* Manuscript

'Parading the Cornish Subject: Methodist Sunday School Parades and Tea Treats in West Cornwall c. 1830-1930'

1. Introduction

This paper responds to a call for more theoretically informed analyses of the under-researched spaces of Nonconformity in the UK.[1] In the diffuse and disparate studies that constitute contemporary geographies of religion, there is a need for more historically informed studies that bring critical perspectives to the investigation of popular mainstream religions. In particular, there is a need to direct research away from official sites of religious worship, to examine how religious identities are embedded within other cultural formations and reproduced through everyday practices. For Kong, it is vital that geographers seek to trace the connections between institutional relationships of power and the poetics of religious place, identity and community formation.[2] It is important, therefore, that geographers of religion pay attention to the way in which sacred and secular meanings and relations are differentially contested in the construction of space.

Our aim in this paper is to apply these contemporary insights into the everyday social reproduction of religious meanings and place, to the neglected geographies of Methodism in Cornwall c.1830-1930.[3] More specifically, this paper examines Methodist Sunday school tea treats and parades as key identity-framing vehicles in the construction of religious place-based identities.[4] The aim is to explore the spaces

beyond the Methodist chapel that were involved in the socialisation of individuals and groups to Methodist identities.

Nonconformist tea treats and parades were first established in the eighteenth century, and endured as a popular religious activity into the late twentieth century throughout the UK. Consequently, tea treats remain one of the most commonly invoked memories associated with the Methodist Church today. In Cornwall, parades followed by tea treats were typically scheduled during the summer months, with the most popular time being the Monday following Whitsun. This often coincided with the Sunday school anniversary service. As well as the day itself, the organisation of these events involved large numbers of people in a variety of committees and tasks, which became institutionalised as part of the Methodist calendar. Common tasks included baking cakes and saffron buns and the purchase of sugar, milk, tea, flour and butter. Then there were the duties of booking fields, boiling water, serving at tables, and the printing and distribution of tickets to Sunday school scholars (Fig. 1). Carrying out these mundane tasks was a source of prestige for those involved, because of the importance of the Sunday school tea treat within the Methodist calendar. The tea treat, therefore, must be understood as an event that was planned over a number of weeks or months and discussed and recalled in Methodist communities for weeks, months or even years afterwards. Although the principle participants in parades and tea treats were children, it is difficult to reconstruct their experiences from archival sources. Given the partial visibility of children's opinions and voices in the archive, their agency has to be imaginatively reconstructed. What is clear, however, is that parades were meant by adult organisers to be about spectacle, ritual and carnival. As this paper goes on to demonstrate, the popularity and influence of the Methodist tea

treat and parade cannot be overestimated as a defining characteristic of Methodism in Cornwall.

<INSERT FIGURE 1>

As we have hinted, the tea treat and parade were directly linked with the activities of Methodist Sunday schools and their annual celebrations. The didactic role of the Sunday school in socialising individuals to a Methodist identity is an important and overlooked theme that forms the subject of a further paper. The emphasis here, is on the ritual and performed identities of Sunday schools and their scholars in annual celebrations. As a weekly or bi-weekly activity, Sunday school didacticism formed a taken for granted and banal aspect of Methodist identity formation. It was in the Sunday school that scholars were entrained to a discursive moral community, through the use of catechisms and other teaching aids. Methodist consciousness, however, was a latent facet of a Sunday school scholar's banal socialisation that was brought to presence on specific occasions. This paper seeks to explore the way in which Methodist identities were flagged through the performed and ritual aspects of Sunday schools' annual tea treats and parades.

We begin by constructing the theoretical and interpretative framework in which our analysis will be situated, drawing on the work on Paasi, Goheen and others to show how contemporary research on identity formation can be combined with historical work on parades and the politics of public space. Turning to the micro-geographies of popular Methodist cultures in west Cornwall, we investigate local Sunday school organisation and their connected parades and tea treats paying particular attention to

the importance of visual display in articulating group religious identity. The final discussion then draws the empirical and theoretical strands of the paper together.

2. Making sense of the parade: place-based identity framing and the politics of display

In order to explore the geographical formation of Methodist identities and constituencies, it is necessary to engage with a body of theory that enables us to investigate the contribution of everyday events like Sunday school tea treats and parades, to a sense of place and community belonging. In particular, we draw upon the work of Anssi Paasi, through which we aim to restore a sense of the historic, symbolic and communal aspects of religious identity formation and its spatialities.[5] According to Paasi, place based identities become institutionalised historically through cultural processes. These processes are involved in the contested practice of inscribing boundaries, which are inseparable from institutional socialisation projects and the construction of individual subjectivities. Given the contingent nature of geographical representations and identity formation, Paasi is careful to avoid chasing omnipotent essentialist definitions. The ‘nation’ or the ‘region’ in Paasi’s work, for example, are the ongoing products of a socio-spatial consciousness in which geographical dimensions are ascribed an identified location within a broader ideological structure. Paasi’s historiographic approach can equally be applied to Methodists’ beliefs in education, self-improvement, bodily comportment and social order, which have a geography as well as a history that demands attention.

Following Paasi, therefore, our aim is to understand Methodism more adequately in its cultural, historical and locally specific spaces of emergence. For David Hempton, the diversity of Methodist experience requires us to acknowledge the development of many Methodisms at many times and in many places.[6] Consequently, there is a need for more research into the respective commitments of Methodist members, adherents, local preachers, class leaders, part-time officials, women and itinerant ministers.[7] Hempton argues that "Methodism was carried by people to people", but this is not reflected in the academic literature, which is dominated by a focus on Methodist theology, ministry and organization.[8] What is lacking is a detailed investigation at a specifically local level into how Methodist constituencies and subjectivities were formed and maintained through popular practices outside formal chapel worship. By focusing attention upon the performed aspects of local Methodist Sunday school tea treats and parades, therefore, we aim to explore how these activities operated as a social discourse that actively structured individual and communal Methodist identities. Drawing upon Paasi's work, we see Cornwall's various Methodisms as sustained through a combination of; *formal identity-framing vehicles*, in our case Sunday school education; *institutions rooted in civil society*, that is, the organizational structures facilitating Sunday schools and their associated activities; and *informal conventions*, such as the ritual, performed and symbolic aspects of tea treats and parades.[9]

To gain an insight into the identity framing apparatus of Methodism, it is apposite to review the work of geographers and others working across the social sciences, who have advanced our understanding of the symbolic significance of public events and parades. Hence we draw attention to the work of Peter Goheen and Peter Jackson in

the Canadian context, Susan Davis, Sallie Marston and Simon Newman in the US, and Michael Woods in the UK.[10] This group of academics conceptualise parades as a constituency forming practice, which provide institutions and social groups with a visible identity. Parades utilise public space with the aim of contending for influence amongst competing groups and celebrating their distinctive values. According to Woods, "[p]ublic drama and civic ceremony play a significant role in the construction and reproduction of the discursive framework within which local power structures operate".[11] A key element in the formation of this discursive framework involves the construction of history, through which a sense of community coheres in a shared past.[12]

Following Woods, public drama can support traditional political structures in four ways. First, it defines a civic or religious elite through displaying its members and presenting them as privileged through ritual, language and socially exclusive events. Second, it demonstrates the elite's power through the occupation of symbolically significant space. Third, it demonstrates the power and autonomy of a specific place or town and its institutions. Fourth, it promotes discourses that legitimate the leadership position of elites amongst the wider populace. Contrary to this, parades may legitimate violent collective action in contesting established networks of power and authority.[13] Thus, with respect to parades and public drama, it is important to examine who is prescribing particular public performances and the rules that govern them, and who is specifying the objects of thought and feeling they symbolise?[14]

In the same vein as Anderson's 'imagined community', and Paasi's notion of socio-spatial consciousness, Colley has drawn attention to the way in which parades

actively forged links between experience and polity within the public sphere and civil society.[15] It is the complex political, material, experiential and affective dynamics surrounding the spatial politics of public dramas, which lead us to examine Methodist tea treats and parades as ritual, spectacle and as carnival.[16]

Ritual

Lukes defines ritual as "rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance".[17] In this sense, habituated behaviour, consisting of routine actions about which there is little conscious cognitive reflection, are distinguished from ritual practices, which are conspicuous, symbolic and relate to personal subjective meaning. Public rituals are typically organised around marking devices (e.g. dress, speech and ceremonial settings), which distinguish drama from everyday 'reality'.[18] Conspicuous ritual practices, therefore, provide an insight into the way in which social groups cohere around shared understandings of language, morality, corporeality, emotions and reason.[19] More specifically, religious rituals provide a meaningful way of relating these various aspects of human life to the infinite, supernatural or transcendent. For Jarman, however, the symbolic power of ritual parades, secular and religious, is derived from the firm link its participants believe it to have with the past.[20] In this sense, parades are traditions that seek to legitimate contemporary social relations, or their contestation, in a constructed and immutable past.[21] In other words, the public performance of rituals enables collectives to affirm what might otherwise be an ambiguous social existence.[22] In constructing histories and imagined futures, therefore, parades represent such ambiguities of whatever kind within a narrative that provides resolutions that are acceptable to those seeking to

legitimate their power to organise collectives and those who subject themselves within a constituency.

Spectacle

As spectacle, parades and tea treats can be viewed as a form of representation that makes an ideal pattern of life visible to insiders and outsiders alike.[23] Unlike rituals that use symbolic objects to mediate narratives of social order, participants in a parade represent themselves using *themselves*.[24] For Cunningham therefore, it is the embodied nature of school processions and parades that is the key to understanding their social function.[25] In his study of eighteenth century Charity Schools, Cunningham argues that the disciplined and sanitised display of children on 'Holy Thursday' was designed to assuage aristocratic fears about the appropriateness of educating the 'disorderly' and 'unruly' poor. 'Holy Thursday' processions were first organised in 1703, by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK).[26] Cunningham notes that:

> [o]n Holy Thursday order became spectacle. With their special clothes, or 'some becoming Badge of their Benefactor's Bounty', the charity school children had always been distinguishable from other children. [….] Initially it had been the intention of the SPCK that the sermon on these occasions should be preached 'to the Poor Children', but the children became objects to be witnessed, and the preachers spoke, not to them, but about them, to the assembled adults.[27]

Snell has argued that during the Napoleonic Wars, Methodist Sunday schools faced a crisis of legitimacy, with many Anglicans believing that they were promoting revolutionary ideas among the poor.[28] By mimicking the identity framing apparatus of Charity School parades and services, however, Methodism came to promote its Sunday schools as respectable and legitimate components of the nation's welfare. The key to the success of Methodist parades and tea treats, therefore, must relate to the connotations of order, continence, propriety, sobriety, seemliness and rectitude, which ensured, if not the patronage of the ruling elite, then at least their acquiescence.

Carnival

Carnival, according to Bakhtin, presents an inverted image of the 'normal world', and is characterized by the systematic violation of normal conduct (through notions of eccentricity) and language (through profanity), together with the rejection of all hierarchical structures of authority.[29] Calendrical carnivals have a long provenance that are associated with manorial and parish feasts stretching back to the medieval period. Luker argues that the success of Methodism in Cornwall can be attributed, in part, to its promotion of religious revivals, which appealed to these pre-existing spiritual cultures.[30] Villagers outside the culture of literacy during the eighteenth century, therefore, came to believe in a mixture of magic, superstition and religion, including "conceptions of Christian doctrine which were adapted and transformed as they passed from the church to the cottage".[31] According to Rule:

> The credulousness of the miners was an essential feature of their ready acceptance of the teachings of John Wesley. They could be responsive to his message not because he demanded a new and rational view of

> the world, but because he did not. Methodism did not ask that a man fully understand his environment. He need only realise that what was incomprehensible to him had purpose for a God who owed him no explanation.[32]

A typical revival meeting would see individual members of the congregation making vocal cries for mercy from God, which were often accompanied by bodily manifestations of anguish or spiritual ecstasy. Characterized by such unpredictable and emotional outbursts, therefore, Methodist revivals and enthusiasm can be seen as a suitable vehicle for manifestations of mass expression and experience, offering an appealing substitute to the carnivalesque intensity of customary fairs, with local folk traditions permeating the formal Methodist practices, which came to resemble a Volkskirche (folk religion).[33]

In Cornwall, religious revivals became a local tradition in their own right, recurring in cycles that bore little sustained connection to contemporary political and economic trends.[34] In order to understand these phenomena, therefore, it is imperative to examine the internal and local circumstances of the religious culture in question.[35] For historians of recreation, the nineteenth century was marked by the desire of the ruling classes to reform popular culture in order to achieve social and industrial discipline, and within the context of pagan carnival and religious revival, Methodist tea treats operated as a more rational and respectable appeal to hearts and minds. As a counterpoint to the perceived chaotic use of public space evidenced by carnivals, the Methodist tea treat and parade was an orderly use of space that emphasised bodily restraint and continence. Methodism was deeply influenced by pietism, a religious

reform movement within the German Lutheran Church, which emphasised the personal religious experience of God, the search for moral perfection in everyday social relations, the authority of the bible and the priesthood of all believers.[36] Methodism, therefore, elevated the embodied subject as the site of spiritual knowledge aside from the traditions and rituals of established religion. By briefly monopolising public space, Sunday school parades enacted a vision of community and projected this to a wider audience. The vision was one of disciplined and educated bodies, respect for religious and secular authority, and temperate consumption. Methodism was not the only institution to utilise the parade and tea treat as a form of identity framing, but by involving children it was by far the most popular and important example of a performed public identity during this period.

3. Methodism and Sunday Schools

Sunday schools were some of the most pervasive and influential institutions in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, yet with one or two exceptions their significance has been overlooked in the academic literature.[37] Sunday schools became crucial to the emergence and reproduction of Methodist constituencies. For instance, in 1914, a minute book recorded the words of Henry Pezzack, a member of the 'Executive Sunday School Committee' of Chapel Street Wesleyan Chapel, Penzance, Cornwall:

> "Our great desire…is to train our young people for Jesus Christ and make the School what it ought to be, viz: The nursery of the Church," and very lovingly he appealed to all the Churches of the

> Circuit, to come up to the help of their old mother in this great endeavour to bring blessing to the young people.[38]

Regardless of institutional changes to the form and content of the Sunday school during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the schools were understood within a wider process of gathering people into a Methodist constituency, and consequently taking them away from other religious or secular constituencies.[39]

The techniques of conversion developed in Methodist Sunday schools were predicated on the widely held perception that religious belief, education and self-improvement were inseparable. Sunday schools helped people to read as the first stage in their Christianisation. In its doctrine of *sola scriptura*, Protestant faith emphasises the primacy of the Bible as the sole authority in religious matters.[40] Therefore, it is imperative that believers have the ability to read and to form their own interpretations directly from scripture itself. Learning to read, however, had an impact that extended beyond the Sunday school and into the work place and the public sphere. Consequently the boundaries between the sacred and secular were often ambiguous, which placed the Sunday school at the centre of local negotiations over political and religious identity formation.

At an organisational level, the Methodist Sunday school required the mobilisation of children, teachers, officials and ministers. This was achieved through the communication of information, through the spoken word, pamphlets, handbills, newspapers and notices, all having a territorial expression and giving symbolic shape to Methodist constituencies (Fig. 2). The material cultures of Methodist Sunday

schools were one way in which Methodist identities were framed and made visible to a wider public. The most important expression of a Methodist territorial presence, however, was the tea treat and parade.

<INSERT FIGURE 2>

The Methodist tea treat was designed to fulfil a number of functions that related to the Sunday school. First, it was a time of celebration for local Methodist communities who could come together for amusement and fellowship. As a source of local differentiation, the tea treat served as an identity-framing vehicle for different Methodist sects. They were also crucial in building up a reserve of goodwill amongst the Methodist community, which could be drawn upon during the coming year. Second, the tea treat was a reward for diligent Sunday school scholars, who could purchase a ticket at a reduced price. In addition, many Sunday schools hoped that the tea treat would serve as an attraction that would draw non-attending children into membership. Third, tea treats in association with Sunday school anniversaries were designed as a means of financing the Sunday school through the rest of the year, providing funds to pay for study materials, books, writing equipment, heating and the all-important prize giving ceremonies. Unlike the Church of England, which had a historical legacy and ready access to financial resources, the Methodist church was an emerging religious organisation that needed to generate funds from its members. Methodism, therefore, had to manage an efficient money raising system through networks created within civil society.

For Cunningham, the key to understanding Sunday schools is located in their construction of childhood as a discourse.[41] The discourse of childhood was increasingly influenced by state involvement, bourgeois morality and the move towards the rational ordering of society during the nineteenth century. Seemingly, no historiography of childhood is complete without an account of the rise of the middle-class ideology of childhood, charting the construction of childhood as a privileged life stage in which education was increasingly perceived as a vital prerequisite of liberty, personal morality, and religious salvation.[42] The challenge for Methodist pedagogues, therefore, was to discursively construct the 'child' in such a way so as to maintain a mandate for religious intervention in light of changing humanist and romantic perceptions of the child. This became increasingly important around the time of state intervention in education, beginning with Brougham's Bill for the Education of the Poor in 1820 and culminating in the 1870 Education Act.[43] It is important to remember, therefore, that the relationship of the Sunday school to wider society was dynamic and subject to change during the later nineteenth century, particularly with the development of state education.

In engaging with these grand debates it is easy to lose a sense of the different expressions of Methodism in different places and at different times. It is important to remember, that despite superficial similarities between Sunday school education and ritual across Cornwall, they had very different meanings and significance depending on the historical contingencies of their location. Using the example of west Cornwall, this paper now turns to the exploration of the Sunday school in the formation of a place-based Methodist identity, with the tea treat and parade, in particular, acting as a

vehicle of public display, showing aspects of ritual, spectacle and carnival for the purpose of maintaining a coherent and legitimated constituency.

4. Tea treats, parades and the Sunday school in West Cornwall.

Methodism held a strong presence during the nineteenth century in Cornwall, with a dramatic rise in power, influence and membership, followed by a long slow decline into the twentieth century.[44] The Religious Census of 1851 estimated that 113,510 people (both members and non-members) attended Methodist services in Cornwall, accounting for approximately 43 per cent of the county's population and 65 per cent of the church-going population.[45] As one might anticipate, the share of religious attendances varied considerably across Cornwall, with two thirds of Methodist attendees in 1851 located in the western mining districts of the county.[46] For example, in the district of Redruth, Methodism accounted for 79.6 per cent of religious attendances, whilst in St Germans, near the Devon border, the share was 33.9 per cent (Fig. 3).[47]

<INSERT FIGURE 3>

The earliest Methodist Sunday schools in Cornwall were a product of the early Methodist Societies.[48] Children whose parents belonged to the Society were gathered into catechism classes and taught by travelling preachers. In 1776, for example, John Wesley addressed a group of fifty or sixty children at Redruth.[49] It was the Church of

England, however, which founded the first formal Sunday school in Redruth (1780).[50] In 1785, John Wesley publicised the work of the self-proclaimed founder of the Sunday school movement, Robert Raikes of Gloucester, and in the following year 24 children were gathered together for instruction at a formal Methodist Sunday school in Redruth.[51] Another opened at Hayle in 1798, which was proceeded by Thomas Coke's tour of Cornwall, which facilitated the rapid formation and financing of Sunday schools on the instruction of the Methodist Conference.[52] Sunday schools were initially held in chapels, but as their popularity increased, separate buildings were provided by Societies. However, the initial building of a chapel was often prompted not by the need for a space in which to worship, but by the need to house Sunday scholars and their teachers, as in the case of Morvah.

After a faltering start, a Sunday school was re-established in the small rural parish of Morvah in 1835, with 100 children and 25 teachers.[53] Classes began at half past two in the afternoon and followed a curriculum of basic spelling, grammar and scripture reading. At the first Sunday school tea treat after re-opening, an ambitious walk was organised across bleak moorland.[54] Starting off at the Chapel, the procession passed through a landscape of dispersed mine workings and agricultural smallholdings, threading its way up the steep and thorn-clad slopes of the highest hill in the Penwith peninsula; the Watch Croft. From the minutes of the Sunday school we read:

> On Saturday June 25th 1836 The day appointed for the Tea Drinking – the weather being fine the children walked two and two attended by their teachers to the top of the watch (a hill so called) which commands a fine prospect of the western part of Cornwall –

extending from the Lands end [sic.] to Redruth. The following hymn was sung on the summits of the Hill, 'I Sing the Almighty Power of God which made the mountains rise' and the 4th verse was particularly striking from the elevated situation of the children and teachers while engaged in singing it.

"Lord how thy wonders are display'd
Where'er I turn my eye
If I survey the ground I tread
Or gaze upon the sky."[55]

At the close of the walk the children were treated to tea and cake and after the children had gone home, the teachers sat down to have their tea and heard an address on the subject of Sabbath schools.[56]

Lacking a dense centre of population in which to produce a display, this Sunday school parade and tea treat in Morvah worked though producing a sense of spectacle by passing through the most important sites and small settlements of the local area and terminating on the most conspicuous hill. In terms of a mass appropriation of open space, therefore, this parade both actively surveyed and was itself highly visible throughout the whole area, with the occasion both territorially framing and socially re-affirming a sense of place-based Methodist constituency. As the first of many succeeding annual Sunday school processions in the area, it became the founding act of a newly established tradition of public display and a principal reference point for developing ritual, described in detail in the official minutes and prompting the formal institutionalization of Methodist *being* throughout the local district.

A further example of such locally ordered constituency display is found in Falmouth. On September 14th 1831, the various Nonconformist Sunday schools of Falmouth, along with the National Schools of the Established Church, came together to celebrate the 50 year anniversary of Robert Raikes' introduction of Sunday schools.[57] The programme began at 7 am with a public prayer meeting held in the Independent Chapel, followed by a united gathering of children at the Wesleyan Chapel at 3 pm. Immediately afterwards the United Sunday Schools, numbering 1200 children and 200 teachers, were 'drawn up in The Moor', where they sang a hymn specially composed for the event.[58] This United Sunday School event was purposefully designed to coincide with the pageantry and spectacle of the Coronation celebrations held in Falmouth on the same day. This involved the whole town in street festivities and public dinners to toast the accession of King William IV and Queen Adelaide. By weaving their ordered and cohesive constituency into wider elite displays of social authority and respectability, the United Sunday School event organizers appropriated wider respect and legitimacy for their activities whilst preserving their distinctiveness.[59]

By the 1860s, tea treats had become an established event, timetabled into a religious calendar and increasingly ingrained within the consciousness of Methodist members and non-members alike. Comprising aspects of both formal and practical organisation and public display, together with notions of celebration and self-consciously disciplined 'carnival', the tea treat and parade came to be, on the one hand, a key vehicle through which Methodist enthusiasm and community identity was channelled, and on the other hand, an apparatus through which a morally sober, ordered and

socially legitimate institution was made visible to the wider world. In this sense, it acted as both a frame for the maintenance of a constituency and also as a very public display of rectitude, continence and temperance.

As tea treats grew in size and variety, a combination of processions, bands, amusements and platform speeches became regular components, with treats taking place in fields, chapels and the grounds of local dignitaries. In the guise of Sunday school *festivals*, the tea treat was used as an opportunity to introduce Methodism to a far wider constituency. In a bid to maximise income from these events, tea tickets were sold to members of the general public. The local police constabulary was frequently enrolled to keep the peace in fields laid out for the occasion.[60] In the larger urban centres of Cornwall, the numbers involved in the procession regularly ran into the hundreds, while the spectacle and 'holiday' atmosphere often attracted many thousands of on-lookers, together with attendant hawkers and street vendors of all varieties, which thronged the streets to watch the parades go past. The management and provisioning of such events came to be a logistical exercise of supply and organisation of some considerable complexity, and thus the financial turnover of such events increased in parallel, both in terms of their importance to the local Methodist Society and in terms of sheer scale. Indeed, in 1868 for example, forged tea tickets were circulated for the Wesleyan Whit Monday Tea Treat at Camborne.[61]

As well as a more institutionalised organisation and increasingly *secular* objective of the tea treat, the 1860s also saw the Sunday schools becoming more structured. Wesleyan Sunday schools, for instance, became integrated and further interconnected through the formation of Circuit Sunday School Unions.[62] In summary, the aims of

the Sunday School Unions were; to instigate discussion between officers and teachers in different locations; to promote the opening of new schools, and the extension of existing schools; to circulate information about the organisation of schools; to collect statistics relating to schools; to stimulate and encourage teachers and to seek greater spiritual results.[63] For Green, the Sunday School Unions transformed the "homely pursuit of spiritual fruit" into an "institutional imperative of associational recruitment".[64] It is significant that the Circuit Sunday School Unions co-opted the tea treat to display their territorial presence in Cornwall. During the Easter holiday in 1890, the Wesleyan Circuit of Penzance for instance, organised a United Circuit gathering of Sunday school pupils, to be held in a form that would dominate the public space of the town.[65] The scholars gathered from Mousehole, Newlyn and other outlying districts, walking a six or seven mile round trip as a number of mini-parades converged on Penzance in order to convene at the Wesleyan Chapel where, after a service, they were directed to various eating houses for their tea treat.[66]

Other alliances were also being forged between Sunday schools and other Methodist groups. For example, in 1876, the Bible Christian Sunday School in Penzance organised a joint tea treat with the local Band of Hope temperance society.[67] This involved a considerable logistical operation in order to procure and serve over 200 lbs of cake, 18 dozen butter buns, 6 lbs of butter, 12 lbs of sugar and 5 lbs of tea.[68] As the institutional complexity of the tea treat increased over time, therefore, it began to express the constituency of Methodist circuits and other locally rooted organisations. Concomitant with this territorial affiliation, tea treats also created the sense of belonging to civil society. We can illustrate the enlarged significance of the tea treat by tracing the procession of a parade held in Redruth in the late 1890s.

During the nineteenth century, Redruth was the main service centre for the mining industry in Cornwall.[69] Methodists had a very strong presence in the town with four different denominations possessing sizable chapels by the mid century.[70] The United Methodist Free Churches (UMFC) Chapel on Fore Street, built in 1863-65, was considered to be the 'Cathedral of Cornish Methodism', but was known locally as the 'flowerpot chapel' because of its six ornamental stone urns, which topped its classical facade.[71] The Sunday school associated with the chapel was formed in 1834 with just 4 scholars and 12 teachers, but by 1863, the school had expanded to 99 teachers and 654 scholars.[72] The UMFC Sunday school anniversary services were held on Whit Sunday and Monday.[73] It should be noted that these anniversary services were associated with a public tea held in the chapel on Monday evening, with a parade of children reserved for a special festival later in the year (see below). The decision to hold a parade later in the year may have been calculated to avoid direct competition with the popular Redruth Whitsun Fair, which took up three sites in the town, providing a wide range of carnivalesque amusements: wrestlers, acrobats, boxers; organs, rides, side shows; stalls selling food and drink.[74] Writing to the *Redruth Independent* newspaper in the same year (1884), an 'inhabitant' of Redruth complained about the small attendance at the UMFC Sunday school services and suggested "[a] better time might be selected for this treat, Whit Monday bringing so many counter-attractions".[75]

The UMFC annual Sunday school festival, which took place early in July, was strategically scheduled to avoid counter attractions. The festival took the form of a parade around the town that followed a carefully orchestrated route, which was

designed to both appeal to a sense of constituency solidarity, and also to act as a central form of display and ordered spectacle for the wider public. In July 1880, for instance, 500 children and officers marched around the town behind the Redruth Rifle Corps Band and Hayle Artillery Band. Their final destination was the 'Silver Field', which was kindly lent by the Redruth Brewery Company;[76] an astonishing arrangement considering the enthusiastic Methodist support for temperance and total abstinence, both nationally and locally within Redruth.[77] The arrangement with the brewery permitted the UMFC to use the fields once the hay crop had been gathered, an arrangement that ceased during the 1890s.[78] We turn now to reconstruct one of these UMFC treats from reminiscences, newspaper cuttings and photographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The Sunday school scholars, officials and teachers of the UMFC assembled at their Chapel on Fore Street during the early afternoon. They were joined by the children of the Redruth Union who walked from the Workhouse in Carn Brea, one mile to the west of the Chapel. Wearing their best clothes and with the children each carrying their own tea mug, the various classes lined up in hierarchical order (Fig. 4):

> First came the Ministers and Superintendents, followed by the Green Banner carried by members of Mr Tom Trounson's Class. Then "Redruth Volunteer Band" under Bandmaster Williams, with a procession of (A) Senior Women, (B) Junior Women, (C) The Girls, (D) The Infants drawn by a rope, (E) The Union Children, (F) Camborne Town Band under Wm Uren…(G) The Senior Men, (H) The Young Men, (I) The Small Boys.[79]

A thousand strong, the parade traced a route through the most affluent commercial and residential streets of Redruth, passing the major civic and religious buildings (Fig. 5). The parade began its journey from the rear of the UMFC Chapel, twice passing the Wesleyan Chapel on Wesley Street, before returning back down Fore Street, passing the front of the UMFC Chapel. Further down the street they struck out south along Alma Place, under the railway bridge and into Clinton Road[80] to parade their constituency before the houses of wealthy middle-class residents. En route, the parade passed by St. Andrew's Anglican Church and the Bible Christian Chapel on Treruffe Hill. The route then returned into the town via the Trewirgie Board School, Druids Hall (a popular community-meeting place), and the Baptist Chapel.[81] The parade now entered Green Lane, passing the homes of the town's elite residents, the Masonic Hall (built in 1876) and the Radical Club (built in 1886). Continuing along Claremont Street, the parade reviewed the houses of successful Redruth businessmen and clerks, before returning to the town past the Anglican Chapel of Ease. From 1893, the parade terminated at Penventon House, the home of Sir Arthur Carkeek, a renowned engineer, building developer and UMFC Sunday school treasurer.[82] Tea and buns were served and the evening was rounded off with a firework display (Fig. 6).[83] Tickets were also sold to non-chapel goers, and according to one report, crowds of 4000 were often present.[84] Shortly before the Methodist unification (1932), the UMFC Sunday School treat was still procuring 800 buns and 1500 programmes for their annual Festival.[85]

The Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School differed from the UMFC Sunday School, by holding an annual excursion in mid-June (Fig. 7). This involved a short parade from the Chapel to the railway station. In 1880, twelve railway carriages were required to

transport the children and their teachers to Carbis Bay near St. Ives.[86] Cases containing 800 cakes were unpacked in farmhouses, reserved by prior arrangement, in time for lunch, with tea served in an open field during the afternoon.[87] Unlike the UMFC, the Wesleyans also avoided competition with the popular Whitsun Fairs, by holding their Sunday School Anniversary Services towards the end of July.[88]

<INSERT FIGURE 7>

The above examples from Redruth display how individual chapels and denominations articulated their difference from each other through such public displays. Occasionally, however, it was in the collective interest of all the Methodist sects to come together and celebrate their mutually held ideals, tap into the burgeoning national Nonconformist consciousness and to set aside their ideological differences, albeit temporarily.[89] Whilst on the surface, these events suggested mutual co-operation and harmonious co-existence, in reality they served as a marker of Methodist difference and inequality of institutional power. One such case was the occasion of the centenary of the Sunday school movement in 1880, which brought together Nonconformists of every stripe throughout Cornwall. In Camborne, this celebration was designed around a complex choreography of people and places involving 6,000 Methodists from five difference denominations.[90] A parade and platform address was arranged for Thursday 23rd September 1880. The event was hosted and chaired by W. Cole Pendarves Esq, a member of the local aristocracy who made his landscape park available for the crowd.[91] The event required the co-ordination of twelve Wesleyan Methodist Sunday schools, six UMFC Sunday schools, two Bible Christian Sunday schools, two Primitive Methodist Sunday

schools and one Methodist New Connexion Sunday school, each marching as an independent body whose entry into the grand procession was carefully synchronised so as to maintain a rigid hierarchy. Marching four-abreast, behind the Camborne Rifle Volunteer Band, the procession was led by the Wesleyan contingent, which was headed by their largest chapel. Succeeding this contingent, each denomination's representatives were separated by a marching band. The order of the marchers reflected the Wesleyan Methodist's relative weight of numbers, but also their symbolic status as the 'founding' Methodist sect. The last in the procession was the Methodist New Connexion, represented by only one chapel. As each new group mustered to join the march, they were obliged to observe the parade pass by before joining at the back. Thus the apparent unity of the celebration was disrupted by the enforced observation of the Methodist hierarchy, the internal discord of the Methodist religion and the rivalry implicit in ordering the parade in terms of numerical superiority.[92]

5. Conclusions

This paper is predicated on the notion that parades can be understood as a constituency forming practice. In articulating this premise, we have made four key points. First, drawing upon Peter Goheen's work in the Canadian context, parades can be understood as a vehicle through which a group identity was formed and maintained that served to bind individuals into collective projects with particular goals in view.[93] To a great extent, therefore, Methodism was successful in west Cornwall because it was able to establish its identity through the collective action of

the Sunday school. This broadened Methodism's constituency as children and their families were co-opted into the symbolic identity forming apparatus of Methodism.[94]

Second, in using the public spaces of the street or open moorland, Methodists made symbolic statements about local social order, offering a model of religious respectability that overlapped with contemporary notions of citizenship and communal belonging. Sunday school parades embodied a community of obedient child-citizens, which briefly occupied public space in a symbolic departure from the daily routines of chapel worship and adherence. Moving out of the chapel, parades acted to extend the reach of the institution amongst people who were not normally part of its constituency. It is necessary to understand parades as part of putting religion on display, of articulating belief and of performing faith as a group. Parades and tea treats reaffirmed faith, rewarded attendance and acted as a vehicle for recruitment and retention of members.

Third, it is also important to note the difference between the rural and urban performance of Methodist identities. Our example of Morvah in the 1830s, demonstrates how in many places Methodism utilised features in the landscape to create a sense of communal endeavour and belonging. These isolated Sunday school parades continued into the twentieth century, with little dilution of their religious content or their attachment to particular locations. With the arrival of motor transport, however, even these rural parades were subject to change. Finally, we have illustrated the expanding form of the Sunday school tea treat. From small beginnings, these became complex institutional rituals that involved the mobilisation of thousands in choreographed performances in the urban centres of Cornwall.

Captions

Fig. 1 Penzance Wesleyan Sunday School tea treat tickets CRO MR PZ 259.

Fig. 2 Penzance Wesleyan Sunday School Circuit Concert Notice 1926 CRO MR PZ 220.

Fig. 3 Location Map Showing: Penzance, Redruth, St. Germans, Morvah, (Watch Croft 252m), Camborne, Hayle, Mousehole, Newlyn, Carbis Bay, Plymouth, Praa Sands, St. Ives.

Fig. 4 United Methodist Free Churches Chapel, Redruth, Sunday School Festival Parade c. 1906.

Fig. 5 Location Map of Redruth showing the route of the United Methodist Free Churches Chapel Sunday school parade c. 1895.

Fig. 6 United Methodist Free Churches tea treat, Penventon House, 1913.

Fig. 7 Redruth Wesleyan Sunday School trip to Carbis Bay c.1905.

Notes

1 Kong argues that work in the traditional 'centres' has been less innovative and less critically engaged than work emerging from and about places like Tanzania, Trinidad and Singapore, for example, which have utilised postcolonial frameworks. One exception is Fraser MacDonald's work into Presbyterianism in Scotland. See L. Kong, Mapping new geographies of religion: politics and poetics in modernity, *Progress in Human Geography* 25 (2001) 211-233, 226; F. MacDonald, Towards a spatial theory of worship: some observations from Presbyterian Scotland, *Social & Cultural Geography* 3 (2002) 61-80. Nonconformists are Protestant English subjects belonging to any non-Anglican church.

2 Kong, Mapping new geographies of religion, 226.

3 This paper forms part of a wider project funded by The Leverhulme Trust, into the construction of Methodist communities and place-based identities c.1830-1930 (Ref: F/00144/U). Methodism was a movement within the Church of England, founded by John Wesley (1703-1791) in the 18th century, which was focused on Bible study and a methodical approach to scriptures and Christian living. During the 19th century, Methodism in Cornwall grew rapidly but this has to be understood in the context of frequent secessions from the parent body of Wesleyan Methodism, and various unifications, ultimately leading to the 1932 consolidation under one institution. See C. Brace, A.R. Bailey and D.C. Harvey, 'Religion, place and space: a framework for investigating historical

geographies of religious identities and communities, *Progress In Human Geography* 30 (2006) 28-43.

[4] Tea treats were important local social events, typically organised by Sunday schools or chapels. They marked significant dates within the ecclesiastical calendar such as the founding of the Sunday school, Whit Sunday or a prize giving. At tea treats, tea and cakes were served, games were sometimes played and they were often preceded by a parade.

[5] See A. Paasi, Deconstructing regions: notes on the scales of human life, *Environment and Planning A* 23 (1991) 239-256; A. Paasi, Bounded spaces in the mobile world: deconstructing 'regional identity', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geograpfie* 93 (2002) 137-148; A. Paasi, Place and region: regional worlds and words, *Progress in Human Geography* 26 (2002) 802-811; A. Paasi, Region and place: regional identity in question, *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (2003) 475-485.

[6] John Rule resists Hempton's reading of Methodism by minimising the differences between Methodist sects in Cornwall. Rule is correct in reaching this conclusion with respect to the relationship between revivalism and Methodist political quietism, but not with respect to other Methodist phenomena. The organisation of tea treats and parades, although following a similar pattern throughout Cornwall, were sensitive, in terms of their spacing and timing, to popular landscape traditions, denominational rivalries and the agency of powerful individuals. J. Rule, Explaining revivalism: the case of Cornish Methodism, *Southern History* 20/21 (1998) 168-188.

[7] N.O. Hatch, and J.H. Wigger, (Eds), *Methodism and the Shaping of American Culture, Tennessee, 2001; D. Hempton, Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750-1850*, London, 1984; D. Hempton, The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion c. 1750-1900, London, 1996; D. Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit,* London, 2005; D.M. Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England,* New Jersey, 1985; J.H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven By Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America*, Urbana and Chicago, 2001.

[8] Hempton, *The Religion of the People,* 2.

[9] Paasi, Deconstructing regions.

[10] P.G. Goheen, Honouring 'One of the Great Forces of the Dominion': The Canadian public mourns McGee, *The Canadian Geographer* 41 (1997) 350-62; P.G. Goheen, Negotiating access to public

space in mid-nineteenth century Toronto, *Journal of Historical Geography* 20 (1994) 430-449; P.G. Goheen, Public space and the geography of the modern city, *Progress in Human Geography* 22 (1998) 479-496; P. Jackson, The politics of the streets: a geography of Caribana, *Political Geography* 11 (1992) 130-151; S.G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*, Berkeley, 1992; S.A. Marston, Making difference: conflict over Irish identity in the New York City St. Patrick's Day Parade, *Political Geography* 21 (2002) 373-392; S.A. Marston, Public rituals and community power: St. Patrick's Day parades in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1841-1874, *Political Geography Quarterly* 8 (1989) 255-269; S.P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic*, Philadelphia, 1999; M. Woods, Performing power: local politics and the Taunton pageant of 1928, *Journal of Historical Geography* 25 (1999) 57-74.

[11] Woods, Performing power, 57.

[12] M. Wallis, Delving the levels of memory and dressing up the past, in C. Barker, and M.B. Gale, (Eds) *British Theatre Between the Wars 1918-1939*, Cambridge, 2000, 190-214; D. Ryan, Performing Irish-American heritage: the Irish historical pageant, New York, 1913, in M. McCarthy (Ed) *Ireland's Heritages: Critical Perspectives on Memory and Identity*, Aldershot, 2005, 105-120.

[13] A. Charlesworth, D.M. Gilbert, A. Randall, H.R. Southall, and C.J. Wrigley, (Eds), *An Atlas of Industrial Protest in Britain, 1750-1990,* MacMillan, 1996; S. Desan, Crowds, community, and ritual in the work of E.P. Thompson and Natalie Davis, in L. Hunt, (Ed), *The New Cultural History*, London, 1989, 47-71.

[14] S. Lukes, *Essays in Social Theory*, London, 1977, 68-69, cf. Marston, Public rituals and community power, 267.

[15] For a review of this literature see J.L. Brooke, Reason and passion in the public sphere: Habermas and the cultural historians, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXIX (1998) 43-67, 46. See also: B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London, 1983; D. Newman, and A. Paasi, Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography, *Progress in Human Geography* 22 (1998) 186-207; L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, New Haven, 1992.

[16] N. Thrift, Intensities of feeling: towards a spatial politics of affect, *Geografiska Annaler* 86 B (2004) 57-78.

[17] S. Lukes, Political ritual and social integration, *Sociology* 9 (1975) 289-308, 291. cf. A. Etzioni, Toward a theory of public ritual, *Sociological Theory* 18 (2000) 44-59,44.

[18] D. Chaney, A symbolic mirror of ourselves: civic ritual in mass society, in R. Collins, (Ed) *Media, Culture and Society: A Critical Reader*, London, 1986, 247-263, 248.

[19] R. Bocock, *Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England*, London, 1974.

[20] N. Jarman, *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland*, London, 1997.

[21] E. Hobsbawm, Introduction: inventing traditions, in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, (Eds) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983, 1-14.

[22] Chaney, A symbolic mirror of ourselves, 248.

[23] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, 1973; J. Skorupski, *Symbol and Theory, A Philosophical Study of Theories of Religion in Social Anthropology*, Cambridge, 1975.

[24] M. Ryan, The American parade: representation of nineteenth-century social order, in L. Hunt, (Ed) *The New Cultural History*, London, 1989, 131-153.

[25] H. Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1991.

[26] These Holy Thursday processions feature in William Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, in which he exposes the polite façade of the children's procession and mounts a critique of the 'cold and usurous hand' that was responsible for so much poverty. See W. Blake, *Complete Poems*, Harmondsworth, 1978.

[27] Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, 39.

[28] K.D.M. Snell The Sunday-school movement in England and Wales: child labour, denominational control and working-class culture, *Past and Present* 164 (1999) 122-168, 135.

[29] T. Anemone, Carnival in theory and practice: Vaginov and Bakhtin, in D. Shepperd (Eds) *The Contexts of Bakhtin: Philosophy, Authorship and Aesthetics*, Amsterdam, 1998, 57-69, 59.

[30] Pagan carnivals, for instance, associated with fertility and the changing seasons, continue to be celebrated in Cornwall in the form of the Padstow Hobby Horse and the Helston Furry Dance. See

D. Luker, Revivalism in theory and practice: the case of Cornish Methodism, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986) 603-619; J. Rule, Methodism, popular beliefs and village culture in Cornwall, 1800-50, in R.T. Storch (Ed) *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England*, London, 1982, 48-70.

[31] Rule, Methodism, popular beliefs and village culture in Cornwall, 1800-50, 62.

[32] Rule, Methodism, popular beliefs and village culture in Cornwall, 1800-50, 64.

[33] W.R. Ward, The religion and the people and the problem of social control 1790-1830, *Studies in Church History* 8 (1972) 237-57.

[34] Luker, Revivalism in theory and practice, 604.

[35] Hempton, *The Religion of the People*, 30.

[36] B. Semmel, *The Methodist Revolution*, London, 1973.

[37] Estimates of National Sunday school attendances, show a dramatic increase during the first half of the nineteenth century: 1800, 200,000; 1818, 450,000; 1833, 1,400 000; 1851, 2,100 000. See T.W. Lacqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850*, London, 1976, xi; P.B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980*, Surrey, 1986.

[38] The Cornwall Record Office (CRO) MR/PZ/3 'Wesleyan Circuit Quarterly Meeting Minutes 1898-1914' Minute September 18th 1914.

[39] In an address at the Redruth Nonconformist Sunday School Centenary, Mr. T. Trounson of the United Methodist Free Churches Chapel alluded to: "the hymn beginning 'Safe in the arms of Jesus'. Referring to a small apple which Mr Spurgeon's father once covered with a bottle, and which afterwards grew too large to be removed except piecemeal, Mr Trounson stated if they (the teachers) would get the children inside the Sunday School and the Church, and if those children grew there, which they would sure to do, when they got bigger they would not be able to get out." *Cornubian and Redruth Times* August 13th 1880, 4.

[40] For a discussion of the place of scripture within the theology of John Wesley and Methodist doctrine see: R. Davies, The people called Methodists – 1. 'our doctrines', in R. Davies, G. Rupp (Eds), *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, Volume 1*, London, 1965, 145-179.

[41] Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*; H. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, London, 1995.

[42] C, Jenks, (Ed) *The Sociology of Childhood: Essential Readings*, London, 1982; C. Jenks, *Childhood*, London, 1996.

[43] D.N. Hempton Wesleyan Methodism and educational politics in early nineteenth century England, *History of Education* 8 (1979) 207-221; J.T. Smith, *Methodism and Education 1849-1902: J.H. Rigg, Romanism, and Wesleyan Schools*, Oxford, 1998.

[44] While experiencing a 37 per cent increase in population between 1801 and 1821, Methodist membership in Cornwall rose by 74 per cent over the same period. N. Orme, (Ed) *Unity and Variety: History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall*, Exeter Studies in History 29, Exeter, 1991; J.C.C. Probert, The sociology of Cornish Methodism: the formative years, *Cornish Methodist Historical Association Occasional Publication* 8 (1964).

[45] B. Coleman, The nineteenth century: nonconformity, in N. Orme, (Ed) *Unity and Variety,* 129-156, 138; Luker, Revivalism in theory and practice, 605.

[46] Rule, Methodism, popular beliefs and village culture in Cornwall, 1800-50, 62.

[47] As well as being geographically uneven, Methodist 'strength' should also be understood in the context of frequent secessions from the parent body of Wesleyan Methodism, and various unifications, ultimately leading to the 1932 consolidation under one institution; Coleman, The nineteenth century, 141.

[48] Society Meetings date back to the origins of Methodism and comprise the meeting of all the members of an individual chapel.

[49] T. Shaw, *A History of Cornish Methodism*, Truro, 1967, 59.

[50] For the story of the first Anglican Sunday school in Redruth; *Cornubian and Redruth Times*, July 2nd, 1880, 5.

[51] Shaw, *A History of Cornish Methodism*.

[52] Thomas Coke was one of Wesley's clerical helpers. In 1784 he was appointed 'Superintendent' of American Methodism. During his connection with Methodism he served as President of Conference on two occasions and was responsible for missionary activity in America, Canada, West Indies, West Africa, Gibraltar and India.

[53] CRO MR/SJ/672 Morvah Wesleyan Miscellaneous Bundle: Records, reports and register (1835-1850)

[54] CRO MR/SJ/672 Order of proceedings (1835)

[55] CRO MR/SJ/672 Records, reports and register (1835-1850)

[56] CRO MR/SJ/672 Rules for Sunday School (1835); Order of proceedings (1835); Records, reports and register (1835-1850)

[57] *The Cornubian* 1(50) September 9th 1831; *The Cornubian* 1(51) September 16th 1831.

[58] The Moor is a public space in Falmouth town centre; *The Cornubian* 1(50)

[59] *The Cornubian* 1(51)

[60] In July 1879, Penzance Bible Christian Chapel arranged for members of the police to attend their 'Sunday School and Band of Hope Anniversary' tea treat to keep the peace; CRO MR/PZ/123 High Street Bible Christian Sunday School Teachers Meeting Minutes 1875-1883.

[61] CRO MR/CB/43A Camborne Wesleyan and Centenary Sunday Schools Minutes 1859-1870.

[62] In 1861, the St. Ives Circuit Sunday School Union was established. In 1868, Penzance Wesleyan Circuit formed a Circuit Sunday School Union. The Cornwall Centre Redruth (CC) C/287.105 *The Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine and Teachers' Assistant* VI (1862) 207; CRO MR/PZ/1 Wesleyan Circuit Quarterly Meeting Minutes 1854-1879.

[63] S.J.D. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920*, Cambridge, 1996, 218.

[64] Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, 219.

[65] CLCRC Shaw Collection, Place Name File, Penzance: G. Williams, Methodism's 150 Years at Penzance, *W.M. News* 4 VII (1964).

[66] CLCRC Shaw Collection, G. Williams.

[67] CRO MR/PZ/123

[68] CRO MR/PZ/123

[69] A. Guthrie, *Cornwall in The Age of Steam*, Exeter, 1994; J.Rowe, *Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution: The Impact of the Industrial Revolution on Mining, Agriculture, Fishing and Religion in Cornwall*, St Austell, 1993.

[70] The Wesleyan Methodist Connexion built a chapel in 1826 on Wesley Street. This was extended in 1866 (currently in use). The Bible Christians built a chapel in 1863 on Treruffe Hill (converted into flats 2005). The Wesleyan Methodist Association (WMA) built a chapel on the south side of Fore Street in 1839. The WMA joined with the United Methodist Free Churches in 1857, building

a new chapel in Fore Street in 1863-65 (destroyed by fire 1973). The Primitive Methodists first built a chapel in 1826, which was replaced in 1884 on Plain-an-Gwarry (now disused).

71 CLCRC Shaw Collection, Place Name File, Redruth.

72 CRO MR/R/59/15 Mixed Letters Redruth UMFC: anon. handwritten notes.

73 *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser* June 13th 1881; *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser* May 17th 1884.

74 M. Wright, *Cornish Treats*, Penzance, 1986, 55-56.

75 *The Redruth Independent* June 6th 1884.

76 *The Cornubian and Redruth Times* July 9th 1880, 4.

77 On 2nd December 1879, Thomas Roskrow, a UMFC Chapel Steward and member of the Redruth Total Abstinence Society, celebrated the laying of a memorial foundation stone for a Temperance Hall and Coffee Tavern. CRO MR/R/59/19 Redruth Temperance Ephemera

78 In 1883, the hay crop had yet to be harvested at the time of the treat, which prompted Captain Richard Pryor to offer his field for the occasion. The arrangement with the Redruth Brewery continued in 1884. CRO MR/R/44 Newscuttings: *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser* July 6th 1883; *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser* July 6th 1883; unknown newspaper fragment July 13th 1885; *Redruth Independent* July 23rd 1886.

79 CLCRC Shaw Collection, Place Name File, Redruth: W.F. Glasson, Handwritten "Memories of Fore Street Methodist Church" 17th March 1965.

80 Clinton Road was developed in 1878 as part of an unemployment relief scheme; CISI Report, *Cornwall Industrial Settlements Initiative: Redruth and Plain-an-Gwarry Area,* Cornwall County Council, 2002.

81 The Trewirgie Board School established in 1886 was the largest of its kind in Cornwall. It accommodated over 900 children.

82 CRO MR/R/11 Fore Street UMFC Redruth: Sunday School Teachers Meeting 1928-1941.

83 CLCRC Shaw Collection, W.F. Glasson.

84 In 1882, approximately 4000 people attended the UMFC Sunday School Festival held in the Silver Field. CRO MR/R/59/15

85 CRO MR/R/11 Fore Street UMFC Redruth: Sunday School Teachers Meeting 1928-1941; entry for June 23rd 1929.

[86] *Cornubian and Redruth Times* June 25th 1880, 4. The choice of Carbis Bay seems to be a reflection of the desire to endow the tea treat with 'event' status. If the desire had been simply to go to the seaside, Porthtowan was only 3 miles from Redruth. However, a trip to Carbis Bay meant visiting an emerging resort town by train with all the excitement and novelty that this entailed.

[87] *Cornubian and Redruth Times* June 25th 1880, 4.

[88] *Redruth Times* August 7th 1868, 2.

[89] C. Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes: Founder of a New Methodist Conscience of a New Nonconformity*, Cardiff, 1999.

[90] CRO MR/CB/319/1-2 Centenary Demonstration at Pendarves Park of Nonconformist Sunday Schools, 1880.

[91] CRO MR/CB/319/2 *Cornish Telegraph* 29th September 1880.

[92] CRO MR/CB/319/1

[93] Goheen, Honouring 'One of the Great Forces of the Dominion'; Goheen, Negotiating access to public space in mid-nineteenth century Toronto; Goheen, Public Space and the Geography of the Modern City.

[94] Paasi, Deconstructing regions.

Figure
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SUNDAY SCHOOL CONCERT

in Centenary Hall, Chapel St Penzance

TUESDAY 13 April at 7. 30 p.m

Dear Friend,

It is a reasonable hope that practically every School in our circuit will be represented in the Programme.

Please see that YOURS will be, and let me have within a week from now, titles and performers in MUSIC or RECITATION from amongst your gifted Teachers and young people.

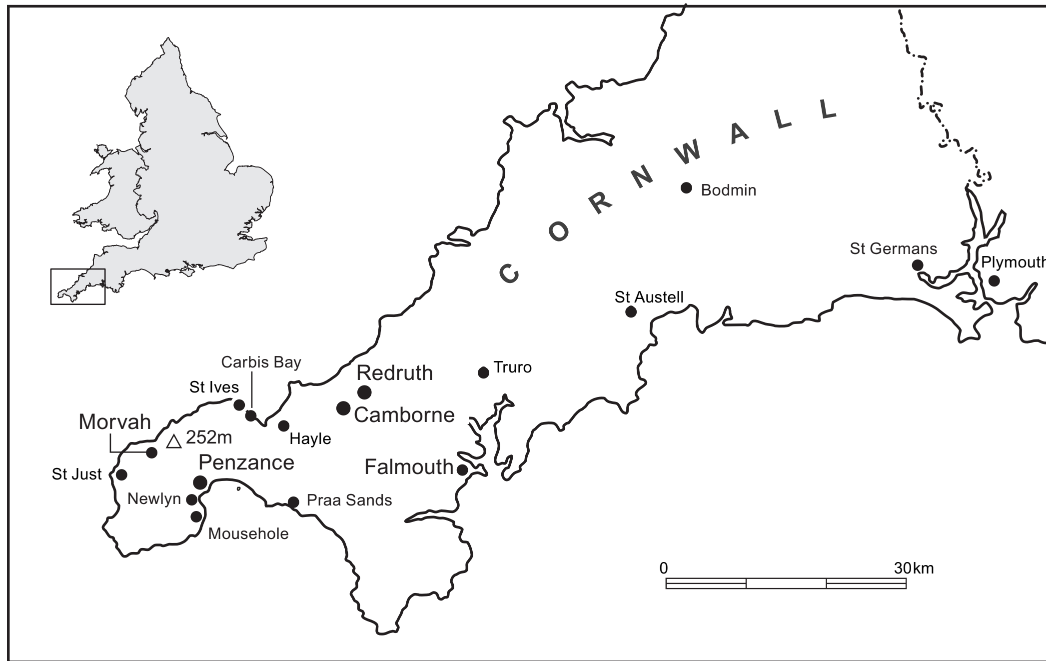
As the Concert is in aid of the Circuit S. S. Council Funds, I am sure you will not refuse your valuable co-operation.

Faithfully Yours

T. Hancock

Newlyn
10 March 1926

Figure



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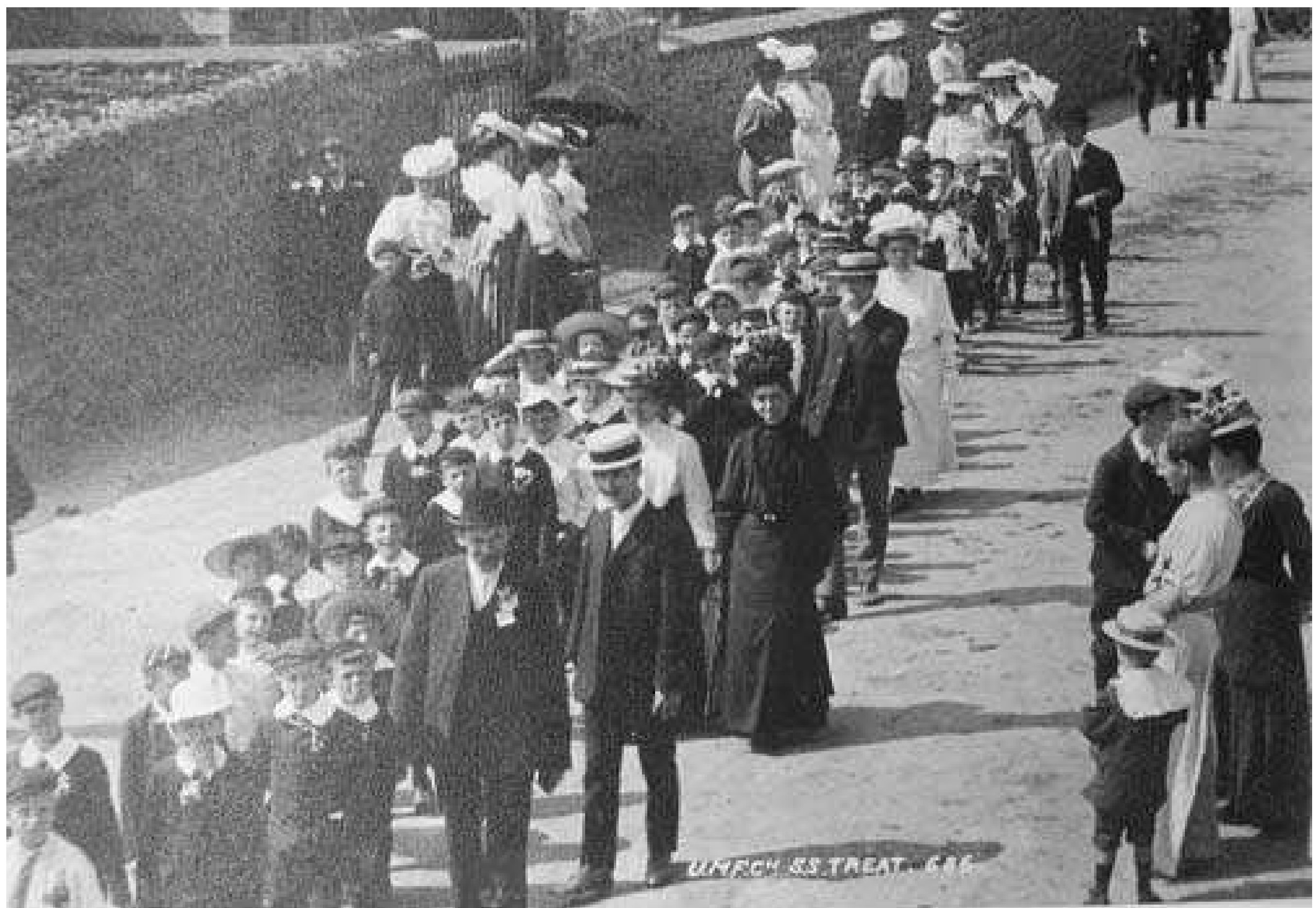

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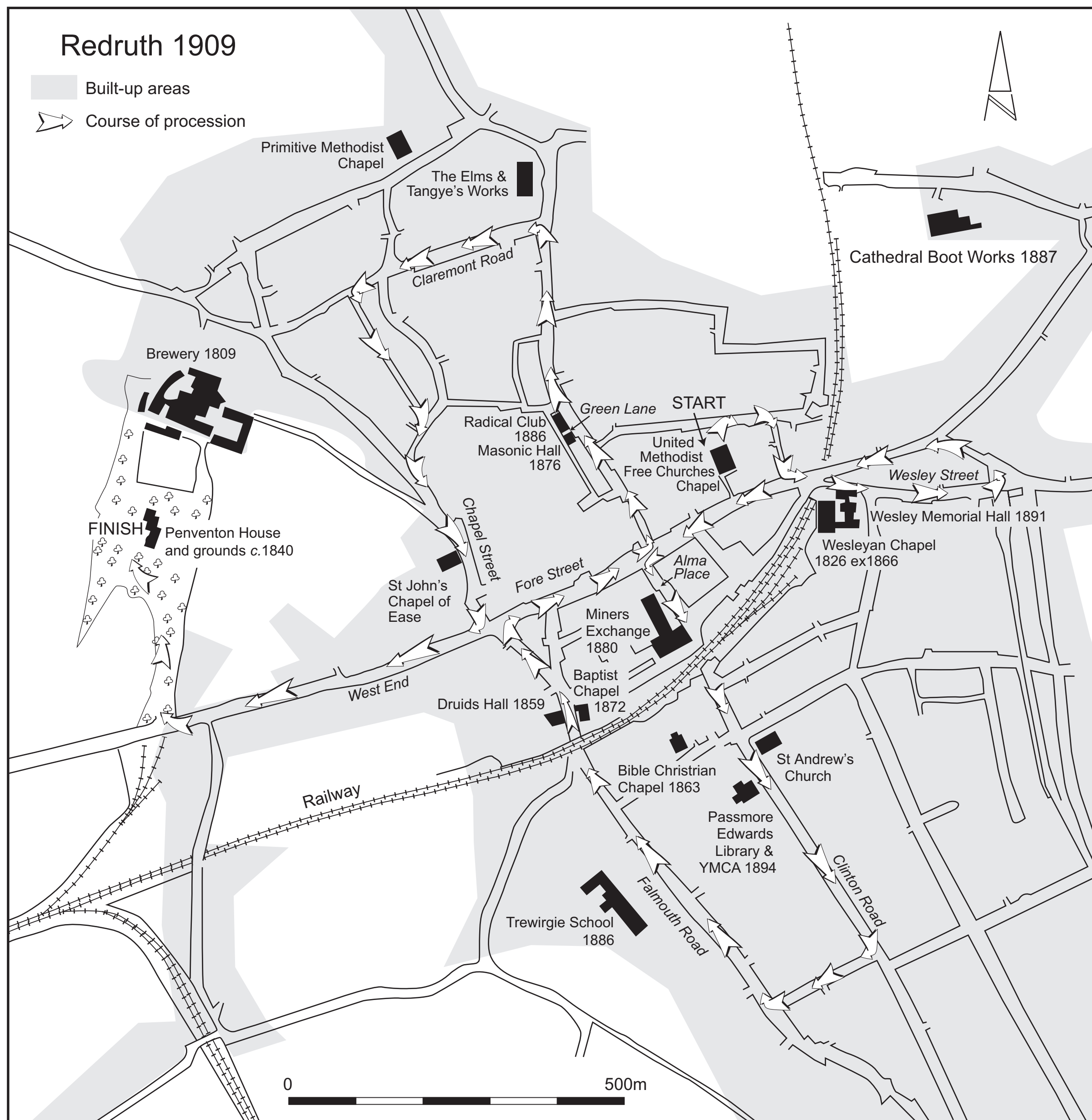

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