶³⁸

The complexity of Shubotham's role even meant that occasionally historians neglected to mention his name in the narrative at all.⁶³⁹ Yet on the earliest occasions where Hugh Bourne gave accounts of his involvement in the Harriseahead revival and the events leading up to the first camp meeting on Mow Cop he gave a very prominent role to his cousin. Shubotham was the first person converted under Bourne, and his encouragement of his cousin was a factor in his subsequent public ministry. He was most probably instrumental too in Bourne being inspired by the preaching of Lorenzo Dow, and in the holding of the first Camp meeting at Mow Cop. Following that meeting as one who remained with Burslem Methodism he became tangential to the story as those who left told it. The battle to define Primitive

⁶³⁸ Parkinson, J. E. (1860). "THE JUBILEE. A SERMON, BY J. E. PARKINSON, Preached at Beverley, March, 11, 1860". *The Primitive Methodist Magazine for The Year of Our Lord 1860*. London, John Day & Richard Davies. 409.

⁶³⁹ See for example Chappell, J., W. (1901). *In The Power Of God : The History Of A Religious Movement*. Burslem, Warwick Savage.

Methodism's separate identity following its emergence as a coherent alternative to Wesleyanism had Shubotham's role as an early casualty, yet Shubotham's inner conflict and the external manifestation of that in his relationship with Bourne over a period of ten years may be seen as a microcosm of the battle within Burslem Methodism around the camp meeting standard. Shubotham's ultimate reluctance to leave the Wesleyans was simply seen as a sign of a character flaw when portrayed by Kendall:

Daniel Shubotham—for whom, one thinks, Reuben Shufflebotham would have been a fitter name, so impressionable and variable of mood was he.⁶⁴⁰

Yet, after 1807, like many others in the revival, Shubotham found himself in a difficult place, torn between friends in the camp meeting movement and the Wesleyans who had given him responsibility and recognised his authority as class leader at Harriseahead. Ultimately Shubotham remained faithful to that responsibility rather than following Bourne, who had no official responsibility within Burslem Wesleyanism to trouble his conscience. Hugh Bourne's journals record the efforts the men made to maintain the bonds of fellowship in the years following the first camp meeting: sadly neither here, nor in Bourne's first abortive magazine of 1818, did subsequent historians of Primitive Methodism seek Shubotham. The inaccurate claims made by Bourne in later life of Shubotham's subsequent falling away allowed a line to be drawn under his relationship with his cousin all too neatly by some subsequent chroniclers, but Bourne's memories of Shubotham will stand as a fitting testimony to him:

The Lord soon raised him up to be a colleague with me in carrying on the work of religion. And for some years he was a colleague indeed...He proved a champion in the way; no difficulties could hinder him, neither could oppositions stop him. And he took the course I had taken with him; he, in conversations, preached Jesus and him

⁶⁴⁰ Kendall, H. B. [1906].i .57.

crucified, and he did this with a greater zeal than I had ever witnessed, except in myself that Xmas day morning....And really, in a short time, we were like two flames of fire. I had never in my life noticed anything that equalled this. It really was Primitive Methodism indeed.⁶⁴¹

'Inflexible Integrity': The Outlook Of John Riles

If from Bourne's journals there is little indication either that at this point he suspected Clowes' involvement in his expulsion, or that it immediately changed his relationship with Shubotham, the other likely identity of 'the man whose family I have in a degree supported' was John Riles. He would have chaired the Quarterly Meeting in June 1808, had already led a previous Quarterly Meeting to oppose further camp meetings and by now must have realised that Bourne was not ever going to be brought into line to support that decision. The reference to Riles' family in this context is unclear, but in another dispute that was dividing Burslem Wesleyans at this time, Bourne had recently expressed his support for Riles in his journal:

I understand that nearly all the Methodist society at Burslem are risen up against the Association for stopping Sabbath breaking. Mr Riles is in quite a strait. It is said that Mr Walker and Mr Machin Robinson have told him that if he does not stop them or put them out of the society they will get him turned out at the Conference and then he will be out of Bread on the other hand in putting them away he puts away the flower of the Society. The Lord is with them and will be with them and there will be a separate Society. When Mr Riles went to such bad lengths against the Camp meetings I thought I could see him in trouble without pitying him but now I feel quite sorry for him and would help him out if I could without hurting the Association...⁶⁴²

⁶⁴¹ Bourne, H. (n.d [1849]).67-71.

⁶⁴² Bourne, H. (25 Feb. 1808 -1 May 1808). 6. Mar 1808.

Riles' role following the first camp meeting of May 1807 had been key. He appeared to have been content in a belief that the Mow Cop gathering was to have been a one-off but once Bourne made plain his intention to hold further meetings Riles was quick to uphold Wesleyan discipline. As a previous Kilhamite sympathiser Riles was able to do this with an understanding of the desire of those who sought freedoms unavailable within Wesleyanism at that time. He was to demonstrate this in the midst of the camp meeting dispute in the Burslem Circuit with the publication of a remarkably thorough and even-handed book. First appearing in 1809, Riles' An Historical View of the Principal Sects, Which Have Appeared in the Christian Church, From Its First Rise to the Present Day⁶⁴³ outlined the beliefs and origins of a wide range of churches and sects, both contemporary and historical. This was at a time when the New Connexion schism was still causing a great deal of dispute within Wesleyanism nationally, particularly with regard to contested trusteeship of chapels, and when the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit was still adjusting to being only one variant of Methodism in the area. Yet Riles' entry on "The New Connection of Methodists"⁶⁴⁴ gave an objective description of the feelings of those who sided with Kilham in the dispute:

... [I]t appeared to some to be agreeable both to reason and the customs of the primitive church, that the people should have a voice in the temporal concerns of the societies, vote in the election of church officers, and give their suffrages in spiritual concerns.

It is not hard to detect traces of Riles' own memories of the time in his description of the points of controversy:

... [S]ome of the preachers and people thought that an annual delegation of the general stewards of the circuits, ought to sit either in the conference or the district meetings, in order to assist in the

⁶⁴³ Riles, J. (1809). An Historical View of the Principal Sects, which have appeared in the Christian church, from its first rise, etc. Burslem, John Tregortha.

⁶⁴⁴ For what follows, Ibid.484-485.

disbursement of the yearly collection, the Kingswood School collection, and the preachers' fund; and in making new or revising old laws, would be a bond of union between the conference and connection at large, and do away with the very idea of arbitrary power amongst the travelling preachers.

Riles had clearly followed the progress of his former correspondent Kilham carefully and wrote in detail about the adoption of Kilham and William Thom's Outlines of a Constitution, proposed for the Examination, Amendment, and Acceptance of the Methodist New Itinerancy⁶⁴⁵ as the foundational document for the New Connexion. The entry also contains a through description of the resulting polity of the New Connexion:

The preachers and people are incorporated in all meetings for business, not by temporary concession, but by the essential principles of their constitution; for the private members to chuse [sic.] the class leaders; the leaders' meeting nominates the stewards; and the society confirms or rejects the nomination. The Quarterly Meetings are composed of the general stewards, and the representatives chosen by the different societies of the circuits, and the fourth Quarterly Meeting of the year appoints the preachers and delegates of every circuit that shall attend the general conference.

In Riles, those who sought a life outside the Wesleyan fold encountered someone who in the words of his obituary displayed 'inflexible integrity'⁶⁴⁶ in both his irenic attitude to the cause he formerly espoused and in the firmness in which he upheld the discipline of the church he had committed himself to remain with. He was later to give a fuller account of his understanding of that discipline in an 1813 pamphlet, An address to the

⁶⁴⁵ Thom, W. and A. Kilham (1797). Out-lines of a constitution; proposed for the examination, amendment & acceptance, of the members of the Methodist New Itinerancy, Leeds, [pub. unknown].

⁶⁴⁶ Wesleyan Methodist Church, (1833). Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from the first, held in London, by the late Rev. John Wesley, A.M. in the year 1744. London, Printed at the Conference-Office; John Mason: London. 110.

Methodist Societies..., written in response to revivalists at Ladock chapel in the Truro Wesleyan circuit demanding to know 'are not the people belonging to the chapels sufficient to manage their own concerns without the interference of the Preachers?'⁶⁴⁷ Riles argued that there was no case for viewing itinerants as a hindrance to the revivalism of a congregation since they were united in their aims:

... [T]heir claims and obligations are mutual, and as forming a part of the Redeemer's church on the earth, in order to union in the body there ought to be, in all essential points, union in sentiment and a perfect agreement in design.⁶⁴⁸

Riles emphasised the accountability of the preachers both to the trustees and to the Leaders' and Quarterly Meetings⁶⁴⁹ and outlined the itinerants' role in avoiding schism from independently minded trustees:

It has been said 'if the preachers have not some design why are they so anxious to get the Chapels settled?' For this reason, because they are sensible of the evil consequences. They are sure, that if they are not properly secured to the use of the Methodist Societies on the Conference Plan, they may be perverted, and applied to any other use; and it will neither be in the power of the Preachers, nor of the Societies to prevent it: as the persons calling themselves Trustees can apply them to whatever use they please.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁷ Currie, R. (1968). Methodism Divided a Study in the Sociology of Ecumenicalism. London, Faber and Faber.61.

⁶⁴⁸ Riles, J. (1813). An address to the Methodist Societies: recommending the proper settlement of their chapels, so as to secure them to their original design; with a reply to the objections made against this mode of settlement. Truro, Michell and Co. 3.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.4-6.

⁶⁵⁰ Riles, J. (1813). An address to the Methodist Societies: recommending the proper settlement of their chapels, so as to secure them to their original design; with a reply to the objections made against this mode of settlement. Truro, Michell and Co. 6.

Having resisted Kilham's overtures at the last in 1797 Riles had insight into the mind-set of those who were apt to take issue with Wesleyan discipline and it is clear that in his dealings with Bourne and with other camp-meeting advocates in the Burslem Circuit, Riles was now able to reconcile those elements of Wesleyanism - admitting and excluding members; appointing stewards and leaders - that he previously had found unscriptural.

'Another Body Of New Itinerants': Another Identity for The Camp Meeting Methodists.

Following the beginning of the camp meetings in May 1807 and his expulsion from Wesleyanism the following year, Hugh Bourne developed a more itinerant preaching ministry, and he exercised this on at least one occasion for the Methodist New Connexion. On 20 September 1809 'Mr Eli Hawley, a local preacher in the New Connexion sent for Hugh Bourne, and wished him to visit Eccleshall.'⁶⁵¹ Elias Hawley (1764 -1828) had been converted in 1789 and became a class leader amongst the Burslem Wesleyans soon afterwards. A potter by trade, in 1795 he moved to begin work at Coalport and worshipped at Madeley before returning to Burslem. Hawley became a local preacher but soon afterwards the disruption at Hanley occurred and when sides were taken at Burslem, Hawley was one of those who supported the building of the New Connexion chapel and he was credited with the initiative to begin a Sunday School there in 1802. Bourne was now in a different situation from when he recorded his encounter six years earlier with Thomas Allbut, being now beyond the Wesleyan fold and no longer even having to pay lip service to its discipline, but alongside a potentially greater openness to separated Methodism it is not hard to see why he would readily warm to Hawley in particular. Like Bourne he was self-taught, having learned, with the help of his wife Margaret, how to read and in fulfilling appointments in the ten chapels which were now part of the Hanley New Connexion circuit, like Bourne he was used to long trips to

⁶⁵¹ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i.236.

preach:⁶⁵² Eccleshall, a round trip of some 34 miles from Burslem was a regular Sunday appointment for Hawley. Bourne recorded his journey there on the afternoon of Saturday 21 October in the company of Hawley, who told him a story of his time in Madeley, when Mrs Fletcher, at the time acting in the capacity of an unofficial curate to her husband's successor, successfully prayed for rain for boatmen on the Severn. The following day Bourne led a class at nine and then preached in the afternoon and evening. The visit was a positive experience and Bourne prayed 'O Lord, bless them and help them.'⁶⁵³

If Bourne's ministry at Eccleshall suggested a more open attitude towards the 'Kilhamites' than previously, it raises the question as to whether there was any possibility that the camp meeting advocates could now have sought a new home with the local New Connexion circuit. Currie noted that 'During times of agitation in Wesleyanism, the New Connexion Book Room's output increased by 25-30%, and a good deal of unofficial and anonymous pamphleteering accompanied official publications.'⁶⁵⁴ What then were the arguments made at this time by New Connexionists to attract revivalists within Wesleyanism like those at Harriseahead? When the Manchester Bandroom schism occurred in 1806⁶⁵⁵ a New Connexion pamphlet, called A New Pair of Scales, In Which Facts are Weighed, appeared. Its aim, a Wesleyan response claimed, was 'to draw the old Methodists into the New Connexion.'⁶⁵⁶ The original New Connexion pamphlet is no longer extant, but its argument, but for one point, can be reconstructed from the surviving Wesleyan rebuttal False Balances Detected...,⁶⁵⁷ written anonymously under the pen name 'Philaethes'.

⁶⁵² "People from Stoke-on-Trent, Elias Hawley b.1764 d. 1828." Retrieved 11 Aug. 2011, from http://www.thepotteries.org/people/hawley_elias.htm.

⁶⁵³ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856). i. 239.

⁶⁵⁴ Currie, R. (1968). 60.

⁶⁵⁵ See pages 115-116 above.

⁶⁵⁶ 'Philaethes'. (1806). False Balances Detected; or A Reply to a Pamphlet Entitled 'A New Pair of Scales, In Which Facts are Weighed. Manchester, S Russell. 9.

⁶⁵⁷ For what follows see Ibid, 3-9.

Firstly it was alleged that the Wesleyans wrongly prevented circuits from sending delegates to their conference. This is acknowledged by the author of False Balances Detected... but defended on a number of grounds: John Wesley had not allowed it; with 155 circuits, the cost would be prohibitive; the itinerants cared for the whole connexion unlike delegates who would be concerned only with their circuit interest thus making stationing 'become a matter of greater difficulty than ever'; all letters from circuits were 'read and fully considered' by Conference anyway, without need of delegates.

Secondly the allegation was made that any local preacher could be admitted as a travelling preacher by the 'Old Connexion' by the favour of the Superintendent. This charge was refuted by quoting the Wesleyan Conference minutes of 1797, requiring the approval of the March Quarterly Meeting for such an admission.

Thirdly a claim was made that all Wesleyan chapels came under direct control of the Conference. This allegation was particularly vigorously resisted by 'Philaethes', touching as it did upon the very contentious question of the ownership of chapels where secession to the New Connexion had taken place. Chapel ownership was not vested in Conference but in 'individuals who built them, or are settled on trustees.' Furthermore:

...[T]he conference has no power but to appoint preachers to officiate in each chapel....with respect to preachers having threatened trustees with law, I reply, that they have been advised to try to recover those chapels, which have been unjustly taken away from the connexion...the preachers by their personal exertions and influence have raised money and procured a chapel, which chapel they have vested in trustees; and afterwards those very trustees have taken that chapel from the Methodists, who built it, have turned out the preachers, and have given the place to another body of new itinerants, who have professedly a new system, and are the followers of Mr Kilham. – Where is justice!!! And wherein would the preachers act

wrong, or the people, if they were to apply to the court of equity for redress?

Fourthly a suggestion was made that as only the preachers audited the Wesleyan connexional accounts corruption was rife. This was rejected on the grounds that the financial statements were regularly published for all to see.

Fifthly a charge was made that 'the whole economy of the old connexion creates division, and leads to disputes'. In the context of the north west, the respondents reply, 'I am of the opinion that *since the Kilhamites have separated*, the Methodists are as free from contention, as any religious body of people in the land,' looked hard to defend in 1806 and was to get even less sustainable in the years to come.

Sixthly was the contention that 'Old Methodists charge the New Connexion with preaching false doctrine'. This was flatly denied.

Seventhly a charge was made that 'the Old Connexion have no redress against immoral conduct or arbitrary power exercised by a preacher; nor law to prevent him from admitting or expelling members at his pleasure.' This too was met with a strong denial.

Eighthly, the complaint was made that the Wesleyan Conference was self-elected. 'Philaethes' acknowledged that this was true but argued, (ahistorically) that the conference had begun before societies had been formed and had continued ever since.

Ninthly another charge relating to money was made, the essence of which is unclear without reference to the original New Connexion pamphlet, but which was regarded as having been covered by the respondent's answer to the fourth charge.

Tenthly the final charge offered to the Wesleyans is that the Conference made its own laws to govern the connexion and the people had no representatives involved in this process. In reply to this 'Philaethes' denied

that this was so, as in Leaders' Meetings leaders represented societies and in Quarterly Meetings leaders and stewards represented circuits at large.

False Balances Detected... is dated 16 July 1806, and was thus in circulation during 1807 and 1808 when the camp meeting movement gathered momentum. If the pamphlet is taken as representative of the kind of arguments the New Connexion were making to disaffected Wesleyans at this time, comparison with what is known of Bourne's own priorities will illustrate how his concerns compared with those of the New Connexion. The arguments against Wesleyanism fall into a number of areas. Those of financial irregularity can be seen to have no interest to Bourne: nowhere in his writings, published or unpublished, is any criticism of Wesleyan connexional finances apparent. The case that there was a lack of redress against immoral conduct or arbitrary power exercised by a Wesleyan itinerant preacher in admitting or expelling members might have held more weight with Bourne following his expulsion in 1808, but whilst he later described the decision as 'a breach of discipline'⁶⁵⁸ Bourne never went as far as to accuse John Riles or any of the other itinerants of exercising power arbitrarily.

The arguments about the lack of lay representation at Conference might also have been attractive to Bourne following the 1807 Wesleyan Conference decision to come out against camp meetings, but do not appear to have been so. His journal for the time is not extant but in his History, Bourne derided the decision not as proof of the need for institutional reform but as a case, in the words of the twenty-first article of the Book of Common Prayer, of an affirmation that 'general assemblies may err and have erred' and proof that the Wesleyans had departed 'from the line of Methodism laid down by Mr Wesley.'⁶⁵⁹ Bourne's dissatisfaction with those who comprised the Conference lay not with any inadequacy in the method of its composition but rather in the fact that 'the Minute of Conference against camp meetings, was grounded upon hearsay and report only, not one of the conference

⁶⁵⁸ Bourne, H. (1823). 24.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.16.

having seen any of those meetings.’⁶⁶⁰ The attitude of Bourne to the issue of lay representation in Wesleyanism may be best glimpsed in his journal entry for 8 July 1808, reproduced in his History, when he recorded a conversation with James Nixon at Tunstall following Bourne’s expulsion:

I said, I ought (to have had an opportunity) to have answered for myself. He said I should endeavour to come in again. I said, I had left it to the Lord. He said, I should have more privileges. I said, (as it was) I should have the privilege of doing the Lord's will. He said, if I did that I should be a happy man. Nevertheless, he thought I ought to talk with _____ about it, to prevent him from acting hastily another time. We then talked of the deep things of religion.⁶⁶¹

Bourne’s reaction to his expulsion was not, as recorded here, one of righteous anger at his lack of privileges as a lay person, and the urgency of alerting John Riles to the dangers of a similar process occurring again were not amongst ‘the deep things of religion.’

The argument advanced by the New Connexionist who wrote A New Pair of Scales which would have struck the most resonant chord with revivalists both at the Bandroom in Manchester and at Harriseahead was that of who controlled chapels, in particular the worship life therein. What more staid Wesleyans regarded as unrestrained revivalism caused numerous schisms such as the one at the Bandroom,⁶⁶² but this did not occur at Harriseahead. This was partly due to Bourne having securing the chapel he helped to build on Daniel Shubotham’s land to the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit near to its completion and his apparent willingness to continue to serve as a trustee for over twenty years following his expulsion. Rather, the key concern for Bourne was enthusiasm for open-air meeting, which he perceived as officially lacking amongst the Wesleyans. Open-air meetings were not unknown in the New Connexion: Kilham describes on his visit to Hanley in 1797 preaching ‘to large congregations in the chapels and

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.17.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid. 25.

⁶⁶² Valenze, D. M. (1985). 83-84.

outdoors.’⁶⁶³and, like its Wesleyan counterpart, the New Connexion’s Methodist Magazine... carried several letters in September and November 1802 describing the camp meetings at Cane Ridge and elsewhere in the USA.⁶⁶⁴ It is perhaps significant, however, that once Bourne began to write detailed accounts of the early camp meetings, he never named the New Connexion amongst the allegiances of the participants, whilst he noted the presence of ‘Wesleyans in abundance’ as well as Independent and Quaker Methodists. It was to these latter groups, categorised as the ‘third division’ of emerging Methodism by Dow, that Bourne was increasingly drawn. Here was to be found the revival energy that Bourne claimed was being lost once Miller had been stationed in the circuit⁶⁶⁵ and this same revival energy had resulted in some of those groups leaving the New Connexion.

In their response to Longden and Miller’s circular of 1797 the Leeds preachers refuted the idea that all division in Methodism had ended in tears up to that point:

Permit us to refer you to Macclesfield. Were not half a dozen people expelled from the Methodist society for loud-prayers about two years ago? And without the assistance of one travelling preacher from the old connexion have they not already, by the blessing of God, amounted to about four hundred?⁶⁶⁶

If this is a reference to the group of revivalists who founded a New Connexion church in Macclesfield in 1798, it would suggest that their removal from the Wesleyans pre-dated the formation of the New Connexion. If it is the same group it would also suggest a possible exaggeration for dramatic effect on behalf of the Leeds preachers, since the New Connexion group had only grown to ninety-seven members by 1801⁶⁶⁷ but then

⁶⁶³ Kilham, A., J. Grundell and R. Hall (1799). 151.

⁶⁶⁴ (1802). “Revival of religion in America”. The Methodist Magazine or Evangelical Repository. Leeds, E. Baines, for The New Connexion. 82, 432-433.

⁶⁶⁵ Bourne, H. (1842). iii. 6.

⁶⁶⁶ Fowler, J., B. Fowler, R. Oastler, T. Hannam, B. Langstaff and W. Wild (1797).

⁶⁶⁷ (1800). Minutes Of Conversations Between Preachers And Delegates, Late In Connexion With The Rev. Mr. Wesley, Held In Manchester, On The 2d, &c. Of June, 1800. Leeds, T Hannam. 8.

disappeared from records. Vickers suggested that the congregation then became Independent Methodists, since the New Connexion 'did not satisfy their zeal for revivalism, with its moods and methods swayed by the Spirit.'⁶⁶⁸ As Dolan⁶⁶⁹ observed, Vickers' source here is unclear but a split from Macclesfield Wesleyanism's Lower Eyres Society in 1802 did result in an Independent Methodist congregation,⁶⁷⁰ and members of the former New Connexion group may well have been involved. Here the visits of Lorenzo Dow during 1806 had great influence and it was their invitation to him to preach in the autumn of 1806 which had been a catalyst for the first Mow Cop Camp Meeting. By 1808, due in no small part to Dow's visits, the Macclesfield Independent Methodist church had grown to 398 members, worshipping in their own chapel.⁶⁷¹

From 1807 onwards Bourne developed a close association with a number of such Independent Methodist revivalists: some, including Peter and Hannah Phillips, attended the first 1807 Mow Cop meeting, and he in turn attended the Independent Methodist annual meetings in Macclesfield in 1807 and 1808.⁶⁷² In the period up to 1810, Bourne visited the Independent Methodist congregations at Stockton Heath and Warrington on a number of occasions⁶⁷³ and the former of these came under Bourne's influence and retained a Primitive Methodist ethos into the 1830s.⁶⁷⁴ In 1810, of the five preaching places listed on the Lancashire and Cheshire Primitive Methodist Mission - Macclesfield, Warrington, Stockton Heath, Risley, and Runcorn - all but possibly the last were 'almost certainly Independent Methodist societies which existed in the places named'⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁶⁸ Vickers, J. (1920). History of Independent Methodism, [Newton-le-Willows], Independent Methodist Bookroom. 11.

⁶⁶⁹ Dolan, J. (2005). The Independent Methodists : a History. Cambridge, James Clarke. 19.

⁶⁷⁰ Bunting, J. (18[03]). To Richard Reece, 11 June, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester .

⁶⁷¹ Vickers, J. (1920). 10.

⁶⁷² Dolan, J. (2005). 30.

⁶⁷³ See for example Bourne, H. (26 Feb. 1809-13 Oct. 1810). 30 Sept. 1809, 24 Aug. 1810, 27 Oct. 1810.

⁶⁷⁴ Dolan, J. (1989). From Barn To Chapel: The Story of Stockton Heath Independent Methodist Church (Established 1806). Stockton Heath, Stockton Heath Independent Methodist Church. 30.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid. 25.

These links put Bourne in touch with a number of estranged former Methodist New Connexionists, not least at the Independent Methodist annual meetings. As well as potentially those from Macclesfield, another such group of disaffected revivalists from Cheshire were the followers of Gamaliel Swindells (1767-1833). Swindells became a trustee and founder member of the Stockport New Connexion society, and led a revivalist class meeting in his hatter's warehouse. Once the society opened a chapel (Mount Tabor) a division opened up between poorer members of the congregation and 'rich members who were nearly always appointed the lay delegates to conference.'⁶⁷⁶ The introduction of an organ added to a sense of oppressive formality and Swindells led the revivalists away. When Lorenzo Dow visited Stockport on 21 July 1806 he described meeting with revivalists 'driven out from the Kilhamites'⁶⁷⁷ Like Bourne, Swindells attended the 1808 Independent Methodist annual meeting, by now representing a society of sixty-three members, five preachers and three meeting places,⁶⁷⁸ and went on to be acknowledged by Independent Methodism as a preacher and corresponding member for the Stockport congregation.⁶⁷⁹

New Connexion membership at the time of the first camp meeting stood at nearly 500 and it had reached 693 by 1810. In that year William Clowes was omitted from the June quarter Burslem Wesleyan plan and Clowes later claimed that at some point between then and September when his quarterly ticket was withheld 'the travelling preachers in the Methodist New Connexion urged me to preach for them.'⁶⁸⁰ In his third year of his stationing to the Hanley New Connexion circuit George Wall as their longest serving itinerant was probably the best placed to know of Clowes' considerable ability as a preacher. Clowes had preached once in one of the New Connexion chapels 'and one soul had been set at liberty'. Nevertheless

⁶⁷⁶ Peacock, S. (1833). Memorials of Mr Gamaliel Swindells. Stockport. 6.

⁶⁷⁷ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1850) . i. 123.

⁶⁷⁸ Vickers, J. (1920). 10.

⁶⁷⁹ (1813). Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of the Independent Methodists: Held at Frier's-Green Chapel, Warrington, June 7th, 1813. Manchester. 6-7; (1815). Minutes Of The Yearly Meeting Of Independent Methodists Held At Sheffield Preaching House, May 15 & 16, 1815... Sheffield. J. Crome 10.

⁶⁸⁰ Clowes, W. (1844). 83.

Clowes turned down the offer ‘from one of their official persons to join their body’ and waited for God’s direction ‘in my providential way.’⁶⁸¹ The support he received from the classes he led at Kidsgrove and Tunstall and the offer of John Smith’s kitchen to meet in were for Clowes confirmation that ‘God moves in mysterious ways, his wonders to perform.’⁶⁸² In fact Burslem Wesleyan class records suggest there seems to have been rather more support for a split from Clowes’ followers at Tunstall, where three classes ceased to meet and 113 left society between 1810 and 1811, than at Kidsgrove, where both classes and all but one of the forty-eight members listed in 1810 remained the following year.⁶⁸³

In his published Journal William Clowes recorded the final transformation of the camp meeting supporters into a distinct Christian community:

At this Quarterly Meeting, which was held February 13, 1812, we found we stood in numerical strength, twenty-three preachers, and thirty-four preaching places; and as written preachers' plans were found to be a great deal of trouble in getting up, we decided on having them printed forthwith. At this meeting a matter was decided also... which was the designating the religious body, which, under God, we had been the instruments of founding, by the name of the “Primitive Methodist Connexion” by which title or designation the Connexion is now recognised by a legal instrument, called a “Deed Poll,” enrolled in her Majesty's High Court of Chancery.

Clowes mentioned a letter, sent by Burslem Wesleyans at this time, ‘the purport of which was an invitation to return to the Connexion.’⁶⁸⁴ That he claimed the next meeting adopted the new title and only then did a discussion about the Wesleyans’ request follow at the *next* Quarter Day Meeting of the newly designated denomination is an either an indication of

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸² Ibid.86.

⁶⁸³ (1810-1811). Burslem Wesleyan Circuit Class Book.

⁶⁸⁴ Clowes, W. (1844). 98.

the lack of enthusiasm for the proposal, or possibly one of the examples of Clowes' chronological errors in his Journal. Either way, it seems that after the rejection of the free-gospelism of Independent Methodism with the decision on 26 July 1811 that both Clowes and James Crawfoot 'be given up to the work',⁶⁸⁵ the only alternative option considered by the uniting Camp-Meeting Methodists and Clowes' followers was a return to the old connexion, and that not very seriously.

Hempton has claimed that 'perhaps the most important legacy of the 'Kilhamite' episode was the recognition by the Wesleyan Connexional leadership that numerical growth was not the *supreme* object of Methodist policy.'⁶⁸⁶ This was a legacy felt perhaps keenly locally too in the Burslem Circuit and this may have been the one of the ways that the reform-minded New Connexion was to impact on the development of revivalist Primitive Methodism as a separate community. The initial crippling losses of 1797-99, and the subsequent stationing in the circuit of William E. Miller with his own reputation and experience of Kilhamite divisions, and of the previously sympathetic John Riles, gave an impetus to the desire to maintain Wesleyan order, even at the cost of losing many of those whose energy and piety had brought about growth and revival. Such revivalist energy rarely found a home in the New Connexion, and this energy was one of the reasons that Primitive Methodism was soon to dwarf the New Connexion nationally. As early as 1812 the Hanley circuit had overtaken Sheffield as the largest in the New Connexion,⁶⁸⁷ and in 1823 it was divided into Hanley and Longton circuits.⁶⁸⁸ By 1840 the total membership of the New Connexion was 20,484, of which 2,304⁶⁸⁹ were to be found in the Hanley and Longton circuits. The

⁶⁸⁵ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 89.

⁶⁸⁶ Hempton, D. (1984).73. Emphasis original.

⁶⁸⁷ (1812). Minutes of Conversations between preachers and delegates, in the Methodist New Connexion, held in Nottingham, 1812. Hanley, Albutt and Gibbs. 6.

⁶⁸⁸ (1823). Minutes of Conversations between preachers and delegates, in the Methodist New Connexion, held in Hanley, 1823. Hanley, T. Allbut .7.

⁶⁸⁹ Ward, J. (1843). The Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent ... comprising its history, statistics, civil polity, and traffic, with biographical and genealogical notices of eminent individuals;... London, W. Lewis & Son. 400.

Hanley circuit was now composed of twenty-one societies.⁶⁹⁰ In Primitive Methodist terms the closest geographically corresponding circuits were those of Tunstall and Ramsor, which according to A Nine Years Progress... had already reached a combined total of 1752 by 1833⁶⁹¹. By 1840 Primitive Methodist membership nationally stood at 73,990⁶⁹². After 1841 the division caused by John Barker caused a drop in New Connexion membership to 16,158 and whilst no societies were lost in Hanley or Longton, combined membership fell from 2466 to 1870, with only 43 losses attributed to deaths.⁶⁹³ The Tunstall New Connexion church, only opened in December 1821, was especially badly hit by street preaching from Barker and, by 1842, a Barkerite school was 'in full vigour.'⁶⁹⁴ In Burslem, the New Connexion congregation had built a new chapel in 1824 and in 1842 the Salt Box became home to a growing Primitive Methodist congregation.⁶⁹⁵ By 1844 when Hugh Bourne in his autobiographical manuscript finally acknowledged the role of the New Connexion in the perilous state of the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit into which the Harriseashead revival burst some forty years previously, he could do so in the knowledge that his legacy had already long since outgrown that of Alexander Kilham.

'The Dow Factor': Lorenzo's Continuing Influence

Lorenzo Dow's personal effect on Bourne and on the emergence of Primitive Methodism was significant and continued for some years after his departure and the Wesleyan Conference decisions. In a now-damaged journal entry from 6 July 1808, Bourne wrote of a preaching engagement where 'I put to the people a dream from journal of Lorenzo Dow'⁶⁹⁶ and later that month he recorded, out of a handbill printed by Dow in Dublin, 'about

⁶⁹⁰ Young, J. (1903). 49.

⁶⁹¹ (n.d.). A Nine Years Progress... 2.

⁶⁹² Petty, J. (1860). 323.

⁶⁹³ (1841). Minutes of conversations between preachers and delegates in the Methodist New Connexion. held in Halifax, 1841. Halifax, J. Hartley. 8.

⁶⁹⁴ Young, J. (1903). 107.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁶ Bourne, H. (2 Jul. 1808-7 Dec. 1808).4.

the conversion of a negro' with an intention to publish it.⁶⁹⁷ During the formative years of the movement Dow appeared prominently in visions, which were most frequent during 1810-1811 but seem to have died out after this. Often experienced by women and children⁶⁹⁸ these visions usually took the form of a ladder upon which the leaders of the new movement were arranged in order of precedence, and Dow was always to be found in second place, after Jesus, as Head of the Church.⁶⁹⁹ Wilkinson noted the significance of this in that 'an examination of these visionary experiences indicates the general estimate of those who touched the spiritual ministrations of these men.'⁷⁰⁰ Lorenzo Dow, Thomas Knight told Bourne in August 1809, 'had preached from the tree of life.'⁷⁰¹

One of Bourne's purchases from Dow in 1807, A Collection of Spiritual Songs, was to be the basis for the hymnody of the emerging Primitive Methodist community, by virtue of the inclusion of twenty two of Dow's twenty three hymns into Bourne's first collection of 1809, General Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp Meetings, and Revivals...⁷⁰² This was revised and enlarged up to 1823 on many occasions, but there is some suggestion that Dow's collection was still preferred by some. H. B Kendall recalled the negative impact Bourne's 1812 attempt to enlarge the collection had on John Benton (1783-1856), an early Primitive Methodist preacher and convert from Dow's 1806 visit to Macclesfield:

...Benton, having taken some of his appointments on the current plan, went to Warrington and got printed one thousand copies of Lorenzo Dow's "Spiritual Songs"... Benton fell back on Dow's small hymn book because he was dissatisfied with the large hymn book of 1812 which Hugh Bourne had just issued. He considered" it was too much

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.21.

⁶⁹⁸ For more detail see Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 79.

⁶⁹⁹ See for example Bourne, H. (26 Feb.1809-13 Oct. 1810). 1 Jun. 1810.

⁷⁰⁰ Wilkinson, J. T. (1952). 79.

⁷⁰¹ (26 Feb.1809-13 Oct. 1810). 16 Aug. 1809.

⁷⁰² Bourne, H. (1809). A General Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp Meetings and Revivals, selected by Hugh Bourne.. Newcastle-under-Lyme, Printed at the office of C. Chester.

like the Methodist hymn book,” too big, too expensive, and but ill adapted for mission purposes. On the other hand, Dow's book, as adapted by Benton, took well with the people, “especially when the hymns were sung to the tunes that L. Dow brought from America.” Several editions of Benton's hymn book were issued during the next few years, the last being printed at Leicester in 1818.⁷⁰³

In that year Dow returned to England to visit many of the Primitive Methodist causes which his first visit had indirectly inspired. Parkes suggested that Bourne's 1823 History may have marginalised Dow due to ‘a touch of old fashion jealousy’⁷⁰⁴ and there may be a grain of truth in this stemming from the American's second visit. Arriving on 20 June, Dow had quickly linked up with now-established Primitive Methodist congregations in Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire.⁷⁰⁵ Once Bourne heard on 6 July in a letter from ‘Mr Eaton’⁷⁰⁶ that Dow was in England he met with him at Warrington the following day. After an evening meeting with Dow at Stockton Heath, Bourne recorded, ‘I had a talk with him but not satisfactory.’⁷⁰⁷ Bourne then repeated his dissatisfaction in further conversation with Dow over the next few days before coming ‘to a better understanding with him’ on 9 July.⁷⁰⁸ Walford suggested that Dow's friendship with Dorothy Ripley may have been the cause of Bourne's dissatisfaction.⁷⁰⁹ Ripley (1767-1831) was born in Whitby, Yorkshire but discerned a similar call to Dow to itinerant evangelism which she fulfilled

⁷⁰³ Kendall, H. B. (1912). “One Hundred Years Ago: Two Hymn books of 1812” The Aldersgate Primitive Methodist magazine for the year of Our Lord 1912. London, W.A. Hammond, Primitive Methodist Publishing House. 271.

⁷⁰⁴ Parkes, W. (2002). “Lorenzo Dow 1777-1834” Wesley Papers: Papers Presented to The Wesley Fellowship Conference in 2000 P. Taylor. Ilkeston, Moorleys. 85.

⁷⁰⁵ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i. 170-173.

⁷⁰⁶ Bourne, H. (21 Nov. 1817-26 Oct. 1818). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 80.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid. 81

⁷⁰⁹ Walford, J. and W. Antliff (1856)., 44.

with at least eight visits to the U.S.⁷¹⁰ Dow had met Ripley on several of her visits, in Albany, New York, and Philadelphia, and recognised in her a kindred spirit.⁷¹¹ Ripley's justification for her unaffiliated itinerant ministry, in which God's leading needed no mediating by any ecclesiastical body, could easily have been written by Dow:

As I am not a member of any community, no society can answer for my irregular conduct, neither do I wish to apologize to the world for my procedure; as I believe the Lord is my Shepherd, and Bishop of my soul.⁷¹²

Walford felt Bourne may have been concerned at the propriety of their travelling together on Dow's second English visit, but Bourne's journal recorded his first encounter with Dow and Ripley together at Nottingham on 5 September and his comment 'This is the first time I ever saw her'⁷¹³ strongly suggests that she was not yet travelling with Dow when Bourne expressed dissatisfaction with him several months earlier. Dow told a thrilling tale of how Ripley rescued him from three cutthroats intent on robbing him in a darkened inn in 'a dreary moor' between Manchester and Sheffield by arriving in the nick of time with a post-chaise and elsewhere describes their 'holding meetings in testimony, for several hundred miles'.⁷¹⁴ Clowes mentioned the two of them being arrested at one point in their travels 'at the same time.'⁷¹⁵ This was in Beverley, Yorkshire, 'at the close of 1818.'⁷¹⁶ All of this suggests that Ripley met up with Dow after Bourne's initial meeting with him in July and then accompanied him on his travels in the North and Midlands in late 1818. Herod mentioned the impression left

⁷¹⁰ Warner, L. C. (2007). Saving women : Retrieving evangelistic theology and practice. Waco, Tex., Baylor University Press.14.

⁷¹¹ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.150,189.

⁷¹² Ripley, D. (1819). The Bank of Faith and Works United. Philadelphia, Printed for the authoress, by J. H. Cunningham.4..

⁷¹³ Bourne, H. (21 Nov. 1817-26 Oct. 1818). 5 September 1818.

⁷¹⁴ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854).i.189.

⁷¹⁵ Clowes, W. (1844). 191.

⁷¹⁶ Denton, M. (1895). "A Retrospective" The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1895. London, T.Mitchell. 852.

on him by seeing the three of them together at a chapel opening at Bingham on 14 September 1818, where in response to Dow's pamphlet 'upon the happiness of a married life...some of the views it contained were now opposed by Mr H. Bourne.'⁷¹⁷ Reflections on the Important Subject of Matrimony⁷¹⁸ had been published in Liverpool soon after Dow's arrival there and this seems the probable cause of Bourne's dissatisfaction with Dow. Dow did not leave England until the end of March or the beginning of April 1819⁷¹⁹ and so the disagreement may have been still relatively fresh on Bourne's mind when he began writing his History in October following the decision of the Preparatory Meeting of August 1819.⁷²⁰ Bourne recorded on 22 October 1819 writing to Dow in America 'by James Bourne's direction' which may well have been about supplies of Dow's publications for the book room, although presumably not copies of Reflections on the Important Subject of Matrimony!

Whatever his reasons, in making himself the centre of a community-forming narrative in his 1823 History Bourne placed at the margins a number of groups or individuals who might arguably be worthy of closer attention and Dow featured no worse than others in this regard. Following its publication, the American edition of Bourne's History was included in Dow's own collected works, with an endnote from him indicating that although he did not know the present strength of the connexion, he was aware of the arrival in 1829 of Primitive Methodist missionaries in New York.⁷²¹ The note was dated 1833 and suggested that Dow had little contact with Bourne or other British Primitive Methodists by this point.

By 1860 Dow had been dead for sixteen years and in terms of the on-going legacy of progress John Petty was seeking to record in his History, Dow's influence in the creation and continuance of Primitive Methodism was

⁷¹⁷ Herod, G. (1855). 187.

⁷¹⁸ Dow, L. (1808). Reflections on the Important Subject of Matrimony. Liverpool, {pub. unknown}.

⁷¹⁹ Herod, G. (1855). 198.

⁷²⁰ Bourne, H. (26 Sept. 1819-5 Apr. 1820). Journal. Hugh Bourne Collection, John Rylands Library, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, Manchester. 12 Oct. 1819.

⁷²¹ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). ii. 291.

given no more coverage than was afforded by Bourne some thirty years earlier. This might well have been different if there had still been tangible links to his visits, if for example Dow had been directly responsible for formation of prominent Primitive Methodist societies as was the case in Independent Methodism with the congregations at Stockton Heath and Risley.⁷²² Vickers even went as far as to describe Dow as being ‘an influencing force for unity’⁷²³ amongst Independent Methodist churches during his 1805-1807 visit, perhaps the only time such an epitaph has been attached to Dow. A historic connection to one of the District powerbases whose Publishing Committees were scrutinising Petty’s work might have afforded Dow more prominence. Instead, Petty gave over two pages in his History to Wesleyan missionary Joshua Marsden’s account of a camp meeting near New York taken from his Narrative of a Mission to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick.⁷²⁴ Petty made clear later on in the book that it was not in fact until 1816 that Bourne read Marsden’s account, as a prompt to ‘the propriety of restoring regular praying services to the camp-meetings.’⁷²⁵ Nevertheless its insertion in the narrative in 1806 as an example of the genre of camp meeting account Bourne and others had been reading in the Methodist Magazine misleadingly suggests Marsden’s influence on Bourne at this time.

What Petty did go on to make clear was the effect both Dow’s preaching and the pamphlets he had brought with him had on Bourne *personally* in the lead up to the first camp meeting in May 1807.⁷²⁶ He also credited Dow with the introduction of Dr Paul Johnson, an acquaintance of Dow’s from Ireland and a speaker at the first camp meeting.⁷²⁷ Neither Petty nor Bourne made mention of Dow’s second visit to England; Kent suggested that to do so would have diminished Bourne’s role in the narrative of Primitive Methodist origins at a key time, since Dow’s attendance at camp

⁷²² Mountford, A., G. Hunter and J. Vickers (1905).16-20. Both churches continue to the present day.

⁷²³ Vickers, J. (1920). 8.

⁷²⁴ Petty, J. (1860). 12-13.

⁷²⁵ Ibid. 51.

⁷²⁶ Ibid. 14.

⁷²⁷ Ibid.31.

meetings during 1818 may well have been the catalyst for Bourne's renewed emphasis on prayer at the meetings, rather than his reading of Marsden.⁷²⁸ Kent may well be right in this; however his claim that that Dow was 'forgotten...after 1850'⁷²⁹ due to the changing nature of Primitive Methodism from a revival movement to an established denomination is less plausible since the fullest account of Dow's contribution to Primitive Methodist origins came in 1855 in George Herod's Biographical Sketches... Unlike Petty, Herod was not seeking to write a record of progress to which those who featured in the narrative must contribute and so he was able to include those, like James Crawfoot, whose initial impact had been arguably downplayed by Bourne and Petty. A fruit of the flourishing of Primitive Methodist biographical writing that followed Bourne's death, Herod's volume gave the first 197 of its 493 pages over to a biography of Dow, in addition to including Dow's collection of Camp Meeting songs, published in Liverpool in 1806, and later adapted by Bourne.⁷³⁰ Herod made extensive use of Dow's journals and other publications in the account of his life and concluded that Dow's significance in the emergence of Primitive Methodism lay in four areas: The prompting and publicity for the first English camp meeting from his 1805-1807 visit; the apologia and method offered by the pamphlets he sold to Bourne; his connection to Dr Paul Johnson of Dublin who attended the first Mow Cop meeting; and his circulation of the 1806 song book which was used as a source for hymns in Bourne's own hymnal.⁷³¹ Amongst modern commentators, Werner concurred with this assessment.⁷³² As Kendall was to do half a century later, Herod published the chapters of his book separately in instalments before the appearance of the full volumes, and the review of the sketch on Dow was to bring fulsome tribute to Herod and also to his subject in the Primitive Methodist Magazine:

Lorenzo Dow ...was eccentric in many things, and strongly tintured with enthusiasm; but was withal a man of considerable shrewdness

⁷²⁸ Kent, J. (1978). 5-6.

⁷²⁹ Ibid. 32.

⁷³⁰ Herod, G. (1855). 18-240.

⁷³¹ Ibid. 212-215.

⁷³² Werner, J. S. (1984).47.

and of eminent piety. We have here a record of labours and success which have been seldom equalled...His visit to England...exerted considerable influence in favour of camp-meetings. This is duly acknowledged by Mr. Hugh Bourne, in his "History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion," and is dwelt upon more at large by Mr. Herod towards the conclusion of this work. Notwithstanding L. Dow's eccentricities and enthusiasm, which we regard as drawbacks, the work is calculated to do much good, and therefore has our commendation.⁷³³

In 1863 the editor of the magazine William Antliff wrote the preface and notes and made some alterations for a re-publication of Dow's Nuggets of Golden Truth; or, Reflections on the Love of God, on Predestination, Deism, and Atheism, and on Christian Experience.⁷³⁴ This had originally appeared in the U.S. in 1805⁷³⁵ and was most commonly known as 'The Chain of Lorenzo' after its central polemic that Calvinism was joined to atheism by a chain of five links, two hooks and a swivel. Described by Sellers as Dow's 'first controversial masterpiece'⁷³⁶ like most of Dow's publications it reflected Dow's very individualistic view of Christian conscience, unfettered by any ecclesiological concerns. It was republished in many forms during the first half of the nineteenth century, including at one point by Bourne:⁷³⁷ this may have been the subject of Bourne's seemingly publishing-related letter to Dow in October 1819. It's republishing by the Primitive Methodist Connexion some thirty years after his death suggested that Dow's memory and influence had not yet entirely faded, and editions in Englesea Brook's Library Collection show it to have still been in print at the

⁷³³ (1855). "Review of 'A Biographical Sketch of Lorenzo Dow. By GEORGE HEROD, Minister of the Gospel'" The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1855. London, T. King. 104.

⁷³⁴ Dow, L. and W. Antliff (1863). Nuggets of Golden Truth, or reflections on the love of God, on predestination, Deism and Atheism, etc. With preface ... by W. Antliff. London, R. Davies.

⁷³⁵ Dow, L. (1805). The Chain of Lorenzo, or, His farewell to Georgia. Philadelphia, Wm. Manning.

⁷³⁶ Sellers, C. C. (1928). 269.

⁷³⁷ (1868). "Review of 'Nuggets of Golden Truth: or Reflection on the Love of God...'". The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1868. London, W. Lister. 443. An edition in the Englesea Brook Library Collection is undated but was published by James Bourne (i.e. prior to 1838).

Bookroom in 1874.⁷³⁸ Dow continued to make occasional but laudatory appearances in the pages of the Primitive Methodist Magazine in other people's stories in the period that followed. For example, in a biographical article of The Rev. Joseph Coulson in 1863, Dow was recalled as 'that extraordinary minister of God...one of the originators of the American Camp-Meetings, and whose preaching, writings, remarkable hymns, and lively tunes, were of so much service to The Rev. Hugh Bourne at the beginning of Primitive Methodism.'⁷³⁹

In 1882 The Primitive Methodist Magazine carried a biography of Dow⁷⁴⁰, which alongside Herod's sketch, ranked as the most comprehensive account of his life available to Primitive Methodists during the life time of the Connexion before the publication of Kendall's magnum opus. It was attributed to 'G.W.' and although the writer cannot be identified with certainty, a strong contender is The Rev. George Warner (1829-1899) who served as the first connexionally appointed evangelist from 1874-1886 and who was a strong advocate of the Holiness movement.⁷⁴¹ The account contains biographical detail about Dow's origins, his ministry in America and a character sketch, as well as how his visit in 1807 'kindled the desire for a day's praying upon Mow Hill.'⁷⁴² Dow's later visit in 1818 to Bingham with Dorothy Ripley is also mentioned in some detail.

In 1883 Dow's contribution to early Primitive Methodist Hymnology was acknowledged by Thomas Bateman in an article in the Primitive Methodist Magazine praising his hymns which were 'well adapted to aid missionary effort...[and] wonderfully did they take in many instances,

⁷³⁸ Dow, L. and W. Antliff (1874). Nuggets of Golden Truth, or reflections on the love of God, on predestination, Deism and Atheism, etc. With preface ... by W. Antliff. London, Geo.Lamb.

⁷³⁹ 'A Member of the Family' (1863). "A Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Coulson." The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1863. London, R. Davies. 8.

⁷⁴⁰ G.W. (1882). "Lorenzo Dow" The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1882. London, R. Fenwick. 154-159.

⁷⁴¹ Parkes, W. (2009). "George Warner" Historical Dictionary of the Holiness Movement. W. Kostlevy. Lanham, Md., Scarecrow Press. 305-306.

⁷⁴² G.W. (1882).158.

producing a good effect.’⁷⁴³ Dow continued to be mentioned in passing in biographies of early Primitive Methodist figures⁷⁴⁴ and in sketches of localities,⁷⁴⁵ and from a later generation of Primitive Methodist preachers, Thomas Russell testified to Dow’s enduring influence in his 1869 autobiography:

Dr Clarke said “the reading of the life of David Brainerd made me a missionary” and I may remark, the reading of our Magazines and Lorenzo Dow’s Journals had the like effect on me ⁷⁴⁶

It was to be in the centenary celebrations of 1907-1910 that Dow’s role was to receive a fuller re-evaluation.

It was the presence and writings and personal influence of Lorenzo Dow...surely one of the strangest earthen vessels that ever God condescended to use and honour, that the Camp Meeting movement was precipitated.⁷⁴⁷

For the centenary celebrations of 1907-1910, Lorenzo Dow was in many ways an ideal subject, due to the nature of his wild, untamed life: an appealing story to tell in a time of romantic nostalgia. Both Ritson and Kendall in their popular treatments describe Dow as a ‘comet’, travelling from afar to set ablaze the revivalists desire for a camp meeting.⁷⁴⁸ Ritson recognised Dow as ‘a romance in himself’ and, beginning with his conversion, told his story in some detail.⁷⁴⁹ He emphasized the role of ‘stories narrated of the American Camp Meetings’ in Dow’s preaching as well as the pamphlets

⁷⁴³ Bateman, T. (1883). “Reminiscences”. The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1883. London, R. Fenwick. 542.

⁷⁴⁴ For example, (1883). “Mrs Mary Ward”. The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1883. London, R. Fenwick. 690.

⁷⁴⁵ For example, Birchenough, A. A. (1888). “Congleton: Its Historical and Ecclesiastical Associations” The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1888. London, Joseph Toulson. 156; ‘Westmeiar’ (1893). ”Bygone Nottingham Conferences and Their Doings” The Primitive Methodist Magazine for the Year of Our Lord 1893. London, J.B. Knapp. 468.

⁷⁴⁶ Russell, T. (1869). Record of Events in Primitive Methodism. London, William Lister. iv.

⁷⁴⁷ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i.58.

⁷⁴⁸ Ritson, J. (1910). 56; Kendall, H. B. (n.d. [c.1907]). 10.

⁷⁴⁹ Ritson, J. (1910). 56-58.

purchased by Bourne, in convincing him 'that Camp Meetings ought to be employed in England for the saving of the masses.'⁷⁵⁰

In his more measured way, H B Kendall gave Dow a central place in the narrative in his two-volume treatment. In doing so Kendall acknowledged that accounts of Primitive Methodist origins which followed Bourne had underplayed Dow's influence:

We need not nervously set about trying to eliminate the Dow factor from the origin of the English Camp Meetings, as though the admission of any indebtedness to him would detract from the originality of Bourne.⁷⁵¹

Kendall's remarks about Dow's influence could be read as a critique of Bourne's single-mindedness in his History:

There are few perfectly original things- in this world and, as Dr. Clifford says: " It is little, vain-glorious souls who are afraid of citing the works of others, lest somebody should presume to think they themselves are not absolutely original." Really capable minds, instead of shrinking from quotation, delight in it. In this sense, Bourne himself and the first and succeeding camp meetings were quotations.⁷⁵²

Kendall drew parallels between Dow's unfettered ministry and Bourne's own innovation:

'... [A] certain Deist, fresh from a discussion with him, remarked "that he had just seen Lorenzo Dow's brother." There was a measure of truth...like the attaching of quotation marks to a human life.'⁷⁵³

In acknowledging this, Kendall was continuing the process of the broadening of the Primitive Methodist story of origins to give a sharper focus to some individuals whom Bourne had kept at the margins during his life time but

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid. 58.

⁷⁵¹ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i.58.

⁷⁵² Ibid.

⁷⁵³ Ibid. 59.

who received more attention after his death, although not from the cautious and under-pressure Petty. He did not, however, believe that Dow's influence should be over emphasized but acknowledged as one amongst many important factors: 'We acknowledge our debt, though it is not a large one, and we have heavier liabilities elsewhere. Still it is a debt of honour and not of dishonour.'⁷⁵⁴

Following the Centenary, Dow's appearances in Primitive Methodist historiography often lapsed into conjecture and half repeated legend: Barber opined that when preaching at Harriseahead Dow 'gave a glowing account of his own experience of Camp Meetings in America,'⁷⁵⁵ being more effusive than any nineteenth century writer, including Bourne, had been prepared to be. Wilkes and Lovatt devoted a chapter to Dow, written by Wilkes, which contained a number of factual errors, including confusing Quaker Methodists with Quakers at Warrington.⁷⁵⁶ Also repeated was the allegation that Bourne's dispute with Dow on this visit was due to the presence of Dorothy Ripley.⁷⁵⁷ In this chapter as much as anywhere in Wilkes and Lovatt's book, their habit of repeating, sometime verbatim, the claims of others such as Kendall and Ritson without acknowledgement is glaring. Amongst later writers, Frank Baker in his popular volume 'A Charge to Keep' claimed that Dow 'was asked to organise a camp meeting' and that it was under his 'guidance' that the first English meeting of 31 May 1807 occurred,⁷⁵⁸ thus making the error that Kendall some fifty years earlier warned of, in giving Lorenzo too much prominence. Even though the English camp meeting movement in fact owed nothing to Dow's organisation, this error is still routinely repeated today when claims are made such as 'The Primitive

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ Barber, B. A. (1932).17.

⁷⁵⁶ Wilkes, A. and J. Lovatt (1942). 12.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁸ Baker, F. (1947). A Charge to Keep : An Introduction to the People called Methodists. London, Epworth Press.41.

Methodists came out of a camp meeting in England, led by the American Methodist Evangelist Lorenzo Dow.’⁷⁵⁹

Conclusion

The period following the Wesleyan prohibition of camp meetings at both local and Connexional level was a polarising one in the Burslem circuit. Hugh Bourne’s continuing holding of them was only one of the breaches of circuit discipline which got him expelled in June 1808 but his determination to continue doing so was to be portrayed by later writers as a decisive turning point in the narrative which left Superintendent John Riles in opposition, Daniel Shubotham left behind, firstly in indecision and then in disapproval, and William Clowes awkwardly side-lined until he could safely be placed by Bourne’s side again at the Camp Meeting at Ramsor on 4 September 1808. In this, Bourne’s later writings have been used selectively and his claims of Shubotham’s backsliding accepted whilst his later allegations about Clowes’ initial opposition are ignored.

A fuller retelling of the story of this period recognises both John Riles’ firm upholding of Wesleyan discipline and his ability to understand the lure of more lay-participatory forms of Methodism, based upon his own earlier flirtation with the ‘Kilhamite’ agenda. This combination of attributes may well have aided his retention within the Burslem Circuit of some of those attracted by the lay-led camp meeting movement in 1807. It is also necessary to recognise that without Bourne’s persistence Clowes’ opposition to camp meetings in late 1807–early 1808 could well have led him to remain with Shubotham within Burslem Wesleyanism. The continuing journey together of Bourne, Clowes and Shubotham in the period 1807-1810, must also be acknowledged, before Clowes’ expulsion finally caused the three men’s paths finally to diverge. At this point Shubotham continued to serve the Harriseahead Wesleyan Class as its leader until his death four years later.

⁷⁵⁹ Balmer, R. H. (2002). “The Primitive Methodist Church, USA”. The Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism. Louisville, KY., Westminster John Knox Press.468.

The final corrective that needs to be offered to the creation narrative of Primitive Methodism after 31 May 1807 is that of the role of Lorenzo Dow, whose influence has either been wildly overstated in the events of that day, or thought to have ended with his embarkation from Liverpool. His publications, always the most influential aspect of his English visit, continued to influence Primitive Methodists throughout much of the nineteenth century, and although he died in 1834, he was happily able to experience first-hand the results of his influence on those who were responsible for Primitive Methodism's creation. The 1807 Wesleyan Conference's disavowal of the unlicensed American held firm in almost all places for his final visit to England in 1818 when Dow recorded only three visits to Wesleyan preaching houses. At Bulwell in Nottinghamshire, a crowd sheltered from the rain to hear him preach, and a watchnight service was conducted at Waltham Abbey.⁷⁶⁰ The third occasion was 'a loan to another society, for a charity sermon, for a Sunday School'⁷⁶¹. On Sunday 15 August 1818, preaching in aid of the local Primitive Methodist Sunday School, Lorenzo Dow once again climbed into the pulpit of Tunstall Wesleyan Chapel,⁷⁶² this time to address the representatives of a growing community who had no separate existence when he had preached there eleven years previously but which his 'presence and writings and personal influence'⁷⁶³ had played no small role in creating.

⁷⁶⁰ Dow, L., P. Dow and J. D. D. Dowling (1854). i.172.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² The handbill for the occasion is reproduced in Kendall, H. B. ([1906]).i. 60.

⁷⁶³ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i.58.

-Conclusion-

'Multiplex Quotations':

Examples and Patterns That Helped Create Primitive Methodism.

Men and movements are very largely but multiplex quotations from other men and other movements, and the function of biography, and yet more the function of history, is to discover such quotations and trace them to their source.⁷⁶⁴

In re-examining a number of aspects of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative, what difference if any does it make to the task of faithfully telling the story today? If silences have been broken through a revisiting of source materials and published and unpublished retellings of the story during the denomination's lifetime, what do the resulting voices add to our understanding of the 'multiplex quotations' that shaped the earliest period of Primitive Methodism's story of origins? In concluding remarks it will be argued whilst the camp meeting at Mow Cop on 31 May 1807 was rightly the most cherished 'paradigmatic event that called the community into being' in the memory of Primitive Methodism, if a paradigm is defined as 'an example or pattern'⁷⁶⁵ other aspects of the story deserve to be recognised as paradigmatic in the emergence of Primitive Methodism.

'Providentially In The Work Set On Foot': The Significance of Shubotham's Conversion.

Bourne was quite clear in a number of his writings that the conversion of Daniel Shubotham was 'the starting place'⁷⁶⁶ for the camp meeting movement. Daniel's conversion as the first fruit of Bourne's ministry, along with his 'prophetic' words of 1801 are the focus of this

⁷⁶⁴ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]).i. 58.

⁷⁶⁵ (1987). "Paradigm". The Little Oxford Dictionary. J. Swannell.(Ed.) Oxford, Oxford University Press. 387.

⁷⁶⁶ [Bourne, H.] (1836). 225.

earliest period for Petty,⁷⁶⁷ Kendall,⁷⁶⁸ Ritson⁷⁶⁹ and Barber,⁷⁷⁰ whilst for Herod, only the latter was worth mentioning.⁷⁷¹ Shubotham's conversion was still being lauded as an example of Bourne's 'conversational preaching' in 1929,⁷⁷² yet its wider implications for the revival and for Bourne's spiritual life need to be re-examined.

Whilst there should be no denying the key role of Bourne's witness in Shubotham's coming to faith, as Bourne himself acknowledged, Shubotham's own contemplation of God and a vision of Christ also played important parts in a conversion experience that in modern missiological parlance would be described as a process rather than an instant. Further, Bourne acknowledged in 1818 a stronger causal relationship between Shubotham's conversion and the breaking out of a revival of Christianity in Harriseahead than was allowed by later historians, who quickly tended to assemble the triad of Shubotham, Bayley and Bourne as the cause⁷⁷³ giving much less attention to the pastoral direction that Shubotham as evangelist, class leader and confidant of Bourne gave the nascent revival in Harriseahead, than Bourne had done in 1818.

For Bourne, it was Shubotham's 'free open profession of religion, speaking of it with boldness and confidence,'⁷⁷⁴ that both inspired him and Bayley and that won over a number of the early converts amongst the colliers. Equally, later claims such as that of Ritson that '[p]artly owing to his experience and his reputation for book learning, Hugh Bourne was looked up to as a leader'⁷⁷⁵ do not reflect Bourne's own perceptions of the

⁷⁶⁷ Petty, J. (1860). 11.

⁷⁶⁸ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i. 25-27; 32-33.

⁷⁶⁹ Ritson, J. (1910). 21-22; 56.

⁷⁷⁰ Barber, B. A. (1932). 4-6.

⁷⁷¹ Herod, G. (1855). 452. The importance attached by Herod to Shubotham's contribution can be gauged by "An Analytical Index to the Sketches" in the rear of the book (489-493) where his name does not appear at all.

⁷⁷² 'H.J.T'. (1929). 711.

⁷⁷³ See for example Petty, J. (1860). 11; Ritson, J. (1910). 22.

⁷⁷⁴ [Bourne, H.] (1834). ii. 2.

⁷⁷⁵ Ritson, J. (1910). 26.

early stages of the revival where ‘all applied to Daniel... [a]nd in case they were overtaken in a fault they laid it open to Daniel and he advised with them. They hardly ever attempted to hide a fault’.⁷⁷⁶ It was this standing as a class leader that gave gravitas to Shubotham’s oft-quoted words of 1801 about ‘a day’s praying on Mow’ and in sharing his experience of class leading with Bourne and Bayley with whom ‘he usually consulted on these things’⁷⁷⁷ he was probably influential in Bourne’s own class leading which he increasingly exercised unofficially away from Harriseahead.

Bourne made it clear too that he was amongst those who sought Daniel’s guidance: One of Bourne’s character traits most commonly remarked on posthumously was that ‘[h]e was a man of strong faith and prayer’⁷⁷⁸ and this does indeed shine through the reading of his journals at any period of his life. The example and pattern for that were arguably too a result of Shubotham’s conversion: even after the events of 1807 had led them to different conclusions as to the right course of action the two men met for prayer and counsel right up to the last ‘wonderful time in prayer in the Chapel’⁷⁷⁹ the two men enjoyed together in October 1810. Shubotham’s conversion was the starting place for Primitive Methodism in the shaping of Bourne’s own spirituality, confidence and leadership and gauged by the accounts of those early years of revival given by Bourne in his autobiographical MSS of 1844-1851, the continuing significance of Shubotham’s conversion and what followed from it for Bourne’s own spiritual life was one of the ‘multiplex quotations’ which influenced Bourne until his dying day.

‘A Profane Neighbourhood:’ The Context of the Revival

In his 1823 *History*, Hugh Bourne was to establish the idea that the revival he led sprang up to fill a spiritual vacuum:

⁷⁷⁶ [Bourne, H.] (1836). 224.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Antliff, W. (1872). 412.

⁷⁷⁹ Bourne, H. (14 Oct. 1810-24 Oct. 1813). 17 Oct. 1810.

Harresehead [sic.] had no means of grace, and the inhabitants, chiefly colliers, appeared to be entirely destitute of religion, and much addicted to ungodliness; it was indeed reckoned a profane neighbourhood above most others.⁷⁸⁰

Whilst occasional encounters with New Connexion preachers received derogatory mention in Bourne's extant 1803-1804 journals, no comment in the History was offered on the state of the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit which served this 'profane neighbourhood', nor any mention made of the divisions within Burslem Wesleyanism at the time of the revival's commencement. Bourne reproduced Wesleyan membership figures for the period in published writings⁷⁸¹ in 1836 and 1842 without acknowledging the 'Kilhamite' division as being a possible cause. At the same time in 1842 he tacitly acknowledged New Connexion expansionism when hinting at an approach from them in the early days of the revival.⁷⁸² It was only in his first unpublished autobiographical manuscript of 1844, that he was to acknowledge their role in Wesleyan weakness,⁷⁸³ and in this as in much else, these writings were ignored as a source by later writers. For Petty, the lack of Wesleyan presence in Harriseahead provided an opportunity to remember Bourne as chief amongst those who 'embodied or exemplified the meaning of community and who thereby serve as models for life in the present'⁷⁸⁴ in 1860:

In this rough locality, the inhabitants of which were mostly uncultivated in their manners, and unlovely in their moral character, Mr. Bourne found a suitable sphere for the useful exercises of his gifts and graces. He looked around him with a heavy heart, and sighed over the godless state of the people ... He was however, not only enabled to retain his piety, but was also the means under God of bringing a considerable portion of the territory under Scriptural cultivation.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸⁰ Bourne, H. (1823).5.

⁷⁸¹ See page 55 above.

⁷⁸² Bourne, H. (1842). 9.

⁷⁸³ Bourne, H. (n.d) [1845]. 15.

⁷⁸⁴ Franke, J. R. (2005). 177.

⁷⁸⁵ Petty, J. (1860).10.

Others like Herod⁷⁸⁶ took a similar view though both Kendall⁷⁸⁷ and Ritson⁷⁸⁸ to their credit, acknowledged that Harriseahead was no worse than other similar neighbourhoods at this time, whilst on the eve of Methodist Union Barber did not feel the spiritual state of the area merited a mention. What is consistent in all of the accounts is an absence of any reflection on why Wesleyanism there and elsewhere in the locale had failed to make an impact, as Bourne had offered in 1844.

To give voice to the influence of the Methodist New Connexion as one of the ‘multiplex quotations’ about which Primitive Methodist historiography has been silent recognises firstly its contribution to the pattern of freedom in which Bourne was able to operate without effective sanction from Wesleyan authorities until the stationing of W.E. Miller in 1805. The revival broke out at Harriseahead at a time when Burslem Wesleyanism was pre-occupied with the struggle to hold on to a declining membership, having lost over 10% of its membership in three years, amidst the burgeoning of New Connexion societies in the area. Little wonder, then, that for its earliest formative years the revival was ‘unattached, or but slenderly attached, to the official Methodism of the locality.’⁷⁸⁹ This lack of strong affiliation left space for Bourne to exercise a ministry which was never to be harnessed to Wesleyan discipline, even after the establishment of the Harriseahead chapel on the Burslem plan from 1803. The importance of the New Connexion was not in offering an alternative example or pattern for the revivalists - Bourne successfully urged Shubotham to resist an overture from the New Connexion during this period - but rather to cause Burslem Wesleyans to be less attentive to the irregularities of the revival in its earliest stages than they perhaps might have been. Miller’s stationing in 1805, given his background of strong opposition to the New Connexion, may be seen as a response to their growth in the area, and it also had the effect of securing the Harriseahead society more closely to the circuit, through the regularising of

⁷⁸⁶ Herod, G. (1855). 451-452.

⁷⁸⁷ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i. 20-21

⁷⁸⁸ Ritson, J. (1910). 20

⁷⁸⁹ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]).i. 31.

the revival in the class leadership of Shubotham. The earlier 'Kilhamite' sympathies of John Riles, who joined Miller as superintendent the following year, seem likely to have further helped contain the division that the camp meetings of the following year engendered. His determination to uphold circuit discipline and his previous understanding of the attraction of not doing so were surely both contributory factors in the recovery of the circuit during this period, as membership slowly climbed once again to 1000 in 1806 and to 1060 upon his leaving at the Conference of 1808.⁷⁹⁰ It did not, however, prevent the now-established pattern of Bourne's irregular ministry from continuing.

A second way in which the New Connexion contributed significantly to the creation of Primitive Methodism as a separate community was by their failure to absorb revivalists in places like Macclesfield and Stockport, then lost to Independent Methodism. Bourne's links with such ex-New Connexion groups from 1807 onwards especially through his attendance at Independent Methodist annual conferences from 1808 would have underlined for him something already demonstrated by the lack of New Connexionists attending camp meetings, that theirs was an example and pattern of Christian community where revivalism was seemingly *not* likely to flourish. Their failure to attract Clowes to their cause in the summer of 1810 ensured that there would be no question of the 'Camp Meeting Methodists' and the 'Kilhamites' becoming united in the Burslem area, thus ensuring that once adrift from Wesleyanism, the burgeoning new community would soon become the separate 'Society of Primitive Methodists' retaining much of their original revival energy and 'thus escaping the obsessions against ministerial energy which were the bane of the Methodist reformers.'⁷⁹¹

⁷⁹⁰ Wesleyan Methodist Church. (1813). Vol.II 340; 397; Wesleyan Methodist Church. (1813). Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from the first, held in London, by the late Rev. John Wesley, A.M. in the year 1744 Vol. III. 26.

⁷⁹¹ Ward, W. R. (1972). Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850. London, Batsford. 76.

'To Inflamm These Desires': The Role of Lorenzo Dow

Dow's influence, through his hymnal, his journals and some of his theological works, was to continue to impact upon Primitive Methodism after his death in 1834. Primitive Methodist historians, like Petty, all gave Dow his rightful place as being a catalyst for the holding of the first camp meeting, inspiring the foremost paradigmatic event in Primitive Methodist memory:

Graphic descriptions ... of the exciting scenes frequent in American camp-meetings, kindled, as they were greatly calculated to do, in the ardent minds of Mr. H. Bourne and his zealous friends, earnest desires for similar meetings in England; and the arrival of Mr. Lorenzo Dow, an American preacher of considerable power and success, contributed to inflame these desires and to produce the determination to hold a camp-meeting in this country.⁷⁹²

The example and pattern offered by Dow was, however, not confined to his inspiration to hold an event, but can also be seen in his effect on Wesleyanism and on Hugh Bourne. Dow, both in Ireland and in England provoked two quite distinct and opposing reactions in Wesleyanism, a tension which came to a head in Conference resolutions in 1807 in both countries. Locally in some circuits he found pulpits open to him, and in England during 1806-1807, Dow was able to preach in Knutsford, Macclesfield, Northwich, and Congleton, as well as in the Burslem Circuit in Burslem, Harriseahead, and Tunstall. At a Connexional level however, the reaction to his untrammelled revivalism, which freely associated with dissenting Methodist groupings as well as with Wesleyans, meant that the 1806 Wesleyan Conference in Leeds resolved to have nothing to do with him and thereafter accounts of American revivalism at camp meetings were no longer welcome in the pages of the Methodist Magazine. For the Wesleyan leadership, Dow offered an example and pattern which was entirely antithetical to good order; locally, though, all of Dow's activities escaped

⁷⁹² Petty, J. (1860). 18.

censure by the Chester District Meeting on the eve of the first Mow Cop camp meeting. It was only when the logical outworking of his example and pattern became clear at a local level, i.e. that the revivalist ends that camp meetings could achieve would justify the means of their continuation in defiance of circuit discipline, that John Riles and the other Chester District representatives to the 1807 Wesleyan Conference in Liverpool acted to bring about a resolution. That it sat on the order paper next to a resolution necessary to repeat the demand 'that no stranger, from America or elsewhere, be suffered to preach in any of our places, unless he come fully accredited' demonstrated the unease of Conference on the impact of Dow at a local level amongst Wesleyans in the past year. This tension between local and national leadership perceptions of Dow's value was also felt in the Methodist New Connexion, underlining the challenge which his lack of ecclesiological concerns represented to a connexional church at any stage in its development.

Arguably it was to be just this example and pattern that shaped Bourne's outlook and led to the emergence of a separate Primitive Methodist community. Of all Primitive Methodist historians, Kendall with the hindsight of a century best highlighted the influence of Dow on Bourne:

In this sense Bourne himself and the first and succeeding camp meetings were quotations. John Wilkes once said that Hugh Bourne made him think of George Fox, the Quaker; a certain Deist, fresh from a discussion with him, remarked "that he had just seen Lorenzo Dow's brother." There was a measure of truth in both observations, which were like the attaching of quotation marks to a human life.⁷⁹³

From Dow, Bourne took not only the inspirational idea of camp meeting - after all this notion was not new to him - but also the idea of the primacy of the results of such meetings over the niceties of the church discipline which forbade them. Reluctant though the Wesleyan authorities might have been to acknowledge it, such pragmatism was of course also to be found in the evangelistic ministry of 'loyal Anglican' John Wesley. Tensions first found in

⁷⁹³ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]), i. 58-59.

Wesley's Anglicanism between regularised ministry and the results of irregular evangelistic preaching were exacerbated by Dow's abandonment of his initial commitment to the MEC to take up an unfettered international itinerancy, Wesley's claim to regard the 'world as his parish' writ large. The claim that 'If there had been no Dow, there would have been no Mow'⁷⁹⁴ did not just reflect the transmission of the idea of the camp meeting to Bourne but also the example and pattern of an individualistic relationship with God which no ecclesiastical court could overrule. In Dow's challenge to British Methodists before his departure as to the need 'for a pious and holy body to have recourse to first principles' Bourne discerned one such first principle that the saving of souls through outdoor meetings was more important than gaining any sanction to hold them. He was especially scathing on this point in his History when stating his reasons for continuing the camp meetings following the 1807 Wesleyan Conference decision, alleging that '[t]he travelling preachers who first raised the opposition had never seen a camp meeting... During that year, more souls had been converted to God, at the camp meetings, than in all the circuit besides.'⁷⁹⁵

Kendall acknowledged that the memory of Dow's influence on Bourne was at times an embarrassment to a community who by the time he was writing had taken, in 1902, the respectable title of 'Church.' This was for similar reasons that Wesleyans would have been uncomfortable about parallels between Dow and Wesley a century previously:

To be able to prove a real connection between Dow and Mow Cop seems to be thought quite sufficient to compromise the latter, because Dow was a religious irregular, an itinerant evangelist, who broke bounds and made the world his parish, and "communicated his own spirit of self-superintendence to the leaders of the movement."⁷⁹⁶

Kendall, along with other chroniclers however, was less keen to explore the result of this example and pattern of self-superintendence that Dow

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ Bourne, H. (1823). 17.

⁷⁹⁶ Kendall, H. B. ([1906]). i 59.

bequeathed Bourne on his relationship with Clowes at this time. Clowes' closeness to the Tunstall preachers in their 'theological institution', his mentoring by Miller and his closeness to Shubotham meant that, like Daniel, he found it hard to accept Bourne's self-superintendency in his defiance of the Wesleyan opposition to camp meetings. There is no other explanation for the silence in Clowes' narrative, as told by any historian of Primitive Methodism, including Clowes himself, between the second Mow Cop meeting in August 1807 and his reappearance at Ramsor in September 1808. The disappearance of six months of Bourne's journal, of which nothing appears even in Walford's Life and Labours after August 1807, only adds to the possibility that in this period the two men's relationship did not 'embody or exemplify the meaning of community, nor serve as models for life in the present.'⁷⁹⁷ Their seemingly restored relationship in Bourne's journals from February 1808 suggests that the disagreement between him and Clowes lasted only around six months, but at a time when Bourne was under most pressure for continuing to hold camp meetings in defiance of Conference and Circuit this was something he clearly never forgot, and returned to the bitter memory at the end of his life, when writing his autobiographical MSS.

The contribution that Bourne's alienation of Clowes and Shubotham made to his expulsion from Burslem Wesleyanism is unknowable. Bourne was clear in later years that Clowes had been at the Leaders' Meeting when it occurred and blamed him for it⁷⁹⁸ and Clowes for his part did not deny his attendance;⁷⁹⁹ it is quite possible that Shubotham, who was also entitled to be there, was also present. In both cases, it is impossible now to tell how the conflict between their friendship with Bourne and their allegiance to the Wesleyan Circuit in the context of his self-superintendency was resolved on 27 June 1808, but as in early voting at the Leaders' Meeting on the prohibition of camp meetings they were both probably party to the decision.

Shubotham and Clowes' similar reactions to Dow's influence on Bourne had very different outcomes for their place in the Primitive

⁷⁹⁷ Franke, J. R. (2005). 177.

⁷⁹⁸ Bourne, H. (n.d [1845]). 62.

⁷⁹⁹ Clowes, W. (1836-1838) iv. 16-17.

Methodist creation narrative. Clowes' early period of estrangement was never written of in the Primitive Methodist creation narrative during the lifetime of the denomination. Shubotham's relationship with Bourne underwent a similar transformation during this time, even though their friendship did survive another three years. However, the effect of Dow's model and pattern upon Bourne's relationship with Shubotham could easily be dismissed as another example of Daniel being 'impressionable and variable of mood,'⁸⁰⁰ just as Bourne's claims about his earlier influence could be downplayed as Shubotham was not required to fulfil any role in 'embodying or exemplifying the meaning of community, [nor] serving as a model for life in the present'.⁸⁰¹

'The Little Cloud Increaseth Still...': Bourne's History and Its Hegemony Over The Subsequent Narrative.

The re-examination of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative enables the story to be retold where the importance of a number of factors upon Hugh Bourne can be recovered. The context of the Harriseahead revival, in a circuit weakened by New Connexion growth allowed Bourne a freedom to preach and lead classes irregularly and although the arrival of William E. Miller in 1805 regularised the revival's relationship with the circuit, Lorenzo Dow's visit developed further Bourne's sense of self-superintendency, which alienated both Shubotham and Clowes following the prohibition of camp meetings after the first one on Mow Cop in May 1807. Their alienation at Bourne's primacy of revivalist technique over circuit propriety may have contributed to his expulsion by a meeting that both men were entitled to attend. The New Connexion continued to influence the context of Bourne's ministry by its failure to hold on to disaffected revivalists in Cheshire, thus helping to ensure that the camp meeting Methodists became a separate community, not another contribution to New Connexion expansion in the Potteries.

⁸⁰⁰ See Chapter Five.

⁸⁰¹ Franke, J. R. (2005). 177.

Some of these factors can be discerned by reading Bourne's unpublished papers and published articles and tracts, but none ever found their way into the narrative as established by successive denominational historians, even though all following Bourne's death had access to them. Why was this? A key factor lies in the effectiveness of Bourne's 'community forming' History of 1823, in which the salient features of the Primitive Methodist creation narrative were set out in the form in which they were to persist. Bourne's 1823 narrative was added to later, but rarely contradicted even when Bourne's own writings added differing perspectives. Bourne's earlier, curtailed account, 'On Camp Meetings' in 1818, was part of an experiment to test the viability of a magazine for 'the Society of people called Primitive Methodists.'⁸⁰² The magazine was Bourne's initiative and in its frankness Bourne's writing here was perhaps the most personal of all his published accounts. The completed episodes, written before any institutional pressures were brought to bear on the focus of Bourne's writing, contained much about the early influence of Daniel Shubotham. This makes the articles invaluable in a reassessment of the dynamics of the early days of the revival at Harriseahead, but largely ignored in later institutional accounts. When compiling his History,⁸⁰³ begun in October 1819, probably less than twelve months after his writing of the second article in the series 'On Camp Meetings',⁸⁰⁴ the context of Bourne's writing of the creation narrative was no longer a personal initiative but a response to an institutional request. Now the story needed to be told in a way which would assist in the fulfilment of the aim 'to preserve the unity of the connexion'⁸⁰⁵ as the Preparatory Meeting of August 1819 sought to strengthen a sense of denominational identity, with the establishment of familiar elements of a Methodist polity in an annual conference, a system of itinerancy and connexional rules. Bourne's History thus served to help the Primitive Methodist community function as a 'community of memory' for over thirty five years. Shubotham, had he still been alive, might have had grounds for complaint as to his place in that

⁸⁰² Bourne, H. (1818). 26-31.

⁸⁰³ Bourne, H. (1823).

⁸⁰⁴ Bourne, H. (26 Sept. 1819-5 Apr. 1820). 12 Oct. 1819.

⁸⁰⁵ Bourne, H. (1823).45.

memory. Shubotham's role as Bourne's first conversion is underlined - his decision to 'fully set out for Heaven'⁸⁰⁶ came after Bourne 'prevailed' with him - and his 'prophetic' words of 1801 are recorded. As one having since 'died happy in the Lord' but not happy within the community of Primitive Methodism, Shubotham's earnestness was commended but his early leadership went unremarked, eclipsed by his period of reluctance towards camp meetings 'on account of preaching being appointed at ten and two in the chapel.'⁸⁰⁷ When the camp meeting of 31 May 1807 did happen, Shubotham's involvement in linking Bourne with Dow went unrecorded as did his involvement in the planning of the meeting itself. The events on Mow Cop were recorded as the beginning of the emergence of a separate Primitive Methodist community, the first of many camp meetings, the 'crucial milestones that mark its subsequent trajectory.'⁸⁰⁸ Bourne had written before in pamphlet form accounts of 31 May 1807⁸⁰⁹ but in his History the event was firmly established as a pivotal incident in the revival which led to the emergence of the Primitive Methodist community:

The first camp meeting exceeded the expectation of the people both in the greatness of it and in its effect. A visible change for the better appeared in the neighbourhood; and it was the unanimous opinion of the pious people at Harresehead, [sic.] that more good had been done at that meeting than at all the preachings and meetings in that neighbourhood, during the preceding twelve months.⁸¹⁰

Bourne placed himself at the centre of the narrative, arguably to the exclusion of all others. William Clowes, despite being shown the manuscript before publication,⁸¹¹ was later to complain bitterly at being 'kept in the background,'⁸¹² and although commended for having 'laboured diligently'⁸¹³ at

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid. 5.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid. 8.

⁸⁰⁸ Franke, J. R. (2005). 177.

⁸⁰⁹ Bourne, H. (1807). Observations... ; Bourne, H. (1807). An Account...

⁸¹⁰ Bourne, H. (1823). 11.

⁸¹¹ For a discussion of this, see Wilkinson, J. T. (1951) 88-90.

⁸¹² Clowes, W. (1836-1838). i. 8.

⁸¹³ Bourne, H. (1823). 14.

the first camp meeting he remained peripheral in the 1823 History. For the connexion being forged in 1819-1820, Bourne's status as the one who 'embodied or exemplified the meaning of community and who thereby serve[s] as models for life in the present'⁸¹⁴ was unchallenged in his History. It was solely Bourne who 'resolved on a camp meeting' as a result of reading Dow's pamphlets, and it was he whose determination carried the day, for 'No opposition could shake H. Bourne: he believed from the first that the camp meetings were of the Lord, and that it was his duty to stand by them.'⁸¹⁵

Bourne acknowledged, though, that during 1805 amongst the revivalists 'an intimacy grew up; and in particular between H. Bourne and William Clowes,'⁸¹⁶ and, in a narrative intended to strengthen the bonds of the emerging Primitive Methodist community, omitted their subsequent estrangement. This omission enabled Clowes to claim a greater involvement when publishing his own version of events in 1844:

To stay the torrent of evil, and to preserve God's people, and to effect the conversion of sinners to God, were the ruling motives that influenced us in arranging these camp-meetings. Shortly after the first meeting took place, Brother H. Bourne drew up an account of it, and, if I mistake not, likewise the arrangements which were to be observed at the two meetings which were to follow. He brought the manuscript for me to read before taking it to press...⁸¹⁷

In reality there is little evidence that he had much part in 'arranging these camp-meetings' and certainly not as much as Shubotham did, but this was not reflected in the subsequent development of the narrative.

Other details established in the narrative in 1823 included the idea that the revival sprang up to fill a spiritual vacuum, although no comment was offered on the contribution of the state of the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit to this:

⁸¹⁴ Franke, J. R. (2005). 177.

⁸¹⁵ Bourne, H. (1823). 15.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid.8.

⁸¹⁷ Clowes, W. (1844). 71-72.

Harresehead [sic.] had no means of grace, and the inhabitants, chiefly colliers, appeared to be entirely destitute of religion, and much addicted to ungodliness; it was indeed reckoned a profane neighbourhood above most others.⁸¹⁸

In mentioning his expulsion from Wesleyanism in 1808. Bourne's view in his History was that 'the breach of discipline' lay in '[h]is being put out without any kind of hearing.'⁸¹⁹ The holding of the camp meetings following the Conference and Circuit prohibition of them was itself of course a breach of discipline on Bourne's part. In this telling of the story, though, Bourne was the wronged man, who nevertheless embodied or exemplified the meaning of the emerging community by persisting in organising the camp meetings, as crucial milestones that marked Primitive Methodism's subsequent trajectory. That 'the little cloud increaseth still, that once arose upon Mow Hill' was still being hailed in 1907, and Bourne held up as a model for evangelism long after his first convert's early leadership contribution had been largely forgotten, demonstrates the potency of Bourne's first telling of the creation narrative of Primitive Methodism.

This narrative having being established, no subsequent historian challenged it, even when Bourne himself allowed the importance of the New Connexion in diminishing the 'pure primitive flame' amongst Burslem Wesleyans, gave Shubotham greater credit for his earlier leadership, or underlined Clowes' early opposition to his 'self-superintendency' style of leadership inspired by Dow. Just as Bourne's first narrative was shaped by its context as the need for a community-forming narrative became apparent, so the usage of his subsequent retellings of the story by denominational historians should be seen in terms of their context. As has been outlined in Chapter One⁸²⁰ the 1830s were a time of turbulence in the relationship between Bourne and Clowes, and the embarrassment in much of the Connexion surrounding the bitterness between the two men at the 1833 Sunderland Conference and the resulting circular A Few Plain Facts...,

⁸¹⁸ Bourne, H. (1823). 5.

⁸¹⁹ Ibid. 24.

⁸²⁰ See page 27-28 above.

seems to have resulted in Bourne's subsequent accounts in 1834, 1836 and 1842 being given comparatively little attention by later chroniclers. Kendall did make use of the 1836 articles but not when they challenged the existing creation narrative, as in their claim that the first camp meeting was at Shubotham's initiative.⁸²¹

Having previously had complete control over the narrative via his own writings and his editorship of the Primitive Methodist Magazine, Bourne was not well disposed to the publication of Clowes' Journals in 1844. Even if his anger at Clowes' Journals was not the sole motivation behind Bourne's writing of his first autobiographical manuscript on route to North America the following year, his portrayal of Clowes therein certainly stemmed from it. In the end, neither Clowes' Journal with its attempt to place him as a confidante of Dow and a camp meeting organiser nor Bourne's MSS of 1844, 1849 and 1850-1851 with their claims of a rift between the two men as early as 1807, and their identification of the importance of the 'Kilhamite' split in creating fallow ground for revival, were to be influential. Neither Petty's record of progress nor the romantic celebrations of Kendall, Ritson or Barber would challenge the detail or shape of the creation narrative. For Petty, getting changes past the powerful District Publishing Committees, especially those of Tunstall and Hull, would have been prohibitive even if he had desired to challenge the existing orthodoxy around Bourne and Clowes partnership; for the others who followed him, neither a centenary celebration nor a denominational eulogy was an appropriate form in which to tell anything other than 'the old, old story'. As early as 1830, and the release of the first commemorative plate placing Bourne and Clowes together, it seems that in terms of their creation narrative the Primitive Methodist community had their story and they were sticking to it.

The final irony of Bourne's effectiveness in writing a community-forming narrative in 1823 whose influence in establishing the parameters of the story for the rest of the life of the community and beyond was that Clowes' and Shubotham's reputations in retellings of the creation narrative

⁸²¹ [Bourne, H.] (1836). 302.

were in inverse proportion to those which Bourne had hoped to leave for subsequent historians. Bourne's autobiographical MSS writings contained both his memories of Shubotham's inspiration at the outset of the revival, and attempts to use him in places to denigrate Clowes:

The Burslem and Tunstall methodists [sic.], H Clowes' husband in particular have turned Daniel Shubotham point blank against the Camp meetings and have turned him from the Lord, being instrumental in his fatal falling from grace. They had also put him down from class-leading, and put him out of their society, and then quite neglected him. He has since died.⁸²²

As outlined above⁸²³ both Walford and Kendall showed clear evidence of having used Bourne's MSS as a source, but whilst they were happy to acknowledge Bourne's warm feelings towards Shubotham, they avoided any discussion of the effect of Dow's model and pattern of self-superintendency upon Bourne's relationship with Clowes. To do so, Kendall even seems to have gone as far as seeking to evade acknowledging the existence of the MSS: In quoting approvingly the passage from Bourne's autobiographical manuscript describing his early relationship with his cousin as 'like two flames of fire'⁸²⁴ Kendall referred to it as being from an 'Early Journal', rather than acknowledging its actual source. Being still paired with Clowes and now on either side of the image of Mow Cop on countless Centenary plates, cups, class tickets and motto cards being produced as Kendall wrote would hardly have met with Bourne's posthumous approval.

...That Once Arose Upon Mow Hill: A Story Enhanced.

The recovery of some of the 'multiplex quotations' which were given insubstantial voice in the Primitive Methodist creation narrative does not in any way detract from the achievements of Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, the two men who 'embodied or exemplified the meaning of

⁸²² Bourne, H. (n.d) [1849]. 267.

⁸²³ See page 132 above.

⁸²⁴ See page 163 above.

community'⁸²⁵ for Primitive Methodism and inspired its growth into a Christian community numbering 221,021, by the end of its separate life. If anything admiration grows for two men who continued to work together in the years following the period of this study, and who often praised one another in print despite their never-fully resolved private differences. The remarkable story of the origins of Primitive Methodism, though, is more rounded if told in all the messy details of the 'other personalities and complex activities'⁸²⁶ of 1800-1812, rather than a version which only emphasizes the undoubted 'romance' of the story, which has more obvious heritage appeal. Only then can the largely forgotten but significant contribution of those now uncelebrated, as well as the inconvenient truths of opportunity emerging from Methodist divisions, and bitter disruption of friendship arising from ecclesiological convictions, be restored to the telling.

Such a telling arises from the conviction that this is a story vital to understanding Methodist identity, especially in ecumenical contexts where distinctives, conflicts and growth through divisions can all too easily be played down or even lost. It is a story which speaks missiologically of faith empowering largely unlearned people in leadership and organisation. In Robert Dolman's memorable phrase a 'rough informal energy'⁸²⁷ led to the emergence of a movement which was to have a significant social and spiritual impact in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is a story worth telling often and as well and as fully as possible. As a scholar 'shaped by the faithful community who gave that story to us,'⁸²⁸ I hope this study will be a small contribution to that never-ending process of 'reconnecting and celebrating [and] learning and relishing our story.'⁸²⁹

⁸²⁵ Franke, J. R. (2005). 177.

⁸²⁶ Wearmouth, R.F. (1950). 135.

⁸²⁷ Dolman, R. "Rough Informal Energy: The Story of Primitive Methodism." Retrieved 3 May 2012, from <http://www.castlestreet.org.uk/rough-informal-energy-the-story-of-primitive-methodism/>.

⁸²⁸ Atkins, M. and M. Wakelin (2012). 2.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

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Given the historiographical nature of the thesis, all manuscripts and publications in which Primitive Methodism told its story of origins during its existence are regarded as primary sources for the purposes of the research, along with other relevant manuscripts and publications of the period 1797-1812.

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