Worship, social gatherings and the 'more-than-Wesleyan': the multiple uses and congregational experiences of London's Wesleyan Methodist chapels (1851-1932)

Abstract:

Using two geographically contrasting case studies, this paper explores the multiple ways in which London's purpose-built Wesleyan chapels were used between the 1851 religious census and the reunification of the Methodist Church in 1932. Specifically focusing on chapels in the Bow and Highgate areas of London, it explores how the uses of these spaces varied over time and space, highlighting similarities and differences between urban and suburban Wesleyanism. Identifying three categories of chapel use associated with worship, social gatherings, and more-than-Wesleyan uses, it traces the practices, people and objects connected to these different uses and argues that they can provide insights into historical congregational experiences. As such, this paper makes a rare historical contribution to broader discussions within current geographical studies of religion about individuals' everyday experiences of religion, faith, and spirituality.

Key Words:

Religion, Architecture, Chapel, Congregation, Methodism, Everyday

Word count: 8015

Worship, social gatherings and the 'more-than-Wesleyan': the multiple uses and congregational experiences of London's Wesleyan Methodist chapels (1851-1932)

Introduction

Using two geographically contrasting case studies, this paper will explore the multiple ways in which London's purpose-built Wesleyan chapels were used between the 1851 religious census and the reunification of the Methodist Church in 1932. Considering how the uses of these spaces varied over time and space, it will reflect on what they reveal about congregational experiences of Wesleyan spaces in different parts of the city. As such, this paper will make a rare historical contribution to broader geographical discussions about individuals' everyday experiences of religion, faith, and spirituality.[1]

Initiated as a radical movement within the Church of England during the eighteenth century, Methodism gained its name in response to its members' methodical approaches to religious disciplines such as prayer, worship, and fasting.[2] After the death of its founder John Wesley in 1791, Methodism was established as a denomination outside of the Church of England and during the nineteenth century split into factions, including the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists. Although differentiated by theology, politics, and practice, these denominations shared core beliefs in salvation through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, all emphasised the importance of converting others to faith via evangelicalism, and all prioritised Methodist fellowship in order to encourage each other in faith.[3]

This paper will focus on London's Wesleyan Methodists, the most numerically significant Methodist denomination in the city during this period.[4] Self-identifying as the original inheritors of John Wesley's beliefs and practices, by the mid-nineteenth century Wesleyans

had begun to dispense with the most radical elements of the movement's original practices and strived for the status of an established Church.[5] They did embrace elements of the Victorian social gospel through their own 'Forward Movement'; a set of ideas, rather than an organisation or campaign group that pushed for a more democratic denomination that could engage with all society's social scales through spaces such as central halls and mission centres.[6] However, they simultaneously erected large, architecturally impressive chapels to emphasise the presence and permanence of Wesleyanism across Britain and cultivate their appeal to the middle classes.[7] Much has been written about both the external style and internal arrangement of Wesleyan chapels, Central Halls and mission halls, but little attention has been paid to the intersections between their design and use within London's diverse nineteenth- and early twentieth-century landscape.[8] In her research into the changing design and use of the Archway Methodist Central Hall between 1934 and 2010, Angela Connelly demonstrated the benefits of thinking about Methodist spaces as simultaneously physically designed and socially constructed spaces.[9] However, specifically focusing on Wesleyan chapels, this paper will go one step further. Drawing on insights from Methodist history, geographical studies of everyday religion, and anthropological material religion approaches, it will use purpose-built Wesleyan chapels as starting points to explore congregational experiences of Wesleyanism between 1851 and 1932.

Much has been written about the changing nature of faith and faith buildings in London during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[10] However, London's Methodist communities have often been overlooked within Methodist histories, due to a broadly held consensus that London's Methodist communities were unrepresentative of British Methodism more broadly.[11] Consequently, established within the broader literature on urban Methodism, this paper will contribute to a small number of studies that have shown how vast archival

resources left by London's Methodist communities contain invaluable insights into both the history and historical geography of Methodism and religion, in London and cities more broadly.[12] In addition, drawing on increasing interdisciplinary interest in 'the everyday', this paper will disrupt Methodist histories' focus on the denomination's leaders, theology, and official practices.[13] While geographers of contemporary religion, faith, and spirituality have paid ever-increasing attention to individuals' personal engagements in broadly defined spiritual practices in a huge array of different spaces, despite some notable exceptions, historical geography has yet to make the same enthusiastic engagement with questions about the meaning of 'religion' or how the people of the past experienced it.[14] To some extent this is a result of the limitations placed on historical research by the nature of the archives that have survived. Often official documents of religious institutions, they rarely contain references to the ideas, opinions, or experiences of ordinary congregation members. However, historians and historical geographers have begun to draw on anthropological ideas around material religion and demonstrate how creative approaches to existing archives can enable insights into historical congregations' experiences of religion.[15]

Building on these approaches, this paper will not only reflect on exactly what happened in London's Wesleyan chapels, but will also consider how these different activities resulted in particular amalgamations of objects, practices, and human relationships. It will ask what congregants were doing, who and what (people and objects) they were engaging with, and how they were engaging with them during different activities. Focusing on these shifting interrelationships, this paper will argue that Wesleyan chapels gained a multitude of meanings as their uses changed across time and space. Furthermore, it will show that it is possible to gain insights into congregational experiences of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Wesleyanism by tracing chapels' fluctuating meanings and the many different

spiritual, social, and material engagements that congregation members had when involved with different activities within chapel spaces.

To begin, this paper will introduce its two geographically diverse case studies – Wesleyan Methodist communities in Bow and Highgate. Then, it will explore the varying uses of these chapels in three sections: worship, social gatherings and more-than-Wesleyan uses of chapel spaces. While broadly identifying the range of activities that occurred in London's chapels, each of these sections will focus on particular case studies to facilitate in-depth analysis of the effect of particular amalgamations on practices, people and objects on congregational experiences.

London's Wesleyan Methodism Chapels, 1851-1932

In 1935 the Methodist Church conducted an audit of their property in London and created a map which marked the peripheries of London as Edmonton in the north, East Ham in the east, West Norwood in the south and West Ealing in the west.[16] This map marks this paper's area of interest, but its specific case studies have been selected through consideration of the patterns of Wesleyan chapel construction and popularity illustrated by various religious surveys conducted in London between 1851 and 1932.[17] These sources suggest that throughout this period large numbers of chapels were built in London's developing suburbs and that inner-city areas found it consistently difficult to construct enough chapels for the ever-growing population. They also indicate that there were particular areas of central London where Wesleyanism had a greater presence. In the middle of the nineteenth century they suggest that Wesleyanism had flourishing congregations in areas of west London (such as Chelsea), while by the beginning of the twentieth century they indicate that Wesleyan resources were focused on the East End of the city.

Responding to these trends, this paper will focus on two contrasting geographical areas - Poplar and Bow in London's East End and the north London suburb of Highgate – facilitating exploration of the extent to which the uses of Wesleyan chapels varied in London's different geographical contexts. In each area this paper will focus on purpose-built Wesleyan chapels arranged within the Bow (later Poplar and Bow) and Highgate Circuits. A Methodist organisational unit, 'circuits' were (and are) a set of chapels, mission halls, and other Methodist properties located within a specific geographical area that shared ministers, resources, and practices.[18] Established in 1861, the Bow Circuit was positioned east of the City of London and initially encompassed Bow, Bromley-by-Bow and Mile-End, but was extended in 1900 to include Poplar and the Isle of Dogs (Figure 1). As a result, the number of chapels and mission halls in the Circuit regularly changed, but at its largest it included six chapels (and various mission halls): Bow Road, Bow Common, Old Ford, Poplar, Millwall, Cubitt Town.[19] Established over ten years later in 1873, the Highgate Circuit was located at the northern extremity of nineteenth-century London and expanded well beyond the geographical boundaries of Highgate itself. Located in a quickly developing late nineteenth-century London suburb, at its largest it was comprised of six chapels and various mission halls located in Holloway, Archway, Hornsey, Muswell Hill and Highgate (Figure 2).[20] Table 1 provides an overview of the relative size of chapel congregations in both circuits in 1888 and 1904.

[Position Figures 1 & 2 and Table 1 near here]

When initially established the Bow Circuit was located within a middle-class suburb, but as the century progressed the surrounding area developed into a comfortable working-class

district, before becoming increasingly deprived as a result of its geographical proximity to the working-class docklands of Poplar and the Isle of Dogs.[21] Although never a flexible mission circuit that simply focused on evangelical practices, the Bow Circuit did respond to the changing needs of its local community and adopted new practices in line with the social gospel of the contemporarily developing Wesleyan Forward Movement.[22] The Highgate Circuit's position on a steep hill north of the City of London, meant that until the latter decades of the nineteenth century it was difficult to access and was known as a space of retreat from urban life for the wealthy middle class. When new transport links developed between Highgate and the City of London, the area became more accessible and developed into a predominately wealthy suburb.[23] In response, the Highgate Circuit constructed new, increasingly grand and impressive chapels in developing residential areas, which catered for professional members of the middle-class and their servants.

The shifting characteristics of the Bow and Highgate Circuits can be traced through the architectural styles of their chapels. One of the last chapels to be constructed in Poplar, the 1887 Millwall Chapel (sometimes referred to as the Alpha Road Wesleyan Chapel) was a simple rectangular building with modest decorative features around its doors and windows (Figure 3).[24] This humble structure and decorative scheme were much plainer than the more ornate façade and prominent circular window of the earlier Old For Chapel, built in the Bow Circuit between 1867 and 1870 (Figure 4), and very different from the (now demolished) Poplar Chapel, which was described as a model chapel when its gothic design was first revealed in 1848 (Figure 5).[25]

[Position Figures 3, 4 and 5 near here].

These different architectural styles are indicative of how the Circuit's financial fortunes declined as the economic status of local residents changed. However, it also demonstrates how Wesleyans were keen to use architectural styles that would appeal to the tastes of the community they were building them for. Contemporaries believed that while gothic architectural features may appeal to middle-class congregants, working class communities would find them alienating.[26] Therefore, the neogothic turrets and patterned brick work of the Jackson's Lane Chapel in the Highgate Circuit, opened in 1905, not only demonstrates the differences between the wealth of the Bow and Highgate Circuits, but also the sorts of individuals the Highgate Circuit was trying to appeal to (Figure 6).[27]

[Position Figure 6 near here].

However, despite their array of architectural styles, there were also many similarities between the design of the chapels in the Bow and Highgate Circuits. In 1850, the Methodist artist and architect F.J. Jobson's published *Chapel and School Architecture,* an architectural treatise for the ideal design of Wesleyan chapels. Jobson recommended that all Wesleyan chapels should integrate vestries and classrooms into their internal arrangement to provide a variety of spaces that could be flexibly used for multiple activities.[28] The proposed ground plan of Jackson's Lane Chapel in Highgate demonstrates how this was implemented in practice. In addition to the sanctuary space in the middle of the chapel used for Sunday services, with pews and a central aisle, the chapel had galleries, small vestries on either side of the pulpit, classrooms, a large infants' school, and a church parlour (Figure 7). The remnants of surviving chapels, historical ground plans, and descriptions of demolished chapels suggest Jobson's recommendations were adopted by all the chapels in the Bow and Highgate Circuits.[29] As a result, none of the chapels in either circuit were singular rooms or spaces and

each are best described as complexes.[30] Reflecting on how these complexes were used, this paper will consider the extent to which the uses of Wesleyan chapels varied across London's diverse nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century landscape and the impact this had on congregational experiences of Wesleyanism.

[Position Figure 7 near here].

Worship

Worship was a fundamental use of all nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Wesleyan chapels, including prayer, sung worship, reading and preaching from the Bible, and divine encounter. However, worship took different forms in different chapels, on different days of the week, and at different times of the day. Over the course of a week, a single chapel could host several Sunday services, numerous mid-week services, regular prayer meetings, weekly class meetings (where congregants were encouraged and supported in their faith), and love feasts (time to share testimonies of God's faithfulness and provision). Specifically discussing the diversity of Sunday services, this section will explore the variations between the spiritual uses of Wesleyan chapels in different areas of London.

All Wesleyan chapels held at least one Sunday service and many hosted two or three. There were some elements found in all these Sunday gatherings, including reading and preaching from the Bible and singing hymns.[31] However, the formats of Sunday services were different in different chapels, at different times of the day, and changed over the course of this paper's period of study. Reflecting Methodism's Anglican heritage, Methodist liturgy - stipulating prayers and scriptures for Sunday morning and evening prayer meetings, litany and rites for

the Lord's Supper, baptisms, matrimony, communion of the sick, burial of the dead and ordinations - had its roots in the *Book of Common Prayer*.[32] However, by the late nineteenth century, as the Church of England increasingly embraced Roman Catholic practices, questions were raised about the suitability of the Wesleyans' use of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Therefore, in 1874 the Wesleyan Conference set out to revise the Church of England's liturgy and remove elements considered detrimental to evangelical Protestantism. But when the Wesleyan Conference published the *Book of Public Prayers and Services* in 1882 it was still based on the *Book of Common Prayer* and congregations could choose to use either or neither of these liturgical frameworks.[33] As a result, there was a lot of variation in the structure of Sunday services in different geographical locations and at different times of the day.

Firstly, there were differences between the liturgical structure of morning and evening services. During the 1970s Clive Field asked members of Methodist communities who had memories of being part of Wesleyan chapels prior to 1932 to complete a questionnaire about their experiences. Many emphasised the contrast between morning and evening services. They explained that morning services were often more sacramental, stuck more strictly to the official liturgy, and were attended by wealthier members of the local community. In contrast, they described how evening services dispensed with liturgical structures to serve a more evangelical purpose and were often attended by housewives and maids whose domestic duties prevented them from attending morning services.[34] A programme for the morning, afternoon and evening anniversary services at Archway Road Chapel in 1885 supports these observations. While the morning service was the most formal of the three, including a collect, hymns and a sermon, the afternoon service (specifically aimed at children) simply comprised

of hymns, and the evening service was positioned somewhere between the two, containing Bible readings, prayers and hymns.[35]

There were also variations between the application of Wesleyan liturgy in different geographical areas. Rev. F. C. Vale, one of Clive Field's respondents, noted that by the early twentieth century there was often a difference between the popularity and demography of morning and evening services in inner city and suburban chapels. He explained that in urban centres evening services were always the largest gatherings, while morning services were more popular in the suburbs.[36] In general, chapels in the Bow and Highgate Circuits appear to have conformed to this trend. Mr H. A. Seager, a member of Poplar Chapel between 1904 and 1938 and another respondent to Clive Field's questionnaires, noted that Sunday evening services were more popular in Poplar due to the habits of the local residents (a pattern that Table 1 demonstrates was already emerging in 1888).[37] Often working six-day weeks, male members of the Bow Circuit generally prioritised sleep over chapel on Sunday mornings and female members were unable to attend due to their domestic commitments.[38] Furthermore, the overtly evangelical Bow Circuit reduced the formal liturgy in their evening services, and even held magic lantern and cinema services in their chapels on Sunday evenings, to make them more approachable for the 'unchurched' local community.[39] In contrast, Mr Bevis W. H. Ridley, who was a member of Highgate Circuit between 1919 and 1975, described how morning services following abridged Anglican liturgy were attended by long-standing influential members of chapels' congregations, and were the most popular services in the circuit (a pattern that Table 1 suggests was already emerging in 1888).[40] The popularity of Highgate Circuit's morning services reflects the community's predominately middle-class demographic and although the circuit hosted less structured evening services (that were notably frequented by large numbers of local housemaids), influential members of the

circuit's congregations fought hard to maintain and prioritise the liturgical structures they were used to in Sunday services.[41]

In many ways, these variations in worship practices demonstrate the different ways and extents to which the Forward Movement's ideas were adopted and implemented in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But rather than focusing on what caused these variations, this paper's priority is to reflect on their impact and what this suggests about the variations between congregational experiences of Wesleyanism. Congregants who attended tightly structured liturgical services had their movements, thoughts and spiritual encounters directed and formalised by the service's configuration, which stipulated actions such as standing and kneeling in association with praying, singing, and taking communion.[42] In contrast, descriptions of informal cinema services in the Poplar Chapel in the early twentieth century suggest that attendants' actions were much less regulated.[43] In addition, aimed at established members of chapels' congregations, liturgically structured services would have been attended by a settled core of local residents, while the less formal format of evangelical services, would have led to a constantly changing congregational cohort. For instance, Rev. Lax – minister of the Poplar Chapel between 1902 and 1937 – explained how the Bow Circuit's cinema services only resulted in some attendants becoming regular chapel members.[44] These contrasting attendance practices would have created distinctly different relationships between congregations and meant that those worshiping amongst long-standing acquaintances and friends had very different experiences to those infrequently participating in events with large groups of strangers.

In addition to the geographical and temporal varieties already discussed, the character of Sunday services also changed as a result of Wesleyan communities' annual rhythms and the

material things that temporarily appeared in chapel sanctuaries to mark and aid regular events and festivals such as communion, Harvest, Christmas, the new year, chapel anniversaries, and fundraising events.[45] For instance, largely kept in chapel safes, communion vessels were only displayed in chapel sanctuaries on Sundays when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered.[46] Similarly, special decorations were specially erected in Wesleyan chapels during harvest festivals and specialised collection boxes – marked with the name of specific charities – would have been administrated during themed Sunday services.[47] Therefore, material things provided congregation members with a visual indication of the sort of service they were about to partake in. They also altered individuals' sensory engagements with Wesleyan spaces; Harvest Festival decorations introduced different smells into chapel spaces and the materiality of bread and (normally non-alcoholic) wine evoked particular taste buds. Consequently, the material differences between various Sunday service practices further contributed to the various congregational experiences that these events created.

Therefore, although Sunday services were a key element of Wesleyan practices in both the Bow and Highgate Circuits between 1851 and 1932, they were not singular or cohesive activities. The Highgate Circuit's morning services closely followed Wesleyan liturgy, but by the twentieth century its evening services like those held in the Bow Circuit were less structured. Reflecting the demographic of the congregations they were trying to appeal to, these service practices contributed to different relational bonds between congregation members and levels of control of congregational bodies. Furthermore, the material variations which accompanied these service types, also influenced congregational experiences by creating different sensory atmospheres.

Social gatherings

In addition to worship, Wesleyan chapels were also regularly used to host social gatherings. In combination with events such as class meetings and love feasts, chapels organised social gatherings to foster networks of congregational fellowship that would encourage and support individuals in their faith. Simultaneously, as part of the same social conscience that informed developments in Wesleyans' Sunday services, they also hosted social activities that would appeal to 'unchurched' members of their local communities.[48] Focusing on two examples of social gatherings hosted in the Bow and Highgate Circuits, this section will reflect on the changes which occurred to these activities in London between 1851 and 1932, consider how these alternative uses of chapel spaces further contributed to their many identities, and suggest how these activities informed congregational experiences of this denomination.

Chapels from both the Bow and Highgate Circuits regularly organised social gatherings.[49] These gatherings took different forms and changed over time. During the 1860s, 70s and 80s, most were tea meetings.[50] By the 1890s, as the ideas of the Forward Movement became more prominent and within the continuing context of 'muscular Christianity', the range of social gatherings began to expand to include musical concerts, recreational groups (tennis and cricket clubs), and gatherings for particular demographic groups (young men and older children). [51] In both circuits, the diversity and regularity of social gatherings increased further during the early twentieth century. While occasional tea meetings continued to be organised,[52] they were less common than sports groups,[53] fetes and parties,[54] and theatrical and musical competitions and performances.[55] Interestingly, although the Bow and Highgate Circuits were operating in different social contexts, there were strikingly similar patterns between the type and frequency of social activities they organised.

Many social gatherings temporarily introduced different activities and material objects into chapel spaces. For example, in 1920 Holly Park Chapel's choir held a social evening in the chapel's vestry, at which 'various competitions were planned with diabolical astuteness and wicked intent by Miss Atkinson, Miss Fish, Mr Herring and Mr Berry.'[56] These games included guess the composer's name, musical bumps, a bun eating competition, and what was described as 'a weird and painful ordeal for eight victims who in an odd moment consented to have their noses only scrutinised as a means of identification.'[57] These activities influenced participants' sensory and embodied experiences: while playing musical bumps many choir members 'sustained bruises' as they missed the buffets on they were meant to land, the winner of the bun eating competition had indigestion after swallowing one bun whole, and those whose identities were guessed via the shape of their nose not only had to push their nose through the hole in the screen, but also had the strange experience of having this 'appendage' stroked and prodded by other members of the party.[58] While these party games and the sensory experiences which accompanied them would have been an unusual – even unique – appropriation of the chapel's vestry, similar social gatherings that resulted in particular congregational experiences happened on a regular basis, and members of the Holly Park Chapel choir would probably have remembered these activities and how they informed their experience of the vestry long after the fun and games were over.

In addition to temporarily using spaces in Wesleyan chapels for social gatherings, communities within both the Bow and Highgate Circuits also appropriated particular spaces as (semi-)permanent locations for specific groups or organisations. For example, in the early twentieth century, the Poplar and Archway Road Chapels permanently set spaces aside for the fellowship of young men and women.[59] By establishing single social uses for particular areas within their chapel complexes, these communities created contexts in which young men

and women could attend social activities without engaging with the spaces, people, or practices in the rest of the complex. This would have influenced congregational experiences of these spaces by restricting interactions between different age groups and limiting the extent to which the younger community experienced chapel complexes as simultaneously spiritual and social spaces. However, congregational responses to the activities that took place in these permanent social spaces illustrate how chapel communities still considered them to be a fundamental element of their chapel complexes. For example, in 1904 there were complaints about the level of noise emanating from the young men's room at Poplar Chapel and in 1913 there was controversy when the young men at Archway Road Chapel requested that they be allowed a billiard table in their clubroom. In the first instance, the noise made by the social activities engaged in by the Poplar Chapel's young men, disrupted class and prayer meetings that were happening in other parts of the chapel complex, while the young men from the Archway Road Chapel's request for a billiard table roused concerns about the possibility of gambling on the chapel's premises. In the end, the Poplar Chapel requested that the young men be more considerate of others using the chapel and how the noise they were making might affect them, while the Archway Road Chapel's trustees provided a billiard table for the young men's clubroom, but stipulated that only chapel members were allowed to use it and that no money was to change hands while games were played.[60] Therefore, the activities and behaviours undertaken in chapels spaces used for particular social practices, had the potential to influence the identity of the whole chapel and affect congregational sensory experiences throughout these locations.

Often held in the same vestries and classrooms used for mid-week services and prayer meetings, social gatherings continually introduced alternative activities distinctly different from the practices associated with divine worship. As a result, they redesigned these

architectural spaces through the practices, social exchanges, and material objects they required and facilitated. Ranging from tea parties to choir concerts, recreational clubs to sewing meetings, the sorts of social activities Wesleyans hosted in London changed between 1851 and 1932. However, there was a striking parity between the way that these social practices developed in both the Bow and Highgate Circuits, suggesting the Wesleyan social activities were similar throughout the city. These social events resulted in multiple embodied and emotional experiences – such as bruises, indigestion, and disconnection between age groups – that would not have occurred in Wesleyan chapels if they had simply been used as the locations of divine worship. Therefore, thinking about the variety of ways in which Wesleyan chapels were used provides insights into the consistencies and varieties between congregational experiences of Wesleyanism in London between 1851 and 1932.

More-than-Wesleyan uses

In addition to Wesleyan uses of chapel complexes, chapels in the Bow and Highgate Circuits also hosted activities not directly associated with, or organised by, their chapel communities. Large, conveniently located (sub)urban institutions, chapels provided expedient locations for charitable meetings, medical centres, secular business practices, and political gatherings.[61] While grateful for the additional income received by renting their spaces to external users, Wesleyan communities took steps to carefully choose and monitor more-than-Wesleyan uses and users of their spaces to ensure that they were appropriate. For example, despite close ties between the nineteenth-century Wesleyan Church and the contemporary Temperance movement, individual chapels carefully scrutinised requests from temperance societies to use their chapel spaces. In 1884 the Archway Road Chapel trustees granted The Temperance Society permission to use their chapel for the society's annual meeting on the condition that,

because the society did not have a direct link to the Wesleyan Conference, the names of the chairman and speakers were provided in advance.[62] Indeed, over ten years later in 1895, when the trustees became aware that Sir Wilfrid Lawson – the Liberal MP for the Cockermouth division of Cumbria, who was outspoken in his support for temperance and home rule in Ireland – was listed as the society's chief speaker, Archway Road's trustees refused the society permission to use the chapel explaining that they were 'of opinion that the peace and prosperity of the church would be best presented by the meeting not being held in the chapel'.[63] Similarly, although the Bow Road Chapel trustees' eventually decided to grant the Tower Hamlets Federation use of their chapel for a public meeting about the Temperance Question in 1894, there were initially considerable concerns from some that it was an inappropriately overt political use of the space.[64] These examples demonstrate how Wesleyan communities thought carefully about who could use their space and took steps to prevent their chapels being used in ways which could cause controversy and tension.

Nevertheless, despite trustees' concerns about the political nature of temperance meetings, Wesleyan chapels were never a-political spaces and historians have regularly reflected on the link between Methodism and politics.[65] Indeed, there is significant evidence that congregation members and chapel leaders from both the Bow and Highgate Circuits regularly used chapel spaces to raise and promote political issues closely aligned to Wesleyanism's theological values.[66] However, despite efforts to control the more-than-Wesleyan uses of chapels, Wesleyan spaces were also infiltrated by political practices and activities that were not directly motivated by Methodist belief or initiated by the Methodist communities.

For example, in his second autobiography, Rev. Lax, Minister of the Poplar Chapel in the Bow Circuit between 1902 and 1937, recounted how his chapel became the site of a

Suffragette protest in the early years of the twentieth century. The protest occurred when Mr Sidney Buxton, a member of the contemporary Liberal Government, spoke at the chapel's annual anniversary celebrations. Buxton had begun to speak, when:

> …thirty of forty women rose to their feet and began to shout, 'Votes for Women!'. More than that, they chained themselves to the pews, for the architecture, being Gothic, lent itself to that manoeuvre.[67]

Lax reflected on the transgressive nature of these actions, describing how the women responded to Buxton's appealed for them to moderate their behaviour in light of the 'sacred' space in which they were located, by arguing that ''Votes for Women' was a sacred cause.'[68] He therefore understood how alternative, in this instance uncontrolled, uses of Wesleyan space could serve to disrupt chapel identities. He was also aware of how alternative uses of chapels' material culture could affect congregational experiences in these spaces. Observing that the protesting Suffragettes were able to secure their position within the chapel by chaining themselves to the gothic pews (Figure 5), he understood how the chapel's highly praised gothic features, initially implemented in response to the theological appropriateness of this style, had been re-appropriated for a particular political cause. Finally, Lax was also conscious of the impact this event had on congregational experiences of the chapel space. Describing how the chapel's stewards were 'nonplussed' at the women's actions and noting that the protest 'gave the historic touch to an ordinary anniversary meeting', he clearly felt that this alternative use of the chapel space surprised regular congregation members, remained long in their memories, and changed their perception of that space forever.[69]

Therefore, more-than-Wesleyan uses of Wesleyan chapels complicated the meanings of Wesleyan chapels and the experiences that congregation members had within them. While political engagement was common within London's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century chapels, more-than-Wesleyan uses of these spaces opened them to a broader range of users, re-appropriated Wesleyan material culture or material practices for alternative purposes and introduced new practices into these spaces. Some of these actions were particularly disruptive and would have permanently changed congregants' perceptions of their chapel spaces.

Conclusions

Consideration of the Wesleyan chapels in London's Bow and Highgate's Circuits has illustrated the variety of ways in which these spaces were used. Specifically, it has demonstrated how Methodist spaces were used for Wesleyan worship, prayer and spiritual development; Wesleyan fellowship, social action and social interactions; and more-than-Wesleyan charitable, medical, commercial, and political practices. These broad categories of practice changed at different rates in different parts of London between 1851 and 1932. Divine worship practices developed dramatically in both the Bow and Highgate Circuits throughout this period and there were significant differences between these practices in both. In contrast, developments in the sorts of social gatherings conducted in Wesleyan chapels followed a similar pattern in both circuits and more-than-Wesleyan political uses of Wesleyan chapels were also conducted in both. Therefore, despite the huge differences between the trajectories and social geographies of the areas in which the Bow and Highgate Circuits were located, consideration of the breadth of the activities which occurred within their chapels – rather than just their Sunday services – suggests that there were more similarities between the ways these spaces were used than may be expected.

The many different uses of Bow and Highgate's Wesleyan spaces introduced diverse practices, people, and objects. Some were temporary additions, while others were more permanent. Nevertheless, they all changed the identity of Wesleyan spaces and affected how they were experienced by congregations. The examples included in this paper have demonstrated how these people, objects, and practices transformed chapels from spaces of sacred interaction into spaces of play and enjoyment, from spaces of religious community into spaces of separation and distinction, and from spaces of communal belief into spaces of aggressive political action. Furthermore, these alternative activities resulted in specific embodied movements, sensory experiences, and emotional responses and therefore contributed to a range of different congregational experiences. These spatial identities and congregational experiences often co-existed, becoming more-or-less important at different points in the rhythm of chapels daily, weekly, and annual routines, or momentarily disrupted these rhythms.

Consequently, this paper has traced something of the geographical variety of the experiences that congregations would have had of Wesleyanism in London between 1851 and 1932. It has shown that while it is rare to gain access to detailed, written reflections on congregants' everyday experiences of Wesleyan spaces and how they varied during the regular rhythms of chapel life, there is evidence that can contribute insights into these experiences. While the conclusions this paper has drawn often rely on imaginative approaches to the archival material, they are rooted in the documents London's Wesleyan communities left and demonstrate how even the smallest reference to everyday activities can contribute to larger narratives of personal, everyday experiences.

List of Figures & Tables

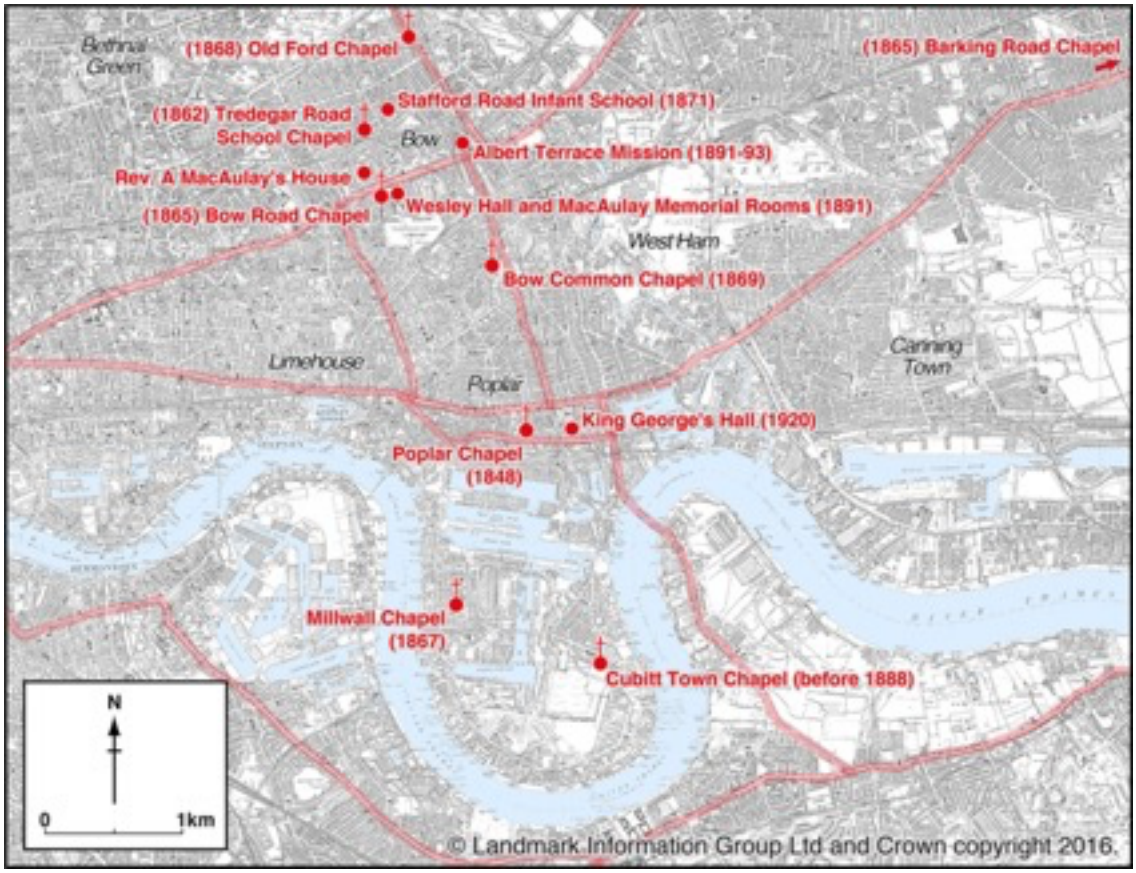

Figure 1: Map of the Bow Circuit 1862-1932. This map shows the locations of all the chapels and mission halls that functioned in the Bow (later the Poplar and Bow) Circuit from 1851 – 1932 on the 1930 Ordinance Survey Map. The red lines mark the main roads in 2016 to provide some context for the circuit's composition. Courtesy of Miles Irving from the UCL Geography Drawing Office, Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, CC-BY-SA, opendatacommons.org.

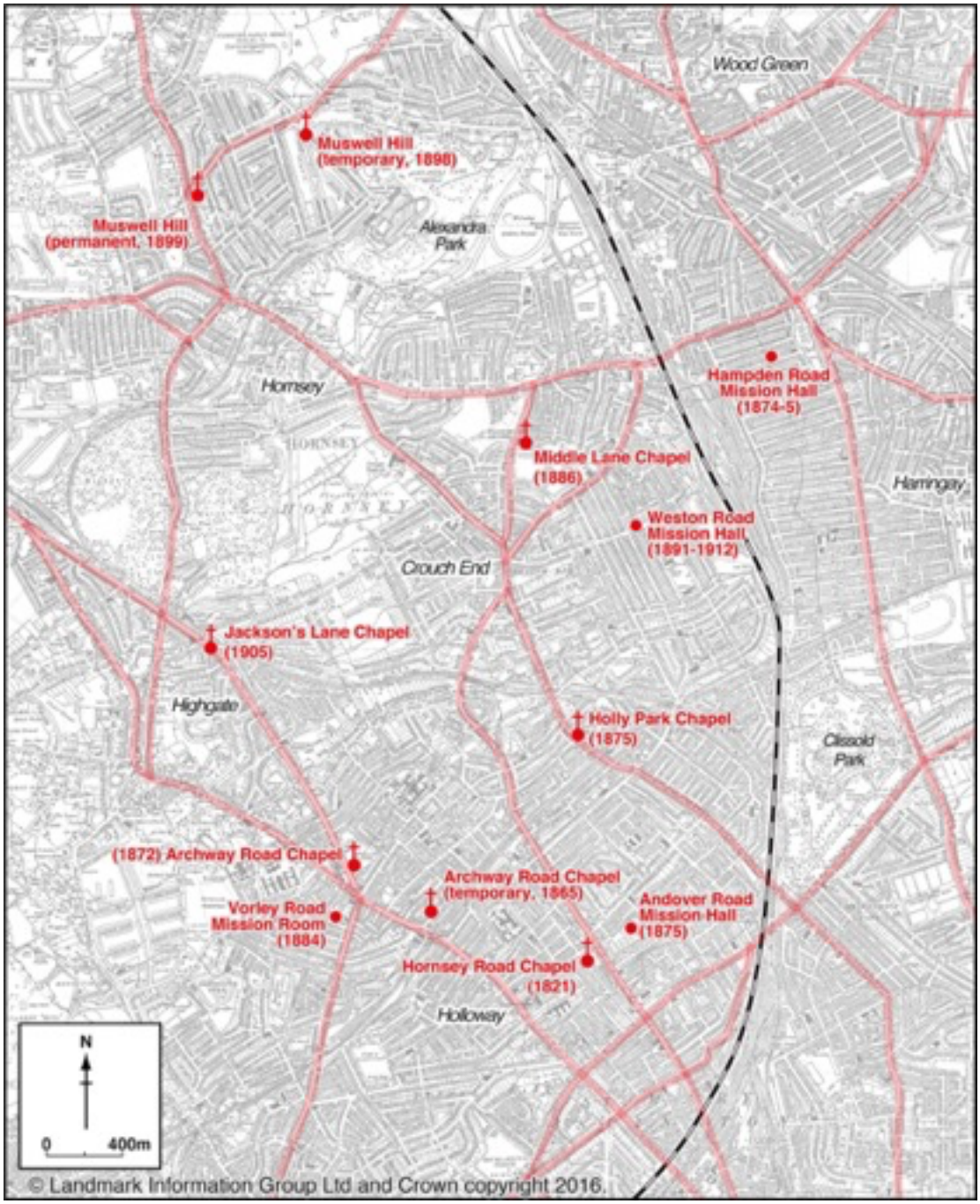

Figure 2: Map of the Highgate Circuit 1851-1932. This map shows the locations of all the chapels and mission halls that functioned in the Highgate Circuit from 1851 – 1932 on the 1930 Ordinance Survey Map. The red lines mark the main roads in 2016 to provide some context for the circuit's composition. Courtesy of Miles Irving from the UCL Geography Drawing Office, Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, CC-BY-SA, opendatacommons.org.

	Attendance in 1888		Attendance in 1904
	Morning attendance	Evening attendance	Total attendance
Bow Road Chapel	367	362	593
Bow Common Chapel	249	234	Not included
Old Ford Chapel	311	407	391
Poplar Chapel	462	700	Not included
Cubitt Town Chapel	224	450	Not included
Millwall Chapel	95	61	(Alpha Road) 295
Archway Road Chapel	507	447	815
Holly Park Chapel	561	488	539
Hornsey Road Chapel	425	450	608
Middle Lane Chapel	Not included		749
Muswell Hill	Not included – yet to be built		Not included
Jackson's Lane	Not included – yet to be built		Not included – yet to be built

Table 1: Attendance figures for chapels in the Bow and Highgate Circuits, taken from *The Religious Census of London Reprinted from The British Weekly* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1888) and R. Mudie-Smith, *The Religious Life of London* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904).

Figure 3: Millwall Chapel, Alpha Road. Built 1887, building now used as a community centre. Photograph by author 2016.

Figure 4: Old Ford Chapel. Built 1870, building now converted into flats. Photograph by author, 2015.

Figure 5: Jackson's Lane Chapel, Highlight Circuit. Built in 1905, building now used as a community theatre. Photograph by author, 2016.

Figure 6: Photograph of the interior of the Poplar Chapel before 1933. Photographs 1920s-1950s, W/PMC/7/4/3, THLHL.

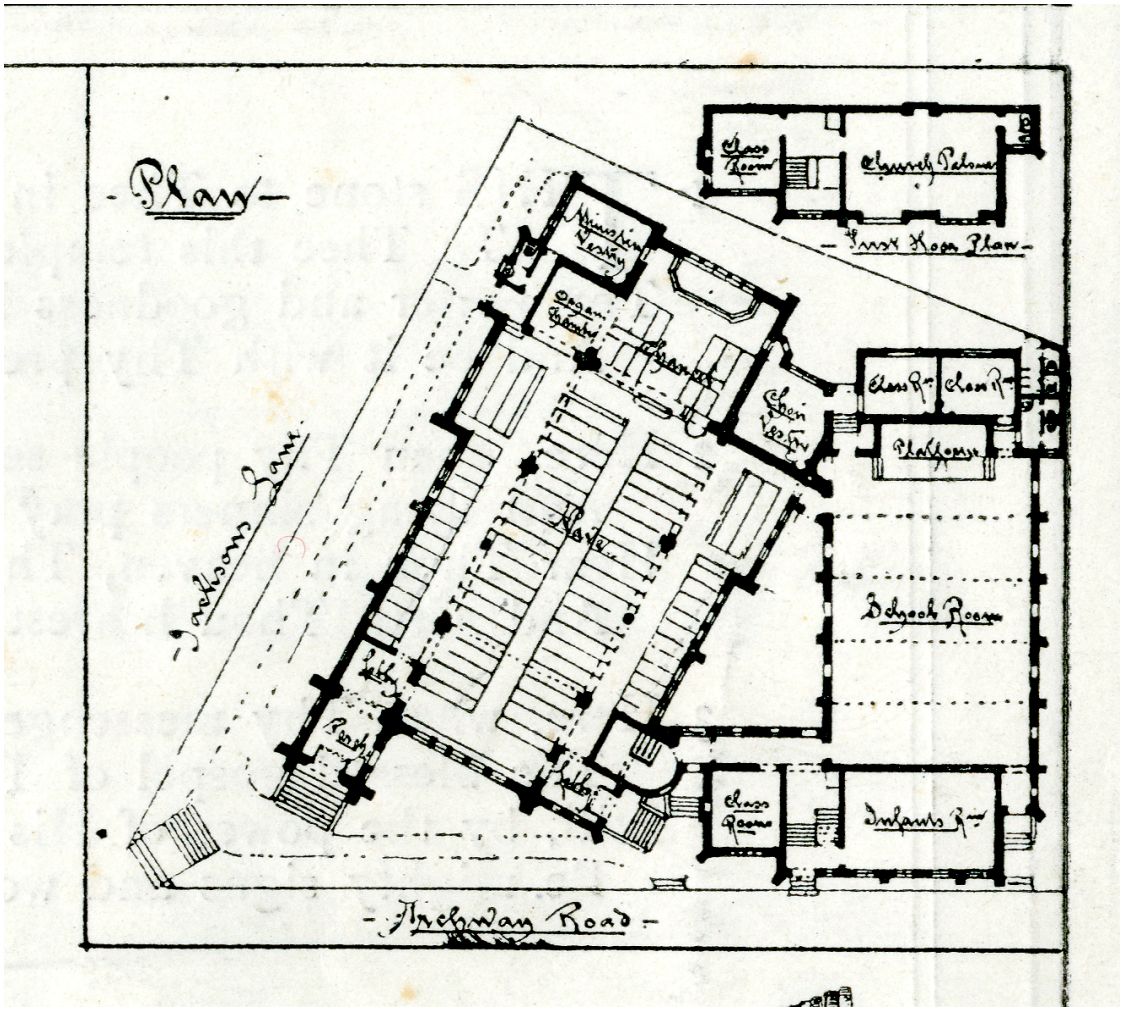

Figure 7: Ground plan of the Jackson's Lane Chapel, from the chapel's foundation stone laying service programme, 1904-5, ldbcm: a/7/2/12/3, Bruce Castle Museum (Haringey Archive & Museum Service).

[1] V. Della Dora, 'Sacred Space Unbound', *Society and Space*, no. Virtual Issue 13 (June 2015), http://societyandspace.org/2015/06/12/virtual-issue-13-sacred-space-unbound/; A. Maddrell and R. Scriven, 'Celtic Pilgrimage, Past and Present: From Historical Geography to Contemporary Embodied Practices', *Social and Cultural Geography* 17.2 (2016), 300–321; C. Dwyer, K. Beinart, and N. Ahmed, 'My Life Is but a Weaving: Embroidering Geographies of Faith and Place', *Cultural Geographies* 26.1 (2019), 133–40.
[2] K. Cracknell and S.J. White, *An Introduction to World Methodism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[3] R. Davies, A.R. George and G. Rupp, eds, *A History of the Methodist Church of Great Britain,* volume 4 (London: Epworth Press, 1988), 615, 634-41, 646-9.
[4] R. Slatter, 'A 'more-than-architectural' approach to Wesleyan space: how can material and spatial approaches to metropolitan Wesleyan Methodist practices provide insights into congregational experiences between 1851 and 1932?' (PhD Thesis, University College London, 2017), 50-51.
[5] K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the working classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 1963), 85-100; H.D. Rack, 'Wesleyan Methodism, 1849-1902', in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain,* volume 3, ed R. Davies, A.R. George and G. Rupp (London: Epworth Press, 1983), 123; D.W. Bebbington, 'The mid-Victorian revolution in Wesleyan Methodist Home Mission', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70.1 (2019), 77-97.
[6] Inglis, 70; C. Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes* (Cardiff: University of Wales press, 1999), 135–181.
[7] C. Stell, *Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses,* 4 volumes (London: English Heritage, 1991-2002).
[8] G. Dolbey, *The Architectural Expression of Methodism; The First Hundred Years* (London: The Epworth Press, 1964); J.F. Butler, 'Methodist Architecture in Relation to Methodist Liturgy', *Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture; Research Bulletin* (1977), 20–45; Stell.
[9] A. Connelly, 'Continuity and Adaptation: Archway Central Hall, 1934-2010', *The London Journal* 40.1 (March, 2015), 33-55.
[10] J. Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); S.C. Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southward c.1880-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); J. Wolff, 'The Chicken or the Egg? Building Anglican Churches and Building Congregations in a Victorian London Suburb', *Material Religion* 9.1 (2013), 36-59.
[11] P.S. Ell and K.D.M. Snell, *Rival Jerusalems; The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 125.
[12] C.D. Field, 'Methodism in Metropolitan London, 1850-1920: A Social and Sociological Study' (DPhil thesis, Wadham College, University of Oxford, 1974); E. Ross, 'St. Francis in Soho: Emmeline Pethick, Mary Neal, the West London Wesleyan Mission, and the Allure of "Simple Living" in the 1890s', *Church History* 83.4 (December 2014), 843–83; J. Crump, '"Our Struggle in London": Primitive Methodists and the Metropolis', *The London Journal* 43.2 (2018), 137–62.
[13] D. Pinder, 'Everyday Life', in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, ed. D. Gregory, et al. (Malden and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 223–25; A.I. Port, 'History from Below, the History of Everyday Life, and Microhistory', in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*, ed. J.D. Wright, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2015), 108–13; D. Hempton, *Methodism; Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

[14] A.R. Bailey, C. Brace, and D. Harvey, 'Parading the Cornish Subject; Methodist Sunday Schools in West Cornwall, c.1830-1930', *Journal of Historical Geography* 33.1 (2007), 24–44; A. R. Bailey, C. Brace, and D. Harvey, 'Disciplining Youthful Methodist Bodies in Nineteenth-Century Cornwall', *Annuals of The Association of American Geographers* 97.1 (2007), 142–57; C. Brace et al., *Emerging Geographies of Belief* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011).
[15] B. Meyer et al., 'The Origin and Mission of Material Religion', *Religion* 40 (2010), 207–11; L.Matthews-Jones and T. Willem Jones (eds), *Material Religion in Modern Britain: The Spirit of Things* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); W. Whyte, *Unlocking the Church: the lost secrets of Victorian sacred space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); R. Slatter, 'Material "Becomings" and a Historical Geography of Religious Experience: Metropolitan Methodism, 1851-1932', *Area* 51.1 (2019), 14–24; R. Slatter, 'Materiality and the Extended Geographies of Religion: The Institutional Design and Everyday Experiences of London's Wesleyan Methodist Circuits, 1851–1932', *Journal of Historical Geography* 64 (2019), 60–71.
[16] *Map of Methodist Churches and Institutions in and Around London* (London: Epworth Press, c.1935). Oxford Brookes University Centre for Methodism and Church History, 912.421.
[17] H. Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England Wales* (London: Routledge, 1854); E.H. Tindall, *The Wesleyan Atlas of England and Wales* (London: Bemrose and Son, c.1870)*; The Religious Census of London Reprinted from 'The British Weekly'* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1888); C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 7 vols, 3rd Religious Influences (London, 1903); R. Mudie-Smith, *The Religious Life of London* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904).
[18] Cracknell and White, *An Introduction to World Methodism.*
[19] W. E. Clapham, *The Good Fight at Bow* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938).
[20] 'Highgate Wesleyan Circuit Meeting Minute Book, 1873-1887', LMA/4009/HC/01/001, London Metropolitan Archive (herein LMA); 'Highgate Wesleyan Circuit Local Preachers Minute Book, 1873-1927', LMA/4009/HC/02/001, LMA.
[21] C. Kerrigan, *A History of Tower Hamlets* (London: Alderman Printing, 1982), 26.
[22] Inglis, *Churches and the working classes in Victorian England,* 70; Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes*, 135–181.
[23] J. Richardson, *Highgate Past* (London: Historical Publications, 2004).
[24] Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, vol. 1, 71; Mudie-Smith, *The Religious Life of London,* 46.
[25] 'Bow Circuit Quarterly Meeting Minute Book 1866-1922', ACC/1850/001, LMA.
[26] W. Lax, *Lax of Poplar: The Story of a Wonderful Quarter of a Century* (London: Epworth Press, 1927), 89.
[27] J. Schwitzer and K. Gay, *Highgate and Muswell Hill*, (Trowbridge: Redwood Books, 1995), 66.
[28] F.J. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture: As Appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, Particularly to Those of the Wesleyan Methodists: With Practical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-Houses* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co, 1850).
[29] 'Poplar Wesleyan Chapel, Ground Plan', November 1932, W/PMC/4/4/2/2, Tower Hamlets Local History Library (herein THLHL); 'Jackson's Lane Wesleyan Methodist Chapel Minutes of the Trustees with Minutes of the Committee for the Purchase of a Site for a Wesleyan Chapel at Highgate 1895-1897, 1898-1912', ldbcm:a/7/2/1/1, Haringey Archives (herein HA).

[30] R. Slatter (née Mason), 'The Design of Nineteenth-Century Wesleyan Space: Re-reading F.J. Jobson's Chapel and School Architecture', *Wesley and Methodist Studies,* 7 (2015), 78-99.
[31] K. B. Westerfield Tucker, 'Mainstream Liturgical Developments', in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies,* ed. W.J. Abraham and J.E. Kirby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 295-311, 305.
[32] *The Book of Common Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Originally published 1662); John Wesley, *John Wesley's Sunday Services of the Methodists in North America; with an Introduction by James F. White* (United States of America: The United Methodist Publishing house and the United Methodist Board of Higher Education and Ministry, 1984); Westerfield Tucker, 295-331..
[33] Westerfield Tucker, 'Mainstream Liturgical Developments', 307–8.
[34] 'Rev. Arthur G. Utton, 1972-73', W.MIN.6.10/72-73; 'Rev. F. C. Vale, 1973-1974', W.MIN.19.1/73-3/74,; 'Mr William J. Palk, 1973-1974', W.LAY.30.1-2/93-3/74; 'Mr Edgar Ringwood, 1973-1974', W.LAY.34.2/73-2/74; 'Mr Leslie A. Ellwood, 1973-1974', W.LAY.52.5/73-2/74; 'Mr Cecil G. Andrews, 1973', W.LAY.58.5/73; 'Mr H. A. Seager, 1973', W.LAY.62.5-6/73; 'Mr Bevis H. W. Ridley, 1975', W.LAY.106.5/75. Private collection: Clive Field's DPhil Thesis Material.
[35] 'Archway Road Wesleyan Chapel Pamphlet of Hymns for Anniversary Services', 1885, LMA/4009/AR/04/005, LMA.
[36] 'Rev. F. C. Vale, 1973-1974'.
[37] 'Mr H. A. Seager, 1973'.
[38] G.C. Curnock, 'The Romance of Bow', *Methodist Recorder,* 35 (1894), 184.
[39] 'Bow Road Chapel Leaders' Meeting Minutes 1898-1937', ACC/1850/159, LMA, 30th September 1908; 'Poplar and Bow Circuit Preaching Plan 1932-1933', ACC/1850/018, LMA.
[40] 'Mr Bevis H. W. Ridley, 1975'.
[41] 'Mr Bevis H. W. Ridley, 1975'; 'Highagate Circuit Meeting Minute Book, 1873-1887'.
[42] Wesley, *John Wesley's Sunday Services of the Methodists in North America*.
[43] W. Lax, *Lax. His Book. The Autobiography of Lax of Poplar* (London: Epworth Press, 1937), 205.
[44] Lax, *Lax*, 206.
[45] 'Jackson's Lane Wesleyan Chapel Minutes of the Leaders' Meetings, 1917-1940', 16th September 1924, LDBCM:A/7/2/2/1, H.A; 'Bow Road Chapel, 1898-1937', 30th August 1899, 20th September 1910, 10th September 1913; 'Archway Road Wesleyan Chapel Trustees Meeting Minutes, 1883-1903', 24th January 1884, LMA/4009/AR/03/002, LMA.
[46] 'Bow Road Chapel, 1898-1937', 15th July 1910.
[47] 'Archway Road Chapel Leaders Meeting Minutes, 1881-1902', 20th September 1889; 'Poplar Chapel Envelope 4: photographs of Poplar Methodist evets, c.1920-s1950s', W/PMC/7/4/3, THLHL; 'Holly Park Chapel Choir Minute Book, 1895-1926', 1895 Annual Report; 9th January 1896; January 1897; 19th October 1897; 1897 Annual Report; 2nd January 1899; 12th January 1900; 1901 Annual Report; 1918 Annual Report; 1920 Annual Report, LMA/4009/HP/04/001, LMA; 'Holly Park Chapel Choir Annual Reports, 1922-1926', LMA/4009/HP/04/002, LMA; Private Collection, Methodist collection boxes, David Friswell.
[48] Field, 'Methodism in Metropolitan London, 1850-1920', 13; Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes*, 166.
[49] 'Bow Road Chapel Leaders' Meeting Minutes 1868-1885', 4th November 1877, ACC/1850/158, LMA; 'Highgate Circuit, 1873-1887', 24th September 1877, 24th December 1877..

[50] 'Bow Road Chapel, 1868-1885', 21st September 1881; 'Highgate Circuit, 1873-1887', 28th September 1874; 'Middle Lane Wesleyan Chapel Minute Book, 1883-1897', 15th November 1887; 3rd January 1888, LMA/4009/ML/01/001, LMA; 'Archway Road Chapel, 1881-1902', 17th December 1884; 16th December 1885; 16th December 1887; 18th January 1888;12th December 1888; 30th October 1889..

[51] H. McLeod, 'The 'Sportsman' and the 'Muscular Christian' Rival ideals in nineteenth-century England', in *Beyond the Feminization Thesis: Gender and Christianity in Modern Europe,* ed. P. Pasture, J. Art and T. Buerman (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), 85-105; Musical concerts: 'Bow Road Chapel Trustees Meeting Minute Book, 1888-1922', 30th January 1893, ACC/1850/153, LMA; Recreational groups: 'Holly Park Chapel Trustees Meeting Minute Book, 1881-1928', 12th February 189, 15th February 1892, LMA/4009/HP/03/001, LMA; Particular demographic groups: 'Bow Road Wesley Guild Executive and AGM Minutes, 1929-1939', ACC/150/168, LMA; 'Old Ford Chapel Trustees' Meeting Minute Book, 1871-1915', 29th January 1898, ACC/1850/243, LMA.

[52] 'Archway Road Chapel, 1881-1902', 15th March 1905; 'Jackson's Lane Wesleyan Chapel Treasurer's Account, 1895-1897', 7th September 1905, ldbcm:a/7/2/12/1, H.A; 'Bow Road Chapel, 1898-1937', 26th October 1911.

[53] 'Poplar Trustees' Meeting Minute Book 1846-1925', W/PMC/3/1/1, THLHL, 13th November 1902; 'Archway Road Chapel Trustees Meeting Minutes, 1903-1923', 17th February 1913, LMA/4009/AR/03/003, LMA; 'Jackson's Lane Wesleyan Chapel Trustees Meeting Minutes, 1913-1927', 29th September 1920, ldbcm:a/7/2/1/2, H.A.; 'Bow Road Trustees Meeting Minute Book 1922-1976', 13th April 1928; 5th April 1929.

[54] 'Muswell Hill Wesleyan Chapel Minute Book, 1894-1916', 25th October 1900, 12th September 1901, LMA/4009/MH/02/001, LMA; 'Muswell Hill Chapel Minute Book, 1916-1940', 12th December 1919, LMA/4009/MH/02/002, LMA; 'Jackson's Lane Wesleyan Chapel Sunday School Council Minutes, 1906-1925', 28th September 1915, ldbcm:a/7/2/3, H.A.

[55] 'Highgate Wesleyan Circuit Meeting Minute Book, 1907-1913', 21st September 1908, 21st December 1908, 21st June 1909, 19th December 1910, 19th June 1911, 18th December 1911, 17th June 1912, 23rd June 1913, LMA/4009/HC/01/004, LMA; 'Holly Park Chapel, 1895-1926', 17th January 1907, 14th November 1912; 'Holly Park Wesley Guild Minute Book, 1911-1946', 15th September 1913, LMA/4009/HP/04/003, LMA; 'Jackson's Lane Chapel, 1906-1925', 24th July 1917; 17th September 1918; 'Highgate Wesleyan Circuit Guild Eisteddfod Final Competition Program', 1930, LMA/4009/HP/04/004/05, LMA; 'Bow Road Chapel Trustees Meeting Minute Book 1922-1976', 8th November 1922, ACC/1850/154, LMA; 'Muswell Hill Chapel, 1916-1940', 19th January 1928; 'Middle Lane Wesleyan Chapel Program of "New Worlds: A Dramatic Chronicle"', 1931, LMA/4009/ML/08/011, LMA.

[56] 'Holly Park Chapel, 1895-1926', 28th January 1920.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] 'Archway Road, 1903-1923', 7th February 1919; 9th September 1919.

[60] 'Poplar Chapel, 1846-1925', 14th March 1900; 9th June 1904; 'Archway Road Chapel, 1903-1923', 17th February 1913.

[61] 'Middle Lane Chapel, 1883-1897', 6th March 1895; 'Old Ford Chapel, 1871-1915', 21st February 1902; 'Poplar Chapel, 1846-1925', 1st March 1907; 'Archway Road Chapel, 1903-1923', 28th January 1907.

[62] 'Archway Road Chapel, 1883-1903', 24th January 1884.

[63] 'Archway Road Chapel, 1883-1903', 9th January 1895.

[64] 'Bow Road Chapel, 1888-1922', 12th January 1894.

[65] E. Halevy, *The Birth of Methodism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971); D. Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850* (Abingdon: Routlegde, 1984); D. Hempton, *The Religion of the People; Methodism and Popular Religion c.1750-1900* (London: Routledge, 1996), 162–78; G.W. Olsen, *Religion and Revolution in Early Industrial England; The Halevy Thesis and Its Critics* (Lanham and London: University Press of America, 1990).
[66] J. Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 150–70; G. Thompson Brake, *Drink: The Ups and Downs of Methodist Attitudes to Temperance* (London: Oliphants, 1974).
[67] Lax, *Lax,* 195.
[68] Lax, *Lax,* 196.
[69] Ibid.