

THE JOURNAL
of the
UNITED REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY SOCIETY

(incorporating the Congregational Historical Society,
founded in 1899, and the Presbyterian Historical Society
of England, founded in 1913).

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Volume 7 No 7 October 2005

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EDITORIAL AND NOTES

This issue all but jumps over the nineteenth century and it hops from England to Wales. Stephen Pigney's paper links Thomas Goodwin to Isaac Watts. Its subject, Theophilus Gale, is indisputably worthy. It is also a salutary reminder that fine scholars are more often painful than inspired, especially so perhaps in churches proud of their learned ministry. Great scholars, like great poets, artists, novelists, architects and, indeed, theologians, are no likelier (making due allowance for relative proportions) to be Congregationalists than they are to be Anglicans. Is the prime reason for that confessional or social?

With William Coward we move into the eighteenth century and discover more of that elusive but important type, the prominent Dissenting layman.

Wales provides its own balancing complexities. J. Gwynfor Jones's paper, its substance first delivered during the United Reformed Church's Annual Assembly at the University of Glamorgan, 5 July 2004, inevitably reminds us of the cultural, because linguistic, differences between Wales and England. So do the reviews by Elaine Kaye and Stephen Orchard. By contrast a forthcoming article will remind us of the Englishness (as opposed to the Anglicisation?) of the Principality.

We welcome as contributors Dr. Stephen Pigney, who is a graduate of the Universities of Durham and London and is currently a Sessional Lecturer in Continuing Education at Birkbeck College, and Professor J. Gwynfor Jones of the School of History and Archaeology, Cardiff University, and we welcome as reviewers Dr. Madeleine Gray, University of Wales College of Newport, and Dr. Geraint Tudur, University of Wales, Bangor.

Notes: In the Steps of Martin Luther : 4-11 May 2006

Of interest to members of the Society, this tour has been arranged by Anthony Earl (who is a member and who led the Chapels Society's visit to the Waldensian Valleys in October 2004), with the administrative support and professional backing of Prestige Travel of Ringwood. It is inspired by the forthcoming fiftieth anniversary of the partnership between the United Reformed Church and the Protestant Church of the Palatinate (which is both Reformed and Lutheran), but the ambience is intended to be ecumenical, and to provide for a holiday spirit. The party will travel by air and coach, and for short journeys by train, to visit those cities and small towns in central Germany which are closely associated with the life of Martin Luther: Wittenberg, where Luther taught at the University; Eisleben, where he was born and died; Erfurt, a beautifully restored Renaissance town where he studied; and Weimar, associated with other famous Germans, but also near the Wartburg and near picturesque Schmalkalden. Accommodation, which will include five dinners, will be in ensuite rooms of member hotels of the Association of Christian Hotels (VCH). Entrance fees will be included. Price, including air fare, for one person sharing in a double room: £540; single room supplement £50 (these figures may vary slightly because of inflation and the exchange rate). For further details, please write to or telephone Anthony Earl, 36 Village Way, Ashford, Middlesex TW15 2LB, Tel: 01784 254019. Formal application will be made to Prestige Travel.

The Rathmell Tutor: on 8 July 2005 the Congregational History Circle erected a plaque at College Fold, Rathmell, commemorating Richard Frankland (1630-1698) and the academy which he opened there in 1670. A commemorative booklet, *The Rathmell Tutor*, has been prepared by Vanessa Stone. Details can be obtained from the Revd. Colin Price, The Congregational Church, Guilden Morden, Royston SG8 0JZ.

Tadao Yanaihara and Mrs. Cook: Jean C. Gill, Mrs. Cook's granddaughter, has written *Not a Soap Opera*, the history of the Cook family over 200 years. Described as "A family history of interest to locals of Woodford and social historians alike", it is of wider interest to members of this Society because of the Cooks' steady Nonconformity. It may be obtained from The Village Bookshop, High Road, Woodford Green, price £9.99 (inc. postage and packing, £11.55; tel: 020 89045364).

**THEOPHILUS GALE (1628-79),
NONCONFORMIST SCHOLAR AND INTELLECTUAL:
AN INTRODUCTION TO HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS¹**

Nonconformists made a significant contribution to seventeenth-century English scholarship and intellectual life. Among the Independents (or Congregationalists) two outstanding figures have long been recognized: Thomas Goodwin (1600-80), head of Magdalen College, Oxford, during the Commonwealth and Protectorate and chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and John Owen (1616-83), vice chancellor of Oxford from 1652 until 1657 and an aide to Cromwell.² Goodwin and Owen were among the most erudite individuals of their age, and the same can be said for one of their co-religionists, a man who was on close terms with both of them, Theophilus Gale (1628-79).

Gale was a philosopher, theologian, preacher and teacher. Esteemed among his contemporaries, since the seventeenth century he has received meagre scholarly attention, a neglect that is hard to justify. Certainly, Gale was neither an especially original nor influential thinker. Nevertheless, in several respects Gale is worthy of attention. First, his erudition was immense and resulted in the publication of an impressive body of work, notable among which was his extraordinary magnum opus, *The Court of the Gentiles* (1669-78). Secondly, Gale is noteworthy for his promotion of and contribution to the education of Nonconformists. He was one of the pioneers of the Dissenting academy, and from his own academy there issued a distinguished intellectual lineage. Thirdly, Gale's life and career as a whole are of interest within the study of seventeenth-century English intellectual history in general and the history of Nonconformity in particular. The principal aim of this article is to provide an introduction to Gale's life and writings, as the basis for future and deeper consideration of Gale's thought.

Gale's reputation, and critical responses

In so far as Gale is known to modern scholars, it is chiefly as the author of *The Court of the Gentiles*. This work, remarkable for its breadth of scholarship, is a vast theologico-philosophical history, the central argument of which was that all human learning derived from divine and scriptural origins; the original wisdom, bestowed by God to man in the Creation, had been preserved among the Hebrews and transmitted to the Gentiles, but had experienced successive (and usually

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1. The following abbreviation has been used in the notes: *ODNB* = H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography... From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, 60 volumes (Oxford, 2004).
 2. In the absence of a full modern study of Goodwin, see Robert Halley, "Memoir of Thomas Goodwin, D.D.", in Thomas Goodwin, *The Works*, 12 volumes (Edinburgh, 1861-6), II, pp. ix-1; and *ODNB*, 22, pp. 823-8. On Owen, see Peter Toon, *God's Statesman: The Life and Work of John Owen, Pastor, Educator, Theologian* (Exeter, 1971).

wilful) corruptions such that it was in need of wholesale reform.³ Gale's theory would have been familiar to seventeenth-century readers: it borrowed extensively from similar accounts, initially developed by patristic writers and then advanced by Renaissance scholars, which maintained that an ancient wisdom, or *prisca theologia*, had been passed down the ages in one form or another.⁴ Nobody, however, had prosecuted the argument as vigorously as Gale, who traced every form of learning back to its divine and scriptural exemplar. In addition, *The Court of the Gentiles* sought to establish a philosophy reformed along broadly Platonist lines; and it also offered extensive contributions to several contemporary debates, notably concerning the competing knowledge-claims of reason and revelation, and on the perennially thorny subjects of grace, free will and predestination. The treatise can be placed, therefore, firmly in the context both of the late seventeenth-century revival of Platonism in England, and of ongoing debates centring on the interpretation of Reformed theological doctrine, though in neither respect, and for reasons that are not entirely clear, has Gale's contributions to these areas received more than passing attention.⁵ This notwithstanding, and despite its frequently repetitive and occasionally contradictory assertions, its prolixity, and its constant struggle to avoid collapsing under the weight of its scholarship, *The Court of the Gentiles* has deservedly secured for its author a niche in the history of scholarship.⁶

As well as *The Court of the Gentiles*, Gale was also the author of several other treatises, among them philosophical and theological textbooks, devotional tracts, spiritual biography, and the first study in English of Jansenism. Little of this work has been seriously studied, yet Gale's *oeuvre* amounts to several thousand printed pages, and repeatedly offers interesting insights into contemporary intellectual

3. The fullest account of this work can be found in Stephen J. Pigney, "Seventeenth-Century Accounts of Philosophy's Past: Theophilus Gale and His Continental Precursors", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (Warburg Institute), 2000.
4. See D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972); and Stephen A. McKnight, *The Modern Age and the Recovery of Ancient Wisdom: A Reconsideration of Historical Consciousness, 1450-1650* (Columbia, Missouri, and London, 1991), esp. pp. 27-59.
5. As far as Platonism is concerned, Gale, since he did not belong to the group that has become known as the Cambridge Platonists, has either been overlooked or contrasted with the Cambridge circle. See, for example, E. N. Tigerstedt, "The Decline and Fall of the Neoplatonic Interpretation of Plato", *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, 52 (1974), pp. 45-7, and Sarah Hutton, "The Neoplatonic Roots of Arianism: Ralph Cudworth and Theophilus Gale", in *Socinianism and Its Role in the Culture of the Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Warsaw, 1983), pp. 139-45, particularly pp. 143-4.
6. The verdict of N. H. Keeble that *The Court of the Gentiles* is a "marvellously erudite, endlessly fascinating and largely misguided" work is a fair one: *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1987), p. 168.

debates. He was certainly one of the leading thinkers among the post-Restoration Dissenters, though it was not only in Nonconformist circles that he enjoyed a good reputation. The antiquarian and historian of Oxford and its university, Anthony Wood (1632-95), for example, considered Gale to have been “a person of great reading, an exact philologist, and philosopher” whose *Court of the Gentiles* demonstrates him to have been “well read in, and conversant with, the writings of the fathers, the old philosophers, and those that have given any account of them or their works: as also to have been a good metaphysician and school-divine”;⁷ and Thomas Traherne (1637-74), the mystic poet and author of *Christian Ethicks* (1675), was an admirer of the first two parts of *The Court of the Gentiles*, portions of which he transcribed into his copybook.⁸ In addition he was highly thought of by individuals associated with the Royal Society, and the new philosophy and science.

Gale's descent into posthumous obscurity has been punctuated by occasional attention. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries his writings retained some resonance among New England puritans — for example, both Increase Mather (1639-1723) and Cotton Mather (1663-1728) were familiar with his works, and there is some evidence that Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) was influenced by Gale's theories;⁹ in the nineteenth century Walter Wilson maintained that *The Court of the Gentiles* had “spread the author's fame over every part of Europe”;¹⁰ the twentieth-century historian of Congregationalism, R. Tudur Jones, numbered him as one of “the most distinguished and learned men amongst the Congregationalists”;¹¹ and Christopher Hill asserted that he “knew enough to have been a Vico”.¹² Some attention has been paid to Gale as a

7. Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford*, revised edn by Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London, 1813-20), III, cols 1149-50.
8. See Traherne, *Christian Ethicks*, ed. by Carol L. Marks and George Robert Guffey (Ithaca, NY, 1968), pp. xiv, xxxvii.
9. Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather 1639-1723* (Middletown, Ct, 1988), p. 213; Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York, 1984), p. 101; Norman Fiering, *Moral Philosophy at Seventeenth-Century Harvard: A Discipline in Transition* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1981), pp. 279-94; Fiering, *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought and Its British Context* (Williamsburg, Va, 1981), p. 183 n. 83; and Clarence Gohdes, “Aspects of Idealism in Early New England”, *Philosophical Review*, 39 (1930), pp. 537-55, especially pp. 543-5.
10. Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark*, 4 vols (London, 1808-14), III, pp. 165-6. Wilson's claim is exaggerated.
11. R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in England 1662-1962* (London, 1962), p. 48.
12. Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1993), p. 427. That Gale did not turn out to be a Vico was, according to Hill, due to his excessive attachment to the Bible.

significant figure in the emergence of modern historiography of philosophy,¹³ as an early author on Jansenism,¹⁴ and as a contributor to seventeenth-century Calvinist debates about the nature and role of reason.¹⁵ As we shall see, interest has also been directed towards Gale's activities as a preacher at an early Independent congregation and as the founder of a Dissenting academy.

Gale's life, preaching, and teaching¹⁶

Gale was born in Kingsteignton, Devon in 1628. He was the son of Theophilus Gale DD (d. 1639), vicar of Kingsteignton and prebend of Exeter, by his second wife Bridget (née Walrond). The younger Theophilus had at least one sibling, a sister, Katherine. He was educated privately, then at a local grammar school. In 1647 he was admitted as a commoner at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. A successful student,¹⁷ Gale quickly progressed through the academic ranks. In 1648 he was made a demy of Magdalen College, the following year he received his B.A., and in 1650 he replaced one of the Fellows ejected during the Interregnum, before graduating with an M.A. in 1652. He then became a tutor in logic at Magdalen (at the same time preaching at the college); despite his later aversion to Aristotelianism, there is no reason to suppose that his logic instruction deviated from the traditional scholastic curriculum of Oxford, particularly given his later admission that he had once been "too far in love with and entangled in [the] Snare [of scholastic and eristic logic]; which had not the Lord by his sovereign hand of free-grace broken and delivered me from, might have proved the ruine, not only of my Studies, but Soul".¹⁸ In 1657 he became Junior Dean of Arts at Magdalen

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13. Giovanni Santinello (ed.) *Models of the Historiography of Philosophy: From Its Origins in the Renaissance to the "Historia Philosophica"*, English edn by C. W. T. Blackwell and Philip Weller (Dordrecht, 1993), pp. 285-330 (the section on Gale was written by Luciano Malusa); Lucien Braun, *Histoire de l'histoire de la philosophie* (Paris, 1973), pp. 73-4. This aspect of Gale's thought is extensively considered in Pigney, "Seventeenth-Century Accounts of Philosophy's Past".
 14. Ruth Clark, *Strangers and Sojourners at Port-Royal: Being an Account of the Connections between the British Isles and the Jansenists of France and Holland* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 139-44.
 15. Katherine R. Narveson, "English Calvinist Views of the Corruption of Reason in the Restoration Period: Theophilus Gale and *The Court of the Gentiles*", unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, University of London (Warburg Institute), 1987.
 16. Several brief biographical summaries of Gale's life exist: see ODNB, 21, pp. 301-3; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, III, cols 1149-51; A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford, 1934), p. 216; Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, III, pp. 161-8; C. G. Jöcher, *Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1750), II, col. 830; L. G. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* (Paris, 1856), XVI, pp. 285-6; F. Hoefler, *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1857), XIX, cols 217-18; A. Franck (ed.), *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1875), pp. 567-8.
 17. Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, III, pp. 161-2.
 18. *The Court of the Gentiles*, 4 vols (Oxford and London, 1669-78), III, p. 30.

and in the following year Senior Dean of Arts. He was also a member of the influential Oxford Independent congregation of Thomas Goodwin, the President of Magdalen College,¹⁹ and Gale was sufficiently well-connected in Puritan circles to be ordained a preacher at Winchester Cathedral in 1657, an indication of his willingness to accept the principle of an established, national church.

By 1660, therefore, Gale had developed a successful career within English intellectual and religious life. However, his inability to accept the religious settlement of the Restoration forced him to the margins. Under the Clarendon Code he lost his positions because he refused to submit to the Act of Uniformity (1662). Forced to find other employment, he became a private tutor in the family of Philip, the fourth Baron Wharton (1613-96), a notable Puritan and supporter of the Independents. Gale appears to have secured this position, for which he was to receive an annual salary of £40 (though Gale thought it should have been £50), on the recommendation of John Owen and Thomas Gilbert (1613-94), an ejected minister, Wharton family retainer, and former chaplain to Magdalen College. Wharton wanted his sons to experience foreign travel, so Gale accompanied his employer's two eldest boys, Thomas, first Marquess Wharton (1648-1715) and Goodwin (1653-1704), to Caen, Normandy. Tutoring the Wharton boys appears to have been a task to which Gale was unsuited. Though impressed by their intellectual abilities, Gale was dismayed at their fondness for dancing and similar pursuits and at their resistance to his attempts at imposing strict discipline. The subsequent careers of his pupils suggest how little Gale's Puritanism had an impact. Goodwin became posthumously famous for his strange and unpublished autobiography which recounts his sexual and religious deeds and fantasies. Thomas's austere Calvinist upbringing was described by Macaulay thus: "The boy's first years were passed amidst Geneva bands, heads of lank hair, upturned eyes, nasal psalmody, and sermons three hours long." The "fruits of this education" were that he "early acquired and retained to the last the reputation of being the greatest rake in England".²⁰ Gale was expected, it seems, to oversee the tuition of his troublesome charges in a broad curriculum comprising humanities, writing, geography, arithmetic, French, music, singing, dancing and fencing. He achieved at best only a limited success in fulfilling these aims; the verdict of another Wharton family retainer, one Mr Perkins, was that Gale, while unfit for tutoring his patron's children, was more suited to teaching university logic and philosophy, though Perkins observed that the opinion of certain French

19. See A. G. Matthews, "The Wharton Correspondence", *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 10 (1927-9), pp. 52-65, at pp. 56-60; and Matthews, *Mr Pepys and Nonconformity* (London, 1954), pp. 83-90. Information concerning Gale's period of employment in the Wharton family is found in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS Rawlinson, letters 49, 52, 54.

20. Thomas was also renowned as a zealous anti-papist, important Whig politician, and an unparalleled organizer of bye-election successes. See *ODNB*, 58, pp. 376-85; T. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* (London, 1855), IV, pp. 456-60. On Goodwin Wharton, see *ODNB*, 58, p. 360.

individuals was that "if we have no better preachers nor philosophers than Mr Gale we have but sorry ones in England". According to Perkins, a particular failing of Gale's was his devotion to his own studies at the expense of his duties as tutor to the Wharton boys; a typical day for Gale seems to have involved writing from sunrise to sunset with scarcely any time set aside to eat, let alone to attend to the education of his charges.²¹

Unsurprisingly, Gale's employment with the Wharton family was terminated in 1664, though he remained in Caen for a further year. This extension to his stay in Normandy was possibly owing to the friendship Gale had forged with Samuel Bochart (1599-1667), the distinguished biblical scholar based at the local Protestant academy. Bochart's reputation was built on *Phaleg* (1646) and *Canaan* (1651), two works that constituted his *Geographia sacra*, and on *Hierozoicon, sive historia animalium S. Scripturae* (1663).²² *The Geographia sacra* attempted, among other things, to trace the origins of all human races to Noah and his sons, and to expound a theory on the role of the Phoenicians as the primary link between Moses and the Greeks; the *Hierozoicon* endeavoured to present a natural history of animals based entirely on the Bible. Gale was deeply impressed by Bochart's rigorously philological and etymological scholarship and his commitment to scriptural sources, citing the *Geographia sacra* frequently in *The Court of the Gentiles* and describing it as "a book worth its weight in the purest Gold".²³ In particular, Bochart's theory of the historical role of the Phoenicians informed Gale's argument.²⁴

Gale returned to England in 1665, residing first at the Wharton estate at Quainton, Buckinghamshire, before proceeding to London in 1666 at the very moment, so the story goes, when the Great Fire was raging. Having earlier deposited his manuscripts and copybooks in London — which would have provided the basis for his work-in-progress, *The Court of the Gentiles*—Gale feared on observing the fire that they had been consumed by the inferno; quite by chance, it seems, an unnamed friend had saved the desk in which the manuscripts were contained.²⁵ Gale eventually settled in Newington Green, Middlesex, working as an assistant to his cousin John Rowe (1626/7-77), a learned divine and minister of an Independent congregation in St Andrew's parish, Holborn;²⁶ on

21. See Matthews, "Wharton Correspondence", pp. 59-60.

22. Bochart's works are collected together in his *Opera omnia*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1675).

23. *Court of the Gentiles*, I, sig. *4^r.

24. See, for example, *Court of the Gentiles*, I.1, pp. 17-49.

25. See Wood, *Aethnae Oxonienses*, col. 1150 n. 3, and Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, III, pp. 164-5.

26. On this congregation, which was probably based at Baker's Court, see Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, III, pp. 148-51. Formerly, Rowe had been a fellow at Corpus Christi, Oxford, where he acquired the reputation as a good patristic scholar who was well read in philosophy (particularly scholasticism); he then became preacher at Westminster Abbey from 1654 until 1660, where, among his congregation, was the regicide John Bradshaw (1602-59) whose funeral sermon Rowe preached. See *ODNB*, 47, p. 99.

Rowe's death Gale became pastor of the Holborn congregation, with Samuel Lee (1625?-91) acting as co-pastor.²⁷ Though Gale appears to have escaped the worst forms of persecution in post-Restoration England, it was on account of attending an outlawed Nonconformist conventicle, thereby falling foul of the Second Conventicle Act, that he was fined five shillings at the Guildhall Sessions of 29 May 1670.²⁸

In addition to his activities as a preacher, Gale also established a Nonconformist academy in Newington Green, over which he presided until his death. Charles Webster has described Gale as "the pioneer of non-conformist academies",²⁹ though the paucity of information about Gale's academy renders such a claim hard to support, and it is almost certainly an overstatement of Gale's significance, perhaps resulting from confusion between his academy and the neighbouring one in Newington Green headed by Charles Morton (1627-98). A manuscript source indicates only three students known to have come under Gale's tutelage at the academy: Thomas Rowe (1656/7-1705) and Benoni Rowe (1657/8-1706), the son and son-in-law respectively of Gale's colleague and kinsman John Rowe, and John Ashwood (1657-1706).³⁰ In the absence of any records—an understandable problem given the need for circumspection in the face of potential persecution—the nature of the curriculum taught by Gale can only be conjectured. In general, the Nonconformist academies aspired to offer an education on a par with that of Oxford and Cambridge; unlike the universities, however, they had considerable scope for pedagogic innovation, particularly in relation to the curriculum. A good example of an especially broad curriculum is provided by Charles Morton's Newington Green academy, which included among its students Daniel Defoe. Morton offered an impressively wide-ranging tuition that combined traditional subjects with those reflecting modern intellectual developments. On offer were mathematics, natural science, politics, poetry, rhetoric, geography, history and philosophy, as well as curiosities such as fishing and bowling.³¹ Although Morton's curriculum may have been exceptionally encyclopedic, the inclusion of such subjects as modern history, political theory, English literature and modern languages was a not uncommon feature of the Dissenting academies.³²

27. On Lee, an extremely learned figure with an interest in modern philosophical and scientific developments, see *ODNB*, 33, pp. 109-10.

28. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 216.

29. Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (London, 1975), p. 129. On the Dissenting academies in general, see Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914), and J. W. Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education: The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies 1660-1800* (London, 1954).

30. Dr Williams's Library, London: Walter Wilson's Dissenting Records, D*. On Thomas and Benoni Rowe, see *ODNB*, 47, pp. 1005-6; on Ashwood, see *ODNB*, 2, pp. 702-3.

31. Smith, *Birth of Modern Education*, pp. 56-61.

32. Smith, *Birth of Modern Education*, pp. 237-46. Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, pp. 74-5, describes such broad and innovative curricula among early academies as "exceptional"; however, they were to become the norm from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The precise curricular breadth of Gale's academy is impossible to determine. Theology and biblical studies would naturally have been prominent — Gale had excellent Greek and Hebrew, so doubtless these would have been components in such instruction — and it has been suggested that Gale taught a broad and thorough comparative theology, whereby all the doctrinal issues concerning a particular theological position were discussed.³³ The range of erudition present in Gale's writings suggest that logic, metaphysics and ethics, as well as some geography, history, classics and natural science, would have been taught. Perhaps the best clue to Gale's curriculum may be elicited from his students and their intellectual impact. John Ashwood, who went on to teach and preach in Axminster, is chiefly remembered as the subject of Thomas Reynolds's *Some Account of the Life and Character, and Death of the Reverend Mr John Ashwood* (1707), "which long remained a favourite among nonconformist readers".³⁴ According to Reynolds's account, Ashwood had been sent by his father to London, where "he was receiv'd into the Family, and pursu'd his Academical Studies, under the Tuition of that exact Philologist and accurate Philosopher, the learned Mr Gale". Ashwood's studies were productive: he became adept in philology, chronology, history, philosophy and mathematics, and he "was peculiarly addicted to the Study of Physick, in which he had acquir'd no mean Skill"; above all, "his main Strength, was the Study of Divinity".³⁵

Gale's most famous pupil, however, was Thomas Rowe, who became sole tutor at the academy after Gale's death;³⁶ and Rowe in turn was the tutor of an individual of even greater renown, the hymnographer, philosopher and logician Isaac Watts (1674-1748). The notebooks of Watts indicate the Newington academy's provision of excellent instruction in classics, logic, Hebrew and divinity;³⁷ and it has been claimed that the academy offered Watts a "realistic and liberal attitude to education" and that Rowe, although a Calvinist, "permitted his students unlimited freedom of inquiry".³⁸ Furthermore, Watts fondly remembered Rowe as an immensely erudite educator who adopted a broad, eclectic and tolerant approach to learning;³⁹ this appears to have rubbed off on Watts himself, who declared that from "the Infancy of my Studies I began to be of the Eclectick Sect".⁴⁰ Rowe's openness to different currents of thought led him to become an

33. Smith, *Birth of Modern Education*, p. 45.

34. *ODNB*, 2, p. 703.

35. Thomas Reynolds, *A Sermon Preach'd on the Death of the Reverend Mr John Ashwood, with An Account of his Life and Character* (London, 1707), pp. 60-1.

36. At some point after 1694 Rowe took the academy first to Clapham and then to Little Britain.

37. See *ODNB*, 57, pp. 725-30.

38. Harry Escott, *Isaac Watts, Hymnographer: A Study of the Beginnings, Development and Philosophy of the English Hymn* (London, 1962), pp. 18-19. Escott mistakenly states, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rowe's academy was that of Morton (p. 27).

39. Smith, *Birth of Modern Education*, pp. 87-90 (on Rowe), 144-7 (on Watts).

40. Watts, *Philosophical Essays on Various Subjects* (London, 1733), p. iv.

important early expositor of Cartesianism, the *Port-Royal Logic* and the philosophy of John Locke, while at the same time teaching a Reformed scholasticism; above all, Rowe encouraged free enquiry, in other words an eclectic approach.⁴¹ This advocacy of “free philosophy”, as Watts was to term it, and the associated receptiveness to the new philosophy can plausibly be attributed to the education Rowe received from Gale. The thread of eclecticism running from Rowe to Watts can be traced back to Gale himself, who had advocated eclecticism as the “best philosophical approach that brings forth the most beautiful fruits”;⁴² and Gale appears to have been open to the new philosophy, most notably in his reformed vision of logic which borrowed heavily from the *Port-Royal Logic*.⁴³ At the very least, one can be sure that Gale’s curriculum was not anchored to traditional textbooks. While Gale’s status as an educational “pioneer” is questionable, he was nevertheless one of several Nonconformists who made an early contribution to an educational development of long-term significance; more narrowly, his contribution to an intellectual line leading to Isaac Watts is clear.

Gale’s interests as an educator are apparent from the nature of his will (dated 25 February 1677).⁴⁴ According to its terms, Gale’s real and personal estate, under the supervision of ten ministers, among them John Owen, was to be used for the education of poor Nonconformist scholars; specifically it aimed at providing exhibitions for Nonconformist scholars at Dissenting academies with a view to their entering an Oxford or Cambridge college should the restrictions on Dissenters be lifted. In addition Gale bequeathed his library (with the exception of those of his philosophical books that he deemed necessary for students in England) to Harvard College, New England, an estimated 1,000 volumes that made up perhaps over half of the library’s collection; they perished in the fire of 1764, thus obliterating what would probably have been Gale’s most important legacy to learning.⁴⁵ Gale died in February 1679,⁴⁶ and is buried in Bunhill Fields,

41. See *ODNB*, 47, pp. 1005-6. Watts, too, was influenced by the *Port-Royal Logic*, Descartes and Locke: see his, *Philosophical Essays*, pp. v-ix.
42. Gale, *Philosophia generalis* (London, 1676), sig. A5^r-v: “Optimus [sc. eclecticism] quidem Philosophandi modus, qui pulcherrimos profert fructus”. See also *Court of the Gentiles*, II, sig. a3^r.
43. Smith, *Birth of Modern Education*, p. 90. Gale’s Port-Royal inspired logic is outlined in *Court of the Gentiles*, IV, sig. a3^r-b4^r.
44. PRO, PROB 11/360, sig. 70. The will is reprinted in Henry F. Waters (ed.), *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, 2 vols (Boston, 1901), I, pp. 661-2.
45. See Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1840), pp. 184-5; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 290-1.
46. According to the New Style calendar; Gale’s year of death has traditionally been given as 1678 following the Old Style. The death of “Mr Gale that famous scholler and tutour” is recorded in *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A. 1630-1702: his Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. by J. Horsfall Turner, 4 vols (Brighouse and Bingley, 1881-5), II, p. 259.

the so-called “Cemetery of Puritan England”.⁴⁷ In addition to the provisions for charitable and educational purposes, Gale’s will also detailed that fifty pounds and most of his “gold and rings” were to be left to his sister, now Mrs Katherine Northcott, who it appears had earlier been in receipt of financial assistance from her brother; a further fifty pounds were left to his kinswoman Sarah Rowe, the daughter of his cousin John Rowe, “to be paid at day of marriage or age of twenty one”; and twenty shillings each were distributed to a number of other relations. He also bequeathed five pounds each to thirty-one ministers. Despite his exclusion from employment within traditional religious and academic institutions, Gale had nevertheless managed to amass a comfortable private wealth.

To this biographical information it might be added that Gale himself described his life as a sedentary one with a consequent tendency towards ill-health—for which he was recommended tobacco, causing a brief addiction to “this Weed”, though one he eventually managed to break, “not the least deliverance of my life”.⁴⁸ As a person he acquired a reputation for godliness, upright morals and inoffensive manners, though by his own admission he had a “morose and melancholy humor”.⁴⁹ He was said to be tolerant of other people’s beliefs, while steadfastly holding to his own principles. As a teacher and preacher, with the exception of his time as personal tutor to the Wharton boys, he is said to have gained general esteem.⁵⁰

Gale’s writings

Alongside his activities as a preacher and teacher, Gale was making a name for himself as a scholar. Over little more than a decade he published several works, chief among them *The Court of the Gentiles* which appeared in stages up to its author’s death. The first volume, entitled “Of Philologie”, was published in Oxford in 1669. Volumes two and three, entitled “Of Philosophie” and “The Vanitie of Pagan Philosophie” respectively, appeared in 1671 and were also published in Oxford. A second, revised and enlarged, edition of the first two volumes soon followed: volume one was published in Oxford in 1672; volume two in London in 1676.⁵¹ A second edition of volume three (though in effect simply a reprint), along with volume four, which was entitled “Of Reformed Philosophie”, was published in London in 1677. In 1678, an additional book of volume four, entitled “Of Divine Predetermination”, was published separately; a

47. His headstone reads, simply: “Theophilus Gale M.A., Born 1628, Died 1678.” See Alfred W. Light, *Bunhill Fields* (London, 1913), pp. 37-8.

48. *Court of the Gentiles*, II, pp. 365-8. Like many ex-smokers, Gale became a severe critic of tobacco, seeing in it a number of “moral evils” and wishing for the good of the English nation that James I’s *Counterblaste to Tobacco* were better considered.

49. Matthews, *Pepys and Nonconformity*, p. 87.

50. Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, III, pp. 163, 167-8.

51. Volume two was now entitled “Of Barbaric and Grecanic Philosophie”.

reprint of this volume appeared in 1682.⁵²

In addition to his magnum opus, Gale wrote several shorter treatises.⁵³ In 1669 he published *A true idea of Jansenisme, both historick and dogmatick*, to which John Owen contributed the preface. In 1671 appeared *Theophilie: or a Discourse of the Saint's Amitie with God in Christ*, a work of practical divinity. This was followed in 1672 by a treatise entitled *The Anatomie of Infidelitie, or an Explication of the Nature, Causes, Aggravations, and Punishment of Unbelief*.⁵⁴ In the following year he published a work on eschatology, *A discourse of Christ's coming, and the influence which the expectation thereof hath on al manner of holy conversation*; and in the same year, 1673, appeared a textbook on theology, *Idea theologiae, tam contemplativae, quam activae, ad formam S. Scripturae delineata*. In 1676 he brought out *Philosophia generalis*, a philosophical textbook, which has some thematic overlap with *The Court of the Gentiles*, but was written in Latin and thus probably aimed at a wider European and scholarly audience.⁵⁵ In addition, he contributed the preface to *The Life and Death of Mr John Rowe* (published in 1673 and written by the younger John Rowe, Gale's cousin and fellow preacher in Holborn, and son of the book's subject); he edited and wrote an introduction to *A Discourse of the Two Covenants* (1678) by William Strong (d. 1654), Rowe's predecessor as preacher at Holborn; and his sermon on 1 John 2.15, entitled "Wherein the love of the world is inconsistent with the love of God", was published in Samuel Annesley's *Supplement to the Morning-Exercises at Cripplegate* (1676).⁵⁶ In addition to these works there has also been attributed to Gale a short treatise entitled *The Life and Death of Thomas Tregosse* (1671), a spiritual life of a Nonconformist Cornish minister which contains (assuming the attribution to be correct, and there are no grounds for supposing otherwise) letters from Tregosse to Gale.⁵⁷ Finally, Calamy mentions that at the

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52. It has also been claimed that there was a Latin translation of this work entitled *Aula deorum gentium*; see Braun, *Histoire de l'histoire de la philosophie*, p. 73 n. 75; and Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, III, p. 166. I have been unable to discover a copy of any such work. In his *Idea theologiae* (London, 1673), for example, on p. 15 of the "Prolegomena" to the work and on p. 46 of the main body of the work, Gale refers to *The Court of the Gentiles* as *Atrium gentilium*, but makes it clear that the work was written in English ("Anglice scripto").
53. Anthony Wood assigned to Gale *The Ars sciendi* (1681-2) by "T. G."; in fact, this treatise on logic, heavily influenced by the Port-Royal Logic, was the work of the Ulster Presbyterian minister Thomas Gowan (1631-83): see Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, III, cols 1150-1.
54. Also published in London in 1679 as *Christ's Tears for Jerusalem's Unbelief and Ruine*.
55. Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, III, p. 166, remarks that *Philosophia generalis*, because it was in Latin, received a more lukewarm reception in England than had *The Court of the Gentiles*.
56. Samuel Annesley (1620?-96) was another of the benefactors in Gale's will. On Annesley, see *ODNB*, 2, pp. 238-9.
57. The attribution is made by Edmund Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account*, 2 vols (London, 1727), I, p. 98.

end of his life Gale was in the process of compiling a "Lexicon of the Greek Testament, which would have been compleater than any then extant". Apparently Gale had managed to reach the letter *iota*, had outlined plans for publishing it, and had given it the title *Lexicon Graeci Testamenti Etymologicum Synonymum, sive Glossarium & Homonymum*.⁵⁸ Evidently this would have amounted to a massive undertaking, though nothing seems to have survived of the enterprise.

Beyond these publications, there was an interesting plan in 1671 to persuade Gale to undertake a work on modern philosophy. The scientific writer and Fellow of the Royal Society, John Beale (1608-83)⁵⁹, convinced that a study in English of Francis Bacon's philosophy was needed and, furthermore, that such a treatise should set Bacon in the context of other moderns such as Peiresc, Descartes, Gilbert, Harvey, Kepler, Galileo, Gassendi and, above all, Boyle, considered Gale the ideal man for the task. He wrote to the secretary of the Royal Society, Henry Oldenburg (c.1619-77), informing him that such a work was "suitable to what Mr Gale hath already performed" (by which he was referring to the first two parts of *The Court of the Gentiles*) and asking whether Oldenburg could approach Gale.⁶⁰ Oldenburg, who it seems was impressed with what he had seen of Gale's work,⁶¹ then wrote to the astronomer, Arabist and friend of Gale's, Edward Bernard (1638-97):⁶²

I hear, you have with you Mr Gale, ye Learn'd Author of *ye Court of ye Gentiles*, wherein is attempted the Derivation of all Philology and Philosophy from the Jewish Church. An Intelligent friend of mine [i.e. Beale]... aiming much at ye honor of ye English nation in ye matter of advancing sciences and arts, wisheth very much yt something might be undertaken by yt worthy Author, I mean, Mr Gale, whereby it might be made publick, how much the World is obliged to ye Noble Lord of Verulam, Gilbert, Harvy, and the Honorable Mr Boyle (among others,) to Experimental and Usefull Philosophy especially since the famous Peyreskius and Gassendus could hold to commend the Ld Bacon, by name, upon that account as may be seen in that excellent Description of Peireskius his Life by Gassendus, than wch, in my opinion, nothing is more apt to inspire such a writer as Is desired upon this subject; for as much as it doth all along endear the present engagement both for the restauration of ye Ancient, and ye advancement of Arts and Knowledge in the modern way.

58. *Ibid.*

59. On Beale, see *ODNB*, 4, pp. 513-16.

60. *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, ed. and tr. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, 13 vols (Madison, Wisconsin, and London, 1965-86), VIII, pp. 111-12. A further letter from Beale to Oldenburg mentions that Beale himself had tried to contact Gale, but without success: *ibid.*, p. 119.

61. *Correspondence of Oldenburg*, VII, pp. 315-16; VIII, p. 255.

62. On Bernard see *ODNB*, 5, pp. 424-6.

But ye above mentioned Anonymous freind [sic] recommends withall ye Englishing of L. Bacon, as a fundamental work, the setting right his method in his N. Organum... If you, Sir, could so insinuate it to Mr Gale, either yrself, or by yr acquaintance yt have an interest in him, as to make it effectual, it might prove a considerable service for ye promotion of Learning, and the glory of England.⁶³

Whether or not this circuitous path of communication ever reached Gale is not known; if it did, nothing came of it. In certain respects, however, Gale was a surprising candidate for such a work. He never joined the Royal Society and he was generally ambivalent towards the new philosophy, veering from openness towards it to downright hostility; notwithstanding his professed eclecticism, Gale's philosophical inclination was towards Platonism. He appears to have been sympathetic to the work of Bacon and Boyle, though his references to them are few; he was wary of Descartes's sceptical method and the role of mathematics within the Cartesian system, which Gale felt to be a step towards atheism; and he described the new philosophy, in his most vigorous attack on it, as "being stripped of all sense of divinity" and as being "hostile to the Christian faith" and a precursor to atheism. Above all, in the tradition of Reformed theology, he regarded philosophy as subservient to and a handmaiden of theology.⁶⁴

At the very least, this brief episode indicates that Gale was regarded by some as sympathetic to the "new" philosophical and scientific developments of the seventeenth century. But it may reveal more about the thinking of some associated with the Royal Society and with the experimental philosophy. A history of the new philosophy written by Gale would have linked that philosophy with the original wisdom bestowed by God at the Creation, and would have marked out the new philosophy as a return to, and possibly restoration of, that divine wisdom in contrast to the corrupt derivation of it that, in Gale's exhaustive account in *The Court of the Gentiles*, characterized ancient pagan philosophy. From Bacon to Newton, a link between an ancient wisdom and the modern restoration of philosophy had been frequently made; hence the appeal of Gale's ideas.

Had Gale written a history of the new philosophy, his posthumous reputation would certainly have been different. As it is, his life and work fall tantalisingly

63. *Correspondence of Oldenburg*, VIII, pp. 126-7.

64. See, for example, *Philosophia generalis*, sig. A2r: "Ex altera parte quaedam 'novae philosophiae' placita peraeque, ne dicam magis, perniciose esse facile mihi persuaderi patior. Nam omisso, quod totam philosophiam moralem missam faciunt recentiores philosophi, nonne perquam perspicuum est, quosdam inter eos, bellum toti indicere Evangelio? quorum philosophia hisce primis principiis innittitur, nimirum, 'De omnibus dubitandum est: Quicquid clare distincteque percipio id verum est, etc.' Nam ex his 'criteriis veritatis' quot novarum opinionum monstra in philosophia commiscuntur? ex indeque quot peregrinis monstrosisque erroribus in theologia animi eorum indescunt? Imo tandem omni Divinitatis sensu denudantur." On mathematics, see *Court of the Gentiles*, III, pp. 110-11, where Hobbes is particularly associated with the mathematical tendency among the new philosophers.

short of a place at the centre of seventeenth-century intellectual history. The loss of his library in the Harvard fire mirrors Gale's career as a whole: a contribution potentially of the highest importance, but one that ultimately and in the long-term proved not to be so. As Christopher Hill suggested, Gale did indeed know enough "to have been a Vico"; but he was not a Vico.

Though Gale does not, belong in the first rank of seventeenth-century scholars, he remains worthy of attention. *The Court of the Gentiles* is one of the more remarkable products of its age, and is a fertile source for seventeenth-century intellectual history. Within the history of Nonconformity in general and Congregationalism in particular, Gale's contribution to scholarship and education were important, and his place as an intellectual ancestor of Isaac Watts is clear. R.W. Dale's description of Congregationalists, above all Owen and Goodwin, during the Commonwealth and Protectorate as "a kind of religious aristocracy, distinguished for their learning and for their intellectual vigour and acuteness as well as for their zeal" would, one suspects, cover the life and writings of Gale.⁶⁵

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65. R. W. Dale, *History of English Congregationalism* (London, 1906), p. 364.

A NOTE ON WILLIAM COWARD

In May 1998 the *Journal* published, as a Supplement, the history of the Coward Trust which the then Trustees had commissioned me to write.¹ It contained as much as I could discover of the private, religious and business life of the Trust's founder, William Coward of Walthamstow. But there were omissions which I was anxious to repair when I could, given Coward's importance in the history of English Dissent through his support of ministerial training in his life-time at Doddridge's and other Academies and through the Trust in succeeding centuries, including the present.

Now Mrs Susan Coward – whose husband, Wing Commander David Coward, is unfortunately not a descendant of William – has provided important additional information set out below. Incidentally, this is Mrs Coward's second contribution to the *Journal* as it was she who discovered and published the correspondence of Revd Thomas James which Dr David Wykes discussed in a recent issue.²

William Coward died in 1738, claiming to be ninety. I was unable to discover his parentage, or indeed where he was born. His marriage allegations in London in 1676, where he was described as a merchant, appeared to be his first appearance in the public records. He sailed soon afterwards to Jamaica, which had been ceded to Britain by Spain only in 1670 and where the opportunities for early settlers were particularly favourable. He acquired a plantation marked as his on the first British map of the colony and was sufficiently well established by 1681 to be elected to the first Assembly of the colony as one of the three representatives of Port Royal, the then capital. This Assembly enacted laws governing the treatment of slaves which were neither more nor less onerous than was customary for the times. Coward's contribution to the debate is not recorded. There followed several references to him in the Governor's reports, including one in which he was denounced as a Dissenter when he protested at the mistreatment of a Royal Navy sailor by his captain.

Coward did not stand for re-election to the Assembly in 1686. After his second marriage in 1685 (again in London) he appears to have remained in England, leaving the plantation in the hands of factors. He still owned it at his death, but his main business interest became his fleet of ships trading out of London with the West Indies. Over a period of years he built a mansion in Walthamstow, erected a Dissenting meeting-house nearby in Marsh Street, and on two occasions selected well known London ministers to preach a series of lectures in City churches to defend High Calvinistic beliefs against the Arminians and had the lectures published for posterity. As he grew older and somewhat erratic, the disposal of his considerable wealth became a cause of much concern to the parties in Dissent. His

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1. J H Thompson, *A History of the Coward Trust, the first two hundred and fifty years, 1738-1988*, in *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, Vol 6 (Supplement 1), May 1998.
 2. Vol 7, No 2, July 2003, p 58, footnote 2. The letters appear in Sue Coward, *Thomas James, Minister of the Gospel "Without Tombstone" (1660-1733/4)*, Number 6 in the Ashford History Series, October 2002.

idea of establishing an Academy in Walthamstow on his death foundered when he failed to persuade Doddridge to run it. He decided instead to establish the Trust to support ministerial training and chose Isaac Watts to be one of the first Trustees.

This is in outline the picture of William Coward I drew in the *History*.³ But there were gaps. Was Coward a Londoner and, if not, where did he come from? Who were his parents? Where and when did he become a Dissenter of such conviction? I knew that William's brother Henry was usually referred to as "of Petworth, Sussex, and Port Royal, Jamaica". If Henry was associated with Petworth, it was probable that William had been as well. What prompted me to ask Mrs Coward for help was that she had found the James correspondence in the Petworth House archives, and knew both the area and the local Sussex records.



She discovered almost at once an aspect of William Coward's life which had been previously quite unknown – that he had bought a property, Upper Rundhurst, in the parish of Lurgashall, four miles from Petworth, in 1690.⁴ It was Coward's practice to name at least some of his ships after personal connections. One was the *Walthamstow Galley*, another the *Gold Frigate* (after his second wife, Anna Gould). In the *History* I had noted this and commented that his ship, the *Roundhurst Galley*, which was registered in 1704 and, after several voyages to and from Jamaica, was lost off the Florida coast, had "no obvious connotation". Now it had. Mrs Coward went on to trace the ownership of this property throughout the relevant period and found its sale by "William and Anna Coward of Marsh Street London" in 1720. It did not therefore appear in William's estate at his death and so escaped the *History*.

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3. Where the sources of the foregoing outline are set out.
 4. West Sussex Record Office (WRSO): Add Ms 38826-38832.



Mrs Coward also discovered that Rundhurst had been registered as a Protestant Dissenting meeting-house in 1718⁵ and identified the minister at the time as the Revd. James Wildman.⁶ There are two references to a minister of this name in this period in Surman's Index at Dr Williams's Library, one in 1696 in Kent when the Congregational Fund Board made enquiries about his character, and one in 1719 when he was licensed in London, but out of pastoral charge. Both are consistent with the same man having ministered at Rundhurst in the meantime, though for how long cannot of course be necessarily tied to the date of the building's registration. I have noted the Rundhurst connection with a James Wildman in the Surman's book for amendments and additions.

Why William Coward acquired Rundhurst can only be conjecture. While the first purchase of copyhold of the land on which Coward's Walthamstow mansion was built was not until 1695, he was styled "of Waltham Stowe" in the record of the purchase of Rundhurst five years before, and I had found a reference to the death of "Coward's Coachman" in the Walthamstow parish records in the same year, 1690. Mrs Coward has found seven references to William Coward as a jurymen in Essex between 1693 and 1711.⁷ All this suggests that Walthamstow was and remained his main place of residence after his return from Jamaica, even before his mansion was built. But Mrs Coward has also found that he was appointed an overseer for the poor in the parish of Lurgashall in 1695,⁸ which implies more than transitory residence. While the Sussex property was too remote to be the main residence of a merchant whose ships lay off Bow in the Thames, it

5. WSRO: Ep/17/36f133r.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Essex Record Office website SEAX.

8. WRSO Par 130/12/1.

would make a good retreat, and an escape from the building work at Walthamstow: the last purchase of copyhold in Walthamstow was not until 1715. What is certain is that it was not a trivial purchase. The estate – two corses as well as two “messuages” – cost over £2000 in the currency of the day and it was sold for £3500,⁹ figures which rule out the possibility that its sole or main use was as a meeting-house. (The fine house, thought to have been built in the 1680s, still stands, though it has been renamed.)

The significant fact is that whatever the reason for the purchase of Rundhurst it was here, near Petworth, which his brother, Henry had regarded as home, that William chose to buy a second residence. Henry however had died in 1686, so that it was not to be near him that William chose so out-of-the way a residence. It is a reasonable presumption that the choice was nevertheless governed by familiarity with the area because like Henry he had been brought up here or nearby. Mrs Coward therefore set out to look for the brothers’ parents in the locality. Although it cannot be established through birth or baptismal records, she is of the opinion from dates, location and trade, that the probable parents of William and Henry Coward were Henry Coward and Ann Hardham who were married at Lurgashall in June 1642. The Hardhams were local yeomen from Tillington, another village near Petworth, who owned land at Lurgashall, as it happens close to Rundhurst, though Henry and Ann did not live in the house. They lived in Petworth where Henry was a haberdasher.

Haberdashery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was an important trade. Here, it is the link in the chain of connection between the two Henry Cowards. The University of Texas Nautical Archeology Department, which has researched the archives of Port Royal, Jamaica, supplied Mrs Coward with the inventory of goods owned by William’s brother Henry on his death in 1686. This revealed him to be a haberdashery merchant in a big way. The certified valuation of his goods was large – £5886 in the currency of the day. Jamaica at the time had about 8,000 white residents and Henry’s stock would bring them the household and personal goods expatriates needed and expected to make their life comfortable. Of course, it would be perfectly possible for a Henry Coward from Petworth to trade in haberdashery in Port Royal and have no connection with an older Henry Coward who was a haberdasher in Petworth, but this is improbable. The connection need not be father and son, though such businesses were common. The assumed relationship in this case is strengthened by a property deed (of 1668) found by Mrs Coward which refers to “Henry Coward the son of Henry Coward late of Petworth, haberdasher, deceased”.¹⁰

William’s brother Henry was married at Billingshurst, his bride’s parish five miles from Petworth, in October 1675. His son, Henry, was born (and died) the following year, and his daughter, Elizabeth, named after her mother, Elizabeth Massey, was born in 1677. Both these children’s records are in Petworth parish church. As well

9. See note 4.

10. WSRO: Misc Deeds SAS-H/662.

as Henry's marriage, Mrs Coward located Henry's will of 1686.¹¹ It shows that two more children were born later, one of them a boy named William. I wondered if this could be the William Coward to whom his uncle William left the plantation in Jamaica (sparing the Trustees). But this boy must have died before his uncle William because, as noted in the *History*, it was his sister, Elizabeth, long-lived like her uncle – she died in 1762 at 86 – who became his heir-at-law.

The William Coward who inherited the plantation is of course known. He was clerk to the Saddlers' Company from 1722 till his death in 1756, but his relationship to William Coward of Walthamstow is not stated in the latter's will.¹² Anna Coward's will¹³ calls William Coward of Saddlers' Hall, and his sister, "cousin". If this can be relied upon – and one must remember Anna was in her eighties, had just been bereaved and was herself to be dead within days – William and Henry must have had a third brother. He has not been traced.¹⁴ Perhaps of equal interest, it was through the descendants of Mary, daughter of William Coward of Saddlers' Hall, that the fine portrait of William Coward of Walthamstow came eventually to Dr Williams's Library with the New College Library.¹⁵

The will of William Coward of Walthamstow is described fairly fully in the *History* as much of it is devoted to the establishment of the Trust, and the duties of the Trustees in relation to ministerial students; the rest to increasing the Trustees' share of the capital at the expense of his wife, which her executor managed to undo in the fortnight she survived William. William's will is notable for the absence of personal bequests, other than for mourning or mourning rings, the widow of a close friend (the Revd. Matthew Clarke), the Trustees, certain ministers and servants. In this last section, there are three bequests of £100, or £50, which hitherto I had assumed were to servants at Walthamstow who had moved away. This may be the case, but one beneficiary lived in Petworth, the other two at Farnham and Liphook, all three places near Rundhurst. One may guess that they had once worked there.

Perhaps understandably, the origins of William Coward's Dissent and High Calvinist beliefs have not been revealed in this catalogue of research. He was born under the Protectorate and would be fourteen in 1662, before the Act of Uniformity created Dissent. Fourteen years later, perhaps sooner, he was in the City of London where Dissent was beginning to flourish, and drawn later to Walthamstow, a small village where Dissenters congregated safely, and where an

11. Probate 11/382.

12. Probate 11/706.

13. Probate 11/689.

14. The stated relationship might not have depended on Anna's state of mind. Her will was professionally drawn up. Her executor was Nathaniel Newnham, her cousin and a very well connected lawyer, who had his own link with William Coward's family, in that one of his daughters, Philadelphia, had married one of Elizabeth Coward's sons, Lewis Way.

15. *History of the Coward Trust* – see footnote 1 above – p. 73 for how the portrait came down.

ejected minister, Samuel Slater, was licensed to preach in 1672.

The religious instruction William had had at Petworth, whether at home or in church, would be Calvinist in form if not in name, and there was sufficient religious turbulence in the area after the Restoration to influence a religiously inclined youth. The Rector of Lurgashall, Nehemiah Beaton, was presented at quarter sessions in October 1660 for not reading the prayer book in church and was separately charged with saying in a sermon that "the late King had caused his own death by marrying an adulterous woman and a harlot". He lost his benefice, was persuaded to accept re-ordination, developed a bad conscience and withdrew from his living.¹⁶

The Rector of Petworth and his assistant were both ejected in 1660. The Rector, Francis Cheynell, was a prominent Presbyterian, a member of the Westminster Assembly in 1642, chaplain to the Earl of Essex in Cornwall in 1644, briefly President of St John's College, Oxford, (1648-50) and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University, from 1648 to 1652. This absenteeism from the parish would have ended by the time William was growing up, but the boy's religious instruction would more probably have come from the assistant minister, Richard Stretton, who had been ordained by a presbytery, and became a Dissenting minister in Leeds and London. In 1690, William would find himself serving alongside Stretton as a manager of the Happy Union's Common Fund. Another shared concern was Stretton's work in finding funds and books for Dissenting academies for which he was well known.¹⁷

Without his testimony one cannot be sure, but William Coward's outspoken Dissent, noted by the Governor of Jamaica, is likely to have been first stimulated by events and personalities in Petworth during the Commonwealth and the penal years following the Restoration. In April 1686, soon after Coward's return from Jamaica to marry Anna Gould, a William Coward was denounced for attending "an illegal conventicle" in Stoke Newington. The probability that this was Coward himself is increased by the fact that one other denounced on this occasion was a John Gould.¹⁸ As to Coward's High Calvinism, it may be sufficient to observe that it did not represent an abnormal or extreme set of beliefs for the times and that his reaction to seeing these beliefs publicly challenged was that of many rich, successful men who use their wealth to defend a cherished position. Public lectures, later published, were the style of the day. Moreover, as I noted in the *History*, Coward suffers from the fact that we know most about his personality in the last decade of a very long life, and then mainly from Doddridge's gossipy correspondents. The liberality of the rules he set for the operation of the Trust in his will and the individuals he chose as the first Trustees, seem to me to answer any charge of bigotry.

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16. A G Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (1934), p. 42.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 466.

18. Hackney Archives: Small Collections, M4134. Others included Charles Fleetwood and Smith Fleetwood.

REFLECTIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN WALES 1904-05

In 1904-05 Wales was profoundly affected by religious revival, a notable outburst of fervour, the details of which have been well-recorded, chiefly in the annals of Welsh Nonconformity and subsequently by historians, theologians and sociologists in postgraduate dissertations, articles and allied studies.¹ The first decade of the twentieth century represented formative social, economic and political developments which had a strong impact on the growth of Welsh national consciousness and, in a religious context, the revival, although it lasted for less than two years, contributed significantly to that distinct feeling of Welsh radical thought on the eve of the 1906 general election.

The revival was essentially a spontaneous and highly-charged movement emotionally and spiritually which was to have far-reaching consequences for Nonconformist denominations in 1904-05 and the years that followed. In the years immediately before the revival, the presence of the Holy Spirit had been felt among a small group of ministers, an experience which became the basis of deep religious feelings, which were to have an impact in several parts of Wales and beyond. The most prominent among them were Joseph Jenkins of Newquay, John Thickens of Aberaeron, and R. B. Jones of Porth in the Rhondda valley, together with Evan Roberts, who was not ordained, but who has mistakenly been regarded as the pioneer. Revivals had occurred several times before and after the Methodist Revival in Wales, many of them local, as in Cardiganshire in 1859,² and from 1873 onwards in Caernarfonshire and Anglesey led by Richard Owen, and they all influenced religious communities in several parts of Wales.³

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1. For detailed and general studies of Evan Roberts and the Revival see D. M. Phillips, *Evan Roberts, the Great Welsh Revivalist and his Work* (London, 1906); Eifion Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (Port Talbot, 1969); Brynmor P. Jones, *The King's Champions, 1863-1933* (Christian Literature Press, 1986); idem, *Voices from the Welsh Revival 1904-1905* (Evangelical Press of Wales, 1995); J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *The Welsh Religious Revival: A Retrospect and a Criticism* (London, 1909); H. Elvet Lewis, *With Christ among the Miners: Incidents and Impressions of the Welsh Revival* (London, 1906); C.R. Williams, "The Welsh religious revival, 1904-05", *The British Journal of Sociology*, III, 1952, 242-59; B. Hall, "The Welsh revival of 1904-6: a critique", in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds.), *Popular Belief and Practice*, 8 (Cambridge, 1972), pp.291-301; C.B. Turner, "Revivals and popular religion in Victorian and Edwardian Wales" (unpublished University of Wales Ph.D. dissertation 1979), pp.340-412; J. A. Owen, "A Study of orality and conceptuality during the Welsh religious revival of 1904-06" (unpublished University of Birmingham Ph.D. dissertation 1997), pp.46-76.
 2. Eifion Evans, *Revival comes to Wales: The Story of the 1859 Revival in Wales* (Bridgend, 1991). For Dafydd Morgan and Humphrey R. Jones, the leaders, idem, *Fire in the Thatch: The True Nature of Religious Revival* (Bridgend, 1996), pp.187-225; J. E. Lloyd and R. T. Jenkins (eds.), *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, 1959), pp.469, 641.
 3. For Owen see *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p.719.

Although church membership increased substantially by the eve of the revival, the total reaching 550,280 communicants for all denominations by 1905, it did not lead to any changes of great magnitude in the Nonconformist denominational system; nor was it directly involved in the institutional affairs of the courts of such denominations, principally the General Assembly, the Associations and the Monthly Meetings of the Calvinistic Methodists and the Baptist and Congregational Unions. The atmosphere created in revival meetings was totally distinct from such theological and administrative activities. These meetings were held for many hours, usually in chapels, and proceedings were, for the most part, informal, the intention being to experience the presence of the Holy Spirit. Thomas Austin Davies, who was known as "Awstin", and who, at the time, was employed as reporter for the *Western Mail*, observed such activity closely when he described Evan Roberts's impact on his large congregation:

He had not come there...to frighten them with a discourse on the terrors of everlasting punishment. His belief was that the love of Christ was a powerful enough magnet to draw the people...Denominationalism did not enter into his religion...Sectarianism melted in the fire of the Holy Spirit, and all men who believed became one happy family.⁴

He emphasized that the prime motive was to embrace Christ's love and accept the Holy Spirit. Evan Roberts rejected denominationalism and sectarianism and believed God's people to be one family seeking salvation.

The Cardiganshire Revival of 1859 had been a remarkable upsurge of religious activity and a spectacular manifestation of popular religion in Wales in the nineteenth century. The 1904-05 revival was intended to rekindle the spiritual ecstasies felt in many parts of Wales in that year and which still influenced older generations in south and north Wales.⁵ Early in the twentieth century it was felt that another revival was needed because organised Nonconformity had lost much of its impact and the spiritual life of the nation had gradually lost its appeal, especially in industrialized urban areas.

A period of preparation for more religious fervour had been initiated by the Forward Movement, established by the Calvinistic Methodists in 1892. The leaders were the Revds John Pugh and Seth Joshua, and their aim was to emphasize the need for Christian truth and sanctity and to deepen faith. It had a lasting impact on the nature of the 1904-05 Revival.⁶ Revivalists from England and America had attended the first religious Convention at Keswick in north-west England in 1875, with the intention of promoting "sanctity and spiritual reformation". Meetings for that purpose were influenced by the Keswick

4. "Awstin" [Thomas Austin Davies], *The Religious Revival in Wales* (Western Mail), I (Cardiff, 1904), 14 November 1904, p.7.
5. Eifion Evans, *Revival comes to Wales*, chap. 4, pp. 66-94.
6. Howell Williams, *The Romance of the Forward Movement of the Presbyterian Church of Wales* (Denbigh, 1945); G. Fielder, *Grit, Grace and Gumption: The Exploits of Evangelists John Pugh, Frank and Seth Joshua* (Fearn/Bridgend, 2000).

experiment and were held in different parts of Wales in the 1890s, and the Revd W. S. Jones, who had conducted religious campaigns in Scranton, Pennsylvania, before returning to Llwynypia in the Rhondda Valley, Dr Reuben Torrey and William Alexander, the American missionaries, were prominent in that mission work.⁷ Together with Seth Joshua of the Forward Movement and the Free Church Council, they spread a social gospel, while the powerful Baptist minister R. B. Jones of Porth preached in parts of south and north Wales. The Calvinistic Methodists were intent on repeating the 1859 revival and expressed concern that the power of the Holy Spirit was not as much in evidence as it might be. A Convention like the one established at Keswick was held at Llandrindod Wells in August 1903 led by Joseph Jenkins, newly-established Calvinistic Methodist minister at Newquay, and his nephew John Thickens, who served the same denomination at Aberaeron, and meetings were held in south Cardiganshire. Together with their co-evangelists, these leaders laid the foundations of the “spiritual fire” that was about to come to Wales. That was when it became clear that there was a powerful spiritual feeling present in south-west Wales. Their intention was to hold their meetings in chapels of all denominations, which rapidly became centres where ardent prayers, confessions, testimonies and joyful singing were heard. It is important to observe also that the revival had its impact on communities outside Wales, in England and on the continent.⁸ For example, two French observers visited Wales and drew conclusions from what they saw. Consequently they published books on their Welsh experiences, thus broadening interpretations of the revival as foreigners saw it. From different perspectives the atheist and psychiatrist Joseph Rogues de Fursac and the Christian academic Henri de Bois wrote interestingly and objectively on the events, on Evan Roberts as an evangelist and personality, and on the overall impact of the movement.⁹ Fursac wrote as a French sceptic, viewing the emotions displayed in parts of south Wales, while Bois, from a personal standpoint, compiled a detailed account of activities in north and south Wales and, like Fursac, revealed the emotional strands which he considered complimentary in the national character of the Welsh people.

Where does Evan Roberts fit into this religious framework? He was a native of Loughor in west Glamorgan, a Calvinistic Methodist, a coalminer and apprentice smith who decided to prepare himself for the Christian ministry. He was educated at the private grammar school owned by the Revd. John Phillips at Newcastle Emlyn. He had heard Phillips’s father, Evan Phillips, the minister of Bethel in that town, preach. He was an eloquent and emotional preacher, and had a deep

7. R. Tudur Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of the Nation: Wales 1890-1914*, ed. R. Pope, and trans. by S. Prys-Jones (Cardiff, 2004), pp.288-9.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 337-50.

9. J. Rogues de Fursac, *Un Mouvement mystique contemporain, le réveil religieux du Pays de Galles* (Paris, 1907); Henri de Bois, *Le Réveil au Pays de Galles* (Toulouse, 1907). See also B. Hall, “Two French Contributions to the history of the revival”, in S. Evans and G. M. Roberts (eds.), *Cyfrol Goffa Diwygiad 1904-1905 [The 1904-1905 Revival Commemorative Volume]* (Caernarfon, 1954), pp.74-83.

influence on Evan Roberts. It was at Newcastle Emlyn that Evan Roberts became friendly with Sidney Evans, also a ministerial student, who joined with him to lead the revival and married Roberts's sister. Roberts considered that conducting revival meetings enabled him to "feel that he had obtained a call to go to the highways and by-ways urging sinners to turn to Christ."¹⁰ He testified that he had experienced hallucinations which revealed Christ's Church in its ascendancy over the sinful, and as a student at Newcastle Emlyn on 30 October 1904, while listening to Evan Phillips preaching, he obtained the call to return to Loughor to hold meetings to pray and offer the love of Christ and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, This is what he wrote in a letter to a friend at Cardigan:

The reason for this is the command of the Holy Spirit, He gave the command that night at the meeting...My thoughts were wandering, and my mind riveted on our young folk at Moriah. There seemed a voice, as if it said, you must go, you must go! I then told Mr Phillips about it, and I asked whether it was the devil or the Spirit. He answered, No, no. The devil does not give such thoughts. It was the voice of the Holy Spirit.¹¹

At the time he felt unsure whether or not it was the devil or the Spirit that was beckoning him, but Evan Phillips assured him that it was the Holy Spirit at work. In this early period he had mysterious and often perverse visions, was diagnosed as suffering from delirium and depression and his behaviour became increasingly less rational. He was considered to possess powers of clairvoyance and telepathy and consequently, because of the criticisms levelled against him in some circles, he questioned his credibility as an evangelist, especially towards the end of his preaching journeys in 1906.¹²

On the eve of the revival Welsh religious leaders felt a need for spiritual assurance. The editor of *Y Goleuad* on 2 December 1904, soon after Evan Roberts's revival had begun, praised the rare atmosphere that was generated, but assured his readers that it was no new experience. The 1859 Revival and the preparatory work accomplished by the Sunday Schools (often under-rated in this context), were regarded as means of nurturing spiritual experiences:

After the previous revival there had been forty five years of hard labour, and twenty five years of work with Sunday Schools that have never been before in the history of our country. By then Biblical knowledge had matured in people's minds, and had begun to press on their consciences. Thus the fields were made ready for the harvest. The festivals also, more than anyone knew except God

10. Evans, *Welsh Revival*, pp.31-3.

11. D. M. Phillips, *Evan Roberts, the Great Welsh Revivalist and his Work*, p.164.

12. *The Lancet*, I (London, 1904), p.1514; R. Tudur Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of the Nation*, pp.291-2, 315-18, 332-4, 359-61. See also B. Hall, "The Welsh Revival of 1904-6: a critique", pp.291-2.

himself, had prepared the country for the Revival...and now the harvest has come.¹³

It is within this context, where the emphasis is on seeking personal salvation, that Evan Roberts needs to be placed. He was a sensitive, even insecure, young man who felt that his life was about to change direction. Influenced by Seth Joshua (whose excruciating plea, "Bend me". in a prayer-meeting at Blaenannerch in south Cardiganshire deeply affected him), he attended several meetings in that area, and at the end of September 1904 he decided to organize an evangelical mission in Wales. Before September 1904 prominent ministers and laymen within the Calvinistic Methodist and Baptist ranks, prepared the way and, after that, Evan Roberts, although not ordained to the ministry, took the initiative and used his own methods, but they were not at all times approved by traditional religious leaders who emphasized the preaching of the gospel.

The 1904-05 revival, which was the consequence of religious fervour, can be viewed as an attack on the formality of Nonconformity and its organization, which, as the press signally reported, had already shown signs of decline. *Y Dysgedydd*, the mouthpiece of the Welsh Congregationalists, in 1901 criticised preachers and their churches for their inability to win over support among the youth:

The young man does not need more attention from the churches in our day. What he needs is more practical religion in the life of the churches. What are the churches doing to assist the poor and needy, to place on their feet those who have fallen, to save the drunkard and to reduce temptations, to purify social life and to place progress in the country on certain foundations.¹⁴

The churches, it was reported, were hindered by a lack of spirituality and by a feeling of moral inadequacy with which popular preaching could not cope. The chapels were observed as "self-satisfied fortresses of the Welsh middle-class Victorians" – "the citadels of the smug middle class Welsh Victorians".¹⁵

The "instrumentality of the Spirit" was demonstrated in the enthusiasm with which young people attended the meetings of the revival. Owing to its public demonstrations of highly-charged emotions, there emerged "an expression of mass rejoicing in a society torn by social conflict, an emphasis on the love of Christ in a grimly competitive society where the market price was more important than the standards of the Sermon on the Mount". Such circumstances were indications of the "emptiness of meaning".¹⁶ The key to creating this unique atmosphere was the combined activity of Evan Roberts, his brother Dan Roberts,

13. "Mr Evan Roberts, sylwadau cyffredinol" ["Mr Evan Roberts, general observations"], *Y Goleuad* [*The Luminary*], 16 December 1904, p. 5 [in translation].

14. R.G. Roberts, "Dynion ieuainc a'r Eglwysi" ["Young men and the church"], *Y Dysgedydd* [*The Teacher*], June 1901, pp.258-9 [in translation].

15. *Ibid.*

16. T. M. Bassett, *The Welsh Baptists* (Swansea, 1977), p.279.

and Sidney Evans, together with Sam Jenkins, the “Sankey of Wales”, as he was called, with his sweet voice, and a group of young ladies who passionately sang hymns and religious songs.

This was a revival to regenerate the spiritual life of the nation and, according to abundant newspaper reports and journal articles, it appeared that Evan Roberts’s mission was aimed largely at the younger generation who sought a new religious experience. He himself was a complex character who possessed skills in transmitting his message in a quiet and effective manner without excessive emotion. He did not possess the same eloquence as his predecessors among Welsh revivalists, and Awstin described him in the following terms:

...Evan Roberts appears to have no great gifts of speech, and he is not a man of commanding personality. His wonderful power over people is simply inexplicable. His words are few and simple; his manner perfectly natural and unassuming; it is his smile that captivates, and his silence, too, works wonders at times. Nay, his very presence sends a thrill through a vast concourse of people of all ages, of every sex, and of almost every temperament.¹⁷

Although he was harsh in his criticism of the ministry generally, Evan Roberts was praised by the majority of ministers and other leaders who had been influenced by the revival. He would often arrive late and impose his own will on the way the meeting would continue, thus destroying the spontaneity of the proceedings. On occasion, he would dampen the atmosphere by proclaiming that the “spirit” was not present to enable the meeting to continue, and critics disapproved of the entourage of young women who faithfully followed him. Evan Roberts, however, drew the support of an increasing number of converts because his attractive appeal often left his followers spell-bound. Owing to his inbuilt spiritual energy his power over others was immense, so much so that his critics believed that more attention was given to him than to the Holy Spirit.

The revival occurred at a time when there was a marked increase in secular interests, especially sport activities and leisure pursuits in both urban and rural surroundings. Social attitudes towards Nonconformity were changing, and greater emphasis was placed on outdoor pursuits, especially in industrial communities.¹⁸ Secular activities were harshly criticised by the revivalists; sport, it was said, urged the people to enjoy pleasure only, disregarding service to God. The true formula for life, it was declared, was God first, labour second and the enjoyment of pleasure third. It was feared that the order had radically changed, and concern was expressed that the new leisure culture, which attracted a greater proportion of

17. “Awstin”, *Religious Revival in Wales* (Western Mail), 4, p.2.

18. On sport and leisure see D. Smith and G. Williams, *Fields of Praise: The Official History of the Welsh Rugby Union, 1881-1981* (Cardiff, 1980), pp.125-6; M. Johnes, *Soccer and Society, 1900-1939* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.30-2; A. Croll, *Civilizing the Urban: Popular Culture and Public Space in Merthyr c.1870-1914* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.178-9, 184-200.

the population, replaced Christian virtues. Popular though they were, sport activities were not recommended, especially among young men:

And when sports have become madness among the youth of this age, and the main players on the cricket and football fields were being held up between our young people as the chief heroes, and as the chief examples to attempt to imitate them, it is time for the church to warn the young of the danger, and attempt to impress on their minds that man has been created to a higher purpose, and more important than playing.¹⁹

Moreover, there was a substantial increase in scientific studies, especially the study of geology, and consequently the description of the creation in the Book of Genesis was totally undermined. The content of the Bible became subject to criticism and belief in divine spirituality was rejected. The belief in evolution was not new in Charles Darwin's time, but his theories were to have immense and widespread repercussions, which led increasing numbers of intellectual churchgoers to distance themselves from places of worship.²⁰ In 1839 Charles Lyell had published *The Principles of Geology* intended to prove, by studying fossils and rock formation, that the world was created gradually, thus challenging tradition in the Book of Genesis. The appeal of divine intervention diminished and more attention was given to the laws of nature as was reflected in the debate between the biologist and agnostic T. H. Huxley and Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, in the British Association at Oxford in 1868. The bishop's effort to defend the faith on that occasion was a failure which damaged the church's reputation. The faith of many, indeed, had been shaken before the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 because historical and textual criticism of the Bible had undermined orthodox beliefs. Darwin's aim, however, was to collect data and formulate ideas and theories about evolution, and he was not the first to express his views on this fundamental issue of creation, order and belief. According to his findings man was not created as a separate species but developed like all other species through a process of "natural choice" relative to the environment in which he existed. Darwin also challenged scriptural authenticity. Man, he stated, was not unique but had developed from inferior animals. Consequently scientists condemned Christianity and the churches failed to reconcile such theories with orthodox teaching. Together with secularist tendencies the intellectual progress of the age militated against the Church's central teachings. Although the rank and file of church members continued to uphold Christian beliefs and attend places of worship Darwin and his fellow-

19. O. Evans, "Yr eglwys a'r oes" ["The church and the age"], *Y Drysorfa*, July 1903, p.318 [in translation].

20. Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of the Nation*, pp.211-13.

scientists had destroyed one of the main foundations of Christian society.²¹

The framework of Nonconformist church government had maintained its strength and was hardly damaged by new theological thinking. Literary contributions were still abundantly published in denominational periodicals and newspapers, expressing varying views of the new science and the Christian faith. The increasing middle-class culture was largely responsible for that, and changes came in the wake of educational developments in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, which caused considerable concern among Nonconformist leaders. Thus it was stated:

Unless it is obtained, and that quickly, it appears that the near future of religion in our country will be extremely dark. English literature is spreading suspicions and faithless views among the people in all directions; and multitudes, it is said, prepared in our Sunday Schools, especially in the towns, to deny the authority of spirituality and infallibility of other parts of the Bible. While the church is sleeping, the enemy is busily sowing tares among the wheat, and there is nothing that will uproot them and save your country from becoming a prey to atheism and ungodliness...²²

Before and after the 1904-05 Revival theological disputes, usually regarded as Higher Criticism, emerged, and they seriously undermined traditional Christian beliefs. Liberal tendencies increased in the colleges and among ordained ministers, the authority of the Bible was questioned, and an increasing interest was taken in evolution and Higher Criticism. Consequently, for many educated people, evolution replaced revelation, the incarnation replaced the atonement, and the humanity of Christ replaced the Deity. Liberal theology denied to Christianity its rights and destroyed its foundations. It was feared that "many of the intellectual classes in the churches" would be lost: "That day will be a dark day in the history of our country...when the flock is led from the still waters and the dewy pastures of the old truths to the wilderness and dryness of the new truths".²³

In an age which was increasingly becoming materially prosperous, groups of members in industrial areas moved away from the chapels. Many others, of course, who had moved into such communities had very little, if any, attachment to the Christian faith. It was a situation which caused immense complexity in the social and cultural context. Those who clung to the faith felt that there was need

21. *Ibid.*, pp.17, 21; R. Pope, *Seeking God's Kingdom: The Nonconformist Social Gospel in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff, 1999), pp.3-11. See also J. R. Moore, *Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, 1979); M. Ruse, *The Darwinian Revolution: Science Red in Tooth and Claw* (Chicago, 1979).

22. G. Jones, "Angen Cymru am ddiwygiad crefyddol" ["Wales's need for a religious revival"], *Y Drysorfa*, November 1902, p.512 [in translation].

23. "Cymru a'r wybodaeth newydd" ["Wales and the new knowledge"], *Y Geninen*, 28 April 1910, p.136; July 1910, p.186 [in translation].

to be more tenacious in propagating the gospel in a society which was more prepared than in the past to reject traditional religious institutions. There was also a strong feeling that Nonconformity was no longer loyal to the causes fought over by industrial communities, and thus the association with more secular attractions increased among them. It was often complained that ministers of religion were not in accord with the spirit of the times: "hearing preachers referring to him [i.e. the worker] fatherly and benignly, as if he was a babe in learning and experience", it was said, "trouble and enrage his spirit".²⁴ Confronted by social challenges, the Nonconformist pulpit, in expounding orthodox teaching, had begun to fade and lose its grip. It was expected that churches would venture to offer practical religion, purify social life and act humanely. Here it is interesting to note the response of Arthur Horner, a notable miners' leader and a staunch Communist. In his early days he embraced the Christian faith, but soon distanced himself from it:

I was desperately conscious of the poverty, the oppression and the injustice around me. I saw in religion the hope and the opportunity to do something about it and in the chapels I had a ready-made audience. I believed in Christianity, but to me it was an empty thing unless linked with practical measures to relieve all social ills. For a long time I was trying in my own mind to wed Christianity to Socialism and only slowly did I reach the point of accepting the materialistic conception of history and the struggle of the working class as the only way to emancipation.²⁵

In the political context an interesting paradox emerges. Although the Nonconformist chapels militated against the Independent Labour Party when it was gaining power, especially in the industrial areas, yet the chapels gave to many of the leaders who eventually dedicated themselves to other creeds, the initial platform necessary to become eloquent speakers and orators. Socialism was described as a foreign doctrine, essentially urban, which was not compatible with the true temperament of the Welsh nation, but rather a reflection of a miserable, distressing and often harsh life.²⁶

Nevertheless, Socialism progressed and Nonconformists were accused by its adherents of being hypocritical because leaders enriched themselves materially at the expense of others. "Our hypocrisy as Nonconformists", one minister stated, "calls loudly on heaven for punishment because of the oppressors in our midst of

24. R. G. Roberts, "Dynion ieuainc a'r eglwysi" ["Young men and the churches"], *Y Dysgedydd*, June 1901, p.25 [in translation].

25. A. Horner, *Incorrigible Rebel* (London, 1961), p.14.

26. W. F. Phillips, "Cymru a sosialaeth" ["Wales and socialism"], *Y Geninen*, 21, Ionawr 1911, p. 68 [in translation]; E. Foulkes, "Sosialaeth", *ibid*, 26, Ionawr 1908, p.21 [in translation]. On the subject of post-revival Nonconformist religious affiliations with politics and social development of the socialist creed, see R. Pope, *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff, 1998).

our own making".²⁷ Although denominations continued to maintain their causes, circumstances pressurized and militated against them. The strained relations between them and the Labour Trade Unions intensified and new leaders, such as Keir Hardie and William Brace, came to the fore to replace the stalwart William Abraham (Mabon) of Cwmafon, a faithful chapel-goer, precentor and follower of *eisteddfodau* (competitive cultural meetings), a liberal miners' representative, member of parliament and first president of the South Wales Miners Federation.²⁸ The Independent Labour Party appeared in 1893, led by Keir Hardie, and the Labour Party was established in 1906. With the increase in unemployment and trade unionism, and the intense conflict between the workers and their masters, the movement grew to become more militant, and that was clearly revealed in the miners' strike of 1898. Instead of emphasizing social needs the Nonconformists continued to discuss issues of a more political and national nature such as Disestablishment of the Church, temperance, the Welsh language and educational conflicts with the government, factors that, by the early twentieth century, were losing their impact.

According to observations on the quality of spiritual life in Wales, on the eve of revival it was realized that a radical change was needed in the Nonconformist chapels which would strengthen their testimony in order that they might meet the challenges faced by them on the threshold of the twentieth century. Political leaders, such as James Griffiths and A. J. Cook, miners' leaders who embraced socialism and who were nurtured in the Nonconformist tradition, believed that the churches failed to meet the needs of an emerging dynamic society in Wales. Thus A. J. Cook, the Welsh miners' leader in the 1920s, who had been nurtured as a Baptist and served as a preacher, Sunday School teacher, and deacon, turned away from the faith because of its negative hold on its congregation, and graphically described his change of allegiance:

...towards the end of the Revival a certain faculty of scepticism and critical judgement asserted itself in me. I realised that as a popular movement the revival was an abnormal and aberrant manifestation of the spirit of the Welsh people, and that the powerful current of feeling flowing as strong as a tide produced astonishingly little change in the fundamental economic and industrial facts of the miner's life. It did, indeed, divert the attention of the miners from these facts. And that, as I was beginning to see, was wrong.²⁹

James Griffiths, deeply influenced by the views of R. J. Campbell and Keir

27. G. Davies, "Cyflwr moesol Cymru" ["Wales's moral condition"], *Y Geninen*, 27, July 1909, p.21 [in translation].

28. D. Hopkin, "Labour's roots in Wales, 1900-2000", in D. Tanner, C. Williams and D. Hopkin (eds.), *The Labour Party in Wales, 1900-2000* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.40-60; H. Francis and D. Smith, *The Fed: A History of the South Wales Miners in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1980), chap. 1, pp.1-51.

29. Paul Davies, *A. J. Cook* (Manchester, 1987), p.5.

Hardie, likewise referred in his autobiography to the impact of the revival in his neighbourhood of Ammanford and to his own disillusionment with religious practice:

For a year or two it transformed life in the valleys, then it seemed to fade out, leaving behind a void which was later filled by another kind of revival...What we needed was a religion which would change society, and a political faith with a vision of a new social order...There was a special plea to nonconformity to cut itself loose from the ties which bound it to the outworn philosophy of the Liberal Party, and a warning that unless the Free Churches found a new mission in the application of the principles to the social problems of the age, they would lose contact with the people and lose their hold upon the democratic forces which were emerging in the Labour and Socialist movements.³⁰

The generation which had been deeply influenced by the 1859 Revival had by then become depleted, and it was considered that there was need for a spiritual revival again. One of the first to express the desire for it was the evangelical Anglican David Howell, Dean of St David's:

God's spirit is the only source of spiritual life; there are no means of producing or raising this life...except through the instrumentality of the Spirit...If it were known that this was my last message to my fellow-countrymen...it would be, before being summoned to judgment... that the principal need of my country and dear nation at present is still spiritual revival ...through a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit.³¹

There is abundant evidence in detailed and excruciating descriptions of the emotions unleashed in the meetings. Reporters and commentators joined ecstatically in the joy expressed in them, and references continually appeared in newspaper reports and other sources to pleas, prayers, testimonies and persistent yearnings for the coming of the Holy Spirit:

Some people believe that for men to lose their composure in revival meetings was a mark of derision. This is a misguided conception. The greatness in man is that he is emotionally entranced observing his sin, or in observing the glory of God's infinite love.³²

30. J. Griffiths, *Pages from Memory* (London, 1969), pp.11, 13.

31. D. Howell, "Prif angen Cymru" ["The main need of Wales"], *Y Dysgedydd*, Ionawr 1903, pp.17-19 (here, p.18) [in translation]; Evans, *Welsh Revival*, pp.46-7. On Howell's career see R. L. Brown, *David Howell: A Pool of Spirituality: A Life of David Howell* (Llawdden) (Denbigh, 1998), and pp.305-7 therein.

32. D. M. Phillips, "Rhai o ryfeddodau y Diwygiad yn y gogledd" ["Some wonders of the Revival in the north"], *Y Goleuad*, 3 March, 1905, p.7 [in translation].

Commentators revelled in experiencing such ecstatic performances. The peak of the celebrations would often be reached in the singing of highly-emotional hymns and the sense of security that the spirit, on divine command, would work within each individual, not only in chapels but also in coalmines, homes, and other public places where prayer meetings would be held. "The curtains of pleasure tents unfolded", one minister declared when writing about the effects of the revival in Snowdonia, "and they dropped their ropes", and he proceeded:

The excitement of the field of play ended. Saturday evening came, the special evening to run after vain follies, and to meet with pain and shame as a consequence, in the great evening of meetings – the prayer, the praise and the thanks from night till morning! The portals of vanity became the portals of grief, and the portals of religion became the portals of the pure!...This proved itself to be such a power.³³

Testimony was given to the spiritual power revealed by the leaders as well as the ardent responses of converts, many of whom fanatically demonstrated their new-found joy in the Almighty. For example, the words of J.T. Job, minister of Carneddi chapel in Snowdonia, in December 1904:

Well, Thursday evening came. And this was the great night of the storm. When I look back at this night, I cannot but describe it as the hurricane of the Holy Spirit...I felt the Holy Spirit as a torrent of light causing my nature shake completely: I saw Jesus Christ – my nature became exposed at His feet, and I saw myself – and I abhorred it – Now, the whole place had gone to dance – the preachers with their little girls in the pulpit...You never saw such agitation in your life!³⁴

The evangelists possessed their congregations and gave them the opportunity to testify to the power of the Holy Spirit in different ways. There were prominent women such as Florrie Evans (who reputedly started the Revival in Newquay), Rosina Evans, Annie Davies and Maud Davies, all notable singers.³⁵ In a different context reference must also be made to the influence which Jessie Penn-Lewis had on Evan Roberts and the patronage extended to him by her and her husband for many years after the revival in their home in Leicester.³⁶ All this implies that the

33. R. Jones, "Y Diwygiad yn Arfon" ["The Revival in Arfon"], *Y Drysorfa*, 1906, p.301 [in translation].

34. J. T. Job, in T. Francis, *Y Diwygiad a'r Diwygwyr: Hanes Toriad Gwawr Diwygiad 1904-05 [The Revival and Revivalists: The History of the Dawn of the 1904-05 Revival]* (Dolgellau, 1906), pp.217, 219 [in translation].

35. N. Williams, "Evan Roberts and the 1904-5 revival", in Stewart Williams (ed.), *Glamorgan Historian*, 5 (Cowbridge, 1968), pp.33-7.

36. Evans, *Welsh Revival*, pp.28-31, 175-6; M. N. Garrard, *Mrs Penn-Lewis: A Memoir* (London, 1931).

revival, as it developed, rejected the formality of the Nonconformist order with its emphasis on the sermon rather than on the “moving of the spirit”. Much evidence survives to illustrate that the nature of the revival meetings urged the young to join in the rejoicing. There was need for more evangelical appeal in a society which was losing its grip on moral standards. “God visited our children in a powerful way”, it was stated by William Davies, minister of Crwys Road Welsh Presbyterian Church, Cardiff, in his annual report for 1905, “we had the privilege of seeing the miracles of grace...and God’s gift was re-ignited in the lives of a large number of Welsh youth.”³⁷

When the revival came an anti-secular attitude of mind was assumed by many who adopted the faith and who abandoned the pleasures which were attracting others in the sporting world. Rugby, for example, was described as a game which damaged the souls of the young far more than any other game, and there is plenty of evidence to show that it was rejected by many who, before the Revival, had been supportive. Members of Ynys-by-bwl team were baptized, and it was decided not to play for a period of three years. A Sunday School class was held for rugby players in Noddfa Baptist church, Treorci, and a mass of individual testimonies to the power of the revival survive in print: “I used to play back for the devil”, an old footballer from Mynydd Cynffig in west Glamorgan, obviously deeply affected by the new wave of evangelism, declared, “but now I am forward for God.”³⁸

The revival reached its peak in the early months of 1905. The Nonconformist chapels still maintained their large congregations but their leaders sensed that their power was being challenged. The framework of the old order survived. It had the resources at hand but, beneath the surface, the spirit was weakening and the attempts to strengthen relations between the old and the new did not always succeed. Ministers had welcomed and promoted the revival, but preaching the gospel in the pulpits of local chapels was not at all times approved by evangelists. This conflict was discussed by the biographer and debater J. Vyrnwy Morgan, a critic of some aspects of the revival.

Attempts were made to establish a closer affinity of purpose between Nonconformists, who generally had more sympathy with the 1859 Revival, and the younger generation but they failed and the gulf between them widened. The revival is regarded by some historians as a movement which revealed the crisis of the Nonconformist Conscience in a society which was fostering secular features. It can also be interpreted as a power which unveiled democratic rather than theological tendencies. The frustration and dissatisfaction of the dispossessed is detected,³⁹ and church leaders feared that they, owing to the current emphasis on

37. J. G. Jones, “Gwreiddau a thwf yr achos, 1884-1925”, in *Cofio yw Gobeithio: Cyfrol Dathlu Canmlwyddiant Achos Heol y Crwys Caerdydd, 1884-1984* [“The roots and growth of the cause, 1884-1925”, in *To Remember is to Hope: Centenary Volume to Commemorate the Cause at Crwys Road Cardiff, 1884-1984*] (Cardiff, 1984), pp.51-2 [in translation].

38. Smith and Williams, *Fields of Praise*, pp.126-7.

39. Tim Williams, “Language, religion and culture”, in T. Herbert and G. E. Jones (eds.), *Wales 1880-1914* (Cardiff, 1988), p.83.

youth, were being deprived of their power and influence. The revival has been interpreted diversely, not only as "the swan-song of the old religious tradition in Wales...the consumptive's flush of death" and as the "last great gasp" of organised religion, but also as a further step in the history of self-government in Wales, because of the prominence given to the young and the female.⁴⁰ As Tim Williams stated when referring to the nature of the revival in this context:

These groups excluded from a recently professionalized ministry and the diaconate by poverty, education, age or gender. Conventionally, the revival has been viewed as encapsulating the crisis of the nonconformist conscience in an increasingly secular age, as reflecting in some way the guilt of sinners in a fallen world...[there was] a different force at work, a force which has rather more to do with democracy than theology. For part of what we see in the explosion of fervour of 1904-05, which by-passed and often displaced leaderships, is the frustration and discontents of the dispossessed.⁴¹

This approach introduces a new, exciting, and deeper debate concerning the significance of the revival. If the spiritual fervour is interpreted in the context of an awakening to maintain and transform the old Nonconformity, then, judging by the reports of D. M. Phillips, Awstin, and others in *Y Goleuad* and the *Western Mail* respectively, the revival was, in some sense, a great success. That revival, however, contained seeds of self-destruction; factors existed which were damaging to a Nonconformity increasingly burdened after 1904-05 with the task of maintaining its credibility. Concern was shown because of the apathy of the chapels, especially among those who did not respond favourably to the emotional appeal and that, in itself, would frustrate efforts to sustain it. Among them were the band of ministers who were prevented from preaching in their own pulpits. In this context it is interesting to observe that Daniel Jones, minister of Moriah chapel, Loughor, the chapel where Evan Roberts was raised, resigned because his recommendations on how revival meetings in his church should be conducted were ignored.⁴² J. Vyrnwy Morgan again had some poignant comments to make on the conflicts which generally arose:

A Cwmavon minister who had not been allowed to preach for several Sundays approached a group of young men between the ages of 16 and 23: 'Am I to preach tonight?' ... 'It depends upon what the Spirit tells us'...The pastor as the representative of the revival type of religious experience was practically regarded as an alien in the Commonwealth of Israel. The prevailing sentiment was expressed in the prayer of the man who thanked the Lord that He had

40. See D. R. Davies, *In Search of Myself* (London, 1961), p.37; His sister, Annie Davies, was one of the female singers who accompanied Evan Roberts on his revivalist visits.

41. Williams, "Language, religion and culture", pp.83-4.

42. D. Jenkins, *The Agricultural Community in South-West Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff, 1971), p.243.

shunted the ministers on the side line...

The same unsympathetic attitude was assumed by Evan Roberts towards aged Christians. In his presence young men deprecated the restraining influence of the old and actually prayed for their conversion and in some instances even for their removal by death. This side of the Revival was not noticed in the press reports. The insolence the young men were encouraged to cultivate towards the aged may be classed as one of the saddest features of the Revival of 1904-5. During the Revival they counted for nothing. Not a word of appreciation was uttered when the emotion was at its highest level...Evan Roberts had no word of appreciation for the ministry as a class, although the harvest was the fruit of the seed planted by them and their predecessors.⁴³

Morgan referred to the responsibilities of the Sunday Schools in promoting the Gospel and to the home environment as a further means of achieving spiritual regeneration. New directions could then be given to the chapels and moral impediments, sadly affecting the young, removed. Having said that, it should not be concluded that the Nonconformist order was a spent force. It was no easy task to maintain the dynamism once the main leaders had left the public platform. Although there were clear indications of damaging secular effects on it, newspapers and periodicals regularly contained articles on theological and revival matters, contributed by ministers and other intellectuals.

In general, the Nonconformist press supported the revival, but criticism was increasingly made as, for example, in the *Aberdare Leader*, which disapproved of the intention to use religious meetings to change people because it was considered that the pressures which they endured and the depression which often followed were not good for them.⁴⁴

Evan Roberts was held in contempt by some during his missionary visits to different parts of Wales. One of his prime opponents was Peter Price, Congregational minister of Bethania chapel, Dowlais. It was Price's opposition which, to a great extent, dampened much of Roberts's enthusiasm. Although he did not respond publicly to this criticism doubtless the onslaught caused much anguish. Price attacked Roberts because of his self-opinion and the influence which he had on seemingly immature converts. "I heard people say", Price remarked, "that Evan Roberts is led by the Holy Spirit: No say I, totally the reverse. Judging by his behaviour and what he says the Holy Spirit is led by Evan Roberts".⁴⁵ Moreover, in his famous derogatory letter in the *Western Mail* on 31 January 1905 he stated:

The chief figure in this false revival is Evan Roberts, whose language is

43. J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *The Welsh Religious Revival 1904-5: A Retrospect and a Criticism* (London, 1909), pp.42, 184, 189.

44. *Aberdare Leader*, 19 November 1904; 26 August 1905.

45. *Western Mail*, 31 January 1905, p.4; D. J. Roberts, *Cofiant Peter Price [Biography of Peter Price]* (Swansea, 1970), pp.97-9.

inconsistent with the character of anyone except that of a person endowed with the attributes of a Divine Being...Are there four persons in the Godhead, and is Evan Roberts the fourth?⁴⁶

Many deplored Price's harsh attack on Roberts following the revivalist's visit to Dowlais, and particularly to Price's own church. Price was not the only critic but he was the most scathing. After he had referred to the "true revival" emanating "of God and of God only", as conducted by himself and his fellow ministers in the church, Price proceeded to disparage Roberts and his activities. He emphasized the difference between the "heavenly fire" and the "carnal fire". Although most of those who responded to Price's attack wished to protect Roberts's character, the breach between the two viewpoints created a cleavage and, in the minds of many, seriously damaged the credibility of the revival as a religious phenomenon.

Whatever the impact of the revival on the Nonconformist tradition, it certainly did not succeed in eradicating it. In an article in *Y Goleuad* in February 1905 the legacy of the pre-Revival years were given consideration:

This fervour and the present enthusiasm cannot continue but for a time. It cannot be a day of Pentecost forever...Since the sermon, the Sunday School, and all other means have to withdraw now to make way for the meetings to pray and sing...And do not forget that it was by their means that the seed was sown in the past, which is now in the heat of the Divine influences breaking out in sumptuous fruit in the prayer meetings.. However, take care not to go to extremes in the heat of the new life, and to disregard established ordinances and throw away any means which have proved themselves to be a blessing in the past.⁴⁷

It is true that the revival's effects continued over many years in several areas of Wales but the power of its conviction and fervour did not last long. It is true that church membership was increased, and quite substantially so in some areas, but the "fire" and its intensity lost much of its impact as new social factors became causes of concern, particularly in the industrial areas. As the editor of *Y Dysgedydd* put it:

We do fear the danger that some think that going to ecstasies in meetings is the soul and essence of the revival, and to forget that a true revival is something which makes men better and more faithful to their duties in all aspects of life.⁴⁸

When assessing the contribution of the revival in 1904-05, positive factors must

46. *Western Mail*, 31 January 1905, p.4.

47. L. Roberts, "Y Diwygiad ac wedyn" ["The Revival and after"], *Y Goleuad*, 24 February 1905, p.8 [in translation].

48. O. E., 'Nodiadau Misol: "Y Diwygiad" ["Monthly Notes: The Revival"], *Y Dysgedydd*, August 1905, p.383.

be emphasized. Over a period of almost two years its power was felt in the growth of Sunday Schools, the sale of Bibles, the building of new chapels and extension of the old (although they were not filled to capacity), especially in the more densely-populated areas. In 1905 the Union of Young Baptists was formed and it is believed that 8,000 representatives were affiliated to it.⁴⁹ According to the testimony of Sir Marchant Williams, stipendiary magistrate of Merthyr Tydfil, Aberdare, Abercynon and Mountain Ash circuit, the number of serious offences committed in that area was drastically reduced during the revival, and the taverns were less frequented.⁵⁰ In *Y Dysgedydd* it was reported that moral standards in Glamorgan had improved, and "Eilir", another *Western Mail* reporter, enthusiastically and idealistically described the changed nature of valley communities.

Drunkenness has greatly diminished everywhere; in many places it may be said to be non-existent. The Revival teaches people a new way of paying old debts. Thousands of husbands and wives now find pleasure in their homes for the first time in their lives. Their children are clothed and fed and brought up as they never were before. Workmen are more satisfied with their wages and surroundings, and the Revival has exorcised the evil spirit of disaffection from the mine and the workshop. Collieries in many instances have been turned into temporary places of worship. It is in this uplifting of the people, with regeneration of the masses, the Revival is seen at its best...⁵¹

In a period which saw such substantial changes in society it is hardly surprising that the revival of 1904-05 proved to be the last expression of the unique relationship between language, culture and religion on an almost national scale. Efforts were made on behalf of the Welsh people to popularise religion chiefly in the Welsh language, but it must be interpreted also as a "cry of anguish" among people who were torn between two cultures. The revival must be viewed from two angles: as an evangelical campaign representing the spiritual crisis of a people in a period of accelerating secularism and as a movement which gave an early impetus to democracy in denominationalism.⁵²

As one views the revival on a broader scale, then as R. Tudur Jones declared, it represented "old powers gently rocking the nation at the end of an era".⁵³ It represented the high-tide of the old Nonconformity and could not develop further in a furrow which had led the Welsh nation from the Methodist Revival of the

49. Bassett, *The Welsh Baptists*, p.350.

50. "The Religious Revival in Wales: Some Practical Results", by Sir Marchant Williams, in "Awstin", *The Religious revival in Wales 1904* (no.4), pp.1-2; Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of the Nation*, pp.366; *British Weekly*, 9 February 1905, p.9.

51. Elidir, "A bird's eye view" yn "Awstin", *Religious Revival in Wales (Western Mail)*, III, pp.1-2, 31.

52. Williams, "Language, religion and culture", pp.83-4.

53. R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales*, ed. R. Pope (Cardiff, 2004), p.186.

eighteenth century to periods of radical change in the nineteenth century. Literate Welsh people were increasingly turning to political matters associated with their Liberalism, such as the opposition to the Education Act of 1902, the campaign for Disestablishment and the general election of 1906. These factors were not new, because Nonconformist Wales had been radicalised well before 1904-05 but the majority regarded Lloyd George as a greater national hero than Evan Roberts.

Soon after the revival had lost its momentum religious life in Wales faced another crisis when theological interpreters of the Bible threatened orthodox teaching. R. J. Campbell, successor to Joseph Parker as minister of the City Temple in London in 1903 and promoter of the "New Theology", expounded his belief in a God within the individual and not a transcendental being. He rejected "free will" and believed that God worked in and through all. That theory opposed the belief in "original sin" which was central to the Calvinist creed. Campbell, it seemed, opposed the divinity of Christ and denied his uniqueness. His aim was to reveal the intellectual and moral powers of the Christian faith and to expound them in the context of modern knowledge.⁵⁴ Campbell gained support among an increasing number of ministers in Wales, and his book *The New Theology* (1907) was well-received, particularly in industrial areas where socialism was rapidly on the increase.⁵⁵

Yet, over a short period the revival amazingly spread its influence, then languished. For Sidney Evans, Roberts's friend, the revival was a failure because it was enjoyed as a religious phenomenon in itself without the realisation that there was continuous need to sow the seed further and reap the harvest:

The great rivers of India overflow their banks in the rain season and recede back to their beds before the winter. The overflow is an opportunity to sow the seed which needs moisture. It may be that the Church did not take the advantage as it should of this overflow to sow the seed which would have yielded much fruit. The danger was to enjoy the revival rather than to turn it into an opportunity to 'sow and to harvest'.⁵⁶

Evan Roberts's decision to end his mission in 1906 also led to the ending of the evangelical movement as established by him. His presence and personality had been essential to its success. Socialism gained at the expense of Nonconformity and its liberalism; the "New Theology" influenced the thought of many people and secularism proved itself to be a factor far too destructive to church organisation in the process of decline. The old Nonconformity did release a substantial degree of energy in 1904-05 but nationally it had little impact when

54. Pope, *Seeking God's Kingdom*, pp.12-24; Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of the Nation*, pp.240-2.

55. Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of the Nation*, pp.240-2.

56. S. Evans, "Y Diwygiad yn y de" ["The Revival in the south"], in S. Evans and G. M. Roberts (eds.), *Cyfrl Goffa Diwygiad 1904-1905 [The 1904-1905 Revival Commemorative Volume]* (Caernarfon, 1954), p.47.

offset by more dynamic pressures. Then came the upheaval and devastation caused by the Great War (1914-18) and the General Strike and Depression in the late 1920s. The revival might well have been regarded as the “last great gasp of the old nonconformity” but it was also a divine visitation which left its mark and led to the founding in Wales of the Pentecostal and Apostolic movements. It created a moving experience, an experience which had strong social and cultural as well as religious effects in Wales and beyond.

J. GWYNFOR JONES

REVIEWS

Documents of the English Reformation. Edited by Gerald Bray. Library of Ecclesiastical History. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2004. £25.00. pp.674 including indices. ISBN 0 227 17239 6.

This is a reprint with minor corrections of the 1994 volume. Bray's original intention was to provide sources for the theological as well as the political history of the English Reformation. As well as the crucial legislation, Bray offers us the Ten, Thirteen, Six, Forty-two, Thirty-eight, Eleven and Thirty-nine Articles, numerous sets of royal injunctions, prefaces to successive translations of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and much else.

While not explicitly a counterweight to the prevailing revisionism of the 1990s, this book presented by implication an alternative perspective on the English Reformation as a question of belief at least as much as politics. This perspective would carry more weight if the arguments were more explicit. Bray claims that "little attempt has been made to be partisan in the selection, and documents of a Catholic or Puritan persuasion have been included". However, there is in fact very little from a traditionalist or Catholic viewpoint and no recognition in the Introduction of the debate over the strength and validity either of late medieval Catholicism or of the post-Tridentine Catholicism of the Marian revival and the recusant movement. One does not have to accept the arguments of Duffy, Haigh and Scarisbrick, but it is necessary to acknowledge them.

There are however some fascinating and worthwhile sources in this collection. It is particularly useful to have some of the key European texts— the Augsburg Confession of 1530 and the Wittenberg Articles of 1536 – and Bray's comparison of these with the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Confession. The implicit assumption here, though, is that Lutheran influences are the important ones for the development of Reformed thinking in England. The Canons of the Synod of Dort are important for our understanding of seventeenth-century orthodoxy but something earlier from the Calvinist standpoint is needed as well – or possibly something by Martin Bucer, whose influence on the second Book of Common Prayer was so crucial. It is also useful to have the actual texts of the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire, so frequently referred to in the legislation of the Reformation Parliament and so frequently misunderstood. The other great strength of Bray's book is that he considers the "long Reformation": he includes not just the key declarations of the Civil War but the Declaration of Breda, the 1662 Act of Uniformity, the Test and Corporation Acts and even the Act of Settlement of 1701.

The underpinning principles of the book are a source of both strength and weakness. Bray's explicit purpose is to present all the documents in full. He lists in the introduction a number of key texts which have had to be omitted because of their length, and suggests modern editions and reprints. A number of these are now also available on the Internet: the successive Books of Common Prayer and the Homilies, for example, are at [HYPERLINK](#)

["http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/bcp.htm"](http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/bcp.htm), along with the 1544 Exhortation and Litany, Laud's 1637 Scottish Book of Common Prayer and the Directory of Public Worship, successive variants of the 1662 BCP and, for comparison, the Sarum missal in Latin and English. (This site also includes the 1662 *Llyfr Gweddi Cyffredin*, though none of the earlier versions.) Web-based resources are never as permanent or as reliable as hard copy, but it would have been useful to provide URLs for key texts on academic or otherwise reliable sites. They have the great advantage of being searchable: one does not have to read all the homilies to find a key phrase. Line-by-line comparisons are also much easier.

This book is emphatically about the *English* Reformation – and the Reformation seen from a London perspective. While one could not expect Bray to grapple with the Welsh literature of the period in the original, much is now available in translation. Nor is there much on the “popular” Reformation even as it affected England. No chronicles, no correspondence, no legal proceedings or probate records, no churchwardens’ accounts, no atrocity stories out of Foxe: this is the Reformation of the centre. Still less is there anything about the resistance to the Reformation, from the writings of Fisher and More to the voices of Louth and Morebath and the desperate courage of underground Catholic priests. Whatever our own beliefs about the ideas of the Reformation, if we are to think about them as historians we need a balanced viewpoint. That is something which Bray’s book, for all its usefulness, does not give us.

MADELEINE GRAY

Reformation Views of Church History. By Glanmor Williams. Library of Ecclesiastical History. Cambridge, James Clarke & Co, 2004. £17.50. Pp. 86. ISBN 0-227-17173-X.

As this review was being prepared for publication, an announcement was made that Professor Sir Glanmor Williams had died on Thursday, 24 February 2005, at the age of 84. His contribution as a public figure and as a historian has already been widely recognised, not only in his native Wales but also beyond its borders. Born at Dowlais, Glamorgan, in 1920, he attended university at Aberystwyth before later being appointed a lecturer at Swansea. It was there, over a period of forty years, twenty-five of them as Professor of History, that he was to make his contribution to our understanding of the past. He became one of Wales’s most celebrated historians, the chief authority on its early modern period.

In a review of a book as short as this one, only an intimation may be gained of the real breadth and depth of Sir Glanmor’s knowledge and learning. As the Preface explains, the substance of the volume was originally delivered in Manchester and London as the Whitley Trust Lectures for 1965. First published in 1970, it was decided to issue a reprint in 2004, and such is the nature of the contents that no additional justification of that decision is necessary. Written in an eloquent and graceful style, the book contains a study of how three English Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century used church history and presented

it to their contemporaries. Beginning with the Continental background, an account is given of Martin Luther who, as a result of the revolutionary character of some of his theological conclusions, and the opposition of those representing the old Catholic tradition, in particular John Eck, found himself having to appeal to history in order to make his findings more palatable to those who came to hear of them. But there were others, and not only are the names of Phillip Melancthon, Heinrich Bullinger and John Calvin highlighted, the approaches of magisterial and radical groups of reformers are also analysed and explained.

Next follow the studies of the three English Reformers. Each is allocated a chapter and the chief characteristics of their individual appeal to history are opened for scrutiny. Attention is drawn, first, to William Tyndale's emphasis on scriptural history, especially as a record of God's relationship with nations and individuals. To this is added his vivid awareness of tension between good and evil, and an explanation given of how he applied these themes to his own country's past. Secondly, John Bale's appeal to history is examined in the context of his own character, the intensity of which was expressed through his polemical writings, his activities as an antiquary and a historian, and his passionate patriotism. Thirdly comes John Foxe, whose crowning achievement was the *Book of Martyrs*, a volume which, according to Professor Williams, not only contains a number of features "which should still command a modern historian's respect and interest" but which also makes him "not unworthy to be ranked among the great English historians."

Lest we feel that a study of three English Reformers might give a blinkered view of the use of history, the concluding chapter contains an overview of the various attitudes shown towards the subject by writers and scholars in each of the other countries of the British Isles. This broad sweep of Welsh, Scottish and Irish attitudes provides the study not only with another dimension of the sixteenth-century context, but also gives a chronological account of the influence of the Reformers' ideas, conceptions and interpretations, which is neatly rounded off by a discussion on the historiographic style widely used by church historians today.

Many will derive great pleasure from reading this all too brief book. It is thorough in its approach and both enlightening and relevant in its conclusions. Its only drawback is that some who would otherwise be interested in obtaining a copy will find the price prohibitive. That is a shame, for this is a book that anyone studying the Reformation and its literature, or even church history in general, should hurry to add to their library.

GERAINT TUDUR

Congregationalism in Wales. By R. Tudur Jones, edited by Robert Pope. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2004. £35.00. Pp.376. ISBN 0-7083-1887-8.

I only met the author of this book, R. Tudur Jones, once, and that near the end of his life. On that occasion he told me that it was his custom to preach in Welsh, and that if he were required to preach in English, he had to ensure that he spoke a

good deal of English in the preceding week in order to maintain his fluency. It was therefore natural – both for him and for his constituency – that, when commissioned to write a history of Welsh Congregationalism in the 1960s, he should have written it in Welsh. This means that until the present, historians who do not read Welsh have been deprived of access to this fascinating, scholarly account of the origin and development of Congregational ideas and church life in Wales. Before writing this volume, Tudur Jones had produced the authoritative *Congregationalism in England 1662-1962*, written for the tercentenary of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Unfortunately restrictions on space had prevented him from including sections on Wales in the earlier volume.

This volume is greatly to be welcomed. Tudur Jones was a meticulous, widely-read scholar who had a passionate commitment to the Congregational way (though this did not blind him to faults when they existed). Even when an interpretation might seem dated, his rigorous scholarship ensures that evidence is always quoted, leaving some room for re-interpretation. As a theologian as well as a historian he wrote with the assumption that the people of this story “were in an objective connection with a living God” and that “God co-operated with these people to knit the pattern of their story”. God is part of the history. His knowledge of English Congregationalism, especially in the earlier period, enabled him to set the Welsh story within the wider context, and his own doctoral research on Vavasor Powell gave him a detailed knowledge of the Puritan movement in Wales. Inevitably it is a book of its time, and so there is little about women, for example (except in Robert Pope’s sequel).

Certain features of the story stand out. Perhaps most important is the issue of language. Henry VIII’s requirement that an English translation of the Bible should be available in every church had a different impact on people who only spoke Welsh. Even when a Welsh translation was made available in 1588, the volume was unwieldy in size; and the level of literacy was much lower in Wales than in England. But gradually Welsh became the language of the pulpit and ministry, and Congregationalists helped to preserve the Welsh language. By the later nineteenth century there were English-speaking congregations, usually affiliated to the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and there were Welsh-speaking Independent churches, many of whom came together in the Union of Welsh Independents in 1872. This has caused some problems for the translators, and it is sometimes difficult for the English reader to understand the distinctions and the overlapping between the two. It is relevant for the reader to know that the author belonged to the Union of Welsh Independents.

A second important factor is that Nonconformity has, until recently, always been a stronger influence in Wales than in England. The Evangelical Revival had a powerful influence in Wales and led to a golden age of preaching and preaching tours in the early nineteenth century. This affected Congregationalism as well as Methodism. By 1850 70% of the places of worship in Wales were Nonconformist, and Tudur Jones estimated that, according to the Census of 1851, 70% of those who attended church on the specified Sunday attended a Nonconformist place of worship. Though Congregationalists were not the largest group of

Nonconformists, they were a significant one. Two later revivals, in 1859 and 1904, temporarily strengthened Welsh Nonconformity. The balance between Anglican and Nonconformist was therefore different in Wales, and the relationship was further changed when the Church in Wales was disestablished in 1920.

Robert Pope's additional chapter, bringing the story up to the end of the twentieth century, recounts the subsequent great changes. Pope is a minister of the United Reformed Church and a lecturer in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at Bangor, who knew Tudur Jones. He has provided a stimulating final chapter covering the years 1963-2003, a chapter which encompasses the effects of the formation of the United Reformed Church in 1972, the Welsh ecumenical movement of the second half of the century, and the establishment of the Welsh assembly, all of which have taken place in the context of a severe decline in church attendance and church membership, in Wales as elsewhere (though perhaps even more drastically in Wales). Nevertheless, like Tudur Jones, he finds signs of hope in Congregational ecclesiology. "While it is rooted in Scripture, Congregationalism will survive" (Tudur Jones).

The production of this work has been a team effort, and those involved are to be congratulated and thanked for making this volume accessible to an English-speaking readership: the translators, the editor, the publisher, the advisers, and the Arts and Humanities Research Board, which made a grant towards publication. This book fills a notable gap in our understanding of Congregationalism in the UK, and does honour to some outstanding leaders little known in the wider context.

ELAINE KAYE

'A Glorious Work in the World'. Welsh Methodism and the International Evangelical Revival, 1735-1750. By David Ceri Jones. Studies in Welsh History. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2004. £35.00. Pp. xiv + 386. ISBN 0-7083-1870-3.

David Ceri Jones has written this book with an avowed aim of delivering the studies of Welsh Methodism from parochialism and hagiography. When the bicentenary of Cheshunt College was celebrated in 1968 Dr Geoffrey Nuttall delineated its origins in Trevecca and the spectacle of the opening in 1768. He invested the modest hamlet where Howell Harris had his family settlement and the Countess of Huntingdon her enlarged farmhouse "college" with an almost mystic significance. Here was a centre of Evangelical energies, a focus for a world-wide movement of the Spirit. We have waited almost forty years for a scholar of the Welsh Methodist movement to flesh out such a picture for us. Dr Jones has mastered both the complexities of the sources and the historiography to present us with a revised picture of the critical fifteen years between 1735 and 1750. He has concentrated on reminding us of the role Howell Harris played in England as well as Wales at this period, especially in the absence of George Whitefield in America.

The appointment of Whitefield as "Moderator" of Welsh Methodism is brought back to prominence. The part played by Howell Harris in trying to mediate between the contending parties in the 1740s, as early enthusiasm turned to doctrinal wrangling between Moravians, Arminians and Calvinists, is rightly revisited.

Dr Jones also opens up some newer areas of enquiry. Historians of the period collect information from Evangelical publications but we still have things to learn from the processes of compiling and distributing these works. The role of women, particularly in supplying testimony of the New Birth, is examined. There is also a specific chapter on what Dr Jones terms the "rank and file" of the movement, that is to say, the local leaders whose names we encounter in the correspondence but who are rarely appraised beyond the footnote here and there. All of what is written here is recognisable from the sources given. In passing, it might be added, the book is worth having for the bibliography alone. The time frame of the study is rationalised by Harris's fall from grace in 1750, when his doctrinal position was used to ease him out of English and Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, although the real reason was undoubtedly his infatuation with Madame Sydney Griffith. Dr Jones sees a break in the international dimension of Welsh Methodism consequent upon Harris's departure and regards his later re-admission into Evangelical circles in the 1760s as being a shadow existence compared with his former life.

A great deal of the thesis of the book hangs around the character and work of Howell Harris, as reflected in his diaries and correspondence. Dr Jones issues a warning about the balance and bias of his various sources, including the sheer volume of what we have from Harris by contrast with other Welsh protagonists. It is not quite clear what his final assessment of Harris is. Sometimes he is presented as impulsive and argumentative, his own worst enemy. At other times he is characterised as a reconciler, a man of wide sympathies anxious to hold together the dynamic partnership of the Wesleys and Whitefield, not to mention the Moravians. Howell Harris exists in both guises and, in the context of the argument of this book perhaps it is not necessary to integrate them, but it does leave the reader confused. Similarly, Daniel Rowland is sometimes presented as anxious to incorporate Harris in the work in Wales and then eager to outflank him. Again, this is entirely understandable but the presentation needs to be made more consistent. The concentration on Harris also means that Dr Jones sees the early millennial expectations of the Methodists being replaced by pessimism as the troubles of 1750 come upon them. Those Methodists given to millennial turns of mind were equally capable of arguing that troubles presaged the Lord's imminent return weeks, or days even, after interpreting Methodist success as a sign of the End. One also wonders, if the book is to act as a counter-balance to an overly-Welsh view of Methodism, whether there might be more reliance on original sources outside Wales?

Setting aside these minor anxieties, those who enjoy the study of this period and its people will welcome Dr Jones joining the field. He has some sharp re-evaluations of events and a determination to link Welsh Calvinism with its

international cousins. It leads one to ponder about the nature of intense religious experience and its power to act as a solvent for cultural difference and geographical separation. A real enthusiasm links people across all kinds of barriers, including class, as Dr Jones observes. There may be a lesson here for church historians. Although some scholars have, like Geoffrey Nuttall and the late Buick Knox, given the time to study the language and open up Welsh thinking to the rest of us, we do rely on native Welsh scholarship and the support of the University of Wales to ensure that the wider links are made with the English-speaking constituency for our mutual benefit. We look forward to Dr Jones adding more to our understanding in the projects he currently has in hand.

STEPHEN ORCHARD

Testimony and Tradition: Studies in Reformed and Dissenting Thought.
By Alan P. F. Sell. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. Pp. viii + 376. £60.00.
ISBN 0-7546-4082-5.

“Conservation and Exploration in Christian Theology” was the title adopted by Alan Sell for his inaugural lecture in the Chair of Christian Doctrine and the Philosophy of Religion at the United Theological College, Aberystwyth, in 1992. The argument of the lecture was that there is much to be gleaned from our theological heritage both in terms of what is essential to Christian faith and identity and in terms of the intellectual quest for truth. Yet this does not preclude further exploration in our own day and the need to respond to events and intellectual developments far beyond the ken of our forefathers. Without some essential connection with what has gone before it is questionable whether our contemporary responses are in fact “Christian” in any sense of the word. But the traditions developed and insights gained in the past require constant scrutiny as our understanding grows and responds to new situations in accordance with the requirements of Christian discipleship that God be loved in every age with heart, soul, strength and mind. The theological task, to understand the revelation of God’s Word to us in history, as contained in the Scriptures and illuminated to us by the Holy Spirit, “should engage and excite all Christians”, writes the author, for it is a task which belongs to the whole church. One is reminded of the oft-quoted words of the Puritan pastor, John Robinson (whose work is referred to several times in the book) that “the Lord hath yet more light and truth to break forth from his holy word”. The lecture forms the first chapter of this collection and in many ways sets the tone of what follows.

The book comprises thirteen papers delivered at various events to a number of different bodies in the years following the author’s appointment to the Aberystwyth chair. All but one of the papers has been previously published, though they appeared in such disparate and various forms that their appearance together will be to the advantage of all interested parties. Apart from the opening paper, the volume includes, “The Worship of English Congregationalism”; “Telling the Story: Then and Now”; “Doctrine, Polity, Liberty: What do Baptists

Stand For?"; "The Life and Thought of Henry Grove"; "Andrew Fuller and the Socinians"; "P. T. Forsyth as Unsystematic Systematician"; "What has P. T. Forsyth to do with Mercersburg?"; "A Renewed Plea for 'Impractical' Divinity"; "Reformed Theology: Whence and Whither?"; "The Dissenting Witness: Yesterday and Today"; "From Union to Church: Autobiographical Recollections of Congregational Ecclesiology in the 1960s"; "Reminiscence, Reflection, Reassurance". It would be difficult to offer an account of each paper without producing a tediously long review. It would be far better to read the book. Nevertheless, a flavour of what is contained in the volume can be gleaned from a paragraph in the Preface:

As well as being broadly concerned with the Reformed and Dissenting traditions, the collection, not surprisingly, affords evidence of my interests in ecclesiology, eighteenth-century thought, and ecumenism. It is characteristic of my method to seek to benefit from the wisdom of those who have gone before, as well as to engage with my contemporaries as appropriate. Some of the papers reveal my deep indebtedness to experiences gained while holding theological posts in England, Switzerland, Canada and Wales.

A number of points arise from this. First, the book does not simply represent the work of a historian, but of a philosopher and theologian (as the title may suggest). Thought, its development and critique, rather than institutions (or, for that matter, people), is the major subject of each paper. At times it is fascinating and insightful. It is always erudite and based on the most meticulous research. Some parts treat central issues; others treat those aspects of our heritage that might be deemed peripheral. It is occasionally polemical, often encouraging, always interesting.

Second, there are recurring themes such as the challenge to sectarian ecclesiologies that seek to compromise "the one, full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice of Christ upon the cross" by adding further, unnecessary qualifications for membership. It is not simply Establishment Anglicanism and intransigent Catholicism which come in for criticism here but also forms of Dissent and Nonconformity which have similarly placed additional burdens on the faithful. As such the book serves as a reminder that while the Reformed and Dissenting traditions captured something of the dynamic essence of the gospel, they can all too easily fall into a sectarianism which denies the grace of God in Christ. Conservation of the tradition is both helpful and necessary but it requires continued exploration in light of God's reconciling work in Christ to ensure that it is always "good news" which is proclaimed by the Church.

Alongside this it is clear that, while not seeking to undo the life of the United Reformed Church, Alan Sell has much to say in favour of Congregational polity, particularly the importance of the church meeting as the "completion" of the Reformation "from the point of view of polity" because it brings "matters down to the priesthood of believers corporately conceived". "It is a credal assembly," he says, "where the Lordship of Christ is proclaimed, his will sought, and where those who by grace are one in him seek, by the Spirit, to be one in their decisions

and judgments". Alongside this, the church meeting is the presentation, as Samuel Davidson insisted, of "a miniature image of the church universal". In these days of mooted change, when some (it is rumoured) would define the essence of our identity as Reformed Christians in different ways, we would do well to remind ourselves of the theology of the church meeting, always bearing in mind (as this book points out) that the saints are also sinners and the reality often falls short of the ideal.

While not about people as such, it is clear that the papers here witness to the influence of certain individuals. John Robinson has already been mentioned, though it is perhaps P. T. Forsyth who is most prominent. The last two papers are slightly autobiographical, though not over-indulgent, for Alan Sell uses his experiences to recount the theological issues surrounding the journey within Congregationalism "From Union to Church", and the worship of the churches he knew in his youth in order to discuss the shifts in public worship which subsequently occurred. Again, the reader is encouraged to conserve and to explore.

This is a collection of deep insight, immense scholarship and a profound sense of Christian mission. Those who read it will learn much not only about the Reformed and Dissenting traditions but also about the issues which face our church life together in the present. Its tone is not prescriptive and, as a result, it offers humble assistance which may help us to remember that "change" can easily go hand in hand with "decay" (as in H. F. Lyte's hymn) but that the task set before the church is constant reformation. As such the publication of these papers is both welcome and timely. They deserve to be read.

ROBERT POPE

John Scott Lidgett: Archbishop of Methodism? By Alan Turberfield. London, Epworth Press, 2003. £25.00. Pp. 490. ISBN 0-7162-0571-8

This is the first full-length biography of perhaps the leading Free Church figure of the first half of the twentieth century. It is based on an Oxford doctoral thesis so that it is fully referenced, yet its style of writing is accessible, even engaging. The general reader might hesitate over its length, but this is down to Scott Lidgett's own ninety-nine years. Turberfield must have asked himself what the last twenty years added to his subject's stature but I think rightly decided that his full seventy-three years of ministry and fifty-nine years as head of the Bermondsey Settlement should not be underplayed.

Another reason for the length of the book – and this is of real value – is that so many events have nowadays to be explained and put in context before Scott Lidgett's contribution or reaction to them can be understood. "What does Kikuyu mean to you, besides Mau Mau?" might be a revealing question in a church quiz today. Turberfield also records events which interested Scott Lidgett but in which he had no part. It was a revelation to this reader, for example, to learn that Sidney Berry had offered in 1917 to be reordained if that would allow his church, Carrs

Lane, and Birmingham Cathedral to be worked as one church. William Temple supported the proposal but Archbishop Davidson said "no". The book is full of such intriguing items.

The rather coy subtitle is doubtless intended to help one's memory place Scott Lidgett both as Methodist leader and within the ecumenical movement of the period. "Perhaps the greatest Methodist since John Wesley" was one assessment, and Turberfield (who remains remarkably detached from his subject, admiring but not, I sense, loving) is careful to add the speaker's qualification: "in some respects". Undoubtedly Scott Lidgett's greatest achievement was as long-term architect of Methodist reunion, eventually reached in 1932. He had already chaired the Wesleyan Conference in 1908, but was invited to chair the uniting Conference of 1932. In the same year he was awarded an honorary DD by Oxford and made (uniquely among Methodists) a Companion of Honour by the King.

But Scott Lidgett stands also as the one Free Churchman invariably involved, privately or publicly, when wider, more ambitious, ideas for church reunion were seriously discussed on the prompting of Lambeth after the Great War and in the 1930s. It helped here that he got on with Archbishop Davidson and was a friend of Archbishop Lang – he was a pall-bearer at his funeral. It helped too that Scott Lidgett was President or Moderator at different times of both national Free Church bodies, always influential in their counsels, and honorary secretary of the National Council from 1914 to 1940. Nothing ecumenical escaped his notice and it is all here ready referenced for whomever will eventually re-evaluate the ecumenical movement in the last century.

Students of the social gospel will also find rich seams to mine. Scott Lidgett was openly engaged politically as well as in education and in the settlement movement. He lobbied against the grant of rate aid to denominational schools in London after the 1902 Education Act, rather than refusing to pay the education rate on the grounds that passive resistance favoured by many Nonconformists intensified church and chapel divisions. He played a full part in the National Council's 1906 general election campaign in general support of the Liberal Party. Much later, and still beguiled by Lloyd George, he took a prominent part in the latter's Council of Action campaign in the 1935 general election, in which controversially he managed to embroil the National Council. (Turberfield does not spare us Stephen Koss's strictures on Scott Lidgett for his political naivete in 1935.) Scott Lidgett served as a Progressive on the old London County Council, becoming their leader in 1918, and remaining an Alderman after he lost his seat. He served on the Court of London University and as Vice Chancellor under the old constitution. He was in the small influential church deputation which R. A. Butler consulted when his landmark 1944 Education Act was being framed.

The Bermondsey Settlement embraced education at all levels, from practical work to university extension, social clubs for all ages and a very wide range of social welfare. Scott Lidgett's work here was not so much innovative as providing essential leadership and somehow or other financial support from outside to make it possible. It also of course spared him the chore of itinerancy and provided a long-standing metropolitan perch for his other activities. He was always on hand when his counsel was sought or speedy reaction needed.

Bermondsey must have isolated him from the concerns of the ordinary minister, and chairing the Methodist south-east London district (for thirty-nine years) would only partly compensate. He became increasingly authoritarian. While this might help in Bermondsey, Turberfield does not conceal the difficulties it led to outside. He preached well, as Methodists are wont to do, most remarkably for forty minutes to an international conference when aged ninety-seven. He collapsed at the end, recovered, and lived two more years.

Turberfield is to be congratulated on keeping control of the mass of material assembled to cover such a long, varied and influential life. He has done so by tempering strict chronology by themes and by providing at the head of each main section a summary of what is covered, with dates. This, with full notes and a good index, makes the book easy to handle and refer to. There is a bibliography. Illustrations are few but they are well chosen. A benevolent Scott Lidgett adorns the cover but my favourite is inside. It shows him at the 1932 Conference garden party, big old-fashioned bowler hat, unfurled umbrella ready for rain, boots and plain broadcloth, his grizzled face in profile, a slight smile of triumph, ready, even impatient, for the next challenge to overcome.

JOHN HANDBY THOMPSON

A CORRECTIVE NOTE ON THE COOKS

In my article, "Tadeo Yanaihara and Mrs Cook. III: The Cooks" (*JURCHS*, Vol. 7, No. 6, p. 393), I identified the Kenneth and Hugh, mentioned in Yanaihara's letter of 5 October 1928, as "Cook grandsons, children of Bernard Cook (1879-1966)". Bernard Cook's daughter, Jean Gill, has written to correct this: they were indeed Cook grandsons but they were Bernard Cook's *nephews*, the sons of his sister Janet Cook (1882-1961) who married Penry Rowland (1874-1964). I welcome both the correction and the opportunity to explore further Nonconformist family connections.

Penry Rowland was a surgeon, active in Colchester's municipal, professional, and church life. He served on Colchester's education, library, museum, parks and public health committees; he was President of the North East Essex B.M.A.; he was a deacon of Lion Walk Congregational (now United Reformed) Church from 1906 to 1955. The marriage of a daughter to Hervey Benham connected his family to the Colchester branch of the Benhams, a far-flung family of Baptists and Congregationalists whose activities rivalled those of the Cooks. As for the Rowlands, Penry Rowland was the brother, son, grandson and great-great-nephew of Congregational ministers, all Rowlands. His father, Alfred Rowland (1840-1925), was minister of Park Chapel, Crouch End, from 1875 to 1911, where his ministry, and his church's membership, bore comparison with that of R.F. Horton of Hampstead. Alfred Rowland's father, James Rowland (1804-1872), ministered from 1837 at Henley Congregational Church which nurtured a surprising number of interesting Congregational families, among them earlier generations of Cooks. James Rowland married sensibly. His wife was the daughter of William Langford (d.1864), who in his prosperous prime lived in The Great House, Wymondley, which he purchased when Coward College left it for Bloomsbury. Unfortunately, Langley invested unwisely in a London brewery and had to leave Wymondley for a terrace house in Wandsworth.

William Langford's second wife (and Mrs James Rowland's stepmother), was Susanna Maberly, the sister, daughter, and cousin of M.P.s. Her cousin, Apsley Pellatt (1791-1863), was a Dissenting role model: innovative glass manufacturer, M.P. Southwark 1852-7, Chairman of the Dissenting Deputies, 1855-63.

The Maberlys were less admirable. Susanna's brother, Lt. Col. William Maberly (1798-1885), sat for Westbury, Northampton, Shaftesbury, and Chatham, from 1819 to 1834. One did not sit for such constituencies without patronage or the exercise of "influence". Maberly (whose army career was steadily pursued) was a Whig who opposed the abolition of slavery. After 1834 his career was in the Post Office. He opposed the Penny Post and did his best to thwart the reforms of Rowland Hill, whom he called "that man from Birmingham". He had no children but his wife was a prolific novelist.

John Maberly (d.1840), the father of William and Susanna Langford, was M.P. for Rye and Abingdon from 1816 to 1832. He had begun as a carrier but his fortune was his wife's: her father, William Leader, was coachmaker to the Prince of Wales. John Maberly became an army contractor, a linen and soap

manufacturer, and a banker, with interests in Aberdeen and Edinburgh as well as in London. He was as innovative in his way as his nephew Apsley Pellatt, "a thorough Buonaparte", as Lord Teignmouth called him. He was a Tory who turned against the Government and who was forced to live abroad when his schemes collapsed and his bank stopped payment. He was last heard of in Madrid, as correspondent for the *Morning Chronicle*.

John Maberly had a brother, Frederick (1782-1860), a Trinity, Cambridge, man who became an Anglican clergyman and was believed by many to be mad. Frederick Maberly carried his Toryism and Protestantism to extremes and was ejected from the House of Lords in April 1829 when he tried to impeach that arch-traitor, the Duke of Wellington. The Bishop of Ely came to his rescue and from 1835 he was Rector of Finborough, near Stowmarket, a hotbed of Congregationalism. There he died, says the *DNB*, "leaving a family much impoverished by his rash and miscellaneous benevolence".

The Maberlys are strange connections for the Pellatts, Langfords and Rowlands, let alone the Cooks. I suspect the link is Whitefieldite Evangelicalism. But can any reader explain the link (if any) with London's Maberly Chapel, Kingsland, where Robert Philip was minister 1825-55, and where the London City Mission was formed?

CLYDE BINFIELD