CHAPTER IV.

THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE MISSIONARY COMMITTEE.

HE Conference of 1843, which removed the Book-Room to London, also re-organized the Missionary Committee and located its executive in the metropolis. We say the Conference "re-organized" the Committee rather than that it established it; for a Missionary Committee had been established as far back as 1825, but its income had been small and its operations had been conducted on a very limited scale. Its income for the year 1826 had been £49 8s. 1½d., and in 1843, after seventeen years, it was but £125 14s. 2½d. making, with the balance of the preceding year and the balance of the Charitable Fund, a total sum of £311 3s. 10½d. Its expenditure for the year was but £17, consisting of grants to Lancaster Mission, to Tunstall on behalf of its Irish Mission, and to Reading Circuit's Missions. Still, the idea of a centralised Committee directing the missionary operations of the whole Connexion by means of contributions from all the Circuits was there, waiting its time to become effective. Like a rudimentary organ, the day would come when it would be called upon to perform its functions for the general good of the body to which it belonged. By 1843 this time seemed to have come. No doubt the missionary policy pursued during the first period had justified itself. Circuit missions, as the usual and favourite aggressive agency, were well adapted to a period marked by general enthusiasm; just as the revolutionary ardour of France made its citizen army for a time carry all before it. But by 1843 something of the old ardour had died down. The disadvantages of the old system were beginning to show themselves.* Circuits were pre-occupied with efforts to conserve their gains and consolidate themselves. Hence, many of the leading minds in the Connexion were of opinion that the time had fully come for a change of policy. Says Mr. Flesher: "Hitherto the Connexion has been isolated in its missionary operations. Each circuit which has been able has employed a missionary, and with few exceptions has had to support him with its own resources. In the youth of the Connexion this plan appears to have been best adapted for the diffusion of its energies through the land; but growing events seem to demand a different state of things, and hence arrangements were made at the Conference to concentrate our missionary energies, in part, that we may try on a partial scale whether the plan is not better suited to the altered state of the Connexion."

The administrative changes effected in 1843 were regarded very differently by our

* "But the system was clogged with numerous difficulties. The managing committees were too many. In action some of them were too slow; others were too precipitate. Some had large funds at their disposal; others were compelled to alter their course for the want of a little money."—W. Garner, "Life of Rev. John Garner."
chief founders. The mind and will which re-organized the old Missionary Committee and breathed new life into it, came from Hull rather than from Tunstall, as also did the movement which resulted in remodelling the Book-Room and changing its location from Bemersley to London. Here we have the first and palmary example of the way in which Districtism, by encouraging the growth of variations, has in the end modified and enriched our Connexional life. Other examples of the working of this same principle—so active in the middle and later periods of our history—will meet us as we go along. Tunstall had had a long and, on the whole, a successful innings: it was now Hull’s turn to contribute to the general good by carrying through its legislative proposals. What Hugh Bourne was likely to think of these may be gathered from a remark of his which Thomas Russell has preserved for us. “I took the liberty of questioning him as to the General Committee’s not continuing an efficient minister under its direction. He replied: ‘I do not believe the Lord designs the General Committee to have such a care on their hands; as I believe it would cramp individual and circuit effort.” Though this remark was made in 1832 there is no evidence to show that Hugh Bourne was of a different opinion in 1843. As to Clowes’ feelings and attitude towards the new departure, we have positive evidence. According to the testimony of W. Garner, not only did he approve of the changes effected in 1842–3, but he largely contributed to bring these changes about. Mr. Garner’s precise words are: “Through the influence of W. Clowes, chiefly, the missions belonging to Hull Circuit were given up to the Conference of 1843 as a nucleus for a new missionary organization.” Other facts confirm this explicit statement. The “nucleus of the new missionary organization” was, with the exception of Oswestry’s Lisburn Mission, composed exclusively of the missions of Hull Circuit, viz., London, Newport (I.W.), Portsmouth, Southampton, Brighton, Bedford, Sheerness, Ramsgate, Maidstone, and Canterbury. These missions were to be taken over by the Committee as soon as possible and, in the meantime, were to be under the management of Hull and Oswestry Circuits. Further, the Missions were to belong to Hull District; their chief officer, together with the Book Steward, was to have a seat in the Hull District Meeting; and this arrangement held good until the formation of the London District in 1853.* Lastly, Hull District was to be exempt from the levy made on the other circuits, but was “affectionately desired to continue its powerful missionary services and operations, and to afford the Missionary Committee pecuniary aid equal, at least, to that which it has had to allow in support of these missions” (Minutes, 1843).

CONSTITUTION AND OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL MISSIONARY COMMITTEE.

For many years the General Missionary Committee was composed of the same persons as the General Committee. It was one body discharging different functions. But in 1888 the Quarterly Committee was created and, in the end, this strong and thoroughly representative body, like Moses’ rod, swallowed up the Fortnightly Committee, thus effectually cutting off all occasions of conflict as to respective rights and powers. The Quarterly Committee is a circulatory one, while its executive, composed of fifteen

* Still later—1871—the Missions were formed into a separate District.
persons, holds its monthly meetings in London. We should bear in mind what has already been stated, that, until 1864, the Secretary of the General Missionary Committee was the same person as the Secretary of the General Committee. Little change has taken place during the years either in the name or functions of the Missionary Committee’s chief officer. He is still modestly called its “Secretary,” and as such, through his Committee he still has the oversight of both the Home and Foreign Missions, no division of these two departments having as yet taken place. And yet when, as early as 1845, we find John Ride set apart as visitor of the Home Missions and as such invested with rather large powers, we can easily see how development might have proceeded on somewhat different lines from the lines actually followed. In the Minutes there are no less than a dozen regulations relating to his visitorial functions, one of which suggests the tireless energy of the man:—

“John Ride shall be seriously and importunately desired not to arrange work that cannot be executed regularly by himself in his sundry visits, or by any man of ordinary mental and physical energy; for while the Conference is desirous on one hand, not to countenance an effeminate, indolent ministry, it is wishful on the other, that such a system of labour shall be adopted as will not hastily ruin the health of the labourers.”

After 1845 we hear no more of the visitorial powers of John Ride. The episode suggests the passing reflection—how close Primitive Methodism has kept to strict Presbyterial lines. It has not even succeeded in developing a “District Superintendent” or “Chairman of the District,” although it has had nearly a century in which to make the experiment. Indeed, in some respects, our Church is more rigidly Presbyterian than it was in the days when Nottingham urged the appointment of Thomas King as District Superintendent, and when, for a time, Hugh Bourne was really such, and, year after year, he sat as General Committee Delegate in some of the District Meetings.

It was not until 1851 that the Treasurership of the Mission Fund was made a distinct office. On January 1st of that year Joseph Hunt of High Wycombe took up its duties, and thus was the first of a line of distinguished laymen who for more than half a century have gratuitously discharged responsible duties. We will now give—as we have done in the case of the General Book Stewards, Connexional Editors, and Auditors—a table showing the chronological succession of the Secretaries of the General Missionary Committee and of the Treasurers of its funds. The portraits of all of these have already been given in other connections.

A supplementary remark or two may be made on the following table. It is to be noted that, although by the rule of 1850 the term of connexional office was limited to five years, four Missionary Secretaries have not served the allotted term, while only in one instance has that term been exceeded.† The rule of 1850 laid great stress on seniority as a condition for office. Other things being equal, seniority was to decide

* See ante vol. i. p. 448.
†In 1888, the rule of 1850 was brought up again and re-affirmed, but it was added—“This legislation shall not apply this year to the General Committee Secretary and the General Missionary Secretary.”
General committee secretaries from 1865, when the office was separated from that of general missionary secretary.
the appointment. This naturally resulted in veterans being designated to the office. Though they might not be old as counted by years, they had seen much service. The excessive labours of their youth and prime had left their mark. The old wounds they got when in the “active work” sometimes smarted and even crippled them as they sat at the departmental desk or visited the outposts. So John Garner was but forty-three years of age when he entered upon office, but the toil, persecution and exposure he underwent in the pioneering days had planted the seeds of disease in his otherwise strong constitution, and he became the victim of recurring attacks of asthma. His experience of London winters was a veritable martyrdom. “The Missionary Committee indulged him with an easy-chair in which he might recline when he dare not venture to lay his weary head upon his pillow.” When he left the Mission House his active labours for the Connexion were done, and at quiet Burnham, near Epworth, he patiently awaited his release from cruel suffering, which release came February 12th, 1868. His body was interred near the pulpit of the old sanctuary.

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<td>Secretary is now also styled “Superintendent of</td>
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<td>the Home Missions.”</td>
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<td>1883. John Atkinson.</td>
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<td>Extension Fund, was appointed Deputy Treasurer.</td>
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| Table showing the succession of Secretaries of the Missionary Committee and the Treasurers of its Funds from 1843 to the present time.
So it was, too, with John Bywater. His strong frame had become broken and disabled by rheumatism, and a year after vacating his office, finding himself unequal to the duties of a station, he sought superannuation.

Next, we have the case of John Jobling, the Tyneside youth, and early companion of Joseph Spoor. He had already laboured as a minister thirty-two years in the Manchester District when he became Missionary Secretary. He had proved himself "a thoroughly upright, industrious and hard-working labourer in the Lord's vineyard." and withal a man of remarkable prayerful spirit. He had seen a net increase of 1619 on his stations, and had superintended the erection of thirteen chapels. He gave himself to his new duties with anxious assiduity, but, as his friend Dr. W. Antliff testified, "the pressure on his nervous system seemed more than he could well sustain," and, after four years at the Mission House, his superannuation was swiftly followed by death, July 22nd, 1869.

William Rowe (1) was no novice when he took up the direction of Missionary affairs. During his thirty-four years' ministry in the Manchester District he had become known as a popular pulpit and platform speaker, as well as a capable superintendent. "Connexional honours are onerous," as quaint Thomas Greenfield was wont to say. So William Rowe was to find. "His pulpit and platform labours, and the responsibilities of the mission-office were too much for his strength"*

and he was superannuated in 1878, with one year of his allotted term still to run.

The cold print of the last lines of the first column of our table brings the truth home to us that the office of Missionary Secretary—never a light one—has become heavier still with the passage of the years. So much is this the case that only the most vigorous, and those who are happily constituted as to temperament and nerve, may hope to bear up under the strain of its heavy and constant demands. By a touching coincidence the same Conference Minutes of 1903 contains the memoirs of two Missionary Secretaries who fell at their post. That amiable man and veteran missionary, R. W. Burnett, died June 21st, 1902, of a disease contracted in Africa's malarial climate; while John Slater, genial, hearty, strenuous, passed away March 17th, 1903, not unfittingly, while on a preaching visit to Manchester Fourth Circuit, on which he had spent eleven years of laborious and fruitful service, and where the noble church which overlooks Ardwick Green will long perpetuate his name.

**Methods of Home Missionary Administration.**

Evidence is not wanting to show that the new system was regarded in the light of an "experiment"—this is the very word used by W. Garner to describe it. The efforts were tentative; the Connexion was somewhat timidly feeling its way towards the effective control of the Home Missions by a central authority. In proof of this, it is only necessary to adduce the fact that Circuit Missions were not superseded at one stroke, but only gradually, and by steps and stages. Indeed, in 1844, the Circuit Missions outnumbered those under the immediate control of the Missionary Committee, the actual numbers being:—

| Circuit Missions | ... | ... | 35 | Preachers | ... | 30 | Members | ... | 2684 |
| General Missionary Committee's Missions | ... | ... | ... | ... | 27 | ... | 35 | ... | 2521 |

Thus the two systems worked, and continued for some years to work, side by side. Gradually the number of Circuit Missions decreased, but the system was in vogue for some twenty years longer, and, we believe we are right in saying that the last Circuit Missions (old style) were the Bromyard Mission of Ludlow, and the Falmouth Mission of Truro Circuit, which stood on the list of stations in 1861, and were taken over in 1862.

The existence of so many Circuit Missions had an important bearing on the amount of revenue available for missionary purposes; for the circuits which still held to their missions needed their revenue to maintain these missions, and were allowed to retain and use it for that purpose. So that the Missionary Committee had to look for its supplies to those circuits which had no missions of their own. The financial arrangements made show that the Connexion was still mainly composed of what were really missions; or, to put the fact in another way, that there was little to choose
between the so-called circuits and missions.* Circuits, themselves poor and weak, were yet expected to lend a helping hand to those stations that were still poorer and weaker than themselves. Those which had no Circuit Missions were required to send the whole of the missionary money contributed for special purposes, i.e., for the Australian and New Zealand Missions, but were allowed to retain a fixed proportion of the general income raised at not less than half the places on their plan. The proportion of money to be sent to head-quarters varied in successive periods, though the variation was steadily in the direction of increase. In 1842, the proportion to be sent was one-eighth; in 1843, one-sixth; in 1849, one-fifth; in 1861, one-third, and in 1870, one half. Finally, in 1876, in view of the increased demands likely to be made on the Mission Fund, it was enacted that the whole of the missionary money raised, both general and special, should be remitted to the respective treasurers. So we may say that for some thirty-three years the Connexion was in missionary matters resolutely trying to get from fractions to whole numbers. There was neither stop nor stay till that was accomplished. Everything was provisional and temporary; nor could it fail to be otherwise, until not merely one central missionary executive had taken the place of many local ones, but had also got the power to handle and dispose of all the money raised for avowedly missionary purposes on all the circuits and missions. In the meantime, until this desirable goal was reached, the Connexion got a good drilling in fractions.

But it might, and often did, happen in this fractional period, that the minimum proportion of missionary money could not be sent as a first charge without reducing the preachers below the level of what was then considered a living wage. Recourse was therefore had to a Fund which was the outcome of the troubles of the period ending in 1828. As we have seen, owing to the drastic measures then taken, a considerable number of "runners out" left the ministry, and some of the worthy men who took their places found the circuits so impoverished that even the moderate salary then allowed was not forthcoming. The Charitable Fund was established to aid these worthy embarrassed men to tide over their difficulties. The first report of this Fund is given in 1830, when the income is set down as £27 13s. 5d., and that amount is shown as having been expended in paying half the deficiency in the salaries of the preachers in Retford, Norwich, Cambridge, and Whitby Circuits. In 1842, the sum of £216 odd was paid in this way, and it was ordered that each circuit should contribute at least twelve shillings a year towards this Fund, but that travelling preachers should not be obliged to contribute anything as hitherto they had been required to do. The Charitable Fund was essentially a branch of Home Mission finance. As its design was

* "Very many of our stations were made into circuits, or continued in the list of circuits when the missionary institution was formed, and subsequently organized, with the understanding that they should be entitled to a stipulated amount of assistance from the missionary revenue, and without such an arrangement it would have been impossible to sustain such stations in an efficient condition. The mere circumstance of changing the name or title of a station did not, and could not, change their real missionary condition, and consequently as a mere matter of simple justice did not require such stations on their becoming or remaining circuits to forego their claim to aid from the Missionary Committee." W. Garner in the "Primitive Methodist" September 3rd, 1868. Mr. Garner it must be remembered was Missionary Secretary from 1848 to '54, and also Missionary Treasurer for some years, so that he writes with authority.
to assist poor but improving Circuits, it answered the purpose of a sustentation or auxiliary fund; indeed, this latter name was in 1865 given to it, as being "more agreeable and appropriate." During this fractional period, as we have termed it, repeated enactments on salaries were made with the view of adjusting the rate of salaries paid to the proportion of missionary money sent. This sliding-scale arrangement, which was an attempt to strike an equitable balance between the competing claims of the local and central authorities, was in force until 1876. In that year—so notable in various regards*—the tangle of fractions, of checks and counter-checks and compromises was nearly threaded, and the firm ground of a clear common-sense principle set foot on at last. "See to it," said the authorities, "that you send the whole of the net proceeds of your missionary meetings to us. That done, you can pay your preachers what you please; only take care not to pay them less than what we regard as the 'irreducible minimum.'" The Auxiliary Fund was now abolished, and the Missionary Fund became available for the helping of needy circuits. Then another step in advance was taken in 1888 by the establishment of the Missions Quarterly Committee. But here a slight and temporary deviation into fractions was made. The "seventy-five per cent. arrangement," as it was called, provided that any District whose annual missionary revenue should be in excess of the sum sent by that District to the Deputy Treasurer for the Audit of 1888, should be allowed to retain three-fourths of that excess sum for the purpose of extending and strengthening connexional interests within the District. Here we have an evident attempt to encourage Districts to do what had been done with such conspicuous success by many Circuits in the first period. The method has in it great possibilities, as some recent examples show. The seventy-five per cent. arrangement lapsed in 1898, which year is memorable for the establishment of the Connexional Sustentation Fund. Now it was required that missionary meetings should be held at all the places in a Circuit at which there were regular preaching services. Further, the Missions Quarterly Committee was constituted the allocating authority for making grants to needy stations.

Thus, then, next to 1843, '76, '88, and '98 are notable dates for Home Missionary administration. Of these, '98 was as the goal to which things had been tending ever since the re-organization of the General Missionary Committee, while '76 and '88 were waymarks on the road. These modifications of administration were not made without much anxious deliberation. Many were the Connexional Committees that sat to consider questions of finance and administration, as the records show. There were long and lively discussions in the newspaper press on Home Missionary and other Connexional affairs. The Westgate proposals for a fixed salary, as against the Equalization Fund,†

* 1876 was also the year in which the representation to Conference was placed on a numerical basis.
†Equalization Fund.—The roots of this Fund go a good way back in our history. There were legislative proposals from seven Circuits on the question at the Conference of 1851, and John Flesher was desired to draw up a report on the subject. This report, which was issued in 1852, consists of eight pages of small type, and is of an elaborate character. Mr. Flesher was in favour of District Funds rather than of one Connexional Fund, which he deemed unworkable. On this permissive line Districts wanting an Equalization Fund have been allowed to establish one. Hull District was the first to avail itself of the privilege, in 1870. Now every District has such a Fund except Sunderland, Darlington and Stockton, Carlisle and Whitehaven, North British, and the Missions Districts. The "North" has stoutly resisted the Equalization Fund from the beginning.
were as the flag round which the tide of battle surged. Much dust was stirred while
the controversy was going on. No doubt mistakes were made, and needless delays took
place. All who had the direction of affairs were not equally far-sighted. Some could
not see a long way before them, while others had a clearer prevision and a more
statesmanlike grasp of affairs. But still, the main thing to notice is that, with all
abatements, and on the whole, progress was being made towards greater simplicity and
efficiency of administration. It is but fair to our predecessors to recognise the
difficulties under which they had to carry on their work, not the least embarrassing of
these being of a financial character. They would have gone faster and done much
more had larger resources been at command. As it was, we venture to say few
Societies have carried on so large a business with so small a capital.

Other recent Connexional developments closely related to Home Mission work may
be noted here in order to get a connected view, though their more detailed consideration
will be necessary when, in closing, we have to look at some of the present features of
our Church-life, of which the quickened interest in social work, and improved methods
of finance are amongst the most striking. Amongst these may be mentioned, Large
Town Missions, social and Philanthropic Agencies (especially in London), the Van
Missions, Evangelists in the Rural Districts, the Missionary Jubilee Fund, and the
Church Extension Fund.

**Some Results.**

For our own instruction and use we have drawn up a table showing the circuits
made from the Missions by the General Missionary Committee from 1843 to the
present, with the number of ministers and members in them at the time of their
transference to the Home Districts. Though the preparation of this table entailed
a considerable amount of research we are still doubtful as to its absolute correctness
in every particular, owing to the difficulty of procuring precise information on some
points. Still, we have reason for believing it to be approximately correct, and although
we shall not take up our space by giving this table in full, we can by its help do
something towards answering the question: What has the General Missionary Committee
been doing in the Home-field through all these years? First, then,
our table shows that in the sixty-two years from 1843 to 1905,
some ninety-four Missions that had been under the care of the
General Missionary Committee were formed into independent cir-
cuits, having on them at the time of their formation 142 preachers
and an aggregate membership of 18,133. Since they achieved
their independence some of these circuits have been divided again
and again; while, on the other hand, there have been one or two
cases in which a circuit on being let go was found on trial unable
to walk alone, and so was taken back on the Missions until it should
be qualified for self-government. So Dover stands twice on our
table. It was made a circuit in 1882, as also were Deal and
Folkestone. In 1885 it reverted to the Missions; but in 1904, under hopeful con-
ditions, Dover and Deal took its place amongst the circuits of the London District.
No doubt this promising state of things is largely due to the fact that, for the space of ten years during its second probation, the Dover Mission was under the judicious superintendence of Isaac Dorricott. With the co-operation of such officials as Messrs. S. Lewis and G. Brisley, and the liberality of Mrs. Russell—the widow of the late Thomas Russell—steady advance was made. Old Peter Street (1860) was replaced by the church and schools in London Road (1902), one of the neatest and completest blocks of property the Connexion possesses in the south of England. Thus the old mission and young circuit enters upon its career under favourable auspices, just at the time when the ancient Cinque Port seems destined to play even a more important rôle in the future than it has done in the past. This reference to Dover points the moral that, after seeming failure and trying delay, success may come at last. The husbandman has to exercise "long patience"; so has the General Missionary Committee; and sometimes the long patience has its abundant reward.

To the figures already given as to the work of the General Missionary Committee, there should be added some dozen Missions which, after a time, were either joined to neighbouring circuits as branches or were incorporated with circuits. A typical example is afforded by the case of Southampton which, after being for five years a mission station became, in 1848, a branch of Andover. Then, in 1904, we have the Eastleigh Mission taken over and becoming part of Southampton First. So also Diss Mission in 1871 became a branch of Rockland, and in 1883 Longton a branch of Hanley; while Marlborough, Richmond, Haywards Heath, etc., have undergone absorption. Geographically the chief work of the General Missionary Committee has been carried on in the South Midlands, the South and West of England, and in parts of Scotland and Wales. This is only what we might have looked for. When the Committee was re-organized the geographical extension of the Connexion was not complete, nor can we
say that it is even now complete. There are still spatial gaps to be filled up, tracts of country and good-sized towns and villages where the denomination has not got a footing. The General Missionary Committee took up the unfinished work of such missionary circuits as Hull, Scotter, Burland, Reading, and Manchester. Circuits, the outgrowth of the Committee’s labours, have been formed in Cornwall and along the sea-coast to the mouth of the Thames, including the Isle of Wight and the Channel Isles. London, too, and the Home-counties, parts of Essex and Kent, and the tract of country extending from Gloucester to Peterborough have been the field of its operations. The circuit gains resulting from these operations are registered on the District stations; so that, tracing the circuits to the Districts to which they have been attached, we find that the two London Districts have profited the most by this accretive process, and next to

them, the Salisbury and Southampton, the North British, and the Devon and Cornwall Districts. In 1851, London was a single circuit made from the Missions; in 1881, London XIV. is on the stations. Next year, the cumbersome method of distinguishing the stations by ordinal numbers was discarded in favour of local designations, London I. giving place to Hackney Road, London VI. to Croydon, etc. While here, as elsewhere, the division and sub-division of circuits has gone on pace, the outstanding fact remains that the General Missionary Committee has handed over to the two London Districts eight metropolitan and twenty-seven provincial stations, while it has contributed seven each to the Districts already named. There is no need to go into details as to the gains of the other Districts since, so far from modifying, they would but confirm the
The period of consolidation and church development.

First preaching room over Baker's shop in Grove Street, Gloucester.

Ecclesiastics such as Archbishop Magee and the position of Primitive Methodism in these places, no one, unacquainted with the early history of our Church, would suspect that they had ever been Mission stations, much less would he suspect that they were once feeble and struggling mission stations. Yet such they were. The cause of this is perhaps not far to seek. They all may be said to have been situated in the primitive Methodist Mercia, just as some of them are within what was the old Mercia of the Heptarchy. The name is strictly appropriate because these towns lie on the marches or outskirts of the old Districts of Tunstall, Nottingham, Norwich, and Brinkworth; hence they lay remote from the circuits responsible for their care and were difficult to work. In this frontier country we have had some losses. Once we had circuits and

Conclusion already reached as to where the General Missionary Committee has been doing its chief work during the last sixty years.

To give the history of every mission the General Missionary Committee has undertaken, or even to sketch the history of those which have attained circuit rank is plainly impossible. If it were possible it would still be unnecessary. It will be enough to single out from the rest one or two examples of successful missions, and, for a combination of reasons, Gloucester, Northampton, Bedford, and Peterborough shall be taken as our samples. There are points of similarity recognisable in all of these as well as some points of difference. They are all important towns or cities, three of them being county capitals famous in the annals of Nonconformity, while the fourth is the seat of a bishopric which has been filled by such eminent Mandell Creighton. From the present

Second preaching place, Ryecroft Street, Gloucester.
missions bearing names now unfamiliar to our people. Welton, Daventry, Chacombe, Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Filkins, no longer figure on the list of stations. It is well we can also point to some substantial gains in this same Mercian land. That under the management of the General Missionary Committee the four places already named qualified themselves for circuit independence; that on the foundations then laid they have risen course by course; that Kettering, the scene of past failures, is now one of the Committee's most promising missions—these are facts justificatory of the policy of 1843, and suggesting the hope that still more old ground may be recovered and new ground won.

Gloucester, the birthplace of Whitefield and the home of Robert Raikes, is said to have been missioned by J. Richards, the superintendent of Pillawell, as early as 1837. Though the difficulty and expense of working the mission so far from the centre led to its practical abandonment, occasional open-air services were still held in the city down to 1854. Late in '54, on the invitation of a worthy man—W. J. Wellington—the Committee sent J. Howard as a missionary to Gloucester. The first meeting-place was an upper room behind a baker's shop in Grove Street; then the ground-floor of a house in Ryecroft Street was taken, the rooms of which could be thrown together by folding-doors. The Committee was happy in its next appointment. In '56 John Wenn found a small church of twenty-one reported members, and at once set himself to encourage self-reliance and vigorous methods of evangelisation. Out-door services were begun. Some notable conversions took place—especially that of an avowed atheist—which had for result the bringing of the work of the society into public notice. In 1858, the first Barton Street Chapel (now used for business purposes) was opened by Robert Hartley, one of our chief pioneers in Queensland, who was then stationed at Bristol. As a pendant and contrast to the views of our first preaching-places in Gloucester, we give a view of the Stroud Road new church, erected in 1901 under the superintendency of Levi Norris, at a cost of £2680. The present Barton Street Chapel was opened in 1882 at a cost of £3786, and Milburn Street in 1880.

Cheltenham's early history resembles that of Gloucester. It, too, was a derelict mission. For two or three years it stood upon the stations as one of the branches of Brinkworth; then, in 1845, it disappears; but while Mr. Wenn was on the Gloucester
station it was re-missioned. He himself thus describes the circumstances in notes taken from his Journal of the time.

"In August of this year 1856, Mr. Joseph Wellington accompanied me to Cheltenham, where we had no interest except in the prayers and expectations of Miss Mary Ducker, a Primitive Methodist from Wiltshire. This good sister had for years been waiting for a door to be opened 'of the Lord' in this town. After some conversation we informed her that we had come not merely to see the beautiful, and at that time especially, the renowned town of Cheltenham, but to preach the Gospel in its streets and 'gather a people for the Lord.' Thereupon Miss D. said she thought she knew of five or six persons who had been Primitives elsewhere, but had joined other Churches, who would help to sustain the service. She volunteered to look them up, but returned saying that 'they all with one consent began to make excuse.' Consequently, the three of us held a service at the top of Winchcombe Street, after which I asked the loan of a cottage in which to hold a class meeting. One was offered and we entered it, the children gathering about the windows to see what was going on. After singing and prayer and 'the relation of our experiences,' I asked Miss D. if she would be our first member in the church at Cheltenham. 'We have no church,' was her reply. 'No; but we shall have,' I remarked. 'In that case,' she went on, 'I shall be delighted to have my name down as the first member.' Accordingly, having brought a class-book with me, I produced it and wrote her name in it. She paid her contribution, and the cause was started.

"How often since have I wished that I had that class-book! I should value it almost beyond any other book in my possession; for it contained not only the honoured name of Miss Ducker, but also a record of progress in the number and liberality of members such as I have rarely witnessed elsewhere. And that progress and liberality were, I am bound in honesty to say, largely the result of the modest, brave, self-denying, unresting labours of the lady who was not only the first member but, until the church became too large for her to take oversight of all,—the 'Leader' of the rest. Her whole soul was bound up with the prosperity of the cause. She never rested until she had obtained respectable lodgings for me when I was at work in the town, nor until,—when we came to have local preachers— their needs were provided for at her expense in the house of a poor member.

"In all weathers during the winter of 1856-7 we were out-of-doors, usually returning to the cottage of a chimney-sweep—whose wife was a member—for prayer and class-meetings, and for an occasional preaching-service when the rain pelted us in . . . As the winter waned, an empty chapel, situated in a slum off Winchcombe Street, facetiously called 'Mount Pleasant,' was offered us on rent and accepted. But ineligible as was its situation and unpretentious as were its architectural features, it was a great and joyful day for us when we took possession of it; and that joy was enhanced when whole families were swept to the Cross and into the Church by the high tides of grace that were flowing.

"Just prior to my leaving the station in 1859, a lady hearing of the nature and success of our work, sent for me and offered to sell us King Street Chapel. 'At what price?' I queried. '£450.' 'Too much,' I replied. 'Well, how much can you give? 'Subject to the approval of our General Missionary Committee, £300.' 'Well, you are doing good work and you shall have it.' The bargain was struck but not completed until the arrival of my successor" [W. Mottram, own cousin to the famous George Eliot].

In closing his interesting narrative of the re-introduction of Primitive Methodism
into this part of Gloucestershire, Mr. Wenn adds: "On the whole I have never left a station on which I was permitted to witness such signal displays of Gospel power as on what are now the Gloucester Circuit and the Cheltenham Mission." Gloucester was made a circuit in 1897 with Thomas Randall as its superintendent, who is now spending the days of his retirement in the city with which he has been so closely associated.

NORTHAMPTON.

The beginnings of the Northampton Mission are fully described by Thomas Bateman.

"June 30th, 1834.—Having begun to hold missionary meetings and collect money by boxes and books, and having already £20 in hand, as we still retained the missionary spirit and could see no chance of extension about this part of the country, we obtained the services of James Hurd as a missionary, and we sent him away with directions to go into the regions beyond, not only where we as a circuit had not yet gone, but to where none of the Primitive Methodist missionaries had as yet found their way. So he set out, scarcely knowing whither he went. He journeyed as far as Northampton, where he pitched his tent and commenced his labours."

Burland’s Northampton Mission was for a long time hard and unproductive soil, and sorely tried the patience and taxed the resources of the distant parent circuit. One would like to know the reason for this. It could not be that Northampton or Kettering was averse from religion and unfriendly to Dissent. In past years Northampton had been favoured with the ministry of such men as Philip Doddridge and Dr. Ryland. It was at Paulerspury, a few miles off, that William Carey was born, and in the river Nen, just beyond Doddridge’s chapel, he was publicly baptized. At Kettering, sturdy Andrew Fuller exercised his ministry, and there the Baptist Missionary Society was formed. Perhaps these very facts put us on the track of the explanation sought. Northampton was a stronghold of Dissent, but of a Dissent of a respectable and self-sufficing kind, not likely to take kindly to our modes of evangelism. The ground was pre-occupied and, it may be, impregnated with Calvinism. Whether this was so or not, one thing is clear—our missionaries found the people unimpressionable. Their ministry was not followed by such crowds as had gathered to hear the first missionaries in the neighbouring county of Leicestershire. It was not persecution they had to complain of; but rather of indifference. The people were difficult to get at; hard to move. One special reason for this unpromising state of things is alleged to have been the doings and disappearance from these parts, of the Revivalists, founded by Richard Winfield. These people once had a strong footing in Northamptonshire, but had died out. Ordinary persons found it difficult to distinguish between the Revivalists and Primitive Methodists. They sang the same hymns, and were much alike in other respects; so the public looked mistrustfully on a body of religionists that might be here to-day and gone to-morrow, and turned aside to communities which could, as they thought, offer them better sureties as to their permanence. All this had to be lived down; and that took time.

The Memoir of John Petty affords ample evidence of the fact that the two years—1842–4—spent by that devoted man on the Northampton Mission were the most
distressful period of his life. Though now in the prime of manhood as years go, his health was indifferent, and his strength severely taxed by the long, trying journeys and exposure. Besides this there was a burdened chapel to give him anxiety. This would be Horsemarket Chapel, built in 1840, and rebuilt in 1872. What troubled him most—he was denied his wonted success. Men's hearts seemed cased in mail. The work of conversion flagged. "Never," says he, "did I labour in soil so unfruitful, or see such little good resulting from my labours." He goes to Kettering and buys a penny roll, and walks about till the time of service. He has an uncomfortable night, and next day spends the dinner-hour in the fields. His luncheon is some bread and cheese a kind body had given him; but he comforts himself with the reflection that "the God of Home as well as Foreign Missions is his support and strength." Then he arises and walks forward to Pytchley and visits thirty or forty families. He attends a round of missionary meetings in another circuit. At Daventry the collection is put off to another meeting; while the proceeds of the other three meetings totalled eight

shillings and sixpence. However, he philosophically adds: "The company of Brother Wiltshire and the other preachers was profitable and agreeable, and in some measure compensated for the bareness of the places."

In 1852 things had not grown much more promising, as we find J. Barnes writing: "It is well known that Northamptonshire has been and still is, to a great extent, a barren soil for Christianity in the form of Methodism. Primitive Methodism has had to struggle with formidable and various difficulties for many years. . . . Our chapels have been a source of great grief and toil to many of our friends, particularly in Northampton." He reports that "they had just raised their banner in the streets of Towcester" (where we are afraid it has ceased to wave), "that the mission is thirty-two miles from end to end, that they suffer from the lack of local preachers, especially on the Brigstock and Kettering side of the station." In 1866 the General Missionary Committee was asked to take over the Brigstock side. This does not appear to have been done; but, in 1868, the Raunds Branch was taken over as a separate mission,
and, in 1875, this became the Wellingborough Circuit. At the long last our Church seems to have got a firm hold of Kettering, and the omens are favourable that this shoe-town will become the head of a sound and progressive station. No sooner had Northampton been granted independence in 1856 than disaster came upon it, caused by the misconduct of a junior travelling preacher who shall be nameless. Much against their will those good men and true, Dennis Kendall and Reuben Barron, had to appeal for assistance—December, 1857—to the Auxiliary Fund, the appeal stating that two places, 132 members and many hearers had been lost to the station, while many who remained had become unsettled.

Thanks to a succession of faithful and hard-working ministers, and the co-operation of the societies and officials, the breach was in time repaired, and now our Church in Northampton holds a position in striking contrast with that it presented in the first half of its history. 1876 saw the building of Kettering Road Church, which ten years after became the head of Northampton Second. Theophilus Wallis, its first superintendent, was succeeded by George Parkin, B.D., and he, after eleven years of efficient service, by H. J. Pickett, who is still on the ground; thus, for twenty years, Northampton Second has had but three ministers. From feeble beginnings Kettering Road Society has grown into a strong, progressive church, with a large Sabbath School, and one of the best Sunday morning congregations in the Connexion. This church, and Northampton and the district generally, owes much to the Gibbs family. Mr. Gibbs, sen., was among the first-fruits of Primitive Methodism in Northampton. On the testimony of Jesse Ashworth (who was superintendent from 1873 to '78), we learn that not only was Mr. Gibbs a useful class leader but also one of those local preachers who would walk twenty-two miles out, conduct several services, and then walk back, getting home at two or three o'clock on Monday morning. Joseph, his son, prospered in business, joined the Church, and became useful in various departments of denominational service. He was Circuit Steward, Joint Treasurer of the Chapel Aid Fund, Treasurer of the District Orphanage Fund, and one of the Connexional representatives to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference at Washington in 1891. Reverence, love of the beautiful both in nature and art, and beneficence were leading traits in his character. He died March 19th, 1893.

We give the portrait also of William Gent, a local celebrity of his time. His had
been a wonderful conversion; and when made a local preacher in the late 'forties, his force of character, powerful voice, and ready utterance drew crowds to hear him in the open-air. He passed away February 8th, 1882.

Besides the two chapels already named we may chronicle the facts that in 1892 St. James' Hall was bought, afterwards the scene of a stiff and memorable education fight; and that in 1899, Harlestone Road Chapel was built under the superintendence of Jabez Bell who, as we shall see, had made his mark on the mission-field.

**Harlestone Road Primitive Methodist Chapel (Northampton I.).**

**Bedford.**

The cradle of Primitive Methodism in Bedford was rocked in storm and was all but swamped. It was March, 1834, when Nottingham Circuit Quarterly Meeting resolved to send T. Clements to open a mission in Bedford. He was to go in a month's time, and to be pledged in 1835 “if his way opened.” His way did not open; for the General Committee deeming him unsuitable, declined to sanction his continuance. Instead of returning to his station as instructed, he remained as the head of a society of “Independent Primitive Methodists.” As such he struggled on for a time, and then
besought Hull Circuit to receive him and his societies. That circuit, rather imprudently one cannot but think, acceded to the request, and Clements dropped the "Independent" and again became a Primitive Methodist. But he and the colleague assigned him could not agree, and were both removed, and in 1841 Clements' name disappears from the stations. That same year Jeremiah Dodsworth was made superintendent of the Bedford Mission, and threw himself into his work with both zeal and prudence. He had need of both, for Clements returned to the scene of his past mischief, drew away a number of his former friends, and did his best to prejudice the minds of the public against our Church and its representatives in Bedford. The Hull Circuit Missionary Report for 1841 has this reference to the troubles of the time: "Bedford Mission continues
its onward, its upward course—a subject this that demands our most sincere and fervent thanks to God. In this mission a base and strenuous effort has been made to malign the Connexion, and to ruin the interests of Zion; but God, even our God, has been at the right hand of our esteemed friends, and hence they have not been greatly moved."

Elstow and Bedford will always be linked in thought with John Bunyan. It is therefore of interest to note that among the places missioned by Mr. Dodsworth was Elstow, and that, for a time, religious services were held in the very cottage where Bunyan first saw the light. In 1844, Bedford had 176 members and Northampton 174; in 1853 the figures were—Bedford 217, and Northampton 220; so that the curious parallelism between the two towns extends even to the number of their members. In this same year of '53 the Committee reports the station to be gradually acquiring strength and importance; that, under the successive labours of Messrs. Parrott, Cooper, and their colleagues, it had greatly improved; that in Bedford there was an excellent chapel with a preacher’s house attached, and five chapels in the surrounding villages, all Connexional property; and that eight or ten other places were served with preaching. The mission was made into an independent station in 1857 with 248 members, and in 1897 the circuit was divided, Hassett Street remaining the head of Bedford I., while Cauldwell Street became the head of the Second Circuit with R. N. Wycherley as its superintendent.

**Peterborough.**

Peterborough is another of these District borderland towns which had their early Connexional vicissitudes. Its missioning by Lynn, and its formation into a circuit in 1839, have already been mentioned (vol. ii. p. 221). We have the plan of the Circuit for 1847 now before us, which shows thirteen preaching places. One is rather surprised to find Brigstock, first missioned by Northampton in 1842, on this plan as a mission of Peterborough, with Grafton, Sudborough, and Geddington as associated places. Yet this is not so surprising as that Brigstock should, in 1846, be found attached to Fakenham as a mission; for, after all, Peterborough is partly in Northamptonshire, while Fakenham is in the heart of Norfolk. Such chopping and changing as we have here shows how difficult it was found to work some of the outlying places of this geographical district. We notice among the three- and-twenty locals, all told, having their figures on this plan, that W. Edis is No. 7 and Isaac Edis No. 12. When the latter died in May, 1902, there passed away the representative layman of Peterborough Primitive Methodism, whose life had more than spanned its history in the city and district, and who had largely contributed to make it what it had become. At the time of his death he had been Circuit Steward fifty years, while his first wife was the daughter of Robert Lee, the Circuit Steward of 1847. He had attended seventeen Conferences, filled the offices of Sunday School superintendent, leader, local preacher, and Society Steward. Throughout he had been a lover of Connexional literature and a liberal contributor to its institutions. For a time he was on the Board of Guardians, and a member of the County Council.

**MR. ISAAC EDIS.**
No wonder his funeral was one of the largest that had taken place for some time in the city, or that the London District should mark its sense of the loss it had sustained, by deputing Henry Carden to attend the funeral as its representative—a minister who, as a former superintendent of both Peterborough and Northampton, could with full knowledge testify to the worth and work of the deceased.

At the Conference of 1853 the Ramsey part of the Peterborough Circuit, with a mere handful of members, was taken over by the General Missionary Committee, and next year Peterborough itself was attached to the mission. So Peterborough temporarily fell out of the list of circuits and parted company with Norwich District. If we inquire into the causes of this decline, we must remember that 1853-4-5 were the three lean years of Norwich District's history, as also of the Connexion, judging by the heavy successive decreases of the time. Norwich District's net decrease for the triennium was 1665. The action of the political, economic, and ecclesiastical causes which left their mark on the general numerical returns had full play in the Eastern Counties.* Emigration alone was accountable for the loss of 160 members of the 410 reported as the decrease of the Norwich District for 1853. Disastrous floods were another adverse item not to be left out of the account. "In some parts of the [Norwich] District," says W. Garner, "the long-continued and heavy rains which fell during the winter, produced alarming floods, laid thousands of acres under water, involved the destruction of property to a vast extent, compelled the inhabitants

* For these causes, see ante vol. ii. pp. 374-5.
to escape for their lives, broke up preaching-stations, scattered societies, and seriously interrupted the wonted labours of the preachers; heavy losses were the unhappy result."* In the light of these facts it is probably more than a coincidence that by 1854 the membership of Peterborough had been reduced to one hundred, and that it passed into the hands of the General Missionary Committee.

From 1855, under the three years' superintendency of William Freear, the mission began steadily to revive. During the eight years' term of his successor—Jesse Ashworth (1858-66)—much was accomplished for the numerical and material progress of what, in 1862, became again the Peterborough Circuit, standing next to Northampton and Bedford on the stations of London First District. The New Road Church was built in the city, and many country chapels erected. It would be difficult to say how much Peterborough Circuit owes to Jesse Ashworth; for, after his superannuation in 1879, he ultimately settled down at Elton, near the city, and continued to take a deep interest in all that concerned the station. He watched, and assisted in, its development. He also to the very close of his long life of eighty-four years preached and lectured throughout the Connexion, and was welcomed wherever he went. On the day of his interment in the quiet churchyard of Glinton (February 19th, 1904), it was noticed that three local rectors were present, and two of them subsequently in their parish churches drew the attention of their congregations to his life and example. It remains finally to be noted that, like Northampton and Bedford, Peterborough Circuit has been divided. This was done in 1898 when Cobden Street Chapel, built on a site presented by Mr. I. Edis, became the head of the Second Circuit.

* "Address of the Primitive Methodist British Conference to the Societies in Foreign Missions."—Minutes, 1853.
CHAPTER V.

THE COLONIAL EXPANSION OF PRIMITIVE METHODISM.

Since Professor Seeley wrote his famous book on "The Expansion of England" we have gained a new conception of the course and meaning of English history. He showed that the development of constitutional liberty, culminating in 1688, was followed by a still more remarkable development—the Expansion of England into Greater Britain. The significance of this latter development is lost upon the historians of the old school, so that when they have described the successful struggle for liberty they sink the historian in the mere annalist or chronicler. What they have written of the later stage of our history seems, by contrast, tame and uninteresting. As one reads of the conflicts between King and Parliament, of the rise and downfall of ministries and the rest, one might fancy oneself looking upon the mimetic play of feeble shadows trying to do over again what had already been done long since by the stalwart figures of the past. What is set before us somehow lacks vraisemblance. What is wrong? The historian, Professor Seeley tells us, needs vastly to enlarge his stage, to open a new scene, and bring into the foreground new actors; then there will be no reason to complain that the dramatic movement is lacking in interest.

Now, though we have to work on a much smaller canvas than Professor Seeley, we may take warning and gather some useful hints from his imperial presentation of facts. If there be any danger of our interest flagging as we follow the later history of our Church, that interest should be stimulated anew by seeing that, from 1843 and onwards for sixty years, we were taking our part in that great movement which Professor Seeley felicitously calls the Expansion of England. If one kind of development had ceased, another development on a much wider scale then began. It is only in a general sense that 1843 marked the termination of the Home-missionary period of our Church. But, even admitting that the most romantic and heroic period of our history coincided with the beginnings of the Industrial revolution in England, we have only to lift our eyes to see this period beginning again—in 1843—in the new lands under the Southern Cross or in the vast stretches of Canada, whither our missionaries had followed the tide of emigration. In Great Britain a good work had been done under the peculiar conditions of a very old civilisation: in Canada and Australasia our fathers succeeded in laying the foundations of churches in lands raw in their newness; and they did so under conditions so strange and difficult as to test their physical stamina, their resourcefulness, and their faith. No wonder that many failed; the still greater wonder is that so many remained firm, and did work that abides—work of such a quality as justifies us in regarding them as pioneer missionaries of the first order. It is a thousand
pities that the projected History of our Foreign and Colonial Missions has not been written,* for it would certainly have contained chapters quite as romantic as any found in the life of "Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher," while it would have done justice to such outstanding men as R. Ward, J. Long, J. Sharpe, R. Hartley, M. Clarke, and others whose names will come before us—men who gave proof of higher qualities than those of endurance and courage. The remembrance of these men and their doings is our permanent possession.

True, our Canadian and Australasian churches, with the exception of those of New Zealand, have left us, and some may think the knowledge of this fact enough to discount any interest which might be felt in their founding and development. But this would be to take a very insular and short-sighted view of the matter. The history of our Colonial Missions is no mere parenthesis having no close organic connection with the rest of the narrative. The enthusiasm of the 'forties and 'fifties for Colonial missions was the old missionary passion finding a new outlet and, as we have said, it providentially fitted into that great movement still going on—the expansion of England into Greater Britain. On the forefront then of this chapter, we record the facts that our contribution to the Methodist Church of Canada was 8223 members, and to the Methodist Church of Australasia, 11,683. The Primitive Methodists of the U.S.A. number 6834; while there still remain in New Zealand 2536 members who are in communion with the parent Church, making in the aggregate 29,276, a number of adherents quite sufficient to constitute a respectable denomination, and a number actually in excess of those found combined in the two denominations of the Independent Methodists and Wesleyan Reform Union.

In 1835 the European settlers of Australia, including Tasmania, amounted to 80,000. By 1851 the population had risen to 350,000. The discovery in that year of the gold-fields caused a sudden and enormous rush of immigration from all parts of the world. We have not the emigration statistics for 1851–2; but the returns issued by the Board of Trade show that during the thirty-six years—1853–88—1,324,018 emigrants left British ports for Australasia. Amongst these were many who had been members and adherents of our Church—how many we shall never know. It could not have been otherwise. Our work has largely been amongst the class which is as sensitive to economic and social conditions as the barometer is sensitive to atmospheric changes. Our adherents have been migratory—not from choice but often from grim necessity. The closing of mines and factories, the fluctuations of trade, the decay of home-industries and of the villages—these, and the play of a hundred similar causes, have often made havoc of our societies. Relatively, no denomination has suffered more from "removals" than ours. But it is well to remember that, while emigration (limiting ourselves to that for the present) has often weakened, and sometimes even depleted our societies, and been responsible for much Connexional leakage, it has yet worked out a counterbalancing advantage. "They that were scattered abroad" became

* The reference is to the Resolution of the Conference of 1892. "That as it will be the Jubilee of the formation of our Missionary Society next year, we deem it desirable that a history of our missionary work be written, and we request the Revs. John Atkinson and James Travis to undertake the work."
the cause and occasion of our Colonial Missions. It was by a process of natural expansion our Colonial Missions were established. It was so in the United States of America, and in Canada. It was so also in Australia, as we must now briefly try to show.

Among the early settlers in South Australia (Adelaide) were several who had been adherents of Primitive Methodist societies in various parts of the fatherland. These drew together and, on July 26th, 1840, they held an open-air service in the streets of Adelaide, and the same evening met for worship in the house of Mr. Wiltshire, and organized themselves into a society. From this time church-life proceeded on the lines they had been accustomed to in the old country. Mr. Bullock "from Yorkshire" gave them a site of land for a small chapel, which was opened October, 1840. The society held a Quarterly Meeting in March, 1841, when it was found there were 16 members, 7 local preachers, and 22 Sunday School scholars. Thus there was a Primitive Methodist church "in being" at the Antipodes as early as 1840, though it was some years before it found official recognition in the Minutes of Conference. The home-circuits of Darlaston and Oswestry, to which two of the leading-spirits of the Adelaide society had belonged, were urgently requested to send out a missionary. But the responsibility was too heavy for even these enterprising circuits to undertake. Rather did it seem that so weighty a business should be carried through by the Connexion as a whole; and the matter came under consideration at the Conference of 1842. During the delay, and while discussion as to ways and means was going on, the Bottesford Circuit threw out the happy suggestion that the mission should be sustained by the Sunday School children of the societies throughout the Connexion. But though the suggestion was enthusiastically taken up and the required means soon forthcoming, there was still further delay, this time caused by the difficulty of securing right men for the work. During this pause the famous missionary meeting was held at Old Cramlington, which enlarged the scope and field of the contemplated mission by the inclusion of New Zealand. It is evident that Robert Ward had originally been designated for Australia, but now his destination was changed for New Zealand; while Joseph Long of Darlington Circuit and John Wilson of Ipswich Circuit were designated for Australia. After unaccountable delay, Mr. Long and his colleague sailed June 12th, 1844, six weeks after Mr. Ward, and after four months' voyage arrived safely at Port Adelaide. So there quietly slipped on to the stations of 1845, the lines:—

| New Plymouth, | New Zealand. |
| R. Ward. | |
| South Australia. | J. Long. |
| J. Wilson. | |

There the lines stand at the end of the Home Missions, undistinguished by any prominence or peculiarity of type or display, as though nobody was aware of their significance. What concerns us now to note, however, is the fact that when the two missionaries landed at Port Adelaide it was as the ministers of a church which had been in existence and at work four years and three months!
What was primarily and markedly true of South Australia was also true without exception of all the Australian colonies. Adelaide may stand as the type of the way in which Primitive Methodist societies were first established and extended in the Colonies. So it was in New South Wales, the premier colony of Australia. Certain persons resident in Sydney forwarded to Adelaide, 1200 miles off, an urgent request for a missionary. In response to this request, J. Wilson went to Sydney in the spring of 1847. In this one case, however, the principle of a church before a minister did not work well. A false start was made with consequences that a little preliminary sifting and disciplining might have obviated. “The men who had taken the lead in sending for a missionary proved to be of questionable character, and their reputation reflected no credit upon the infant cause.”* The bright prospects at Sydney, and at Morpeth, a hundred miles away, were soon obscured. Mr. Wilson succumbed to the difficulties he met with at Morpeth and withdrew; while E. Tear, who had been sent out from England, struggled along with a faithful remnant to build a small chapel at Sydney, opened in 1849. In 1854, when J. Sharpe arrived from England, there was but one mission in New South Wales with 116 members.

The founding of our Church in Victoria was in its circumstances almost a replica of that of Adelaide. A group of recently-arrived immigrants formed themselves into a class on January 21st, 1849, and held an open-air service on Flag-staff Hill. Already an urgent request had been sent to England for a missionary; the foundation-stone of a small chapel in La Trobe Street had been laid, and a Quarterly Meeting, held December, 1849, had drawn up a statement of the society’s position and prospects for transmission to London. But even while they were doing it, John Ride, the veteran missionary, was far on his outward voyage, arriving at Port Philip, January 17th, 1850. The wisdom of this appointment may well be questioned. Primitive Methodism never had a more laborious or capable missionary than John Ride, but he was now fifty-five years of age. Failing health soon necessitated his superannuation, and Michael Clarke stepped into the place he vacated. At this time there were in the Colony of Victoria two stations—Melbourne and Geelong with 133 members.

Turning now to Tasmania we meet with the same interesting

* Petty’s History, p. 484.
class of facts. In the 'fifties, among the immigrants who settled in the north and north-east of the island, were many hailing from East Anglia, including as a matter of course some who had been members and local preachers. These held a camp meeting on a hill now forming part of Launceston, November 28th, 1858, at which the Rev. J. Lindsay, a Presbyterian minister, took a prominent part. The little band—twelve in number—formed themselves into a class, and sent £60 as their contribution towards meeting the expense of sending a missionary. In 1858, J. Langham arrived as the first missionary, and he was soon followed by J. A. Foggon and E. C. Pritchard. The latter—still happily surviving in the home-land—was the pioneer of our Church to Hobart Town, the capital of the island. Its first chapel, still in use, was bought from a branch of the Presbyterians in 1861. It was in this chapel Dr. Paton and his companions were first welcomed in the Southern world as missionaries, Mr. Pritchard being present and taking part in that service.

Lastly, we have Queensland, the youngest Australian Colony, which affords another instance of a people "prepared of the Lord" asking and waiting for a missionary, but not waiting with folded arms. W. Colley, a native of Strensall near York, was in 1860, our pioneer missionary in Queensland. The first chapel in the colony was that of Fortitude Valley, a suburb of Brisbane, built on a site of land given by James Graham who, years before, had proposed in his heart that if ever a preacher should come to this part of the country this spot should be given to the people of his early choice.* In 1863, J. Buckle was appointed to Brisbane and Robert Hartley to Rockhampton, and each did splendid work in establishing and extending our denominational interests in their respective centres. It shows that big maps are indispensable where Australian matters are in question when we find Mr. Buckle telling us that, when in Brisbane in 1866, his nearest colleague in Rockhampton was separated from him a distance of 441 miles by the overland route, or 550 by sea—a distance as great as that between London and Edinburgh.†

**Colonial Missions in the Providential Order.**

We have preferred a high claim for Primitive Methodism in its first period—that it did much to prevent a national revolution and greatly helped to pave the way for peaceful reform. Now the claim is made that by its Colonial Missions, which were a marked feature of its second period, our Church, along with others, rendered a national service. By its pioneer work amongst the pioneers of the new lands it helped to "prepare the way of the Lord," and assisted in laying the foundations of our Colonial Empire in righteousness. It is not claimed that our Church did all that it might have done in this behalf, but it was early in the field, toiled hard in its preventive and constructive work; nor, as the facts already given show, did it toil in vain.

One has only to ask: "What would have been the result for Greater Britain and the world if, when the tide of immigration was rolling in on the new lands with such volume in the 'forties and 'fifties, all the Churches at home had with one consent taken

* Primitive Methodist Magazine, 1861, p. 119.
† New South Wales Primitive Methodist Messenger, April, 1862.
up a waiting attitude and said, 'Let us go on for a time as we have been going on, and look after our home-population. When the rush is over, and the gold-fever has abated, and the settlements and the cities have got a little age upon them,—then we will send missionaries with the Gospel, and take possession of these new lands in the name of Christ.'" Why then it would have been too late. The tares the devil had industriously sown while the Churches were sleeping would have been coming up vigorously. The mischief would have been done. It would have been like applying salt to flesh too long exposed to the sun. It is a truism that when men lose touch with Christian civilisation—take a plunge into an unaccustomed medium—they are in danger of throwing off much that Christian civilisation has given them. Whether it be at Californian diggings or Australian gold-fields, at "Roaring Camp" or Burra Burra or Ballarat, in the backwoods of Canada or the Bush of Australia, it is the easiest thing in the world for character to deteriorate. There is a tendency to revert to primitive rudeness. Religion with its sweet and regular observances is never more needed than it is under such conditions of life. As well might the dweller amid malarial swamps forget to bring, or throw away, his Peruvian bark. Human nature being what it is, the pressing duty of the Home Churches at the time we have reached was to prevent the deterioration and lapse of Englishmen who had gone beyond the seas. Beyond that, it was to insure that religion should be incorporate with the embryonic life of states and nations yet to be, so that religion might grow with their growth and become strong in their strength.

The Colonial Missions were much in the thought of Primitive Methodists forty and fifty years ago. The Magazine and Missionary Notices of the time give much space to intelligence from the various fields as to the arrival of missionaries, the establishment of societies, the building of chapels, etc. It is not necessary for us even to epitomise all this. These items were the chronicles of a day. But in these communications we occasionally meet with matter of deeper import. Some of the more thoughtful of the missionaries write as though they would fain supply those "bigger maps" we have spoken of, and help their readers to study them through colonial eyes. They set themselves to remove misconceptions and prejudices, and to make it clear how great are the differences between evangelistic work in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and the same work as carried on in the old country. They emphasise the special difficulties the colonial evangelist is everywhere confronted with. Thus, level-headed Michael Clarke once and again reminds his compatriots in the old land of these difficulties, and makes them the basis of a claim upon their sympathy and patience.

"Here we are, in a foreign land, with its often debilitating climate, interminable forests, scattered and migratory population, partly indicated and half-formed roads, pursuing our work isolated, and frequently discouraged by the delirious excitement of gold-getting, the inordinate habits of speculation, enterprise, and extortion, drunkenness, the hydra-headed monster-criminal of this country, antagonistic to the spread of the Gospel."—(Magazine, 1859, p. 567).

At times the missionary speaks out still more plainly concerning the rapid deterioration of character which sets in—for which the "fell lust of gold" is mainly responsible.
As one reads it becomes clear that the good men who founded the societies in Adelaide, Melbourne, and the other chief cities of Australia were after all but a faithful "remnant," the mere salvage from the crowd of professedly Christian emigrants.

"There are many, we fear, who forget to bring their religion on board with them; many more who throw it overboard before they reach the shores of Australia; and more still who, on reaching these shores, become swamped in the morass of its engrossing worldliness."—(W. Calvert in Magazine, 1855, p. 369).

"Many of our members of course are noble exceptions to this worldliness; but some (I speak it with the deepest sorrow) prefer going into neighbourhoods where the means of grace can never reach them; far away into the bush, and all for the sake of a little gain which often turns out to be no gain at all, but a serious temporal loss, and of course invariably a spiritual one."*

One concrete case is better than any number of generalised statements. One out of many such we give, from the experience of a missionary who rode out from Bathurst to see for himself what the moral and spiritual condition of the people was like.

"I stopped," he writes, "another down-the-river man. 'It's no use,' said he, 'for you to take any trouble with us old hands; we're hardened. It's three-and-twenty years since I spoke to one of your sort, and it's no use deceiving you—I don't believe I have a soul; it's dead and done with.'"—(Magazine, 1858, p. 291).

No more witnesses need be cited to prove how urgent was the need fifty years ago for pushing forward the Australian Missions. The more far-seeing were chiefly moved by the reflection that men "whose souls were precious in Christ's sight" were in danger of losing the very faculty for religion, as though their souls were "dead and done with." Men whose souls were dead within them would have made but sorry empire-builders. The appeal was taken up and pressed home by the authorities—notably by the Editor. A stirring article from his pen appeared in the Magazine for 1855 under the title,—

"Great Want of more Missionaries for our Canadian and Australian Missions; an Appeal to Preachers, Missionary Collectors, and the Friends of our Missions." To Mr. Petty, next to the demands of the work at home, the duty of the hour was to strengthen and extend the Missions in the Colonies. "Shall we," he asked, "as a section of the Church neglect our duty to our blessed Saviour, and to our brethren and countrymen who have emigrated to Canada and Australia, and who loudly call for sympathy and assistance?" He speaks of the Connexion's "manifest duties to our Colonies abroad."

"We have not at present," he goes on to say, "the means of engaging in a mission to the heathen, but we have abundant means of engaging largely in Colonial as well as in Home and City and Town Missions. . . . Oh, that we may know our mission, listen devoutly to the calls of Providence, and enter fully those fields of usefulness to which we are invited."

The facts and appeals published in our denominational serials were not without effect. A group of Newcastle officials, whose names have come before us, jointly contributed £25. That may now appear a trifling sum but, in forwarding the amount to the Treasurer, George Charlton wrote words which showed that he and his friends

had got the true perspective: "The importance of the Australian Colonies at this crisis cannot be over-rated. The future stability, progress, and religious character of that important country depend to a great extent on the efforts of this generation." These are weighty words, and doubtless they were needed at the time; for, in the 'fifties and early 'sixties, there were those who almost resented the fact that we had no "Foroign" Missions in the true acceptance of that term. They chafed under the postponement of missions to the heathen while attending to the wants of the colonists who, it was hinted, ought by this time to be well able to look after themselves. These opponents or lukewarm supporters of the current Missionary policy needed to have brought home to them the significance—in view of the future—of the work that was being done. We, too, as we look at the matter historically, may well ponder George Charlton's words. The "this generation" he spoke of has passed; but its "efforts" were not in vain. Those efforts were timed by Providence and fitted into the providential order. To us who occupy the vantage-ground of a new century the marvellous advance of our Colonies is a most impressive fact. In view of that advance, which is bound to go on beyond any limit we can set, who can fail to see that what was done for the Colonies in the middle period of our history was wise husbandry? If that were a waste of time and effort, then is the sower who goes forth to sow foolishly spendthrift of both. What was done was done for God and for God's redeemed world, and whether the results be surnamed after us or not is a matter of infinitely small moment.

**Progress of the Australian Districts until their Separation.**

We will briefly glance at the progress of the Australian Missions, taking them in the order of their formation. Joseph Long, our pioneer missionary in South Australia, remained at Adelaide until the early part of 1850, when he removed to New Zealand, in which new colony we shall soon see him also doing excellent pioneer service. At this time there were two mission stations in South Australia—Adelaide and Mount Barker, with 143 and 90 members respectively. W. Whitefield arrived from England in December, 1851, for the purpose of superintending the new mission at Kooringa, about one hundred miles from Adelaide, where were the famous Burra Burra copper-mines. He had no sooner begun his labours in this apparently promising district than the gold-fever broke out; and when gold holds out its lure it is not copper that is going to keep men back. So the Burra was forsaken and the mines closed for want of men to work them. Even Adelaide was "almost deserted by its able-bodied male population, and its recently flourishing settlements were reduced to a comparative wilderness."

* The missionary in charge thought it his duty to follow the greater part of his flock to the diggings, and Mr. Whitefield repaired to Adelaide to look after the enfeebled societies left without a pastor. For this service he received the thanks of the Home Committee.

A good deal of wastage went on amongst the pioneer preachers of all the Colonies—of Adelaide amongst the rest. There were occasional withdrawals, early superannuations through physical breakdown, invalidings home, etc. Nor is this at all

* Conference Address, 1853.
to be wondered at. For one thing, the untamed wildness of the country and the material conditions under which the preacher had to pursue his labours made heavy demands upon his strength and endurance. The journeys were often long and arduous and, leaving bushrangers out of the reckoning—not unfrequently attended by mischances more or less serious. Of E. Tear, who came to New South Wales in 1847 and was transferred to Mount Barker in 1852, we are told that in riding through the bush from an appointment he struck against a tree and was thrown to the ground, where he lay stunned for a time. Some while later, a damp bed in which he passed the night did him still greater physical mischief, and in 1858 he was compelled to seek superannuation. William Whitefield has been already named. His health failed, and he too retired from the active ministry in 1861. His death was hastened (1871) by falling into a deep "creek" in returning from fulfilling an appointment in the Willunga Circuit. Such incidents were by no means uncommon in the early days, and must not be left out of the picture of pioneering in the Colonies.

During the 'fifties the slender staff of missionaries in South Australia was reinforced by various brethren sent out from England, who had done good service there previous to their selection. J. D. Whittaker and H. Cole arrived in '54; J. G. Wright in '55; John Standrin in '57, and Joseph Warner and Thomas Braithwaite in '59. The first-named laboured in South Australia until 1861 when, on account of his health, he removed to Wellington, New Zealand, dying there in 1862. H. Cole laboured in South Australia until 1874, in which year he was transferred to Victoria. On his death in 1890 it was said: "Our present standing at North Adelaide is very much due to the zeal and faithful labours of H. Cole." J. G. Wright's active ministry lasted forty-seven years, and it is said he had an increase on every station he travelled. John Standrin we have met with before—as a convert at Ashton-under-Lyne and the leader in a great revival at Knowlwood.* Thomas Braithwaite affords another example of the wear and tear of a colonial missionary's life. After eleven years he was invalided home and died at Richmond (Yorks) in 1872. Of all the names we have mentioned that of Joseph Warner will be most familiar to British Primitive Methodists, and it is a name deservedly held in high esteem by all who were privileged to know the sterling qualities of the man. For nearly sixteen years Mr. Warner did yeoman service in South Australia, and then returned to this country, where his wide experience and sober judgment of Colonial affairs were ever at the service of the Home authorities. Mr. Warner finished, as he had begun, his ministry at St. Austell in 1893, and died in 1900. One who knew him well wrote: "Had he been favoured with more robust health, a touch of brilliance and a dash of pushfulness, he would easily have reached a position in the front rank of our Connexional life."† Even as it was, despite these minus quantities, the more discerning could easily recognise in Joseph Warner "a still, strong man, . . . who could rule and dare not lie."

From 1857 the mission stations in South Australia made steady advance. In that year the three missions already named were constituted circuits and formed into the

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* See vol. ii. p. 46.
† Rev. W. Sawyer, quoted in Aldersgate Magazine, 1901.
Adelaide District. New men came to the front—capable men like J. Stuart Wayland, James H. Williams, John Goodwin, Henry J. Pope, W. Diment, and others of whose character and work we might speak more fully did space permit. But to us in this hemisphere Adelaide has a special interest as having been the scene of the labours of a succession of gifted ministers. John Watson (afterwards Dr. Watson) left Aliwal North for Adelaide in 1884, and returned to England in 1889. Hugh Gilmore took charge of Wellington Square Church in 1889, until his lamented death in October, 1891. He was succeeded by John Day Thompson in 1892–7. Thus, for thirteen years, a trio of ministers of marked individuality fulfilled their ministry in the progressive city of Adelaide. They were very variously gifted. Dr. Watson was pre-eminently a theologian rather than an ecclesiastic; broad-minded, but thoroughly evangelical in sentiment. Hugh Gilmore was no trained theologian, still less a scholastic or typical Churchman, but he was, above all, a convinced Christian democrat with the gifts, fervour, and calling of a poet-prophet. J. Day Thompson—the bold thinker, the sworn foe of traditionalism, possessed to the finger-tips with the scientific spirit, and yet, with all this, as in the case of Dr. R. F. Horton—whom in many respects he so closely resembles—the spiritual, mystic side of his nature will not be repressed but successfully asserts its rights. It was a rare succession of men, and when, after J. D. Thompson's return to England, Brian Wibberley entered upon it, the succession becomes yet more striking.† We do not say a deliberate attempt was made to found "a select preachership" beyond the seas; to try the experiment whether the Primitive Methodism of the old land would not be found even better adapted to the progressive lands under the Southern Cross. All the same, we see now an experiment was being made. Now, for the success of an experiment, much will depend upon the conditions under which it is tried. In England, under the shadow of the dominant Church, a thinker or leader of the people is heavily handicapped. By the spirit of caste society is sectionalized as though divided into water-tight compartments. We can only reach our own little world. Time is consumed and temper ruffled in fighting for the veriest elementary principles. In Australia they have religious liberty, and a Christian leader has no need to have his credentials visé by Society or the Church before men will listen and follow. Two of the "select preachers" we have referred to are with us to-day. But Hugh Gilmore is gone; and we may very properly ask—What was the result of the experiment in his case? We have called him a Christian Democrat. Is such a title incongruous as applied to a Primitive Methodist minister? By no means. We firmly believe that Primitive Methodism is much more democratic than its polity. At its core—in its true inwardness—it is in deepest sympathy with Christian Democracy, and what is now largely implicit will, by a process of immanent

* "The large and beautiful church in Tynte Street, which is the pride of our people, was built under his superintendence [in North Adelaide]."—Official Memoir of W. Diment, Conference Minutes, 1892.

† Brian Wibberley was a pupil of the writer, and went out to Australia in 1886. Besides his ministerial gifts he has won for himself considerable reputation as a musical composer.
logic, show itself explicitly, as it is increasingly showing itself, in movements and institutions. If any man we have had may be regarded as the representative and exponent of Christian Democracy, it is Hugh Gilmore. In that remarkable and intensely interesting series of papers published in the 'eighties, entitled "Spiritual Revelings,"* he wrote: "Now I began to question with myself whether this [the ecstatic mind, and consequent indifference to the common concerns of the daily life] was being religious, and I was compelled to acknowledge that the teaching of our Lord and his apostles clearly show that not in isolation and meditation do we serve God, but in the service of man. This was the ground to which I attained years ago, and where I must stand; which I still believe to be the ground of spiritual and rational Christianity." Such being Gilmore's convictions, what was the influence of his ministry in Adelaide during the brief period allowed him by Providence in which to work? For the answer we fall back upon the testimony of others competent to give an opinion. Dr. Watson in his funeral sermon for H. Gilmore refers to the features of his ministry in Wellington Square; and his biographer and old friend, Ebenezer Hall, speaks of the larger ministry which made him a power in Adelaide and far beyond:—

"The North Adelaide Church, now that a gallery has been put into it [by Gilmore] is commodious and splendidly situated, and the people were prepared to give their

* These ought, by all means, to be republished along with a new edition of the Twenty-two Sermons stenographically reported, and published after his death.
confidence to a true man. His congregations were overflowing from the first. Artisans, professional men, statesmen, crowded his ministry; Agnostics and Socialists, who had not darkened a church-door for years, sat alongside of men of different creeds. Each man felt that there was a preacher who had a message for them. The pulpit was the great power he wielded, but, as in England, his energies ran out in various directions. All the Churches laid his services under contribution for special occasions, and crowds came whatever church he was in. He was literally always at work. He was an enthusiast in the advocacy of Land Nationalisation; then he became an ardent worker in the Single Tax Crusade. Not only did he preside at Mr. Henry George's own meetings; he strove with all his might to spread his economic doctrine by personal persuasion and by lectures, speeches, and classes. For a time he edited the Pioneer, the Single Tax organ, and wrote much for its columns, he was also President of the League. The celebrated Sir George Grey presided at one of his lectures, and was so much impressed that at the close he paid the highest tribute that one man can pay another. He said: 'I have never heard an address so eloquent, arguments so cogent, or seen an audience so moved.' Another chairman said he was the 'finest speaker in Australia.' In a strike of dockmen and sailors, Gilmore stood out boldly for the men. So popular was he that if he stole into a meeting to enjoy it unobserved, some one was sure to recognise him, and then clamorous shouts would be raised of 'Gilmore! Gilmore!' till he was obliged to come to the front. The Irish, who were delighted with his advocacy of their cause, reverenced him, and doffed their bonnets as he passed. Once a week he conducted a class of young men for the study of Christian Sociology, and on another evening he had a class for business men. One of the chief, and certainly one of the most practical of all his schemes was the organisation and working out of 'The Commonwealth.' The city was mapped out into districts, and bands of men and women (not concerning himself as to who or what they were, only they must be followers of Christ, and willing to serve men), went from house to house to seek and save the lost. The struggling poor were assisted, waifs and strays were picked up, the drunkard reclaimed, new arrivals in the colony looked after, men and women out of employment assisted to get work. Bands of Hope and Temperance propagandas were carried on vigorously, Free Libraries established to bring healthy literature to the people, and bands of ladies, or rather, sisters of the people, were to minister to the sick in their homes. Reports were to be brought in regularly and discussed. This Christ-like programme was a sign and proof of the one consuming passion of his life—to save men; becoming 'all things to all men that he might save some.' If he was first to organise, he was also first to work."

The "experiment" must be pronounced to have been a success, and an object-lesson as to the possibilities of Primitive Methodism in the direction of social service; an object-lesson similar in character to those supplied in the Home-land at Clapton, Whitechapel, Southwark, and elsewhere, which also owed their origin to personal initiative—to the Christ-enkindled enthusiasm of humanity. But all this time Gilmore's work was nearing its completion. Insidious disease was undermining the citadel of life. We draw the veil over the last pathetic scene, only lifting it a moment to see how the whole city was moved by his loss. When the day came for his remains to be interred in the cemetery at Payneham, where so many of his co-religionists lie, a vast crowd assembled to pay the tribute of respect to his memory. It was felt that Adelaide and the colony had lost one of its best and greatest men.
The progress made by New South Wales was less rapid and at first more interrupted than in the other Colonies. One proof of this we have in the various administrative changes made by the Home authorities. In 1857 Sydney was made a circuit and, being the only one in the Colony, it was attached to the Melbourne District. One thinks bigger maps were wanting when this arrangement was made, as the Sydney delegate would have to travel 1200 miles to attend his District Meeting. In 1859 the two New South Wales circuits were constituted the Sydney District, while the Missions in the Colony continued to be managed by the Home executive. In 1865 all the stations of the Colony reverted to the old footing of Missions, and such was their status until 1870, when important changes were made. As these changes affected all the Australasian stations they had better be summarised here once for all. The Conference of 1870, then, resolved: "That the Australasian Circuits and Missions shall be united and formed into three Districts. The Victorian District shall consist of the circuits and missions in that Colony and Tasmania. The South Australian District shall consist of the stations in South Australia and Queensland. And the New South Wales District shall consist of the stations in that Colony and in New Zealand." At the very next Conference, however, it was found necessary very considerably to modify these arrangements. New Zealand appealed against being administratively joined to New South Wales. Nor can we wonder at this unwillingness when we remember that Sydney is some 1130 miles distant from Auckland. Hence it was decided that after the Conference of 1872 the New Zealand stations should be constituted a separate District; also that those in Queensland should at once be attached to New South Wales. But this union lasted only until 1873, when Brisbane became the head of a new District. The partition of Brisbane in 1889 gave Queensland a second district in Rockhampton. The same year Sydney District was divided, and for some years Newcastle stood as the head of a District. Theophilus Parr, M.A., who like Dr. Watson had done good service in the African mission-field, went out in 1890 to take charge of Newcastle, and after spending some ten years in New South Wales resumed his place in the Home ministry. Matthew Reavley and William Atkinson were also amongst those who about this time reinforced the ministerial staff in New South Wales. A few words may be added as to the numerical progress of the denomination in New South Wales. In 1871 the Sydney District had 815 members; whereas, in 1901, when it last stood on the stations, the number reported was 2036. In 1897, when the Brisbane and Rockhampton Districts parted company with the British Conference, the reported membership was 2120. From this it will be seen that Primitive Methodism had made encouraging progress in Queensland, the youngest of the Colonies.

The coming of John Sharpe to New South Wales in 1854 has already been mentioned. He spent twenty years of the best part of his life in the Colonies, returning to England in 1874. Fifteen out of this score of years were spent in Sydney and its immediate neighbourhood. John Sharpe is a figure that ought to receive more than casual mention in any History of Primitive Methodism. He was no ordinary man in whatever light
we view him. This impression is strongly confirmed by a close inspection of the neatly-arranged documents and letters he has left, setting forth his relations to New South Wales Primitive Methodism and the Home authorities. Thoroughly conscientious, his course was always straightforward, like a Roman road. "Upright and Forthright" might have been his chosen motto. He had a vigorous mind and strong will; yet, though firm, he was unassuming and courteous. He was a great reader, and well versed in Ecclesiastical History, especially in all the points at issue between Romanism and Protestantism—a very serviceable mental equipment for a Christian teacher set down in Sydney forty years ago. Nor was he indisposed to enter the controversial lists, seeking truth rather than victory. Under the non-de-guerre of John Search—a name that Thomas Binney had already made famous—he wrote several series of articles in the Protestant Standard on such subjects as "Mariolatry," "Readings in Romanism," "Popery in Ritualism," etc. In these articles we do not find much of that rhetorical invective so frequently indulged in by some controversialists. The writer goes to the original authorities for his facts, and finds in them the material for his arguments which he knows how to drive home with force. If these articles were collected and published even after this long lapse of time they would still have their distinctive value, and would make a volume of fair size. For some years Mr. Sharpe edited the "New South Wales Primitive Methodist Messenger," and some of the characteristic qualities of the man are revealed in the sermons, selections from books, comments on current topics, and reviews contributed by him to that periodical. Amongst the last-named, the notice he wrote in 1866 of Bastow's "Biblical Dictionary" may be singled out as a good specimen of his acumen and fair-mindedness. In these respects it compares very favourably with the official review of five closely-printed pages which appeared in the denominational Magazine for 1862. In the preparation of this notice the Editor had been assisted by several brethren whose names are not given. The task of examining the Dictionary had been put in commission. The standard to which the critics appeal and by which Mr. Bastow was found wanting was Adam Clarke's "Commentary" and Watson's "Institutes." Referring to this, Mr. Sharpe says: "We thought then and we think still, that this was rich—rich indeed. And we were led to wonder if Mr. B.'s critics had never heard that both Drs. Clarke and Watson had themselves been charged with heresy." All this may appear very trivial now, for there is nothing staler than the controversies of bygone years. It is referred to here because John Sharpe's review is an Antipodean side-light on a little-known episode in the literary history of the denomination. Bastow's "Biblical Dictionary" was the most considerable and scholarly contribution as yet given to the world by the denomination, and ought not to be forgotten. As to John Sharpe, though he was not "tainted with German Neology," as the phrase went, he was clear-sighted and broad-minded, as the following additional extract from his review will show:—

"We are free to admit that Mr. Bastow advances some few things which do not square with our views; but what then? Does it necessarily follow that, fully as
we may be persuaded of the correctness of our opinions, and firmly as we may hold them, that we are infallible—and the error is wholly on Mr. Bastow's side, and that therefore we must brand him as heretic and his book as dangerous? Let us rather hope that additional reading and meditation may bring fuller and clearer light to all concerned, modifying their views and drawing them closer to the one grand centre of all truth. We have very little faith in those who appear to think that to them is given a full and unlimited commission to hunt out and to hound down what they consider heresy. We have no sympathy with them; we feel no interest in their work. If the class may be judged of from the few
Like Mr. Flesher in Hull, John Sharpe in Sydney was called upon to vindicate Primitive Methodism through the press. A minister who had once done good work in England was now pursuing a divisive policy; and the public mind had to be disabused. So his pen was kept busy. Finally, we may say of John Sharpe that there was scarcely any official position he was not qualified to fill; but the position of Editor was that for which his bookishness, his practised pen, and his mental tastes peculiarly fitted him. Yet on his return home, save that he made a distinct impression on the Conference of 1876, no special Connexional recognition awaited him. The prime of his life had been given to Australia, and his strength was not now what it had been. He travelled a few years longer, and then came superannuation (1890), and death (1895), quickly following on that of his faithful wife. That fine poem, "Under one Roof," is the poignant expression of this double loss.†

We can only mention and must not linger over the names of other men—who gave lengthened service to New South Wales and Queensland—names such as J. F. Foggon; Bernard Kenny, the fervid Irishman, who wherever he happened to be—in Scotland, Ireland, or Australia, was always the inveterate foe of Popery; George James, one of the prime movers in the movement which resulted in Methodist Union; W. Sparling, the first Primitive Methodist minister who died in New South Wales; and W. Kingdon. For Queensland, J. Buckle, who prior to his sailing for Australia did good work in Scotland, and Robert Hartley must not be forgotten. The influence of the latter, especially in Rockhampton, was profound and has been lasting. Among the papers of John Sharpe are preserved many intimate letters of Mr. Hartley, which show the transparency of his character, the close friendship existing between the two men, and their anxious toil for the churches under their care.

In Victoria and Tasmania Primitive Methodism was more prosperous than in some of the other Colonies. From the statistics of the Melbourne District, given for the last time in

* Mr. Bastow was our Erasmus, and Erasmus was no martyr but died in his bed. The critique in the Magazine of '82 closed with the statement: "We have received from the author of the Bible Dictionary the most frank assurance that 'anything unsound, or against the vital doctrines of John Wesley and the Church of England, I shall be happy to alter, say I shall think it a duty and privilege to do so.'"

† Alderagate, 1900, p. 859. In any Primitive Methodist Anthology this poem would deservedly take a foremost place.
the Conference Minutes of 1901, we find it then reported 27 Ministers and 10 Home Missionaries, 125 chapels and 1306 members. We give the portraits of some of the deceased ministers of the Melbourne District, and would also make mention of Henry Heathershaw and Thomas Copeland, who have filled the office of Book Steward (Lygon Street, Melbourne), and other positions of trust. Our historic survey of Primitive Methodism in Australia may very fittingly close with a reference to William Hunt, who attended the British Conference of 1899 as the representative of the Australian Districts in the settlement of the financial questions connected with the proposed Union of the Methodist Churches. The ability and courtesy shown by Mr. Hunt in the conduct of these delicate negotiations were recognised by a special resolution of the Conference.

NEW ZEALAND.

The history of Primitive Methodism in New Zealand readily lends itself to summarisation. In 1870, after a quarter of a century’s labours, there were but three stations in the Colony, all of them in the North Island, though situated at widely separated points and in different Provinces. The earliest of these was at New Plymouth, in the South-west of the Island, in the provincial district of Taranaka; the second at Wellington, in the district of the same name; and the third in the North, at Auckland, which, until 1864, was the seat of government. With the early history of these three stations the name of Robert Ward is closely linked, and next to his the names of Joseph Long and Henry Green. The apparently slow progress made in the Colony by the denomination during the first twenty-five years (in 1870 there were 396 members all told) was but the reflex of the state of the Colony during the same period arising out of the gold-discoveries and their resultant fluctuations of population and trade, and the unsettledness and disorganization caused by the Maori wars. These events reacted on the policy of the Missionary executive at Home, which, so far as New Zealand was concerned, was timid and unaggressive. But when in 1873 the first District Meeting was held in New Zealand as already mentioned, a more prosperous era had begun as well for Primitive Methodism as the Colony. No doubt Mr. Ward’s visit to England in 1871 largely contributed to the inauguration of that more forward policy on the part of the executive which may be dated from this time. The fruit of this was seen at the first District Meeting, when three new stations in the South Island were represented, as well as the three old ones in the North Island. These were Christchurch, in the province of Canterbury, and Invercargill and Dunedin, in Otago—all chief towns admirably situated, in view of the prospective development of the Colony, and likely to afford good strategical bases for Connexional extension. Mr. Ward was the first minister stationed at Christchurch, and he was the president of the first New Zealand District Meeting; so that his pioneer efforts did not stop short with the North Island or with the old era. Since then, there has been development. The six stations of 1873 have grown into the 15 Circuits and 15 Missions of 1905. But New Zealand is the country for making experiments, and there has been development of another kind; the District Meeting has become the New Zealand Conference. This title was first assumed by permission of the
Home authorities in 1893, and it is to be noted that two ladies took their seats in that assembly as duly elected representatives, six years before a lady was elected to sit in the British Conference. Should the proposed legislation to divide the New Zealand stations into Districts become law and the missing link be supplied, it is more than probable that five of the towns already named will become the heads of the administrative units.

The history immediately before us will be best approached by our following the movements of Robert Ward. He was in the strictest sense a prospector, a pioneer and planter of churches. Such was his relation to New Plymouth, Wellington, Auckland, and largely also to Christchurch.

A valedictory service was held at old Sutton Street Chapel on April 30th, 1844, when Messrs. Ward, Long, and Wilson related their experience and call to the mission-field. The sermon was preached by Joseph Preston, who next day went on board the “Raymond” “to see and pray with Mrs. Ward and the children.” He was much impressed with the missionary’s wife, whom he pronounces a “noble woman,” and he records in his Journal that “so great had been her desire to be employed in mission-work that she had often wished she had been a man; and that when the letter of invitation to the mission-field came she had sung and danced for very joy.” Emily Brundell, like her husband, was born and bred in Norfolk, and it certainly was not unfitting that the first to cross the line as a Primitive Methodist missionary should have hailed from a district which has always taken a peculiar interest in missions.

The “Raymond” landed on August 29th. Only three years before, the first batch of settlers had arrived in the “William Bryan.” As most of them had come from Devon and Cornwall, they gave the name of the chief town they had been familiar with in the old country to the new settlement. So New Plymouth naturally recalls the famous New England Plymouth Rock of the Pilgrim Fathers. Robert Ward landed, a stranger amongst strangers. There was nothing to distinguish him from the immigrants he had voyaged with. He was unknown; his coming unprepared for and unexpected. There was no nucleus of a church, however small, awaiting his fostering care, as was the case in the Australian Colonies. Single-handed he had to begin from the bottom, and he lost no time in beginning. On Sunday, September 1st, he opened his mission by preaching in the open-air, taking as his text, “This is a faithful saying,” etc. He toiled on amid manifold discouragements, rendered all the greater by the depression which rested on the infant settlement. Still he gathered a few into church membership, and in November his hands were strengthened by a small society of Bible Christians coming over to him. These good people had formed themselves into a society on landing, and had even built themselves a small chapel. They had no minister over them, nor any prospect of obtaining one. On the other hand,
Mr. Ward had no chapel and was short of helpers. So it seemed to be for the interest of both societies—so alike in doctrine and discipline—to join their forces. The union thus effected worked well and was never regretted. The five local preachers gained by the union were a welcome reinforcement, and enabled Mr. Ward to extend the mission.

When just two years had passed Robert Ward had the joy of welcoming a colleague. It was on September 1st, 1846, that H. Green and his wife—whom we knew in the Brinkworth District as Ann Goodwin—landed from England. Now, at last, Mr. Ward found himself in circumstances to carry the Gospel to the natives of the settlement. He had applied himself to the study of the Maori tongue and, if we may judge by an incident he tells, he had attained to tolerable proficiency in its use. Coming one day upon a group of natives who were reading the New Testament in turn, Mr. Ward took his place at the bottom of the class; but he gradually worked his way up until he became head-scholar, and was rewarded by being made monitor, which enabled him to assume the functions of catechist. At another time he had received a rebuff at a pah or native village, and was returning home weary and dispirited, when he saw a light and heard voices in the bush. It proved to be a party of natives, who permitted him to preach to them. He chose for his subject the Lord's conversation with Nicodemus and, surely, never was the great truth of the New Birth enforced under more picturesque conditions: "Stars gleamed through the foliage of the trees, the fire lighted up the swarthy countenances of the hearers, and at a few yards distance the darkness wrapped us round." During this time he endeavoured to systematize his labours amongst the natives by drawing up a plan and time-table for his own guidance. His "Circuit" comprised eleven pahs, all situated within ten miles of his home, which he made it his business to visit in turn. In carrying out his self-imposed duties he was often weary and hungry, and occasionally he was fain to sleep on the ground wrapped in his cloak. These facts are of peculiar interest. They show that during the last four months of 1846 Primitive Methodism had, in Robert Ward, one who was to all intents and purposes doing the work of a foreign missionary. It is difficult to see what definition of a foreign missionary can be framed which will exclude him. He was devoted to the work of teaching and preaching 'to men on their own ground who were of another hue, and spoke another language which he himself had laboriously mastered: a missionary in Bengal or Madras could do no more. After some months of labour of this kind Mr. Ward was reluctantly driven to the conclusion that, with the staff available, a simultaneous mission to the colonists and natives was impracticable. Yet limitation in one direction led to extension in another. In January, 1847, Mr. Ward paid a pioneer visit to the rising settlement of Port Nicholson where, for several weeks, he did as he had done in New Plymouth after his landing there—he visited and preached in-doors and out to the settlers and soldiers, and thus paved the way for the arrival of H. Green as the first appointed missionary to Wellington, May, 1847. Thirty-four members were reported at the first Quarterly Meeting, held in September. Mrs. Green established and taught a day-school; a mud chapel was built, and when this was destroyed by the terrible earthquake of 1848 it was replaced in three weeks by a plain weather-board building. In 1857 Mr. Green removed to New South Wales,
and he was succeeded in turn by Joshua Smith from England, J. D. Whittaker (who died in 1862), Charles Waters (1864), and R. Ward, who came from New Plymouth in 1868. During his term several chapels were built, including Sydney Street, "which was soon filled with attentive worshippers, among the most constant of whom were the then Premier of the Colony, the Hon. (afterwards Sir) William Fox and his wife." In 1870 Wellington became a self-supporting station, and at the close of that year Mr. Ward returned to England on furlough.

We have now to see how Primitive Methodism got to Auckland, the third station in the North Island. James Harris, a former member of Cooper's Gardens Society, London, had emigrated to New Zealand in 1838 and was now residing at Auckland. As early as 1846 he had urged, and he continued to urge, that a missionary should be sent there, he promising to lend him all the assistance in his power. Until a third man was on the ground it was difficult to see how this was to be done; and there was considerable delay in supplying the third man. In these circumstances Mr. Ward paid two separate visits to Auckland in 1849, for the purpose of establishing and organizing a society. It was on his return from Auckland the first time that Mr. Ward made a journey that probably holds the record among the pedestrianising experiences of Primitive Methodist preachers. Even the journey of Clowes and Wedgwood over Morridge was as nothing—a mere holiday jaunt—compared with Robert Ward's journey from Kawhia mission-house to his home in New Plymouth.

The full description of that journey is too long to be given here, but something of its unique character may be gathered from the fact that, when he bade adieu to Rev. John Whitely and his hospitable wife, he had before him a walk of a hundred miles over rough and dangerous country. He had to cross swamps, climb mountains, creep along narrow and precipitous ledges, make his way over rock-strewn beaches, sleep in native pahs, and, once at least, his Maori guide and himself had to make their bed on the sand. Such was missionary pioneering in the early colonial days.*

When at last, in accordance with instructions received from England, Joseph Long reached New Plymouth from Australia, Robert Ward was at liberty to proceed to Auckland, where the society he founded stood much in need of his oversight. Here he continued from May 1850, to 1858, and then changed stations with Joseph Long. The latter was at Auckland until his removal to Tasmania in 1864, while R. Ward's second term at New Plymouth extended to 1868. It will thus be seen how closely the early history of these two stations was identified with the two pioneers of our denomination in the Southern hemisphere. Within this period fell the excitement of the gold-fever—1851. R. Ward felt the full force of this in Auckland. The necessaries of life rose almost to famine prices. His quarter's salary did not meet his quarter's flour-bill. By reason of the fluctuations of population, the chapel he had built in Edwardes Street on land given through the Government by Sir George Grey, was alternately filled and emptied. Worse than this, he keenly felt his isolation by

* For a full description of this journey see "Jubilee Memorial Volume, or Fifty Years of Primitive Methodism in New Zealand," 1893—a very useful book, to which we acknowledge our indebtedness. The Rev. J. Whitely referred to above was murdered in 1869. His death marked the close of the Maori war.
the Home authorities and the lack of Connexional information.* Then the beginning of Mr. Ward's second term in New Plymouth coincided with the breaking out of the Taranaki war, which greatly disorganized the work of the church. Two of his sons bore arms as volunteers, and one was wounded. Often had he to minister consolation to the dying and the bereft. Later, Mr. Long and the society in Auckland had similar experiences to pass through during the nine months the Waikato war was raging—1863-4. It is necessary these facts should be written in order that we may learn through what difficulties Primitive Methodism in New Zealand had to struggle in its earlier years, and also that we may duly appreciate the courage, staying-power, and unshakable loyalty of our pioneers.

Wellington and Auckland hold the dust of R. Ward and Joseph Long. The former died in harness at Wellington in 1876; the latter ended his days in retirement at Auckland in 1892. At Wellington, too, the only superannuates in the New Zealand Conference—W. J. Dean and Joseph Dumbell—are spending their declining days. To Wellington and Auckland, also, A. J. Smith devoted ten years of fruitful service. He arrived in New Zealand in 1879, and in 1891 returned to England to take an honoured place in the ranks of the British Conference.

We must refer our readers to the official history of New Zealand Primitive Methodism for notices and portraits of many devoted men and women who have served the Connexion during the first fifty years of its history in the Colony. We are, however, able to give the portraits of two prominent laymen out of the many equally worthy of recognition. Mr. David Goldie, M.H.R., of Auckland, has for many years taken a leading part in the administrative life of the Colony, in Temperance and Sunday School work, as well as in the progress of his own Church. He was president of the District Meeting of 1885. Mr. Charles Manly Luke, J.P., of Wellington, is, perhaps, even still better known to Primitive Methodists in this country, as he represented the New Zealand churches at the Scarborough Conference of 1905. He, too, is deservedly popular in the Colony, and was president of the District Meeting of 1890.

Pleasing evidence of the loyalty and perseverance of Primitive Methodist settlers in New Zealand is furnished by the early history of the Christchurch, Invercargill, and Dunedin stations—the three stations represented at the first District Meeting of 1873 still undescribed. The colony established on the east coast of the South Island under High Church auspices is commemorated in Canterbury, the name of the province, and Christchurch, its chief city. How our Church got a footing amongst the "Canterbury Pilgrims" is succinctly told by Rev. J. Cocker.† "In 1860 a few

* Quite sufficient evidence for this statement will be found in the "Jubilee Memorial Volume" already referred to (see especially p. 145). After 1859 a very different policy was inaugurated (p. 153).

† Aldersgate Magazine, June, 1905.
Primitive Methodists met in the city and formed themselves into a society. For a time they carried on a mission, but ultimately the services fell through, several of the leading workers having moved to other parts of the Colony. Eight years later services were again commenced and, in 1871, Robert Ward was appointed first minister of the Christchurch Mission. The work prospered, and the surrounding districts were missioned by labourers sent out by the Christchurch Mission. To-day there are in the Province of Canterbury six Circuits and one Branch with eight ministers labouring upon them."

There is something in the very remoteness of Invercargill, and especially of its offshoot—Bluff, which strikes the imagination. There they stand on the confines of Southland, as the southern outpost of the empire, looking out towards the mysterious Antarctic Sea. Mr. C. Froggatt, from the Ludlow station in Shropshire, was the chief means of planting our Church in this southern Finisterre in 1872, and now the bells of Primitive Methodist churches call our people to their Sabbath worship.*

It was in January, 1875, during his official visit to the Australasian Churches, that Dr. S. Antliff, accompanied by W. J. Dean, organized the first Primitive Methodist society in Dunedin. The society of fifteen members then constituted kept together until the settlement of the first minister in 1876.

We cannot follow the process by which the circuits whose origin has been described have branched out and multiplied. Some idea of the way in which this extension has been brought about may be gained from the subjoined quotation, which for several reasons is worth giving. It relates to Greendale, one of the six circuits deriving from Christchurch, "the City of the Plains." The picture the quotation calls up has about it the colour, the spaciousness, the fresh breeziness of the new world. It shows us the original settler at work; and in this case the settler bears a familiar name which recalls Yorkshire Primitive Methodism, and we see how the piety of many of the emigrants from the old country was hardy enough to bear transplanting to a land on which other constellations look down.

"A short time previously [to R. Ward's taking charge of Christchurch], Mr. George Rudd had taken up his residence at Greendale, about thirty miles distant from Christchurch on the plains. In those early days there were no well-kept fences and fruitful cornfields, no comfortable homesteads; but as far as the eye could reach on every side, one wide expanse of brown tussocks, which swayed in the wind like the billows of the ocean. They had a monotony of their own, those extensive plains, before the settler cultivated them—a monotony which reminded one of the ocean—of its boundless expanse and freedom. Overhead arched the sky, deep blue in summer; and away from your feet the brown flat stretched, on the one hand to the distant horizon, where, from the roundness of the earth, it left a golden line against the blue; and on the other to the mountains, whose rugged crests for nine months in the year were white with snow. The story of Mr. Rudd's settlement on the plains reads almost like one of the pastoral scenes in the Old Testament.

* "A fine bell was also purchased and hung in the belfry [of Don Street Church, Invercargill] which on Sabbath days since then [1880] has called the people to the house of prayer." "At the Bluff there hangs in the belfry a small bell which once belonged to the 'Ann Gambles,' a ship which was wrecked on the rocks near by."—"Jubilee Memorial Volume," pp. 283–4.
"In the year 1867, in the month of October, Mr. Rudd and his youngest son James set out from their cottage on Shand's Tract, to the land which he had selected on the banks of the Hawkins, with horses, plough, dray, dog, etc., not forgetting, too, some loaves of bread which Mrs. Rudd had baked for their use. Remembering that their loaves were to last them a fortnight at least, they kept them in a basket which was placed in a hole dug out of the tussocks. 'Well do I remember (we quote from Mr. James Rudd) the first time we got the horses into the plough. I was very anxious to steam ahead, but father, not forgetting that the blessing of the Lord resteth upon those who acknowledge Him in all their ways, said, "Now, Jim, my lad, we must ask the blessing of God on our labours." The horses were started a few yards, the sod was turned up, and then we knelt down by the plough, and father told the Lord how we had come to this new country, and invoked His blessing upon our labours. And who shall say that God was not present? We were a lonely pair upon that lonely plain, yet God was surely there and heard our petition. Our first crop was put in, and proved the goodness of our Father in heaven in giving us a plenteous harvest.'

'There can be little wonder that prosperity crowned the labours of the pioneer settlers. God has said: 'Them that honour Me I will honour.' In due course a sod house was erected, with a roof of thatch, and there Mrs. Rudd and the other members of the family took up their residence. The farm flourished, and from time to time other settlers arrived in the district. That sod cottage, the first house of the Rudds at Greendale, was a hallowed spot. There the family altar was erected, and morning, noon, and night that gracious God whose blessings were so richly bestowed was acknowledged and devoutly worshipped. Mrs. Rudd was a true mother in Israel. Her cheerful spirit, her strong common sense, and her true piety, made a deep and lasting impression upon her sons and daughters, each of whom, in early life, professed conversion and in later years rendered valuable service to the Church."

It adds interest to the foregoing narrative to know that Mrs. Rudd was the sister of Jeremiah Dodsworth, author of "The Better Land." Before her marriage she was nurse in an English family in Paris, at whose house Louis Phillipe, king of the French, used to visit incog. One night, when seeing him to the door, he said: "I wish I were half as happy as you seem to be."

The United States.

How Primitive Methodism was carried to the U.S.A. has already been described (vol. i. p. 438), and it has also been stated that the Conference of 1843 had before it what were considered as bona fide overtures from the "American Primitive Methodist Church" for re-incorporation with the parent body. Still, ever since 1843, the relations between the two Churches have been anything but close; for the most part sentimental rather than real. What intermittent bond of connection there may have been has been the personal one supplied by the men whom the mother-Church has occasionally given or lent to its daughter Church in the States. Very soon after the Conference of 1844 Hugh Bourne crossed the Atlantic to visit the churches of Canada and the United States, returning in time for the Conference of 1846. He went out invested with the title of "Adviser from the English Conference." It would

be easy to attach too much significance to this visit, and to credit it with results it was never expected to yield. Our venerable founder volunteered for this work and, although many thought it unwise for one who was more than seventy years of age to undertake such a task, yet out of respect for the man they yielded to his urgently expressed desire. The expedition, from first to last, was a remarkable feat of zeal and endurance, very characteristic of the brave old man. More cannot well be said of it than this. Mr. Petty's statement that "his visit was not the most happy, either for himself or the leading brethren there," is amply borne out by the documentary evidence. The adviser and the advised did not always see eye to eye; for their standards of measurement were not the same.

For three months Hugh Bourne did duty as emergency minister in New York city, and before he embarked for home met with William Towler who, in January, 1846, had arrived to take over "the general superintendency of the United States Missions until the General Missionary Committee should direct otherwise." W. Towler was a man of fine presence and of equally fine character, a minister of experience, and an eloquent preacher. His appointment involved a double sacrifice; the Connexion parted with a minister doing good work at home in order that he might go on what was little better than a forlorn hope; while Mr. Towler himself left an assured position for one full of uncertainty and trial. We have now before us in MS. his "Notes, Correspondence with the General Missionary Committee," etc., which gives the history of his appointment, and his experience in fulfilling it until August, '46. The reading of this book heightens our estimate of Mr. Towler's character and ability; but it also leaves us with the decided impression that the United States Mission before 1843 makes the least brilliant page of our history, and that the less said about some who tarnished it the better. Not only is it true, as the first Missionary Report says, that "These Missions have suffered more from defections in their missionaries than any belonging to the Connexion;" but the conduct of some who were for a time the early agents of the Society was such as to invite failure and bring reproach on the denomination. Yet had Mr. Towler only been spared a few years he might have rallied the faithful remnant, and given character and strength to the churches. But, alas! he was struck with mortal illness soon after his return from Toronto, where his public efforts had made a great impression, and, to the grief of all who knew him, he died December 4th, 1846, in the fortieth year of his age. With his premature decease the bond of connection—apparently dependent on the slender thread of a human life—snapped, and the American Primitive Methodist Church resumed its independent course.

We anticipate a little in saying that in 1875 Joseph Odell went out to the U.S.A. to take charge of the church at Brooklyn, and remained there until 1880. In what follows we give the substance of a communication, kindly supplied by him, in which he not only refers to his own experience at Brooklyn, but touches on the difficulties Primitive Methodism has had to contend with in the U.S.A., and the causes of its comparative failure.

The great Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. is distinctively and aggressively Evangelistic. It is also most patriotic and American in its relations; while our little
churches appeared to be "very small English colonies," living within themselves, and not appealing to the young life of America. The "old country stamp" of our services appeared as recently as 1878-9; for all the Primitive Methodist churches on the stations were using the old Hymn Book, published from Sutton Street, containing the national anthem—"God save the Queen"—while no opportunity was given for the national airs of America to be sung at the services. Then the opportunities, both of social position and increasing salary, proved inducements to many of the missionaries, and they left us and joined the larger forces found everywhere around them. But there were some loyal men who continued their labours and retained their interest in the denomination. Where these laboured, as in Pennsylvania, the churches kept together in a little Conference, and found in Charles Spurr a faithful representative of our Connexion. In the West, chiefly in Wisconsin, there continued a small Conference of varying fortunes. The earliest centres were at New Diggings and Mineral Point. At the latter place the church continues, and has an influential position and a creditable structure of its own. For this position the Connexion is indebted in large measure to Mr. Philip Allen, sen.; and his son, P. Allen, the chief banker of the town, is to-day the honoured lay-leader of the church, and nobly supported the Rev. R. Chubb in the erection of the present church-buildings. The minister now there is Rev. T. W. Walker, one of the earliest representatives of the Evangelist's Home.

In New York city and Brooklyn little has really been done, although Brooklyn has always had a centre of Connexional life since the first missionaries arrived, and several of these made "Little Jacob," the first church in that city, a kind of head-quarters. It was not until 1875 that a suitable church-building was secured in that delightful city, and, unfortunately, the opening services had scarcely closed, and no proper adjustment of any of the funds had been possible, nor any mortgage secured, when a gross scandal occurred. At two weeks' call, in the month of March, 1876, Joseph Odell, with his wife and young children, arrived there to enter the breach and to stand for the virtue of clean life and the vindication of Primitive Methodism. Mr. Odell was lent for the emergency. It was a severe ordeal. Circumstances invested the already grave position with prejudice. The city sided with the violators of morality and left the mere handful of heroic Primitive Methodists to their fate. For many months the new minister received not a visit of welcome or recognition, save from English ministers, and these came rather out of sympathy than from admiration of the position. But faith in God and fidelity to truth won. Converts were made each Sabbath; vast and far-reaching improvements commenced; new missions were opened, and new institutions sprang up which greatly stirred the city. A Temperance organization called after the pastor, "The Odell Temperance League," achieved marvellous reforms; four drinking-saloons around the church were closed. This, of course, led to retaliation by the liquor-interest; the parsonage front was twice smashed in, and the pastor needed the special care of the police authorities. Such victories largely augmented the church and congregation and restored the confidence of the city. There were noble men associated with this church. Mr. Howard Darsley has for many years been its chief pillar. As a loyal Primitive Methodist he has been a tower of strength to every connexional cause, and a most hospitable friend to many ministers and their
families. During the period of Mr. Odell's ministry Mr. John Thatcher and his excellent wife became active members of the Brooklyn church, and ever since those days have never ceased to love its services and to look after its needs and expenses. To this day this family make Brooklyn Primitive Methodism a first call upon their estate, time, and service.

The Brooklyn church shares with mother Tunstall the honour of having received into its fold—the former in 1875—that remarkable and much-mistaken man—Joseph Barker. The life-history of Joseph Barker is full of thrilling interest—of adventure and change; and his lapse into infidelity was most painful and pathetic. It was, when on a visit to England and amongst old friends in the Potteries, that he was restored to the fellowship of Jesus Christ. Love conquered where argument would have been useless. On Mr. Barker's conversion the Press of the time made its comments; but its reality became evident. He sought everywhere the company of simple believers. He gave his library to the Primitive Methodist College, Sunderland, and on his return to U.S.A., joined the Brooklyn church, and spent a lengthened period in residence there. He also made a will giving to the Primitive Methodist Connexion vast tracts of land in Nebraska. Mr. Odell, on going to U.S.A., carried this document with him and verified its value, and interviewed the son and heir of Mr. Barker. Direct information was given to the General Committee, and a sum of money was accepted by the Connexion in settlement.*

The Brooklyn church still continues, but finds itself a down-town problem. In later years, and during Mr. Odell's stay in Brooklyn, a new movement was inaugurated in the New England States. Mr. N. W. Matthews left Mr. Odell's roof, and went first to Trenton and then to Lowell, Mass. He has proved most efficient and successful, and now the best Primitive Methodist Churches and Conference can be found in the region nearer Plymouth Rock and in the old Colony.

**Canada.**

The planting of Primitive Methodism in Canada has already been described (vol. i. p. 438). The first chapel built at Toronto in 1832 is shown in our picture. The plainness and simplicity of the building itself, the planked side-walk, the domestic fowls quietly pecking on the roadway—all these are quite in keeping with early colonial days, when what is now one of the most advanced cities in the British Empire was vulgarly known as "Muddy Little York." This somewhat primitive yet commodious structure served its day, and was superseded by Alice Street in 1854—the very year

* "The Primitive Methodists at Tunstall invited me to join their community, and as soon as I consistently could, I did so. I was afterwards accepted as a local preacher. My labours as a preacher and lecturer have been mostly in connection with that community. I was specially struck with the zeal, the labours, and the usefulness of the Primitive Methodists while on my way from the wilds of error; and my intercourse with its ministers and members since I became a Christian, has proved to me an unspeakable comfort and blessing. I have received from them the greatest kindness; and I pray God that I may prove a comfort and a blessing to them in return."—Joseph Barker's "Teachings of Experience," p. 170. In the preface to this remarkable book Mr. Barker names J. A. Bastow as one who helped to lead him back to Christ.
in which the Canadian churches were empowered to hold their first Conference and were free to enter upon their period of Church organization and development. Then, in 1874, the society that had successively worshipped in Bay Street and Alice Street (burnt down in '73) took possession of the noble pile of buildings in Carlton Street, which cost 50,000 dollars. At this time all the signs were prelusive of change. Primitive Methodism was being drawn into the current which ten years later was to merge it in the great Methodist Church of the Dominion. So it will be seen that the three buildings of our picture not inaptly symbolize the successive stages through which Canadian Primitive Methodism has passed; and it will be well to keep these stages in view as we proceed.

Everything goes to show that the missions in British North America were the most popular, and were regarded as being on the whole the most successful of our Colonial Missions. For one thing they had the advantage of being in closer touch with England, and though they had difficulties of their own to face, they were free from some of the special difficulties which militated against success in Australasia. Had

Alien Street Church, 1834. Bay Street Church, 1832. Carlton Street Church, 1874.

the Missionary Committee only been able to send out more men of the right stamp when emigration was at its height, the success realized would have been vastly greater than it was. The bulk of the Canadian immigrants did not remain stationary. Population did not agglomerate in one or two centres merely, but spread out like a fan, or like projectiles from a machine-gun. Clearly, therefore, the policy needed was to have a sufficient number of missionaries to follow in the wake of those going to take up land in the back settlements. Even as it was, with the limited means and few men at command, this kind of work was not neglected.

It was well for Primitive Methodism that it had, from the first, some families of standing and character connected with it who stood by the cause and rendered it increasing help as their own temporal circumstances improved. Chief among these were Messrs. W. Lawson, R. Walker, and J. Elliott formerly of Carlisle Circuit, and T. Thompson formerly of Driffield. Than R. Walker it would be difficult to point to a layman of finer type. He was no seeker of office, yet there were few positions of trust he did not fill. He was a generous giver to good causes, and he gave from principle and by rule. Mr. Walker was not unknown by face to Primitive Methodists
in this country: he was chairman of the great public meeting at the Grimsby Conference of 1869, and with J. C. Antill, B.D., represented Canadian Primitive Methodism at the Methodist Ecumenical Conference of 1881. He survived his friend and fellow-worker, W. Lawson, ten years, dying in 1885.*

Among the pioneer ministers of Canada, or among those who immediately succeeded the pioneers, were N. Watkins, W. Summersides, W. Lyle (1833–57); J. Lacey (’36–65), "a walking cyclopaedia of divinity, a man whom men crowded to hear"; W. Jolley (’38–44); M. Nichols (’41–54); John Towler, brother of W. Towler (’43–51); Thomas Adams (’44–65); Robert Boyle, D.D. (’46–80), an Irishman, "sensitive, clever, popular, much in demand among the churches"; James Edgar, D.D. (’46–80), "a man nearly all soul and sympathy"; John Davison (’47–61); John Garner (’48–81), the son of the John Garner we know so well, and son-in-law of John Flesher; W. Gledhill, an eccentric but saintly man, who returned to England in 1861.†

Matthew Nichols will be an unknown name to Primitive Methodists on this side the Atlantic; but it ought not to be unknown. In his ardent piety, consuming labours, and early death he reminds us of Thomas Proctor and Atkinson Smith and with such men as these he should ever be bracketed. He was a Norfolk lad who emigrated to Canada, and was carried off by cholera in the very midst of his successful toil. That he was a man of grit as well as grace may be inferred from his experience in opening the Guelph mission: "On this mission he was an entire stranger, and had to practise self-denial, suffer privations, endure fatigue, and perform labours sufficient to wreck a Heraclean constitution." Yet go where he might, "he rode on the crest of a wave of perpetual revival enthusiasm."

He would overwhelm a whole congregation with emotion while preaching from the text, "What mean ye to weep and break mine heart." His memory was revered by the many steadfast converts he had won.

John Davison was a man of very different type who demands an additional word. He was a convert of William Morris, the potter-friend of William Clowes, and joined the first society formed in Newcastle-on-Tyne. He entered the ministry in 1823, and soon gave evidence of the possession of those solid qualities which marked his after career. He was the step-son of William Clowes, and we are indebted to him for the publication of the *Journals* of William Clowes (1844) and also for the "Life" published in 1854. In 1847 he yielded to the request of the General Missionary Committee to go out to Canada, and for some years acted as a kind of Colonial Bishop, being vested

* See ante vol. i. p. 438 for his portrait. There is a good sketch of Mr. Walker in "A Memorial of the Centenary of the Venerable Hugh Bourne," 1872. See also "Old-Time Primitive Methodism in Canada," by Mrs. Hopper, 1904.

† The dates cover the years of active ministry in Canada. The brief characterizations are quoted from R. Cade, D.D., in "Old-Time Primitive Methodism in Canada."
by the Conference with authority "to visit the stations, counsel the missionaries, preachers and societies, and to open new missions." He started the Evangelist on his own responsibility, and when in 1858 that journal was merged in the Christian Journal, he became its editor, and also Book Steward until his superannuation in 1866. He also compiled the first Book of Discipline, and for nine years—'57-'66—was Missionary Secretary. He was present as a delegate at the Grimsby Conference of 1869, and died in 1884 with the words upon his lips: "I believe in the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting."

It was fitting that such a man should be the General Committee Secretary of the first Canadian Conference which was held at Brampton, named after Brampton in Cumberland by Mr. John Elliott, one of the first settlers, and a devoted Primitive Methodist. At this time, April, 1854, there were two Districts, 15 stations, 23 ministers, and 2326 members.

For the sake of convenience and more efficient working the Canadian "appointments" were, in '60, re-arranged in six Districts. The establishment of a Book-Room, the publication of a denominational organ, and the appointment of a General Missionary Secretary, were all movements in the same direction. The question of the better education of the ministry also forced itself to the front, and in '66, T. Crompton stands on the stations as Theological Tutor. Next year G. Lewis, B.A., is, in addition, named as English and Classical Tutor. We judge Mr. Lewis would be the first minister in the denomination who obtained a diploma by residence at a University, as J. C. Antliff, B.D., was the first minister of the British Conference to do so. In 1870, however, the Institute was discontinued, and it was decided that young men who took the two years' course at Toronto University should have one year deducted from their probationary term. It should also be stated that Dr. S. Antliff visited the Canadian churches in '71, and G. Lamb in '76, when his presence at a critical time was of great value.

During this period several ministers went out from England who took an active part in the expansion and internal development of Canadian Primitive Methodism. Messrs. T. Crompton and W. Rowe arrived in '54, W. Bee in '56. Still later, J. F. Porter and G. P. Clark went out in '71 and '72 respectively, and after some years' labours returned to do good work under the British Conference. By special request Thomas Guttery went out in '76 and J. C. Antliff, B.D., in '80.

Mr. Rowe rendered efficient service in Canada. For five years he was General Missionary Secretary and Book Steward, and from '71 to '73 was in the Editorial chair. Not only did he fill these positions of trust. In Toronto the Church never prospered more than during Mr. Rowe's superintendency. Churches were erected in Parliament Street, Queen Street, a new church built at Yorkville, and the
ministerial staff increased. The stations constituting the London District were, with the exception of two, created and formed by Mr. Rowe, who spent several years in following the settlers into new townships and organizing them into Primitive Methodist churches.* Through failure of health Mr. Rowe superannuated in 1873 and returned to this country, and was cordially received by the Conference. He afterwards filled the position of Principal of the Ladies' College, Clapham Common, and is now enjoying a hale and vigorous old age, still often filling the pulpits of the churches near his residence at Kew.

Thomas Guttery went out to Toronto in 1871, and returned to England with impaired health in 1879. He was pastor of the Alice Street (afterwards Carlton Street) Church for five years, and then of the Yorkville Church. He was known as the foremost representative of his Church and as an eloquent preacher. He edited the Christian Journal with an ability which amply justified his appointment in '92 as vice to the Connexional Editor. As we all know, he did not live to reach the position for which he was so eminently fitted. Though he bravely battled with disease, it was in vain. During the sittings of the Edinburgh Conference of '95 the end came, and the lips of one of the most eloquent ministers Primitive Methodism has produced were closed in death.

The last, like the first Primitive Methodist Conference in Canada, was held at Brampton, in 1884.

* "Old-Time Primitive Methodism in Canada."