



Durham E-Theses

The development of mission theology and praxis at Cliff College, with reference to its antecedents and history.

Mellor, G. Howard

How to cite:

Mellor, G. Howard (2006) *The development of mission theology and praxis at Cliff College, with reference to its antecedents and history.*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/2865/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

Academic Support Office, Durham University, University Office, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HP
e-mail: e-theses.admin@dur.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk>

**The Development of Mission
Theology and Praxis
at Cliff College,**
with reference to its
antecedents and history.

A copyright of this thesis rests
with the author. No quotation
from it should be published
without his prior written consent
and information derived from it
should be acknowledged.

A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Department of Theology and
Religion, Faculty of Arts, Durham University
2005.

G. Howard Mellor



15 MAR 2006

ABSTRACT

The Development of Mission Theology and Praxis at Cliff College with reference to its antecedents and history.

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Theology and Religion, Faculty of Arts, Durham University 2005.

This thesis is an examination and evaluation of evangelistic ministry at Cliff College and its major themes, or Charisms. It charts the rise of the College and its antecedents in section one, introducing the main characters and events.

Section two introduces themes that have shaped the tradition of the College; the most significant being holiness teaching which finds its origins in the works of John Wesley. Though they differed in emphasis, most Principals were proponents of this doctrine. There developed at the College a theology which was biblical and evangelical but not fundamentalist or sectarian. The College espoused 'faith principles' but ensured supporters were aware of its needs.

The College is known primarily for training people in evangelism. Section three charts this innovative ministry beginning with the *Joyful News* Mission and continuing through the years of Cook, Chadwick and Broadbelt. Between 1939 and the late 1950s there was a dearth of creative thinking about evangelism. Meadley and Belben laid the foundations that, in the late 1970s, gave rise to a new strategy which was given impetus through the 1980s. The innovative thinking of the first period is illustrated by reference to the *Joyful News* female evangelists and the trekkers.

Section four examines the particular academic stance taken by College Principals. This was specifically to offer training, focussed on evangelistic ministry, to those who may not otherwise have the opportunity. A policy of open access was retained throughout, with the College seeking proper recognition. This eventually came with the validation of the College programmes by the University of Sheffield. Chapter eleven charts the emergence of missiology as a discipline in the academy.

The conclusion identifies the ambivalent attitude of Methodism to the College, and that its major charisms continue to have a significant influence though in need of constant restatement.

I confirm that no part of the material offered
has previously been submitted by me
for a degree in this or any university

Signed Howard Mellor
Date 25 September 2005

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published in any form, including electronic and the internet, without the author's prior written consent. All information derived from this thesis must be acknowledged appropriately.

Contents

Title page	
Abstract	ii
Declarations	iii
Contents	iv
Introduction	vi
Dedication	x
Acknowledgements	xi
Section One: Setting the Scene	1
Chapter 1 Antecedents of Cliff College	2
Chapter 2 The Unfolding Drama	11
Section Two: Shaping the Tradition	58
Chapter 3 Holiness Teaching	59
Chapter 4 Evangelical and Biblical Stance	108
Chapter 5 Faith and Finance	134
Section Three: Evangelistic Strategy	140
Chapter 6 Evangelism Strategy 1883 – 1939	141
Chapter 7 Joyful News Female Evangelists	176
Chapter 8 Trekkers	205
Chapter 9 Evangelism Strategy 1946 – 2002	218
Section Four: Academic recognition	237
Chapter 10 Academic Stance	238
Chapter 11 Renaissance of Mission Studies in the Academy	271

Section Five:	Conclusion	300
	Chapter 12 Proximity and Polarity	301
	Chapter 13 The Charisms of the College	320
Section Six:	Bibliography:	325
	Primary Sources	326
	Cliff College archive	326
	Journals	338
	Agendas, Reports and Minute Books	339
	Published books by the Principals and about the Cliff	340
	Theses consulted	346
	Key works on Mission and Evangelism	346
	Articles and unpublished papers	354
	Select bibliography of secondary sources	356

Introduction

This thesis charts the development of mission theology at Cliff College and covers 125 years of mission history in Wesleyan Methodism, revealing the changes in the thinking and practice of evangelism. The title of this thesis refers to the growth of 'Mission Theology', which is a broader concept than evangelism. Evangelism is the part of Christian ministry devoted to the proclamation of the good news of Jesus. Mission theology, or missiology as it is often called, covers not only evangelism but also social action and the struggle for justice. The title has been chosen deliberately because there are aspects of this wider ministry and thinking in the work of Champness, Chadwick and the College since the late 1970s. It has also been chosen because contemporary thinking has shown that evangelism is a 'task' of the Church, but Christian mission is rooted in convictions about the relationship of God with the world. Thus missiologists speak of the 'Missio Dei', meaning that mission has its origins in the commitment of God *to* the world and his compassion *for* the world. Therefore when the church engages in mission, it is sharing in God's mission to the world. Evangelism is part of that mission, but not the whole.

Section one of the thesis places the foundation of the College in its context. Chapter one identifies the developments of training in mission, especially in the Wesleyan tradition. Chapter two reveals that there were two main sources of the heritage which enabled Cliff College to be established in 1904. These were the desire of a Congregational layman James Hinton Hulme to found an independent college at Cliff House to train evangelists and missionaries. The other comes from the innovative actions of the returned

missionary, the Rev Thomas Champness, in founding the *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission. These antecedents were instrumental in the development of Cliff as a college to train evangelists and as a centre for the development of creative evangelism. The chapter also introduces the reader to the main characters who forged the College's mission theology and practice.

Section two contains three chapters which explore the themes which shaped the tradition of the *Joyful News* Mission and the College. Particularly influential was the teaching of holiness, which became until the end of the 1930s the central feature of the college's teaching and practice. From this flowed the ethos of the life and ministry of the College. This was reduced by some at the college in the 1960s to a particular experience, a 'baptism in the Spirit'. This led to dissension about the doctrine and the diminution of its influence in the life of the College. The charismatic movement overwhelmed Wesleyan holiness teaching, leaving an incomplete version available to contemporary Christians. The thesis suggests that further research in the field of practical theology is called for, to produce for the twenty-first century a coherent and relevant restatement of holiness teaching.

Chapter four indicates the way that evangelical theology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century influenced the architects of what became Cliff College. They were evangelical but not narrowly so, avoiding the fundamentalism into which many evangelicals retreated, whilst considering themselves resolutely biblical. The Wesleyans, distinct from most other evangelical Christians, engaged in evangelistic and missionary work with motives other than those formed from the millennialist teaching and euphoria at the turn of the twentieth century.

The history of the College has not always been easy. Lack of finance has dogged the college's life, and it has never been properly understood by its parent denomination, Methodism. Chapter five reveals that it has survived because of its appeal to the people of the church in and beyond Methodism.

Section three of the thesis then considers the development of an evangelistic strategy at Cliff College in four chapters. Chapter six deals with the creative period to the end of the 1930s under the leadership of Champness, Cook, Chadwick and the early years of Broadbelt. There follow chapters about the *Joyful News* Female Evangelists, and the Trekkers which illustrate the surge of creative thinking in that first period between 1883 and 1939. A contrast with this early period is made in chapter nine where it is established that there was between 1946 and 1977 a dearth of creative thinking and practice in the College's ministry of evangelism. The chapter argues that creative thought about evangelistic ministry occurred elsewhere in Methodism, and that for thirty years the evangelistic staff of the College simply tried to reproduce the past. The brave decisions of Meadley and Belben laid a platform on which later Principals could build. The appointment of a part-time and then of a full-time Director of Evangelism brought a new approach, adopted in the early 1980s, which was built upon by his successors.

The thesis then turns in, section four, to the third main charism of the College, that of training people for evangelism. Chapter twelve indicates that there has always been a particular stance towards training, that of praxis, the mixture of academic learning with preparation for and involvement in evangelistic ministry. Chapter thirteen charts the renaissance of mission studies

in the Academy and the way that Cliff has been able to respond and spearhead training and research in mission and evangelism.

Section five has a conclusion in two parts. Chapter fourteen identifies the denominational context within which Cliff has undertaken its work. At times there has been collaboration between the Methodist Connexion and the College, though for the most part there has been a woeful lack of understanding of the College among the Connexional leaders. Chapter fifteen concludes that the College has held together a cluster of charisms, holiness, evangelical theology, evangelistic ministry and an approach to learning which is titled praxis. These have together forged, at certain times in its history, a distinctive approach to evangelistic ministry, both in practice and in theological and theoretic reflection. All of this is held in a College and a community of people contributing to its shared life and learning. The conclusion also indicates the research which now needs to be undertaken both within the College and for the wider Church in the development of a mission theology for the twenty-first century.

Dedication

To the memories of Howard A.G. Belben, and A. Raymond George who were an inspiration and a guide to me. Though differing in personality and theology, they were both, in the course of my training, Principals, scholars and gentlemen whose teaching and guidance were always wise and welcome.

Acknowledgements

In a small college all tutors have additional tasks and, arriving at the College in 1983, I was allotted the library and archives. The inspiration for this thesis came from the work undertaken as the College archivist, discovering so much material which had not been written up nor evaluated. Out of that work has come a book and this thesis.

The thesis would not have been possible without the detailed guidance of my supervisor, Dr Sheridan Gilley to whom I am greatly indebted. I am also grateful to the staff of Cliff College who covered for me as I undertook the research, and to the present Principal Dr Martyn Atkins for access to the newly furnished Arthur Skevington Wood Archive Library. The support of my Rosie, Beth, Lydia and Tom has been crucial, critical and constant.

Cliff College was part of my formation as a Christian and as a minister; it is a privilege therefore to present this thesis as an analysis of its work.

Section One

Setting the scene

Chapter one: Antecedents of Cliff College

Chapter two: The Unfolding Drama



Chapter one

Antecedents of Cliff College

The Congregational and Independent traditions were enthusiastic about training, and as a result academies and colleges were numerous. It was from within this tradition that James Hulme had the vision for Cliff House to become an Independent college. The first Congregational institution was Homerton College, founded in 1730, and following 1789 there was an explosion of Congregational and Independent colleges (see Table 1, p.163). The Lancashire Independent College, Manchester with which Hulme was controversially connected was one such college.¹ Within Congregationalism the concept of small and quite independently run colleges was well understood and Hulme's wish that Cliff House might become a college for the training of 'industrial missionaries' was therefore quite in keeping with his tradition.

Nonconformist colleges in the early nineteenth century had a received tradition, which came from two main strands. The first was among the dissenting academies which were created in the wake of the Great Ejectment in 1662, following the publication of the Prayer Book and the Act of Uniformity. On St Bartholomew's Day 1662 upwards of two thousand clergy of Puritan persuasion who refused to conform to the *Book of Common Prayer* and episcopal ordination had been ejected from their livings. The second significant strand came as a by-product of the Wesleyan revival. Through the patronage of the Countess of Huntingdon, Trevecka College was founded in 1768, during the

¹ Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858* (Sydney: The Sutton Courtney Press, 1984), p.291.

Wesleyan revival, for the training of evangelical Anglican clergy who held Methodist tenets.² Clergy from other Churches benefited from the training at Trevecka, because the Countess did not have a narrow view of denominationalism, and that model was one followed by many evangelical Colleges through the 'missionary century'.

The variety of institutions can be assessed from a study of the provision of missionary training among the Protestant denominations in the period to 1860: the Particular Baptists had four training colleges, the General Baptists three, Wesleyan Methodists two, the Church of England eleven, the Presbyterians nine and the Congregational and undenominational Churches nineteen colleges. There was no shortage of places to study, as the table on page 4 indicates.

This significant expansion of provision for missionary and ministerial training was the context within which Hulme Cliff College was eventually formed. James and Anne Elizabeth Hulme were committed evangelicals and she ensured that the Evangelical Alliance basis of faith was written into the Trust Document to direct that the teaching of the College.

² Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast, John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1989), p.225. Though Wesley was very critical of the Calvinist teaching which eventually prevailed there, see pp.453-6.

Table 1.
Congregational and Undenominational
Theological Training Institutions.³

C 1780-1860

College	date	Founder
Homerton College, London (united with Highbury and Coward to form New College, London (1850))	1730	John Pye Smith (1806-50)
Western Academy, Devon (Axminster from 1752, Exeter from 1828, Plymouth from 1846)	1752	J Small (1795-27) G Payne (f 1827) R Alliott (f 1850?)
Newport Pagnell Evangelical Institution, Bucks (undenominational – students transferred to Cheshunt, 1850)	1782	W Bull (1782-1814) T P Bull (1814-41)
Gosport Academy and Missionary Seminary, Hamts (closed 1825)	1777	D Bogue (1777-1825)
Cheshunt College, Herts (Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion 1768-1792, moved to Cambridge 1905)	1792	J Harris (1839-50)
Rotherham Academy, Yorks	1795	E Williams (1795-1813) J Bennett (1813-28) C Perrot (1829-34) W H Stowell (1834-50) F J Falding c 1852)
Hackney Academy, London (at first undenominational, 1887 moved to Hampstead)	1803	G Collison (f 1803)
Glasgow Theological Academy	1811	R Wardlaw (1811-53) G Ewing (1811-39)
Blackburn Academy, Lancs (Independent College Manchester from 1843)	1816	J Fletcher (1817-22) G Payne (f 1822)
Language Institution in aid of the Propagation of Christianity, or the Oriental Missionary Academy, Holburn, London (closed 1831)	1824	R Morrison H Townley F Johnson
Highbury College, London (previously Hoxton Academy 1778-1826)	1826	E Henderson (1830-49)
Hoxton Mission College, London (closed 1830)	1826	E Henderson (1826-30)
Turvey and Ongar Academy (from Turvey, Beds to Ongar, Essex 1838, closed 1844)	1829	R Cecil (1829-44)
Coward College, London (previously Wymondley College)	1833	T W Jenkyn
Airedale College, Yorks (Idle Academy to 1831)	1834	W Scott (1833-56)
Brecon Independent College, Brecknockshire	1838	H Griffiths (f 1838)
Spring Hill College, Birmingham	1838	F Watts T R Barker
Bedford Missionary College, Beds (transferred 1866 to Cotton End)	1840	J Jukes (1840-66) W Alliott (1840-66)
Cotton End Academy, Beds (closed 1874)	1840	J Frost (1840-74)

³ Table formed from information in Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries* pp.291-2.

The Methodist commitment to education began well. John Wesley was devoted to education and the *Minutes* of the first Methodist Conference opened with the questions, 'What to Teach?' and 'How to Teach?'⁴ Wesley spent considerable time on overseeing the establishment of the school at Kingswood in Bristol.⁵ Despite this, the training of clergy became controversial: 'In the stormy history of English Methodism, the issue of ministerial training produced one of the loudest thunderclaps'.⁶ It was not surprising, given the schisms of Methodism after Wesley's death, and the vitriolic pamphlets which were produced, that many Methodists argued that the strength of the emerging Church resided in its body of lay preachers. Early in the nineteenth century the powerful figure of Jabez Bunting, though avowedly committed to Wesleyanism, showed his ambivalence to theological education. He wrote 'I am no friend of Colleges or Academies: but I do think that some regular, systematic plan ought to be adopted with respect to the young Preachers, during their four years of probation, which, without interrupting their pulpit labours, would make them more accurately and thoroughly acquainted with Divinity as a science, and qualify them for more extensive and permanent usefulness.'⁷ The following year in 1806 Adam Clarke raised the matter in a more positive light at the Methodist Conference in Leeds: 'We want some kind of seminary for educating workmen for the vineyard of our God, as need not be ashamed. We need without delay to

⁴ William Myles (compiler), *A Chronological History of the People called Methodist Minutes* (London: Myles, Butterworth, Baynes and Bruce, third edition, 1803), p.24. Then full details and minutes of the discussion are set out on pp.22-31.

⁵ F.C Pritchard, 'Education' in Davies George and Rupp (eds), *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain Vol.3* (Epworth: London, 1983), pp.279-81.

⁶ Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858* (Sydney: The Sutton Courtney Press, 1984), p.204.

⁷ T.P. Bunting, *The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D.* (London: Longman and Co., 1859), Vol.1, p.259. He became the President of the Hoxton Theological Institution when it opened in 1835.

get such a place established, either at Bristol or London.’⁸ It was not until 30 years later in 1835, almost one hundred years after Wesley’s conversion, that the first Methodist College to train Ministers was opened at Hoxton, followed soon afterwards by Abney House in Stoke Newington.⁹

The Wesleyan Centenary Fund, which was organized in 1838, was aimed to develop theological training. In 1844 a college was opened in Didsbury, Manchester and the following year, ‘the Richmond branch of the Wesleyan Theological Institution’, was founded at the top of Richmond Hill, Surrey. Even at that point the word ‘college’ was regarded with suspicion.¹⁰ Methodism had opened many boarding and day schools and in 1851 founded Westminster College to train school teachers.¹¹ Other streams of Methodism, apart from the Wesleyans, were suspicious of theological education of the ministry, fearing they would lose the ‘common touch’.¹² The Primitive Methodists used a school, Elmfield College, as a training centre of preachers from 1868, but it was ten years later that a dedicated institution was founded for training ministers, Ranmoor College in Manchester. This College when expanded became the famous Hartley College, opened in 1881, with Dr A.S. Peake as Principal.¹³ Further Methodist colleges were opened at Headingley in 1868, Handsworth in 1881, and Wesley House Cambridge in 1926.¹⁴

The effect of all these developments and their impact on the nineteenth century missionary colleges can be illustrated by the way Henry Grattan

⁸ W. Bardsley Brash, *The Story of our Colleges 1835-1935: A Centenary Record of Ministerial Training in the Methodist Church* (London: Epworth Press, 1935), p.26.

⁹ F.H. Cumbers (ed), *Richmond College* (London: Epworth Press, 1944), p.10.

¹⁰ F.C. Pritchard, *op cit*, p.287.

¹¹ F.C. Pritchard, *op cit*, p.290.

¹² F.C. Pritchard, *op cit*, p.292.

¹³ F.C. Pritchard, *op cit*, p.293.

¹⁴ W. Bardsley Brash, p.80, p.94, p.107.

Guinness deliberately approached his work. The principles are documented for us in his report of the *East End Training Institute* for the year 1876-7, in a section entitled 'Training and Testing'.¹⁵ He identifies a process of rigorous testing, the *physical health* by evangelistic work and manual labour; the *mental powers* through 'six to nine hours a day of close study'; their *grace*, 'the reality of their devotedness by giving them hard and humble work to do...if a man objects to or slurs these lowly tasks, as beneath his dignity or as disagreeable to his tastes, we question at once whether he possesses the grace, good sense, and self denial needful for a Missionary'; their *spiritual power* in which they give evidence of a 'zeal and love for souls, if they succeed in turning many to righteousness, there can be little doubt they are calculated to be useful Missionaries at home or abroad.'¹⁶

The elements of training are set out succinctly for us under three headings:

PRACTICAL TRAINING in various useful arts, including medicine, agriculture, gardening, carpentering, printing, navigation, swimming, shoemaking, tailoring, &c., and in habits of activity, order, and industry by dispensing in measure with servants, and requiring some amount of daily attention to domestic affairs.

INTELLECTUAL TRAINING, by cultivating habits of continuous attention and application, and by furnishing the mind with needed information. In addition to biblical and theological instruction, the studies pursued embrace the routine of an English education, together with Greek and

¹⁵ H. Grattan Guinness, *Story of the Third Year of the East End Institute* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1877), pp.65-70.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp.66-7.

Hebrew, medical and scientific knowledge, and, where needed, modern languages.

EVANGELISTIC TRAINING, by exercising each in school work, street preaching, house-to-house visitation, personal dealing with inquirers, and public preaching in the open air and in buildings.¹⁷

Grattan Guinness had a profound influence on the development of Bible colleges.¹⁸ According to Fiedler he influenced A.B. Simpson in the founding of the New York Missionary Training Institute in 1883.¹⁹ On a visit to the United States in 1889 he persuaded A.J. Gordon to open the Boston Missionary Training Institute to provide missionaries for Zaire where Guinness also had an interest.²⁰ Perhaps his greatest influence on American Bible schools was as a result of the invitation of Emma Dyer, who had been asked by Moody to form a residential school. Dyer in turn invited Guinness to advise her about establishing the 'Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions of the Chicago Evangelization Society' in 1889,²¹ which would later be known as the Moody Bible Institute. Guinness influenced the founding of his own and three significant Bible schools. Fiedler also argues that he had a direct influence on the formation of the seven missionary societies,²² through A.B. Simpson and A.J. Gordon three others,²³ and through his daughter Lucy and her husband Karl

¹⁷ H. Grattan Guinness, *Story of the Third Year of the East End Institute* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1877), pp.65-70.

¹⁸ Graham Cheeseman, 'The Founding of the Colleges' unpublished paper, 2003.

¹⁹ Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1994), p.43 and p.146. The college was at first called the Missionary Training School of Christian Evangelists.

²⁰ Ibid, p.146.

²¹ Ibid, p.147.

²² The Livingstone Inland Mission, Svenska Missions-föbundet, Congo Balolo Mission, Regions Beyond Missionary Union, Qua Iboe Mission and the Gospel Missionary Union, Ibid, pp.34-52.

²³ Christian and Missionary Alliance, Sudan Interior Mission, and the Africa Inland Mission. Fiedler, p.36.

Kumm two others.²⁴ When Moody prompted Christian leaders to found the Bible Training Institute in 1892 at Glasgow, he instructed the new Principal, Anderson, to visit Guinness at Harley House to gain ideas.²⁵ Guinness had a remarkable ministry and also a profound effect on missionary organisations and on what became called the Bible Colleges.²⁶

When Thomas Champness, who had never attended a theological college, developed the *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission, his motives were the development of workers for the task of evangelism, rather than the love of learning. However, what he developed in training his evangelists had many echoes of the testing and training used by Grattan Guinness. Champness originally hoped that the Methodist Church would use one of its existing colleges to train evangelists. When it became clear this would not happen he moved to Castleton Hall and the idea of the Training Home became celebrated in Methodism. There is no evidence that he had an understanding of the history of theological and missionary learning, but he created the *Joyful News* Mission, with its missionary aim and combination of learning, community prayer and work, with a practice of ministry firmly founded on the monastic model. It was at Castleton Hall that the pattern training, which has been the hallmark of Cliff, was established. It was characterised by praxis, the interface between the academic learning, and practical experience of mission and ministry. This was something which Chadwick would later deliberately emulate both with the college timetable and the 'Methodist Friars'. It is relevant that from a different part of the world, but in the context of a growing church, similar to the one

²⁴ The Sudan United Mission and the Sudan Pioneer Mission, Fiedler p.36.

²⁵ Cheeseman p.45. Moody knew that Emma Dyer had sought advice from Guinness.

²⁶ Fiedler in his study of the Colleges which trained students for the Faith Missions, suggests they were called Bible Schools because they did not teach Greek and Hebrew, but studied the English Bible, p.167, note 256.

Champness would understand, Orlando Costas, described the purpose for theological training in a way which mirrored Champness's desire: 'Here we are dealing with a task that seeks (1) to form (character, abilities, and thought), (2) to inform (mind, praxis, institutions and contemplation), (3) to transform (values, people, institutions, and communities)'.²⁷

It is a great tribute to Champness that he had the wisdom to gift the project to the Home Mission Department of the Wesleyan Methodist Church when he retired. There was risk involved in doing that. The church might not undertake the task with the same ability or dedication he had shown, or it might refuse to train evangelists just as it had rejected his ideas about missionaries. However, Champness handed over the task of training evangelists, and Thomas Cook was appointed by the Conference and greatly admired what Champness had achieved.

²⁷ Orlando Costas, 'Theological Education and Mission' in Rene Padilla (ed), *New Alternatives in Theological Education* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1986), p.8. These papers were presented at a consultation about theological education held in 1985 under the auspices of the Latin American Theological Fraternity and had the same missionary zeal which was apparent in the work of Guinness and Champness.

Chapter two

The Unfolding Drama

The work of Cliff College had its origins in the vision of two men, a Congregational layman, James Hilton Hulme, and a Wesleyan Methodist Minister, the Rev Thomas Champness, both of whom relied on their wives to fulfil the vision. Though starting in different places, their work would come together in 1904, when the Wesleyan Methodist Church took possession of Hulme Cliff College and brought to it the Joyful News Training Home and Mission. The Rev Thomas Cook became the first Principal of Cliff College, and he was followed by a succession of men who oversaw its academic and evangelistic development of Cliff College. This section shows how this ministry began and progressed so that the reader can appreciate the background to its work.¹

2.1 Hulme Cliff College

Hulme was not the first owner of Cliff House. The house itself was built by Thomas Gardom, eldest son of a mill owner, John Gardom who, following the success of Richard Arkwright in Cromford, established a cotton mill in the nearby village of Calver. Thomas Gardom bought land in the area, and in 1790

¹ There are four books published about the history of Cliff College: W. Fiddian Moulton, *The Story of Cliff: A College of the Underprivileged* (London: Epworth Press, 1928); D.W. Lambert, *What Hath God Wrought* (Calver: Cliff College Bookroom, 1954); Amos S. Cresswell, *The Story of Cliff* (Calver: Joyful News Bookroom, 1965), G. Howard Mellor, *Cliff More than a College* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2005).

built Cliff House, a 'large, square, stone house, with kitchens and farm buildings built out at the side, and surrounded by 22 acres of grass land.'²

Following the death of Thomas Gardom and his wife,³ Cliff House was put up for sale by auction during the summer of 1835,⁴ and purchased by James Hilton Hulme.⁵ He was a successful attorney with a flourishing business in Salford, in addition to Cliff House.⁶ The census of 1851 indicates that Hulme aged 52, was married to his second wife Anne Elizabeth, who was aged 25 and they lived with servants. Hulme added to the house considerably, extending it to include a larger dining room, lecture room and study. He made stables into offices and servants' quarters, and built or remodelled a two storey building to include a carpenter's shop, a smithy and on the first floor above, accommodation for staff and visitors. On the east side of Cliff Lane he built a farm, and in 1852 a chapel for public worship, Sunday school and Bible classes,⁷ affiliated to the Congregational Union of England and Wales.⁸

Hulme proceeded to make it a centre of religious influence for the neighbourhood, and eventually for a wider area. He was a committee member of

² Mrs Sarah Chadwick, wife of the second Methodist Principal of Cliff College, Rev Samuel Chadwick. *Cliff, Past and Present. The Story of how two great ventures became one* (Cliff College Archives E51, ca.1927), an unpublished service with hymns about the development of Cliff House and the rise of the Joyful News Mission which in 1904 moved from Rochdale to Cliff College, written and presented by Mrs Chadwick, p.5.

³ They were buried at St Ann's Church, Baslow, and in the north aisle there is a memorial tablet which reads: 'Thomas Gardom, Cliff House, Gent. 11th January 1817, 68 years. Mary, 27th April 1832, 75 years.'

⁴ Statement in the Cliff College Archives, with the text of the notice of sale.

⁵ Joe Brice, 'The Romance of a House' in *The Cliff Witness*, Vol. 3, No 2, p.28. 'Cliff House was disposed of by private treaty'. This suggests that the sale never reached the auction in the Rutland Arms. Brice, incorrectly, has the sale of the property in 1850.

⁶ *Trade Directory*, held in the Records Office at the Salford Local History Library. The 1843 entry suggests a person of stature in his profession and of considerable means, 'attorney, clerk to the magistrates and commissioner for taking affidavits in the Irish Law Courts, 10 Back Piccadilly and 1 Bexley St., Salford; residences 125 Water St. and Cliff House near Bakewell, Derbyshire.'

⁷ Minutes and notebooks of the Congregational Chapel are in the College archives.

⁸ Meeting of May 3 1853, *Minutes of the Congregational Union Home Missionary Society No 9 (1852 - 1861)*, p.68.

the 'Calver and Stoney Middleton Mutual Improvement Society'⁹, was involved in the establishment of the Primitive Methodist chapel in Calver,¹⁰ and was also interested in the education of local children and had started some form of schooling, based at least around a Sunday school and Bible class, all of which is typical of the largesse of a Victorian Nonconformist philanthropist.¹¹

Both James and Anne Hulme were determined evangelicals, and she was a fierce critic of her gifted nephew, the scholar Robert Forman Horton,¹² even though she 'never read her nephew's books on the Bible...that did not prevent her from violently assailing them.'¹³ Nevertheless she invited Horton to be a trustee of Hulme Cliff College, and he remained interested in its work.

James Hulme was interested in independent colleges and was a trustee of the Lancashire Independent College. The College was founded in 1816 as the Blackburn Academy and in 1843 had moved to Manchester.¹⁴ James Hulme was one of the trustees of the 1843 Trust Deed, though a dispute arose about the renewal of that deed lasting many years.¹⁵ He objected to what he saw as a slide

⁹ He is listed in the notice about the Society as J.H. Hulme Esq. Others are listed but, apart from the local vicar, with no indication of their status. The Society promoted the reading of 'improving' literature and lectures for local people.

¹⁰ Richard Baggaley, *One hundred years of Methodism in Calver* (Calver: Calver Methodist Church, 1960), p.4. They also consulted him about purchase of the property, and invited him to open the chapel.

¹¹ Grattan Guinness, *Hulme Cliff College, Curbar or The Story of the Third Year of the East End Training Institute* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1876), where Guinness refers to Hulme's philanthropic work expressing the hope that the 'Regions Beyond' may be able to continue this ministry, p.7.

¹² Albert Peel and J.A.R Marriott, *Robert Forman Horton* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937), p.36.

¹³ Peel and Marriott, p.161. Horton published *The Bible and Inspiration* in 1888, which sold widely. His biographers list fifty-three other substantial works. He is described as 'Keswick with Brains' as a preacher and scholar though Peel acknowledges that his views on the Bible would not be welcome there. It seems it was this, which also offended his aunt.

¹⁴ Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789 - 1858* (Sydney: The Sutton Courtney Press, 1984), p.291.

¹⁵ Details of the dispute are held in the John Rylands library and among the papers is a forty-three page document of the *Case for the Opinion of Counsel*, by a Richard Hilditch. Hulme objected to a newly appointed firm of solicitors because they were Unitarians, pp.11-12.

towards Unitarianism, and he opposed thereafter every new decision that was proposed.¹⁶

It may be, however, that the idea of establishing a college came to Hulme as a result of this dispute with the trustees. The plan for Cliff House to be a college occurred to Hulme as he was considering what should eventually become of Cliff House.¹⁷ They decided that it should be an institution for the training of industrial missionaries, 'men who should go into foreign countries with the love of human souls in their hearts, and with useful handicrafts at their fingertips.'¹⁸ Before this idea came to fruition, Hulme died suddenly at Cliff House.¹⁹

Mrs Hulme determined that she would carry out his intention to form a college. On 4 September 1871, Anne Elizabeth Hulme conveyed the land, which is known as 'the Curbar Estate' to a Trust, of which she was a Trustee, to see established and carried on there an Institution for the training of 'preachers, teachers, missionaries, or missionary workers, in any department, whether at home or abroad, of Christian service or philanthropy.'²⁰ She concluded that she was not able alone to establish at Cliff House that kind of institution. It was at this point that she was introduced to Henry Grattan Guinness. It is clear from Guinness's account that he visited Cliff House sometime in the early 1870s.²¹ Mrs Hulme in turn visited the work of the Guinnesses at Harley House in Bow, 'and after seeing and hearing all about our work there she commented, "Why, this is the very thing my late dear husband desired to see at Cliff!" and from that time she entertained a strong desire that we should undertake the establishment

¹⁶ Hilditch, p.17.

¹⁷ Guinness, *Hulme Cliff College, Curbar*, p.9.

¹⁸ Lambert, p.17, and Fiddian Moulton, p.11.

¹⁹ Guinness, *Hulme Cliff College*, pp.8-9. He died on 5 November 1869, aged 71.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.9. The trustees with herself were Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P., John Crossley, Esq., M.P., and Joshua Wilson, Esq., late of Tonbridge Wells

and management of the work to be carried on there.’²² The date of her visit is uncertain but must have occurred after the establishment of the Missionary Institute in February 1873. The vision that Cliff House would become a training college was made a reality by enlisting the help of these remarkable missionary entrepreneurs.

2.2 Henry Grattan Guinness and the Regions Beyond Mission

Grattan Guinness was born in Ireland in 1835 and converted through the witness of his sailor brother in 1853. He began his studies at the newly formed New College, London, but never completed them because he was too intent on active evangelistic work,²³ and on 29 July 1857, at Moorfields Tabernacle, he was ordained as an itinerant and interdenominational evangelist.²⁴ During the summer of 1860, he met Fanny Fitzgerald, and they were married in October of that year.²⁵ She was a remarkable woman and pioneered missionary work with Guinness.

They threw themselves into missionary endeavour, and in 1873 Henry and Fanny Guinness formed The Livingstone Inland Mission drawing on the experience of Hudson Taylor in China.²⁶ Their college, Harley House, Bow, became known as the Institute for Home and Foreign Missions. Guinness also leased Doric Lodge, close by to Harley House in 1884 for the training of

²¹ Guinness, *Hulme Cliff College, Curbar*, p.9.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Spirit* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999), pp.86-87.

²⁴ Edwin Orr, *Light of the Nations* (Paternoster Press: London, 1965), pp.128. and 170.

²⁵ Lucy Guinness (ed), *Enter Thou: Regions Beyond*, January and February 1899, pp.12-14.

²⁶ K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. 5 The great Century, A.D. 1800 – A.D. 1914* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1947), p.423.

women.²⁷ In 1878 the Institute published a magazine called *Regions Beyond* to help with the funding and sustaining of overseas missions.

Sometime between starting the work in 1873 and 1875, Grattan Guinness was preaching in Sheffield and met Mrs Hulme,²⁸ and it was then that the vision of the Hulmes for the use of their property was realised. Henry and Fanny Grattan Guinness needed an additional centre in the country where their students might gain experience in farming and at the same time have quiet for study.²⁹ The judgement of Henry and Fanny Grattan Guinness was that Cliff House would prove a suitable extension of their work.³⁰ Hulme Cliff College came into their hands, rent free, in December 1875.³¹

Guinness was a remarkable student and writer on prophetic subjects, Roman Catholicism, science and philosophy. At Cliff he built an observatory in Cliff Lane, in which he placed a powerful telescope. Guinness combined his interest in astronomy and an interpretation of apocalyptic material in Daniel and Revelation to write his best-known book, *The Approaching end of the Age*.³² He concluded that the world would end soon, probably in 1919. This was his primary motive in missionary endeavour.

²⁷ Harry Guinness, *These Thirty Years- Special Number "Regions Beyond"*, January and February 1903, p.14.

²⁸ *Cliff Past and Present*, p.7.

²⁹ Joe Brice, 'The Romance of a House' in *The Cliff Witness*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1939 p.2. (note how Brice relates the way he understood, incorrectly, that Guinness manly spelt Cliff, adding an 'e')

³⁰ Guinness, *Hulme Cliff College*, *op.cit.*p.11.

³¹ Guinness, *Hulme Cliff College*, *op.cit.*p.12.

³² Henry Grattan Guinness, *The Approaching End of the Age: Viewed in the light of history, prophecy and science* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1878) The original version ran to 13 editions by 1902 with American editions published by Armstrong and Son. In 1918, a "new edition" was published edited and revised by the Rev E.H. Horne (Morgan and Scott: London). It was translated into French under the title, *Latter Day Prophecies* and from French into Spanish by Eric Lund, 1884.

Also he wrote with his wife, *Light for the Last Days* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886). The cover page indicates the authors as Mr and Mrs Guinness. 8th impression 1934.

During the academic year the College was filled with students who were given the opportunity of gaining experience in farming, carpentry, or work at the forge, as well as the evangelistic work in the many villages of the neighbourhood. In the summer the students from the College held missions, and in 1892 one was at Dronfield Baptist Church.³³ Another was the Cowley Chapel at Holmesfield, on the edge of Sheffield, and the relationship between the Chapel and the College remains to this day, with students still taking services. 'The work was begun by Hulme Cliff College in 1888, when students visited the area and cottage meetings began. The present chapel was opened in 1893.'³⁴ Cliff was acknowledged as the place where foundation training could be given which would test the mettle of his intending young missionaries.³⁵

For the Guinness family, Cliff House became a place of rest and relaxation; 'Cliff was their Galilee - a refuge from close, crowded, noisy, dusty, enormous London.'³⁶ Fanny Guinness became unwell in 1892 and lived at Cliff for most of that time until her death in 1899. Her husband had relied on her to manage the mission and for thirty years she had endured 'arduous and unremitting toil, during which she combined the responsibilities, and ably executed the services of organising, financial, corresponding and editorial secretary to the East London Institute and Congo Mission.'³⁷ She was buried at St Ann's Parish Church, Baslow. The directors of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union decided that the

³³ This information comes from the small booklet prepared for the 150th anniversary of Dronfield Baptist Church.

³⁴ Letter from Howard Belben to 'friends from Cowley Chapel', 28 April 1971. The deeds and original correspondence relating to the release of land and building of the Chapel are in the safe, Principal's Study.

³⁵ Kelly's *Directory*, 1899.

³⁶ Joy Guinness, *Mrs Howard Taylor* (London: China Inland Mission: 1949), quoted in Michelle Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, p.152.

³⁷ Lucy Guinness (ed), 'Enter Thou', *Regions Beyond* January/February 1899, chapter 3, pp39-44.

work should return to Harley House, and work at Cliff suspended.³⁸ When the Wesleyans showed interest in the property Guinness commented ‘the Wesleyans were not as sound in their interpretation of biblical prophecy as he might have hoped.’³⁹

The whole development of the College was, however, to take a new direction under the influence of a figure who was never formally a part of it. The movement of the College and its affiliation with Methodism was, in fact, to be a part of a wider evangelistic movement founded by Thomas Champness.

2.3 Thomas Champness and the *Joyful News* Mission.

Thomas Champness, son of a printer, Charles Champness, was born on 19 July 1832 in Stratford, Essex. He had little in the way of learning early in his life, but ended his career as an author, a publisher,⁴⁰ a preacher, an effective College Principal and a missionary leader. He sought no high position, refused payment for the successful weekly publication *Joyful News* and though troubled by long-term ill-health engaged in a remarkably energetic ministry, which was summarised in this way: ‘His life had six different phases. He was a missionary, a circuit minister, an evangelist, an editor, a reformer and the head of a school of

³⁸ *Minutes*, 11 August 1901.

³⁹ Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, p.246. Grattan Guinness died in 1910 and when the news was conveyed to the World Mission Conference meeting at Edinburgh ‘a wave of sorrow passed over the assembly. We all felt that the Church of Christ Militant had lost one of its great missionary leaders. To those who had known him intimately and loved him dearly there came a feeling of personal loss.’ (Elizabeth Pritchard, *For such a Time* (Victory Press: Eastbourne, 1973), p.49). The R.B.M.U. withdrew from Cliff, sold Harley House in 1918 and reduced its missionary endeavour though supported by significant evangelical leaders such as F.B. Meyer. It continued to the 1970’s in Peru, North India and the Sudan. Increasingly co-operation was established with other missionary organisations, and the R.B.M.U. does not now exist as a separate organisation.

⁴⁰ A list of his works, as we have them are listed in the bibliography.

prophets.’⁴¹ Champness had a considerable influence on the Wesleyan Methodist Church in both its missionary work overseas and its evangelistic work and training in Britain.

His father, seeking employment as a printer, moved in 1834 from West Ham in East London to Manchester where he found faith under the ministry of the Wesleyan minister the Rev George Osborn, who was to become a great influence on Thomas throughout his life.⁴² As soon as he could work Thomas became a bricklayer, and as a new convert was welcomed into the fellowship of the local Methodist church and set to work.

The Superintendent minister made it clear that the local preachers of that circuit were ‘a very superior class of men’.⁴³ Thomas was perceived simply as an ill-educated bricklayer. However, in March 1855 he was given a ‘note’ as a local preacher and quickly progressed on to full plan in the Oxford Circuit, Manchester, of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The following year he was presented to the Spring Ministerial Synod as a candidate for the ministry. In July 1857 the Connexional Committee examined him and he was asked, as was every candidate, the extent of his offer. Would it be for the Home work or for the Overseas work? Champness replied, ‘I offer for the world’. The President of the Conference, the Rev Robert Young, asked him, ‘Will you go to Africa?’ ‘Yes, if you send me’, he replied. The President then posed the following question, ‘Will you go to Sierra Leone? Before you answer, let me tell you that Sierra Leone is the white man’s grave. In front of the Freetown Chapel there is a row of graves

⁴¹ William Wakinshaw, ‘Men Who made Cliff, 1. Thomas Champness’, in *Cliff Witness*, Vol.1, No.6, p.104.

⁴² George Osborn became the Secretary for the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. He helped Champness at a number of crucial times in his ministry, not least when Champness returned from West Africa.

⁴³ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.35.

on each side of the walk, and a young missionary lies in each grave; some of them lived only a few months. Will you go?' Apparently, 'With the greatest calmness imaginable he courageously replied: "Yes, if you send me"' .⁴⁴

Normally, accepted candidates for the Wesleyan ministry who offered for the overseas work trained at Richmond College, London. Champness received no such training, but left for Plymouth on the 20 September 1857. He was ordained by the Rev George Osborn, who was at this time a Secretary for the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, at Devonport, before heading out for West Africa. He stayed in Sierra Leone until 1860 'having out-lived or out-stayed all who greeted him when he first set foot in Sierra Leone.'⁴⁵

He arrived home and stayed with friends and family to recuperate, among them the influential George Osborn. During the summer of 1860 he met and married Mary Archer, and during their brief courtship was asked to return to Africa.⁴⁶ They were married on 14 November and sailed for Lagos on the 24th where he served at Abbeokuta in the Gold Coast District. The couple enjoyed the work but they both had bouts of illness.⁴⁷ Mary Champness was a fine missionary, rapidly gaining a knowledge of the language, and had already begun a good work among the women and girls. Suddenly she became ill and died on 23 September 1862.⁴⁸ Champness became increasing unwell and was ordered by doctors to return home in May 1863.

The return to England brought Champness before the public in a quite unexpected way. It was the Jubilee Year of the Wesleyan Foreign Missionary

⁴⁴ Taken from a letter from the Rev Richard Harper, who was also present in the interview as a candidate and reported to Mrs Champness in a letter 18 November 1905 and printed in *The Life*, pp.43-44.

⁴⁵ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.97.

⁴⁶ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.99-100.

⁴⁷ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.104, 107 and 112.

Society, and large meetings were to be held all over Britain. Dr George Osborn was Missionary Secretary and the President of the Conference for that year. He had always taken a great interest in Thomas Champness, and admired his commitment to the difficult situation in West Africa and Sierra Leone in particular. Dr Osborn invited him to be his assistant for his Presidential year.⁴⁹

Because Champness's health had not been good he agreed to remain in England and from September 1864 he was stationed at Kineton in Oxfordshire, where he met and married Eliza Mary Kilby.⁵⁰ Champness stayed in the Banbury Circuit, for two years. It was quite common for Methodist ministers to move every two or three years and between 1864 and 1882 he had ten appointments, with recurring bouts of illness.⁵¹ Champness moved in 1877 to the prestigious City Road Methodist Church in London. During this time he preached on Home Mission deputations, and in Ireland worked with Ira Sankey,⁵² and published his first volume of sermons, *New Coins from Old Gold*.⁵³ He recognised that there were people eager to engage in evangelistic work,⁵⁴ and wanted to set up a scheme so that a 'willing worker and the needy circuit should be joined together'.⁵⁵ This is the first indication of Champness's desire to offer initial training and place young men in evangelistic ministry.

⁴⁸ Eliza Champness, *The life*, p.114.

⁴⁹ *The Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending 1864*, pp. v – vi.

⁵⁰ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.127.

⁵¹ 1864, Kineton; 1865-7, Banbury; 1867-70, Otley; 1870-72, Leeds (Oxford Place); 1872-3, Banbury for a years rest; 1873-74, St Peter Port, Guernsey; 1874 – 77, Louth; 1877-79, London City Road circuit with responsibilities at St John's Square; 1879-82, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

⁵² Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.187-8.

⁵³ This is indicated in the dedication at the front of the book after the title page. We do not have a first edition, 1878 but a fourth edition published by the Joyful News Book Room.

⁵⁴ H.T. Smart, 'The Joyful news Mission', in the *Methodist Magazine*, 1890, pp.12-16.

⁵⁵ Smart, 'The Joyful news Mission', p.12.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church had taken the decision to establish a missionary in every District. The Rev Alexander Macaulay recommended in 1874 the adoption of such a scheme of District Missioners,⁵⁶ and in 1879 Champness was appointed to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne District. His patron in this move was the merchant T.H. Bainbridge who owned a store in Newcastle. Here Champness had a free hand to encourage mission work and engage in evangelism, with the resources of Bainbridge to help him.⁵⁷ Champness had a fruitful ministry among the miners of Durham and Northumberland. It was in Newcastle that he began the process of training young men for evangelism.⁵⁸

In 1882 Champness and his family moved to Bradford Road, Bolton. At that same time he was also invited to return to West Africa but Eliza 'stood in his way'.⁵⁹ During the autumn of that same year, a Connexional committee was contemplating the production of a halfpenny paper, which was intended to tell in simple and popular words the story of revival in Methodist circuits and Home Mission stations and they invited Champness to become the editor.⁶⁰ So it was that at the age of fifty, he was approached to undertake work which would engage all his powers for another twenty years. Both Eliza and Thomas became the editors of the successful *Joyful News* newspaper

Through the *Joyful News*, there came an awareness of the needs of village Methodism. They decided to train young men and send them to work in the villages. They had made a donation with the first year's profits to the 'Wesleyan Methodist Worn-Out Ministers' Fund', and they decided the following year to

⁵⁶ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1874, p.8. The final decision was made at the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1875 and Newcastle was the tenth District to make such appointment.

⁵⁷ T.H. Bainbridge was a patron of many societies, including the Children's Home begun by the Rev Bowman Stephenson and in time was to become involved with Cliff College.

⁵⁸ Eliza Champness, *The Story of the Joyful News Mission*, p.2.

'try what could be done with men that were not worn out'.⁶¹ The training began in 1884 by taking two young men into the manse at Bolton, where they would share their home life, study and engage in evangelistic work in the slums and the villages round about.

It was in 1885 that Champness became a member of the Legal Hundred, the inner and ruling body of one hundred ordained Wesleyans. This suggests that the Wesleyan Methodists had recognised the importance of his work and its growing influence. By the end of 1885 Champness had ten men in training in his home in Bolton, and four out in the work.⁶²

In May 1886 Champness witnessed the dedication of a Gospel Mission Van.⁶³ These horse drawn caravans could serve the villages, housing the evangelists, carry literature and be a platform from which to preach.⁶⁴ He promoted this ministry enthusiastically and had three gospel vans continually touring the villages.⁶⁵ The people who were the missionaries for the Gospel Cars had to be multi-talented, with horses and also: 'They must have unusual gifts in speaking and preaching, and must be able to sing indoors or out-of-doors alone, or in the leadership of a village choir. They must understand how to visit in strange places, and be able to accommodate themselves to life either in hospitable homes of the circuits they visit or in the loneliness of their own caravans.'⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.209-10.

⁶⁰ *Methodist Recorder*, Winter 1894, p.49.

⁶¹ *Methodist Recorder*, Winter 1894, p.50.

⁶² Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.223, and *Joyful News*, 27 May 1886.

⁶³ Joe Brice, *The Crowd for Christ* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), p.39.

⁶⁴ *Joyful News*, 1 July 1886, p.1.

⁶⁵ *Joyful News*, 13 September 1894, p.4.

⁶⁶ *Cliff College Training Home and Mission Report*, 1903-4, p.19. The Primitive Methodists gave less detail. They were looking for 'men who can sing, preach a sermon, give a temperance address, conduct a prayer meeting, and engage in house to house visitation.' *The Aldersgate Magazine*, 9 August, 1903, p.489-99.

In August of that year, Champness was appointed to the Rochdale (Wesley) Circuit. There were altogether twenty-five young men in training for mission work and therefore they moved into Cambridge House, which became the headquarters of the Joyful News Mission.⁶⁷ There followed a period of immense creativity in which he published the newspaper, temperance literature, hymn books, tracts, calendars, and a variety of books, many of which he wrote himself: 'There is always something new on the way – if only a halfpenny tract.'⁶⁸

Champness was committed to the work in the rural areas and in 1886 he was invited to speak to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference: 'my work is in Village Methodism, and it shall always be so. You must remember that there is a stream of human life always running out of the villages into London and our other great towns, and if you would make that stream pure, you must go right to the source of it...I want...to carry the gospel to the man who wears the smock-frock...I shall put all I have in it, in the hope that the blessing of God will be upon it to the healing of the villages.'⁶⁹ To effect change in the rural work would take additional people to minister and mission. He proposed to the Conference a scheme showing that his evangelists were not as expensive as an ordained minister: 'these men will cost £200 a year each less than a minister' and the church could not afford to increase the numbers of ministers.⁷⁰ He indicated he already had evangelists in circuits who were undertaking excellent work, and

⁶⁷ Eliza Champness, *The Story*, p.7.

⁶⁸ H.K. *Methodist Recorder* (Winter, 1894), p.53.

⁶⁹ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p234, part of the statement by Champness to the Conference which was published later that same year as *Old Salt in a New Cruse*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.231.

whether preachers or not they could minister in the villages 'like angelic ferrets.'⁷¹

Champness proposed the Methodist Church appoint evangelists across rural Methodism on what he would later call 'Joyful News Lines'. The Conference listened politely, but the support given to Champness was largely warm praise of his efforts rather than the strategic change he had suggested.

At the celebration of the first five years of publishing the *Joyful News* in 1888, Champness asked readers to 'honour the "Joyful News" birthday, Feb 22nd, by making it a day of special prayer that God will lay his hand on fifty men whom he will choose, and call them to this work for Him...of godly, earnest and fully devoted Evangelists to One Hundred.'⁷² There had been five years of successful publishing and four years during which increasingly the task of training had become a priority. He had trained altogether sixty-eight *Joyful News* evangelists during that time.⁷³ They made this fifth anniversary the occasion to publicise in the *Joyful News* their decision to respond to an invitation to send missionaries. The first two missionaries, Simpson and Edlin, sailed for India on the 19 April. In 1889 Champness was relieved of the Superintendency of the Rochdale Circuit, and appointed to the *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission. At that time he employed 89 evangelists with 18 working as missionaries and 20 of the men were in the home.⁷⁴

The work had outgrown the premises, and the Champnesses leased Castleton Hall a home which was much more suitable for their needs.⁷⁵ The formal opening of Castleton Hall as the *Joyful News* Home took place in

⁷¹ H.K., *Methodist Recorder* (Winter, 1894), p.50.

⁷² *Joyful News*, 16 February 1888, p1.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.244.

September 1889. The preachers were all key people in Methodism, and Champness supporters: Charles Garrett, Hugh Price Hughes, Henry Smart, Josiah Mee, Nehemiah Curnock, Henry Rattenbury. The Rev Charles Garrett hoisted a flag with the words, 'JOYFUL NEWS' HOME, in red letters. The assembled host gave three cheers for the 'Queen, for Charles Garrett, for the Forward Movement, and for Mr. and Mrs. Champness.'⁷⁶ The extensive grounds at Castleton Hall needed continuing attention, and it was there that "Manual" was started, a custom which continues to this day.⁷⁷ At the new home there could be fifty men in residence, with some of them remaining for only three months.

Champness relied on Eliza throughout their marriage as the person who in effect ran the institution at Cambridge House and then Castleton Hall, and particularly as sub-editor for the *Joyful News*. Together they dealt with the issues that confronted them, and though they had willing helpers and wise people around them, Thomas referred to their daily conversations of the issues as a 'committee of two'.⁷⁸

From the late 1880s, when he and his wife had formed an alliance with Mr George Clegg, they maintained a home for training female evangelists, first of all at Halifax and then at Rugby and finally at Wellington. There were problems for Champness in the flow of income to finance his growing responsibilities at home and abroad. He also had to face the controversy and criticism of his policy and management of placing *Joyful News* missionaries overseas. In 1898-9 he was able, with his son the Rev T. Kilby Champness, to visit the United States, Canada, Japan, China and Australia to visit other colleges

⁷⁵ *Joyful News*, 1 August 1889.

⁷⁶ *Joyful News*, 26 September 1889.

⁷⁷ Joe Wood (ed), 'Under Thomas Champness at Rochdale', *The Cliff Witness*, Vol.2, No.6, 1938, .93.

and to see the work of the *Joyful News* missionaries and evangelists.⁷⁹

Champness decided to retire when the lease of Castleton Hall was to expire in 1903, and in 1905 he passed the editorship of the *Joyful News* to Samuel Chadwick. As they laid down the responsibilities of the Training Home and Mission in the summer of 1903, Thomas and Eliza had in the employ of the Mission thirty-five men and thirteen women. Thomas died in Lutterworth in 1905 and in March 1909 the *Joyful News* announced with sadness that, 'The mother of the *Joyful News* movement is gone'.⁸⁰ Thomas and Eliza Champness together laid the foundations for the ministry and mission, but the responsibility was passed on to the Rev Thomas Cook.

2.4 Thomas Cook, 1904 – 1912

Thomas Cook holds a unique position in the Wesleyan Methodist ministry. He never attended College and from his acceptance as a candidate in 1882 he had only two appointments, as Connexional Evangelist from 1882 and then as first Principal of Cliff in 1903 until his untimely death in 1912.

Cook was born on 20 August 1859 in Middlesbrough.⁸¹ His mother was a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church and guided the young Thomas Cook in his early spiritual growth. When Thomas was 16 years old he was engaged as a pupil teacher by the Middlesbrough School Board, which suggests that he had a capacity for learning and speaking which had been noticed by others.⁸² In the

⁷⁸ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.249.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp.273-85.

⁸⁰ *Joyful News*, 11 March 1909, p.3.

⁸¹ Henry T. Smart, *Thomas Cook's Early Ministry* (London: Charles Kelly 1892). The Cook family evidently moved 'to the country' for three years where they attended the local Parish Church. Clearly Smart is relieved they returned to Middlesbrough where they could again be under the influence of Methodist preachers. See pp.8-12.

⁸² Vallance Cook, *Thomas Cook Evangelist, Saint* (London: Charles Kelly, 1913), p.27.

same year of 1875, the Middlesbrough Circuit held a special series of services and during that time he responded to the invitation to follow Christ.⁸³

Thomas was a fine cricketer and a particularly fierce bowler. Although he loved the game he decided to lay it down, and instead took up regular open air preaching.⁸⁴ Cook was a local preacher around the northeast towns not only in Wesleyan, but also in Primitive, Wesleyan Reform and Salvation Army services. During his time as a local preacher he came into contact with Joshua Dawson of Weardale. Dawson was a preacher of full salvation on the lines of Wesley, Fletcher and the early Methodist preachers.⁸⁵ Cook yearned for that perfect love, and he determined, cost what it might, he would not only be saved, but he would be saved to the uttermost. He read and prayed for this experience, 'So he asked, and sought, and strove, and -- he'd found!...by a simple effort of faith, deliverance came, the last enemy was cast out, sin's stain was cleansed away, and great peace filled his soul.'⁸⁶

Thomas Cook had the opportunity to attend Westminster Teacher Training College. However, the conviction came that he should enter the full-time ministry. In November 1880, the Rev Joseph Bush, who was the Chairman of the Halifax and Bradford District, offered Cook the post of lay evangelist and so began a flourishing ministry in the district.⁸⁷ On some occasions the numbers attending the meetings were so great that Cook had to appoint a policeman to keep order.⁸⁸ The report of the District Home Mission Sub-Committee presented to the Halifax and Bradford District Committee, indicates, 'During the first six

⁸³ Vallance Cook, p.28.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.35.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.44.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.45-6.

⁸⁷ Smart, *Early Ministry*, p.49.

months it was found, on careful inquiry, that 2000 persons above fifteen years of age, and a large number of younger people, had been helped in the inquiry-rooms; and, taking the whole of the first year it is quite within the mark to say that 3000 persons professed to find peace with God. Of these, over 1000 adults were reported by the superintendent ministers of their respective Circuits as having begun to meet in class. Three hundred joined junior Society classes, and large numbers became connected with other Churches.’⁸⁹

Cook was a candidate for the Wesleyan ministry in 1881,⁹⁰ now aged twenty-two. The church accepted him at the Conference of 1882 as a Minister on Trial, and appointed him immediately to the new post of Connexional Evangelist.⁹¹ The General Secretary of the Home Mission Department had become aware of Cook’s ministry and wrote to him before the Conference, ‘I should like you to come under my care during next year, and intend to ask that this course may be taken in your appointment. While you are favoured with evangelistic success, such as you record, I think that you should continue to go from place to place. The Lord has dealt tenderly and bountifully with you, and as long as you keep humble and prayerful, He will honour you.’⁹² The prospect of such an appointment had been agreed at the Conference of 1880 ‘but delayed until the providence of God gave the right man’.⁹³ The appointment of Cook as Connexional Evangelist was quickly followed by that of the Rev Thomas Waugh, and of the Rev Edward Davidson.

⁸⁸ Smart, *Early Ministry*, p.62, and in one instance he paid the constable half-a-crown and instructed him to remain in the porch during the service.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.67-8.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.69.

⁹¹ Minutes of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference 1882.

⁹² Smart, *Early Ministry*, p.72.

⁹³ Ibid, pp.72-74

Cook's ministry was remarkable. It is reported that in his first year as Connexional Evangelist he saw nearly six thousand people 'seeking salvation.'⁹⁴ This was an unusual ministry even for the late nineteenth century, and often there were over a thousand seekers in a mission and two or three hundred seekers in the enquiry rooms at once.⁹⁵ With the great Central Hall preacher, Gregory Mantle, he founded 'Out and Out', which was both a network and a periodical, to encourage Wesleyan Methodists to become involved in evangelism.

In what was termed a revival in the East Lancashire and West Yorkshire area, Cook was reputed often to have preached to weeknight congregations of two thousand.⁹⁶ His preaching was inspirational as reported in 1889, when he conducted a ten-day mission in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Helston, Cornwall: 'Large congregations assemble nightly, many of the visitors coming from miles away. On Sunday night the place was densely packed, both in the gallery and below, with extra seats in the aisle until it was considered judicious not to accommodate any more. Holiness Meetings have been well attended. The enquiry rooms present a lively feature, large numbers of both sexes finding their way there at the after meetings. Requests for prayer also form a prominent feature of the services.'⁹⁷

Thomas Cook was not only a persuasive preacher in England but also overseas. In 1886 he ministered in Norway, at the invitation of the small Norwegian Methodist Church.⁹⁸ In 1892 he toured South Africa from April to November visiting all the main centres and preaching at 220 services. Cook was

⁹⁴ Joe Brice, *The Crowd for Christ*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), p.50.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p.24.

⁹⁷ *Cornish Telegraph*, Thursday 18 April 1889.

⁹⁸ Smart, *The Life*, pp.95-8.

distressed by the 'prejudice he found existing at that time on the part of the Europeans against the natives'.⁹⁹ In Durban he took the considerable risk of holding a service for black South Africans in what was known as the 'European Church'.¹⁰⁰

Cook's first wife, Mary Anne Dawson died tragically, and after being a widower for four years, he married Jessie Foster on the 10 January 1894. Just after their marriage the couple left for a tour to Australia. Thomas and Jessie embarked in February 1894 on what was to be his most successful overseas tour. They had a great 'send off' at the Exeter Hall in London with 2,500 people present to pray God's blessing on their ministry. Many people there were associated with the 'Out and Out' ministry and publication, but the congregation of this filled hall was a great tribute to him.¹⁰¹ They arrived in Western Australia and, starting at Albany, began a tour of all the major cities through Western and South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales and Queensland. Thomas and Jessie also visited New Zealand and on his journey home, stopped in Ceylon to preach.

Thomas and Jessie Cook returned to England in December 1895, and for a further eight years Cook continued as a Connexional Evangelist. Following the retirement of Champness and at his suggestion, Thomas Cook was invited to take over the work of the 'Joyful News Training Home and Mission'. Cook had always been associated with Champness, and though he had not regularly taught the students, Cook's ministry was often reported in the *Joyful News*.

⁹⁹ Smart, *The Life*, p.124.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p.119.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1896), pp.11-15.

Cook's first task in his new appointment was to find a home for the work since the lease had expired at Castleton Hall. The Home Mission Committee had expressed the view, 'That the Home shall, if possible, be located in a country district in which the services of the residents may be made available as Local Preachers or Exhorters for as large a number of villages as possible.'¹⁰² With the help of the Rev H.T. Smart, an old friend, and now the Chairman of the Sheffield District, Cook heard about the availability of what had previously been called 'Hulme Cliff College'.

The College was ideal for the purpose, and the 'Joyful News Training Home and Mission' was relocated to Cliff College, opening on 3 March 1904. There was accommodation for sixty students in dormitories, and the style of community life which had grown up at Castleton Hall continued. 'The men are their own servants; they scrub the floors, clean the windows, make the beds, and keep the whole place in the most perfect order.'¹⁰³ Cook encouraged the students to participate in sports, enjoy the fresh air, manual exercise, and beautiful surroundings.¹⁰⁴

Therefore the Champness legacy of the Training Home came to Cliff, with the exception of the *Joyful News* missionaries. The work of the *Joyful News* Gospel Cars and those from the Home Mission Department with their evangelists were brought together and placed under Cook's supervision. During the winter, they were employed in the rural districts and in the summer at the holiday resorts.¹⁰⁵ They were 'scattering good literature and conducting Open-air

¹⁰² *Minutes of the Home Mission Committee*, 23 April 1903.

¹⁰³ H.K., 'Cliff College,' *Leeds Mission News*, No 9, September 1904, p.2.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1905, p.126.

services',¹⁰⁶ and at first were both 'practical and economical' in the work of evangelism.¹⁰⁷ Cook was also able to send students to gain experience of evangelistic ministry with the Gospel Car Agents.¹⁰⁸ The *Joyful News* evangelists became known as lay agents working mainly in the rural circuits of Methodism. There were fifty-eight such evangelists in the country, and the establishment of Cliff College meant that in all future appointments, 'no man shall go into the work until he has received some measure of training.'¹⁰⁹

Cook had considerable experience, but like Champness he had not benefited from the opportunity of a college education. He was a passionate evangelist and expected every man to be a winner of souls. If they failed he challenged their faith, and urged them to prepare and pray that 'they might by all means win some'. He gathered a well-qualified group of tutors, while he committed himself to the consideration of the wider policy of the College. The purchase price of Cliff College, including the renovations and furnishing, had reached a total of £12,500. From the beginning he became inundated with applicants. Almost immediately Cook had a vision for an enlarged College because the College was not only full of students, but applications steadily increased.¹¹⁰

The death of Thomas Champness in the autumn of 1905 also gave impetus to the fund raising, and a decision was taken to call the new wing the Thomas Champness Memorial Wing. Mrs Champness laid the foundation stone for the new wing on 21 June 1906 and the building was opened on Easter Monday, 1 April 1907. During the building works the College had a 'sabbatical year' with

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ *Joyful News*, 6 June 1907, p.3.

¹⁰⁹ H.K., p.3.

no student body.

The project took immense faith and vision, but Cook was able to house up to one hundred men in the new wing, two to a room. 'With this increased accommodation we shall be able to pass a hundred and fifty men annually through the Institution, giving each man the benefit of six months training.'¹¹¹ In this building project Cook achieved far more than he had declared to the College Committee. Not only was the Champness Wing erected but he also doubled the dining room in size, extended the original Congregational chapel, and built Cliff Park as a house for the incoming tutor. He also had to provide a new water supply, with a reservoir.

The report to the Methodist Conference in 1907 was entitled, 'Cliff College, Gospel Cars and Circuit Evangelists', which indicated the breadth and complexity of the work Cook was involved in. Cook persuaded the Connexion to appoint another fulltime ministerial tutor, and the College Committee recommended the appointment of the Rev Samuel Chadwick as from the Conference of 1907.¹¹²

Most of the students were preaching in the villages each Sunday along with the open-air services and most weeks, 'there is the joy of the harvest.'¹¹³ During 5-15 July 1907 the first summer school was held.¹¹⁴ This was the beginning of the public ministry of the College, which would become so very significant for the work and attract some of its best supporters.¹¹⁵

After seven years of Cook's leadership, the College had become a viable

¹¹⁰ *Repor of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1905, p.125.

¹¹¹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1907, p.107.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1908, p.105.

¹¹⁵ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1910, p.111.

institution.¹¹⁶ Fifty-seven Cliff College men were employed as lay agents or evangelists in the circuits of Methodism. Many were doing ministerial work where it was impossible to maintain the number of ministers in a Circuit.

The death of Thomas Cook on 21 September 1912 was quite unexpected. Chadwick had returned to a circuit appointment as the Superintendent of the Yorkshire coalfields. Though Cook had been ill for some time he had been expected to recover. Whilst undergoing surgery he became ill and died. He was only fifty-two.¹¹⁷ Chadwick was given the charge of the 'discipline, finance and management' of the evangelistic work including the Gospel Cars,¹¹⁸ and was to lead the College for the next twenty years and influence its future long beyond that.

2.5 Samuel Chadwick, 1912 – 1932

Samuel Chadwick was born on 16 September 1860 in Burnley, where his father worked in the mill.¹¹⁹ From the age of eight, Samuel went with his father to assist him part-time at the nearby Oak Mount cotton mill and at eleven left school receiving no more education until, twelve years later, he went to Didsbury College as an accepted candidate for the ministry.¹²⁰

At the age of fifteen he felt the call to ministry, but it was when the Rev Josiah Mee came to the Burnley Circuit that Chadwick was really encouraged to preach and to study. Josiah Mee had already been a significant influence in the

¹¹⁶ *Report of the Home Mission Fund*, 1912, p.70. The annual running costs of £5,000 was fully met mainly from the work of the evangelists and the fees from students.

¹¹⁷ Vallance Cook, p.30.

¹¹⁸ *Minutes of the Committee of Management*, 27 September 1912.

¹¹⁹ Dunning *Chadwick*, pp.23-39 See also T. A. Seed, *The Rev'd Samuel Chadwick*, E43, ca 1908 and W. Fiddian Moulton, *The President of Conference*, E43, 1918.

¹²⁰ W. Fiddian Moulton, *The President of the Conference; The Rev Samuel Chadwick* (E43: undated but published during his presidential year, 1918-19.

life of Champness, and now in Chadwick he identified a young man of ability.¹²¹ When, in 1881, Josiah Mee became Superintendent of the nearby Bacup Circuit, he was instrumental in Chadwick becoming the lay evangelist, at the age of twenty-one, in a mill village at the edge of Bacup, called Stacksteads. Chadwick kept a *Journal* from the time he began his work at Stacksteads from 23 July 1881 until 28 April 1883.¹²² The journal was a way of recording his work to be shown to the superintendent minister, to confirm how he had spent his time.¹²³

Chadwick felt called to preach and 'prided himself on his sermons',¹²⁴ and spent many hours in their construction and in the search for illustrations. He had arrived in Stacksteads with fifteen sermons 'of which he was very proud, and he believed would bring a revival of religion'.¹²⁵ Fifteen years later he recalled how one Sunday evening the Rev J. D. Brash, Wesleyan minister and co-editor of *The King's Highway*, a journal devoted to holiness, preached and gave a testimony that awakened his interest in the doctrine of scriptural holiness. He had a deep spiritual struggle and a testing of motives. 'Some things that were precious to me had to be given up. Then finally the battle raged over my preaching. About three o'clock one Sunday morning my little pile of sermons was burnt, and I started afresh.'¹²⁶ With the sermons went his pride: if revival were to come to Stacksteads, then it would be because of the work of God, not his proficiency in preaching. 'That day seven people were converted: one for each of my barren preaching years.'¹²⁷ It is impossible to identify this experience in the *Journal*, though within a few days of arriving at Stacksteads, on Wednesday 27 July 1881,

¹²¹ Dunning, *Chadwick*, p.37.

¹²² Cliff College Archive, E44 a black note book which is simply called *Journal*.

¹²³ *Joyful News*, 18 August 1921.

¹²⁴ Dunning, *Chadwick*, p.43.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

he records, 'Divine Service in the evening, Mr Brash preached a grand sermon. Text Rom 5:3-5. Had some conversation with F. Sutcliffe about preaching.'¹²⁸ On Monday 15 August he reports, 'I have felt greater freedom and blessedness in my work today than usual.'¹²⁹

The experience at Stacksteads convinced him that social ills and community needs would be met as people became converted. This was also why he became so involved in the Temperance Movement. His reflections after nine months working at Stacksteads were written in his *Journal*: 'I was frequently told today that brawls and quarrels were everyday occurrences before we began to work or visit amongst them but now they never hear such a thing. Many who never entered a place of prayer have gone to their own Church and 2 or 3 have come to our own Chapel.'¹³⁰

The link with the temperance campaign would seem to have been at the heart of Chadwick's concern. Chadwick entered this campaign with evangelistic zeal, and was soon made President of the movement in the district.¹³¹ The evangelical gospel and the call for abstinence from alcohol were seen at this time as inseparable. So successful was Chadwick in persuading the leaders of the community to join, that the local brewers and publicans called him the "Methody Devil".¹³²

Like many things about Chadwick, there were events which grew in stature and importance with the telling. One such relates to the conversion of a well-known scoundrel in the community. He described it as a transformation of

¹²⁷ Ibid, and see also Dunning, *Chadwick*, p.43.

¹²⁸ Chadwick, *Journal*, 27 July 1881.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 15 August 1881.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 2 March 1882.

¹³¹ Dunning, *Chadwick*, p.41.

¹³² Ibid, p.42.

character like a resurrection, like that of Lazarus, when he related the story of the dramatic conversion of Bob Hamer, a notorious drunkard called 'Bury Bob', in the *Joyful News*.¹³³ His *Journal* does not refer to the intention of 'finding a Lazarus', though there is¹³⁴ reference to 'James Hamer, an inveterate drinker, signed the pledge.' The *Journal* further notes that he cared for Mary Hamer who was seriously ill and 'died happy in the Saviour's love'.¹³⁵ The entry for 4 January, besides mentioning her death, indicates, 'Eliza Hamer has promised to come back to school and Chapel.'¹³⁶ If James Hamer was the notorious 'Bury Bob' it may be that Chadwick's ministry to the family had a real effect on James who was soundly converted. The absence of information may be because the *Journal* does not cover the whole of Chadwick's time in Stacksteads. It is clear that he had another journal or diary, as 'The Report of work done from March 19th to April 1st was entered in my other Book'¹³⁷ while the period 29 April to 19 December 1882 is lost. The enquirer is therefore dependent on Chadwick's detailed reflections of 1921 in the *Joyful News* and the earlier article, 1897 in the *Methodist Recorder*. The secondary sources follow the *Joyful News*.¹³⁸

Chadwick candidated for the ordained ministry supported by the circuit ministers as 'a young man of good understanding, sound judgement and mature piety.'¹³⁹ In the autumn of 1882 he was admitted to Didsbury College in

¹³³ *Joyful News*, 25 August 1921 and related also by Dunning in *Chadwick*, pp.44-45.

¹³⁴ Samuel Chadwick, *Journal*, 8 December 1881.

¹³⁵ *Journal*, Chadwick visited her on the 30 December and she died on the 4 January.

¹³⁶ *Journal*, 4 January 1882.

¹³⁷ *Journal*, The entry prior to Sunday 16 April 1882. 'To make sure of fidelity I kept a private journal which I kept for two years. Nobody has ever seen it but myself.', *Joyful News*, 1 January 1920.

¹³⁸ There are some detail in Chadwick's own account in the *Methodist Recorder* Winter, 1897; Dunning's account, pp.40-47; David Howarth, *Samuel Chadwick and some aspects of Wesleyan Methodist Evangelism 1860-1932* (M.Litt. thesis, University of Lancaster 1977), p.15. See also Ken F. Bowden in his *Samuel Chadwick and Stacksteads* (Bacup: Stacksteads Methodist Church, 1982), pp.10-11.

¹³⁹ 'Minutes of the Bolton District Meeting, May 1882' in *District Minutes 1881-1882*, Vol.2, in the Methodist Archives collection at the John Rylands Library.

Manchester where he enjoyed and benefited from the wise tuition and mentoring of Luke Wiseman as Assistant Tutor and of Dr Pope. It is clear that at Didsbury the education he had missed in his early life was supplied. Like many students he would eventually meet at Cliff College, it was often the people who had missed out earlier who made the greatest strides forward. Luke Wiseman became a life-long friend.

Chadwick's first appointment in 1886 was a year in the Edinburgh, Nicholson Square Circuit. It was here that he first held Passion Week Services, something which he repeated each year.¹⁴⁰ This delight in celebrating the Christian festivals remained through his ministry. For his second appointment he remained north of the border so, in 1887, he became the first minister of the newly opened church at Clydebank, Glasgow, where, initially, only a few people worshipped and Chadwick had to gather the congregation which he did with short, creative open air preaching.¹⁴¹ He engaged with enthusiasm in planting a new church and developing its life.

Chadwick was ordained at the 1890 Wesleyan Conference and at the third reading of the stations,¹⁴² his friend Thomas Champness intervened by proposing that Chadwick should be appointed as the Superintendent of the Leeds Mission,¹⁴³ based at Wesley Methodist Church. The community there was a needy one, with drink and gambling posing significant problems. During this time he met Sarah Crowther, and they were eventually married in August

¹⁴⁰ Dunning, *Chadwick*, p.64. Though they were called 'Passion Week' Services, they were held in Holy Week.

¹⁴¹ Dunning, *Chadwick*, pp.65-66.

¹⁴² Methodist Ministers are appointed, or stationed, to particular circuits. The 'reading of the stations', the ministerial appointments for the following Connexional year, happens three of four times in the Conference. The practice still continues. This 'third reading' would be towards the end of the Conference.

¹⁴³ Champness had been minister at Oxford Place, and presumably reckoned Chadwick would be a suitable choice as minister.

1893.¹⁴⁴ After their honeymoon, he was appointed to the Shoreditch Mission in Hackney Road, returning a year later to Oxford Place, Leeds. Sarah then virtually disappears in the published literature.¹⁴⁵ However, she undertook work at the Leeds mission and when they came to Cliff in 1907, invited local women to join her in a Bible class.¹⁴⁶

Chadwick began his ministry at the central and prestigious Oxford Place Methodist Church, Leeds in 1894. At the first Quarterly Meeting after Chadwick's arrival, he reported the membership as being 294, with 12 on trial. In the quarter before his transfer to Cliff, the membership was 957 members, 108 on trial and 145 'junior members'.¹⁴⁷

Chadwick loved to preach, especially expository preaching, and congregations grew considerably in this period, moving from an average of 400 to large congregations filling the chapel. When, in January 1907¹⁴⁸, Oxford Place was being cleaned and restored, the worshippers removed to the Coliseum which seated 4000 and it 'was crowded before the time for the service.'¹⁴⁹ He demanded a great deal from his congregations, taking a series through Dr. Pope's *Compendium of Theology*, the three-volume text book for theological students at that time.¹⁵⁰ In addition to a considerable increase in the membership and

¹⁴⁴ Sarah, *Diary*, p.83.

¹⁴⁵ Dunning, *Chadwick*, pp.75, 76, 144. At no point is the date or place of the wedding indicated nor is any attempt made to relate Sarah's ministry.

¹⁴⁶ Sarah Chadwick, *An Open Letter from Mrs. Chadwick to The Women in the Neighbourhood of Cliff College*, undated, but published in the spring of 1908, Cliff College Archives E4.
¹⁴⁷ *A Century – Not Out!*, p.23.

¹⁴⁸ *8 Days Mission*, a leaflet describing the mission conducted by Josiah Nix and Chadwick 20 - 27 January 1907.

¹⁴⁹ *A Century – Not Out!*, p.23.

¹⁵⁰ Pope, *A Compendium of Christian Theology* (London, Wesleyan Conference Office, 1880), see also *A Century – Not Out!*, p.24.

congregations, the mission and Chadwick were involved in social action and caring ministries.¹⁵¹

During this period he conducted what today would be described as an evening Bible school. In the winter of 1896-7 he led 'Studies in Christian Doctrine' looking at issues such as 'The New Testament and its Writers'; 'The Inspiration of the Bible'; 'The Atonement: What it reveals of God and what it does for the Human Race'; 'The Scriptural Doctrine of Holiness' and 'The Sacraments'.¹⁵²

The life of the Church is summarised in the centenary booklet: 'The various activities such as Bible Classes, Guilds, Women's Meetings, Cottage Services, Open Air meetings, Sunday Schools and Social Relief Work. A weekly tract – written by Mr. Chadwick – was distributed to 2,500 houses by voluntary workers; visitation of the sick in the infirmary and of prisoners in the cells, was a regular weekly ministry. The place became a hive of activity and the meetings instant with life and power.'¹⁵³

Chadwick had a remarkable ministry, and in 1902 he was elected a member of the Legal Hundred.¹⁵⁴ He preached at the Great Missionary Thanksgiving Meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, 29 April 1907, in the presence of the King and Queen. Chadwick was still only forty-seven, but already recognised as a great preacher, though many years from being the President of the Conference. His ability as a writer as well as a preacher and teacher was recognised by the astute Champness, who invited him to be the Editor of the *Joyful News* in 1905, a task

¹⁵¹ *Leeds Mission News*, December 1904, p.9.

¹⁵² *Studies in Christian Doctrine*, Cliff College Archives E14, Material concerning Leeds City Mission.

¹⁵³ *A Century – Not Out!*, p.23.

he undertook with the help of Annie Douglas, until his death in 1932. From the opening of Cliff College in 1904 he was a part-time tutor, coming each Monday evening to lecture, and staying over until Tuesday for further lectures.

In 1907 he was appointed by the Conference to join Thomas Cook at Cliff College to be the Tutor in Biblical Studies and Theology. Cook built Cliff Park for the new Tutor, and Samuel and Sarah lived there along with Miss Annie Douglas. Chadwick had always felt a close affinity with the College, and had nurtured the notion of teaching in a college for over ten years. 'There are not many occasions on which I have had premonitions, but my visit to the Bible Institute at Chicago in 1893 made an impression on me which was increased with every visit.'¹⁵⁵

Chadwick was appointed the Chairman of the Sheffield District in 1911 while still a tutor at the College, and remained Chairman until 1926. He left Cliff in the summer of 1912 to become the Superintendent of the newly-formed South Yorkshire Coalfields Mission and lead evangelistic work there. The untimely death of Cook meant that immediately he became Acting Principal, returning to Cliff as Principal in 1913. He had plans for the development of the public ministry of the College, but these were dashed by the outbreak of War in the summer of 1914. He visited South Africa in 1916 and resolved to include a 'missionary course' in the college curriculum.¹⁵⁶ Many of the students graduating from the College went overseas to Canada, Australia, Southern

¹⁵⁴ The Legal Hundred consisted entirely of ordained Ministers who were in fact the Connexional Trustees and the real power within the Church. Champness and Chadwick were members of the Legal Hundred.

¹⁵⁵ *Joyful News*, 16 August 1906. The article is entitled 'Why I Accepted the Invitation to Cliff College' and in it Chadwick confides in the readers, as Champness had done about his thoughts, why in this case he had decided to move to Cliff.

¹⁵⁶ Chadwick, *South Africa*, p.11. He has come to this opinion after considerable conversation with a Anglo-Catholic priest, Father Norton, who was returning to the mission field.

Africa. Dunning reported that of the 42 ministers in Western Australia, 21 were Cliff men.¹⁵⁷

In the Connexional Year, 1918-19, Chadwick was President of the Conference. His presidential address, 'The World Crisis and the Age', was masterly, calling for integrity in politics as Europe moved towards peace, the world-wide movement towards justice and peace, to overturn drink and to see a revival of Methodism.

After the war Chadwick reopened the College and immediately began to build a new team of tutors. Norman Dunning arrived in the first year to join Oxenborrow Rush and the Rev Fiddian Moulton. Chadwick's health gave rise to 'Grave apprehension',¹⁵⁸ but despite illness, in 1922 he became the President of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, preaching widely around the country.

Chadwick was not narrowly protestant or evangelical, and was described by a friend as 'A strong Protestant and yet a high Churchman, though not a sacerdotalist.'¹⁵⁹ J.I. Brice, who worked with him so closely at the end of his life, recalled that, 'there was often a suggestion of Catholic mysticism in his adoration of Jesus'.¹⁶⁰ Chadwick died on 16 October 1932 at Cliff. On the day of his funeral the Committee met afterwards, gave tribute to Chadwick and confirmed the appointment of his successor.¹⁶¹

Chadwick was a great statesman of the Church, remarkably well-read, in theology and philosophy, and abreast of world events as his preaching and

¹⁵⁷ Minutes of the Cliff College Committee, 30 September 1929.

¹⁵⁸ Minutes of the Committee of Management, June 1921.

¹⁵⁹ The Rev Arthur Myers in *Joyful News*, 25 February 1943.

¹⁶⁰ *Joyful News*, 27 October 1932.

¹⁶¹ Minutes of the Cliff College Committee, 20 October 1932. The *Minutes* acknowledge that Broadbelt had been appointed by the Conference as Chadwick's successor, 'when Mr

writing reveal. He was devout and disciplined. 'Ataraxia was not merely a word on a card hung on his study wall and written each year on the front page of his diary, it was the very atmosphere in which he lived.'¹⁶² He arose early each day at six, 'having a cold bath summer and winter' and often working until midnight.¹⁶³ He was editor of both *Experience* and then the *Joyful News* and contributed to many other journals. W.H. Heap, who wrote the lengthy obituary for Chadwick, entitled 'The Warrior Saint', summed up his eulogy: 'Whether as preacher, evangelist, social reformer, or Editor, he must be ranked as in the first class.'¹⁶⁴

2.6 John Arthur Broadbelt, 1932–1948

Chadwick had died. The person who had built on Cook's remarkable legacy, gathered a group of excellent tutors, presided over the development of the Trekkers, acquired land and property for the College,¹⁶⁵ had gone. The Conference of 1932 had appointed Broadbelt to be Chadwick's successor, a position that Dunning had hoped might be his. Not surprisingly the next moves were delicate. It was a delicate matter presiding over the transition of a college in which the Principal had been ill for extended periods since 1922, and which Lambert, Dunning and Brice had not only run with great ability in Chadwick's enforced absences, but in which they had also deferred to Chadwick when he was well. Broadbelt had been a Central Hall superintendent of some of the greatest missions in Methodism; Dartford, Hull, Southall, Bristol, making the policy,

Chadwick passed away'. The words 'passed away' are almost entirely rubbed out and 'retired' inserted.

¹⁶² D.W. Lambert writing in the *Joyful News*, 20 October 1932.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ *Joyful News*, 20 October 1932.

raising funds and seeing it all through himself.¹⁶⁶ Now he had colleagues, accustomed to running the college and supporting an ill Principal, one of whom had certainly hoped to become Chadwick's successor.

To this new post Broadbelt brought significant experience, building the Chadwick Memorial Chapel in 1932, encouraging donations to the 'Chadwick Evangelism Fund', and supporting his colleagues in raising funds for a memorial gravestone at All Saints Parish Church, Curbar. He raised funds to built three cottages and the detached house called 'Lindum' in 1934. Broadbelt was also instrumental in the extension of Calver Methodist Church, asking visitors to the Anniversary in 1936 to help by prayer and donations to build a Sunday school building. He 'gave a vigorous lead both in personal devotion and in the subsequent raising of monies from many sources'.¹⁶⁷ Through his dashing style of entrepreneurial leadership the annual Whitsuntide Anniversary continued to develop. Begun under Cook the Anniversary became in the 1930s one of the major public events for Christians of all denominations, Cliff was the place to be on 'Whit Monday'.¹⁶⁸ He had also seen the possibilities of the expansion of the Summer School by transforming it into the 'Derwent Convention'. In 1939 he built the huge Cliff Hall, with only the surety that it would be used for the Anniversary weekend and Derwent Convention week each year, with just the hope that it might have further use. During this period he launched the *Cliff*

¹⁶⁵ These lands and funds were passed over to the College Committee under a Trust Deed, 1930.

¹⁶⁶ *The Christian*, 26 February 1954.

¹⁶⁷ Richard Baggaley, *One hundred years of Methodism in Calver*, p.8.

¹⁶⁸ Special trains ran from London to the nearby station of Grindleford, from where charabancs brought the people to the College.

College Choruses which after their fourth edition in 1946 became a standard edition and used around the world.¹⁶⁹

He faced personal tragedy when on Christmas morning in 1935 his wife Lilian Broadbelt died.¹⁷⁰ Just before the war, the architect of the treks, Lambert decided to leave the college for the Faith Mission, Edinburgh.¹⁷¹ At the outbreak of war the College closed immediately and was leased to the Sheffield High School for Girls.¹⁷² Broadbelt kept in touch with students and evangelists through a series of duplicated letters.¹⁷³

Following the War, though Broadbelt supported the senior evangelist, Tom Butler in establishing the youth camp at the College, his energy and vitality were sapped, as were his creative ideas in the *Joyful News*. He had achieved a remarkable record in building works in the College, continued the great public events of the Anniversary, started the Derwent Convention, kept the college financially in credit and added to the investments so that in 1943 there was £50,000 available. Broadbelt had managed to keep and develop the College at the height of his powers at Cliff, but the war intervened, and afterwards there was not the same vigour nor spark. He stepped down from the responsibility of the role of Principal in 1947, and retired in 1948.

¹⁶⁹ The first edition in 1934 was edited by the Rev Tom Jones. This was followed by two other editions one undated and the third in 1939. The fourth edition edited by J.H. Stringer sold throughout the world and across denominations.

¹⁷⁰ Maldwyn Edwards, *Lilian Davis Broadbelt, A Memoir* (privately published from Cliff College).

¹⁷¹ Minutes of the Cliff College Committee, 30 September 1938.

¹⁷² W.M. Stopard and D.M. Taylor (eds), *Calver Record, Sheffield High School during Evacuation 1939 - 1944*. No date or publishing details. Written by two staff members, it reads as though published shortly after the war: cf. p.6.

¹⁷³ Broadbelt, Letter 22 November 1940 explains his predicament. The first ones are dated 26 January, 24 February, 27 April, 19 July, as well as 22 November in 1940. In fact one is dated 2 January 1940 but it refers to the Christmas after the bombing of Sheffield which took place in December 1940 and therefore is probably 2 January 1941 with the date an administrative error. There are a number of slight errors in the minutes at this time suggesting careless typing. The other letters are dated, 22 May, 22 August and 18 December 1941; 14 July and 25 November 1942.

2.7 J. Edward Eagles MC, 1948-1957

From the beginning of the new regime, there was established a very different approach to the governance of the College. Eagles asked the Committee to meet twice a year and to establish an Executive Committee.¹⁷⁴ After the first flurry of work when the College came into being in 1905, the pattern under Cook had been two committee meetings a year in March and November. Chadwick and Broadbelt had few committees, though in 1913 when Chadwick took over as Principal, there was a committee in April, June, July and October. No committees were recorded between November 1915 and May 1920, and afterwards they were normally annually, but there were no meetings of the Committee in the years, 1924, 1925, 1927, a flurry of committees around Chadwick's death in 1932, and then annually with no committee called in 1935, 1939 and 1942.

Eagles was nervous about making and taking key decisions. Chadwick and Broadbelt had the practice of identifying the project, raising the money and then informing the Committee that the project had been achieved.¹⁷⁵ The minutiae of detail in the *Minutes* suggest that the new committee under Eagles leadership contributed to the loss of vision in the post war period. Eagles maintained the College¹⁷⁶ but was not the entrepreneur his predecessors had been.

Eagles, who had been a chaplain in the First World War in which he gained the Military Cross, taught Christian doctrine at Cliff and produced his lectures in

¹⁷⁴ Minutes of the Cliff College Committee, 22 September 1948.

¹⁷⁵ No committee was called between May 1923 and June 1926 during which period Chadwick built the Library Wing and Broadbelt had built the three Cottages in advance of the Committee in October 1934 and he had raised the money to build Lindum.

¹⁷⁶ Amos Cresswell, *The Story of Cliff* (Calver: Joyful News Book Room, 1965), p.31.

note form mainly for the benefit of students at Cliff. The preface to his lectures in published form indicates their purpose as ‘an initial and elementary view of theology...a clear and simple statement of Methodist Theology.’¹⁷⁷ Whilst teaching doctrine, he also produced for students a summary of the teaching of Wesley’s sermons, one of the few tutors of Cliff to encourage students to read and therefore thoroughly engage with Wesley’s text, rather than just read books about Wesley.

It should never be overlooked, however, that the great genius of the Eagles years was his courage to be associated with the Billy Graham London Crusade and much more importantly for the College, the invitation to Billy Graham to attend the Anniversary of 1954. That remains the defining moment in the public ministry of the College when 60,000 people attended the Anniversary in pouring rain.¹⁷⁸ Eagles retired in 1957, to become briefly the editor of the *Joyful News*.¹⁷⁹

2.8 Thomas D. Meadley BA BD, 1957-1965

Tom Meadley had been profoundly influenced by the writing of P.T. Forsyth, which convinced him as young man to ‘commit himself to the truth of the New Testament Christ’.¹⁸⁰ He trained for the ministry, worked for the Student Christian Movement and served in a number of circuits before becoming the Superintendent of Oxford Place, Leeds. It was from a successful ministry

¹⁷⁷ J.E. Eagles, *Notes of Lectures on Christian Theology* (Calver: Cliff College, 1950), both interleaved and ordinary; a further third edition, entitled *A Study Outline on Christian Theology*, containing much the same material, was published in 1959.

¹⁷⁸ The following papers covered the end on the next day, 8 June, most with a reporter and photographer present: *The Daily Express*, *The Daily Mail*, *News Chronicle*, *Daily Despatch*, *Daily Herald*, *The Sheffield Telegraph*, *The Star*; on the 10 June, *Joyful News*, *Methodist Recorder*; on 11 June *The Derbyshire Times*.

¹⁷⁹ He was editor from 1957 to 1961 when under the Cliff tutor the Rev Amos Cresswell it changed its name to *Advance*, January 1962 to December 1963. The slide in circulation could not be reversed and the newspaper ceased production.

¹⁸⁰ Cresswell, *The story of Cliff*, p.34.

there that Sangster invited him to become the Principal of Cliff College. In contrast to any Principal before or since, he had no prior contact with the College. Amos Cresswell acknowledged that there was some disquiet about his appointment by the Cliff supporters, but added that 'only those who did not know him wondered for long about the selection'.¹⁸¹

Tom Meadley came to the College at a difficult time. The post-War period had meant difficulties with finance, there were fewer students because National Service continued, and there was a sense of depression in the Church. He brought a practical 'down to earth' approach to matters, and was a manly man. Little renovation work had been done during the post-war period, the property needed repair and he saw to it. The library needed additional books for the new courses which he and his colleagues developed, and he made an appeal in the *Joyful News* for financial help and the gift of books, which was successful.

Meadley's time was not one of expansion; it was one of preparation and regrouping for the future. The number of students were at their lowest ever in 1962 and 1963. Meadley did not, however, plan for closure, which was the case in other Methodist colleges. Howard Belben often used to say, in relation to the developments of the College during his time as Principal, that he built on the foundation laid by Tom Meadley.

In many ways Meadley opened the College up to the local neighbourhood. At its best, that had always been the case, but the archives reveal confidential documents from a medical advisor to the College Committee, suggesting that the community was far too insular and inward looking.¹⁸² Though not dated, it would appear to date from around 1959. The report notes that most people lived,

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² 'Medical Comments on the Cliff College Situation', undated and anonymous.

worked, worshipped, and for many, ate together every day both in term-time and vacations. People were over-worked and rarely went out of the community. He and his colleagues the Revs Amos Cresswell and Howard Belben, with other staff prepared for the changes which would be beneficially introduced during the time that Howard Belben was Principal. Meadley restocked the library, inviting supporters to send contemporary books, and to raise the standard of teaching and place the College as a college of Further Education. He stopped the treks and preferring the students to be engaged in new forms of evangelism.

Meadley taught doctrine, and to this he brought a great love of theology, especially of the writings of P.T. Forsyth. In 1965, he returned to circuit work becoming the Superintendent in Newton Abbot where he served until retirement. His finest contribution came in the doctrine of Scriptural Holiness through his book *Top Level Talks*, published after he left Cliff.¹⁸³ The book challenges false piety, but carefully constructs a theology of holiness based on scripture and with a real understanding of human experience.

At the *Joyful News* Centenary he was asked to speak about 'Cliff Past'. He summarised the College; 'Essentially it is more than a Bible College, a creative mixture of the Benedictine Order while at College and the Franciscan Order while on mission out of College.'¹⁸⁴

2.9 Howard A.G. Belben MA BD, 1965 – 1977

Howard Belben was one of the, quite frankly few, quintessential English gentlemen of the Methodist ministry. He typified all that Cliff College stood for, and for much of the latter half of the last century he was the embodiment of its

¹⁸³ Tom Meadley, *Top Level Talks: the Christian Summit Meeting* (London: Epworth Press, 1969).

¹⁸⁴ Letter, to Steven Wild, 27 April 1983, Archives.

teaching and mission. Howard Belben was leader of the Cliff community, eager for evangelistic mission, but was also a respected leader in Methodism and British church life.

More than half of Belben's ministry was spent at Cliff. He had read modern languages and theology at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and his training in theology at Richmond College, along with his experience as Chaplain and Lecturer in Divinity at Southlands College, prepared him for his long association with Cliff. It was during this first period at Cliff, from 1947, that he met and married Jeanne (Chapman), who was the step-daughter of John Broadbelt. After serving in other circuits from 1953, he returned in 1960 to the College as Senior Tutor. When the Rev Tom Meadley left in 1965, Belben proved to be a natural successor as Principal.

He was Old Testament Tutor, published his *Old Testament Notes*, and his courses on evangelism and counselling were published in *The Mission of Jesus*.¹⁸⁵ He was himself eager to seize every opportunity to share in evangelistic outreach. Belben was part of the Methodist team who explored with the Anglicans the possibility of union in the late 1960's, which was controversial for some of the supporters of Cliff. He was a founder member of both the Methodist Revival Fellowship and the Conservative Evangelicals in Methodism, and played an important role as elder statesman in uniting them as Headway. His ministry was recognised ecumenically, and in particular by the many evangelistic organisations to which he lent his support. Not least of these was the Evangelical Alliance, for which he was Vice-President for many years.

¹⁸⁵ Howard Belben, *The Mission Of Jesus*, London: Epworth press, 1970.

Belben was a man of tremendous vision and drive. This personal, spiritual energy was reflected in the development of the College at this period. It was during his time as Principal that the enrolment of students at Cliff steadily increased, and the doors of Cliff were opened to women as well as to men. He was particularly anxious to make room for the less privileged who could not afford the fees. The fulfilment of the College's decision to build a conference centre and renovate the youth camp, commemorate his commitment to the wider outreach of Cliff, and is a tribute to his vision and forward thinking. Both the Spring Bank Holiday Anniversary and the Derwent Convention maintained their numerical strength and spiritual impact under his leadership at a time when such events were not so popular. In these, and in the regular Cliff Conferences, there was an added element of therapeutic counselling, which arose directly from his own experience in this field. He retired in 1977.

2.10 Dr Arthur Skevington Wood, BA, 1977-1983

Dr Wood came to the College in 1970 with a very wide experience of thirty-four years in the ministry served in a variety of circuits in Scotland and the north of England. He might have come earlier as revealed in correspondence between Eagles and Sangster; 'As far as the appointment of a successor to Mr. Atkinson is concerned, there is a good deal in what you say respecting Skevington Wood'.¹⁸⁶ In those days the General Secretary of the Home Mission Department decided who should be appointed and informed the relevant committees. For whatever reason, Arthur did not come at that time. Immediately before coming to Cliff, he travelled throughout the world as a

¹⁸⁶ Letter from W.E. Sangster to Eagles, 16 March 1957.

representative for the Movement for World Evangelisation and was a regular speaker at the Filey Convention. While in Scotland he was awarded the PhD degree from the University of Edinburgh for his thesis on Thomas Haweis.

Arthur Wood commenced his ministry in Glasgow, and began there the fine ministry of expository preaching which was the hallmark of his sermons. He had, according to Professor Howard Marshall, a 'remarkable combination of a faithful and effective preacher of the gospel and a meticulous scholar of the highest calibre.'¹⁸⁷ These were just the tip of an iceberg in relation to a wealth of scholarship on all matters biblical, theological and historical. From his pen came twenty books including *The Burning Heart*, about John Wesley; *And With Fire; Messages on Revival; Luther's Principles of Interpretation*; and *Evangelism: Its theology and Practice*. In addition he contributed to the three volume *History of Methodism* and the *Dictionary of World Methodism*. He was also involved in the revision of *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia* as well as a regular contributor to many journals. Arthur Skevington was a scholar evangelist, one of a rare breed.

It was during his first appointment that he met Mary Fearnley at a Christian Endeavour Holiday and they were married on 1 January 1943. He spoke at many conventions and pastors' conferences in Europe, Africa, the Caribbean and Asia, including India, Taiwan, South Korea and the Philippines.

With considerable ability Dr Wood taught Church History, Christian Doctrine, and Evangelistic Preaching during the time he was a member of the Collège staff. The courses, like his preaching, were characterized by a lucidity always produced by a mastery of his material. This combination of clarity and

¹⁸⁷ Paul Taylor and Howard Mellor (eds), *Travelling Man* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1994), p.28.

depth made his teaching invaluable to the generations of students who passed through Cliff during that time.

When Howard Belben retired in 1977, Dr Wood was considered the natural successor though Wood saw himself as a 'caretaker Principal'. His insistence upon the appointment of a Director of Evangelism as an additional member of staff was characteristic of his commitment to evangelistic ministry. Regularly the student numbers were in the high seventies. He continued to write books and exercise a wide-ranging preaching ministry, while at the same time always being available to those who needed his counsel or help. When he died part of his legacy to the College was the remainder of his library, papers, sermons and the literary ownership of his works. Arthur Skevington Wood was undoubtedly the greatest scholar amongst those who have been Principal of Cliff.

2.11 Dr William R. Davies MA BD, 1983-1994

Born in Blackpool on 31 May 1932, William Davies met Barbara at a Local Preachers' Class and they were married in 1955. He trained for the ministry at Hartley Victoria Theological College and the University of Manchester. His early ministry was in North Manchester and Thornton Cleveleys. Davies was awarded a PhD, in 1965, for a thesis on 'Fletcher of Madeley as Theologian'.

He was appointed to Padgate College of Higher Education, a teacher-training college in Warrington where he served for thirteen years as Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies, teaching on the Certificate, BEd and PGCE courses. He was a College counsellor and introduced and developed pioneer

courses in pastoral care and counselling. For many years he served on the Connexional Faith and Order Committee.

Returning to the pastoral ministry in 1979, Davies became Superintendent Minister of Bradford Methodist Mission, but after only four years, he accepted the appointment of Principal at Cliff College and stayed there from 1983 until his retirement in 1994. Davies was a respected and trusted scholar, teacher, communicator, counsellor, pastor, and leader.¹⁸⁸

Whilst at Cliff College, he presided over many changes, not least changing the style and name of the public events: the Anniversary became the Celebration Weekend, and the Derwent Convention became the Derwent Week in 1985. He raised the finance for the building of the Eagles and Broadbelt buildings, the refurbishment of Cliff Hall, and the development of a marquee site. The Charismatic Movement which had significantly influenced him, caused an increase in the numbers of people seeking training for ministry and in the years 1986 – 1991, student numbers reached the high eighties. The largest number of full-time students in any year of the College's history was in the years 1990-92, when there were ninety students. Dr Davies taught Christian Doctrine, Church History and Preaching for most of his eleven years. He served as President of the Methodist Conference (1987-88) and Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council for England and Wales (1991-92). He was one of the editors of *Dunamis*, a magazine with a circulation of about 6,500 sharing teaching and testimony about charismatic renewal among Methodists from 1973-1994. He wrote three books: *Gathered into One*,¹⁸⁹ *Rocking the Boat*,¹⁹⁰ and *Spirit Without Measure*¹⁹¹. He retired in 1994.

¹⁸⁸ *Agenda of the Methodist Conference*, 1982, p109.

¹⁸⁹ W.R. Davies (London: Faith Press, 1975).

2.12 G. Howard Mellor MA BD, 1994 - 2004

My whole life seems to have been affected in many ways by Cliff College. A remarkable Cliff Mission took place at Crosland Hill, Huddersfield when I was very young, and from that time our family attended Cliff at least annually at the Anniversary. In 1967 I was a student at Cliff and Howard Belben, then the Principal, suggested I should consider the ordained ministry. Cliff College introduced me to evangelistic ministry, and ministerial training at Richmond College gave the opportunity to think widely and deeply about the mission and ministry of the Church.

In 1973 I was appointed to the S.E. London Mission working in Deptford and Greenwich and was the minister of St Mark's Greenwich, a URC Methodist Church. It was there I met and married Rosie and in 1976 moved to Addiscombe, Croydon to a vigorous church with strong ecumenical involvement. Early in this appointment and because of my previous experience of ministering in Church and community at Greenwich, I took the opportunity of training offered by AVEC, an agency working in Church and Community Development. This led to establishing many projects in the community and through the church, which created links between community care and action, with mission and evangelism. That in turn led to a research project through the University of Durham, leading to an MA in Theology.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ W.R. Davies (London: Marshall Pickering, 1986).

¹⁹¹ W.R. Davies (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1996).

¹⁹² A Theological Examination of the Non-Directive Approach to Church and Community Development with a Special Reference to the Nature of Evangelism. University of Durham, 1990.

Through this time we kept in touch with Cliff, and applied when the post of Director of Evangelism for the Methodist Church was advertised in 1982. We came to Cliff College in 1983, with time to engage in research and preparation for this newly formed post. It focussed on leading a team of evangelists at Cliff, teaching present and new courses and developing policy, with others, for the church strategy in mission and evangelism.

In 1994 I was appointed as the Principal of Cliff, and have seen through these years considerable development and change in the College. The initial conversations with the University of Sheffield began in April 1991 with the validating process taking place in the autumn of 1993. The first validated courses were offered from September 1994. It was immediately clear that the College could develop new programmes of study, and during the last ten years the College has increased its programmes of study from two to fourteen. In the summer of 2004 the College came under the direction and leadership of the Rev Dr Martyn Atkins. He is widely acknowledged as one of the leading missiologists of this country. Atkins had already made a significant impact upon the academic work of the College, being responsible since 1996 for the growing postgraduate department which has gained an international and ecumenical reputation, and with his leadership the College will go from strength to strength.

Section Two

Shaping the Tradition

Chapter three: Holiness Teaching

Chapter four: Evangelical and Biblical stance

Chapter five: Faith and Finance

Chapter three

Shaping the Tradition: Holiness Teaching

One of the key motives for mission, crucial to the development of the mission theology of Cliff College, has been Wesleyan teaching about Christian perfection. This chapter will show that holiness teaching is what has made Cliff College distinctive. The considerable number of books written by principals and other members of staff are, in part, a testimony to this. The teaching of the doctrine within the College has offered a clear rendition of the Wesleyan hope for sanctification. The College's motto, 'Christ for All – All for Christ', is a confident declaration of the wholeness of the redemption of God in Christ, entirely in keeping with the Wesleyan heritage. It is a combination of the Arminian doctrine of lavish grace, that Christ died for All, and also an enthusiastic Wesleyan call that Christians should give their All for Christ. Whilst the books and articles about the College have insisted that holiness has remained a distinctive emphasis, there is evidence of some confusion about the doctrine and its implications.¹

As all the exponents at the College would trace the doctrine back to Wesley, this section first considers the teaching of Wesley and then how holiness teaching developed at Cliff. There are a number of issues which at times became contentious within the College over the theology and practice of holiness and indeed some of these had been issues for Wesley and his later exponents.

¹ D. Paul C. Smith, 'Christian Holiness', Cliff College series of Centenary Lectures, 2004, unpublished. Smith considered that there is presently confusion about the doctrine and a need for a restatement of Christian Holiness in the Wesleyan tradition.

Late in Wesley's life, he described holiness in the following manner: 'Full sanctification is the grand depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly He appeared to have raised us up.'² The doctrine was discussed at the first Methodist Conference in 1744 where the question was raised, 'What is implied in being a perfect Christian?'³ The answer given was, 'The loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and with all our mind, and soul, and strength (Deut, 6:5; 30:6; Ezek 36: 25-9)'.⁴ In a letter to Hannah Ball, the pioneer of Methodist Sunday Schools, Wesley wrote, 'All that is necessarily implied therein (i.e. in Christian Perfection), is humble, gentle, patient love, love regulating all the tempers and governing all the words and actions.'⁵

One significant issue in dealing with the literature on holiness is that of terminology. 'Perfection', 'Christian perfection', 'holiness', 'second blessing', 'perfect love' are all terms which Wesley used, and as such, added to the confusion. Wesley, in formulating the doctrine for the people called Methodist wrestled with the terms but 'Christian perfection' was not one of his choices. 'I have no particular fondness for the term,' he explained to Dr Dodd, 'it is my opponents who thrust it upon me continually, and ask me what I mean by it.'⁶ He used and defended the term 'perfection' because it was a biblical word and concept.⁷

² John Telford (ed.), Letter to Robert Carr Brackenbury, 15 September 1789 in *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley*, Standard Edition (London: Epworth Press, 8 Vols, 1931), Vol.8, p.238.

³ Thomas Jackson (ed.), *The Works of John Wesley*, Third Edition (London: John Mason, 14 Vols 1829-31), Vol.8, p.65.

⁴ *Works*, Vol.8, p.65.

⁵ *Letters*, Vol.6, p.266.

⁶ *Letters*, Vol.3, p.167.

⁷ *Letters*, Vol.4, p.212.

A glimpse of the theology which Wesley considered crucial is identified in a circular letter which he sent in April 1764 to the 'converted Clergy in England'.⁸ They were identified as those who preached the doctrine of original sin, justification by faith and 'holiness of heart and life'.⁹ He invited them to unite with him and each other to 'spread holiness through the nation.'¹⁰

The meaning of Wesley's theology was set out in his *Brief Thoughts* published in 1767. The introduction is testimony that certain issues to do with Christian Perfection had been concerning him. 'Some thoughts occurred to my mind this morning concerning Christian perfection, and the manner and time of receiving it, which I believe may be useful to set down.'¹¹ He then went on to identify three areas for reflection:

1. By perfection I mean the humble, gentle, patient love of God, and our neighbour, ruling our tempers, words, and actions. I do not include an impossibility of falling from it, either in part or in whole. Therefore, I retract several expressions in our hymns, which partly express, partly imply, such an impossibility. And I do not contend for the term *sinless*, though I do not object against it.
2. As to the manner. I believe this perfection is always wrought in the soul by a simple act of faith; consequently, in an instant. But I believe a gradual work, both preceding and following that instant.
3. As to the time. I believe this instant generally is the instant of death, the moment before the soul leaves the body. But I believe it may be ten,

⁸ William Myles, *A Chronology of the people called Methodists* (London: W. Myles, J. Butterworth and J. Bruce, third edition, 1803), pp.93-4.

⁹ Myles, p.93.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ 'Brief Thoughts on Christian Perfection', London, 27 January 1767, *Works*, Vol.11, p.446.

twenty, or forty years before. I believe it is usually many years after justification; but that it may be within five years or five months after it, I know no conclusive argument to the contrary.¹²

Wesley had a distinctive account for the process of salvation which Henry Rack describes as ‘an extended scenario for the drama of salvation’.¹³ This was a process of experiencing God’s offer of salvation which Rack describes as a ‘pilgrim’s progress from sin through conviction, through conversion, to perfection and beyond’.¹⁴ Wesley ‘laid great stress on human dependence on grace in all its manifestations – prevenient, justifying, sanctifying, sacramental and universal.’¹⁵

Arthur Wood identified Wesley’s sermon on the ‘The Scripture Way of Salvation’ (1765) as a key text in the exposition of Wesley’s doctrine: ‘He spoke of entire sanctification, of expressions like “full salvation” and “perfection” as used in the letter to the Hebrews. “But what is perfection? The word has various senses: here it means perfect love. It is love excluding sin; love filling the heart, taking up the whole capacity of the same.”’¹⁶ Wesley makes the same emphasis in a letter to Walter Churchey in 1771: ‘Entire sanctification, or Christian perfection, is neither more nor less than pure love - love expelling sin and governing both the heart and life of a child of God. The Refiner’s fire purges out all that is contrary to love, and that many times by a pleasing smart. Leave all this to Him that does all things well and that loves you better than you do yourself.’¹⁷

¹² *Works*, Vol.11, p.446.

¹³ Henry Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast* (London: Epworth Press, 1989), p.398.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp.398-9.

¹⁵ David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p.58.

¹⁶ Arthur Skevington Wood, ‘Love Excluding Sin’ in Mellor and Taylor, *Travelling Man* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1994), p.66, quoting Wesley, *Sermons*, Vol.2, p.448.

¹⁷ *Letters*, Vol.5, p.223.

Dr. Wood's conclusion was that the terms to be employed in relation to Christian perfection or holiness, if we are to follow Wesley, are, "Love" – "pure love" – "love expelling sin" – "perfect love": these were the descriptions, which Wesley employed to express the heart of what he meant.¹⁸

In his sermon 'the Lord our Righteousness' which was also written in 1765, Wesley argued that Sanctification was a work of Christ on the cross and through the Holy Spirit. In this understanding, justification and regeneration led naturally to the process of sanctification. Edward Sugden, who edited the *Sermons*, commenting on Wesley's teaching on holiness wrote, 'regeneration is the impartation of the new *life* through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit; sanctification is the gift of holiness or spiritual *health*, holiness and health being derivation of the same. Of course there can be no life with out some measure of health; but we can distinguish between life and health; and whilst there are no degrees in life – a man is either alive or dead – there are degrees in health, and it is capable of improvement.'¹⁹

Wesley had his critics, some of whom were his friends. Zinzendorf and the Moravians rejected Wesley's doctrine of perfection as being too optimistic and decried it as 'delusional'.²⁰ However that was to misunderstand Wesley who wanted his followers to engage in the process of sanctification; 'on the need for human beings to take control of their spiritual destinies, not as passive respondents to the iron will of God, but as active agents in "working out our own salvation."²¹ He was no 'closet Pelagian'²² as his rival the Calvinist cleric A.M. Toplady and the evangelical clergyman Richard Hill, who attacked him

¹⁸ Wood, 'Love Excluding Sin', p.67.

¹⁹ Edward Sugden, 'The Scripture way of Salvation' in *Sermons*, Vol.2, p.446, footnote 4.

²⁰ Hempton, p.14.

²¹ *Ibid*, p.58.

²² *Ibid*.

for a decade, insisted.²³ In Wesley's theology and his views on holiness depended both on the necessity and efficacy of the grace of God; prevenient, justifying, sanctifying, sacramental and universal (or general) grace, and also that repentance and the works of repentance are necessary. Holiness was not just an idea in the mind or theology but issued forth in changed lives and works of goodness.

There is another element found Wesley's doctrine, which needs to be understood. Henry Rack highlights the paradox of Wesley's doctrine of a 'perfection which was not perfect.'²⁴ Rack came to the conclusion that Wesley's doctrine is only understandable and plausible because he operated with two definitions of perfection which in turn related to his doctrine of sin. Christian perfection was attainable in this life as long as the believer had not committed a known transgression. The perfection which was not attainable in this life was one in which the believer did not contravene the perfect law of God either consciously or unconsciously. Wesley defined sin as a 'voluntary transgression of a known law.'²⁵ Wesley considered 'involuntary transgressions' did not undermine the relationship of a 'person filled with the love of God' and he did not identify this as sin.²⁶ In this same passage he reasoned that, 'Therefore, *sinless perfection* is a phrase I never use.'²⁷

This twofold understanding of both sin and therefore perfection would need constant explanation. The Rev William Toase in his Paris sermon celebrating the Wesleyan Centenary found it necessary to explain to a European

²³ Rack, pp.456-8.

²⁴ Ibid, p.399.

²⁵ John Wesley, 'The Plain Account of Christian Perfection', in Wesley and Fletcher, *Entire Sanctification, Attainable in this Life* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898), p.53.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

congregation, 'Christian Perfection does not imply exemption from ignorance, or mistake, or infirmities, or temptations, but it does imply the being so crucified with Christ as to be able to testify, "I live not, but Christ liveth in me," and "hath purified my heart by faith".'²⁸ Only then did he explain Christian perfection. 'Before I proceed to state what our views are on this subject, I must disavow the use of such terms as these, "Adamic perfection," "sinless perfection," "absolute perfection;" even the word "perfection" we never use alone, but simply "Christian perfection."²⁹

These apparent difficulties with the doctrine did not inhibit Methodists from holding to the doctrine. To mark the celebrations of the centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, a series of sermons were preached across World Methodism, most of them in October 1839. The Rev Thomas Jackson preached the first sermon in the series at the Wesleyan Methodist Conference at Liverpool. He maintained the Wesleyan position; nonetheless he covers the subject briefly. 'It begins with the new birth, which is immediately consequent upon justification. After this there is a gradual mortification of sin, and growth in holiness; but there must be a point of time at which sin ceases to exist in the heart, and love is made perfect. Sanctification therefore is instantaneous, as well as gradual. That this state of entire sanctification is attainable in this life, we think is manifest from the Scriptures of truth: and to this state every believer is bound to aspire.'³⁰ The sermon covers 62 pages of which only this paragraph relates to Christian perfection, which suggests it was not the most significant issue before the church, though it was written only 48 years after Wesley died.

²⁸ Wesley, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, p.21.

²⁹ William Toase, 'A Sermon preached at the Wesleyan Chapel, Rue Royale, Paris', in *Wesleyan Centenary Sermons* (London: John Mason, 1839), p.23.

³⁰ Thomas Jackson, 'Wesleyan Methodism a Revival of Apostolic Christianity', in *Wesleyan Centenary Sermons*, p.35.

According to the Rev George Jackson, President of Conference in 1903, the chief Methodist theologian at that time was the Congregationalist Robert William Dale.³¹ On Christian perfection, Dale had indicated, 'There was one doctrine of John Wesley's, the doctrine of perfect sanctification, which ought to have led to a great and original ethical development; but the doctrine has not grown; it seems to remain where John Wesley left it.'³²

Dr Arthur Skevington Wood's abiding legacy as a Wesleyan scholar is the manner and the detailed way in which he revisited the doctrine of Wesley's teaching on holiness. He wrote a classic book about John Wesley, *The Burning Heart*³³, and gave an inaugural lecture to the Wesley Fellowship in 1985 entitled 'Love Excluding Sin'. Dr Wood had retired as Principal of Cliff College in 1983, and the lecture is the considered reflection on Wesleyan holiness teaching by a life-long Wesley scholar. Arthur Wood was an irenic scholar who did not wish to see contention over aspects of Wesley's doctrine. Therefore he smoothed over the arguments about the eradication of sin. 'Whether sin is suspended or extinguished Wesley refused to dispute. He told Joseph Benson that he used the word "destroyed" because Paul does: "suspended" he could not find in his Bible. He preferred to regard sin as excluded or expelled by love. It was a matter of displacement. Love and sin cannot live together. There is no room for both.'³⁴ It is clear that Wesley's doctrine expressed the optimism of grace, teaching deliverance from inward as well as outward sin: 'It undoubtedly

³¹ George Jackson, *The Old Methodism and the New – An address delivered at the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., U.S.A., on June 28, 1903 on the occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of John Wesley's birth* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903), p.57.

³² Robert William Dale, *The Evangelical Revival and Other Sermons* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), p.39.

³³ Arthur Skevington Wood, *The Burning Heart* (London: Paternoster Press, 1968).

³⁴ Wood, 'Love Excluding Sin', p.75.

implies salvation from all sin, inward and outward, into all holiness.³⁵ Wesley repudiated the idea of sinlessness since there could be sins of ignorance, error or mistake.³⁶ In his sermon 'On Sin in Believers' he taught, 'Christ indeed cannot *reign* where sin *reigns*; neither will He *dwell* where any sin is *allowed*. But He *is* and *dwells* in the heart of every believer, who is *fighting against* all sin; although it be not yet purified, according to the purification of the sanctuary.'³⁷

At the end of the nineteenth century, Champness and Cook were writing and preaching about holiness and on this matter of sinlessness they did not agree, and they were open about their differences. Champness taught that perfection was a matter of spiritual growth, rather than the eradication theory. 'Mr Cook's view was that sin is a sort of microbe, and that it is to be destroyed by the indwelling of the Spirit of God. Mr Champness could not accept this 'microbe theory'.³⁸ When confronted by the Wesleyan holiness hymns which speak about the 'root of sin' Champness simply indicated they were not biblical, and 'after all the Methodist Hymn Book is not of equal authority with the Word of God.'³⁹

Wesley considered the question of whether sanctification or holiness occurs suddenly in a crisis experience or as a maturing process. In a letter to his brother Charles he wrote, 'Go on, in your way, what God has peculiarly called you to...Press the *instantaneous* blessing: then I shall have more time for my peculiar calling, enforcing the *gradual* work.'⁴⁰ Wesley recognised that the issue created tensions between his preachers and wrote quite candidly to them, 'The point is not

³⁵ *Letters*, Vol.2, p.213.

³⁶ 'Christian Perfection', in *Sermons*, Vol.2, pp.152-5.

³⁷ *Sermons*, Vol.2, p.369.

³⁸ Smart, *The Life*, p.281.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Letters*, Vol.5, p.16.

determined, at least not in express terms, in any part of the oracles of God. Every man therefore may abound in his own sense, provided he will allow the same liberty to his neighbour; provided he will not be angry at those who differ from his opinion, nor entertain hard thoughts concerning them...Be the change instantaneous or gradual, see that you never rest till it is wrought in your own soul, if you desire to dwell with God in glory.⁴¹ In the process of sanctification, Wesley referred to the crisis in a number of ways: a 'second change', 'farther change', 'blessed change', 'the instantaneous blessing', 'the second awakening', 'second work of grace', 'second blessing', and 'the second blessing'.⁴² This use of language about holiness would become controversial in Methodism and at Cliff.

The influential scholar R. Newton Flew criticised Wesley's teaching on the eradication of sin. Flew argued that sin could not be expelled or rooted out like a cancer or a rotten tooth, because sin was more like a poison in every part of a person's system.⁴³ Whilst he conceded the possibility of emancipation from certain easily recognisable kinds of sins, he did not think it likely that the subtler sins which Wesley's colleague John Fletcher called the sins of 'Christian Pharisees'⁴⁴ would be removed instantaneously. Flew rather believed in a process of change as Christians were changed by the companionship of the indwelling Spirit of God gradually, 'a new and transforming experience'.⁴⁵

Wesley persisted in maintaining the expectation that perfection would be instantaneous. To Sarah Rutter, who carried the responsibility in the Society at

⁴¹ *Works*, Vol.6, p.490.

⁴² *Letters*, Vol.5, p.215; *Sermons*, Vol.2, p.391; *Sermons*, Vol.2, p.395; *Works*, Vol.8, p.329; *Letters*, Vol.5, p.16; *Letters*, Vol.6, p.144-5; *Letters*, Vol.4, p.133; *Letters*, Vol.3, p.212, Vol.5, p.315; *Letters*, Vol.6, p.116.

⁴³ R. Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), p.335.

⁴⁴ John Fletcher, 'Practical Application to Christian Pharisees' in *Entire Sanctification*, pp.146-58.

⁴⁵ Flew, *The Idea of Perfection*, pp.335-6.

St. Neots (Hunts), Wesley wrote; 'Gradual sanctification may increase from the time you are justified; but full deliverance from sin, I believe, is always instantaneous – at least, I never yet knew an exception.'⁴⁶ To Arthur Keene he wrote; 'A gradual work of grace constantly precedes the instantaneous work both of justification and sanctification. But the work itself (of sanctification as well as justification) is undoubtedly instantaneous. As after a gradual conviction of the guilt and power of sin you was justified in a moment, so after a gradually increasing conviction of inbred sin you will be sanctified in a moment. And who knows how soon? Why not now?'⁴⁷ To one of his preachers, George Gibbon, he wrote, 'It is our duty strongly and explicitly to exhort the believers to go on to perfection, and encourage them to expect perfect love by simple faith, and consequently to expect it now.'⁴⁸

Dr Wood had come to the conclusion that holiness was primarily a process. He explained his reasoning with clear awareness of Wesley's teaching: 'The verbs in his description of the Christian's life are all in the present continuous tense. "God is continually breathing, as it were, upon the soul, and his soul is breathing into God. Grace is descending into his heart; and prayer and praise ascending to heaven; and by this intercourse between God and man, this fellowship with the Father and the Son, as by a kind of spiritual respiration, the life of God in the soul is sustained; and the child of God grows up, till he comes to the "full measure of the stature of Christ". Elsewhere Wesley speaks about the continual inspiration of the Spirit filling the heart with love like a well of water springing up into everlasting life.'⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Letters*, Vol.8, p.190.

⁴⁷ *Letters*, Vol.7, p.222.

⁴⁸ *Letters*, Vol.7, p.267 and see *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, p.49.

⁴⁹ Wood, 'Love Excluding Sin', p.76 quoting *Sermons*, Vol.2, p.234.

In 1872 this doctrine was given significant advancement through the publication of *The King's Highway*, a journal dedicated to scriptural holiness. Four young Wesleyan scholars who became greatly respected in the denomination edited the journal. The key people were John Brash and Isaac Page who would go on to edit the *Local Preacher Magazine*. The distinct purpose of *The King's Highway* was the 'promotion of belief in the doctrine, and attainment of the experience and life of Scriptural holiness: meaning by that term full consecration of heart and life to God, purity of nature affected by the Holy Spirit through the atonement – perfect love to God and to man.'⁵⁰

The editors saw the experience of sanctification as a second work of grace, and God's specific will for every Christian. This is to be accepted by faith, 'Man can never make himself holy by a set of rules.'⁵¹ Holiness was to be experienced by the believer though 'faith, working by love'.⁵² Page and Brash were confident that God required his people to be holy and this was possible because 'the Lord Jesus, by His death, procured for believers complete deliverance from sin; that the Holy Spirit is given to accomplish in them the deliverance; and that it is realised through simple faith in the Saviour'.⁵³ It was the aim of *The King's Highway* not only to explain and illustrate the fullness of this Gospel blessing but also to 'enjoin its attainment upon their readers as an obligation and privilege.'⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *The King's Highway*, Vol.1 January 1872, p.1. *The King's Highway*, launched in 1872, was edited by a group of four able and respected Wesleyan ministers; John Brash, Isaac E. Page (who became co-editor of the *Local Preacher's Magazine* for fourteen years from 1895), J. Clapham Greaves and W.G. Pascoe. Through *The King's Highway* they were to have a profound influence on the thinking of Wesleyan Methodists in relation to Christian Holiness.

⁵¹ Isaac Page, 'Scripture Teaching' in *The King's Highway*, Vol.1, January 1872, p.26.

⁵² Page, 'Scripture Teaching', p.29.

⁵³ *The King's Highway*, Vol.1 January 1872, p.2.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

The Cliff tradition was closely associated with *The King's Highway* and some Cliff writers were included in the journal. The Rev Henry T. Smart, mentor to both Champness and Chadwick, was a regular contributor, and whilst no article by Thomas Champness was published he is referred to in the notes from Southport.⁵⁵ Chadwick whose editorial time and efforts were committed to the quarterly magazine *Experience* wrote few articles for the *King's Highway*.⁵⁶ Chadwick used the articles from *The King's Highway* in the *Joyful News* when he wanted to include an article on holiness.⁵⁷ There is a testimony by Broadbelt, 'J.A.B.' who was at that time still a student.⁵⁸

Holiness was not just a matter of theological enquiry and debate. Ordinary Methodists were enthusiastic exponents of the experience of holiness or sanctification. Samuel Hick, a blacksmith from Wakefield and eventually widely known as 'the Village Blacksmith', found that 'After he had for some time enjoyed the blessing of pardon, he saw that there is a higher state to be attained; a state of complete freedom from sin, and of full conformity to the will of God; and he frequently remarked that his conviction of the necessity of entire sanctification was as deep, though not so distressing, as that which he felt when he was made sensible of his personal guilt, and consequent exposure to the divine wrath. For some hours together he prayed for the blessing of a clean heart, and his earnest suit was granted. From that period, he loved God as he had never done before: and was enabled to "rejoice evermore, pray without

⁵⁵ *The King's Highway*, 1899, p.211.

⁵⁶ Chadwick records the events of the 'Keswick' in the Mechanics Institute in Bradford, in *The King's Highway*, 1890, p.24, and he wrote an article entitled 'Stumbling Blocks' in 1895, p.189. There are few articles from Chadwick included in the *King's Highway*. He was not uninterested in holiness, but it must be remembered that Chadwick was only ordained in 1890, the year he was persuaded to edit *Experience* with its emphasis on evangelism where he wrote many articles.

⁵⁷ Isaac Page, 'Try Holiness' in *Joyful News*, 30 October 1919, was first published in *The King's Highway*, January 1881, pp.3-8.

⁵⁸ *The King's Highway*, 1895, pp.107-9.

ceasing, and in every thing give thanks".⁵⁹ Bramwell identified this experience as being the motivation for Hick's commitment to evangelism; 'This love expanded the heart of Mr. Hick; and he longed for the salvation of his friends, his neighbours, and the world.'⁶⁰

The Cliff tradition of holiness teaching began with Thomas Champness. During the twenty years he published the *Joyful News* he promoted his views on holiness. Both Cook and, from 1890, Chadwick preached, taught and wrote on the subject. A summary of their teaching will give an assessment of their understanding of holiness. Champness was a down-to-earth preacher and teacher, and in *Plain Talks on Christian Perfection*,⁶¹ he set out his views in which perfection is described as growth in sanctification. He cautioned against impatience: 'perfection is not a question of a moment. It is growth, not a leap'.⁶² He illustrated his approach by reference to a photograph and its likeness to the real person; as the Christian grows in sanctification so they become more like the real thing, Christ. The call to perfection, he wrote, is to be like Christ: 'What is needed, is a Christianity that is Christlike...(that) is Christian Perfection.'⁶³ The pattern he recommended in moving towards perfection is one of commitment, dedicated service, a consecrated life. 'If we follow the pattern the Lord Jesus left us we shall find that Perfection will become an accomplished fact.'⁶⁴ Champness believed that after conversion the Christian disciple should, though not all did, seek a deepening sanctification.

⁵⁹ W. Bramwell, *Memoirs of Samuel Hick the Village Blacksmith* (Wakefield: Nicholson & Son 1854), pp.9-10.

⁶⁰ Bramwell, p.10.

⁶¹ Thomas Champness, *Plain Talks on Christian Perfection* (Rochdale: Joyful News Book Depot, 1897), the pages of this short book are not numbered.

⁶² Champness, 'Perfection a matter of Growth' in *Perfection*.

⁶³ Champness, 'What is meant by Perfection' in *Perfection*.

⁶⁴ Champness, 'A lofty Ideal' in *Perfection*.

Thomas Cook, on the other hand, was much more deliberately Wesleyan, but he held a romantic view of biblical exposition. Vallance Cook, his brother, indicated that Thomas yearned for holiness from the beginning of his Christian experience. 'He determined, cost what it might, he would not only be saved, but he would be saved to the uttermost'.⁶⁵ Cook addressed his search to biblical texts which in turn determined his theology of holiness: "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh." (Ezekiel 36:25-26); "Wherefore also He is able to save to the uttermost them that draw near to God through Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them." (Hebrews 7:25); "If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus His Son cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John 1:7).⁶⁶

Holiness was to be a particular theme of Cook's life and preaching, and both Smart and Vallance Cook indicate that the contact with Joshua Dawson was particularly instrumental in both his understanding and early experience of holiness:

Having already tasted of the grace and power of God, all his instincts and conceptions of the divine nature told him that behind such words and promises there was actuality and fact. It was not a shadowy ideal, now looming and now lost, but an experience that harmonized with all that he knew and believed of God. He felt that the Thrice-Holy One, who had said, "Ye shall be holy; for I am holy," would make the provision and do

⁶⁵ Vallance Cook, p.45.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

the work that was beyond the power of unaided mortal. So he asked, and sought, and strove, and – he'd found!...by a simple effort of faith, deliverance came, the last enemy was cast out, sin's stain was cleansed away, and great peace filled his soul.⁶⁷

He came to the view that God's offer involved both forgiveness leading to conversion, and cleansing which imparted holiness. This was not a shadowy ideal but could be a living experience, and Joshua Dawson encouraged him. And so it was that three years after his conversion, after struggling and striving that he accepted 'by simple faith' that God wished him to be holy: 'at last, by a simple effort of faith, deliverance came, the last enemy was cast out, sin's stain was cleansed away, and great peace filled his soul.'⁶⁸ What he had experienced, he preached.

An example is his exposition of 1 John 1:7, 'The Blood of Jesus His Son cleanses us from all sin'. Cook gave an analysis of what he called the 'twofold character' of sin in a sermon published under the title *Entire Cleansing*,⁶⁹ Smart included it in his book about Cook's early ministry. The distinction Cook pressed is that 'we must discriminate between guilt and depravity...sin committed is the transgression of the law, but depravity is in-bred, inherited.' He built an argument in the sermon that not only can God cleanse from all unrighteousness, but also impart entire cleansing: 'the heart is cleansed by the Holy Spirit taking full possession, and it is only kept clean by His

⁶⁷ Vallance Cook, pp.45-6.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.46.

⁶⁹ Henry T. Smart, *Thomas Cook's Early Ministry* (London: Charles Kelly, 1892), pp.134-151. Unusually for a biography the sermon is reproduced in full. The sermon was also produced as a tract by the editors of *The King's Highway*, where it was called *A Perfect Cleansing* and available at price 2d. The sermon was more recently republished, entitled *Entire Cleansing*, undated, by the Revival Movement, N. Ireland.

remaining...We preach, therefore, a moment by moment salvation, maintained by a perpetual faith in the cleansing blood.'⁷⁰

In a somewhat sentimental illustration he explained his point; 'A mother puts upon her child a clean pinafore, and says, "now this is not to be soiled". But the child disobeys. She may forgive the child for her disobedience, but she cannot forgive the pinafore clean; she must wash it. So God may forgive the wrong that we do, but He cannot forgive a depraved heart. Heart-sin must be cleansed away, and it is to this cleansing the text refers - the blood of Jesus Christ, His Son cleanseth us from all sin'.⁷¹ This is the eradication theory in which not only is the Christian strengthened to resist sin, but the root of sin is taken out. It is true that Cook considered that temptation remained possible and will come, but his concept of entire cleansing is predicated on the belief that such temptation will be resisted because the experience of 'blessed assurance' is lived in a continuing way.

Since Cook concentrated on 1 John 1:9, we should consider the meaning of the text. The letter of John does appear to argue that the Christian does not and cannot sin. However there are two kinds of 'perfectionism'; one John condemned as heretical, as in 1:8, 'If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us', and 1:10, 'If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar and his word is not in us.' The other kind of perfectionism he viewed as orthodox as in 3:6, 'No-one who abides in him sins.' It may be that the apparent paradox is understood by the more practical approach of 2:1, 'I am writing these things to you so that you may not sin. But if anyone does sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' That is, John

⁷⁰ Smart, *Thomas Cook's Early Ministry*, pp.144-5.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.135.

makes a call for righteous living, but acknowledges that Christians may not always live such a righteous life.

The precise text Cook used is 1:9, 'If we confess our sins, he who is faithful and just will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness' (N.R.S.V.). The Greek *adikias*, normally translated 'unrighteousness', will not bear the translation 'depravity'.⁷² There is a Greek word which carries that meaning, *asōtia*, which means an 'abandoned dissolute life' and which might be translated 'depravity', as in Ephesians 5:18, 'Do not get drunk with wine, for that is (*asōtia*) debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit.' The Greek *kathapizō*, normally translated 'purify', may mean 'the removal of sinful desire in general as well as the guilt attaching to actual sins'.⁷³ Consequently it would appear that the verse does speak of a twofold process, but it is a cleansing from, rather than the eradication of, sin.

Cook recognised that the work of God did not make people 'faultless', but the crucial thing was intention: 'Perfect love is not always a successful achievement; it is a childlike purpose, *a sincere aim in all we do to please God.*'⁷⁴ Whilst for Cook, holiness did not mean the absence of temptation,⁷⁵ he did challenge the view that sin was inevitable for the Christian.⁷⁶ However, Cook maintained there was a second definite experience that should be sought

⁷² J.H. Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1961), p.12 which offers the translation of *adikias*, 'owing to the context, the *guilt* of unrighteousness'. John emphasises the contrast of this unrighteous state with the righteousness of God. In the same verse, 1 John 1:9, he writes of God as faithful and *dikaioi*, 'one who executes the laws of his government and therefore also the law concerning the pardon of sins', see Thayer, p.149.

⁷³ Stephen Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John Word Biblical Commentary* (Dallas: Word, 1984), p.32. B.F. Westcott *The Epistle of St John. The Greek Text with Notes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), p.25, comes to the same conclusion.

⁷⁴ Thomas Cook, *New Testament Holiness* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1902), p.10. The italics are his.

⁷⁵ Cook, *Holiness*, pp.12-15.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.16.

and claimed, and which imparted entire sanctification.⁷⁷ He then maintained that purity, when achieved, was not the goal of Christian devotion but the beginning of a new maturing process, 'a new starting point on a higher plane.'⁷⁸ In that sense he agreed with others that 'Holiness is both a *crisis* and a *process*'.⁷⁹ He interpreted cleansing as a continuing process: 'We teach, therefore, not a *state of purity*, but a *maintained condition of purity*, a moment-by-moment salvation consequent upon a moment-by-moment obedience and trust.'⁸⁰ It is in this understanding that Cook is revealed as having a conditional theory of the eradication of sin, that is, that it is dependent on the faith of the disciple. Therefore the Christian should be a 'God-possessed Soul',⁸¹ seeking the love and grace of God which is '*bestowed, imparted, given to us as a gift*'.⁸² This experience would bring the Christian to evangelical perfection, by which he meant those who are 'fully fitted and equipped for the service of God.'⁸³ This experience would then be in the fullness of the Spirit, a conscious walking with God, and experience of intense spirituality (which he sometimes called Beulah land⁸⁴), a serenity and peace in the midst of life which he referred to as 'soul rest'.⁸⁵ Cook maintained throughout that this is a blessing which all Christians may and should enjoy, and which would give power for service. The theme of consecration is present but what makes his view of holiness distinctively Wesleyan is his insistence that perfection is attainable and that sin may be eradicated. His book concludes with advice to enable those who know the

⁷⁷ Cook, *Holiness*, pp.22-32.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.37.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.43. The italics are his.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* The italics are his.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.46.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.52.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.60.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.82-7.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.88-95.

experience of perfect love to maintain that state, which is characterised by a desire for greater illumination, a life of simple trust, times of prayer and bible meditation, active Christian work, and always a desire for more.⁸⁶

Champness' teaching in this respect was not dissimilar from the 'Keswick' teaching which was emerging at this time. He did not agree with Cook's teaching about the eradication of sin which he thought owed more to the hymns of Charles Wesley than the Bible.⁸⁷ Champness maintained that such expressions as the eradication of 'the root of sin' do not occur in the Scriptures and he thought they led to misunderstanding.⁸⁸

At the same time as Champness, Cook and other Wesleyans were teaching and preaching holiness in Britain, there were other strands of holiness teaching developing. Two sisters had a remarkable effect upon the holiness movement in North America. Sarah Lankford and her younger sister Phoebe Palmer both married affluent Methodist laymen and worshipped in the prestigious Allen Street Methodist Church in New York. They had experiences of entire sanctification between 1835 and 1837. This so affected them that they moved into the same spacious house in a fashionable area near the church. They began their 'Tuesday Meetings for the Promotion of Holiness', which continued for half a century.⁸⁹ They edited *A Guide to Holiness* and Palmer published *The way to Holiness*, and the meetings and the literature reshaped holiness teaching in the late nineteenth century.⁹⁰ Palmer popularised what she called 'altar

⁸⁶ Cook, *Holiness*, pp.139-46.

⁸⁷ Henry Smart, *The Life of Thomas Cook* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1913), p.281.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.281.

⁸⁹ Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Second Edition, 1996), pp.15-77.

⁹⁰ Phoebe Palmer (ed), *A Guide to Holiness*, editor from its inception in 1864 until her death in 1872 and then by her sister Sarah Lankford until her death in 1896. Palmer wrote *The Promise of the Father: Or a Neglected Speciality o the Last Days* (New York: Foster and Palmer, 1866) and *The Way of Holiness* (New York: Palmer and Hughes, 1867).

theology' which emphasised human consecration and the desire of holiness. She urged people who wanted to be sanctified to lay their desire for holiness on the 'altar' and trust God to deliver entire sanctification:

Mrs. Palmer believed that the Scriptures taught that Christ was both the sacrifice for her sin and the altar upon which she could offer up her whole heart in consecration to God. She reasoned that the divine promise of fullness of spiritual life, release from self-will and the habit of sinning could be realised in every Christian through entire consecration of the self offered as a gift of faith to God upon the "Altar, Christ." The New Testament, she said, told her that, "the altar sanctifieth the gift." The sanctifying efficacy of Christ as the Christian's altar would enable the believer to love God with one's whole heart and to freely love and seek to obey His commandments. This relationship of love remained constant as long as the individual continued to exercise faith and obedience.'⁹¹

The hymn 'When we walk with the Lord' comes from this period, with verse four:

But we never can prove,
The delights of his love
Until all on the altar we lay;
For the favour he shows,
And the love he bestows,
Are for them who will trust and obey;
*Trust and obey, for there is no other way
To be happy in Jesus,
But to trust and obey.*⁹²

Palmer's expectation that holiness was available to every consecrated believer changed the thinking of traditional Methodists. Formerly they had

⁹¹ Dieter, *Holiness*, pp.23-4.

⁹² John Henry Sammis, hymn No. 687 in *Hymns and Psalms* (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1983).

understood holiness to be elusive and only expected after a long period of waiting but according to Palmer there was no need to wait. Following the publication of her writings in Britain many people indicated their indebtedness to *The Way of Holiness* in testimonies in *The King's Highway*.⁹³

Another American couple who had a profound effect in Britain were the Quaker evangelists, Robert Pearsall Smith and his wife Hannah Whitall Smith.⁹⁴ They were converted during the revival in Philadelphia in 1858, were baptised in the spirit, spoke at holiness meetings and Hannah Whitall Smith published the book *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* which had a considerable impact in America.⁹⁵ Pearsall Smith was associated with the highly influential National Holiness Camp Meeting Association in the United States started in 1867 and attended by thousands of Methodists.⁹⁶ There was some resistance from the British to the method and style of camp meetings though the work was praised.⁹⁷ Robert Pearsall Smith came to England in 1873 to recuperate from a serious illness. He conducted holiness conferences in London during the Moody campaigns of 1874–75. His emphasis on holiness was one of consecration: 'In the life of faith Christians were challenged to maintain close fellowship with God and to gain victory over all known sin.'⁹⁸ He was joined by his wife and they had a profound effect on leading Anglican clergy such as Evan Hopkins,

⁹³ *The King's Highway*, 1872, pp.5, 44 and 67.

⁹⁴ Dieter, *Holiness*, pp.132-8, see also Paulus Scharpff, *History of Evangelism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), p.215.

⁹⁵ Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Co, 1952). Originally published in 1870 (according to Dieter, p.283), or 1875 (according to Balmer, p.533).

⁹⁶ Randall Balmer, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), pp.419-20.

⁹⁷ The work of camp meetings was praised in *The King's Highway*, 1872, pp.364-72. Later when one of its leaders, John Inskip, came to Britain he found 'His style was hardly such as to make the same impression on English congregations as he witnessed in his own land', *The King's Highway*, 1884, p.180.

⁹⁸ Scharpff, p.215.

the vicar of Richmond.⁹⁹ Pearsall Smith declared a message of joy and hope centring on the indwelling Christ as the source of daily victory over sin. British evangelicalism was ready for such a message,¹⁰⁰ and the editors of *The King's Highway* declared that at the close of 1872 there was appearing a 'movement of the evangelical churches for a united and earnest prayer arising chiefly from the influence of the Evangelical Alliance.'¹⁰¹ This movement is linked to the work of William Pennefather¹⁰² who at Barnett and then at Mildmay Park in North London had led meetings focussed on the work of the holy spirit, overseas missions and holiness. Grattan Guinness was also a speaker at these conferences¹⁰³ and it seems possible that Ann Elizabeth Hulme attended. These Mildmay Conferences, like Keswick which followed, stressed 'holiness through faith' and offering of life in dedicated service.¹⁰⁴

The Smiths spoke at a number of 'Union Meetings for Consecration', held in the spring of 1874 at Mildmay, Dublin, Manchester and Cambridge. Lord and Lady Mount Temple opened up their home at Broadlands in Hampshire at the request of Cambridge students who needed time to consider further the Smiths' holiness teaching.¹⁰⁵ The Broadlands meeting, 17-23 July, of that year attracted scholars from Cambridge and the English upper classes. At the conclusion of the meeting Sir Arthur Blackwood, the Earl of Chichester and the

⁹⁹ John Pollock, *The Keswick Story* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), pp.14-15.

¹⁰⁰ Price and Randall, *Transforming Keswick*, pp.21-24, where Randall indicates evangelicalism had been buffeted and undermined by the bitter controversies resulting from the Oxford Movement, and scepticism about accepted biblical truths following the publication of Darwin's writings. Evangelicals were characterised by 'negative introspection which created a dreary atmosphere of gloom and guilt'.

¹⁰¹ *The King's Highway*, 1873, p.156.

¹⁰² Robert Braithwaite, *The Life and Letters of Rev. W. Pennefather* (London: J.F. Shaw and Co, 1878), quoted in Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.159.

¹⁰³ H. Grattan Guinness, 'The Nearness of the Second Coming of Christ' in *The Mildmay Conference* (London: John F. Shaw, 1878), pp.137-45. Guinness spoke on, 'The Coming and Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

¹⁰⁴ Paulus Scharpff, p.197.

¹⁰⁵ Dieter, *Holiness*, p.138.

President of the Church Missionary Society, recommended a more extensive meeting at Oxford in the summer vacation. The combination of a growing sense of the need for a deeper spirituality which was felt in many denominations, the arrival of the Smiths as catalysts and preachers, the acceptance by some academics and Cambridge scholars, and the inclusion of influential people from English society, combined to make the invitation to Oxford one which, with only a few weeks notice, drew people from across Europe and transcended denominations.

From 29 August 1874, for ten days at Oxford, 1,500 men and women of all denominations and social groups gathered for a 'Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness', chaired by Robert Pearsall Smith.¹⁰⁶ At this conference Evan Hopkins spoke on the difference between 'seeking faith' and 'resting faith'. Coming to Christ was 'seeking faith' but 'resting faith' was 'one of complete trust and dependence on God' in the all-sufficiency of Christ for everything he has promised, including sanctification. Believers were to treat the promise as something already received and Pearsall Smith encouraged them; 'It is to bring you to a crisis of faith that we have come together – to a point at which you will say, "By God's grace I *will* believe God's promises".'¹⁰⁷ The Oxford conference was attended by Thomas Harford-Battersby who was vicar of Keswick. During the conference he was not only persuaded by the teaching but also entered into the same experience. The following year 7,000 gathered in Brighton for an international 'Convention for the promotion of Scriptural Holiness'. Hannah Whittall Smith gave the Bible Readings. *The King's Highway* reported, 'This lady is beyond comparison the best speaker we heard at the

¹⁰⁶ Dieter, *Holiness*, pp.138-40.

¹⁰⁷ Price and Randall, *Transforming Keswick*, p.27.

Conference. Lady-like, perfectly self-possessed, she has a wonderful gift of pleasing, direct, conversational address.' She emphasised 'full surrender as necessary to complete rest in Christ',¹⁰⁸

At the invitation of Canon Harford-Battersby the gatherings adjourned to Keswick where he invited a wide range of Christian people to meet for the 'promotion of practical holiness'.¹⁰⁹ There was an immediate setback as Robert Pearsall Smith was charged with an inappropriate relationship with a young woman. Whatever the truth he withdrew from the scene, and spent the last twenty five years of his life in seclusion.¹¹⁰ The Keswick venture survived initial criticism due to Smith's indiscretion and met annually from that time.

The Keswick Convention set a different course to the Wesleyan theology of Champness and Cook. 'Keswick denied traditional Wesleyan convictions that Christians could experience entire sanctification, teaching instead that through the entry into 'the rest of faith' sin was not eradicated but "perpetually counteracted"'.¹¹¹ Keswick denied the idea that holiness was attainable through the efforts of Christian service. 'Evangelical conceptions of holy living achieved through sustained struggle were replaced, in the spirituality purveyed at Keswick, by the idea that sanctification, like justification, was attained through faith, not works.'¹¹²

The Rev H.W. Webb-Peploe, vicar of St. Paul's Onslow Square, one of the founders and the principal speaker at the first Keswick, was highly critical of the

¹⁰⁸ *The King's Highway*, 1874, p.377.

¹⁰⁹ Paul Smith, 'Christian Holiness', p.7.

¹¹⁰ Randall, *Transforming Keswick*, p.29-31, where he makes clear that the matter was clouded in mystery and John Pollock discovered a letter from Smith who confessed to counselling a distressed young woman in his hotel room. He put his arm around her but explained, 'I do not think my intentions would have been more pure to my own daughter', quoted in John Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, pp.34-36.

¹¹¹ Ian Randall, *Evangelical Experiences* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), p.14.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

Wesleyan doctrine of eradication and in 1895 distanced Keswick from Methodism. 'When I read such words as dear John Wesley's, 'The evil root, the carnal mind, is destroyed in me; sin subsists no longer,' I can only marvel that any human being, with the teaching of the Holy Ghost upon the Word of God, can thus deceive himself, or attempt to deceive others. It is, I think, a miracle of blindness that we can study God's word, and imagine that any man can be free from sin experimentally while here in the mortal body.'¹¹³

Methodists were similarly critical of Keswick. In a thinly disguised attack on the Keswick movement Chadwick criticised its preachers as teaching 'Christian Perfection as "metaphysically attainable"', and yet which denied 'the fact of actual attainment...but regards it as an imputed perfection and not an actual possession. In this teaching inbred sin is not eradicated but repressed, and holiness is not imparted but imputed.'¹¹⁴ Dunning reported that Chadwick contrasted Keswick with the Southport Convention, which stood 'for the doctrine of eradication of inbred sin and imparted holiness, as against the Keswick teaching of repression of sin and imputed holiness.'¹¹⁵ In a passage which was highly critical of Keswick, Chadwick accused the Keswick speakers of proclaiming a theological fiction, 'a process of sheer make believe, by which God shuts his eyes to our real state and agrees to accept a fiction for a fact.'¹¹⁶ Some years later he was more accommodating and described the differences between Keswick and Southport as being 'different interpretations of the same

¹¹³ W.E. Sangster, *The Path to Perfection* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), p.81.

¹¹⁴ Chadwick, *Christian Perfection*, p.75.

¹¹⁵ Dunning, *Samuel Chadwick*, p.148.

¹¹⁶ Chadwick, *Christian Perfection*, p.76.

experience'.¹¹⁷ However he contrasted the Methodist interpretation of eradication with the Calvinist (which is how he saw Keswick) understanding of counteraction but concluded: 'There is a very real difference, but there is no essential antagonism'.¹¹⁸ All of these criticisms appear in published articles but his preaching highlighted the positive. The Chadwick sermon collection in the College archives contains three series of sermons preached on holiness. In these there is neither criticism of Keswick theology nor indeed a detailed exposition of the eradication of sin. Throughout, however, there is a powerful call for inward cleansing and holy living.¹¹⁹

The teaching of Keswick, though much criticised by Chadwick did deal with the Wesleyan doctrine of 'eradication' and give holiness an acceptable face for many English evangelicals.¹²⁰ 'The Keswick Convention did for Wesleyan holiness teaching in the late nineteenth century what the charismatic movement did for Pentecostalism in the second half of the twentieth century. It took the fundamental objectives and emphases of the former, modified them, adjusted some of their less acceptable demands and controversial elements, and broadened their appeal to a wider section of the evangelical constituency.'¹²¹

The call to holiness at Keswick had in the 1870's been described as the 'higher Christian Life' but in the early twentieth century the heart of the

¹¹⁷ *Joyful News*, 16 June 1932, p.3. Ian Randall suggests this softening of Chadwick's criticism came through contact with the Keswick movement: *Evangelical Experiences*, p.100.

¹¹⁸ *Joyful News*, 16 June 1932, p.3. He cannot resist the temptation, however, to contrast the views of the two conventions and describe Keswick theology as absurd: 'the definitely and immediately attainable and the eternal approximation to the unrealisable'.

¹¹⁹ Cliff College Archives, E22. Handwritten notes from which Chadwick preached. 'Holiness Series I', given at the Southport Holiness Convention, June 1910. 'Holiness Series II', given at the Southport Holiness Convention 1911, 1913 and 1923, though the final sermon on the 'Whole Armour of God' was preached 29 times in that period and all noted on the flyleaf. 'Holiness Series III', given at the Southport Convention in 1914.

¹²⁰ Charles Price and Ian Randall, *Transforming Keswick* (Carlisle: OM Publishing, 2000), p.188.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

message was described as the 'normal Christian Life'.¹²² This Bebbington describes as the democratisation of holiness teaching.¹²³ The Convention still maintained the theme of holiness by faith and stressed the believer's consecration to Christ.

The King's Highway, which was not narrowly Wesleyan,¹²⁴ defended its view of holiness against the all-pervasive Keswick position. In a review of *Sanctification: a Statement and a Defence* by the Keswick speaker, Henry F. Bowker,¹²⁵ Brash commented that though the series of tracts on the subject of sanctification contained a plain and scriptural statement of the life of holiness through faith; 'We use the word "scriptural" with one reservation. The author appears to hold the necessary continuance of the "old corrupt nature" in the believer through life. We can see no such necessity affirmed in the New Testament, and the language of the promises certainly seems to hold out complete deliverance. Why limit the power of Christ or set bounds to the provision of his redemption, who came to "destroy the works of the devil".'¹²⁶

In the year of the Oxford meetings John Brash wrote an article, 'Gradual or Instantaneous'. The argument employed by Brash was that if repentance, faith, prayer are a present reality, why should the 'commands to be holy, to love the Lord our God with all the heart, to present our bodies as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, be in a different category?'¹²⁷ He quoted in support of his argument the Wesleyan preacher and theologian from the early nineteenth

¹²² Ian Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.27.

¹²³ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p.173.

¹²⁴ They published articles by Phoebe Palmer and in the first edition recognised their debt to *A Guide to Holiness*, and see themselves in that same tradition as a publication about holiness. In 1874 they published an article by Robert Pearsall Smith and include reports of the Oxford Union Meetings: *The King's Highway*, 1874, pp.377-8.

¹²⁵ Henry F. Bowker, *Sanctification: a Statement and a Defence* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1878, price 2d.).

¹²⁶ *The King's Highway*, 1878, p.144.

¹²⁷ *The King's Highway*, 1874, p.182.

century, Adam Clarke: 'For as the work of cleansing and renewing the heart is the work of God, His almighty power can perform it in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye.'¹²⁸

The most significant Wesleyan theological work in this period was from the respected Rev W.B. Pope, a tutor at Didsbury College, and whose *Compendium of Christian Theology* became the standard text book on theology for Wesleyans.¹²⁹ Chadwick would preach his way through the chapters of the book when in Leeds and use it at Cliff. Brash and Page used the text from Pope's *Compendium* without any commentary, revealing they were in complete agreement with him. Pope introduces a section 'Purification or Entire Sanctification', indicating a view identical to the editors of *The King's Highway* on the eradication of sin.¹³⁰ Perfect love is not only possible but commanded.¹³¹ This state is effected through the 'completeness of the Saviour's work' and brings about the 'complete destruction of sin'. Pope did also emphasise a gradual deepening of the experience of perfect love through the 'entireness of consecration to God' and that holiness was the state in which 'character of the saint may be formed in the present life'.¹³²

One of the criticisms of the views of holiness was that this was a recent theology and experience. The editors of *The King's Highway* sought to undermine this criticism by indicating that the doctrine of perfect love, though it finds full expression in Wesley, does have antecedents. John Brash wrote five

¹²⁸ *The King's Highway*, 1874, p.183.

¹²⁹ William Burt Pope, *Compendium of Christian Theology*, 3 Volumes (London: Wesleyan Book Room, 1880). The section on Sanctification is found in Vol.3, pp.27-100.

¹³⁰ *The King's Highway*, 1876, pp.344-9 and 369-72.

¹³¹ *The King's Highway*, 1876, p.369.

¹³² *The King's Highway*, 1876, p.344.

articles on 'Madam Guyon and her hymns',¹³³ and the editors also made reference to the writings of the Church Fathers and the witness of seventeenth-century writers.¹³⁴

Chadwick followed in the tradition of Page and Brash and took the view that the 'second blessing' should be preached, and saw that as the most important element of the training at Cliff. 'Learning is not the chief thing...scarcely a man comes that does not get his Pentecost'.¹³⁵ Part of the hagiography surrounding Chadwick relates to an event in October 1920, which occurred after he had preached about holiness at a Class Meeting. The *Joyful News* records: 'There should have been an algebra class after supper, but the men asked for a prayer meeting instead. What a meeting it was! It lasted until long after the ordinary bedtime. We studied the Bible passages relating to the gift of the Holy Spirit; we sang, then we prayed. All over the room men were pleading that they might have the assurance of full salvation...Suddenly one of the brethren jumped up to shout Hallelujah! Glory had come into his own soul. At the top of our voices we sang, "Tis done the great transaction's done"...soon, in every part of the room, men were praising God that they had entered into the blessed experience. We were all aflame.'¹³⁶

Chadwick set out his views on holiness in the *Joyful News* and shortly after his death a selection of these, edited by Joe Brice, were produced entitled *The Call to Christian Perfection*.¹³⁷ This collection of articles is written with

¹³³ *The King's Highway*, 1874, pp.11-14; 171-175; 235-9; 302-7, 411-16.

¹³⁴ *The King's Highway*, 1876, Clement, Ignatius, Macarius the Egyptian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine, pp.256-260; and Ralph Cudworth, John Arndt, William Bates, Dr. Witsius, Archbishop Leighton, and Bishop Jeremy Taylor, pp.355-8.

¹³⁵ *Joyful News*, 3 June 1920, p.4.

¹³⁶ *Joyful News*, 4 November 1920, p.3.

¹³⁷ Samuel Chadwick, *The Call to Christian Perfection* (London: Epworth Press, 1936). Joe Brice had begun to edit the material before Chadwick's death. They were based on articles first published in the *Joyful News* 1912.

detailed and clear biblical scholarship and in a blunt and straightforward manner. He admitted that 'It is easier to prove the doctrine of a Second Blessing from John Wesley, than from the Bible.'¹³⁸ Like Cook he made a call for Christians to follow the scriptural pattern and to seek perfection, holiness and sanctification. He also agreed with him that Christ came to save from sin, and that 'Christ redeems, that He may cleanse and restore.'¹³⁹

It is unusual that Chadwick criticised the holiness teaching of Count Zinzendorf, who began the Moravian movement and was an influence on Wesley's thinking. He maintained Zinzendorf was 'utterly without warrant'¹⁴⁰ when he had taught that 'all true believers are not only saved from the *dominion* of sin, but from the being of inward as well as outward sin, so that it no longer remained in them'.¹⁴¹ Perfection, according to Chadwick, should be sought as a definite experience, a second blessing, and maintained by prayer and devotion. However, he did not recommend people to testify to the experience,¹⁴² even though 'It has been the chief glory of Methodism to proclaim this experience as the duty and privilege of all.'¹⁴³

One additional emphasis which he brought to holiness teaching related to *katartizō*, translated as 'fitness' or 'readiness for service'.¹⁴⁴ He explored the uses of *katartizō* in the New Testament: the mending of nets to make fit for use (Matthew 4:21), the praise which is set in order so that the discordant notes are eliminated in the harmony (Matthew 21:16), the restored company of believers

¹³⁸ Chadwick, *Christian Perfection*, p.68.

¹³⁹ Chadwick, *Christian Perfection*, p.71.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Chadwick, *Christian Perfection*, p.93. He suggested it was not 'expedient' to testify of perfection; 'it is well to leave the witness of our perfection to other people.'

¹⁴³ Chadwick, *Christian Perfection*, p.77.

¹⁴⁴ Chadwick, *Christian Perfection*, p.31.

who are of the same mind and judgement (1Corinthians 1:10), to supply or complete what is lacking (1Thessalonians 3:10) and the bringing into being of the physical world, which was pronounced 'good' (Hebrews 11:3). He considered that holiness was to be purposeful, that is, prompting Christians to further mission and ministry.

Not all his thinking about holiness led to activity. On a plaque on the inside of his study door at Cliff, and written on the front page of Chadwick's diary each year, was the word *Ataraxia*. He explained this in some detail in an article now found only in his papers. *Ataraxia* is the state of "undisturbedness", i.e. serenity or restfulness of spirit'.¹⁴⁵ The basis of this peace is a confidence in God. He described the experience in a way which echoes the Keswick teaching about 'resting in God', as 'the untroubled heart of John 14, the perfect peace of Isaiah 26:3, and the unafraidness of Psalm 112:7, and the care-free peace and joy of Philippians 4:6 and 7.'¹⁴⁶ He does not make explicit the connection between these inner meditations and the flurry of activity which he welcomed for most of his life. Nevertheless it would appear that he developed the inner spiritual reflection as a vital aspect of his personal spirituality, which undoubtedly prepared him for his public ministry of preaching, teaching and writing.

There is a debate about Chadwick's teaching concerning the reception of baptism of the Spirit. In an article in the *Joyful News* in 1914 he expounded a sequence of four points – ask, repent, receive, obey.¹⁴⁷ When Joe Brice edited

¹⁴⁵ Cliff College Archive, E21. Seven unnumbered volumes containing typed articles, lectures and sermons by Chadwick. This one entitled, '*Ataraxia*', p.2.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ *Joyful News*, 28 May 1914, p.5 (note that Randall, incorrectly, has 1912, p.91).

The Way to Pentecost, he changed the order to 'repent, ask, receive, obey'.¹⁴⁸ James M. Gordon concludes that the paragraphs have been transposed and altered to reflect the then contemporary teaching on the reception of the spirit. 'It looks suspiciously like an attempt to make Chadwick's teaching fit the typical holiness teaching on cleansing from sin before there can be legitimate asking'.¹⁴⁹ Randall takes a different view, arguing that Brice was working on the material before Chadwick's death.¹⁵⁰ Luke Wiseman, Chadwick's great friend, makes clear in the 'Foreword' that Chadwick died while the book was 'in the press' and presumably galley proofs were available to both Chadwick and Brice. Moreover Wiseman refers to Brice as Chadwick's 'son in the gospel', all of which suggests that Randall may be correct that the changes came with Chadwick's agreement and that before that he had changed his view about 'the way into the blessing'. The book was published just a month after Chadwick's death and Dunning wrote the review in the *Joyful News*.¹⁵¹ Randall concludes with Dunning, who though aware of editorial changes writes, 'The language is Mr Chadwick's; the style is Mr Chadwick's'.¹⁵² The comment is more the enthusiasm of Dunning who is concerned to sell the book written by his mentor and edited by his colleague, than a detailed recognition that the alterations noted by Gordon represent Chadwick's changed view. Chadwick preached regularly on holiness, and in the College archives there are four series of sermon notes on holiness.¹⁵³ They are not full scripts, but at no point in these sermons preached

¹⁴⁸ Samuel Chadwick, *The Way to Pentecost* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932). The article forms the final chapter of the book, 'The Way into the Blessing', pp.104-110.

¹⁴⁹ James M. Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality* (London: SPCK, 1991), p.263 and p.279, n.14.

¹⁵⁰ Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, pp.90-1.

¹⁵¹ *Joyful News*, 17 November 1932, p.7.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ 'Holiness Series I', preached at the Southport Convention in 1910, 1. Definition of Holiness; 2. Experience of Holiness; 3. Guarantees of Holiness; 4. Fruit of Holiness.

at Southport and Cliff, as well as many other places for some of the individual sermons, is either scheme (a version of repent, ask, receive, obey) identified. In the sermon 'The Holy Spirit in the Experience of the Believers' preached in 1900 he has an emphasis of being 'Transformed by the Spirit' and his concluding points are 'Receive, Recognise and Realise'.¹⁵⁴ In two sermons about the Holy Spirit, towards the end of the sermon when he is speaking about the reception of the Spirit, the notes are 'Three Conditions: 1. Glorification of Jesus; 2. Knowledge of the Privilege; 3. The prayer of Faith'.¹⁵⁵ In a sermon preached at Whitsun in 1932 Chadwick finished preaching on the 'Transforming Presence'.¹⁵⁶ which concludes with a list headed 'The Way in!': 1. Abandonment of every sin, weight; 2. Lord as well as Saviour; 3. Obedience – matters of doubt; 4. Fellowship; 5. Indwelling; 6. Joy and Peace; 7. Service – at command'. Whilst this is not the same succinct list of repent, ask, receive, obey, it does suggest that he placed repentance as of first importance.

Chadwick was aware of the limitations of holiness teaching. There is no romanticised theology here. He made clear that perfection 'does not lift a man

'Holiness Series II', preached at the Southport Convention 1911, 1913 and 1923, 1. The Provision of Holiness; 2. The Experience of Holiness; 3. The Walk of Holiness; 4. The Warfare of Holiness; 5. The Armour of God (which he preached 29 times separately between 1911 and 1923).

'Holiness Series III', preached at the Southport Convention 1914, 1. O.T. teaching on Holiness; 2. N.T. teaching on Holiness; 3. Teaching of the Epistles.

'Pentecost', preached at the Southport Convention in 1924, 1. The preparation; 2. The Event; 3. The Meaning; 4. The Power or Personality.

'The Holy Spirit', a series of sermons preached first in Leeds in 1900, 1. The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament; 2. The Holy Spirit in the Earthly life and Ministry of Jesus; 3. The Work of the Spirit in the World (based on John 16:8-10 and which he preached 19 times between 1900 and 1928); 4. The Holy Spirit in relation to Truth; 5. What the title actually says is: Xts 2nd Reception of the Spirit. The notes are missing unfortunately; 6. The Holy Spirit in the Church; 7. The Holy Spirit in the experience of the Believers; 8. Sin against the Holy Spirit (the notes are missing).

College Archives; Box E22

¹⁵⁴ 'The Holy Spirit in the Life of the Believer', part of the series 'The Holy Spirit, and reached at Leeds on 17 June 1900 and Southport on 29 June 1900.

¹⁵⁵ 'Permanent Elements of Pentecost', undated but there are three sets of notes, one in which the first point is 'Coronation of Jesus'. All are undated. College Archives, Box E22.

¹⁵⁶ 'The Spirit of the Living God', Whitsun 1932, Cliff College Archives, Box E22.

above the possibility of temptation...neither can it bring immunity from frailty, limitation, and ignorance, for humanity is sanctified without being absorbed. It cannot be final for it is still probationary...It is a restoration of relationship, a renewal of nature, a sufficiency of grace that makes it possible to live in all things according to the will of God.'¹⁵⁷

Cliff College and the *Joyful News* shared the promotion of holiness teaching in Methodism along with the Southport Convention. Despite some dispute between Keswick and the Methodists, the architect of the Southport Holiness Convention, the local Superintendent minister the Rev William H. Tindall had himself been prompted to find holiness at a Keswick meeting. In 1874 he advertised 'A Convention for the promotion of the Christian life'.¹⁵⁸ The following spring Thomas Cook held a very fruitful mission there and in the summer the first convention was held.¹⁵⁹ Tindall was the chair and first Convention President of 'Southport', as it became known, and the speakers who included Thomas Cook, Thomas Champness, Hugh Price Hughes and Isaac Page, represented the young and influential Wesleyan ministers of the day. Chadwick was also present, though as a student from Didsbury College. The link between Cliff and Southport was very strong; Cook, Chadwick, Broadbelt and Baines Atkinson were all Presidents of the Convention and Skevington Wood a regular speaker.¹⁶⁰ Southport had a significant impact on Wesleyan teaching in Methodism and beyond. By 1893 the Southport Convention had achieved 'a Connexional importance...from the fact that a large number of

¹⁵⁷ Chadwick, *Christian Perfection*, p.35.

¹⁵⁸ J. Baines Atkinson (ed.), *To The Uttermost* (London: Epworth Press, 1945), p.15. Published to commemorate the diamond jubilee of the Methodist Holiness Convention, 1885-1945.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ A. Skevington Wood, *Let Us Go On* (Ilkeston: Moorleys Print and Publishing, 1985), p.5.

people, Methodist and others, have been able to gain from the meetings of this Convention clearer views of holiness and a new inspiration for the attainment of the blessing.¹⁶¹

Tindall was concerned to ensure that this holiness movement was recognised by Methodism and among the speakers were many of the famous Methodist preachers of the day: Dr T. Bowman Stephenson, Dr W. Fiddian Moulton and John Hornabrook, who for many years was the Secretary of the Chapel department for the Wesleyans. Along with these also came some of the finest Central Hall preachers including Scott Lidgett and Luke Wiseman. There was not, as such, a 'Southport theology' but the preachers thought of sanctification as a definite second experience, 'Purity of heart must not be mistaken for growth in grace. Purity and growth are two distinct and separate blessings in the Christian life. The blessing of a clean heart implies something removed rather than something added as in growth in grace.'¹⁶² The blessing was not only definite, but desirable for the 'freedom from bondage of inbred sin',¹⁶³ necessary for 'radiant Christian living',¹⁶⁴ and promised and available to all who have faith.¹⁶⁵ There were some disagreements about the theology but they were minor. Chadwick and Brash were prepared to question Wesley's teaching, indicating that it was 'incomplete', whereas Cook declared at the first convention, 'We accept it, not because Mr. Wesley did, but because the Bible teaches it.'¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Wood, *Let Us Go On*, pp.15-16.

¹⁶² Atkinson (ed.), *To The Uttermost*, p.63.

¹⁶³ Atkinson (ed.), *To The Uttermost*, p.64.

¹⁶⁴ Atkinson (ed.), *To The Uttermost*, p.65.

¹⁶⁵ Atkinson (ed.), *To The Uttermost*, pp.66-7.

¹⁶⁶ Atkinson (ed.), *To The Uttermost*, pp.54-5. Brash considered Wesley was too ready to call some sins 'infirmities'; Chadwick thought the doctrine 'incomplete'.

The Convention was not universally welcomed. The *Methodist Times* indicated that many ministers were very concerned when one of their members had received 'the blessing' at the Convention, and asked why of all the people in Methodism these seemed the 'most difficult, awkward, cantankerous, obscurantist and touchy people.'¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the Convention had a special relationship with Cliff, and for many years the Cliff Trekkers visited Southport to preach in the open air and help at the Convention, a practice begun with students from the *Joyful News Home*. The holiness meetings attracted many hundreds each year to its Convention site in Mornington Road, Southport, where more recently the title has been changed to 'Summer Fire' and continues the Wesleyan influence. Holiness teaching had not been prominent in Methodism for decades, and in this regard both Southport and the Cliff holiness tradition 'conveyed a picture of a lonely school of prophets at odds with Methodist progressiveness.'¹⁶⁸ The holiness teaching influenced the ethos and ministry of Cliff College.

The expectation among Cliff students was that they would have an experience of the second blessing and that it would come soon in the college year. George Chapman came as a student on 10 January 1936 and on Saturday 1 February, 1936 he wrote in his journal; 'Greatest night in my life to-night. God richly blessed me, and I came into the Second blessing. Was in the J.N.P.M. but felt very distressed, Bro Helm testified at the supper table of the necessity of Second blessing. Had another prayer meeting from 9.0 until 10.30. The atmosphere was mighty and the Divine Presence could be felt. It was here

¹⁶⁷ *Methodist Times*, 24 June 1926, p.10. The meetings of the Convention were reported in summary in the *Joyful News* and in detail in *The King's Highway*. The Primitive Methodists then started a holiness convention each summer at Scarborough, which was also reported in *The King's Highway*.

¹⁶⁸ Ian Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.81.

in this meeting I let go of doubt and cowardice of being able to witness for Christ I then stood and testified to the fact Bros Armstrong, Colwell, Simpson and others did same.¹⁶⁹ This was not a new expectation. It was part of the ethos of the *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission and the experience of Mary Jane Smith. The entry for her diary on 19 May 1892 reads; 'I this morning claim the blessing of entire cleansing. According to the light I have I believe that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth (me) from (all) sin and by simple faith I claim the blessing now.' She added later that day, 'This has been a day of quiet trust no outburst of joy but a sweet peace has filled my heart'.¹⁷⁰

The holiness leaders were looking for a particular mode of life as evidence of this state of being. For Champness and Chadwick this was evidenced by a commitment to the Temperance movement. In addition to editing the *Joyful News*, Champness was also a prolific writer of books, tracts and the editor of *The Banner of Hope*; 'a monthly Temperance Periodical'.¹⁷¹ He also used the *Joyful News* as a campaigning newspaper to gain the support of the Temperance Movements. From the beginning of the paper, it contained stories of converted drunkards who had changed their ways, and a hymn in honour of the Blue Ribbon, the badge of the Temperance movement.¹⁷²

He spoke in the 1897 Conference about the 'terrible havoc caused by drink among our people,' declaring it to be 'inexpedient that manufacturers of strong drink shall be elected as office bearers in the Wesleyan Methodist Church.'¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ George Chapman, 'Journal', Cliff College Archives. 'J.N.P.M.' was the *Joyful News* Prayer Meeting to which all students were required to attend late on a Saturday afternoon.

¹⁷⁰ Mary Jane Smith, 'Diary', 19 May 1892.

¹⁷¹ Josiah Mee (ed), *The Banner of Hope* (Rochdale: Joyful News Bookroom) The Cliff College archive contains a full bound volume, 1908.

¹⁷² *Joyful News*, 3 May 1883, p.3. The Blue Ribbon movement was very active in Wesleyan Methodism and people wore a metal badge or brooch of a tied blue ribbon. There was also Staffordshire pottery, mainly teapots, to celebrate the movement.

¹⁷³ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.264.

The matter was not settled and after the Conference of 1899 he published the 'Champness Resolution' which stated, 'That in view of the sorrow and sin caused by the drinking habits of the people, the Conference thinks it in the highest degree undesirable that any person directly engaged in the Liquor Traffic should be nominated for office in the Wesleyan Methodist Church'.¹⁷⁴ It was in 1904 that a version of the 'Champness Resolution', was agreed.¹⁷⁵ The Anglican Communion also considered alcohol consumption to be an issue though did not call for abstinence; 'Intemperance still continues to be one of the chief hindrances to religion in the great mass of our people.'¹⁷⁶ Champness and his supporters saw the campaign against the 'liquor trade' as a gospel imperative and gave great energy to it through the pages of the *Joyful News*.¹⁷⁷ By the mid 1920's there was a significant reduction in the major articles and illustrations about temperance in the *Joyful News* and typically temperance then became a subject considered once a year, normally in mid-November, close to what the Methodist liturgical calendar called 'Temperance Sunday'. Champness smoked a pipe for many years but as he began to train young men in his home he renounced the habit as he did not wish to allow his evangelists to smoke.¹⁷⁸

When in 1905, at the age of seventy-three, Champness had handed ownership of the paper to Smart and Cook, they in turn invited Chadwick, the new editor, to join them.¹⁷⁹ The front page of 7 September 1905 edition had a now famous illustration depicting the change of editor of the *Joyful News*, in the

¹⁷⁴ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.267.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ 'Encyclical Letter', Lambeth Conference, 1897, in Evans and Wright (eds), *The Anglican Tradition* London: SPCK, 1991), p.357.

¹⁷⁷ In the period February 1904 to February 1905 Champness had 17 major articles on temperance.

¹⁷⁸ William Wakinshaw, 'Men Who made Cliff, 1. Thomas Champness', *Cliff Witness* (1937), p.105.

¹⁷⁹ D.W. Lambert, *The Testament of Samuel Chadwick* (London: Epworth Press, 1957), p.57.

form of crusader knights who are laying siege to a fortress and passing on the standard of the *Joyful News*. Champness gives the standard to Chadwick, with Cook and Smart looking on with countless warriors in the background. Identified on the Fortress are the items against which they crusade, 'Strong Drink and Sin'.¹⁸⁰

Baines Atkinson, a tutor at Cliff, was closely associated with the Southport Holiness Convention, being its President for fourteen years. His considered reflections on holiness were published in the book *The Beauty of Holiness* in which Atkinson brought together the best from his predecessors, without their romanticism.¹⁸¹ His is the finest of the extended works from Cliff writers, and the work deserves to be widely available today. His work was the forerunner of Arthur Wood's shorter and influential article, 'Love Excluding Sin'. Atkinson began consideration of holiness with an exploration of the holiness of God,¹⁸² then of biblical terms which suggest that holiness is a condition which Christians may enjoy. He has many allusions to Wesley and is deeply Wesleyan especially in his insistence that holiness is a gift of God and it is attainable now.¹⁸³ He put forward a different element from either Cook or Chadwick, in his insistence that holiness has a 'social, ethical and practical ideal'.¹⁸⁴ Atkinson does not go so far as to suggest that holiness impinges on social or political theory, but like Wesley and Chadwick he saw the beneficial effects to society emerging from the changed lives of individuals. 'The environment or atmosphere of holiness in Scripture is always communal. It deals with the

¹⁸⁰ The illustration was first used in the *Joyful News*, 7 September 1905, p.1.

¹⁸¹ J. Baines Atkinson, *The Beauty of Holiness* (London: Epworth Press, 1953).

¹⁸² *Ibid*, pp.1-32.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, pp.77-93.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.94.

individual, but it is related to society'.¹⁸⁵ The penultimate chapter of the book is concerned with character, or the 'fruits of Perfect Love or Entire Sanctification.'¹⁸⁶

After Atkinson's book there was no significant contribution until in 1964 Tom Meadley reflected towards the end of his time as principal on the major issues confronting the future of the College. He set out in a paper the challenges to Cliff as being, primarily, that it should 'demonstrate that it can adapt itself to change of unprecedented speed and size without losing continuity with its organic origin.'¹⁸⁷ Meadley had found at the College a definition and style of holiness preaching with which he was clearly uncomfortable, and dealing with that he considered 'the profoundest challenge'. He set out the issue as he saw it: 'The Wesley doctrine of Entire Sanctification, which has largely disappeared from Methodism, has been preserved at Cliff, expressed in terms of Second Blessing, a casual phrase of Wesley's which has become a technical term. The idea is that the root of sin can be removed completely in a moment of time, and this experience can be known and testified to as a continuous blessing of perfect fellowship with God and perfect love towards our fellowmen.'¹⁸⁸ He was conscious in his paper that to question this interpretation of the doctrine was an emotive issue, and he referred to the 'violence with which any suspected deviation is regarded...(by the)...charmed circle.'¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Atkinson, p.103.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.123.

¹⁸⁷ Tom Meadley, 'The Challenge to Cliff College Today'. Archive document, which appears not to have been published. This paper, dated July 1964, came at the end of his time as Principal, and since it criticised the 'charmed circle' within the College may have been written for the Committee.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p.2.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

Meadley called for a more open discussion; 'The truth of this matter needs much more sober and searching investigation, and a willingness to tolerate varieties of interpretation. The whole separatist supposition that it is possible to cut oneself off from the actual world of events and responsibilities, is alien to the Gospel and fatal in its spiritual consequences, but so also is the almost complete absorption in the spirit of the world of the average church life. The challenge to full commitment, and a total work of grace in the soul is one of the requirements of effective mission, but how to state this truth and exhibit it in relevant terms is one of the supreme challenges to Cliff.'¹⁹⁰ The view of the author is that this remains one of the greatest challenges for the contemporary church, but it is no longer a divisive issue in the College.

In 1969 Tom Meadley published his own thinking about holiness in *Top Level Talks: The Christian Summit Meeting*, in which with characteristic style he gave the doctrine a restatement.¹⁹¹ Meadley had the knack of splicing Wesleyan doctrine with contemporary biblical exposition, and at the same time helping the reader to consider ideas in a new and creative way. The title of his book came from a statement in which Winston Churchill called the leaders of the world's most powerful nations to hold an unfettered and wide-ranging 'conference on the highest level'.¹⁹² In the book Meadley deplored the tensions of his day. 'A whole set of associations has gathered round the subject and rendered it for many either taboo or touchy.'¹⁹³ Second blessing theology and preaching had clearly divided people in the College. When Cliff preachers latched onto the language of second blessing as a necessary second experience

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ T.D. Meadley, *Top Level Talks: The Christian Summit Meeting* (London: Epworth Press, 1969).

¹⁹² Ibid, p.x. Winston Churchill, House of Commons, 11 May 1953.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p.2.

before Christian maturity, and quoted Wesley, they did not, according to Meadley, take hold of the breadth of Wesleyan theology at this point. Meadley referred critically to how Cliff College evangelists expressed Wesley's doctrine as 'the Second Blessing',¹⁹⁴ and it seems that he had been wounded by criticism: 'Once the challenge is raised, anyone's spiritual integrity and foundation is involved one way or another, for or against, so that calm investigation and impartial discussion are hard to achieve.'¹⁹⁵ What is achieved in the book is a refreshing explanation of a practical holiness. Meadley wanted a holiness which is 'not righteous overmuch',¹⁹⁶ he cautioned against 'finicky censoriousness',¹⁹⁷ 'doctrinal fastidiousness',¹⁹⁸ 'morbid introspection', and using the doctrine as a 'tranquillizer', a kind of comforting providential coma, to avoid the hard realities of Christian discipleship in the modern world.¹⁹⁹

Meadley contended for a holiness which affected every part of life and the church's liturgy. He called for an outworking which can be visible in the Christian's life, which he referred to as the 'Holiness highway code',²⁰⁰ and for a quality of love which remained mature and enduring in the midst of difficulty, a 'weather proof love'.²⁰¹ The doctrine was firmly placed as the key element of the evangelical revival which led to 'most of the great humanitarian reform movements of the nineteenth century in Great Britain.'²⁰² He quoted Wesley with evident agreement, 'the Bible knows no holiness but social holiness'.²⁰³ Moreover, he pleaded that within the Church holiness doctrine should not be

194 Meadley, 'The Challenge to Cliff College Today', p.2.

195 Meadley, *Top Level Talks*, p.2.

196 Ibid, p.109.

197 Ibid, p.96.

198 Ibid, p.100.

199 Ibid, pp.98-9.

200 Ibid, p.184.

201 Ibid, p.187.

202 Ibid, p.106.

203 Ibid, p.107.



individualised; 'true sanctification is corporate', it was for the benefit of the whole community of God's people.²⁰⁴

The dispute about a second definite experience remained unresolved and, as Meadley suggested, was largely a dispute between evangelists and tutors. However, resolution came when the Charismatic movement began to have an effect on the whole British Church in the late 1960's and influenced Cliff College. The language of 'second blessing' was overtaken by a phraseology of 'Baptism in the Spirit'. The charismatic theologian Thomas Smail, and Bill Davies as Principal, both argued that baptism (*baptizein*) could mean either "initiation" or "a flooding". Thus, in the sense of "initiation", people are baptised in the Holy Spirit at conversion (new birth), but in the sense of "being flooded by" believers are baptised in the Holy Spirit when they are filled with the Spirit. This view sees the phrase 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' referring to both conversion and fullness, which are theologically one but in experience may be separate.²⁰⁵ The phrase 'second blessing' disappeared entirely and instead students and staff sought and preached the experience of 'being filled with the Spirit', being 'open' to the Spirit.

One of the unique expressions of Cliff College holiness teaching is the insistence that holiness and evangelism are related. Joe Brice captured the assumptions of the Chadwick era in 'Evangelism and Holiness', where he stressed that Evangelists are 'created in holiness, sustained by holiness and live to spread holiness'.²⁰⁶ The main assumption was that 'every holiness preacher in

²⁰⁴ Meadley, *Top Level Talks*, pp.107-8.

²⁰⁵ Thomas Smail, *Reflected Glory* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976), see chapter 6, 'Birth and Baptism in the Spirit', pp.75-88. William R. Davies, *Spirit without Measure* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1996), pp.22-41, and his Christian Doctrine Notes, CD 13 'Sanctification and Power' used at Cliff College, 1983-1994.

²⁰⁶ *Joyful News*, 30 June 1932.

earnest is an evangelist, and every evangelist in earnest is a preacher of holiness'. At conversion and at entire sanctification the preacher and believer are open to the grace of God and the desire to be committed to him. Brice, who was no mean scholar, prized the experience of holiness for the evangelist above all other things. The evangelist 'needn't be academic – but he *must be saintly*.'²⁰⁷ Brice understood the experience of holiness to be one which propels people to share their faith, and he calls upon the Methodist church to renew its interest in Wesleyan holiness teaching as well as evangelism. The College evangelists considered holiness and evangelism connected because those who were interested in holiness would be the first to want to share the good news with others.

Neither Wesley nor the Cliff holiness preachers had a clear sense of a social programme; they were merely concerned about the conversion of men and women. Holiness sects have tended to withdraw from the world, 'warning their members to avoid its corruption.'²⁰⁸ Typically Wesleyanism had not retreated into that position, preferring to engage with the needs and problems of society, but this had not made Wesley nor his followers into reformers. Wesley's doctrine of holiness 'led him to be concerned about anything that was a barrier to the growth of the soul.'²⁰⁹ As a result he wanted to deal with the sins of society. He deplored and attacked distilled liquors as they contributed to the misery of the poor; filthy prisons which he visited, preached to the inmates and encouraged collections for blankets, mattresses and clothing to relieve their

²⁰⁷ *Joyful News*, 30 June. Joe Brice undertook his ministerial training at Richmond College and gained a PhD at London University through a research dissertation, 'The Influence of Hume in British Theology' (undated). A copy is in the Cliff College archive library.

²⁰⁸ Georgia Harkness, *The Methodist Church in Social Thought and Action* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1964), p.116.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p.18.

suffering; he regarded poverty not as the result of idleness or delinquency, insisting that the people called Methodist should seek to help the poor, and he opened the first free dispensary in London; he preached boldly against slavery in Bristol and supported Wilberforce in his many attempts to bring about the abolition of slavery; he warned against the dangers of wealth and encouraged a frugal life and a stewardship of goods which enabled Methodists to give to the needy.²¹⁰ In all of this he did not have a social policy as such but was simply seeking to overturn any stumbling blocks that would prevent people finding salvation and knowing sanctification. There is a quotation from Wesley, often taken out of context: “Holy solitaries” is a phrase no more consistent with the Gospel than holy adulterers. The Gospel of Christ knows no religion but social; no holiness but social holiness.²¹¹ The phrase has been used to promote particular views of social action²¹² but is actually part of a statement against solitary religion. Wesley argues that holiness is to be found and lived in the community of God’s people who together are using the ‘means of grace’.²¹³

Another example of the impact of holiness teaching on social thought and action is found in North America where the teaching on holiness had an impact on attitudes to the slave trade. Methodists from the North denounced slavery but the theology of perfection had an impact on the slaves. In effect, Methodism

²¹⁰ Harkness, pp.8-23.

²¹¹ John Wesley, preface to Hymns and Sacred Poems, paragraph 5, *Works*, Vol.14, p.322. See also Sugden’s comments and similar analysis in the introduction to The fourth Sermon on the Mount, *Sermons* Vol.1, p.378.

²¹² Theodore Runyon, *The New Creation, John Wesley’s Theology for Today* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1998), Runyon uses the quotation to promote social action and environmental stewardship, pp.200-207, especially see p.207.

²¹³ The ‘means of grace’ were the outward forms which conveyed the grace of God. At the Conference of 1763 the ‘means of grace’ were identified as: ‘1. Prayer, private, family, public: consisting of Deprecation, Petition, Intercession, Thanksgiving. 2. Searching the Scriptures, by reading hearing and meditating on them. 3. Receiving the Lord’s supper at every opportunity. 4. Fasting and abstinence at least one day in every week. 5. Christian Conference’. The 1763 *Minutes* are set out in, William Myles, *A Chronological History of the People called Methodists* (London: Butterworth, Baynes and Bruce, 1803), p.88.

benefited in North America from its denunciation of slavery because such teaching offered the African-Americans a social standing in the community, 'a sense of community, an extended family, an opportunity to meet neighbours, and a way of building some kind of ethnic solidarity.'²¹⁴ Moreover the Wesleyan theology of sanctification offered slaves the prospect of perfection now: 'nothing could offer a more complete recasting of the slave's sense of diminished humanity than the possibility of Christian perfection on earth as in heaven.'²¹⁵

There is no doubt that Wesley taught that 'perfection was the natural consequence of the total process of salvation, and he saw it as God's special gift to the Methodist people.'²¹⁶ This view has been taken up as one of the Charisms of Cliff College. It relates to the conversion of a person as well as their continuing discipleship. Conversion may be considered as the moment when the love of God entered a person; Sanctification as the process in which the love of God filled that person; Holiness as the continuing experience of being filled by God's love "to the exclusion of Sin". Holiness in this understanding is not earned, but is the gift of God imparted to the Christian and gives rise to a manner of life of total devotion and commitment to the Lord Jesus Christ. The words of Paul as translated by J.B. Phillips catch the implications of this holiness theology, 'Don't let the world around you squeeze you into its own mould, but let God re-mould your minds from within, so that you may prove in practice that the plan of God for you is good, meets all His demands and moves towards the goal of true maturity' (Romans 12:2-3).

²¹⁴ David Hempton, *Methodism*, p.24.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, *Methodism*, p.25.

²¹⁶ Gerald R. Cragg, *Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp.168-9.

The Rev Dr William Davies, when he came as Principal in 1983, took the view that the Charismatic movement had overtaken holiness teaching and resolved the conflicting views. He believed that Charismatic Renewal had overcome barriers not only of liturgy and churchmanship but also of theology. Whether a person would call Christian maturity 'Holiness', 'Fullness of the Spirit', or 'Spirit Baptism', had become far less relevant. The names given to the process of maturity and its nature were less important than the goal of maturity, an experience of the 'Spirit's presence, that they truly loved God with all their heart, soul, mind and strength and their neighbours as themselves...to become Christ-like'²¹⁷ Davies concluded that no one particular way or form of holiness should be mandatory; 'the Spirit of God is not limited to a particular way for effecting transformation of character. He may work through crisis experiences or through steady improvement or a combination of both'.²¹⁸ The Charismatic movement, through Davies, transformed the Cliff holiness teaching into something much less Wesleyan but more accessible to people who wanted to know and feel the transforming presence of the Spirit.

Holiness teaching is a significant theme that runs through the history of Cliff College. It was in itself a call to Christian discipleship and to the sanctified life but it was also the motive for mission, the challenge to the lives and spiritual experience of the missionaries as well as the guiding principle for the formation of the College community. The earthy theology of Champness gave way to the romantic vision of Cook, adopted by Broadbelt, which was a strand of preaching that ran through the College until the 1980s. Chadwick had a more robust biblical and theological understanding in which holiness was the attribute which fitted and

²¹⁷ William R. Davies, *Spirit Without Measure* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1996), p.104.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.105.

empowered people for ministry. Tom Meadley was critical of holiness teaching which he judged was divorced from real life and ministry. His honest and earthy appraisal was that post war holiness teaching at Cliff College was not well received by some of the Cliff evangelists and the 'old Cliff men'. It took the gracious Howard Belben and the scholarly and mild Arthur Skevington Wood to restate the doctrine of 'perfect love'. All this was overtaken by the emergence of the Charismatic movement, which had a powerful exponent in William Davies.

The romanticism of Cook, and Chadwick's irritation with what he saw as Keswick Calvinism, contributed to the development of a holiness theology at Cliff College and Southport which was distinct from the Keswick tradition. As a result Cliff and Southport were, as the church historian Bebbington indicates, a marginal feature of twentieth-century Methodism.²¹⁹ Nevertheless over the last ten years holiness teaching has re-merged as a significant, if overlooked doctrine and experience, with calls for Christian holiness to be re-examined. In his Centenary Lecture the Rev Paul Smith, whilst acknowledging that Christian holiness had always been one of the distinctive emphases of Cliff College, commented; 'Yet whilst, on paper at least, this has remained a distinctive emphasis, one suspects that there is some confusion in our understanding of Christian holiness in the twenty-first century, and a real acknowledgement that this aspect of our heritage needs a radical restatement.'²²⁰

²¹⁹ D.W. Bebbington, 'Holiness Movements in British and Canadian Methodism' in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, October 1996, Vol.50, p.227.

²²⁰ Paul Smith, 'Christian Holiness', p.1.

Chapter four

Shaping the Cliff Tradition: Evangelical and Biblical

The evangelicals of the late nineteenth century considered that they were under attack from all sides: the growing influence of the natural sciences, the rise of liberal theology, and the influence in the church structures of the Anglo-Catholics as a result of the Oxford Movement.¹ The growth of Biblical criticism ‘undermined the authority of the written word – the inspiration of the letter of scripture – compelling evangelicals to frame a new theory of the authority of scripture.’² The notion of the inerrancy of the Bible in its original form found its fullest expression in an article by A.A. Hodge and B.B. Warfield entitled ‘Inspiration’ published in the *Presbyterian Review*, which promoted the truth of ‘every statement of Scripture’.³ Warfield from his chair at Princeton University defended evangelical theology against the encroaching liberal Protestantism. The outcome of that liberal Protestant teaching meant that in theological discussion and writing, the incarnation rather than the atonement occupied the central position.⁴ Divine revelation was understood as progressive and therefore salvation came through combination of the birth, life, death and resurrection of Jesus. The whole narrative was given equal significance. At the turn of the

¹ The Oxford Movement came earlier in the nineteenth century. The sermon delivered by John Keble on 14 July 1833 in the university pulpit at Oxford is regarded as being the beginning of the movement.

² Vernon F. Storr, *The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1800 – 1860* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1913), p.73.

³ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture, The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), quotes Warfield p.113.

⁴ Storr, p.74.

century, the doctrine of eternal punishment, if insisted on at all, was 'no longer enforced with the same vigour'.⁵ The emergence of the social and behavioural sciences challenged evangelicals in their views on the total depravity of human nature. A 'truer psychology' had taught that much that was thought to be original sin is the desire of a growing nature to express itself.⁶ As a result there was an admission that some reconstruction of the traditional doctrines of original sin were necessary. Evangelicals felt that they were marginalized with others taking control of the church power structure. Hastings commented about a later period, 'The typical conservative Evangelical of the 1920's felt himself hemmed in on every side: Anglo-Catholicism, the SCM, the social gospel, liberal Evangelicals of various hues, all presented a threat producing a still more introverted, orthodoxy first and last, state of mind.'⁷

The individualism of evangelicalism was criticised; 'It is curious that the strong sense of fellowship which the Evangelicals showed in their splendid missionary and philanthropic work, and their insistence upon family life as the seed-pot of character, should not have been more clearly reflected in their theology.'⁸

The response of one group of evangelicals at the beginning of the twentieth century was to publish a series of sixty-five articles in the period 1910–1915 under the title *The Fundamentals*,⁹ which were intended to 'combat the inroads of liberalism.'¹⁰

⁵ Storr, p.74. He considered this development in theological writing was a moral gain because fear of punishment could never be a worthy motive for goodness

⁶ Ibid, p.75.

⁷ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920 – 1990* (London: SCM, third edition, 1991), p.201.

⁸ Storr, p.75.

⁹ The project was funded by Lyman and Milton Stewart, wealthy Californian oil magnates, and published between 1910 and 1915. The series was edited by Amzi Clarence Dixon, Lois Meyer and Reuben A. Torrey, bound in twelve volumes of which three million sets were distributed free to pastors, missionaries another Christian workers. They were subtitled,

It was in this theological and ecclesiological context that Champness, Cook and Chadwick undertook their work and began their ministry. They established in the *Joyful News* movement and at the College a theological stance, which was from the beginning firmly evangelical and fits with Bebbington's now famous typology of nineteenth-century evangelicalism. He concludes that evangelicalism centred on the Bible, the cross, conversion and activism was the defining element of their theology and ministry. Champness, Cook and Chadwick all fit this typology.¹¹ There were, however, other emphases which emerged as the College developed, not least that of holiness teaching. They were thorough and determined Wesleyans in their theology. Typical of their view is the report by Champness on the work of the Gospel Cars in South Wales, when he described, the importance of this evangelistic work as having been undermined by the 'deadening influence of an all permeating Calvinism.'¹² Champness not only rejected Calvinistic theology, he feared the influence of Anglo-Catholicism. In a letter to Ernest Cooper he wrote, 'I want you to pray that the Lord will deliver this country from Popery in the Church of England. I don't fear the Popery of Rome as I fear the Popery of the High Church Party. It looks to me as if we were to have an inroad of superstition and priestcraft.'¹³

When John Stott identified what he considered the characteristics of evangelicals he described them under four headings: Theological, Biblical,

'Testimony to the Truth' and articulated conservation positions on biblical inspiration and matters of theology. There was no reference in any of them to social responsibility or social action. In 1958 the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (founded by Lyman Stewart, now called Biola University), issued a new edition: Charles L. Fienberg (ed), *The Fundamentals* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1958).

¹⁰ Fienberg (ed), p.9.

¹¹ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp.2-17, listed by him as Conversionism, Activism, Biblicism and Crucicentricism.

¹² *Joyful News*, 11 May 1893, p.3.

¹³ Champness, *Letter to Ernest Cooper*, 19 May 1896.

Original and Fundamental.¹⁴ Stott maintained that evangelical theology linked directly to the Reformation, and 'indeed beyond the Reformation to the Bible itself.'¹⁵ Curiously he did not discuss the key elements of that theology but his later work on the Lausanne Covenant would suggest it to be, as Hastings represented evangelical theology, 'The central Evangelical triangle of divine wrath, human sinfulness and substitutionary atonement.'¹⁶ Stott argued that evangelicals are by definition biblical, 'If evangelical describes a theology, that theology is biblical theology'.¹⁷ He quoted James Packer, who claimed that evangelical theology cannot be added to or subtracted from, only accepted or denied,¹⁸ but Stott, the architect of the Lausanne Covenant, stepped back from this view that evangelical theology had been discerned and only now need to be accepted. The Covenant maintains the vital importance of the Bible but allows for human engagement with the text: 'We affirm the divine inspiration, truthfulness and authority of both Old and New Testament Scriptures in their entirety as the only infallible rule of faith and practice...The message of the Bible is addressed to all mankind...Through it the Holy Spirit speaks today. He illuminates the minds of God's people in every culture to perceive its truth...'.¹⁹ Stott also maintained that evangelicals are loyal to the historical biblical faith as proclaimed by the primitive church, which he refers to as 'original': 'It is our claim that the evangelical faith is

¹⁴ John Stott, *Christ the Controversialist* (London: Tyndale Press, 1970), pp.27-46.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.32.

¹⁶ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, p.110. See Stott, *The Cross of Christ* (Leicester: IVP, 1986), which set his view of substitutionary atonement. Though he agrees with P.T. Forsyth and Moltmann, that 'God was in Christ reconciling the world' and introduces the term, 'self-substitution' he does not want to give up terms substitution or satisfaction, pp.159-60.

¹⁷ Stott, *Controversialist*, p.32.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.33, quoting an address given by J.I. Packer to the Fellowship of Evangelical Churchmen on 20 March 1961.

¹⁹ *The Lausanne Covenant*, paragraph 2.

the apostolic faith.'²⁰ Skevington Wood shared his view maintaining that: 'Another word by which evangelicalism may be explicated is apostolic. It traces its lineage from the apostles' teaching referred to in Acts 2:42. Here is the content of orthodoxy. The true succession is one of doctrine, not of ministry.'²¹ Finally Stott classified evangelicals as 'fundamental' which he understands as 'loyalty to what is 'fundamental' in biblical theology'. In this section he is at pains to dissociate evangelicals from an 'epithet usually reserved for somebody who is thought to have a cranky view of the Bible.'²² At this point Stott maintained a narrow view of what is fundamental, without reference to social issues, 'the doctrine of biblical authority about God, Christ, Holy Spirit, about sin and salvation. About the church and sacraments, about worship, morality and evangelism, about death and the life to come.'²³ James Barr, in *Fundamentalism* considered that conservative evangelicals were narrow, bigoted, obscure and sectarian, that is, fundamentalist. He concluded that evangelicals would find his definition of 'fundamentalist' unpleasant but argued it was justly given rather than 'conservative evangelical', which Barr considered was used to project a more favourable image.²⁴ Stott would argue that evangelicals were conserving the fundamentals of the faith. Certainly this desire makes evangelicals vulnerable to the charge by James Barr of narrowness though evangelicals would tend to indicate that they are seeking to conserve Christian orthodoxy against a more liberal tradition which is inclined to challenge that orthodoxy.

²⁰ Stott, *Controversialist*, p.33.

²¹ A. Skevington Wood, 'Evangelicalism: a Historical Perspective' in *TSF Bulletin*, No.60, 1971, p.14.

²² Stott, *Controversialist*, p.43.

²³ Ibid. He would later change his view and include both social action and care of creation, see *Issues Facing Christians Today*.

²⁴ James Barr, *Fundamentalism* (London: SCM, 1977), p.3.

Cook would have been content with Stott's definition and he placed the College firmly as a place where evangelical theology was taught and upheld: 'At Cliff College, definite doctrines are held and taught. We hold by the doctrines of grace and teach ruin, redemption and regeneration in the old-fashioned way.'²⁵ In this he followed D.L. Moody who spoke of the 'three R's' as an adequate summary of his doctrines, 'ruin by sin, redemption by Christ and regeneration by the Holy Ghost'.²⁶ Moody judged his own sermons and theology by whether they were 'fit to convert sinners with'.²⁷ Cook shared the pragmatic view of Moody that the priority in theological discourse was its usefulness and benefit for evangelistic purposes. Similarly Chadwick preaching at the Anniversary of 1909, at the Easter Monday rally in Sheffield, declared that Cliff 'stood for the teaching of positive truth, definite experience, and passionate salvation.'²⁸

Chadwick was proactive in his defence of evangelical doctrine and challenged theologians who sought to undermine it. Early in 1907, before his appointment to Cliff as a tutor, he criticised the Rev R.J. Campbell of the City Temple in an article in the *Joyful News*. Chadwick maintained that Campbell in publishing his book 'stepped into the open and proclaimed himself the apostle of a New Theology.'²⁹ Chadwick challenged: 'his theological oscillations. For some time he has walked in a mist, and his friends have striven in vain to discover his attitude to the fundamental doctrines of the evangelical faith...In the enthusiasm for his own propaganda he fails to do justice to the orthodoxy he

²⁵ *Report of the Home Mission Fund, 1907.*

²⁶ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture. The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* (Oxford: OUP, 1980), p.35.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Joyful News*, 15 April 1909, p.3.

²⁹ *Joyful News*, 24 January 1907, p.1. R.J. Campbell, *The New Theology* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1907).

repudiates, as when he speaks of those who believe the Bible was “let down from heaven on a string”.³⁰ The editorial revealed Chadwick’s understanding of philosophy and theology and his ability to mount a theological defence, which would be understandable to his readers.³¹ He defended biblical theology, without falling into Campbell’s caricature, and then challenged the proponents of the new theology: ‘to put it to the test in the slums of East London. Of what avail is it to tell drunkards and harlots, sweaters and thieves, of their duty to the universe, and that through endless stages of perfecting they will attain to the Absolute?’³²

He continued to attack this ‘new theology’ the following week, a task he clearly enjoyed. He saw this as a ‘protest against the tyranny of evangelical faith...they complain of its narrowness and want of elasticity.’ He placed the debate firmly in the context of evangelism and concluded: ‘There is no place for uncertainty in the presence of peril. Literalism may be provoking, but emasculation is fatal. Better be narrow and mighty than broad and powerless.’³³

Chadwick’s summary of the 1911 Fernley Hartley lecture, *Christ and The Gospels* by Professor Holdsworth, shows a real engagement with the lecture and understanding of the contemporary writers. It is proof of his commitment to scholarship, on the one hand, and the Bible as devotional text on the other: ‘A spiritual faith cannot live on abstractions, and many will be reassured that by the assurance of so competent a judge that the historical basis of the living Christ

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. He wrote: ‘His theology is neither Biblical nor historical, but speculative. Spinoza westernised Pantheism and Campbell has modernised Spinoza. He does not deny the divinity of Jesus; on the contrary, he declares every man a Christ, and as really a manifestation of God as the Christ Himself. Religion is defined as man’s responsibility - not to God but to the universe; the recognition of the essential oneness between the soul and the Over-soul called God. Since every man is a manifestation of God, no man can be lost; every soul must return to the Absolute from whence it came.’

³² *Joyful News*, 24 January 1907, p.1.

³³ *Joyful News*, 31 January 1907, p.1.

stands firm, whether the theory of “Q” be true or not.’³⁴ Edmondson has shown conclusively that all the Wesleyan theological colleges were influenced by liberal theology, making Cliff quite different in theological outlook.³⁵

For all his emphasis upon an evangelical understanding of theology, as David Howarth has firmly concluded in his unpublished thesis, Chadwick was not a narrow biblicist.³⁶ The Bible for Chadwick was ‘inspired’, but he would have nothing to do with narrowness or bigotry and wanted his own view and therefore that of the College, to be understood as ‘broad-based’. In handwritten lecture notes entitled ‘The Inspiration of the Bible’,³⁷ Chadwick considers the claims of absolute inerrancy and infallibility. The notes are not a full text but give his clear meaning. There is a subtitle; ‘Writers mechanical pen-men!’³⁸ He had three quotations, the first from the Geneva Synod 1675, “‘Whatever is related by the Holy Spirit is absolutely true whether it pertains to doctrine, morals, history, chronology, topography or nomenclature,” “All scribes and copyists were miraculously guarded from error and corruption.” A modern writer: “Every syllable of it is just what it would be had God spoken from Heaven without the intervention of any human agent”.’³⁹ Chadwick then, in a very telling comment about these three quotations adds, ‘That may be pious and orthodox doctrine, but it does not square with facts.’ He goes on, ‘Yet I believe absolutely the whole is inspired of God the Holy Ghost’. Having indicated what his position is not, the notes do not give the positive side though he follows

³⁴ *Joyful News*, 17 August 1911, p.5.

³⁵ J.J.W. Edmondson, *The Doctrines of Hell and Judgement and the need for Personal Conversion as an Index to the Development of Liberal Theology within the Theological Colleges of the Methodist Church in England from 1907 to 1932*, thesis submitted for MA in Theology in 1990, pp.150-7.

³⁶ Howarth, *Samuel Chadwick*, Chapter 6, pp.179-208.

³⁷ Samuel Chadwick, ‘Inspiration of the Bible’, handwritten notes for a lecture (Cliff College Archives, Box E20).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Wesley's doctrine of 'double inspiration' with the comment, 'It is inspired: it inspires'. There are five points 'For the Study' which suggest the students should not simply take the meaning of the English versions at face value. The five points are: '1. Translation; 2. Historical Setting; 3. Forces which produced these conditions – all study, a study of origins; 4. Permanent truth behind temporary and local conditions and accommodation, 5. Judge part in the light of the whole.'⁴⁰

From the opening of the College, students were advised to bring a Revised Version of the Bible, which suggests that Chadwick, who taught biblical theology from the beginning, preferred the version with most recent scholarship.⁴¹ His final word was, 'Stand together for the Word of God, but not in any stupid sense'.⁴² He upheld the revelation of God through the scriptures, as the 'absolute and final authority of the Scriptures', but insisted that 'inspiration was not dictation'.⁴³ Earlier he had contended with the leaders of the Wesley Bible Union who complained that the *Joyful News* had 'so often expressed subversive principles'.⁴⁴ Chadwick regarded the writers of the Bible Union as contentious controversialists who 'alienate their friends by a policy of continual nagging'.⁴⁵ When in 1913 George Jackson had been criticised by the Wesley Bible Union for his Fernley Lecture, *The Preacher and the Modern Mind*,⁴⁶ Chadwick had not only refused to join the attack, but counselled Harold

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ A printed letter sent by Chadwick to students, one dated 13 September 1930 is in the Cliff College archives.

⁴² *Joyful News*, 20 October 1932, p.1.

⁴³ *Joyful News*, 15 January 1920, p.4.

⁴⁴ *Journal of the Wesley Bible Union*, 1919, p.275. The Wesley Bible Union was formed in 1914 to uphold, 'The Absolute and Final Authority of Holy Scripture', *Journal*, 1924, p.123.

⁴⁵ *Joyful News*, 15 January 1920, p.4.

⁴⁶ George Jackson, *The Preacher and the Modern Mind*, the 42nd Fernley Lecture (London: C.H. Kelly, 1912). As a result of his views indicated in this lecture, Jackson was accused of

Morton, co-editor of its *Journal*, to refrain from controversy.⁴⁷ The attack on Chadwick was joined again by Harold Morton in 1920, assailing Chadwick for insisting that Jesus regarded the Old Testament as preparatory, incomplete and in need of correction. The attack ends in a crescendo, 'Preparatory, incomplete, yes; but in need of "correction"? With mistakes in it which need "correction"? NEVER.'⁴⁸ The writers of the Wesley Bible Union were deeply critical of Chadwick and what they perceived as his failure to do battle for the 'truth', which led them to a 'very grievous disappointment' that brought them to the 'public remonstrance' in the article.⁴⁹ Chadwick maintained his theological position and in the following year, reported that he approached the Bible as 'the fully-inspired and final authority in all matters of faith and conduct...the revelation of the Divine Mind and the Divine Record of Redeeming Grace.'⁵⁰

As well as defending the College and his teaching from the ardent evangelicals on the one hand and the liberal scholars on the other, Chadwick insisted to both: 'The work of the College is based upon the Word of God and the doctrines of grace. We have no quarrel with knowledge, new and old, scientific or historical, philosophical or psychological, but we believe in the Holy Ghost who spake by the prophets. We teach the Bible intelligently, systematically and reverently. Nothing we teach ever needs to be unlearned, and no Cliff College evangelist despairs of any sinner this side of the grave.

heresy at the time of his appointment in 1913 as Tutor at Didsbury College, Manchester. The accusation was not upheld but WBU continued its attack with such venom especially in 1922 (*JWBU*, October 1922, p.218) that they were perceived by many as fanatics and as such Chadwick did not wish to be associated with them (see also Bebbington *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.218).

⁴⁷ *Journal of the Wesley Bible Union*, February 1920, p.30. See also the *Joyful News*, 5 August 1915, p.4, in which Chadwick appeals for calm discussion because, 'Controversy never tells the truth.'

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.29.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.30.

⁵⁰ *Cliff College Training Home and Mission Report*, 1921, p.6.

The College stands frankly for Full Salvation, as interpreted in Methodist doctrine. The efficiency of the evangelist is in the equipment of Pentecost. The Gospel saves, and Full Salvation works. Our faith is scriptural, supernatural and rational. The experience of grace is as psychologically sound as it is scripturally true. The work of the College is proved in the adventure of faith that goes unafraid to challenge the world.⁵¹ As a result, Chadwick was confident that the standard and quality of the teaching and learning at the College would provide a good foundation for those who undertook courses at theological colleges which were at that time alive with liberal Protestant theology.⁵²

Chadwick was aware of the learning in other disciplines and wanted to place the academic provision of Cliff in the context of developing thought in the early twentieth century but with a distinctive emphasis. 'The world we are sent to evangelise is a very different world from that which John Wesley claimed for his parish. The romance of science has brought a new world of consciousness, a new sense of democratic power, a new standard of values, and a new right of inheritance. The new democracy claims the world. There is a new social order, a new economic conscience, and a new conception of religion.'⁵³

There is one aspect of evangelical theology almost entirely missing from the teaching of Champness, Cook and Chadwick. This is the teaching about the Second Coming of Jesus. The expectation of Christ's imminent return goes back to the influential writings of the tragic figure of Edward Irving who came to the view that Christ would return soon.⁵⁴ Previously evangelicals had held that

⁵¹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1928, p.110. Years earlier he had declared, 'We seek to make men skilled craftsmen who know how to handle the Holy Scriptures.'

Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1913, p.99.

⁵² *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1927, pp.110-11.

⁵³ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1928, p.110.

⁵⁴ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp.78-92.

Christ would return after a reign of a thousand years (post-millennial) when Satan would be bound and there would be a measured development both of mission and spirituality.⁵⁵ Irving, with others, published *The Morning Watch* which encouraged its readers to the belief that Christ would return before the millennium.⁵⁶ The pre-millennialists fell into two groups. These were the 'historists' who considered that from the detail of Daniel and Revelation it was possible to calculate the likely date for the second coming. They included Henry Grattan Guinness who wrote extensively about the coming of Christ, most notably in *The Approaching End of the Age, viewed in the Light of History, Prophecy and Science*, in 1878, and in *Light for the Last Days* in 1887. There was great interest in his work and by the time the latter book was written, the first was in its tenth edition with seventeen thousand sales.⁵⁷ Guinness cited elaborate astronomical and mathematical calculations drawn from his considerable knowledge of astronomy and solar lunar cycles, which occupy the arguments in the first half of *The Approaching End of the Age*.⁵⁸ All this reveals a preoccupation with chronology and statistics characteristic of Victorian England, to buttress his conclusion, which was that the world would end in 1919.⁵⁹ There is no doubt that this sense of the impending 'approaching end of the world' was one of the primary reasons for his missionary endeavour. The

⁵⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.62.

⁵⁶ Ibid and *The Morning Watch*, March 1830, p.34.

⁵⁷ Both books were published by Hodder and Stoughton, the latter advertising small pamphlets, *The Divine Programme of the World's History* and *Fallacies of Futurism*.

⁵⁸ Guinness had his own telescope in a specially built 'building' at Cliff College, which is now the house, 'Ataraxia'. Henry Grattan Guinness, *The Approaching End of the Age: Viewed in the light of history, prophecy and science* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1878) The original version ran to thirteen editions by 1902 with American editions published by Armstrong and Son. It was translated into French under the title, *Latter Day Prophecies* and from French into Spanish by Eric Lund, 1884. In 1918 a "new edition" was published edited and revised by the Rev E.H. Horne (London: Morgan and Scott, 1918).

⁵⁹ Stanley D. Walters, 'The World Will End in 1919', in *The Asbury Theological Journal*, Vol.44, No.1, 1989. Walters summarises Guinness work, defends him for being misrepresented but finally has to admit that 1919 was according to Guinness would be the end of the age.

'futurist' school of pre-millennialism considered that the events referred to in Revelation depicted future great happenings in contrast to the historians who considered the events of the texts to have, for the most part already taken place, and that the final act was about to begin. The futurists' view was embraced by J.N. Darby who was an influential thinker for the Brethren. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was the pre-millennialist views of the historians which had most influence, fuelled by writings such as Grattan Guinness's, *The Second Advent, Will it be before the Millennium?*⁶⁰

In contrast to this ferment of thinking and anticipation, the Wesleyan Methodists hardly considered the topic. The quarterly magazine *Experience* edited by Samuel Chadwick, carried only one article in the period 1899-1900 about the Second Coming. The subject had no impact on the Wesleyan evangelical thinking in quite the way it gripped Grattan Guinness. The Rev George G. Findlay, then a tutor at Headingley College, gave an address reproduced in *Experience*. Findlay spoke of the 'neglect into which "the promise of His coming" had fallen.'⁶¹ He was alert to the fact that there had been, 'long periods of apathy respecting this matter with sudden crises of extreme excitement and alarm. And while at the present time the subject enters but little into the thoughts and aims of ordinary Christians and scarcely forms part of their working faith, amongst limited circles of believers there is intense activity of mind upon the question, and a strained and almost feverish expectation of the Lord's near coming. From these circles there proceed bold calculations in prophetic chronology and sensational announcements, repeatedly falsified by the

⁶⁰ Mr and Mrs H. Grattan Guinness, *The Second Advent, Will it be before the Millennium?* (New York: J. Pott and Co, 1887).

⁶¹ *Experience*, Vol.X, 1899-1900, pp.219-23. George G. Findlay was tutor in Biblical Literature and Classics at Headingley College, 1881-1916.

event.' He referred to church leaders who made prophetic statements about the second coming, 'only to be thrown into the limbo of futile millenarian speculations.'⁶² The doctrine is by no means ridiculed, and he wrote of two certainties: 'First the certainty and actuality of the event; secondly, the complete uncertainty of its date.' What is really interesting is that in the ferment of thinking about the Second Coming at this time, a quarterly journal 'Designed to Revive the Testimony of England's chief Evangelists and to Promote Mission Work' should only have one article on the Second Coming, in the years to 1900. There is a similar absence of the doctrine from *The King's Highway* where in 1899 the only possible allusion to millennialism is a paragraph in 'Notes for December', with the question, 'Where shall the great revival begin?' and predictably furnishes the answer quoting Wesley, 'Wherever the work of sanctification increased, there the whole work of god increased in all its branches.'⁶³ The fervent of millennialism was neither a crucial issue in Methodist theology, nor a motive for holiness of life or evangelism, it simply passed Methodism by.

The defence of the evangelical positioning of the College which Cook and Chadwick had made was not revisited for some years until Dr Arthur Skevington Wood, then Tutor in Biblical Theology at Cliff College gave the first Annual Lecture of the Conservative Evangelicals in Methodism at the Bristol Methodist Conference in 1974. The gap deserves some explanation. Broadbelt, Chadwick's successor, was an entrepreneur and evangelist who could defend the College in the political debates within Methodism but was not equipped as a biblical scholar or theologian to undertake this. Though Eagles

⁶² *Experience*, Vol.X, p.220.

⁶³ *The King's Highway*, 1899, p.265.

lectured in theology, he was immersed in the detail of keeping the College going after the war and gave no evidence that the theological positioning of the College was an issue. Meadley had the wit to understand the issues, but he did not share the evangelicalism of the 'fundamentalists' at that time. Belben, building on the good work of Meadley, was keen to enable the College to re-emerge into Methodism and the wider evangelical community. He did not have the adversarial manner of Chadwick, though he did possess the ability, but he deliberately became a bridge person between Methodism nationally and the evangelical movement. He was a Vice-President of the Evangelical Alliance and his opinion was sought on delicate Methodist issues; thus he was a member of the Methodist team in discussion with the Anglican Church which produced proposals for union in 1968/9.

During this same period evangelicalism had been in decline. A leading evangelical scholar, at the time Principal of Tyndale Hall, Bristol, James Packer declared that the image of conservative evangelicals had been characterised by 'archaic theology, spiritual conceit, ecclesiastical isolationism, social unconcern, pessimism about the world and the Church, an old fashioned life-style and a cultural philistinism.'⁶⁴ It was with the National Evangelical Anglican Congress at Keele University in 1967, under the chairmanship of John Stott, that the new confidence of able young scholars was seen.⁶⁵ The Lausanne Congress had a major impact on British evangelicalism⁶⁶ but it barely featured in Methodism and no one from Cliff attended. The Anglican evangelicals were leading the way in evangelical thinking and strategy. The two thousand people attending the

⁶⁴ James Packer, 'Taking Stock in Theology', in John King, *Evangelicals Today* (London: Lutterworth 1973), pp.15-16.

⁶⁵ Hastings, *A History Of English Christianity*, p.553, and Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp.249-51.

⁶⁶ For the impact of Lausanne see pp.294-6.

second Anglican Evangelical Congress at Nottingham in 1977 with the title 'Obeying Christ in a Changing World' were invited to read three books to prepare themselves. The books were written by an array of scholars revealing that Anglican evangelicals could comment on theology, ecclesiology and social action. John Stott was the architect of the Congress; general editor of the books and under his chairmanship the Congress caught the resurgent mood.⁶⁷ Anglican evangelicals became 'very moderately sacramentalist, socially committed, biblically conservative but not obscurantically fundamentalist, cautiously ecumenical.'⁶⁸

Despite the optimism displayed by Anglican evangelicals the same impact on their denomination could not be replicated in Methodism.⁶⁹ An evangelical grouping, the Methodist Revival Fellowship (MRF),⁷⁰ had been founded in 1952 with the aim of gathering Methodists, 'who are really concerned that the Methodist Church should, under the hand of God, fulfil its historic mission, and who are longing for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Churches.'⁷¹ The Rev Donald English, at that time Tutor in Pastoral Theology at Hartley Victoria College in Manchester, and a member of the MRF Committee, called Methodist evangelicals to meet for a three-day conference to discuss a new grouping.⁷²

⁶⁷ The three volumes all carried the title of the Congress, *Obeying Christ in a Changing World*; Vol.1, John Stott (ed), *The Lord Jesus Christ*; Vol.2, Ian Cundy (ed), *The People of God*; Vol. 3, Bruce Kaye (ed), *The Changing World* (Glasgow: Fountain Books, Collins, 1977).

⁶⁸ Hastings, *History*, p.618.

⁶⁹ It should be noted however that the membership of Headway, the movement which was formed from CEIM and MRF, now includes over 500 Methodist Ministers, ca.25% of the ordained ministry and therefore a significant proportion of the whole.

⁷⁰ A. Skevington Wood, *A Kindled Flame* (Ilkeston: Headway, 1987), indicates that MRF was a vision in 1948, began as a group in 1952 and gained authorisation from the Conference for its name in 1955, pp.6-7.

⁷¹ MRF leaflet in circulation 1973.

⁷² He was responding to a suggestion by the President of Conference 1970, the Rev Rupert Davies, who encouraged evangelicals to make a more positive contribution to the Methodist Church. Brian Hoare and Ian Randall, *More than a Methodist* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003), p.98.

English had in mind for some years the need for 'an evangelical ginger-group within the denomination to consider theological issues and then judge evangelical strategy.'⁷³ The Conservative Evangelicals in Methodism (CEIM) was formed as a result of this conference. Cliff College was integrally involved in the formation of CEIM, and all its staff were present at the consultation called by English. The Principal, the Rev Howard Belben, had become the Chairman of CEIM, Skevington Wood had joined the committee and David Sharp was present at the consultation. The intention was to present to Methodism an 'informed evangelical view on current theological, pastoral, moral and social issues'.⁷⁴

Interestingly some members of the Cliff College Committee were critical. At the meeting of the next General Committee after the formation of CEIM mater was raised under 'Other Business'.⁷⁵ The Rev Frank Thewlis presented a letter to the committee which he had ostensibly received from two of his junior ministerial colleagues, though no doubt he had been involved in its production. The letter 'expressed regret that three members of the tutorial staff were all on the committee of the newly formed Conservative Evangelicals in Methodism.'⁷⁶ It was English, also a member of this committee, who defended the involvement of the tutors in the new group indicating 'C.E.I.M. was not a Cliff sponsored group and he said that the three tutors concerned were at pains to give the opportunity for full presentation of other points of view within the College.'⁷⁷ The chair of the committee, the Rev George Sails, General Secretary of the

⁷³ Donald English, 'If I will...what is that to thee?', an unpublished MRF briefing paper, 1971.

⁷⁴ Letters and papers in the College Archives. I was Secretary of CEIM, 1980-85 as it concluded negotiations with the older Methodist Revival Fellowship to form Headway.

⁷⁵ *Minutes* of the Cliff College General Committee, 4 March 1971, p.4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Home Mission Department, stressed that Cliff should 'not be "labelled" as belonging to any one theological group – it belongs to universal Methodism.'⁷⁸ The committee *Minutes* record; 'Agreed that the Rev. Frank Thewlis be asked to confirm to his junior colleagues that Cliff is for all and is not tied to any one group within Methodism.'⁷⁹ Thewlis was an energetic member of the Fellowship of the Kingdom and though a member of the College Committee and frequent speaker at the Anniversary represented those Methodists who wanted to espouse a liberal evangelicalism. The discussion at the committee highlights the concern in Methodism about evangelical splinter groups. The move in the committee by Thewlis was clearly intended to undermine the commitment by Belben and his colleagues to CEIM.

Notwithstanding the committee comments, the first CEIM lecture, *The Evangelical Understanding Of The Gospel*,⁸⁰ was given by the Rev Dr Skevington Wood, one of the College tutors. Skevington Wood was a widely respected historian and academic, a good choice for the first lecture of this fledgling organisation. In a carefully worked lecture he gave a historical survey of the development of the term evangelical since the Reformation. He argued that the usage of root terminology found in the New Testament, *euangelion*, included not only the act of proclamation but also the 'substance of what is proclaimed.'⁸¹ He focussed on the short credal statements in the letters with

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Arthur Skevington Wood, *The Evangelical Understanding Of The Gospel* (Calver: CEIM, 1974).

⁸¹ Ibid, p.3. The second and third CEIM lectures were designed to establish the importance of Biblical authority and orthodox theology. Professor Kenneth Kitchen gave the 1975 lecture, *Old Testament and Ancient East: Biblical Foundations in Changing Perspective*. In 1976 Professor I. Howard Marshall also took the defence of the orthodox Christology theology, *I Believe in the Historical Jesus*. A summary of the finding of his book of same name, published the following year (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977). The range of subjects

particular reference to 1 Corinthians 15:3-7, chosen as a passage of 'magisterial importance' for Christology.⁸² The conclusion after his detailed analysis was that the passage contained the gospel in its earliest form, the message of the Christ crucified for us, whose risen life had been observed in an objective manner. He concludes, 'This, then, is the evangelical understanding of the gospel...Christ died for our sins, he was buried, he was raised to life, he appeared.'⁸³ Skevington Wood fits the typology of Stott, that evangelicalism is theological, biblical, original and fundamental.

Howard Belben gave the CEIM lecture in 1978 at the Methodist Conference in Bradford. His description of the 'Evangelical Methodist' revealed the move to a wholeness of theological thinking, which accompanied the Lausanne Congress.⁸⁴ The contrast with Skevington Wood's lecture only four years earlier reveals the development of evangelical thinking which was taking place at that time.⁸⁵ Belben had thirteen sections describing evangelicals. These include 'Concern for the World' identifying that evangelicals generally had espoused social action and political involvement and 'come to a common

widened with Stephen Travis, *The Scope of Salvation*, 1980, and Maurice Hobbs *On Being a Christian in a Multi-racial Society*, 1983.

⁸² Wood, p.7.

⁸³ Ibid, p.21.

⁸⁴ Howard Belben, *The Evangelical Methodist* (Calver: CEIM, 1978). His sections were 1. A Christian Conservationist; 2. A Biblical Christian; 3. A Teacher of the Bible; 4. Evangelical in Doctrine; 5. Evangelistic in Aim; 6. Concerned for the world; 7. Seeking for Holiness; 8. A believer in Prayer; 9. Free in Worship; 10. Active in Christian Service; Ready for Partnership; 12. Embarrassed by Pluralism; 13. At home in the church.

⁸⁵ Skevington Wood fits the description of Fackre of the 'Old Evangelicals'. His concerns were biblical and historical study, prayer, holiness and winning people for Christ. He was unconcerned for the issues of justice and peace though he encouraged students who wished to be involved or sought a vocation in these endeavours. The lecture by Belben also reveals his change in thinking. In 1969 he published *The Mission of Jesus* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), speaking about the ministry and mission of Jesus with no reference to Jesus challenge to the authorities, care for the poor etc. There is the sense of Belben the kind counsellor which purveys the book. In the *Evangelical Methodist* he is aware of social responsibility as a Christian concern.

mind that social responsibility has a high priority for the biblical Christian.⁸⁶ He was concerned to reveal the Methodist evangelical as both biblical and evangelical. For him it was axiomatic that such evangelicals would welcome the Evangelical Alliance Basis of Faith, adopted as its own by CEIM, and agree with the clause regarding the Bible: 'The divine inspiration of Holy Scripture and its consequent entire trustworthiness and supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct.'⁸⁷

Belben intervened in the appointment of tutors to Cliff. This had, under Chadwick, been in the gift of the Principal, but before Belben had reverted to the Home Mission Department. Howard Belben made direct contact with the Rev David Sharp when he was looking for a New Testament Tutor for 1969. Sharp had experience of evangelism, and running Scripture Union camps, was a qualified teacher with a Cambridge degree and, when Belben identified him as a suitable candidate for a Cliff tutor, he was completing his theological training. To a leading member of the Cliff Committee he wrote, 'It is, as you know, important that a Cliff tutor should be evangelical in emphasis and have the necessary qualities to be a leader of the students and capable of leading team missions.'⁸⁸

When he was Principal, Bill Davies' lectures to students were on Christian Doctrine and Church History. His notes reveal a view of scripture very similar to that of Chadwick. The scriptures are inspired by God, written by many people, imparted not in a mechanical way by dictation, but dynamically through

⁸⁶ Belben, *Evangelical Methodist*.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.4, with clause 2 of the Evangelical Alliance (UK) Basis of Faith, 1970. For a discussion of the development of the EA Basis of Faith see Randall and Hilborn, *One Body in Christ* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001), pp.39-43, and appendix 1-6, pp.357-68.

⁸⁸ Letter to G. Howard Walker (Solicitor on the College Committee), 17 July 1968, Cliff College Archives, correspondence relating to staff.

personality. This inspiration extends to all parts of scripture, which was written to be interpreted.⁸⁹ After he had retired from being Principal at Cliff, Bill Davies published a book, *Spirit Without Measure*,⁹⁰ which drew on his research into the writings and theology of Jonathan Fletcher, one of John Wesley's contemporaries.⁹¹ Fletcher believed that grace of God was available and effective even to non-Christians. Davies explained that Fletcher argued for "the general dispensation of the Father, which is the basis of all superior economies of divine grace," in which a heathen who feared God and worked righteousness, was accepted by God.⁹² He took the view that the light of Christ, which as John 1:9 indicates enlightens 'everyone' and thus includes those who live by the faith in, and commitment to, 'the light given them'.⁹³ This caused a number of people to question his evangelical credentials for they believed that this was tantamount to universalism. He affirmed his belief in the unique nature of Jesus as human and divine, but remained firmly of the belief that it is the Holy Spirit who brings 'the light of Christ and the grace of God into every person alive, irrespective of colour, race and creed.'⁹⁴ At the meetings of the Celebration Weekend in May 1996 he affirmed this and had robust conversations with people who felt he had compromised his evangelical theology. Like Chadwick he was unafraid of controversy and maintained his evangelical base, but was prepared to preach and publish on matters which were seen as straying outside the normal evangelical frame of thinking, something only found in the writings

⁸⁹ William R. Davies, *Christian Doctrine Lecture Notes*, CD3/1.1 Inspiration. Used at Cliff College 1983 – 94, in my personal archive.

⁹⁰ William R. Davies, *Spirit Without Measure* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1996).

⁹¹ This was the subject of his PhD thesis for the University of Manchester 1965, 'Fletcher of Madeley as Theologian.'

⁹² Davies, *Spirit Without Measure*, p.7, referring to *The Works of Fletcher* (London: John Mason, 1836), Vol.3, pp.250-7.

⁹³ Davies, *Spirit Without Measure*, p.12.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p.16.

of Chadwick, Meadley and Davies. Nevertheless the evidence is that the shaping of the tradition of the College as evangelical and Biblical held intact.

In an M.A. thesis submitted to the University of Durham the present writer identified a typology of modern evangelicalism.⁹⁵ Five groupings of evangelicals have been identified by Gabriel Fackre,⁹⁶ and in the thesis his categories were adapted and enlarged to six, with reference to writers who typify each group.⁹⁷ Fundamentalist or Separatist Evangelicals are characteristically militant and separatist, born-again Christians holding unswervingly to the doctrine and practice of "biblical inerrancy" and loyalty to the doctrinal propositions of the bible and the complete reliability of its accounts of events in nature and history. They are typified by Francis Schaeffer who railed against the Lausanne congress who held a different view of the scriptures from him.⁹⁸ The second group were Pietist Evangelicals, who maintain a witness of prayer and personal devotion, sharing their faith, good works, maintaining the life of the local church but for them the wider issues of justice, peace, political action even outspokenness of issues of biblical authority are not really relevant.⁹⁹ The third group were New Evangelicals, who are typified by a defence of orthodoxy such as the group who formed the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research in 1945

⁹⁵ G. Howard Mellor, *A Theological Examination of the Non-Directive Approach to Church and Community Development with a special reference to the nature of Evangelism*, a thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Theology in the Theology Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Durham 1990.

⁹⁶ *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: SCM, 1983), pp.191-2. Gabriel Fackre established five categories of evangelical, Fundamentalist, Old, New, Justice and Peace, and Charismatic.

⁹⁷ Mellor, chapter 7, 'A typology of Evangelical Thought', pp.92-119.

⁹⁸ Francis Schaeffer 'Form and freedom in the Church' and published in *Let the World Hear His Voice*, pp.361-379. He spoke against 'neo-orthodox existential theology' a title he reserved for evangelicals who held a different view of scripture to himself and he concluded his presentation at Lausanne, 'If we have latitudinarianism in religious co-operation, the next generation will have latitudinarianism in doctrine and specifically a weakness toward the Bible', p.371.

⁹⁹ In my M.A. thesis I cited Samuel Chadwick as an example but his commitment to the poor in Glasgow and Leeds reveals that not to be the case. Arthur Skevington Wood would, however, be a good example.

and have influenced many evangelicals to enter the academy.¹⁰⁰ Bebbington observed of this time that 'it became increasingly difficult to dismiss conservative Evangelicals as disinclined to thought'.¹⁰¹ At the same time these evangelicals espoused social concern, which was identified at the Lausanne Congress. Before that in England evangelicals were awakening to a world of need, and Mary Jean Duffield, then a twenty-one year old junior administrator, concerned about the famine in the Bihar region of India, started TEAR Fund¹⁰² which had a profound effect on educating evangelicals about the need for aid. These 'New' evangelicals were wrongly titled, as they are the inheritors of the mission of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century evangelical awakenings which, both in Britain and America, showed a concern for evangelistic zeal and commitment to social concern.¹⁰³ The fourth grouping of evangelicals were Justice and Peace Evangelicals. Fackre writing in 1983 considered them a vocal minority of modern evangelicalism, but they were soon to become a dominant force among British evangelicals. In 1982, the Lausanne committee had convened a consultation at Grand Rapids, which concluded that evangelism and social responsibility were 'two wings of a bird or two halves of a scissors.'¹⁰⁴

The following year an International Evangelical Conference on the Nature of

¹⁰⁰ For instance F.F. Bruce at Manchester, I.H. Marshall at Aberdeen, W.J. Martin at Liverpool, D. Guthrie at London Bible College and D. Wiseman at London University.

¹⁰¹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp.260-1.

¹⁰² The Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund. Originally called EAR Fund (see Randall and Hilborn, *One Body in Christ* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001), pp.275-6). There was a ferment of thinking among evangelicals at this time leading up to Lausanne who did not believe that justice, social action and proclaiming grace belonged together. Nevertheless evangelicals 'began to turn from a preoccupation with the salvation of individuals towards a more comprehensive view of its [evangelicalism's] mission', David W. Smith, *Transforming the World?* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998), p.88.

¹⁰³ The link between the 18thC – 19thC and the action of evangelicals in this period have been traced by David Moberg, *The Great Reversal* (London: Scripture Union, 1972); Tim Chester, *Awakening to a World of Need* (Leicester: IVP, 1993), and David W Smith, *Transforming the World?*

¹⁰⁴ The consultation was again under the leadership of John Stott, and the report was *Evangelism and Social Responsibility, An Evangelical Commitment* (Exeter: Paternoster press, 1982).

Mission of the Church was held at Wheaton and many of the Grand Rapids participants were speakers. They did not wish to repeat the outcomes of that earlier consultation and they were searching for a more thorough critique of society and a deliberate attempt to include issues of justice, ecology as well as direct social action. The consultation used the term 'transformation' instead of 'development' because both the developed and the developing world need social and personal transformation.¹⁰⁵ The Lausanne movement called a second Congress in 1989, Lausanne II in Manila, but despite the hopes of those involved in Wheaton 83 it drew back from a full endorsement.¹⁰⁶ The Evangelical Alliance has sponsored and supported those groups who presently are representing this kind of evangelical.¹⁰⁷ The fifth group were the Charismatic Evangelicals who in the 1980s and 1990s had such an influence. The Pentecostal message of the Charismatic Movement has now so affected and been espoused by the mainstream churches in a mild form that it has largely

¹⁰⁵ The Wheaton 83 statement 'Transformation' paragraph 3 in the section on 'Social Involvement'. The report of the Wheaton consultation, *The Church in Response to Human Need*, Tom Sine (ed), (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1983) was not widely distributed. However in 1987 Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden as editors (Grand Rapids/Oxford: Eerdmans/Regnum, 1987) produced a version with the same title that benefited from further reflection. Perhaps the best examination of the theological issues which are raised for this type of evangelical is Mark A. Noll and David F. Wells (eds) *Christian Faith and Practice in the Modern World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1988).

¹⁰⁶ The *Manila Manifesto* merely reiterated the conclusions of Lausanne and Grand Rapids. Those preparing for Lausanne II, such as Ray Bakke had prepared video presentation on poverty, justice, women's rights and the needs of people in urban poverty. These were shown but not endorsed from the platform because the southern Baptists who were funding the congress did not want the connection between global poverty and international companies to be debated in the congress. Dr Eddie Gibbs, a member of the organising committee who had worked with the Bible Society before being appointed as Professor of Church Growth at Fuller Theological Seminary (therefore known to the British delegation and acceptable to the policy makers of Lausanne II), revealed this to the leaders of the British delegation. Lausanne had the opportunity to be a prophetic force but internal conflict aborted that possibility. The Lausanne Movement has never recovered and is now a spent force in British evangelicalism despite attempts to revive the process. The World Evangelical Fellowship, which is a more conservative theologically and politically continues to thrive.

¹⁰⁷ The 'Salt and Light' conference in November 1989, and through annual festivals such as Greenbelt and Spring Harvest, along with the initiatives of Steve Chalke and the Oasis Trust, the Eden Project and Light in the City in Manchester, and the work of the present General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, Joel Edwards.

disappeared.¹⁰⁸ The sixth group are Ecumenical Evangelicals, discernible as a group in the work of the World Council of Churches at Vancouver in 1983 and San Antonio in 1989. The report *Mission and Evangelism: an Ecumenical Affirmation* gave considerable impetus to work of evangelical theologians who straddled both the WCC and Lausanne movements. The report identified the growing awareness between ecumenism and evangelism, 'between Christian unity and missionary calling.'¹⁰⁹ An 'Open letter' was sent from the delegates at San Antonio to the delegates at Lausanne II which raised points on areas mutual interest and concern. The letter was signed by over one quarter of the 300 delegates. The final paragraphs are concerned with the suggestion that the next meeting of the Lausanne Movement should take place at the same time as the next World Council Conference on Mission and Evangelism. They hoped to meet on the same site with some shared sessions.¹¹⁰ The authors of the 'open letter' misjudged the mood of those who held sway at Lausanne II and the open letter was never placed before the delegates though it was widely circulated. Evangelical ecumenical co-operation has since Lausanne II depended on networks of influence often through co-operation on mission projects in the

¹⁰⁸ There were many texts written about the charismatic movement among the them: Michael Harper, *Power for the Body of Christ* (London: Fountain Trust, 1964); *As at the beginning: The Twentieth Century Pentecostal Revival* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965); *Walk in the Spirit* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968); *Let my People Grow* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977). Thomas Smail, who withdrew from the Fountain Trust because he felt charismatics were relying too much on experience of vibrant worship, and avoiding serious theological study, wrote, *Reflected Glory* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975); *The Forgotten Father* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980); *The Giving Gift* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988). Douglas McBain, *Eyes that See: The Spiritual Gift of Discernment*, (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering 1986). Michael Green wrote the influential work, *I believe in the Holy Spirit* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975). David Watson, *One in the Spirit* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973). This little book was enormously influential in the thinking of charismatic evangelicals.

¹⁰⁹ *Mission and evangelism: an ecumenical affirmation* (Geneva: WCC, 1983) para.1.

¹¹⁰ *From San Antonio to Lausanne – A letter of Evangelical Concerns* (Oxford: Oxford Centre for Mission Concerns, 1989), p.27-29.

1990s and some involvement in the hopes surrounding the 'Covenant' between the Methodist and Anglican churches.

This chapter reveals that those who have shaped the theology and the strategy of the College have been evangelical. They fit the broad brush strokes of Bebbington's and Stott's criteria on all counts, with their emphasis on the bible, the cross, conversion and activism. None of them was fundamentalist or separatist as in the Fackre typology. In a variety of tones they have been pietist, new, justice and peace, charismatic and ecumenical and in common with the Anglican evangelicals, the College has moved to a broad evangelicalism and as such has been distinct from all other British Methodist colleges. In the cool water of a church which has espoused a broad liberal theology, Cliff has always been warmly evangelical and evangelistic. The College had also one other important element which has influenced its teaching and mission work, Holiness. The particular strand of Wesleyan holiness teaching which was at first adopted and the ways it was modified are the subject of another section. The College, its Principals and staff, have not had the leading influence in contemporary Methodism, which Anglican scholars have recently achieved in the Church of England but they have resolutely kept alive evangelical theology in the life of the Methodist Church.

Chapter five

Shaping the Tradition:

Faith and Finance

Guinness and Champness espoused a version of the 'Faith principle' first established by George Müller for evangelical fundraising. Müller founded an orphanage and Bible school in 1834-5 and acted on the belief that God would sustain anyone and any cause that depended solely on Him. If the believer made needs known to God through prayer, Muller believed that no further action would be necessary. God would supply those needs as long as the believer abided by the 'faith principles' which entailed never going into debt and never asking for money.¹ 'At the time Müller was caring for three hundred orphans and planning to receive a thousand without any visible means of support. All he needed, premises, clothing and daily food was coming in answer to prayers.'² Hudson Taylor decided to follow the example of Müller, never appealing for funds except to God, and administering all gifts with scrupulous stewardship.³ Arriving at his own 'Faith principles' was a 'slow Odyssey of faith', which matured and was 'tested' over 14 years before in 1865 he was ready to launch the China Inland Mission on the same 'Faith Principle'.⁴

¹ Michael S. Hamilton, 'The Financing of American Evangelicalism 1945-1995' in Randall Balmer, *Encyclopaedia of Evangelicalism* (Louisville: Westminster John Know Press, 2002), p.211.

² A.J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century, Part 2* (London: Hodder and Stoughton and the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1982), p.33.

³ *Ibid*, p.33.

⁴ *Ibid*.

Taylor also urged Guinness not to appeal for funds: 'If God try our faith it is to show *His* faithfulness, and we shall lose the blessing by appeals etc...Jehovah Jireh (the Lord will provide)'.⁵ Henry Guinness, avoided the dilemma by leaving financial control to his wife Fanny Guinness, but the needs were not easily met. Fanny Guinness found it irksome that though Henry was eligible to take a salary from the Guinness Institute funds he chose not to do so.⁶ He had faith the funds would come.⁷ Fanny Guinness, 'felt that prayer and effort were not antagonistic. "We cannot expect God to do by a miracle that which we can do for ourselves." For her that meant writing endless bulletins and reports to the Institute's supporters, making the work of the Institute known so that funds would come in.'⁸ The approach of Fanny Guinness was quite different to Hudson Taylor's and mirrors more closely the approach of Champness and the Cliff Principals.

Champness had a very charming way of raising money. He would indicate in the *Joyful News* that he considered a new venture was now the way ahead, and it could be achieved if someone would send a particular sum of money. This could be for a caravan or horse, tickets to send missionaries to India, or to increase the number of students. The *Methodist Recorder* carried a story indicating that 'Mr Champness refuses to beg'⁹ but he was also a shrewd businessman. He printed envelopes when he was at Cambridge House with a small drawing of the house and the caption, 'Mr Champness says that if every

⁵ A.J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century, Part 5* (London: Hodder and Stoughton and the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1985), p.407.

⁶ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, p.105.

⁷ Wealth at death - £4699 2s 11d probate 19 Aug 1910, CGPLA Eng and Wales, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.24, p.208-9.

⁸ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, p.106.

⁹ *Methodist Recorder*, Winter edition 1894, p.54.

Methodist took a copy of the "Joyful News" weekly, he would keep a Hundred Evangelists.'¹⁰ The *Methodist Recorder* commented, 'Very often the Mission is in straits for money. It must have collapsed long ago but for the help which has come from the *Joyful News* and the Book Depot.'¹¹ The Rev H.T. Smart called the *Joyful News* 'a good milch cow, and if all who love the villages will only help to feed her, she will produce enough to enable the Editor to do great things for the men in smock frocks'¹², therefore 'Push the Joyful News'.

People gave to the work as they heard of the missions and the work of the evangelists. Week by week these, normally small gifts of a few shillings or pounds, were individually noted in the *Joyful News*. Champness was also in touch with some businessmen who continued to support the work through to its arrival at Cliff.¹³

Things were not always easy and in 1895, when income was at a very low ebb he was prepared to take immediate and significant action.¹⁴ The *Joyful News* carried the grim tidings under the title 'Dismissal of Sixty Joyful News Agents.' 'We have been troubled by the fact that the Joyful News Mission had not been supported as it formerly was. And this has been accompanied by a decline in our Book business; consequently we have not been able to give as largely as we have been used to.'¹⁵ The report went on to say that, 'Accordingly we have sent a circular to most (about 60) of our workers saying they must not consider us any longer responsible for their support.'¹⁶ Champness made every

¹⁰ Taken from a used envelope dated 3 October 1888, in the College archive, section C.

¹¹ *Methodist Recorder*, Winter edition 1894, p.54.

¹² *Joyful News*, 9 September 1886, p.1.

¹³ H.T. Bainbridge was one of the layman on the College committee at the formation of Cliff College by the Wesleyan Methodists.

¹⁴ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.261.

¹⁵ *Joyful News*, 11 July 1895, p.2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

effort to reduce expenditure.¹⁷ However, -supporters of the newspaper and the mission gave generously and in a letter to Ernest Cooper, William Champness was able to report that: 'Money has come in pretty plentifully since people realised we were in such danger. We are hoping that in a month or two, we may be able to start again...Of course you will continue to be supported'.¹⁸ The Accounts to 31 August 1896 showed a healthy balance of over £943 in an outlay of £5,009 6s 5½d and the *Joyful News* article had a confident tone, missing for the previous two years.¹⁹

Thomas Cook, during his ministry as a Connexional Evangelist, had learned the art of fundraising among Christian people. He informed the readers of the *Cliff College Report* that he needed an extra £500 to avoid debt and then added, 'We believe we are doing the sort of work the Methodist people wish done, and that they will not allow the work to suffer for lack of funds.'²⁰

Cook's faith was undimmed by the scale of his vision and with enthusiasm he wrote, 'We believe, with Mr Spurgeon, that so long as institutions of this sort are doing good work the money will be forthcoming. When funds are not available it is time to consider whether the work is any longer needed. At present we have every reason to thank God and take courage.'²¹ Cook had many more applicants than he had student places and therefore he brought to the College Committee in October 1905 a proposal for the enlargement of the

¹⁷ The *Joyful News* for the 8 August p.2, records income £131 13s 6½d and an expenditure of £21 1s 8d. This continued for some months, though eventually as they took on more evangelists, income hardly met expenditure.

¹⁸ William Champness (Thomas's son), *Letter*, 11 July 1895, confirming the continuing support for the missionaries.

¹⁹ *Joyful News*, 22 April 1897, p.2.

²⁰ *Reports of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1907, p.108.

²¹ *Reports of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1906, p.126.

College. The Committee were initially unwilling to proceed, since the purchase price of the College had not been fully met, and counselled delay. He persuaded the Committee to let him proceed if he could quickly raise £1000. A week later Cook 'chanced' to meet the widow of Frank Crossley on Manchester railway station who inquired about the College and when she heard of the need, indicated that she had £1000 which she would forward to him.²²

The death of Thomas Champness in the autumn of 1905 also gave further impetus to the fund raising, and a new wing to be called the Thomas Champness Memorial Wing was built. Cook had enormous vision and after this incident raised the funding and informed the committee of his actions, something Chadwick and Broadbelt would imitate.

Samuel Chadwick was a master for raising funds and raised funds to keep the Leeds Mission involved in many social programmes.²³ At Cliff he made the needs of the College known each year and confidently asked for collections at the Whitsuntide Anniversary of £2000.²⁴ Much of this was from the 'gifts of the poor' sent week by week.²⁵ The gifts did not always come from the 'poor'. Chadwick had many wealthy friends. He purchased, with a generous donation from Mr Joseph Rank, some 'lands adjacent to our property which would be of very great value to the College.'²⁶ When the Library wing was proposed he made it clear: 'We want the best. I hate poor workmanship, and

²² H.T. Smart, *The Life of Thomas Cook, Evangelist* (Charles H Kelly: London), 1913, pp.216-7. Crossley was a Primitive Methodist layman, making Crossley's Oil Engines and one of the leaders who began the Star Hall in Manchester, Ian Randall, 'The Pentecostal League of Prayer: A British holiness Movement', in *Wesley Theological Journal*, Spring 1998, p.190. See also, John Newbould, *The Roots and early Growth of Cliff College* (Unpublished paper, Archives), pp.67-9.

²³ *Leeds Mission News*, p.9.

²⁴ Sarah Chadwick, *Cliff Past and Present*, pp.22-23. This final section is entitled, 'The Final Word must be about Finance'.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Minutes of the Cliff College Committee*, 7 May 1920.

will only do what can be done well. A Friend has promised five thousand pounds. It may cost seven...it has to be opened free of debt on Whit-Monday 1924.'²⁷ Prior to the annual meeting of the College Committee in 1928, Chadwick had acquired further agricultural land for the College. 'Through the generosity of an anonymous friend...been able to purchase for the College the adjoining Grislow Field Farm of 76 acres.'²⁸ Chadwick gave most of his personal wealth to the College.²⁹

Broadbelt followed in the footsteps of Thomas Cook with a significant building programme which was largely funded by friends he knew who had significant resources such as J Arthur Rank. The 'faith principle' was one which was regularly promoted in the College Reports,³⁰ but while the faith principle for the treks was maintained there were always requests for funding and legacies for the work of the College.³¹

Since that time all the Principals have laid out for the supporters the needs of the College. Cliff cannot ever have been said to be run on 'faith principles' espoused by Muller and Taylor. Despite its strong Methodist connections Cliff has been charged with maintaining its own finances. The approach adopted has been more in keeping with Fanny Guinness indicating that significant faith, prayer and finance is needed.

²⁷ *Joyful News*, 31 May 1923 p.2, and Minutes of the Cliff College Committee, 4 May 1923. The *Minutes* of the Cliff College Committee, 27 March 1928. Chadwick indicated that the investments representing the Reserve Fund for the College (which at that time were £2,500 on deposit at the bank and £13,921 in Investments) were all in his name. He suggested that 'the property and Investments might be transferred to the Trustees for the Wesleyan Methodist Connexional Funds (Registered).'

²⁸ Minutes of the Cliff College Committee, 27 March 1928.

²⁹ Wealth at death - £748 5s 11d probate 10 May 1933, CGPLA Eng and Wales, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.10, p.849-50.

³⁰ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1927, p.111.

³¹ *Cliff College Reports*, 1924 - 1939.

Section Three

Evangelistic Strategy

Chapter six: Evangelistic strategy 1883 – 1939

Chapter seven: Joyful News Female Evangelists

Chapter eight: Trekkers

Chapter nine: Evangelistic Strategy 1946 - 2002

Chapter six

Evangelistic Strategy: 1883 - 1939

The mission strategy of the first three Principals reflected their own Christian experience and specialist knowledge and skills. For Champness this was a deep desire to reach out to those with no Christian faith. Cook was committed to evangelism but he also longed for people to embrace his particular emphasis on holiness. Chadwick was equally committed to evangelism, but he had a more holistic approach and carried the aspiration that his students would be theologically and biblically astute.

Champness had made his offer to travel anywhere the Church would send him for the privilege of sharing the gospel. Even though his missionary endeavours were cut short by the breakdown of his health, he continued to be a determined and effective minister. He had not succeeded in persuading the Missionary Committee that his health was robust enough to return to Africa, and he was instead appointed to the Banbury Circuit, staying there for two years. It was standard for Methodist ministers to move every two or three years. Between 1864 and 1882 Champness had nine appointments, and one year of complete rest caused by ill health.¹ Though unwell, his life was busy, as this insight into the typical Sunday for Champness from his own journal:

A lively time at the seven o'clock prayer meeting. I think they were pleased to see me. I met a class at 9.15, and preached at 10.30; congregation rather thin,

¹ 1864, Kineton; 1865-7, Banbury; 1867-70, Otley; 1870-72, Leeds (Oxford Place); 1872-3, Banbury for a years rest; 1873-74, St Peter Port, Guernsey; 1874 – 77, Louth; 1877-79, London City Road circuit with responsibilities at St John's Square; 1879-82, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

many families away on holidays; preached from 'The Barrel of Meal'. At 2p.m. I talked a bit in the Sunday School on 'Thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest'; 2.30, met two classes; 6p.m., service, better congregation; preached with liberty from 'The Christian Race'. Administered the Lord's Supper to a large number of communicants.²

The Wesleyan Methodist Church had taken the decision to establish a missionary in every district. The Rev Alex McAuley was instrumental in establishing this Connexional scheme of District Missioners and in 1879 Champness was appointed to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne District. His patron in this move was the merchant T.H. Bainbridge. Here Champness had a free hand to encourage mission work and engage in evangelism, with the resources of Bainbridge to help him.³ Eliza Champness has evident pleasure⁴ in using extracts from his journal for this period. Champness had a fruitful ministry among the miners of Durham and Northumberland.

It was in Newcastle that he began in earnest the process of training young men for evangelism: 'As time went on, it was impressed on Mr. Champness's mind that from many a village congregation there might be gathered together ardent and enthusiastic young men, who, when duly instructed and trained, could be well employed as Evangelists to the country places, as helpers, and extra workers with the ordained ministers of the circuit. He found such men eager to learn, hungry for a better knowledge of the Bible and the doctrines of the Christian religion, and he gathered some of these together in the early hours of the dark winter mornings in his own study, into a Theological Class, which

² Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.172. Champness was unwell at this time of his life. Even so he has a hectic diary. He fits well the typology of Bebbington which includes 'Activism'.

³ T.H. Bainbridge was a patron of many societies, including the Children's Home begun by the Rev Bowman Stephenson and in time was to become involved with Cliff College.

⁴ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.190-208.

was to some, the first step on the ladder of learning how to preach.’⁵ This activity was the genesis of the type of work which would lead to the training begun in Bolton, and ultimately to the *Joyful News* mission.

Champness caught the vision, which much later was to become Cliff College. He proposed that such lay training was something that Methodism ought to do, and described his part as ‘just doing something in a small way until Methodism is ready to undertake something of a scale worthy of itself.’⁶ Champness later proposed that the space for such training, should be provided by the Connexion in one of the colleges which were not full. ‘Birmingham would be the best of the Colleges for such an enterprise.’⁷

The spring of 1885 was significant for the recognition of Champness’s work in Wesleyan Methodism. He became a member of the Legal Hundred, the inner and ruling body of one hundred ordained Wesleyans. This suggests that the Wesleyan Methodists appreciated the importance of his work and its growing influence. That May 1885 it became clear that the issue of training lay evangelists would come before the Conference. Champness commented in the *Joyful News*, ‘In the meantime, the Editor of this paper means to do something himself. During the past year, he has had some young men living with him and working under his eye and the success he has met with has encouraged him to go on in the same direction until the Connexion takes the matter up.’⁸

By September, Champness had his first trainees, Reed and Seager, for village evangelism,⁹ and during October he referred to his manse as a ‘Home for

⁵ Eliza Champness, *The Story of the Joyful News Mission*, p.2.

⁶ Chadwick in ‘Thomas Champness’ E19, p.5.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ *Joyful News*, 28 May 1885, p.1.

⁹ *Joyful News*, 10 September 1885, p.1.

Village Evangelists'.¹⁰ From the beginning he had more invitations than he could manage.¹¹ The title '*Joyful News* Evangelist', with the names of Reed and Seager, appear in the list of evangelists for the first time on the 22 October 1885, one year and seven months after the launch of the paper. 'The friends, who are interested in Rural Methodism, will see we are moving on in the direction of Village Evangelism. Four of the men are at work in various circuits....Five other young men are preparing for that same blessed employment'.¹² In January 1886 the *Joyful News* evangelists are listed separately; Brittian, Doran, Reed, Seager, Simpson and Wardle.¹³

During April 1885 the lead article in the *Joyful News* dealt with the training of lay evangelists. The burden of the article was that 'something should be done to begin a scheme for the training of evangelists to work in the villages of this country.'¹⁴ He was also keen to promote evangelism by all means and, in the same month published a plan for the 'Revival of the Work of God' suggested by the Rev John McKenny, a Wesleyan minister.¹⁵

Champness was keen about the scheme which, if adopted by all Methodists would, he judged, have the twin benefit of filling all Methodist chapels, and 'in time empty the public houses, which means seeing the prisons and workhouses without tenants also.'¹⁶ It is clear that he linked evangelism

¹⁰ *Joyful News*, 8 October 1885, p.2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 'we do not have a large stock of ready-made preachers on hand, wholesale, retail and for exportation. We have chosen a few young men and two or three of them are going out at once; but the others need teaching and training, so we must ask for your patience and prayer to the Lord of the Harvest'.

¹² *Joyful News*, 22 October 1885, p.2.

¹³ *Joyful News*, 21 January 1886, p.2. That same week listed with 'Evangelists' is a Miss A. Tindall, daughter of the superintendent minister of Southport and friend of Champness. The Rev Tindall would later influence Champness to promote, train and employ female evangelists.

¹⁴ *Joyful News*, 9 April 1885, p.1

¹⁵ *Joyful News*, 23 April 1885, p.3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

and social reform based on the conversion of individuals, as did Chadwick, and essential to that was the promotion of temperance. The proposed plan for revival was simple: 'Let each member of the Church strive for the conversion of one soul during the year, and feel the responsibility of the task he undertakes...if prayer, faith and effort be combined, our Churches MAY be more than doubled. There will be great improvement in piety, and increase of Members.'¹⁷ Those who were office-holders were invited to seek to bring more than one person for conversion; class leaders were asked to recommend this to their classes, and set aside time at noon each day, to pray for this work.

Champness's vision grew substantially from these humble beginnings and after five years of publishing the *Joyful News*, in his lead article he asked readers to honour its birthday on the 22 February, by making it a day of special prayer. He listed fifty-five evangelists including Sister Fervent, the 'Bible woman' in Spain, and asked people to pray that God will lay his hand on a further fifty men to be called to make his team of 'godly, earnest and fully devoted Evangelists to One Hundred.'¹⁸ Over five years they had trained and employed sixty-eight *Joyful News* evangelists. He referred to the "Joyful News" Movement as giving real impetus to the work of evangelism at that time...just in the nick of time, when agricultural repression points to the necessity for doing something to relieve circuits in the rural parts of England from some of the financial strain which has been very severe and cannot be endured much longer.'¹⁹

Champness was aware of similar movements, which were developing in other denominations at the time. One such development came in 1885 at the Conference of the Primitive Methodist Church, under the stewardship of the Rev

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ *Joyful News*, 16 February 1888, p.1.

¹⁹ *Joyful News*, 24 May 1888, p.1.

Joseph H. Odell. When he moved to Birmingham, he established an evangelists' home much on the lines of Champness. Odell was Superintendent of the home but it failed to win the support of the circuits and ceased to function when he retired due to ill health.²⁰

At this time the Church Army was developing and though he welcomed it Champness could never shake off an antipathy towards the Church of England, something which would land him in prison later.²¹ His feelings were reflected in his otherwise positive comment that the developing Church Army in the 'Church of England, so called, will send forth hundreds of Lay Agents.'²² However, he was warmer in his comments about Odell and the Primitive Methodist Church in Birmingham; 'our friends...have started a similar movement.'²³

He was always restless about the state of the Church and the urgent need for evangelism. 'There ought to be at least a Thousand Young Men at work among the cottages and farmhouses of the land'²⁴ and he urgently appealed to ministers to identify those whom he could train and employ. The Rev Samuel

²⁰ *The Aldersgate Primitive Methodist Magazine*, Vol.22, 1923, p.667.

²¹ Kenneth Hyson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), pp.180-1. Anglican evangelicals had been impressed by the work of the Salvation Army, though some were critical (see Hyson Smith, p.179. Critics included Lord Shaftsbury) and in Bristol and London church armies were established within parishes. Wilson Carlile in 1882 resigned his curacy to co-ordinate and lead the work of these local parish armies into one Church Army. Carlile was criticised for involving non-evangelicals but the work grew. By 1891 he had 166 officer-evangelists and 44 mission nurses. Carlile and Champness were developing their work at the same time though there is no evidence they met.

Champness was passive resister to the Education Act which made rate payers responsible for the maintenance of religious teaching in all day schools in England. Champness refused to pay because he saw it as supporting the 'preistcraft' of the Church of England. His goods were confiscated on two occasions by bailiffs for non-payment. In July 1904 he was committed to Leicester jail for three days, Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.302-310.

²² *Joyful News*, 11 October 1888, p.1.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Joyful News*, 1 November 1888, p.1.

Atkinson, of Tredegar,²⁵ had begun a small similar work, 'but we feel there ought to be at least fifty Homes where, in large or small numbers, these men should be fitted for the task of saving the villages'.²⁶

The work had grown and the Home Mission Committee recommended that he devote his whole time to the *Joyful News* Mission. His report on the decision suggests that the committee was reluctant but in fact Champness had earlier been offered the possibility of release from the work of circuit responsibilities. 'The Committee determined to recommend to the Conference that we should be released from Circuit life at the next Conference and thus have time to develop the "Joyful News" Mission...We have come to the conclusion to take a larger house, and to lay ourselves out for doing a greater work than ever for village Methodism.'²⁷

The massive development in the work during 1888 and 1889 was caused in major part by the training and appointment of female evangelists. The effect was to increase from fifty-five to eighty people in the list of *Joyful News* evangelists of whom thirteen were overseas, and eleven were *Joyful News* female evangelists.²⁸

These various developments were not always smooth or welcomed, for in March 1889 Champness was having to defend himself against the charge that the *Joyful News* evangelists would undermine the ministry of the local preachers. The Rev James Ernest Clapham was most anxious that 'no work done by the "Joyful News" Agents should take the place of voluntary labour.'

²⁵ Tredegar in South Wales near Merthyr Tydfil. Tredegar Ebenezer, Coronation Street was a significant Wesleyan Chapel seating 302. Here the Rev Samuel Atkinson MA sought to establish a work similar to Champness. No further mention is made of him.

²⁶ *Joyful News*, 1 November 1888, p.1.

²⁷ *Joyful News*, 13 December 1888, p.1.

²⁸ *Joyful News*, 7 February 1889, p.2.

Champness agreed with this but, as he did not consider his evangelists were undertaking the same ministry, he therefore readily agreed.²⁹

The ability of Champness to run the *Joyful News* home, the newspaper and many other publications, and to administer evangelists and missionaries, shows a man of considerable stamina as well as vision, but the mid 1890s was a difficult period for him. The missionary controversy in May 1890 had been a real blow to Champness's hopes for the missionary work and one he felt deeply.³⁰ In 1894 he had more evangelists than at any previous time, 115 in all, but it was the following year that he had his financial blow and dismissed sixty evangelists.

The strategy for evangelism was distilled by Champness in 1888 in his widely distributed pamphlet, *Shall Methodism Attack the World on 'Joyful News' Lines?*³¹ Champness contrasted the many 'loud calls for help'³² which are coming to him from 'home and abroad',³³ with the reticence of the Church to respond; 'We see that our church is not occupying all the ground that is open to her.'³⁴ Champness was proud of his own achievements and suggested that: 'since John Wesley's day, there has been nothing in which he would have taken a deeper interest than in the *Joyful News* movement.'³⁵ Therefore he proposed that the plan he has adopted for the *Joyful News* Mission is one which the whole church should support; 'Has the time come for a vigorous and ever-growing advance? If so, is the plan we have adopted the one that commends itself to the

²⁹ *Joyful News*, 28 March 1889, p.1.

³⁰ See Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.252-256. This includes the letter he wrote thirteen years after the incidents of the controversy in 1903, to be published after his death.

³¹ Thomas Champness, *Shall Methodism Attack the World on 'Joyful News' Lines?* (Rochdale: *Joyful News* Book Depot, January 1888), a 16 page pamphlet priced at 2/6 per 100.

³² *Shall Methodism Attack the world on 'Joyful News' Lines*, p.1.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Champness, *Shall Methodism Attack*, p.4.

judgement and enterprise of the Methodist people?’³⁶ Chadwick refers to the booklet in his *Cliff College Report* in 1930: ‘The plan was a kind of mixture of the China Inland Mission and the Church Army, with suggestions borrowed from D.L. Moody and General Booth.’³⁷

This is a seven-point plan. Firstly: ‘To be the Ally and not the Rival of Existing Agencies.’³⁸ Champness affirmed the work of a large number of ‘devoted and earnest ministers’³⁹ both at home and overseas. His suggestion is that these ‘self-denying and godly men’⁴⁰ should have lay agents who would not be so ‘well educated or make so good an appearance – men who go to work knowing that they must rough it, and in the hand of the Carpenter of Nazareth, be more like the axe than the plane.’⁴¹ Moreover, before publication he had gained the approval of the General Secretaries of both the Home and Foreign Mission Departments.⁴² His suggestion was that every ordained minister in the foreign work should have ten such helpers.⁴³ These agents would be under the direction of the minister but the lay agents would focus their work so that ‘the pioneering would be going on continuously’.⁴⁴

Secondly: ‘To Use our own Sons ourselves, instead of letting other agencies have them.’⁴⁵ The argument he used was that many who are ‘converted among the Methodists’⁴⁶ were being employed by the Salvation Army and the Church Army and with them working in the church it would be

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ *Cliff College Report*, 1930, pp.16-7.

³⁸ Champness, *Shall Methodism Attack*, p.5.

³⁹ Ibid, p.5.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid, p.6.

⁴³ Ibid, p.5.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.6.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.7.

'very much richer in workers than she is.'⁴⁷ He proposed that Methodism should use training now offered by the *Joyful News* Mission, an 'outlet for labour such as has never been known before.'⁴⁸ He hoped to recruit people who have 'already been useful'⁴⁹ and who with training 'should have the opportunity of proving themselves to be worthy to be used as pastors and evangelists.'⁵⁰

Thirdly: 'To hold out no premium to Unworthy Motives, because no Salary will be given.'⁵¹ He was critical of some of the admissions process of other missionary organisations. They had succumbed to the 'most common of crazes'⁵² where a person who 'fails at everything he tried...ought therefore to be a missionary.'⁵³ Moreover he printed the copy of the 'regulations'⁵⁴ which he sent in advance to people who expressed an interest in being a *Joyful News* evangelist.⁵⁵ There is a characteristic bluntness in the demands and the

⁴⁷ Ibid. He maintained that, 'If every man employed by them who was converted among the Methodists were to leave them to-morrow, there would be gaps not very easy to fill!'

⁴⁸ Champness, *Shall Methodism Attack*, p.7.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid, p.8.

⁵² Ibid, p.7.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p.8.

⁵⁵ The letter is headed "'Joyful News" Home, Rochdale' and states: 'My Dear Sir, Before you make up your mind to become a "Joyful News" Evangelist, I should like you to consider the following particulars. Think the matter over and take advice with your friends before you decide. I will state the thing as clearly as I can, that you may see what is to be said on both sides.

1. I give no salary.
2. You must be prepared to rough it, clean your own boots, dig the garden, carry in coals, chop wood, carry parcels, sell "Joyful News", in a word, do as I wish you.
3. If after giving you a fair trial, I find you will not suit me, you will have to go. Several men have returned home in consequence of not showing fitness for the work.
4. If my money fail you would have to return home, as I *must not run into debt*.
5. If you do not like me or the work, you will not need to give notice; all you will have to do is to put on your hat and go.
6. If you would like to come and see the house, and talk with the men who are here before you decide, I shall be very glad.
7. If any person or circuit offers you a situation as missionary, either in a circuit or elsewhere, I shall be well pleased for you to accept it, only you break your connection with me then. You cannot take a salary from any one and be my servant.
8. I shall find you a home, food, clothes – in a word – all you need.
9. When you come to me I shall give you a pound to put in your pocket to pay railway fares, &c., only you must keep an account and show it to me when you want more money.

expectations he had of his evangelists. He wanted to be able to direct both their studies and their pattern of ministry, and often send a postcard to the evangelists informing them that they were to proceed to another circuit with immediate effect.⁵⁶ He also wanted to make sure that he did not attract into the ranks of the *Joyful News* evangelists those who saw it as a 'comfortable livelihood'. As he indicated in the pamphlet, 'one thing is certain, that with such regulations as these there is not the same temptation.'⁵⁷ Notwithstanding this brusque statement he had a real pastoral concern for his evangelists, writing to each one every week. In his letters he spoke to them with great affection, 'Cheer up, dear lad'.⁵⁸ Eliza Champness indicates that when prospective students arrived at the *Joyful News* home they discovered a man of kind disposition, different to the brusque letter.⁵⁹ This third point is similar to the fifth which he states as: 'To secure none but efficient men, because they are obliged to retire if, after a fair trial, they are not successful.'⁶⁰ The test of effectiveness related to evangelistic ability; 'Go back to business, you may make money, but you have lost the power to win souls to Christ...if the salt has lost its savour, must we keep it on the table?'⁶¹

As I very much dislike my men in any way aping the minister, I shall require you to wear a black tie both on Sunday and week-day.

I remain, very truly yours, THOMAS CHAMPNESS.'

Champness, *Shall Methodism Attack*, pp.8-9.

⁵⁶ A postcard in the College archives dated 19 January 1890, simply carries the following instruction: 'I am sending someone else to Brighton, but I want you at the home you name. Kindest wishes.' It is signed with his characteristic 'TC'.

⁵⁷ Champness, *Shall Methodism Attack*, p.9.

⁵⁸ *Letter*, to Ernest Cooper 1 July 1891. Similarly 'My dear Son' on the 21 September 1891 and 4 October 1891. The affectionate phrases begin 10 June 1891, 'My dear Son' following the death of William Argent in China.

⁵⁹ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.251, He made himself personally acquainted with his men. On arrival at the Home, or as soon as possible afterwards, the newcomer had to go to the study and be interviewed. Questions asked with a kindly interest, sympathy, and a loving desire to help, made the young man feel that he had a friend, and it was rarely indeed that the master and the 'apprentice' failed to appreciate each other.'

⁶⁰ Champness, *Shall Methodism Attack*, pp.11-12.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.12.

Fourthly: 'To send to the foreign field only those who have proved themselves equal to it by the work they have done in England, and the economical way they have lived.'⁶² His experience in West Africa had taught him that survival took people of particular 'physical strength and mental vigour'.⁶³ Most of the two pages devoted to this point are illustrations commending an financial frugality as a wise and effective way of engaging in missionary work. Moreover they should be flexible and adaptable in their approach to the work, which he referred to as 'get-on-able-ness'.⁶⁴

Sixthly: 'To pass into the ranks of the Ministry those who have proved themselves fit for the work.'⁶⁵ Champness viewed the training and ministry experience of the *Joyful News* as being a stern test of character for ministry; 'The weeding out would be less costly than the present process, and certainly would be more thorough.'⁶⁶ He was not suggesting all candidates should 'pass through such a probation',⁶⁷ but he recommended that 'it would be well if the majority did.'⁶⁸ Champness would not allow *Joyful News* agents to candidate for the ministry from the Rochdale Circuit. Those wishing to candidate had to do so through the circuits which had observed the ministry of the *Joyful News* evangelists and 'who have seen his daily walk and can testify to his usefulness.'⁶⁹

The issue of finance was present at a number of places in the pamphlet and his seventh and final point was intended to ensure that people understood that

⁶² Ibid, p.10.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p.11. It was his commitment to frugality which would bring him into conflict with the Missionary Society in 1890.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.12.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.13.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

the *Joyful News* Mission was not to be a rival of the 'existing agencies'.⁷⁰ It was: 'To depend upon the unsolicited gifts of God's people, so as not to interfere with subscriptions for connexional purposes.'⁷¹ He indicated an indebtedness to Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission because not asking for money nor making a collection at the meetings was 'sound principle'.⁷²

Champness received criticism for his vision. In a private diary, he wrote, 'I am feeling very much the conduct of the ministers. I have to smart for this effort we are making to train men to do the work which some ministers cannot do and will not do. But the work of God must be done, and if I can raise up men to do it, I shall, whatever it costs me...I have a joy set before *me*, and I shall win it – the joy of seeing the work well done, and in the villages of England and Africa hundreds of men doing the work of God on *Joyful News* Lines.'⁷³ On the foreign field there were difficulties which led Champness to the conclusion that there, in the work of the Methodist Church, the plan could not be expanded. However for twenty years *Joyful News* evangelism was worked in Britain on the lines laid down by Champness.⁷⁴

Champness was so convinced of the need for such training and opportunity for placing evangelists, that in the conclusion to this *Letter to John Wesley's Children*⁷⁵ he called for 'at least ten such places'.⁷⁶ He did not wish to undertake all the necessary training and would have welcomed 'with delight and love' the thought that others might do so.⁷⁷ Champness was so convinced of the

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.14. He referred to the existing agencies 'Missionary Societies' and meant in particular the Home and Foreign Missions.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid. See however the section on Finance and Faith, pp.136-38.

⁷³ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.241-2.

⁷⁴ *Cliff College Report*, 1930, pp.16-18.

⁷⁵ Champness, *Shall Methodism Attack*, front cover and p.3.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.16.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.16

divine direction and supreme importance of the mission's work that if the voluntary funding was withdrawn then it was God's way of indicating that the Methodist church should undertake the work; 'We are persuaded that, should the Master whom we serve no longer put it into the hearts of His servants to help us, it is because He means the Connexion to adopt the principle, and to have a place as well suited for the training of lay workers as are the colleges, which have done – and are doing – their work efficiently in the training of ministers.'⁷⁸

Champness followed the approach of the *Joyful News* lines through his ministry and when he adopted the work of George Clegg in Halifax as the *Joyful News* Home for Female Evangelists he announced it would be run on *Joyful News* lines.⁷⁹ Throughout all his ministry the primary objective was to train evangelists who would bring people to faith in Christ. That had been his desire as a young missionary and since 1883 he had been able to pass on that same desire to his evangelists.

Mary Jane Smith, who became one of Champness's evangelists, attributed her conversion on 30 January 1889 to the ministry of *Joyful News* evangelists. In her diary she recalled: 'Serous thoughts had filled my mind for sometime and the spirit of God opened my eyes to see my state by nature through the reading of the Bible. I seemed to have been led on step by step. This night in question I had attended a meeting conducted by two J.N.E.s. Not anything they had said touched me but the influence of that meeting worked upon my feeling and I cried yet knew not what for. I spoke to no one of my feeling but went home and I cried to God for mercy all my past life came before me and I felt wretched and lost. I cried to God in my distress what must I do to be saved. And God opened

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ *Joyful News*, 29 March 1888, p.1.

my eyes to see that I must cast my all at the feet of Christ and accept him as my only Saviour. This I did to the best of my ability and between tears and cries. My heart was filled with such peace and joy and I knew that the sins of the past were all forgiven and that I was born of God. The change was so great that never to this day have I doubted it. The Bible was a new book to me and desires for the pleasures of the world all vanished and to follow after that which was good became my delight.’⁸⁰

Smith indicated in her diary that she had thought of another avenue and that to follow in this path as an evangelist was a ‘heavy cross’. However the thought that ‘souls were perishing without a hope beyond the grave gave me no rest.’⁸¹ At the front of her diary she wrote the following verse:

The love of God doth me constrain,
To seek the wandering sons of men;
With tears, entreaties, cries to save,
And snatch them from Hell’s gaping grave.⁸²

Thomas Cook, successor to Champness and the first Principal of Cliff College, was from the beginning an effective lay evangelist.⁸³ For this reason as an accepted candidate for the Wesleyan Methodist ministry, he did not attend theological college but was offered immediately the position of Connexional Evangelist. The then General Secretary of the Home Mission Department, the Rev Alexander Macaulay, wrote to inform him of his appointment, ‘While you are favoured with evangelistic success, such as you record, I think you should

⁸⁰ Mary Jane Smith, *Diary*, 2 May 1892.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Title page of her diary begun 2 May 1892.

⁸³ H.T. Smart, *Thomas Cook’s Early Ministry* (London: Charles Kelly, 1892), p.72

continue to go from place to place.’⁸⁴ Thomas Cook, in fact, holds a unique position in the Wesleyan Methodist Ministry. From his acceptance as a candidate in 1882 he had only two appointments, as Connexional Evangelist from 1882 and then as first Principal of Cliff in 1903 until his death in 1912.

Reports and advertisements of Cook’s missions appeared in the *Joyful News*.⁸⁵ When in January 1888 Cook and the Rev Gregory Mantle began a new evangelistic initiative, ‘Out and Out’ Champness carried an extended article in the form of a letter from Cook and Mantle which set out both the need and the optimism of the project and that era:

Perhaps never in the history of our Church had we more Evangelistic power amongst us than we have today; but if we cannot keep in the love of Christ those we win for Him, as it has been clearly demonstrated we have not been doing the last few years, of what avail is all our effort? Could anything be more paralysing to Christian faith and activity than to know that we are losing our members as fast as we can gain them? It is surely time the facts of our leakage were faced and the question carefully and patiently considered, whether something more cannot be done to keep those we gather and to establish them in the faith. This is unquestionably the problem of the hour.

Profoundly moved by the conviction that some remedy should be attempted, we have given ourselves to prayer that we might be led to adopt some course that would contribute at least towards the better

⁸⁴ Ibid. The Conference had in 1880 agreed that a Connexional-Evangelists should be appointed. The Rev Dr Bowden considered this, ‘a departure carefully considered and adopted by the Conference of 1880, but delayed until the providence of God gave the right man to do the work of a Connexional Evangelist.’ *Methodist Recorder* November 1882.

⁸⁵ There was an advertisement of Cooks meetings in the first edition, *Joyful News* 22 February 1883, p.1, and on 29 November 1883 a picture of the ‘The Rev. Thomas Cook, Connexional Evangelist’ appeared in the *Joyful News*, p.3.

conservation of the fruit of our Evangelistic labours. The formation of the "OUT AND OUT BAND" is the outcome of our deliberations.⁸⁶

The main purposes of 'Out and Out' were to nurture new Christians, to organise meetings, promote bible reading, prayer, evangelism and to search for holiness. The organisation was supported by a monthly magazine published by the Marshall Brothers, London, a well known non-denominational evangelical publisher. The *Joyful News* carried information about the missions.⁸⁷

Cook was both an evangelist and a preacher of holiness. We know little of his strategy except that he was deeply committed to winning people to faith. During his preaching tour of South Africa between April and November 1892, there is evidence that he was aware of social issues. He visited all the main centres, preaching at 220 services. Cook was distressed by the 'prejudice he found existing at that time on the part of the Europeans against the natives'.⁸⁸ In Durban he took the considerable risk of holding a service for black South Africans in what was known as the 'European Church', 'his belief being that since so much blessing had been received there would be no opposition on the part of the Whites to the Zulus coming to their church'.⁸⁹ Cook was determined to take the service in this way, which made clear his view of the injustice he saw. Reflecting on the tour he remarked, 'We would fain hope that the prejudice we have just named has abated...but we wish to say that as far as we can judge the future of South Africa depends upon the success the Churches may have in wiping out racial prejudices and feuds, and in welding together in

⁸⁶ *Joyful News*, 5 January 1888, p.4. Broadbelt served as a Probationer Minister with Mantle at the Deptford Mission in S.E. London, and undoubtedly learned from this entrepreneurial and authoritarian Superintendent.

⁸⁷ *Joyful News*, 28 July 1904, p.2.

⁸⁸ Smart, *The Life*, p.124.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.119.

one compact body the heterogeneous elements that form the population of South Africa'.⁹⁰ This commitment to social change is not found in any of his other writings, or biographies of his life.

His reports of a tour of Australia⁹¹ in 1894 reveal his practice at evangelistic services. He invited people to respond to the message by attending an 'after meeting' and normally many people did.⁹² In the 'after-meeting' men counselled men and women the women enquirers. Each worker was 'adorned with a rosette, the aim being to prevent undesirable workers from entering the room.'⁹³

Normally after the sermon congregations were used to a time for quiet, and so Cook's method of the 'after meeting' was considered dramatically different. Jessie Cook participated fully in this ministry and hundreds responded. The New Zealand Conference in the Pastoral Letter to the British Conference gave thanks for 'this time of refreshing of a special character'.⁹⁴ Thomas had difficulty in speaking in the official courts of the Church⁹⁵ but as an evangelist his mission was unparalleled and he considered it a time of revival, thus the title of his book, *Days of God's Right Arm*.

Cook considered that though some people had a special gift as an evangelist all preachers should look for what he called 'results' by which he

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.124.

⁹¹ Cook left shortly after his marriage to Jessie Foster, for a preaching tour of Australia and New Zealand. The report of the tour was published as *Days of God's Right Hand* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1896).

⁹² *Cornish Telegraph* Thursday 18 April 1889 reported, 'The enquiry rooms present a lively feature, large numbers of both sexes finding their way there at the after meetings.'

⁹³ Cook, *Days of God's Right Arm*, p.215. A report of evangelistic services in Australia.

⁹⁴ H.T. Smart, *The Life of Thomas Cook, Evangelist*, p.144.

⁹⁵ Cook as the visitor to the Methodist Conferences in Australia was invited to preach. Evidently he was uncomfortable in this role and Smart comments, 'Mr.Cook had no great sermons though he had many useful ones.' Smart, *The Life of Thomas Cook, Evangelist* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1913), p.144.

meant converts, 'some should be won and others helped and blessed'.⁹⁶ He was aware that the numbers of converts would vary according the preachers' 'different temperaments and constitutions' but in every case there should be 'results if we are to make full proof of our ministry.'⁹⁷ He illustrates the point that 'The old rule "gifts, grace and fruit," must never be departed from', by noting that a farmer always planting and never reaping; a lawyer always pleading and never gaining a verdict would soon know they had mistaken their calling.⁹⁸

The distinct impression from Cook's writing is that though he did not criticise biblical exposition or Christian discourse, there was a higher purpose to preaching and that is the evangelistic sermon. 'In pulpit oratory there are three elements...which may control: the text, the subject or theme, and the object or end aimed at. If the *text* rule, the result is an exposition or exegesis; if the *subject*, an essay or discourse; if the *object* to be attained be steadily kept in view, and control the disposition of the parts and the expression, we get properly a sermon.'⁹⁹

He linked this to holiness – 'Successful anglers know that Mark Guy Pearse's rule "Keep yourself out of sight," must be observed if fish are to be caught, and to win souls for Christ the suppression and eclipse of self are equally necessary...The people must leave our services saying not "What a preacher," but "What a Saviour!"'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Thomas Cook, *Soul-Saving Preaching*, London: Charles H. Kelly, undated (The material was first given as a series of lectures to students at Cliff and therefore is dated after 1904), p.9.

⁹⁷ Cook, *Soul-Saving Preaching*, p.9.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p.16.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p.19.

There is a mixture of piety and pentecostalism in those things which Cook considered necessary factors for the preacher. On the one hand he gave a call to personal devotion and waiting on God, which he referred to as 'silent times', 'when we can commune with our hearts and be still.'¹⁰¹ There is the echo here of the spirituality of the quietist, 'We must give God time to speak. We must allow the heated cogs of life to cool. We must mend our nets. We must adjust the focus of spiritual vision. We must receive from God before we can give to others. Before we can move them He must move us. We need the deepened emotions, the strengthened convictions, and the clearer vision of the Mount to prepare us to carry comfort and healing to the sin-stricken multitude at the mountain's base.'¹⁰²

Cook also pressed the need for what he called 'Pentecostal Power'. He saw what he called the baptism of the Holy Spirit as 'a sort of initiatory rite to the life of Pentecostal service and victory'. This is not a term he used in his earlier book *New Testament Holiness* and he is espousing a phrase coming from the 1904 revivals in Wales.¹⁰³ He linked the effect of this second blessing holiness teaching to the divinely bestowed gift of the evangelists: 'They had received that Divine enduement which is called *unction* – the crowning gift of the Holy Spirit for service. It is neither pathos, nor eloquence, nor psychological power, nor mental force: but a subtle, mysterious, unaccountable, and almost irresistible influence which God alone can bestow.'¹⁰⁴

The work of the evangelists at Cliff gained a good reputation under his leadership and they were invited by circuits 'where for financial reasons

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p.97.

¹⁰² Cook, *Soul Saving Preaching*, p.96.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.89. See Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, pp.196-7, for the impact of the Welsh revival.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.90.

additional ministers cannot be maintained'.¹⁰⁵ This is not what Cook had in mind for his evangelists, but it showed the acceptance by the Connexion of the work being done at Cliff as early as 1909.

When he came to the College Chadwick had a well thought out philosophy of evangelism which came from the experiences of his early ministry and which were in due time distilled by Brice into four principles.¹⁰⁶ In fact in the 1930 *Report* to the Conference Chadwick summarised the seven points of Champness's and commended them to the church.¹⁰⁷ He was aware that the Church had not collaborated with Champness: 'Methodism never really took to the scheme, though many Circuits welcomed the work of the Evangelists. Champness received criticism for his vision.'¹⁰⁸ Despite this commendation of the strategy of one of his predecessors Chadwick is better known for what became known as his four-fold strategy. Chadwick's strategy was one which he attributed to his time in the Rossendale valley at Stacksteads. In the special winter edition of the *Methodist Recorder* in 1895 he wrote an article, 'How I became a Missioner'.¹⁰⁹ Within the article he listed three factors. The first was the importance of seeking and finding the experience of scriptural holiness for effective ministry as an evangelist.¹¹⁰ The second was to seek the conversion of a person 'whose brutality and wickedness were a bye-word'¹¹¹ in the local community. He wrote and spoke about this illustrating the miraculous change like that of Lazarus who was raised to life. In a comment to ministers he wrote:

¹⁰⁵ Minutes of the Committee of Management, 1 December 1909.

¹⁰⁶ J.I. Brice, *The Crowd for Christ* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), pp.96-98.

¹⁰⁷ *Cliff College Anniversary Report* 1930, p.17.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.18.

¹⁰⁹ Samuel Chadwick, 'How I became a Missioner' in *The Methodist Recorder Winter Number*, Christmas 1897, pp.43-7.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.44.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p.45.

'Do you want to know how to fill empty chapels? Here is your answer: Get your Lazarus.'¹¹² In the article Chadwick then indicated his third point that 'conversions not only bring prosperity to the Church; they solve social problems.'¹¹³ He did not have a deliberate strategy for social change or community development, but he had seen communities change. He related that in the Rossendale valley the neighbourhood changed so radically that the Chief Constable wrote expressing his gratitude for the change that had come over the place.¹¹⁴ He concludes the brief section on this point: 'Environment is but the shadow of character, and the surest way to change the shadow is to begin with the man. Some of these people have prospered since the day they were saved, and they and their families are now filling positions of honour and trust.'¹¹⁵

This approach by Chadwick to social change was not unusual and was found in Wesley's theology and practice. The effects of the absence of a Christian social theology, can be seen in John Wesley: 'He attacked particular abuses and instigated some voluntary social improvement efforts, but his social theology was merely individualism writ large. So it came about that social and economic upheavals, which we call the Industrial Revolution, produced amongst Christians some inchoate protests and some nostalgic wishes for a past situation; but no theological critique, and that at a time when an atomistic social and economic theory was being treated as the law of God.'¹¹⁶

At the time of Chadwick's death these elements had been given a clearer focus. Three 'working principles' were identified by Norman Dunning as he

¹¹² Ibid, p.46.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Chadwick, 'How I became a Missioner', p.46.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ronald Preston, *Church and Society in the Late Twentieth Century* (London: SCM, 1983), p.16.

wrote a eulogy about the life of Chadwick.¹¹⁷ The working principles are, firstly, having told the story of the conversion of a 'a sinner so notorious, offensive and hopeless, that the people would be compelled to see the power of God',¹¹⁸ the first working principle was discovered: 'The way to fill a chapel is to raise the dead'.¹¹⁹ The second related to Chadwick's involvement in the Temperance movement. He had particular successes in the Rossendale valley and in Edinburgh opposed applications by local brewers to open five new public houses. He was criticised by the barrister for the brewers, suggesting he should be about the work of the shepherding flock. Chadwick retorted, 'Don't you trouble about the sheep, I am after the wolf today.'¹²⁰ Dunning made much of this in his book about Chadwick but Chadwick was never the ardent campaigner against drink which Champness was throughout his life. The second working principle was, 'Since that day I have counted it part of my sacred calling to hunt the wolf.'¹²¹ The third working principle came from his time in Leeds among situations of poverty and need where he found, 'In the presence of hunger, sickness and distraint, the Gospel seems to be a cruel mockery.'¹²² Chadwick had discovered in the work among the poor that 'the Spiritual Church must be supplemented by a ministry of social sympathy and compassion.'¹²³

Brice described them as four principles which shaped Chadwick's famous ministry:

1. That the essentials of evangelistic power are sanctified personality, certitude of faith, and a passion for God.

¹¹⁷ *Joyful News*, 27 October 1932, p.1.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Joyful News*, 27 October 1932, p.2.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

2. That the way to fill empty churches is to raise the dead, i.e., get dramatic conversions.
3. That it is an important part of the evangelist's sacred calling to hunt the wolf, i.e. to make war upon organised evil.
4. That the spiritual Church must be supplemented by a ministry of social compassion.

Evangelism was always viewed as one part of the whole of the Church's mission and the holistic nature of Chadwick's view of this appears in a series of articles in the summer of 1907 as he prepared to come to Cliff as a tutor. He considered the importance of evangelism in the life of the Church's work and referred to the nature of the open air evangelism,¹²⁴ promotion of holiness,¹²⁵ class meetings,¹²⁶ Church membership,¹²⁷ the nature of ministry,¹²⁸ and evangelistic preaching.¹²⁹

The practice of evangelism was changed at the College by two experiences which led to team missions and trekking. The first was the mission in Chesterfield at Easter 1922, which years later Chadwick would refer to as a 'daring experiment', following which Cliff promoted the importance of town-wide missions with large teams.¹³⁰ An invitation came unsought from the Chesterfield churches and clergy for a mission over Easter 1922, which formed the impetus for what would become a significant development in the evangelistic strategy of the College. Chadwick appointed Dunning as leader,

¹²⁴ *Joyful News*, 13 June 1907, p.1.

¹²⁵ *Joyful News*, 20 June 1907, p.1.

¹²⁶ *Joyful News*, 1 August 1907, p.1.

¹²⁷ *Joyful News*, 9 May 1907, p.1.

¹²⁸ *Joyful News*, 25 July 1907, p.1.

¹²⁹ *Joyful News*, 8 August 1907, p.1.

¹³⁰ *Joyful News*, 27 April 1922, p.2, carries reports of the mission, and has a 'Stop press', 'Over 1,000 people converted this weekend. Decided for Central Meetings to be continued another week.'

'with absolute control over all the Evangelists'.¹³¹ This was the first time a tutor had overall responsibility for the evangelistic work, and Chadwick considered it of great benefit. Therefore from this year Dunning or Lambert were in charge of the evangelism from the College.

Though Chesterfield was near the College, all the students and evangelists were housed in the locality allowing them to give their whole time and strength to the work. Services were held many times a day in the Churches and in the open air, with every house in the town visited three times in ten days. On the final Saturday night a 'Procession of Witness' many hundreds of yards long walked through the streets singing and inviting people to a late service. The crowd filled four large chapels to overflowing. The local theatre had been booked for meetings, which overflowed with people. Memorable scenes occurred in the marketplace with scores of men and women openly professing themselves seekers for Christ. In all upwards of 2,500 persons gave in their names as converts. When the present writer moved to Cliff in 1983 there were still people who recalled these remarkable meetings sixty years earlier.¹³²

The following year teams were appointed to work with the churches of Rotherham and much later the Sunderland mission was greatly influential.¹³³ The advent of team missions and trekking went hand in hand with the developments, which led to the treks. 1922 was the year that sealed the idea of students and evangelists having times of concentrated evangelistic mission as an integral part of the College course.

¹³¹ *Cliff College Report 1929*, p.17.

¹³² Mrs Bottoms, who had made her Christian commitment at that time spoke, in conversation in autumn 1983, of men kneeling in the market square on that Saturday evening. See also the *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund 1922*, p.73.

¹³³ *Joyful News*, 31 March 1932, p.6, 'Revival Sweeps the Town! 1,000 Converts in Four Days'. Also 7 April 1932, p.2. A full page report from the various centres in where the whole College, led by Lambert and Dunning, had been on mission at centres in Sunderland.

The College was self-consciously a training ground for evangelists in this period, with Dunning and Lambert as two of the leading thinkers about practical mission. 'We train Evangelists, that was the whole aim at the beginning and is our aim still...and all our work is subject to the demands of Evangelism'.¹³⁴ In a paragraph reproduced in the Home Mission Fund *Report*, Lambert recalls that 'Cliff exists to train evangelists. For this purpose it was founded, and to this end it continues. Its unique mission is to inspire the evangelistic passion of the New Testament, that is the Pentecostal order, and to instruct and equip for evangelistic service that shall be effective in this day and generation.'¹³⁵ The point is emphasised in the Home Mission Fund *Report* to the Conference: 'We train Evangelists. We send forth Evangelists. We pioneer Evangelism.'¹³⁶

It was this experience which confirmed both the work in teams and the purpose of evangelistic endeavour. 'We shall organise Team Missions again but they will be for purely evangelistic ends'.¹³⁷ In fact, Norman Dunning clearly considered that the development of team missions had a very positive affect on Methodism. 'During the last decade, the Team Mission did much to restore to Methodism her spiritual vitality.'¹³⁸ Dunning felt that this was a method of doing evangelistic work which was acceptable to the Church and effective in winning people to Christ. Again in his reports he is at pains to stress the primacy of Cliff in all things evangelistic, 'The first Team Mission was organised from Cliff, and conducted by Cliff men.'¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Dunning in a letter 'Beneath the Southern Cross', in *Joyful News*, 3 May 1928, p.4.

¹³⁵ *Joyful News*, 28 April 1932, p.3. This was the Cliff Anniversary Report and this paragraph produced in the Home Mission Department Report to the Conference.

¹³⁶ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund 1929*, p.75.

¹³⁷ *Cliff College Report 1929*, p.17.

¹³⁸ *Cliff College Report 1930*, p.29.

¹³⁹ *Cliff College Report 1930*, p.29.

There were problems with large teams which were acknowledged as early as 1929, though for the next seventy years the large team was to have a significant impact in many communities. One problem identified was that 'the Churches were not ready for large accessions of converts',¹⁴⁰ and efforts by the local church members to accommodate and feed a large group of young men 'dissipated their power.'¹⁴¹ Given all the other comments by both Dunning and Lambert about the vital importance of winning people for Christ, it is likely that the real reason was that churches were not ready. Nevertheless teamwork remained, working in the churches. It was complemented by the teams of trekkers who were detached from Church organisation as 'their appeal is to those outside the Churches.'¹⁴²

The Wesleyan Methodist Conferences leading up to the Union in 1932 were times when the various departments placed their own issues as key for the coming new Methodist Church. In 1929 both the Primitive Methodists at Tunstall and the Wesleyan Methodists in Plymouth presented significant reports and proposals about evangelism.¹⁴³ Chadwick wrote a lead article in advance of the report being discussed and the following week printed the report in full.¹⁴⁴ He was clearly attempting to influence the debate, and placed evangelism as the first priority of the emerging united church. He challenged the apathy of Methodism about evangelism; called for a return to the original purposes of Methodism, of which evangelism was one, and commended the Primitive Methodists for putting 'evangelism at the forefront'. He stressed the *Report's* call for Methodism to be a missionary church both at home and abroad, and

¹⁴⁰ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1929, p.76.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Joyful News*, 18 July 1929, p.1.

¹⁴⁴ *Joyful News*, 18, p.1, and 25 July 1929, p.1..

commented that the best way to ensure this was to preach Christian Perfection, which constrained Christians to share the good news. The real union of the churches would come in a shared 'passion of an evangel' and the lack of young people in the church would be resolved if the church engaged in evangelism. Evangelism would deal with the issues before the Conference in other reports, related to social reform, public morals and international relations. Indeed, evangelism, indicated Chadwick, with some powerful evidence, was the key to finance. He concluded the article by placing evangelism as the key to all the elements before the Conference: 'The agenda demonstrates on every page the need for a Revival of Religion, and calls the Church to seek the gift of Pentecost that we may be strong in the Lord to do exploits in His name.'¹⁴⁵

Chadwick was not only making a point about evangelism but, as a senior elder in the ministry, was calling for the coming United Church to make evangelism the key element for future strategy and to take the ministry of Cliff College seriously. It was the view of Chadwick's supporters that under his leadership, 'Cliff was the greatest force for evangelism in modern Methodism.'¹⁴⁶

The phrase 'Evangelise or Perish', a motto of the College, first occurs is at the turn of the 1930's. It was originally used publicly as the title of a booklet by the leading Methodist the Rev Dr J.E. Rattenbury, commenting about the uniting of the three Methodist Churches. "Whatever Evangelism is for other churches," this pamphlet declares, "it is essential and vital for Methodism. A Methodism

¹⁴⁵ *Joyful News*, 18 July 1929, p.1.

¹⁴⁶ *Joyful News*, 17 May 1934, p.2. Dunning wrote the phrase as he left Cliff. Maybe it was veiled criticism of Chadwick's successor or more likely, sadness that he himself had not been made Principal. In the same edition Lambert and Stringer speak of the of present and future of evangelism at the College. Dunning used the title 'Adventures in Evangelism', but he could only look to the past.

which does not evangelise may have names and numbers, but it lacks meaning'.¹⁴⁷ Apparently a mission across London was planned to take place at the same time as the Uniting Conference, with the Rev Ensor Walters and Rattenbury in charge of it. The phrase was taken up in the *Joyful News* above the list of evangelists' engagements from September 1934 until the war years, to emphasise the importance of the evangelists' ministry.¹⁴⁸ It was to become a real watchword for Broadbelt and appeared on the 1946 edition of the *Cliff College Choruses*.

In October 1932 the Cliff Committee, following Chadwick's death, set up in thanksgiving to God for his life and ministry the 'Chadwick Evangelistic Fund', and Joseph Rank, who was Circuit Steward when Broadbelt was at the Tooting Mission, gave £20,000.¹⁴⁹ In the early spring of 1933 Broadbelt linked his ministry with the legacy of Chadwick, as all the tutors believed they had to at that time, and then indicated that because of the recently formed 'Chadwick Memorial Fund for Evangelism, he has been able to 'pull to earth the castle the late Principal built in the air' with a new strategy entitled 'Cliff Evangelism and the Circuits'.¹⁵⁰ What for Chadwick had been a vision he, Broadbelt, would now deliver.

Broadbelt, always the entrepreneur, wanted to establish the evangelists as an order in the church. He decided to bring the uniform of the trekkers and apply it to the evangelists. He supplied the evangelists with their grey double-breasted suits, overcoats, and peaked caps all with a 'C.E.' badge, Cliff Evangelist, sewn on them. They looked just like the uniform of the Church Army. Ben Mackay

¹⁴⁷ *Joyful News*, 29 January 1931, p.1. In fact Rev Ensor Walters, first coined the term.

¹⁴⁸ *Joyful News*, 27 September 1934, p.6.

¹⁴⁹ *Joyful News*, 26 July 1956, p.1. An article in which Broadbelt, then editor of the *Joyful News* reflected on the work of the evangelists since 1932.

¹⁵⁰ *Joyful News*, 16 February 1933, p.4.

recalls: 'As evangelists, we were supplied with grey double breasted suits with an embroidered badge, one on each lapel in light grey, with C.E. in the centre. The idea was taken, I think, from the Church Army uniform. There were also peak caps with the same design on the front. I never wore mine, like many others on the staff.'¹⁵¹

A new strategy for evangelism was unfolded in which twenty evangelists were available for invitation by circuits to conduct evangelistic missions over two weeks, including three Sundays.¹⁵² The first week was to prepare the church, and then 'the mission proper' to begin on the second Sunday and run across the third weekend, 'finishing with a great rally on the Monday with a visit of some member of the Cliff staff.'¹⁵³ They did not have long between missions, 'As was customary, we rested for four days at Cliff before the next mission.'¹⁵⁴ This was the strategy for the winter months and then in the summer the evangelists became part of and led the trek teams. The College decided to engage in some longer stays for trek itinerary. Early in 1935 they publicised an offer to circuits of three, four or five days of 'intensive work at various chapels'.¹⁵⁵ This practice was found to be of benefit to the work and staying longer in certain places became more regular.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Ben Mackay, *A Tale that is Told*, p.302.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p.300.

¹⁵³ *Joyful News*, 16 February 1933, p.4.

¹⁵⁴ Ben Mackay, *A Tale that is Told*, p.337. After the opening of the new Chapel the old one was turned into a dormitory and returning evangelists slept there during their return to the College.

¹⁵⁵ *Joyful News*, 24 January 1935, p.6. He also announced that: 'the new "Joyful News" Open Air Cinema' would be available for the spring. He was always concerned to introduce new methods of popular communication of the gospel message, and Rank funded this. The evangelists and a cinematographer visited seaside towns in the summer and villages in the late spring and early autumn showing cartoons and a short religious film followed by an evangelistic message.

¹⁵⁶ *Joyful News*, 12 March 1936, p.6, 'Last year we tried the experiment of staying for longer weekends and sometimes giving a whole week to a circuit. The change answered splendidly. The influence of the services was cumulative and as they went from chapel to chapel in a circuit God honoured their testimony.'

They were not always welcomed partly because Methodism was not committed to evangelism and evangelists were easily caricatured. The Rev Leslie Weatherhead, a Cliff student in 1912-13, and an influential minister, represented the view of many about evangelists as follows: 'An evangelist is a man with two suitcases and twenty sermons drooping with age and dripping with emotion, leaving poor ministers to clear up the mess'.¹⁵⁷

Broadbelt had spent much of his ministry in the city centres and it is not surprising that he felt a commitment to work in the east end of Sheffield. 'We have taken over an old and derelict Chapel...(it) will provide us with a glorious opportunity for Aggressive Evangelism, we can put our theories to the test.' He set aside two evangelists 'Bros. Smith and Costain, who 'will give themselves to sacrificial service for the conversion of the people.'¹⁵⁸ The Hall was re-opened and dedicated on 29 December 1934.

In October 1936 there was a call for *Joyful News* readers to pray for the evangelists at 12 noon each day and encourage links between the supporters and the College evangelists. The work had grown under Broadbelt, mainly because of the funding from the 'Chadwick Memorial Evangelism Fund', and at that time he listed in the *Joyful News* forty-two evangelists.¹⁵⁹ They normally worked in pairs with the exception of Matthew Brown, W. Barrett, Tom Butler, P. Binnington and Joe Blinco.¹⁶⁰ The evangelists were mainly engaged on missions around the country but if they returned to the College when it was full of students they used the old Chapel, across Cliff Lane, as a dormitory. This

¹⁵⁷ Ben Mackay, *A Tale that is Told*, p.313 a quotation taken from the *Evening Standard*, 1936.

¹⁵⁸ *Joyful News*, 27 December 1934, p.4.

¹⁵⁹ *Joyful News*, 15 October 1936, p.6.

¹⁶⁰ *Joyful News*, 17 September, p.4, and 1 October p.6.

rudimentary accommodation was necessary through the 1930s when the College was carrying this large number of evangelists.

The outbreak of war on 3 September 1939 brought an abrupt end to the treks and the missionaries returned to the College immediately. 'Many of our Evangelists who have done such fine service for some years in the Churches, are now free for Pastoral Work in the Circuits.'¹⁶¹ There was nevertheless a residual group of evangelists on the staff; Butler, Booth, Blinco and Sainsbury were taking some missions.¹⁶² Inevitably, the creative work of the evangelists came to an end and the energies of the remaining Cliff staff went to support churches and those who had been connected with the College. Broadbelt wrote his letters to students, the correspondence courses were developed and the staff held 'Cliff Weekends' to promote the cause of evangelism, discipleship and holiness.

Even during World War II the College had 'four evangelists fully employed...and four had been partially employed.'¹⁶³ The mission work, which the College had developed at holiday resorts, was severely curtailed, and missions at Bridlington, Skegness, Lowestoft and Yarmouth were all cancelled.¹⁶⁴ However, a team led by Herbert Silverwood was still missioning at Blackpool and Morecambe. By the spring of 1943, only Butler and Wilson remained on the staff, because all the others had been transferred to the Home Mission staff as Lay Pastors,¹⁶⁵ and in the later part of the War only Tom Butler remained on the staff at Cliff.¹⁶⁶ However he continued with the Cliff Weekends, as did Broadbelt and other tutors, and the Morecambe Seaside

¹⁶¹ *Joyful News*, 14 September 1939, p.4.

¹⁶² *Joyful News*, 23 November 1939, p.2, and 4 January 1940, p.5.

¹⁶³ *Minutes of the Cliff College Committee*, 25 April 1941.

¹⁶⁴ Broadbelt, *Letter*, 19 July 1940.

¹⁶⁵ *Minutes of the Cliff College Committee*, 13 April 1943.

¹⁶⁶ *Minutes of the Cliff College Committee*, 15 November 1945.

mission. After the war Broadbelt quickly rebuilt his team of evangelists and by the summer of 1946 there were eleven evangelists on the staff, who organised seaside missions not only at Morecambe but also Bridlington, and under the leadership of Herbert Silverwood, at Lowestoft and Yarmouth.

The evangelistic strategy of the College can be best understood through the ministry of its evangelists and there were three evangelists who between them influenced the College's strategy on evangelism for fifty years, Tom Butler, Herbert Silverwood and Ernest Steele. Herbert Silverwood, a miner, came from Barnsley, was a student in from January - December 1926 and joined the evangelistic staff. He typified the humour and the urgency of proclaiming the gospel. Known as the 'Yorkshire Firebrand', the handbills for his missions announced the preacher had come 'from coal-pit to pul-pit'. Herbert became a Connexional evangelist and in the summer months at least worked with the trekkers at the seaside, most notably at Morecambe, Lowestoft and Bridlington. He had a great wit and infectious humour born of a keen observation and love of people. In 1936 he pioneered the use of film in the open air, 'The technique here was that of keeping the audience together and interested after the film ended, when Herbert appeared 'to say a few words'...Herbert's story telling and Walt Disney cartoons made a very effective partnership in evangelism.'¹⁶⁷ He was at his best in the open air, responding to the jibes of the crowd and an incident from the Commando Campaign in London is typical. A team of Anglican and Congregational clergy spoke nervously in the open-air:

each gave a brief word, but only a handful of people stopped to listen and then walked on. However when it came to Silverwood's turn he

¹⁶⁷ David Lazell, *Firebrand* (Bromley: Foundation Publications, 1971), p.70.

asked all the ministers to stand in a circle. He then saw a fellow who was walking past wearing a bowler hat. He went to him and asked him if he could borrow his hat for just a moment. The fellow reluctantly handed it over, then Herbert borrowed a white handkerchief, from another reluctant donor. All this time the clerical brethren were getting more and more embarrassed, but not Herbert. He placed the white handkerchief, on the ground and black bowler hat on the handkerchief. By this time a few more people had stopped, wondering what these parsons were doing and what was under the hat. In less than five minutes a crowd of fifty had gathered and it grew and grew – folk thought there must have been an accident. Then Herbert spoke. He explained who we were, why we were there and gave them a really helpful message. Then he returned the hat and the handkerchief.¹⁶⁸

There was his famous lunchtime intervention at the Jubilee Anniversary,¹⁶⁹ and it was in the ‘Top Tent’ that he continued his ministry at the Anniversary Monday, where he ‘told stories, led choruses (to piano accordion accompaniment) and gave off the cuff sermonettes.’¹⁷⁰ Yorkshire Television invited him to be the preacher, representing the best of ‘old fashioned preaching’, in a 1975 programme about Grisedale, ‘The Dale That Died’.

Silverwood and Butler¹⁷¹ were trained by Chadwick and Broadbelt and they with Steele, were key people in replicating the same strategy for

¹⁶⁸ Eric Challoner, *It so Happened* (Alsager: Fairway Folio, 1998), p.93.

¹⁶⁹ Billy Graham had spoken and at lunch time the rain poured down, ‘Herbert Silverwood seeing the plight of the crowd rushed to the empty platform...and began by saying amid tumultuous laughter that he was by no means a dry preacher.’ *Methodist Recorder*, 10 June 1954.

¹⁷⁰ David Lazell, *A Happy Man from Yorkshire* (Loughborough: David Lazell, 2003), p.125.

¹⁷¹ Marie Butler, *They called him “Brother Tom”* (Ilkeston: Moorley’s Print and Publishing, 1985).

evangelism that had worked so well for Dunning and Lambert twenty years earlier. This they did to the acclaim of many people. However the creative thinking about mission development had ceased. Broadbelt was ill after 1946, and the College missed his entrepreneurial skill and vision. It would take thirty years before a new mission strategy would emerge at the college.

The creative and entrepreneurial evangelistic ministry of both the *Joyful News* mission and Cliff College needs to be illustrated since it had such an impact on the college and the Methodist Church. The next two chapters illustrate the way that across this period 1883 – 1939 different methods of evangelism were employed which arose out of the strategies identified in this chapter.

Chapter seven

Examples of the development of a

Strategy of Evangelism:

Joyful News Female Evangelists

Champness relied on Eliza throughout their marriage as the person who in effect ran the institution at Cambridge House and then Castleton Hall, and particularly as sub-editor for the *Joyful News*. Together they dealt with the issues that confronted them, and though they had willing helpers and wise people around them, Thomas referred to their daily conversations of the issues as a 'committee of two'.¹ They had the practice of meeting each morning at 'the beginning of the day – sometimes very early in the morning – with a cup of tea together, and a brief season of prayer.'² It was undoubtedly this bonding and prayer which became the real power in the *Joyful News* movement as a whole.

The story of the rise of evangelistic and missionary endeavour in the nineteenth century seems to be dominated by male figures. It could therefore be assumed that women were not involved. However many women were in fact notable as significant leaders and preachers in the missionary, evangelistic, and holiness movements of this time. One writer concludes that the apparent absence may be because the contribution of women is largely predicated on relational forms and 'particular features that go with a female evangelism; narrative form,

¹ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.249.

² Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.217-8.

relationality, domestic or small scale settings and an eschewing of power motifs in proclamation'.³

The *Joyful News* movement stands in contrast to that, as from the beginning, Eliza was involved in its leadership and with Thomas was joint editor of the newspaper. The newspaper made reference to women who preached and in March 1885 the lead article was entitled 'Try Women'. Written by the superintendent of the Southport Circuit, the Rev W.H. Tindall, the article advanced the need for women workers, 'My special reason for writing is...that you seem to be short of men now for the special work in the villages. Why Not Try women?'⁴ Although the main argument was utilitarian, rather than theological, the article was a radical departure for the policy makers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The ministry of women was controversial throughout the nineteenth century. There was reluctant acceptance and downright opposition, as well as some enthusiastic appreciation.

Champness was not unique in training and employing women in evangelism, but he was unusual. The comprehensive biographical study of leaders of the missionary movement, *Mission Legacies*, identifies 78 people who gave a significant lead as missionaries, theologians, strategists and administrators, with a relative absence of women.⁵ The period covered, begins with the Baptist missionary William Carey in the late eighteenth century and continues until the late twentieth century. Of those identified, only six are women.⁶ Even where a book is written to celebrate the ministry of women, such

³ Alison White, 'Bearers of an Idle Tale: Women as Evangelists in the Christian Tradition' in *Anvil*, Vol.13, No.1, 1996, p.21.

⁴ *Joyful News*, 5 March 1885, p.1.

⁵ Gerald H. Anderson et al (eds.), *Mission Legacies* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1994).

⁶ Helen Montgomery (1861-1934) and Lucy Peabody (1861-1949) who promoted the ministry of women's missionary organisations among Baptists of the United States (pp.62-

as Lavinia Byrne's book about women's spiritual writings, few are involved in evangelism or preaching. She has biographical notes on 92 women of whom 36 were writing or ministering in the second half of the nineteenth century. Of these, only six were preachers.⁷ Of those listed, the person who most closely matches the work of the *Joyful News* female evangelists was Sarah Grubb (d.1842): 'she preached in markets and in the streets for fifty-two years'.⁸ Many other women are mentioned who undertook substantial ministries but are not mentioned as preachers or evangelists.

However, there are studies which give substantial evidence of both the spirituality and the nature of the ministry of Nonconformist women in this period. The most recent published research on women's ministry in the nineteenth century is *Constrained by Zeal*, by Linda Wilson.⁹ Wilson argues against the view that women preachers were so associated with cottage-based religion that they disappeared as cottage industry was undermined in the

70); Ruth Rouse (1872-1956), 'missionary, evangelist, and pioneer in reaching students in countless universities and colleges around the world' (pp.93-101); Florence Allshorn (1888-1950) was a missionary in Uganda, who on returning home to England, trained missionaries and founded the St. Julian Community in Sussex (pp.110-116); Ida Scudder who pioneered health care for women in India, developing hospitals, clinics, training systems for health workers and a programme of rural health care and community development (pp.307-15), and Charlotte (Lottie) Moon (1840-1912) who was a missionary in Tengchow, China, where she ministered for almost forty years. Her death from malnutrition, refusing food so that colleagues and the children in their care could eat, immortalised her work, and in telling her story the Southern Baptists raised considerable funds for mission (pp.205-15).

⁷ Lavinia Byrne, *The Hidden Tradition, Women's spiritual writings rediscovered* (London: SPCK, 1991). Hatty Baker, the first woman to be a pastor of a Congregational church (p.185); Catherine Booth, who preached within the Salvation Army and Evangeline Booth, her daughter, who became the worldwide General of the Salvation Army in 1934 (p.186); Elizabeth Comstock, a Quaker in the United States of whom Abraham Lincoln wrote 'Give Mrs Comstock access to all hospitals, and to all inmates with whom she desires to hold religious services.' (p.187); Rebecca Jackson too was, 'a visionary and Shaker eldress who preached sixty-nine sermons in the summer of 1834 on a preaching tour of Philadelphia.' Presumably it was not unusual for her to preach but this tour was an extension of her normal preaching ministry (p.190), and Sarah Grubb.

⁸ Byrne, p.189.

⁹ Linda Wilson, *Constrained by Zeal, Female Spirituality amongst Nonconformists 1825 - 1875*, (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000).

industrial revolution at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ What Wilson has achieved is to identify the considerable number of women who had a noted ministry in the Nonconformist denominations, through studying obituaries of a carefully selected sample from the Baptist, Congregational, Primitive Methodist, and Wesleyan Methodist Churches.¹¹ However, only one of these 244 women is described as a 'preacher', the Primitive Methodist Sarah Starbuck, 'a consistent member of the Primitive Methodist society at Holbeach, Lincolnshire, leading a class, supporting missions, and occasionally preaching'.¹² Some others are noted for speaking about the faith, and some did lead Bible classes and Sunday schools. One such was the Congregationalist Lydia Pitman who 'taught a Bible class, and her lessons were comparable to good sermons.'¹³

However, the main focus of ministry for women was assumed to be within the confines of the home, and therefore many were involved in teaching children and developing Sunday schools, sharing with other women and forming women's devotional meetings, caring for friends and neighbours and setting in

¹⁰ Deborah Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1985).

¹¹ Wilson, See her Appendix pp. 228 – 274 which gives a list of all the women whose obituaries appeared in the official newspapers of these denominations. That is, they were women of noted spirituality and ministry, however that had been exercised. The number of women listed are 63 Baptist, 60 Congregational, 61 Primitive Methodist, and 60 Wesleyan Methodist. Valenze wanted to have a fair sample across the denominations, but there are in fact many more Primitive and Wesleyan obituaries of women published in this period. The contrast can be observed in the research published by Michael Watts (*The Dissenters*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: OUP, 1995), pp.48-80, who analysed conversion in Dissenters of the early part of the nineteenth century. He found 670 obituaries mentioning conversion, of which only 55 were Baptist and thirteen Congregational. The remainder were Primitive and Wesleyan Methodist.

¹² Wilson, p.262.

Others are identified as being involved in evangelistic endeavour such as tract distribution, rather similar to the activity of James and Anne Elizabeth Hulme. Eleanor Esling, a Baptist in Diss, was active, 'teaching poor children, and visiting cottages to distribute tracts.' (p.233); The Congregationalist, Mrs Wigner was, 'running Bible classes, "winning souls" and being a peacemaker between individuals.' (p.252); another Congregationalist, Mrs Dickson, felt it was her 'obligation to convert the young men who worked for her husband and lived in her house in Bure, near Lancaster.' (p.244); Similarly Olive Helmore, also a Congregationalist, was 'an active evangelist amongst the poor in her home village of Emsworth, near Havant.' (p.245);

¹³ Wilson, p.249.

place systems for the care of the poor.¹⁴ There were many 'invisible' women, in the sense that they were supporting their husbands, and noted already is Eliza Champness, whose professional gifts were crucial for Thomas Champness. Similarly Fanny Guinness shared in the conceptual thinking behind the College, but her greatest contribution was to manage the missionary organisation while Grattan Guinness was away preaching and teaching around the world.¹⁵

In the transatlantic holiness movement, we find that women were particularly influential in the holiness movements both in the United States and in England. Phoebe Palmer¹⁶ and her sister Sarah Lankford and, with her husband, Hannah Pearsall Smith. All these women became, though their writing and preaching, instrumental in the holiness movement of the 1860s and 1870s.¹⁷ Toward the end of the nineteenth century, as women began to see their potential abilities, and to live longer through and beyond child bearing,¹⁸ there were distinct developments for women's ministry. It becomes clear that once empowered, women's evangelising activities begin to break out of the domestic limits. The prayer group turns into a revival meeting, as with Phoebe Palmer, with women as organizers, and then as preachers. Benevolent societies turn into women's home and foreign mission societies with their own budgets, and their

¹⁴ Typical of most reflections on the ministry of women are those about the Wesleyan, Charlotte Mason, who 'led a class... for several years. She was also an active visitor of the sick, and participant in prayer meetings' (Wilson, p.270). Other women are noted as being 'active in a variety of good works' (p.242, regarding Agnes Campbell); or 'involved in a range of activities including the support of foreign missionaries, and the establishment of a female prayer meeting. She also in due course became the Sunday school superintendent.' (p.236, regarding Mrs Millard).

¹⁵ Fanny Guinness, *The Wide World and our Work in it* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886), pp.27-30.

¹⁶ Thomas Oden (ed), *Phoebe Palmer: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988).

¹⁷ See the chapter 3 on Holiness Teaching, pp.79-81.

¹⁸ So many of the obituaries used by Wilson have the tragedy of women dying young from disease or child bearing.

own leadership in women's hands.¹⁹ The Zenana Bible and Medical School in India was run by and deliberately employed women as missionaries, Bible women, teachers and nurses.²⁰ The considered reflection of Commission V at Edinburgh was, 'No thoughtful student of the missions of the Christian Church will deny the supreme importance of women's share in them.'²¹

The recognition of the ministry of women came early in the Methodist movement. Wesley always encouraged those women who had an 'extraordinary call'.²² His overriding desire to spread the gospel gave rise to a pragmatism in which Wesley was keen to deploy all methods in the interest of gospel proclamation. To Alice Cambridge he wrote, 'Give them (men) all honour and obey them in all things, as far as conscience permits. But it will not permit you to be silent when God commands you to speak; yet I would have you give as little offence as possible; and therefore I would advise you not to speak at any place where a preacher is speaking near you at the same time, lest you should draw away his hearers. Also avoid the first appearances of pride and magnifying yourself.'²³ However, following Wesley's death there was a move to exclude women from the pulpit. The Irish Conference in 1802 agreed that 'it is contrary both to scripture and to prudence that women should preach or should exhort in public'.²⁴ The following year the Methodist Conference in England dealt with Question 19 on its agenda, 'Should women be permitted to preach among us?' They gave the answer: 'We are of the opinion that in general they ought not. But

¹⁹ R.R. Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk* (London: SCM, 1983), p.198.

²⁰ Griffiths, p.21.

²¹ Edinburgh Conference, *Preparation of Missionaries*, 'Women's share in Christian Missions', p.147.

²² Paul W. Chilcote, *John Wesley and the Women Preachers of Early Methodism* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1991), p.254.

²³ C.H. Crookshank, *History of Methodism In Ireland* in 3 vols (London: 1885), Vol.2, p.31. Recently republished as *Days of Revival being the history of Methodism in Ireland* (Clonmel: Tentmaker Publications, 1994, 6 Volumes).

²⁴ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences in Ireland*, Vol.1, 1744-1819, p.152.

if any woman among us think that she has an extraordinary call...she should address her own sex and those only...under the following regulations: They shall not preach in the circuit where they reside until they have obtained the approbation of the Superintendent and a Quarterly Meeting. Before they go into any other circuit to preach, they shall have a written invitation from the Superintendent of such a circuit and a recommendatory note from the Superintendent of their own circuit.'²⁵

The accepted view of Methodist historians has been that after this Conference decision, the number of women preachers fell considerably with one or two notable exceptions such as Mary Taft. A typical conclusion is, 'The women preachers were driven from the community which had inspired them'.²⁶ This view of the place of women preachers in nineteenth century Methodism is now changing, partially as a result of the research of John Lenton,²⁷ and a recent paper from the Rev David East, who has shown that despite the official view of Wesleyan Methodism, there was at local level a number of continuing women preachers whose existence was disguised by stratagems such as a * on the plan.²⁸ David East highlights the ministry of one female lay preacher, Sarah Mallet, who preached in the south Norfolk area and he also emphasises the crucial leadership roles played by women. Certainly the situation in Ireland was

²⁵ *Minutes of the Conference, 1803* pp.188-9.

²⁶ Christine L. Krueger, *The Readers Repentance, Women Preachers, Women Writers and Nineteenth Century Social Discourse* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.81. See also Dorothy Graham, 'Women Local preachers' in Batty and Milburn (eds), *Workaday Preachers* (London: Epworth, 1995) pp.165f; Earl Kent Brown, *Women of Mr Wesley's Methodism* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1983) and Janet Burge, 'Impudent Women', in *PWHS* Vol.21, pp.93-101.

²⁷ John Lenton, *Labouring for the Lord, Women preachers in Wesleyan Methodism 1802-1932. A Revisionist View*. I have an original manuscript though the article was published in Richard Sykes (ed), *Beyond the Boundaries: preaching in the Wesleyan tradition* (Oxford: Westminster College, 1998).

²⁸ David East, *Early Methodist Preachers*, unpublished lecture given 26 March 2003, at the Wesley Centre, Oxford; part of the Westminster Institute, Oxford Brookes University.

difficult for women preachers who were confined to preaching to female congregations. This led to some curious practices. In the 1830s the male followers of Anne Lutton were reduced to dressing in women's clothing in an attempt to hear her preach!²⁹

Within the Methodist Church in England, John Lenton has established beyond doubt that not only did women continue to preach after the 1803 decision, but that they were welcomed in their own and other circuits.³⁰ 'Of the 25 women who were preaching in Wesleyanism in 1803, very few stopped or left as a result of the Conference regulations.'³¹ Rather than the ministry of women preachers dying out as a result of the 1803 regulation there were, in terms of early nineteenth-century Christianity, a significant number of new women preachers. Lenton lists twenty-four women preachers, some of whom preached with considerable success, such as the two friends Charlotte Berger (1791-1877) and Mrs Harriett Webster (c1780-1863) who 'opened several preaching rooms in Essex and began to preach further afield, e.g. Hertford, Waltham Abbey, Poplar, Maidstone, Saffron Waldron and even Newmarket. By 1822 the *Bury Gazette* could describe, "Two famous female preachers preaching...at the Wesleyan Chapel at Diss...Several hundreds could not gain admission"³² Clearly most of the women preachers did not gain such notoriety. They spoke in circuits to mixed congregations, like Mrs Jane Teffry (1769-1829) when there was no other preacher available.³³ Moreover from

²⁹ E. Thomas, *Irish Methodist Reminiscences: Memorials from the Life and Labour of the late Reverend S. Nicholson* (London: 1889), p.10, quoted by David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, "'Born to Serve": women and evangelical religion' in *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.134.

³⁰ John Lenton, *Labouring for the Lord, Women preachers in Wesleyan Methodism 1802-1932. A Revisionist View*.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.3.

³² *Ibid*, p.4.

³³ Richard Teffry Jr., *Memoirs of Mrs Jane Teffry* (London: 1830), pp.64-69.

1860 there was a renewed sense of call by women to preach,³⁴ and Lenton lists a total of sixty-eight names not including the *Joyful News* evangelists or the Wesley deaconesses.³⁵

From the mid-1880's there was a significant increase in the number of female evangelists, not least because of the inclusion by Champness of women in this work.³⁶ Lenton is convinced that there are many 'hidden' women preachers because Superintendents, even late in the century did not wish to incur the wrath of the Conference.³⁷ As well as the increase of women preachers through the ministry of the *Joyful News* Mission, the *Joyful News* also lists women preachers who are not *Joyful News* evangelists, and twenty are mentioned in the period February 1887 to April 1888. This upsurge in female preaching is mirrored in the work of missionaries and mission organisations. There was another very significant change in 1910, when the Conference repealed the 1803 decision. Whilst there was recognition that women could possess 'these exceptional gifts', and that where these gifts were recognised in the normal manner for preachers, then 'liberty should be given her for the exercise of her gifts.'³⁸ There were, however, conditions laid on women, which were not expected for men. They related to the movement from one circuit to another. In this case as well as a normal invitation to preach on the plan, in the case of a woman it should be written and accompanied by 'a recommendatory note from the Superintendent of their own circuit.'³⁹

³⁴ Lenton, point 3, p.2.

³⁵ Ibid, Appendix 3, p.15.

³⁶ Ibid, point 6, p.2.

³⁷ Ibid, p.8. See also Dorothy Graham, who concurs with this citing examples of Primitive and Wesleyan Preaching Plans where women are indicated by initials so as hide the appointment of women preachers to take services, 'Women Local Preachers', p.185.

³⁸ *Agenda of the Pastoral Session of the Wesleyan Methodist of Conference* 1910, p.69.

³⁹ Ibid.

There was therefore during the late nineteenth century increasing opportunity for women's participation. This came through voluntary societies and organisations that clustered around the religious denominations, where many women were given the opportunity to engage in social and administrative work in their communities. Women were involved in Sunday schools, foreign and domestic evangelistic missions, temperance, educational, Bible and tract societies. Women were not only involved in supporting Christian work, but also in teaching, sponsorship, promotion and persuasion.⁴⁰

From 1910 onward there are many more women preachers, and the 1934 *Local Preachers Who's Who* lists one thousand, four hundred and seventy-four women, mostly coming on the plan after this date, of whom sixteen were Wesleyans from before 1910.⁴¹ Lenton concludes his paper with the assertion that 'there were far more women preaching in Wesleyan Methodism after 1803 than we had dreamed. The total number I have found so far is 252, and the rate I have been discovering them in the *Joyful News* means that the true figure must be at least three times that number. Their contribution should not be overlooked. The movement for the ordination of women could not have begun without the progress made in the nineteenth and early 20th centuries.'⁴²

Richard Mudie-Smith identified that at the beginning of the twentieth-century, nearly twice as many women attended Church of England services as

⁴⁰ Hempton and Hill, p.138. However see Dana Robert, *American Women in Mission* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996), where she argues that after 1910 the 'forced merger of the women's missionary agencies into the male-dominated denominational boards' marginalised the contribution of women in the strategic decision-making bodies of many missions, pp.302-316.

⁴¹ *The Methodist Local Preachers Who's Who 1934* (London: Shaw Publishing, 1934), p.612. There were altogether 34,694 fully accredited local preachers in that year.

⁴² Lenton, p.13.

men.⁴³ It would, however, take the Church of England many years to accept women preachers. In the early 1900s Maude Royden, a highly educated Anglican parish worker, was at the centre of a controversy about women preachers. She accepted a position of assistant preachership offered by the Congregationalist Dr F.N. Newton at the City Temple. This caused the Bishop of London to write to her, 'I fear you have taken a disastrous step by consenting to preach at the City Temple...is a sort of ecclesiastical militancy.'⁴⁴ The Bishop refused her permission to preach at a Good Friday service at St Botolph's Bishopgate in 1919 and prohibited the service. The Rector, the Rev W. Hudson Shaw, accepted the prohibition but invited those who came, to share in a crowded service in the parish hall.⁴⁵ Though there were exceptions,⁴⁶ recognition by the Church of England was very slow and even by 1930 women had not achieved proper recognition as preachers,⁴⁷ and though there was a permanent deaconess order,⁴⁸ there was considerable resistance to the ordination of women from the clergy.⁴⁹

The significant Methodist thinkers in the development of pastoral and evangelistic ministry in the nineteenth century were keen to engage women in the work of the gospel. Thomas Bowman Stephenson appointed 'our deaconess,

⁴³ Richard Mudie-Smith (ed), *The Religious Life of London* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), p.267 and p.443.

⁴⁴ Brain Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England 1850 – 1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.90.

⁴⁵ Daily Chronicle, 19 April 1919.

⁴⁶ Miss Picton-Turbervill was the first woman to preach in 1919 at a 'statutory service', Heeney, p.90. Mrs Louise Creighton preached regularly but largely to gatherings of women, Heeney, p.92.

⁴⁷ Heeney, p.138.

⁴⁸ The Lambeth Conference of 1920 recognised the Order of Deaconesses as 'for women the only Order of Ministry', Heeney, p.131.

⁴⁹ Heeney, p.135, though there was growing enthusiasm for the ordination of women and as early as 1919 Church House was besieged an 'enormous crowd eager to hear the debate on women and the priesthood', p.138.

Miss Entwistle' in his work at Bolton.⁵⁰ He had been inspired in developing this appointment by a visit to Germany to the Kaiserwerth centre for deaconesses in 1871.⁵¹ The children's home which he founded in 1869 had an Order of the Sisters of the Children, which grew in number and eventually included training, probation, ordination and a special uniform.⁵² In the period which followed the founding of the *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission, Hugh and Katherine Price Hughes were also recruiting 'Sisters of the People' to engage in the pastoral and evangelistic work of the West London Mission.⁵³ Anglican evangelicals, whose initiatives predated the Methodists, were also influenced by the work of Fliedner at Kaiserworth. William Pennefather, so influential in the holiness movement,⁵⁴ founded in 1860 the Mildmay deaconesses to conduct missions in the poorest parts of London's East End.⁵⁵ Fifteen years later, as these Methodist initiatives began and when Guinness was beginning his work in the same part of London, Pennefather had fifty-six 'deaconesses' and thirty 'professional nurses' working as part of the Mildmay Mission.⁵⁶

This was the historical context of Thomas Champness and his influence on the training and ministry of women evangelists. From 1879-1882 Champness was a district missionary in the Newcastle District where he used both men and women as colleagues in the work. Among the women, the most notable was

⁵⁰ Lenton, p.10.

⁵¹ The Kaiserworth model was established by Pastor Fliedner in 1836. They were known as 'deaconesses' living in community and engaged in church work. They were not an 'Order' with vows recognised by the Lutheran Church.

⁵² W. Bradfield, *The Life of the Revd Thomas Bowman Stephenson* (London: C.H. Kelly, 1913).

⁵³ P.S. Bagwell, *Outcast London, A Christian Response* (London: Epworth press, 1987), pp.24f. At an even later time this was followed by 'Lady Workers' in the East End Mission and other of the Missions at the turn of the 20th C.

⁵⁴ The influence of Pennefather is noted in the chapter on Holiness, p.82.

⁵⁵ Heeney, pp.68-9.

⁵⁶ Heeney, p.69. In fact by 1899 the movement had 250 workers and was more integrated into the Church of England, p.69.

Miss Parsons.⁵⁷ As the *Joyful News* Mission developed he became convinced of the need for female evangelists.

On his travels through Britain, Champness was moved by the need for a special work, which 'godly women' could do in the villages and small towns.⁵⁸ The strategy employed by Eliza and Thomas Champness was both clever and effective. To educate their readers, prior to the appointment of female workers, they included, in the *Joyful News*, stories of the effective ministry of women. The first was in April 1883, when under the title 'Honourable women' they reported 'news from St Bart's, West Indies'. Because of a shortage of local preachers and therefore no one to take the services, women had taken the services. They were described as; 'true sisters of the loving Mary, the fragrance of whose deeds fills the church for ever; of the same stamp and rank as those brave women who laboured together with St. Paul, and verily in heaven they shall reap of their abundant labours a blessed and plentiful harvest.'⁵⁹ In May 1883 a short article was published, written by 'E.A.' and entitled 'How a young woman began to work for Jesus'. The unnamed woman established a cottage meeting and went door-to-door inviting her neighbours. The purpose of the article was to encourage women to become involved in evangelism, 'If we only have a Saviour's love shed abroad in our hearts, and, losing sight of self, we ask him to use us, He will do so.'⁶⁰ From the 23 August 1883 Agnes Threlfall became a regular contributor to the *Joyful News*, writing of the joy of bringing people to faith in Christ.

⁵⁷ Lenton, p.10.

⁵⁸ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, p.258.

⁵⁹ *Joyful News*, 12 April 1883. The capitals are in the original article.

⁶⁰ *Joyful News*, 3 May 1883, p.1.

The lead article in the *Joyful News* was normally written by Eliza or Thomas Champness, but in March 1885 the column was given over to a letter from W.H. Tindall, from Southport, entitled, 'Try Women': 'My special reason for writing is...that you seem to be short of men now for the special work in the villages. Why Not Try women? Is there any reason against doing so? There were some regulations passed more than eighty years ago on the subject of women preachers; none since, that I am aware of'. Tindall does not explicitly suggest women preachers, but states 'Suppose you had a list of really suitable women for the work, could they not be sent two-by-two-----never alone, to help in our villages.' He ends the plea with the following comment: 'The extravagancies of the Salvation Army should be avoided, but certainly the Army has shown what women can do in winning souls...Ladies have recently been speaking to mixed audiences in City Road Chapel and elsewhere.'⁶¹

The *Joyful News* followed this with a series of articles throughout March 1885 concentrating on the effective ministry of women. It would seem to have been the intention of Eliza and Thomas to try to influence the debate within the Wesleyan Methodist Church which was about to review the decision taken in 1803. The 19 March edition ran a story, 'Our Sisters at work - Glorious times at Ainsdale'. This included Champness's testimony to the important work of women, and details of the effectiveness of their work. Clearly his conclusion was, as Wesley decided, that if God was using women, then the church should be training them. 'Thank God he has visited Ainsdale and many souls are now rejoicing in the blessed experiences of saving grace. Miss Tindall, daughter of the Southport Superintendent, opened the Mission on Sunday, March 1st, with a

⁶¹ *Joyful News*, 5 March 1885, p.1

service for the Young, and has conducted each service since. Men and women, deep dyed in sin, have turned to the Lord and found salvation...this is the second week of the Mission, but the throng is greater; each service crowded. We cannot close it; we must go on till all these seeking, hungry souls are satisfied in Jesus.'⁶²

Other places copied the impetus created by this article in *Joyful News* promoting women's ministry. A story appeared that same month from Boddington in the Banbury Circuit, entitled 'Trying Mr Tindall's recipe': 'A new departure was taken here on Thursday evening, when we did the thing advocated in the *Joyful News* No. 107, viz., a lady from Grimsbury occupied the pulpit. The experiment exceeded our expectations for notwithstanding that some say that a woman's place is in the home, the result of Miss Lake's labour here shows that as one said the other day, women can do what men cannot.'⁶³ H.T. Smart also wrote an article commending an unnamed lady involved in evangelism among mill workers, especially those abusing alcohol, entitled 'What a lady is doing for some Lancashire Working Men'.⁶⁴

The reason for highlighting the issue in March was made clear to the *Joyful News* readers in August; the Wesleyan Methodist Conference had discussed the contentious issue of women preaching. Eliza Champness⁶⁵ made reference to the Conference debate which decided not to 'relax the Rule on this subject.' She then set out the 1803 decision in full and went on to challenge it: 'We are inclined to think that the majority of people are wishful that every one should be allowed to preach, if only God has showed that in the exercise of his

⁶² *Joyful News*, 19 March 1885, p.2. There is also an account of a mission conducted by Miss Tindall at Dumbarton, 16 June 1885, p.3; and in Bootle, 22 Oct 1885, p.8.

⁶³ *Joyful News*, 26 March 1885, p.3.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ In the early years Thomas articles are signed by him but Eliza's are unsigned.

sovereignty He has given both grace and talent to the speaker, be it man or woman.' It could not be put more clearly. The Champnesses wanted and fully intended, to employ female evangelists. They could see the importance of women's ministry in the late nineteenth century. Women could, with ease, enter homes, speak with other women, visit the sick and families, as well as have a more public preaching ministry.

They had to wait for three years but in March 1888 a front page article appeared in the *Joyful News* announcing the "'Joyful News" Female Evangelists' Home'.⁶⁶ Under the names of both Thomas and Eliza, the announcement reveals they had made an arrangement with Mr George Clegg who had already begun training female evangelists.⁶⁷ They were in effect adopting his work as part of the *Joyful News Mission*. George Clegg had been greatly affected by a young female Salvation Army Captain in Halifax through which he received an experience of entire sanctification.⁶⁸ He asked, 'Have we not many girls in Methodism who could do similar work?' and as a result founded his home for training 'women evangelists'.⁶⁹ Under this new outpost the Champnesses were looking for 'godly women, suitably trained and cared for', and therefore they hailed the Halifax *Joyful News* Home as part of 'our

⁶⁶ *Joyful News*, 22 March 1888, p.1.

⁶⁷ George Clegg began work in his father's quarry at Luddendon Foot, and became a mill owner and Justice of the peace, 'George Clegg, J.P.' in *Experience*, 1896, pp.201-206. He is noted first in the *Joyful News*, 24 February 1887. His experience of entire sanctification led him to be involved in the Southport Convention. He was a member of the committee and took part in the meetings.

⁶⁸ *Experience*, p.203.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* The home was situated at 24 Gladstone Road, Halifax.

organisation.⁷⁰ The home was run on *Joyful News* lines,⁷¹ with George Clegg and W. H. Greenwood, also of Halifax, as the bursar.⁷²

Although Champness had just taken on this work of training female evangelists for Britain, the same article indicated they were also considering the possibility of *Joyful News* female missionaries'. 'The more we study the needs of the heathen in foreign lands, the more we are led to see that there is a great work to be done by Englishwomen who are willing to live among the people, not so much as school teachers, but as Evangelists.'⁷³ This statement, again made under the joint names of Thomas and Eliza was a strategy they often employed when they felt the issue was important or there was real possibility of opposition. The same week, prayer was requested for the following eight female evangelists: Wilson, Taylor, Dodd, Mitchell, Theobald, Greenwood, Cook (in charge of the home) and Moore.⁷⁴ This new phase of ministry was most successful, and within the short space of a year there were eleven *Joyful News* Female Evangelists as part of the list of eighty evangelists.⁷⁵

It would appear that the home for female evangelists moved to larger premises, at The Home, Kingsley Place, Halifax, 'where they received training, and to which they could return for intervals of rest,'⁷⁶ and in all fifty-two young women came into the ranks of female evangelists. Champness controlled their appointments, corresponded with them, and occasionally gave an hour or two for a lecture when he was on his journeys.⁷⁷ At what was described as 'Mr.

⁷⁰ *Joyful News*, 29 March 1888, p.1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Joyful News*, 29 March, p.1, and see also 12 April 1888, p.1, where Clegg introduces Greenwood as the treasurer, described as the 'financial head'.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Joyful News*, 7 February 1889, p.2.

⁷⁶ Eliza Champness, *The Life*, pp.258-9.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.258-9.

Clegg's Home in Halifax' there were in 1893 twenty-four women with Miss Cook now as 'Principal'. Of these only two were 'resting', whilst all the others were at work around the country. The home moved to Rugby in April 1893.⁷⁸

There are in existence detailed testimonies from Mary Jane Smith, and Mary Ann Dixon, two of the *Joyful News* female evangelists. Mary Ann Dixon had been converted through the ministry of Moody and Sankey in their 1883 London mission. At the age of 30 she enrolled with Champness and the *Joyful News* mission, training in Rugby from September 1894.⁷⁹ She trained for twenty weeks and then in common with other women there was a pattern of work, further training, and resting at the *Joyful News* home in Rugby and her family home. 'The general pattern was always five to six months working, then six to eight weeks "resting"⁸⁰ This suggested pattern comes from information on Mary Ann Dixon alone, and forms too narrow a foundation for us to have confidence that this pattern relates to all *Joyful News* female evangelists. The diary of Mary Jane Smith suggests longer placements.

Mary Ann Dixon was assigned to the North Walsham and Cromer Circuits from February to July 1895, Hitchin and Stevenage from October to March 1896. Unusually, without a break, she was posted to Whitehaven, and after a six-week rest, to Oakham in Rutland in November 1896 for three months. Her entries in the *Joyful News* came abruptly to an end in April 1897. She had been assigned to Ryton-on-Tyne though she never arrived. Mary had met a devout

⁷⁸ *Joyful News*, 20 April 1893, p.1.

⁷⁹ Brian M. Hills, *Mary Ann Hills (nee Dixon) 1864-1946* (unpublished, 2004), p.2. Her grandson, Brian Hills researched the *Joyful News* has been able to 'ascertain exactly where she was and what she was doing every week for the period September 1894 to April 1897.'

⁸⁰ Hills, p.3.

Methodist post-man, Frank Hills, in December 1895 in the chapel at Walkern near Stevenage. It would appear they decided to marry.⁸¹

Mary Jane Smith's experience was not dissimilar, though we only know what her diary reveals. She was converted on 30 January 1889 following a meeting led by two Joyful News evangelists in the village of Frolesworth, Leicestershire.⁸² She moved to live at Milnrow, near Rochdale, where she was involved in the Wesleyan Church and received training from May to the August 1892. During that time she attended classes with Joseph Todhunter, Mr and Mrs Champness and David Hill, a missionary from China on furlough and staying with Champness.

She was influenced by the holiness teaching of Champness and others and on 19 May she claimed 'the blessing of entire cleansing'. Her entry for that day is, 'I this morning claim the blessing of entire cleansing. According to the light I have I believe that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth (me) from (all) sin and by simple faith I claim the blessing now. Lord help me to trust thy every word. "The day is past and over all thanks to thee oh Lord" for thy cleansing power. This has been a day of quiet trust no outburst of sudden joy but a sweet peace has filled my heart and as temptations have presented themselves to me I have cried Lord cleanse me now. Let thy blood go on cleansing keeping clean. I bless the God for the experience of this day.'⁸³

Life for Mary Jane was not austere, partially because she was 'billeted' with a kindly woman and family, but also because of a variety of cultural visits. In her second week at Milnrow she was taken down a coal mine to see its workings. Later she attended Castleton Hall to see the Champnesses, but finding

⁸¹ Hills, pp.3-4.

⁸² Mary Jane Smith, *Diary* (Cliff College Archives), p.1.

⁸³ Mary Jane Smith, *Diary*, 19 May 1892.

them out played croquet with Miss Champness, Messrs Brown and Whittom; 'I do thank God for the joys of serving him and for his many mercies to me.'⁸⁴ On 1 July she had a day out at Southport with Mrs Champness and others, though it would appear the main reason was to visit the Holiness Convention. It would be expected that Mrs Champness was welcomed as a special guest but despite being a student, Mary's diary records, 'Took our seats on the platform, Mr. Chadwick was the speaker and very practical he was.'⁸⁵ She appears from her diary to have been introduced to many people, including 'Miss Cook, Mr Clegg and several of his Evangelists.' In August she had three days in Blackpool and particularly enjoyed a steamer around Morecambe Bay.⁸⁶

The *Diary* reveals a passion for people to know the certainty of the faith she had. The 12 July 1892 was an election day and Mary Jane records the event, 'What earnestness on the part of the voters. What excitement. Oh that they were half as anxious to make that other "calling and election sure". This a question that affects eternity, the other that he may be a Member (of Parliament) for a few years. Oh Lord, make me earnest about perishing souls.'⁸⁷

In August 1892 she was posted to the Devon and Dorset Mission, Budleigh Salterton. After only one month there she received a letter from 'Mr. C. telling me to go on to Collingbourne Wilts. to conduct a fortnight's mission...I believe the Lord will use me in the conversion of many souls and make me a blessing to others.'⁸⁸ Mary Jane shared the mission meetings with others and she sang, preached and made the call for response. Like all fervent evangelists she was keen for commitment, 'I spoke on "What do you do with

⁸⁴ Mary Jane Smith, *Diary*, 27 May 1892.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 1 July 1892.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 6-9 August 1892.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 12 July 1892.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 21 September 1892.

Jesus”, had a good time some under deep conviction but none come out. May God work mightily in the heart of the people.’⁸⁹ There were converts and at the end of the mission she met the new class meeting which eight had joined. She confidently expected others to follow.⁹⁰ The believers had been ‘quicken’d’ and there were three converts. She returned to the Dorset and Devon Mission but this time to the neighbouring village of Colaton Raleigh. One other mission is recorded in her *Diary* for February 1893, with little comment except she preached to congregations of two hundred and there were a number of converts, ‘This has been a glorious Mission, 19 have professed to find peace and 24 Pledges have been taken. God Bless and Keep them.’⁹¹

Her work consisted mainly of leading Bible studies, the Class and Band Meetings in the church and much pastoral care. She visited homes where the families did not attend the church, especially those who were poor, and almost every day she led and spoke at cottage services. She also often visited the landed gentry, ‘taking tea’, singing songs or solos, and playing the piano or harmonium. Clearly Mary Jane was a talented woman with an ability to mix comfortably with all kinds of people.

Mary Jane did encounter some hostility. With a Miss Salmon she travelled on the train to Colyford where she was working, and ‘a clergyman of the Church of England came and got in our carriage and was exceedingly polite. I believe he thought Miss Salmon a Sister of the Church but when he found that we were dissenters he said the church ought to do the work and not us.’⁹² This was an

⁸⁹ Ibid, 25 September 1892.

⁹⁰ Ibid, *Diary*, 20 October 1892.

⁹¹ Ibid, 10 February 1893.

⁹² Ibid, 9 January 1893.

untypical response to Mary Jane, who like Mary Ann Dixon found people kind, welcoming and attentive to their testimony.

From there she went immediately to Chard and a mission in a Baptist chapel, again with some converts, though her *Diary* ends abruptly on the 24 February 1893 without a summary of this mission. Though the *Diary* finished at this point her work as a *Joyful News* evangelist continued until May 1895 and her last appointment was in Taunton.⁹³ It was in the summer of 1895 that Champness had to reduce the number of evangelistic staff by sixty and Mary Jane Smith would seem to have been an early casualty.

However they still retained thirty-two evangelists of whom eight were women and twenty-two 'are with Mr Clegg.'⁹⁴ The solvency of the project was in question at other times. In the *Diary* of Mary Jane Smith, she records on 22 July 1892, 'We are in great financial straits. Mr C. has given us notice. May God open up the way.'⁹⁵ In fact Mary Jane made no effort to leave, though on 25 July she was concerned, 'Much troubled about the work this morning but the Lord is ever nigh to comfort.'⁹⁶ Smith's diary begins on 2 May 1892 and concludes abruptly on the 24 February 1893 though her last entry in the *Joyful News* was two years later.⁹⁷ In February 1900 there were fifty-four evangelists including twelve single women and four married women. Additionally they had in training eleven local preachers at Rochdale and six, presumably women, at Rugby.⁹⁸

⁹³ *Joyful News*, 23 May 1895, p.2.

⁹⁴ *Joyful News*, 11 July 1895, p.2.

⁹⁵ Mary Jane Smith, *Diary*, 22 July 1892.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 25 July 1892.

⁹⁷ *Joyful News*, 21 February 1895, p.2, where she is described as 'resting at the home'.

⁹⁸ *Joyful News*, February 1900, p.2, for the women at Rugby are identified simply by surname and no indication of Miss or Mrs.

On the day Cliff College opened, 3 March 1904, Champness listed in the *Joyful News*, ten Joyful News evangelists of whom four were women. In addition there were three missionary couples supported by the *Joyful News* Mission. Most of the male evangelists became Cliff College evangelists working with the Home Mission Gospel Cars, under the direction of Thomas Cook. None who continued with Cook were women.⁹⁹ Within two years the only single female listed in the newspaper as a Joyful News Evangelist was Miss Coles and 2 July 1907 was the last entry shown for her. After this date the 'Joyful News' evangelistic staff listed were Moses Welsby with the three missionary couples until July 1908 when Eliza Champness announced that the overseas work was closed.¹⁰⁰ The College had to wait until 1969 for the next female Cliff College evangelist.

This retrograde step within the ministry of Cliff College is identified in other parts of evangelicalism. In a fascinating study on the evangelical movement in Ulster in the nineteenth century, Hempton and Hill indicate how women 'achieved a temporary position of influence in the early stages of the evangelical revival which was not sustained into the nineteenth century when male ministers, trustees and administrators regained full control.'¹⁰¹ They show that the ministry of women was diverted through the nineteenth century into the development of women's ministry for and by women.¹⁰² This would lead later to the marginalisation of women as leaders of the missionary movements.

The development and power of the women's movement can be charted by their presence at major conferences on mission. Women were not present at the

⁹⁹ *Joyful News*, 3 March 1904, p.2.

¹⁰⁰ *Joyful News*, 16 July 1908, p.3. A letter from Eliza indicates that this work is now closed.

¹⁰¹ Hempton and Hill, p.130.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

Liverpool Missionary Conference in 1860, but in 1888, the 'Centenary Conference' in London was attended by 1600 men and, significantly, 345 women. In 1893 the first Women's Congress of Missions was held in Chicago, and the year of the Edinburgh Conference coincided with the Jubilee of Women's Societies.

At that time there were 44 Women's Societies in the US (quite apart from at least seven from Britain and others from Germany), supporting 1,948 single women overseas.¹⁰³ The genius of the women's movement was that it mobilised 2 million American women to prayer and support, with as an average of only 4 cents each per week, or \$2 per year, but that added up to more than \$4 million.¹⁰⁴ The process was educational not only about Christian mission but also international and economic issues. Helen Montgomery, a leader of the women's movement, commented it had 'made more demands on the brains of their adherents than any other missionary movement before or since.'¹⁰⁵

The hard-fought leadership of women's societies, which grew up in the nineteenth century by women, was undermined in the period 1910-1930. Women's societies progressively merged with denominational or general missions, which at first seemed beneficial since they were now part of the larger mission organisations. Initially these experienced women leaders were given places on joint boards, but as they retired men replaced them. Griffiths suggests that because of the more rigid structure of the denominational missions with their emphasis on ordained men, women tended towards 'faith' missions where

¹⁰³ Griffiths, p15.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p15.

¹⁰⁵ Ruth Tucker, *Guardians of the Great Commission* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), p.41.

they could be more liberated.¹⁰⁶ Hempton highlights that this was also the experience in Methodism: 'As time went on women's sphere of activity and influence first expanded and then was reined in and diminished, as Methodism settled into denominational mode'.¹⁰⁷

Women's absence from student life at Cliff and their presence only as maids and kitchen staff, has not been a proud part of Cliff's history. The earliest suggestion that there might be female students came in an article, written rather out of character by Chadwick, during December 1929. This took the form of an editor's letter entitled, 'Women Students and Cliff College'.¹⁰⁸ He wrote of the need to embrace new ideas and states that he was willing to do so. Following the sudden death of Fiddian Moulton, the substantial house 'Cliff Park' had become available from the beginning of the spring term until the summer of 1930, and Chadwick considered the possibility of using it to provide accommodation for a growing number of female enquiries.¹⁰⁹ His tone was not welcoming: 'If it is in the heart of any to come, let them write to me for particulars, and we will tell them all we can about Cliff College and what we will attempt to do for them. If there is no response, we shall be content to go on as we are, thankful for the opportunity to have made the offer.'¹¹⁰ It would have been a courageous woman who in fact followed up this ambivalent offer, since Chadwick made it clear later in the article that even in the face of applications from women both at home and abroad, given the heritage of the *Joyful News* mission, he had been against

¹⁰⁶ Griffiths, p.22, referring to a suggestion by Ruth Tucker in *Priscilla Papers* 1996. The italics and underlining are his.

¹⁰⁷ David Hempton, *Methodism*, pp.140-1. Hempton notes that Methodist women lost a public voice as the movement consolidated. See also Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

¹⁰⁸ *Joyful News*, 5 December 1929, p.4.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 'we have a house on our hands, and the question arose as to what use we should make of it.'

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

the idea from the beginning. 'Neither Mr. Cook nor I ever entertained the idea of opening the College to women; Cliff is a men's College; it has always been a men's College, and we saw no reason why it should be anything else.'¹¹¹ He referred to the women's branch of the *Joyful News* at Rugby and George Clegg's Home in Halifax, 'but a separate organisation for Women's Evangelists is a different proposition.'¹¹² The College archive does not contain correspondence with prospective students, but not surprisingly no women became students in the spring of 1929.

The issue of women and Cliff was not raised again in publications about the College until the arrival of Howard Belben as Principal in the autumn of 1965. His first report as Principal to the Cliff College General Committee, of which we only have a summary, covers many aspects for the possible development of the College and its courses, including 'Cliff and women'.¹¹³ At the Policy Committee the following January the 'proposal to admit women students was accepted in principle.'¹¹⁴ The single line of text in the *Minutes*, 'It was unanimously decided that women students be admitted from September 1966', does not do justice to the widely held view among the Cliff Men's Fellowship that this would be a retrograde step.¹¹⁵ One student commented to the *Sheffield Telegraph*, 'If we have girls here it would prove too big a temptation I am sure. We are very isolated up here and if you have men and women together all the time it would be very distracting.'¹¹⁶ That was not the considered view of the staff, and the decision was boldly promoted in the *Cliff*

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ *Minutes*, Cliff College General Committee, 14 October 1965.

¹¹⁴ *Minutes*, Cliff College Management Committee, 27 January 1966.

¹¹⁵ *Minutes*, Cliff College General Committee, 10 March 1966.

¹¹⁶ *Evening Telegraph*, Sheffield, 11 March 1966.

Witness issued immediately after the Committee with the headline, 'Women Students for Cliff'.¹¹⁷ Howard Belben had argued for what was seen by many people as a dramatic change to the College, and he advanced seven arguments as sound reasons for the change. However, he prefaced them all by indicating that the Cliff Committee reached its decision 'after careful thought and prayer'.¹¹⁸ The reasons were that: women played a full part in the life of the Church as lay leaders; women as well as men were looking for the training offered by the College; men and women worked as colleagues in Christian ministry, so they should train together; women and men attended the short courses offered by Cliff and why not the full-time course; women may hear a call to fulltime ministry, for instance, in the deaconess order; almost all further education had become co-educational, and 'there is room for more students'.¹¹⁹ A cohort of fifteen female students arrived at the College in September 1966¹²⁰ and the place of women has been significant since that time.

In a strange contrast to his reticence to admit women, Thomas Cook had from the beginning appointed women as tutors. Miss Lilian Hovey came from Sheffield to teach English and Elocution. She was the first laywoman to attend the Wesleyan Methodist Conference and was clearly influential. Chadwick brought Miss Annie Douglas to Cliff. She had taught in Leeds and on the Cliff staff taught 'Biblical Geography'; also she was the effective editor of the *Joyful News* throughout Chadwick's time. Annie Douglas lived with the Chadwicks both at Cliff Park and in Cliff House. In many ways the arrangement was a curious one, but she was a support to both Sarah and Samuel Chadwick.

¹¹⁷ *The Cliff Witness*, March 1966, p.1.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *The Cliff Witness*, January 1967, p.1.

The first full-time female tutor of the contemporary era was Mary Lambert MA, who came in September 1968 to teach Church History, the second-year Bible Study, and to share in the teaching of English and Evangelism. She was also to take charge of the new conference centre when it was opened.¹²¹ This she undertook with great enthusiasm and the College promoted a bi-monthly conference from the very beginning. Her workload, the pastoral care of female students and the conference business proved too much, and she became ill and left early in 1970. Many years later Dr William Davies invited Mary to join the staff for a year as 'President's Assistant' during the time he was President of the Methodist Conference and she taught theology and church history while he was absent.¹²² It was for her a second opportunity to be a Cliff Tutor, and she served with great distinction.

The longest serving female tutor has been the Rev Kathleen Bowe who came to the College in 1984 as Old Testament Tutor. She also taught Pastoral Studies and led the music of the College for many years. Kathleen had been teaching before candidating for the ministry, and at Bristol gained a love of Hebrew and the Old Testament. She continued the great heritage of Old Testament scholarship within the College and was an excellent tutor and teacher. In the Summer of 2000 the College appointed Mrs Susanne Garnett as a lay tutor. Susanne had considerable experience in teaching social studies, politics, and had worked extensively with aid organisations. Susanne engaged enthusiastically with the students, challenged the College about fair trade issues, edited *Cliff Today* and developed her teaching area. In 2001 she became leader of the part time courses and Director of the Open Learning Centre helping to

¹²¹ *The Cliff Witness*, August 1968, p.3.

¹²² *The Cliff Witness*, Autumn 1987, p.1.

develop the work of the College. She returned to overseas development work in the summer of 2003.

The list of full-time female teaching staff is not a long one, but there have been many extremely good part-time tutors, not least Lilian Hovey, Annie Douglas, Dorothy Hallam, many of the tutor's wives, and presently Michelle Shaw as Pastoral Studies Tutor (half-time). There is a balance of women and men on the governing structures and for many years the College has been well served by women evangelists. What is revealed by this study is that Champness was very forward-thinking in his view of women's ministry, training and employing female evangelists. Though Cook and Chadwick greatly admired Champness they clearly did not agree with him on this and it would take the courage of Howard Belben, partially driven by the need to fill student places, to open the College to students and to employ again, itinerant preaching evangelists, which was still rare in the 1980s. The annual Evangelists' Conference was attended, in period 1883 – 1994, by around 300 people at least one third of whom were women. However most were involved in administration and throughout that time when the College had two or three female evangelists, there were never more than five or six itinerant preaching evangelists known to us in Britain. In many ways the full measure of women's contribution to evangelistic ministry, certainly at Cliff College, has yet to be made.

Chapter eight

Examples of the development of a

Strategy of Evangelism:

The Trekkers

It became the received wisdom in the College that the advent of the 'Trekkers' came from Chadwick himself. In the 1948 booklet published to advertise the work of the summer missions, there is 'A Short History of the Cliff College Trekkers', in which we read the following: 'In one of his periods of illness, Samuel Chadwick, then Principal of Cliff College, saw a vision of bands of young men going forth from the College to tramp the roads of England, Wales and Scotland, preaching and singing the Gospel of Jesus Christ as they went. That vision resulted, in 1925, in the sending out from Cliff of the first band of Trekkers. Each year since, groups of men, in teams of eight or nine each, and in an ever-growing number of teams, have set forth from the College to tramp and, in later years, to cycle the roads of the country. The only gap in the programme was that caused by the war years.'¹

However, the Trekkers or Methodist Friars were in fact the logical outcome and built upon previous work of the College in the days of Champness and Cook. The *Joyful News* mission had always employed lay workers who were *Joyful News* evangelists, or missionaries. On the whole they worked alone but it was not uncommon for them to work in small teams. Colporteur carts had been known for

¹ *The Cliff College Trekkers: A Photographic Record.* (Calver: Cliff College, 1948). This version appeared in the *Home Mission Fund Report* 1930, p.88, and was regularly repeated, for instance, in D.W. Lambert's account of the relationship between evangelism and holiness at the Southport Holiness Convention, in *To the Uttermost*, pp.37-40. Although the 1929 *Home Mission Fund Report*, indicated that, 'The first band of Methodist Friars set out in August, 1924.'

much of the nineteenth century, both in this country and overseas. However a team of six, eight or even ten young men pulling a hand-cart was unusual.

A deepened spirituality in the autumn of 1920 had the effect of placing within the College a desire for evangelistic enterprise and, from the reports, it is clear that Dunning was the instigator, along with other staff. Their enthusiasm was such that even during the Christmas and Easter vacations, evangelistic campaigns were organised.² A more extensive programme was arranged for the summer with the students described as Pilgrim Preachers.³ They espoused the 'faith principle' trusting in God to supply their needs. 'They will preach and pray but they will not beg. They will go as they are led, and stay in each place until either something happens or they are distinctly led to move on.'⁴ That same year (1921), Norman Dunning led seaside missions during the summer vacation: 'during the holiday months the 'Pilgrim Missioners' going on foot from village to village and 'taking nothing in their purse' continue their fruitful witness.'⁵ As early as 1921 the main elements which would later be characteristic of the Trekkers were being tried out: small groups of students, preaching in chapels and the open air as they travelled, staying where they could and gladly receiving what was given, not asking for money nor pleading poverty.

The term 'Pilgrim Preachers' was not unique to Dunning.⁶ The term was used one year earlier by Ernest E. Luff and Percival W. Petter who started a movement of travelling preachers.⁷ Luff, a Brethren evangelist and bible teacher with a passion to

² *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1921, p.61.*

³ This phrase was probably borrowed from the work of Luff and Petter, see p.229.

⁴ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1921, p.61.*

⁵ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1922, p.73.*

⁶ S.W. Christophers, *Foolish Dick, An Autobiography of Richard Hampton, The Cornish Pilgrim Preacher* (London: Houghton and Co, 1873). The book is about Foolish Dick of Porthtowan who was a regular preacher among Cornish Methodist, and styled himself as a 'Pilgrim Preacher'.

⁷ Percival W. Petter, *The Story of the Pilgrim Preachers and their Message* (London: Marshall, 1922) and John W. Newton, *The Story of the Pilgrim Preachers and their 24 Tours throughout Britain* (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1939).

‘remove some of the spiritual darkness and stark materialism which prevailed in our country,’⁸ collaborated with Petter, manager of a successful engineering business who organised and funded the project and together they organised a ‘Preachers Route March’ during Easter 1919 from Bath to London.⁹ They preached where ever they could in the open air, distributed tracts, organised marches through towns with banners bearing scripture texts, of a ‘warning and wooing character’.¹⁰ They used a concertina to accompany singing ‘bright Gospel hymns and choruses’ in the open-air.¹¹ They did not have a uniform, and the photographs show them in three-piece suits, typical of working people in their best clothes, and ties/bow ties. Though Luff referred to them as ‘boys’, they were mature.¹² Luff ran the tours on ‘faith principles’,¹³ not asking for money, and living on gifts, and offers of accommodation as they went along. There were bands of ‘Pilgrim Preachers’ from 1919 to 1938.

It may be that Dunning heard of this work since they often used Methodist Churches for their meetings as they moved from place to place. It is almost certain that he heard of one group who in 1920 one group travelled from Land’s End to John o’ Groats.¹⁴ They came through the Midlands stayed for some days in Chesterfield.¹⁵ Chesterfield was ‘greatly stirred by the visit of the Preachers’.¹⁶ The town was well known to Chadwick, Rush and Dunning and almost certainly they knew of the presence of the ‘Pilgrim Preachers’ and heard, of the effects. The descriptions of the work are very similar and the development of the work took place within two years of each other.

⁸ Newton, *op.cit.*p.13.

⁹ Petter, *op.cit.*p.63.

¹⁰ Newton, *op.cit.*p.27.

¹¹ Ibid. In 1922 Petter published the choruses used by the pilgrim preachers apparently at the same time as his book.

¹² Petter, *op.cit.*p.35.

¹³ Newton, *op.cit.*p.58.

¹⁴ Newton, *op.cit.*p.39.

¹⁵ Petter, *op.cit.*p.76.

During the summers of 1922 and 1923, between July and early September Dunning extended these summer missions. He organised a series of missions at half a dozen English seaside resorts, seeing the opportunity to evangelise people on holiday when they had free time. The expansion was not simply in the number of teams but in the range of people he drew to them. He gathered a team of about forty of 'Pilgrim Preachers' including experienced ministers, undergraduates from the Universities, and students from the theological colleges as well as students and evangelists from Cliff.¹⁷

Dunning described them as working in 'unusual places'¹⁸, no longer in churches and chapels, nor in the villages as had the *Joyful News* evangelists. They took advantage of the practice, which became common between the wars, of families holidaying at the seaside for a week. The teams preached three times a day for a fortnight at Llandudno, Eastbourne, Margate, Yarmouth, Skegness, Redcar, Saltburn, Whitby, Scarborough, Filey, and Bridlington. In addition, a party of eight experienced missionaries conducted meetings on the various racecourses where race meetings were held between July and September. They visited Nottingham, Redcar, Stockton, York, Derby, Manchester and Doncaster.¹⁹ All these venues reveal the desire of Dunning to move out of the church and to preach wherever people gathered for leisure.

The appointment of David W. Lambert as tutor, with responsibility as Director of Studies in September 1924, also brought a significant impetus to the development of these summer missions and the first use of the title 'Trekks'. The

¹⁶ Petter, *op.cit.* p.87.

¹⁷ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1922, pp.68-72.

¹⁸ *Cliff College Report* 1924, pp.35-6.

¹⁹ *Cliff College Report* 1924, pp.35-6.

title Trekkers and possibly the advent of the trek carts did begin in 1925 but the idea had developed over four years under the leadership of Norman Dunning.

Lambert took charge of the missions work and deliberately built on this tradition begun by Dunning. He wrote of the summer of 1925, 'The special feature of the year has been the trek of "Methodist Friars".'²⁰ The trekkers had a uniform of khaki or deep blue, shirts and shorts, and it was this year when the characteristic carts first appeared. Curiously Lambert does not mention them in his reports but there is photographic evidence in the Cliff College archives.²¹ Details of their routes were unclear, the teams were self-contained, sleeping under canvas, preparing their own food, giving testimony and holding meetings where ever they could. That year they were on trek for six weeks, typically covering a route of 400 miles, and held services as often as three or four times a day. Evidence of the success of this new form of evangelism, judging from the *Report*, was that they 'never lacked a meal, never had a day's sickness and all their needs were wonderfully supplied.'²² The commitment to the 'faith principle' established by Dunning was justified because though they 'make no collections, ask for no accommodation, seek no patronage', the finances of the trek account 'balanced to a penny.'²³

When Chadwick, Dunning and particularly Lambert reflected on these treks, they saw themselves as the successors of disciples who had left everything and gone out in small groups to proclaim the gospel. In the Jubilee issue of the *Joyful News*, Lambert traced the trekkers back to the Great Commission.²⁴ They became known as the Methodist Friars; they combined the universal Gospel and assured testimony

²⁰ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund* 1926, p.85.

²¹ Cliff College Archives, photographic section, Trek 1924.

²² *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1926, p.85.

²³ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1926, p.85.

²⁴ *Joyful News*, 1 June 1933, pp.6-7. He begins the article quoting Mathew 28:19-20 and concludes, 'Fulfilling His command to "Go" we shall prove the truth of His promise "Lo".'

of the early Methodists with the joyous sacrifice and the simple life of the first Franciscans. The Cliff Trekkers were called Methodist Friars because 'they seek to combine the joyous adventure and passionate devotion of St. Francis with the assured experience and world embracing Gospel of John Wesley.'²⁵ Tom Meadley summarised the College's work in this way; 'Essentially it is more than a Bible College, a creative mixture of the Benedictine Order while at College and the Franciscan Order while on mission out of College.'²⁶ There was something very dramatic about a team of young men dressed in a uniform of khaki shirts and shorts walking from village to village preaching. Over the last twenty-one years many people, now in their eighties, and many of them women, have recounted with a twinkle in their eye how they loved to welcome the 'Cliff boys' to their church and homes.

By 1927 the trekking method of these 'Methodist Friars' had gained a firm tradition. Lambert thought of the College as being a 'pioneer in evangelism'. The number of teams had increased from one in 1925 to seven by 1927.²⁷ The treks were organised outside the academic terms during the long summer vacation, and most of the students participated in them. He saw this trekking method as 'experimental and preparatory', leading to the establishment of an 'order of evangelists who will be Knights of the Cross.'²⁸ In the 1929 *Cliff College Report*, the report of the treks is entitled, 'The Order of Methodist Friars', but the title did not survive Chadwick, except in the reports from Lambert, who for fifteen years directed the treks and who kept the idea of the Friars alive. Regularly in his accounts of the treks in *Joyful News* he referred to himself as the 'Methodist Friar' or entitled his article as 'Friars'

²⁵ *Joyful News*, 1 June 1933, p.6.

²⁶ Letter from Tom Meadley, to Steven Wild, 27 April 1983, Archives.

²⁷ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1927, p.111.

²⁸ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1927, p.111.

Corner'.²⁹ In a duplicated page given by Lambert to students going on trek in 1936, there is attached a 'Manifesto of the Methodist Friars'. It assumes the crusading view that Lambert had of the trekking. It was 'not a picnic, it is warfare, and at times the conflict is fierce...Cliff Trekkers learn to endure hardness as good soldiers of Christ Jesus'.³⁰ The 'Manifesto' has, at the top: 'N.B. This statement has been loyally accepted by each new generation of Friars. Please keep up the tradition. D.W.L.'.³¹ It is then set out:

1. We travel by way of faith. (This means an attitude of constant prayer).
2. Our ONE and ONLY aim is to bring men and women to Jesus Christ and to extend His Kingdom.
3. We gladly give our TIME and STRENGTH, and ALL we have and are for this end.
4. Having done our part faithfully, we are prepared to leave the rest with God.
5. We realise that what we ARE is more important than what we say or do. Therefore we would ever be in an attitude of constant and utter dependence upon God.
6. While on Active Service we are prepared to follow with absolute loyalty the Appointed leaders.
7. We pledge ourselves, while on duty, not to spend money on ourselves, nor time on anything but work. (We need all our spare time for rest and devotion).³²

²⁹ *Joyful News*, 4 September 1930, pp.6-7.

³⁰ *Joyful News*, 21 September 1933, p.6.

³¹ Item L4 in the College Archives.

³² Item L4 in the College Archives.

With this 'Manifesto', Lambert was setting the tone for the missions and dealing with the problems most frequently experienced on the missions; students who did not give undivided attention to the mission, undermined the leaders, or did not accede to the faith principle. For Lambert the Cliff Treks were more than an evangelistic method. They 'came out of a vision, born of a burning passion to save the masses of men and women outside the Church'.³³

Lambert cherished the hope that this trekking method would have wider implications in the British Church and saw the Cliff trekking method as a work in progress. In the 1927 *Report* he wrote, 'The vision has not yet taken actual and abiding form but it is on the way. Meanwhile, during our summer vacations, we have sought to do for a few weeks, and in a small way, what we hope the Methodist friars of the future will do on a big scale and for many months together.'³⁴ By 1930 the idea had spread and Lambert was able to report, 'The evangelisation of the land by means of Trekking preachers' holds the imagination of Methodism today. Each summer the roads are full of Trekkers. There are Missionary Trekkers, Theological Institution Trekkers, and University Trekkers. The Trek movement, as it exists today, was born at Cliff. We pioneer in evangelism and are delighted when others follow the track we have blazed.'³⁵

The Trekkers were imitated by other organisations but there was always a link back to Cliff. The earliest evidence comes from the work of the International Holiness Mission. The Holiness Mission had been started by David Thomas in 1907 who wished to proclaim holiness teaching outside the church. 'The object of the

³³ *Joyful News*, 21 September 1933, p.6.

³⁴ *Cliff College Report* 1927, p.35. There were three trek teams in the summer of 1926.

³⁵ *Cliff College Report* 1930, p.29.

Holiness Mission is to proclaim to a lost world the truth of Full Salvation'.³⁶ Thomas was joined by Maynard James, who had trained at Cliff in 1927 and with fellow students he formed holiness trekkers.³⁷ From the summer of 1928 they imitated the pattern of the Cliff trekkers, moving around the country with their belongings on a two-wheeled trek cart. The difference was that the Cliff trekkers were seeking commitments for Christ and moving from place to place. The holiness trekkers were emphasising the experience of holiness and establishing churches as a result of an extended mission in one place. Differences of theology and practice arose about faith healing and speaking in tongues. The revival and healing campaigns in which people were anointed with prayers for healing was too much for the leaders of the International Holiness Mission.³⁸ Maynard James resigned, and with former Cliff students Leonard Ravenhill, Clifford Filer and Jack Ford formed the Calvary Holiness Church. In this they often used a tent mission but also in the winter months their church meeting halls.³⁹ Their treks were abandoned.

When in 1938 Lambert moved to become the Principal of the Faith Mission in Edinburgh, and later to the Lebanon Bible College he took there the idea of trek missions. Dunning had hoped to replicate the same in an abortive attempt to establish a College at Beverley Hall on the outskirts of Hull.⁴⁰ When J. Harry Stringer, who had been a tutor at Cliff College and involved in Pentecostal League of

³⁶ Jack Ford, *In the Steps of John Wesley* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1968), p.96. The quotation is from 'The Holiness Mission. Its Aims and Objects'. Thomas had been involved with Richard Reader Harris and the Pentecostal League and worked with Harris from 1891 at the Speke Hall, Battersea. Thomas broke with Harris in 1907 to reach outside the church.

³⁷ Ibid, pp.113-4. Maynard James persuaded fellow students William Henson, William J. Maslen and Albert E. Hart to join him.

³⁸ Ibid. p.118, note 164 describes the altar call James used all his life. I met him at the Southport Holiness Convention in 1968 when his appeal was still the same, for holiness and healing, offering prayer and anointing with oil.

³⁹ Ibid, pp.143-5 and pp.153-4, where the missions are all described as working from tents, halls and occasionally churches.

Prayer,⁴¹ joined the London Bible College in 1948, he brought with him the notion of the trekkers.⁴² LBC students had the treks as part of their course, and though Stringer retired through ill health,⁴³ some treks continued under his successor Tim Buckley. They were however seen as 'evangelistic treks of the older style' and they soon gave way to new methods at LBC, which saw itself as a pioneering college.⁴⁴

The experience of trekking and life on the road was not easy for the students. T. Fred Wilson, who was converted under the ministry of the trekkers, had an idealised view of their life whilst on the road. When he became a student and discovered the reality of the situation, tramping in heavy shoes quickly resulted in blisters. 'Shall I never forget the day when I tramped with feet like that, the sun beating down upon us, the road sticky beneath us, and having a feeling of intense nausea caused by something in our diet? How I longed for the end of that journey.'⁴⁵ He discovered, as many Cliff students have on mission, that the camaraderie of the team which can be so fulfilling can also be very demanding: 'I found that in living in such close proximity to one's fellows, as one must whilst on Trek, all the little points of temperament and personality are magnified and often become irritating.'⁴⁶ Lambert who accompanied the treks for all the years he was in charge had a elevated view of the process, 'the Cliff Boys carry the joy of their Lord in their faces because it is their hearts. They are bearers of *good* news, of *glad* tidings.'⁴⁷

They went long distances. The first Cliff trek tramped over 400 miles.⁴⁸ In

⁴⁰ The latter information came from a conversation with Mrs Dunning, his third wife, in July 1995 at her home, Beverley Hall, on the outskirts of Hull.

⁴¹ J. Harry Stringer joined the Cliff Staff at the invitation of Broadbelt and left in the summer of 1937 to be an evangelist in the Pentecostal League of Prayer.

⁴² Ian Randall, *Educating Evangelism* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), pp.56-7.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.65.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp.97-8 and p.59.

⁴⁵ T.F. Wilson, 'Trekking', in *The Cliff Witness*, Vol.3, No.4, p.50.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 'Trekking', p.50.

⁴⁷ *Joyful News*, 21 September 1933, p.6.

⁴⁸ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1931 p.88.

1931 sixty students were on trek for more than ten weeks. Four parties moved around England, massing for great weekend campaigns at strategic centres like Manchester, Bristol and London. One trek crossed to Ireland and another pioneered its way into Scotland. Other treks worked in the villages preaching on village greens and market squares, and the seaside campaigns at Blackpool and Bridlington became features in the summer programmes of those popular resorts.⁴⁹ Ben Mackay specifically records that in 1935 his trek team travelling 610 miles between 24 June and 2 September and in 1936, 575 miles from 23 June to 7 September.⁵⁰

The gospel message which was preached had a Wesleyan optimism of grace and the reports of the trekkers' work reflected this. 'Hundreds have knelt on the coats of the Friars or on copies of *Joyful News* in the Market Place, Public Square, or open thoroughfare.'⁵¹

There are memories of these treks and missions which are full of embellished comment. The leaders are built up: 'that splendid host of evangelists so magnificently captained by brothers Dunning, Brice and Roberts, whose song and speech in the streets and sanctuaries wrought exploits which oft have reminded me of Wesley.'⁵² The reports of the outcomes of the treks their impact: 'Men and women by thousands found themselves in the glory-zone; ice-bound souls were strangely warmed; an infectious enthusiasm compelled hitherto undreamt of ministries; the challenge of splendid happenings silenced the gibes and obviated cynicism. Churches which had ceased to function save in feeblest form, proved themselves accoutred with the whole armour of God, and counted as Heaven's instruments'.⁵³ Joseph Pearce speaks of the evangelists as 'God-intoxicated men, every chink,

⁴⁹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1931 p.88.*

⁵⁰ Ben Mackay, *A Tale that is told*, pp.292 and 319.

⁵¹ *Cliff College 25th Anniversary Report 1929*, pp.34-6.

cranny and corner of their being under the dominance of the Divine ... This was one of their outstanding assets, that they were purveyors of a pleasing gaiety, disbursers of the largesse of celestial vision, channels through which flowed the ever-gladdening river of grace.'⁵⁴

Typically the treks visited the villages and the seaside towns before 1939, with many of the same routes taken each year. However, there is evidence that new areas were tried. The Anniversary Report for 1929 records that the first Irish trek was undertaken from Belfast to Londonderry and back. In the same year, there was a week's campaign in the Leeds City Square where 'there was a crowd every night of more than five hundred people, almost entirely men.'⁵⁵ In 1928, as well as appearing in a mission in Hyde Park, London, the trekkers tramped over three thousand miles, preached and testified in over two hundred towns and villages, conducted services on the sea-shore, on village greens, in market places, city squares, racecourses and fair grounds.⁵⁶ Following the reopening of the College in 1945, the treks included cities and towns such as Sunderland, Leeds, Bristol, and Warrington though many of the missions were in the rural areas of Cumbria, Cornwall. After World War II, the treks continued in the summer though most of the teams returned in time to help organise or during the College's Derwent Convention.

Traffic on the roads had increased dramatically in the 1950s both in numbers and speed, and pulling handcarts even on rural roads became dangerous and an

⁵² Joseph Pearce, 'Memories of the Cliff Crusaders' in *The Cliff Witness* Vol.2, No.3, 1938, p.46.

⁵³ Joseph Pearce, p.46.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ *Cliff College Report*, 1929, pp.34-36.

⁵⁶ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1929, pp.76-77.

accident befell one of the treks.⁵⁷ The last treks, in the sense of teams of students pulling carts, were in 1959 and of the seven trek teams five were walking.⁵⁸

The trek mission came from the experience of Dunning and was shaped by Lambert. Both of them gave credit to Chadwick for the idea because his name gave respect to the process. They adapted the idea of the colporteurs and kept the focus of the team treks as winning people for Christ. Students evidently co-operated with the treks project as they volunteered to engage in it during the summer vacation. The teams brought back written details of their missions, numbers attending meetings and numbers of converts, but these were lost. The reports of the teams and their effects are extremely positive but the real or lasting influence of trekking cannot be evaluated.

There is no doubt that Lambert and Dunning both considered that trekking was a pioneering form of evangelism, leading the way and in which others followed. That pioneering spirit of effective evangelism did not survive into the late 1940's and fifties. They were, as we shall see, rescued by the Graham visit, but would be the late 1960s before the college could reasonably report pioneering evangelism.

⁵⁷ Letter, from Dr Wood to Steve Wild, 8 October 1982, expressing on behalf of the College Committee some caution about a 'Centenary Trek' in 1983, 'Mr Frank Blackwell remembers an accident that befell one of the last treks.'

⁵⁸ *Minutes* of the Cliff College General Committee, 9 October 1959. Five were walking, one cycle and one Van trek. The following year only one trek was walking and that was for part of the way to Morecambe, *Minutes*, 6 October 1960.

Chapter nine

Evangelistic Strategy: 1946 - 2002

The next clear initiative came, not from Cliff itself, but from the Home Mission Department. The Rev Colin Roberts, himself an ex-student of Cliff and at that time General Secretary of the Home Mission Department, had launched the idea of 'Christian Commando Campaigns', a dramatic title for an evangelistic mission.¹ A young minister, the Rev Maurice Barnett, grasped the vision and wrote with enthusiasm about it in the *Joyful News*.² The Rev Maldwyn Edwards, son-in-law to Broadbelt, was similarly engaged and the inference in his *Joyful News* write-up was that this form of evangelism had great sympathy with the work of the trekkers.³ The Commando Campaigns were supervised from the Home Mission Committee,⁴ and they were a feature of Methodism for some years.⁵ Some Cliff students were involved in the Greater London Christian Commando Campaign, in a team of two thousand, 'drawn from all participating denominations, from Anglo-Catholic to Quaker.'⁶ The members worked in twos or small groups depending on the task. The purpose was to reach out to where people worked or spent their leisure, taking the gospel

-
- ¹ Colin Roberts, *These Christian Commando Campaigns* (London: Epworth Press, 1945).
² *Joyful News*, 11 November 1943, p.2. 'I have just returned from one of the biggest of our Christian Commando campaigns. From mid-day to mid-night, and at all hours in between, we have been in action in factory, licensed clubs, in military camps and in the open-air. In ten days thousands of men and women have listened with amazing interest to the Good News of God in a manner which is reminiscent of the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century. Hundreds of people have been moved to make a decision to become Christian disciples. Now this is *fact* not *fiction*.'
- ³ *Joyful News*, 13 April 1944, p.1.
⁴ *Minutes of the Home Mission Committee*, 6 July 1944.
⁵ *Joyful News*, 13 July 1944, p.1, 27 March 1947, p.1.
⁶ David Lawrence, *Memoirs and Extracts from the Diaries of David Lawrence* (Norwich: personal publication, 1995), p.33.

message out to where people were. They targeted the workplace, speaking to a gathered meeting or holding 'an open-air talking point outside the factory gate, often with the use of a loudspeaker car.'⁷ David Lawrence, a student in 1946/7 recalls that, 'theatres gave us the stage for five minutes during the interval. Rank's Saturday morning children's clubs were just beginning and included a commercial for local Sunday schools. Some offices allowed us in for brief prayers to start the day. Hospitals, clubs, universities, schools and prisons, all were approached and many doors were opened to us.'⁸

In these post-war years, the initiative for evangelism in Methodism moved from Cliff to the Home Mission Dept. It was not surprising, therefore, that Tom Butler, who had been at the College for 23 years, resigned from the staff in February 1956 and transferred to the Home Mission Evangelistic Staff in the summer. There he had the renowned Rev Dr W.E. Sangster as his boss and Butler became a 'Lay Connexional Missioner'.⁹ When the College re-opened after the war Broadbelt was not well and his successor, the Rev Edward Eagles was ineffective. Gone were the many initiatives which characterised the ministry of Broadbelt in the 1930s. Tom Butler became the person who led the evangelistic staff but they were replicating past methods. It is true that the College built a youth camp in 1947-48 to allow young people to attend the major public events of the College. It was Butler who had the vision and oversaw the project. Butler started and ran the 'Cliff Youth Fellowship' designed 'to band together in closer unity young people reached by the Camp

⁷ Ibid, p.34.

⁸ Ibid, p.34.

⁹ *Joyful News*, 30 August 1956, p.3.

and the Evangelists' Missions.'¹⁰ By 1954 there were 4,600 active members of the Cliff Youth Fellowship and it was this fellowship which kept alive the interest in Cliff and its evangelistic work. Tom Butler was the effective leader of this movement.

The lack of effective leadership between 1946 and 1957, the later part of Broadbelt's principalship and the whole of Eagles', did not mean that no effective evangelism was undertaken. The single most important decision Eagles made was to agree to invite Billy Graham to the College for the Anniversary in 1954, but it was Joe Blinco who paved the way for Graham to come and Butler who ran the organisation. Many of the evangelists' missions were very significant. Jim Beasley, a 'handsome dark haired evangelist', had a remarkable ministry but died tragically in 1957 aged only thirty-two.¹¹ At a mission in Huddersfield at Crosland Hill Methodist, Beasley with Ernest Steele, Bill Parkinson and others held a mission, which became the talking point in the community. So many people responded at the meetings that enquirers could not all come down the aisle. The mission had a long-term impact for mission overseas, ordained ministry, and committed lay ministry, the consequences of which are still to be seen fifty five years later.¹²

The appointment of Tom Meadley as Principal was controversial in some quarters because he had not before been associated with the College. In

¹⁰ *Minutes* of the Cliff College Committee, 15 November 1946. The Fellowship had a motto, 'My Heart Aflame' and a magazine, *Crusader*.

¹¹ John Wood, *A Year to Remember* (private publication, ca 2003), recalls a mission at Loftus. Jim Beasley preached in the cinema and 64 responded to the gospel.

¹² Not only did people enter the caring professions engaging Christianly within the community; they started 'Huddersfield for Christ', became missionaries and preachers, and as they had families they nurtured the next generation, many of whom are committed Christian people. Bill Parkinson, *Memories* (a typescript copy was presented for the archive, 2004) indicates that 'The parents of Rev. H. Mellor, the present Principal of Cliff College, were blessed and helped by the mission at Crosland Hill', p.30 (Subsequently published by Scotforth Books, Lancaster, 2004).

September 1957 he was introduced as offering contemporary thinking to the ministry of evangelism, 'One of Mr. Meadley's special gifts is to put evangelical teaching into modern pattern'.¹³

Recognition of the ministry of evangelists has always been a problem both for the College and within the church. On a number of occasions an 'Order of Evangelists' has been proposed. Twice the Committee Minutes record that such an order was considered and, in December 1950, a paper was presented (though we do not have a copy) but 'further consideration was postponed.'¹⁴ The matter resurfaced again in June 1951, but the proposal was 'further postponed, until the time appeared more opportune.'¹⁵ There is no suggestion in the *Minutes* why the matter was at that time inopportune but there were criticisms voiced at the same meeting about the Cliff College Fellowship and, after a 'full and frank discussion', there was a typically Methodist response of establishing a sub-committee. The Fellowship was run in effect by the evangelists, and if they were seen as lacking competence, then a Connexional order with them at the centre, would be risky. More recently the recognition of the role and ministry of the evangelist has taken greater priority in the Church of England for nationally recognised ministries. In 2001, remarkably, the Methodist Conference adopted a report in which it accepted the role and ministry of evangelists. This was steered through by the Rev Graham Horsley, Secretary of Evangelism and Church Planting and, in 2003, at the Methodist Conference, he successfully gained their agreement for an order of service for such recognition. This is

¹³ *Joyful News*, 12 September 1957, p.5. Notice that the mistake is made to speak about 'evangelical' (suggesting a theological stance) when the article is about evangelism.

¹⁴ *Minutes of the Cliff College Committee*, 13 December 1950.

¹⁵ *Minutes of the Cliff College Committee*, 13 June 1951.

intended to promote further the recognition of evangelists, and deepen the ministry of evangelism in British Methodism.

There were occasions, such as an incident in 1955, when the work of the College was brought into disrepute through the ministry of two ex-students who were 'conducting campaigns which had somewhat unworthy features.'¹⁶ The Committee decided to seek to prevent the use of the College name by ex-students except in 'approved cases'¹⁷ and to ensure the *Joyful News* did not include reports from the missions conducted by these students. The issue was normally about money, where people were asked to contribute to the work (a striking tale having been told about the College), but the funds never reached the College.¹⁸ In the summer of 1984 new procedures were adopted which ensured that funds donated on missions were handed over to the College.

The missions conducted by the evangelists adopted a particular pattern. The 'Sunshine Corner' children's work,¹⁹ the evening rallies, the 'Cliff Night' with slides, along with visiting homes and taking Sunday services in churches, became the feature of Cliff missions across the land from the war years through to the early 70s.

A discussion was started in 1971 at the College General Committee about perceived problems on the evangelistic staff. Dr Richard Porter raised the

¹⁶ *Minutes* of the College General Committee, 24 June 1955, 'Cliff Missions'. When Richard J. Foster published his book, *Money, Sex and Power* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985) the denominational leaders of evangelistic ministry agreed these issues were the most likely reason for the downfall of evangelists.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ This was a systemic problem when I arrived at the College in 1983. Evangelists who were poorly paid and expenses unpaid, began in the 1950s a practice of dividing the final offering of the mission between themselves. This practice changed by the early 1980s and evangelists received significant gifts of money, clothes, equipment etc. In the spring a 1984, a new contract made evangelists salaried and receiving full re-imbusement for expenses incurred in the course of their work. All subsequent gifts then came to the College.

¹⁹ Clive Pugh, *Aims and Methods of Sunshine Corners* (Calver: Joyful News Bookroom, undated). Cliff College Archive Library.

matter; he felt there were some problems with the present evangelistic staff 'due to the lack of educational opportunities'.²⁰ He suggested the appointment of a Director of Evangelism, 'responsible for arranging student missions and evangelists' missions...(and) a separate course in evangelism should be provided at the College.'²¹ After discussion at the Policy Committee and among the tutorial staff, the recommendation was for the appointment from September 1973 of a fourth full-time tutor, 'on the understanding that one of the tutors would also act as Director of Evangelism'.²² The Home Mission Division vetoed the proposal until in February 1974 an anonymous donor made the funding for such an appointment.²³ The Baptist layman, Robert Mason, a returned missionary, was appointed in the summer of 1974, and he gave direction to the teaching of evangelism and the evangelistic staff.

Mason proposed smaller teams and a move away from large mission teams altogether.²⁴ He realised that what evangelists began to speak of as 'hit and run' missions of a week or ten days had a limited impact in the more complex society of the mid seventies. He identified the main problems as a 'low level of understanding of the aims of the mission' on the part of the churches visited and 'the inability to engage' in appropriate preparation for the missions or to have adequate systems of nurture afterwards.²⁵ Mason proposed the link with the Rev Bryan Gilbert, also a Baptist, and the 'One Step Forward' campaign because, 'Increasingly we are confronted by the problem of churches an circuits which

²⁰ *Minutes*, Cliff College General Committee, October 1971. Richard Porter had been a supporter of the College for some time and his father was treasurer. He had witnessed both Butler and Steele giving direction to the Evangelism strategy as 'Senior Evangelists'.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Minutes* College General Committee, 12 October 1972.

²³ *Minutes* College General Committee, 27 February 1974.

²⁴ *Minutes* College General Committee, 2 March 1978.

²⁵ *Minutes* College General Committee, 28 March 1979.

are quite unprepared for mission.'²⁶ 'One Step Forward' was a programme designed to help local churches become involved in evangelistic mission in their communities.²⁷ This was training material designed to help churches move towards being a missioning community and therefore ready to receive a Cliff team. The 'One Step Forward' campaign had four main stages: An Operation Agape Work Book, stressing relationships in the church and seeking to renew and deepen spiritual devotion. 2. A One Step Forward Work Book, considering the nature of Christian discipleship, the worship and caring ministry of the church. 3. Instruction, which dealt with the principles of Church Growth (which were being widely discussed in the British Church at this time). 4 An Evangelism Work Book, which was designed to help the congregation share their life and faith with the community.²⁸ The *Cliff Witness* of Spring 1980 announced 'A Decade Of Evangelism'²⁹ and that Cliff College had adopted a new form of mission strategy: 'Our evangelistic procedures here at Cliff have recently been subjected to a thorough review. We have come to the conclusion that the most effective missions are those in which the church concerned has itself been prepared in advance to share in the enterprise and also to be

²⁶ Bryan Gilbert led a weekend Conference at the College in November 1977, spoke at the College's Anniversary meetings on May 1979 and worked with Robert Mason, Tutor in charge of the Evangelists, on the way the 'One step Forward' materials could be used as part of the College's work.

²⁷ Bryan Gilbert, *One Step Forward Campaign* (Leicester: One Step Forward Trust, 1971, revised 1975), 'Part One – Operation Agape Work Book', 'Part Two – A One Step Forward Workbook', Part Three – An Evangelism Workbook'.

²⁸ All the materials were written by Bryan Gilbert and developed by his colleague and successor, David Greenaway who later became a Methodist Minister. The final format of the materials (1988) were entitled 'Loving', 'Discovering', 'Responding', with an 'Introduction for Church Leaders', and 'Guidelines for small group leaders' (Nottingham: One Step Forward Ministries, 1988). A full list of all materials in the College Archive Library, not yet catalogued.

²⁹ *Cliff Witness*, Spring 1980, Vol.17, No.1, p.1. The 'Decade' was proposed by the Nationwide Initiative in Evangelism which was led by the Rev Donald English. It was launched at an Assembly at Nottingham in September of that year but the 'Decade' was not supported by the church governing bodies. It would take the third world Bishops of the Anglican Communion to suggest a Decade at the 1988 Lambeth Conference, which was embraced by all the major denominations in Britain.

responsible for continuing evangelism after the leaders from Cliff have left. With this in view, it has been decided to adopt the methods advocated in the One Step Forward programme.³⁰

The experience of the application of this new strategy was only partial. Churches welcomed the first three parts of the materials but few if any proceeded to the Evangelism Work Book.³¹ They benefited greatly from the Operation Agape but still assumed that the 'Cliff Team' would engage in evangelism on their behalf. One student who became an evangelist commented in a rather forthright manner, 'The pre-mission involvement of Cliff with the Church must be increased, otherwise the College and its evangelists and the Church itself are never going to get the opportunity to go out into the world to win converts and then turn them into disciples.'³²

Mason identified two other significant problems. The first was the training and number of the evangelistic staff. Typically evangelists worked in pairs and were expected to have a range of skills.³³ He was wanting evangelists who were more highly skilled than one year's training at Cliff would allow. He further suggested that the centenary of the *Joyful News* be used to raise funds for the evangelistic work of the College.³⁴ The Committee, as it used to at this time, asked the Home Mission Board to set up a working party to consider the

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ The Rev Brian Hoare, who was the Tutor in charge of evangelism, 1981-83, could not recall one church which had undertaken all the four stages.

³² Mark Dowdeswell, 'Cliff Missions' (unpublished, and undated but written during Spring 1984. Cliff College Archive, folder entitled 'Critiques of Cliff', not catalogued). Dowdeswell was an outspoken student and evangelist who as a second year student wrote a three-page critique of his training and the Cliff Missions of the day. Despite his brusque manner at that time he had perceptive comments to make.

³³ *Mimutes* College General Committee, 27 March 1981. They were expected to be a jack-of-all-trades, and Mason concluded this was not possible.

³⁴ Ibid.

matter.³⁵ The second major problem was that Mason, as a Baptist layman, did not properly understand the Methodist organisation and was not known within it. Therefore he found difficulty in sharing the new approach to mission with Methodist leaders, who continued with the view that Cliff as a college was engaging in evangelism rooted in the 1930s. As a consequence, the College Committee decided in 1981 that the director of evangelism 'should certainly be a Methodist and probably a minister.'³⁶ A full-time Director of Evangelism was required, someone known in the connexion who could lead the evangelism team, teach evangelism and counselling in the College, and promote the cause of evangelism across the Church. The new Director of Evangelism, the Rev Howard Mellor, arrived at the College in September 1983.³⁷

The first proposal from the new Director was an eleven page document setting out proposals for a new second year diploma with a limited stated aim, 'To give training in and an understanding of evangelism to those who have already shown some gift in this area'.³⁸ The purpose was to increase the

³⁵ Ibid. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the College staff and Committee were not willing to shoulder the responsibility. There was also the hope that contacting the Home Mission Board might bring additional funding for the College.

³⁶ *Minutes* College General Committee, 17 December 1981. This was a meeting with the Home Mission Working Party, which was also the nominating committee for the new principal and the proposed Director of Evangelism.

³⁷ The difficulty of objective research by a key participant was explored by the Rev Dr George Lovell in his writing on Church and Community Work. He explored the issues raised where the 'worker' in a project was also the 'researcher', and concluded that it was possible to be a 'Participant Observer'; involved in the process but seeking to stand back and critically assess the situation both in its parts and as a whole. Lovell's conclusions were included in his PhD thesis, 'An Action Research Project to Test the Applicability of the Non-Directive Concept in a Church, Youth and Counselling Setting', University of London, 1973. There are in addition many published texts on participant observation but two which are particularly useful are James P. Spradley, *Participant Observation* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980) and Eileen Kane *Doing Your Own Research* (London: Marion Boyars, 1983). At this point in this thesis I have deliberately taken the role of a 'Participant Observer'.

³⁸ 'Proposals to the Cliff College Committee on the Second Year Course and Evangelism from Cliff', December 1983. Written after being at the for four months and consultation with evangelists and tutors. The paper outlined the course details of lectures, skills practice and a dissertation.

knowledge base, skills and experience of successful students, which would ensure better candidates for the evangelistic staff.

The paper also set out a vision for the evangelistic strategy for the College. This would be the backbone of the work for the next twenty years. The purpose was to 'enable all Methodist Churches and members to have evangelism on their agenda, so that they both engage in and learn about witnessing to their faith.'³⁹ The role of the College was very clearly stated and drew on the academic research being undertaken: 'Our role is to be evangelist/trainers seeking to help others realise their own ministry and potential for evangelism by initiating, encouraging, supporting, leading, teaching, reflecting and evaluating so that we enable others to engage with us in the task of evangelism.'⁴⁰

The paper deliberately sought to build on the previous attempts to change the direction of the evangelism policy at the College. The College should not 'go to churches to do their evangelism for them'. Therefore the evangelists needed to be a more professional group, better trained and resourced and able to offer 'tailor-made' missions. The paper also set out new proposals so that from the beginning 'at the point of acceptance of a mission we need to discuss the needs not only of the mission period itself but to plan and book dates for preparation and follow-up.'⁴¹ The College should offer consultations and training for ministers and church members. Moreover the Director of Evangelism was intent to engage in advocacy of the work of the College and the new policy of evangelism. This would need greater clarity about the costs of a mission, rewriting all the College's leaflets and development of new materials.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Therefore in March 1984⁴² the following 'Statement of Purpose in Relation to Evangelism' was agreed by the College Committee:

To enable all Methodist churches and its members to realise their potential to become a community of evangelism and mission. Such a church would be characterised by some or all of the following:

- They engage in and learn about witnessing for their faith.
- The worshipping life of the congregation with its support and encouragement of each other becomes the springboard for this mission and evangelism.
- The ministry of every member is valued and exercised within the total ministry of the church, including that of the evangelist, under the leadership of the Church Council and ordained minister.
- The work and witness of the congregation, together and individually, is marked by their eagerness to take seriously their social responsibility of local, national and global issues.

The approach behind this for the Cliff team was very different from the previous assumption that the mission programme was 'taken' to people. Instead the evangelists wanted 'to 'start where people are' in a programme of mission, seminar, consultation, or teaching course and ensure that our response to an invitation from a church is 'tailor-made'.'⁴³

The same paper gave a statement about the role of the College, 'we can provide from the Cliff Evangelism Team the skills of both evangelists and trainers to work alongside a local church seeking to help them realise their own ministry and potential for being a community of evangelism and mission by

⁴² *Minutes* College General Committee, 20 March 1984. The Committee unanimously agreed with a paper 'Evangelism from Cliff', dated December 1983.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

initiating, encouraging, supporting, leading, teaching, reflecting and evaluating. In this way we enable others to engage with us in the task of evangelism both during and after a mission period.⁴⁴ The tone was optimistic, since the team at that time, though agreeing the programme, were not sufficiently skilled to deliver the whole of that programme. It would take some changes to the team and two years for the team to be in a place to offer that quality of training.

A series of rapid changes followed the acceptance of this report. The first change in the evangelistic staff was to ensure that they were seen as full members of staff. Their names had previously appeared not on a staff list but at the top of the 'Student List'. The team were to work under the Director of Evangelism and new strategies were envisaged. In addition a new Diploma year would begin from September 1984 with the intention of preparing a new generation of students for the evangelistic work with a new approach.⁴⁵ Research for an MA thesis *A Theological Examination of the Non-Directive Approach to Church and Community Development with a Special Reference to the Nature of Evangelism*⁴⁶ informed and gave intellectual rigour to the policy-making of the College in the period to 1994. In 1984 a short pamphlet, *Evangelism and Development* set out the key elements that would guide the development of mission theology and practice in the period 1883 – 2004.⁴⁷ This

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ 'Proposals for a Second Year Course', December 1983, agreed at the College General Committee in 20 March 1984.

⁴⁶ Master of Arts, University of Durham, 1991. The thesis was an exploration of what I perceived to be the striking parallels between community development approaches and the pattern of evangelistic ministry which I had observed and experienced for ten years in pastoral ministry.

⁴⁷ H. Mellor, *Evangelism and Development* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1984). An edited version was included as chapter 7 in David Bridge (ed), *What it means to me, personal visions of a living church* (London: Methodist Church Home Mission Division, 1987), pp49-54.

was followed by a booklet, *Thinking About Mission*,⁴⁸ describing the way the College now wished to work 'with' churches, rather than 'do mission for them', and was part of a programme of seminars across the country to inform clergy of the developments taking place.

In fact it was not a radical departure from the intention of Mason and Hoare in forging the link with One Step Forward, but this was a deliberate attempt to teach students and train staff to a new way of thinking and work with churches. Parallel to this thinking was the work of Donald English, then General Secretary of the Home Mission Division, wrote *Sharing in God's Mission*, which became with its intention of holding together, evangelism, social action and the struggle for justice.⁴⁹

There were four separate but connected strands to the College's evangelistic ministry which were adopted in the 1980s. The first was to change the perceptions about contemporary thinking in mission and the changes taking place at Cliff. It was important to change the negative perceptions about evangelism and to talk with clergy and church leaders.⁵⁰ An example of the negative view of evangelism is contained in a widely circulated paper by Mary J. Vickers in which she related evangelism to persuasion, which she then placed on a continuum of education, persuasion, conversion, seduction, agitation, manipulation, propaganda, indoctrination, subversion, brainwashing, coercion

⁴⁸ Mellor and Evangelism Team, *Thinking About Mission* (Calver: Cliff College 1984). The title remained for 20 years though the detail was updated a number of times, with the first booklet for Cliff College Publishing in 1986.

⁴⁹ Donald English, *Sharing in God's Mission* (London: Methodist Church Home Mission Division, 1985).

⁵⁰ Meeting with all the Methodist District Chairman at their meeting on 18 June 1985. It took a year to gain that access of one half hour. This gave rise to invitations to speak to District Synods and some Circuit Meetings.

and finally torture.⁵¹ Though this was published in 1995, it represented the view of many that evangelistic ministry was really the manipulation of vulnerable people. Vickers quoted Bosch, 'evangelism is always invitation',⁵² but she concluded that 'persuasion will inevitably be a part of evangelism',⁵³ and the article leaves the reader with the suggestion that the evangelist will inevitably 'err into coercing people to believe.'⁵⁴ In this context it was crucial to show that the College had adopted a new evangelism strategy. Thus meeting with clergy and church leaders around the connexion was essential in enabling the evangelistic staff of the College to espouse a new way of working and to speak themselves to local churches of working 'with people'.

A second strand was to offer short courses: not only to advocate a new approach, but also to offer a training course for local church ministers entitled 'Enabling Mission in the Local Church'.⁵⁵ The conference 'Bridging the Gap' in February 1991 brought many more people, and these were followed by the World Methodist Evangelism Institutes in 1990 and 1993 which placed Cliff on the international map for the first time for 60 years.⁵⁶

The third strand was that every effort was made to ensure that the local church, and the mission teams' need for good and reasonably priced literature, led to the founding of Cliff College Publishing with evangelistic tracts and a

⁵¹ Mary J. Vickers, *Does successful evangelistic endeavour depend as much on the effective use of persuasive techniques as it does on proclamation of the gospel?* (Milton Keynes and Malvern Papers, November 1995).

⁵² Vickers, p.8, quoting David Bosch, *Transforming Mission* p.413.

⁵³ Vickers, p.7.

⁵⁴ Vickers p.8.

⁵⁵ A series of seminars and consultations were held in the period 1986 – 1989 which were attended by about 15 people. *Can Methodism Grow?*, *Healing the Big Question*, *Communicating the Faith* and *Enabling Mission in the Local Church*.

⁵⁶ *The Fifth*, 1993, and *The Seventh*, 2001, International Evangelism Seminar jointly sponsored between Cliff College and the World Methodist Evangelism Institute, at Candler school of theology, Emory University. They attracted almost 200 church leaders and evangelists from 43 countries, many of whom became postgraduate students at the College or commended people to be postgraduate students.

number of booklets designed to prepare churches for mission. The purpose was to equip local church members with the skills and confidence to engage with Cliff in evangelistic projects. In this way the College was deliberately training people for continuing mission. Initial contact with churches led to the preparation of a booklet, *Thinking About Mission*,⁵⁷ and WHAM days, 'We're Having A Mission', to help the preparation of the church and team to ensure that the mission programme was appropriate. To enable this, the new evangelism team wrote material under the title *Growing Together in Christ* to prepare churches for evangelism.⁵⁸ Later when he was appointed the Director of Evangelism, in 1994, the Rev Philip Clarke wrote additional books to support the work of preparing churches for evangelistic mission, *Evangelism in the Local Church*, *The Hedgehog Scenario*, *Overflow* and *Jesus at Tesco*.⁵⁹

The fourth strand was that the evangelism team became aware of the importance, not only of working with the church, but also creating the best possible situations in which to train students to be reflective practitioners.

The work developed in the 80s and 90s and under the leadership of the first two Directors of Evangelism, the Rev Howard Mellor 1983-1994 and the Rev Philip Clarke 1994-2002, the College being recognised and respected as one dedicated to the teaching and practice of evangelism. Clarke continued the policy developed in the mid 80s but, with more requests, the problem was always that the connexional 50% of the Director of Evangelism became too thinly spread across the Connexion and ecumenical contacts. Methodist districts

⁵⁷ *Thinking about Mission* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1986). The booklet began as a handout used in spring 1985 with church leaders, was reproduced annually from 1986 and from 1991 renamed *Together in Mission*.

⁵⁸ *Growing Together in Christ* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1990).

⁵⁹ Philip Clarke, *Evangelism in the local Church* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1995); *Jesus at Tesco* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1997); *The Hedgehog Scenario* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1999); *Overflow* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1999).

and then circuits began to appoint more Evangelism Enablers, and also more ministers spoke of their work as intentionally about evangelism. As a result in 1988 there was founded a meeting, the Forum for Evangelism, for those 'appointed specifically or interested in evangelistic ministry' to meet and share together. Meeting normally at Cliff, the numbers grew to fifty-five people employed by local churches, circuits or districts as evangelists and Clarke was able to share the work with them.

The decision by the Methodist Conference to recognise the ministry of the evangelist and to prepare an order of service for that purpose, has been a significant development.⁶⁰ This has also been assisted by the decision of the Methodist Church to describe its work as 'Our Calling', in which one of the four main tasks of the Church is evangelism. The work of Cliff has always been to work with the Church at national, regional and local levels, to see the vital importance of the task and to serve the Church in evangelism, a view reiterated by the Rev Philip Clarke when he came into post.⁶¹ The issue, however, was one needing constant attention. In March 2000 Clarke reported to the committee, 'We need a change of mindset from mission as event to mission as the whole of life. The challenge for those who teach and train people in evangelism is to enable students to discern and model this.'⁶²

Clarke made a number of new initiatives. From June 1997 he was insisting to the College Committee in his reports that 'new models' of evangelism needed

⁶⁰ The report 'Role and Recognition of Evangelists' came to the Methodist Conference in 2000 and the Order of Service for Appointment of an Evangelist' came to the Conference of 2002.

⁶¹ Clarke was deliberately offering 'a long-term commitment to mission in churches and a flexible programme of teaching', Report of the director of Evangelism, *Minutes*, College General Committee, 1 November 1994.

⁶² 'Report form the Director of Evangelism', in *Minutes* of the College General Committee, 21 March 2002.

to be explored.⁶³ This he undertook with two mission projects in Bakewell and then the Peak churches of every denomination. This contact with nearby churches enabled long term 'mission placements' to be arranged. As the situation in Eastern Europe changed churches related to world Methodism contacted the College asking for help in developing their life and thinking about mission. Clarke negotiated with the World Church Office of the Methodist church to appoint a European Evangelism Enabler who would be a member of the College evangelistic team.⁶⁴ That appointment meant that the College was able to support and offer training and multi-lingual teams to different, and often small Methodist Churches in differing parts of Europe. At a time when so much evangelism also brought westernised consumerist values, the approach of working with churches where they are, relating to their resources and to their continuing sustainable work was an important model.⁶⁵

Clarke also became convinced of the need to establish a new model of mission because he was 'frustrated with the gap between our teaching of mission in the lecture room and our practice of mission in many local churches'.⁶⁶ Therefore he proposed a 'completely new approach...which is local, urban, on-going, alongside the poor and socially related'.⁶⁷ The scheme was very imaginative, and with the co-operation of Sheffield Housing, community groups and local churches, there was the possibility of establishing a

⁶³ 'Report form the Director of Evangelism', in *Minutes* of the College General Committee, 7 January 1997.

⁶⁴ 'Report form the Director of Evangelism', in *Minutes* of the College General Committee, 19 March 1998.

⁶⁵ The first two European enablers were appointed for two years, also undertaking postgraduate work. The present post-holder has an open contract. There have been mission teams working in France, the Czech Republic, Romania, Latvia, Estonia, Macedonia, Norway, Denmark, and Hungary.

⁶⁶ 'Report form the Director of Evangelism', in *Minutes* of the College General Committee, 20 March 2001.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

living community in a difficult estate in Sheffield. This matches one of the strategies employed by Chadwick, to establish 'a ministry of social compassion',⁶⁸ something he practised in Leeds but did not employ at Cliff. Tragically for Clarke and this project, the evangelist he hoped would live at the house left the College staff and sufficient support structures could not be put in place quickly enough to create a volunteer team.⁶⁹

In summary this later period of the evangelistic ministry at the College, though there were some creative moments, was characterised for a period of thirty years, 1946 – 1977, in which there was no new initiatives in evangelism. The College evangelists simply imitated the events of the 1930s though with diminishing credibility in the church and a reduced number of evangelists. It was not until Mason raised the issue of working with local churches that a new policy began to develop. This came to maturity under Mellor and Clarke, and has formed the basis of understanding for the work of the College for the last twenty years. The credibility of this approach was confirmed in contrast to the events of the Decade of Evangelism. The Decade had significant support from all the major denominations and para-church organisations involved in evangelism. However the project, instead of working with churches on their needs and agenda, became a race to impose national solutions. The denominational officers with responsibility for evangelism policy tried to change the policy but to no avail. Therefore in 1994 four major events competed for the interest of local churches; Churches Together in England produced a Lent course for sharing faith, 'Who is my Neighbour'; the Pentecostal Churches

⁶⁸ See page 172.

⁶⁹ Clarke was on sabbatical in Africa when the plans fell through. He was deeply disappointed and left the College staff in 2002 to seek to model this form of local church mission in Darlington.

introduced their 'JiM' campaign, 'Jesus in Me'; the Evangelical Alliance promoted 'On Fire', a church and community project at Pentecost; and the international evangelist Reinhard Bonnke raised money to send a booklet *Minus-to-Plus* to every home in the country. In the course of these projects £21million was spent, the Decade was ridiculed and a search for a new strategy was instituted. The research of John Finney, published in 1992, was taken more seriously,⁷⁰ and all denominations and para-church organisations developed schemes of evangelism which were relational, preparing resources for evangelists who were working with churches, seeking to meet the needs and questions of people in church and community. The stance taken by Cliff was confirmed, though the major benefit was for the *Alpha* programme⁷¹ which was perceived as starting with questions people were asking. All evangelistic strategy in Britain since 1994 has assumed that it must work with local churches and communities.

⁷⁰ John Finney, *Finding faith Today* (Swindon: Bible Society, 1992). The book showed conclusively that people come to faith not because of major initiatives, but the major factors in coming to faith were almost exclusively a close friend or relative.

⁷¹ The *Alpha* programme was written for Holy Trinity, Brompton and after being welcomed by many churches has now become an international phenomenon.

Section Four

Academic Recognition

Chapter ten: Academic Stance

Chapter eleven: The Renaissance of Mission Studies

Chapter ten

Academic Stance

Admission to the College was always on broader grounds than academic qualification. The criteria in the period 1994 – 2004 were ‘based on appraisal of qualities of character, potential and Christian conviction. Evidence of academic potential and of ability to profit from study is essential.’¹ This text was carefully drafted to convey the policy of open access, which the College wished to maintain, at the same time as welcoming the academic rigour of courses validated in higher education. This chapter will reveal that whilst the college always sought a high academic standard, in the early period 1884 – 1939, the focus of the training was preparing students for the evangelistic ministry. It was only after 1946 that issues of academic comparability began to be raised, though these were not resolved until 1993.

Recognition by a significant university in 1993 was a long way from the insubstantial beginnings in Bolton in 1884. However, from its commencement, teaching and learning developed excellent practitioners. Under Champness, the ‘Grindstone’, the name given to his morning Bible studies, typified the heart of the teaching for the *Joyful News* evangelists. It was at the Grindstone that the native wit and spiritual genius of Champness was shared. The Grindstone was held often at 7:00am when Champness met his young men and helped them to

¹ These sentences were prepared for the initial validation document provided by the College for the University of Sheffield in November 1993. It was carefully drafted to convey the policy of open access which the College wished to maintain, at the same time as welcoming the academic rigour of courses validated in higher education.

'sharpen their wits' by talking together over their work as preachers.² These seminars were homely wisdom, insight from ministry and, whilst undoubtedly informed by the scriptures, they engaged with a series of issues which fall under the heading of 'practice theory'.³ Their purpose was to enable the evangelists to learn how to speak in public; deal with hecklers in the open air, and nurture people in the faith. They were full of wise, practical advice and a call for courageous service.⁴ Champness had twenty-seven years' experience as a missionary and circuit minister, and though he lacked an initial theological training, which benefited Chadwick, he had a keen sense of the issues relating to ministry.

He did, however, have the wisdom to bring in others to help him. The training initially was given largely by Champness but he was no theologian. Like Cook after him, he called on good teachers to train the *Joyful News* evangelists, but the primary training was an apprenticeship with experienced practitioners. He enlisted help from the Rev J. Finnemore, who taught students by correspondence.⁵ Champness later invited the Rev Joseph Todhunter,⁶ a supernumerary Wesleyan Methodist minister, to teach theology and, from 1889, when the Home moved to Castleton Hall, Chadwick came from the Leeds Mission to teach Biblical exposition and preaching. Champness referred to the training of evangelists in his correspondence with Ernest Cooper. In January 1891 he described the beneficial effect of appointing a young man, Mr Hudson,

² Chadwick, 'The Wit and Wisdom of Thomas Champness', Typed manuscript in Cliff College Archives E19, p.5.

³ Handwritten notes of the 'Grindstone' contained in the Cliff College archives. These were probably written by a secretary. *The Grindstone* was published in 1898.

⁴ Chadwick, 'The Wit and Wisdom of Thomas Champness', p.2.

⁵ *Joyful News*, 18 November 1886, Rev. H.S.B. Yates followed in this work.

⁶ H.T. Smart, 'The 'Joyful News' Mission', in *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1890, Sixth Series, Vol.XIV, p.14. Todhunter taught four mornings a week giving lessons in English history, grammar, Bible history and theology.

as 'House Tutor'.⁷ Champness described Hudson and the effect he had: 'He is a minister's son and a first class scholar, but full of zeal for souls. The young men have to study now, and no mistake. No 'larking round, but books are carried diligently and Silence is actually obtained in the study! Doesn't it almost make you wish yourself back again, Mr Cooper?'⁸

There are no detailed records of the teaching given at Rochdale; that information began in 1904 at Cliff. However, when Mary Jane Smith, who became one of the Female *Joyful News* Evangelists, had her first tutorial with the Rev Joseph Todhunter, he gave her a book of grammar to commence her studies.⁹ Otherwise her training seems very slender. She benefited from the sermons of F.B Meyer and Luke Wiseman, and had a 'private interview' with Champness.¹⁰ She also had a weekly tutorial with Todhunter¹¹ though we do not know the content of the tutorial. There was also a scheme of in-service training for the *Joyful News* Evangelists. She refers, while at the South Dorset Mission, to continued studies, and 'made an essay on Repentance which Mr Riggard was fairly well satisfied with.'¹²

The move from Rochdale to Derbyshire was significant for the *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission, for it was not simply a change of location; it was also a transformation from the 'Home' to the 'College'. It was Cook's intention that the College would be training students to minister in every part of

⁷ Champness, *Letter*, to Ernest Cooper, 15 and 22 January 1891.

⁸ Champness, *Letter* to Ernest Cooper, 15 January 1891. The tutor was Hudson, named on 22 January 1891. The underlining is in Champness's text. It suggests that Copper had wanted to study, but that other students had been 'larking around'.

⁹ Mary Jane Smith, 'Diary', 6 May 1892.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, She met Champness for the first occasion on 17 June 1892 for a tutorial.

¹¹ These are not always referred to, but her entry for 22 July 1892 she notes that, 'this is my day for going to the home'; and on the 29 July had a tutorial, 'went to see Mr. Todhunter'.

¹² Mary Jane Smith, 'Diary', 8 December 1892.

the world.¹³ Cook was alive to the needed modification and gathered around him a qualified team of tutors of able men and one woman: the Rev Samuel Chadwick, who came weekly from Leeds, and local ministers the Revs J. Clapham Greeves, and A. Bingham, to teach Theology and Biblical Studies. Mr C.E. Oxenborough Rush BA, an experienced teacher, was appointed senior Lay Tutor and, in effect, the Director of Studies, a role he was to have for twenty years. Miss Lilian Hovey (an educationalist and the first lay woman to be a member of the Wesleyan Methodist conference) came from Sheffield to teach English and Elocution. Each year Cook also employed two young tutors who were either competent students or graduates looking for experience. In 1904 these were T.W. Thompson BA and J.J. Studley.¹⁴

The degree of difference in student profile and academic attainment between the 'Home' and 'College' is difficult to assess. Though Champness regularly stated in the *Joyful News* that his work should be supported because he was training the 'man in the smock frock', there is no accurate information about the background of those who became students of the *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission. H.T. Smart gives an indication of those who attended the *Joyful News* Mission: 'All the men are of slender attainments, having come direct to the Home from the plough, the loom, or the joiner's shop. But they all enjoy two great advantages: they are young...and they have a passion for souls.'¹⁵ Many went on to become missionaries and evangelists or offered themselves for the Methodist ministry. Those who became missionaries were required to master at least one new language. Many of the missionaries joined

¹³ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1905. Cook stated, 'We are growing seed-corn for the conversion of the world.'

¹⁴ *Reports of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1905, p.126.

¹⁵ Smart, 'The 'Joyful News' Mission', p.14.

the China Inland Mission going on to learn Cantonese which suggests they were men of some ability. The Wesleyan missionary pioneer, the Rev David Hill commended the *Joyful News* missionaries and asked for more agents.¹⁶ He let it be known that, 'Incredibly as it may appear it is true that one of the evangelists in China addressed a Chinese audience in the Chinese language when he had only been in the country about six months.'¹⁷ Smart made the point that even if uneducated the missionaries could easily learn the language 'if their hearts are set on doing it, and if they live in the midst of the natives.'¹⁸

Cook described the students who came to Cliff College in its first years as working class, the 'sons of the poor, such as come from the factory and plough.'¹⁹ In his report at the end of the first two full years of the College,²⁰ he indicated that most students came for 'better equipment for the service of God and the church' and returned home resuming secular employment, more able to serve their circuits.²¹ Some came to the College first, avowedly as candidates for the ministry, because they had little in the way of educational advantages and without the help and tuition at Cliff had little chance of being accepted. 'They come to us bent on making the most of their opportunity, and it is remarkable how many have given proof of their call and fitness for the work.'²² It appears that many students were able people who had not previously had any educational opportunities.

¹⁶ Smart, 'The 'Joyful News' Mission', p.16.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1908, pp.104-5.

²⁰ The College opened in March 1904, the first full academic year being September 1904 to July 1905. The College was completely shut for training while it was extended, reopening in the summer for some students and then a full compliment in September 1907.

²¹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1908, pp.104-5.

²² Ibid.

This view can be attested by archival information about students throughout the history of the College.²³ The College archives include three leather bound handwritten volumes contain information on every student to attend the College, including their full names, home addresses, ages, occupations before attending the College, financial contributions made, and for many students, 'what is become of them'.²⁴ Howard Belben as Tutor and Principal made most entries of past students giving useful summaries.

They reveal that the College had always been a diverse community of people.²⁵ The archival information about students attending the College from March 1904 to the end of the summer term 1905 indicates that Cook accepted 192 students from every part of the country, many of whom only came for a term. The remarkable scholar, the Rev W. Fiddian Moulton, from a dynasty of biblical and missionary scholars, when writing the *Report* about the College in 1914, rejoiced that it was the 'College of the underprivileged.'

What is set out in the next two pages are the occupations of the first cohorts of students from March 1904 to June 1905, as Cook opened the College. Fiddian Moulton became a tutor in September 1910 and in 1914 wrote the *College Report*. This archive material indicates the wide range of backgrounds from which students came.

²³ *Report of Cliff College, 1914.*

²⁴ The information is contained in three large leather-bound volumes, hand written in columns by a secretary for the years 1904 – 2004 inclusive.

²⁵ There grew in the later part of the twentieth century a view that the college had always attracted 'academics and non-academics'. The phrase came as a result of discussions between Revd Dr Donald English, Dr William Davies and myself with Dr George Lovell as the facilitator of discussions during the winter of 1993/4 preparing for the handover from Bill Davies to myself as Principal. Notes in my personal archive.

The occupation of 192 students immediately prior to attending courses, mostly of one term, between March 1904 – June 1905.

Professional people:

1 Architect 1 Chemist 1 Engineer 1 Shop Manager

Tradesmen:

1 Baker 1 Book keeper 1 Butcher 1 Cabinet Mker

1 Clicker²⁶ 1 Coal Mercht 1 Commercial traveller

4 Drapers 1 Florist 5 Grocers, 1 Jeweller,

6 Joiners 1 Pawnbroker 1 Photographer 1 Plumber

1 Postman 1 Rag-merchant 1 Saddler 1 Stationer

4 Stonemasons 1 Tailor 1 Tanner 2 Travellers

1 Weaver

Service Industry

1 Pastry Cook, 2 Shop Assistants

Industrial workers:

2 Colliers 1 Engine attd't 1 Glazier China 2 Iron workers

1 Foreman Iron-work 7 Miners 1 Quarryman

1 Tool merchant 1 Waller²⁷

Education:

1 Pupil Teacher 1 Student 2 Tutors²⁸

Office Workers:

1 Audit clerk 1 Cashiers 15 Clerks

Agricultural and fishing:

13 Farmers 2 Gardeners 1 Fishermen.

Church workers:

9 Evangelists

Labourers:

1 Bricklayers 2 Farm labourers 3 labourers.

²⁶ A Clicker was a foreman shoemaker.

²⁷ This student came from Kirkburton on the edge of the Pennines, and would be a dry-stone waller.

²⁸ Studley and Jones, two of Cook's tutors, were in the student list.

The professions of students immediately before attending courses between
October 1913 – June 1914:

Nil - Professional people:

Tradesmen:

2 Bakers	4 Drapers	1 Fruiterer	1 Joiner
1 Motor trader	1 Newsagent	1 Saddler	2 Tailors
2 Weavers	1 Wheelwright		

Service Industry:

1 Carter	1 Footman	1 Goods Delivry	1 Ins.Agent
1 Porter	1 Shop Assistant	1 Wwork Ins	1 Salesman

Industrial workers:

1 Cotton spinner	1 Engine driver	1 Iron driller	1 Mach. gent
1 Mechanic	10 Miners	1 Paper makr	2 Pattern mkers
1 Steel cutter			

Education:

3 Students

Office workers:

1 Bookkeeper 10 Clerks

Agricultural workers:

9 Farmer 1 Fruit grower 1 Gardener 1 Groom

Church workers:

1 Colporteur 2 Evangelists 1 Lay Agent

Labourers:

5 Farm labourers 3 Labourers

At the end of this year, Fiddian Moulton formed the phrase, 'The College
for the Underprivileged'.

This archival material suggests that the College attracted from its beginnings a most wide-ranging group of people, from different social groups, diverse experiences of life and varied professions. Although some had professional training and some were labourers, the majority of people came in the middle bands of ability. Many of those who became students had a trade of some sort and they had acquired practical skills rather than benefiting from a long educational background. Nevertheless it is suitable to conclude that the College attracted students from a range of academic abilities.

Andrew Walls described the typical missionary of this time as 'a man of humble background and modest attainments.'²⁹ Though he acknowledges that there were people of exceptional academic ability, normally they were 'the journeymen, artisans, and clerks who came to the mission field from England.'³⁰ The evidence of the student archive would suggest that this was also true of those who became students at Cliff. Moulton rejoiced that the college attracted the artisans and echoed the desire of Champness to reach the 'man in the smock frock', but Moulton extended the invitation to the underprivileged of the industrial towns. 'We still are, and we are proud to be, the college of the underprivileged'.³¹ He used the phrase again as his subtitle to the Silver Jubilee booklet in 1928.³²

The same open access was celebrated in 1924 when Chadwick made clear that the main criteria of acceptance were quality of character, Christian commitment and willingness to learn. The primary criteria were teachability and evangelistic zeal. 'We refuse no man who is earnest in spirit, keen in

²⁹ Walls, *Missionary Movement*, p.171.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1914, p.119.

³² W.F. Moulton, the Silver Jubilee booklet, *The Story of Cliff, the College of the Unprivileged* (London: Epworth press, 1928).

purpose and set upon getting people saved.³³ It is clear that Chadwick was more interested in the willingness of the student and found that people who had little in the way of resources or education often achieved a great deal; 'Some of the men are very poor; but the poorer they are the merrier they seem to be, for God is always doing surprising things for them in answer to their prayers.'³⁴ It was in this report that Chadwick wrote of the infectiously joyful ethos in the College, which he spoke of as 'the Cliff Spirit'.³⁵

Even with this policy of open access the move from the 'Home' in Rochdale to the 'College' in Derbyshire demanded that student attainment should become more academically robust. Even so, the timetable for the first full year, 1904–5, reveals a general education for the students.³⁶ Out of the thirty-two, forty-five minute lectures offered each week, only nine focussed on biblical or theological subjects.³⁷ Great emphasis was placed on teaching English³⁸ and Mathematics³⁹, with Geography, English History and Science also being covered.⁴⁰ In addition to these lectures was a Candidates Class meeting four times a week to prepare students who were candidates for the Methodist ministry. Whilst the timetable for the session 1904-5 may only reveal part of the nature of the teaching and learning programme, it gives sufficient evidence that the training offered from the beginning was aimed at providing a basic general

³³ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1924, p.80.*

³⁴ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1924, p.80.*

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Cliff College Archives. Only a few timetables have survived. This is for 1904-5 and the next is from the 1960's.

³⁷ 9 sessions on biblical or theological topics: 2 Catechism, 2 Biblical Lecture (Chadwick), 1 Theological Lecture (Greaves), 2 Biblical Analysis, 1 Greek and 1 Pastoral Lecture (Cook). Two preparation sessions were provided for, one immediately before Chadwick arrived on a Monday evening.

³⁸ 6 sessions were committed to teaching English: 1 Orthography, 1 English Literature, 1 English Grammar, 1 Reading, 1 Writing, 1 Composition, with one session for preparation.

³⁹ 8 Sessions to teach Mathematics: 1 Mathematics, 3 Arithmetic, 2 Algebra, 2 Geometry, with one session for preparation.

⁴⁰ These latter subjects received less emphasis: 2 English History, 2 Geography, 1 Science, with one preparation session for Geography.

education to those students, presumably the majority, who had not had this opportunity before.

The effectiveness of this training was measured in ways distinctive to Methodism; firstly the relationship with local preaching and secondly the acceptability of ex-students as candidates for ordained Ministry. Champness had used the same criterion, the successful training of local preachers, to commend his work at Castleton Hall: 'The experiment we have made in training local preachers has been so far successful that we feel we cannot serve Methodism better than by extending this part of our work.'⁴¹

It is interesting that the 1904 timetable does not once mention evangelism, though Cook would identify that as one of the main aspects of the work:

There is no more important part of the work than the training of evangelists. It is not sufficient that men who do this work should be zealous; special training is necessary, or their hearers will be repelled by their incompetence and ignorance. Socialists are alive to the importance of instructing their propagandists in principles, facts, and arguments, and we must lay ourselves out to help our men to secure the necessary equipment for work so momentous as the saving of souls. Neither piety nor learning can take the place of knowing how to pull in the net. Evangelists need training in this particular, more than in any other, and we do our best to teach them what we have learned by observation and experience.⁴²

It may be that he spoke of evangelism in his Pastoral Theology lecture on a Saturday morning, but there is no evidence of that. Cook certainly also believed that the main criterion for the College was the training of Local Preachers which

⁴¹ *Joyful News*, 5 September 1895.

⁴² *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1908, pp.104-5.

he described as 'our chief work'.⁴³ This was achieved by 'starting young men on the right lines of study, giving them new samples of knowledge and inspiring them with loftier ideals. Our aim is not only to instruct, but to inspire.'⁴⁴

Thomas Cook, in his first report to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1905 as College Principal, wished it to be known that not only were there good numbers of students wanting to attend the College in its new venue, but also that the outcomes of their training were more than satisfactory: 'More than a hundred men have been in training, of whom twenty-five have been qualified for evangelistic work. Twenty-seven have been recommended by the District Synods as suitable candidates for the ministry and the remaining fifty have returned to their homes and secular vocations, greatly helped in their work as Local Preachers by what we have been able to do for them.'⁴⁵

Again in 1908 he measured the achievements of the College in the same criteria: 'Our estimate is that 40 men who have been trained at Cliff College are accepted annually for the Ministry at home or abroad.'⁴⁶ This recurred in 1912 with the following summary of the efficacy of the work of the college: 'During the last seven years 725 students have passed through the College; 119 of these have been accepted for the Home Ministry; 79 are in Canada, 62 in the United States, 42 in Australia, 10 in South Africa and other parts of the world; 61 are Lay Agents and Evangelists in this country, while 352 have gone back to their circuits as Local Preachers.'⁴⁷ It is interesting that the same yardstick was used many decades later, in 1957, to measure the academic merit of the courses. In a series of articles about Cliff students in theological training the implication was

⁴³ *Report*, 1908, p.105.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*.

⁴⁵ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1905, p.124.

⁴⁶ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1908, p.105.

⁴⁷ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1912, pp.69-70.

given that the prior Cliff training had equipped the students well for what was to follow and that this gave Cliff some credence.⁴⁸

The appointment of Samuel Chadwick as Tutor in 1907 was crucial to the development of the College. He was at that time at the height of his powers as a Superintendent of a large city church in Leeds. Cook had recognised the importance of a second tutor with skills complementary to his own, who would bring expertise in biblical and theological training.⁴⁹ A year later, Cook reported that 'Mr Chadwick's lectures on Bible study have been greatly appreciated by the men. Some of them have been heard to say that, if they got nothing else at the College, it was worth all the sacrifice and effort they had made to be allowed to attend these classes.'⁵⁰

Although the educational aims of the College were set out in what today would appear to be somewhat archaic language, they carry the same desire for students to broaden their horizons, deepen their understanding of the scriptures, the church, ministry and the world around them: 'There is an infection of intensity. The eyes are opened to vast reaches of far stretching lands. New enthusiasms are kindled and loins girded.'⁵¹ It was expected, then as now, that students should have an 'aptitude for study'. In 1920 this was reported in a rather intriguing way. 'There has been equal zest in study. The students are dogged in the secular studies that are difficult to adult minds but they are then as

⁴⁸ Clearly the decision was made by the new editor, the Rev E. Eagles, ex-Principal and the in coming Principal, the Rev T Meadley, to highlight the work of past students. *Joyful News*, 26 September 1957, p.4, on the work of a recent student as a Pastor in the East End Mission; 24 October, p.3, four students at Hartley Victoria College; 31 October, p.1, an article from a minister in training, 'formerly of Cliff College' who reports on the Sixth World Festival of Youth in Moscow,

⁴⁹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1907.

⁵⁰ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1908.

⁵¹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1913, pp.98-99.

sleuth-hounds in the study of the Scripture, Theology and Homiletics. The progress some of them make is really amazing.’⁵²

The desired outcomes were not confined to academic learning, nor the ability to move on to new areas of ministry, but concentrated on the development of personal qualities for ministry. ‘We ask also for the prayers of God’s people that every man who comes to Cliff College may receive power he never had before to help God to make the world better.’⁵³

In the early years, before the Treks began, the Cliff course was short and intensive, with three ten-week terms. Few of the students came for the whole year. Normally it was for a term or part of a term; in some cases for as long as their funds allowed. Some had seasonal work and needed to return, for instance, to the farm. In the first year, ‘The period of training has averaged four and a half months, but several men have remained with us for the whole year.’⁵⁴ In these years the curriculum was adapted to the needs of the men who came, but always with a purpose of preparing for ministry: ‘The course is short, but it is amazing what progress is made. There is an infection of intensity.’⁵⁵

The intention of the College from the time of Champness was always to offer open access to people who otherwise might not have qualifications or be able to attend a college. Cook set out his view that ‘Our men are mostly sons of the poor, such as come from the factory and plough. The majority of them have no intention of seeking service for which there is monetary remuneration. They come seeking better equipment for the service of God and the church, and return

⁵² *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1920.*

⁵³ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1913, p.99.*

⁵⁴ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1905, p.124.*

⁵⁵ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1913, p.99.*

afterwards to the circuits and secular employment.’⁵⁶ Years later, Chadwick commented that ‘It is no uncommon thing for a man to enter with hardly a notion of study, and to close his course in the front rank of capable students.’⁵⁷

The theme of lay training was very significant through the work of Champness, Cook and Chadwick. They wanted Cliff to be recognised alongside the theological colleges, but they did not seek to imitate them. Cliff was for lay training. Chadwick wanted to promote the College as a lay training college with a distinct emphasis on evangelism. This was a cause he championed for the next twenty years. ‘Cliff is pre-eminently a Lay Preacher’s College. Our work is to train men for effective Evangelism, and perhaps our greatest service is in those who return to their circuits better equipped for the work of the Church and fired with enthusiasm for all that is implied in aggressive Evangelism.’⁵⁸ This is a recurring theme within the literature from this period, which elevates lay training and distances the College from being a place of preparation for Ministerial training. ‘Let it be clearly understood, we are not primarily an institution for training men for the ministry. We are a Lay Preachers’ College first and foremost; and although we are glad to render assistance to those who are wishful to enter our ministry; that is only an incident in our work, although we do try to give special help to candidates during the critical Summer Term. The majority of our men go back into the circuits, and to their old employments, strengthening – we are convinced – the preaching plan and the administrative

⁵⁶ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1908, p.104.*

⁵⁷ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1913, p.99.*

⁵⁸ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund, 1913, pp.98-99.*

organisation of those circuits.’⁵⁹ Chadwick was also concerned that people considered the College as a ‘forcing-house for candidates for the Ministry.’⁶⁰

Links with other Colleges seem to have been limited. That might in part have been because Chadwick was critical of theological training: ‘A ministry that is College-trained but not Spirit-filled works no miracles...Some preachers have finished their ministerial training with the confession that they learned less about their Bibles than about any other subject...Enthusiasm does not often accompany scholarship.’⁶¹ Despite the urgent need to show the church that the teaching and learning at Cliff was at least comparable with other theological colleges, both Cook and Chadwick distanced themselves from engagement with the colleges, even though the *Joyful News* carried news of the Methodist theological college open days. Curiously it was with a college in the United States that there was initially most contact. Champness knew Dwight L. Moody, the American preacher and evangelist, who opened ‘Northfield’, Massachusetts, for summer schools, and in 1889 a Bible Training School. Chadwick taught there on a number of occasions.⁶² However there is no evidence of contact with other Bible colleges until Lambert went to the Faith Mission and after the War formed the Lebanon Bible College in Berwick-on- Tweed. Much later Harry Stringer, then an ordained Methodist minister, joined the staff of the newly formed London Bible College.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1914, p.119.

⁶⁰ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1913, pp.98-99.

⁶¹ Chadwick, *The Way to Pentecost*, pp.15-17.

⁶² Chadwick, ‘Bible School Training’, in *Joyful news*, 28 June 1906, p.1, Champness had met Moody the evangelist, and Chadwick had visited to lecture there. Chadwick writes of lecturing at ‘Northfield’. The Seminary in Chicago was called ‘The Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions of the Chicago Evangelization Society, which after Moody’s death became the Moody Bible Institute, Randall Balmer, *Encyclopedia of Evangelism* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), pp.388-9.

⁶³ Ian Randall, *Educating Evangelicalism* (Carlisle: Paternoster press, 2000), p.57.

Through the articles of the *Joyful News*, the College was associated with the great missionary conferences. The Edinburgh Missionary Conference 14–23 June 1910, presided over by the Methodist layman John R. Mott, was covered in some detail with leading articles by Chadwick on the 9 and 23 June. W.H. Heap, who would later become its editor, was dispatched to report on the Conference deliberations.⁶⁴ Chadwick gave an address at the 76th Anniversary of the Evangelical Alliance, a prestigious event for all leaders of the denominations. Chadwick was that year the President of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches. The address was printed in full in the *Joyful News*, and he set out the distinctive emphases of the College: Biblical, Evangelical and Witnessing, as he saw they related to the Evangelical Alliance.⁶⁵

Chadwick and the College benefited from the care and diligence of Oxenborrow Rush who had joined Cook in 1904. When he left for missionary work in the spring of 1924, Chadwick wisely chose David W. Lambert to take his place. A generation younger, well trained and with experience of teaching, Lambert proved very successful as a teacher winning ‘the esteem and affection’ of colleagues and students.⁶⁶ One of Chadwick’s great friends from the United States, the Rev Dr J.G. Bickerton of Philadelphia visited the College each term and delivered a course of lectures on the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles.

It is at the end of the Chadwick era that there is the clearest indication of the important place of academic learning and a growing clarity in the College’s

⁶⁴ Chadwick, ‘The World Missionary Conference’, in *Joyful News*, 9 June 1910. Chadwick, ‘The Home Base of Foreign Missions’, in *Joyful News*, 23 June 1910 where he writes about the sixth Commission. The Rev Dr J. Scott Lidgett was a Vice-Chairman of the Commission and the only British Methodist noted in the proceedings. *Report of Commission VI, The Home Base of Missions* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910). W.H. Heap reported on the Conference in the *Joyful News*, 23 June, p.2, and 30 June, p.3.

⁶⁵ Chadwick, ‘The World’s Evangelical Alliance’, in *Joyful News*, 13 July 1922, pp.1-2.

⁶⁶ *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1925, p.73.

policy in integrating this academic strength with evangelism and the formation of students for Christian ministry, ordained and lay. In his booklet published to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the College, Fiddian Moulton, who had been involved with the College for almost twenty years and knew the College better than most, set out its principles, aims and methods and identified five key elements for the teaching and learning process:

Biblical teaching which aims at covering all the books of the Old and New Testaments, with special attention to selected examples of different types. Each book is studied in outline. Criticism is not ignored, but content is our chief concern. Each term one or more books are studied exegetically, so that in addition to a general knowledge of the books of the Bible each student is taught methods of minute and exact study. Most men who come to us leave with a sense of having found the Bible, which is the inspired work of God that abideth for ever.

Special attention is given to the vocabulary of the New Testament. The great words of evangelical doctrine are studied and expounded.

Dogmatic theology is taught, and emphasis is placed on the central and saving truths of the Faith.

Homiletics, the art and calling of preaching, have a place all their own.

We cannot make preachers, but the blame is not with the College if any man leaves it without a practical knowledge of the art.

General education includes everything a man needs for efficiency and effectiveness in the work of evangelism.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Fiddian Moulton, *The Story of Cliff* (London: Epworth Press: 1928), pp.39-42. The same information was included in the *Report of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund*, 1928, pp.68-9.

Broadbelt, Principal from 1932, had many strengths as an entrepreneur, builder and promoter of major events and in all of these areas the College developed under his leadership. For educational policy he relied on Lambert and Stringer, and the academic development seems to have followed the trajectory set out by Chadwick.⁶⁸ However, after the Second World War the place of learning in the whole country had been elevated by the 1944 Education Act and the post-war period made new demands on colleges. When Cliff College reopened in 1945, the Committee determined to grant to students 'who had fulfilled a course of study at the College, and had been in every respect satisfactory to the staff' a College Diploma.⁶⁹ This was the first time such recognition had been given even though the College was self-validated. In 1946 the College agreed with the Local Preachers' Department that where Cliff students passed the College exams 'on text books prescribed by Conference for Local Preachers, and were satisfactorily passed, this would be accepted as Equivalent to passing the Connexional Local Preachers Examination.'⁷⁰

Howard Belben, when he became Principal, was particularly concerned to gather to the College a group of tutors who were scholars in their own fields. He attracted the Rev Malcolm White to teach Biblical Doctrine, and in the spring of 1966 announced, 'subject to Conference' the appointment of the Rev Donald English to join the College staff in September.⁷¹ Unfortunately the Conference chose to send Donald to Hartley Victoria College in Manchester, but a young and able scholar the Rev Royston Emms came to the College. He was an exceptionally good teacher and eventually, like Malcolm White, took up a

⁶⁸ There are no timetables and the Committee *Minutes* make no reference to the detail of what was taught in the period 1932- 1939.

⁶⁹ Minutes of the Cliff College Committee, 12 May 1947.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the Cliff College Committee, 15 November 1946.

⁷¹ *Cliff Witness*, January 1966.

career in secondary education. The Rev David Sharp, the Rev John Job, Mr Robert Mason and the Rev Brian Hoare, and especially the renowned scholar Dr Arthur Skevington Wood, continued the trend of teachers who had shown their ability as evangelists and pastors.

The College certificate course saw little change between 1967 and 1983 with the exception that different subjects were offered for 'A Level' examination. There were still many students who had been sent by their ministers 'to test a call', and along the way to gain sufficient 'O Level' subjects, and for those who might be able to undertake a degree course, two 'A Level' qualifications. Religious Education was offered with Sociology, and Malcolm White taught British Government at 'A Level' in the late 1960s. The Rev Dr Stephen Mosedale and the Rev Kathleen Bowe continued in the 1980s this same standard of teaching and training with a special emphasis on pastoral ministry. Also during this time, Mr Ron Abbott, 'Lay Tutor' at the college, with a wide experience in secondary education, made other possibilities available.

The first very considerable change to the curriculum came when in 1990 under the leadership of Davies, the College espoused the newly formed training package for local preachers, called *Faith and Worship*. This was a new integrated studies course which the Methodist Church had commissioned.⁷² The context in which this decision was made was one where the President's Council (at that time the forum for policy generation for the Methodist Church) was undertaking a review of 'all Connexional work in order to establish priorities

⁷² *Agenda of the Methodist Conference 1988*, pp.19-35, set out the guiding principles and the outline of this 19 Unit course. This was then presented in some further detail in the *Agenda of the Methodist Conference 1990*, pp.239-247 and 249-262. The course was at that time called 'Faith and Worship' and the report acknowledged the help of 'the staff of Cliff College' in preparing or reading and commenting on the study units, p.240.

and best utilize resources (including financial resources)⁷³. Davies indicated to the Committee that the President's Council had recommended the discontinuation of the Home Mission Division Grant, which was substantial, but that 'threat had been averted for the time being'.⁷⁴ There was the prospect of the church nationally withdrawing financial support and plunging the College into a severe crisis. This had the effect of driving the College course into the arms of the Local Preachers' Department. The real concern of being further distanced from the Connexion meant that when the Local Preachers' Secretary asked for help in testing the new integrated course, the staff at Cliff willingly agreed. There was a concern over student numbers since a significant minority of students came to Cliff to complete the local preachers' studies and undertake the examinations.

The change to an integrated studies course, from which there would be no possible exemptions, meant that Davies recommended the change as necessary, 'if we are to continue to recruit would be local preachers to the Cliff Course.'⁷⁵ The College agreed to teach Faith and Worship and in the academic year 1991-2 tested out the course ahead of its publication in the summer of 1992, as the course for all local preachers in training. The course had sixteen taught modules and, across the certificate year, it was decided to teach an adapted version of the course, using a module each week.

This was the first of a series of dramatic changes which had the positive effect of unlocking a tired academic schedule but it webbed the College in with the Methodist local preachers course. For the first two years, the College pioneered the course and was ahead of the Connexion. However by March 1993,

⁷³ *Minutes*, Cliff College General Committee, 17 October 1989.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.

⁷⁵ 'Principal's Report' for the Cliff Committee October 1989.

Mosedale, then the Senior Tutor, in his submission to the Committee indicated a change was necessary.⁷⁶ Some students had already undertaken part of the Faith and Worship course, 'which may have an adverse affect on recruitment or lead students to feel they are wasting part of their time here.'⁷⁷ It was realised this would cause difficulties in future years and the dilemma was in itself a spur to further academic developments. The benefits of undertaking Faith and Worship were that it introduced to the College a modular pattern which would be essential later. The major difficulty was one of standards because it devalued the course. The College Certificate was located as being equal with a local preachers' qualification which when the certificate was validated would command 20 Credits at Level 1.⁷⁸

The issue of academic recognition was complicated because of an uneasy relationship with those charged with ministerial training within the Methodist Church.⁷⁹ Curiously, it was the issue of mistrust with the Division of Ministries which ultimately enabled the College to find a solution. The matter was brought to a head in the late 1980's when a student who had undertaken the Cliff Certificate and the second year diploma course, which included a 10,000-word dissertation, was given no academic credit by the Division of Ministries for this study. The student in question had 3 or 4 GCSE's at the required level, including English, but he was required to undertake two further GCSE's before

⁷⁶ 'Report' from the College Staff Meeting, October 1993, Agenda item 9(ii). The report was presented to the College Committee by Dr Stephen Mosedale.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 'Why "Faith and Worship" should become optional', item 9(ii), (a) (1).

⁷⁸ *Cliff College Prospectus*, 1994 – Certificate in Biblical and Evangelistic Ministry. See also the *Minutes* of the Cliff College General Committee, 10 March 1994, Tutorial Staff Report, (3) Faith and Worship, 'The complete course counts for 20 credits on the Certificate.'

⁷⁹ See also pp.316-319.

he could proceed with his candidature for the Methodist Ministry.⁸⁰ The Division of Ministries were contacted, but they refused to consider the two years of study at Cliff College in lieu of any part of the academic requirement for candidates and insisted that this particular candidate should achieve six GCSE qualifications.

When the Principal, Bill Davies, protested, he was informed that a member of the Division of Ministries Board, a former Schools Inspector, was prepared to come to the College and assess the value of the College Certificate in relation to GCSE. Since Cliff had always been a post-18 college the Principal judged this to be the wrong academic criterion. The letter from the Division of Ministries was not well received at Cliff and inspired the College to approach the University of Sheffield. The tutors were convinced that the Cliff Certificate course equated in large measure to the first year of a degree course. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Methodism's approach revealed a narrowness of thinking in the Division at that time, and was typical of some parts of the Church which refused to believe Cliff was anything other than a basic training college.

There was a second factor which made the College staff determined to look in a different direction. In the autumn of 1990 Dr Bernard Farr of Westminster College, Oxford, invited the Director of Evangelism to meet with their staff to consider a mission and evangelism module for their part-time M.Th. programme. There were two or three meetings, during which it became clear that the Westminster staff did not have the knowledge or experience to

⁸⁰ It should be noted that this was not a new situation. The Cliff College Certificate had never been awarded any academic worth by the Methodist Church. What was different was that Colleges or Further and Higher Education, whilst setting academic requirements for courses, were nevertheless beginning to accredit different kinds of prior learning and experience.

draft such a module. In conversation with Bill Davies, it was determined that Cliff College would seek to establish its own Master's course.

It is interesting to note that the only time that the General Secretary of the Division of Ministries came to Cliff College to talk with the Principal and staff was just before the College Policy Committee on the 16 July 1991, which discussed a proposed MA in Evangelism. This meeting is reported not as part of the Principal's briefing for the Committee, nor under his report, but under the Evangelistic work and as part of the report before the committee concerning a proposed MA in Evangelism.⁸¹ The Principal 'expressed concern'⁸² about three areas. There were demands on tutorial and administrative staffing, the need for adequate finance, and it was resolved, about the meeting with Taylor that, 'The College's relationship with the Division of Ministries: the Rev John Taylor, General Secretary of the Division of Ministries, had come to the College the previous week to talk to the tutorial staff about the resources of his Division. He was trying to ensure that there were groups of resources which worked together, e.g. Cliff College, Urban Theology, Urban Theology Unit, St John's College, Nottingham. It was important that there was clarity of understanding between Cliff College and the Division of Ministries on these matters.'⁸³ The minutes add, 'The Principal stressed that there would need to be full consultation with the Rev Brian Hoare and the Rev John Taylor about the proposed M.A.' There was full discussion and the committee would 'wish for a full exploration of the issues that had been raised,' whilst at the same time being aware of the

⁸¹ *Minutes of the Cliff College Policy Committee, 16 July 1991, item 6 Evangelistic, p.2.* I had prepared a draft proposal (Draft 2) for the Committee before taking a sabbatical for July – August and therefore I was not present at the committee. Draft 2 for the proposed M.A in Evangelism set out the purpose and aims, the subject areas to be covered and contained the first version of a budget.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Minutes, 16 July, item 6(iii), p.2.*

particular 'political implications with regard to the other Divisions and educational institutions involved.'⁸⁴ It is apparent even to the casual reader that the Principal and the committee were aware they were treading on delicate territory. Why was that? There is no hard evidence, but it is reasonable to suppose that the other training colleges had been disturbed because Cliff was entering territory they had previously inhabited. Some of the ministerial training colleges had recently gained validation and took pride in their involvement in the university sector.

The *Minutes* indicate that while the detailed preparations were made for the MA in Evangelism Studies,⁸⁵ the College was also considering other forms of validation. One of the committee members who had contacts in the field of further education had been 'pursuing two sources of enquiry with regard to eligibility' for the new National Vocational Qualification. He had no specific proposals, but indicated there were discussions with 'church representatives, including a Methodist representative, and the Training and Education Executive of the Employment Department. It was important for the College to remain alert to developments in this regard.'⁸⁶ The Senior Tutor at the College, the Rev Dr Stephen Mosedale, was also in discussion with the Division of Ministries with the intention that the Cliff College Certificate should be 'in place of three

⁸⁴ Ibid., item 6, p.3.

⁸⁵ The Draft Proposals for the MA in Evangelism are in the College electronic Archive. Draft 2 – October 1991, Draft 3 July 1992, Draft 4 August 1992, one which is called 'Final Draft' November 1992, though the actual submission was not made until December 1993. The Committee minutes reveal the frustration felt at the College caused by the University prevaricating in the submission process. This was caused because the University of Sheffield from late 1992 until the autumn 1993 was establishing a new Board of Collegiate Studies which would deal with the growing number of validated institutions.

⁸⁶ *Minutes of the Cliff College General Committee*, 9 March 1993, item 9(ii), p.4.

GCSE's so that candidates for the presbyteral ministry could offer GCSE English along with a Cliff Certificate.⁸⁷

It should be noted that though considerable work was undertaken on the submissions for both the Cliff College Certificate and the new MA in Evangelism Studies, it was not certain at all that Cliff would be successful in its submission for validation. The members of the Association of Bible College Principals⁸⁸ had conversations about validation, which was at that time only granted to the London Bible College (Brunel University and prior to that the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA)), All Nations College (CNAA) and Belfast Bible College (Queen's University), as well as the Anglican colleges who had long standing validation arrangements: Trinity College (Bristol), St John's Nottingham (Nottingham) and Wycliffe Hall (Oxford). The new wave of Bible Colleges seeking validation would come after 1994 (Mattersay Hall with the University of Sheffield; Spurgeon's College with the University of Wales; Elim College, Nantwich, with the University of Manchester; the Nazarene College with the University of Manchester, which had earlier reached an arrangement to teach Manchester degrees; Redcliffe College with the University of Gloucester; The International College in Glasgow with the Open University; Moorlands Bible College with the College of Cheltenham and Gloucester.) Therefore as negotiations progressed with the University of Sheffield, the Cliff staff felt they were working in uncharted territory and nothing was certain. The visit of the University representatives came in December 1993 and the decision to offer validation for the Certificate on Biblical and Evangelistic Ministry (the

⁸⁷ 'Tutorial Staff Report' to the Cliff College General Committee, 19 October 1993.

⁸⁸ Membership of this group was to centres of residential training and the group was associated to the Evangelical Alliance. There were twenty-four Colleges at this time.

new name given to the Cliff Certificate taught in the session 1993-4), was made by the University Senate on the 28 January 1994.

With validation, Cliff students immediately gained proper recognition for their achievements at the College. The negotiations with the Division of Ministries became irrelevant and the discussion with the new NVQs was terminated. The only remaining vestige from the era of GCSE and A level teaching was the insistence that all students without GCSE English should gain the qualification, since it is required for many professions.

The concern both among the College staff and the Committee was that the College supporters should not see the gaining of validation as diminishing the importance of the practice of evangelism or the spiritual development of the students. The crucial aspect of the inevitable debate regarding validation was to ensure that entry requirements still allowed open access. That was secured for the Certificate course, while for the MA in Evangelism Studies a 'three track approach' entry requirement was developed from the beginning:

A candidate who wishes to be admitted must either:

- (a) be a recognised graduate who has attained a standard at least equivalent to that of a good Honours Degree in Theology, Religious Studies or Biblical Studies, OR
- (b) be a recognised graduate who has attained a standard at least equivalent to an Honours Degree and who holds a recognised qualification in theological training, OR

(c) have successfully completed a recognised course in Theology or Missiology, and have at least five years relevant work experience.⁸⁹

It should be noted that the decision to seek validation from the University of Sheffield was for a number of reasons. These were the proximity of Sheffield, given the need for regular contact; the University of Sheffield was a prestigious University; the College had been instrumental in the formation of the Sheffield Federation of Centres of Biblical, theological and Mission Studies,⁹⁰ and Sheffield was a 'secular' university willing to validate a confessional Christian college training people for mission and ministry. The latter reason was acknowledged within the College as a significant positive factor. It was important for the College to gain validation from a university which would have a rigorous and critical approach to teaching and learning at an Christian College devoted to evangelism. It was felt this would give added value to the College's validation and the student's qualifications.

With minor amendments the senate of the University of Sheffield agreed the programme specifications in January 1994, for the *Certificate in Biblical and Evangelistic Ministry*, and the *Master of Arts in Evangelism Studies*. This process highlighted the importance not only of providing detailed information but also, the need to defend the academic study of evangelism and the training

⁸⁹ Submission document for the University of Sheffield, 13 December 1993, published in every Prospectus and confirmed at the re-validation of the College in 8/9 December 1999.

⁹⁰ The Sheffield Federation came as a result of a conversation with Dr John Vincent at the Methodist Conference in June 1991. Vincent was the Director of the Urban Theology Unit on Sheffield. The Federation included the Wilson Carlyle Church Army College, the Lincoln Institute as they came to Sheffield, the Biblical Studies Department of the University, Mattersey Hall (after they were a validated College) and UTU and Cliff. It was the original hope that a Federation similar to the Cambridge Federation or the Belfast Federation could benefit all the Colleges. In the end the University took the decision not to broaden the remit of Biblical Studies to include theology and Missiology, or to form a Theological Group which was recognised within the University. The possibility of this was pursued by Cliff College until in the summer of 2000 the Pro Vice Chancellor, Dr Phil Jones made it clear the University had ruled out that possibility.

of reflective practitioners in the mission and ministry of the Church. The courses could commence in the September. The Certificate did commence that year with the MA in Evangelism Studies, beginning in the session 1995-6. These were followed by the Level 2, *Diploma in Biblical and Evangelistic Ministry* and the following year a Level 3 course to take students to a *BA (Hons) in Biblical and Evangelistic Ministry*.

In collaboration with the Rev John Finney, then the Bishop of Southwell's Advisor in Evangelism and later to become Bishop of Pontefract, a new postgraduate diploma was developed. He had been involved with a programme called 'The Changing Church Course', delivered mainly by Anglicans for clergy who were experiencing renewal in their congregations and wanted to harness this outflow of spiritual energy rather than experience the church dividing or exploding. The programme became the Diploma in Leadership, Renewal and Mission. This new programme with its delivery team, joined the College, and the first Leadership Renewal and Mission course ran from the autumn of 1996.

It began as the Rev Dr Martyn Atkins joined the staff as Postgraduate Tutor in Missiology, Evangelism and Apologetics. These courses became the bedrock of the postgraduate department and have now gained international recognition. Another course came about in co-operation with the Rev Dr George Lovell and as a result of his involvement with the MA in Evangelism Studies. Initially Cliff joined with Westminster College Oxford and the Urban Theology Unit Sheffield, to offer a course to train people in consultancy. This course commenced, using the resources and staff of the three institutions, but unfortunately it was complex to administer and insufficiently anchored in any one of the institutions. A change was precipitated when the Methodist Church

gave over Westminster College to Oxford Brookes University. At that time George Lovell had produced significant writing about consultancy and ministry, so the next natural step was to bring that course to Cliff. This was negotiated and the MA in Consultancy, Mission and Ministry was launched in autumn 2000. One course, at postgraduate level, which did not reach its potential was the MA in Training and Theology in Church and Community. Only four people enlisted for the first cohort. The following year the numbers were even smaller and so the initial group of four was the only group which completed the course. It was a necessary but unwelcome step because as the external examiner commented, the course was a 'unique opportunity for church workers to engage in study of this nature'.⁹¹

It became clear that the College needed to respond to people who wanted to undertake research degrees leading to an MPhil or PhD. There were regular enquiries and, therefore, in the autumn of 1994, the Principal contacted the University of Sheffield requesting a meeting to discuss the issues involved. The Academic Development Committee of the Senate, meeting in early 1995, recommended that Cliff College be granted Designated Status. The effect was that the Board of Collegiate Studies of the University conferred on the College an 'Agreement of the Award for Higher Degrees by the University of Sheffield to the students of Cliff College'. The legal arrangement was signed on 4 October 1995 and was probably unique in the modern history of higher education. In effect, it gave Cliff College the status of a University Department with its own Higher Degrees Committee to accept, supervise and recommend for acceptance, students for research degrees in the University of Sheffield. At

⁹¹ Professor Ivan Reid, in his report as External Examiner, 30 October 2003.

the revalidation of the College in 1999 there were five people studying as part-time research students, and, so far, the Rev Barrie Cooke has gained an MPhil. and the Rev John Job a PhD with others close to submitting.

While these postgraduate courses were being developed and promoted, the College was approached by candidates who wished to study a thorough course preparing them for children's ministry. An alliance was established with Scripture Union and the Diploma in Children's Evangelism and Nurture was developed. It became the most controversial of all the courses and was challenged in the University. The course proposal was carefully drafted so that even those within the University who were philosophically opposed to such a course could not derail the application on academic grounds. The course, was the most thoroughly prepared application made by the College to the University. It was accepted and agreed. The Children's Evangelism and Nurture course was a runaway success, and this made it possible to consider other undergraduate courses. The only programme that was successfully developed was a level 2 Diploma in Music, Spirituality and Worship.

A further development in the College academic work was the relocation of the Methodist Churches Open Learning Centre to Cliff College. Cliff undertook to evaluate the Open Learning Centre and to trim the courses, edit present material, and commission new modules. The experience has been time intensive, and in 2004 all the Open Learning Centre courses were again being remodelled and re-launched as 'Horizons – Learning for Christian Living'. The delivery of the modules will be even more linked to the 'Cliff experience', ensuring that students who enlist have the opportunity for short periods of study at the College.

The full inventory of the academic development over the last ten years would be incomplete without mention of the International Learning Centre. That came about because the Rev Richard Jackson, Assistant Tutor in the Postgraduate Department, had served as a minister in Sierra Leone, and came with a vision for delivering a part-time course there, in the manner developed at Cliff. As Sierra Leone was emerging from twenty years of war and the church was growing rapidly, there was a great need for training leaders. Therefore, the International Diploma in Applied Ministry and Mission was established with the help of the World Church Office of the Methodist Church and with mission partners in Ireland and Europe. One hundred students applied for the first course. Since the largest lecture room available in the Theological Hall, in Freetown only held fifty people, every lecture was delivered twice. Tutors from the UK or Europe were linked with a local tutor to deliver the subjects. The first graduation for the course took place in Freetown, Sierra Leone in the July 2004. The course has now become a model which will be used by the Methodist church in other parts of the world.⁹²

An examination of the type of students attracted to the College, reveals that this has from the beginning been a college of some academics, though primarily of non-academics. The last fifty years have witnessed the development of courses reflecting the changes in educational expectation on the part of the students, and more recently the opportunities of higher education afforded by university validation. The twin means which have always guided the College at those times when these matters have been thoroughly examined, have been the serious attempt to maintain the highest standards of teaching and learning, while

⁹² Presently negotiations are taking place between the World Church office, Cliff College and the Methodist Church, Cuba.

keeping in focus the purpose of the courses, namely to develop able, thoughtful and reflective practitioners who can engage in evangelistic ministry. It is this twin focus on academic learning and praxis which has guided policy making within the College.

Chapter eleven

The Renaissance of Mission Studies in the Academy

The World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh 1910 was of incomparable significance for a fresh start to the place of Mission Studies in the Academy. The Methodist missionary statesman John R. Mott had been instrumental in setting up Commission V, *The Training of Teachers* published in the same year under the title, *The Preparation of Missionaries*.¹ He also invited W. Douglas Mackenzie, President of Hartford Seminary to lead it. Its report remains a valuable piece of research in itself, revealing in the English speaking world in 1910 the existence of only one professor of missions (at Yale), and one School of Missions at Hartford. In addition there were many practical training colleges run by missionary societies, denominations and para-church organisations, such as the Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions of the Chicago Evangelization Society,² the Regions Beyond Missions at Harley House, and the *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission, at Cliff College.

According to Andrew Walls, by the time of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, missionary organisations were unhappy with the absence of missionary material in the theological curriculum.³ John Mott, who chaired the Edinburgh Conference, and J.H. Oldham, its secretary, were skilled international administrators and diplomats. This extremely well-researched Commission V

¹ *The Preparation of Missionaries*, Report of Commission V, *The Training of Teachers*, at the World Missionary Conference, 1910, (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910).

² Founded by Chicago businessmen and supported by D.L. Moody. Chadwick visited Moody and lectured there.

³ Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (New York: Orbis, 1996), p.209.

report recognises the demands of the college timetable and made clear that its recommendations were not intended to be a sweeping criticism against the 'Boards which regulate theological curricula', and still less to criticise the 'principals and professors of the college.'⁴ Nevertheless they concluded that the theological colleges did not take the needs and claims of missionary students into account, and that a revision of the 'traditional curriculum' was required.⁵ The report stressed that 'the theological curricula would be enriched for all students by fuller treatment of missionary subjects, even if that involves some revision of the traditional curriculum.'⁶

The core subjects would then be the Science of Missions;⁷ and the History of Missions including the records and accounts of missions, and missionaries with especial reference to the first three centuries.⁸ The study of the religions of the world was one of the central themes of the World Missionary Conference and the subject of Commission IV.⁹ Their research for Commission V suggested that few missionaries had any conception of the relationship of Christianity to other religions except as a contrast between truth and many errors.¹⁰ The missionary was not equipped to evaluate another faith, nor to appreciate a different spiritual excellence or moral character. Nor was the missionary aware of the considerable social problems which inevitably arose when people were passing over from one

⁴ *Preparation of Missionaries*, p.80.

⁵ *Preparation of Missionaries*, p.80. In fact they concluded 'that to a very considerable extent the curricula requires revision.'

⁶ *Preparation of Missionaries*, p.80.

⁷ *Preparation of Missionaries*, pp.162-3

⁸ *Preparation of Missionaries*, pp.163-4.

⁹ *The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions*, Report of Commission IV, The Training of Teachers, at the World Missionary Conference, 1910, (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910)

¹⁰ *Preparation of Missionaries*, p.165.

religion to another.¹¹ Sociology was a recommended part of the curriculum in a desire to understand the interface between western ideas and customs with those found locally. The recommendation was that missionary training should prepare people for 'meeting the complex social condition which are emerging in every land'.¹²

It is hard to estimate how many colleges and seminaries responded to this call from Edinburgh and seriously included 'The Science and History of Missions' in their curricula. Certainly there were some institutions which responded more to the idea that the home ministers needed instruction in the progress of modern missions so that they could better press their case to their home-based congregations. That had been the focus for Guinness in his training, and for the many independent colleges in the UK.¹³ Chadwick had focussed mainly on the needs of the British Church, but following his tour in South Africa he determined to include some elements of mission history in the curriculum. 'I have resolved to put a missionary course into the Curriculum at Cliff. It makes me mad to think of all that was happening when I was in College and to remember that I knew nothing about them. There ought to be a course on the history and the happenings of the Field - anyway we will have a try at it.'¹⁴

The Study of Missions was greeted at Edinburgh as a new discipline, but there had been many predecessors and were to be some false starts. It is possible to infer from the so-called Great Commission,¹⁵ the instruction to the disciples at

¹¹ *Preparation of Missionaries*, pp.165-167.

¹² *Preparation of Missionaries*, pp.168-70.

¹³ See pp. 4, 7-9.

¹⁴ Chadwick, *An Evangelistic Tour In South Africa* (Cliff College archives: unpublished, 1916), p.11. He had come to this opinion after considerable conversation with a Anglo-Catholic priest, Father Norton, a fellow traveler on the delayed sailing to S. Africa.

¹⁵ Matthew 28:19-20. For a discussion of the Commissions of Jesus, see Mortimer Arias and Alan Johnson, *The Great Commission* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992).

the Ascension,¹⁶ the events of Pentecost¹⁷ and the call from Paul to the Roman church,¹⁸ that there was consideration of mission strategy in the scriptures themselves. Certainly the debate in Acts 11 and 15 prompted a Council at Jerusalem to rule on whether new male converts also needed to be circumcised, so the early church was thinking about mission theology and practice. Similarly the different presentations by Paul of the Good News in Athens, Corinth and Ephesus, suggest that he was aware of the differing cultures and contexts to which he was speaking.¹⁹ Though colleges as understood today are a relatively modern phenomenon, the desire for education in Christian mission and ministry is not new. Originally teaching and learning was primarily one of discipleship, linked with catechesis and nurture where the learning focussed on the handing on of the tradition and the scriptures as part of discipleship.²⁰ This was the primary model during the first two centuries. The teaching and nurture of new Christians included the expectation that they would be involved in evangelism. Origen states that, 'as far as they are able, Christians leave no stone unturned to spread the faith in all parts of the world. Some, in fact, have done the work of going round not only cities but even villages and country cottages to make others also pious

¹⁶ Acts 1:6-11.

¹⁷ Acts 2.

¹⁸ Romans 10:14-15 with its question 'how are they to hear without someone to proclaim him?' i.e. Jesus.

¹⁹ A number of texts explore the approaches employed by Paul and the early Church. Early in this field were Senior and Stuhlmueller, *The Biblical Foundations for Mission* (London: SCM, 1983), which explored the whole biblical text. Particularly interesting is the section 'Mission Theology in Paul', pp161-190, and Paul's universal, 'cosmic scope' of the gospel in the context of the culture at Colossians/Ephesians. David Bosch in *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991) followed this with his proposal about changing mission paradigms across Christian History. He argues at the beginning of his book (p.15) that the development of mission history and mission theology was happening in the early church and can be identified in Matthew, Luke-Acts and the Pauline corpus, pp.15-178. Other missiologists have followed this lead.

²⁰ William J. Abraham, *The Logic of Evangelism* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989), pp.98-9 and 101-107, where Abraham argues convincingly that it was the very process of catechesis which not only initiated the new converts but enabled them to engage in sharing the faith.

toward God.²¹ Simple proclamation was not sufficient and the process of calling people to faith was integrally associated with nurture and catechesis.

In terms of the history of mission teaching, Myklebust's *The Study of Missions in Theological Education* is a key text.²² Myklebust begins his survey with the lay missionary and philosopher Raimon Lull (died c. 1315) who urged the Roman Catholic church to establish schools to teach languages for unreached peoples.²³ He briefly established a school in Majorca. Hogg maintains that the Jesuit José Acosta and the Carmelite Thomas a Jesu were the earliest missions theorists; the latter persuaded Pope Gregory XV to establish the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622.²⁴ Significant also was August Hermann Francke who was appointed to the newly established University of Halle and from 1702 trained missionaries for India. Among his students was Count Zinzendorf who formed the 'Unitas Fratrum' and established a mission-centred community at Herrnhut.

The desire for an educated and missionary clergy was not confined to Europe. Bishop Juan De Zumarraga, the energetic leader of the newly formed Diocese of Mexico founded in 1536 the *Colegio Santa Cruz en Tlateloclo*. This was seen as one of his finest achievements with the purpose of training an

²¹ S.C. Neill and H.R. Weber (eds), *The Layman in Christian History* (London: SCM Press, 1963), p.41.

²² Olav Guttorm Myklebust, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education: An Historical Inquiry into the Place of World Evangelization in Western Protestant Ministerial Training, with Particular Reference of Alexander Duff's Chair of Evangelistic Theology* (Oslo: Egede Instituttet, Vol.1, 1955, Vol.2, 1957).

²³ At the urging of Lull the Council of Vienna, 1311, founded chairs for the study of languages in Rome, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Salamanca, but none lasted long, Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978, p.11.

²⁴ W.R. Hogg, 'The Teaching of Missiology: Some Reflections on the Historical and Current Scene', in *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol.XV, No.4, October 1987, p.490.

indigenous clergy and expanding the missionary effort.²⁵ Though Zumarraga had high hopes for this college they were not fulfilled due to the 'insurmountable difficulty of celibacy'. In a manner not dissimilar to the Victorian philanthropists, he established schools, hospitals, churches and convents. He also encouraged the development of agriculture, local crafts and simple industries.

William Carey, often referred to as the 'Father of Modern Missions', founded Serampore College with his colleagues, Marshman and Ward, in 1819.²⁶ William Carey had sailed for India in 1795 following the publication of his *Enquiry*²⁷ and after initial difficulties translated and distributed the scriptures, set up a mission centre, with outposts in North East India, and established Serampore College. The College was established for the instruction of Asiatic, Christian and Other Youth, in Eastern Literature and European Science.²⁸ The College did not achieve immediately all that Carey and his colleagues had hoped, a desire to train Christian leadership in the mission and the country, because there was not in India at that time an adequate substructure of education. Though the College received a Royal Danish Charter in 1827, conferring university powers on its Council, it was not until 1910 that university education began at Serampore and the first Bachelor of Divinity was conferred in 1915. However, the work envisaged at Serampore College, contributed significantly not only to the development of education in India but also to the growth of missionary education in the nineteenth century.

²⁵ A. McCormack, 'Zumarraga (Cumarraga), Juan De' in *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1971), p.681.

²⁶ Gerald H. Anderson, *Mission Legacies* (New York: Orbis, 1994), pp.245-54, for a discussion of the significance of Carey, Ward and Marshman, often referred to as the 'Serampore Trio'.

²⁷ William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathens in which the Religious state of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of former undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings are Considered* (May 1792).

²⁸ A. Christopher Smith, 'William Carey, Protestant Pioneer of the Modern Era', in Gerald H. Anderson, *Mission Legacies* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994), p.251. 'Asiatic' refers to the children of European fathers and Indian Mothers.

There were in the early nineteenth century attempts to launch seminary courses in missions, but they were centred on individuals and faded when they retired or moved to other posts. Charles Breckenridge was appointed to Princeton in 1836 as Professor of Practical Theology and Missionary Instruction. His lectures were, according to Myklebust, the first mission courses in a theological seminary or school.²⁹ However, when he joined the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions the post was discontinued. In the United Kingdom, Alexander Duff³⁰ was appointed to the Chair of Evangelistic Theology in New College, Edinburgh in 1867. This experienced missionary became the 'first professor of Missions in Christendom.'³¹ Nevertheless this was a personal chair, which did not continue when in 1878 he died. It was, however, Gustav Warneck who was the first person to receive an official appointment to the chair of missionary science.³² His inaugural lecture as he was made professor extraordinary in 1897 at the University of Halle was entitled 'Mission's Right to Citizenship in the Organism of Theological Science.'³³

These appointments and attempts to establish mission studies in the academy led up to Edinburgh Conference in 1910. The report from Commission V repeatedly stressed, on the one hand, the importance of teaching missions to ministerial students preparing for the home work, and, on the other, that the Science and History of Missions, as it was being developed by Gustav Warneck and others, was an essential part of practical theology. The report identified the lack of suitable training but recommended that 'we can only put forward the high-

²⁹ Myklebust, Vol.1, pp.146-149.

³⁰ William Paton, *Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education* (London: SCM Press, 1923).

³¹ Myklebust, Vol.1, pp.158-187.

³² J. Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p.13.

³³ *Ibid.*, see also the concise explanation of Warneck's ideas, pp.26-28.

sounding title of "The Science of Missions" as an aspiration and challenge.' With specific reference to Warneck, it noted that the 'foundations for the superstructure have been laid with true German thoroughness and insight.'³⁴

After the World Missionary Conference had ended there was a galaxy of new Chairs of Mission in the USA. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary had established as early as 1899 a Chair of Comparative Religion and Missions.³⁵ Yale University Divinity School had a Chair of Missions from 1906 with Harlan Page Beach which became one of the leading schools of mission, and K.S. Latourette succeeded him in 1921.³⁶ There was also a prestigious appointment of a Professor of Missions in the Hartford Seminary Kennedy School of Missions established in 1911.³⁷ The study of mission and teaching of missiology received considerable momentum in the United States from the research of the Presbyterian missionary Daniel J. Fleming.³⁸ He conceived a grand scheme for training students in mission studies at Union Theological Seminary, and eventually in 1918 became the Professor of Missions.³⁹ From 1917 he held a series of meetings with others teaching missions in theological seminaries and missionary schools which became the precursor of the Association of Professors of Mission founded in 1952.⁴⁰ John Mott persuaded Union Seminary to establish the Missionary Research Library, which became a major resource in the early study of

³⁴ *Preparation of Missionaries*, p.162.

³⁵ Hogg, 'The Teaching of Missiology', p.492. William Owen Carver served in that capacity for 45 years establishing extensive graduate research.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp.493-4. In 1914 the position was endowed as the D. Willis James Professorship of Missions and, when Latourette was appointed, changed to cover his extensive work the title became Professor of Missions and Oriental History.

³⁷ Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations* (New York: Harper, 1952), p.132 and Myklebust, Vol.1, pp.92-94.

³⁸ Daniel J. Fleming, his published thesis explored missionary devolution, *Missiology*, p.487. From 1915 Fleming taught at Union Theological Seminary, New York.

³⁹ Fleming had devised a plan for two Professors, one Chair in Missions and one in Religions, as well as international scholars, scholarships, library funds and exchange fellowships with other colleges. The difficulty was funding. Hogg, *Ibid.*, p.495.

⁴⁰ Hogg, *The Teaching of Missiology*, pp.487-8.

missiology.⁴¹ Princeton, which had always had a missionary ethos, established a Chair of History of Religions and Christian Missions in 1915, and in 1986 had four professors teaching ecumenics, mission, and history of religions.⁴² The returned missionary Donald McGavran founded in 1965 the School of World Mission, developed his church growth research and teaching. Now associated with the Fuller Theological Seminary⁴³ the courses cover a broad range including behavioural sciences, church growth, mission history, leadership training, religions, scripture translation and mission theology.⁴⁴

Methodism's contribution to this rapid growth included professorships in theological schools at Boston, Candler and Drew, followed in the 1920s by professorships at Duke, and Perkins and in the 1930s at Garrett.⁴⁵ Asbury Theological Seminary, established in 1923, began in 1983, under Dean George W. Hunter, the E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism, which serves the United Methodist Church. Hunter came from the church growth school of research and was associated with McGavran at Fuller but the Asbury School of World Mission has focussed on the broad agenda of missiology.⁴⁶

In Britain it was not possible to proceed by appointing professors or lecturers in missions at Universities. Departments of theology, and colleges in the Universities, with the notable exception of New College, did not embrace this new

⁴¹ Verkuyl, p.15.

⁴² Hogg, *The Teaching of Missiology*, p.497.

⁴³ Fuller Theological Seminary was founded in 1947 and 'sought to soften some of the harder edges of fundamentalism and engage modern scholarship and biblical criticism', Randall Balmer, p.231.

⁴⁴ Hogg, p.499.

⁴⁵ Kenneth Cracknell, 'Mission and Evangelism in Methodist Theological Enquiry and Education', lecture at Cliff College September 2000, unpublished, p.3.

⁴⁶ George Hunter has produced many books the most significant of which are, *The Contagious Congregation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), *To Spread the Power* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1987), *Reaching Secular People* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992), *Church for the Unchurched* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996).

discipline. During the nineteenth century, both Church and mission organisations had established colleges for the teaching of missions, and the preparation for missionary endeavour. It was the Bible colleges, as we shall see, which would provide that training. The Edinburgh Commission V, though it was proposing the establishment of more professors, did note that 'In Great Britain there is no lack of teachers able to deal effectively with different branches of the subject. The British genius, however, as usual, prefers to work up to rather than to start from a comprehensive theory.'⁴⁷ Cliff College was one such college committed to evangelism training but there were many others⁴⁸ some of which were small and ceased to exist soon after 1910.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Preparation of Missionaries*, p.163.

⁴⁸ A comprehensive survey would be a source of useful research, but the following Colleges established from 1850 to 1910 specifically training people for mission are noteworthy:

- 1843 Richmond Theological Institution, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary College.
- 1863, London College of Divinity which became in 1970, St John's College, Nottingham.
- 1872 East London Training Institute, Harley House, Bow, London.
- 1875 Hulme Cliff College, Calver, Derbyshire.
- 1882, Wilson Carlile College of Evangelism, Blackheath (later Sheffield).
- 1884, Joyful News Training Home and Mission, Bolton, Rochdale and then Cliff College.
- 1886, Faith Mission Bible College, Edinburgh.
- 1892, Bible Training Institute Glasgow, later International Christian College.
- 1892, Redcliffe Missionary Training College, London
- 1899 Westminster College, Cambridge.
- 1911 Mount Hermon College, South Norwood.

⁴⁹ *Preparation of Missionaries*, pp.236-7. See also the work of C. David Harley, *Missionary Training* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2000), who evaluates the work of All Nations College and its antecedents. On this matter of small and temporary colleges see p.51. Commission V lists the following Colleges as training missionaries:

- Church Missionary College, Islington.
- Harley College, London.
- House of the Sacred Mission, Kelham.
- Missionary College of St Boniface, Warminster.
- Missionary College of St Peter and St. Paul, Dorchester.
- Moravian Mission College, Bristol.
- St Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury.
- St. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh.
- For women:
- Community of the Epiphany, Truro.
- Deaconess House, Edinburgh.
- Doric Lodge, London.
- Rochester and Southwark Diocesan Deaconess Institution.
- S.P.G. Hostel, Wandsworth, London.
- St. Andrew's Training Home, Portsmouth.
- St Deny's Training College, Warminster.

Where denominational colleges had links with theological departments in universities, such as the Wesleyan Methodist Richmond College linked with the University of London, which made demands on the curriculum, another strategy had to be developed to teach 'The Science of Mission'. This amounted to claiming that all theological subjects, Old Testament, New Testament, church history and systematic theology, could and should be taught in a 'missionary way'. The Congregationalist theological educator, Herbert Cunliffe-Jones, proposed this in 1942: 'a 'missionary' ministry can best be trained, not by adding of extra subjects to a full curriculum, but by the reorientation of the traditional disciplines of theology and church history'.⁵⁰ The effect of the policy was not to establish mission teaching in all the disciplines, but to pay lip-service to mission whilst not altering any teaching programme.

The British universities had removed the despised religious tests for its teachers and professors, and deliberately moved towards being secular bodies at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵¹ One such was Sheffield, which placed its

The Olives, Hampstead, London.

The Willows, Stoke Newington, London.

Women's Missionary College, Edinburgh.

Y.W.C.A. Teasting and Training Home for Foreign Missions, Chelsea, London, later Redcliffe College. pp.236-7.

⁵⁰ Cunliffe-Jones, *Theology*, 1942, p.81.

⁵¹ The notion of religious 'tests' in England were closely tied up with the nature of Establishment. Not until 1828 were the 'Test' acts repealed. Up until then 'dissenters' were excluded from public offices on the formal basis that they did not receive Holy Communion according to the rite of the Church of England (i.e. via the Book of Common Prayer, 1662). That was the formal 'test' which, of course, enshrined certain doctrines. So it was a sacramental test which determined doctrine and adherence to the State Church. Free Churchmen of conscience would not take the test and were thereby excluded. After 1828, to safeguard certain sensitive state offices (e.g. becoming an MP) a less formal negative 'test' was applied. That is, non-Anglicans were invited to swear that they would do nothing to weaken the Church of England or seek to destroy the union of Church and State.

A further application of such 'tests', was that not until 1854 were Free Churchmen admitted to the ancient Universities. Oxbridge and Durham were closed to dissenters who by much the same criteria as that outlined above were barred from becoming undergraduates. Indeed Free Churchmen could not become Fellows of these universities until 1870, nor could a Free Churchman gain a BD or DD degree from them until 1918. It was partly in response to this

secular ideal in its charter. Under such circumstances no university faculty of theology anywhere was likely to consider the history and science of missions as an academic subject, preferring to establish posts in Biblical Studies and Church History as reputable academic subjects. As a result, there were no trained missiologists from British universities. The only university Chair of Mission in any British University (Birmingham) has been occupied during its brief existence by two continental scholars (the Swiss scholar Walter Hollenweger, and the present incumbent the German Africanist and missiologist, Werner Ustorf).

Nevertheless, the fact that the British universities did not have any formal teaching of missiology should not have prevented the ministerial training colleges from responding to the Edinburgh Conference. The desire for academic respectability prevented the theological colleges from including in their curriculum mission studies, missiology, still less evangelism studies. The present postgraduate courses in missiology in the UK date from 1995.

There was an exception to this pattern. Only the Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, an autonomous complex of missionary training institutes, were able to appoint a Professor of Missions from 1936 (a gift from Edward Cadbury). Eventually, this was led to the founding of the one British Chair of Missions, already referred to, at Birmingham University. Occupants of the Selly Oak chair have included one Methodist, Charles Pelham Groves, author of *Jesus Christ and Primitive Need: A Missiary Study of the Christian Message* (1934) and a pioneering *History of the Planting of Christianity in Africa* (in four vols., 1948 onwards). In 1937 another chair at Selly Oak was added, that of church history,

discrimination that the Universities which were founded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, like Sheffield, were so adamantly opposed to religious discrimination.

held by the Methodist John Foster, author of many valuable books on church history from a missiological perspective.

In continental Europe scholars built on the legacy of Warneck and benefited from his five volume work *Evangelische Missionslehre*⁵² which was subtitled, 'An attempt at a theory of missions'. Professors of missiology were established at the universities of Berlin and Hamburg and the latter a Missions Academy was founded.⁵³ A co-operative venture between the Dutch universities established the Inter-university Institute of Missiology and Ecumenics at the University of Utrecht under the supervision of J.C. Hoekendijk.

The study of missions was given a considerable new direction through the International Missionary Council, formed following Edinburgh, and after the significant interruption of the First World War. At its third meeting⁵⁴ at Willingen in 1952 delegates spoke of the 'Missio Dei'. Mission came from the nature of God who reached out to all humankind. It followed that 'missions' were human instruments and programmes which hoped to fulfil those aims, but the essential mission was God's. Therefore the language changed most notably with the *International Review of Missions*, the title from its inception in 1912 and then in 1967 the 's' was dropped in the title to reflect the changing understanding.

Despite good intentions and much energetic goodwill, the judgment that must be passed on most of the American, British and European Continental

⁵² Gustav Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre: ein missionstheoretischer Versuch* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 5 vols, 1887-1905). He also wrote *Missionsstunden* (Gotha: A.P. Perthes, 3 vols, 1887-93).

⁵³ Verkuyl, p.14.

⁵⁴ John Mott with J. H. Oldham led the 'continuing committee', called the first meeting of the IMC at Lake Mohonk, New York in 1921 and ensured its delegates related directly to missions organizations. The following meetings were at Jerusalem (1928), Tambaram (1938), Whitby, Ontario (1947), and then Willingen. They were all very significant for the international development of missiological thinking. They became the forum where new ideas were tested out.

initiatives in response to Edinburgh 1910, is that they were false starts. Kenneth Cracknell gives three reasons:⁵⁵ First, the teaching of missions was marginalized by the existing faculty memberships and by the dominance of the existing curricula. In the US context the mere appearance of a professor of missions in the prospectus changed little of what the students were required to study.⁵⁶ Even Latourette suffered at Yale: 'Even in the Divinity School ... missions was a late arrival, and in view of the established disciplines, such as Bible, theology and church history was accorded a minor place on the curriculum.'⁵⁷ Secondly, the lack of any adequate conception of what the subject called 'mission' might embrace. Many professors of missions in the United States and Canada turned out to have other duties, some of which were incompatible with the 'Science of Missions' suggested by the World Missionary Conference. Myklebust's listing of the 49 professorships in 1955 is very revealing. Often the mission element is compromised by connection with another discipline. In the American Methodist seminaries there are: Boston, 'Professor of Missions and Christian International Relations'; Drew, 'Missions and Comparative Religion'; Duke, 'History of Religions and Missions'; Perkins, 'New Testament Greek, Missions, and Church Music'. Other North American Schools had such combinations as 'Missions and Oriental History', 'Missions and Applied Christianity', 'History of Christianity, Missions, and Comparative Religions', 'Missions and Religious Education', 'Philosophy of Religions and Christian Missions', 'Ecclesiastical History, Church Polity and Missions', 'Missions Ethics and Sociology' and even 'English Bible

⁵⁵ Kenneth Cracknell, 'Mission and Evangelism in Methodist Theological Enquiry and Education', lecture at Cliff College September 2000, unpublished.

⁵⁶ Hogg, 'The Teaching of Missiology', identifies that in a 1934 survey even though 55 out of 57 offered courses in missions and world religions

⁵⁷ Kenneth S. Latourette, *Beyond the Ranges: An Autobiography* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), p.63.

and Missions'.⁵⁸ This set of data is conclusive evidence that few apparently knew what missions meant as a theological discipline. Clearly the Edinburgh vision of Commission V had not communicated itself. Thirdly, there was a lack of trained teachers of missions. The natural recourse of the seminaries was to hire either returned missionaries or former mission board executives. Too often these people had no natural aptitude for teaching in the lecture room, however brilliant they had been as practitioners. Since there was no consensus as to what they might be teaching, they fell back upon their own necessarily limited experience to define the horizon of their courses. This often meant a sad gulf between themselves and the new generation, with much disappointment on both sides. The vital living issues in cross-cultural evangelism and in mission aims and practice became deadly dull.⁵⁹

The British false start had a different consequence. The British situation was in greater difficulty. Perhaps the most telling is the opinion implicit in the recommendations of a British Methodist Conference Commission on the 'Missionary Obligation of the Church' set up in 1953, reporting in 1955.⁶⁰ The Commission included eminent theological teachers as Harold Roberts (its Chair) and Gordon Rupp, as well as all the Secretaries of the then Methodist Missionary Society. There were recommendations for the Church: a call for intercessory prayer, encouragement that issues from the overseas Church should be a regular item on the circuit meeting agenda, and that a programme should be established to

⁵⁸ Myklebust, Vol.1, pp.293-298. When I visited Garrett-Evangelical Seminary in 1996, despite there being a Professor of Evangelism, the subject of Evangelism was listed in their prospectus as one sub-section under the heading 'Church Administration'. In an informal discussion I challenged the Seminary President, the Rev Dr Alan Fisher about this diminution of the subject in the teaching calendar.

⁵⁹ Kenneth Cracknell, 'Mission and Evangelism in Methodist Theological Enquiry and Education', lecture at Cliff College September 2000, unpublished.

⁶⁰ *Agenda of the Methodist Conference, 1955*

educate mission secretaries and preachers about the issues facing the Church overseas. One of the recommendations related to theological education in Britain:

(2) We would suggest that the curriculum of the theological colleges, or rather the point of view from which the subjects are taught there, is capable of revision so that the men who come out will regard a world view of the church as normal.

We suggest that the 'History of Missions' be included as a special subject in Divinity degrees and taught in our colleges. We would also suggest that the 'History of Missions' or 'Modern Missionary Problems' be made a compulsory study for probationers in the home work.

We are not unmindful of the missionary tradition in our colleges and the world outlook many men have acquired there, but we are concerned that men should go out equipped with a knowledge of the problems that confront the overseas Church today and some knowledge as to how the overseas Church may be made real to our members at home. We too share in the widespread desire that a closer alliance may be brought about between theology and Christian missions.⁶¹

Despite these fine words, Kenneth Cracknell did not find any attempt to apply these findings at Richmond College, where Harold Roberts was Principal, when he entered as a student in 1957, nor later when he became Senior Tutor at Wesley House in 1988 could he find any trace of their being applied at Wesley

⁶¹ *The Missionary Obligation of the Church: The Report of the Methodist Conference Commission* (London: Epworth Press, 1955), p.93. The report and its conclusions were printed and distributed separately and referred to in the *Agenda of the Methodist Conference 1955*, p.27. Of the 41 people on the commission only the Rev Dr Colin Roberts, then in the final years of his career, had any association with Cliff College.

House when Gordon Rupp had been Principal.⁶² He concludes that this was primarily due to the overwhelming dominance of the degree requirements of the Universities of London and Cambridge.⁶³

Edward Farley in 1983 offered a critique of modern theological education in America.⁶⁴ Since he published this work all writers of theological education have made reference to his work. He argued two main points. First that theology had become fragmented in the post-enlightenment period so that a fourfold division of the curriculum became normative; biblical studies, systematic theology, church history and practical theology. Secondly in both Europe and North America theological education had become concerned with the training of a professional clergy.⁶⁵

In 1987 the British Council of Churches (BCC) produced a 'discussion document' arising from the visit of overseas theological educators. The inspiration for the process was that a team of theological educators from overseas should explore, with the BCC Standing Committee on Theological Education, ways to create a 'greater awareness of the insights and experience of theological investigations overseas.'⁶⁶ Its report, *Partners in Practice*, was very challenging for the British Church.⁶⁷ The visitors found the focus of training was concerned with 'equipping ministers to function in gathered church congregations'.⁶⁸ Moreover theological education had not learned the lesson of Edinburgh, for there

⁶² This information came as a result of conversation and correspondence with Kenneth Cracknell.

⁶³ Cracknell, 'Mission and Evangelism in Methodist Theological Enquiry and Education', p.5.

⁶⁴ Edward Farley, 'The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education', in *Theologia* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983).

⁶⁵ Farley, pp.99-116.

⁶⁶ *Partners in Practice* (London: The British Council of Churches, 1989) p.3.

⁶⁷ *Partners in Practice*: see especially they 'Impressions and insights' which has twelve main points which are highly critical of the nature and purpose and theological education as the group experienced it in Britain, pp33-37.

⁶⁸ *Partners in Practice*, p.34.

was 'insufficient preparation for and engagement in the life of society and in the issues faced in secular British society.'⁶⁹ The visitors also recommended that an overall perspective of mission was needed: 'The Churches lack an active sense of God reaching out to humanity. There is the need for concentration on a concept of mission that is not Church-centred. Often it was found that a concept of Church was held to be primary and a view of mission consequent upon this. British missiology, where courses are provided, still envisages missions in the plural as action towards passive objects, rather than mission in the singular as an all-pervasive perspective on the Christian gospel and life.'⁷⁰

In 1990 Ian D. Bunting, an Anglican vicar, published a report of a survey of theological training in Britain, entitled *The Places to Train*.⁷¹ The detailed results from ninety-two theological training colleges led to seven conclusions, one of which was that many students wanted 'more emphasis on mission'.⁷² The report did not diminish biblical studies or systematic or practical theology, but as 'the Church comes to terms with the challenges of a pluriform context, with global significance, cross-cultural communication, apologetics, mission and evangelism are increasingly regard as essential components of the syllabus.'⁷³

In recent years there have been two more major documents both of which conclude that mission studies should be a key element of theological education

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ *Partners in Practice*, p.35. The report was not noted that year at the Loughborough Methodist Conference in any of the Overseas, Ministerial Training or Ecumenical reports, and was brought up from the floor by the radical ecumenist, the Rev David Haslam, and myself.

⁷¹ Ian D. Bunting, *Places to Train* (Eltham: MARC Europe, 1990). Bunting had in 1988 contacted with a detailed questionnaire, all the 92 Colleges in Britain training men and women for 'church-supported ministries', p.9.

⁷² Ibid, p.54.

⁷³ Ibid.

but neither have been implemented. *Mission and Ministry*⁷⁴ offered a framework for theological education, making detailed recommendations about all aspects of theological training. These recommendations suggested that all candidates for ministry should be involved in a process leading to fourteen 'Agreed Expectations for Ordinands'.⁷⁵ One of the agreed expectations was that ordinands should be able to reflect on the 'theory and practice of ministry, mission and evangelism and the relationships between them, with specific reference to the role of the local Church in relation to the universal Church and of Christians in their service to the world.'⁷⁶ Before these could be implemented the financial crisis that had been visible for many years caused another working party of the Archbishops' Council to publish another report, *The Structure and Funding of Ordination Training*. Known widely as the 'Hind Report', after the name of the chair of the working party, Bishop John Hind, and feared by training institutions because it suggested closure of at least some colleges and courses, the report was accepted in 2003 and then not implemented. Consequently the crisis of training experienced in the Anglican and Methodist Churches, which is actually caused by too few students in too many colleges, some precariously small and unable to offer either academic depth or breadth, be research led, or facilitate sufficient peer learning, remains unresolved. The structural decisions have not been made and the curricular recommendations have not been implemented. Moreover the 'Hind Report' abandoned the commitment to mission studies. Paragraph 4.8 lists the 'common themes' to be found in all theological education; 'mission', 'mission studies' and

⁷⁴ *Mission and Ministry: The Churches' Validation Framework for Theological Education* (London: Ministry Division of the Archbishops Council, 1999). This report was produced by a working party, which had ecumenical representatives, was set up by the Advisory Board of Ministry and was approved by the House of Bishops in June 1999.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp.41-42.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.42.

'evangelism' are not mentioned.⁷⁷ In the 'Statement of Expectations for Ministerial Education', the phrases are similarly absent, and the 'transformation of the whole created order' is the closest insinuation of the theme of mission.⁷⁸ In the two-page diagram of the three years of pre-ordination training and the two years of in-service training, only one learning outcome refers to mission studies: 'critically evaluate contemporary cultural trends in relation to the Church's mission and life.'⁷⁹

The position of mission studies however is not, thankfully, as bleak as the decisions about ministerial training suggest. Firstly, there are many scholars and teachers who are now researching and publishing texts on Mission Studies or Missiology. There has been a momentous rise in the numbers of serious published books, giving rise to a significant body of knowledge consisting mainly of published books as well as journals and noteworthy articles. It was in the late 1970s and early 1980s that the first important missiological texts began to appear. The watershed came in 1974-5 with three events which had a profound effect on the world-wide church: The International Congress on World Evangelisation of 1974 which issued the 'Lausanne Covenant'; the report 'Confessing Christ Today' of the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi in 1975; and the document entitled 'Evangelisation in the Modern World' (*Evangelii Nuntiandi*) issued by Pope Paul following the Third General Assembly of the Roman Catholic Synod of Bishops in the same year. What followed between their publication and 1980 was a realisation that there was much in common in these

⁷⁷ Formation for ministry with a learning church (London: Church House Publishing, 2003), pp.38-9. The report was referred to as the 'Structure and Funding' or the Hind Report.,

⁷⁸ *Structure and Funding*, p.57.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp.58-9.

three documents. John Stott published an article in *Third Way*⁸⁰ in December 1977 in which he identified the 'signs of convergence' regarding God's call to mission and evangelism, the nature of the gospel, the church as the evangelistic agent and the power of the Holy Spirit. He concluded the article listing 'Ten Affirmations' using quotations from the reports. He also expressed caution because of the documents' divergence, and he suggested that his 'Ten Affirmations' were inevitably highly selective, could be a lowest common denominator, and readers should refer to the full texts.⁸¹

In the present list of 100 key texts compiled by Kenneth Cracknell, only fourteen were published before this watershed in 1974-5. They are the classic texts of Roland Allen,⁸² Hendrik Kraemer who prepared a text for the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram,⁸³ Stephen Neill and Gerald Anderson (eds) in the unrivalled *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*,⁸⁴ and Georg Vicedom who wrote about the influence of the International

⁸⁰ John Stott, 'World Evangelization, Signs of convergence and divergence in Christian understanding.' in *Third Way*, 1 December 1977, pp.3-9. This led to a debate with critical responses from evangelical leaders Herbert Carson, Roger Forster, Leith Samuel and Gerald Bray (15 December, 1977, pp.13-16). The Rt Rev David Brown welcomed the convergence (12 January 1978, pp.7-9). The Methodist liberal theologian John Richardson welcomed the convergence and called for the unresolved tensions to be resolved (26 January 1978, pp.13-16). Fr Robert Bogan wrote a charming piece setting his view of the key points of the three documents into a poetic prose. (9 February 1978, 13-14 and 11). He clearly welcomed the convergence and avoided the dissonant points.

⁸¹ John Stott, 'Ten Earlier Affirmations on Evangelism – a conspectus', in *Evangelism: Convergence and Divergence* (London: Nationwide Initiative in Evangelism, 1980). All the texts of statements about mission from the Conciliar Ecumenical Consultations, Roman Catholic Statements, reports from the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Church, and the Evangelical Protestant Statements 1974-1991 are published as Scherer and Bevans, *New Directions in Mission and Evangelization* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1992).

⁸² Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours* (London: World Dominion Press, 1912), and *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder it* (London: World Dominion Press, 1927).

⁸³ Hendrik Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh House Press, 1938).

⁸⁴ Stephen Neill, Gerald Anderson and John Goodwin (eds), *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1970). Neill also published *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964).

Missionary Conference at Willingen in 1952, which heralded a theology of mission which found its source in God, thus a *Missio Dei*.⁸⁵

Following the publication of these three major documents, the publication of mission studies material increased but only slowly. In his review of the early 1900s, John Kent wrote that 'the history of Christian missions is in some ways the most promising branch of modern church history.'⁸⁶ Some had a profound effect on missiological thinking, such as Orlando Costas, whose book *The Integrity of Mission* argued that the true test of mission was not whether to engage in evangelism, make disciples or engage in social, economic and political liberation, but whether missionaries are capable of integrating all three in a dynamic relationship.⁸⁷ A number of writers straddle 1980 such as the detailed research work of Gerald Anderson,⁸⁸ as does Bosch with an invaluable and rare book for missionaries about spiritual disciplines, though his greatest work came later.⁸⁹ Newbigin's first significant work on missiology, a series of lectures which were first given to people preparing for missionary service, was published in 1978.⁹⁰ Following 1980 there has been a wealth of publications, and the postgraduate

⁸⁵ Georg Vicedom, *The mission of God: An Introduction to the Theology of Mission* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1965).

⁸⁶ John Kent, *The Study of Modern Ecclesiastical History since 1930* (London: Pelican, 1969), *Pelican Guide to Modern Theology*, Vol.2, p.255.

⁸⁷ Orlando Costas, *The integrity of Mission: the Inner Life and Outreach of the Church* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979), and a further work from his radical evangelical tradition was published after his death in 1987, *Liberating News: a Theology of Contextual Evangelization* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989).

⁸⁸ Gerald Anderson (ed), *The Theology of the Christian Mission* (London: SCM, 1961) and *Mission Trends 1-5* (New York: Paulist Press & Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974 – 1981). Anderson also was involved in editing *Mission Legacies* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1995) and so he straddles this watershed.

⁸⁹ David Bosch, *Spirituality for the Road* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1978) though his major works came later: *Witness to the World the Christian World Mission in Theological Perspective* (London: Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1980) and *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991).

⁹⁰ Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) reprinted in a revised edition in 1995 by SPCK.

courses at Cliff College had in 2004 a list of twenty-one 'Overall Key Books' for students to read in depth.⁹¹

The inevitable question is how far students of mission theory and practice, who have also participated in mission work, can aspire to the ideal of objectivity expected of scholars in the modern academy. This same question can be addressed to many practising Christians in the academic departments of theology and not simply to mission teachers. The fact remains that Stephen Neill, the doyen of writers in this field and the author of the standard Pelican work, *A History of Christian Missions*,⁹² was a missionary and bishop, as well as being a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and Professor of Missions at the University of Hamburg. Lesslie Newbigin, whose books have informed and challenged students of mission studies, was both a missionary and a bishop, as well as a Cambridge-trained theologian and writer.⁹³ The Dutch missionary Professor, J.

⁹¹ William Abraham, *The logic of Evangelism* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989).
Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).
David Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991).
Roger Bowen, *So I Send You* (London: SPCK, 1996).
Jean Comby, *How to Understand the history of Christian Mission* (London: SCM, 1996).
Kenneth Cracknell, *Justice, Courtesy and Love* (London: Epworth, 1995).
Vincent Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered* (London, SCM, 1982).
John Finney, *Finding Faith Today* (Swindon: Bible Society, 1992).
Ken Gnanakan, *Kingdom Concerns* (Leicester: IVP, 1993).
Michael Green, *Evangelism through the Local Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990).
George Hunter, *How to Reach Secular People* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992).
Andrew J. Kirk, *What is Mission? Theological Explorations* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1999).
Donald Messer, *A Conspiracy of Goodness* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992).
Stephen Neill, *The History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964).
Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret* (London: SPCK, 1995).
Lesslie Newbigin, *Foolishness to the Greeks* (London: SPCK, 1986).
Christian Schwarz, *Natural Church Development* (Moggerhanger: BCGA, 1997).
Thomas M. Thangaraj, *The Common Task: A Theology of Christian Mission* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999).
Norman Thomas, *Readings in World Mission* (London: SPCK, 1995).
Johannes Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987).
Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994).

⁹² Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Mission* (London: Pelican, 1980).

⁹³ Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret* (London: SPCK, 1978); *The Other side of 1984* (Geneva: SPCK, 1986); *Foolishness to the Greeks* (London: SPCK, 1986); *Mission In Christ's Way*

Verkuyl wrote *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction*.⁹⁴ Professor David Bosch, the South African missiologist and author of the best-selling work *Transforming Mission*, was a missionary before he was a full-time academic in Pretoria.⁹⁵

Extremely thorough works are Tim Yates' *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*⁹⁶, Andrew Walls' *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: studies in the transmission of the faith*⁹⁷ and Kenneth Cracknell's *Justice, Courtesy and Love*.⁹⁸ Lamin Sanneh, Professor of Missions and World Christianity at the University of Yale, has written an exceptional work about mission in Africa.⁹⁹ Jan Jongeneel, Professor of Missions at Utrecht, wrote a two-volume guide *Philosophy Science and Theology of Mission in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1997), with its amazingly comprehensive bibliographies on every aspect of the subject.¹⁰⁰

(Geneva: WCC, 1987); *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society* (London: SPCK, 1989); *Truth to Tell* (London: SPCK, 1991); *Unfinished Agenda* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1993); *Proper Confidence* (London: SPCK, 1995).

⁹⁴ J. Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987).

⁹⁵ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (New York: Orbis, 1991)

⁹⁶ Tim Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994).

⁹⁷ Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: studies in the transmission of the faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996). Andrew Walls has also written *The Cross-cultural process in Christian history: studies in the transmission and appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2002).

⁹⁸ Kenneth Cracknell, *Justice, Courtesy and Love* (London: Epworth Press, 1995). Cracknell follows up his research in inter-faith dialogue begin with the publication of *Towards a New Relationship* (London: Epworth Press, 1986). The first book explored the relationship between Christians and other faiths. In *Justice Courtesy and Love*, he traced the forerunners of interfaith dialogue to F.D. Maurice and the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh.

⁹⁹ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: the Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989). Sanneh focussed on the cultures which received the missionary effort. He concludes, controversially at the time of publication, that the growth of Christianity in the non-western world brought cultural invigoration, social renewal, intercultural dialogue and a moral courage in anticolonialism. He followed this with *Encountering the West: Christianity and the Global Cultural Process: the African Dimension* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1993). His main arguments in this book were that local people were always active participants in shaping the message they received. Moreover the liberating dynamic of the gospel subverted rather than reinforced any conscious or unconscious goals of the missionaries.

¹⁰⁰ Jan Jongeneel, *Philosophy Science and Theology of Mission in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Vol.1, 1995 and Vol.2, 1997).

In the narrower field of evangelism the published work of Michael Green is equally worthy of comment. His *Evangelism in the Early Church* is unequalled, as is his book about the practice theory of evangelism, the summary of his lectures while Professor of Evangelism at Regent College, Vancouver, *Evangelism in the Local Church*.¹⁰¹ The fact that Green has been a practitioner as well as an academic teacher should not distract from the essential quality of his work. William J. Abraham, a philosopher and theologian, published *The Logic of Evangelism* which called people to reconsider evangelism as an initiation into the full implications of the kingdom of God.¹⁰²

In the submission to the University of Sheffield in December 1993 an extended booklist contained 196 different volumes. As the course began in 1995 Kenneth Cracknell produced a list of 100 key texts.¹⁰³ Presently the Cliff College MA in Evangelism Studies has 1149 texts on its booklist for the two year programme.¹⁰⁴ More generally it is satisfying to those who work in this field to find that the latest edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*¹⁰⁵ pays more attention to missionary figures, and has a long and useful article 'Missions' with a bibliography where much of the literature mentioned above is specified. Cliff College has also engaged in publishing missiological texts in co-operation with the British and Irish Association of Mission Studies. *Mission – An Invitation to God's Future* included papers by Jürgen Moltmann, Theo

¹⁰¹ Michael Green, *Evangelism in the Early Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970); *Evangelism through the Local Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990).

¹⁰² William J. Abraham, *The Logic of Evangelism* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989).

¹⁰³ Kenneth Cracknell, 'A Hundred Books on Mission and Evangelism', produced first in the autumn 1995.

¹⁰⁴ This list was dated July 2004 and made available to students in the session 2004/5 on the postgraduate programme related to Mission and evangelism.

¹⁰⁵ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: OUP, 1997).

Sundermeier, and Anton Wessles.¹⁰⁶ The second in this academic series, *Mission and Spirituality*, included David Hay and significantly the African theologians, Robert Kaggwa and Laurenti Magesa.¹⁰⁷ The most recent has been *Mission, Violence and Reconciliation* with theological papers by Robert Schreiter and Jacques Matthey, and with other contributors evaluating different experiences from Northern Ireland, Malawi and Nicaragua.¹⁰⁸

Secondly there were innumerable fresh initiatives in the study and teaching of mission and evangelism within the world Methodism family. Within the thirteen United Methodist Seminaries, fourteen Professors of Evangelism have been appointed, two at Asbury.¹⁰⁹ Most of the chairs have been endowed with money raised by the Foundation for Evangelism, established to ensure the teaching of mission and evangelism in United Methodist Seminaries.¹¹⁰ The Foundation for Evangelism has also successfully encouraged research and evaluation of evangelism through its consultations and papers.¹¹¹ In the United States The E. Stanley Jones School of Missions and Evangelism at Asbury

¹⁰⁶ Timothy Yates (ed), *Mission – An Invitation to God's Future* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2000).

¹⁰⁷ Howard Mellor and Timothy Yates (eds), *Mission and Spirituality* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2002).

¹⁰⁸ Howard Mellor and Timothy Yates (eds), *Mission, Violence and Reconciliation* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2004).

¹⁰⁹ Dr Robert G. Tuttle in the Theological Seminary and Dr Ronald Crandall in the School of World Mission and evangelism, a McCreless Chair.

¹¹⁰ Such Chairs are E. Stanley Jones Professors of Evangelism, and in the summer of 2005 there were professors at: Asbury Theological Seminary, Kentucky; Boston University School of theology; Claremont School of Theology, California; The School of Theology, Drew University, New Jersey; The Divinity School Duke University, North Carolina; Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, Evanston; Methodist Theological School in Ohio; Saint Paul School of Theology, Kansas City; Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington; Evangelisch-Methodistische Kirche, Theologische Seminar, Reutlingen, Germany, and Africa University, Mutare, Zimbabwe. In addition the Arthur J. Moore foundation support the Arthur J. Moore Chair at Candler School of Theology, Emory, Atlanta and the McCreless family support chairs at Asbury in the E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism and Perkins School of Theology, Dallas.

¹¹¹ A symposium held in 1992 at the Mission Resource Centre in Emory University, Atlanta gather evangelism scholars from Asia, America, Africa and Europe. The papers were published: James C. Logan, *Theology and Evangelism in the Wesleyan Heritage* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, Abingdon Press, 1994).

Theological Seminary is now coming into its own as a significant resource: it is currently in the process of transforming its Doctor of Missiology degree into a full PhD qualification in missiology.

This has, thirdly, encouraged co-operation between theological seminaries and colleges teaching missiology and led to the formation of the North Atlantic Missiology Project (Yale, Edinburgh, Cambridge) in which special attention is being directed to 'Methodist Theology and Experience in the Missionary Movement' at New College, Edinburgh. This major initiative is working under the guidance of Methodism's most senior missiologist, Andrew Walls, together with active co-operation of Kenneth Cracknell, of Brite Divinity School, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas.

Fourthly there were significant developments in the teaching of mission studies in the British theological colleges. The first postgraduate qualification in Britain in evangelism was the MA in Evangelism Studies taught at Cliff College from 1995. The course which was validated in December 1993 by the deliberately secular University of Sheffield represented the first time that any British university had been willing to validate postgraduate work in the field. It was a significant step and enabled Cliff College to establish for the first time postgraduate courses that grew from its own charisms of evangelism teaching and practice.

Furthermore there has been an increase in research students in mission studies. In Britain the study of mission as an academic subject was pioneered at the University of Birmingham, where Werner Ustorf, lately of Heidelberg has more research students than any other teacher of theology. At the University of Edinburgh, David Kerr (now going to Lund) has followed Professor Andrew

Walls; and, at the University of Leeds, Adrian Hastings, Haddon Willmer and currently Kevin Ward have supervised further degrees in mission. The University of Wales (Cardiff) offers mission courses under the direction of Dr Paul Ballard. The integration of missiology in the teaching and learning programmes of the Cambridge Theological Federation has been enabled by the presence of Dr Brian Stanley, Fellow of St Edmund's College, Cambridge, who is Director of the Henry Martyn Centre, Cambridge which encourages research in mission studies. Stephen Plant, a specialist in world religions, joined Wesley House, Cambridge, and the college has recently produced three PhD dissertations in systematic theology/missiology, with others are on the way. The developments at Cliff College over the last ten years are by no means an isolated instance, even if the UK lags behind Europe and the USA in this field.

Fifthly, there have been developments in the number of missiological journals: *Missiology: An International Review*¹¹² founded in 1973 by the American Society of Missiology; *Mission Studies*, available from 1983, the journal of the International Association for Mission Studies and the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*.¹¹³ All three journals are increasingly successful and part of the learning resources available to students of missiology and mission studies. The *International Review of Mission* continues to generate significant articles in the growing research in the field of mission studies.

All these are factors showing the strength of contemporary missiology in both teaching and research programmes within some universities and colleges.

¹¹² *Missiology*, a quarterly magazine since 1973 and until recently Darrell Whitman, Methodist scholar and presently Dean at Asbury's School of World Mission was editor.

¹¹³ *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, a quarterly magazine published since 1981, editor, Jonathan J. Bonk. Until recently the Methodist scholar Gerald H. Anderson was editor.

The most significant developments have been made in the last ten years, which is the period during which Cliff College has expanded into the university sector and begun postgraduate teaching and research. In that sense missiology has come of age and Cliff College has risen on the tide of scholarship and publishing.

Section Five

Conclusion

Chapter twelve: Proximity and Polarity

Chapter thirteen: The Charisms of the College

Chapter twelve

Proximity and Polarity

The *Joyful News* Training Home and Mission had been from the outset deliberately distanced by Champness from the connexional structures. Thomas Champness made it quite clear that in taking on the proposed newspaper he wished to be the editor on his own terms without payment and therefore without supervision.¹ After some initial reluctance the Wesleyan Methodists welcomed the initial outcomes. Champness saw himself as standing for a kind of Wesleyanism which could affect the whole beneficially: 'We must keep the fires burning while the frost lasts' was a favourite phrase of his.² This suggests that he saw the *Joyful News* Mission as both over against and yet essentially connected to the Wesleyan Church. There was a real and creative tension.

From the beginning Champness' view of the *Joyful News* was that it should not engage in 'Politics, Controversy and Connexional Finance'.³ However, Champness was not afraid of using the *Joyful News* as a campaigning publication. The first occasion was in the summer of 1888 when he published a leading article under his own name entitled, 'The Parasite Ecclesiastic'.⁴ In the article he was very critical of ordained colleagues, referring to them as 'Mistletoe Ministers' who do not work hard, and have a parasitic life in circuits, indicating that they move on when their batch of sermons are preached. This

¹ Eliza Champness, *The Story*, p.2.

² Champness is reported here by J.I. Brice, *Joyful News*, 28 May 1931, p.1.

³ *Joyful News*, 22 February 1883, p.1, 'Politics' was in the list of 'What we do not want'.

⁴ *Joyful News*, 19 July 1888, p.1.

did not endear him to the Conference in July 1888 where exception was taken to the article, which was read out from the platform to cries of 'Shame'. He was unrepentant, writing the following week in the *Joyful News*, 'None of those who cried 'Shame' when the article was read in the Conference denied the truth of it.'⁵

Champness's major conflict with the Connexion related to his missionary endeavours. His own experience of frugal mission life in West Africa, along with his early impressions of the mission work by *Joyful News* missionaries, led him to support criticism by the Rev Hugh Price Hughes of the missionaries in India. This included the Wesleyan Methodists. The criticism came in two articles printed in the *Methodist Times* in the Spring of 1890 entitled 'A New Missionary Policy of India'.⁶ Hughes alleged that ordained missionaries of all denominations lived a luxurious life-style in the upper-class Brahmin society.⁷ 'The result is, that men who left the London docks with the simplest ideas of life and duty, full of lofty purposes of self denial and devotion, have scarcely trodden on Indian soil a twelvemonth before they find themselves settled down to a mode and fashion of living from which a year ago they would have shrunk back in dismay.'⁸

The information laid before the sub-committee indicated that the stipend for a married couple without children ranged between £230 and £250 and for

⁵ *Joyful News*, 19 July 1888, p.1.

⁶ Hugh Price Hughes, 'A New Methodist Policy for India', which formed two articles in *The Methodist Times*, 11 and 18 April 1890.

⁷ *The Missionary Controversy: Discussion, Evidence and Report, 1890* (London: Wesleyan Methodist Bookroom, 1890), p.5. This book is a word for word record of the discussion and questioning, similar to a *Hansard* or Parliamentary inquiry, and includes the whole of the articles published in the *Methodist Times*.

⁸ *The Missionary Controversy*, p.5.

single missionaries, £125 – 150.⁹ Champness made it clear in his first submission that he had no wish to criticise others, but that he had experience, at that time, of some single missionaries who cost him £50 a year and one married pair in Ceylon; ‘They do not cost me quite £100 a year.’¹⁰ As a result of this experience Champness suggested that the stipend should be no more than £80 for a single missionary.¹¹ Despite some of his pointed writing, he did not like antagonism and controversy and when he was fiercely attacked in the committee, found this deeply hurtful.¹²

It is unfortunate for Champness that the record of his *Joyful News* missionaries in India was not wholly good. His interrogators in summarising the predicament, state pointedly, ‘The point I wish to emphasise is that out of the seven men Mr. Champness has employed in India, one has died under painful circumstances, and two have either been dismissed by Mr. Champness or have had to break away because of the financial limit.’¹³ His responses were seen to be very weak and the point against considerable reductions in pay for missionaries had been made.

In Champness’s support the Chairman of the Mysore District, a Rev J. Hudson, gave high commendation of the character and work of the *Joyful News* evangelists; ‘At the inauguration of a scheme such as this, enthusiasm makes men willing to undergo more self-denial than they will when the novelty has worn away...while I think Mr. Champness is too sanguine with respect to the

⁹ *The Missionary Controversy*, pp.26-7. Couples received £14 per child, and the stipend included costs for servants. The Stipend in the British Conference in 1890 was £180, see p.72.

¹⁰ *The Missionary Controversy*, p.192.

¹¹ *The Missionary Controversy*, p.71.

¹² Eliza, *The Life*, pp.252-3, where she reveals the pain the controversy caused Thomas and he became ill following the sub-committee.

¹³ *The Missionary Controversy*, p.188.

financial part of this scheme, I have faith in it, and think it well worth a trial.' Despite his illness and depression following the four days of the inquiry, Champness continued to send evangelists overseas on 'Joyful News Lines', and they were to work in India, Ceylon, China, Africa, and the South Sea Islands. This was not, however, on a scale which he had originally envisaged.

The change in his policy following the missionary controversy, and the pain which it caused him, was revealed by Eliza Champness who quoted in full a letter 'To the People Called Methodists', which Champness wished to be published after his death. In that letter, dated 21 February 1903, he indicated that after the missionary controversy he was tempted to withdraw from the Wesleyan Missionary Society, was persuaded that he would have gained funding from doing so, and therefore appointed many more people. He chose to stay within 'the Church I love' and though his letter reveals the pain he felt, he looked forward to a time when missionary endeavour will find greater support.¹⁴ That criticism almost made him leave the Church, but he remained loyal though he felt the controversy had curtailed the vision he had for the missionary work.

His ambivalent attitude to Wesleyan Methodism was typified by the publication in 1898 of a book entitled *John the Baptist among the Methodists*.¹⁵ The book has two main characters, Jonathan, a Methodist member who acts as the narrator in the book, and the other is John the Baptist.¹⁶ They visit a Methodist class meeting, church meeting, college, and the Conference. At each

¹⁴ Eliza, *The Life*, pp.254-5. She indicated that since 1906 'foreign missions were being conducted on broader lines' and that what Champness had hoped for had come to pass in a 'great revival of missionary zeal', p.256.

¹⁵ Thomas Champness, *John the Baptist among the Methodists* (Rochdale: "Joyful News" Book Depot, 1898). The book was published anonymously but it was undoubtedly Champness who wrote it. He also published *Chronicles of The Christ* under the pen name of Benjamin Bobbin.

¹⁶ Jonathan is introduced by name on p.99 and the Baptist is used as the one who prophesied that Jesus would be on the one who would baptise with the Holy Spirit and fire.

place the Baptist, an austere figure, enquires whether people 'have received the Holy Ghost'¹⁷, or asks the question, 'Have you received the Baptism of Fire?'¹⁸ The narrator and the Baptist find that members and ministers have no effective reply to his questions. The book is in effect a tract, a thinly veiled attack on Wesleyan Methodism in which Champness highlights how those in the church are not committed to prayer, seeking the Spirit and holiness.

They attend the Methodist Conference where they arrive during the Ministerial Session and find the business to be about nominations for the Legal Hundred.¹⁹ The reader overhears the nomination to the Legal Hundred of Thomas Cook, described as a man of 'great spiritual force and devotion, who has probably won more souls to the Lord than any man among us.'²⁰ But the man chosen is the 'letter writer', a minor official but known to the powerful leaders of the Conference.²¹ In this way Champness criticises the way ecclesiastical bureaucracy was honoured and evangelism was marginalized.

The Home Mission Department is not spared from Champness's criticism. Entering the room at the conference given over to Home Mission business the Baptist enquires; "I want the room where the Ministers meet to pray for the Holy Ghost," said my friend. Can you tell where this is?" "This is the Home Mission department," the Minister replied, scarcely lifted his eyes from his papers, and we came out.²²

¹⁷ Champness, *John the Baptist among the Methodists*, p.14.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.12.

¹⁹ The Legal Hundred was established by Wesley, being 100 experienced ministers in whom the trusteeship of Methodism was rested. They also had the responsibility for Connexional policy.

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp.93-4.

²¹ *Ibid*, p.94.

²² *Ibid*, p.97.

In contrast the Baptist finds the bookstore and takes from the shelves a book by the Rev William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire*.²³ Champness clearly agreed with Arthur's call for ministers to seek a new experience of the Holy Spirit which would empower their ministry and win more people for Christ. Champness depicts in his book the kind of Conference he would wish to see. The book visualises a Representative Session, during which an unused vestry is used to form a prayer meeting. The only question asked of the many delegates who join the prayer meeting is, 'Have you received the Holy Ghost?'²⁴ The assumption is that there is a second definite experience of the Holy Spirit after conversion to deepen spirituality and empower ministry. The final chapter of the book is a vision of the Conference keenly interested about spiritual depth and mission under the title, 'Conversation about the Work of God.'²⁵ Champness's vision has the conference sparsely attended in the business of 'Chapel Affairs' and full for the conversation on the work of God, which overran. The book is a clear criticism of the priorities of the Wesleyan Methodists.

On the other hand Champness trusted the Home Mission Department of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1903 when he handed over the Training Home. Standing back, he allowed the Church to make its decisions. That took great courage and wisdom, and his faith was rewarded both in the appointment of Thomas Cook as Principal and in the initial purchase of Hulme Cliff College.

From the outset Cliff College was well-connected to the Methodist Church. Significant Methodist leaders supported the work such as the Rev Dr H.J. Pope, and Revs Luke Wiseman, John Hornabrook, Samuel Collier, and other able and influential laymen including Williamson Lamplough, T.H.

²³ William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892).

²⁴ Champness, *John the Baptist among the Methodists*, p.107

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp.119-22.

Bainbridge, Joseph Rank, J. Arthur Rank and Sir Robert Kay were members of the Cliff College Committee.

Cook had been faithful to the Wesleyan Methodists, indeed and in contrast to Champness, there is no written evidence of his criticism of the Connexion. They had, unusually, appointed him as a Connexional Evangelists for twenty years of ministry. His nine years as Principal were visionary years and in that time the relationship between the College and the Home Mission Department was very cordial. Cook found irksome the lack of vision in the Cliff Committee and the Home Mission Department, but almost always found the initial funding which enabled him to proceed with his schemes and dreams.

Chadwick benefited from his considerable standing as the renowned preacher from Oxford Place, Leeds. He had been the chosen preacher for the centenary celebrations of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in the Albert Hall in the presence of the King and Queen. In common with Nonconformist leaders of his day he was known to politicians, and was a good friend of Lloyd George. In 1918 the Church honoured Chadwick by making him President of the Conference but he asked little of the connexion preferring to see Cliff as autonomous. Cliff was self-supporting and he had no recourse to connexional funds. Chadwick raised the funds, appointed a superb team around him, promoted the College, and at the same time added to the investments and purchased land and property for the College. In that sense he had no need for the Connexion. Chadwick was supportive of the Wesleyans, and was critical of the Wesley Bible Union, which campaigned against a united Methodist Church. He supported the proposed union, and in an account of the discussion at the 1922 Methodist Conference at Carver Street Sheffield, he concluded, 'Yours in

the fellowship of our Lord's Prayer that His People may be one as He and the Father are One.'²⁶ Similarly ten years later at the point of union he remained positive: 'We are all of one mind in our rejoicing over the United Methodist Church, and pray with one heart and one faith that the year may abound in grace, power and glory, to the salvation and sanctification of the Redeemed.'²⁷

Chadwick was rarely openly critical of Methodism but when he was, the remarks were significant. In an article which first appeared in the *Joyful News* entitled, 'The Church without the Spirit', he indicated that the Conference was not 'supreme in the Church of Christ', that was the role of the Holy Spirit.²⁸ The stated further that 'The Church that is man-managed instead of God-governed is doomed to failure.'²⁹ In the same article he attacked ministerial training as ineffective: 'A ministry that is College-trained but not Spirit-filled works no miracles.'³⁰ This is in contrast to the spirit-filled evangelists who were graduates of Cliff. He criticised local churches for having the wrong priorities: 'The Church that multiplies committees and neglects prayer may be fussy, noisy, enterprising, but it labours in vain and spends its strength for nought. It is possible to excel mechanics and fail in dynamic...to run an organisation needs no God. Man can supply the energy, enterprise, and enthusiasm for things human. The real work of a Church depends upon the power of the Spirit.'³¹

The Methodist people supported the College as was evidenced from the growing numbers who each year attended the Whitsuntide Anniversary meetings and the Summer Schools. This was not only confined to 'ordinary members' but

²⁶ *Joyful News*, 27 July and 3 August (joint issue) 1922, p.2.

²⁷ *Joyful News*, 29 September 1932, p.4.

²⁸ Chadwick, *The Way to Pentecost*, p.15.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

also to the delegates of the Methodist Conference. In 1922 while the Conference was in Sheffield, the College arranged a garden party at Cliff for the Conference delegates. So many were interested in the work of the College that between 1000 and 1600 attended.³² Since the Conference delegates numbered about 600 many friends also came and according to W.H. Heap there was some question about whether a quorum remained in the Conference.³³

However at the Conference of 1930, Chadwick who had been ill for most of the previous two years had to defend Cliff and his position. He was clearly stung by the criticism that he was an autocrat.³⁴ The issue focussed on concern over the appointment of his successor, and confirmation of Dunning as tutor, and therefore second-in-command following Moulton's death. Comparison was made with the appointment of tutors to other Theological Colleges where there was greater consultation. Cliff was under the direction of the Home Mission Committee, and at that time Chadwick was very influential in it. Chadwick wrote an editorial piece about the situation defending himself against the charge of being defensive, but he clearly was. Chadwick wrote to Crowlesmith 'There is something sinister about the whole move – a group of men have set themselves out not to oppose Cliff but to capture it...They hate our theology and still more our aggressive soul-saving evangelism. I have a feeling they don't like us and the things for which we stand.'³⁵

From the beginning of the *Joyful News* movement until the end of World War II the purpose and policy direction of the College was set by the Principal and restated regularly in the annual reports to supporters, the Home Mission

³² *Joyful News*, 27 July and 3 August 1922, p.6.

³³ *Joyful News*, 27 and 3 August 1922, p.6.

³⁴ *Joyful News*, 7 August 1930, p.4.

³⁵ Letter to John Crowlesmith, 2 September 1930, reported in the *Joyful News*, 12 April 1945, p.2.

report to the Methodist Conference and in the *Joyful News*. The first major discussion about the policy of the College, with a suggestion of a change of direction, came in 1945 with the 'Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Home Mission Committee to consider the proposals made in the Rural Methodism Commission Report concerning Cliff College'.³⁶ Unfortunately the College, which undertook so much work in rural England, was not represented on that Commission. This was very different to the experience of Champness who had been invited by the Conference in 1896 to speak about the rural work of the *Joyful News* Mission. Certain criticisms by one or two members of the Home Mission Committee, at its meeting on 8 February 1945, had been of the teaching given at Cliff College. A letter from Broadbelt in February 1945 to Sir Robert Kay, who had been Chadwick's friend and solicitor to the College for many years, has a weary tone. 'You will remember that when I called to see you some time ago I said there was a section of Conference that seemed to think they could do better work with Cliff College than the training of evangelists. They are on the warpath again and a Committee is to meet in London on Thursday this week at which they propose to discuss the matter. I shall be going up to London...Have you anything...that you think will fortify me when I attend the Committee?'³⁷

The sub-committee Broadbelt attended included key decision-makers of Methodism and was chaired by the Rev J. Oliver Hornabrook, Secretary of the Conference and the Rev Colin A. Roberts, General Secretary of the Home Mission Department. At the next Home Mission Committee on 23 March, Hornabrook read the special report of the sub-committee and moved its adoption

³⁶ Report of the Sub-committee to consider the proposals made in the Rural Commission Report. Cliff College Archive, Critiques of Cliff, (yet to be classified).

³⁷ Letter, Broadbelt to Sir Robert Kay, 5 February 1945 in the College Archives.

which was carried without discussion. The sub-committee concluded that the theological teaching at Cliff, whilst it 'embodies the essential truths of Christianity,'³⁸ was 'certainly not "obscurantist" or "fundamentalist" and the criticisms...are quite unfounded.'³⁹ W.H. Heap gave considerable space to the report in the *Joyful News*. Emphasising that 'their findings are emphatic', the article carried the headlines 'Cliff College - a complete answer to its critics'.⁴⁰ The report was very supportive of the College, but the issues of the special nature of the College, its differences from other theological colleges and its place as a full part of Methodism were emphasised: 'Cliff College is an integral part of Methodism and therefore is eager at all times and in all practical ways to work in close co-operation with all other departments of our Church work.'⁴¹ The charge that Cliff was teaching things contrary to 'Our Doctrines' or too narrowly was confronted, and it was asserted that 'the criticisms given by one or two members of the Home Mission Committee are quite unfounded.'⁴² Moreover the Church had benefited from the training because 'scores of men have gone back to their Circuits as local preachers fired with a new and informed enthusiasm, and many have later received the call of God to the Ministry.'⁴³

There was also the charge which would be levelled at the College in future reports that the emphasis on scriptural holiness was more on the experience of a second blessing than the Wesleyan doctrine. Nevertheless the sub-committee affirmed the College to be within the Methodist teaching on the

³⁸ Report of the Subcommittee, p.1.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ *Joyful News*, 5 April 1945.

⁴¹ Report from the Home Mission Sub-Committee 8 February 1945, which reported on 23 March 1945 to the full committee, College archive.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

doctrine of holiness: 'The Committee is convinced that by its emphasis on evangelism, both in its teaching and in action, and on the mission of Methodism to spread Scriptural Holiness throughout the land, Cliff College is making a very valuable contribution to the life of Methodism.'⁴⁴

The College and the *Joyful News* welcomed the report, and the Principal declared that 'as its conclusions will prove of special interest to our readers I give the report in full...I venture to hope this report will show the critics of Cliff and its work, the value to Methodism the College really is. It should greatly encourage all the workers and friends of its special work.'⁴⁵ There is no doubt however that the College needed to keep stating its purpose and importance to the Methodist Church, which in every decade since 1945 has questioned its continuance.

In October 1953 the College itself decided to consider all the options and to set up a committee of exploration into the future of the college.⁴⁶ The impending visit of Billy Graham put a new optimism though it masked the underlying problems. The only serious initiate came from Sangster who proposed 'Schools of Evangelism'. The only action was prevarication; all matters of future change were allowed to 'lie on the table'.⁴⁷

The College Committee in October 1964 heard that the Home Mission Committee had appointed a special committee to 'consider the place of Cliff College in Methodism today and all things pertaining to its well being.'⁴⁸ The Chairman of the Leeds District, the Rev E.J. Prentice had been appointed the convenor and the special committee had already met residentially on the 24 and

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ 'Metholay' in the *Joyful News*, 5 April 1945, p.2.

⁴⁶ *Minutes* of the Cliff College Committee, 2 October 1953.

⁴⁷ *Minutes* of the Cliff College Committee, 16 February 1954.

⁴⁸ *Minutes* of the Cliff College Committee, 8 October 1964.

25 September. The issue seems to have been in connection with the theological emphasis of the College and therefore whether, in finding a successor to Tom Meadley, an examination of the candidate's theology should be sought. The minute which is headed 'Appointment of Principal 1965' indicates that a 'full and frank discussion followed, though no resolution was passed.'⁴⁹ The main issue was the theological base of the College. 'It transpired that some of the members of the Committee understood that the College was traditionally committed to what is now known as the Conservative Evangelical position, and also to the Second Blessing interpretation of Scriptural Holiness.'⁵⁰ The critics of Cliff held this view of the College. Indeed it was true that vocal elements of the evangelistic staff at that time were narrowly evangelical, and focussed on experience of the 'Baptism of the Spirit'. The critics had identified not only a theological weakness but also a real debate within the College, which Meadley was seeking to resolve.⁵¹ What happened in the discussion, at the committee, though it glossed over that debate, set important criteria for the years ahead:

The Principal (Tom Meadley) pointed out that the only documentary authority available as a basis of discussion was the Inter-Varsity Fellowship Manifesto, which was a human document without unequivocal divine authority, and subject to scrutiny in the light of Scripture and reason like any other Christian Confession. The policy of the College, while basically evangelical, was not aligned to any special party in the Church, but to enable those of differing points of view within the Christian Fellowship to learn from each other on a basis of

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ See pp.100-103.

open investigation of the Scriptures. The same principle applied to teaching on holiness.

Rev. Dr Colin Roberts spoke as the elder statesman with the longest and most intimate knowledge of the College as student, for many years the General Secretary of the Home Mission Department, and Chairman of the Cliff College Committee. He made it quite clear that the College had never been officially tied to a particular party in the Church. The gifts of the past were from men who loved the straightforward Methodist Gospel and longed to see effective evangelism, and were not contingent upon maintaining the Conservative Evangelical Creed only, even though the main emphasis was for the most part in accord with such teaching.⁵²

Douglas Brown, a Vice-President of the Methodist Conference, expressed the view that no doctrinal test should be expected of students or staff 'other than that applied to all Methodist ministers' though he did consider that involved an adherence to the 'historic Creeds, the principles of the Reformation, the Forty-four Sermons of John Wesley, embracing the doctrine of Universal Redemption, Assurance, and Scriptural Holiness.'⁵³

This discussion set the scene not only for the appointment of Tom Meadley's successor but also the tone which remains today. Chadwick would never have submitted to a doctrinal test, even though he agreed with Cook that at Cliff College definite doctrines are held and taught. Chadwick declared that he 'stood for the teaching of positive truth, definite experience, and passionate

⁵² *Minutes* of the Cliff College Committee, 8 October 1964. Colin Roberts had been a student at the College for two terms, January to July 1905 and therefore his comments as Home Mission Secretary and past student had particular weight in this discussion.

⁵³ *Minutes* of the Cliff College Committee, 8 October 1964.

salvation.’⁵⁴ Neither Cook nor Chadwick referred to the doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Alliance in the way that Mrs Hulme had insisted in drawing up her Deed in 1872. Similarly Chadwick would not align himself with the Wesley Bible Union, which professed to be the true Wesleyans and were scandalised by talks of Methodist union.⁵⁵ Chadwick maintained that he was a man of the Bible but not in any obscurantist manner. His final message began, ‘Stand together on the Word of God, but not in any stupid sense...’⁵⁶ His spirituality was also broader than that usually found in evangelical preachers of his day, with his interest in the Christian festivals. They set the theological tone of the College which had come under specific scrutiny in 1964.

The appointment of the Rev Howard Belben was a stroke of genius by the appointing committee. He upheld the traditions of loyalty to the scriptures, had an admiration and understanding of contemporary scholarship, a warm spirituality and an enthusiasm of mission, and understood Cliff and its supporters. He was welcomed on all sides of the debate; to the Connexion he was the person to bring in change, and to the ‘Old Cliff Men’ the respected person to uphold the traditions of the College.

The outcome of the ‘Special Committee’, which met in the autumn of 1964, was not a fundamental change in the College’s ethos or purpose. The main recommendation concerned the internal structure of the Cliff Committee.⁵⁷ It clarified the responsibilities of the Home Mission Department and the delegated powers of the College. The committee also confirmed that the appointment of

⁵⁴ *Joyful News*, 11 March 1909, p.1.

⁵⁵ *Journal of the Wesley Bible Union*. Vols 1-17. A full set exists in the Cliff College archive. There are no publishing details.

⁵⁶ *Joyful News*, 20 October 1932, p.1.

⁵⁷ *Minutes of the Cliff College Committee*, 10 March 1966.

the Principal and tutors was made by the Conference, on the nomination of the Home Mission Committee, after consulting the Cliff Committee.⁵⁸

The Conference of 1969 considered a reorganisation of Methodism in which the connexional departments would become 'Divisions'. The initial proposal was for the College to move from Home Missions to the 'Division of Ministries'. The college staff expressed dismay at this recommendation, and persuaded a hastily convened sub-committee to support the view that Cliff was a weapon of lay evangelism; 'They are convinced that the policy of Cliff must primarily be with mission.'⁵⁹ The Committee in October 1969 argued that the College should remain with the Home Mission Division because of its commitment to evangelism. The distinctiveness of Cliff would be compromised if moved to the Division of Ministries, along with general lay training, and the 1903 and the 1930 Deeds linked Cliff to the Home Mission Department and its successors.⁶⁰ Submissions made by the College to the working party considering Department Structure and Function were acted upon, and the College remained with Home Missions.

What is not made clear in this exchange is Cliff's fear that it would be swallowed up by the Division of Ministries, with its ethos of liberal theology, which would almost certainly have affected tutorial appointments made at Cliff. At a time when the Methodist Church was closing Didsbury College, Manchester, Headingley College Leeds, and eventually Richmond College, Surrey, the gaining of Cliff as a centre, or an asset, was also considered to be part of the underlying and real purpose of the proposal. Cliff felt 'at home' in

⁵⁸ Undated paper, 'The Relation of the Home Mission Committee to the Cliff College Committee', paragraph 5. See .O.341 of the *Constitution, Practice and Discipline of the Methodist Church* (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House).

⁵⁹ Report of the 'Ad Hoc sub-committee to the College General Committee' 6 March 1969.

⁶⁰ *Minutes* Cliff College General Committee, 9 October 1969.

the Home Mission Division, though the Division did not always taken proper responsibility for investing in its wholly owned asset. The College minutes always speak of 'gratitude' for the Home Missions Grant but in reality from 1904 – 1948 the Principals had found people willing to give financial support to the College. Meadley referred to the advent of a different situation: 'the day of the merchant-princes who make large scale benefactions has long past'.⁶¹ In the period 1957 – 1996 the Home Mission Fund did not invest sufficiently in the College.

Another Home Mission commission considered the place of Cliff College within Methodism and reported to the College committee in March 1973. It did not make substantial suggestions, except that all student applicants should be interviewed as part of the process (previously most of the interview process was by letter and written references), though it did set a criteria that non-Methodists should be restricted to 25% of student places.⁶² The kind of recommendation administrators love, but find impossible to apply.

The matter of the doctrinal position of the College was considered again in the March 1980. This had been prompted by a resolution from the Ministerial Synod of the Cornwall District 'expressing concern that for a period of 16 years Ministers appointed to the tutorial staff at Cliff had all been of a Conservative Evangelical background.'⁶³ This would seem to suggest that Meadley was the kind of person they liked and all others were less good. Arthur Skevington Wood had prepared a 'considered statement on the doctrinal position of Cliff College.'⁶⁴ It reiterated the statement of 1964, and the committee agreed with

⁶¹ Tom Meadley, 'The Challenge of Cliff College Today' Cliff College Archives.

⁶² *Minutes*, Cliff College General Committee, 1 March 1973.

⁶³ *Minutes*, Cliff College General Committee, 17 October 1980.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

his assertion that 'no doctrinal test should be expected other than that to which all Methodist Ministers were subject, namely that they adhere to the historic creeds, the principles of the reformation, and the forty-four sermons of John Wesley, embracing the doctrines of universal redemption, assurance and scriptural holiness.'⁶⁵ The Rev Dr A. Skevington Wood was on home ground in stating the Wesleyan doctrinal position and only the unwise would argue with him.

The issue raised itself again in the autumn of 1981 when letters were received by the *Methodist Recorder* suggesting that, following Arthur Wood, a Principal who was not evangelical, should be appointed. The matter was safely in the hands of the Home Mission Committee and the College had confidence in the General Secretary, Dr Donald English, to ensure a good appointment. The matter was not mentioned in the College Committee, or at least recorded in the *Minutes*, and presumably discussed privately with English. In the end the Rev Dr Bill Davies was the person chosen, and because he was so well qualified and had wide experience of education, the issue disappeared. Moreover Davies brought the College much more 'stage centre' to the Church by his straightforward manner, teaching, and honouring of other traditions. That significant contribution to Cliff and the whole Church was recognised by the Conference, which made him President in 1988. Nevertheless not every part of the Church valued the work of Cliff.

The mistrust between the Division of Ministries and the College was brought to a head in the late 1980s when students who had undertaken the Cliff certificate and the second year diploma course, which included a 10,000-word

⁶⁵ *Minutes*, Cliff College General Committee, 17 October 1980.

dissertation, were given no academic credit for this study.⁶⁶ The issue was typical of some parts of the Church, which refused to believe that Cliff was anything other than a basic training college. One of the curious features of some liberal theologians is that while they espouse a view that welcomes diversity of ideas, many have a closed mind to evangelical theology, and this was part of the agenda of the Division of Ministries in the 1980s and its mistrust of the College.

In more recent years and after detailed discussions in 1996 and 1997 the College was acknowledged as an essential part of the Methodist Church, a kind of wholly-owned subsidiary, where the Methodist Council devolves its powers to the College Committee. The issue about theological narrowness was crushed when the University of Sheffield accepted Cliff and validated the programmes as being of a standard worthy of Higher Education. The academic worth and credibility of the College and its courses were then similarly understood and accepted ecumenically and internationally, and even within Methodism.

The key contribution made in the last ten years to this debate has been to state and restate the distinctiveness of the College by describing the essential themes as 'Charisms'. That is those themes, which make the College distinctive and form the heart of its life and ministry. The Charisms are not only a restatement of those themes, which arise from past ministry but are guidelines that inform its present life and give direction for the future. It is to these a discussion of these Charisms that we now turn.

⁶⁶ See pp.258-60.

Chapter thirteen

The Charisms of the College

This thesis has identified that entwined in the life of Cliff College are four interconnected themes, or Charisms which find their origin in the work of Thomas Champness and resonate with the ministry of Grattan Guinness. At its inception, in 1904, the College received a heritage of evangelistic zeal, its first charism, from the work of Thomas Champness and the *Joyful News Mission*. The first Principal, Thomas Cook, gave particular emphasis to its second Charism; Wesleyan holiness teaching. The third Charism, is an evangelical theological stance which was forged in the debates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To this was added the fourth Charism, praxis; a combining of academic tuition with practical application.

From the beginning of the *Joyful News Mission*, Champness was a courageous and creative thinker, willing to take risks with evangelistic strategy and constantly looking for new ways to evangelise both at home and overseas. Cook who had been for twenty years a Connexional Evangelist had experience that he imparted to the students. Chadwick in his ministry had evolved a clear strategy for evangelistic ministry and some aspects of that approach informed the work of Cliff. However the innovative decisions about evangelism in the period of Chadwick's principalship came from Dunning and Lambert, even though they would become known as part of the genius of Chadwick. Broadbelt, a great preacher and entrepreneur, significantly developed the evangelistic and public ministry of the College. Other colleges and organisations

replicated the strategy of the College's training and practice of evangelism. During the period 1939 to 1957 the College lacked direction in its thinking about evangelism. The evangelism strategy, in so far as there was one, merely repeated the model of the 1920s and 1930s. There was no recognition that British culture had changed following the War. Creative thinking about evangelism transferred to the Home Mission Department during this time. From 1977 the College cultivated new ways of thinking about evangelism but it was not until the 1980s that an innovative strategy was developed. This policy has been tested over twenty years and continues today.

During the past century holiness teaching at the College fluctuated in its importance and was at times confused and romanticised. Both Champness and Chadwick had an 'earthy' view of holiness which was linked to 'fitness' for evangelism. Cook had previously developed a view of holiness which focussed on romanticised illustrations and stretched the biblical text almost to breaking point. Baines Atkinson rescued the Cook/Broadbelt view of holiness from derision and placed it firmly in the Wesleyan tradition. However the intellectual argument about eradication had been surrendered and for the wider Church the Wesleyan understating of the doctrine was marginalized. Cliff evangelists, who had access to Cook through his writings, in the period 1946-ca1970, held a view which was confined to a 'second blessing' theology, centred on a definite second experience often associated with glossolalia. Meadley considered the lack of a contemporary understanding of holiness as the Achilles heel of the College's life and ministry. He restated the doctrine after leaving the College but his distilled wisdom was not well received. The debate was made irrelevant by the emergence of the Charismatic Movement which overwhelmed the College,

as it did most evangelical institutions and churches, from early in the 1970s. This had the effect of changing both the language and theological understanding of holiness and the work of the Spirit in the believer. Cliff was seen publicly, even in this period, as keeping the doctrine and experience of Wesleyan holiness alive. However the lack of an adequate contemporary theological understanding of holiness teaching in the Wesleyan heritage is presently a weakness in the College which needs to be addressed.

The thesis reveals that the theological ethos of the first College Principals, although evangelical, avoided the excesses of fundamentalism. This was because Chadwick, as the foremost theological thinker at the College from 1904 to his death in 1932, did not advocate a narrow view of biblical revelation. Thus he saved the College from the fundamentalism which swept through North America and Britain. The College, though criticised by some in Methodism for being theologically narrow, was therefore firmly placed theologically, in the broad evangelical position.

The College reinvented itself academically in the period 1992 onwards. The relationship with the University of Sheffield enabled the College to offer proper recognition for its courses and maintain a policy of open access. From its inception the college was understood to be 'College of the Underprivileged' and students were not expected to be high academic achievers. This reputation masked the fact that some students were already very able. It is true that many in the early period had not had the opportunity for study, and the College course provided the initial education they lacked. The 'reinventing' of Cliff academically, a vision first identified by Meadley, came to fulfilment when the

College received proper academic recognition and validation of its programmes by the University of Sheffield in 1994.

From the beginning of the *Joyful News* movement the focus of all the training was to enable good practice in evangelism. This relationship between academic learning and involvement in practical evangelism has been a constant feature of the College courses. The deliberate attempt to relate practice and theory was significant in the early period to 1939. Since 1994 the intention of training reflective practitioners has become an integral part of the degree programme.

The College has flourished at times when the Principal has had both visionary thinking and an ability to enact agreed policy. The period 1939 – 1957 was difficult for the College, notwithstanding that the presence of Billy Graham at the Anniversary of 1954, gave it the largest public event for one hundred years. However in that period there was a lack of direction and vision on the part of the Principals, through the illness of Broadbelt and the ineptitude of Eagles. Pioneering practice and thought in evangelism came from the Home Mission Department to which Tom Butler, the only innovative practitioner at the time, eventually transferred. Meadley and Belben began to move the College in a new direction but it would take fresh initiatives, beginning with Davies, for these developments to be consolidated.

The four charisms, with this visionary leadership, make Cliff College a distinctive institution: a confessional Christian College validated by a deliberately secular University with the conscious intention to train people for evangelistic mission and ministry. In this context the College has held together a desire to maintain open access while developing courses in higher education

including both taught and research programmes for postgraduate students.

Identifying the Charisms of the College has given policymaking clear direction

and contributed significantly to its development of the last twenty years.

Section six

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Cliff College archive

Journals

Agendas, Reports and Minute Books

Published books by the Principals and about Cliff College

Key works on Mission and Evangelism

Published literature

Articles and unpublished papers

Select bibliography of secondary sources

Cliff College Archives:

The archive material has been collated over the last fifteen years and now resides in the Arthur Skevington Wood Archive Library. With advice from staff at the John Rylands Library, part of the University of Manchester. From 2006 a new listing will be achieved which is intended to assist the research student. What is listed here is that part of the archive which relates to the period under discussion, and under the less satisfactory classification method used in recent years. Section A is not included, which lists the original material from Jonathan Fletcher of Madeley and his wife, and also John Wesley. Nor are the Deeds of the property listed (section M), nor the details relating to staff issues (section L). This list therefore starts with Section B: The Grattan Guinness era, though it presently includes items from the time of James Hilton Hulme.

A - Memorials of Fletcher of Madeley and his wife.

B - The Grattan Guinness Era.

C - *Joyful News*.

D - Thomas Cook 1904 – 1912.

E - Samuel Chadwick 1912 – 1932.

F - John Arthur Broadbelt 1932 – 1948.

G - James Edward Eagles 1948 –1957.

H - Thomas Donald Meadley 1957-1965.

I - Howard Albert George Belben 1965-77.

J - Arthur Skevington Wood 1977 – 83.

K - William Rhys Davies 1983 – 1994.

L - George Chapman.

M - Deeds/Documents re Cliff Estate.

Section B - The Grattan Guinness Era

- B1 Photocopy of 'Regions Beyond' 1888 - Edited by Lucy Guinness.
- B2 Regions Beyond 1899 including pages from the life-story of Fanny E. Guinness.
- B3 Regions Beyond 1903 - including 'These Thirty Years' by Dr. Harry Guinness.
- B4 Holding the Ropes at Home -June 1895. Tribute to William Rattray by Lucy Guinness. Copy of Funeral Service.
- B5 'Lucy Guinness Kumm- her life story' by her father H. Grattan Guinness 1908.
- B6 H Grattan Guinness, *Light for the Last Days* - 2nd ed.1888.
- B7 H. Grattan Guinness, *Approaching End of the Age*.
- B8 Hulme Cliff College 1876-77.
- B9 Photograph - Mrs Hulme's Ladies Class 1874.
- B10 Twenty -five years in Central China - 1865-90 by Rev David Hill, 1891.
- B11 Leather-bound record book - Congregational Church Curbar 1853.
- B12 Cliff Church - The book of Minutes 1896.
- B13 Letters addressed to Mr Slinn concerning Cliff Chapel.
- B14 Correspondence between Mr Slinn and Francis William Schofield.
- B15 Memorial card for F W Schofield.
- B16 Joyful News march 31 1960 - Memorial to Mr. Slinn.
- B17 Two photographs - Mr. Hulme.
- B18 Photograph - Mr. Hulme's Boys class.
- B19 Memorial Card for James Hilton Hulme.
- B20 Membership tickets for Ernest Cooper March1887- March 1892 [See Section C items 2,3,21 and 22].

- B21 Tape of Radio 4 Programme about Grattan Guinness 9th Jan 1987.
- B22 Census returns for 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1891.
- B23 The last will and Testament of James Hilton Hulme.

Section C *Joyful News*

- CI Folder of letters from Thomas Champness 1896-1905.
- C2 Folder of letters from Thomas Champness to Ernest Cooper 1888-93.
- C3 Folder of letters from Champness to Cooper 1894-99 (see also C21 and C22 contains obituary to Ernest Cooper).
- C4 Folder of letters concerning Joyful News and Thomas Champness.
- C5 Book of Thomas Champness' Sermons (Grindstones) September to Christmas 1901.
- C6 Pamphlet by Thomas Champness 'Shall Methodism attack the world on Joyful News lines' 1888.
- C7 True Tales by Thomas Champness 'Adam the poacher'.
- C8 Morning with St. Mark by Thomas Champness, 1896.
- C9 Old Salt from a new Cruse - some extracts from Champness' address to Conference.
- C10 Diary of Joyful News missions 1 October 1893-1895.
- C11 'Thomas Champness' John Eastwood Lecture - Thomas Meadley.
- C12 Thomas Champness by Thomas Meadley.
- C13 Two sketch painting for Joyful News Centenary 1983.
- C14 Thomas Champness - Joyful News Centenary 1983 by Thomas Meadley.
- C15 'Cliff Past' by Thomas Meadley.
- C16 Shared His father's passion for souls - a tribute to the Rev T.K. Champness, Thomas Champness' son.
- C17 'The story of the Joyful News Mission' - Eliza M. Champness.
- C18 a Methodist Recorder 1894, p.49 'The story of the Joyful News Mission' and p.87 article by Thomas Champness.

- b Methodist Recorder 1897.
- c Methodist Recorder 1900.
- C19 Joyful News Cashbook.
- C20 Joyful News Cashbook.
- C21 Material Connected with Ernest Cooper and the mission in China. includes letter and photographs etc.
- C22 Joyful News Mission China given by Mrs Ernest Cooper 1935. See items C2, C3 and C21.
- C23 The Challenge of the Modern Situation- 1911.
- C24 Great Methodist Missionary Thanksgiving Meeting 29th April, 1907 - Hymns & Anthems.
- C25 The Diary of Mary Jane Smith (Mrs Norwell) - a Joyful News Evangelist May, 1892 - February 1893.
- C26 3 boxes of Joyful News Articles and one blue folder.
- C27 The Life Story of Thomas Champness by E M Champness.
- C28 Bible belonging to Thomas Champness given by his mother.
- C29 Joyful News Hymn Book.
- C30 Newspaper cutting "Joyful News Almanac 1892".
- C31 The Colliers' Bishop (Josiah Mee as we knew him) by Samuel Chadwick and others.
- C32 Joseph Todhunter's (tutor at Castleton Hall), Sermon illustration ref. book.
- C33 News gleaned from the Joyful News -Champness era.
- C34 The Present position of Methodism - W.S. Allen 1866, and note by Thomas Champness.

Section D - Thomas Cook, 1904-1912

- D1 Invitation card to Rev Thomas Cook's Mission at Louth 1 – 12 November 1885.
- D2 Letters from Thomas Cook, 1904, 1909.
- D3 Newspaper cuttings - In memoriam- Thomas Cook.
- D4 The Methodist Recorder Sept 26, 1912 - Report on the death of Thomas Cook.
- D5 Summer School Cliff College - syllabus- 1909,1932 and Students notes 1908 and 1910.
- D6 Verses, Grave and Gay by Sydney Herbert Bass. Dedicated to Cliff College Students, Autumn Term 1908.
- D7 Hymns to be sung at a valedictory Service for a party of *Joyful News* Evangelists who are about to leave for China and West Africa.
- D8 A letter concerning memories of Cliff 1912-13 from Rev I.J. Mann.
- D9 A letter with a photograph of a Summer School outing 1910.
- D10 'The Roots and Early growth of Cliff College' by the Rev John Newbould 1905.
- D11 Three insurance policies for Gospel Vans 1912,1916, 1918.
- D12 Letters with information about the Gospel Van Ministry.
- D13 Newspaper Cuttings about the gospel Van ministry.
- D14 Newspaper cuttings about Thomas Cook and the first days of Cliff.
- D15 New Testament Holiness - Thomas Cook.
- D16 Letters from Thomas Cook to Howard Pearson, dated 1908 and 1910, who became president of the Australian Conference in 1940.
- D17 College Rules.
- D18 Thomas Cook's Dispatch case.
- D19 Extracts form a Cliff College Diary, Jonathan Brooks Goodridge, 1908 – 1909.

- D20 New Testament presented to Walter Bradford, Cliff College Evangelist, at the opening of the "Champness Wing".
- D21 Cliff College Candidates 1905 - 1922.

Section E - Samuel Chadwick, 1912 - 1932

- E1 Diary of Sarah Elizabeth Crowther, 1885-1895.
- E2 Bible given to Sarah Elizabeth Crowther's mother 1885.
- E3 Certificate given to Sarah Elizabeth Crowther's mother.
- E4 Open letter from Mrs Chadwick to women in the Cliff Area concerning a Sunday Afternoon Bible Class for women 1908.
- E5 Cliff College Women's Bible Class 1908-1912.
- E6 Photographs and letter of Mrs Chadwicks.
- E7 Autograph Book belonging to S.E. Crowther.
- E8 Book of Tributes to Samuel Chadwick (see E15).
- E9 Honorary DD Diploma for Samuel Chadwick from Lawrence College, USA.
- E10 Lawrence College as it is today, 1 March 1924.
- E11 Newspaper Cutting about Chadwick and his time.
- E12 Various documents of Chadwicks inc. invitations and publicity for his meetings.
- E13 Various letters written to Samuel Chadwick.
- E14 Material concerning Leeds City Mission and Chadwick's time there, including an article about Cliff, 1904.
- E15 Tributes to Samuel Chadwick who died 16th Oct.1932, (see section E8).
- E16 The Romance of Clydebank Methodism 1885-1926.
- E17 Picture of Leeds Oxford Place Chapel.
- E18 Home Service Sheets for Oxford Place Leeds 1896 onwards and notes etc., regarding Oxford Place.
- E19 Various leaflets written by Samuel Chadwick and some handwritten notes.

- E20 Folder of Samuel Chadwick's handwritten sermon/lecture notes.
- E21 Seven volumes of typed articles/sermons by Samuel Chadwick.
- E22 2 boxes of Samuel Chadwick's handwritten Lecture notes.
- E23 17 books of Samuel Chadwick's note on various books of the bible.
- E24 4 Exercise books of students notes on lectures at Cliff.
- E25 Samuel Chadwick and Stacksteads- compiled by Kenneth F. Bowden (see also E44).
- E26 -
- E27 Notes on Summer School lectures and sermons 1922, 1925 (bound folder and note book)
- E28 Various rules etc and instructions for domestic staff.
- E29 Letters concerning students entry to Cliff College. [Brothers Counsell - 1924 and Tom Butler 1932].
- E30 Document sent from the Methodist Conference 1924 to Springfield USA (stored in cardboard tube).
- E31 Letters and documents during Samuel Chadwick's year as President of Conference.
- E32 Large photograph album of Chadwick's visit to the Channel Islands 1919.
- E33 Tribute to Samuel Chadwick as President 1918-19 (one large and two small copies).
- E34 'The Work of God' a report of a conference of Wesleyan Ministers held at Cliff College Jan 24-31st 1918.
- E35 Photograph Album 'the Polytechnic Trip in Norway in S.S Albana.
- E36 Samuel Chadwick's Notes on a tour of South Africa 1916.
- E37 Mrs S.E. Chadwick's programme to the 1897 Conference Leeds.
- E38 'How the Gospel came to Great Britain and to me', written by S.E. Chadwick - 1926.
- E39 Handwritten notes on the Southport Convention June 28 1909.

- E40 Presentation book given to C.E. Oxenborow Rush BA by students and staff at Cliff College.
- E41 Items written by Students at cliff around the time of Chadwick.
- E42 Recent letters concerning Samuel Chadwick.
- E43 Two articles written about Samuel Chadwick.
- E44i *Samuel Chadwick* by Norman Dunning.
- E44ii Samuel Chadwick's Journal July 23rd 1881 – 25 April 1883 (See also E25).
- E45 'Through Rent Heavens' and other articles by Samuel Chadwick.
- E46 Autograph Album c1923-38.
- E46i Mrs Chadwick's Bible.
- E47 Chadwick's notes on the Revelation of St. John, six lectures.
- E48 Memorial Number, *Joyful News and Methodist Chronicle* 27 October 1932.
- E49 Photograph Album - Burton Overy, Easter 1926.
- E50 Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, S.C..
- E51 'Cliff Past and Present' a service written and presented by Mrs S.E. Chadwick.
- E52 Joyful News cuttings, articles and letters 1922-32 by Chadwick and notes.
- E53 Joyful News and Methodist Recorder - articles about Chadwick.
- E54a Testament of Samuel Chadwick by DWL - Draft & correspondence.
- E54b 25 Sunday Evenings with Chadwick by DWL – Draft.
- E55a Notes on Chadwick's N.T. Lectures - Leeds 1906.
- E55b Draft 1931 Cliff report- The Spirit & Methods of Evangelism.
- E56 D W Lambert's notes of Theology Lectures by Chadwick.
- E57 Bible Models - Wm.C. Bairstow's notes of Chadwick's Sermons at the Coliseum Leeds (4 volumes).
- E58a Outline of the books of the Bible (Chadwick's hand written notes).

- E58b The Bible School - Joe Brice Newspaper reports.
- E58c Talks on Texts by Late Samuel Chadwick (two by Norman Dunning),
Newspaper Cuttings.
- E59 Charles Garrett.
- E60 -
- E61 Heckmondwyke Connection - Various photographs/postcards 1904/1939.
- E62 Some Quotes from Samuel Chadwick.

Section F - John Arthur Broadbelt, 1932 – 1948.

- F1 Full Salvation by J.A. Broadbelt -Forward by Gypsy Smith.
- F2 'The Joy of Cliff' - *Methodist Recorder* 28 5 31. Report of anniversary
week-ends 1934 -38.
- F3 Anniversary Programmes, 1931, 1933, 1938.
- F4 -
- F5 Timetable For Summer Schools/Derwent Convention: 1928, 33, 36, 37, 47,
and 1948.
- F6 Various articles & news cuttings from Broadbelt's time.
- F7 *In Memoriam*, John Arthur Broadbelt 1878-1962.
- F8 *Lilian Davis Broadbelt - A Memoir*.
- F9 'Lilian Davis Broadbelt - An Appreciation', 28 December 1935.
- F10 'The Story Of Cliff' - Lecture Notes For Lantern Slides.
- F10a Slides For Above.
- F11 The Methodist Home Mission Department invites you To Visit 'Cliff'.
Script to a slide show.
- F11a Slides for above.
- F12 The New Testament By Rev George Allen BA, 1935, Handwritten Notes.
- F13 Photographs of Cliff College Trekkers.

- F14 'Cliff College and its Ministry of Evangelism'.
- F15 Letters and Programmes concerning the War time Anniversary Celebrations.
- F16 'Trekking For God', 25 June 1946 -Trek 3.
- F17 J.A. Broadbelt Christmas Letter,1937.
- F18 Draft Letter [From Len Barber 1933] To 'JAB' Applying for a place at Cliff, post card to his mother - link with unsigned letter.
- F19 Trek No 2 1936 – Log.
- F20 Unveiling Of A Window - Lilian D. Broadbelt - Order of Service.
- F21 'The Future Life'.
- F22 Memorandum & Articles of Association of Joyful News Ltd.
- F23 Student Memories - Harold Wood 1934.
- F24 Captain's Minute Book 1934-39.
- F25 Cyril Durrant photographs 1935-36.
- F26 Childrens Stories and articles By 'JAB', David Foot-Nash & John Pilgrim. Reprinted from *Joyful News* ca.1950.
- F27 Mission Statistics 1933-38.
- F28 Alphabetical List Of Students 1934-46.
- F29 Cliff Men Overseas 1937.

Section G – James Edward Eagles, 1948 - 1957

- G1 Photograph album Whit Monday 1952.
- G2 Cliff College, its Origin and its Mission in Methodism.
- G3 Cliff College Trekkers - A Photographic Record, summer1950.
- G4 *Life at Cliff College - A Pictorial Record.*
- G5 *The Story Of Cliff*, Rev J.D. Blinco.
- G6 Programme of Cliff College Jubilee Celebrations.

- G7 Folder of News Cuttings inc. Billy Graham Visit 1954
- G8 Cliff College Trekkers Resolutions.
- G9 Minutes Of Joyful News Editorial Board – Westminster, 9 May 1958, Observations to The Editor.
- G10 Folder of Letters and News Cuttings.
- G11 Towyn [Rhyl] Campaign Report Book, 22 July – 12 August, also includes photographs of the campaign.
- G12 Christmas card From Billy Graham.
- G13 Chairman's Bible - Autumn 1954-Spring 1969.
- G14 Order of Service- Dedication of Youth Camp Huts 15 May 1948.
- G15 The President's (the Rev W.E. Sangster) Quarter-Hour', *Methodist Recorder* news Cuttings.

Section H - Rev Thomas Donald Meadley, 1957 - 1965

- H1 Minute Book, Methodist Missionary Society, Circuit Women's Work 1958 – 1965.
- H2 News Cuttings of Anniversary Weekends.
- H3 Tom Meadley Correspondence.
- H4 Estimates for decorating and heating the College.
- H5 Letter to Tom Meadley from W.E. Sangster.
- H6 Work-study on cleaning of the College 1963.
- H7 Minutes & Letters Re: Joyful News Limited - Declaration of Solvency.
- H8 'The Challenge of Cliff Today'.

Section I - Rev Howard Albert George Belben, 1965 - 1977

- I1 'God Is With Us' - Brierley Methodist Church, Barnsley. References to Cliff Missions on pp. 6, 21, 27 and 29.

- I2 Correspondence, Howard Belben.
- I3 'My Own Story' - Rev James Bradburn.
- I4 Leaflet On Conference Centre.
- I5 Obituary - Joseph Baines-Atkinson 1889 –1963.

Section J - Rev Dr Arthur Skevington Wood, 1977 – 1983.

- J1 Prayer card For Cliff Evangelists 1976-77.
- J2 Information regarding Conference Centre.
- J3 'Tribute To Rev Dr A Skevington Wood', Thanksgiving Service 5 February 1993.
- J4 Order Of Service -Thanksgiving for Dr Wood.
- J5 Cliff College Fellowship Newsletter February 1993 - Tribute to Dr Wood and Miss Doris Hallam.
- J6 Introducing Arthur Skevington - New Tutor.
- J7 Correspondence.
- J8
 - a 'Why I Am A Millennialist' - ASW.
 - b 'A Book We Can Trust - The Bible Is History' - ASW.
 - c 'Dr. Sargent And Mr. Wesley' - ASW.
 - d *The Crusader* - with articles by ASW and Frank Blackwell.
- J9 Obituary (ASW) Written For 'Keswick Newsletter' by Howard Belben and obituary from *Headline* (Headway) and about Mary Wood, *Methodist Recorder*.

Section K – William Rhys Davies 1983 - 1994

No contents catalogued presently.

Journals:

Advance, 1962 – 1963.

Cliff Today 1990 – 2004.

Cliff Witness 1964 – 1990.

Experience, 1881 – 1906.

International Bulletin of Missionary Research.

International Review of Mission.

Journal of the Wesley Bible Union, 1914 – 1941.

Joyful News, 1883 – 1961.

Methodist Recorder, various including the winter edition of 1894 and 1897.

Missiology.

Mission Studies.

Reports of the World Missionary Conference 1910, 8 Vols, Edinburgh: Oliphant,
Anderson and Ferrier, 1910.

The Aldersgate Primitive Methodist Magazine, 1903, 1923.

The Banner of Hope, 1908.

The Christian, 26 February 1954.

The Cliff Witness 1937 – 1939.

The Kings Highway, A journal of Scriptural Holiness Vol.I, 1872 - Vol.XXI
1892, and New Series, 1893 Vol.I – Vol.V 1897, and New Series,
Vol.I (Vol.XXVII from the commencement) 1899.

The Primitive Methodist Leader, 1893, 1905.

The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine 1860 – 1891.

Third Way, December 1977 – February 1978.

Agendas, Reports and Minute Books:

Reports of the Wesleyan Home Mission Fund 1860 -1932.

Agenda of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference 1744 – 1932.

Minutes of the Methodist Conferences in Ireland, Vol.1, 1744-1819.

Minutes of the Congregational Union Home Missionary Society.

Minutes of the Curbar Congregational Chapel.

The Missionary Controversy: Discussion, Evidence and Report, 1890, London:

Wesleyan Methodist Bookroom, 1890.

Agenda of the Methodist Conference 1932 – 2004.

The Methodist Local Preachers Who's Who 1934, London: Shaw Publishing,
1934.

The Missionary Obligation of the Church: The Report of the Methodist

Conference Commission, London: Epworth Press, 1955.

The Minutes of the Methodist Conference.

Cliff College Committee Minute Book, 1903 – 1950.

Cliff College General Committee Minute Book, 1951 – 1964.

Cliff College General Committee Minute Book , 1965 – 1987.

Cliff College General Committee Minute Book, 1988 – 2002.

Cliff College Executive Committee Minute Book, 1948 – 1958.

Cliff College Policy Committee Minute Book, 1959 – 1983.

Cliff College Policy Committee Minute Book, 1984 – 2002.

Constitution, Practice and Discipline of the Methodist Church, Peterborough:

Methodist Publishing House.

Published Books by the Principals and about Cliff College:

- Arthur, William, *The Tongue of Fire*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892.
- Atkinson, J. Baines, *The Beauty of Holiness*, London: Epworth, 1953.
- Atkinson, J. Baines, *To the Uttermost*, London: Epworth Press, 1945.
- Baggaley, Richard, *One hundred years of Methodism in Calver*, Calver: Calver Methodist Church, 1960.
- Belben, Howard, *The Mission of Jesus*, London: Epworth Press, 1970.
- Belben, Howard, *Old Testament Notes*, Calver: Cliff College, 1976.
- Belben, Howard, *The Evangelical Methodist*, Calver: CEIM, 1978.
- Bowden, Kenneth F., *Samuel Chadwick and Stacksteads*, Bacup: Stacksteads Methodist Church, 1982.
- Brice, Joseph I., *The Crowd for Christ*, London: Hodder and Stoughton 1934.
- Brice, Joseph I., *Pentecost*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936.
- Brice, Joseph I., *He Leadeth Me*, London: Epworth, 1937.
- Brice, Joseph I., *Saved and Sent, the book of Cliff College and its fellowship*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1939.
- Brice, Joseph I., *Seers of Israel*, London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, undated.
- Brice, Joseph I., *The Book Supreme, an introduction to the English Bible*, London: Epworth Press, 1949.
- Brice, Joseph I., *The Influence of Hume in British Theology*, Thesis for PhD at the University of London, undated.
- Broadbelt, John A., *Full Salvation*, London, Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1936.
- Broadbelt, John A., *The Burning Heart*, London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, undated.
- Butler, Marie, *They called him "Brother Tom"*, Ilkeston: Moorley, 1985.
- Chadwick, Samuel, *Humanity and God*, London: Houghton and Stoughton, 1903.
- Chadwick, Samuel, *The Prayer of Prayer*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931.

- Chadwick, Samuel, *The Gospel of the Cross*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934.
- Chadwick, Samuel, *The Call to Christian Perfection*, London: Epworth Press, 1936.
- Chadwick, Samuel, *The Way to Pentecost*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932.
- Champness, Eliza M., *The Life Story of Thomas Champness*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1907.
- Champness, Thomas & Middleton, L. (eds), *Mission Minstrel, Songs of Saving Grace*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1895.
- Champness, Thomas, *New coins from Old Gold*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1878.
- Champness, Thomas, *Old Salt in a New Cruse*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1886.
- Champness, Thomas, *Broken Bread from an Evangelist's Wallet*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1888.
- Champness, Thomas, *Plain preaching for Plain People*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1893.
- Champness, Thomas, *Plain Talks on Perfection*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1897.
- Champness, Thomas, *John the Baptist among the Methodists*, Rochdale: Joyful News Book Depot, 1898.
- Champness, Thomas, *The Grindstone*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1898.
- Champness, Thomas, *Tales of Adventure from the Old Book*, Chicago: The Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1899.
- Champness, Thomas, *The Young Preachers Guide*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901.
- Champness, Thomas, *Carmel's Hero, the life and times of Elijah*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1902.
- Champness, Thomas, *Short Sermons for Little People*, London: T. Woolmer, undated (early).
- Champness, Thomas, *Chronicles of the Christ by Benjamin Bobbin, Vol. 1.*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, undated.

- Champness, Thomas, *New Corn from an Old Sack*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, undated.
- Champness, Thomas, *The Family Prayer Book*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, undated.
- Champness, Thomas, *The Sayings and Doings of Benjamin Bobbin and his folk*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, undated.
- Cook *et al*, *The Culture of the Spiritual Life*, London: Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co, 1897.
- Cook, Thomas, *Days of God's Right Hand*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1896.
- Cook, Thomas, *New Testament Holiness*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1902.
- Cook, Thomas, *Soul Saving Preaching*, London: Charles H. Kelly, undated.
- Cook, Vallance, *Thomas Cook, Evangelist – Saint*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1913.
- Cresswell, Amos S., *The Story of Cliff*, Calver: Joyful news Book Room, 1965.
- David Lazell, *Harry Heap's Joyful News*, Loughborough: David Lazell, 2005.
- Davies, William R., *Gathered into One*, London: Faith Press, 1975.
- Davies, William R., *Rocking the Boat*, London: Marshall Pickering, 1986.
- Davies, William R., *Spirit Without Measure*, London: DLT, 1996.
- Davis, Capt., *Pentecost: Some Modern Witnesses*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1905.
- Dunning, Norman, *Samuel Chadwick*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1933.
- Eagles, J. Edward, *Notes of Lectures on Christian Theology*, Calver: Cliff College, 1950.
- Eagles, J. Edward, *A Study Outline on Christian Theology*, Calver: Cliff College, 1959.
- Edwards, Maldwyn, *Lilian Davies – A Memoir of Lilian Davies Broadbelt*, London: Epworth Press. 1937.
- Edwards Maldwyn, *John A Broadbelt, Methodist Preacher*, London: Epworth Press, 1949.

- Eldridge, C.O., *Local preachers and Village Methodism*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, 1895.
- Guinness, Fanny, *The Wide World and our Work in it*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886.
- Guinness, H. Grattan, *Hulme Cliff College, Curbar or The Story of the Third Year of the East End Training Institute*, London: S.W. Partridge, 1876.
- Guinness, Michele, *The Guinness Legend*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990.
- Guinness, Michele, *The Guinness Spirit*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999.
- Howarth, David H., *How Great a Flame*, Calver: Cliff College, 1983.
- Johnson, Cissie, *Henry Hosah Roberts*, London: Epworth Press, 1948.
- Jones, J., *On Trek*, London: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1935.
- Lambert Mary, *D. W. Lambert, Single-minded*, Chard: Mary Lambert, 2002.
- Lambert, David W., *25 Sunday Mornings with Samuel Chadwick*, London: Epworth Press, 1951.
- Lambert, David W., *25 Sunday Evenings with Samuel Chadwick*, London: Epworth Press, 1954.
- Lambert, David W., *What God Hath Wrought*, Calver: Cliff College, 1954.
- Lambert, David W., *The Testament of Samuel Chadwick*, London: Epworth Press, 1957.
- Lambert, David W., *Through the Year with Samuel Chadwick*, London: Epworth Press, 1960.
- Lazell, David, *Firebrand*, Bromley: Foundation Publications, 1971.
- Lazell, David, *A Happy Man from Yorkshire*, Loughborough: David Lazell, 2003.
- Meadley, Thomas D., *Top Level Talks*, London: Epworth, 1969.
- Meadley, Thomas D., *Kindled by a Spark*, Calver: Cliff College, 1983.
- Mee, Josiah, *Thomas Champness as I knew Him*, London: Charles H. Kelly, undated but after 1905.
- Mellor and Evangelism Team, *Thinking About Mission*, Calver: Cliff College, 1984.

- Mellor, Howard, *Evangelism and Development*, Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1984.
- Mellor, Howard & Yates, Timothy, *Mission and Spirituality*, Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2002.
- Mellor, Howard & Yates, Timothy, *Mission - Violence and Reconciliation*, Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2003.
- Mellor, Howard, *Cliff more than a College*, Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2005.
- Moulton, W. Fiddian, *The Story of Cliff: A College of the Unprivileged*, London: Epworth Press, 1928.
- Pugh, Clive, *Aims and Methods of Sunshine Corners*, Calver: Joyful News Bookroom, undated.
- Smart, Henry T., *The Life of Thomas Cook*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1913.
- Smart, Henry T., *The life of Thomas Cook*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1913.
- Smart, Henry T., *Thomas Cook's Early Ministry*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892.
- Stopard, W.M., and Taylor, D.M., (eds), *Calver Record, Sheffield High School during Evacuation 1939 - 1944*. No date or publishing details.
- Taylor, Paul & Mellor, Howard, *Travelling Man: the Life and Ministry of the Rev Dr Wood*, Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1994.
- The Cliff College Trekkers: A Photographic Record*, Calver: Cliff College, 1948.
- Waugh, Thomas, *The Power of Pentecost*, Rochdale: Joyful News Depot, undated.
- Welsby, Moses, *From Coal-pit to Joyful News Mission*, Rochdale: Joyful News Book Depot, undated.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *Thomas Hawies*, London: SPCK, 1957.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *And with Fire*, London: Pickering and Inglis, 1958.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *Luther's Principles of Biblical Interpretation*, London: Tyndale Press, 1960.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *The Inextinguishable Blaze*, London: Paternoster, 1960.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *Paul's Pentecost*, Exeter: Paternoster, 1963.

- Wood, A. Skevington, *The Art of Preaching*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1963.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *Prophecy in a Space Age*, London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1964.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *The Burning Heart*, Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1967.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *Captive to the Word*, Exeter: Paternoster, 1969.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *Signs of the Times*, London: Oliphants, 1970.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *The Nature of Man*, London: Scripture Union, 1972.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *The Evangelical Understanding Of The Gospel*, Calver: CEIM, 1974.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *For all Seasons: Sermons for the Christian Year*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *What the Bible says about God*, Eastbourne: Kingsway, 1980.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *On Fire for God: Thomas Cook*, Calver: Cliff College, 1983.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *Let us Go On*, Ilkeston: Southport Holiness Convention, 1985.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *The Gift of Love: Daily Readings in John Wesley*, London: DLT, 1987.
- Wood, A. Skevington, *Revelation and Reason*, Nuneaton: Wesley Fellowship, 1992.

Theses consulted:

Howarth, David, *Samuel Chadwick and some aspects of Wesleyan Methodist Evangelism 1860 – 1932*, MLitt thesis, University of Lancaster, 1977.

Tyrrell, C.W., *Methodist Van Missions*, a dissertation presented to the University of Dubuque, Iowa, 1974.

Edmondson, J.J.W., *The Doctrines of Hell and Judgement and the need for Personal Conversion as an Index to the Development of Liberal Theology within the Theological Colleges of the Methodist Church in England from 1907 to 1932*, MA thesis, University of Durham, 1990.

Lovell, George, *An Action Research Project to Test the Applicability of the Non-Directive Concept in a Church, Youth and Counselling Setting*, PhD thesis, University of London, 1973.

Key works on Mission and Evangelism:

- Abraham, William J., *The Logic of Evangelism*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989.
- Allen, Roland, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder it*, London: World Dominion Press, 1927; republished Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962.
- Allen, Roland, *Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours*, London: World Dominion Press, 1912.
- Anderson, Gerald H. (ed), *The Theology of the Christian Mission*, London: SCM Press, 1961.
- Anderson, Gerald H. (ed), *Witnessing to the Kingdom: Melbourne and Beyond*, New York: Orbis Books, 1982.
- Anderson, Gerald H. and Stransky, Thomas F. (eds) *Mission Trends No 1: Crucial Issues in Mission Today*, New York: Paulist Press & Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974.
- Anderson, Gerald H. and Stransky, Thomas F. (eds), *Mission Trends No 2: Evangelisation*, New York: Paulist Press & Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975.
- Anderson, Gerald H. and Stransky, Thomas F. (eds), *Mission Trends No 3: Third World Theologies*, New York: Paulist Press & Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.
- Anderson, Gerald H. and Stransky, Thomas F. (eds), *Mission Trends No 4: Liberation Theology*, New York: Paulist Press & Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979.
- Anderson, Gerald H. and Stransky, Thomas F. (eds) *Mission Trends No 5: Faith Meets Faith*, Ramose, NJ: Paulist Press & Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981.
- Anderson, G.H. Phillips J.M. and Coote, R.T., *Mission in the Nineteen Nineties*, New Haven: Overseas Ministries Study Center, 1991.
- Anderson, Gerald H. et al (eds), *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of the Modern Missionary Movement*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1994.
- Arias, Mortimer, and Johnson, Alan, *The Great Commission: Biblical Models for Evangelism*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1992.
- Arbuckle, Gerald, *Earthing the Gospel: an Introduction Handbook for the Pastoral Worker*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1990.

- Armstrong, Richard Stroll, *The Pastor-Evangelist in Worship*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986.
- Bassham, Roger, *Mission Theology: 1948-1975 Years of Worldwide Creative Tension Ecumenical, Roman Catholic*, Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1980.
- Blauw, Johannes, *The Missionary Nature of the Church: A Survey of the Biblical Theology of Mission*, London: Lutterworth, 1962.
- Bonk, Jonathan J., *Missions and Money: Affluence as a Western Missionary Problem*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991.
- Bosch, David, *Witness to the World: the Christian World Mission in Theological Perspective*, London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1980.
- Bosch, David, *A Spirituality for the Road*, Scottdale: Herald Press, 1978.
- Bosch, David, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991.
- Bowen, Roger, *So send I You*, London: SPCK, 1996.
- Bowie, Fiona, Kirkwood, Deborah and Ardener, Shirley, *Women and Missions: Past and Present, Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, Berg, 1993.
- Bria, Ion, *Go Forth in Peace: Orthodox Perspectives in Mission*, Geneva: WCC, 1986.
- Buhlmann, Walbert, *All have the same God: An Encounter with the Peoples and Religions of Asia*, Slough: St Paul Publications, 1979.
- Burrows, William R., *Redemption and Dialogue, Reading 'Redemptoris Missio' and 'Dialogue and Proclamation'*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994.
- Butler, Jonathan, *Softly and Tenderly Jesus is Calling: Heaven and Hell in American Revivalism 1920-1970*, New York: Carlson, 1991.
- Byrne, Lavinia, *The Hidden Journey: Missionary Heroines in Many Lands*, London: SPCK, 1993.
- Carrier, Herve, *Evangelising the Culture of Modernity*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1993.
- Comby, Jean, *How to understand the history of Christian Mission*, London: SCM, 1996.

- Costas, Orlando E., *The Integrity of Mission: the Inner Life and Outreach of the Church*, San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979.
- Costas, Orlando E., *Liberating News: a Theology of Contextual Evangelisation*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989.
- Cracknell, Kenneth, *Justice Courtesy and Love: Theologians and Missionaries Encountering World Religions 1846-1914*, London: Epworth Press, 1995.
- Dickson, Kwesi A., *Uncompleted Mission: Christianity and Exclusivism*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991.
- Douglas, J.D. (ed), *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1975.
- Donovan, Vincent A., *Christianity Rediscovered: An Epistle from the Masai*, London: SCM Press, 1991.
- Finney, John, *Finding Faith Today*, Swindon: Bible Society, 1992.
- Fung, Raymond, *Evangelistically Yours*, Geneva: WCC, 1992.
- Fung, Raymond, *The Isaiah Vision: An Ecumenical Strategy for Congregational Evangelism*, Geneva: WCC, 1992.
- Gaventa, Beverly Roberts, *From Darkness to Light*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986.
- Gittins, Anthony J., *Bread for the Journey: The Mission of Transformation and the Transformation of Mission*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1993.
- Glasser, Arthur F. and McGavran, Donald, *Contemporary Theologies of Mission*, Grand Rapids: Baker House Books, 1983.
- Gnanakan, Kenneth, *Kingdom Concerns*, Leicester, IVP, 1993.
- Green, Michael, *Evangelism through the Local Church*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990.
- Hesselgrave, David J. (ed) *New Horizons in World Mission: Evangelicals and the Christian Mission in the 1980s*, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979.
- Hesselgrave, David J., *Today's Choices for Tomorrow's Missions: an Evangelicals Perspective on Trends and Issues in Missions*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988.

- Hoekenrijk, J.C., *The Church Inside Out*, London: SCM Press, 1966.
- Hunter, George G. III, *The Contagious Congregation: Frontiers in Evangelism and Church Growth*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1979.
- Hunter, George G. III, *To Spread the Power: Church Growth in the Wesleyan Spirit*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1987.
- Hunter, George G. III, *How to Reach Secular People*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1992.
- Hunter, George G. III, *Church for the Unchurched*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1996.
- Johnson, Arthur, *World Evangelism and the Word of God*, Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1972.
- Johnson, Charles A., *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time*, Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1955.
- Jones, E. Stanley, *A Song of Ascents: a Spiritual Autobiography*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1968.
- Jongeneel, Jan, *Philosophy Science and Theology of Mission in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Vol.1, 1995.
- Jongeneel, Jan, *Philosophy Science and Theology of Mission in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Vol.2, 1997.
- Kirk, J. Andrew, *What is Mission? Theological Explorations*, London: DLT, 1999.
- Kraemer, H., *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, London: 3rd edn, James Clarke, 1956 (first published 1938).
- Kraus, Norman (ed) *Missions, Evangelism and Church Growth*, Scottdale: Herald Press, 1980.
- Lausanne Committee for World Evangelisation, *How shall they hear? Consultation on World Evangelisation Official Report Volume, Thailand Reports*, London and Wheaton: Lausanne Committee, 1983.
- Logan, James C., (ed) *Theology and Evangelism in the Wesleyan Heritage*, Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1994.
- Luzbetak, Louis J., *The Church and Cultures: New Perspectives in Missionary Anthropology*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1988.

- McGavran, Donald, *The Bridges of God: A Study in the Strategy of Missions*, London: World Dominion Press, 1955.
- McGavran, Donald (ed), *The Conciliar-Evangelical Debate: the Crucial Documents 1964-1976*, Pasadena; William Carey Library, 1977.
- McGavran, Donald, *Effective Evangelism: a Theological Mandate*, Phillipsburg: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1988.
- McGavran, Donald, *Understanding Church Growth*, revised and edited by Peter Wagner, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, third edition 1990.
- Margull, Hans Jochen, *Hope in Action*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1962.
- Messer, Donald E., *A Conspiracy of Goodness: Contemporary Images of Christian Mission*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1992.
- Morris, George, *The Mystery and Meaning of Christian Conversion*, Nashville: Discipleship Resources, 1981.
- Mott, John R., (ed) *Evangelism for the World Today*, New York: published for the IMC by Harper and Brothers, 1938.
- Mojzes, Paul and Swidler, Leonard, *Christian Mission and Inter-religious Dialogue*, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990.
- Neely, Alan, *Christian Mission: A Case Study Approach*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995.
- Neill, Stephen & Anderson, Gerald H. & Goodwin, John (eds), *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1970.
- Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964.
- Neill, Stephen, *Colonialism and Christian Mission*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1966.
- Neill, Stephen, *The Church and Christian Reunion*, London: OUP, 1968.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *The Open Street*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, first published in 1978, revised edition 1995.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *Unfinished Agenda*, London: SPCK, 1985.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *The Other side of 1984*, Geneva: WCC, 1986.

- Newbigin, Lesslie, *Foolishness to the Greeks: the Gospel and Western Culture*, Geneva: WCC, 1986.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *Truth to Tell*, London: SPCK, 1986.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *Mission in Christ's Way*, Geneva: WCC, 1987.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *Unfinished Agenda*, Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1993.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *A Word in Season: Perspective on World Mission*, Edinburgh: St Andrew Press 1995.
- Newbigin, Lesslie, *Proper Confidence*, London: SPCK, 1995.
- Nicholls, Bruce (ed) *In Word and Deed: Evangelism and Social Responsibility*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1985.
- Outler, Albert, *Evangelism in the Wesleyan Spirit*, Nashville: Tidings, 1971.
- Paton, David and Long, Charles H. (ed), *The Compulsion of the Spirit: A Roland Allen Reader*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983.
- Phillips, James M. and Coote, Robert T., *Toward and 21st Century in Christian Mission*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993.
- Phillips, Timothy R. and Okholm, Dennis L. (ed), *Christian Apologetics in the Modern World*, Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 1995.
- Pope-Levison, Priscilla, *Evangelization from a Liberation Perspective*, New York: Peter Lang, 1991.
- Rahner, Karl (ed) *Rethinking the Church's Mission, Vol 13 of CONCILIUM, Theology in the Age of Renewal*, New York: Paulist Press, 1996.
- Ramachandra, Vinoth, *The Recovery of Mission*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996.
- Saayman, Willem and Kritzinger, Klippien, *Mission in Bold Humility; David Bosch's work Considered*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996.
- Samuel, Vinay and Sugden, Christopher, *The Church in Response to Human Need*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987.
- Sanneh, Lamin, *Translating the Message: the Missionary Impact on Culture*, Maryknoll: Orbis Book, 1989.

- Sanneh, Lamin, *Encountering the West: Christianity and the Global Cultural Process: the African Dimension*, London: Marshall Pickering, 1993.
- Scherer, James A., *Gospel, Church and Kingdom: Comparative Studies in World Mission Theology*, Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1987.
- Scherer, James A. and Bevans, Stephen B. (eds) *New Directions in Mission and Evangelization, Basic Statements 1974-1991* Maryknoll: Orbis 1991.
- Scherer, James A. and Bevans, Stephen B. (ed), *New Directions in Mission and Evangelisation, Theological Foundations*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1994.
- Schreiter, Robert J., *Constructing Local Theologies*, London: SCM Press, 1985.
- Schultze, Quentin J. (ed) *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980.
- Schwarz, Christian, *Natural Church Development*, Moggerhamer: British Church Growth Association, 1997.
- Scott, Waldron *Bring Forth Justice: a Contemporary Perspective on Mission*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980.
- Senior, Donald, and Stuhmueller, Carroll, *The Biblical Foundations for Missions*, London: SCM Press, 1983.
- Shenk, Wilbert R. (ed), *Exploring Church Growth*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983.
- Shorter, Aylward, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1988.
- Shorter, Aylward, *Evangelization and Culture*, London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1994.
- Song, Chaon-Seng, *Christian Mission in Reconstruction: An Asian Analysis*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1977.
- Taber, Charles R., *The World is Too Much with Us: "Culture" in Modern Protestant Missions*, Macon: Mercer University Press, 1991.
- Thangaraj, M. Thomas, *The Common Task: a theology of Christian Mission*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1999.

- Thomas, Norman *Readings in World Mission*, London, SPCK, 1995, in USA
Classical Readings in Mission and World Christianity, London:
SPCK, 1995.
- Tippett, Alan, *Introduction to Missiology*, Pasadena: William Carey Library,
1987.
- Verkuyl, Johannes, *Contemporary Missiology: an Introduction*, Grand
Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978.
- Vicedom, Georg, *The Mission of God: An Introduction to the Theology of
Mission*, St Louis: Concordia, 1965.
- Wallis, Jim, *The Call to Conversion: Recovering the Gospel for these Times*
San Francisco: Harper, 1981.
- Walls, Andrew, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, New
York: Orbis, 1996.
- Warren, Max, *I Believe in the Great commission*, London: Hodder and
Stoughton, 1976.
- Watson, David, *I Believe in Evangelism*, London: Hodder and Stoughton,
1976.
- Watson, David Lowes, *The Early Methodist Class Meeting*, Nashville:
Discipleship Resources, 1985.
- Wilson, F.R., *The San Antonio Report*, edited by, Geneva, WCC, 1990.
- Weisberger, Bernard A., *They Gathered at the River: the Story of The Great
Revivalists and their Impact upon Religion in America*, Boston:
Little, Brown, Co, 1958.
- Wolffe, John (ed), *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal*, London: SPCK, 1995.
- Yates, Timothy, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge:
CUP, 1994.
- Your Kingdom Come: Mission Perspectives, Report on the World
Conference of Mission and Evangelism, Melbourne, Australia, 12-
25 May, 1980*, Geneva: WCC, 1980.
- Wilson, F.R., *The San Antonio Report*, edited by, Geneva, WCC, 1990.

Articles:

- Bebbington, D.W., 'Holiness Movements in British and Canadian Methodism', in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, October 1996, Vol.50
- Burge, Janet, 'Impudent Women', in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol.21, pp.93-101.
- Cracknell, Kenneth, 'Mission and Evangelism in Methodist Theological Enquiry and Education', lecture at Cliff College September 2000, unpublished.
- East, David, *Early Methodist Preachers*, unpublished lecture given 26 March 2003, at the Wesley Centre, Oxford.
- Griffiths, Michael, *Pioneer Women Missionaries*, unpublished, a lecture at Cliff College, September 1996.
- Hills, Brian M., *Mary Ann Hills (nee Dixon) 1864-1946*, unpublished, 2004.
- Hogg, W.R., 'The Teaching of Missiology: Some Reflections on the Historical and Current Scene', in *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol.XV, No.4, October 1987.
- Lawrence, David, *Memoirs and Extracts from the Diaries of David Lawrence*, Norwich: personal publication, 1995.
- Lenton, John, *Labouring for the Lord, Women preachers in Wesleyan Methodism 1802-1932. A Revisionist View.*
- Mackay, Ben, *A tale that is told*, unpublished, ca.1990.
- Newbould, John, *The Roots and early Growth of Cliff College*, Unpublished paper, ca. 1958.
- Walters, Stanley D., 'The World Will End in 1919', in *The Asbury Theological Journal*, Vol.44, No.1, 1989.
- White, Alison, 'Bearers of an Idle Tale: Women as Evangelists in the Christian Tradition' in *Anvil*, Vol.13, No.1, 1996.
- Wood, A. Skevington, 'Evangelicalism: a Historical Perspective' in *TSF Bulletin*, No.60, 1971.
- Wood, John, *A Year to Remember*, private publication, ca 2003.

Select Bibliography of secondary sources:

- Atkins, Martyn, *Preaching in a cultural context*, Peterborough: Foundry Press, 2000.
- Balmer, Randall, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002.
- Barr, James, *Fundamentalism*, London: SCM, 1977.
- Batty and Milburn (ed), *Workaday Preachers*, London: Epworth, 1995.
- Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London: Unwin and Hyman, 1989.
- Bradley, I., *The call to Seriousness*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1976.
- Bramwell, W., *Memoirs of Samuel Hick the Village Blacksmith*, Wakefield: Nicholson & Son 1854.
- Brash, W. Bardsley, *The Story of our Colleges 1835-1935*, London: Epworth Press, 1935.
- Bridge, David (ed), *What it means to me, personal visions of a living church*, London: Methodist Church Home Mission Division, 1987.
- Broomhall, A.J., *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, London: Hodder and Stoughton and the overseas Missionary Fellowship, 7 Volumes 1981-1990.
- Broomhall, M., *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, London: Marshall and Scott, China Inland Mission, 1915.
- Brown, Earl Kent, *Women of Mr Wesley's Methodism*, Edwin Mellen Press, 1983.
- Bunting, Ian D., *Places to Train*, Eltham: MARC Europe, 1990.
- Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church, Part 1 (third Edition)*, London: A. and C. Black, 1971.
- Challoner, Eric, *It so happened*, Alsager: Fairway Filio, 1998.
- Chester, Tim, *Awakening to a World of Need*, Leicester: IVP, 1993.
- Chilcote, Paul W., *John Wesley and the Women Preachers of Early Methodism*, Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1991.

- Christophers, S.W., *Foolish Dick, An Autobiography of Richard Hampton, The Cornish Pilgrim Preacher*, London: Houghton and Co, 1873.
- Cracknell, Kenneth, *Towards a New Relationship*, London: Epworth Press, 1986.
- Cragg, Gerald R., *Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge: CUP, 1964.
- Crookshank, C.H., *Days of Revival being the history of Methodism in Ireland*, Clonmel: Tentmaker Publications, 1994, 6 Volumes.
- Cumbers, F.H. (ed), *Richmond College*, London: Epworth Press, 1944.
- Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Dieter, M.E., *The Holiness revival of the Nineteenth Century*, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1996.
- Evangelism: Convergence and Divergence*, London: Nationwide Initiative in Evangelism, 1980.
- Evans, G.R. and Wright, J.R. (ed), *The Anglican Tradition*, London: SPCK, 1991.
- Fiedler, Klaus, *The Story of the Faith Missions*, Oxford: Regnum, 1994.
- Farley, Edward, *Theologia*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.
- Flew, R. Newton, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology*, Oxford: OUP, 1934.
- Ford, Jack, *In the Steps of John Wesley*, Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1968.
- Gilbert, Bryan, *One Step Forward Campaign*, Leicester: One Step Forward Trust, 1971, revised 1975.
- Gordon, James M., *Evangelical Spirituality*, London: SPCK, 1991.
- Green, Michael, *I believe in the Holy Spirit*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975.
- Guinness, H. Grattan, *The Approaching End of the Age: Viewed in the light of history, prophecy and science*, Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1878.
- Guinness, H. Grattan and Fanny, *Light for the Last Days*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886.

- Guinness, H. Grattan and F., *The Second Advent, Will it be before the Millennium?*, New York: J. Pott and Co, 1887.
- Harkness, Georgia, *The Methodist Church in Social Thought and Action*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1964.
- Harley, C. David, *Missionary Training*, Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2000.
- Harper, Michael, *As at the beginning: The Twentieth Century Pentecostal Revival*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965.
- Harper, Michael, *Let my People Grow*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977.
- Harper, Michael, *Power for the Body of Christ*, London: Fountain Trust, 1964.
- Harper, Michael, *Walk in the Spirit*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968.
- Hastings, Adrian, *A History of English Christianity 1920 – 1990*, London: SCM, third edition, 1991.
- Heeney, Brain, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England 1850 – 1930*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Hempton, David and Hill, Myrtle, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Hempton, David, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Hoare, Brian and Randall, Ian, *More than a Methodist*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003.
- Horne, C.S., *A Popular History of the Free Churches*, London: James Clarke and Co., 1903.
- Hyson-Smith, Kenneth, *Evangelicals in the Church of England*, Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1988.
- Jackson, George, *The Old Methodism and the New*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903.
- Jackson, Thomas (ed.), *The Works of John Wesley*, Third Edition, London: John Mason, 14 Vols, 1829-31.
- Juster, Susan, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Kane, Eileen, *Doing Your Own Research*, London: Marion Boyars, 1983.

- Kent, John, *The Study of Modern Ecclesiastical History since 1930*, Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, Vol.2, London: Pelican, 1969.
- King, John, *Evangelicals Today*, London: Lutterworth 1973.
- Krueger, Christine L., *The Readers Repentance, Women Preachers, Women Writers and Nineteenth Century Social Discourse* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Latourette, Kenneth S., *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. 5 The great Century, A.D. 1800 – A.D. 1914*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1947.
- Latourette, Kenneth S., *Beyond the Ranges: An Autobiography*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967.
- Lausanne Consultation: *Evangelism and Social Responsibility, An Evangelical Commitment*, Exeter: Paternoster, 1982.
- Marsden, George M., *Fundamentalism and American Culture, The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* Oxford: OUP, 1980.
- McBain, Douglas, *Eyes that See: The Spiritual Gift of Discernment*, Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering 1986.
- Mission and Evangelism: an ecumenical affirmation*, Geneva: WCC, 1983.
- Mission and Ministry: The Churches' Validation Framework for Theological Education*, London: Ministry Division of the Archbishops Council, 1999.
- Moberg, David, *The Great Reversal*, London: Scripture Union, 1972.
- Moore, J.R., *Religion on Victorian Britain Volume III, Sources*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Myklebust, Olav Guttorm, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education: An Historical Inquiry into the Place of World Evangelization in Western Protestant Ministerial Training, with Particular Reference of Alexander Duff's Chair of Evangelistic Theology*, Oslo: Egede Instituttet, Vol.1, 1955, Vol.2, 1957.
- Myles, William, *A Chronology of the people called Methodists*, London: W. Myles, J. Butterworth and J. Bruce, third edition, 1803.
- Neill, S.C. and Weber, H.R., (ed), *The Layman in Christian History*, London: SCM Press, 1963.
- Newton, John W., *The Story of the Pilgrim Preachers and their 24 Tours throughout Britain*, London: Pickering and Inglis, 1939.

- Noll, Mark A., and Wells, David F., (ed) *Christian Faith and Practice in the Modern World*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1988.
- Noll, Mark A., *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, Leicester: IVP, 2004.
- Oden, Thomas (ed), *Phoebe Palmer: Selected Writings*, New York: Paulist Press, 1988.
- Orr, Edwin, *Light of the Nations*, London: Paternoster Press, 1965.
- Padilla, Rene (ed), *New Alternatives in Theological Education*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 1986.
- Parsons, G. (ed), *Religion in Victorian Britain Volume II, Controversies*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Parsons, G. (ed), *Religion in Victorian Britain Volume IV, Interpretations*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Partners in Practice*, London: The British Council of Churches, 1989.
- Paton, William, *Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education*, London: SCM, 1923.
- Peel, Albert and Marriott, J.A.R., *Robert Forman Horton*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937.
- Petter, Percival W., *The Story of the Pilgrim Preachers and their Message*, London: Marshall, 1922.
- Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789 – 1858*, Sydney: The Sutton Courtney Press, 1984.
- Pollock, John, *The Keswick Story*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964.
- Pope, William B., *A Compendium of Christian Theology*, 3 Vols, London, Wesleyan Conference Office, 1880.
- Preston, Ronald, *Church and Society in the late Twentieth Century*, London: SCM, 1983.
- Price, Charles and Randall, Ian, *Transforming Keswick*, Carlisle: OM Publishing, 2000.
- Pritchard, Elizabeth, *For such a Time*, Victory Press: Eastbourne, 1973.
- Rack, Henry, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, London: Epworth, 1989.

- Randall, Ian and Hilborn David, *One Body in Christ*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001.
- Randall, Ian, *Evangelical Experiences*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999.
- Richardson, A., *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, London: SCM, 1983.
- Robert, Dana, *American Women in Mission*, Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996.
- Roberts, Colin, *These Christian Commando Campaigns*, London: Epworth, 1945
- Rowell, R., Stevenson, K. and Williams, R. (eds), *Love's Redeeming Work: The Anglican Quest for Holiness*, Oxford: OUP, 2001.
- Ruether, R.R., *Sexism and God-Talk*, London: SCM, 1983.
- Runyon, Theodore, *The New Creation, John Wesley's Theology for Today*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1998.
- Sangster, W.E., *The Path to Perfection*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943.
- Scharpff, Paulus, *History of Evangelism*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966.
- Scherer and Bevans, *New Directions in Mission and Evangelization*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1992.
- Smail, Thomas, *Reflected Glory*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976.
- Smail, Thomas, *The Forgotten Father*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980.
- Smail, Thomas, *The Giving Gift*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988.
- Smalley, Stephen, *1,2,3 John*, Dallas: Word, 1984.
- Smith, David W., *Transforming the World?*, Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998.
- Spradley, James P., *Participant Observation*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980.
- Storr, Vernon F., *The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1800 – 1860*, London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1913.
- Stott, John (general ed.), *Obeying Christ in a Changing World*; Vol.1, John Stott (ed), *The Lord-Jesus Christ*; Vol.2, Ian Cundy (ed), *The People of God*; Vol. 3, Bruce Kaye (ed), *The Changing World*, Glasgow: Fountain Books, Collins, 1977.
- Stott, John, *Christ the Controversialist*, London: Tyndale Press, 1970.

- Sugden, Edward H., *Wesley's Standard Sermons*, London: Epworth Press, 2 Vols, 1921.
- Sykes, Richard (ed), *Beyond the Boundaries: preaching in the Wesleyan tradition*, Oxford: Westminster College, 1998.
- Telford, John (ed.), *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley*, Standard Edition, London: Epworth Press, 8 Vols, 1931.
- Thayer, J.H., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1961.
- The Mildmay Conference*, London: John F. Shaw, 1878.
- Thomson, David, *England in the Nineteenth Century 1815-1914*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1964.
- Tucker, Ruth, *Guardians of the Great Commission*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988.
- Valenze, Deborah, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England*, Princeton: New Jersey, 1985.
- Vickers, Mary J., *Does successful evangelistic endeavour depend as much on the effective use of persuasive techniques as it does on proclamation of the gospel?*, Milton Keynes and Malvern Papers, November 1995.
- Watson, David, *One in the Spirit*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973.
- Wesley and Fletcher, *Entire Sanctification, Attainable in this Life*, London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898.
- Wesleyan Centenary Sermons*, London: John Mason, 1839.
- Westcott, B.F., *The Epistle of St John*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966.
- Wilson, Linda, *Constrained by Zeal, Female Spirituality amongst Nonconformists 1825 – 1875*, Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000.
- Wolffe, J. (ed), *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal*, London: SPCK, 1995.
- Wolffe, J. (ed), *Religion in Victorian Britain, Volume V, Culture and Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Yates, Timothy (ed), *Mission: An Invitation to God's Future*, Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2000.

