The Welsh Nonconformists' memorial; or, Cambro-British biography; containing sketches of the founders of the Protestant dissenting interest in Wales. To which are prefixed, an essay on Druidism, and introduction of the Gospel into Britain. With an Appendix, including the author's minor pieces and his last views of the Christian religion / by William Richards. Edited, with notes and illustrations by John Evans.

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AN ANCIENT DRUID.

From the Editor.

THE WELSH *NONCONFORMISTS' MEMORIAL;*

OR,

Cambro-British Biography;

CONTAINING

SKETCHES

OF THE

Founders of the Protestant Dissenting Interest

IN WALES.

To which are prefixed,

AN ESSAY ON DRUIDISM,

AND

INTRODUCTION OF THE GOSPEL INTO BRITAIN.

With an Appendix,

INCLUDING THE AUTHOR'S MINOR PIECES,

AND HIS

LAST VIEWS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Tho: Howell. 1831.

BY THE LATE

REV. WILLIAM RICHARDS, LL.D.

Persecuted but not forsaken—cast down but not destroyed!—*Paul.*

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY JOHN EVANS, LL.D.

Author of the Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World.

"Cari parentes—cari liberi—sed carior Patria est."—*Cicero.*



Stonehenge.

London:

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TO THE

REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D.

PHILADELPHIA,

United States of America.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE waves of THE WIDE ATLANTIC rolling between us, oppose no barrier to the sensibilities of the heart. To you, at the distance of *three thousand miles*, this interesting little Volume is addressed with propriety. Resembling its late venerable Author, you, by your zeal and patriotism, have shed an honour upon your native land. He valued your friendship, and you revere his memory!

To our *deceased* brother, my dear Sir, WALES (his and my natal soil, as well as the birth-place of ROGER WILLIAMS, the liberal and pacific founder of Rhode Island) had been the object of indefatigable research. He was versed in its *History* and *Biography*. For years previous to his death, he meditated a

work illustrative of the ecclesiastical antiquities of the Principality. The subsequent Volume shews what had been accomplished. It is at length, with its final corrections, presented to the Public, who will please to recollect, that had Providence permitted him to complete his plan, (a circumstance which, in humble submission to the will of God, was the subject of prayer during his last illness,) imperfections, at present discernible, would never have appeared. Posthumous productions are received with candour. A discerning Public is not wanting in liberality.

The *Essay* on DRUIDISM, the religion of our primitive ancestors, had been written out neatly for the press, and will, my dear Sir, attract attention. Its priests, with their attendants, are thus picturesquely pourtrayed by a modern poet:

——————— On the left
Reside THE SAGES, skilled in *Nature's* lore;
The changeful Universe, its numbers, powers,
Studious they measure; save when meditation
Gives place to holy rites; then in the grove
Each hath his rank and function! Yonder grots
Are tenanted by *Bards*, who nightly thence,
Rob'd in their flowing vests of innocent white,
Descend, with harps that glitter to the moon,
Hymning immortal strains!

MASON.

The Introduction of the Gospel into BRITAIN, as well as its deterioration and progress towards amendment, merits, my dear Sir, a careful perusal. It extends only to the time of WICKLIFFE, who died at Lutterworth, 1384, in the 60th year of his age. He was denominated *the Morning Star* of the Reformation! Of the followers of this distinguished Reformer, his biographer remarks, "The Wickliffites were oppressed, but could not be extinguished. Persecution served only to establish *that faith* which became general at THE REFORMATION!" To this important period the Author, had he lived, would have brought down his account. No individual was better fitted for the task. HISTORY, sacred and profane, was amongst his earliest predilections; and the appellation of *the Historian* was assigned him by his fellow-pupils at the academy.

In THE CAMBRO-BRITISH BIOGRAPHY, which constitutes the substance of the Volume, had the Author survived, other *Sketches* would have been included, and the whole more chronologically arranged. The reader, my dear Sir, will regret their general brevity. I would, however, have these considered in the light of *miniatures*, which, notwithstanding their apparent insignificancy, present a faithful

likeness, and produce an impression upon the heart. The lengthened portrait of the sufferings of the great and good VAVASOR POWELL, (for his was the crown of *martyrdom*—perishing amidst the horrors of incarceration,) as well as those *Sketches* of his pious countrymen, occupied in the formation of *the Protestant Dissenting Interest* throughout WALES, glow with his characteristic love of liberty! Intolerance was the Author's abhorrence. The villainous deeds of the persecutor he consigns to execration. Most happily, *his* is the tale of other times. A more halcyon period succeeded. The fierce anathema, armed with the thunder of the Civil Power, no longer stuns the ear of the conscientious worshipper. Descendants of the devout and harassed Puritans, we, under the mild auspices of the Brunswick Family, fearlessly repeat the stanza which ought to be inscribed, in illumined characters, upon the front of every temple throughout Christendom:—

Let Cæsar's dues be ever paid
To Cæsar and his throne;
But *Consciences* and *Souls* were made
To be the LORD'S alone! *

---

* Should the reader wish for a more extended account of these *suffering worthies*, he will find it in *the Lives of the*

By you, my dear Sir, the condition of our ancestors, *the Cambro-Britons*, will be appreciated. Spurning the yoke of spiritual tyranny, they tore themselves from their native land, and fled to the wilderness of America! It hath long been the asylum of the persecuted. Your countrymen know the value of *freedom;* they have purchased it with their blood. You yourself, the contemporary of WASHINGTON, most commendably offered up, in the discharge of your sacred duties, the availing prayer of patriotism, during the eventful, agonizing, and ultimately triumphant struggle of citizens, armed in the righteous cause of their country! *He*, indeed, was a luminary of the first magnitude. The name of *Washington*, which "fills the herd of conquerors with shame," stands enshrined amidst the purest effulgency. *His* rare felicity it was to command the admiration of both Hemispheres by the almost unprecedented combination of senatorial wisdom and of military glory.

AN ADDRESS was presented (August 8, 1789) to the illustrious *Washington*, by the Committee of the United Baptist Churches in

Puritans, &c. by Benjamin Brook, in Three Volumes; a well-written work, equally honourable to the Author's judgment and industry.

Virginia, on his elevation to the Presidency of the United States. In his reply are these memorable expressions: "I beg you will be persuaded that no one would be more zealous than *myself* to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution!" Amongst you, my dear Sir, RELIGION subsists altogether apart from the State, resting upon its own basis, and diffusing around its own native glory. This is "as it ought to be," was the declaration of *the late Dr. Watson*, Bishop of Landaff, made to a young American minister, visiting him at his seat amidst the lakes of Westmoreland. With you, no one sect is exalted above another. Amongst you, no denomination is supported at the expense of another. Each church comes recommended by its characteristic lustre and purity. In accordance with CHRIST and his *Apostles*, ecclesiastical assemblies should be raised on the broad platform of primitive Christianity.*

In the *Memoirs of the Life and Writings* of the Author of this volume, his *biography* is

* See Vol. I. p. 170, of *Dr. Rippon's Register*. The Editor is happy to learn that Dr. Rippon has not relinquished his long-intended and interesting work on that vast and awful repository of the dead, Bunhill-Fields.

detailed, and its approval, my dear Sir, by individuals of various denominations, yields me no small gratification. His principal work (as you well know) was the *History of Lynn*, in two large octavo volumes. There he himself, the centre of a choice circle of friends, resided near half a century, and finished his course September 13, 1818, in the 69th year of his age. In this elaborate production his vigorous mind had room to dilate itself. Here he put forth his energies to advantage. The autumnal stores of his knowledge are poured forth in profusion. The contents of the present publication also possess an intrinsic worth. It is a treasure of biography: I was determined that it should see the light. Like the *Sibylline leaves*, I have gathered *the Sketches* together with an hallowed vigilance. In this collected form the volume may occupy a niche in the theological library. A solemn *legacy* to his beloved countrymen, the work is transmitted to them with an inviolable fidelity.

The APPENDIX, my dear Sir, furnishes the reader with his *Minor Pieces*, the valedictory, as well as occasional effusions of AN HONEST WELSHMAN. Calling *no man master on earth*, he knew full well that *one is our Master*, even CHRIST. Standing aloof from the petty ob-

liquities of sectarianism, he derived his views of Revelation from the Sacred Writings alone. His *last* sentiments will please no party, for he identifies himself with no party. He listened to the small still voice of *truth*, amidst the sabbath of retirement. Exercising his reason, in the fear of God, for the interpretation of the contents of Revelation, he despised the clamour of *heresy*. Domination over *the faith* of OTHERS under pretence of zeal for *the truth* is the besetting sin of professing Christians. This disposition, found more or less among all denominations, hath engendered *pride* and *hatred*, *uncharitableness*, and *every evil work*. Thus the prime end of the advent of THE MESSIAH is frustrated, the establishment of the reign of righteousness and peace on earth! Neither inflated by the reveries of fanaticism, nor arrogantly hurling against an erring brother the fulminations of bigotry, the aim of our *deceased friend* was the glory of the Supreme Being, his object the salvation of mankind.—Without the imputation of vanity he might have exclaimed,

> When I was yet a child, no childish play
> To *me* was pleasing; all my mind was set,
> Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
> What might be public good—*Myself*, I thought,
> Born to that end—born to promote all truth,
> All righteous things! MILTON.

Nor must I, my dear Sir, omit to observe, that *the Diploma* conferred upon the Author through your kind interposition, by the respectable *College* of RHODE ISLAND, as a recognition of his merits, did honour to their discernment and liberality. Alas! that this mark of respect from his transatlantic brethren should not have reached this country till he had become an inhabitant of *the house appointed for all living.* On the very day his diploma was signed, he testified his dying regard to THE INSTITUTION whence it emanated by the bequeathment of his *own collection of books.* The coincidence is remarkable. The parties personally unknown to each other, and at an immense distance, were cemented together by the expansive sympathies of their common Christianity. The distinct recess assigned *the bequest* in the Collegiate Library (such is the information of Dr. ASA MESSER, the intelligent and liberal president of the institution) commemorates the generosity of *the donor*, as well as the gratitude of BROWN UNIVERSITY.

May you, my dear Sir, having nearly reached the ordinary term of mortality, pass the remainder of your days in your usually tranquil as well as faithful discharge of the duties of the Christian ministry! Unrestrained by the

narrow limits of *the pastoral charge*, you liberally extend your labours wherever benefit can be rendered. Episcopalian and Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist, partake indiscriminately of your services. This is the evangelical spirit of the New Testament. With you, the query is not whether they are of *Paul* or of *Apollos*, or of *Cephas*, provided they are of CHRIST! Throughout a long and active career you have stood forth the advocate of learning, and the champion of that religion which, descending from above, proves itself the ornament and safeguard of the individual, as well as the permanent basis of national prosperity. In ministers of the gospel *learning* and RELIGION ought ever to be united. It was at a period emblazoned in the annals of history for its civilization, denominated *the fulness of time*, that *the Gospel* of JESUS CHRIST was promulgated, whilst the restoration of letters, putting to flight the darkness of the middle ages, ushered in the august æra of the REFORMATION. Assuredly, ignorance is not the mother of devotion. Whatever Infidelity suggests in THIS AGE, not of *reason*, but of licentiousness, the exercise of the discriminating rational faculty (alike the foe of *fanaticism* and of *superstition*) marked the commencement,

illustrated the progress, and will consummate the triumphs of REVEALED RELIGION over the habitable globe!*

Slight differences of religious sentiment have not, my dear Sir, been suffered to paralyze the intercourses of our friendship. Of the sullen antipathies of bigotry your mind is altogether unsusceptible. Even without the endearing bond of personal knowledge, delightful is the exercise of Christian Charity. "Good friends," however, "are a dangerous treasure in life, for in losing them we lose too much!" But we shall meet in HEAVEN. When Erasmus published his Greek Testament, he presented it to the Archbishop of Mentz. In return his Grace wrote him an obliging letter, and sent him a golden cup, calling it, *Poculum Amoris*, THE CUP OF LOVE, and declaring that it cemented together all who drank from it in mutual benevolence. "What a glorious cup! It is *mine*, it is *yours*, it is the cup of ALL who wish to partake of it!" Love, indeed, is of paradisiacal origin, and of celestial destination. It existed in the Garden of Eden previous to the fall of our first parents, and will glow with an unim-

* See *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, by John Jones, LL. D., a work of erudition and originality.

paired and inextinguishable fervour amongst the abodes of the Blessed when time shall be no more. Amidst the din of controversy and the collision of jarring sects, the broad basis of *the glorious Gospel of the Blessed God* is no other than the Apostolic assurance—*Ye have your fruit unto Holiness*, (Rom. vi. 22,) *and the end*—EVERLASTING LIFE!

For this long, and perhaps tedious Address, no apology is offered. My heart beats gratefully responsive for acts of kindness which need not be here enumerated. I am desirous, my dear Sir, of leaving behind me a memorial of our mutual regard, at least as far as the frail materials of pen, ink, and paper can perpetuate it. It is no ordinary case for individuals so far apart to be knit together in the bands of brotherly affection, who never have known, nor ever will know each other in this world. But it is the noble prerogative of CHRISTIAN FRIENDSHIP to rise above the impediments of this "diurnal sphere," and seek its consummation in a superior condition of being! We *now*---SEE as well as *know in part*, but when *that* which is *perfect is come*, (1 Cor. xiii. 10,) *that which is in part shall be done away*. In a future state of existence, objects at present beheld *through a glass*

darkly, will, in their finished proportions, rush upon our delighted vision, invested with their own pure radiance, and encircled by an imperishable glory.

Wishing *you* and your *worthy family*, my dear Sir, the continued increase of every temporal and spiritual blessing, I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Your much obliged Friend and Brother,

JOHN EVANS.

Islington, May 14, 1820.

PREFACE,

BY THE EDITOR.

THE reader will find the frontispiece, for which the Editor alone is responsible, illustrative of the contents of the *Essay on Druidism.* It is taken from a a superb folio edition of Duncan's Translation of *Cæsar's Commentaries,* in his possession. The FIGURE itself, with its flowing beard and long garments, hath all the costume of hoary antiquity.

The BARDS made a leading part of the Druidical System, and their compositions excite curiosity. Specimens might be given indicative of warm and impetuous feeling. Like the *Poems of Ossian,* of Gaelic celebrity, they possess wildness and sublimity. The reader is referred to "The *Heroic Elegies* and other Pieces of LLYWARCH HEN, Prince of the Cambrian Britons, with a literal Translation by William Owen." A few stanzas shall be taken out of the Elegy on *Urien Reged,* one of the greatest patrons of the Bards of his age. He was slain treacherously about the year 567, fighting against the *Saxons,* the sworn enemies of his country :—

My arm is not flagg'd but my bosom is troubled;
Ah! my heart, is it not broken?
A *head*—I bear—that was my support!

The delicate white corpse will be interr'd to-day
Under earth and stones.
Woe to my hand that the father of *Owain* is slain!

The delicate white corpse will be cover'd to-day,
Amongst the earth and oak.
Woe my hand, that my cousin is slain!

The delicate white corpse will be cover'd to-night;
Under stones will he be left.
Woe my hand what a step my fate hath decreed me!

The delicate white corpse will be interr'd to-night,
Amidst earth and green sods.
Woe my hand that the son of *Cynvare* is slain!

The delicate white cropse will be interr'd this day,
Under the green sward with a tumulus.
Woe my hand that my Lord is slain!

The fair white corpse will be interr'd this day,
Under earth and sand.
Woe my hand the step that is decreed to me!

The fair white corpse will be interr'd this day,
Under earth and blue stones.
Woe my hand the step that befel me!

The fair white corpse will be cover'd to-day,
Under earth and nettles.
Woe my hand that such a step happen'd to me!

This buttress here and that one there—
More congenial around them would have been
An ARMY's clangour and *the path* of MELODY!

Sharon Turner, F. A. S., author of the well-known *History of the Anglo-Saxons,* has an interesting volume, the object of which is the defence of the

authenticity of certain Welsh Poems. Among other curious specimens take the following, by a princely Bard, *Owen Cyfeilioc*, Prince of Powis, who flourished in the 12th Century. "Shall I be pardoned if I digress awhile," (says Mr. T.,) "to insert the passage in a close translation. To enhance the compliment which he is going to pay, he threatens death to his *Cup-bearer* if he execute his office unskilfully!"—

Fill, *Cup-bearer*, seek not death,
Fill the horn of honour at our banquets,
The long blue horn of high privilege of ancient silver,
That covers it not sparingly.
Bear to TUDYR Eagle of slaughter,
A prime beverage of florid wine!
Thy head shall be the forfeit if there come not in
The most delicious mead
To the hand of *Moreidigg*, encourager of songs—
May they become old in fame before they leave us!
Ye blameless brothers of aspiring souls,
Of dauntless ardour that would grasp even fire;
HEROES, what services ye have achieved for me!
Not old disgustingly but old in skill,
Unwearied rushing wolves of battle!
First in the crimson'd ranks of bleeding pikes,
Brave leaders of the Mochnantians from Powys—
The prompt ones in every need,
Who rescue their borders from violence;
Praise is your meed most amiable pair!
Ah, the cry of DEATH! and do I *miss* them!
Ah! *Christ*, how I mourn the catastrophe!
O! lost MOREIDIGG, how greatly shall I need thee!

But there is a long didactic Poem in *the third Volume* of a valuable work, THE CAMBRIAN REGISTER, to which Dr. Richards wrote the Introduction.* It is the production of CADOG *the Wise,* who was also styled *Saint Cadog,* Abbot of Llancarfan, son of Gwynlliw, Lord of Gwynllwg, one of the principalities of ancient Glamorgan, extending from the Tâf to the Usk. He was the eldest son, (one of Prince Arthur's Knights,) but would not accept of the government, which was his inheritance, because he chose rather to devote himself to the pursuits of knowledge and religion. The *Poem* is long, but a few stanzas shall be introduced. It is a literal translation from the Welsh language, in which the entire effusion is remarkable for its sentiment and beauty :—

There is nothing easy but to see truth.
There is nothing difficult but to find truth.
There is nothing wise but to love the truth.
There is no man intelligent but he that knows the truth.
There is no man a hero but he that will speak the truth.
There is no man a friend but he that will shew the truth.
There is no man an enemy but he that counterfeits the truth.
There is no wonder but that men should admit the truth.
There is nothing more frequent than for men to praise the truth.
There is nothing more rare than for men to seek the truth.
There is nothing more unusual than to hear the truth.

* Sold by E. Williams, bookseller to the Duke and Duchess of York, in the Strand.

It is never too far to go for what is necessary.
It is never too long to wait for what is good.
It is never too much that you do for God;
Never too little the trust you put in the world.
Knowledge is never too high to reach to.
What is just can never be done too often.
Mercy can never be shewn too much.
Truth can never be stuck too firmly to.
You can never be too ready to do good.
You can never too carefully guard against pride.
You can never too carefully guard against avarice.
It is never too hard to die for what is true and just.
It is never too late to obey GOD!

The two next stanzas that shall be transcribed are equally singular, but of a more religious cast:—

There can be no virtue without love,
No love without liking,
No liking without choice,
No choice without beauty,
No beauty without decency,
No decency without nature,
No nature without sense,
No sense without consideration,
No consideration without benefit,
No benefit without good,
No good without God,
Therefore,
No *Virtue* but from GOD!

Without feeling—without sense,
Without sense—without understanding,
Without understanding—without reflection,
Without reflection—without knowledge,
Without knowledge—without patience,

Without patience—without instruction,
Without instruction—without virtue,
Without virtue—without God,
Without God—without EVERY THING!*

This Cambro-British Bard may have derived his sentiments partly from *the Book of Proverbs,* and partly from his own observations on men and manners. It indicates a degree of intellectual and moral improvement, honourable to the Principality. Some writers, however, take a pleasure in representing the inhabitants of Wales at this period as sunk in the depths of ignorance and barbarity.

STONEHENGE on Salisbury Plains, mentioned in the *Essay on Druidism,* (whose *vignette* by a promising young artist, Mr. Bonner, decorates the title-page,) the Editor hath visited. Indeed his account of that stupendous monument of *Druidical superstition,* with its appendages, has been published. It is to be found (pp. 123—127) in the *fourth edition* of his JUVENILE TOURIST.—It will edify the young reader, and shall be transribed.

"We now posted forwards (July 1799) to *Salisbury Plain,* those immense downs where the stranger without a guide would be bewildered. We drove to the spot where stands STONEHENGE, the most sin-

* *See the Words of Wisdom, or the Beauties of Solomon and others, intended as a Guide for Youth, by* GABRIEL WATTS. It is a judicious selection, adapted to inform the minds and improve the morals of the rising generation.

gular curiosity in the kingdom. Here quitting the carriage, we gazed at THE PILE with astonishment! Whence these vast stones were brought hither; what could be the mode of conveyance, and to what purposes the structure was appropriated, are questions not easily resolved. Every effect must have an adequate cause—hence the learning employed by *antiquarians* on the subject.

" As to the appearance of STONEHENGE, seventeen huge stones are now standing, which, with several others lying on the ground, form the outward circle. The inward circle is about *eight feet* from the outward, having eleven stones standing and eight fallen. Between these two circles is a walk about *three hundred* feet in circumference. The stones are from *eighteen* to *twenty* feet in height, from *six* to *seven* broad, and about three feet in thickness! The original structure was encompassed by a trench, over which were three entrances. It is most probably the relic of A DRUIDICAL TEMPLE! In the reign of Henry the Eighth a tin tablet was found here inscribed with strange characters. This has been lost; had it been retained and understood it might have elucidated this venerable monument of antiquity.

Dr. Stukely, who, about half a century ago, visited STONEHENGE, in company with Lord Winchelsea, observed half a mile north of it, and across the valley, a *hippodrome* or horsecourse. It is included between two ditches, running parallel east and west 350 feet

asunder, and 100,000 feet long. The *Barrows* round THIS MONUMENT are numerous and remarkable, being generally bell-fashion, yet there is great variety in their diameters and their manner of composition. These were single sepulchres, as appeared from many that were opened. On the west side of one was an entire segment, made from centre to circumference. It was good earth quite through, except a coat of chalk, of about two feet thick, covering it quite over under the turf. Hence appears the manner of making these *Barrows*, which was to dig up the turf for a great way round till *the Barrow* was brought to its intended bulk, then with the chalk dug out of the surrounding ditch they powdered it all over! At the centre was found a skeleton perfect, of a reasonable size, and with the head lying northward. On opening a double *barrow* the composition was thus: after the turf was taken off there appeared a layer of chalk, and then fine garden mould. About three feet below the surface was a layer of flints humouring the convexity of *the barrow*. This, being a foot thick, rested on a layer of soft mould, in which was inclosed an URN full of bones! The URN was of unbaked clay of a dark reddish colour, and crumbled into pieces. It had been rudely wrought with small mouldings round the verge and other circular channels on the outside. The bones had been burnt, though the collar bone, and one side of the under jaw were entire. There was a large quantity of female orna-

ments mixed with the bones as beads of divers colours, many of them amber, with holes to string them, and many of the button sort were covered with metal.

" STONEHENGE has lately undergone an alteration, part of it having about three years ago fallen to the earth. We saw and conversed with some shepherd boys, who were loitering around *the pile*, and from whom we learnt, that the fall occasioned a concussion of the ground! This must have been expected, and it excited among persons in its vicinity, no small astonishment. The following *sonnet* hath interwoven the sentiments of the learned on the subject, written at STONEHENGE:

Thou noblest monument of ALBION's isle,
Whether by *Merlin's* aid from Scythia's shore,
To Amber's fatal plain *Pendragon* bore,
Huge frame of giant-hands, THE MIGHTY PILE,
T' entomb his Britons slain by Hengist's guile,
Or DRUID PRIESTS sprinkled with human gore,
Taught 'mid thy massy maze their mystic lore;
Or *Danish* chiefs enrich'd with savage spoil,
To victory's idol vast, an unknown shrine,
Rear'd the rude heap, or in thy hallow'd round
Repose the kings of *Brutus'* genuine line;
Or here those *kings* in solemn state were crown'd,
Studious to trace thy wondrous origin,
We muse on many an ancient tale renown'd!

WARTON.

'These RUINS are in their appearance peculiarly solemn, and their isolated situation in the midst of an

immense plain heightens the sensations with which they are contemplated—

> Was it *a spirit* on YON SHAPELESS PILE?
> It wore, methought, *an ancient Druid's* form,
> Musing on ancient days! The dying storm,
> Moan'd in his lifted locks—thou NIGHT! the while
> Dost listen to his sad *harp's* wild complaint,
> Mother of shadows, as to *thee* he pours
> The broken strain, and plaintively deplores
> The fall of *Druid* fame! Hark! murmurs faint
> Breathe on the weary air, and now more loud
> Swells the deep dirge, accustomed to complain
> Of holy rites unpaid, and of the crowd
> Whose careless steps these sacred haunts profane;
> O'er the wild plain the hurrying tempest flies,
> And 'mid the storm unheard, the song of sorrow dies!
>
> LOVELL.

"The architectural phenomenon of STONEHENGE is confessedly the most interesting relic of antiquity, by by which Britain stands distinguished."

Dr. E. D. Clarke in his truly classical Travels through various Countries of *Europe, Asia* and *Africa,* has this paragraph, still further explanatory of the subject. Speaking of *Russia,* (Vol. I., octavo edition, page 276,) this distinguished traveller says, "Throughout the whole of the country are seen dispersed over IMMENSE PLAINS, *mounds of earth,* covered with a fine turf, the sepulchres of the ancient world common to almost every habitable country! If there exist any thing of former times, which may afford monuments of primeval manners, it is this mode of burial.

They seem to mark the progress of mankind in the first ages after the dispersion, rising wherever the posterity of Noah came. Whether under the form of a Mound in Scandinavia, in Russia, or in North America; a Barrow in England; a Cairn in Wales, in Scotland, and in Ireland; or of those Heaps which the modern Greeks and Turks call Tepe; or, lastly, in the more artificial shape of Pyramid, in Egypt; they had universally the same origin. They present the simplest and sublimest monuments that any generation of men could raise over the bodies of their forefathers, being calculated for almost endless duration, and speaking a language more impressive than the most studied epitaph upon Parian marble. When beheld in a distant evening horizon, skirted by the rays of the setting sun, and, as it were, touching the clouds which hover over them—imagination represents *the spirits* of DEPARTED HEROES as descending to irradiate a warrior's grave!" *

The Rev. Mr. Davies, the erudite author of *Celtic Researches,* and also of *the Mythology of the British Druids,* is of opinion that STONEHENGE and *Silbury Hill,* are two of three works alluded to in a Welsh Triad, constituting the greatest labours of the island of Britain, viz. " Lifting the stone of Ketti; building

* See THE JOURNAL of *a Tour into the Territory North-West of the Alleghany Mountains,* by Thaddeus Mason Harris, Boston, 1805, for a very curious account of *the Sepulchral Mounds* in America, the history of which is lost, as the Author expresses it, " in the oblivion of ages!"

the work of Emrys, and piling the Mount of the Assemblies!" That STONEHENGE is a *Druidical* structure, this elaborate inquirer entertains no doubt. "This is evident," says he, "from the language in which it was described, and the great veneration in which it was held by the primitive Bards, those immediate descendants and avowed disciples of the British Druids. As the great sanctuary of the dominion, or metropolitan temple of our Heathen ancestors, so complete in its plan, and constructed upon such a multitude of astronomical calculations, we find it was not exclusively dedicated to the Sun, the Moon, Saturn, or any other individual object of superstition; but it was a kind of *Pantheon*, in which all the Arkite and Sabian divinities of British Theology were supposed to have been present; for we perceive Noe and Hu, the deified Patriarch; Elphin and Rheiddin, the Sun; Eseye, Isis; Ked Ceres, with the cell of her sacred fire; Llyvy, Proserpine; Gwydien, Hermes; Budd, Victory; and several others."

For the various opinions entertained respecting the origin and design of STONEHENGE, the reader is referred by the Editor to an account of it in THE CYCLOPÆDIA, or *Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, by his friend DR. ABRAHAM REES, whose talents and virtues reflect an honour upon his native Principality. The work, just completed, is in itself a library! The article *Stonehenge*, replete with information, is drawn up by John Britton,

F. A. S., with his accustomed judgment and accuracy.—The young reader will be much gratified by Dr. Thomas Rees's History of *South Wales*, an interesting portion of the Principality. It forms a part of *the Beauties of England and Wales*, a work of acknowledged celebrity.

The *Rev. John Lingard*, a Catholic clergyman, in his new and interesting History of England, (three quarto Volumes,) gives an account of *the Druids and their Religion*, confirmatory of the Sketch presented in the subsequent work.—A modern poet has thus faithfully delineated STONEHENGE and the purposes to which it was appropriated :—

Now in the midst they stand of that huge space
Long sought, encircled by the tow'ring tree,
Strew'd with TALL STONES time-mould'ring, some uprais'd
To tow'ring eminence erect, some bent
By the age-lengthen'd storm, some beam-like thrown
With pow'r miraculous from point to point,
Off'ring beneath their vast unfolded arms
An ample sweep of sky; 'neath which in years
Long past that border'd on the flood, remov'd
From periods well defin'd and chronicled,
By watchful man invoking Deity,
With spotless vest THE DRUID PRIEST pass'd on,
And his attendant multitudes, to pay
Their solemn but mistaken rites to him
Who fills the Universe, and hath declar'd,
(Needing no gaudy pomp and costly show,)
That his abode is in the upright heart and pure!
Savage of faith, his victim *man* not else
In a benighted world, farthest from night.

Here, in the centre of this hallow'd spot,
With throbbing breast and sore anxiety,
Llyrarch's return the trembling Bards await.
He hastens, with the falchion steep'd in gore!
As the huge host of fierce and warlike men
Came from the forest—lo! *the Bards* their harps
Rais'd, and, one knee on earth, pour'd forth their song;
When such a concert burst into the sky,
Of solemn notes and solemn harmony,
As when Niagara in all his pride,
After a year of storms o'er his huge crags
Plunges impetuous, and with warring winds
Holds stately concord! but the crash of sounds
That the rude bands made, instantaneous pause;
Whilst Venables and Talbot wish'd themselves
(In the misgivings of a heart unsound)
Far off from scenes of such unfathom'd power.

The person of *the Bard* is then described, together with the overwhelming energy of his song:

Llyrarch approach'd with eager confidence
Tow'rd the assembled Bards—thus he began:
"Behold your friends!"—ere he could utter more,
Old Caradoc, in his exuberant joy
To find that *they* were friends whom foes he deem'd,
Seiz'd his near harp, and towards hostile bands
Hasten'd with heart o'erflowing. His white beard
In graceful curls hung pendant on his chest,
His tow'ring head was bare, his eye serene,
In conscious dignity! His furrow'd brow
Spake sense matur'd, and thought that div'd profound
Into mysterious things! His shoulder bore
A flowing mantle! Round his loins a cord
Bound the loose robe; and toward the English chief

Sedate he strode, all eyes beholding him!
Full in the general gaze he rais'd his harp,
And those who scorn'd his song, listen'd perforce:
No choice was theirs—dumb, motionless they stand—

Hail, ye sons of valour, hail!
Come and learn our mystic lore;
Welcome to this forest pale,
Where *the Druid* dwelt of yore.
Mona's Bards with harp and song
Here have found a peaceful home;
And 'mid concords loud and long,
Nightly watch the planets' roam:
They have here a compact made
With the harp and woodland shade!

Heroes! long to glory known,
Late in the tumultuous hour,
Tho' not to idol terrors prone,
We saw our tranquil zenith lower—
Now disdaining fears that *were*,
We the peaceful olive wave:
In the moment of despair
We forgot that you were brave!
Welcome to this forest pale,
Sons of war and valour hail!*

In a *Tour round North Wales*, performed during the Summer of 1798, by the Rev. W. Bingley, B. A., F. L. S., of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, will be found curious particulars respecting *the Welsh Bards* and *the Welsh Language*;—an author of ability and

* *The Fall of Cambria*, in Twenty-four Books, by Joseph Cottle. Two Volumes. Second Edition. His *Alfred* is a pleasing poem, highly interesting to the rising generation.

information. Specimens of WELSH MUSIC are given, whose sweet sounds have for ages rung "from side to side," throughout the ancient Principality!

The Editor will not any longer trespass on the patience of the reader—by detaining him from the perusal of the following pages, where his curiosity will be gratified. Happy, indeed, does the Author of *the Memoirs* of the Life and Writings of DR. WILLIAM RICHARDS esteem himself in having had it in his power to rescue from oblivion a work, which, by its research into the antiquities as well as ecclesiastical history of Wales, redounds to the credit of his native land—

> Nescio quâ *Natale Solum* dulcedine mentem,
> Tangit et *immemorem* non sinit esse SUI!

On these well-known lines, the declaration of Cicero forms the best comment:—"So powerful is the love of *one's country*, that Ulysses, the wisest of the Greeks, preferred his ITHACA, fixed like a nest upon rocks, to the enjoyment of immortality!"

Islington,
May 16, 1820.

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A

Sketch of Druidism,

THE ORIGINAL RELIGION OF THE WELSH, IN COMMON WITH THE REST OF THE BRITONS.

THE state of civilization and knowledge among THE BRITONS prior to the Roman invasion, or the first introduction of Christianity, is a point upon which antiquaries and historians have entertained very different opinions. While some have represented them as a nation of Barbarians and Savages scarcely superior to the Esquimaux, the Caffres, or the New Hollanders, others have maintained that they were really an enlightened people, who had arrived at an advanced state of civilization and intellectual improvement, under the direction of a numerous and respectable order of instructors, whose maxims and precepts would have suffered no degradation by a comparison with those of the celebrated Sages of Greece and Rome. This latter opinion seems not ill-founded or untenable.

The instructors here alluded to were the DRUIDS, or, more properly speaking, the *Beirdd,* or *Bards;* for the *Druids* were in fact only a particular class of that order. The very language of the Britons appears to have been formed, improved, and brought to its utmost state of perfection by these men. At least, it does not appear to have been materially amended or improved since their time. "It carries in itself," says one of the most competent judges, "the evidence of being free from intermixture, being so constructed as not to assimilate with foreign words, except such as are mere simple sounds; and there could hardly be a case where any of this description could be wanted; and should words have been adopted, they are very easily discriminated. There are many traits in it beside its regularity, that are very worthy of investigation, and which will not permit us to ascribe its formation to a nation of savages, or to an age involved in barbarism. Without all doubt there has been an era when science diffused its light among the Britons, beyond what will be now readily acknowledged, and that too in a very early period of the world."* To that period we must attribute the institution of *Bardism* (or *Druidism,* as it is most commonly called) among OUR ANCESTORS, which has been said to comprehend all the leading principles which tend to spread liberty, peace, and happiness among mankind, and

* Owen's Preface to the Works of Llywarch Hen.

to have been no more inimical to Christianity than the religion of Noah, Job, or Abraham.

Of DRUIDISM, and the order of men called DRUIDS, many celebrated writers among the ancients have taken upon them to give a particular account, as may be seen in *The Cyclopædia of Chambers*, edited by Dr. Abraham Rees, and also in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the words *Bards* and *Druids*. Their account, however, in general, seems very imperfect, though some things which they have related concerning them appear to be pretty well founded. Among those writers are found the names of Cæsar, Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Suetonius, Pliny, Plutarch, Diogenes, Laertius, Ammianus, Marcellinus, and other eminent characters.

Strabo distinguished the ancient British and Gallic philosophers into three kinds, or classes, *Bards*, *Vates*, (or *Ovatès*,) and *Druids*, in which he was pretty right; and he seems to have taken some care to obtain authentic information. He also says, that their interest with the people was so very great, that they could stop armies on the point of engaging, and accommodate their differences! Diodorus Siculus expresses himself to the same purpose, and says, that the people paid a great regard to their exhortations, not only in the affairs of peace, but even of war; and that they were respected both by friends and foes, and would sometimes step in between two hostile armies, while standing with swords drawn and spears

extended, ready to engage; and by their eloquence, as by an irresistible enchantment, would prevent the effusion of blood, and prevail upon them to sheath their swords and be reconciled! How happy would it be if the spirit that led them so to act were equally conspicuous and predominant in the character of our modern Christian priests and philosophers!

Suetonius in his Life of Claudius charges them with offering human sacrifices, as Cæsar also does in his Commentaries; but Diodorus Siculus affirms that it was but rarely, or only on extraordinary occasions, that they made such offerings. However that was, it seems very certain, that, even in that trait of character, they fell vastly short of most of our *modern Christian nations,* who sometimes sacrifice myriads of human victims in a day, without the least pity, shame, or sorrow. Augustus and Tiberius, it seems, abolished the said practice in Gaul, and Claudius Nero in Britain; shocked, as we may presume, at the very idea of it, as attached to Druidism, but unable to apply the case to themselves, who were at the same time in the habit of sacrificing human victims in immense numbers! Thus it often happens, that men condemn in the conduct of others what they allow in their own without scruple or alarm.

The DRUIDS, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, resembled the Pythagoreans, and several authors have asserted that Pythagoras himself had been among the Druids of Gaul, and was initiated in their philosophy; in which case it might be concluded that he had

derived a great part of his knowledge and wisdom from them.

According to Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mela, and others, they used to enter into many disquisitions in their schools, concerning the form and magnitude of the universe in general, and of the earth in particular, and even concerning the most sublime and hidden secrets of nature. They were also said to be versed in Astronomy, Astrology, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Geography, as well as in Mechanics. Their deep knowledge of the latter seems pretty clearly indicated by the stupendous remains of STONEHENGE, and others of their works, some of the single stones in which are said to be above forty tons' weight! Botany, Medicine, and Natural Philosophy, are likewise said to have been by them much studied. Even Cicero, as well as Cæsar, seems to give them credit for deep, extensive, and valuable knowledge. The former says, he was personally acquainted with one of the Gallic Druids, Divitiacus the Æduan, a man of quality in his country, who professed to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of nature, or that science which the Greeks call *Physics*, or *Physiology*. Strabo has preserved one of their physiological tenets concerning the universe, viz. that it was never to be destroyed or annihilated; but was to undergo a succession of great changes and revolutions, which were to be produced sometimes by the power or predominance of water, and sometimes by that of fire.

As to astronomical proficiency, some have thought

that they really had instruments which answered the same purpose with our telescopes, from its being said by Diodorus Siculus, that in *the Hyperborean island* (supposed to be Britain) the Moon was seen as if she was but a little distance from the earth, and having hills and mountains, like ours, on her surface. It has also been the opinion of some, that they were acquainted with *the cycle of nineteen years,* called *the Cycle of the Moon,* from its being observed by the same writer, that *the Hyperboreans* supposed Apollo descended into their island at the end of every nineteen years, when THE SUN and MOON, having performed their various revolutions, return to the same point, and begin to perform again the same revolutions! Pliny has asserted, that the Druids had also a cycle, or period of thirty years, which they called *an age:* and which, probably, was the same with the great year of the Pythagoreans, or revolution of Saturn. But these things are not free from uncertainty.

Of the *religious* tenets of THE DRUIDS, those ancient writers appear to have obtained but a very imperfect knowledge. They seem, however, generally to agree that the immortality of the soul, and *the metempsychosis,* or transmigration, were among those tenets. Of all the ancient authors, it is CÆSAR, perhaps, that gives the most particular account of the Druids; for which reason, and because he may be supposed to have had better opportunities to know them than most of the rest, a brief summary of what he has said may be here given. The reader, if desirous

to know more of what the others have related, must be referred to their respective works, or to the extracts from them in the two celebrated publications above-mentioned.

The Gauls are understood to have received *Druidism* from the Britons. Their DRUIDS, as well as those of Britain, possessed vast influence and power among the people. To them, as Cæsar relates, belonged the care of divine things, of private and public sacrifices, with the interpretation of religion. The instruction of youth belonged also to their province; and in such high veneration were they held by their countrymen, that they readily submitted all their differences to their judgment and arbitration. They were, it seems, the judges in all cases, and from their sentence there lay no appeal. Those who refused to abide by their decision were liable to be excommunicated and outlawed, which reduced them to a most dreadful dilemma; for all such persons were reckoned among the wicked: the whole community shunned them, and avoided their company, as contagious; neither could they bring an action, or commence a suit, in any case, or discharge any office in the common-wealth.

The GALLIC DRUIDS, as Cæsar relates, held a *session*, or convention, once a-year, at a consecrated place near the centre of the country, where vast numbers of cases and controversies were decided. He also gives it as the prevailing opinion or cur-

rent tradition, that *Druidism* originated, or was first instituted in BRITAIN, from whence it was introduced into Gaul; and he says, that, even in his time, those of the latter who wished to become perfect in it, used to make a voyage to the former for that purpose; such perfection being, it seems, deemed attainable only in the British schools. He further informs us, that *the Gallic Druids* seldom attended the army; being exempted from that duty as well as from the burden or payment of taxes, and enjoying beside all manner of immunities. Such, he says, was their reputation, or fame, and the encouragement given them by the public, that many chose to be of their order or profession, while others were sent to their seminary or college by their parents. At the seminary their first lesson or task was, to learn a great number of verses by heart, which some would spend twenty years in acquiring; for they never, says he, commit them to writing; not that they are ignorant of letters, for they make use of *Greek characters* on all other occasions; but I suppose, (he adds,) they observe this custom to lock up their learning from the vulgar, and exercise the memory of their scholars. Their chief principle, (he further observes,) is, that *the soul never dies,* but transmigrates after the decease of one body into another, which doctrine is of great use to inspire them with courage, and a contempt of death; but they have many other traditions, which they instruct

their youth in, concerning the stars and their motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal Gods.

A little further on, still speaking of Gaul, he describes the whole country as much given to superstition; wherefore those who were dangerously ill, or daily exposed to perils and death, either offered human sacrifices or devoted themselves to the altar. These sacrifices, he says, were committed to the care of THE DRUIDS, who had large, hollow images, bound about with oziers, in which they put the victims alive, and setting fire to the case, suffocated them! He also says, that they believed *thieves, highwaymen,* and other *offenders,* to be the most acceptable offerings to the Deity, but that when honesty had made these scarce, the innocent were forced to supply their places.*

From the above account it appears that Cæsar had learnt that, beside the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration, THE DRUIDS also held the necessity of human expiatory sacrifices, which generally consisted, it seems, of malefactors, who were deemed to have forfeited their lives by their evil actions. Should the reader be shocked at his representation of those sacrifices, let him remember that even

* See Cæsar's Commentaries, Chap. viii. ix. x. Be it remembered that the work was written many years before the commencement of the Christian era. The author represents the Germans as far more unenlightened, rude, and savage, than the Gauls and Britons.

modern Gaul, and modern Britain have also had, and still have, their human victims, the number of which, or the circumstances attending their immolation, do not appear to have at all fallen short of what took place among their pagan and druidical ancestors. Nay, some of the modern sacrifices, the victims of religious persecution, particularly, must have been more shocking than those ancient ones, as the conductors of them pretended to act in the name of the mildest of Teachers, and under the zealous profession of Christianity! Further to illustrate the above remarks, beside our religious persecutions, our *religious wars* too might be adduced; not to mention also our frequent executions of numerous malefactors, which seem, in no small measure, to correspond with the druidical human sacrifices, and like them have a kind of religious cast, or aspect.

As to *the metempsychosis*, or transmigration of the soul, THE DRUIDS were not singular in their belief of that tenet. It was held by many ancient philosophers of distant nations, and by Origen and other eminent writers among the early Christians. Even in modern times, in our own country, it has not been without its advocates. Of late years a very ingenious writer, philosopher, and Christian apologist, avowed his belief and published a defence of it—whose disquisition upon the subject being highly curious, and not very long, I will take the liberty here to introduce, before I proceed to give a more particular and correct view of DRUIDISM. Though

somewhat digressive, the reader, it is hoped, will not deem it altogether irrelevant or unentertaining. It will shew him what might be said, or rather, what actually has been said in defence of that exploded tenet, by a zealous Christian writer.

A Disquisition on a Pre-existent State, Original Sin, and the Doctrine of Transmigration.

"That mankind had existed in some state previous to the present, was the opinion of the wisest sages of the most remote antiquity. It was held by the Gymnosophists of Egypt, the Brachmans of India, the Magi of Persia, and the greatest philosophers of Greece and Rome: it was likewise adopted by the Fathers of the Christian Church,* and frequently enforced by her primitive writers. Why it has been so little noticed, so much overlooked, rather than rejected, by the Divines and Metaphysicians of latter ages, I am at a loss to account for, as it is undoubtedly confirmed by Reason, by all the appearances of Nature, and the doctrines of Revelation.

"In the first place, then, it is confirmed by Reason, which teaches us, that it is impossible that the conjunction of a male and female can create, or bring into being an immortal soul; they may prepare a material habitation for it, but there must be an immaterial, pre-existent inhabitant ready to take possession. Reason likewise tells us, that an omnipotent and benevolent Creator would never have formed

* Mosheim, I. 233, 462.

such a world as this, and filled it with such inhabitants, if the present was the only, or even the first state of their existence, a state which, if unconnected with the past and the future, seems calculated for no one purpose intelligible to our understandings; neither of good or evil, of happiness or misery, of virtue or vice, of reward or punishment, but a confused jumble of them all together, proceeding from no visible cause, and tending to no end. But as we are certain that infinite power cannot be employed without effect, nor infinite wisdom without design, we may rationally conclude that this world could be designed for nothing more than a prison, in which we are a while confined to receive punishment for the offences committed in a former, and an opportunity of preparing ourselves for the enjoyment of happiness in a future life.

"Secondly. These conclusions of Reason are sufficiently confirmed by the face of nature and the appearances of things; this world is evidently formed for a place of punishment, as well as probation; a prison, or house of correction, to which we are committed, some for a longer, and some for a shorter period; some to the severest labour, others to more indulgent tasks; and if we consider it under this character, we shall perceive it admirably fitted for the end for which it was intended. It is a spacious, beautiful, and durable structure; it contains many various apartments, a few very comfortable, many tolerable, and some extremely wretched; it is enclosed with a fence so impassable, that none can

surmount it but with the loss of life. Its inhabitants likewise exactly resemble those of other prisons, they come in with malignant dispositions, and unruly passions, from whence, like other confined criminals, they receive great part of punishment by abusing and injuring each other. As we may suppose that they have not all been equally guilty, so they are not all equally miserable; the majority are permitted to procure a tolerable subsistence by their labour, and pass through their confinement without any extraordinary penalties, except from paying their fees, at their discharge by death. Others, who perhaps stand in need of more severe chastisement, receive it by a variety of methods; some by the most acute, and some by the most tedious pains and diseases; some by disappointments, and many by success, in their favourite pursuits; some by being condemned to situations peculiarly unfortunate, as to those of extreme poverty, or superabundant riches, of despicable meanness, or painful pre-eminence, of galley-slaves in a despotic, or ministers in a free country. If we survey the various regions of the globe, what dreadful scenes of wretchedness every where present themselves to our eyes! In some we see thousands chained to the oar, and perpetually suffering from the inclemency of all weathers, and their more inclement masters: in some, not fewer condemned to wear our their miserable lives in dreary mines, deprived of air and day-light; and in others, much greater numbers torn from their native country, their families, and friends, and sold to the most inhu-

man of all tyrants, under whose lash they are worn out with fatigue, or expire in torments. The history of mankind is, indeed, little more than a detail of their miseries, some inflicted by the hand of Providence, and many more by their own wickedness and mutual ill-usage. As nations, we see them sometimes chastised by plagues, famines, inundations, and earthquakes, and continually destroying each other with fire and sword; we see fleets and armies combating with savage fury, and employing against each other every instrument of torture and death, which malevolence can invent, or ferocity make use of; we see the dying and the dead huddled together in heaps, and weltering in each other's blood; and can we be spectators of this horrid tragedy, without considering the performers as condemned criminals, compelled, like the Gladiators of the ancients, to receive their punishment from each other's hands? The orator, the poet, and historian may celebrate them, as heroes fighting for the rights and liberties of their respective countries; but the Christian philosophers can look upon them in no other light than as condemned spirits exiled into human flesh, and sent into this world to chastise each other for past offences! As individuals, we see men afflicted with innumerable diseases, which proceed not from accident, but are congenial with their original formations, and evidently the dispositions of Providence, designed by the most important ends; the stone grows in the bladder under the same direction as in the quarry, and the seeds of scurvy, rheu-

matism, and gout, are sown in the blood by the same omnipotent hand which has scattered those of vegetables over the face of the earth. From these various instruments of torture, numberless are the miseries which mankind endure; nor are those perhaps less numerous, though less visible, which they suffer from that treachery, injustice, ingratitude, ill-humour, and perverseness, with which they every hour torment one another, interrupt the peace of society, and embitter the comforts of domestic life; to all which we may add that wonderful ingenuity which they possess, of creating imaginary, in the absence of real misfortunes, and that corrossive quality in the human mind, which, for want of the proper food of business or contemplation, preys upon itself, and makes solitude intolerable, and thinking a most painful task. Who that surveys this melancholy picture of the present life, can entertain a doubt, but that it is intended for a state of punishment, and therefore must be subjected to some former, in which this punishment was deserved?

"Lastly. The opinion of *pre-existence* is no less confirmed by Revelation than by Reason, and the appearances of things; for although, perhaps, it is no where in the New Testament explicitly enforced, yet throughout the whole tenour of those writings it is every where implied: in them mankind are constantly represented as coming into the world under a load of guilt; as condemned criminals, the children of wrath, and objects of Divine indignation; placed in

it for a time by the mercies of God, to give them an opportunity of expiating this guilt by sufferings, and regaining, by a pious and virtuous conduct, their lost state of happiness and innocence. This is styled *working out their salvation,* not preventing their condemnation, for that is already past, and their only hope now is redemption, that is, being rescued from a state of captivity and sin, in which they are universally involved. This is the very essence of the Christian dispensation, and the grand principle in which it differs from the religion of nature; in every other respect they are nearly similar: they both enjoin the same moral duties, and prohibit the same vices; both inculcate the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments; but here they essentially disagree: *Natural Religion* informs us, that a just and benevolent Creator could have no other design in placing us in this world, but to make us happy, and that if we commit no extraordinary crimes, we may hope to be so in another; but CHRISTIANITY teaches a severer and more alarming lesson, and acquaints us that we are admitted into this life oppressed with guilt and depravity, which we must atone for by suffering its usual calamities, and work off by acts of positive virtue, before we can hope for happiness in another. Now, if by all this a *pre-existent* state is not constantly supposed, that is, that mankind have existed in some state previous to the present, in which this guilt was incurred, and this depravity contracted, there can be no meaning at all, or such a meaning as

contradicts every principle of common sense—that guilt can be contracted without acting, or that we can act without existing; so undeniable is this inference, that it renders any positive assertion of a pre-existent state totally useless; as, if a man at the moment of his entrance into a new country was declared a criminal, it would surely be unnecessary to assert, that he had lived in some other before he came there.

"In all our researches into abstruse subjects, there is a certain clue, without which, the further we proceed the more we are bewildered, but which, fortunately discovered, leads us at once through the whole labyrinth, puts an end to our difficulties, and opens a system perfectly clear, consistent and intelligible. The doctrine of *pre-existence*, or the acknowledgment of some past state of guilt and disobedience, I take to be this very clue: which, if we constantly carry along with us, we shall proceed unembarrassed through all the intricate mysteries, both of Nature and Revelation, and at last arrive at so clear a prospect of the wise and just dispensations of our Creator as cannot fail to afford complete satisfaction to the most inquisitive sceptic.

"For instance; are we unable to answer that question, Whence came evil? That is, why a Creator of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, should have formed a world replete with so many imperfections, and those so productive of calamities to its inhabitants? This clue will direct us to this satisfactory

reply, as far as the question relates to the evils of the present life—because he designed it for a place of punishment and probation: for which it is perfectly adapted; and we can be no more surprised to see such a world as this make a part of the universal system, than to see a magnificent prison, with all its appendages of punishment, whips, pillories, and gibbets, make a part of a large, populous, and well-governed city.

"Are we under difficulties to comprehend why the same omnipotent and benevolent Creator should fill this world with inhabitants so wicked and so miserable? This clue will immediately lead us to a solution of them, and point out the true reason—because they are sent hither to be punished and reformed. Do we reject all those passages in the New Testament, as derogatory to the Divine wisdom and goodness, which declare that mankind came into the world under a load of guilt and depravity, and under the displeasure of their Creator? No sooner are we brought by this clue within the sight of *a pre-existent state,* in which this guilt and depravity may have been contracted, but our incredulity vanishes, and we perceive plainly, that their admission into this world under those circumstances, is not only consistent with the justice of God, but the strongest instance of his mercy and benevolence; as by it they are enabled to purge off their depravity, to expatiate their offences, and to reinstate themselves in his favour.

"Thus is a *pre-existent state,* I think, clearly

demonstrated by the principles of reason, the appearances of things, and the sense of Revelation; all agree that this world is intended for a place of punishment, as well as probation, and must therefore refer to some former period; for, as probation implies a future life, for which it is preparatory, so punishment must imply a former state, in which offences were committed, for which it is due; and, indeed, there is not a single argument drawn from the justice of God, and seemingly undeserved sufferings of many in the present state, which can be urged in proof of a future life, which proves not with superior force the existence of another, which is already past."*

Whatever may be thought of the doctrines of the *Pre-existence, Original Sin,* and *Transmigration of the Soul,* as maintained in the above Disquisition, it must be allowed that the author has throughout the whole acquitted himself with no small acuteness and ingenuity. If he is not quite or right *orthodox,* he is perhaps as honest, rational, and intelligent as many that have been so reputed.

We look in vain for any thing like an accurate delineation of DRUIDISM in all the numerous histories of England or of Britain, that have yet appeared, except, perhaps, the little compendium, in two volumes duodecimo, which bear the name of Dr. Mavor. That writer seems to have drawn from good sources,

* See Disquisitions on Several Subjects, No. 3, Lond. 1782, ascribed to the late Mr. Soame Jenyns.

though he has not said where he found them. The following is the substance of what he has given, which, though not warranted to be perfectly correct, is believed to be the best that has been exhibited in so small a compass, or from any writer unconnected with the *Druidical* or *Bardic* Institution. Nor is that institution yet extinct or dissolved, though its members have long been reduced to a small number. It is only to them we can look for correct information. It has been given by two of the most competent and respectable of their community, and shall appear in the following pages. But,

First. Let us attend to Dr. Mavor's representation, introductory to a more full and perfect statement. "In considering (says he) *the state of religion and society* among THE ANCIENT BRITONS, the first object that arrests the attention is *the system* of THE BARDS, the principles of which are clearly identified among the first patriarchs of mankind, and they were extended to the furthest regions of India in common with the western borders of Europe.

"The Bards required that every branch of knowledge embraced by them should be committed to memory before their disciples were admitted into their order. What they thus taught were reduced to a peculiar kind of aphorisms, called *Triads*, from their comprehending three different articles classed together according to characteristic analogy; and these *Triads* embraced the leading points of theology, morality, science, and history. Solemn meetings took

place at certain times, such as the new and full moon, but more particularly at the four quarters of the year, when the great national assemblies were held for the promulgation of the traditionary *Triads*, and for other purposes. These meetings took place within *circles* of unwrought stones, in the most public and convenient situations, such as the open plains in the county of Wilts, whereon the principal *Stone-circle* of the whole island was raised, and of which Avebury and Silbury-hill, as its appendage, present at this day to our observation some of its vast and wonderful remains.

"The institution consisted of three orders, without distinction of sex; namely, the *Bards*, the *Druids*, and the *Ovates*, and to each of these were attached particular pursuits and functions. That order called the Bardic was the predominant class, or that into which all the disciples were initiated in the first instance; it was, in short, the privileged *National College* of THE BRITONS; for on being admitted, the members assumed one or the other, as their inclination or interest directed them. To this primary order appertained the perpetuation of the privileges and customs of the system. A *Bard*, by assuming the character of a DRUID, had to perform the functions of the priesthood; and as there was a Priest or Druid in every community, and the greatest interest attached to him, his were the functions most sought after. Therefore the Bards appeared most conspicuous in this class to strangers; so that ancient

writers have generally blended the other two orders in that of the Druids. The *Ovates* were such of the Bards as devoted themselves to particular arts and sciences, and this was the only character in which they were permitted to hold private meetings; the other classes were obliged to assemble, as they expressed it, in the eye of the light, and in the face of the sun. Each of the three orders wore an appropriate dress; that of the BARDS in general was of *sky-blue colour*, emblematic of light, or truth and tranquillity; *white*, as a mark of purity, appertained to the DRUIDS; and the OVATES wore *green*, denoting that the knowledge of terrestrial things was the object of their pursuits.

"The fundamental objects and principles of *the Bardic system* were the search after truth, and a rigid adherence to justice and peace. They never bore arms, nor engaged in any party disputes; so that eventually they became totally exempted from all political connexion, and were employed as heralds in war between different states. So sacred were their persons considered, in the office of mediators, that they passed unmolested through hostile countries, and even appeared in the midst of battle, to arrest the arm of slaughter, while they executed their missions. But this state of disinterested virtue was at length the means of procuring to the order the supreme influence of the nation by the perversion of its original principles: among the Gauls we learn that the office of *Archdruid* was established and made permanent, in direct violation of those principles;

and the High-Priest had acquired so great an ascendancy as to struggle successfully against the Roman power for nearly five hundred years.

"The leading tenets in THE BARDIC RELIGION were these: they believed in the existence of ONE SUPREME BEING, of whom they reasoned that he could not be material, and that what was not matter must be God. The *Soul* was considered as a lapsed intelligence, under a total privation of knowledge or happiness, by its falling to the lowest point of existence. To regain the state of intellect, it had to pass through all the intermediate modes of existence. For such a purpose was this earth created, as well as other innumerable worlds; that is, as means of approximating eternally through varied states of being toward the Deity. Further, that this earth was originally covered with water, which gradually subsiding, land animals arose, of the lowest or least perfect species, thus corresponding in organization with the then capacity of the soul. New orders in the scale of being were successively produced from these, continually improving in form, and augmenting the capacity of intellect, so that, in the course of ages, man ultimately appeared the most perfect receptacle of the soul on this earth. Then the soul had so augmented its faculties as to be capable of judging between good and evil, consequently it was a state of liberty and of choice. If the soul became attached to evil, it fell again to brutal life, or the state of necessity, to a point corresponding with its turpi-

tude of human existence; and it again transmigrated toward the state of man for a renewed probation. When the soul became attached to good, death wa its release to a higher existence, where the loss of memory was done away, so that it then recollected the economy of every former state; thus being made happy in the knowledge of all animated nature below its then condition. It was conceived that in this world life was gradually increasing in quantity and perfection; that therefore truth and justice were advancing therewith, so that the *Bards* looked for a period when those attributes should prevail over the principles of evil and devastation; that when the period arrived, man would then make rapid approaches towards the summit of that perfection which the terrestrial state is susceptible of; and upon the consummation of such an event the design of this world would be answered, and it would be then destroyed by fire!

"Such was *the original system* of THE BARDS; but, like all other systems of theology, it was corrupted and abused, and particularly in Gaul; the rank weeds of superstition were sown for the sake of power, and they grew luxuriantly in the field originally cultivated to yield more wholesome fruit. Among the first aberrations may be traced that of the knowledge of *the great Huon,* or THE SUPREME BEING, who was obscured in the hieroglyphics, or emblems of his different attributes, so that the grovelling minds of the multitude often sought not beyond those

representation for the object of worship and adoration. This opened an inlet for a variety of errors more minute, and many superstitions became attached to their periodical solemnities; but more particularly to their rejoicing fires on the appearance of vegetation in spring, and on the completion of harvest in autumn; others of less note grew into importance from the peculiarity of some ceremonies, such as the cutting of misseltoe with a golden hook by the presiding Druid, the gathering of the cowslip and other plants consecrated to the power of healing. The authority which THE BARDS assumed, of excommunication, during the purity of the system, was an useful corrective in their discipline; but when the civil government became in some measure coalesced with the order, the sentence then pronounced in the circle was clothed in all the terrors that surround an outlaw in modern times. Then too, their doctrine of expiation by sacrifice entended to more awful victims, for all the criminals of the nation were collected together at the great yearly assemblies; and there, in atoning for their crimes, presented a spectacle to the whole people at once impressive and tremendous!"*

The above account, on the whole, and as far as it goes, seems pretty just, and is very remarkable and estimable for its comprehensive brevity. The next account of Druidism which shall be here noticed, is that of *Mr. Edward Williams*, the celebrated Bard of Glamor-

* Mavor's Hist. Eng. Vol. I. pp. 9, &c.

gan, a person of acknowledged worth and respectability, and the father of the present generation, or survivors of that ancient order. He gives not a circumstantial view of the Institution, but only its primary principles, or fundamental aphorisms, otherwise there would be no need to seek for further documents, as he is, of all men living, the best acquainted with the subject. Among some introductory remarks, he observes, that *the Patriarchal Religion* of ANCIENT BRITAIN, called *Druidism,* (and by the Welsh *Derwyddoniaeth,* but the most commonly *Barddas,* i. e. Bardism,) was no more inimical to Christianity, than the religion of Noah, Job, or Abraham. He says further, that it has never, as some imagine, been quite extinct in Britain; that *the Welsh Bards,* through all ages, down to the present, have kept it alive; that there is in his possession a MS. synopsis of it by a Bard of former times, the truth and accuracy of which are corroborated by innumerable notices and allusions in our bardic MSS. of every age up to *Taliesin,* in the sixth century, whose poems exhibit a complete system of Druidism. By these (undoubtedly authentic) writings it will also appear that *ancient British Christianity* was strongly tinctured with DRUIDISM. The old Welsh Bards, he adds, kept up a perpetual war with the Church of Rome, and from it experienced much persecution. They could be no less or worse Christians for having been Druids; and he deems the doctrine of *the metempsychosis* as that which, of all others, most clearly " vindicates

the ways of God to man;" being sufficiently countenanced by many passages in the New Testament, and believed by many of the primitive Christians, and by the Essenes among the Jews. The knowledge of the ancient British mythology, he shews to be absolutely necessary for those who have to describe ancient British manners or usages; owing to a total ignorance of which, the *Bard* of *Gray*, with its savage Scandinavian Mythology, must appear truly ridiculous and preposterous to an ancient British Mythologist, as must also other English poems of a similar cast, which otherwise possess no small poetical excellence. The outlines or radical principles of *Bardism* or *Druidism*, as he has exhibited them, are comprised under thirty heads or aphorisms,* which, for brevity's sake, we shall here omit, as they are substantially comprehended in the more ample account that follows, and which has been drawn up also with his assistance. This account is the production of *William Owen*, F. S. A., a gentleman profoundly conversant with ancient British Archaiology, and was by him, some years ago, prefixed to the Works of *Llywarch Hen*, a celebrated Briton of the 6th century. From that publication what here follows has been extracted; but occasionally abridged.

What may be considered, says the author, as the foundation of THE [*bardic* or *druidical*] ORDER, was

* See Mr. E. Williams's Poems, Lyric and Pastoral, 1st Edit. Vol. II. pp. 194, &c.

the doctrine of *Universal Peace* and *Good Will;* for so entirely was a Bard to be the votary to them, that he was never to bear arms, or in any other manner to become a party in a dispute, either political or religious; nor was a naked weapon even to be held in his presence, for he was recognised as *the Sacred Herald of Peace,* under the title of *Bardd Ynys Prydain,* or *Bard of the Isle of Britain.** The result of this was, that he could pass unmolested from one hostile country to another, where his character was known; and whenever he appeared in his *unicoloured robe,* [of sky blue, emblem of peace and truth,] by which he was known, attention was given him on all occasions; if he were even between armies in the heat of action, both parties would instantly desist; so that *the appearance* of A BARD operated as the modern *flag of truce!* His word was to be credited in preference to that of any other person whatsoever.

The next important object of *the bardic institution* was the free investigation of all matters contributing to the attainment of truth and wisdom,

* The vulgar acceptation of *Bardd* (whence the English *Bard)* is simply a *poet,* but the literal meaning of the word is, *one that maketh conspicuous,* implying a teacher, philosopher, or *master of wisdom.* Verse being the medium by which the Bards [like most of the original instructors of ancient nations] conveyed their precepts to the people, they continued to cultivate poetry after their power as a body had ceased—hence the modern acceptation of the name.

grounded upon the aphorism, "COELIAW DIM, A CHOELIAW POB PETH"—*To believe nothing, and to believe every thing;* that is, to believe every thing supported by reason and proof, and nothing without. In addition to that, THE BARD was to be bold in the cause of truth; for his motto was—"Y GWIR YN ERBYN Y BYD"—*The Truth in opposition to the World.*

Another maxim of the order was *the perfect equality* of its members, and of the three branches whereof it consisted, one with another. Each Order was held in a peculiarity of estimation, though neither of them were entitled to superiority, nor any one deemed more intrinsically excellent than the other. If with respect to qualification for certain offices one was deemed inferior, it was in other particulars allowed to be superior; so that, considered in the whole, each of the Orders was equally honourable.

The publicity of their actions was also a leading consideration among THE BARDS; for all their Meetings or *Gorseddau,* were held in the open air, on a conspicuous place, whilst the sun was above the horizon; as they were to perform every thing *in the eye of the light, and in the face of the sun!* The place was set apart by forming *a circle of stones,* with a large stone in the middle, beside which the presiding Bard stood. This was termed *Cylch Cyngrair,* or the *Circle of Federation;* and the stones with which it was formed were called *Meini Crair, Meini Cyngrair,* and *Meini Gwynion;* and the middle

stone, *Crair Gorsedd, Maen Gorsedd, Maen Llŏg.* At these *Gorseddau* it was absolutely necessary to recite the *Bardic Traditions;* and with this whatever came before the meetings was considered as determined upon. The Bards at those places, and on all occasions where they acted officially, wore *unicoloured robes.*

As to the tenets of *the Druidical or Bardic Religion,* our author observes that the Bards adhered to, or departed from their original traditions only according to the evidence that might be acquired from time to time, in their *Search after Truth.* During the primitive, or pagan times, if the last term may be applied, the opinions of THE BARDS had a very great affinity with the Patriarchal religion, and which, probably, was the fountain from whence they flowed.

THE BARDS, he says, at all times espoused the sacred doctrine of *One God,* the Creator and Governor of the Universe, and pervading all space; of whom the idea of a locality of existence was deemed unworthy.* Their conception of his divine nature is fundamentally and comprehensively explained by

* Amongst the names of the Deity, he observes, that are older than the introduction of Christianity, the following may be reckoned, *Duw, Deon, Dovydd, Celi, Ior, Peryv, Rhëen, Yr Hen Ddihenydd.* To the latter, however, the Bard E. Williams has suggested another idea. See his poems, Vol. II. p. 167. He rather supposes it to mean no more than the primitive age, or the restoration of the primeval state of innocence, peace, and benevolence.

the following bold and remarkable aphorism:—NID DIM OND DUW, NID DUW OND DIM—GOD *cannot be* MATTER, *and what is not* MATTER *must be* GOD.

They taught that this World was to be of permanent duration; but subject to a succession of violent revolutions, which would be produced sometimes by the predominating power of the element of Water, and sometimes of that of Fire.

Their sentiments concerning *the Soul* were, that it pre-existed, in a state of gradual advancement by transmigration, and that it was immortal. But in some of the leading traits of their ideas on this subject there was a very striking peculiarity; the whole animated creation, they said, originated in the lowest point of existence, evil in the extreme, and arrived by a regular train of gradations, at the probationary state of humanity; those gradations were necessarily evil, but more or less so as they were removed from the first source. In the state of humanity, good and evil were equally balanced, and consequently it was a state of liberty; in which, if the actions and conduct of the agent preponderated to evil, death gave but an awful passage by which he returned to animal life, in a condition below humanity equal to the degree of turpitude he had debased himself with in his former state of probation; and if his life then was desperately wicked, it was possible for him to fall to his original vileness, or the lowest point of existence, and a renewal of his former progression through brutal existence took place; and this was his destiny

as often as evil had the ascendancy in his state of trial. If, on the other hand, good was predominant in the heart of man, death was deemed a welcome messenger to conduct him to a more exalted condition, where he was still progressive; but he was then removed into a state necessarily good, and therefore beyond the influence of evil, or the danger of falling. To relieve the otherwise *unsupportable tedium* of ETERNITY, he there undergoes the most delightful renovations* in endless succession; without being deprived of the consciousness of his former conditions. He may even return to a state of second manhood, yet without the possibility of evil having again the ascendancy, consequently the return of such a benign soul was considered a blessing to the world.

The *Metempsychosis*, beside its being an incitement to good morals and noble actions, had also a peculiar tendency to restrain the Bards from killing animals. They were not like the *Bramins*, under a prohibition of depriving any creature of life; on the contrary, it was *allowable* to destroy those which directly, or eventually, might cause the death of man; consequently most sorts of land animals might be killed; but the whole tribe of fishes were considered as not affecting, nor to be affected by the human economy.

* *Nefoedd*, the Welsh word for *heaven*, and which (being of a plural form) seeming to signify *renovations*, is supposed to allude to the above notion. See E. W., Vol. II. p. 107.

That state of universal warfare, in which all animated nature seems to be involved, was not by them looked upon as a curse; on the contrary, THE BARDS could survey the scene with more complacency than others; for in it they perceived the goodness of Providence, hastening the changes necessary to produce a more glorious existence.

Propitiatory sacrifice was a part of the Bardic Religion, as it seems to have been of most others, whether pure or corrupt, that have been in the world. Their human sacrifices were criminals, to appease divine justice. These victims are still devoted, perhaps in greater numbers in *London*, and other great towns; yet most authors add the epithet *horrid* to those druidical sacrifices, whenever they have occasion to mention them, seemingly without ever thinking of its propriety or otherwise.

From the above an idea may be formed of the bardic religious Establishment, as to its tendency with respect to its more minute precepts, and its consequent influence upon their moral institutes; and which, it is probable, was preserved unpolluted, at least until the stream of idolatry, following the course of the *Roman* arms, bore strongly upon them, and effected a change. That THE BRITONS, notwithstanding the purity of *the bardic system*, had many degrading superstitions, is not denied, but it may be fairly presumed that very slight dependence ought to be placed on the relations of foreign authors

with regard to any matters beside simple facts. It was from the ostensible aggregate of the manners and customs that strangers have delineated the community under the influence of Bardism; but they could be no more adequate to define that code, in its genuine simplicity, from such a source, than a person ignorant of Christianity would be able to give the truths of Revelation from the desultory observations he might make on a tour through some countries of modern Europe.

The next point to be considered is *the discipline* of THE BARDS, or that practical part of their philosophy which regulated the society. And here our author tells us, that *the Bardic Institutes,* as well as every branch of the system, were retained wholly by tradition, in aphorisms, poems, and adages of a peculiar cast.* And so far from being any thing like enigmatical or obscure, as some have supposed, that they were, in fact, the very reverse, and had hardly in them so much as a figurative expression. There were, it seems, some written memorials, but they were deemed of inferior authority, and for that reason no reference was ever made to them. The first things taught to disciples were those *traditions,* †

* He does not say, as *Dr. Mavor* does, (probably through mistake,) that they all consisted of *triads.*

† From those *traditions* our author formed his Sketch of Bardism: but with respect to the traditions themselves, he says, " As one of the Order, I feel a propensity, (a pardon-

comprehending the institutes, maxims, rudiments of language, laws of verse, and such kind of knowledge as respected the organization of the Order. Traditions of persons set apart for the study and continuation of them, were preferred to letters, as being (in their opinion) better guarded against imposition, by coming more immediately under the notice and cognizance of the people at large. Of the methods of preserving these, the most important was the reciting of them at every *Gorsedd*, or meeting, by which all became acquainted with them, till they were so rooted in the public memory, as not to be liable to undergo any alteration..... So very tenacious were *the Bards* of guarding them from perversion, imposition, and oblivion, that no verses or poems whatsoever, relative to the system, were allowed to be spread abroad, without being previously examined and approved publicly at a *Gorsedd*, after being recited by the *Dadgeiniaid* in the hearing of all.

The Bards were divided into three essential classes, the BARDD BRAINT, DERWYDD, and OVYDD, (or *Bard of Presidency, Druid,* and *Ovate,)* to which our author adds the AWENYDDION, or disciples, whom it may be proper, says he, to consider as a fourth class. The *Awenyddion* wore a variegated dress of the Bardic colours, blue, green, and white. To be ad-

able one, I hope,) in common with a few remaining members, to preserve amongst ourselves undisclosed, except at a *Gorsedd*, those very curious remains, as an incitement to preserve the system."

mitted into this class, the first requisite was unimpeached morals; for it was indispensably necessary that the candidate should, above all things, be a *good man!* He was seldom initiated into any thing considerable until his understanding, affections, morals, and principles in general, had undergone severe trials. His passions and faculties were closely observed and exercised, when he was least aware of it; at all times, in all places, and on every occasion possible, there was an eye, hid from his observation, continually fixt upon him; and from the knowledge thus obtained of his head and heart, and, in short, his very soul scrutinized, an estimate was made of his principles and mental abilities;* and according to the approbation given, and in the manner and degree thought proper, he was initiated into the mysteries, and instructed in the doctrines of *Bardism*. During his probationary state of discipline, he was to learn such verses and adages as contained the maxims of the Institution, and to compose others himself, on any relative subject, doctrinal or moral.

The Bardd Braint was the title of the corporate degree, or fundamental class of the Order. [Called also *Bardd Trwyddedawg*, and Trwyddedawg Braint.] None could be admitted to this degree without having

* It is a pity the above plan or course should have fallen into disuse, or that it should not have been adopted in Wales in regard to all candidates for the ministry, in the Church as well as among the Methodists and Dissenters, as it might have been attended with very salutary effects.

undergone the regular discipline of the *Awenyddion.* After presiding at three *Gorseddau,* he was denominated one of the *Gorseddogion,* (or *Beirdd Gorseddawg,* or simply *Beirdd Ynys Prydain,)* and became fully qualified to exercise all the functions of *Bardism;* for, it was as of this degree and character, to which was annexed a plenitude of power adequate to all the purposes of the institution, that the chief Bard always presided. He could proclaim and hold a *Gorsedd,* admit disciples and *Ovyddion,* was capable of being employed in embassies, in the office of herald, and to instruct youth in the principles of Religion and Morality. He could not bear arms, being *the herald of peace,* and he was to observe the most inviolable secresy on all occasions, between such parties as engaged him in confidential offices; neither was he to espouse any particular party in religion or politics, as being inconsistent with his character. On all occasions where he acted officially, he wore the unicoloured robe of sky-blue.

The DERWYDDON, or *Druids,* (called also *Derwydd-veirdd,)* were such of the Bards of either of the Orders of *Bardd Braint,* or of *Ovydd,* that were set apart to, or employed peculiarly in the exercise of religious functions; and long after the conversion of *the Britons* to CHRISTIANITY, the ministers of religion among them were distinguished by this term, notwithstanding they had been for ages the pagan priests: but Pagans we can hardly call those who worshipped *the true God* in simplicity. Therefore

let not the pious be alarmed at the idea of *Druidism* being still alive in this Island, but let him examine it a little, and he will find that *the British patriarchal religion* is no more than that of Noah, or of Abraham, inimical to Christianity. There is in *Druidism*, and no less in real CHRISTIANITY, what seems extremely repugnant to the manners, and even the religion of this age—a severe, inflexible morality! Though the *Derwydd*, or Druid, was more peculiarly, yet he was not exclusively the minister of religion; for the *Bardd Braint*, and even the *Ofydd*, might officiate as such, after being confirmed by reception into the Order, at a *Gorsedd*. There was no superiority attached to the order of Derwydd; but as a matter of convenience the religious department was allotted to an appropriate set of BARDS distinguished by that name, to give notoriety and discriminate visibility to their functions. Their dress was *white*, the emblem of holiness, and peculiarly of truth, as being the colour of light, or of the sun. They were exempted from some offices incumbent on each of the others. Sanctity of life, and celebrity for wisdom, were recommendatory qualifications always looked for in *the Druid*; he was most immediately the instructor of youth, and from the necessary obligations of his office, the residentiary Bard of his district.

The OVYDD, or *Ovate*, was the third order, being an honorary degree, to which the candidate could be immediately admitted, without being obliged to pass through the regular discipline. This degree, in every

circumstance of its peculiar institution, appears intended to create a power capable of acting on emergencies, on a plan different from the regular mode of proceeding, as well as of bringing within the system such kind of knowledge as was unknown, or foreign to the original Institution. The requisite qualifications were, in general, an acquaintance with valuable discoveries in science, the use of letters,* medicine, language, and the like. On particular occasions, in consideration of other eminent qualifications, even the knowledge of, and a genius for poetry, might be dispensed with; for this order was a provisionary one, for the purpose of admitting into the Bardic system, in a regular manner, every thing useful and laudable in science. The *Ovydd* was, however, enjoined to acquaint himself with the Bardic institutes and traditions; for, from several contingencies, it was possible that the order or institution might be perpetuated only by *Ovyddion*, or Ovates, which, in its original purity, it could not be done, unless they

* The *Ovates* were all literary characters; they were received on no other qualification but that of having the knowledge of letters and the sciences dependent thereon. The Bardic alphabet is still extant, consisting of thirty-six letters, sixteen of which are radicals, and the rest mutations of those; and it is the only one adequate to convey all the sounds of the Welsh language without using double characters. These letters are almost entirely the same with the *Etruscan*. The Bards also, our author says, used universal symbols, without any appropriate characters, on the same or similar principle with the *Indian Wampum*.

were acquainted with its true principle, nature, and intention. The *Ovydd* could exercise all the functions of Bardism, and by some particular acts he became entitled, by virtue of having performed them, to other degrees, after such acts had been acquiesced in by a *Gorsedd.* The candidate for this order was elected at a *Gorsedd,* on the previous recommendation of a graduated Bard of any of the three orders, who might, from his own knowledge, declare, that whom he proposed was duly qualified. If the candidate was not known to a Bard, the recommendation of a judge, or magistrate, or of twelve reputable men, could constitute him a candidate, on which he was immediately elected by *Coelbren,* or ballot.—Proclamation was another way of admission to the degree of *Ovydd;* that is, it was proclaimed at a *Gorsedd,* that a person of a certain name, place, and qualifications, was, on specified recommendation, proposed as a candidate, and that at a certain future period, not less than a whole year, he was to be admitted to that degree; and if no objection was, during that time, brought against him, he was considered to be graduated. It is a received opinion that the Bards, in the character, and being of the order of *Ovydd,* might hold a *Cadair,* or subordinate provincial meeting, under cover, or within doors. The dress of *the Ovydd* was green, the symbol of learning, or of the knowledge of terrestrial things, as Dr. Mavor expresses it.

Each of *the Orders,* as was before observed, had

a peculiarity of estimation, yet neither was held to be more intrinsically excellent than the other. If with respect to qualifications for certain officialities, one was deemed inferior, it was in other particulars allowed to be superior; so that, considered in the whole, they were equally honourable. Thus *Bardd Braint* was peculiarly the ruling order, *Derwydd* the religious functionary, and *Ovydd* was the literary, or scientific order. This idea of equality was preserved with the utmost punctuality in all their formulas of discipline. In their very titles the Bards observed the order of their graduation, adding to each the words, "According to the immunities and customs of THE BARDS of the isle of Britain." By this means such titles were a history of their manner of admission; as Bardd Braint, Bard of Presidency; Bardd a Derwydd, Bard and Druid; Bardd ac Ovydd, Bard and Ovate; Bardd, Ovydd, a Derwydd, Bard, Ovate, and Druid; Bardd, Derwydd, ac Ovydd, Bard, Druid, and Ovate; Ovydd, Bardd, a Derwydd, Ovate, Bard, and Druid; Ovydd, Derwydd, a Bardd, Ovate, Druid, and Bard.

The manner of attaining to any particular degree was thus: if an *Ovydd* had been admitted by a BARD, or proclamation had been made of any one being a candidate for this or any other order, such a candidate was called *Ovydd*, or *Bard Claimant*, or *Presumptive Bard*;* and he was entitled, after such

* Ovydd (Bardd) yn mraint hawl ac arddel.

proclamation, to all passive privileges of the Order, but not to act officially until he had been confirmed in his degrees by a *Gorsedd.* That sanction being obtained, he could perform all the acts and functions of the Order, and virtually became entitled to that particular degree incidental to the officialities which he executed. By officiating as *Derwydd,* after a certain time he became of that degree; by presiding at a *Gorsedd,* he became, what presidency implies, a *Bardd Braint;* by admitting, and after confirmation of an *Ovydd,* he became entitled to that degree, if he was not so before. Such proceedings are deduced from this general rule,—That a graduated Bard, executing any officialities of the institution, after the acquiescence of a *Gorsedd,* became entitled to the degrees incident to, and implied by, such officialities.

The principle on which they acted for perpetuating the institution was,—That three or more BARDS could admit by election; but if there should be only one remaining, he could perform arbitrarily all officialities till three had been by him admitted. The deficiency being supplied, arbitrary power ceased, and all was to go on regularly. Two remaining Bards could only act by proclamation; for between two there could be no majority, or casting voice; and one could not act arbitrarily, because there was another opposing power of equal authority. The proclamation was, therefore, an appeal or reference to public opinion, and to that original authority from which the institution was first derived; and the acquiescence

of the public, in bringing no objections to the proposals of such proclamation, constituted the legality of any act done, in consequence of its having been proposed in the notice..... The arbitrary acts of a Bard, such as the admission of an *Ovydd*, or any thing else, were done in consequence of a supposed or implied decision of the Bards at a *Gorsedd*, existing in a necessary fiction, to sanction an arbitrary act not otherwise allowed. In this fiction they always exist; for the utility and principles of their institution exist in nature. That being the case, the officiating agents of those principles are rather dormant than extinct, and to be called to action by proclamation.

The regular manner of qualifying ultimately, or graduating a Bard, was by giving him a *Gorsedd*, or *Cadair*; that is, by including him in the number, which must be three at least, of presiding Bards at a *Gorsedd*. Among those mentioned in the proclamation, it could not be known, from any thing there expressed, which were the old, and which the newly-admitted Bards; nor was it necessary the presiding Bards should precisely be those mentioned in the proclamation, or that they should be visibly present, for they were virtually, or representatively so, as well as all the *Beirdd Ynys Prydain*. So to obtain the degree to which one was admitted by giving him presidency, it was not necessary he should be present; for there was nothing implied as an act of his own, in his being or not being present in person. The

sole intention of giving him presidency was to announce him to THE BARDS, all virtually present, and to the public, as of the particular order to which he was admitted.

As to the regular times of holding a *Gorsedd*, or meeting, they were the two solstices; but subordinate meetings were also held every new and full moon, and also at the quarter days, which were chiefly for instructing disciples. The regular meetings must have been well known, both as to time and place; for there were appointed places as well as times. It is reasonably supposed that the principal meetings, while all Britain acknowledged the Bardic Institution, were held in what is now called WILTSHIRE,* as it is there that the most stupendous monuments of the former power of the Bards are to be found. Those meetings were always held in the open air, *in the face of the sun, and the eye of the*

* Not in Mona or Anglesey, as many have fancied; the great numbers of DRUIDS which Suetonius Paulinus is said to have found there, when he invaded the island, were probably fugitives, or refugees, who had fled thither from the Roman arms, in hopes of finding there a secure asylum. The vestiges of *Druidism* in Mona are on a small scale, and puny, (as Mr. *Owen* observes,) compared with those in Wiltshire. In a small district of Pembrokeshire, called Cemmaes, there are perhaps as considerable remains of Druidism as in the whole island of Anglesey. Of those in Wilts the most stupendous are those of Avebury, Silbury, and STONEHENGE; though the latter is supposed not to have been erected till the institution had been some time on the decline.

light! The place was set apart by forming a circle of stones around the *Maen Gorsedd,* as already mentioned.* At those meetings or *Gorseddau,* it was absolutely necessary to recite the bardic traditions; and with this whatever came before them was considered, and determined upon. The Bards always stood bare headed and bare footed, in their unicoloured robes, at the *Gorsedd,* and within the *Cylch Cyngrair,* or Circle of Federation. The ceremony used at the opening of the meeting was the sheathing of the sword on the *Maen Gorsedd,* at which all the presiding Bards assisted; and this was accompanied with a very short, pertinent discourse. When the business was finished, the meeting was closed by taking up, but not unsheathing the sword, with a few words on the occasion, when all covered their heads and feet. There were certain mottos used by the Bards; that for the General Assembly of the Isle of Britain was—Y Gwir yn erbyn y Byd; *The Truth in opposition to the World.* Those for the provincial meetings were such as had been

* *Maen Gorsedd,* which signifies *the Stone of Assembly,* was also called *Crair Gorsedd,—the Covenant place of the Assembly,* and *Maen Llôg,—the Stone of Covenant;* but it was never called *Cromlech,* nor is this name to be found in any old MS. whatever; it is therefore a name unfairly obtruded upon the public. This altar *might* be called *Cromlech* for the same reason as other stones of the same form and position are so called in common language; but it has not the least allusion to the use which the Bards made of it.

adopted on the first establishment of them respectively.* That for *Cadair Morganwg*, or the Chair of Glamorgan, was DUW A PHOB DAIONI, *God and all Goodness;* that for *Cadair Dyfed*, or the Chair of Dimetia, CALON WRTH GALON, *Heart united to Heart;* that for *Cadair Powys*, or the Chair of Powys, A LADDO A LEDDIR, *He that kills shall be killed;* and that for *Cadair Gwynedd*, or the Chair of Venedocia, IESU, *Jesus.* They were used as declaratory of the *Cadair*, or *Talaith*, meeting or province whereof the Bard was a member, or of the meeting that enacted any thing respecting the Institution. The *Gorseddau*, and *Cadeiriau*, or general and provincial assemblies, always virtually exist; and if they do not visibly appear, they are to be called on to make their appearance, by a proclamation of a *Gorsedd Ynys Prydain*, where three graduated Bards must preside; and, as in individuals, so in collective bodies, those *Cadeiriau*, or *Provincial Chairs* took no precedency one of the other on any occasion, but all were equal in estimation and dignity. It was requisite that every Bard should be known as of some provincial *Cadair*, for the sake of

* It seems these provincial meetings were not established till some time after the introduction of Christianity. The motto of the Chair of Venedocia, at least, indicates as much. Druidism had then assumed the name of Christ, or was become incorporated with Christianity, and so continued ever after; so that there is the greater reason for giving here so particular an account of it.

visible distinction, though the *Beirdd Ynys Prydain* (which was their general title) were of every one; for they all existed in them as the fountain from whence all are derived; and should any have disappeared, the *Beirdd Ynys Prydain* might call them out by proclamation, or by actually appearing at such meetings, and give them immediate visibility, or by the same means constitute new ones. A *Gorsedd* might be so held as to be both national and provincial. It was not necessary that a provincial *Cadair* should be actually held within its peculiar territory; for it might be held any where in Britain, or even in a foreign country, as might also a *Gorsedd Ynys Prydain,* retaining on such occasion the appropriate titles; which were, *Beirdd Ynys Prydain trwy'r byd,* and *Trwyddedigion byd.* "The Bards of the Isle of Britain throughout the world," and "Those who are at liberty throughout the world."

At a meeting there was always one, called the *Dadgeiniad,* or the reciter, whose business was to recite the traditions and poems, to make proclamations, announce candidates, open and close the *Gorsedd,* and the like. A Bard generally executed this office; but it might be done by one, or as many as were necessary of the *Awenyddion* or disciples.

A *Gorsedd* was opened and closed, as before observed, with short discourses, which were formal with respect to the matter, but there was no necessity for their being so in words. The following was the purport of what was said at the opening of one:

"THE TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD: under the protection of the *Bards of the Isle of Britain* are all who repair to this place, where there is not a naked weapon against them; and all who seek for the privilege and graduation appertaining to Science and Bardism, let them demand it of *Iolo Morganwg, W. Mechain, Hywel Eryri,* and *D. Ddu Eryri,* and they being all *graduated Bards,* according to the privilege of the *Bards of the Isle of Britain.* THE TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD." *

In closing the *Gorsedd,* the presiding Bard took up the sword, and named the Bards that were mentioned in the opening; except some of them were

* If any were to be graduated, the conclusion was altered to this form—Yn mraint *Cadair, (Beirdd) Cyfoeth Morganwg, a Gwent ac Erging, ac Ystrad yw—Yn enw Duw a phob daioni;* that is, under the privilege of the Chair (or Bards) of Glamorgan, Gwent, Erging, and Ystrad yw; in the name of God and all goodness—this constituted it a provincial Cadair, and it would be called a Cadair, or Chair of Glamorgan. If an Ovydd was to be admitted, the form concluded thus—Ymgeisiant â Iolo Morganwg, W. Mechain, Hywel Eryri, a D. Ddu Eryri, Beirdd ac Ovyddion yn mraint Beirdd Ynys Prydain. Sef y dywed D. Ddu Eryri, ar air a chydwybod, y gellid Beirdd o honynt; ac yna barnasant y Beirdd yn ngorsedd, y dylid Beirdd o honynt yn ngradd Ovyddion yn mraint Beirdd Cadair Gwynedd—Yn enw Iesu. And in concluding the *Gorsedd,* thus—Iolo Morganwg, W. Mechain, H. Eryri, a D. Ddu Eryri, Beirdd ac Ovyddion wrth fraint a defawd Beirdd Gwynedd, yn ymddal wrth brif ddefawd Beirdd Ynys Prydain: ni noethant arf yn erbyn neb, ac ni bydd noeth arf yn eu herbyn —Yn enw Iesu.

to be rejected, or suspended, and then they were noticed thus:—"*Iolo Morganwg* and *W. Mechain*, Bards graduated in the privilege of the Bards of the Isle of Britain; and *D. Ddu Eryri, a Bard Claimant*, under the privilege of the *Chair of Dimetia*—HEART UNITED TO HEART."* This alteration in the manner of naming the Bards from what was done at the opening of the *Gorsedd*, implies that D. Ddu Eryri is suspended, and Hywel Eryri rejected, or excepted against; and for that reason not admitted to their degrees for which they were candidates.

From the above form it will appear, that such candidates as are named in a proclamation, and passed over in silence at a *Gorsedd*, are rejected, and can never afterward be admitted; and such as are called at a *Gorsedd*, after being named, "*Beirdd wrth hawl ac arddel*—Bards claimant and presumptive," it implies suspension of the decision of the *Gorsedd* concerning them till a future opportunity.

When it had been proved before a *Gorsedd* that a Bard had been guilty of any criminal act, he was suspended, or degraded, as occasion required. The first was by proclamation, in which he was called *Bard claimant* and presumptive, as before noticed. Degradation was a particular act of the Gorsedd before the close of it, and it was called "*Dwyn cyrch cyflafan yn ei erbyn*—To bring the assault

* A Gorsedd might be both a general and provincial one, thus:---Wrth fraint a defawd Beirdd Ynys Prydain, ac yn mraint Beirdd Cadair Dyfed---Calon wrth Galon.

of warfare against him." After the decision, all the Bards covered their heads, and one of them unsheathed the sword, named the person aloud three times, with the sword lifted in his hand, adding, where he was last named, "*Noeth yw'r cleddyf yn ei erbyn*—The sword is naked against him." This concluded the ceremony, and he could never after be re-admitted; and he was called, "*Gwr wrth ddifrawd ac anraith*—A man deprived of privilege, and exposed to warfare." To hold a particular *Gorsedd* by proclamation is sometimes deemed most proper for the purpose of degrading a Bard; and then the occasion should be specified in this peculiar form of words: "Where there will not be a naked weapon against any one but *Madoc Min,* a man deprived of privilege and exposed to warfare." All besides in the proclamation to be in the usual manner. Such having been published, it is not necessary that the *Gorsedd,* therein proclaimed, should be actually held; for it has a virtual existence, and all that is necessary on this occasion is, to announce to the public the degradation of such a Bard. The proclamation was to this purpose:

"When it was the year of our Lord 1792, and *the sun in the point of the vernal equinox,* a summons and invitation was given in the *hearing of the country and the prince,* under the period of a year and a day, with protection for all such as might seek for *privilege and graduation* appertaining to *Science and Bardism,* to repair to the top of Pumlumon, in Powys,

at the expiration of the year and the day, in the hours of noon, where *there will not be a naked weapon against them;* and then, in the presence of IOLO MORGANWG, *Bard according to the privilege of the Bards of the Isle of Britain;* and with him W. MECHAIN, HYWEL ERYRI, and D. DDU ERYRI, and they being all graduated Bards under the privilege and custom of the Bards of Britain, for the purpose of pronouncing the judgment of a *Gorsedd, in the eye of the sun,* and *face of the light,* on all with respect to *genius and moral conduct,* who may seek for *presidency and privilege, according to the privilege and custom of the Bards of the Isle of Britain*— THE TRUTH IN OPPOSITION TO THE WORLD." *

Here it may not be improper to give a short history of the manner in which DRUIDISM, or BARDISM, has been continued to the present time. "It has been already observed, (says our author,) that the principles upon which it was formed did not in the least militate against the introduction of Christianity; for they were, on the contrary, highly serviceable to facilitate the adoption of the new doctrine, because it was one of the leading maxims, to examine every thing without prejudice, to draw a conclusion from the evidence, and to abide by the result only

* The above is a *Gorsedd* of the isle of *Britain;* but when the occasion is local, it should be a provincial *Cadair,* which is constituted by concluding thus, if for *Powys*:—Herwydd braint a defawd Beirdd (or Cadair) Powys—A LADDO A LEDDIR.

as farther investigation should support it, or otherwise. In confirmation of such remark, (he adds,) we have a notable instance of the influence of that spirit of investigation, recorded by the historians * of the first planting of Christianity, who testify that the Britons embraced it generally, and with more openness than any other people."

Our Druids or Bards, generally embracing Christianity at its first promulgation, would naturally give them a predominance afterwards among their Christian countrymen, which, according to our author, they continued to possess till nearly about the time of *Germanus* and *Lupus*, about the beginning of the fifth century. † At that period an opening was effected by the exertions and interest, it seems, of the clergy of the *Roman* Church, which, in the course of about a century, deprived the Druids of their long-accustomed ascendancy and popularity, and subjected them to the charge of heterodoxy and heresy, if not also to excommunication and proscription. This was naturally to be expected in the event of the success or prevalence of the foreign missionaries, as the Druids are supposed to have been their most firm and formidable opponents. The latter must then have experienced sad and mortifying reverses.

When these changes were beginning to take place,

* The historians alluded to he has not specified.

† They were, till then, it seems, the Christian ministers of this country. P. lx.; and E. W. Vol. II. p. 203.

we are told that a prince of the name of *Beli*, (in order, perhaps, to render the institution more subservient to the views of the ruling powers,) formed a new code of regulations, which contained many deviations from the original standard, and which he invited the Bards to adopt.* Such as were of a complying disposition acceded to these new laws; but those who had the honour of the ancient institution at heart, treated with disdain the proposal of being guided by any other than the public tradition of a *Gorsedd*. From this period the regular *Bards of the Isle of Britain* are only to be considered as a small, obscure sect, though still venerated by the people, on account of their peaceable principles; and they still possessed a considerable degree of influence as long as the Welsh enjoyed their own government; but when that was lost, by the fall of the last *Llywelyn*, Bardism had nearly been totally

* These new laws were afterwards modified in the sixth century, by King *Arthur*, and again in the eleventh by *Griffydd ab Cynan*, king of *Wales*; and last of all an incoherent jumble of them was adopted, for want of better information, by a congress held at *Caermarthen* towards the middle of the fifteenth century. The people who embraced these new laws were called by the primitive Bards, in derision, *Beirdd Beli* and *Ofer-Feirdd*, that is, the Bards of *Beli*, and *Pseudo-Bards*. However, in some ages they seem to have been held in greater estimation than the old Bards; possibly because they were not so inimical to the clergy, and to the popular errors of the times.

annihilated.* The Bards were not only deprived of patronage by this event, but they were even awed by the terror of a cruel persecution, the consequence of which was, that they were obliged to be circumspect, and to avoid the regular open *Gorsedd.* This must have endangered the loss of the traditions and learning of the institution; therefore such of the Bards as were anxious for its fate, began, more than before, to make collections of those things in books. With a view to consolidate those collections, several *Gorseddau* were held from the beginning of the fifteenth century, under the sanction of Sir Richard Neville and others; and a subsequent one, for the same purpose, was held in 1570, under the auspices of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the great patron of Welsh literature.† What was done in

* The massacre of them by order of Edward I., though by some English writers discredited, is perfectly consistent with his ferocious character. They found no favour afterward from any of his successors, till the accession of the Tudors; since which time they have met with none of the frowns of Government, except under the late very alarming administration of the last Pitt, when their public meetings were most ridiculously interrupted and prohibited among the peaceful hills of Glamorgan.

† The great library of Welsh MSS. formed by him at *Rhaglan* (or *Ragland) Castle,* was destroyed by Oliver Cromwell. [Mr. Edward Williams makes a similar assertion, Vol. II. p. 65; but it does not seem to be correct or well founded. Ragland Castle was taken by *Fairfax:* Cromwell

those meetings, received considerable improvement at one held by Sir Edward Lewis, of the Van, about the year 1580, from the arrangement of the venerable *Llywelyn of Llangewydd;* and, lastly, a complete revisal of all the former collections was made by *Edward Dafydd,* of Margam, which received the sanction of a *Gorsedd,* held at *Bewpyr,* in 1681, under the patronage of Sir Richard Basset, when that collection was pronounced to be, in every respect, the fullest illustration of Bardism. From that period to the present time a remnant of the order of the Bards has existed, obscurely, in that part of Wales where those meetings were held, still occasionally holding a *Gorsedd* for *Morganwg,* or *Glamorgan,* the only provincial chair extant, all the others being discontinued long ago; and even the members of this were reduced to two before the late revival of the institution.

The Bardic theology, laws and principles, have in all ages been referred to inspiration, or asserted to be derived from heaven, under the denomination of AWEN, or *Genius;* relative to which, our author here introduces seventeen aphorisms, from the poetic triads. The following are the three first of them:

"1. The three foundations of Genius: the gift of God, man's exertion, and the events of life.

was not there; nor does it appear, if the library was really burnt or destroyed, that he had any hand in it. (See Rushworth Coll. Vol. VI.) Even Cromwell ought not to be accused or blamed unjustly.]

"2. The three primary requisites of Genius: an eye that can see nature, a heart that can feel nature, and boldness that dares follow nature.

"3. The three indispensables of Genius: understanding, feeling, and perseverance."

The rest are in general equally curious, but too long for insertion here.

The Bards bestowed great attention to the formation of their Poetical Institutes, which they brought to a high state of perfection at a very early period; because verse was generally the medium by which they preserved [the memory of] historical events, and taught the moral and religious duties to the people. The peculiar character of the poetry of the Britons was to avoid fable; for, agreeable to the radical principles of Bardism, it was consecrated to be the organ of Truth.

What relates to their rules of poetical criticism and prosody, is extremely curious and original; and there is no hazard in asserting that they are as just as can be produced in any language; because there are none that follow nature with more closeness. These are comprehended under the ten following heads—"The Welsh Language; Fancy and Invention; The Design and Intention of Poetry; The Nature and Principle of just Thinking; Rules with respect to Arrangement: Rules of just Description; Variety of Matter and Invention; Rules of Composition, with respect to verse, rhyme, stanza, consonancy, or alliteration, and accent; Truth; Varieties

of Composition, with respect to design, fancy, occasion, and meaning. Of these there are eight kinds: panegyric, historics, didactics, gratulation, description, elegy, satire, and dialogue."—These are exemplified and illustrated by their appropriate triades, amounting in all to fifty-eight, but they are too long to be inserted here. *

The Bards divided their canons of versification, or metricities, *(Cyhydeddau,)* into nine *Gorchanau*, elements of song, or primary principles, and fifteen *Adlawiaid*, secondary, or compound principles, making in all twenty-four, to which all possible varieties and combinations of metres, in any language, are reducible. To these and the laws of consonancy, accent, and rhyme, the following triades are applicable: "1. The three requisites of versification: metricity, consonancy, and rhyme. 2. The three principles of metre: length of the verse, form of the stanza, and power of the accent. 3. The three primary distinctions of metre: the Cowydd, the Ynglyn, and the Awdl. 4. The three excellencies of metre: correctness, freedom, and harmonious accent. 5. The three variations of verse: variation of metricity, variation of consonancy, and variation of accent. 6. The primary principles of consonancy: the rhyming

* The Triades, called in Welsh *Trioedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain*, i. e. the Triades of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, are classed under the various heads of *Institutes*, *Theology*, *Ethics*, *Poetical Criticism*, &c. E. W., Vol. II. p. 227. They are numerous, and generally curious and striking.

consonancy, the alliterative consonancy, and the compound consonancy of rhyme and alliteration."

By the nine *Gorchanau,* or canons of metricity, are to be understood so many varieties of lengths, or number of syllables in a verse, including from four to twelve syllables, being adequate to every possible change that can be used according to the laws of harmony. The names of these metrical elements are, 1. *Cyhydedd fer,* or short metricity, of four syllables; 2. *Cyhydedd gaeth,* or confined metricity, of five syllables; 3. *Cyhydedd drosgyl,* or rugged metricity, of six syllables; 4. *Cyhydedd lefyn,* or smooth metricity, of seven syllables; 5. *Cyhydedd wastad,* or regular metricity, of eight syllables; 6. *Cyhydedd draws,* or cross metricity, of nine syllables; 7. *Cyhydedd wen,* or flowing metricity, of ten syllables; 8. *Cyhydedd laes,* or heavy metricity, of eleven syllables; 9. *Cyhydedd hir,* or long metricity, of twelve syllables.

The *Adlawiaid,* secondary, or compound principles, being fifteen in number, are all the possible variety of combinations of the *Gorchanau,* depending upon the different lengths or quantity, and rhyme; the first arising from a junction of unequal verses, and the latter from changes, or variety of rhymes. The names of the Adlawiaid are, 1. *Ban cyrch,* or recurrent pause; 2. *Toddaid,* or confluency; 3. *Triban Milwr,* warrior's triplet; 4. *Triban cyrch,* recurrent triplet; 5. *Cowydd,* recitative; 6. *Traethodyn,* compound recitative; 7. *Proest cadwynawyt,*

combined alternate rhyme; 8. *Proest cyfnewidiawg*, combined vowel alternity; 9. *Clogyrnach*, rugosity; 10. *Llostodyn*, cuspidated strain; 11. *Llamgyrch*, recurrent transition; 12. *Cadwyngyrch*, recurrent catenation; 13. *Ynglyn*, continuity; 14. *Cynghawg*, complexity; 15. *Dyri*, unconnected quantity.

The *Cynghanedd*, or Consonancy, is generally termed *alliteration*, the nature of which is very imperfectly seen in English compositions, compared with the regular system by which it is governed in the Welsh; but to give a proper analysis of it would require too much attention; so it shall be passed over, and a few words bestowed on the two remaining heads of rhyme and quantity. There is nothing peculiar in the rhyme, but that it is required to be literally perfect in all cases. As to the metrical feet, or quantity, the Welsh in this respect is the same with the Latin poetry. The feet are called *Corfanau*, of which there are seven, under the following denominations:—1. *Corfan crwn*, long syllable; 2. *Corfan byr*, short syllable; 3. *Corfan hir*, spondee; 4. *Corfan crych disgynedig*, dactyl; 5. *Corfan crych derchafedig*, anapest; 6. *Corfan talgrwn*, iambic; 7. *Corfan rhywiawg*, trochee.

This short notice of *the Bardic system* of poetry may serve to make known to the reader the existence of what is altogether original and curious. It has been totally unknown for ages, (as Mr. Owen observes,) except to those few who were of the regular order of the primitive Bards. It never was

regularly known, he says, to the *poets* of Wales who were not of the bardic order; but they, and also the musicians, had peculiar laws to themselves, far less perfect seemingly, and borrowed from slight hints and intimations, procured of this ancient system of British Bardism.*

In one part of the work from which so much of the preceding account is extracted, a short summary of *the leading articles* of DRUIDISM is given, for the purpose of bringing the whole into one point of view, by which it will be seen, (as the author thinks,) what a surprising coincidence there is between it and the principles of a modern respectable sect.† As this summary may be of material use to

* See the account of Bardism, prefixed to the Works of Llywarch Hen, p. lxxx.

† The society called *Friends*, or the people called *Quakers*. It is observable, (says the author,) that they originally appeared under the denomination of *Seekers*; and generally, if not first, in *South Wales*, and it is known that *George Fox* arranged his system after availing himself of the experience and labours of *William Erbury* and *Walter Cradock*, natives of that part of Wales where the Bardic Institution was preserved. Doth not this point out something more than mere accidental similarity between the two systems?" [He afterwards adds] "The *Welsh Quakers* have a custom not common to others, which makes the likeness still stronger; they hold their meetings in the open air, generally in a circular inclosure, called *Monwent*." [The compiler of this work is rather doubtful as to the accuracy of the above note. He has read the life of *Fox*, and the History of the Quakers, by *Sewel*, with several others of the early historical works of the *Friends*, but does

the reader in perusing that part of the following history, which reaches from the first introduction of Christianity to the time of *Pelagius*, and even of *Germanus* and *St. David*, the writer of this volume has been induced to insert it here. It is as follows—

" PEACE.—There is a necessity of restoring, establishing, and preserving peace, towards the happiness of mankind; therefore *the Bards* (or *Druids*) give an example by refraining from bearing arms, and from all things that tend to form one party in opposition to another. They, amid the storms of the moral world, must assume the serenity of the unclouded blue sky.

" EQUALITY.—Superiority of individual power is what none but God can possibly be entitled to; for the power that gave existence to all, is the only power that has a claim of right to rule over all. A man cannot assume authority over another; for if he may over one, by the same reason he may over a million, or over a world. All men are necessarily equal: the *four elements* in their natural state, or every thing not manufactured by art, is the common property of all.

" TRUTH.—Believe nothing without examination; but, where reason and evidence will warrant the conclusion, believe every thing; and let preju-

not remember having met with any documents corroborative of what is above suggested; and, of the custom of meeting in the open air, and in circular enclosures he never found any.]

dice be unknown. Search for truth on all occasions; and espouse it in opposition to the world.

"LIGHT.—The emblem of purity and holiness, the source of good, and by which all truths should be illumined. Every act of the Bard, (or Druid,) must be done *in the face of the sun,* and *in the eye of the light.*

"MAN.—The last being that came into existence in this world was man. He appeared with the first rising of the sun; before, it was perpetual night. He is destined to fill a place in the creation; but at perfect liberty to act in that character, or able to attach himself either to good or evil, as the impulse of his own inclinations shall lead him; accountable, rewardable, or punishable, for all he does. Humanity is therefore a state where good and evil are so equally balanced, that it becomes a state of liberty, and, consequently, of probation.* In this state the soul becomes possessed of such a perfection of me-

* They said that in the state of humanity, good and evil are so equally balanced, that *liberty* takes place, and the *will* becomes *free;* whence man becomes *accountable* for his actions, having a power of attaching himself either to the good or the evil, as he may or may not subject his propensities to the controul of reason and unsophisticated nature. Also, that man being possessed of *liberty* has the *power* of co-acting with the Deity, and of *attaching* himself to *good,* and by persevering in this course till death, arises to such a state above humanity as corresponds with his accessions of goodness, and with that degree in which they prependerate against evil. See Mr. E. William's Poems, Vol. II. p. 196.

mory, that in what condition soever he may afterwards exist, he never loses the recollection of whatever after befals him; so that the reward or punishment is by that means extremely heightened by comparison of the present with the former, and by experiencing the necessary consequences of good or evil; and he cannot attain perfect knowledge until he has gone through all possible modes of existence.

"ANIMALS.—They originated in the lowest point of existence, the meanest water-worm. Land animals are of a superior order, and rise in their various gradations up to man. As all modes of existence below humanity are necessarily evil, so no animal can pass to a lower state when it dies, but the Divine benevolence has so ordained that it should rise higher; and thus advancing upwards, it arrives at humanity. Animals approach the state of humanity in proportion as they are gentle and harmless in their dispositions; and to hasten their progress towards happiness, these become, more than others, liable to be destroyed untimely; which is a regulation of Divine benevolence. But as man has no right to counteract Providence, he is not permitted to kill any animal, but which would either immediately, or eventually kill him; and it is by this law he must regulate himself when he deprives any being of life. We cannot kill an animal, any more than a man, but as a prevention against, or a punishment for killing.

"GOOD.—To suffer with patience and fortitude,

is the greatest virtue of humanity, and includes all others. Man must brave all dangers rather than not act up to his duty; for true valour never appears to so great advantage as in suffering unmoved, what cannot be avoided without transgressing the laws of justice and benevolence. If, during human life, or the state of probation, the soul attaches itself to good, it passeth in the instant of death into a higher state of existence, where good necessarily prevails, and it is impossible to fall from such a state; yet liberty, however, still remains in the exertions of love and benevolence. Love is the principle which rules every thing in those states of existence that are above humanity; and a man, for that is his condition to all eternity, in such a state retains the love of his country in particular, though of all the world in general. For this reason he may descend, and again assume the earthly state, to restore the knowledge of truth, and to impress the dictates of virtue.*

"EVIL.—Pride is that passion, by which man assumes more than the laws of nature allow him; for all men are equal, though differently stationed in the state of humanity for the common good. Whoever assumes such a superiority is an usurper; and by this assumption of power, derived from pride, a man attaches himself to evil, in such a degree, that

* According to the Bardic scheme, the Prophets of Israel were of this description, for none could reveal heavenly things but those who had experienced them, [or had been themselves in heaven,] and who by returning to this world, made them known. *Taliesin* is full of this doctrine.

his soul passes at death into the meanest worm; or he falls into the lowest point of existence. A man by attaching himself to evil becomes in the passions of his soul depraved and brutalized; and at death he falls into such a state as corresponds with the malignity acquired; or his soul passes into an animal of a disposition corresponding with what he was at the time of his death. From this state he again by degrees rises higher in the scale of existence, until he arrives [again] at the state of humanity; from whence he may again fall. Thus let him fall ever so often, he again returns, as the same road to happiness lies open to him, and will to all eternity; so that necessary eternal punishment, or state of [endless] misery, is in itself impossible; and the infliction of such punishment is the only thing which the Deity cannot do, who is all-perfect benevolence.*

"REWARDS and PUNISHMENTS.—These are so secured by the eternal laws of creation, that they take place necessarily and unavoidably. They may be and are accelerated, one as well as the other, by death; which is the only possible means; and this,

[* By this it appears, that *Universalism* was professed in Britain at a very early period; nor was it confined to this Island, it was also held by *Origen* and others of the eastern Christians. It is also observable that *William Erbury*, a native of Glamorgan, (the last seat of Druidism,) and one of the earliest Welsh Nonconformists since the Reformation, is supposed to have been the first Protestant writer who maintained it in this country.]

in a degree, is left in the power of man, and it is retained also by Divine Providence.

" PENITENCE and SACRIFICE.—Perfect penitence is entitled to pardon; and which consists in making all possible retribution for the offence, and submitting willingly to the punishment due. A man thus by giving himself up voluntarily to what his conscience tells him is due to his crime, doth all that remains in his power, and so his soul becomes divested of its turpitude, and attached to good in the highest degree possible. This is the Bardic [or Druidical] idea of human sacrifice, and none were admitted but voluntary victims, or those condemned of crimes; and, to put these to death was a coincidence with divine benevolence, in hastening them to that course, which they must pass through before they could arrive at happiness.

" PROVIDENCE.—God is benevolence in all his laws of nature; for he has so ordered that the arrival of every being at a state of bliss is by all possible means accelerated. Thus the vortex of universal warfare, in which the whole creation is involved, contributes to forward the victim of its rage to a higher state of existence. Even the malignancy of man is rendered subservient to the general and ultimate end of Divine Providence, which is to bring all animated beings to happiness.

" ETERNITY.—No finite beings can possibly bear the infinite tedium of eternity. They will be relieved from it by continual renovations at proper

periods, by passing into new modes of existence; and which will not, like death, be dreaded, but eagerly wished for, and approached with joy. Every existence will impart its peculiar stock of knowledge; for consciousness and memory will for ever remain, or there could be no such thing as endless life."

The names of the *three original founders* of DRUIDISM, (or, at least, the three who first reduced it to a regular system or institution,) are still preserved: they were ALON, GWRON, and PLENNYDD, and are supposed to have flourished no less than a thousand years before the Christian era! That *Druidism* originated in BRITAIN, and was here in greater perfection than in Gaul, or any where else, appears from the testimony of CÆSAR, which the Bardic traditions also strongly corroborate.

Of the moral and religious character of THE DRUIDS, (especially since the introduction of CHRISTIANITY,) an idea may be formed from those ancient documents already mentioned, the *Triades* of THE BARDS of the Isle of Britain, which are classed under the various heads of Institutes, Theology, Ethics, &c.—The following may serve as a short specimen.

Triades of the BARDS.

"1. There are *three* primeval UNITIES, and more than one of each cannot exist; one God, one truth, and one point of liberty.

" 2. Three things proceed from the three primeval *Unities;* all of *life,* all that is *good,* and all *power.*

" 3. God consists necessarily of three things: the greatest of *life,* the greatest of *knowledge,* and the greatest of *power;* and of what is greatest there can be no more than one of any thing.

" 4. Three things it is impossible God should not be: whatever perfect goodness should be, whatever perfect goodness would desire to be, and whatever perfect goodness can perform.

" 5. Three things evince what God has done and will do: infinite power, infinite wisdom, and infinite love; for there is nothing that these attributes want of power, of knowledge, or of will to perform.

" 6. Three things it is impossible that God should not perform: whatever is most beneficial, what all want most, and what is most beautiful of all things.

" 7. Three things will infallibly be done: all that is possible for the power, for the wisdom, or for the love of God to perform.

" 8. The three primary principles of wisdom: obedience to the laws of God, concern for the welfare of mankind, and suffering with fortitude all the accidents of life.

" 9. The three great laws of man's actions: what he forbids in another, what he requires from another, and what he cares not how it is done by another.

" 10. Three things well understood will give peace: the tendencies of nature, the claims of justice, and the voice of truth.

" 11. The three great ends of knowledge: duty, utility, and decorum.

" 12. There are three men that all ought to look upon with affection: he that with affection looks at the face of the earth, he that is delighted with rational works of art, and he that looks lovingly on little infants.

" 13. There are three sorts of men: the man of God, who renders good for evil; the man of man, who renders good for good, and evil for evil; and the man of the devil, who renders evil for good.

" 14. Three sorts of people are the delight of God: the meek, the lovers of peace, and the lovers of mercy.

" 15. There are three marks of the children of God: humble demeanour, a pure conscience, and the suffering of injuries patiently.

" 16. In three places will be found the most of God: where he is most sought, where mostly loved, and where there is the least of self.

" 17. There are three sorts of lies: verbal lies, the lies of silence, and the lies of false appearances; each inducing us to believe what we should not.

" 18. Three things shall a man obtain by a belief in God: what is necessary in this life, a peaceable conscience, and communion with heaven.

" 19. Three ways a Christian punishes an enemy: by forgiving him, by not divulging his wickedness, and by doing him all the good that is possible.

" 20. Three persons have the claims and privileges

of brothers and sisters: the widow, the orphan, and the alien."*

Some of the *Triades* are of an origin long anterior to the introduction of Christianity, while others appear to belong to a later period; but all of them will serve to shew what was the real character and spirit of DRUIDISM in the first or early ages of the Christian era. It seemed greatly to excel the old religion of most, if not of all other countries, especially in the encouragement it held out to free and impartial inquiry, which may be reasonably supposed to have proved in no small degree favourable to the reception and success of *the first Christian Missionaries* in this Country.

* See an account of and extracts from *the Triades*, at the end of Vol. II. of Mr. E. Williams's Poems. For *the Triades* at large see the Myfyrian Archaiology of Wales, Vol. II.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE FIRST

Introduction of the Gospel

INTO BRITAIN:

WITH A CURSORY VIEW OF THE

STATE OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE

ANCIENT BRITONS,

FROM THAT PERIOD TO THE TIME OF PELAGIUS.

THE Editor begs leave to remark that Dr. HENRY, in the *first* volume of his *History of Great Britain,* has discussed the question relative to *the introduction of the Gospel* into this Island. He winds up his account with an observation pregnant with good sense and piety:—"Upon the whole it must be acknowledged that, after all that hath been written on this subject, it is *now* impossible to discover with certainty who were *the first Preachers* of the Gospel, and the chief instruments of *planting a Christian Church* in this island. Nor have we any reason to to be much concerned since we know that we are indebted for this inestimable blessing to that GRACIOUS BEING from whom *every good and perfect gift* cometh, and that to HIM, and not to the visible instruments of his Providence, our supreme gratitude and thanks are due."

Another paragraph also is worthy of being transcribed:—"The religious as well as civil antiquities of nations are commonly involved in much obscurity. This is evidently the case with regard to the precise time in which the CHRISTIAN RELIGION was introduced into this island. Either the first *British Christians* kept no memoirs of this happy event, or these memoirs have long since perished. Gildas, the most ancient of our historians, who flourished in the *sixth* century, declares that he could find no British records

of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of Britain while it was subject to the Romans, and assures us that if any such records had ever existed, they had either been destroyed by their enemies or carried into foreign countries by some of the exiled Britons. We must, therefore, with that ancient historian, be contented with what light and information we can collect from the writers of other nations, who incidentally mention the time and other circumstances of the planting of CHRISTIANITY in this island."

AN ACCOUNT,

&c.

AT what time THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION was first introduced into this island, is a question upon which our ecclesiastical historians have been much divided. Both *Tertullian* and *Origen* speak of Christianity as having made its way into Britain: nor do they represent it as a recent event, but rather the contrary; so that it may be presumed to have taken place long before their time, and even as early as *the first* age. The former says, "there are places of the Britons which were inaccessible to the Romans, but yet subdued by Christ;" * meaning, probably, North Britain, or Scotland, some parts of which the Romans, it seems, could never entirely subdue; but the Gospel cannot well be supposed to have penetrated into that country till some time after it had been received in the southern parts of the island.—The latter says, "the power of God our Saviour is even with them in Britain, who are divided from our world." †—*Eusebius* is more explicit: speaking of the pious labours of the apostles, he positively declares, that some of

* Tert. adv. Judæos, cap. 7.

† Orig. in Luc, cap. i. hom. 6.—It was usual with the ancients, long before Origen's time, to speak of Britain as *divided from the world.* Even King Agrippa, in his speech to the Jews at Jerusalem, about the beginning of the revolt, uses a similar language. See *Josephus.*

them "had passed over the ocean, and preached in the British Isles." From his connexion with the imperial court, and his known intimacy with the emperor himself, who was a native of Britain, he may well be supposed to have possessed the best information; and, as much of his reasoning depends upon the truth of the above allegation, it may be presumed he had taken care to be well assured of the fact.—*Theodoret* also, another ancient and respectable ecclesiastical historian, expressly names the *Britons* among the nations whom the apostles (or the fishermen, publicans, and tent-makers, as he calls them) had persuaded to embrace the religion of him who was crucified.*

To the foregoing testimonies may be added that of *Gildas*, the earliest of all our British historians.—According to him, the gospel began to be published here about the time of the memorable revolt and overthrow of the Britons under Boadicea, which seems to have happened about the year 60 or 61, and was followed by a long interval of peace, which could not fail of proving favourable to the introduction of the new religion, as well as to the general success of its publishers. Speaking of the said revolt, together with its disastrous termination and consequences, Gildas adds, "In the mean time Christ, the true sun, afforded his rays, that is, the knowledge of his precepts, to this island, benumbed with extreme cold,

* Theodoret, Tom. IV. Serm. 9, p. 610.

having been at a great distance from the sun, not the sun in the firmament, but the eternal sun in heaven." * Upon what authority Gildas places that

* Gild. Epist. cap. i. GILDAS was the son of *Caw*, a northern chieftain, and grandson of *Geraint ab Erbin*, prince of Dyfnaint, or Devon. He was born about A. D. 500, in the north, among either the Cumbrian Britons, or those of Stratclyde, whose chief city was Caeralcluid, or Dunbarton; hence he is sometimes called *Gildas Albinacus*. Toward the middle of the sixth century, the Saxons made so very considerable and alarming a progress in their encroachments upon the Britons of Cumbria and Stratclyde, as well as those of Northumberland and the Lothians, that Caw and his family were obliged to remove from those parts, and take refuge in Wales. The father settled in Anglesey, where he passed the remainder of his days. Most of the children, it is said, went to Siluria, where they were hospitably received by King *Arthur*, whose capital and favourite residence was Caerleon upon Usk. Many of them embraced a religious life, and Gildas himself was of that number. He joined himself with the congregation of *Catwg* in Glamorgan, (an institution which owed its origin to the zeal and policy of *St. Germans* and his anti-pelagian adherents,) where he resided for some time. In 555, he is said to have opened a school at *Caerbaddon*, or *Bath*, whence he is sometimes denominated *Gildas Badonicus;* for there seems to be no good foundation for thinking that there were two Gildases. He has been thought, by good judges, the same person with *Aneurin Gwawdrydd*, the celebrated Bard: if so, he fell at last by the hand of an assassin, a chieftain of the name of *Eidyn*, in revenge, probably, for the freedom and severity of his censures upon the men in power, whose characters he had exhibited in a very unfavourable light. His son *Cennyd* was at the head of a congregation or college,

event at the time above specified, he does not say. From domestic or British records he appears to have derived no assistance; and he was of opinion that no documents of that kind remained then in the country. And if there ever had been any such, he thought they had either been burnt by the enemy, or carried into foreign parts by our exiled or emigrated countrymen: so that he had not been able to discover any of them, which he looked upon as a matter of serious regret. He must therefore have relied upon the authority of some foreign records, which he owns he had occasionally made use of; or he might in this instance venture to follow the common and prevailing tradition of the country. However that was, his statement appears to be, upon the whole, just and correct, and is remarkably supported by the *Triades*,* which are ancient British documents of undoubted credit, (as also by the *Bonedd y Saint*, another very ancient record,) though but little known till lately, except to a few who had access to the remaining depositories of

at *Cor-Cennyd*, now Llangennyd, in Gwyr. *Cennyd* had possessions, it seems, at *Caerphilly*, which from him was long called *Seinghenydd*. Its present name may probably be traced to his son *Fili*, who was also a religious man, and lived about the beginning of the seventh century.

* *The Triades of the Isle of Britain* are some of the most curious and valuable fragments preserved in the Welsh language. They relate to persons and events from the earliest times to the beginning of the seventh century.—See Preface to Llywarch Hen's Poems.

ancient Cambrian records. From these Triades we learn that the famous *Caractacus*, after he had been overthrown in the wars which he had carried on for nine years in defence of the liberties of his country, and afterwards basely betrayed, and delivered up to the Romans by *Aregwedd Foeddig*, (the Cartismandua and Boadicea of Roman authors,) was, together with his father *Brân*, and whole family, carried captive to Rome, about the year 52 or 53, where they were detained seven years or more. In the mean time, Rome enjoyed the preaching of the Gospel, and *Brân*, with others of the family, became converts to Christianity. After the expiration of seven years they had permission to return, and were the means of introducing the knowledge of Christ among their countrymen; on which account *Brân* was long distinguished as *one of the three blessed sovereigns*, and his family as *one of the three holy lineages of Britain*. At the return of these earliest British converts, it might be expected that some of the Christians with whom they had associated at Rome, would be solicited and prevailed upon to accompany them back to their native country. Many of the eminent disciples of Christ, whose names are recorded in the New Testament, were probably at Rome when they quitted that city; but it does not appear that any of them did at that time visit Britain. We find, however, that some Christians from Rome did actually accompany those liberated and converted captives hither; but of their exact number we are not informed. The names of three only of them have

been preserved. One was called *Ilid,* and is said to have been an *Israelite;* of the other two, the names of one was *Cyndav,* and of the other *Arwystli Hen,* both of them, probably, of *Gentile* extraction. What their Roman names were it is now impossible to say. They are supposed to have been all preachers, and are said to have been instrumental (the former especially) in turning great numbers of the Britons from the error of their ways, and persuading them to believe in Christ. Their names are the more remarkable, as they were, if not the first, yet doubtless among the very first Christian preachers that ever set foot in this island.—*Brân* introduced them and the Gospel here; and it may be said, however odd it might sound in an ancient Briton's ear, *Mai Brân ddaeth a'r Efengyl gyntaf i fysg y Cymru.*

As *Brân* and *Caradoc* (otherwise *Brennus* and *Caractacus*) were *Silurian* princes, we may safely conclude that Christianity made its way into Wales as early as into any part whatever of this kingdom; so that it appears to have existed there now no less than 1740 years. When *Brân* returned to his native land, some of his family, it is thought, staid behind and settled at Rome. Of these *Claudia,* mentioned along with *Pudens* and *Linus,* in Paul's 2d Epistle to Timothy, is deemed to have been one, and supposed to be the same with that *Claudia,* the *wife of Pudens,* mentioned by *Martial* the poet, who lived in those times, and who spoke of her as a Briton of

extraordinary virtue, wit, and beauty. To this indeed it has been objected, that Martial, living in the reign of *Trajan*, cannot be supposed to speak of Paul's Claudia, who flourished in the reigns of *Claudius* and *Nero*. But it might be urged in reply, that though he lived in Trajan's reign, he lived also and resided at Rome in the reign of *Vespasian*, if not in in that of *Nero*; and the epigram in which he mentions Claudia, might be written in his younger years, when she was yet in the prime and bloom of life. Some have made her to be the *daughter of Caractacus*: it is not at all unlikely that she was, at least, one of his kindred. Her Roman name can be here no objection, as one of Caractacus's sons is known to have borne the name of *Octavius*. *Pomponia, Græcina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius*, Claudius's lieutenant, and the first Roman Governor here, has also been thought a Briton and a Christian, and one of the very ealiest British Christians. Of her *Tacitus* says, "Pomponia Græcina, an illustrious lady, married to Plautius, who was honoured with an ovation or lesser triumph, for his victories in Britain, was accused of having embraced a strange and foreign superstition; and her trial for that crime was committed to her husband. He, according to ancient law and custom, convened her whole family and relations; and having, in their presence, tried her for her life and fame, pronounced her innocent of any thing immoral. Pomponia lived many years after this trial, but always led a gloomy, melancholy kind

of life."—Tacit. Annal. lib. 13. cap. 32. Tacitus, no doubt, deemed the lives of the primitive Christians *gloomy* and *melancholy*; and had he been called upon to describe them, he would, in all probability, have represented their religion as *a vile foreign superstition*, and the sobriety and severity of their lives (abstaining from pagan rites and excesses) as a continual solitude, dismal dulness, and intolerable austerity. "It was the way," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "of the men of that time, such as *Suetonius* and *Pliny*, as well as *Tacitus*, to speak of Christianity as a barbarous and wicked superstition, (as appears by their writings,) being forbidden by their laws, which they made the only rule of their religion."—Orig. Britannicæ, p. 44. This trial of Pomponia happened, it seems, while *Nero* and *Calphurnus Piso* were consuls, after the Apostle Paul's coming to Rome the first time; and therefore she may not unreasonably be supposed one of his converts. It appears that there were divers other persons of distinction among the Apostle's converts then at Rome; of which number we may reckon *those of Cæsar's household*, mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians; among whom might be some of those British captives who had accompanied Caractacus, and who, it seems (like Daniel and his companions at Babylon), had long before found favour with the Emperor and his court, and probably now composed a part of the imperial household.

Other authorities render it highly probable that some of those captives had embraced Christianity

during their residence at Rome; but the *Triades* above-mentioned seem to reduce the matter to a certainty: hence the conversion of Brân, or Brennus, and family, has been there commemorated ever since, as a most memorable and interesting matter of fact. The point, therefore, may be considered as pretty well and firmly established, that Christianity was actually introduced into this island as early as between the years sixty and seventy of the Christian æra: but we ought to consider and conclude, at the same time, that the religion of the first British Christians was most beautifully simple, pure and perfect; and, alas! considerably and very widely different from that which is in vogue among the present generation of Britains.

It does not appear, I think, by the *Triades*, that the whole of Caractacus's family embraced Christianity at Rome, or even that he himself did so: a son and a daughter of his are mentioned, as well as his father, as very eminent Christians. The name of the son was *Cyllin*, and that of the daughter *Eigen*, both classed among the British *Saints*. That son is said to be the grandfather of *Lleurwg*, commonly called *King Lucius*, who greatly exerted himself at a later period to promote Christianity in Britain, or at least in *Siluria*, the country of his ancestors, and where he himself also reigned by the favour or permission of the Romans. Even the famous *King Arthur* likewise appears to have been a descendant of this same illustrious family. *Eigen*, the above-mentioned

daughter of Caractacus, is said to have been married to a British chieftain, who was Lord of Caer Sarllog, the present *Old Sarum*. It seems doubtful whether Caractacus himself ever returned to his native country. The rest of the family that staid behind might be chiefly females; and *Claudia*, who has been said to be one of his daughters, has been mentioned by some as the wife of *Pudens*, a Roman Senator, and the mother of *Linus*, whom the Apostle Paul mentions along with them, as was before observed.

It has been alleged by those who appear to have paid most attention to, and to be best acquainted with this part of the British history, that THE DRUIDS very generally, or at least great numbers of them, embraced Christianity upon its first promulgation in this island; and that the consequence was, as might be expected, that the Christianity of the Britons, in time, took a tincture of Druidism. This will not appear at all strange or extraordinary, when we consider how much the religion of the Jewish Christians was tinctured with *Judaism*, and that of the Platonic converts with *Platonism:* the case was probably similar with converts from most, if not all other sects. The Apostles, while they lived, laboured to guard against this, but when they were gone, the difficulty of counteracting it, would doubtless become much greater. To this source may perhaps be traced most of the religious differences, errors, and squabbles among the Christians of the first ages, if

not also of latter times. The philosophers of different descriptions or of different schools, after having embraced Christianity, would naturally feel an attachment still, at times, to some of their old favourite maxims and doctrines, and if they did not appear to them to be directly hostile, or absolutely irreconcileable to the principles of the new religion, would be very apt to wish they might be incorporated with it. On this ground we may pretty safely account for the rise and peculiarities of what is called *Pelagianism.* It is only Christianity tinctured, or adulterated with Druidism.—Among the favourite or leading tenets of the Druids, (as we learn from the best authorities,) the following were none of the least prominent:— "That in the state of humanity *good* and *evil* are so equally balanced, that *liberty* is enjoyed, and the *will* is *free*—that man has *ability* to attach himself either to the good or the evil, and that he has *power* to co-operate with the Deity," &c. These are so very like what are said to have been the leading and distinguishing tenets of the Pelagians, that we may venture to conclude the latter to have sprung from them. It does not appear that Pelagius, who was a British Christian, and whose original name was *Morgan,* or *Morgant,* was the founder or inventor of the religious system that goes under his name. When he went abroad to Rome, Africa, Jerusalem, and other parts, there is reason to believe that he only taught and defended the religious principles that prevailed, and which he had imbibed in his own

country. He had been educated, it is said, in the college or monastery of *Bangor*, which, in all probability, had been originally a Druidical seminary, and would continue still to inculcate, in some form or degree, many of the precepts and maxims of the old religion, and among the rest those above-mentioned. As a pupil or student there he would naturally imbibe them, and when he went abroad, would as naturally promulgate and defend them: hence the rise or origin of that frightful heresy of Pelagius, about which there has been so much clamour and contention in the world ever since, and in opposing which the redoubtable Bishop of Hyppo, commonly called *Saint Augustine*, rendered himself so celebrated.—After all, may it not really be very fairly questioned whether the *Druidism* of Pelagius, or the *Platonism* of his opponent, was the most foreign from, or inimical to the religion of the New Testament? The mere opinion or authority of Augustine can determine nothing against Pelagianism; for it does not appear that he was either more pious, more honest, more wise, more learned, or more infallible than his opponent. His chief advantage or superiority seems to have consisted in his having the civil and ecclesiastical powers, with the rabble or majority, on his side; and that advantage or superiority *Caiaphas* also had, in his controversy with Jesus Christ, and the Jews, in theirs with the Apostles. The question must be decided, like all other religious questions, by the voice of SCRIPTURE, and not by that of Saint

Augustine, or any other such saint or sinner. Pelagius is also supposed to have been a Universalist, because Universalism appears to have been a Druidical tenet; but in that he could be no more a heretic than *Origen*, and others, in ancient as well as modern times.

Other accounts have been given of *the first introduction of the Gospel* into BRITAIN, of which the following are the most remarkable:—One ascribes it to *James the son of Zebedee;* but the little credit that is due to this will soon be perceived by adverting to the early date of that Apostle's martyrdom. By another account, the honour of being the first publisher of the Gospel in this island, is given to the Apostle *Simon Zelotes*, or the *Canaanite;* by another to *Philip;* by another (especially among the *Caledonians*) to *Andrew;* by another to *Peter*, to which some Popish writers are inclined to give no small credit; by another to *Paul*, which has had some very respectable advocates, who seem to deem it of all others the most probable. By another account, this same honour has been given to *Aristobulus*, mentioned in Rom. xvi. 10. The faint or remote resemblance between this name and *Arwystli*, is perhaps the best reason that can be offered in favour of this tradition, though it is not known that its advocates have ever thought of it. But of all the accounts of this interesting event that have yet appeared, no one has been given more circumstantially, or with an air of greater confidence and solemnity than that which ascribes it to *Joseph of*

Arimathea; a sketch of which shall be here given, for the reader's amusement: he will deem it curious, far as he may be from thinking it probable or credible.

This story, or tradition, states (according to William of Malmsbury) that *Philip* (the Apostle, as it is supposed) visited France, where he preached and converted many; and being desirous to spread the knowledge of Christ still farther, chose twelve (others say ten) of his disciples, and having devoutly laid his hands on each of them, sent them to preach the word of life to the Britons, under the conduct of his dear friend *Joseph of Arimathea.* Having arrived here, *A. D.* 63, they entered upon their work, and preached with great zeal and diligence. The barbarous king of the country, however, and his subjects, rejected their doctrine, and would not abandon their own superstition. But as *Joseph* and his companions had come from a very distant country, and behaved modestly, he granted them a certain island, called *Inis-witrin,* for their residence. Two other Pagan Princes granted them successively twelve hides of land for their subsistence. While they lived in that wild place, they were admonished by the angel *Gabriel* to build a church to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of God. To this angelic admonition they were not disobedient, but presently set about the work, and built a small chapel of Wattles, at a place which had been previously pointed out to them. This being the first Christian Church in these

regions, the Son of God himself did it the very singular honour of dedicating it to the honour of his Mother!—Gul. Malm. de ant. Glast. Eccl. apud Gal. Tom. i.

This marvellous tale (evidently a fabrication of the monks of Glastonbury, to establish the reputation of their house) was afterwards considerably improved, as appears by the following extract, said to have been taken out of the archives of the church of Glastonbury:—"They were six hundred men and women, who were to come over, and had taken a vow of abstinence till they should come to land, which vow they all broke, except fifty (one hundred and fifty says another account) who came over the sea upon the shirt of *Josephus*, the son of Joseph! But the rest having repented of the breach of their vow, a ship was sent to convey them over, which had been built by *King Solomon.* With them came over a Duke of the Medes, called Nacianus, formerly baptized by Joseph, in the city of Saram; the king of which, called Mordraius, was also of this party, and afterwards valiantly killed a king of North Wales, by whom Joseph was kept in prison. (This must doubtless be acting quite in character, like one of the primitive Christians, to *resist* and *kill a persecutor!*) This notable story has been differently told: one of its circumstances is, that Joseph had been imprisoned by the Jews at Jerusalem, but miraculously delivered by four angels, who took up the very house where he was imprisoned, and conveyed him to his

own city of Arimathea. Christ is also said to have appeared to him, and carried him to the place where he had buried him, and shewed him the linen cloth about his head; after which he was baptized by Philip, and was present with him at the assumption of the blessed Virgin; and fifteen years after he came to Philip, in Gaul, who sent him over to Britain, as was before related. Another additional circumstance of this curious tale is, that at the time of the persecution mentioned in Acts viii., when most of the Christians of Jerusalem were scattered abroad, *Joseph of Arimathea, Lazarus,* and others of the disciples of Christ, were taken up by the Jews, and put into an open boat, without oars, sails, or rudder, at Joppa, or somewhere thereabout in the Mediterranean. In that dismal situation they were wonderfully preserved, and under the care of an invisible pilot, happily conducted over the mighty waters, so that in a very short time they all safely arrived in the south of France, where they found *Philip* the Apostle engaged in disputation with the Druids of that country. Shortly after, it was thought proper that Joseph and twelve more should be sent as missionaries to this island, as has been already stated.

Such an account as this, one would imagine, could impose upon no man in his sober senses; and yet, strange as it may seem, it has actually done so. Like many other idle tales, it has had its advocates, and appears to have obtained no small share of credit in the religious world. But it certainly deserved none;

and of all the accounts of the event in question, it bears the most improbable, absurd, wild, and legendary aspect. How wretched must have been the condition of our popish ancestors, when they could give heed to such a stupid tale as this! And how striking is the contrast between their blind credulity, and the arrogant scepticism of their descendants of the present day! The right path surely lies somewhere between these two extremes.

Eusebius, as has been already observed, speaks as if some of the *Apostles* had preached here, which may not be altogether improbable; but he mentions none of them by name. Others, however, as we have seen, have amply supplied that deficiency; but unfortunately their testimonies or assertions bear not the stamp of authenticity. None of them have any thing to support them like the evidence that appears in favour of *Brân* the son of *Llyr Llediaith*,* and

* Llyr Llediaith, or *Llyr of barbarous speech*, is supposed to have reigned over the Silures about the time of the birth of Christ. There have been other British Princes of the name of *Llyr;* as *Llyr Lluyddog*, *Llyr Merini*, and also *Llyr ab Bleiddyd*, whose story is said to be the original of *Shakespear's* tragedy of *King Lear*. Llyr Llediaith had a son named *Manawydan* who was of the Bardic or Druidical Order, and refused the succession to the Silurian sovereignty, when his brother *Brân* and family were carried captive to Rome; on which account he was called one of the three *unambitious* Princes of Britain; the other two were *Llywarch Hen* and *Gwgon Gwron:* all of whom declined the offer of dominion and royalty, after they had been initiated in Bardism, and

father of the celebrated *Caractacus;* which is, in fact, the only account of the event in question that may be depended upon, or that seems any way worthy of credit. The respectability of the *Triades* as an historical document, the consistency of its statement of this interesting event, and its natural coincidence with all known facts, cannot fail of recommending this account to the attention of every serious inquirer. [Those who wish to see more upon this subject, may consult Bishop *Lloyd's* Hist. Acct.; Bishop *Stillingfleet's* Orig. Brit.; Dr. *Calamy's* God's Concern for his Glory in the Brit. Isles; *Owen's* Cambrian Biography; *Carte* and *Rapin's* Histories of England; and *Henry's* Hist. Gt. Brit.]

After the return of Brân and his fellow-exiles, the Gospel appears to have been zealously and diligently promulgated among our ancestors; and, to adopt the language of the Evangelist, "the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied greatly, and (as it is said of the Jewish priests) a great company of the *Druids* were obedient to the faith." How long things continued in this favourable state, cannot now be said; but in the space of a hundred or six-score years, that is, toward the latter part of the second century, a great languor and declension seem to have taken place. At that time

when they could not be debarred from the offered dignity. After his brother's return, *Manawydan* is supposed to have embraced the gospel, of which some of his descendants also appear to have become zealous and shining professors.

Lleurwg, (otherwise *Lleufer mawr* and *Llês ab Coel,)* commonly called *King Lucius*, the great-great-grandson of Brân, ruled over the Silures, by the favour or permission of the Roman emperor, as has been already intimated. The prince, like his good and memorable ancestor, being a zealous Christian, and very anxious for the revival and vigorous propagation of Christianity among his countrymen, thought proper to send to Rome for missionaries to assist in so worthy and laudable an undertaking. What might induce him to send to Rome on such an occasion, rather than any where else, cannot now be said with any degree of certainty; but that he actually did send thither, seems to admit of no doubt. As a *King*, he might suppose and conclude that Christianity, as well as every thing else that was useful or valuable, could not fail of being found in the utmost possible perfection in the great metropolis of the Roman empire, and of the civilized world. However that was, his application to Rome met with the desired success. His messengers returned, accompanied with the missionaries, who soon entered upon their work in good earnest; their names were *Dyvan, Elvan, Fagan*, and *Medwy*. A remarkable and worthy saying of *Fagan* is still commemorated: "Where God is silent, it is not wise to speak." He is supposed to have settled in *Glamorgan*, or to have successfully laboured, and been much venerated in that district, where there is a church dedicated to his memory.

These missionaries were, probably, all British

Christians, who had settled at Rome. *Dyvan* was evidently of that description. He appears to have been a-kin to King Lucius, and a descendant of *Manawydan,* the son of *Llyr.* If they were all of the same nation, which seems most likely, they would, of course, be the fitter for the service in which they were here to be employed. Through their exertions, aided by those of other British Christians, a great revival is said to have taken place, and Britain soon became noted for the multitude and zeal of its converts. It is also said to have escaped (probably by the moderation and mildness of its governors) all those cruel persecutions that had raged, from time to time, in the other provinces of the Roman empire; that only excepted which took place under *Diocle-sian,* about the beginning of the fourth century; and even that is said not to have raged here so long, or so violently as in other parts of the empire. Calamitous, however, must that time have been, and many were those who then received the crown of martyrdom in Britain; among whom were *Aaron* and *Julius,* of Caerleon-upon-Usk, the capital of Siluria.

Here it may be proper to observe, that some have entertained an opinion that certain missionaries from the East, supposed to have been disciples of *Polycarp,* who suffered in the year 170, visited Britain toward the latter part of the second century. [See *Mac-pherson's* Dissert. No. xx. p. 331; and *Henry's* Hist. Gt. Brit.] This opinion is of modern date, and

seems altogether problematical. It hinges chiefly, and it may be said entirely, upon the conformity of the British with the oriental Christians about the time of keeping *Easter*, and such like circumstances, in which they differed from all their western brethren. But this seems very far from being sufficient to establish the said opinion, as it might, for aught we know, be owing to some other cause. And even were it admitted to have been really owing to the teaching of eastern missionaries, yet still there appears no just or substantial reason for fixing the time of their arrival here in the *second*, any more than in the *third*, or even the *fourth* century. History is quite silent on the subject; but of this point the discussion can be no way interesting.

After the termination of Dioclesian's persecution, Christianity continued to exist in this country more or less prosperously, till the æra of the *Saxon invasion*, when it appears to have been entirely extirpated in most parts of England, and to remain only in Cumberland and Scotland, Devon and Cornwall, and the principality of Wales, where the old inhabitants still maintained their ground, and long preserved their liberties and their religion. The times, however, must have been then awfully distressing, and the nation being kept in a continual state of war, alarm, and agitation, it may well be supposed that Christianity would soon decline and languish, and that it actually did so, the testimony of *Gildas* most lamentably proves.

The Saxon invasion proved far more destructive to British Christianity than Dioclesian's persecution, violent and bloody as it was. After that persecution, by the last writer's account, CHRISTIANITY happily revived in Britain, and continued to flourish for a long season, even till the Arian and Athanasian controversy interrupted the tranquillity and harmony of its professors. Of the progress of that controversy, however, or its pernicious effects in this island, he gives no very particular account; but being himself of the orthodox party, he speaks of Arianism, of course, with no small disapprobation and abhorrence. After the agitation and distraction occasioned by this unhappy controversial event, nothing very remarkable of a religious nature appears to have occurred in this country, till *Morgan*, or *Morgant*, commonly called *Pelagius*, came upon the stage; of whom, in addition to what has been said already, it may not be improper to give some account.

SOME

ACCOUNT OF MORGANT,

COMMONLY CALLED

PELAGIUS, &c.

SOME ACCOUNT,

&c.

THAT Pelagius was a Briton is allowed on all hands. All ancient writers (says *Wall*) style him a Briton; and we understand by St. Austin,* that he was commonly called *Pelagius Brito,* Pelagius the Briton, to distinguish him from another Pelagius that was of Tarentum. He is said to have been educated at the celebrated Monastery, or College of *Bangor,* in Flintshire, of whose order and constitution many remarkable things have been related. The Monks or Students were said to be divided into twenty-four classes or companies, consisting of so many hundred persons. Each class or company spent an hour daily in devotional exercises, which was done in regular rotation, so that the whole twenty-four hours were employed in acts of devotion or divine worship by one part or other of the community. The rest of the time of each class was regularly spent between sleep, literary pursuits, and

* Ep. 106 ad Paulinum.

agricultural, manual, or mechanical labour; so that it might be said that they supported themselves, or subsisted by their own industry, and the sweat of their brows. In this seminary Pelagius's literary proficiency must have been very considerable, for he appears to have acquired a complete knowledge of the *Latin* and *Greek* languages, and of all the different branches of learning that were then deemed most necessary or reputable, which is more than could be said of most of the fathers (as they are called) of that period, *Saint Austin* himself not excepted; *Saint Jerome* was, perhaps, almost the only exception. He was very learned, and at the same time very uncourteous, illiberal, and abusive to all who differed from him, or with whom he had any dispute, of which *Pelagius* and his friends, as well as *Ruffinus* and others, had great reason to complain. Of him the most learned *Joseph Mede* says, "Saint Jerome is a man of no faith with me, when he describes the opinion of his adversary; which, whatsoever it were, he would set it forth as odiously as possible. He was a man that cared not what he said, so it might disparage his adversary." The British nation, it is thought, could never before, nor yet for many ages after, boast of so learned and accomplished a man as Pelagius; and had he not fallen under the displeasure and censure of such men as Austin, and Jerome, and the Pope, his name, in all likelihood, had been honourably mentioned in all succeeding ages, and not stigmatized and held up, as it has been, and still

generally is, to the horror of detestation. When he left his native country, about the beginning of the 5th century, he is said to have visited France, and spent some time among his countrymen in Brittany, from whence he went to Rome, where he acquired great reputation for his eminent piety and other distinguishing endowments. When the Goths were overrunning Italy, and advancing toward Rome, he withdrew from that city, and passed over to Sicily, and afterwards to Africa, from whence he soon proceeded to Jerusalem, where he met with a very kind reception, and was held in high estimation by the patriarch John, and the rest of the Christians of that country. During his short stay in Sicily and Africa, Austin discovered that he did not think and speak *as he did* upon some religious subjects. He, therefore, thought proper to raise a violent outcry on the occasion, and write against him. At the same time he had the candour to applaud his moral character and piety; speaking of him also as a person of extraordinary capacity and accomplishments, and one whom he should much admire and love, were it not for his heterodox opinions, which, it must be owned, was no small encomium from such a quarter. None of his ancient adversaries have spoken otherwise of his character, except Jerome, whose rancorous and calumniating disposition towards all his opponents renders his foul aspersions unworthy of any credit, especially as they are totally destitute of any corro-

borating evidence.* In his person, Pelagius is said to have been a broad-set man, round-shouldered, and blind of one eye.† However that might be, as he was confessedly a man of amiable manners, fervent piety, and extraordinary intellectual endowments, he must have possessed a respectability of character which no bodily blemish could affect, nor any reputed heterodoxy obliterate or destroy. He appears to have been a modest and moderate man, and did not seem very forward in advancing his own particular opinions, or in insisting upon those points in which he differed from others. He seemed to dwell chiefly upon those practical subjects that were admitted by all parties, but was evidently, at the same time, a very close and deep thinker. During his stay at Rome, no suspicion appears to have been entertained

* "The learned and furious *Jerome*, who never once thought of doing common justice to those who had the misfortune to differ from him in opinion, accused *Pelagius* of gluttony and intemperance, after he heard of his errors, though he had admired him before for his exemplary virtue. *Austin*, more candid and honest, bears impartial testimony to the truth; and even while he writes against this heretic, acknowledges that he had made great progress in virtue and piety, and that his life was chaste and his manners blameless; and this, indeed, is the truth of the matter."—*Dr. Archibald Maclaine's* Note to *Mosheim's* Eccl. Hist. Ed. 1774, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 422.—See also *Wall's* Hist. Inf. Bapt. 8vo. Ed. Vol. I. Chap. xix.

† Drych y pr. Ocsodd.

about his heterodoxy; and in the books which he first wrote, particularly his comments on Paul's Epistles, the obnoxious sentiments are said to have been advanced as the opinion of others rather than his own; somewhat after the manner of Bishop Taylor, in modern times, in that book of his called *The Liberty of Prophesying*. Celestius,* however, and others, who were admirers of Pelagius, were more open and forward, and did not scruple to advance divers opinions, deemed very unsound and heretical by Austin, Jerome, and their adherents. The opinions here alluded to were these (if their enemies have fairly represented them, which seems rather doubtful): 1. That Adam was created mortal, and would have died, whether he had sinned or not. 2. That the sin of Adam hurt himself only, and not his posterity. 3. That new-born infants are in the same state that Adam was before he fell. 4. That men may easily keep the commandments of God, if they will.—As Celestius was reputed the friend and disciple of Pelagius, these opinions were ascribed to the latter, of course; but there seems to be no very certain or clear proof that he did really entertain them;

* It is said that Celestius was an *Irishman*, and that the Irish were then called *Scots;* and they were, it seems, fond of *porridge*, which gave Saint Jerome a fine opportunity to lampoon Celestius, saying, "That he had his belly filled and his head bedulled with *Scotch porridge*." Wall's Hist. Inf. Bapt. Vol. I. p. 275.

on the contrary, we are told that he disavowed them, at least as they were stated and represented by his opponents, whom he complains of as false accusers and slanderers. It seems, therefore, that we ought not to rely on the representation which his enemies have given of his opinions. It is indeed but very seldom, if ever, that intolerant bigots, and fierce disputants, (such as those whom Pelagius had to do with,) give a fair and just statement of the tenets of their adversaries. It seems, however, pretty evident, that Pelagius differed considerably from those far-famed Saints, Jerome and Austin, and the African Christians, in regard to the original state of man, the effects of the fall, the condition of infants, and the power of man to do the will or keep the commandments of God; but it does not appear that he held the above opinions, as his enemies chose to understand and explain them. The principal articles of his heresy are generally said to be comprised under these two heads, "A denial of original sin, and of the necessity of divine grace to perform good works."* As to original sin, or man's transgression and fall, by eating the forbidden fruit, he did not deny it; nor did he deny that it proved injurious to his posterity; but he denied that God imputed it to them,

* Or, as others have stated them, that human nature was not affected by the sin of Adam, and that it is in the power of man to believe the Gospel, without any internal operations of grace. Reeve's Apol. Vol. II. p. 338, Note.

or considered them as actually guilty of that transgression, or of the act of tasting of the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden. The guilt of original sin, or of Adam's first act of disobedience could not, as he thought, consistently with the justice and goodness of God, be imputable to any but to him by whom it was personally and actually committed; and he was said to declare, that it ought not to be granted, that God, who forgives us our own sins, should impute to us those of other people. He, therefore, maintained, that men are born without guilt or demerit, as well as without merit; without vice, as well as without virtue; without sin as well as without holiness; and that they became sinners, not by nature or necessity, but by choice, after having attained some measure of understanding, and become moral agents. His enemies alleged, that he held infants to be in the same state with Adam before the fall; which he denied, as infants are without reason and understanding, which was not Adam's case. He thought that man came into the world without any propensity to evil more than to good, and equally capable of receiving good as evil impressions; or in the *Druidical* language, " that in the state of humanity good and evil are so equally balanced, that *liberty* takes place, and the will is free: whence a man becomes accountable for his actions, having a power of attaching himself either to the good or the evil, as he may or may not sub-

ject his propensities to the controul of reason and unsophisticated nature."—That the soul of an infant is not depraved or polluted, he urged, from its proceeding immediately from God, (who alone is the father of our spirits,) and not from the parents in the way of natural generation: hence he pleaded, that the soul must, in new-born infants, be pure and undefiled, and remain so till polluted by actual transgression. He urged that, upon the principles of his opponents, the infant must be free from original sin, as it had been washed away in the parents, and they could not communicate to their offspring what they had not themselves. As to the other charge, concerning the power of man to believe the gospel, or do the will of God and obtain salvation, he did not exclude, or deny the necessity of divine grace; what he held and said was, that it is possible for man to do the will of God, and refrain from sin, *by the help of God,* or through the assistance of his grace, even that grace of God that bringeth salvation, and that teacheth us, that, 'denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world;' by which he meant the Divine Revelation or the Gospel. To that, Austin loudly objected, calling it only outward or external grace, and pleading for an inward, immediate, and irreristible divine work, separate from the Gospel; and, seemingly, somewhat like what Mr. Fuller has been contending for in his late dispute with Mr. M'Lean.

The possibility of men's attaining to a sinless state by their diligent endeavours and the help of God, Pelagius instanced in *Abel, Enoch, Melchisedec,* the *Virgin Mary,* &c., which Austin would not allow, except in the case of the latter, who, he supposed, had received *extraordinary grace* to enable her to overcome all sin, and so was not a case in point. The Pelagians pleaded that *God's demands* are either possible or impossible; practicable or impracticable; if the former, sinless obedience is attainable; if the latter, disobedience cannot be blameable, as no one would think of imputing blame to the non-performance of *impossibilities.* Pelagius distinguished between *articles of faith,* and mere *matters of opinion,* or *circumstantial points;* and he insisted that what was alleged against him was of the latter sort, and therefore could not amount to *heresy,* which must be an error of the former sort. When some silly notions were charged upon him at the Synod of Diospolis, he denied his ever having, either in writing or conversation, advanced them; and when asked if he would condemn those who did advance them, he said, Yes, as *fools,* but *not as heretics.* Like the Sandemanians, he thought Christians should not acquire or lay up riches, and, like the Quakers, he is said to deny the lawfulness of oaths. Another great point in controversy, between Pelagius and his opponents, was INFANT BAPTISM. It seems he did not openly or avowedly oppose that practice, but he denied that it

procured the remission of sin, as he looked upon infants to be sinless. His opponents indeed thought, or suspected, that he did not in his heart approve of infant baptism, in which they were, very probably, not mistaken, as it is not at all likely that the practice had then ever been adopted in his native country. *Austin*, in several places, speaks as if he thought the Pelagians had a great mind to deny infant baptism, if they could have had the face; and *Marius Mercator* would needs have it, that their inward sense was against it; only to keep up their credit with Christians, they, in words and declarations, owned it, which seems not unlikely. Pelagius himself appears to have been but a timid man, unwilling to expose himself uselessly to the rage of his opponents, or put himself in the power of enemies who would have shewed him no mercy; at least, not without an explicit and full recantation. He knew his men and the spirit of the time well, and therefore acted warily, and kept on his guard, as our Lord also did with his ensnaring enemies. Pelagius, indeed, is charged by his enemies with going beyond mere caution and guardedness, and even to have recourse to prevarication, evasion and hypocrisy, for his own safety. If he did so, he was, doubtless, blameable: but even then, the conduct of his enemies, who forced him to it, must have been still more so; and while they are accusing him, they are publishing their own infamy. Whatever prevarication, evasion, or duplicity, he might

be guilty of, it was all owing to their base, intolerant, and persecuting conduct. Had they allowed him liberty of conscience, he would, no doubt, have declared his sentiments without fear, reserve, or disguise.—But when we consider that his good name, his safety, his life, and all were at stake, some grains of allowance may well be made for human weakness, or the frailty of a man in his very undesirable and untoward situation. All his precaution, however, did not avail him, but rather, like the case of Paul in his last visit to Jerusalem, it seemed rather to increase the rage of his enemies. One of Austin's emissaries, named *Paul Orosius,** followed him to Palestine, with letters of accusation, and a hue and cry of heresy. In consequence of which he was first examined at a meeting of bishops held at Jerusalem, where Austin's letter against him was read by an interpreter, (it being written in Latin,) and when he was asked, if the charges there exhibited were true, he was said to answer, out of resentment, it seems, at the intolerable and shameless arrogance of that domineering demagogue, "Who is this Austin," (or, what is Austin to me?) For which some angrily reproved him, saying, that any who spoke against that bishop deserved to be turned out, not only from that assembly, but even from the whole church: which shews what mighty weight the name of Austin had with them.

* See Aikin's Biography, Article *Orosius*.

Yet surely Pelagius had very good reason for complaining and saying, Who is this Austin, and what is he to me, that I should be thus catechised and taken to task, only for presuming to think and judge for myself, or happening to be of a different opinion from him? Nothing farther was done at this council, only it was talked to refer his case to the judgment of Innocent, Bishop of Rome. He was, it seems, befriended by the patriarch who presided there, and who had a great regard for him. Orosius, his accuser, who soon after fell out with the patriarch, could not support his charges with any great vigour, as he could not speak Greek, and the members of the Council could not speak Latin. This was in the year 415; towards the close of that year, there was another council or synod, consisting of fourteen bishops, held at *Diospolis*, (the *Lydda* of the New Testament,) where Pelagius was summoned, tried, and acquitted. This gave fresh umbrage to his persecutors. The patriarch was abused, under the pretence of his having befriended the accused, and the Synod itself was vilified and called by *Jerome* "the pitiful Synod of Diospolis." Austin also wrote to the patriarch, and attempted to bias him against Pelagius. Afterwards a Synod or Council was held at *Carthage* against the reputed heretic, where he was condemned, of course, and then Austin and his brethren wrote letters to Innocent, Bishop of Rome, to persuade him to accede to their sentence. Pelagius

also wrote to the same bishop in his own defence, complaining of hard and unjust treatment. Pope Innocent died soon after, and was succeeded by Zosimus, who appeared favourably disposed toward the accused, and acquitted him and his party; at which Austin wrote to Zosimus, and became very clamorous. The emperor also took the same side, so that Zosimus found it necessary to reverse his sentence of acquittal, and join in the condemnation of the Pelagians. They were then treated very rigorously and cruelly, like outlaws, and condemned in all parts, by no less than twenty-four Synods or Councils, the twenty-second of which was held at *Verulam*, or *St. Albans*, in Britain, in 429. The storm now became so violent and heavy upon those people, that they were soon after quite suppressed. When it is considered how unchristianly they were treated, and what severities they underwent, one cannot help suspecting that they have been sadly calumniated, and were much better men than their adversaries, and that it will appear at the last day, that they were very far from being such horrible monsters as the generality of our ecclesiastical historians and orthodox polemics have usually represented them. As to their tenets, it is no part of the design of this paper either to justify or condemn them, but only to state historical facts fairly and truly, without favour or affection to either party, and with the most sacred regard to truth.

After the enemies of Pelagius had prevailed with the higher powers to condemn and proscribe their opponents, they turned their attention to BRITAIN, which they seemed to consider as the nursery, or fountain-head, of the heresy which they were opposing.—Mission aries were accordingly soon sent hither from the Continent, to purge the country from its reputed or supposed pollution, and bring the inhabitants over to the faith of Rome and of Saint Austin. It does not, however, appear, as far as I can find, that any change had recently taken place in the faith of the British Christians, or that it had become materially different from what it was while Pelagius was at home among them, and even long before that time. Nor does it appear that he had imbibed any new opinions since he had gone abroad, (at least, not any of the heterodox kind,) or that he had sent back disciples to disseminate new tenets among his countrymen, although such ideas have been held out by the generality of ecclesiastical historians, both ancient and modern. The probability therefore is, that the tenets, or religious opinions of the British Christians, and of their countryman Pelagius, were the very same, and that any difference found between them and the doctrines of the New Testament was owing to a tincture of Druidism, which their religion had imbibed, from a long intercourse with the votaries of that ancient institution, many of whom had, from time to time, become proselytes to Christianity. This conclusion

will be strongly corroborated by comparing what have been deemed the principal errors of the Pelagians, with the most authentic, and only authentic accounts we have of the Druidical or Bardic system, and which have been given by *Edward Williams*, Bard, according to the privilege and usage of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, and by *William Owen*, F. A. S., who, of all men living, are the best acquainted with the subject. See the Notes to Edward Williams's Poems, Vol. II., and the Introduction, or Preface, to the Works of *Llywarch Hen*, a celebrated Bard of the sixth century.

A SKETCH

OF THE

STATE OF CHRISTIANITY

In Wales,

FROM

THE TIME OF PELAGIUS

TO

THAT OF WICKLIFFE.

A SKETCH,

&c.

IT has been already observed, that, after the enemies of the Pelagians had prevailed on the higher powers to condemn and proscribe their opponents, they turned their attention to BRITAIN, which they seemed to consider as the nursery or fountain-head of the reputed heresy which they were opposing. This seems to be the truth of the matter, though some historians have represented the attention then paid by the Continental Christians to Britain, and the mission which they set on foot to that country, as the result of a previous application for that purpose from the British Christians; but of this there seems no clear or good proof advanced; and it appears most probable that it originated in the forward and violent zeal of the adherents of the Pope and St. Austin, to improve the advantage they had already gained, and follow up the blow to the utter suppression and extirpation of the party and principles against which they had conceived so strong and so deadly an antipathy.

After the Emperor and the Pope had espoused the cause of St. Austin, St. Jerome, and their adherents, and become parties in the contest against the Pelagians, the continental churches, and those of Gaul and Armorica among the rest, being under their influence and power, would naturally and zealously embark in the same cause, and readily contribute as much as in them lay toward the completion of the work, by the reduction or conversion of the heterodox Britons to the Catholic faith. Councils, or Synods, were accordingly convened in Gaul on the occasion; and at one of them, held in 429, it was agreed to send over certain missionaries to this country to promote the projected and desirable design, at the head of whom was placed the celebrated *St. Germain*, or *Garmon*, as the Britons usually call him. Of this orthodox and renowned ancient missionary, the following account has been given, on the authenticity and accuracy of which the reader, it is presumed, may safely rely. After telling us that he was the son of Rhedyw, otherwise Ridicus, and uncle of Emyr Llydaw, being his mother's brother, and one of the most distinguished British saints, to whom many of the Welsh churches are dedicated, and after whose name the ancient cathedral of the Cornish Britons was called St. Germain's, he adds as follows: "He was sent over to Britain in the year 429, by a council of the Gallican church, to preach against what was called the Pelagian heresy, but which was, in reality, the ancient and common doctrine of the British

church, which blended many of the bardic principles with Christianity; and which, at the period under consideration, was successfully diffused by Morgant, or Pelagius. The true object, therefore, of the mission of Garmon was to bring the British Christians under the discipline and power of the Catholic Church, then beginning to aspire to that universal dominion which soon after it established over the western empire. How far Garmon was successful in this mission, is not very clear; but his stay in the island was not very long. In the year 447, he was sent over a second time, by another council of the church of Gaul, and probably with more extensive powers. He now established many colleges, as that of Llancarvan, that of Caer Worgorn; at the head of which he placed his most experienced disciples, such as Dyvrig, Illtid, Bleiddan, or Lupus, and Catwg, who taught agreeably to the tenets of the Church of Rome. Bishops were also consecrated by him, and the chapters of whose dioceses formed ecclesiastical courts, which, till then, were unknown in Britain."* Garmon, it is said, was himself a Gallican bishop, whose see was that of Auxerre; as Troyes was also, it seems, the see of his friend and companion Lupus, otherwise Bleiddan.†

Upon the first arrival of these strangers in this land, it appears that a council was assembled at

* Owen's Cambrian Biography, Article *Garmon*.

† Carte, Vol. I. p. 183.

Verulam, or St. Alban's, in which it was managed to have Pelagianism solemnly condemned. After which they proceeded in their work of converting the inhabitants and confuting the heretics; and by the report of Catholic writers, their labours were attended with no small success. However that was, their stay here does not appear to have been very long: most, if not all of them, and St. Germain among the rest, returned home again after a while. Nor do we find that they afterward paid this country another visit for many years. Among their chief opponents here was a person of the name of Agricola, said to have been a man of abilities and a zealous friend of Pelagius; and though they were reported to have confuted him and silenced the rest of their opposers, their victory does not appear very complete or decisive, for the reputed heresy was soon found to be very far from being suppressed or eradicated. In time its appearance excited so much alarm among the zealous Catholics abroad, that orthodoxy and the church were thought to be in no small danger. It was therefore thought necessary to set on foot another mission to this country, of which St. Germain again appeared as a principal. His second, as well as first visit hither appears to have been but short: the last is supposed to have not much exceeded a year, for we are told that, on his retur from hence, he set out immediately for Italy, and died at Ravenna, July 31, 448; after having possessed the Bishopric of Auxerre about thirty years.

Other accounts, however, have placed his death in 450: in that case his second visit to our island might have taken up about three years; and this opinion has been thought by some the most probable, considering the extent or magnitude of the work which he is said to have accomplished here in the mean time.

St. Germain seems to have united the characters of politician and warrior with that of a Christian missionary; and he appears not only to have encouraged the Britons to military exertions; but also, in one instance, at least, even to lead them himself to battle against the united forces of the Picts and Saxons, when the Britons obtained a complete and decisive victory, at a place since called Maes Garmon, near Gwyddgrug, or Mold, in Flintshire. This, of course, would effectually recommend him to the favour of the rulers of the country and of the nation at large; and we may be pretty well assured that he owed to these circumstances no small part of his popularity, and of the advantages he gained over THE PELAGIANS. The latter seem to have been a passive and unwarlike sect, somewhat resembling our modern Quakers, so that it can be no great wonder that the higher powers should dislike them and favour their opponents. The prevailing opinion of the superior sanctity of St. Germain, and his possessing the power of working miracles, is a proof of the great popularity he had acquired, and how dexterously he must have acted his part in promoting the cause committed to his management, as well as how sagely his

countrymen had judged in placing him at the head of the mission. Having obtained and secured the countenance and patronage of the rulers, he set himself in good earnest about improving his advantages, by contriving and pursuing such measures as he thought best calculated to answer the great ends which he had in view—the establishment of his own faith, and the suppression of that of his opponents; and it must be confessed that he here discovered no small or mean abilities. He established bishoprics and colleges, under the patronage of the civil power, in different parts of the country; and especially among the Silurians, whose princes had long taken the lead as patrons of Christianity, and of foreign missionaries. In those bishoprics, and at the head of those colleges, as was before intimated, he placed his most able and trusty disciples. Vast numbers of students were carefully and orthodoxly trained up in these seminaries, and, being patronized by the Government, while their opponents were discountenanced, interdicted, and proscribed; their cause rapidly gained ground, and soon became firmly established. The old religion, called PELAGIANISM, however, was not very speedily or easily eradicated. It continued to exist and to struggle against its adversaries long after the departure of St. Germain. The famous Synod held at Llanddeiwi-brefi, avowedly against it, in the time of St. David, is a standing proof that its adherents were then neither few nor feeble. That Synod was held in 1519, though some give it

an earlier date, and was distinguished, as Giraldus Cambrensis and others have reported, by certain miraculous events, in favour of the orthodox party; such as the restoration of a dead man to life, and the earth swelling into a high hill under the feet of St. David while he was there preaching! These wonders are said to have powerfully operated (and well they might) to the confusion of the heretics, and the establishment and triumph of true believers. Their saying so, however, is no proof that those supernatural events did actually take place: it only proves how high St. David stood in the opinion of his countrymen, long after he had departed this mortal life—so high, it seems, that they would readily believe any marvellous tale in his commendation that the monkish historians thought proper to invent. No matter how extraordinary or improbable the tale might be, it was sure of meeting with implicit credit, provided it tended to extol or magnify his superior sanctity. Except, perhaps, his nephew King Arthur, no one among the good people of Wales ever acquired so much fame as did St. David! Among all the ancient tales fabricated respecting him, one of the most remarkable is that which states, that in order that his countrymen, and especially those of his diocese, might be duly forewarned and prepared for their approaching dissolution, he prayed to God that *corpse candles* and *funereal apparitions** might precede

* The CORPSE CANDLE is said to be a small light like that of a candle, proceeding in the night time, as it is believed, previ-

every death that should there happen through all succeeding generations; which pious request was readily and instantly granted. Though this tale of tradition is at present in a great measure forgotten, yet the firm belief of the existence or reality of funereal apparitions and corpse candles still obtains among the greatest part of the inhabitants, Dissenters as well as Churchmen, who deem the stories that are told about those pretended sights or appearances to be as true as the Gospel, and are ready to rank all who disbelieve, or are in any doubt concerning them, among Infidels, Sadducees, and Atheists!—Here let not THE ENGLISH exult over the superstitious credulity of their WELSH neighbours: they themselves have also their weak side, and are as often the dupes of blind credulity and artful impostors as the Welsh or any other people.

As St. David was nearly related to the chief rulers of the country, being the brother-in-law of Meirig ap Tewdrig, commonly called Urthyr Pendragon, and uncle of the famous Arthur, it must have given him a decided advantage and superiority over his opponents in the religious contest which he had with them.—Nor is it to be doubted that he owed to that, in a great measure, the successful issue of the contest. The old religion, which we call PELAGIANISM, was

ous to every death, from the house where a person is to die, to the church or burying place! A *funereal apparition* is the exact apparition of a funeral that is shortly to happen, and which many people pretend they have often seen.

finally borne down and suppressed, or rather, its adherents became an obscure, private, and invisible sect, existing chiefly among the Bards or Druids of Siluria, and its tenets propagated only in their private assemblies, or in some very secret manner.

The new, or Catholic faith, in the mean time, kept rapidly gaining ground, and soon became firmly established, being disseminated, far and wide, by increasing numbers of active and zealous teachers, who had been educated at the numerous seminaries which had been established in different parts of the country. Of them many were Bretons, or natives of Armorica, who, being originally of right orthodox principles, could not fail of materially promoting the Catholic cause in this country. Of the Seminaries or Colleges erected here in those times, some of the chief were those of *Henllan* and *Mochros*, places lying somewhere about the banks of the Wye, and under the direction of Dyfrig or Dubricius, who is said to have had there for some time no less than a thousand scholars. At Caernarvon, or Llan-Illtyd-Fawr, in Glamorgan, was another very notable College, where Illtyd, or Iltutus, presided. Here is said to have been a more ancient College, called Cor-Tewdws, from the Emperor Theodosius, its reputed founder, and which was then, probably, the great University of South Wales, as *Bangor* was of the North! It seems, therefore, not to have been founded, but rather revived, by St. Germain and his disciple Iltutus; as was also the case with *Bangor*, which now became a

Catholic College, and continued afterward to flourish till some time after the arrival of Austin the monk, in the seventh century. At *Llancarvan* also, not far from Caerworgorn, was now established another College, which acquired no small celebrity under the direction of the famous Catwg, or Cadog the Wise, as he is sometimes called. At *Tygwyn*, or *Whitland*, on the Tave, in Dyfed, was another College, established by Pawl Hen, or Paulinus, who placed at the head of it two learned men, named Gredivel and Flewyn. Here St. David and Teilo are said to have studied for many years, who afterwards became two of the most eminent men of their time among the British Christians. To these Seminaries may be added that of *Bangor* in Caernarvonshire, that of *Enlli*, or *Bardsey Island*, as well as that of *Llangennydd*, in Gwyr. How many more there were, cannot now be said.

From these Seminaries, such of the students as were natives of Llydaw, or Armorica, at least many of them, returned again into their own country, where some of them became very eminent, and obtained high ecclesiastical honours and preferments. Of the other students, great numbers went out and spread themselves over the different parts of the country, many of whom, probably, settled at those places which still bear their names, where churches were built, which would naturally be dedicated to those who first laboured or settled there. Hence, probably, the origin of *Parish-churches* in WALES, and of the

names which many of them still bear. The unwearied activity and exertions of so many zealous preachers, could not fail of producing a very considerable effect throughout the country, and contribute materially to give stability to the religion then propagated.

This religion, such as it was, appears to have spread and flourished afterward for a good while; and it must be allowed, that though it was the religion of Rome and of the Pope, it was far from being then so corrupt as the Popery of later times. It was not, however, even then so pure as many modern writers are pleased to suppose and represent it. Some Anti-Pædobaptists, more zealous than knowing, have been unwilling to allow that either *infant baptism* or *diocesan episcopacy* was among its tenets; not considering that there is every reason to suppose that the religion of St. Germain and his associates was the same with that of the Pope and St. Austin, which undoubtedly comprehended those tenets. After the arrival of St. Germain, there certainly were Bishopries founded in Wales, such as those of Caerleon, Landaff, St. David's, Llanbadarn Fawr, Bangor, and St. Asaph; and it seems more than probable that *infant baptism* also did then obtain in that country; but how the case stood before that period, is another question.—Then, indeed, it may be said to be highly improbable that either the one or the other had ever found its way into Britain, as no traces of them are discoverable among the more early British

Christians. It is natural, therefore, to conclude that they were not among their religious institutes. The coming of St. Germain and his Catholic countrymen may also be considered as the æra of the introduction of monasteries and monkery, with divers other innovations among our ancestors.

After the arrival or invasion of the Saxons, religion continued still in some measure to flourish in Wales, as those people were not able for a long while to extend their cruel ravages to that country. Of those also who fled thither out of England from the destructive fury of those invaders, not a few took up the profession of religion, and were admitted into the numerous religious houses established throughout the country, among whom was the memorable GILDAS and several of his relations. This helped to keep up and strengthen for a while the cause of religion. It appears, however, from the writings of Gildas, still extant, that, after the death of Arthur, the princes of the country ceased to be the patrons of religion, and became themselves exceedingly depraved and profligate; whose example was unhappily followed by the generality of the religious functionaries; of which the consequence was, that religion soon declined, and was reduced to a very low ebb. The form of it, however, in some measure still remained, and it is probable that it afterward somewhat revived, for we find it, at the arrival of Austin the monk, to be really in some degree of vigour, and seemingly much less corrupt than the religion which that monk

then introduced from Rome. The case, probably, was, that the Britons had not kept pace with the Romans in corrupting their religion, and it might remain still much the same as when they had received it from St. Germain, which is not at all unlikely, considering the little intercourse they appear to have had in the mean time with Rome.

One main circumstance about which the Britons now differed from the Romans, was the time of keeping Easter, or the Passover: both parties were zealous observers of that festival, but, in the time of observing it, the Britons followed the Orientals, and the most ancient custom, and so differed from the Roman or western Christians, who had of late, it seems, adopted some innovations, by which they chose to be directed in settling the time, and particularly Dionysius's Cycle of nineteen years. Some also have supposed that the opinion to which the Britons now adhered was not of very long standing among them, as it is said there existed no such difference between them and their neighbours in the time of Constantine.—But that is no proof of its not being of long standing here, as it may be accounted for by the circumstance just now noticed of innovations having been lately adopted by the rest of the western Christians; so that the opinion, or custom, of the Britons, in this particular, might be the same as it was in the time of the said emperor. However that was, the Britons were now firmly attached to their own way of thinking on this

subject, for which they were abundantly reviled and execrated, and the *Quartodecimani* were long classed among the worst of heretics.

Another point of difference between the Britons and the Romans regarded something in the administration of baptism; what that was does not appear very clear; but it most probably related to some novel or additional ceremonies which the Romanists had lately adopted and attached to the administration of that ordinance. Be that as it might, the Britons were so attached to their own notions, that they would on no account relinquish them, or accede to the proposals of Austin, who, at two different interviews he had with their principal ecclesiastics, would fain persuade them to receive what may be called, *the new edition* of CHRISTIANITY, with large additions, which he had now brought with him from Rome. An acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy was another of Austin's requisitions, with which the Britons refused to comply. In consequence of their refusal he is said to have excited the Saxons to make war upon them by way of revenge. A Saxon army drew towards Bangor, which seems to have been a particular object of their vengeance. One of the Welsh Princes hastily drew together some forces to oppose them: a battle ensued, near Chester, where the Britons were defeated; the college or monastery of Bangor was afterwards destroyed, great numbers of the students or residents were slaughtered, and the rest dispersed. By degrees, after the conversion

of the Saxons had been effected, and a regular intercourse established between England and Italy, the Welsh Christians no longer held out, but fully submitted themselves to the papal power. Thenceforth they celebrated Easter and administered baptism according to the Roman form, and became every way as good Catholics as any of their neighbours. Indeed, *the religion* of WALES appears to have been for some time approximating towards that of Austin and his master Gregory; for, at the above interviews or conferences, the difference seemed chiefly to consist in certain empty and useless observances: no substantial obstacle or difficulty is known to have been urged there, save only that of absolute submission to the authority of the Pope, or an acknowledgment of his supremacy; and even that appears soon to have been pretty easily surmounted. From that time to that of WICKLIFFE, the religious history of Wales is no other than the history of the same kind of Popery that then prevailed in the other parts of what is usually called Christendom.

CAMBRO-BRITISH BIOGRAPHY,

OR

SKETCHES

OF SEVERAL

Welsh Nonconformists

OF THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,

WHO DESERVED WELL OF THEIR CONTEMPORARIES AND

OF POSTERITY,

AND

Whose Names ought to be rescued from Oblivion,

AND HELD DEAR BY THEIR PIOUS COUNTRYMEN OF

THE PRESENT GENERATION.

PREFACE.

WALES has been long remarkable for the vast number of its *Dissenters,* which is much greater in proportion to the rest of the inhabitants than in England. Of late years they have very much increased, and are said to be still rapidly increasing, so that the Parish-churches in many places are almost entirely deserted. Various causes have been assigned for this defection; but it is not the design of this paper to investigate that subject. The rulers of the Church seem to have been for some time seriously alarmed on the occasion, especially in *the Diocese of St. David's,* and a society has been lately formed there with a view of counteracting what they consider as a great and growing evil: it is called, *A Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union, &c.* What effects it may produce, or how successful it may prove, is at present uncertain.

The origin of WELSH NONCONFORMITY is generally placed in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and *John Penry,* a Brecknockshire man, educated at both Universities, where he had also preached with ap-

plause, may probably be considered as the *Father* of THE CAMBRIAN PROTESTANT DISSENTERS. The iron hand of persecution fell heavily upon that learned and good man, and he was among those worthies who suffered death, for conscience' sake, in the persecuting reign of that intolerant and unfeeling Queen. He suffered on the 29 of May, 1593, in the 34th year of his age, leaving a friendless widow and four small children!

The next WELSH PROTESTANT NONCONFORMIST MINISTER after him, of whom we have any account, was a Mr. *Wroth,* Rector of Llanfaches in Monmouthshire, where he gathered a people, who were formed into a regular dissenting church in 1639, and where he had a worthy assistant in the ministry, whose name was *William Thomas,* a graduate from Oxford, where he himself also, it seems, had been educated.

Next to these, in the list of early Welsh Nonconformist Ministers, stand the memorable names of WILLIAM ERBURY, and WALTER CRADOCK, the former the Vicar, and the latter the Curate of St. Mary's in Cardiff. They also had received their education at Oxford, and became early inclined to Puritanism and Nonconformity, to which the example, ministry, and conversation of Mr. Wroth, who was much their senior, are thought to have very materially conduced. They were grievously harassed by their Diocesan, Dr. *Murray,* the then Bishop of Landaff, and by Archbishop *Laud.* Wroth and Erbury were sum-

moned before the High Commission Court at Lambeth. Erbury and Cradock were driven from their charge at Cardiff, and went about the country as itinerant preachers. Their labours were attended with much success. VAVASOR POWELL and MORGAN LLOYD were of the number of those converted under their ministry. Cradock settled some time at Wrexham, where he was greatly followed, and laid the foundation of Nonconformity in those parts. His name is there still remembered. Erbury was a man of parts and learning, but withal of a somewhat peculiar cast. He seems to have been a very free and honest inquirer; hence he became dissatisfied with the Established Church, of which he was a minister. After he joined the Puritans he did not discontinue his inquiries: he still appeared ready to embrace any sentiment, however unpopular, provided it appeared warranted by the Scripture. He became a *Millenarian,* and even an *Universalist;* and appears to have been one of the first in this kingdom, within these latter ages, that held those opinions, and especially that of UNIVERSAL RESTORATION. But it does not appear that his brethren discarded him on that account. At this time he probably would have experienced less liberality.

At the breaking out of the civil wars, as might be expected, ERBURY, CRADOCK, and POWELL, with most of their principal adherents, were driven out of the country by the violence of the cavalier and high-church party. The two latter escaped to London,

where they zealously exerted themselves and became very popular. Cradock settled as minister of Allhallows the Great, in London, and Powell chiefly at Dartford. Most of the principal Nonconformists were now driven from Wales; they at first fled to Bristol, where they were well received, and found an asylum for some time; but when the King's forces were preparing to besiege that city, they withdrew from thence, and numbers of them escaped to London, where most of them joined their countryman *Cradock's* church at Allhallows, while others of them, who were of the Baptist persuasion, joined that of *William Kiffin.* At the close of the war, and after WALES had been reduced under the power of the Parliament, those exiles returned to their own country, and set in good earnest about reviving the work and the cause which had met with so long and furious an interruption. An Act of Parliament, which passed in 1649, for *the propagation of the Gospel in* WALES, greatly facilitated their exertions, and added considerably to the numbers of their fellow-labourers: and this brings us down to the times treated of in the ensuing pages.

LYNN.

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

VAVASOR POWELL;

TOGETHER WITH

SKETCHES

OF SOME OF HIS

CONTEMPORARIES AND FELLOW-LABOURERS,

THE FOUNDERS OF THE

Dissenting Interest in Wales.

Sketch

OF

VAVASOR POWELL, &c.

THIS eminent and ever-memorable Cambro-Briton, VAVASOR POWELL, was a native of Radnorshire, of no mean origin, or ignoble descent, being related to some of the best families in that county, and also in those of Montgomery and Salop. He was brought up to learning from his childhood, and received a very liberal education, first in that country, and afterwards at Jesus College in Oxford, where he is said to have made considerable proficiency in the learned languages, and other branches of literature. He was born in 1617, and went into orders in the Established Church some time before 1640. At first he officiated in Wales, as curate to his uncle Erasmus Powell. But it was not long before he quitted that situation, and joined the Puritans, from a conviction that their principles and proceedings were more agreeable to the Scriptures. Before that time he

had been remarkably vain and thoughtless, and even a ringleader among the votaries of youthful folly, being called by his school-fellows, *Dux omnium malorum;* only he had no propensity, but a strong aversion to *drunkenness,* which he deemed such an unnatural vice, that the very beasts abstain from it; and he wondered how any rational being could possibly be addicted to a practice that was so entirely destitute of true pleasure, profit, or honour.

The profanation of the Sabbath, he says, was one of those vices to which, in his youthful days, he had been but too prone; and yet it pleased God to make that, as he expresses it, the occasion of his conversion. Being one Lord's day a stander-by and beholder of those that broke the Sabbath by divers games, and being then himself in his clerical dress, or, as he calls it, *in the habit of a foolish shepherd,* he was ashamed to play with them, yet took as much pleasure therein as if he had; a certain Puritan in the mean time passing by, and seeing him there, came to him, and very mildly asked him, "Doth it become you, Sir, that are a scholar, and one that teacheth others, to break the Lord's Sabbath thus?" To which he answered, like the scoffers in Malachi, "Wherein do I break it? You see me only stand by; I do not play at all." "But," replied he, "you find your own pleasure herein, by looking on, and this God forbids in his holy word:" so he opened his Bible, and read these words in Isaiah lviii. 13, particularly that expression, *Not finding thy own*

pleasure upon the Sabbath-day. Such was the pertinency of the passage, and the power that came with the word, that he was quite silenced, and so far convicted as to resolve never to transgress in like manner again; which God enabled him to perform. From this small beginning, a thorough change of mind and character soon ensued, to which the ministry of the pious and zealous *Walter Cradock,* and other Puritans, who were then beginning to break out in Wales, greatly contributed. He soon became established in knowledge, and began to preach among his countrymen in the character of an itinerant evangelist.

His zeal and fortitude were now severely and abundantly exercised, by the rage of bigotry, and the horror of an undeserved and most malevolent persecution. He was often attacked and assaulted by violent men, and repeatedly exposed to the danger of his life by those who had laid in wait, or bound themselves by an oath to kill him, or made an attempt at it. In 1640, he, and fifty or sixty of his hearers, when he was preaching at a house in Brecknockshire, were seized, at ten o'clock at night, by fifteen or sixteen men, under the pretence of a warrant from a Justice *Williams,* and secured in a church. The next morning they were conducted to the justice's house, who committed them to the hands of the constable. On the following day they were examined before that justice and two or three more, and six or seven clergymen; but, after much con-

ference and many threats, they were at that time dismissed. After this, being at a place in Radnorshire, preaching in the field, because the house was not large enough to contain the congregation, he was seized and committed by the high sheriff, Mr. Hugh Lloyd. The constables, sixteen or seventeen, who were charged with the execution of the *mittimus*, all, except one, refused it. This man taking Mr. Powell to his own house, which lay in the way, and permitting him to lodge there that night, because the prison was at a great distance, was so affected with his devotions in the family, that he would proceed no further, but absconded himself, leaving his prisoner in his own house, who, to prevent damage to the man, bound himself with two sufficient sureties to appear at the next assizes for Radnorshire. Accordingly he delivered himself up at the time, and three bills of indictment were preferred against him; but, after the traverse, he was honourably acquitted, and invited to dine with the judges; who, desiring him to give thanks, one of them said, "It was the best grace he had ever heard in his life!" The high Sheriff, however, continued implacable: he was so offended at the lenity and respect shewn to him, and the favourable impressions made by his conduct and preaching, that on the commencement of the war he persecuted him out of the country. He now set his face towards London, and safely arrived there in the month of August, 1642.

He remained in England some years; at first in

London, and afterwards at Dartford in Kent, where he preached with great acceptation and success: great numbers flocked to hear him, and not a few were thought to be truly converted under his ministry at that place. Some time after his removal to Dartford, the plague broke out in the town. Many houses were shut up, and the dead bodies were carried out by his chamber wall and window; yet did he not suspend or discontinue his labours, but preached constantly three times a-week; and though some that had the sickness upon them came publicly to hear, both he and family happily escaped the contagion! After a while the plague ceased, and the inhabitants were restored to their usual state of health and tranquillity.

In 1646, the storm in his own country having somewhat subsided, Mr. Powell was much solicited to return; which he did, after due consideration; receiving, at the same time, a very honourable testimonial, or certificate, from the synod of ministers which then sat for the trial of all public preachers. This was the time when some objection was started against his want of Presbyterial ordination, and not before his departure from Wales, as is erroneously stated by Palmer, Noncon. Memorial, and by Neal, Vol. IV. p. 466, last edition. After some debate between him and some of the synod, one of whom was Stephen Marshall, it was agreed to wave the objection, and grant the desired testimonial or certificate. It was signed by Mr. Herle, and seventeen of

the Assembly of Divines, among whom were Joseph Caryl, Thomas Wilson, Philip Nye, Stephen Marshall, Christopher Love, &c.

"Furnished with these testimonials," says Neal, "he returned to Wales, and became a most indefatigable and active instrument in propagating the Gospel in those parts. There were few, if any, of the churches or chapels in Wales, in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the poor Welsh in the mountains, at fairs, and in market-places!"—"When he came down again into his native country," says Crosby, "he applied himself to his Lord's work with great zeal and diligence; travelling from place to place, and taking all opportunities to preach the Gospel, and win souls to Christ. He frequently preached at two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in the week, throughout the year, out of the pulpit; nay, he would sometimes ride a hundred miles in a week, and preach in every place where he might have admittance, either night or day; so that there was hardly a church, chapel, or town-hall, in all Wales, where he had not preached; besides his frequent preaching in fairs and markets, and upon mountains, and in small villages. For if he passed at any time through any place where there was a concourse of people, he would take the opportunity of preaching Christ, and recommending to them the care of their souls, and another world. The pains he took, and the fatigues he endured, were very great and un-

common, and such as filled all that knew him with admiration. God also was pleased to bless his labours with proportionable success. The people flocked with great zeal and desire to attend his ministry, and many were, by his means, turned unto the Lord."

When he left Wales in 1642, which was at the beginning of the war, there was not above one or two gathered churches in the whole country; but before THE RESTORATION, besides that the country was generally enlightened by the preaching in all places, there had been gathered in different parts above twenty large congregations or churches, some of them consisting of no less than five hundred members, and the whole number of hearers of at least as many more. Even as early as the year 1654, the Christians in Wales connected with VAVASOR POWELL, or attached to him, were supposed to amount to no less than *twenty thousand*; as will appear from some passages in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. &c. So that his exertions and diligence as a Welsh preacher must have been very great, and his success proportionate!

From the year 1646 to 1649, he does not appear to have at all quitted Wales, but seems to have continued his labours there without abatement or intermission. About the latter end of 1649, we find him again in London. On the 10th of December in that year, he preached before the Lord Mayor, &c., a sermon, entitled, "God the Father glorified, &c.," and on the last day of the following February,

being a fast-day, he preached, before the Parliament, a sermon entitled, "Christ exalted above all Creatures, by God his Father." Both these discourses were printed, and I have them in my possession. His chief inducement for being in London at that time, most probably, was to promote or facilitate some parliamentary business, favourable to WALES, which the Government had then under consideration, and which was soon after agreed upon and accomplished. Accordingly, an act passed at that time, "for the better propagating of the preaching of the Gospel in Wales, and for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and for redress of some grievances. It bears date February 22, 1649-50, and empowers the Commissioners therein mentioned, or any twelve of them, to receive and dispose of all and singular rents, issues, and profits, of all ecclesiastical livings, impropriations, and glebe-lands, within the said counties, which then were or afterwards should be under sequestration, or in the disposal of the Parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a constant yearly maintenance for such persons as should be recommended and approved for the work of the ministry, or education of children; and for such other ministers as were then residing in the said counties. The ordinance to continue in force for three years, from March 25, 1650."

The names of the Commissioners appointed by this act are unknown to me, as the copy I have of it wants the first leaf, where those names were spe-

cified. But the following is a list of the names of the ministers by whose approbation and recommendation the Commissioners were to proceed in supplying the country with preachers, as well in settled congregations and parochial charges, as in an itinerary course; as they (by the advice of such the said ministers as should recommend and approve of the said persons respectively) should adjudge to be most for the advancement of the Gospel, or for the keeping of schools, and education of children, &c. The names are these following:—Henry Walter, Walter Cradock, Richard Simonds, Roger Charnock, Jenkin Lloyd, Morris Bidwel, David Walter, William Seaborn, Edmund Ellis, Jenkin Jones, George Robinson, Richard Powell, Robert Powell, Thomas Ewen, John Miles, Oliver Thomas, Doctor John Ellis, Ambrose Moston, Stephen Lewis, Morgan Lloyd, William Jones, Richard Edwards, VAVASOR POWELL, Richard Swain, Rowland Nevet.

This measure, though it was calculated to do good, and proved of much benefit to the country, was yet attended with many and considerable difficulties. The officiating clergy were generally unfit for their stations, and, especially, for the propagation of Christianity: numbers of them were extremely ignorant; most of them did not preach at all; and not a few were immoral, profane, and scandalous livers. It was not enough to silence and eject these; it was also necessary to replace them with pious and competent men: and here the greatest difficulty lay.

It was in vain to apply to England, or search the Universities for sober, pious, and learned preachers: they must also be acquainted with the Welsh language; and though many such were procured from time to time, yet they were, after all, far too few to supply the wants, or satisfy the demands of the country. To make up for this deficiency, in some measure, recourse was had to the encouragement, formation, and appointment, of what are usually called *lay preachers*; consisting of such unlettered, but intelligent and pious men, from the different churches, as had good gifts for public speaking; and hence arose those *husbandmen* and *mechanics*, so often mentioned by Calamy, Palmer, Walker, and others, among the *Welsh Ejected Ministers*. Most, if not all of them, were worthy men, useful and respectable ministers, who conduced much by their pious labours to give a firm footing to the Dissenting interest in Wales, which has been so considerable there ever since. Such men could not fail of being of great use and value, while they acted under the direction of, or in conjunction with, such men as Vavasor Powell, Walter Cradock, Morgan Lloyd, Ambrose Moston, John Miles, Jenkin Jones, and the like.

Soon after the above act had passed, Vavasor Powell returned to Wales, and continued there some years, diligently and unweariedly exerting himself in promoting the objects of it, and, especially, in applying himself to the work of preaching the Gospel

throughout the country. There was hardly a neighbourhood, a parish, or a village therein, that was not visited by him, or that did not hear from his mouth the cheering and inviting sound of the Gospel! To this day, places are pointed out, even in the most obscure and unfrequented parts of the Principality, where VAVASOR POWELL is said to have preached to numerous congregations. He was often accompanied in his excursions by other ministers of the same active turn and fervent spirit with himself. Among them we meet with the names of Morris Griffith and John Williams. Of the former I know nothing further; but the latter appears to have been in his day a person of considerable note and distinction. He had been a captain in the Parliament army, and afterwards a Member of Parliament. After the war was over, he employed himself very much, it seems, in preaching about the country, and endeavouring to enlighten and civilize his countrymen. He is noticed in Thurloe's State Papers under the name of *Captain Williams*, as a Member of Parliament, (and, I think, Sheriff of one of the Welsh counties,) and also as a very zealous preacher, whose ministry was attended by vast crowds of people. He resided, if I am not mistaken, at Llangollen, in Denbighshire, and lived some years after the Restoration; but met then with hard measures, and very cruel usage. His death was attended with very brutal circumstances. The corpse was carried to the parish church-yard, and buried there; but it was soon after dug up, by

his savage enemies; so that his friends had afterwards to perform the painful office of re-interring it; which was done privately in his own garden! His son, of the same name, became an eminent Baptist minister. He resided first at Abergavenny, and afterwards at Wrexham, where he died, in the year 1725. Much about the time that the indecency and brutality just mentioned was offered to the corpse of Captain Williams, a similar case occurred in another place. A pious young woman, of the Baptist denomination, lived on the borders of Radnorshire. As a conscientious Dissenter, she refrained from going to the parish-church, for which she was proceeded against in the spiritual court, and excommunicated. Dying soon after, she was privately buried in the parish church-yard. This coming to the ears of the parish priest, he was greatly enraged: he ordered the body to be dug up, drawn on a sledge to a certain cross road in the neighbourhood, and there buried. This outrageous conduct of the established clergy, and their furious adherents, caused many of the Welsh Nonconformists to bury their dead privately, at night, in their own gardens, or some other by-places! In many parts of England, these things were pretty much on the same footing.

But let us attend to the subject of the present memoir, the worthy Vavasor Powell; though he was active and unwearied, and was constantly preaching about, after the manner or example of the Apostles, yet he was not without a home, where his wife and

family had their settled residence. This is said to have been, at least from the year 1649, at a place called Goettre, in the parish of Kery, and near Newtown, in Montgomeryshire. It was probably an estate of his own, as the mansion-house was said to be built at his expense. Walker represents it as a stately edifice, and holds out a suspicion, that some of the public money with which Powell, by the above act of the legislature, was entrusted, had been laid out or employed by him on that occasion. But it is certain, that all the malevolence and assiduity of his numerous enemies, either before or after the Restoration, have never yet been able to substantiate any imputation of that kind, or exhibit any just cause to question his integrity.

After the year 1649, it does not appear that he left Wales, or visited England, till the year 1653. Towards the latter end of that year, we find him again in London. He was there when Cromwell assumed the supreme power, and was proclaimed Lord Protector; and took a very active part in opposing the same! On the very day that Oliver was proclaimed, he is said to have remonstrated against it to the men in power. He also preached against it the same evening, at Blackfriars' Church, for which he was taken into custody, examined before the Council, and detained some days. The Lord's-day after he was discharged, he preached in Christ-Church, from those words in Acts v. 27: "There came one and told them, saying, Behold the men

whom ye put in prison, are standing in the temple and teaching the people." This discourse gave some offence; but his Highness and Council did not think proper this time to have him taken into custody. Soon after, in 1654, he returned again to WALES, and the year following was concerned with many others there, in drawing up a *paper* or *testimony* against the Protectoral usurpation. This paper was entitled, "A Word for God, or a Testimony on Truth's behalf, from several Churches and divers Hundreds of Christians in Wales, (and some few adjacent) against Wickedness in high places: with a Letter to the Lord General Cromwell; both first presented to his own Hands, and now published for further Information." It may be seen at large in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 380. The Protector and his adherents were greatly enraged at this proceeding. The paper was signed by three or four hundred persons, and supposed to contain the sense or sentiments of a large body of the Welsh people. Measures were taken to prevent any ill effects it might produce: and as Powell was thought to have the principal hand in drawing it up, a troop of horse was sent to apprehend him, which they did at Aberbechan, in Montgomeryshire, where he and many others held a meeting of prayer on the occasion, and also on occasion of the very wet harvest of that year, 1655, which continued several weeks, so as to spoil and destroy vast quantities of hay and corn. From the said meeting at Aberbechan the soldiers took Mr.

Powell before Major-General Berry, at Worcester. It does not appear that he was very ill received by the Major-General; on the contrary, he was treated, I think, with much civility. He was suffered to exercise his ministry in that city, on the Lord's day, "where he preached," says Berry, "very honestly and soberly *four sermons*, at *four* different churches, and had many hearers." He says that he afterwards invited him, and a justice of the peace that was with him, to dinner, and after much friendly discourse dismissed him, and sent him home, upon promise to come to him whenever he should send for him. A particular account of the interview is given, in a letter from the said Major-General to the Protector, dated, Worcester, Nov. 21, 1655, and preserved in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 228. Powell is there said to have told the General, that a man who had an ill name was half hanged: but that it was neither his purpose nor practice to preach any thing tending to faction. And as to the aforesaid paper, "the ends which they had in drawing it up," he said, "were these two: 1. To see if it would please God thereby to work on the Protector's heart to consider of those things they offered, and do something in it: or, 2. If not so, then to discharge their duties by publishing their dissatisfactions and desires, and therein to acquiesce, and to give no further trouble, but follow their occasions with comfort." Upon the whole, it is very evident that he left at parting a favourable impression on the Major-General's mind:

nor was his good opinion of him lessened by a second interview which he had with him some time after, at Welshpool. On both occasions he speaks very favourably and respectfully of Powell; and in his letter to Thurloe, of Dec. 28, 1655, he gives it as his opinion, that the dissatisfaction would soon die away, if the Government would take no further notice of the business. Already he considered it as confined to two individuals. "If two men," says he, "were satisfied, you would hear no more of that matter from hence." These two were, probably, VAVASOR POWELL, and either Morgan Lloyd or Capt. Williams.

They were the men that appeared most forward and active on that occasion. Afterwards, in a letter from Wrexham, dated Dec. 21, 1655, the Major-General says that he had "not met with above one refractory person in all Wales." Who that person was, I am not able to say. It is not likely that he referred to Powell, as he had given, but a few weeks before, so very favourable an account of him.

While the above paper was engaging the attention of the men in power, and causing no small agitation in Wales and elsewhere, another paper of a different complexion, and opposite tendency, made its appearance in that country. This was a kind of counter address, signed by 800 or 900 persons, and presented to the Protector by Mr. Walter Cradock, and a Captain Lewis. Hence it appears, that *the Welsh Puritans*, or *Nonconformists*, were then a divided people, and by no means unanimous in their oppo-

sition to the elevation of Cromwell. One party approved of that measure, while the other viewed it with the utmost dislike and abhorrence. The agents of government had probably some hand in bringing forward this second paper, and may be said to have, on this occasion, pretty dexterously played one party against the other. The utility of such a manœuvre, or of procuring what we call counter-addresses, has been in general very well known among statesmen and politicians.

Vavasor Powell is said to have been much in favour with Cromwell at one time; but when he had openly declared against his elevation to the protectoral, or supreme power, he was no longer a favourite. He appears to have been ever after a marked man, a continual object of mistrust, and closely watched. This is pretty evident from different parts of Thurloe's State Papers, and other documents. His name often occurs in Thurloe's correspondence with Henry Cromwell, and also in many of the private letters written about that time from Wales, to Thurloe, and to the Protector himself. Sometimes Powell is said to be preparing for war; fully resolved not to submit to the Protectoral government, nor to any other government that is not according to the word of God; busily engaged along with Jenkin Jones, in enlisting troops, which they kept on foot, to the great terror of the inhabitants, &c. Another time he is said to be actually up in arms, at the head of a troop of horse, resolved to fight it out, &c. At

other times he is reported to be as disaffected and restless as ever; to have killed no less than three horses, in riding about in the night, to procure friends, many of whom were actually in arms, &c. Even his labours in preaching the Gospel, and the great concourse of people that usually attended, or assembled to hear him, were looked upon with an evil eye, and generally represented in a very unfavourable and suspicious light. Of this, a remarkable instance occurred in 1656. In the summer of that year he was preaching in South Wales, and in the course of his excursions came, I think, to Llanbadarn-Fawr, in Cardiganshire, where several hundreds of people came together to hear him. At this, a gentleman in that neighbourhood, of the name of Prise, if I am not mistaken, and then High Sheriff of the county, was greatly alarmed, or at least pretended to be so, and wrote a letter on the occasion to the Lord Commissioner, and afterwards Lord Keeper Bulstrode Whitelock, who was also his father-in-law, giving an account of the said meeting, and wishing to be instructed how to act in future, on similar occasions. This letter was dated Gogerthan, 12th June, 1656, and of which the following is an extract:—"I presume, my Lord, to give you some passages that occurred here last Saturday, and Lord's-day. There met here, within two miles of my house, at least four hundred persons, out of seven or eight several counties of Wales, commanded in chief (I may say) by Mr. Vavasor Powell. To understand

this unusual concourse, I sent my Deputy Sheriff (conceiving it my duty) to know upon what score they convened. They returned me this answer by him, That they met to break bread, and intended a meeting of part of several congregation [al] churches of Wales at our parish-church, this last Lord's-day. What their intentions were, or may be, I cannot conjecture; but sure I am, they were countenanced by magistrates, Dissenters of [from] the present Government. When I was informed of what they intended, I went no way to disturb them in the duty of the day; but I do humbly desire your Lordship to move his Highness (if you see fit) in what hath passed, and to know his pleasure, whether such tumultuous assemblies be allowed or not; for here they do intend another far greater meeting within a month. If their meetings be allowed of, I beseech your Lordship to give me your sense, how I must in future behave myself upon the like occasion; for sure I am we shall have many, and such I fear, as in conclusion (if not prevented) may prove dangerous." This may serve as a sample of that unreasonable antipathy then entertained by the rulers and their satellites against the subject of this memoir.

Although these suspicions, surmises, and prejudices, must have proved in no small measure unfavourable and detrimental to the labours and exertions of this worthy man, in the propagation of the Gospel, yet it does not appear that they damped his courage, cooled his zeal, or diminished his diligence

in the pursuit of that commendable and important undertaking. He still steadily persevered in the good work, till the new order of things, under Charles II. forced him to desist, and deprived him of his liberty. If Cromwell's measures were objectionable, those of Charles were much more so. Indeed, it may be justly said, that his little finger proved thicker than Cromwell's loins. Oppression and tyranny, intolerance and persecution, licentiousness and profaneness, with the whole train of concomitant and kindred evils, rushed in as a flood, and overwhelmed the whole land at the Restoration! Nor was the nation relieved or delivered from the iron and galling yoke that was then laid upon its neck, till the happy æra of THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION. But of those grievous hardships brought upon this nation, in consequence of the Restoration, no description of men bore so large a share as *the Protestant Dissenters*, or *Nonconformists*; nor did any of these, perhaps, suffer so severely as THE BAPTISTS; unless we except the good people called *Quakers*, who along with the Baptists were looked upon with superlative dislike, by the priests and rulers of those days.

VAVASOR POWELL, if I am not mistaken, was of all the Nonconformist Ministers, the very first who suffered during the arbitrary and infamous reign of Charles II. No sooner was the Restoration resolved upon, than the busy agents of Government and his implacable enemies, marked him for their prey. They both formed their plan and executed it, even before

the arrival of the King; so much in haste were they to ruin this worthy man, and to revive the old detestable trade of persecution. Upon the 28th of April 1660, early in the morning, as we are informed by the author of his life, Mr. Powell dreamed that a company of soldiers was coming to take him prisoner. He no sooner awaked, and told his wife, but he heard either a carbine or a pistol discharged, which made him presently to conclude that his dream would prove true, and was then on the point of being fulfilled, whereupon he got up, and though he had opportunity enough to make his escape, yet he chose to stay, and prepared himself for a prison. Accordingly, as soon as the soldiers came into the house, he presented himself to them, and told them he understood their errand, and was as ready to go along with them as they were to require him. He was first taken, I think, to the county prison, which was probably at Welshpool, and committed with several others to the custody of a marshal. From thence, he was soon after removed to Shrewsbury, where he continued a prisoner about nine weeks; and then, by an order from the King and Council, he was released with the rest of his brethren! Others of his friends in the mean time, were cruelly harassed, and obliged to undergo a most rigorous and savage persecution. They were committed to gaol, and there confined a long time without any cause, or the smallest appearance of justice. Some poor and peaceable people in that country, were dragged out

of their beds, without regard to sex or age, and driven in the height of summer, for twenty or thirty miles, to prison, till their feet were all blistered, and they themselves ready to faint and drop down with weakness and fatigue. Nay, they were forced in this condition, with many blows and stripes, to walk by the side of the troopers' horses, till they reached their miserable journey's end and were safely lodged in prison. Others in Merionethshire, as if they had been so many beasts, were driven into pit-folds or pounds, where they were kept for many hours, while their unfeeling drivers were drinking and carousing at the ale-house; who took care when they had done, to make them pay the reckoning, though they had not tasted a single bit or drop of what they paid for. Afterwards, towards the evening, they were led to the sea shore, and when it grew dark, they were left there, in danger every moment of being swallowed up by the tide; a fate which had befallen many an unfortunate traveller, while passing that way, even in the day time. As those hardened wretches were quitting those poor and much injured people, they tauntingly bid them attend to the guidance of the spirit, impiously saying, "That a dog they had with them was the good spirit that was to lead them." Others were committed to prison during pleasure, and kept there many months without being brought to trial, while their cattle and sheep, to the number of six or seven hundred, were taken from them and sold. Others, when they had to appear

at the quarter sessions, were obliged to go in chains, which the law did not authorize, unless they had attempted to make their escape, or break their prison. Others, who had quietly met together to worship God, and edify one another, as they had been used to do for many years, were cast into prisons without examination, cause, or commitment, contrary to the laws of the land, as well as to all the principles of justice, virtue, or humanity. Another time, about the year 1661, when a royal proclamation had been issued, granting liberty of conscience for a season—at that time, I say, on the very next Lord's-day after the receipt of the said proclamation, the officers of a certain corporation went to a meeting in their town, and dragged and hauled a number of women from thence into an ale-house, where they detained them till night, and then let them go, after they had forced them to pay for all the ale which they (the miscreants) had been drinking there all the while. These were some of the first-fruits which Charles's memorable government produced in WALES. The poor sufferers could not help themselves, or procure any legal redress or relief: for, as the persecutors were all to a man the King's friends, or, as some would say, the true and trusty, and doughty champions of the Church and King, the magistrates were blind to their excesses, and would be sure to connive at, and countenance all their proceedings!

After MR. POWELL had been discharged from his nine weeks' imprisonment, as was above related, he

thought it his duty to improve that mercy by continuing to preach as usual; but Sir M. P., at that time High Sheriff of Montgomeryshire, took upon him to prohibit this design; and upon Mr. Powell's refusing to comply with that prohibition, the Sheriff wrote to Mr. Secretary Morrice, charging Mr. Powell with sedition, rebellion, and treason. Before any return or order came from the Secretary, the Sheriff issued a warrant to apprehend Mr. Powell; which was accordingly done, after he had enjoyed his liberty only about twenty-four days; and he remained in custody several months, all ordinary ways of relief allowed in such cases being in the mean time wholly obstructed. The jailer, in whose custody Mr. Powell now was, had been formerly one of his hearers, and appeared to be deeply affected by his preaching: but however that might be, all traces or impressions of former conviction and seriousness were now entirely obliterated. He would often seek to trepan and ensnare his prisoner, and did otherwise treat him in the most uncivil and unfeeling manner. Backsliders and apostates are always found among the most ungrateful and remorseless of mankind.

After Mr. Powell had laid some months in prison, the assizes came on, in the course of which, after much importunity, he was called; but instead of being released, or brought to trial, or having any just cause assigned why he should still be continued in prison, the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were tendered to him, and when he urged that it was

necessary he should first be cleared of that which was already laid to his charge, before he entered upon any new matter, especially as those oaths were designed for the Papists, and not for such as he was, who lay under no suspicion of being any way inclined toward Popery, his plea was overruled; and upon his refusal of those oaths so arbitrarily and unnecessarily tendered, he was returned to prison, the judge refusing to take any bail till the next assizes.

Not long after, however, in consequence of a false information, which had been lodged against him, Mr. Wickam, a king's messenger, was sent down with a warrant to bring him before the King and Council, where he arrived in the course of a few days. While he was waiting at the council door, a certain royalist, or cavalier captain, came up to him, and tauntingly advised him to run away, for that, he said, would be his best course. To which he replied, before all the company, that God had made him to stand when the captain and his companions, and the cavaliers had run away! To this neither the captain, nor any other, thought proper to make any reply.

When he had waited at the council-door six or seven hours, one of the clerks came, and delivered to the messenger a warrant, to carry Mr. Powell to the Fleet Prison. There he lay near two years; and for more than half that time, so close was his confinement, that he was not suffered to go out of his chamber door; which, together with the offensive

smell of a dunghill that lay just before his window, did so impair his health, that he never afterwards perfectly recovered.

During his confinement at this time in the Fleet, his enemies were not idle. Not satisfied with the cruelties exercised upon his body, and as if they wanted to fill up completely the measure of their wickedness, they attempted, with truly diabolical baseness, to destroy his good name, by propagating certain slanderous reports concerning him. Those reports were not only totally false and malicious, but even had been fully disproved a good while before, in a tract entitled, "Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris." Nevertheless, that his persecutors might not have the least room for triumph, or his friends for dismay, he now drew up and published another vindication of himself, in which he effectually obviated every remaining shadow of a foundation for the vile calumnies that had been raised against him; challenging and defying his adversaries at the same time, to come forward, if they could, and gainsay any thing he had advanced. This vindication was entitled, "A brief Narrative of the former Propagation, and late Restriction of the Gospel in Wales." A second edition of it came out in 1662. To this piece no rejoinder ever appeared. In vain, however, did he justify his character; for his innocence could procure him no redress. After he had lain in the Fleet Prison *two* or *three and twenty months*, there came a sudden order for the removal of him and

Colonel Rich; and this order was executed without giving them so much as two hours' time to prepare for their departure. They were taken from the said Fleet Prison on the 30th of September, 1662, and conveyed in the Duke of York's pleasure-boat, of which Captain Lambert was commander, to South-Sea Castle, near Portsmouth, where Mr. Powell was closely confined about five years. Upon the fall of Clarendon, when the power of Archbishop Sheldon, Bishops Morley, Ward, Gunning, and others of the bloody patrons of intolerance, was somewhat reduced, Mr. Powell sued for a habeas corpus; and soon after, by an order from the King and Council, obtained his liberty.

From this time, scarce ten months had elapsed before he was again imprisoned, as he was passing from Bristol and Monmouthshire, over the hills of Glamorgan, in his way to his own habitation. He had preached at divers places in Monmouthshire, as he came along, to great numbers of people of different descriptions, who flocked eagerly to hear him from all parts! Newport, I think, was the last place he preached at in that county. His next stage was Merthyr Tydfil in Glamorganshire, a place now become famous for its iron works, the most celebrated and extensive in Britain, as well as for the number of its inhabitants, having in a few years, from an inconsiderable village, become the most populous place in all the Principality. When Mr.

Powell arrived at Merthyr, he found assembled in and about the church-yard, a great congregation of people waiting to hear the word of God. To them he preached from Jer. xvii. 7, 8, and shewed, first, who was the blessed man; and secondly, wherein his blessedness did consist. While he was preaching to the people, the parson of the parish, whose name was George Jones, a man of a notoriously vile character, posted away to Cardiff, the county town, where he found two of the deputy lieutenants, who had remained there since the quarter sessions, which were then just over. With these he lodged a complaint and false information against Mr. Powell, and even went so far as to swear to the truth of his lying and malicious allegations. In consequence of this man's infamous deposition, the deputy lieutenants, Edmund Thomas (an Oliverian lord) and a Dr. W. B., who belonged to the bishop's court, ordered one J. Carn, a major in the county militia, to take with him other officers and men, and apprehend Mr. Powell, and lodge him in his Majesty's gaol at Cardiff. They accordingly went to Merthyr, and took Mr. Powell at his lodgings; and when he desired to see their authority, the mayor magnanimously laid his hand upon his sword, and said, that was his authority. When he was brought to Cardiff, he was immediately committed to the county prison, by the two deputy lieutenants above-mentioned; and the keeper and his deputies were required to

receive and detain him in safe and close custody, till such time as he should be delivered by due course of law.

Some time after, on the 17th of October, he was ordered to appear at Cowbridge, before six of the deputy lieutenants, who thought proper to meet there on the occasion. When he was called before them, he underwent a pretty long examination, which was conducted by the above-mentioned Dr. W. B., who had been appointed, it seems, to manage that business. It was introduced as follows:—"Dr. B. Mr. Powell, what business had you in this country? P. Sir, that had been proper to have been asked before you had committed me; however, I am not unwilling to give you an account thereof. Having several occasions to go to Bath and Bristol, (and particularly an intent to drink of a well, that is good against a distemper I am troubled with, namely, the stone,) I came into Monmouthshire, and so through some parts of this county, intending to travel towards my own habitation: and, Sir, I think I may as well travel through the county as another traveller, being no vagabond, or other suspicious person. —B. But were not you in Newport, and in other places in Monmouthshire, preaching? P. Sir, I perceive you are a doctor of the civil law, and there is a maxim in that law, 'Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare,'' no man is bound to accuse himself: but, Sir, I am neither ashamed nor afraid to own what I did, for it was but what I am commanded to do,

by my Lord and Master, Christ; to wit, to preach his Gospel.—B. What authority have you to preach? P. Sir, I have sufficient authority.—B. From whom? P. From God and men.—B. Are you in orders? P. Sir, if by orders you mean to be ordained and appointed to be a minister, I am.—B. From whom had you your ordination? P. I have told you already from God and men; and, Sir, you are none of my bishop, to catechize and examine me; therefore ask me such questions as are 'ad rem,' and which belong to you to ask and me to answer: and, Sir, since you do not, I desire to know by what law you proceed against me, so as to imprison and detain me, without any proof against me, or examination of me first.—B. Sir, you have broken the law, by preaching without orders; and you came with some hundred, yea, a thousand horsemen with you into Newport; and the mayor of Newport came hither to complain against you. P. It is true I came to Newport and preached there; but, Sir, that is not in your county, nor under your cognizance: yet I shall satisfy you, that that report you heard was false; for there came with me only about four or five horsemen; and if I preached, it was not without the mayor's privity and consent, as several credible gentlemen will attest, if need be.—B. But you had a conventicle at Merthyr, where were abundance of people, they say a thousand, at least, and some of them armed. P. Sir, we had a Christian meeting at Merthyr, but no conventicle; for, Sir, a conventicle is so named from

'convenire in malum,' and your law saith, it is a meeting together under pretence of religious worship and service, to plot or design evil against the King and his Government. But ours was no such meeting; for we did not *pretend* to worship God, but did it really, viz. pray, preach, and hear God's word; and it appears, 'ab effectu,' that there was no such intention in our meeting; for after the exercise, we all departed peaceably to, or towards our several habitations; and whereas you say, 'some were armed,' your information is not true; for there were not any, that I saw, and I believe none had any more than walking staves, or riding rods in their hands.—B. But yet this was a transgression of the law. P. I am sure it is no transgression of the law or command of Christ, who commands his Gospel to be preached to every creature; neither, Sir, do I know this to be any transgression of the law of the land: if it be, it is, and has been for many months, tolerated generally throughout the nation; and I myself have enjoyed my liberty both in London and other places, without molestation, notwithstanding I have been where persons are as knowing and zealous for the laws as you are, or can be; and I suppose I might as well have done the like in this county, especially hearing of the moderation of the gentlemen of these parts." In this manner was the examination introduced and conducted; but the whole of it is too long to be inserted here. At the close of the examination, S. E. M. (meaning, probably,

Sir Edward Mansel) civilly and mildly desired Mr. P. to withdraw, which he accordingly did. They had then some warm debates among themselves, and it was supposed that most of them were inclined to discharge the prisoner. After dinner, however, and a long altercation over their cups, things took a different turn, and he was remanded to prison, and re-committed. On the 30th of the same month, two new commitments were again drawn up, in consequence, it seems, of a letter from the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Carbery. After this, on the 8th of the following month, November, Mr. P. was again called before Sir John Aubrey and Dr. W. B. at the Angel Inn, Cardiff, where, after a long conversation, he was required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which he declining to do, on the ground of his having already taken those oaths, and wishing for further time to consider of it, he was again remanded to prison, where he lay till the 13th of the following January, the day, I think, of the quarter sessions. On that day he was taken into the town or shire hall, before Sir J. A., Kt., H. H., and Dr. W. B., Esqrs., and others of the county justices, where he was again required to take the oaths as before, which he still objected to, on the former ground, his having already taken them, and also of their not being tendered to him according to law. In the course of this day's proceeding or discussion, (as well as those of the preceding days,) it plainly appeared that he was possessed of more legal know-

ledge than even the lawyers themselves. But though he fairly invalidated and refuted all that was urged against him, yet would not the magistrates discharge him, nor so much as take bail to the next sessions. So hardly and cruelly was he dealt with, even by his own countrymen! In this, however, his fate did but the more strongly resemble that of his divine Master.

About three months after this, a friend in London procured a writ of habeas corpus, to remove him to the Court of Common Pleas, which the Sheriff refused to obey. Then came an *alias* under penalty of 100*l.* which had the desired effect. But he had no notice of his removal till eight o'clock in the evening, when the Under Sheriff came and ordered him to depart in half an hour! He was taken with a guard eight miles that same evening; that is, as far as Newport, I presume. This was the 16th of October, 1669. He arrived in London, and appeared at the Common Pleas' bar, the 22d of the same month; where, upon examination of the return, it was found illegal, but was left to be further considered the next day, as S. M., the counsel employed against him, pleaded that he had not had sufficient time to think upon it. Mr. P. then moved the court to take bail, and discharge his guard; which the Judges at first seemed very willing to do, but afterwards refused, at the instance of the counsel for the prosecution. The next day the return was again argued, and the pri-

soner had the liberty to open his case himself; but though the return was adjudged false and illegal, yet could he not obtain his liberty, but was the same day committed to the Fleet prison; from a similar motive, as we may very reasonably suppose, with that which had formerly induced Felix to leave Paul bound; namely, to please his enemies.

Mr. Powell after this remained in prison till he was discharged by death, on the 27th of October, 1670, the 53d year of his age, and the 11th of his imprisonment. He was a person of the strictest integrity, the most fervent piety, and the most intrepid courage. He was also a warm Republican, a zealous Nonconformist, and a strenuous advocate for Civil and Religious Liberty.

The disorder which terminated the life of Mr. P. was a dysentery, or bloody flux, which baffled all the art and skill of the physician, and carried him off in about a month after the first attack.

He bore his last illness with great patience, and would bless God, and say, he "would not entertain one hard thought of God for all the world," and could scarcely be restrained, at the very height of the disorder, from acts of devotion, and from expressing his sentiments of zeal and piety. His remains were deposited in Bunhill Fields, in the presence of an innumerable crowd of Dissenters, who attended him to his grave. The inscription on his tomb, drawn up, as Wood says, by his dear friend Edward

Bagshaw,* describes him as "A successful teacher of the past, a sincere witness of the present, and an useful example of the future age; who, in the defection of many, found mercy to be faithful; for which, being called to many prisons, he was there tried, and would not accept deliverance, expecting a better resurrection." Wood gives him an infamous character, says Palmer, in the last edition of his Nonconformists' Memorial; but Wood gives infamous characters to many good men besides him. Dr. Toulmin also observes, that Dr. Grey, after Wood, has vilified Mr. Powell, by retailing the falsehoods of a piece entitled *Strena Vavasoriensis*. Mark Noble also is to be classed among the bitter vilifiers of this good man, without regarding the pieces written in his defence. Noble represents him as a *fool, a poor infatuated wretch, a wild enthusiast, a seditious person, fifth-monarchy man, and one who perhaps aspired to be prime minister to king Jesus, &c.* But there is no truth in all this, at least not in the sense in which this violent writer would have it understood. Men of his complexion will always despise, revile, and persecute such men as VAVASOR POWELL. Neal, indeed, followed by Palmer, calls him *a fifth-monarchy man;* but if he was so, it is certain, he was not of the same sort with Venner and his violent adherents, but rather more in the way of thinking of such men as Sherwin, and Bishop Newton. Dr. Toulmin says,

* Nonconf. Mem. Vol. II. p. 301.

"That Mr. Powell's sentiments were those of a Sabbatarian Baptist," which is a very great and unaccountable mistake. Any one who consults the history of his life with any degree of attention, may easily see that he was decidedly a First-day Baptist. In the hundred and nineteenth page of that book, we are plainly told that "he was a very strict and conscientious observer of the Sabbath-day," viz. the first day of the week, the Christian Sabbath; "not doing or speaking, on that day, what he saw lawful upon other days; attending the duties thereof, from evening to evening," &c. With the above assertion of Dr. Toulmin, we may venture to class that notable declaration of Messrs. Neal and Palmer, that Mr. Powell was driven from Wales, for want of Presbyterial Ordination. Driven from Wales indeed he was, not for want of a Presbyterial Ordination, but rather for want of high-church malignity and intolerance; or, in other words, for quitting the ruling, or Laudean faction, and joining the Puritans, and preaching as he did about the country. So active and laborious was he in the duties of the ministry, (says Dr. Toulmin,) that he frequently preached at two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in the week throughout the year out of the pulpit! He would sometimes ride a hundred miles in the week, and preach in every place where he could gain admittance, either by night or by day. He would often alight from his horse, and set on it any aged person whom he met with on the road on

foot, and walk by the side for miles together. He was exceedingly hospitable and generous, and would not only entertain and lodge, but clothe the poor and aged. He was a man of great humility, very conscientious and exemplary in all relative duties, and very punctual to his word. He was a scholar, and his general deportment was that of a gentleman. In 1642, when he left Wales, there were not above one or two gathered Churches; but before the Restoration there were above twenty distinct societies, consisting of from two to five hundred members, chiefly planted and formed by his care and industry, in the principles of the Baptists. "They were also for the ordination of elders, singing of psalms and hymns in public worship, laying on of hands on the newly baptized, and anointing the sick with oil, and did not limit their communion to an agreement with them in their sentiments on Baptism," &c. (See Toulmin's Edition of Neal, Vol. IV. p. 467.) This account applies [from 1655] to those Churches gathered and planted by Mr. Powell, and his more immediate coadjutors; but there were other Baptist Churches gathered in that country, towards the close of the Civil Wars, to which it will not altogether apply. These were planted by the joint labours of John Myles, William Thomas, David Davies, Thomas Joseph, Thomas Proud, Walter Prosser, William Prichard, Morgan Jones, (great-grand-father of the late Dr. Jones of Hammersmith,) Robert Morgan, Hugh Evans, Thomas Evans, and others. They

met at Ilston, in Gower, and Aberavon, Llanaran, and Llantrisant, in Glamorganshire, Abergavenny and other places in Monmouthshire, the Hay in Brecknockshire, Maesmynys in the same county, and Cwm in Radnorshire, and at Caermarthen. These were, at least for the most part, strict Baptists, and did not admit of mixed communion; nor did they at first practise imposition of hands, though they adopted it afterwards. They differed in several other respects from the Churches more immediately connected with Mr. Powell. The latter were all Pædobaptists and Independents, long after the others had been formed into regular Baptist Churches, and and had held several annual associations. The first of these associations was held at Ilston, in November 1650; the second at Caermarthen, in March, 1651; in which questions were proposed concerning *imposition of hands* and *singing*, which shew that those observances were not then admitted into these Churches. The third association met, it seems, at Gelligaer, probably in 1652. The fourth at Abergavenny, in July, 1653. The fifth at Aberavon, in March, 1654. The sixth at Llantrisant, in August the same year. (Imposition of hands, and singing, were here again proposed, but not then adopted. The former came from the Church at Caermarthen, and the latter from that of Abergavenny.) The seventh was held at the Hay, in March, 1655: and the eighth at Brecknock, in July, I think, 1656.

A sort of connexion appears to have taken place

pretty soon between these Churches and a certain Baptist Church in London, which met at a place called Glaziers'-hall, or the Glass-house; (the same, I think, that was afterwards called Glass-house-yard;) and this connexion seems to have had some influence on the proceedings of the Welsh Churches. Imposition of hands was not at first among their religious observances; but that Church in London was zealously attached to that practice. The question began ere long to be agitated among the Welsh Baptists. It was rather discountenanced at first, but afterwards it was agreed to lay the case before their London brethren, and consult or advise with them on the occasion. Whether this application was made by the whole body, or only by certain individuals, does not appear quite clear. It was, probably, done by some of the members of the Churches of the Hay and Abergavenny, who were become favourers of that practice, which does not appear to have been yet the case with any of the ministers. The result of this application was, that the Church of Glaziers'-hall sent down Mr. William Rider, their minister, or one of their ministers, and with him another brother, whose name was Robert Hopkin. Their first visit was paid to the Church of the Hay, or to some friends belonging to that Church. After some previous conversation and deliberation, fifteen of these declared in favour of the above practice, and desired it might be performed upon them, which was accordingly done by the two

strangers. Hebrews vi. 1, 2, appeared to have no small weight in the proceedings and determinations of that day. From the Hay, the strangers, it is said, proceeded to Abergavenny, where there were others who favoured the said practice, and on whom they also, probably, laid their hands, as it does not appear that any of the ministers were yet brought over to their sentiments on that point. This happened in 1655, six or seven years after most of the Churches were formed, and united in association. When it was that these Churches began to practise *singing* in their assemblies, I cannot at present say.

Hitherto Mr. Powell, and the churches and ministers more immediately connected with him, continued to be Pædobaptists and Independents, without any mixture of Baptists, as far as I could ever discover. Neither Neal, nor Calamy, nor Toulmin, nor Palmer, appeared to have been aware of this, nor even the late Mr. Thomas of Leominster, who had paid so much attention to this subject; and yet it appears to be the fact. The first indication of a change in Mr. Powell's sentiments about Baptism, that I have met with, was in 1654, in a letter from a John Herbert, dated at Montgomery, on February 24, that year. It may be seen in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 116. The writer was evidently no friend to Powell, and seems sneeringly to hold him up under the name of S. (meaning, I suppose, Saint Vavasor). He assures his correspondent, that he had declared in his preaching on the preceding day,

he "had rather his child (had he any) should be offered up to Moloch, than baptized; and that it were a less sin to circumcise than baptize, in these days of Gospel light." It is not likely that this passage is strictly true, especially the former part of it. Still it may be concluded that something was said, and that pretty strongly too, against Infant Baptism, and probably against Water Baptism itself, as the latter part of the passage seems plainly to imply. It has been said that there were some among the Welsh Nonconformists of that time, who thought rather lightly of Water Baptism, if they did not absolutely deny it to be then in force, or obligatory upon Christians. Jenkin Jones, one of the Ejected Ministers, has been said by Calamy to be of that number, and he therefore calls him a Catabaptist. The same, I think, has been thought of William Erbury and Walter Cradock, as well as some others on the borders of Brecknock, Glamorgan, and Monmouthshire, where the knowledge of the *Bardic System*, or ancient Druidical Institution, so remarkable for its natural simplicity, and its pacific and benevolent spirit, was still preserved, and which is thought to have had a certain degree of effect or influence, in the formation of the religious ideas or views of these people.

Upon the whole, it seems probable that Mr. Powell, at the first change of his sentiments about Baptism, rather inclined to reject that ordinance altogether, or at least had some hesitation on that

head. But if that was the case, it does not appear that his mind continued long in that state. He soon embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, and was himself baptized, I think, towards the latter part of the year 1655; for in a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, dated Jan. 1st, 1755-6, and preserved in the State Papers of the former, Vol. IV. p. 373, this remarkable passage occurs: "Amongst many other things which are daily sent abroad for inflaming the people, your Lordship will receive herewith a paper newly exhibited to the world, by VAVASOR POWELL, who is lately rebaptized, and several other of his party; whereupon I will make no observations, though many others do," &c.

I am inclined to think, that MR. POWELL was the first of those of his connexion that became a Baptist; but his example appears to have been soon followed by a great number of them, and among those, by many of the ministers, but not all: so that those Churches continued to be a mixture of Baptists and Independents afterwards, for a long time; and some of them, if I am not mistaken, are so to this day.

From the above statement, it appears, that the Welsh Baptists of the seventeenth century consisted of two parties; one formed on what is called the strict Baptist plan, or composed entirely of Baptists, and the other admitting of what is called open or free communion, and composed of a mixture, or union of Baptists and Independents. This last was at first by far the largest body; but it afterwards declined,

and the other greatly increased, so as in time to spread over the whole country; and it is now the most numerous body of Dissenters within the Principality, consisting of nearly one hundred congregations, and many of them very large. Till lately, they were all Particular Baptists of different descriptions, except *one*, and there are now a few more. Mr. Powell, though classed among the Particular Baptists, was yet not so high in his particular views as many of that denomination are in our day. He was far from thinking that none are to be encouraged, invited, or called to look or come to Christ, but the weary and heavy laden, or such as see and feel their lost condition, and need of him. The passages of scripture which seem to make for that, he considered as only implying, that those are in a special manner encouraged to come to the Saviour. He viewed Christ as given, or ordained, and sent by the Father to be the Saviour of sinners, and therefore blamed himself, for having once concluded, that none are fit or qualified for him, or ought to look and come to him for salvation, till a previous work had been wrought in them. (See his Life, p. 7.) Thus, it seems, he preached, encouraging and inviting sinners to come to Christ for salvation; and thus preaching, his ministry had a very uncommon, and most happy effect. And this is that kind of preaching which has ever proved the most successful. Christ should always be held, or lifted up, and recommended to all the hearers, as the Son of God, the only-begotten Son of God, who is able to save them to the

uttermost that come unto God by him, and is the only name under heaven given among men, whereby they can be saved.

As a writer Mr. POWELL's labours were not very extensive or abundant. His publications (most of them small) did not exceed twelve or thirteen; of which, one was a Scripture Concordance, held in high estimation by some of the most eminent men among his contemporaries, and also by many of the good people even of the present day. His works were all in English, I think, except *one*, which he wrote in Welsh, under the title of *Canwyll Crist*; i. e. *The Candle of Christ*. But this I have never seen. When he first appeared as an evangelist, his native country was covered with thick darkness, gross ignorance, and miserable superstition! He laboured abundantly, as we have seen, to rescue his countrymen from the error of their ways, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, by disseminating and propagating among them, the excellent, and glorious, and saving knowledge of Christ; and his labours were not in vain. So that it might be said of WALES, as it was once said of the land of Zabulon and Nephthalim, "The people which sat in darkness, saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up." But he was not alone in that laudable and arduous undertaking. He was happily aided by the vigorous co-operation of other pious and able men. To rescue from oblivion the names of THOSE WORTHIES, who

deserved so well of their country and of posterity, would be very desirable; and I hope not unacceptable to the reader; I shall therefore beg leave to subjoin here a brief account of a few of them.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE EDITOR has lying before him an interesting little volume of VAVASOR POWELL'S, entitled "Christ and Moses' Excellency; or Sion and Sinai's Glory: being a Triplex Treatise, distinguishing and explaining the Two Covenants, or the Gospel and Law, and directing to the right understanding, applying and finding of the informing and assuring PROMISES that belong to both Covenants. By Vavasor Powell, Preacher of the Gospel in Wales. John i. 17: *The Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.* Gal. iii. 21: *Is the Law then against the Promises of God? God forbid.* London, 1650." This may be *the Scripture Concordance* of which Dr. Richards speaks, for nearly the whole of the latter half of the volume is *an alphabetical arrangement* of THE PROMISES, with the respective chapters and verses in numeral letters; the looking of them up by the reader being recommended for aiding the memory and impressing the heart. Though the volume is small it is a work of labour, and shews a most intimate acquaintance with the Sacred Writings. PREACHING, however, not *writing*, appears to have been his favourite employ, as he thus singularly expresses himself in the closing paragraph of the Preface:—

"Loving Reader, having held thee thus long in *the Porch* I invite thee into THE HOUSE; but I am sorry that this book is so big, and I fear deare, (but not dearer by any merchandize I have made of it,) but it's not so dear to thee as to me, it having cost me many nights' study, because I would not neglect for the printing of *a thousand books* the preaching of ONE SERMON! I intended this onely for a private (yet worthy) gentleman, who by many several motions and courtesies put me on. I wish *him* and *thee* as much good in reading as I had in studying and writing it. And this shall be the prayer of one of the Lord's meanest saints, and in him thy servant for thy soule's good!—Vavasor Powell."

This incomparable man seems to have wielded his pen with as much ease on scriptural subjects as he employed his tongue in addressing multitudes who flocked to him daily to hear *the Gospel* of JESUS CHRIST! With the recommendation of birth, education, and the most respectable connexions, he followed the dictates of conscience through a long series of sufferings, even unto death. His talents and acquirements, which were of no ordinary cast, he devoted with an inextinguishable ardour to the promotion of the best interests of mankind.

The Editor's countrymen were never suspected of deficiency in gratitude, and accordingly, to this day, the name of VAVASOR POWELL is venerated in the Principality. But his *Associates* now claim attention. *The actions of the* JUST *smell sweet in Death, and blossom in the Dust!*

SKETCHES

OF

THE LIVES OF SOME

OF

Vavasor Powell's Contemporaries

AND

FELLOW-LABOURERS,

THE FOUNDERS OF

THE DISSENTING INTEREST IN WALES.

SKETCHES,

&c.

THE precedence here seems to belong to a

MR. WROTH,

Rector of Llanfaches, near Usk, in Monmouthshire, who is thought to have been ordained by the Bishop of Landaff, in the reign of James I., or rather in that of Elizabeth. An awful providence, the sudden death of a gentleman for whom he had a very great regard, is said to have first led him to those serious thoughts which happily issued in his conversion. Before that time, he was, like most of his clerical brethren, very vain, proud, and thoughtless. He then began to read the Scriptures in good earnest; and his ministry and conversation soon discovered that a real and most important change had taken place in his mind. Being himself awakened, he earnestly wished to awaken others; and his preaching was well adapted to produce that effect. Many under his ministry were brought to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to follow him,

rejoicing in the hope of eternal life through his name. How long he was suffered to go on, without interruption, I am not able to say. Situated as he was, in a remote and obscure corner of the kingdom, it is possible he might remain longer undisturbed than many of his brethren. During the primacy of Abbot, it is likely he might not be involved in much trouble; but it is not to be expected that he should entirely escape the cruel vigilance of Laud. Accordingly we find that he was cited to appear in London, in 1633, and again in 1635, there to answer to certain charges exhibited against him. He was at length condemned, it seems, as a chief render of the church in Wales. One of his principal crimes was refusing to read the *Book of Sports* on the Lord's-day! It is likely he was now dispossessed of his rectory, and compelled to leave the Establishment. It does not appear, however, that he was entirely silenced, so as never to dare again to open his mouth for Christ; nor yet that he went much about the country as an itinerant. It rather seems, he only preached privately in his own neighbourhood, where he gathered a people who were formed into a church in 1639, when the famous Henry Jessey (then an eminent Independent minister, but who afterwards became a Baptist) came down from London to assist on that occasion. This is thought by some to be the first Dissenting Church formed in Wales; while others give the antecedence to that at Golchon, on the borders of Brecknockshire, said to have been gathered and formed into a church

six or seven years before. Nay, some are inclined to date the origin of the latter as early as the days of the ever-memorable John Penry, who was a native of that county, a very learned man, an eminent preacher, a zealous advocate for the restoration of primitive Christianity, and a Baptist. Wood calls him "a most notorious Anabaptist; of which party (says he) he was the Corypheus." He was put to death in the intolerant and cruel reign of Elizabeth; and appears to have been one of those men of whom the world is not worthy. Neal gives a good account of him. How long Mr. Wroth lived after the formation of the church, does not appear. He is said to have been then an old man. It is probable he died during the Civil War. William Thomas, M. A. of the University of Oxford, a Baptist, is said to have been at first his assistant, or co-pastor, and to have removed afterwards to Bristol, where he kept a school, and preached and baptized many, during the confusion which the war between King and Parliament occasioned. But of him we shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

WILLIAM ERBURY.

According to Wood, he became a student at Oxford, in 1619, where he took one degree in arts, returned into Wales, went into orders, and was beneficed. He became, it seems, the Vicar of St. Mary's, in Cardiff, where he had at one time the worthy Walter Cradock for his Curate. Wood says, that he preached in conventicles, and, refusing to read the King's declaration for pastimes after divine service on the Lord's-day, was summoned divers times to the High Commission Court at Lambeth, where he suffered for his obstinacy. He then cites a passage out of Laud's Account of his Province, for 1634, page 533, which runs thus:— "Landaff Diocese:—The Bishop of Landaff certifies, that this year (1634) he visited his diocese, and found that W. Erbury, Vicar of St. Mary's, in Cardiff, and Walter Cradock, his Curate, have been very disobedient to his Majesty's instructions, and have preached very schismatically and dangerously to the people. For this, he hath given the Vicar a judicial admonition, and will further proceed, if he do not submit. As to his Curate, Walter Cradock, being a bold, ignorant young fellow, he hath suspended him, and taken away his license which he had to serve the cure." Such were some of the blessings of the glorious days of Laud, and those of his master,

King Charles the Martyr. Baxter, in his *Plain Scripture Proof for Infant Baptism,* classes Erbury among the Baptists; and there is *reason* to suppose that he was there mistaken. After the above rigorous treatment from his diocesan, and the High Commission Court, he became an eminent itinerant preacher, and a successful instrument to enlighten and reform his countrymen. He lived to see an end of Laud's tyranny, as well as that of the High Commissioners But though he outlived those, and others of his early persecutors, he still appeared to have enemies, not a few, who hated him with perfect hatred, though without cause. Among the hard names which his adversaries were pleased to bestow upon him, we meet with those of Seeker, and Ranter, as well as that of Anabaptist. His life and conversation, as far as I could ever learn or discover, was fair, inoffensive, and respectable, such as became the Gospel of Christ: and the respect which George Fox is said to have entertained for him, would make it appear that the report of his being a Ranter was unfounded; since Fox and his brethren professed a very strong and decided aversion to Ranterism. Such a report was, probably, only the offspring of that malevolence which would make some people give the man they hate the very worst name they can think of. WILLIAM ERBURY died in 1654, after having been in the ministry about thirty years. The charge of Ranterism is brought against him in the Flagellum, by Heath, and also in the History of the Church of Great

Britain, (4to. London, 1674,) written, if I am not mistaken, by the same author, who, by way of proof, as I suppose, adds as follows :—" The compiler of this treatise once heard this Erbury speak in a public congregation, near Bath, of a three-fold dispensation of God to his church and people. There hath been, said he, a two-fold discovery of God to his people, or a two-fold dispensation, namely, the Law and the Gospel; and God discovers himself to his people in both dispensations diversely. Under the Law, God discovered himself to his people in a way of fear; therefore God was called the great and fearful God; and the delivery of the Law to Moses was in a fearful manner. Now, when the apostle speaks of the ministry of the Gospel, he saith, *You have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but the spirit of adoption,* &c. That is, said he, now when the Gospel came, men knew God to be a Father, and they, in the spirit of adoption, cried *Abba, Father.* He added, that under the Law God was known as a Lord and Master, to keep his people in work; and as they had their work, so they had their wages; and if they did not work, they had terrors upon their spirits to affright them. But under the Gospel, God was discovered to be a Father, full of light and love; so that now we converse with God in a loving manner, and serve him as a son serveth his father. He proceeded to tell us that there is a third dispensation yet to come in the last days, wherein God will discover himself in a more fearful way,

and yet in a way more full of light and love than in former times. He added, that then there would be a fuller discovery of God than there had been, both under the Law and Gospel: and the ignorance of this, he said, hath been the cause of all the confusions and contentions among the people of God. He said, that the apostles waited for this dispensation, another state more glorious than any they had yet attained unto. This glorious dispensation, he told us, St. Paul calls *the glory to be revealed in us, the glorious liberty of the sons of God;* and that St. Peter calls it *the new heaven and the new earth;* and St. John, the *new Jerusalem.*" Such is the proof of ERBURY'S fanaticism and Ranterism. If this be all, we will not abandon him, or be ashamed of him; on the contrary, we will endeavour to preserve his name, and embalm his memory.

WALTER CRADOCK.

He is said to have been born at a place called Trevella, in the parish of Llangwin, not far from Usk, in Monmouthshire. His family was reputable and opulent; and he was heir to considerable possessions. At a proper age, he was sent to Oxford, to be educated for the ministry. Having spent there a competent time, he returned to his own country, took orders, and became Curate to Mr. Erbury, at Cardiff. After his return from Oxford, if I am not mistaken, he went to hear Mr. Wroth, who lived at no great distance from his father's, and was then much talked of in that part of the country. Mr. Wroth's preaching had a great effect upon him; so that he soon became one of his converts and disciples. This will account for that part of his conduct so much resented and censured afterwards, by the then Bishop of Landaff and by Archbishop Laud. We have seen before, that his diocesan suspended him, and took away his license, by which he was in a manner shut out of the Churches, and pretty effectually silenced in that part of his native country. His relations also are said to have taken very much against him at the same time, and on the same occasion; so that it is not to be wondered at if he now felt himself impelled

to remove elsewhere. He was not, however, inclined to quit Wales, but only to withdraw to another part of that country, where he might preach the Gospel with less interruption, and a greater prospect of success. It seems he now spent some time in the counties, Brecon, Radnor, and Montgomery, preaching up and down wherever he could find opportunity and admittance; even in private houses, in woods, and upon the mountains. In the course of these itinerary excursions, MR. VAVASOR POWELL, then a young clergyman, became one of his hearers, and was much affected by his preaching, and that of another godly preacher, (probably W. Erbury,) who then laboured in the same way. The deep impressions now made upon Powell's mind, issued in his conversion. He soon joined with the others, and became a most indefatigable and eminent labourer in the same vineyard. CRADOCK, after this, proceeded further on into North Wales, and after a while became the stated preacher, or minister, of the great church in Wrexham. There, and in the adjacent country, he preached with great acceptance and success, and received many seals to his ministry; among them was the memorable Morgan Lloyd, who afterwards became a distinguished character, a most eminent minister, and his successor at Wrexham. So extensively successful and popular did MR. CRADOCK become in North Wales, that his name is still remembered there, even among the high-church zealots, who,

to this day, give the name of *Cradociaid,* (i. e. *Cradockians,)* to all those who appear very remarkably serious. His enemies there, as well as in the south, were numerous and formidable; and as the anarchy and confusion increased at the approach and commencement of the Civil War, the power and violence of those enemies may be supposed to have then increased also: so that we need not wonder that he, as well as Vavasor Powell, was then driven out of the country. Where he went to, or what became of him during the Civil War, I am not able to say. It was he, probably, that Calamy alludes to, as having taken shelter, at one time, along with Baxter and others, at Coventry. I find no mention made of him afterwards, till 1649, when his name occurs as one of the triers, or approvers, of such preachers as were to be employed to propagate the Gospel in Wales. He was then, it seems, in Monmouthshire, his native county, where George Fox is said to have found him some time after, and where he, probably, drew up the address to Cromwell, which has been already mentioned. There is every reason to believe that he continued unwearied to the last, in promoting the good cause which had always appeared so dear to him from early life. Where or when he died, I have not learned. He was, probably, dead before the Restoration, or at least before *black Bartholomew-day,* as his name does not appear either in Calamy, or Rastrick's List or Memorials of the Ejected

Ministers. I am inclined to think that the learned Samuel Cradock, one of those Ministers, was a relation of his. A person of his name is mentioned by Palmer, as residing in Suffolk, in Charles II.'s time. Query, Is he his son? And was Suffolk the place of his retirement, during the anarchy and confusion in which the Civil War involved his native country? And did his family retire thither again after the Restoration? Messrs. Palmer, Toulmin, Cornish, or Isaac James, may, probably, be able to give us some further light upon these, and other matters touched upon in these sketches.

P. S. The Messrs. *Cornish*, of Colyton, and *James*, of Bristol, are still living; and the Editor would feel obliged by communications in any periodical religious Miscellany. These gentlemen are thoroughly acquainted with the history of PROTESTANT DISSENTERS; nor can there be found warmer friends to Civil and Religious Liberty. The Rev. Joseph Cornish is well known by his brief but valuable *History of Nonconformity*.

MORGAN LLOYD.

Of all the worthy contemporaries of Vavasor Powell, and the venerable founders of the Dissenting interest in Wales, no one's name is more generally and respectfully remembered among the good people of that country, than that of Morgan Lloyd. He was not only an eminent preacher, but was also a poet, and a writer of no mean talents. He published several books in the Welsh language, of some of which he was the author; of others the translator only. Most, if not all of them, are still in no small request among numbers of his pious countrymen. His principal work (the most popular at least) is entitled *Dirgelwch i rai i'w ddeall, ac i eraill i'w watwar;* i. e. "A Mystery for some to understand, and for others to ridicule." It is in the form of a dialogue between the Eagle, the Dove and the Raven, and goes under the popular name of *Llyfyr y Tri Aderyn;* or, "The Book of the Three Birds." It was published in 1653, and exhibits some striking characteristics of the time, and shews the author to have been no superficial observer of men and things, as well as that he was a very ingenious man. The Eagle is said to represent Cromwell; the Dove, the tolerant sectaries; and the Raven, their intolerant and persecuting opponents. When he wrote that book, he had no

very clear claim to what is called orthodoxy. In regard to the Trinity, he appeared to be much nigher to the heretic Sabellius, than to the saint Athanasius. With respect to Predestination, the extent of the death of Christ, and the loving-kindness, or the disposition of God towards mankind, his language is evidently anti-calvinistical. And as to Water Baptism, he seems, like the Quakers, to confine that to the ministry of John, (as is said also to have been the case with some of his South Walian brethren,) though it hath been reported, that he afterwards thought differently on that point, and became a Baptist. Be that as it may, his style and language in that, and some of his other books, have an evident affinity with those of the Quakers. And could it be proved, that George Fox and his brethren ever visited, or had any communication with him in the early part of their progress, it might, perhaps, be safely concluded, that they derived from him no small portion of their peculiarities. The resemblance, at least in many respects, is strong and striking; but the conclusion is doubtful. It may be truly said, I think, that he possessed an understanding very superior to that of most of the early Quakers. As a Welsh writer he had, perhaps, not many superiors. His style, however, was of a very peculiar cast; and I think not very unlike that of the late W. Law. There is also no small degree of probability that he was pretty intimately acquainted with the tenets and writings of the mystics and theoso-

phists; of which that particular strain in which he wrote, may be considered both as the indication and the result. It seems also, at least from one of his poetical compositions, that he had no small predilection for astrology, which, indeed, was not uncommon in that age, even among persons of considerable learning and distinction. But of all his productions, the good, practical tendency is in general very strong and obvious. The following extracts from one of his small pieces, and here rendered into English, may serve to give a tolerable idea of his manner of writing, and of the moral or practical tendency of his publications. The piece is entitled, "CYFARWYDDYD I'R CYMRY," or, "*The Welshman's Guide;*" rather a *Guide to Welshmen;* written in 1655. It begins thus:—"Dear countryman, it is complained by many, that owing to the multiplicity of opinions and cross-roads leading from the paths of life into the caverns of death, there are but few who dare venture to set out. But, for thy guidance, here is a word of information, relating to *the Lamb and to the soul, and to the Lamb and the soul jointly.* It will be taught thee, first, whence thou comest and whither thou goest; how it happens that there is such strife within thee and among men; and when the whole will be reduced into two opinions, like the two original eternal minds;* and also where lieth the path of the new birth in Christ.

* What he meant by "the two original eternal minds," I cannot take upon me to say.

I will reason with thee, that thou also mayest reason with thyself; for if thou shouldest but know thyself, thou wilt know also, that the Father and the Lamb are on thy side." A few pages after, having observed that all are of God, he adds, "But thou wilt ask, Did any proceed from him in wrath? The answer is, that although most have proceeded from the eternal nature in a fiery process, yet none have proceeded from God in wrath; for God is love, and in him is no darkness at all." Afterwards he says, "Man is ever on the run in this life; and there is one who meeteth and asketh him, Where is the soul and spirit a-going? What doth it profit a man to dance away his time, and then sink into the bottomless pit, in the midst of his vain, transitory mirth? Will not God punish thee for drawing away thy heart from him? Dost thou imagine eternity to be short, and the life of man on earth to be long? Hadst thou rather bear the thunders of offended justice for ever, with the scoffs of devils, than bear the contradiction and mockery of sinful men here, for a moment? Is not God the most desirable of friends, and the most terrible of foes? Why wilt thou pamper thy flesh, and starve thy soul, or fondle thy animal soul and carnal reason, to the perdition of thine immortal spirit? A gnat shall stop thee from doing good, but an angel of God shall not hinder thee from committing sin! Hath Christ done so much for thee, and canst not thou find in thy heart to do any thing for him? Did God's only Son suffer the shedding of his

heart's blood, even the loss of his life for thee, and wilt not thou suffer any thing for his sake, or rather for the sake of thine own soul? Wilt thou let the spiritual gold drop from thy hand, that thou mayest fill it and fill thy mind with filthiness? Wilt thou forego eternal life, to obtain a temporal nonentity?" In another place he says, "But thou wilt tell me, after all, I know not which way to proceed. The different opinions in the world are as numerous as the hairs of my head: could I but know the right way, I would walk and persevere in it to the end: but pious and learned men are ever gainsaying one another, while their lives are equally commendable. To this, O man! I answer—Thou knowest yet more than thou performest; and God hath endowed thee with more power than thou dost exert. Man hath not, indeed, of *himself*, either light, or power, or will, to perform what is good; but he hath *in himself*, from God, (who quickeneth all things,) more light and power than he chooseth to make use of. Do but exercise to the utmost, the talent which God hath given thee, and thou shalt know the right, and heavenly, and kingly way, from all other ways." The little book concludes thus: "As to what has been previously written, it is probable thou wilt not at first apprehend the meaning of it; but I beseech thee not to judge rashly, lest thou be found among those *who speak evil of those things which they know not, and bark at those things which they do not understand.* It is evident that none are saved but through

faith in Christ; and that none have the right faith but those who please God; and that none please him but those who resemble him, who have been formed anew upon the likeness and image of God himself. If thou art like unto Christ, thou art in a state of salvation; if thou art not like unto him, thou art in a state of perdition. True religion is to resemble God in Christ None shall be admitted into heaven (be their opinion what it may) but those who bear the image of God in this world: nor shall any be cast into hell, but those who are destitute of his likeness. *God is righteousness:* Art thou righteous in all things, and upright in all thy ways? Or, dost thou live in hypocrisy and injustice, withholding from God and man what is their due? *God is purity:* Art thou holy and pure in thy mind? *God is wisdom and light:* Dost thou, in all thy conversation, exhibit wisdom and knowledge? If so, thou art an image of God, and shalt be with him. *The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is love:* Art thou also loving and amiable? He bears and forbears, and renders good for evil to all: if thou beest not so too, thou art not one of his children. A meek and a quiet spirit is that which he approves; but that of the devil's children is restless and discontented. CHRIST is diligent and vigorous, ever working, and imparting what is good every where, without sleeping or slumbering: And art thou drowsy and sluggish to every good work? Then thou art a child of the world and not of God. Judge from this what image thou bearest, and thou wilt see by that whi-

ther thou art going to abide for ever. For, those souls who resemble God, every where shall be saved; the rest shall perish, of whatever religion they be. It is true, there is a strife within thee between two natures, or between thy sin and thy conscience; but take heed which of them has the mastery, or gets uppermost within thee—thy corruption or the knowledge of God: which ever thou obeyest, his servant thou art; and according to thy work will be thy wages. If thou live to thine own will, let thine own will save thee in the hour of death. But if thou renounce thine own will, and obey the will of God, against thine own natural inclination, then shall the will of God take thee out of the body, to abide in himself. Self-will is the devil's strongest chain to bind the soul. Let the soul try, in the strength of the cross of Christ, to break that first, and learn to renounce and resist its own will, and it shall receive further direction from God. But without that, if a word be given, it receives or reads the same in its own will, and perverts that which was written to its own destruction. From falling upon the stumbling-stone, may the Lord graciously preserve us! Amen."

Such is the strain in which Morgan Lloyd wrote. There is, indeed, a vein of mysticism pretty visibly running through the whole; but there is also much good sense, sound reasoning, and suitable admonition exhibited; all tending to promote the happiness and salvation of the reader, which the author unquestionably had much at heart.

To his history we shall now return. He was born,

probably, at or near Wrexham, where he was converted, as has been already observed, under the ministry of Walter Cradock. When he began to preach, I cannot say; nor yet at what time he succeeded Cradock, as preacher or minister, in the great church at Wrexham. But he seems to have been there during the whole time of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. That he was originally designed for the ministry, or had received university education, I think to be rather doubtful; though he seems to have acquired a good share of learning. He was one of those nominated by Act of Parliament, in 1649, as triers of those who were to be allowed and employed as public preachers in Wales. In 1653, he joined with his friend VAVASOR POWELL, and others, in a decided and vigorous opposition to Cromwell's advancement to the supreme power; which, from certain passages in Thurloe's State Papers, seems to have brought him and several of his friends into some trouble, as well as under the displeasure of the Protectoral Government. He was in habits of great intimacy, and used to correspond with William Erbury; and some of their letters are said to be still extant. There is every reason to believe that he was a great and a good man: so that we need not wonder that his memory should still be precious in the sight of his pious countrymen. It seems he died early in 1659, and was succeeded in the ministry at Wrexham, by Ambrose Mostyn.

AMBROSE MOSTYN.

He was descended from the Mostyns of Flintshire, one of the first families in North Wales. When he left the University, he preached for some time in Montgomeryshire, in connexion with Mr. V. Powell. Afterwards he preached at Holt, in Denbighshire, and in 1659 removed to Wrexham, as successor to Mr. M. Lloyd. At the Restoration he gave way to the sequestered minister, and withdrew from Wales, where the persecution soon became very severe and violent. Having no children, he and his wife were entertained by Lord Say and Seal, at his seat in Oxfordshire, where he officiated as domestic chaplain. After his Lordship's death, he removed to London, where he lived with Mr. Johnson, a Nonconformist minister, and died there about 1664. He was esteemed a good scholar, very humble, mortified, and pious, but inclined to melancholy. In his younger days, when he was assistant to another minister, (V. Powell, probably,) some good people in his hearing, ascribing their conversion, under God, to that minister's preaching, he looked dejected, as if he was of no use; when a sensible countryman present, who had a particular value for his ministry, made this observation for his encouragement:—"An ordinary workman may hew down timber, but it must be an accomplished artist that shall frame it for the

building!" Upon that Mr. M. rose up, and pleasantly replied, "If I am of any use, I am satisfied." He was for many years sorely afflicted with that most grievous disorder, the stone. His last sermon was preached from these words: "I bear in my body the dying of the Lord Jesus." (A further account of him may be seen in the Nonconformists' Memorial.)

It may be here just noticed, that the Mostyns, from whom our Ambrose descended, have been distinguished by some as having taken the lead among the Welsh gentry in adopting a fixed or permanent surname. This is said to have happened in the reign of Henry VIII., and on the following occasion: The chief of the family at that time was Thomas ap William, ap Thomas, ap Richard, ap Howell, ap Evan Vaugham, or Vycham, &c. This gentleman being called, at the pannel of a jury, by the aforesaid names, was advised by the judge to contract his name, which he accordingly did, by adopting that of Mostyn, the place of his residence. His example was soon generally followed, and the surnames of the Cambrian gentry have become since as permanent and contracted as those of their English neighbours.

JOHN EVANS,

Of Baliol College, Oxford; born at Great Sutton, near Ludlow. His father and grandfather were both ministers, and successively Rectors of Penegos, in Montgomeryshire. He left the University sooner than he intended, being unwilling to submit to the Parliament visitors. Returning to his father in Wales, he was ordained at Brecknock, by Bishop Manwaring, of St. David's, Nov. 28, 1648, but soon after saw reason to alter his thoughts about Conformity, upon which some papers passed between him and his father, who was very zealous for the hierarchy. But he remained steadfast to his purpose, and soon appeared among the itinerant preachers, labouring in different parts of the country with much earnestness, diligence, and acceptance. He afterwards became, successively, master of the free schools of Dolgelly and Oswestry, at which last place the Act of Uniformity found him. His ejection deprived him of his usual subsistence, and reduced him to very low circumstances; so great were his necessities then, at one time, that he was forced to sell a considerable part of a large library for present maintenance. In 1668, he settled at Wrexham. The Nonconformists there, after the departure of Mr. Mostyn, had separated, it seems, and formed themselves into two distinct churches; one a Presbyterian, and the other an Independent,

with a mixture of Baptists. Of the latter, Mr. E. now became pastor, and so continued ever after to the day of his death. Some gentlemen of considerable rank, knowing his abilities in school learning, sent now their sons to him as boarders and pupils, which was of no small use to him under his many difficulties and cruel prosecutions. About 1681, he was much pressed to conform, by the bishop of the diocese, who at first professed a particular regard for him, and offered him a very good living; but upon his positive refusal, he became enraged, and prosecuted him with barbarous severity. Upon his personal soliciting against the bishop in open court, the magistrate, so far from affording redress, imposed heavy fines from time to time, and he was sued to an outlawry. But it was remarkable, that though he was so severely harassed, he escaped better than many who were not so eagerly pursued. He kept his doors constantly locked for some years, and the most crafty and vigilant informers were never able to gather one of the fines laid upon him. Nor was his person ever seized but once, on the road, notwithstanding frequent warrants, and then he was soon released by the mediation of a person of honour, who often very generously took his part. There was reason to think that his many hardships, and frequent journeys by night, impaired his health, and brought on that weakness under which he long laboured during the latter part of his life. He died in peace, with a hope full of immortality, July 16,

1700, at the age of 72. He had been twice married. By his first wife he had a daughter, who was married to Mr. Timothy Thomas, of Morton, Chaplain to Mrs. Baker, of Suiney, near Oswestry. The issue of this marriage was a posthumous son, whose name also was Timothy, and who afterwards became an eminent Baptist minister, at Pershore, in Worcestershire, where he was succeeded by his son, of the same name; both of them men of eminent parts and piety. Mr. Evans's second wife was the daughter of Colonel Gerard, related, I think, to the Macclesfield family, and widow of Mr. Vavasor Powell. She was a lady of distinguished piety and respectability. The offspring of this marriage was Dr. John Evans, author of the celebrated "Sermons on the Christian Temper."

P. S. These *Sermons on the Christian Temper,* by the Editor's name-sake, though no relative, are invaluable. The duties of the Christian Religion are ably delineated, and its amiable as well as liberal spirit is set forth with fidelity. The *Gospel of Christ* is more practical than speculative; and on this account alone may be pronounced the greatest blessing that God ever conferred upon mankind.

ROWLAND NEVET, M. A.,

Of Edmund Hall, Oxford. His labours at and about Oswestry were abundant, while they were allowed, and even after he was silenced for Nonconformity. He continued among his people there to his dying day, doing what he could, when he might not do what he would. When the plague was among them, he continued with his people, and preached to them; and it was an opportunity of doing much good, which appears to have been the delight of his heart. His conversation from his youth was pious, holy, and exemplary, and his life an unwearied course of well-doing. He died December 8, 1675. He also was one of the triers, or approvers, of the preachers to be employed in Wales.

N. B. This *Sketch* is indeed very brief,—but not more so than many of the Accounts in *Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial,* a work of deserved reputation.

EDITOR.

THOMAS QUARREL.

Before the Restoration, he laboured much at and about Shrewsbury, and was the first pastor of the congregational church in that town. After his ejection, he removed to Monmouthshire, and became pastor of a Baptist Church at Llangwm, in that county, near where good Mr. Wroth had lived, where he continued the remainder of his days; only occasionally visiting some places in Herefordshire, and other parts of England as well as Wales. He appears to have been a very laborious, respectable man, and one of those whose memory ought always to be greatly venerated by the good people of the Principality. He was a diligent, faithful, and successful labourer in the Christian vineyard, nearly, if not quite, *sixty years!* His name lived long after him, and used to be mentioned with singular partiality and esteem in those parts of the country where he had resided, or exercised his ministry. He died about 1709, full of years, and of the peaceable fruits of righteousness. It seems he had been once an officer in the Parliament army, for it was said that he had formerly preached with his sword by his side.

HENRY MAURICE,

Of Oxford University. He was the youngest son of Griffith Maurice, descended from a considerable family in Caernarvonshire. His childhood and youth were vanity. Being naturally endowed with the gift of eloquence, in no small degree, the popular applause which attended him when he became a preacher, proved a great temptation and snare to him; as he afterwards used to confess and lament, calling himself a *vain-glorious fellow*. He conformed, in 1662, at Brompfield, in Herefordshire, but removed afterwards to the living of Stretton, in Shropshire. A malignant fever which broke out there, and carried off many of his parishioners, was the means of awakening him to a most serious solicitude about his eternal state, in case he were seized by death. He also began now to be dissatisfied about his Conformity, nor could he ever after be easy in his mind till he had taken up a resolution to resign the living and quit the Established Church, although he was at the time 300*l.* in debt, which was chiefly contracted in repairing and improving the parsonage-house and premises. His wife, observing his uneasiness, insisted upon knowing the cause. He told her. She desired him to do as his conscience dictated; and assured him of her acquiescence, as well as her reliance on the

providence, and her resignation to the will of God. Her answer greatly encouraged and comforted him. He next communicated his case to his dear friend, Thomas Quarrel, who had himself been ejected. He advised him to count the loss before he entered on a suffering state; to which he replied, that his conscience would not suffer him to keep the living any longer. He accordingly resigned it, and preached his farewel sermon from Luke xxiii. 3. A scene of trouble then ensued, and he was reduced to great distress; but was often remarkably relieved by persons utterly unknown to him. He was imprisoned for the debt above-mentioned, but that affair was some time after settled, and he was discharged. For some time he resided at Shrewsbury, and then at Abergavenny, into whose neighbourhood his very worthy friend, Quarrel, had previously removed. He was soon after chosen minister and pastor to a considerable congregation at Llanigon, and Merthyr, supposed to be Merthyr Cynog, not far from that town. But his services were not confined to them. His capacious soul moved in a much larger sphere. He would be often making excursions all over the country, preaching the Gospel wherever he went, and his pious labours were blessed to the conversion of many souls. The poor people travelled far to hear him, and would attend in vast numbers with extraordinary earnestness. He endured many hardships, while he journeyed in all weathers over those mountainous tracts, where he was often but indifferently

accommodated, both in respect to diet and lodging It was customary with him, both at home and abroad, to expound the Scriptures mornings and evenings. If he knew of any one person in a family or congregation, though but a child, that did not understand the language in which he was obliged to speak for the sake of all the rest, he would, whether in prayer, exposition, or sermon, repeat in other language the substance of what he had been delivering; for he used to say, he would not have one soul lose the benefit of a duty. He was often way-laid by his enemies, in order to his apprehension; and his house would be sometimes searched, but he generally escaped, and was hid, as Calamy expresses it, *in the hollow of God's hand!* One time a constable came into the room where he was preaching, commanding him to desist, when he, with undaunted courage, charged him in the name of God, whose words he was preaching, to forbear molesting him, as he would answer it at the great day. Upon that, the man sat down and trembled, heard him patiently till he had done, and then departed. It is said he was taken but once, and then he was bailed, and upon appearance made, was discharged by the favour of some gentlemen, who were justices of the peace, and his friends. He practised physic, and employed his opportunities for the bodily, as well as the spiritual benefit of his patients. One remarkable instance of success herein, was in the case of a gentleman's daughter, of seven years of age, who was a cripple,

and whose father, though not a Dissenter, sent for Mr. Maurice to attend her, by whose means, though her bodily disorder remained, she received a far greater benefit than the cure would have been, being brought in an extraordinary manner to remember her Creator and Redeemer. In the first part of his sermon he usually opened some fundamental doctrine, and brought in practical things in the application. When he quoted Scripture, he would not let it pass without opening it, so as to shew his hearers the sense of it, and how it proved the point he brought it for. He was abundant in allusions and comparisons, to explain things, and had a wonderful skill in unravelling the very thoughts and inward workings of men's hearts, and was very particular and convincing, as well as affectionate, in his applications to the consciences of his hearers. When advised by his friends to be more sparing of himself, he would say, "When a man has loitered the best part of his day, and the evening drawing on, he had need double his strokes!" Excessive labour and travel at last broke his constitution, and hastened his end. His congregation is thought to have consisted of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists; and he himself was said to be of the latter denomination, but approving of what is called free or open communion. In short, he appeared to have been a very extraordinary man, and one of the excellent of the earth. His behaviour on the bed of languishing was answerable to his conduct in life. When he saw

the people weeping about his dying bed, he said to his wife, "Dost thou observe the loving-kindness of the Lord to us poor strangers, in raising us so many friends? The love of God in Christ, is a great refreshment to my soul! Blessed be God, who hath made thee and me partakers of the same grace!" He also said, "There is nothing I can trust in, as to my work and labour; and yet I shall have joy of that too." He died, July 1682, aged about 40. See more of him in the Nonconformists' Memorial.

HENRY WILLIAMS.

He was a Montgomeryshire man, and lived on a small estate of his own, at a place called Ysgafell, near Newtown, in that county. Vavasor Powell also lived in the same neighbourhood, under whose ministry he had probably been converted. With him, also, he became a fellow-labourer in the ministry, and soon attained to very considerable eminence as an itinerant preacher. It does not appear that he was originally designed for the ministry, or had received any other education but what the schools of his own country afforded, though he is said to have acquired a good share of learning. At what time he began to preach I am not able exactly to say; it was not long, probably, after the act passed for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales; at least he appears to have been employed in that work several years before the Restoration. "Being disabled from the public exercise of his ministry in 1662," says Calamy, "he continued to preach more privately in several parts of this county, as he had opportunity. He was an upright man, very active for God, and a lively preacher. He suffered much for the sake of a good conscience, both by imprisonment and spoiling of his goods; but he endured all patiently, and went on doing the work of the Lord in the most difficult times. He subsisted by a small estate which he had,

and preached the gospel freely, to such as were willing to receive it." He was of the Baptist denomination, and succeeded MR. VAVASOR POWELL as Pastor of the Church at, or near Newtown. He was married, and had a large family of twelve children, which made his severe sufferings the more distressing. One of his daughters was the wife (not the mother, as Mr. Palmer says) of Mr. Davis of Rowell. Mr. D. had a great veneration for his father-in-law, and wrote a very affecting elegy on his death, which is still extant. Among the severe sufferings and heavy trials which Mr. Williams underwent, the following have been related as some of the most remarkable. He was once set upon while preaching, dragged from the place where he stood, cruelly beaten, and left apparently dead, like Paul at Lystra! His imprisonments were long and rigorous, and are said to have taken up no less than *nine years*. At one of the times he lay in prison, the bloody persecutors set fire to his house, and burned it to the ground. Another time they beset it, broke in and plundered his goods, and even *murdered his aged father*—who was attempting to prevent their getting into the upper rooms. His wife, also, then pregnant, in endeavouring to make her escape, with one child in her arms, and leading another, they cruelly insulted. At last they seized the stock upon the land, and seemed resolved to leave nothing behind them for the future subsistence of the family. There was, however, a field of wheat then just sown,

which the unfeeling wretches could not carry off, and probably did not think worth their while to destroy. That field thrived amazingly. All the winter and spring its appearance struck every beholder; and the crop it produced was so very abundant as to become the common talk and wonder of the whole country. Nothing like it had been ever known in those parts. In short, the produce of that field amply repaid him for the losses of the preceding year. It was said, indeed, that it amounted to more than double the value of what the persecuting plunderers had carried off. This, together with the untimely and awful end of divers of his most bitter persecutors, had such a terrifying effect upon the inhabitants, as secured him from being ever afterwards so barbarously treated. The said field, I believe, is known there, and shewn to strangers to this day. Henry Williams died about 1685, aged 60.

It was not uncommon in that persecuting age, for such as had been very forward and cruel in oppressing and persecuting others, to be themselves overtaken by some dreadful disaster, which had very much the appearance of a divine visitation or judgment. That is said to have been remarkably the case with several of those who had been most forward, or principally concerned, in oppressing this good man and his family. Two of these were justices of the peace. One of them died suddenly while he was eating his dinner. The other, as he was returning home drunk, from Newtown, fell into the Severn,

and was drowned. Another, it was I think the high-sheriff, or his deputy, who had been active in seizing and taking away the cattle and goods of our pious sufferer, fell off his horse some time after, within sight of the injured man's house, and broke his neck. Similar instances which then occurred in different parts of the kingdom, and which the historians of that period have recorded, are very numerous and striking.

P. S. For remarks concerning these *judgments*, the Reader is referred to page 240, where the authority of JORTIN is transcribed—a divine of no small repute in the learned and religious world. Thus ends the first group of these *Sketches*, which were thus arranged by the Author; and THE EDITOR is particularly careful of giving them as he found them to the Public. They were written at different times, though evidently intended, when gathered together, to constitute one compact body of WELSH BIOGRAPHY. Their value will be duly estimated by the intelligent and pious of every denomination in the Principality.

Sketches

OF

WELSH

NONCONFORMISTS.

Sketches,

&c.

HUGH EVANS.

THE name of this worthy man ought to be preserved, and his memory held very dear by his pious countrymen. HUGH EVANS was, it seems, a native of *Radnorshire*, from whence he removed in his youth to the city of Worcester, where he resided some years. About the commencement of the Civil War, he left that city, and went to live at Coventry. There he found a society of Baptists. He soon embraced their sentiments, and was admitted into church-fellowship among them. This is supposed to have been in 1642 or 1643. He turned out a very serious, pious, sensible, and hopeful young man. His brethren soon perceived that he was endowed with promising gifts for the ministry, and encouraged him to cultivate and exercise them; which he did, much to their satisfaction. He now thought of his native country; and, considering its deplorable state, as overspread with ignorance, and destitute of the means of knowledge and salvation, he felt a strong

desire to devote himself to the necessary and laudable, but arduous work of enlightening and Christianizing his poor countrymen. There was then not above one or two gathered churches in all Wales, and very few preachers of the Gospel. His friends approved and countenanced his benevolent inclination, but judged it advisable that he should first have some further literary advantage and instruction. Accordingly, he was placed for some time under the care and tuition of *Jeremiah Ives*, a Baptist minister of considerable respectability, and who afterwards distinguished himself as one of the acutest disputants of that age. After having continued with Mr. Ives as long as was thought necessary, he, according to his former intention, returned to Wales. This is thought to have been in 1646 or 1647. He now entered upon his labours in good earnest. His ministry proving acceptable and successful, the good people solicited and pressed him to continue among them, which he accordingly did, to the end of his days; unweariedly labouring to promote their best interests, and to extend the boundaries of the Redeemer's kingdom. At the commencement of his ministry there, he must have been but a young man; probably under thirty. He soon succeeded in gathering a respectable congregation, which has continued, by a succession of new members, down to the present time.

After having spent about ten years with exemplary diligence, unwearied perseverance, and eminent

success, in propagating the Gospel among his countrymen, HUGH EVANS finished his course, in the prime of life, and in the height of his usefulness, to the unspeakable regret of his numerous friends and brethren, by whom he was greatly respected and beloved. His ministry was chiefly exercised within the two counties of *Radnor* and *Brecon*. *Walker* charges him with having received a salary for itinerant preaching in both those counties. If he did so, it only proves his abundant diligence and activity. When *one* does the work of *two*, it is but fit he should receive double wages. There is reason to think that he was for some time the only Baptist minister in Wales. Some of the other preachers, and *Vavasor Powell* among the rest, were probably baptized by him. His people, I think, were all Baptists; for I cannot find that they admitted of mixed communion, though some of the neighbouring churches did; nor did they practise *singing* in their public worship, except, perhaps, at the Lord's table. That church afterwards branched out and increased, and now forms, I think, three or four distinct and respectable churches, assembling at different places in the several counties of *Radnor*, *Brecon*, and *Montgomery*!

HUGH EVANS had, doubtless, many enemies; but his principal opponents are said to have been the people called *Quakers*, who opposed him virulently from the press, as well as otherwise, and appeared to have conceived a very strong and unreasonable

antipathy against him. The book which they published against him came out about the time of his death, and was afterwards answered by two of his friends—*John Price,* of *Maes-y-gelli,* near Nantmel, in Radnorshire, and *William Bound,* of *Garth,* in Montgomeryshire. The name of the writer on the side of the Quakers was *John Moon,* who called *Hugh Evans* "the blind Welsh priest of Radnorshire," and attempted very illiberally to asperse and vilify his character and memory. His two friends, on the other hand, zealously and successfully vindicated their deceased brother, and expressed, from their own intimate knowledge of him, the highest opinion of his integrity and piety, as well as the truest respect and veneration for his memory. The amiableness and respectability of his character may be pretty safely inferred from the very warm and strong attachment which his pious and numerous friends evidently had for him. He died in 1656 or 1657, but lived long afterwards in the affectionate recollection of those who had attended his faithful and edifying ministry. He had, probably, not arrived at the 40th year of his age.

THOMAS EVANS.

This also was one of the Christians of other times, whose name and memory ought not to be suffered to sink into oblivion. A long list of Baptist ministers have issued from his loins, who have deserved well of the church of God, and of their country. He was the son of a reputable farmer, of the same name, who lived at a place called *Pentre*, in the parish of *Lanafan-Fawr*, in Brecknockshire, and near the banks of the *Wye*, which there divides that county from Radnorshire. At what time he became religiously disposed, I am not able to say; but he appears to have been one who remembered *his Creator in the days of his youth*. He was, probably, converted under the ministry of the pious and laborious *Hugh Evans*, and became a member of his congregation; but it does not appear that they were of the same family, or any way related according to the flesh, though of the same name.

Thomas Evans soon manifested an aptness to teach, or a promising capacity for public speaking, which his brethren were not backward to cherish and encourage. There is reason to conclude that he began to preach as early as 1651 or 1652; for in the following year (1653) he was approved and recommended by the *Committee of Ministers*, as a person well qualified for the work of the ministry;

and, in consequence of that, received from the *Commissioners* appointed by the act for propagating the Gospel in Wales, a *Certificate* to the same purpose, of which the following is a copy:—

"*By the commission for propagating the Gospel in* WALES:—Whereas five of the ministers in the Act of Parliament named, bearing date the 25th of February, 1649, and entitled, *An Act for the better Propagation of the Gospel in* WALES, have, according to the tenors of the said act, approved of MR. THOMAS EVANS, the younger, to be a person qualified for the work of the ministry, and recommended him, with their advice to us, that he be encouraged in the work of the ministry: We do, according to an order to us directed by the committee of five, at *Neath*, therefore order that Mr. *John Pryce*, treasurer, shall forthwith pay unto the said MR. THOMAS EVANS the sum of thirty pounds, which we have thought fit to allow him towards his salary and encouragement in the work of the ministry. This our order, together with his acquittance, shall be a sufficient discharge for the said treasurer. Dated under our hands the 16th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1653. JOHN WILLIAMS, &c. &c."

After this, THOMAS EVANS employed himself diligently and faithfully in disseminating the knowledge of Christ, not only in his native neighbourhood, and among *Mr. Hugh Evans's* people, with whom he was connected, but also in other and more distant parts of the country. He not only preached and

laboured much about *Llanigon, Golchon,* the *Hay,* and other places adjacent, but likewise in the more southern, and western, and distant districts of the Principality. In 1654 he made an excursion into Glamorganshire, and attended *the Baptist Association* which was held that year at *Aberavon,* in that county. To those distant parts, however, he only paid occasional visits: the field where he more constantly and statedly laboured lay nearer home, where the people, or congregation to which he belonged, resided; and there his labours appear to have been not only very abundant, but also very acceptable and useful.

For some years, I think, before the Restoration, the place where THOMAS EVANS most statedly preached was the parish-church of *Maesmynys,* of which he had been appointed minister, and from which he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. After that event, he bore, no doubt, a large share of the hardships and severities of that detestable reign, and the succeeding; at the close of which, and of the persecution, he finished his course, receiving the reward of the inheritance; and so obtained a far more glorious liberty and rest than what the *Glorious Revolution,* as it is usually called, afforded to his surviving brethren and fellow-sufferers. How great or extensive his trials and sufferings were, during the last twenty-eight years of his life, I am not able to say; but there is every reason to believe that they were very far from being light or inconsiderable.

I have read that he was once in *Brecon* gaol for Nonconformity; but it does not appear how long he was there confined; nor is it very probable that he was but once imprisoned, or that he met with much more favour or lenity from the persecutors than did his very worthy friend and fellow-labourer, *Henry Gregory,* of whom I shall speak hereafter.

The subject of this memoir, Mr. Thomas Evans, seems to have weathered the storm with great patience, firmness, and intrepidity. He maintained his integrity to the last, and left behind him an unsullied and truly honourable name, which was long preserved in the grateful and affectionate remembrance of his pious survivors; those of them especially who had been intimately acquainted with him, or had been used to sit under his faithful, savoury, and impressive ministry. In 1686, several of his Radnorshire friends emigrated to *Pennsylvania,* and there, in 1688, at a place *then* called *Pen-y-pec,* but now *Lower Dublin,* formed *the first Baptist church* ever known in that State! Among those ever-memorable Cambrian emigrants, I have met with the names of *Samuel Jones, John Eaton, George Eaton,* &c., who afterwards acquired a high degree of respectability among their virtuous and industrious fellow-colonists. They also used to remember and make mention of their old friend, *Thomas Evans,* as long as they lived, with peculiar esteem and veneration. Many years after his death, they said, "Samuel Jones writes thus to his eldest son, *Caleb*

Evans:—'I can truly say with the apostle,* that I rejoice greatly to find so many of your father's children walking in the truth. May the Lord enable me duly to follow the wholesome admonitions given by him to me and others! I well remember how forcible, how plain, and how earnest his preaching was, and how impressive he used to be in his *uses* and *applications*; nor can I forget what a kind brother I had in him. May God enable you to tread in your good father's steps, endow you with a double portion of his spirit, and abundantly own and bless your labours in his vineyard!'"

The letter of which this is an extract and translation, was dated from Pennsylvania, in March, 1709; and it plainly shews how precious his memory was still held by his friends, so many years after he had been laid in his grave. He was, I think, the only minister in *Hugh Evans's* connexion that held any intercourse with those churches in South Wales which formed *the Welsh Baptist Association*: for the Radnorshire Baptists, with whom he was connected, did not belong to that Association till after the commencement of the following century. About the year 1675, when he must have been nearly fifty years old, he married a pious young woman from Radnorshire. Mr. Thomas Evans lived after that about thirteen years, and died in 1688, as was above hinted, leaving *a widow* and *six small children*, the eldest not above twelve years of age! These orphans

* 2 John 4.

(four sons and *two daughters)* all became religious, and remarkable for early piety: two of the sons were afterwards called to the ministry. The eldest became one of the pastors of the church, and the other a very faithful and useful assistant to him.

No less, I think, than four or five of Mr. THOMAS EVANS's *grandsons* became Baptist Ministers: one of them was the late excellent Mr. HUGH EVANS, of Bristol. Of his *great grandsons,* I believe, there were two or three, at least, in the ministry: one of these was the late very respectable Dr. CALEB EVANS, of Bristol. And even of his *great great grandsons,* two, if not more, are ministers: one of them is my worthy and much respected friend, Mr. *John Evans,* of Worship-street, London. And here I cannot help observing that some of my own relations, for *the last hundred years,* or more, have lived in habits of friendship with this very worthy family; and I hope the same will continue as long as I live, at least. The friendship of the wise and virtuous is one of the most desirable and valuable of earthly blessings.*

* Little did the excellent writer imagine when he penned this paragraph, that the last *individual* here so kindly mentioned, should be destined, at no great distance of time, in the course of Providence, to draw up *Memoirs of his Life and Writings,* as well as to collect these *Sketches* together, and present them to the world. In *the Memoirs,* an account of some length will be found of *Hugh and Caleb Evans,* with a heart-felt tribute of respect to their memory. The names of two Families so united in Life will now go down together to posterity.

HENRY GREGORY.

MODERN times have very rarely produced a better man, or a more excellent Christian, than HENRY GREGORY. He was converted at an early age, and became in his youth a member of Hugh Evans's church. It is probable he might begin to preach before the death of that very worthy man, though he was then under twenty years of age. Not long before the death of his beloved pastor, he became a very acceptable and eminent preacher, and was chosen to succeed him as minister of that respectable and widely-extended Baptist Church. He had those very worthy men, Mr. *Thomas Evans,* Mr. *Peter Davies,* Mr. *John Price,* of *Maes-y-gelli,* and probably Mr. *Evan Bower,* and Mr. *David Williams,* of *Cefn-y-gwaelod,* for his fellow-labourers and assistants: and as the members were scattered over a wide extent of country, and had meetings at many different places, all those ministers were fully employed. Most of those his worthy fellow-labourers he survived many years, and at last died in peace, and well-deserved repute, about the close of that century. He is not mentioned by either *Calamy* or *Palmer.* It seems he was never the settled minister of any parish-church, and therefore could not properly be denominated one of the *ejected* Ministers.

Still, however, he was one of that party, and shared largely with them in the sufferings that ensued; nor is it to be doubted but that he had often himself preached in the parish-churches. The violent and furious storm which commenced at the Restoration, and lasted nearly thirty years, he weathered with unshaken firmness, and undismayed perseverance. He lived to see all his cruel persecutors disarmed; most of them, indeed, laid in the dust; and that, too, in many instances, after they had come to an awful and untimely end.

The church, in his time, met principally at a place called *Cwm,* in the parish of *Llanddewi-ystrodeni,* in Radnorshire. He himself occupied a farm in the same country, but the name of the place I cannot find. He was there very cruelly harassed and tormented by the unfeeling and barbarous persecutors. It is not likely that he did escape imprisonment; of that, however, I am not able at present to give any account; but in the spoiling of his goods he was certainly a very great and frequent sufferer. One time the persecutors took away all his cattle, except one cow, which they left out of a kind of mock, or feigned humanity, *to furnish milk for the children.* Not long after, when the good man was from home, they came and took away that cow also. It had been said long before, that *the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.* This pious family found that saying grievously verified. The cow had probably

been left the first time in order to have an opportunity to give a keener edge to the distress of the sufferers, by taking her away afterwards unexpectedly; and so the case may be considered as a sort of refinement upon the more common or vulgar forms of inhumanity and cruelty. The husband, at his return home, found his poor wife overwhelmed with grief and vexation, bewailing the loss of her last, her only remaining cow; on which he mildly said to her, "Do not vex thyself, my dear; Providence, I doubt not, will again, by some means, procure us another cow." Thus did his mind appear tranquil under his very severe sufferings, while he endeavoured to alleviate the distress, and tranquillize the bosom of his dejected partner.

His persecuting enemies had little reason to congratulate themselves on the part they had acted against him. God from heaven seemed to frown upon their proceedings, and mark them out as objects of his displeasure. Of two men who were seen eagerly and impetuously driving away his cattle over the ford, in a river close by his house, one was drowned some time after in that very ford, and the other is said to have died miserably, eaten up by worms, I think, like Herod. Another of his persecutors on his death-bed kept crying out, that nothing troubled him so much as his having been concerned in taking away the cattle and possessions of HENRY GREGORY! A certain rich and powerful neighbour

of his, though very full of enmity, yet cautiously refrained from abetting, or being any way concerned in the measures then carrying on against him and his brethren: and when asked why he declined countenancing those proceedings, lifted up his hands, and answered, "God forbid that I should meddle with these people! Do you not observe what evils are ever befalling their persecutors?" Instances of persecutors coming to an untimely end were then very common, and many of them have been recorded by the writers of that period. "It becomes us, I am sensible, to be cautious how we construe the events which are common to all men; for there is usually much rashness and presumption in pronouncing that the calamities of Sinners are the particular judgments of God; yet if, from sacred and profane, from ancient and modern historians, a collection were made of all *the persecuting tyrants* who delighted in tormenting their fellow-creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were visited by the visitation of all men, but whose plagues were horrible and strange; even a sceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to suspect that the hand of God was in it. But the case of persecuting princes is still more particular, if we consider, first, the matter of fact; and, secondly, the prophecies concerning it." [See JORTIN's Remarks on Eccl. Hist. III. 217.]

HENRY GREGORY died about the year 1700, at the

age of 63, after having spent about 40 years in the ministry, in the course of which, as we have seen, he passed through great tribulation, and even through the furnace of affliction, out of which he came as gold tried in the fire. He was faithful unto death, and preserved his garments undefiled in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. His life was holy and exemplary, and he left behind him a most lovely and honourable name, which is still affectionately and respectfully remembered in that part of the country.

JENKIN JONES,

Called also JENKIN JOHN HOWEL, was contemporary with the preceding worthies, but somewhat older, probably, than any of them. He was born, it is thought, in that part of Brecknockshire which borders upon Glamorgan. According to *Calamy's* account he was educated at *Oxford*, and became a preacher before the Civil Wars broke out. It is therefore likely that he received episcopal ordination. During the war he is supposed to have gone into the Parliament army, and to have acted in the double capacity of preacher and military officer. He was afterwards often called *Captain Jones*. At one time during the Protectorate, he was commissioned to raise troops, and had two troops of horse for some time under his orders, which he appears to have vigorously and effectually employed in suppressing a dangerous insurrection, in which many of the Welsh as well as of the English gentry were unfortunately concerned.

Under the Commonwealth, when the act passed for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales, he was nominated one of the *approvers* of those ministers who were to be employed on that occasion; and he was also appointed minister of the parish of *Llanthelty*, in his native county, as successor to Richard Williams, B. D. who was expelled for insufficiency. In the mean time he became an active and success-

ful itinerant preacher in different parts of the adjacent country. He was afterwards appointed parish minister of *Merthyr Tydfil,* in Glamorgan, and latterly of *Llangatwg,* or *Cadogston,* near Neath, in the same county, where he continued till after the Restoration, and was thence ejected by the Act of Uniformity. What became of him afterwards is not known; but he is supposed not to have long outlived that event. After his settlement at Cadogston he extended his itinerant labours some way into Caermarthenshire, and gathered a congregation in that county, some of whose members, together with himself, were imprisoned in Caermarthen Castle for a whole month, soon after the Restoration. Dr. Walker represents him as one of the chiefs of the Welsh itinerants; the others being *Vavasor Powell, Walter Cradock, William Erbury,* and *David Gam.* Of the latter no other memorial remains, though probably in his day a very worthy and eminent Evangelist. Dr. Walker calls JENKIN JONES a violent *Anabaptist;* Dr. Calamy, on the other hand, calls him a *Catabaptist:* the terms are obviously inconvertible and irreconcilable; and neither of them appears applicable to JENKIN JONES. The truth is, he was himself a *Baptist,* but held what is called *open,* or *mixed communion,* not only with pious Pædobaptists, but also with any pious people, whether they held the necessity of Water Baptism, and had been baptized in their own estimation or not; and this seems to have been what made Dr. Calamy call

him a *Catabaptist*, or one that denies, or is against all baptism. It was then (if it be not still) an uncommon and singular sentiment, and what would, of course, be every where opposed and condemned, but it will not be very easy, perhaps, to prove it to be more inconsistent, unreasonable, or erroneous than that of those Baptists who hold mixed communion with Pædobaptists only; seeing they cannot, in their own minds, look upon infant sprinkling or pouring as any baptism at all, according to scripture: indeed JENKIN JONES's ground seems, upon the whole, the most tenable of any that can be occupied for the defence of mixed communion. How far it is reconcilable to the New Testament is another matter; and that must be left to the conscience of every honest and good man.

JENKIN JONES was probably one of the principal founders of the Dissenting interest about *Merthyr, Neath,* and several other places where he had laboured. His exertions appear to have been chiefly within the counties of *Brecon, Monmouth, Glamorgan,* and the southern parts of *Caermarthenshire.* Good people, of his way of thinking, are said to have existed about Merthyr, Neath, and Llangyfelach, long after his time, but they are supposed to be now all extinct. His zeal and diligence, in the propagation of the Gospel, were highly exemplary, and he often encountered many difficulties and dangers in the course of his laborious ministry: once, as he was going to preach, he is said to have been

waylaid by a person who fully intended to kill him, but when he came up, the wretch was so struck with the gracefulness and comeliness of his person, (for he was a singularly well-looking and handsome man,) that he relinquished his horrid intention, went himself to the meeting, appeared much affected under the sermon, and became afterwards an eminent Christian. His name was *John James Watkin.*

In short, JENKIN JONES was an acceptable and eminent Minister, who did much good in his day, and deserved well of the men of that generation, however ill they requited him for his pains and labour of love. Nor will the reader, it is hoped, be displeased with this humble effort to rescue the good man's name and memory from oblivion, and recommend the same to the respectful and grateful remembrance of his virtuous and pious countrymen of the present generation.

SKETCHES

OF

The Lives

OF

MORGAN GRIFFITHS, DAVID REES,

CHARLES WINTER,

AND

THOMAS LLEWELYN.

Sketches,

&c.

MORGAN GRIFFITHS

Was born in 1669, in that part of *Pembrokeshire* which lies between the town of *Haverfordwest* and the *Pryselau* mountains. His grandfather of both his names, in the former part of the seventeenth century, occupied a farm at or near a place called *Rhuddbac,* or *Rubbeston,* a few miles from the above town, where his father, whose name was *John Griffiths,* is supposed to have been born about the commencement of the Civil Wars, if not sooner; and it is probable that he himself also was born at the same place. Of his ancestors, anterior to his said grandfather, the writer of this Memoir has no knowledge, although they were also his own progenitors; but they are said to have ranked among the reputable yeomanry and freeholders of that county, as many of their descendants have done since, and do still.—His grandfather was twice married. His second wife occupied a farm called *Argoed,* near *Nevern,* in the

upper part of the county; and which became the place of his residence after his marriage with her. He then, probably, left his former farm to his son *John,* and the other children (if there were any beside) by the first marriage. It is somewhat remarkable and curious, that the offspring of each wife took different surnames: those of the first took their father's surname *Griffiths,* whereas those of the second took that of *Morgan,* adopting their father's christian name, as it is called, for their own surname; a practice not uncommon still in that country, however strange it may be reckoned in England.

Our MORGAN GRIFFITHS is thought to be one of the first, if not the very first of the family, who dissented from the Established or National Church. There were some Baptists from his earliest time, if not before, at *Prendergast,* a suburb of Haverfordwest, in his native neighbourhood; and they had preaching there occasionally and pretty frequently ever after, till they had built their present commodious chapel in the town, when their meetings at Prendergast were, of course, discontinued. There, in all probability, he first became one of their hearers, and received his most early serious impressions. This might be about the ever-memorable era of THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, not earlier; and it is probable he joined the church soon after. How soon after that he began to preach, is uncertain; but it may be presumed not to have been very long, for he appears to have been an ordained minister at, or rather before, the close

of that century, previously to which he must have exercised some time, perhaps some years, (which is still generally the case,) as a probationer; and in 1701, he is mentioned as the minister who baptized *Henry Morgan*, the worthy ancestor of a distinguished family of that name, which afterwards became very respectable and eminent among the Baptists of that country.

Morgan Griffiths joined the church in the time of the worthy and venerable *William Jones*, its first pastor, who was one of the Ejected Ministers, and the father of the Baptists of Pembrokeshire. It is probable he had preached as a probationer several years before his excellent old pastor's death, which took place in 1700, and that he was then ordained to supply the vacancy, or loss, which that event occasioned. However that was, there were then in the church several other ministers; one of the most popular and notable of whom was the active and indefatigable *John Jenkins*, the grandfather of the late Dr. Jenkins, of Walworth. That church, indeed, from the beginning, used to abound with ministers, so as to be often able to assist and supply many destitute congregations, both in Britain and America; on which account it was sometimes called *The College*. This seeming peculiarity in the history of that church may have arisen from the habitations of its members, and their meeting-places, being widely extended over a very large tract of country, comprehending a great part of the three

adjoining counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, and Caermarthen. No less than twenty Baptist churches, and some of them very large, are now to be found in that tract which, a hundred years ago, had but that one. Opportunities and openings for preaching being so many, a few ministers could not possibly supply them all; so great a harvest required a large number of workmen. The church was therefore under the necessity of encouraging and employing every appearance of ministerial gifts and qualifications that they could discern among the members. Hence it came in time to possess a great number of worthy and respectable ministers, and to be able to spare many of them for the supply of destitute and distant churches.

Morgan Griffiths was one of the many who removed, and settled with other congregations. Soon after his ordination, if not before, he is supposed to have visited the Baptist church, which has since assembled at *Hengoed* in Glamorgan, and which was then without a pastor, but had been for a good while occasionally and pretty frequently supplied by his then senior colleague, John Jenkins. His visit to Hengoed proved very acceptable to that church, and he was soon invited to remove thither, and take upon him its pastoral care. To that proposal, after due consideration, he acceded; and toward the latter part of 1701, he went thither to reside, and became the very acceptable pastor of that church, in which situation he continued the remainder of his days,

with great, and deserved, and undiminished reputation. That church was one of the oldest Baptist churches in all Wales. It first met at a place called *Llanharan,* on the borders of the vale of Glamorgan; and afterward in or near the town of *Llantrisant,* in the same county. After that it used to meet at a place called *Craig-yr-Allt,* and then at different farm-houses among the hills of that country, inhabited by some of the principal members; till about the year 1710, when a good, commodious chapel was erected, which was, and is still, called *Hengoed.* They still continued, however, to have preaching at a great variety of dwelling-houses as before, some of which were at a considerable distance from Hengoed; for the members and hearers lived scattered over a widely-extended tract of country, chiefly upon the borders of the two adjoining counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth. The names of the first ministers of this church were *David Davis, Thomas Joseph, Howel Thomas,* and *Thomas Jones;* the former three were also ministers of different parishes in those parts. David Davis was minister of the parish of *Celligaer,* Thomas Joseph of *Llangeinwr,* and Howel Thomas of *Glyncorrwg.* They are mentioned by Calamy and Palmer among the Ejected Ministers of that county. Thomas Jones, it seems, had never been a parish minister. He was, probably, a younger man, and long survived the others. All the four attended at the *Hay* Association in 1655, as messengers from the church of *Llantrisant.* After the

death of Thomas Jones, it does not appear that the church had any settled pastor, till it made choice of Morgan Griffiths, but was supplied by the ministers of other churches, and chiefly by Lewis Thomas of Swansea, and John Jenkins of Pembrokeshire.

Under the ministry of the new pastor, the church appears to have had a considerable increase, and the number of members was said at one time to amount to five hundred, or more, and the hearers at the different places may be supposed to amount to three times as many. The pastor occupied a farm at a place called *Argoed*, near *Caerphilly*. His life must have been very active and laborious, if we consider his occupation as a farmer, and the number of places he had to supply as a preacher, some of them at the distance of twenty miles or more from his habitation. It will, however, appear that the supplying of so many different and distant places, in several of which there would be preaching frequently at the same time, must have been beyond the power of any one man. The work, therefore, could not be done without helpers. He accordingly had several assistant preachers. The names of the chief of them in the earlier part of his ministry were, William Davies, Thomas Williams, and Roger David. Help also he must have had from itinerant labourers belonging to other churches, who used then, as they do still, to make frequent preaching excursions even to the most distant parts of the country. New preachers also sprang up in the church during his

pastorship. Of these, the chief and most memorable were *David Rees,* (who afterward became an eminent London minister,) and *Charles Winter,* who, during many of his latter years, was a very diligent, acceptable, and beloved assistant to the old pastor. I was going to add, Mr., afterward Dr. *Thomas Llewelyn;* but it does not appear that he had joined the church till the time of his worthy successor, Griffith Jones, although his parents and elder brother, *Jenkin Llewelyn,* were long members of the church in his time. Dr. Llewelyn was many years younger than his elder brother, and was but a very young man at the death of Morgan Griffiths. Some biographical memoranda of *D. Rees, C. Winter,* and Dr. *Llewelyn,* may be reserved as the subjects of separate articles, supplementary to the present Sketch.

The Church of Hengoed, in the time of Morgan Griffiths, and his successor Griffith Jones, was distinguished from the rest of the Welsh churches in being a mixture of Particular and General Baptists. This would not have been endured in any of the other churches; and its being endured at Hengoed was a proof of the moderation and liberality of its members, and particularly of its pastors, although they themselves were of the *Particular* denomination. Had all the Welsh ministers afterwards been disposed to study and imitate the mild, moderate, tolerant temper and conduct of Morgan Griffiths and Griffith Jones, it had, probably, been much better for the peace and prosperity of their churches, and

the real success of the cause of Christ. Several attempts were made by the officious and meddling interference of neighbouring ministers, (on account of the above diversity of sentiments among its members,) to interrupt the tranquillity of the church of Hengoed; but they proved in a great measure ineffectual till after the departure of Griffith Jones, when the said interference proved but too successful. The General Baptists being then excommunicated and driven away, were obliged to form themselves into a separate and distinct society, which became *the first General Baptist church* in the Principality. This event took place in the year 1750. There are now in that country several more churches of the same description, to some of which there have been of late pretty large additions. But they meet with much opposition, and labour under very considerable disadvantages, as the good people of Wales have been hitherto far more partial to high Calvinistic, and even to Antinomian notions, than to what is called Arminian, or even Baxterian principles! The Welsh peasantry, having heard so much from their teachers of the horrid enormity of Arminianism, seem to be in a situation somewhat similar to that of the Dutch boors, subsequent to the Synod of Dort and the expulsion of the Remonstrants. Those boors, by the incessant clamour of the predominant party, appear to have been driven into the belief that Arminianism was the very *ne plus ultra* of delinquency: hence, when their horses or other cattle

happened greatly to disoblige them, or incur their sore and utmost displeasure, their usual method, it is said, of expressing their resentment and indignation would be to call them *vile or cursed Arminians!* Sound orthodox Welshmen are not fond of having any communication or dealings with those who are reputed heterodox; and a certain popular preacher has been heard to say, that he would be loth to buy a horse, or any other animal, of an Arminian, as he could not expect any good to come of it. Among such people, moderation and forbearance will hardly pass for virtues.

Morgan Griffiths was greatly and deservedly respected in his own country by all who knew him, and valued real worthiness. Nor was he unknown or unrespected in many parts of England, and particularly at *Bristol,* where he sometimes visited, and where he occasionally preached. Some pious old people there, about thirty years ago, used to recollect and speak with much apparent pleasure of his visits to that city, and the sermons they had heard from him in their youthful time. He is said to have been a very plain preacher, so that his discourses were generally intelligible to the meanest capacities. Some, indeed, would reflect, that his preaching was too plain, and contained nothing, as they were pleased to say, but milk, or such food as was only fit for children. The matter or substance of one of his sermons, said the admirers of depths, mysteries, and incomprehensibles, might be contained in a nutshell;

but the general success of his ministry, and the good sense and unaffected piety which prevailed among his adherents, were sufficient recommendations of his ministerial labours, as well as sufficient answers to those supercilious cavillers. That is, probably, the best kind of preaching, where the speaker appears as if he were addressing only the weakest, most illiterate or uninformed part of his audience. Such a preacher MORGAN GRIFFITHS seems to have been; it would be well if the generality of preachers in the present day resembled him much more than they do. His disposition was kind and gentle, his manners mild and engaging, and his whole deportment such as became the Gospel: so that it might be said that he adorned the doctrine of God his Saviour, and powerfully recommended by his exemplary life and conversation, the divine precepts which he inculcated, and the holy religion which he professed and preached. It will, therefore, not appear strange that his praise was in all the churches, and that his name was long venerated among his pious survivors after he had finished his mortal course. He died on the 11th of June, 1738, aged 69.

No one, perhaps, attended more constantly, or preached more frequently at the Annual Associations than MORGAN GRIFFITHS. The last time he preached at one of those assemblies was in 1737, at Newcastle Emlyn. He always appeared at those places on the side of moderate and liberal measures; which, indeed, might be naturally expected from the tenderness

and forbearance which he usually promoted and practised at home in his own church. It is thought he was not equalled in that point of view by any of his contemporaries: those who most resembled him, were probably his successor, Griffith Jones, and his friend Enoch Francis, the venerable father of the late worthy B. Francis of Horsly. Men of that description are always wanted in every religious connexion.

What family Morgan Griffiths left, is not within the knowledge of the writer of this article. One son at least survived him, whose name was John Griffiths. He became a religious man, but never engaged in the ministry, though he was always an active promoter of the religion which he professed. He married and settled at Pont-y-pool, in Monmouthshire, where he was many years steward to Mr. Hanbury, over the Iron Works and celebrated Japan Manufactory in that place. He afterwards emigrated to America, and engaged in some Iron Works in East Jersey, and there he died. He had several daughters, and one son of both his own names. The daughters married in England, but the son followed his father to America, where he married a Welsh lady, who afterwards became heiress of a good estate in Cardiganshire. His father gave him an excellent education, of which he received the first rudiments at Pont-y-pool; he afterwards was sent to the Baptist Academy at Bristol, and from thence to a celebrated seminary in London, under the eminent Dr. Walker and others. In this seminary he had the late Dr.

Samuel Stennett for his fellow-pupil. His proficiency there was so great, that his excellent tutor is said to have pronounced him the best scholar of all his pupils at that time. There was some talk of setting him at the head of an academy for the education of young ministers, but it did not take place, though all acknowledged that he was well qualified for such a situation. He is still spoken of in America as one of the best scholars ever known there. He returned to Wales about 1777, where he spent the remainder of his days, highly and universally respected. He died in 1791, about the age of 56. Two sons were all the children that survived him. The eldest of whom, John Griffiths, Esq. of Pen-y-wenallt, is a respectable country gentleman, and resides in the family mansion of his maternal ancestors. The youngest, William Griffiths, returned to America, his native country, and settled as a bookseller in Philadelphia, where he died soon after of the yellow fever. He was a young man of great hopes.

N. B. Mr. William Griffiths *the Editor* knew, and is happy in paying this token of respect to his memory.

DAVID REES.

When Morgan Griffiths undertook the pastoral care of the church of *Hengoed,* or rather of *Llanfabon,* (by which name, and that of *Craig-yr-Allt,* it was then most usually distinguished,) there was among its members a very worthy person of the name of *Rees David;* a truly pious, active, intelligent Christian, and a zealous promoter of good order, practical piety, and evangelical discipline among his fellow-members. He ranked among the middle class of the community, and was by occupation a farmer, well esteemed, as might be expected, by all the virtuous part of the inhabitants; for he managed his affairs, and conducted himself in the world, as well as in the church, with discretion, and so obtained, in no small degree, the good opinion of his neighbours. His offspring he carefully brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; nor does it appear that he bestowed on them labour in vain. Most, if not all of them, became serious and sincere Christians, and members of the church to which their pious father belonged. Of their descendants also, several were long numbered among the worthy members of the same society, as some of them are likewise thought to be even to this day.

The subject of this short memoir was one of the children of the said Rees David. He was called

David Rees, adopting or appropriating his father's first name for his own surname, as is still frequently done in that country, and may be said to bear some affinity to the ancient Welsh usage, according to which his name would have been *David ap Rees*. He discovered an early fondness for learning, which his father, happily, did not thing proper to discountenance. Fortunately for him, there was then a very respectable seminary in that county, at no great distance from his father's habitation, where the best instruction might be procured at a small expense, where the children of some of the best families had been brought up, and where numbers of eminent men and excellent scholars had finished their education. This seminary was kept at a farm-house called *Brynllywarch*, among the hills of Glamorgan. The principal tutor or master was Samuel Jones, M. A. whom the Act of Uniformity had ejected from the vicarage of Llangynwyd, in that neighbourhood, and driven among the Nonconformists, and who had been Fellow of Jesus College in Oxford, and a respectable tutor there for several years. It is agreed on all hands, that he was an excellent scholar, and it is very probable that his school was one of the very best then within the Principality.

David Rees is said to have been born in 1683; so that he must have been about seventeen years of age, when Morgan Griffith first came into that country. At what time he was sent to Brynllywarch does not appear, nor yet how long he continued there. He

probably staid at that seminary till the death of his venerable tutor, which happened, according to Calamy, in 1697; though another account, said to be authentic, makes him to be alive in 1700, and to have then presided in the Chair of Glamorgan, or at the Bardic Session of that province for that year; he being of the ancient and celebrated Order of THE DRUIDS, or rather *Bards*, of the Isle of Britain. How to reconcile these accounts, or which of them we are to rely upon, it is difficult to say. The latter is taken from a register of the sessions of the different Glamorgan Bards, which is said to be correct, and might reasonably be supposed to be so. The former is taken from Calamy's History of the Ejected Ministers, and as his information appears to have been furnished by James Owen, who had himself been brought up at Brynllywarch, one cannot easily suppose that he could have mistaken the year of his venerable friend and tutor's death. However that was, we may presume, considering his very promising parts and great thirst after knowledge, that David Rees, at the time he left Brynllywarch, must have been well grounded in classical and academical learning. For some years after he left that seminary, we are not told how he employed his time. It is probable he might then pursue his studies at home as well as he could, for we have no account that he was afterwards sent to any other school. He is said to have made a public profession of religion at an early period, and to have joined the church of which his pious parents were

members. The time when this happened is not exactly known, but is supposed to have been about the commencement of Morgan Griffiths's ministry there; so that he may be considered among the first-fruits of that ministry, and of the subsequent increase of that church. His amiable disposition, excellent character, enlarged understanding, and uncommon acquirements, soon endeared him to his worthy pastor and the rest of his fellow-members; and it seems not to have been long before they began to think of bringing him forward to exercise his gifts in public, and so prepare him for ministerial usefulness. Nor had they ever any reason to blame themselves for the good opinion they had entertained of him, or the measures they had taken to introduce him into the Christian ministry. His public labours met with general approbation, and soon became the topic of conversation and applause far and near. The report of his very promising and extraordinary endowments extended as far as London; and it was not long before he received a warm invitation to visit his brethren in the metropolis. He accordingly went thither about 1706 or 7; and after he had preached there for some time, at different places with much acceptance, he received a pressing call to undertake the pastoral care of the Baptist Church at *Limehouse*, which, after due consideration, he accepted; and about 1709 he was solemnly set apart or ordained for the pastoral office, when the venerable *Joseph Stennett* and *John Piggott*, two of the most respectable and

eminent then among the London ministers, engaged as the principal assistants on the occasion. He continued the acceptable and beloved pastor of that church during the remainder of his life, which was near forty years; enjoying in the mean time the universal and undiminished esteem of all the sister churches, and also of their ministers, among whom he himself became one of the most accomplished and most respectable.

But although his residence was thus fixed in the metropolis, and at so great a distance from his native place, he had still the warmest affection for his countrymen, and particularly the Welsh Baptists, always discovering on all occasions a readiness to serve them to the utmost of his power. For his old pastor and friend Morgan Griffiths he ever retained the most cordial friendship; and to the neighbouring ministers and churches, and the Baptist cause in those parts, he was a real and frequent benefactor. When the great increase of the Baptists there excited the jealousy of the Pædobaptist brethren so as to induce them to speak and preach and write against them, he very readily engaged as their advocate; and perhaps they never had so able and good an advocate before or since. A piece was then published by Mr. Fowler Walker of Abergavenny, a learned and eminent Independent minister, and father of the late learned Barrister of the same name. This piece was deemed well and ably written, and was perhaps inferior to few that had appeared on that side of the question.

David Rees at first drew up a short reply to some of the principal parts of its contents, with a promise of its being soon followed by a more complete answer; which accordingly made its appearance in 1734, under the following title: "Infant-baptism no Institution of Christ; and the Rejection of it justified from Scripture and Antiquity; in answer to Mr. Fowler Walker's book, entituled, *A Defence of Infant-baptism*, &c. To which is annexed, Animadversions on the Rev. Dr. *Thomas Ridley's Dissertation on Infant-baptism.*" It is an octavo volume, of between 300 and 400 pages, and is a learned and masterly work; not excelled by many that have appeared on the Baptist side of the controversy. It was never answered either by Mr. Walker or Dr. Ridley; or yet by any one else; and it appears to have set the controversy at rest in Wales for many years after. Whether David Rees ever published any thing beside the two pieces above-mentioned, the writer of this article cannot say. These pieces, however, are sufficient proofs of the author's eminent polemical and literary abilities, and that he was far more fit to come before the public as an author than many who have made a very voluminous appearance.

He used at times to visit Wales for many years after he had left it, and always set before his brethren there, an example of religious candour, moderation, and forbearance. The church at Hengoed, as has been before observed, being a mixture of Particular and General Baptists, many of the former, during one

of his visits, were much bent upon excommunicating and expelling the latter from among them; but he very earnestly opposed that measure, and in the end prevailed upon its advocates to give it up, and to be reconciled to their differing brethren, so that a separation did not take place then, nor till some time after his death. Thus by supporting the moderate party, and setting an example of Christian forbearance, he endeared himself to the wise and the good, and contributed greatly to preserve the peace, harmony, and prosperity, of that respectable congregation.

In the latter part of his life his health declined for several years, and his infirmities at last grew so upon him, that he used to stay in the pulpit, and dine there, during the interval between the morning and afternoon service, to avoid the painful difficulty he found in getting from and into the pulpit. His afflictions still increasing, he was by degrees entirely laid by. At length, in 1748, this great and good man finished his earthly course, and closed a laborious and useful life in peace, at the age of 65. His funeral sermon, which is in print, was preached by his valuable and excellent friend, the late Dr. Joseph Stennett, who spoke of him with singular applause, esteem, and veneration.

CHARLES WINTER.

This amiable and worthy man was the eldest son of a Francis Winter, who was a reputable farmer in the parish of Bedwellty, in Monmouthshire, but on the borders of Glamorgan, and not far from Hengoed. He was born in 1700, and in his younger years is said not to have been at all seriously or thoughtfully inclined, but much addicted to those frivolous and vain pursuits which were then most prevalent among the generality of his youthful contemporaries. After receiving an education suitable to that line of life for which his father had designed him, he was at an early age apprenticed to a surgeon and apothecary at Newport, in his native county. But his master dying long before the expiration of his apprenticeship, he relinquished that profession, and returned to his father, who would then fain persuade him to prepare for orders in the Established Church, with which, however, he could not think of complying. He had by that time acquired some knowledge of the Dissenters, and seems to have received some serious impressions under their ministry, and particularly that of the Baptists, with whom he was inclined to become connected, and to join the neighbouring Baptist Church at Hengoed. This greatly displeased his father, so that he went and spoke to Morgan Griffiths, the pastor of that

church, charging him not by any means to baptize his son, and even threatening, in case he did so, to be severely revenged upon him, and do him some serious mischief. The son, however, did apply to the said church, though, it seems, not immediately, nor till his father's disapprobation had somewhat, if not entirely, subsided. The time of his applying, and being baptized and becoming a member at Hengoed, was probably in 1724. His fellow-members began soon to think that he had talents for public usefulness, and he was encouraged to put himself under the tuition of Mr. Foskett, at Bristol, preparatory to his engaging in the Christian ministry; but he gave the preference to the Presbyterian Academy at Caermarthen, where he understood the students were more at liberty to think and judge for themselves; and it is probable he was himself, even then, more inclined to the system of the Remonstrants, which appears to have been adopted at Caermarthen, that academy having attached itself to the adherents of Dr. Williams, in opposition to the advocates of Calvinism and Dr. Crisp. He must have had some strong reasons, at least in his own estimation, for preferring Caermarthen, as his expenses there are said to have been much greater than they would have been at Bristol. However that was, to Caermarthen he went, and there became the pupil of Mr. Perrot, the tutor of that seminary, and successor of Samuel Jones, of Tewkesbury, from whence the academy had been removed to Caer-

marthen. What stay he made there is not exactly known, but it was probably not above a year, for he appears to have been at home again in 1725, and employed in the work of the ministry with general acceptance. Before the close of the same year he is said to have been chosen assistant to the worthy pastor of that church, in which situation he continued for many years.

In the course of his ministrations it was soon perceived that he inclined to THE GENERAL BAPTIST scheme. This gave uneasiness to some, as it was deemed to have an alarming aspect, and as none of their former preachers had been of that way of thinking; but as there were others in the church of the same sentiments, whose lives and conversations were unexceptionable, and as his own character was fair and amiable, his disposition mild and undisputatious, and his preaching for the most part practical and edifying, he was pretty well borne with for several years. No fault was ever found with his life and conversation, or with the general tenour of his preaching; the more moderate part of the congregation highly esteemed him, and so did their venerable pastor, who bore for him the affection of a father.

The church remained tranquil, and went on comfortably and prosperously for some years. At length, in 1730, the Annual Association was held at Hengoed. By that time another of the ministers, who lived in a distant part of the country, had imbibed *the General Baptist* doctrine. He was a person of

longer standing than CHARLES WINTER, of a more restless and disputatious turn, and of considerable ability and eminence. His name was Abel Francis, a near relation and fellow-labourer of the venerable Enoch Francis, the father of the late Benjamin Francis, of Horsley. He attended at that Association, and his defection from his former principles caused no small agitation there. The warm and violent dispute that ensued drew CHARLES WINTER unavoidably and much against his will into its vortex. Hearing the charges brought against Abel Francis, and the severe censures passed upon him, caused some of the most rigid and discontented members at Hengoed to do the like with CHARLES WINTER. They were readily backed by some of the ministers present. One of them, in order to bring on a public discussion, (as was said,) publicly proposed the following question: "What is to be done with those who hold General Redemption and Free-Will, and that man may be saved without the grace of God?"—On this, CHARLES WINTER, perceiving that it was pointed at him and such of his fellow-members as were of the same views, rose up, and said, he had no doubt but that he and the few persons who entertained similar sentiments, were the people adverted to on that occasion. "And therefore," (said he,) "I feel myself bound to assert the doctrines—that Christ died for ALL, and that man's will is free to do good or evil, without any irresistible controul. But I do *not*" (he added) "expect to be saved without *the*

grace of God, as salvation, and all other blessings, are the effects of his favour." Having given his reasons for these opinions, and referred his opponents to John iii. 16; 1 John ii. 2; Heb. ii. 9, &c., he begged to be informed whether or not it was Judas Iscariot's duty to believe in Christ for salvation? Being answered in the affirmative, he observed, that "it could not surely be the duty of any but those for whom Christ died, to believe in him for salvation. If, then, Christ died for Judas, why not for all?"

This was succeeded by a great deal of unbecoming warmth and much confusion, as too often happen in such cases. The Association ended very uncomfortably, and the fate of the reputed heterodox members was left undetermined; only the more rigid and violent loudly urged the necessity of their expulsion, and many looked upon that measure as unavoidable. It was, however, happily prevented, by the timely and active interposition (as it is said) of David Rees, of London, (who was then in the country,) aided by the ready co-operation of Morgan Griffiths, and the more moderate members of the church. Articles of peace were drawn up, which were signed by Charles Winter and all his adherents, except two, who protested against subscribing any thing but the Bible, and who were consequently excluded.

After this, Charles Winter was continued as the assistant of the old pastor during the rest of that worthy man's life, which was about eight years, in which space of time we hear of no farther disquietude.

It was observed, that Morgan Griffiths used always to treat CHARLES WINTER with no small esteem and affection, and appeared to pay a great regard to his real worth and superior information. He would frequently say, "Charles is my dear son;" and when desired to explain some difficult passages of Scripture, he would sometimes reply, "Ask Charles, he will explain them to you." So far was he from being disposed to lessen or becloud the merit of his young colleague. No wonder the latter became so warmly attached to so candid and kind-hearted an associate. When near dying, the old pastor is said to have recommended him for his successor.

After the decease of Morgan Griffiths, the church was about two years without a settled pastor. Some, agreeably to the dying recommendations of the late pastor, were for choosing CHARLES WINTER to succeed, but others objected to that measure, on account of his reputed heterodoxy; and their objections in the end prevailed. So they agreed to choose Griffith Jones, of Pen-y-fai, who at last accepted their invitation, and undertook their pastoral care, and removed thither in 1740. CHARLES WINTER still continued as the assistant minister, till Griffith Jones resigned his charge, and removed to America in 1749. At that time the peace of the church was again interrupted, as they could not yet agree to offer to CHARLES WINTER the succession to the pastoral office, though he had been now the assistant minister of the church above twenty years, and his

labours in the mean time had met with general approbation. They had now two other preachers in the church, of promising abilities; but as they were young men, and of abilities much inferior to CHARLES WINTER, it would not appear very wise or proper to set them over his head, and appoint them pastors, while he continued as only an assistant. It was, therefore, deemed necessary either to get him to renounce his supposed errors, or, in case they could not effect that, to determine upon his expulsion. Accordingly, they had several meetings on the occasion, where many neighbouring ministers were invited to assist. At one of those meetings, not satisfied with having to do with him in the way of public debate or conference, they thought proper to require him to deliver the whole scheme of his sentiments openly from the pulpit, at an appointed time; which he agreed to do. On the day appointed, a great number of people came together, and many ministers, before whom he spoke for about two hours, from 2 Tim. i. 13, so very ably, that when he had done, Mr. Williams, of Penmain, a neighbouring Independent minister, turned to the Baptist ministers, and asked, "If any one of them could defend his own sentiments so well." They, however, were far from being satisfied with the discourse; and J. Davis, one of the leading members inimical to CHARLES WINTER, said to him, with much apparent displeasure, "Get you gone, wherever you please, with the weak-headed persons who adhere to you." Soon after this, a

meeting of ministers was convened at the house of Jenkin Llewelyn, the elder brother of Thomas, afterward Dr. Thomas Llewelyn, in *Eglwys Ilan,* where Charles Winter was also summoned to appear. There were present at this meeting no less than fourteen ministers. The doctrine of Original Sin was here a principal topic of discussion. After a debate of about three hours upon that subject, Charles Winter held up the Bible, and said, "Remember, that from this book, you cannot prove the *imputation* of Adam's sin to his posterity; and yet you condemn me for not believing that doctrine." The breach was now become too wide to admit of any hope or expectation of a re-union, and one of the ministers said that day to Charles Winter, "I am sorry we must separate." After advising with his friends far and near, the church at last determined to excommunicate him, and twenty-four other members, publicly, at the administration of the Lord's Supper; but it seems they found some difficulty to get a minister to officiate on that occasion. A Pembrokeshire minister, who was there at the time, refused, saying, he had rather be himself excommunicated than have to pass that sentence upon them. At length it was undertaken by another minister, who, after mentioning General Redemption, Arminianism, and Pelagianism, among the errors laid to their charge, added, "Yr wyf yn eu bwno hwy allan, ond nid i'r byd;" i. e. *I do cast them out, but not into the world.* It was thought rather a strange

sentence, as most people were at a loss to know what that middle state could be which lay between the church and the world!

Soon after this storm had blown over, these expelled persons formed themselves into a *General Baptist* church, which was the first of that denomination ever known in the Principality. They chose their brother, CHARLES WINTER, as might be expected, for their pastor, an office which he sustained ever after. It is supposed that neither they nor he knew at first of any one such society in the world. He some time after learnt that there was one at Bristol, with whose pastor, the late venerable William Foot, he afterward opened a correspondence, which proved to him a source of much satisfaction and comfort. They met at first at different dwelling-houses in the neighbourhood. Afterward, in 1751, they resolved to build a chapel, and got a piece of ground for that purpose, at a place called *Craigfargod*. The next year it was built and completed. It was opened for the first time on the 28th of January, 1753. From their old brethren they derived no help, though they did from some of their Pædobaptist neighbours. But their principal benefactors on that occasion were, the Hon. *Capel Hanbury*, of Pontypool, *William Foot*, of Bristol, and *Joseph Burroughs*, of London, who very kindly and effectually befriended them. At Craigfargod they went on comfortably, the church and congregation increased, and there CHARLES WINTER laboured acceptably and

usefully the remainder of his days. He died on the 23d of April, 1773, aged 73. He was greatly beloved by his people, and much esteemed by his neighbours. Having acquired some surgical and medical knowledge in his youth, he afterwards increased that knowledge, and applied it for the benefit of his poor neighbours, being willing to serve his generation, and be of use to his fellow-creatures every way he could. To conclude—he was certainly an amiable and excellent man, whatever may be thought of the merit or demerit of his religious system, or that of his differing brethren. On the merit or demerit of either, the writer of this presumes not to decide. He only takes upon him to state historical facts to the best of his knowledge, without respect of persons, favour, affection, or partiality, to either party. He believes there were worthy and good men on both sides.

P. S. Yes—" there were worthy and good men on both sides." Dr. Richards well knew the fact. In the opinion of the Editor, three of the best men that ever lived were of distinct and opposite communions—*Archbishop Fenelon,* of the Church of Rome, Bishop *Jeremy Taylor,* of the Church of England, and *Richard Baxter,* amongst the Protestant Dissenters. *In every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness,* (Acts x. 35,) *is accepted of him.*

THOMAS LLEWELYN.

This very worthy, respectable, and eminent person, was born at a place called *Penalltau-isaf*, in the parish of Celligaer, near Hengoed, and not far from the town of Caerphilly, in Glamorgan. Of the year of his birth, the writer of this is not quite sure, but thinks it was 1724 or 1725. His father occupied a farm at the place above-mentioned. Both he and his wife, and also their eldest sons and daughter, were members of the Baptist church at Hengoed in the time of Morgan Griffiths, and it is probable that he himself received his first serious impressions under his ministry. He was the last child of his parents, and much younger than the others. Like David Rees, he also discovered a very early taste for learning, and great thirst after knowledge; but it is supposed that he was not quite so fortunate as the former at the first outset. Indeed, it does not appear that there was then such a seminary at hand, or within his father's reach, as that of Brynllywarch, to which David Rees had been sent; nor was his father, perhaps, at first, so well inclined to have him trained up to learning, if, indeed, he was so well able to do it as David Rees's father seems to have been. It is, however, likely that he was sent pretty soon to some country school, either in his own or some neighbouring parish, where his advantages, it

may be presumed, could not be of the first magnitude. Afterward, when he had arrived at a proper age, his parents determined to put him to learn a trade, a course which small farmers in that country frequently take with their younger sons: but the present narrator is not quite certain that he served out his whole time; on the contrary, he is rather inclined to think that he did not. He soon, however, became seriously and religiously inclined, and was so, probably, in some measure, before he was apprenticed. It may also pretty safely be concluded, that his master was a religious man of the same denomination, if not a member of the same church, with his father; so that he could there meet with no opposition or discouragement to seriousness and piety. Be that as it might, it is certain he joined the church at an early age, probably not exceeding fifteen or sixteen years. His remarkable seriousness, steadiness, and pious demeanour, soon attracted attention, so that the church and his friends felt it their duty to distinguish and encourage him, with a view to ministerial usefulness. Earnestly and ardently did he wish for literary advantages, nor did his parents and friends disapprove of it; but how to obtain them was the difficulty. Happily that difficulty was soon obviated. There was about that time a little seminary set up at the neighbouring town of Pont-y-pool, where several young men designed for the ministry were placed for instruction, under a person of the name of Mathews, who is said to have been pretty

well qualified for the undertaking. This seminary was not confined to students for the ministry, but was likewise a general school, where farmers' and tradesmen's children were educated and fitted for such different situations as their parents or friends had in view for them. At what time the subject of this Memoir was sent there, the writer cannot say positively. It was, probably, in 1740; at least, he was there in 1741, with several others, who afterward became useful and respectable ministers: one of them was Morgan Edwards, who long after emigrated to America, and was many years pastor of the Baptist church in Philadelphia. Morgan Jones, the son of his own pastor at Hengoed, was another, but we have spoken of him already.

John Griffiths, (the son of Morgan Griffiths,) who long resided at Pont-y-pool, seems to have been the person who had the principal hand in establishing this little seminary in that town [or rather close to that town: the name of the place where the school was kept is *Trosnant*]. The said John Griffiths was the most active, and perhaps the most useful man of his time among the Welsh Baptists, who owe no small degree of gratitude to his memory. The school of Trosnant proved very useful to the neighbourhood, and to all the Welsh churches, while John Mathews, its first master, lived. Near forty young ministers are said to have been indebted to him for profitable instruction, which they received from him at Trosnant, and which contributed much to their future

usefulness. After his death, the school did not long survive: it was soon given up, as its patron or patrons could never after find a master that was in any good degree fit for that situation. John Griffiths also, in a few years removed, and at last quitted the country. Mathews is said to have been a native of *Swansea*, or somewhere thereabouts, and was reputed a very pious man, and of good learning, especially in some branches. Since the dissolution of the little seminary, over which he had so creditably and usefully presided, nothing of the kind appears to have been ever since attempted among the Welsh Baptists. Large and opulent as many of their churches are, they love money too much, and learning too little, to be at any great charge in procuring literature for their ministers, scarcely one in ten of whom (if one in twenty) is capable of writing a page of common Welsh or common English correctly.

After Thomas Llewelyn had spent as much time as was thought necessary at Trosnant, he was sent to Bristol, and placed under Bernard Foskett, the first tutor of the Baptist Academy in that city, a man of great respectability and considerable learning. There he spent his time very diligently, and made no mean proficiency in the kind of learning taught at that seminary. But he aspired after superior attainments. Having finished his time at Bristol, he went to London, and was admitted, by the procurement of his respectable countryman David Rees,

(as it is supposed, together, perhaps, with Dr. Joseph Stennett,) into that celebrated seminary then under the care of the Doctors *Walker, Marriatt,* and *Jennings,* where he finished his academical education, and became an admirable scholar, so that he was afterwards deemed by good judges inferior to none among the whole body of English Dissenters. In London, he became a member of the church under the care of Samuel Wilson, and afterward of Abraham Booth, which he continued to be to the day of his death. He was never the pastor of that or any other church, but officiated frequently for many years as an occasional preacher, in and about London. Learned and judicious as he was, and as his discourses confessedly were, his ministerial talents were not popular; which, together with his marrying, some time after, a lady with a good fortune, which placed him in an independent situation, might induce him not to accept the pastoral charge of any church. After his marriage, he undertook the education of young ministers; at first on a small scale, and at his own charge, but afterwards he was placed by the London churches at the head of a small academical institution, where he had the late *Dr. Jones,* of *Hammersmith,* and *Mr. Newton,* of *Bristol,* among the number of his pupils, who did him great credit, as they both became excellent scholars, and very eminent men. Who beside were brought up under him, the writer of this cannot now say, but is inclined to think the late William Clark was one, who also

became a respectable character, and, if the present writer is not mistaken, succeeded him as tutor of that seminary. While THOMAS LLEWELYN was thus employed, the University of Aberdeen honoured him with the degree of *Master of Arts,* and some time after, with that of *Doctor of Laws;* in neither of which instances could it be said, that the said University disgraced itself.

DR. LLEWELYN was remarkably attached to his native country to the last. In his latter years he used to divide his time between London and Wales, spending generally his winters in the former, and his summers in the latter; always ready to lay hold of every opportunity that presented itself of rendering service to his countrymen.—He was very instrumental in procuring for the Baptists, and other Dissenters, a large share of the edition of the Welsh Bible published in 1769; Welsh Bibles being there become very scarce. It was a good edition, in large octavo, with copious marginal notes.—It is also thought that he endeavoured, successfully, to obtain a much more numerous impression than was at first intended—to promote which object he wrote and published in 1768, "An Historical Account of the British or Welsh Versions and Editions of the Bible; with an Appendix, containing the Dedications prefixed to the first Impressions." It is a well-written, elaborate, and judicious performance, and is said to have contributed, in no small measure, to promote the end which the very worthy and learned author

had in view. It has an *advertisement* prefixed to it, from which the following passage is an extract, and will serve to throw some light on the author's design and object:—"It will appear from the following account, that it is frequently impossible to procure Bibles for Protestants in Wales, and that this has been the case, more or less, ever since the Reformation: in which time the years of scarcity have been many more than the years of plenty. Was this sufficiently known, it would not remain long (it is apprehended) without a remedy; especially if an objection to such a remedy, arising from imagined inconveniences attending the *preservation* of the Welsh tongue, could be removed.—To inform the public of this case, and to remove this objection, was, therefore, the first and principal intention of the author. He will own himself much mistaken, or the objection is here shewn to be, in general, very trifling to the inhabitants either of England or Wales. The present was thought a fit season for an attempt of this kind; *as the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge are now soliciting the assistance of the able and the generous, for the re-publication of the Welsh Bible.*"

The very next year after Dr. Llewelyn published the work above-mentioned, (*i. e.* in 1769,) he published another piece, entitled, "Historical and Critical Remarks on the British Tongue, and its connexion with other Languages, founded on its State in the Welsh Bible." It is a very ingenious and learned piece, and evinces the author's accurate and critical

knowledge, not only of his mother tongue, but also of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. It is highly worthy the perusal of all those who wish to improve themselves in the knowledge of the Welsh tongue, on the cultivation of which, the worthy author appeared to have bestowed no small attention.

In 1776, Dr. Llewelyn had a principal hand in setting on foot a mission into North Wales, particularly the counties of Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Anglesey, where there were before that time but few Baptists, and not many Dissenters. The undertaking succeeded. Many churches were gathered in those parts, which afterwards considerably increased, and are still increasing.—He used in general, for many years, to attend the Welsh Annual Associations, and took no small pains to enlarge and liberalize the minds of his brethren, especially when an application was made to Parliament in 1773, for relief in the case of subscription. He wished to get the names of the Welsh Ministers to the petition then presented, but found it no easy matter to convince some of them of the propriety and justness of the measure, especially as the *Arminians*, and even the *Arians* and *Socinians*, would eventually be benefited and protected, in case it did succeed, which were objects they were by no means very solicitous of obtaining. It is thought, however, that he prevailed upon most, if not all of them, at last, to accede to his proposal.

Not long before he died, Dr. Llewelyn prevailed with Mr. Ross, a respectable printer and bookseller

at Caermarthen, to undertake the publication of a good pocket edition of the Welsh New Testament, which proved very useful, and was one of the last services he performed for his countrymen. He had been long subject to that grievous disorder the stone, and once (in 1774) underwent the painful and dangerous operation of cutting for it; from which, however, he soon recovered. He was free from it afterward for several years, so that his friends began to flatter themselves that it would return no more. But their hopes were vain. It afterward returned in the most distressing and alarming manner, and at last carried him off in the spring or early part of 1783, to the no small regret of his numerous friends, and the very serious loss of the Welsh churches. To the writer of this article his demise was matter of very deep regret, as he had a great value for him, and had the happiness of numbering him among his most esteemed and cordial friends, of which he had received repeated and unequivocal proofs. But, alas! he was not *the last friend* of whom he had to regret and mourn the loss.

P. S. This excellent man the Editor once saw, but had no acquaintance with him. He knew his niece, the late *Mrs. Thomas,* of Castletown. Several letters were found amongst Dr. Richards's papers, in which she sensibly animadverts on certain peculiarities of the popular preachers in the Principality.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

MORGAN JONES,

AND SEVERAL OF

HIS DESCENDANTS,

&c.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

MORGAN JONES,

&c.

AMONG *the Welsh Baptists,* about the middle of the seventeenth century, there were two ministers of the name of MORGAN JONES. It does not appear that they were relations, though of the same name. They were, however, members and ministers of the same Baptist Church, that of *Ilston* in Gowerland, and not far from Swansea. Each of them also became a parish minister, under the act, which passed in 1649, for propagating the Gospel in Wales. One of them served the parish of *Trelalas,* or *Laleston,* near Bridgend, in Glamorgan; and the other that of *Llanmadock,* in the western part, I think, of the same county. One is supposed to have been a native of Glamorgan, and the other of a place called *Alltfawr,* in Caermarthenshire, but close upon the borders of the former county. This is properly, or chiefly, the subject of the present memoir, being

somewhat better known than the other; at least as the pious progenitor of a number of very worthy and excellent men, who appeared during the last 150 years among the Welsh, English, and American Baptists. Of the family of the other Morgan Jones, no memorials remain; and it is uncertain whether he left any descendants, or was himself ever married. Nor is it very clear of which of the two parishes above-mentioned he was minister. The late Mr. *Thomas,* of *Leominster,* seemed to think it was of *Llanmadock,* but to me it appears far more probable that it was of *Laleston,* and that it was Morgan Jones of *Alltfawr* that was minister of *Llanmadock,* as that parish was much nigher his dwelling-place. *Laleston* was too distant for him to serve from *Alltfawr;* and as the latter is said to have been his own estate, it is not very likely he would leave it, when he might as well serve another parish nearer home, and where also, as we have good reason to believe, his service was as much wanted. Morgan Jones, of Laleston, is mentioned by Walker in his Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 338; but he is not mentioned by Calamy. It is, therefore, likely he might be dead before the Bartholomew Act took place, and so could not be classed among the Ejected Ministers. Morgan Jones, of Llanmadock, is mentioned both by Calamy and Walker. The former calls him "an honest ploughman." It is well he allows him *honesty,* as he was a *Baptist;* and as to his *ploughing,* that, surely, could be no great or

serious disgrace to him. But our author, by the manner in which he points him out, seems desirous to convey to his readers' minds the idea of his being *illiterate,* as Walker also does, who calls him "an ignorant fellow, *one Jones.*" The point, however, cannot be admitted, as the Greek and Hebrew books which the traditions in the family state to have been in his possession, will by no means accord with that idea. As a *Baptist,* neither of the above writers would be very well affected towards him; their strong prejudice and bigotry generally make their appearance whenever they have any occasion to mention those of that sect.

How long Morgan Jones, of *Alltfawr,* lived after his ejectment from Llanmadock, does not appear. It was, probably, not long, as he was then advanced in years, and we have no account of his subsequent sufferings. Both he and the other Morgan Jones appear to have been active, laborious, and acceptable ministers. Their names occur among those who attended the Welsh Annual Associations of those times, and who were ready to contribute their part to every effort towards promoting what they deemed the cause of truth and righteousness. In the minutes of the Association held at *Aberavon* in 1654, one of them is mentioned among those who were then appointed to supply the destitute church at Caermarthen for that year. This may be supposed to have been Morgan Jones, of *Alltfawr,* as the place of his residence was only about fourteen or fifteen miles from

that town, and in the same county. He probably died, as was before hinted, in the early part of the detestable reign of Charles II. What family he left, cannot now be ascertained. One son of his is spoken of, whose name was *John*, and who is said to have long survived him, and to have succeeded him at Alltfawr, which was, it seems, his own patrimony. It appears that he went by the name of *John Morgan*; taking his father's name for his own surname; a practice which has been long pretty common in that country, and is not yet abolished. He is said to have rambled in his youthful days to the West of England, and to have resided for some time in the neighbourhood of Exeter; at which time he became serious, and made a public profession of religion, which he also continued to do ever after, without wavering or weariness. At what time he returned to Wales, is not exactly known. It seems to have been in his father's life-time, and probably many years before his death. He afterwards married, and settled, probably, with his father at Alltfawr, where private meetings, or religious assemblies, were long kept, as often as the rage and violence of those troublesome and persecuting times would allow

It is not certainly known whether he was himself a preacher. It is most likely, however, that he might exhort or preach, at least occasionally, in his own house, as he is represented as a zealous and eminent Christian, as well as a man of good understanding in the Scriptures, and who, like his father,

had made some proficiency in literature. As he lived through the whole length of the persecution, he must have passed through many very trying scenes, and encountered very serious and considerable difficulties, by which his worldly circumstances would be very materially affected and injured. But what his particular trials or sufferings were, we are unable to say, as they are not noted or specified in any existing document; only we are told, in general, that he suffered by the seizure of his goods, fines, and imprisonments. Very sure, indeed, we may be, that such a man, and such a house, and at such a period, could not escape the cruel vigilance and vengeance of the numerous informers and conforming zealots of those days. There is great reason to believe that the strong arm of oppression and persecution fell heavily upon this good man. We are told that the family was, in time, much reduced, so as to be obliged at length to sell the estate. This appears to have happened long before the death of the worthy owner, and before the expiration of the reign of intolerance; so that it was, in all probability, occasioned by those expensive and harassing severities to which his unshaken and persevering Nonconformity exposed him.

After this afflictive event, he occupied, I think, a small farm in the vicinity of his former habitation,*

* On further inquiry it seems he and the family still continued at Alltfawr, holding it *as tenants;* and there Mr.

where he continued the remainder of his days, content with such things as he had; and though the powerful hand of the oppressor had brought him low, he took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, knowing in himself that he had in heaven a better and an enduring substance. He is said to have lived till some time after the commencement of the last century, and to have died at the very advanced age of *ninety-one.* I am not able to say what family he left, except one son, of the name of *Morgan,* who soon became religious, and was not long after encouraged to exercise his gifts in public. He had become an acceptable labourer in the Christian vineyard in his father's lifetime; and he became afterward an able and eminent minister, and pastor of that numerous and widely-extended church, of which he had been long a member and assistant preacher, and which assembled at *Swansea,* and several other places, mostly about the borders of the two adjoining counties of *Glamorgan* and *Caermarthen.* He was born in 1662, the very same year which gave birth to the Act of Uniformity,

John Morgan's grandson, the memorable *Griffith Jones,* was born in 1695, according to Mr. Thomas's MS. History, p. 82.

The Editor begs leave to add, that this Mr. Thomas is the late venerable *Joshua Thomas,* of Leominster, father of his worthy neighbour, the *Rev. Timothy Thomas,* pastor of the Baptist Church, Devonshire Square. Mr. Joshua Thomas was a man of talents and primitive piety. Few knew more of *the History of the Baptists.* This good man finished his course in 1797, at an advanced age. *The memory of the Just is blessed!*

and opened the flood-gates of ecclesiastical tyranny. He must, therefore, have been well acquainted with the hardships and distressed condition of the Nonconformists of that age, having seen scarcely any thing else for the first six or seven-and-twenty years of his life. He lived, however, to behold better days, and to enjoy the comfort of them for a long season. At his father's death he was about forty years old; his dutiful behaviour, acknowledged worth, and growing reputation, must have afforded no small pleasure and satisfaction to the old man, bereaved as he had been of other comforts, and bending, as he latterly was, under the weight of still increasing years. Any father might be proud of such a son. Like his worthy grandfather, he was called *Morgan John*, or *Jones*. It was he that I mentioned in the Sketch of the Life of Dr. *James*, as one of the intimate friends, and for several years the fellow-labourer of that worthy man. The church at that time had several young ministers or assistants; but the two pastors were *Lewis Thomas* and *Robert Morgan*; both very worthy and valuable men. The former took the lead, being the senior pastor, as well as possessed of the most popular talents. Which of them had the seniority *in years*, I cannot say. The former died in 1703, after having been a member of the church fifty-three years, and in the ministry near fifty. I know not of any family he left. The latter died in 1709, aged about ninety years. He was a man of some literary acquirements, and got

his living and brought up a large family chiefly by keeping a school. One of his sons, as was observed in the Sketch of the Life of Dr. James, was in the ministry, and died at *Warwick*, where Dr. James succeeded him. Another son of his is supposed to have settled in London, and to have been the first master of the Dissenting Charity School in the Borough; being then a member and occasional teacher in Mr. *Stinton's*, afterwards Dr. *Gill's* church.

At the death of *Robert Morgan*, if not sooner, (as he was in his latter years very infirm,) the pastoral charge devolved upon Morgan Jones, which he ever after sustained very reputably, as long as he lived. He finished his course in 1730, at the age of sixty-eight; having been in the ministry forty years or more. His congregation, though numerous, consisted mostly of people in low stations; so that he had the honour of being one of those who employ themselves, after the example of the best of teachers, in preaching the Gospel to the poor. His ministry, of course, would not enrich him in worldly goods. Nor did his marriage, or any other occurrence of his life, contribute materially to improve his temporal circumstances. His wife was of a reputable and opulent family in Pembrokeshire; but she married him against the consent of her friends, who were bitter enemies to Dissenters, and particularly to the Baptists; which they continued to be to the last; so that he was never the better for them. He is said to have been often involved in considerable

difficulties, out of which he was sometimes remarkably relieved and extricated. At one time, when he was much perplexed about a debt which he owed, expecting daily to be arrested for the same, and was engaged in earnest prayer to God on the occasion, as his very last resource, a messenger came to his house, informing him that *Sylvanus Bevan,* a great shopkeeper in the town, and one of the people called Quakers, wanted to speak with him. When he went to Mr. Bevan, the latter accosted him, saying, " Neighbour, I have sent for thee to let thee know that I have an order from Friend *Pickard* of *Barnstaple,* to pay thee and *Lewis Thomas* some money: I will give it all to thee, if thou wilt take care to pay *Lewis Thomas* his part;" which he readily agreed to do. With this money he was enabled to pay the debt; which he did immediately, and so got out of danger. When he saw his worthy fellow-labourer, Lewis Thomas, he told him what had happened; who was very well pleased, and heartily rejoiced with him for so seasonable, interesting, and unexpected a supply.

Morgan Jones is said to have been remarkable for his mild, gentle, and cheerful temper, as well as for his presence of mind, and readiness or quickness in debate. His late very respectable grandson, Dr. *Morgan Jones,* of *Hammersmith,* used to relate many pleasing and entertaining anecdotes of him; most of which, I am sorry to say, I have forgotten. One of them, however, was to the following purport:—

Happening one time to call at a certain house in Swansea, where two persons were warmly engaged in a religious dispute, one of them a *Papist* and the other a *Churchman;* the latter, upon seeing him, seemed full of joy, and declared that never, in all his life, had the sight of him given him so much pleasure as it did that day. Upon being asked the reason, he answered, that his neighbour there, pointing to his antagonist, had lately turned *Papist,* and now had the face to insist upon it that the Church of Rome was the only true, mother church, and that the Church of England was her base-born offspring, or bastard daughter. "Oh, oh!" (said M. J.) "if that be all, the dispute does not concern me: it rests, I see, altogether between you, and you must settle it yourselves as well as you can: I belong to neither of your churches, I shall not interfere with your business." "A good reason why," (said the *Papist,)* "you have nothing to say." "That, Sir," (said M. J.) "is more than you know: but as you are pleased to be so very positive in it, pray let me hear what you have to say." "What I have to say!" (rejoined the *Papist,)* "I say, and will maintain it, that the Church of Rome is the true, apostolical, and mother church; and that the Church of England, and all you fanatics, of the other sects, are only so many bastards of that church.' "Well!" (said M. J.) "if it be really so, that such is our true character, as you say, what must the mother of all

these bastards be? The Church of Rome must be herself a great *whore* or *harlot* by your own account!" At this the heart of the churchman leapt for joy; while his antagonist appeared confounded. The dispute immediately broke up.

For a great part of his time, his labours lay over a widely-extended tract of country, comprehending a large part of the counties of Glamorgan and Caermarthen, and which, from one extremity to the other, could be no less than 30 or 40 miles. He had, however, several worthy and able coadjutors; and latterly the tract where he had usually laboured became more contracted, by the members in the eastern corner, about *Bridgend,* forming themselves into a distinct church, of which his son became the first pastor. Mr. Jones was certainly one of the most useful and respectable ministers of his time in all that country. He died, as was before hinted, in 1730, and was buried by the Presbyterian meeting-house in Swansea; the Baptists having no burying-place in that town. What literary proficiency he had made cannot now be said; but that he was a good English scholar may be inferred from the following letter, said to be written by him. But it is uncertain whether he ever used to preach in that language. Numbers of the Welsh Baptists emigrated to Pennsylvania in his time; and the Baptist Churches in that State almost all originated from emigrants out of the Principality. Nine persons of the Baptist denomination sailed from

Swansea to Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1710. With them the said letter or testimonial was sent, of which the following is a copy :—

"*South Wales, in Great Britain.*

"The Church of Jesus Christ meeting at Swansea, in Glamorganshire, owning believers' baptism, laying on of hands, personal election, and final perseverance : To any church of Jesus Christ in the province of Pennsylvania, in America, of the same faith and order, whom this may concern : sendeth Christian salutation. Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you, from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"*Dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ,*

"Whereas our dearly-beloved brethren and sisters, by name, *Hugh David (an ordained minister)* and *his wife Margaret, Anthony Mathew, Simon Mathew, Morgan Thomas, Samuel Hugh, Simon Butler, Arthur Melchior,* and *Hannah his wife,* designed, with God's permission, to come with brother *Sorency* to the aforesaid province of Pennsylvania ; this is to testify unto you, that all the above-mentioned are in full communion with us, and we commit all of them to your Christian care, beseeching you therefore to receive them in the Lord, watching over them, and performing all Christian duties towards them, as becometh saints to their fellow-members. So we commit you and them to the Lord and the word of his grace,

which is able to build you and them up in our most holy faith.

"That the peace of God may sanctify you wholly, and that your and their spirits, souls, and bodies, may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall be the earnest prayer of your brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel.

"Dated the 3d of the 7th month, 1710; signed at our meeting, by part for the whole,

"*Morgan Jones*, *John Howell*,
John David, *Hugh Mathew*,
William Mathers, *Robert Edwards*,
Jacob Morgan, And six more."
Wm. Morgan,

Of the above Cambrian emigrants several became eminent among their fellow-colonists: *Hugh David*, or *Davis*, became the first pastor of the Church at *Great Valley*, and *Simon Butler* became respectable, it seems, among the Pennsylvanian magistrates; both of them adorned their Christian profession to the last. The former died in 1753; and the latter in 1764, at the age of 77. *Hannah*, the wife of *Arthur Melchior*, is said to have been the daughter of old *Robert Morgan*, the Minister.

What family Morgan Jones left, I am not quite certain. A son and daughter, at least, survived him. The latter married and settled at *Gellirwydd*, near *Alltfawr*, the original habitation of the family. Her

youngest son still resides there. I have known the family from my youth; and her eldest son, the late Mr. *William Evans* of *Allt-y-Cadno,* was one of my early and intimate friends. A most pious and amiable man he was: his fair and very respectable character did honour to the memory of his worthy ancestors. The son of Morgan Jones, as was hinted above, became in the life-time of his father the pastor of a newly-constituted Baptist Church near Bridgend, at a place called *Pen-y-fai.* His name was *Griffith,* after his maternal grandfather, *Griffith Griffiths,* of *Llandeilo,* or of *Bwlchclawdd,* now called *Temple Druid,* in Pembrokeshire. The worth and respectability of Morgan Jones have been already spoken of; and it may be very truly said, that *Griffith Jones* was every way worthy of such a father. It is difficult to say which of them excelled, whether as a man, a Christian, or a Minister. They were both very eminent and exemplary for the mildness and cheerfulness of their tempers, the gentleness and urbanity of their manners, their irreproachable and holy lives, as well as their ministerial abilities and diligence. At the death of the father, the son had a call or invitation to succeed him as pastor of the church at Swansea; which, however, he did not accept, though he frequently assisted them, till they had chosen another pastor, the late Mr. *Griffith Davies.* He could not well have left his own congregation, by which he was greatly beloved, and which continued to increase and flourish under his judicious and edify-

ing ministry. He used often to visit distant as well as neighbouring churches, and was very highly respected far and near. He continued the beloved and respected pastor of the church at *Pen-y-fai* till some time after the death of the worthy and respectable *Morgan Griffiths,* which happened in 1738. M. G. had been the acceptable, laborious, and successful pastor of the Baptist Church at *Hengoed* 37 years; and that church was said to consist in his time, at one period, of no less than 500 members; so that it was perhaps the most numerous and flourishing then in all Wales. It was, however, a mixture of GENERAL and PARTICULAR BAPTISTS. These had lived together harmoniously under the ministry of M. G., and it was thought desirable they might still continue to do so; but no minister could be thought of as likely to promote the desired harmony, prevent a separation, and secure the tranquillity and welfare of the church, but *Griffith Jones* of Pen-y-fai, whose gentle and conciliating manners, and known moderation, were thought very much to resemble those of the deceased pastor. An unanimous and pressing invitation was therefore sent to him to remove to *Hengoed,* and take upon him the pastoral care of that church. This invitation he did not immediately accept. His own people at Pen-y-fai could not bear the thought of his leaving them; and he himself seemed for some time very loath to take that step. The Hengoed people, however, persevering in their pressing solicitations, and it being thought that a more extensive sphere of

usefulness there presented itself, he was at length prevailed upon to comply with their wishes. He removed thither in 1740, to the no small regret and loss of the church at *Pen-y-fai*, which has never since been in so prosperous and happy a state as while he was its pastor: and though his ministry at *Hengoed* proved very acceptable, and the church seemed to prosper and flourish, yet it was thought that he himself was never after so comfortable and happy as he had been with his former people. This may furnish a lesson to ministers, not lightly to remove from a people who esteem them, and to whom their ministry is blessed, although the place to which they are invited may exhibit in some respects a more flattering prospect. He continued at Hengoed nine or ten years. In the autumn of 1749 he left that church, and likewise his native country, and removed with his family to *Pennsylvania*, where, I think, he took a farm, and became a member and assistant minister of a respectable Baptist Church, assembling at a place called *The Welsh Tract*, in that province, the pastor of which was a very worthy countryman of his, whose name was *David Davies*, who had emigrated thither in 1710, and died in 1769. He is said to have been the fifth pastor of that church: the names of his predecessors were *Thomas Griffiths, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan*, and *Owen Thomas*; all natives of the Principality.

Griffith Jones supported in America, both as a member of civil society, and as a Minister of the

Gospel, the same irreproachable, amiable, and respectable character which he had always borne in his native country; but it was said that things did not turn out in the new world altogether as favourably as he had hoped and expected. However that was, the time of his sojourning there was not long. He finished his course in 1754, aged 59, and was buried at a place called *Pencadair*, not far from his own habitation. His eminence as a preacher was generally acknowledged among his countrymen, and he was said to be remarkable for the happy talent of relating appropriate anecdotes or incidents, which he would frequently introduce in his discourses for the illustration of his subject, and which generally produced a very pleasing effect. His temper was easy and cheerful, and his manners gentle and conciliating, which generally secured to him the esteem and attachment of his friends. He was long and affectionately remembered in his native country among those good people who had enjoyed the benefit of his labours. He left behind him a widow and several children, four sons and two or three daughters. His son *Morgan* had in May 1750, joined the church of which his father was assistant preacher. And as it was some time after judged that he was endowed with promising gifts for the ministry, he was encouraged to return to England for the benefit of a liberal education. He accordingly embarked, in 1754, for Bristol, where he arrived in the course of that year, and was admitted a student at the Baptist Academy

in that city, then under the care of those very respectable tutors, Messrs. *Bernard Foskett* and *Hugh Evans.* After having been a good while at Bristol, where he acquitted himself much to the satisfaction of his worthy tutors, he removed to London, and became the pupil of the late Dr. *Thomas Llewelyn,* who, had been once his school-fellow at *Pont-y-pool,* before his father's removal to America, and was now deemed one of the best scholars among the English Dissenters, especially as a *linguist.* While under the care of Dr. Llewelyn, Morgan Jones had for his fellow-student the late Mr. *James Newton* of Bristol, who, after the death of Mr. Foskett, became one of the tutors of the Baptist Academy there, a situation which he long held with no small credit to himself and advantage to his pupils. In this seminary a warm friendship commenced between Messrs. Jones and Newton, which continued during the remainder of their lives. They were also highly esteemed by their learned and very respectable tutor, as indeed they deserved to be: nor was he less esteemed, or less deservedly esteemed by them. He was certainly a most amiable and excellent man, and I have heard the late Dr. *Gibbons,* about thirty years ago, giving it as his opinion, that he was the best scholar then among the Dissenters. Mr. Jones resided once, in the early part of his life, at *Pershore,* as assistant to the late very ingenious and worthy Dr. *Ash.* I think it was before he went to Dr. Llewelyn. But whenever it was, his residence there was not long.

Soon after he had finished his time with Dr. Llewelyn, he received an invitation from the Baptist Church at *Hemel Hempstead*, which having accepted, and his ministry being well approved of, he was further solicited to settle there in the character of pastor, which he also acceded to, and continued to discharge his ministerial and pastoral duties with great fidelity and acceptance till about the year 1782, when, in consequence of ill health, he resigned his charge, and removed to Hammersmith, where he lived the remainder of his days, preaching occasionally as his health permitted. In the early part of his residence at Hempstead, he opened a seminary for the education of young gentlemen, and was soon found to be well qualified for such an undertaking. His character as a tutor became respectable, and great numbers of young gentlemen finished their education under him, and became afterwards very useful and valuable members of society. After his removal to Hammersmith, he still continued the profession of a tutor with undiminished reputation.

His constitution, which was originally strong, and one of the very best that could be, was in time greatly impaired by a continual and intense application to mathematical and other literary pursuits. His health was visibly declining before he left Hempstead ; and though it seemed rather to mend during the first years of his residence at Hammersmith, it never appeared to be re-established. In the course of the year 1796, some alarming symptoms appearing, a

journey to Bath, and the use of those celebrated waters, were recommended by the faculty. For some time after his return it was thought he had derived considerable benefit: but every flattering appearance of that kind soon vanished. About the beginning of 1797, a paralytic or apoplectic stroke presaged to the family his approaching and speedy dissolution. He lay ill but a few days, appearing, in the mean time, abundantly supported and comforted by the exceeding great and precious promises of the Gospel, and in the prospect of the life and immortality there revealed. He finished his course in the 68th or 69th year of his age; having faithfully served his generation, and spent his life in earnestly and assiduously promoting the best interests of mankind. The house in which he resided at Hemel-Hempstead had been a royal palace, (built, I think, by Henry VIII.,) and so had been also the house in which he dwelt at Hammersmith. The latter had been erected for Catherine of Lisbon, the consort of Charles II., and was celebrated, in a work published toward the close of the 17th century, for its notable green-house and garden. That green-house was a good and commodious building, which he fitted up, and appropriated for a school-room. Both houses were excellently adapted for a seminary; they were large, and the lodging-rooms exceedingly spacious and lofty. In short, they possessed every advantage for air, exercise, and healthiness, and whatever could conduce to the welfare and benefit of the pupils; so that very

few, if any, situations could in those respects exceed them.

During his residence at Hempstead, Mr. Morgan Jones received from one of the American Colleges the degree of A. M., and after his removal to Hammersmith, the same College, unknown to him, and unsolicited, conferred on him the degree of LL. D.; and in each instance the measure was no less honourable to the College than it was to him. He was certainly an excellent scholar. Beside an intimate, correct, and critical knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and a general acquaintance with the arts and sciences, he was also deeply versed in mathematical learning, as his friend *Ben. Martin*, who knew him well, and was a competent judge, used to acknowledge. As an Hebrician, he was a zealous advocate for the use of the vowel points; and thought no man without being thoroughly acquainted with them, could ever become a complete master of that language. He was so very conversant with the *Hebrew Bible*, that he could recite passages from it almost as readily as from the English translation.

As a preacher, his character stood high. He always addressed his audience very seriously and affectionately, as one in earnest, and deeply interested in their welfare. His discourses were generally plain and practical, judicious and impressive; and he excelled in the natural arrangement of his subject, and had the happy talent of analyzing his text in so

very striking, pleasing, and peculiar a manner, that some very eminent preachers, such as the late *Dr. Stennett, Mr. Robinson, of Cambridge,* and *Dr. Caleb Evans, of Bristol,* used to speak of it with no small admiration. Nor were the qualities of his mind, or heart, less esteemed and admired by those gentlemen, and all others who sufficiently knew him. Robert Robinson used to say, that his friend *Morgan Jones* possessed that sterling worth and excellence of character which most others he had met with had only in mere talk or pretence. As a son, a husband, a father, a brother, a friend, or a neighbour, the character of Dr. Jones stood pre-eminent, and will long be remembered with high esteem and admiration by all who had the happiness of being intimately and thoroughly acquainted with him; and by none more so than the writer of this very imperfect sketch, who enjoyed his friendship many years, and while he is paying this humble tribute of respect to his revered memory, remembers, with heart-felt regret, that his death deprived him of one of the best and most valued friends he ever had.

Dr. Jones was twice married. His children by the first wife died in their infancy. Of those he had by the last wife, eight survived him, four sons, and four daughters; who, as well as their worthy mother, are all, I think, still living. May they seek and find in the pure and undefiled religion of Jesus Christ, that firm support and strong consolation which their pious ancestors so happily and largely experienced!

Of the brothers and sisters of Dr. Jones, none ever returned from America but his younger brother *Benjamin*. He received his education under his worthy brother at Hemel-Hempstead; after which he became his assistant in the academy, in which situation he continued many years. He afterwards quitted England and returned to Pennsylvania, and engaged with another of his brothers in some iron-works on the banks of the Monongahela, and at no great distance from Pittsburg, where he still resides, and is likely to continue for the remainder of his days. He is a person of good abilities and learning, of unaffected piety, and sterling worth. To the rest of the family residing in America the writer of this is an entire stranger, though he has heard a very good account of them.*

POSTSCRIPT.

While *Griffith Jones* was pastor at Pen-y-fai, there was among the members of that church a very worthy and reputable person, whose name was *Thomas Jones*. He was born at *Newton Notage*, (in Welsh, *Tre' newydd y Notais,)* at the western extremity of the fertile and delightful *Vale of Glamorgan*, where his parents then resided. They after-

* The Editor had the happiness of knowing *Dr. Morgan Jones*, and bears his humble testimony to his talents and acquirements, as well as to his benevolence and piety. He, on his first settlement in London, passed many pleasant days at Hammersmith with him and his family.

ward removed higher up among the hills, to a farm called *Cefn-y-gelli,* in the parish of *Betws,* within the same county, very near to *Ty'n Ton,* the birth-place of the late celebrated *Dr. Richard Price,* and to *Brynllywarch,* formerly the habitation of the learned and venerable *Samuel Jones,* one of the Ejected Ministers, and the most eminent tutor that Wales could boast of in the 17th century.

At what time the family removed to Cefn-y-gelli, (which was, it is thought, their own estate,) cannot now, perhaps, be ascertained. About 1730, Thomas Jones married a worthy and pious young woman of a respectable family in Pembrokeshire, with whom he lived in the most perfect conjugal harmony for more than fifty years. He was a person greatly and deservedly respected among his neighbours, both as a Christian and also as a member of civil society. During the latter years of his residence in his native country, he was one of the assistant ministers and elders of the church to which he belonged; but in 1737, he emigrated with his family to Pennsylvania; and the very next year, he and his wife, with nineteen more, formed themselves into a church, at a place called *Tulpehokon,* in that province; of which church he was chosen the pastor, and so continued till about 1774, when he removed to the Great Valley, in the same province, where some of his children had settled, and where he spent the remainder of his days, preaching still occasionally, till near the time of his death, which happened in the spring of 1788, in the

87th year of his age. He was, by all accounts, a very pious and eminent Christian, and bore through life a most amiable and exemplary character, dying, as he had lived, with a hope full of immortality. He was the father of the present *Samuel Jones*, D. D., Pastor of the Baptist Church at *Lower Dublin*, near Philadelphia, who was born at Cefn-y-gelli, above-mentioned, in 1735; so that he was but two years old when he quitted his native country, and crossed the wide Atlantic. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia, and became pastor of the Church at Lower Dublin, (then called *Pen-y-pec*,) in 1765, in which situation he still continues, and has been long considered as one of the worthiest men and most respectable ministers within the whole extent of the United States of America. He has still some relations in his native country, among whom is the Bard, *Edward Williams*, otherwise *Iolo Morganwg*, the *Taliesin* and *Aneurin* of his age, and one of the most worthy and distinguished characters among the present generation of Cambro-Britons.

N. B. In the *Memoirs of Dr. Richards*, the Editor, through mistake, has mentioned that Dr. Samuel Jones was brother of Dr. Morgan Jones, of Hammersmith. From his correspondence with Dr. W. Rogers, he is happy to find the veteran still living, and held in deserved estimation.

April, 1820.

JAMES OWEN.

This very respectable Cambro-Briton, was born Nov. 1, 1654, at a lonely farm-house called Bryn, in the parish of Abernant, about eight or nine miles from Caermarthen, and not far from the road which leads from that town to Cardigan. In the very same house, many years before, was born the memorable James Howell, and, probably, also his brother Bishop Howell. The family of the Howells still exist in that neighbourhood, and hold a reputable station among its present inhabitants. One of them, Dr. Howell, a physician, went some years ago to India, from whence he returned by land, by the way of Constantinople; an account of which journey he has since published. He lives now, I think, in the vicinity of Caermarthen. John Owen, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a respectable farmer, and highly esteemed among his neighbours as a man of the strictest integrity. Both he and his wife belonged to the established church, and were very firmly and zealously attached to it; and yet their large family of nine children, who lived to be men and women, all seceded from that church, and became conscientious and zealous Dissenters. Their father was a considerable sufferer during the Civil War, being himself a decided Royalist, and in arms for the King. He was one that managed his domestic affairs with singular dis-

× Doctor Thomas Howell of Glasbu
in the County of Brecon. —181

cretion, and the measures he adopted were remarkably successful. Though he had not much to bestow on his numerous offspring, yet he endeavoured to make up that deficiency by a more recommending portion; he took particular care to give them all a good and pious education. He lived to see them all married and settled to his comfort and credit; and would often acknowledge the kindness of Providence in giving him so many children, and inspiring them all with sober and serious sentiments. To more than one of his sons he gave, I believe, the very best education the country could afford. This seems to have been the case with James and Charles, at least. The latter became a very distinguished character among the English Dissenters; and though he has been long dead, his name has not perished; he is still often remembered and mentioned, as the very learned and eminent Dr. Charles Owen, of Warrington. The late venerable Job Orton, was once his pupil, and held him, ever after, in great esteem. John Owen, who succeeded him at Warrington, was his son, and attained to considerable eminence. Jeremy Owen, another learned and eminent Dissenting Minister, was also of the same family; but I know not enough of him to descend to particulars, much as I wish it; for the perusal of some of his works has long biassed my mind, in no small degree, in his favour. Dr. Toulmin, I hope, will make us better acquainted with him and many others of our worthy predecessors.

JAMES OWEN, after having spent some time at a country school, was removed to a Mr. Picton, a Quaker,* and an able scholar, who taught youth in Caermarthen Castle; from whence he was sent to the Free-school of that town, (a seminary of considerable note,) then under the care of Mr. David Philips, who fitted him for University learning. Such was his proficiency there, that he soon became the particular favourite of his excellent master, who looked upon him as a youth of uncommon hopes. He was always observed, even while at inferior schools, to be of a solid and studious temper. It was usual with him to sit up late at his book, not only to prepare his task for the ensuing day, but to review and rivet more firmly in his mind the performances of the day past. This was looked upon by many as a sure presage of that eminence at which he afterward arrived, even in the opinion of his very enemies.

From the early age of about 13, play and childish diversions with him lost all their charms; and he refrained from them altogether. His thirst after learning was so great that he applied to it with the most unwearied avidity; knowing, (as his biographer says,) that there is no fruit in autumn where there has been no budding in the spring! It was about

* It is rather a remarkable circumstance, that a Quaker was permitted to set up a school in the town of Caermarthen, in the persecuting reign of Charles II., however worthy he might be, or well qualified for such an employment.

this time that he first heard a Dissenting Minister preach: the text was Mal. iv. 1. The sermon had an unusual effect upon his mind. It wrought in him uncommon seriousness, which never wore off as long as he lived. The deep impressions which it made issued in his conversion, and he became a very remarkable instance of early piety, consecrating his youth to *his* honour who had inspired him with a just sense of the worth of his soul, and the importance of eternal things.—Having finished his classical studies, in which he was very well grounded, he went for instruction in academical learning to Mr. Samuel Jones, of Brynllywarch, in Glamorganshire, an accurate scholar, and a person of very strict piety; who was an Ejected Minister, and educated at Oxford, where he had been an eminent tutor. Here he went through the whole course of philosophy, was a very close student, and so remarkably improved his time, as to receive from his learned tutor the character of an indefatigable student. He would also often add, that this pupil was more ready to learn than he was to teach, and that he knew no insuperable difficulties in the pursuit of knowledge.

After having finished his academical studies at Brynllywarch, he spent some time in the instruction of youth; and then went on a visit to his godfather, Mr. James Howell, a Minister of the Church of England, and nephew of the gentleman of the same name, above-mentioned; who took a great deal of pains to reduce him to Conformity, but without suc-

* Vicar of Llandebie. Carm:

cess. He studied the point with real impartiality, being very solicitous to find out the truth, and equally willing to be determined by its force either way; but upon the whole, his doubts increased, and he became a confirmed Nonconformist. His dissent was with him a real matter of conscience, and the effect of maturest deliberation. His parents were high Conformists, and no friends to Dissenters at that time; and while he was with his godfather, which was about six months, he wanted no inducements to conform. He saw all the preferments engrossed by the Church, and that the Dissenters were a company of ridiculed, reproached, and oppressed people; and could promise to himself nothing but scorn and shame, poverty and prisons, in joining that party. But as the Dissenting way appeared to him to be the most agreeable to the Scripture, he resolved to follow it; believing that most comfort was to be expected among those who in their worship came the nearest to the sacred pattern, and endeavoured to glorify God according to his own express directions. "That which gave the most peculiar satisfaction to his thoughts, (says his biographer,) was, that no opposition was made against them from Scripture or solid reason."

His perplexing doubts being effectually dissipated he resumed his studies with his wonted eagerness, and now made them all preparatory to the sacred office. His abilities for the ministry were very considerable; nor was he less remarkable for his serious

and undissembled piety, which soon attracted the veneration of all good men, especially the Nonconformists, among whom he was now admitted to preach as a candidate. He entered upon that work when he was very young, and when there was a vigorous enforcing of the penal laws against Protestant Dissenters. Yet the certain prospect of bonds and imprisonments in the exercise of his ministry, did not at all terrify him: his terror proceeded rather from a sense of the importance of the work in which he was now going to engage.

James Owen began to preach at Swansey, in Glamorganshire, as an assistant to the worthy and excellent Stephen Hughes, a gentleman of a truly apostolic spirit, great moderation, and fervent zeal to promote the good of souls; where he dispensed the divine oracles with great acceptance, but was soon interrupted by the Spiritual Court, which directed all its weight and force to check the progress of Nonconformity. About this time the good and useful Henry Maurice paid a very particular attention to him, and invited him out of the southern flames into North Wales, where, after all, he sheltered himself under a withering gourd. It was with no small difficulty Mr. Hughes prevailed with himself to part with a person so entirely agreeable to himself and the people. He writes of him, on this occasion, as follows: "That he was a most precious, godly young man, of good repute and report among persons fearing God: not only a person of holy conversation,

but also a very good scholar of his age, and of good gifts for preaching..... I have suffered myself to be persuaded," says he, "to let him accept of the invitation given him by Mr. Henry Maurice."

The great reputation he had now acquired made the charitable and pious Thomas Gouge desirous of being acquainted with so promising a young man, and he was agreeably surprised to find that the report he had heard did not exceed his real worth, so that he often spoke of his admirable accomplishments with an air of no small pleasure and admiration. The memory of this very excellent man, and of the other two above-mentioned, (Stephen Hughes and Henry Maurice,) deserves to be carefully preserved and venerated among the good people of Wales, for the singular services they rendered to their ancestors. The great pains they took to propagate divine knowledge and practical religion in the obscurer parts of that country, and the vast treasures of charity they expended, are almost incredible: nor ought those English worthies to be forgotten who were the original source of those pious and bountiful distributions; such as, John Tillotson, Benjamin Whichcot, Simon Ford, William Bates, William Outram, Simon Patrick, William Durham, Edward Stillingfleet, John Meriton, Hezekiah Burton, Richard Baxter, Thomas Gouge, Matthew Poole, Edward Fowler, William Turner, Richard Newman, James Reading, Thomas Griffith, John Short, William Gape, Thomas Firmin; who undertook to contribute, during their

pleasure, towards printing, buying, and distributing the "Practice of Piety," with certain other Welsh books; and also towards teaching poor Welsh children to read English, write and cast accounts, in those towns where schools were not already established by the charity of others. This induced a number of the better sort of the Welsh gentry to engage in the same good cause; so that from Midsummer 1674 to Lady-day 1675, about 1850 Welsh children were put to school to learn to read English. Welsh schools, it seems, were not thought of, which would, perhaps, in some respects at least, have answered a better purpose. Thirty-two Welsh bibles were also distributed, being *all that could then be procured in Wales or London!* A new edition, I think, was some time after printed under the inspection of Mr. Stephen Hughes. Two hundred and forty Welsh New Testaments were in the course of the same year given away, with 500 of a Welsh Translation of the "Whole Duty of Man." These things deserve to be commemorated, and demand the gratitude of the present generation of Welshmen.

After JAMES OWEN had been constrained to leave South Wales, he removed to Bodwell, in Caernarvonshire, but the prospect he had of a shelter there soon vanished; for he had not been long there before he felt the rigour of those penalties with which he had been threatened in the South. His ministry was very acceptable, and when disengaged from the public work, he usually studied 16 out of the 24 hours.

After having remained in that country as a prisoner for about nine months, he was conveyed by night to Bronyclydwr, in Merionethshire, the house of the eminently useful Hugh Owen, the subject of a following sketch. The great encouragement he had to fix in that country did but increase the persecuting flame, which obliged him to remove. Among others, a gentleman who had declared his resolution to banish all Dissenters out of the country, was his virulent adversary. He, however, falling into a bad state of health soon after, went to Salop for the advice of able physicians, but (as his biographer observes) was surprised with death, where he hoped to have the lease of his life renewed.

In November 1676, he had a call to Swiney, near Oswestry, in Shropshire, where he settled in quality of Chaplain to Mrs. Baker of that place, a lady of eminent piety; and he preached to a congregation of serious people in and about Oswestry, who had for thirty years enjoyed the labours of that worthy minister Rowland Nevet, who died December 1675. After he had preached for some time as a probationer with acceptance, he was solemnly set apart for the ministry in October 1677, and had this honourable testimony given him by his ordainers—"That he was a young man well qualified for that great work; and that they believed he would be an eminent instrument to propagate the Gospel, do good to souls, and advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus"—all which was afterwards remarkably confirmed and verified.

He now redoubled his diligence to propagate Christian knowledge in the dark parts of his native country, and took frequent journeys for that purpose, but was soon opposed with greater fury than ever. In one of his journeys, as he was going from Chester to preach at Treythyn in Flintshire, being a stranger in those parts, he inquired the way at a place which happened to be a public-house, and where there was a company of gentlemen then drinking. One of them, a bitter enemy to Dissenters, overhearing what passed, stepped out and asked him to whom he would be directed there. When he had innocently told him, the gentleman said he knew the person well, and was his very good friend, and with an obliging air put him on the road. Though the traveller was upon the reserve, yet his artful guide suspected him to be a Dissenting minister. However, they parted in a friendly manner. Mr. Owen went forward, and was to preach next day at one Thomas Fenner's, in Hope parish. The gentleman, fond of this mighty discovery, returned to his associates, and with them contrived how to surprise the preacher and people; for they presumed there would be a conventicle next day somewhere in that neighbourhood. It was agreed to meet again the following day upon an adjacent high hill, where, under the pretence of hawking or some other diversion, they might easily observe which way the poor, innocent, and unwary people gathered. The stratagem took; and when they descried the place, they soon dismounted, and surrounded it in a

hostile manner, with guns and swords. To make sure of their prey, they secured the avenues leading to the house, placed centinels at the doors, to prevent the escape of any from within, while part of the company broke into the house, and profanely disturbed the assembly in the midst of divine service. They took care to seize upon MR. OWEN, and also upon his Bible, which one of them, finding a Concordance bound up at the end of it, swore was an unlawful Bible, and he should suffer for it! His notes were next inspected, which, happening to be in Latin, a language which they did not, it seems, understand, they swore again that he was a Jesuit, and they would prove it. After they had hectored a while, and terrified the poor people with threats of ruin, backed by horrid imprecations, they sent for a constable, who made them wait for about three hours. In the interim they had time to cool a little, and began to examine MR. OWEN, who till now had held his peace. They inquired about his learning, and why he would not conform; adding a great many ensnaring questions about the King and Government; but not being able, with all their artifice, to trepan him, or draw from any of the auditors any thing that would criminate him, they gave over. MR. OWEN managed the discourse with so much discretion, presence of mind, and force of reasoning, as at once confounded his opponents, and confirmed his friends in their Dissenting principles. When the dilatory constable arrived, one of them took out

a paper, and made the ignorant officer believe it to be a warrant; by virtue of which he and they now drove Mr. Owen and his hearers, like so many sheep, before them to Mould, a town about five miles off. When they came there, one of the prosecuting zealots sent for Mr. C. J., a justice of the peace for that county, who treated Mr. Owen and his fellow-prisoners in a very scurrilous manner; but not knowing what to make of his Latin notes, he demanded help from the Vicar, who told him, they were notes of a sermon on Canticles v. 16—*He is altogether lovely.* After some discourse had passed between Mr. Owen and the clergyman, both he and the justice, in spite of their prejudice and bigotry, confessed that he was a learned young man, and could not conceal their concern that such a person should be a Dissenter. Yet, after a long debate and hard usage, both Mr. Owen and the person in whose house he preached, were committed prisoners to Caerwys gaol, and the rest of the company were bound over to the quarter-sessions. While in prison, he met with much civility from the honest gaoler, and from several worthy clergymen who came to see and discourse with him on this occasion, but was *otherwise* treated by some of his visitants. His very adversaries, however, were convinced of his great abilities, and scrupled not to speak honourably of them. He continued in this prison about three weeks, during which time he usually spent four or five hours every day in praying, preaching, and ex-

pounding the Scripture to his fellow-prisoners, and such of the inhabitants of the town as came in. This, it seems, alarmed the neighbouring gentry, lest the prison should be converted into a conventicle, and the town and country be infected with the contagion of fanaticism. Information was speedily brought to Mr. Justice T—— against the gaoler and his prisoner. He took up the matter in earnest, and sent strict orders to keep the prison-doors locked, and suffer no persons whatever to come in to hear sermons, or join with the prisoners in acts of divine worship. The poor gaoler was obliged to obey. The people, however, were not terrified by these measures; they still to the last kept crowding about the window, at the usual times, to hear him preach.

When they despaired of obtaining their liberty, or having justice done them, Mr. John Evans, of Wrexham, (the father of the author of the Sermons on the Christian Temper,) sent Mr. Owen's case to an able and eminent lawyer, who gave his opinion that his imprisonment was false and illegal, and that the magistrate who committed him was punishable. This matter being brought before the justices at the quarter-sessions, they cleared themselves from having any hand in those arbitrary proceedings against the prisoners, so that the odium justly devolved upon Mr. Justice T——, by whom they had been sent to prison. This gentleman, (like the Philippian magistrates, Acts xvi.,) become sensible now of his danger, and ready to recant, gave immediate orders

to the gaoler, without any further formalities, to discharge the prisoners. Mr. Owen was advised to prosecute the unrighteous magistrate, and assured he might recover damages; but he declined it, choosing rather to leave his cause with God, the righteous and supreme Judge. When the tyrannical Justice found Mr. Owen to be a man of peace, and that he could not be persuaded to follow the law against him, he very ungratefully and basely, after the sessions were over, fined Mr. Owen, together with the host and hearers, whose houses were soon after rifled, and their goods seized upon and sold. Our pious sufferer bore these hardships and indignities with exemplary firmness and patience. Writing from the prison to some of his relations, he observed, "That if the Gospel was not worth suffering for, it was not worth the preaching. It is, indeed, an honour," said he, "after we have preached the truth, to be called forth to suffer for it." Shortly after, he wrote thus: "Religion is not calculated for worldly advantages; it brings everlasting gain, but very often temporal losses. How uncertain are worldly things! Job, in the morning, was the greatest of all the men of the East, and before night, poor to a proverb." "We are," said he, another time, "travelling for eternity; and travellers must not expect fair ways and weather always. Afflictions are appointed means of salvation; and salvation should reconcile us to every thing that has a tendency to promote it."

On the 17th of November, 1679, he was married

at Oswestry, to Mrs. Sarah George, who appears to have been a person of eminent piety, and every way worthy of such a husband. By her he had seven children, only two of whom survived him. She died in January, 1691-2. On that mournful occasion he preached on Rev. xiv. 12, 13, and some time after, composed a Latin inscription, which he put upon her tomb.

About the time of his marriage, the meeting which used to be at Swiney, was removed to Oswestry, where he himself appears to have then taken up his abode, and where he continued above twenty years labouring in the word and doctrine, with a very small congregation, and but little encouragement. His settlement here brought him into an intimate acquaintance with the venerable Philip Henry, who greatly valued him, and was as greatly valued by him. Him he consulted on all occasions as a father and friend, and he was many ways helpful to his improvement, especially by confirming him in those principles of moderation for which Mr. Henry was so eminently distinguished.

At the time of the discovery of the Popish Plot, great fears were entertained for the safety of the Protestant religion, and lest Popery should be again introduced and re-established. The whole nation was alarmed, and Mr. Owen felt as much, perhaps, as most of his countrymen. He took great pains to fortify his people against the growing danger. After he had carefully instructed his flock in the grounds

of the Protestant religion, he prepared them to suffer for it, assuring them, "that of all conquests, that of the martyrs is the noblest. We must expect," said he, "to suffer unto blood! He is not a Christian who is not a martyr in affection and resolution. Let not the prospect of a bloody exit discourage your faithful adherence to truth, for He who hath appointed our crown, hath also appointed our cross. Better lose our lives than our immortal souls: sad is the story in Fox, of one who said he could not burn for religion, but his house being on fire some time after, he was burnt in it. Consider the noble army of martyrs—their numbers: Jerome reckons five thousand for every day in the year—their quality: weak and sinful like ourselves; expect the like assistance. Besides, we must die according to the course of nature; we cannot live long; and what if we part with this life a few years sooner than the ordinary time? What matters it whether our lives be taken from us by a lingering distemper or by a dispatching sword? No great difference between the heat of a burning fever and the flames of a faggot. But be well satisfied in your call to sufferings. There are three things which will always warrant our suffering unto blood: 1. When we are required to deny the truth. 2. To omit a certain duty. (Dan. vi. 10.) 3. When required to sin against God. (Dan. iii. 16, 17, 18.) Better die a thousand deaths than commit one sin. We must resist and strive against sin to the loss of our lives, but must

not resist authority, though persecuted to blood by it." Such was his conduct at that memorable period, and on that very trying and alarming occasion. It strongly marked his character, and rendered his sincerity and piety, his earnestness and zeal, his integrity and fortitude, as well as his inviolable attachment to Protestantism and Christian liberty, very conspicuous.

In 1680, he spent some time in vindicating the divinity of Christ, and the divine authority of the historical part of Scripture, which had then been attacked by a certain gentleman of his acquaintance. The substance of this production of his may be seen at the end of the account of his life and writings published, in 1709, by his brother, Dr. Charles Owen, from which this imperfect sketch has been chiefly extracted.

On the 27th of September, 1681, was held at the town-hall of Oswestry, that public disputation mentioned hereafter in the Sketch of the Life of Jonathan Roberts. The occasion of it was this: the learned and excellent Dr. Lloyd, then Bishop of St. Asaph, being a declared enemy to persecution, studied to reduce the Dissenters in his diocese by mild and conciliating measures; he visited the principal places within his bishopric, and, by dint of argument, endeavoured to remove the scruples of all those who dissented from the Establishment. After having had some private conferences with Mr. Owen, his Lordship ordered him to give his attendance at

the public hall of Oswestry, and there produce his reasons, why he preached without episcopal ordination. The warning was short, for he had but four or five days to prepare; yet he had no reason to be ashamed of the consequence. His lordship having directed him to procure what ministers he pleased to assist at the conference, he fixed upon Mr. Philip Henry, of Broad Oak, and Mr. Jonathan Roberts, of Llanfair, both of them his particular friends, and pretty near neighbours, as well as every way worthy of his choice on this occasion. Of their respective characters I shall speak in the Sketch of the life of the latter. The Bishop had with him the very learned Henry Dodwell, of eccentric and paradoxical memory; but it is probable he had not then imbibed all those high and wild notions by which he was so much distinguished at the Revolution, and afterwards.*

* "If it can be said of any man, that 'much learning made him mad,' it may certainly be said of Dodwell. His knowledge of ancient philosophy and of the opinions of the Christian fathers, has seldom, if ever, been surpassed, while his ingenuity was equal to his erudition: in judgment he was defective; but, even amidst his wildest paradoxes, truths are scattered, and hints are thrown out, worthy of more attention than at present seems to be paid to them."—Brit. Crit. for August, 1805, p. 154, Note. These critics have not condescended to specify those *truths* and *hints* which they alluded to. It is, however, not difficult to guess what they would most approve or admire in the writings of Dodwell. For an account of some of his wild and singular notions, see the Sketch of the Life of Jonathan Roberts.

The conference or dispute began at two in the afternoon, and ended between eight and nine, during which time several points in debate between the Church and Dissenters were considered and argued. The grand question proposed and discussed was, "Whether ordination, by such diocesans as have an uninterrupted succession of canonical ordination down from the Apostles, be so necessary, that churches and ministry are null without it?" This succession was publicly affirmed and maintained in Oswestry Hall by the champions of the Church, against which and some other things Mr. OWEN excepted to this effect: 1. That this opinion militated against the Reformed Churches which have no bishops; that they are without them, is not a case of necessity, as appears from their confessions. 2. Upon this principle, the Church of England had no ministers for want of this succession, which has been interrupted at Rome, the Pope being the Antichirst: besides, many of the Popes being incapable; Liberius subscribed the Arian confession; Honorus I. was condemned for heresy, in two general councils; Marcellinus was an idolater; Sylvester II. a conjuror; Eugenius IV. was deposed by the œcumenical council of Basil, yet still retained the Papal authority; Cardinals and Bishops were made by him. One nullity breaks the whole chain. 3. None, upon this principle, can be assured he is a true minister, though episcopally ordained: how shall people be satisfied that their ministers are true ministers, when, for aught they know, the line of succession is inter-

rupted? How can I know that the bishop ordaining, or his ordainer, were not incapable by simony, or otherwise?

4. If there be an uninterrupted succession of bishops, so there is also of presbyters.

Object.—"But they have lost their ordaining power," said Mr. Dodwell.

Answ.—"Then they had it originally, and the restraint is canonical, not scriptural, which suspends the act, but takes not away the power."

The instances of Timothy and Titus and the seven Asian Angels were the principal, if not the only, things urged at the Hall out of Scripture, for the necessity of episcopal ordination; to which it was answered, that it had been allowed by Bishop Stillingfleet, that the superiority which Timothy and Titus had over their churches does not prove that form of government necessary in all churches. But admitting that Timothy was really Bishop of Ephesus, it will not serve the prelatical cause, unless its patrons can prove the Ephesian to have been of equal extent with our diocesan churches. The members of the Church of Ephesus met at one place, and received the Lord's Supper together, even long after Timothy's time. [Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes.] Timothy had not 200 or 300 churches, and so many presbyters under his care and inspection. We do not read that Timothy and Titus, or any others were twice ordained, first priests, then bishops, which had been absolutely necessary if they be really distinct officers.

When Paul took his leave of Ephesus, he committed the oversight of the church to the elders or presbyters, though Timothy, their pretended bishop, was present. (Acts xx. 4, 6, 7.) The whole diocesan power is given to the presbyters, before the supposed diocesan's face, and not a word spoken to, or of Timothy. (Acts xx. 17, 28, 38, 39.)

Object.—"But he was not a bishop at that time."

Answ.—"If so, how comes Paul to be so regardless of the church, when he was never to see their faces more, as not to name his successor?"—"Timothy was an Evangelist, an extraordinary officer, and as such had no successor."

A further account of this debate was left by Mr. OWEN in a MS., which he called "A Modest Examination of the Bishop of St. Asaph's Notes upon the London Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici," where he observes, that the first council that ever decreed the divine right of Episcopacy was that of Trent, and that the Papists have unanimously maintained the divine right of Prelacy against our Protestant Divines. The Bishop, it seems, took it ill that the Popish Synods of West Europe, such as those of Constance and Basil, must be styled, "Œcumenical" Councils, that they might come in and witness for Presbytery. His lordship, however, by his great and exemplary candour, procured the just respect and administration of those who could not be convinced by his arguments. In his pious clemency towards the Dissenters he is said to have

been singular, having in his day no rival or imitator.* The adversaries of the Dissenters in that country were so far from being disposed to imitate the good Bishop's laudable example, that their bigotry and rage now seemed to increase, and warrants were soon issued against Mr. OWEN, which confined him to the house, and obliged him, when he went abroad, to travel by night. But the piety and uprightness which marked his character, and adorned the various scenes of his life, so recommended him to the esteem of his neighbours, that he was scarce ever in want of a timely intimation of approaching and imminent danger. No discouragements or menaces, however, could deter him from his duty. He expounded the Scriptures, prayed, and praised God every morning and evening in his own family, where several of his religious neighbours were generally present. He also preached every Lord's-day in his own house to as

* Although the good Bishop could not succeed in removing Mr. OWEN's scruples, and bringing him over to the Church, yet his regard and friendship for him appear to have continued undiminished. In 1668, as he was passing through Oswestry, he sent for Mr. OWEN, and ventured to acquaint him with the secret of the Prince of Orange's invitation by some great persons, in which he had joined, and added, He hoped the Protestant Dissenters would concur in promoting the common interest, "For you and we are brethren (said he); WE have indeed been angry brethren, but we have seen our folly, and are resolved, if ever we have it in our power, to shew that we will treat you as brethren."—Toulmin's Neal, V. 64.

many as had courage to attend, and administered the Lord's Supper at stated times.

When the prison-doors were opened by King James's indulgence, and the Dissenting captives set at liberty, he endeavoured to promote religion in a more open manner, by diffusing the knowledge of it in the dark and obscure corners of Wales. He accordingly set up several lectures, and took uncommon pains to support them, and very often at his own charge. The monthly lecture he had set up at Ruthin he afterwards removed to Denbigh, where he met with sharp opposition. The Justices refused to record the place, when it was duly certified to them, in open contempt of the Act which required them to do it, and then presented them for a conventicle; but the Judges at the next assizes severely reprimanded them for this refusal, and obliged them to do it. At the first lecture, he and his hearers were very rudely interrupted and ill-treated in the midst of the most solemn part of the service, and afterward indicted and fined upon the Conventicle Act; but this being an irregular procedure, they were discharged before the next quarter-sessions. Mr. Owen being advised to prosecute those who had so injuriously treated him, declined it, saying, "I pray God to forgive them." He was afterwards frequently interrupted there and ill-used. The rabble, set to work by their superiors, would sometimes surround the house, break the windows, throw in stones among the people, and once kept beating a drum all the

time under the window: but the lecture was not given up; preacher and people, convinced that their cause was good, still persevered and gained ground. Their opposers were numerous and powerful; but in a little time all of them dropt off, and a settled meeting has been kept up in that town ever since. The Dissenting congregation at Denbigh is at this time, I think, numerous and respectable. In regard to his ill-treatment there, Mr. OWEN observed, that "hatred of goodness does often precipitate evil men to acts of injustice. To be godly," said he, "is to expose ourselves to the common enmity of mankind."

The successful improvement he made of this liberty drew another storm of reproach upon him and his brethren; for they were now charged with being *popishly* affected, and joining with the Papists to ruin the Protestant interest. Against this he vindicates himself, (in 1687,) alleging, that "of all the imputations cast upon them, none could be more unhappily invented than this;" which allegation he supports by ten very pertinent and cogent reasons; but they are rather too long to be inserted in this sketch. It ought here to be remembered that most of the Dissenters at that time looked with a very suspicious eye upon James's "Declaration of Indulgence," considering it as an ill-meant and insidious project of his, and therefore refrained from availing themselves of it, or addressing him with their thanks

on the occasion.* We need not wonder, therefore, that the church people should entertain a somewhat similar idea, and so urge against Mr. Owen and his friends and others who acted as they did, "the impropriety of their using that liberty of conscience, which was given on purpose to break the Church of England, and introduce Popery." To this Mr. Owen replied—

"1. Do we not preach the same Protestant doctrine with you? Wherein can our Protestant assemblies more prejudice the Church of England than one parish assembly does another?

"2. By the time you have suffered by the Papists as much as we have suffered by you, you will be as glad of liberty as we now are: though we desire not the evil day; God he knows it.

"3. It is certain that persecution has been hitherto the interest of Popery in all nations and ages; therefore liberty cannot promote it. And why are you so angry with us for using our liberty, seeing the Papists have the use of it? Will our not using it make it ineffectual to them? Seeing it is the King's

* Many, however, did address him, both among the London and also the country ministers: among the latter were Mr. Matthew Henry and Mr. Harvey, the two Dissenting Ministers at Chester, while the King passed, in his progress through that city. They were, however, severely censured by some of their brethren for so doing.—*Neal*, as before, V. 45, Note.

pleasure to tolerate them, is it not better we should have our liberty with them, than they without us?

"4. The Papists had their liberty ever since the King came in, and there was no complaint then; but now his Majesty is pleased to extend the same favour to us also, and your choler is moved. Had the Papists the liberty of their religion, and you the liberty of your beloved persecution, all had been well.

"5. I would fain know if preaching the Gospel be not one of the most effectual means by which Popery must fall? To be sure it is, according to 2 Thess. ii. 8; Rev. xiv. 8—10. An apostolical spirit would become a church that brags so much of an apostolical constitution.—Such a temper would dispose you to rejoice with the Apostle that Christ is preached, whether in pretence or in truth. Phil. i. 15—18."

The memorable 1688, which amazed the world, he remembered with a grateful astonishment. Of the distress to which our ancestors were reduced before the Revolution, he expressed himself thus: "We were, as Isaac, bound to the altar—the bloody knife was at our throat—all things were ripe for execution—an army of Papists and debauched Protestants were within our gates, ready to enslave us! Whither could we look for help in that dismal juncture? In former persecutions God opened a sanctuary elsewhere; but now the storm that threatened us was universal, and no place like to be safe: the power of the enemy reached to the ends of the earth. The American Churches felt the malignant influence of

our constellations: their foundations were overturned, and themselves left to the mercy of arbitrary men. If we fled to Holland, alas! it was but a morsel to the French tyrant. Scotland was enslaved. Ireland in possession of a bloody, barbarous people, that wanted neither power nor hereditary inclination to bathe themselves in Protestant blood. We expected the second part of the French tragedy to be acted here, and knew not how soon we might be dragooned out of our religion and lives. In this dismal state of things 'the Lord awaked as one out of sleep; he smote his enemies, and put them to perpetual reproach.'—Psalm lxxviii. 75, 76."

Towards the latter end of 1690, he set up a lecture at Llanfyllin, in Montgomeryshire, at the house of Mr. John Griffiths, a gentleman of character. The first time he went there, the rabble surrounded the house, broke the windows, threw stones in among the people, and disturbed the congregation in a most outrageous manner: the gentleman of the house coming to the door to appease the tumult, very narrowly escaped their fury. One of these poor wretches, being afterwards convinced of his folly, confessed to the gentleman's lady, that "he had never prospered since he had lifted up his hand against the Gospel." He had lectures also at Wrexham, where he preached often, and administered the Lord's Supper; not to instance in a great many other places, where his success always equalled his faithful and unwearied endeavours.

About 1691 and 1692 the Baptists, being pretty much on the increase in the west of Wales, drew more than common attention and opposition to their distinguishing tenets, especially from the Presbyterians and Independents of those parts. After several debates between divers individuals of the contending parties, both sides agreed to preach upon the disputed subject, at a place called Pen-y-lan, near Freni Fawr, and not far from Mr. Owen's native place. Mr. John Thomas, a Presbyterian or Independent Minister, preached first, on Infant Baptism; and, on a succeeding day, Mr. John Jenkins, a Baptist Minister, and grandfather of the late Dr. Jenkins of Walworth, preached on Believers' Baptism. Mr. Thomas, it seems, carried himself on that occasion with rather a high hand, and when his opponent, Mr. Jenkins, requested to be favoured with a sight of his notes, he scornfully refused, saying that they were in Greek: at least, so the old people thereabout used to say forty or fifty years ago. Mr. Thomas lived, I think, at a place called Llwyn-y-grawys, in Cardiganshire. The result of these proceedings was, that many of the reputable members of Mr. Thomas's own church, and, I think, of some other neighbouring Pædobaptist churches, soon after joined the Baptists. This excited no small alarm among the Pædobaptists in those parts, and they applied to the learned and venerable Samuel Jones, of Brynllywarch, to take up his pen in their defence; but he declining it, the business was readily taken up by our Mr. Owen, his

former pupil, than whom the party could not have found, perhaps any where, a fitter or abler advocate. His extensive learning and eminent polemical talents, together with his accurate and thorough knowledge of his mother tongue, the Welsh, highly qualified him for this undertaking. Mr. OWEN's book came out in 1693, entitled "Bedydd Plant o'r Nef," which is in English, "Infant Baptism from Heaven." It was the first piece that appeared in Welsh on the baptismal controversy, and not inferior, probably, to any thing that has since appeared on that side of the question. Of course, it made no small noise and stir in the country, and rendered it necessary for the Baptists also to have recourse to the press in their own vindication; but, unfortunately for them, they had not one, it seems, among themselves, within the whole country, that was capable of entering the lists with Mr. OWEN. They were, therefore, obliged to apply to England; nor does it appear that they had any one, even there, of their own countrymen, that could be thought equal to the task: they were accordingly obliged to look among their English brethren, and they fixed upon Mr. Benjamin Keach. To have fixed upon Mr. Joseph Stennett, perhaps, had been still wiser, who was every way Mr. OWEN's equal, whether as a scholar, a theologian, or a polemic. Mr. Keach, however, was an able disputant, and the Welsh Ministers were better acquainted, and some of them in the habit of corresponding, with him. His book, of near 400 pages 8vo. was entitled

" Goleuni wedi torri allan yn Nghymru ;" or, " Light broken out in Wales." The Baptists engaged in this warfare under no small disadvantage. From the circumstances above-noticed, they were obliged to have Mr. Owen's book translated into English, that Mr. Keach might answer it ; and afterwards they were obliged to have Mr. Keach's book again translated into Welsh, that it might appear in the language of the country, in reply to Mr. Owen's performance, and in defence of their own principles. This translation was not well executed, though tolerably intelligible. The book, however served to make their cause appear respectable ; and they might be said to owe more to the goodness of their cause than to the skill or ability of their translator : I know not who he was, but suppose him to be Mr. Robert Morgan, of Swansea, who was an acquaintance and correspondent of Mr. Keach. I do not, however, know that they have among them, even at this time, any that could execute the work better ; for they have been always remarkably remiss in cultivating an accurate knowledge of their mother tongue. Though other sects have among them good Welsh writers, that is by no means the case with them : not one in ten of their ministers is capable of writing a page of common Welsh correctly ; and as to being what may be called masters of a good Welsh style, it is what none of them have any pretension to. I speak this to their shame, and have often thought of it with serious concern. Some time after Mr.

Keach's book made its appearance, Mr. Owen drew up and published a reply to it, in which he assumed rather a lofty tone, as one that was conscious of his superiority; and there the dispute ended.

Mr. Owen wrote several books, some in Welsh and others in English, beside those two just mentioned. His other Welsh books were, 1. "Trugaredd a Barn," or, "Mercy and Judgment;" which is a collection of remarkable judgments upon notorious sinners, with instances of signal mercies vouchsafed to divers good men. This book he recommends his native countrymen to read, instead of monkish tales and romantic fables, with which the vulgar used to divert themselves in winter evenings and at other idle times. 2. A Welsh Translation of the Assembly's Catechism, in which he reduced the questions to the number of weeks in the year, and added something relating to the nature and state of angels. 3. A small tract on the Duties of Ministers and People to one another.—Of his English publications, the following were the chief: 1. "A Plea for Scripture Ordination," proving the validity of ordination by Presbyters without diocesan Bishops, by ten arguments from Scripture and antiquity: this was printed in 1694. 2. A Thanksgiving Sermon, on occasion of King William's wonderful deliverance [from the assassination-plot], 1696. 3. A Defence of his Plea, against the exceptions of Mr. Thomas Gipps, 1697. 4. Remarks on a Sermon of the same Mr. Gipps, 1697. 5. A further Vindication of the Dissenters

from the same gentleman's unjust accusations, 1699. 6. A Reply to the said Mr. Gipps's Letter to a Friend, 1699. 7. A Preface to M. Delme's Method of Preaching, 1701. 8. "Moderation a Virtue;" in defence of Occasional Conformity, 1703. 9. "Moderation still a Virtue," a further defence of Occasional Conformity, 1704. 10. The History of the Consecration of Altars, Temples, and Churches; shewing the various forms of it among Jews, Heathens, and Christians, 1706. 11. "Vindiciæ Britannicæ;" or, a Vindication of Old Britain, in answer to the late learned Bishop of Worcester, 1705. 12. "The History of Ordination;" published after his death.

As a scholar, he stood high in the estimation of his learned contemporaries. Beside an accurate knowledge of the Latin, the Greek, and the Hebrew, he is said to have been no mean proficient also in the Arabic, Syriac, Saxon, and French languages; not to mention his thorough and critical acquaintance with the English and Welsh tongues. In divinity and ecclesiastical history likewise, as well as logic, and other arts and sciences, he had confessedly attained to eminence. Being thus distinguished for so many literary endowments, it can be no wonder that he should be placed at the head of one of those academical institutions where the Dissenters have their young men educated for the ministry. At what time he was appointed to that situation, I am not able to say, but am inclined to think that it

must have been before he left Oswestry, and probably not long after the death of his venerable old tutor, Mr. Samuel Jones, of Brynllywarch, who had long presided over such a seminary with great and deserved reputation. The very worthy and learned Mr. Rees Prythero, or Prydderch, had presided over such another seminary somewhere near Llandovery, and towards the borders of Brecknockshire; but he too was removed by death soon after Mr. Jones. It became, therefore, highly necessary to look out for a proper successor for these good and eminent men, that the work of education which had been so happily conducted by them, might be still continued. Mr. Owen was accordingly fixed upon, and a fitter person could no where, perhaps, be found. His appointment to this situation, as I guess, must have been in 1698 or 1699, and the duties that now devolved upon him he appears to have discharged with great ability, and to the entire satisfaction of all that were concerned. After his death, the seminary, I think, was removed to Gloucester, and from thence to Tewkesbury, under the care of another Samuel Jones, whose character is well known, and his eminent abilities universally acknowledged. This distinguished tutor died in 1719; and then the seminary, I think, was removed to Caermarthen, where it has continued, mostly, ever since.—But to return to Mr. Owen. His studious habits, close and intense and incessant application to literary pursuits, had brought on, at an early period of his life, that dreadful dis-

order, the stone, which has so often proved so terrible and fatal to sedentary men. He had often had most violent attacks of it for thirty years; but latterly they had become more alarming, and he went twice to Bath on the occasion, for the benefit of those celebrated waters, though it does not appear that he received any essential or very material relief from them. In the spring of 1706, as he was preparing to go to Horton, about three miles from Shrewsbury, where he had established a monthly lecture, he was taken very ill, and obliged to send another in his room. He recovered, in some measure, of this fit, and the Lord's-day following, in the morning, he preached; but he had no sooner done so, than he was again taken very ill, and so continued all that evening and the next day. On Tuesday, in the afternoon, he voided two stones, and seemingly recovered. On the following Saturday, happening to ride a hard-trotting horse, a stoppage of urine ensued the next day, yet he preached in the afternoon from those words, "The just shall live by faith:" but it was the last sermon he ever preached. After the suppression of urine had continued a whole week, and all the means that could be thought of for his relief had been used in vain, Dr. Hollings, a very eminent physician, was called in, who also used all the means he could think of, but without success. When the patient found his case become hopeless, he called for his family, and to every one of them bequeathed the legacy of an affectionate, suitable,

and solemn advice, which was very seriously attended to, and made on their minds a deep and lasting impression. To his pupils he said, "I commend you to the grace of God, and am glad his church has such a hopeful prospect in you." He recommended religion to them in the most pathetic terms, assuring them that he would not for ten thousand worlds but have lived as he had. "Now," said he, "I have the blessed comforts of it, and would not for the world be without those divine joys which now refresh me." After he had declared how he was converted in his younger years, and with what entire satisfaction he lived and died in his Nonconformity, he added, among other things, "It was the saying of a great man on his death-bed, that he found no Saviour but Christ, no religion but sincerity; and Selden, one of the most learned men of his age, owned, towards the close of life, that, of the numberless volumes he had read and digested, nothing stuck so close to his heart, or afforded him such solid satisfaction and comfort, as that single passage in one of Paul's epistles—'The grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the Great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.'

(Tit. ii. 11—14.) Grotius also, a wonder of learning, said, that he would give all his honours and learning for the sincerity of poor John of Utrecht." A relation of his, who was a student there at that time, and had been guilty of unbecoming behaviour toward him, asked, "Sir, will you forgive me?" Upon which he took him by the hand, and with a smiling aspect, said, "Forgive thee, child! ay, and pray for thee too: be not, as Esau, the bad son of a good father—be holy, humble, diligent." His children he charged to be frequent in prayer, and reading and studying the Scriptures. He advised them to supplicate the Divine assistance before they read, and always to meditate before they went to prayer. "Speak nothing," said he, "to the Divine Being without serious premeditation, and take heed you do not pour out any crude and undigested expressions before him."

"When the commission of death was opened to him," says his biographer, "he received the awful summons without any discomposure of mind, and submitted to the final stroke with a cheerful and triumphant smile. He died replenished with those joys which the world cannot give or take away. He passed through the gloomy shades in a perfect freedom of mind, and in the transports of a soul that had a believing and a sensible view of the supreme mansions. The terrors of dying were effectually prevented by a holy life. When in the dark vale of

death, gasping for the last breath, his conscience was the most serene—heaven entered into his soul, and the eternal voice sounded, 'Come up hither to the general assembly of the first-born, to God, the Judge of all, to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.'"—He died April 8, 1706, aged 52. On the 11th of April he was decently interred in the church of St. Chad's, in Salop, "attended," says his biographer, "by a numerous and mournful train. The pall was supported by eight ministers in scarves and mourning cloaks." The funeral sermon was preached by his intimate friend, Mr. Matthew Henry, and was afterwards printed. How high his character stood among the Dissenters of that day, will appear from that sermon, and also from the Preface to his Life, written by Dr. John Evans, author of the celebrated Sermons on the Christian Temper, another very intimate and particular friend of his. They both speak of him in the highest terms, as a scholar, a minister, and a Christian; so that we may safely venture to reckon him among the most respectable of the Nonconformists of that age. His name was long revered among the Welsh Dissenters, especially the Presbyterians, who still preserve his memory, and hold it very dear. He continued at Oswestry above twenty years, with a poor congregation and a small income, and resisted for a good while very pressing invitations to remove, especially to Manchester and Salop.

Of the invitation to the former, he, in 1699, wrote to his brother thus: "I have yours, and another from our good Manchester friends, whose importunities I am scarce able to resist, and less able to comply with. If I should remove, Salop will urge hard that they ought to come first into consideration." In another letter he expressed himself as follows: "There was a meeting of our country ministers, who unanimously declared for my removal to Salop, which I have, after many thoughts, at length resolved on: it being a public post, and near the Welsh country, as also to Oswestry and Wrexham, which are very uneasy at the thoughts of my leaving them, especially poor Oswestry, who keep themselves within no bounds of sorrowing. I am much afflicted at their distress of spirit, and am ready to wish I had not passed my word to Salop. Pray for these poor people and me, that God would settle our minds to his honour and glory." He removed to Salop in 1700, and continued there to his dying day, which was about seven years after his removal thither. In the beginning of his last illness, his wife said she hoped God would spare him to bring up his children; to which he answered, "That's the least in my thoughts; for if I may not live to be useful to the Church of God, I desire not to live."—He was three times married. His first wife has been already mentioned; she died in Jan. 1691-2. In 1693 he married his second wife, who was the widow of Alder-

man R. Edwards, of Oswestry; she died in August 1699. In August 1700, he married his third wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Hough, relict to Mr. John Hough, citizen of Chester, and daughter of John Wynne, Esq. of Coperlenny, in Flintshire. This appears to have been a very happy union. "They were," says his biographer, "eminent and conspicuous examples of conjugal fidelity and affection; there was no need of jars and fallings-out to renew their love. So remarkable was the harmony of their minds, that their wills might be justly styled one and the same; which made him often say, that they were not only one flesh, but one spirit." She survived him, but how long I cannot say; nor have I ever been able to learn whether he had any issue by this, or yet by his second marriage.

Before I close this sketch it may not be improper to observe, that it was Mr. Owen who supplied Dr. Calamy with the materials for his Account of the Welsh Ejected Ministers, and which has also appeared since in Mr. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial. That account, as it relates to the Baptists, has been often objected to, as being by no means fair and impartial, and discovering a prejudice and illiberality, and I think I may say bigotry, very unworthy of Mr. Owen, as well as of the two other gentlemen. When the Ejection of those of that denomination is related, some humiliating or unfavourable circumstance is generally introduced, as if the relator wished to

lessen the person, and even the denomination itself, in the opinion or estimation of his readers. This, I think, is a real blemish in these works. Such, however, is the infirmity of human nature in this imperfect state, that it seems no easy task, if at all attainable, even for good men to divest themselves entirely of prejudice, so as to think and speak with thoroughly unbiassed minds of those who differ from them, especially in religious matters: hence an impartial historian, however desirable, is very rarely to be found.

N.B. How superior the Author was to the prejudice he justly laments, this excellent article evinces. Between *Pædobaptists* and *Anti-Pædobaptists* Dr. Richards makes no difference. His enlarged mind was equally disposed to eulogise their talents, their attainments, and their piety. This *the Editor* has no hesitation to affirm, is the spirit of true religion, and, wherever found, is a powerful recommendation of Christianity. It is difficult to say which is greatest, the weakness or wickedness of Bigotry.

WILLIAM JONES,

Of North Wales. So called to distinguish him from another Nonconformist and Ejected Minister in South Wales of the same name; he was a Merionethshire man, and received a liberal education, which was not bestowed upon him in vain. For some time he was the master of the school of Ruthin, from whence he removed to Denbigh, where he was chosen by the Governor, Colonel Twisleton, to be preacher in the castle, or chaplain to the garrison; and about 1648, he became the minister of the parish, in which situation he acquitted himself with diligence and fidelity. There the Act of Uniformity found him in 1662, and as he could not accede to its terms he was of course ejected. When the Five-Mile Act forced him from the town, he retired into Flintshire, where he found a comfortable retreat at Plâs Têg, a seat belonging to the ancient and honourable family of the Trevors, and where some land was generously allowed him by Mr. Trevor. Having lived there several years, he removed to Hope, where he died, and was buried in February 1679, in a good old age. Dr. Maurice, of Abergelly, a Conforming Minister, preached his funeral sermon, and spoke highly of him; he also composed a Latin inscription for his gravestone, no less honourable to his memory. He was a person of a cheerful and pleasant countenance, of unquestion-

able learning, moderation, prudence and piety. He met with many hardships, and endured them as a good soldier of Jesus Christ: one time he suffered three months' imprisonment only for performing family duty in a gentleman's house after he had been silenced. He could not think himself discharged from the duty of preaching the Gospel by the laws of men, and therefore continued his ministry in private, as often as he had opportunity. Being solicited by his wife and relations to conform, on account of his family, he answered—"God will provide: none of you will go with me to judgment." "He had a good report of all men," says Calamy, "and of the truth itself; and he appears indeed to have been one of those excellent men of whom the world is not worthy." When he had no opportunity to preach he would employ his time in writing and translating good books into his native language, for the use of the poor inhabitants; among those were Mr. Gouge's Word to Sinners and Saints, and his Principles of the Christian Religion: which have doubtless been of no small use to many of his pious countrymen. In those books it may be said of him, that, though dead, he yet speaketh.

JONATHAN ROBERTS.

WHERE he was born does not appear; he had his education at Oxford, where he received the degree of M. A. He afterwards became vicar of Llanfair, in Denbighshire, from whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. "He was," says Dr. Charles Owen, "an excellent scholar, a warm disputant, and a truly upright man." The venerable Mr. Philip Henry also describes him as "a learned man, an Israelite indeed for plainness and integrity, a silent sufferer for his Nonconformity, for which he quitted a good living, and died with comfort in the review, September 26, 1684." The summer before he died, he had visited Oxford, Cambridge, and London, where he heard and saw what greatly confirmed him in his dissenting principles. After his Ejection he exercised his ministry in private, as opportunity offered, which was probably not unfrequent, though it could not be done without considerable risk, as the rage of persecution was very violent in that part of the country. He was one of the disputants in that memorable debate concerning Nonconformity, held in the town-hall of Oswestry, September, 27, 1681, between the celebrated Dr. William Lloyd, then Bishop of St. Asaph, afterwards of Worcester, and the learned and famous Henry Dodwell, on the one side, and Messrs. Philip Henry, James Owen, and

our Jonathan Roberts, on the other side. The dispute began at two o'clock in the afternoon, and ended between eight and nine, not at all to the discredit or disadvantage of the Dissenting cause, although the opposite side of the question was supported by two of its ablest and most zealous advocates. "Dr. Lloyd," as Burnet says, "was a great critic in the Greek and Latin Authors, but especially in the Scriptures, of the words and phrases of which he carried the most perfect concordance in his memory, and had it the readiest about him of all men he ever knew. He was," he adds, "an exact historian, and the most punctual in chronology of all our divines. He had read the most books and with the best judgment, and had made the most copious extracts out of them of any of this age. He was so exact in every thing he set about, that he never gave over any part of study till he had quite mastered it. He had many volumes of materials upon all subjects, laid together in so distinct a method, that he could with very little labour write on any of them. He had more life in his imagination and a truer judgment than may seem consistent with such a laborious course of study. In his ministerial duties," he says, "he was diligent beyond any about him, to whom he was an example, or rather a reproach, so few following his example." He adds, that, "he was a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good when he saw a proper opportunity." We owe, I think, to Bishop Lloyd that improved

and complete collection of references to parallel texts, which appears in the margin of some of our bibles. As to Henry Dodwell, he, too, was a very extraordinary man, of extensive learning, and of no small polemical fame. He had appeared against the Dissenters as early as the year 1675, in a piece which was, I think, published that year under the title of "Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government, proved schistimatical;" and which occasioned a controversy between him and Mr. Baxter. He was a superlatively high churchman, and therefore we need not wonder at his being inimical to the Revolution, at which time he appeared among the Nonjurors as one of their most determined and able advocates. He had his oddities and eccentricities in no small measure, and was reputed a lover of paradoxes. His zeal to exalt the power and dignity of the priesthood led him to advance an opinion which exposed him to much censure; namely, that the soul was naturally mortal, and that immortality was only conferred at baptism by the gift of God, through the hands of one set of regularly-ordained clergy! In support of this opinion he published in 1706, "An Epistolary Discourse, proving from the Scriptures, and the first Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal, but immortalized actually by the Pleasure of God to Punishment or Reward, by its Union with the Divine Baptismal Spirit. Wherein it is proved, that none have the Power of giving this divine, immortalizing Spirit but only the Bishops!"

At the end of the preface is a dissertation to prove that "Sacerdotal Absolution is necessary for the Remission of Sins, even of those who are truly penitent." A brother of Henry Dodwell, I think, was the reputed author of that very shrewd deistical tract entitled, "Christianity not founded on Argument." Such were the two advocates on the side of Conformity, in the above-mentioned public debate.

Of Jonathan Roberts, one of the disputants on the other side, some idea may be formed from the preceding account. Of James Owen, his younger associate, I have already given a more detailed account, and of the conspicuous part he acted in the said Oswestry meeting and debate. As to *Philip Henry*, the other associate, his character, I presume, is too well known to require my saying much of him here; it may, however, not be amiss just to observe, that his grandfather, about the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, lived at Britton Ferry, in Glamorganshire; his name was Henry Williams; he had a son whose name was John; he, instead of John Williams, was called John Henry, adopting his father's christian name for his own surname; a practice not uncommon still in Wales. This John Henry removed to London, and had some place at court in the reign of Charles I.; during that time his son Philip was born. He had his name from Philip Earl of Pembroke, who was his godfather. At a proper time he was placed in Westminster school, under the famous Dr. Busby, and was one of the

scholars the Doctor employed in reading Greek authors, to collect materials for his Greek Grammar. In December, 1647, he entered commoner at Christ Church in Oxford. "There," as Calamy says, "he made good improvement in his studies, took his degrees at the usual time, and gained great applause by several college exercises. He settled in the ministry at Worthenbury in Flintshire, from whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. Afterward he met with very hard measures, and suffered much by fines and imprisonment." He finished his course June 24, 1696, aged sixty-six, having with great intrepidity withstood the rage of his violent persecutors for the space of near thirty years, and at last had the happiness to see better times, and to enjoy, for near seven years, that toleration, liberty, and peace, which King William and the Revolution introduced! He left behind him a most amiable and respectable name, and was, doubtless, one of the most pious and excellent men of that or of any other age. His son, MATTHEW HENRY, much resembled him, and is, perhaps, still more extensively known than his father, owing to the very popular character of his Exposition of the Bible.

ELLIS ROWLANDS,

Of Ruthen, in Denbighshire; from whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He had been in the habit, it seems, of making little excursions, and preaching in different places, about the country; which was no dishonour to his character, but the contrary, as it indicated a desire to be useful, as extensively as possible, and to imitate the conduct of him who of all others is most worthy of imitation, and of whom it is said, that he "went about doing good." At the time of his Ejectment he happened to be in Carnarvonshire, and was there hauled out of the pulpit as he was preaching. He appears to have been a very active, laborious, worthy man. After being silenced, he was reduced (says *Calamy*) to extreme necessities, and a collection was made for him at Denbigh. His wife kept a school in Carnarvonshire, for a livelihood, and he drew patterns for the girls to work by. He could not be permitted a quiet abode even there, but was forced to flee into Cheshire, from the rage of his persecutors. His submitting to poverty, and enduring persecution, while with a less stubborn conscience and a more easy virtue he might have avoided them both, was a sufficient proof of his integrity; but how detestable must that government have been under which such a man could not enjoy protection! He died a persecuted Nonconformist about the year 1683.

HUGH OWEN.

He was a native of Merionethshire, and educated at Oxford, whence he removed to London, about the time the Bartholomew Act passed, being then a candidate for the ministry. He soon after settled in his native county, where he lived upon a small estate of his own, and preached the Gospel with unwearied diligence and eminent success. *Calamy* calls him a burning and shining light. He had many places where he used to preach in Merioneth, and nearly as many in Montgomeryshire. He also sometimes made excursions into Carnarvonshire, and other parts, and used to perform his circuit in about three months, and then begin again. His preaching was very affectionate, moving, and impressive. Great numbers attended his ministry, and were much affected by it. His painful and incessant exertions impaired his health; which is not to be wondered at, as he often rode in the night, and in cold rains over the mountains, scarcely allowing himself necessary food. He rarely ate any flesh, and avoided all strong liquors. His principal food was milk, to which he had used himself by lodging in poor houses, where nothing else was to be had. He was a Christian of the primitive stamp, eminently meek, humble, and laborious. One time going to preach, in a frosty, snowy season, he was benighted on the hills, when a sudden storm arose, which drove the snow so violently in his face,

that the horse could not go forward. He therefore let him go as he would, till he perceived himself in danger of the bogs, so that it was not safe to ride any further. After he had committed himself to God in prayer, he left his horse to shift for himself, and walked alone in his boots, in a deep snow, till midnight, when he felt himself so spent, and so affected by the cold, that he despaired of life! Providentially, in a little time he came to a cow-house, into which he attempted to enter; but when he tried the door, he found it barred within. He scrambled about, for above an hour, trying to get in, but to no purpose. At length, when all hope was gone, he discovered a hole at one end of the place, and with much difficulty got in that way, and lay between the cattle till morning. He then crept out, and seeing a house at no great distance, he went to it, and knocked at the door. The good man of the house soon got up, and let him in, when he found his hair and beard frozen, his hands and feet benumbed, his clothes stiff with frost and snow, and himself scarcely able to speak. He made a good fire, gave him some hot milk, and put him to a warm bed, where he lay some hours. When he got up, he found himself so well refreshed, that he went that morning to the meeting-place and preached, without any sensible prejudice. He used to say, he envied no man's gifts, but desired faithfully to improve his own little talent for the service of his Lord. He was tender of grieving

any, and though strict in his own opinion, was candid towards those who differed from him. He often said, he valued no man for his opinion, or his adherence to this or that party, but for what he saw of the grace of God in him! His unblemished and exemplary deportment procured him the esteem of many of the gentlemen of the country, to some of whom he was nearly related. His character was strongly marked by compassion and charity. The numerous poor in his own neighbourhood, and under his extensive pastoral inspection, he constantly visited and relieved. When in his travels he happened to meet with persons suffering by the severity of the weather, for want of proper clothing, he has spared from his own person (not without hazard) what their pressing necessities seemed to require. At a time when the sweating sickness carried off great numbers, and the infected were in want of proper assistance, he diligently attended them, and condescended to perform, even for the meanest, any necessary service. His unaffected piety and goodness made considerable impressions sometimes where little of the kind was expected; of which the following circumstances are instances:—When the Under Sheriff of Merionethshire apprehended him at his own house, in the reign of James II., he appeared very ready to accompany him, but begged leave first to pray with his family, which he was allowed to do. When he had done, the officer being deeply affected with his devotion,

said, he would now have no more to say to him, and so went away, leaving his prisoner at liberty! He was once confined at Powis Castle, but was treated with remarkable kindness during his confinement. Lord Powis, though a Papist, on hearing him pray, said to his priest, "Surely this is a good Christian!" And, on his discharge, engaged him to come to Powis Castle every Christmas. His congregation consisted partly of Baptists, at least the Montgomeryshire part of it; and he was careful in endeavouring to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," with respect to the difference of opinion between them and their fellow-members of the opposite sentiment; reminding them of the sad breach which the want of that had occasioned at Wrexham, where very unhappy differences had taken place. "I press you to this," (said he,) "because it should be the design and desire of every member to increase the kingdom of Christ, to have his image, and not their own, stamped upon the souls of men. If I have the image of Christ stamped upon my soul," (he would say,) "I shall be sure to go to heaven; but I may enjoy both sorts of baptism, and go to hell after all!" He lived to see THE HAPPY REVOLUTION, and survived that memorable and interesting event some years. He died in 1699, aged sixty-two. His son, John Owen, was in the ministry, and attained to eminence, with every prospect of becoming a great man, had he lived; but he died the very next year, I think,

after his father, aged only thirty. The late celebrated Hugh Farmer, of Walthamstow, was a grandson of Mr. Hugh Owen, by the female line. The memory of Hugh Owen is still held in no small veneration by many of his pious countrymen.

N. B. Hugh Farmer, a descendant of those Cambro-Britons, was a man of sterling talents and unaffected piety. He was author of two elaborate productions—the one on *the Demoniacs*, and the other on *Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness*. For many years he was a favourite Preacher at Salters' Hall, and the Editor's late highly valued friend, *the Rev. Hugh Worthington*, held in reverence his memory.

One Article more, respecting a very worthy character, *Dr. Philip James*, and the Cambro-British Biography is terminated. The Editor would here, having a vacant page, just remark, that, whether the Ministers noticed by Dr. Richards in his Volume be *Presbyterian, Independent*, or *Baptist*, the exhortation is applicable to all readers—

"Be ye not slothful, (Heb. vi. 12,) but followers of those who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises."

ACCOUNT

OF

PHILIP JAMES,

COMMONLY CALLED DOCTOR JAMES.

He was born in 1664, in the parish of *Llandeilo-Tal-y-bont*, in Glamorgan, but upon the border of Caermarthenshire; and is said to have been an only child. His parents were of the Established Religion. They designed him, and had him educated, for the Church; but before he took orders he saw reason to change his sentiments, and became a Dissenter and a Baptist. This is supposed to have taken place about the year 1684 or 1685, when his prospect in becoming a Nonconformist must have been superabundantly dark and discouraging. His parents also were grievously offended with him on the occasion; and when they found that they could not divert him from his purpose, or persuade him to adhere to the Church of England, they became exceedingly exasperated against him. So little regard had they for the right of private judgment, or the duty of a young man, and a candidate for the ministry, to examine and determine for himself, in the important concerns of religion. Their resentment is said to have carried

them so far as to turn him at last out of doors, and declare, they would take no farther notice of him. So great appears to have been their zeal for the Church, and their antipathy against Dissenters, and especially those people called Anabaptists!

After being thus discarded, and disowned, as it were, by his parents, on account of his religious principles, it appears that he soon quitted the country, and rambled as far as Liverpool, where he resided for some years; the chief part of which time he lived with a medical gentleman of the Baptist denomination, whose name, I think, was *Fabus*. There he was naturally led to the study of physic, in the knowledge of which he became a considerable proficient, and continued to practise it ever after, with reputation and success; on which account he was commonly called Doctor James.

About the time of the Revolution, or soon after, he returned to his native place, and presently began to preach, in connexion with the Baptist Church which assembled at *Swansea* and other places; and of which he, probably, had become a member before he had quitted the country. What it was that occasioned his return, does not appear. His parents might be reconciled to him, and invite him to return back; or they might be dead, and their property devolve upon him, which would require his presence in the country. However that was, he appears to have then warmly engaged in the work of the ministry, in which he continued ever after with much

acceptance and deserved reputation. At the commencement of his ministry at Swansea, and the neighbouring parts on the confines of the counties of Glamorgan and Caermarthen, he had for his colleague, among several others, the very worthy and respectable *Morgan Jones*, who afterward succeeded as the principal pastor of the church. He was the grandfather of the late *Dr. Morgan Jones, of Hammersmith*; and I remember being much struck some years ago in observing the intimacy which then subsisted between Dr. *Jones* and Mr. *John James*, the grandson of the subject of this sketch; thinking that a similar intimacy had subsisted about a hundred years before between their two grandfathers. Such instances, I presume, are very uncommon; and the circumstance led me to a good deal of serious, and I hope not unprofitable reflection.

Mr. Philip James was for some years very active and laborious among the Welsh Ministers; and appears to have been well beloved and respected by them and the whole connexion. He was also among those who were appointed to preach at the Annual Association; a department which was then assigned to those only who were deemed the most acceptable, judicious, or eminent preachers. There used to be then, in general, but one sermon at an Association; so that it seemed the more reasonable and necessary that the preacher should be a person of established note and respectability. Mr. Philip James was the preacher at the Association held at Llanwenarth, near

Abergavenny, in 1705. This was, probably, the last Welsh Association he ever attended. He removed to England about that time, and settled at *Warwick,* as pastor of the Baptist Church in that town; where he continued a good many years, which he spent honourably to himself, and profitably to his hearers. Afterwards, however, (on what occasion I have not been able to learn,) he removed from Warwick to *Hemel Hempsted,* in Hertfordshire, and took upon him the pastoral charge of the Baptist Church there; the duties of which office he discharged no less usefully and honourably than he had done before at Warwick: preaching to the people, Christ Jesus the Lord, and himself their servant for Jesus' sake; adorning the doctrine he professed by the earnest imitation of his Saviour's example, and continuing faithful unto the day of his death, which happened in 1748, when he was about the age of 84: having been pastor of the church at Hempsted about 30 years, and of that at Warwick 13 or 14. It is supposed that his first visit to Warwick might be in 1703, soon after the sudden and premature death of his friend *John Morgan,* who had lately become the minister of that church, and who died there the 12th of May that year, in the 24th year of his age. He is said to have been a young minister of good learning and of great hopes. A brother of his is thought to have been the *first* master of the Dissenting Charity-School in Horselydown, Southwark. His father, Mr. *Robert Morgan,* was

an ancient minister and school-master, and is supposed to have been the *first* minister of the Baptist Church at Caermarthen. He had passed through the whole length and heat of the persecution, with unshaken perseverance, and unsullied honour. He was latterly, I believe for more than 40 years, co-pastor with the memorable *Lewis Thomas,* over the then widely-extended Baptist Church at *Swansea.* He survived his venerable colleague five years, and departed this life in 1709, having been an unwearied labourer in the Christian vineyard very near, if not quite, 60 years. Being Mr. Philip James's neighbour, particular friend, and pastor, he might get him to go as far as Warwick, after his son's death, to settle any matters that concerned him; and so he might become acquainted with the people there, and be invited to pay them another visit, and settle among them. In that case it is probable he might commence his ministry at Warwick before 1705, and only visited Wales that year, perhaps for the last time, and preached at that Association according to appointment the year before. Be that as it might, I cannot find that he ever visited his native country after that time. He some time after married a daughte of that worthy minister, *Laurence Spooner,* of Curborow, near Litchfield, by whom he had several children. His youngest son, *Samuel,* was for a good many years the worthy pastor of the Baptist Church at *Hitchin,* where he died, I think, about 1773, leaving behind him a very honourable name. He was

succeeded by Mr. *John Geard,* the present pastor. What family Mr. S. James left, I cannot say. A daughter of his married to Mr. *Button,* a very worthy Baptist minister in London. Two of his sons, I believe, reside at Bristol; with the youngest of them I became in early life intimately acquainted; nor has the friendship then contracted been ever eradicated from my mind. I still remember *Isaac James* with unfeigned respect, and undiminished affection. He has employed much of his time in antiquarian researches, and especially what relates to our Dissenting ancestors. The public have been for some time expecting from his pen some interesting memorials of *the Bristol Nonconformists* of other times. It is to be hoped he will not disappoint them at last; and that the work is not delayed for want of sufficient encouragement.

Dr. James was succeeded in the pastoral charge at Hempsted by the worthy and learned Mr. *Clendon Daukes,* who died there, Dec. 12, 1758. Then followed the no less worthy and learned Dr. *Morgan Jones,* who resigned his charge about 1782, on account of ill health, and removed to Hammersmith, but was succeeded at Hempsted by Mr. *Liddon,* the present worthy pastor. I know not of any publication from the pen of Dr. James. His son *Samuel* published, in 1760, "An Abstract of the gracious Dealings of God with several eminent Christians," which was well received, and has gone through several editions; one of which was published by Mr.

Isaac James, of Bristol, in 1805, with many additions and improvements. Thrice happy would it be if more of the sincerity, integrity and fervent piety of the worthy author, and of the good people he there commemorates, were to be seen among the present generation of professors in this country!

CONCLUSION OF THE BIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Isaac James, with whom the Editor is acquainted, still lives at Bristol, and has been for many years one of the tutors of the Baptist Academy. His account of *the Bristol Nonconformists* has not made its appearance. He has just heard from him on the subject in reply to a letter requesting information. The title of his intended publication is "A General History of the Baptist Congregations in Bristol, from their first formation to the present time, including a circumstantial and interesting Narrative of the Origin of *Puritanism*, and the severe Persecutions of the Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians in that city, throughout the Reign of King Charles II., from the original Manuscript of Mr. Edward Terrill, a principal Sufferer; with an introductory Account of the Rise of the Reformation and Sufferings of the Martyrs in Bristol, copious Additions to Mr. Terrill, and a variety of other particulars, by Isaac James." The Editor has transcribed the title at length from the Prospectus of the work, to create an interest in the breast of the reader for

its publication. It will be a disgrace to *the wealthy city of Bristol*, thronging as it is with Dissenters of every description, not to patronise so valuable an history. The writer is by his talents and liberality well fitted for the task he has undertaken. Every conscientious Protestant Dissenter will have to regret that the volume should appear after its writer's decease, when it would by himself be much more satisfactorily presented to the world.

In the preceding WELSH BIOGRAPHY, it must have been observed, that Dr. Richards laments the imperfect knowledge which the ministers of his connexion have of the English language. They labour under great disadvantage, of which the Editor is apprized, having had formerly young men for the ministry under his care from the Principality. But he is happy to say, that the evil is in a degree remedied by the establishment of an *English Academy* at Abergavenny, for students destined to the ministry. The Institution is under the superintendence of the *Rev. Micaiah Thomas*, who conducts it with reputation.

DR. RICHARDS professed only to delineate the characters of *the Founders* and *early Supporters* of the Protestant Dissenting Interest in Wales. Had he lived and noticed a more modern class of labourers in the vineyard, the REV. MILES HARRIS would have been entitled to particular distinction. He presided over the Baptist Church at *Pen-y-garn*, near Pont-y-pool, Monmouthshire, for near half a century. Dying

1776, at an advanced age, he left behind him one son, who had two daughters, both deceased. His *children's children* (one of whom is distinguished in the medical profession at Pont-y-pool) still revere his memory! The old gentleman, whose venerable countenance and portly appearance the Editor well remembers, was connected by marriage with the *Griffiths family*, of whom so much is said in the preceding Biography.

At *Pen-y-garn* it was that his friend and fellow-pupil, the Rev. Morgan J. Rhees laboured with zeal and ability. He emigrated to America, where he was received by Dr. William Rogers, with his characteristic kindness and urbanity, and where he died in 1804, in the meridian of his usefulness and activity, lamented by a large circle of friends as well as by his disconsolate widow and family. No minister understood more thoroughly or asserted more boldly the principles of Nonconformity throughout Wales. The right of private judgment and the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, were his favourite topics, on which he expatiated with an unwearied fervency. He knew they were the basis of Protestanism, and the glory of Scriptural Christianity. One of his sons, through the medium of Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia, has recently transmitted to the Editor the Epitaph of his much-respected father, (see *the Memoirs* of Dr. Richards,) copied by him off his tomb, in the cemetery belonging to the first Baptist Church of that city. The insertion of it will gratify his numerous friends in the Principality.—

A Tribute of Affection,

In Memory of

THE REV. MORGAN JOHN RHEES,

A Native of

Glamorganshire, South Wales,

Born December 8th, 1760.

At Somerset, Pennsylvania,

December 7th, 1804,

The Patriot desisted from the service of his adopted country,
The Christian ceas'd in this Tabernacle to groan,
The Preacher of Jesus finished his testimony!

In 1806,

His Remains were removed to this Family Vault,*

From whence

The Gospel of Jesus insures

A RESURRECTION.

" Come, waft on high!" the heav'nly envoys cry,
" We wait to bear thy spirit to the sky;"
He heard with transport, bade the world adieu—
On their bright pinions up to heav'n he flew!
Now in the bosom of his Saviour God
He finds a calm, a joyful, safe abode—
His precious dust, here mingling with the ground,
Rests *hopeful*, till the Archangel's trumpet sound;
Then fashion'd like its Lord the soul shall see
The Mortal put on IMMORTALITY!—
Adieu lov'd friend—soon shall our spirits meet,
And cast their radiant crowns at Jesus' feet!

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* Of the Loxleys', into which he married.

The Editor has to make his grateful acknowledgment to *Dr. John Rippon,* for the present of a valuable pamphlet, entitled, " A History of the Baptist Association in Wales from 1650 to 1790, shewing the Times and Places of their Annual Meetings, whether in Wales, London, or Bristol, &c., including several other interesting Articles. By JOSHUA THOMAS, of Leominster. 1795." It is a summary of the History of THE WELSH BAPTISTS, and an Epitome of their *Annual Associations,* at which assemble crowds of people from very distant parts of the country. The English reader has no adequate idea of their numbers and accommodation. From *eight* to *ten thousand* have met previous to the year 1790, since which period there has been a three-fold distribution of them. The Editor's ancestors were in the habit of attending them for near a century. Almost every other year the venerable HUGH EVANS, of Bristol, travelled to distant parts of the Principality, at considerable expense, to meet his beloved countrymen—whom by his preaching, both in the *English* and *Welsh* languages, he confirmed in the faith and practice of their common Christianity. Commencing with the year 1736 and ending with the year 1777, at Caerleon, this truly primitive minister of Christ preached on no less than *seventeen* different occasions! The Editor was present at three Welsh Associations—*Llanwenarth,* 1780; *Pen-y-garn,* 1784; and *Pentre,* 1786; all in South Wales.

The number of people was very great. To the last he accompanied his much-respected relative, the late Dr. Caleb Evans, (son of Hugh Evans,) who preached there, (from 1 John iv. 10,) with his usual spirit and animation. Admirable at all times were his pulpit talents. He delighted in doing good. His heart was in the right place. Numerous must have been the seals to his ministry! At the Pentre, they met with *the excellent author* of the above pamphlet, whom they accompanied to Leominster, where they passed the Sabbath, (Dr. Evans preaching three times,) and were entertained with the greatest hospitality. To these *Associations* there is nothing similar in England, excepting the meeting of the General Baptists every Whit-Sunday, at Horsham, in Sussex, which the Editor has more than once attended with singular pleasure and satisfaction. Thus do *the several denominations* in the Christian World, cherishing their peculiar views of Divine Truth, meet together among themselves, zealously disposed to promote the glory of God, and to aid the present and eternal welfare of mankind! On these public occasions, whatever at other times may be their differences, their hearts are attuned to kindness, love, and charity. When the Holy Spirit descended upon the Disciples of Jesus on *the day of Pentecost,* it is said, *they were all with one accord in one place*—the Dove delights in union and peace, —whilst she flees scenes of strife and confusion.

APPENDIX;

CONTAINING, AMONG OTHER ARTICLES,

THE

AUTHOR'S LAST VIEWS

OF

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

WITH AN

Introduction and Postscript

BY THE EDITOR.

——————— Hence we must go
From *Time* and *Flesh*—like a lost feather fall
From the wings of vanity—forsaking all
The various business of the world, to see
What wondrous change dwells in ETERNITY!

CHAMBERLAYNE.

INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Editor wishes it to be remembered, that DR. RICHARDS wrote the following *Hints and Observations* only *three* months previous to his decease. The date affixed to them is May 20th, 1818, and the day of his death was September 13th, 1818. It was his final publication. These were his *last views* of THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. The Author's opinion in favour of *Strict Communion* is entitled to respect, and is here transmitted with fidelity. He had canvassed the long-agitated question, having the recent publications both of *the Rev. Robert Hall* and of *the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn* in his library. Indeed, no individual took more pains to ascertain *the truth as it is in Jesus;* but having once adopted his religious opinions, he adhered to them with tenacity.

Having discharged a duty to a *deceased* friend, the Editor cannot, in justice to himself, dismiss the topic without avowing his own predilection for FREE COMMUNION. It was defended by Robert Robinson

against Abraham Booth on a former occasion. He rejoices that it has again been recently enforced by distinguished talents, and is making an accelerated progress through Christendom. In this country, both among *Particular* and *General* Baptists, the practice is becoming more prevalent; and an intelligent Transatlantic Correspondent (in a letter dated Newport, Rhode Island, December 30, 1819) assures him, that it is spreading over the Continent of America. His words are these: "The sentiments advocated in the excellent works of ROBERT HALL are gaining ground rapidly in *the Eastern States*, and I trust the day is not far distant when Christians of *every* denomination will join cordially in the celebration of that excellent institution of our blessed Saviour—*Do this in remembrance of me.*" The intelligence must delight the benevolent heart. It is not *man's table*, but THE LORD'S TABLE! The pious Pædobaptist should not be excluded from uniting with his brethren in the peculiarly social ordinance of Christians on earth, when *a sure and certain hope* is indulged of meeting him in heaven.

The *Reflections on Allegorical Preaching* were intended by the Author for the amendment of his countrymen in Wales, who certainly are addicted to the practice. But a volume by a son of the late Mr. Brown, of Haddington, indulges this rage of *spiritualizing* to an equal degree of extravagance and absurdity. Let not Welshmen alone bear the blame of this dereliction of judgment, when in justice it

ought to be shared by others. Robinson, in his *Notes on Claude,* remarks, that "the pulpit, which is the seat of wisdom, has also been the sink of nonsense!" He furnishes, indeed, some ludicrous specimens of preaching, poured forth by prelates, before Kings and Nobles of the earth! The most *allegorical* discourse the Editor ever heard was delivered by an Englishman near Newport in Monmouthshire, to a Welsh audience, which terminated in JUMPING!—from Psalm lxxxv. 10: *Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other.* The empassioned preacher took occasion to say, that he had brought along with him *four ladies,* to be espoused by them—MERCY, TRUTH, RIGHTEOUSNESS, and PEACE—who were recommended by their *wealth, beauty,* and *good temper,* as requisites of matrimonial felicity! A sober, judicious address, would not have roused such tumultuous emotions in the heart. Dr. Samuel Stennett, in his *Parable of the Sower,* and Dr. George Campbell, in his *Pastoral Lectures,* have observations on preaching well worth the attention of the religious world.

The piece entitled, *Wickliffe and his Followers,* is evidently a fragment, as the original title was, "The State of Christianity in Wales from the Time of Wickliffe to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth." Had it been completed, the piece would have been inserted in the body of the work. Imperfect as it is, the Editor has thought it worthy of preservation in the *Appendix.* It is a memorable declaration of

WICKLIFFE'S, that "the saving faith of a Christian consists in believing that *Christ* was THE MESSIAH; but the Roman Church has multiplied *Articles of Faith* without number; it is not enough *now* to believe in CHRIST!" Let Protestant churches beware how they imitate this worst part of Popery.

The Sketch of MICHAEL SERVETUS, a frank, indignant exposure of spiritual tyranny, enters a protest not against the religious principles, but against the antichristian conduct of JOHN CALVIN. The Editor, in his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings* of Dr. Richards, had expressed freely the opinion which they both entertained on the subject. This has been the topic of complaint. But it is time that the admirers of the Geneva Reformer should cease to apologize for his intolerance and cruelty. They must and will be ashamed of it. In the burning of the accomplished Spanish Physician, it is not so much *the times* as THE MAN that ought to be reprobated. His, it is to be feared, was private resentment, infuriated by a paroxysm of an uncontrouled and barbarous bigotry! A professed Calvinist, the author of the *History of the Waldenses,* (a work which deserves a place in every Christian library,) hath, to his eternal honour, denounced the conduct of *Calvin* towards SERVETUS, and has accordingly consigned it, without reserve, to the execration of his readers. "It admits," says he, "of no apology!" Earnestly it is to be wished that no apology will be ever again offered. He, be his creed what it may

who attempts to palliate such conduct—is no friend either of religion or of humanity.

The Account of the Sacred Writings is brief, but impressive. The generality of readers know little of the original state of the Old and New Testament. The division of *chapters* and *verses* is a modern invention. However useful for reference, it is marked by frequent and gross inaccuracy. The *titles* of THE CHAPTERS sometimes lead individuals to a false interpretation of their contents. One instance shall be noticed. In many copies of THE BIBLE, the 149th Psalm has this strange title: *The Prophet exhorteth to praise God for his love to the Church, and—for* THAT POWER *which he hath given to the Church*—TO RULE THE CONSCIENCES OF MEN!—Surely this is rank Popery. It is taken from a copy of the Bible dated 1812, and printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, by the printers to the University!! These remains of the cloven foot must be extirpated. The HOLY SCRIPTURES cannot be transmitted to man with too great purity.

These *Tracts,* composing the APPENDIX, are worthy of preservation, and, in this collected form, will augment THE AUTHOR'S already well-deserved reputation. The labour of *the Editor,* however humble, is throughout the entire volume amply repaid. In gathering together these materials, scattered throughout periodical publications to the four winds of heaven, he hath raised a durable monument to *a beloved friend's* memory!

Some of the subsequent pieces, indeed, inculcate sentiments at variance with the general views of the Christian world. But though Dr. Richards hath stated these his own views with a becoming freedom, he would have been the last to *impose* them upon his brethren, or to think less favourably of individuals who, differing from him, persisted in the rejection of them. It is wonderful that men of sense, leaving religion out of the question, can dream of promoting their cause by unkindness and hostility. The New Testament disclaims all violence and bigotry. And could the venerable Author of this Volume burst the inclosure of his tomb, where he silently awaits *the resurrection of the just,* he would renew his ancient strain with the never-to-be-forgotten words of the apostle—in strict accordance with *the Mottos* prefixed to his *Plain Hints* on Primitive Christianity—

Finally, Brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report—if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think *on these things. Those things which ye have both learned and received and heard and seen in me,* do, *and* the God of peace *shall be with you!* (Phil. iv. 8, 9.)

Islington, May 4th, 1820.

No. I.

PLAIN HINTS

AND

BRIEF OBSERVATIONS

ON

Primitive Christianity,

In some of its leading objects and characteristic bearings;

ALSO, ON

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THEIR DISCIPLINE:

Submitted to the serious consideration, discussion, and animadversion of the thinking and candid part of the religious world.

I also will shew mine opinion. Elihu. Job xxxii.

Judge ye what I say. 1 Cor. x. 15.

Yea, and why even of your own selves judge ye not what is right? Luke xii. 57.

Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom. Col. iii. 16.

Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Mat. xxxviii. 20.

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

PREFACE.

CHRISTIANITY is sometimes thought to be a very plain religion; and the present writer himself is of that way of thinking: yet it must be acknowledged that we know of no other religion whose votaries are so much divided in their religious sentiments, as those who call themselves Christians. Nothing can be more different than the opinions entertained among these people relating to their own common religion. So endless a disagreement among the professed disciples of *one common Master*, has produced a notion, which seems pretty general, that CHRISTIANITY, so far from being very plain, must, on the contrary, be very abstruse and hard to be understood. For that reason, it has been thought proper and necessary to employ a distinct order of men to expound it—all deemed equal to the task, and trained up, and set apart for that very purpose. In vain, however, hitherto, have been the labours of these expounders: and no wonder, for they appear to understand their business as little, and to be as much in the dark, as the laity themselves, whom they have so condescendingly undertaken to instruct—at least, they are as far from agreeing among themselves in their expound-

ings and definitions of Christianity as any untutored people can possibly be.

As to the real character of TRUE CHRISTIANITY, the author still adheres to his former opinion, that it is the very BEST of all religions; and also the most PLAIN and SIMPLE—which it must be, to be the BEST, and especially to be of DIVINE ORIGIN: for a religion worthy of God, and emanating from him, and designed for the use of ALL, even the very LOWEST of the people, and PRE-EMINENTLY for them, must NECESSARILY be of the plainest and simplest description.

PLAIN HINTS,

&c.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY, or *Christianity* properly so called, is the perfection of that religion which God, at sundry times and in divers manners, had revealed and communicated to man, as the rule of his conduct and main source of his hope and happiness. This invaluable treasure, and best of divine gifts, came not by the ministry of angels, or mere prophets, but by him who is pre-eminently denominated the *Son of God*, and the *Christ of God*—whence it is properly called, *the Faith of the Son of God*, the *Gospel*, and *Doctrine*, and *Testimony* of CHRIST; *the Truth as it is in Jesus*; or, as we commonly say, THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

This religion bears the plainest, highest, most unequivocal and indubitable marks of divine authority, divine condescension, and unrivalled excellence. "GOD now," saith the Scripture, "hath spoken unto us by *his Son*, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged

our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they." (Heb. i. 2, &c.)

As THIS RELIGION excels all others in the dignity of its Head and Founder, so it also does, as might be expected, in the purity, sublimity, and perfection of all its parts; and it may be added, that it is no less distinguished by its avowed design and obvious tendency to produce a superior order of men, or to form its converts and subjects so as to surpass all others in whatever is truly great, excellent and god-like.—Hence they are denominated *new creatures, new men, born again, born from above, born of God, created in Christ Jesus, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people,* the sons of God without rebuke in the midst of a crooked, a perverse nation, among whom they shine as lights in the world. Our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, says the Apostle, "gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and *purify* unto himself a *peculiar people,* zealous of good works." (Tit. ii. 14.)

This *purity, peculiarity,* and *superiority* of character, is evidently one of the principal effects that CHRISTIANITY was intended to produce in its recipients; and when any who call themselves *Christians* appear destitute of this high and distinguished attainment, or not to be earnestly pressing towards it, they can have no just right to assume that name. The bare profession of CHRISTIANITY is of no avail,

and at best but a flimsy and wretched, hypocritical mask, without the possession of the Christian character. This character originates in the reception of the Gospel, or belief of *the truth as it is in Jesus;* which first operates upon the mind, by enlightening it, giving it new ideas of divine things, and furnishing it with new principles of action, which influence and form the outward conduct, and cause the man to forsake his old evil course and walk in newness of life, die unto sin, and live unto God, put off the former conversation or old man, and put on Christ.

In fact, *the true Christian Character,* is neither more nor less than THE SAVIOUR'S IMAGE borne by his servants; and *Christianity,* in its most essential part, consists in the imitation of JESUS CHRIST and conformity to him. He is that great object that *Christians* are always to have in view, and the pole-star that should ever direct and regulate their progress. By having their eyes constantly directed to, and fixed on him, his image becomes reflected, as it were, upon them, so that he may be said to be *formed* in them and to *live* in them. (Eph. iv. 24; Gal. ii. 20.)

From the transcendent character which *the Author and Finisher of our faith* sustains, we may justly infer, as has been already suggested, the corresponding excellence of his doctrine, or religion—an essential part of which excellence consists in its tendency and efficacy to convert, or transform those who truly embrace it into a new and superior order of men—more enlightened, more virtuous, more holy, more

heavenly, and more happy than what any other religion was ever capable of producing.

In short, every thing in THIS MATCHLESS RELIGION—its discoveries, doctrines, ordinances and institutions, may be said to be all calculated to produce this excelling and glorious effect—and so especially is the character of its GREAT HEAD and LEADER, Pattern and Exemplar, who incomparably excels all others: and this religion essentially and substantially consists, as was hinted before, in the *imitation* of, and a *conformity* to him.

But that imitation is a *work*, or *course*, that cannot be pursued, and that conformity is unattainable, without self-denial, bearing the cross, and enduring tribulation and reproach.—Hence OUR LORD says, "Whosoever will come after me, let him *deny* himself, and take up his *cross*, and follow me.—Whosoever will not bear his *cross* and come after me, cannot be my disciple.—If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. Because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."* (Mark viii. 34; Luke xiv. 27; John xv. 18, 19.)

* The proper imitation of CHRIST is a line of conduct so very different from, and so much above the whole course of the world, that it must incur the hatred of all real worldlings; not excepting those of the most devout and sanctimonious description among them, because the very appearance of it is a direct reflection upon, and obvious and legible exposure of their empty pretensions and fallacious assumptions.

THE APOSTLES also declared to the *Primitive Christians,* that they must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God; and that all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution; and that hereunto they were called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps. (Acts xiv. 22; 2 Tim. iii. 12; 1 Peter ii. 21.)—He came, not in worldly pomp or splendour, or as a triumphant Messiah, as the Jews expected, but as a suffering Messiah, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, as the prophets foretold: and his real disciples must be partakers of the same, and go out unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach. The world hated him, and it will hate all who bear his image, or are really his followers. "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple to be as his master;—if they called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household!" (John xv. 20; Mat. x. 24, 25.)—Thus *the imitation* of Christ insures severe trials, sufferings, and reproach, as connected with the attainment of that superiority of character of which we have been speaking.

But THE RELIGION that produces this character may be carried on without temples, without pulpits, and without priests, (except in the sense in which *all real Christians* constitute what the apostle calls *a holy and royal priesthood,* 1 Peter ii. 5, 9,) as was the case in the primitive times. Thus, in the same

Epistle, v. 3, what our translation calls God's *heritage,* might be more literally rendered God's *clergy,* which means the flock or church at large, or the whole body of the faithful, and not a particular or distinct order of men bearing that name, which was utterly unknown in the days of primitive and pure Christianity, and sprung up among its corruptions. As to temples or chapels, as it has been observed by a very able writer in a recent publication, "It is not known when the first building was erected by Christians for the sake of public worship. There is no trace of any such thing in the apostolical writings. We read there of the church (or assembly) at a person's house, which was held in a room in that house, used afterwards for other purposes. In these meetings, every one took a part according to his peculiar gifts. There was no such thing as a service exclusively performed by one person, with a peculiar character attached to him; and it would be well for Christians to consider whether the change from the apostolical mode of worship has not been exceedingly detrimental to the cause of the kingdom of God."*

* In a letter to Dr. Richards, his worthy Correspondent, DR. WILLIAM ROGERS, acknowledging the receipt of this paper, and alluding to the above paragraph, pertinently asks this question—"But don't we read of *one pulpit,* at least Ezra's, even though it must have been a large one?"—Nehem. viii. 4: *And Ezra the Scribe stood upon* A PULPIT *of wood, which they had made for the purpose,* &c.

EDITOR.

The same writer observes, that "soon after the great departure from the spirit of CHRISTIANITY, in the usurpation of bishops and pretended fathers of the church lording it over God's heritage, magnificent buildings were erected in imitation of the Heathen temples. In these, a degree of pomp was displayed little consistent with the humility of the first teachers of CHRISTIANITY.—Many of these structures were destroyed at the time of Dioclesian's persecution: but they raised their heads again when Constantine formed his establishment in Church and State, and the temples of the Heathens were violently seized from them and converted to the purposes of the new superstition," which had already been not a little heathenized, and in no long time acquired a character worse than heathenish.

"On the great revolt from POPERY" (our author adds) "a considerable and very advantageous change took place in the services of these churches, the principal of which were, the reading of THE SCRIPTURES in the vulgar tongue, and the interpretation of them at stated times by the officiating minister. The plan adopted by the sect established by law, was in general pursued by the parties which dissented from it, and congregations listened to the voice of their teacher, seldom thinking of the duty of exhorting each other, but leaving that task to the officer whose peculiar business it was deemed to be. In this manner things were conducted for upwards of two hundred years in this country, (except among

some of our most obscure sects,) when it struck some eminent men, distinguished by their piety, that this could never have been the intention of the first founders of Christianity, that one should be appointed a teacher, and the rest remain in a state of pupilage all their lives. They began to diffuse the notion, that all were interested in religion, and unless they all felt that interest, there must be a coldness in divine worship, and very little feeling of universal benevolence. In consequence of this, Churches were formed by the society which now goes under the name of METHODISTS, and is entitled to a high degree of respect. They were not content with the formal instruction and devotion of one day of the week, but they divided their society into classes and bands, by which they might conveniently meet at other times in their private houses, and mutually edify each other. This is a very great improvement upon the former plan; for by this the talents of all are brought forth, and it is found that others, besides those who are called men of learning, are capable of communicating the spiritual things of God; and that many have gifts, which, under the former system, might have been buried for ever."

This plan certainly deserves great commendation. *Methodism* owes to it no small part of its increase and prosperity. It habituates the people to consider religion as a common concern, which requires every one, in right earnest, to act his part in promoting it. Hence they are generally found carrying on their

cause with co-operation, energy, and perseverance—while too many of their religious neighbours appear to depend entirely on the address and management of one man, who is the sole *performer*, and while he stays and pleases, all is well, and the cause thrives; but if he removes, and an equally accomplished and acceptable *actor* cannot be found to succeed him, the cause soon languishes and droops, the society is perhaps quite broken up, and the doors shut: or, if a few still remain, they go on lifelessly, as those may be expected to do who have no better bond of union or principle of action—and instead of resorting to the New Testament for direction, they will take to the reading of the sermons of some favourite demagogues, no way tending or calculated to make them correctly acquainted with the nature, design, and formation of a Christian Church, or the privileges and duties of its members.

A CHRISTIAN CHURCH, properly so called, is the most respectable of all earthly societies, or communities. It is in the New Testament denominated the house of God, the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth. (1 Tim. iii. 15.) Of such a society, or assembly, Jesus Christ is said to be the *head*, and the church is called *his body*. (Col. i. 18; 1 Cor. xii. 27.) In which there should be no schism, but a general concern and care manifested by each particular member for the preservation, safety, and welfare of the rest: such being the main design and purpose of their being embodied and

associated.—"Obedience to the commands of Christ," (says a certain recent writer,) "is the only satisfactory evidence of our love and discipleship. Without it, all our professions are empty sounds. It is this alone can make a Christian more useful than other men; for it is by his obedience he becomes the salt to preserve, and the light to enlighten mankind. Disobedience to Christ's commands is that alone which, with Christians, ought to be considered as an offence or crime." (Luke xvii. 1.)

From obedience to the commands of CHRIST being evidence of our love and discipleship, and disobedience constituting the only real offence in Christianity, it will clearly appear that a Christian Church is a holy union or confederacy of human beings, at the age of discretion, to promote virtue and to check vice; to elicit truth, knowledge, wisdom, piety, and happiness; and to check and finally destroy every thing that is opposite to them.—It is on this ground church fellowship becomes necessary: without it, Christians, like grains of sand, may be assembled by thousands, and yet each and all are individualized, because they are without union, and without union the whole body is but one person, having but the individual strength of each separately, instead of the united strength of the whole body.

In bringing CHRISTIANS into *church fellowship*, it would be necessary to consider their numbers, the nearness they live to each other, and how they were brought to receive Christianity.—If called by the

means of an individual, and he living among them, such person would naturally become their Elder; and he, as far as he was capable, should complete the work he had begun, by persuading them to unite in fellowship, and have *Elders* appointed over them, in order more effectually to promote the great end of their Christian profession.—Such an appointment would be necessary even in their smallest divisions or confraternities: and when their numbers increased, or a union of several of those small bodies might be deemed expedient, the appointment of *a presiding Elder* over those united bodies and their respective primary *Elders,* has been thought to be countenanced in the New Testament, and recognized in *the angels* or *messengers* of the churches, mentioned by Paul, and by John in the Revelation.

Be that as it may, *the primary Elders,* as the writer above alluded to has observed, seem, from the whole of the apostolic writings, to be absolutely necessary for every Christian Church, however small their number. It belongs to the first branch of Christian organization, and renders the society complete, in its capability for mutual edification and improvement. These elders or leaders, from the superior opinion that is had of their knowledge, become interested in promoting the intent for which the society is formed, and advancing them in their Christian progress.

Not so the presiding Elder. His office is not

essential to the being of a Christian Church any more than that of a deacon or deaconess. They are all necessary when the church is sufficiently numerous to require their aid, and can find persons possessed of the requisite qualifications. They are not every-day characters; but Christian Churches tend to form them, and will do so, if the members have but patience, and act upon *the rules* of THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The members of a CHRISTIAN CHURCH should consist only of such as had previously *confessed* with the mouth *the Lord Jesus;* or, in other words, such as had made a personal and public *profession* of faith in him, and expressed an earnest desire to observe all things whatsoever he has commanded—thereby evincing that they were not ashamed to own him as their Lord and Saviour, take up his cross, and bear his reproach. None that are unwilling to make such a *confession* or *profession* ought to obtain admission into a Christian Church, for they can have no business there, disdaining, as they appear to do, to pay any regard to the very first of Christian duties.—A CHURCH consisting of such characters resembles any thing rather than a society of primitive Christians, anxious for each other's welfare, and engaged fraternally to observe each other's conduct, and warn, and reprove, or admonish, as the case may require.—But here an inanimate, soulless body presents itself—a community without communion—a

flimsy coalition, without any efficient bond of union, or consolidating principle—a lawless assemblage—a mere rope of sand.

THE PRIMITIVE CHURCHES met on the first day of the week, and broke bread, which appears to have been one of the chief objects of those weekly assemblies. Those congregations consisted of both men and women, and there the latter were to be silent: but the women appear also to have had their separate meetings for their own particular improvement and edification, under the superintendence of the Elders.—These *New Testament assemblies* shew the nature of Christianity, as intended to improve the minds and purify the hearts of all the individuals which composed them, so as to train them up to become exemplary characters, and shine as lights in the world.

Each of these Churches was considered as a distinct body, and the individuals which composed it as the respective members of that body, of none of whom could the others say, "We have no need of you." They were all to be useful and active, and had important parts to perform, like the different members of the human body!—In fact, they were embodied for that very purpose, that they might serve one another, warn, caution, advise, admonish, or reprove, as occasion might require. All which, from the nature of their union and relation, they had a right, and were in duty bound to do.

But how different these primitive societies from

those that are produced by the preposterous whimsicalities of our time, when the people are often brought into social contact without any apparent why or wherefore, and without the least idea of being under any obligation to watch over or observe the conduct of their associates or fellow-members, to see that it be correct, and worthy of their holy profession, or such *as becometh the Gospel of Christ!*

The constituents of THE PRIMITIVE CHURCHES, like those that belonged to the Hundreds and Tithings of Alfred, were required, and considered themselves as bound, to watch over the conduct of their fellow-members, to promote and preserve among them, to the utmost of their power, a correct and becoming deportment. They were taught also that a neglect in this important duty would implicate them in the guilt and blame of the misconduct of any of their associates—thus the Corinthians were reprehended for their neglect of duty in the case of the incestuous person. (1 Cor. v. 2—6.) Most of the churches of Asia likewise, and especially their angels, or elders, were most seriously reproved for their neglect, in regard to disorders and misdoings that had taken place among them. (Rev. ii. and iii.)

"Whilst man is man," (says a writer before alluded to,) "there will not be a state of human society which will not at times require discipline; but the end of discipline in a Christian Church is correction: where this is lost sight of, it is no longer discipline, but misrule.—In a Christian Church, acting

under the authority of JESUS, the lawgiver's language is, 'If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; if he repent, forgive him. If he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times a day turn again to thee, and say, I repent, thou shalt forgive him.' (Luke xviii. 3.) Again, 'If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone. If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.' (Matt. xviii. 15.) The next step is, 'But if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouths of two or three witnesses every word may be established.' (Verse 16.) The third and last step is, 'But if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.' (Ver. 17.)"

Nothing can be more explicit and positive, or more wise and benevolent, than this law; and yet how seldom it is that RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES make it their rule of action! What sad work has been done, in innumerable instances, by not attending to the two first steps in this golden rule! By not keeping the case in the first instance from the knowledge of all but the offending brother, and in the next instance from all besides, but two discreet brethren, what grievous evils have often ensued!—even to the utter destruction of all peace and harmony, and the total dissolution of what were previously deemed flourishing churches:—so necessary it is to

observe *the laws of Christ* with the utmost exactness, even in the discipline of Christian Societies, as well as all other parts of his religion.

From these premises some idea may be formed of the nature of that discipline that ought to be observed in CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. But, alas! how little disposed our modern religionists appear to be, for the most part, to be guided by such very unfashionable New-Testament rules! They feel themselves above admonishing their associates, or giving themselves any serious concern about the morality or immorality, the worthiness or unworthiness of their lives and conversation. All this, it seems, belongs to the religion of other times, and of another sort of Christians—one of whom once said to his brethren, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, teaching and admonishing one another."—Also, "If any man obey not our word by this Epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed. Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother."

CHRISTIANITY is not, in the first instance, an association of the wise and virtuous, but of such as have seen their past errors, and associate together, that they may become both virtuous and wise. All, therefore, have habits to get rid of, and habits to acquire, and *admonition* at times will be necessary for all. It is a duty which every one owes to his brother, when he thinks there is occasion for it.—When admonition, however, has not had its desired

or subduing effect, the church, in love and out of tenderness to their brother, are called to adopt more severe measures. An expression of disapprobation, yet of the most fraternal concern, is to be manifested by the whole community.—"Mark them which cause divisions and offences, and avoid them," says the apostle. (Rom. xvi. 17.) And again, "Note that man, and have no company with him." (2 Thess. iii. 14.)

If that course will not do, the next step is, "We command you, brethren, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which ye received of us—after the first and second admonition, reject him—and finally, Let him be unto thee as the heathen man and the publican." This seems to be a sketch, or outline, of the discipline which existed in the Primitive Churches.

These premises, compared with the general representation of the subject in THE NEW TESTAMENT, appear to justify this conclusion, that A CHRISTIAN CHURCH is formed upon such principles as are best adapted to promote its object. It is the natural order of society, exhibiting a simplicity of character far exceeding any other social institution: and when such a body is animated and actuated by *the true Christian spirit*, it must be the strongest and most perfect of all the societies ever known in the world.

The members of THE PRIMITIVE CHURCHES appear

to have been united closer, and by stronger bonds than most of our modern associated religionists have ever imagined. They were the bonds of love, love of the brethren, in "the truth, for the truth's sake, which," saith the apostle, "dwelleth in us, and shall be with us for ever." (2 John 1, 2.) These bonds would keep them united, whatever changes might occur: their elders or pastors might die, or remove, without endangering or dissolving their union, while these far stronger ties remained.

This grand operative principle of *love to the brethren,* was to them a decisive evidence of the genuineness of their conversion: "We know," says the apostle, "that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother, abideth in death." (1 John iii. 14.) It was also the prime motive or main-spring of that labour of love and brotherly kindness, which their social and fraternal relation called them to manifest and exercise towards each other, after the example of the love of Christ to them: "He laid down his life for us," says the apostle, "and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." (1 John iii. 16.) Their labour of love to each other must, by this, extend very far indeed, even to the greatest risks and perils. Nor is it to be wondered at, as it was a part of their duty towards God, or of the service he required from them, and which they were called to discharge at all hazards, and at the risk even of their very lives. "Neither count I my life dear

unto myself," says the Apostle, "so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus." (Acts xx. 24.) The same sort of fidelity was required of all Christians, even to those of the lowest degree.

From the preceding observations it must appear, that *the social religion of* THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS was very different from that of most of our modern religionists; and that they entered into a state of Christian fellowship under very different impressions from those that are felt by most of the moderns, who seem quite insensible of all those sacred ties which so closely knit together the members of the primitive churches, and which preserved a visible and real separation between those churches and the world. Their ideas of the nature of that separation appears to have confined their churches to those who had publicly and solemnly professed *repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.*

No notion had they, that any, or all that happened to be present at their assemblies, or chanced to attend there, had a right, on that ground alone, to enjoy the privileges of Christian Church-Fellowship, without any inquiry being made after the correctness of their moral or religious characters, and without any confession, or declaration on their part that they believed in THE SON OF GOD, and were desirous to be his followers, and *observe all things whatsoever he*

had commanded. Of this, I say, they appear to have had no notion; or they would hardly have thought it necessary afterwards to be so careful in *noting* and *marking* those among them whose lives proved incorrect, and such as did not *become the Gospel of Christ,* and even to *reject* them, *turn away,* or *withdraw* themselves *from them,* and *have no company with them, &c.*

All this pretty clearly implies, that they had not neglected to require, from all who had joined them, some specific declaration by way of pledge, at their first admission, of their attachment to CHRIST as *their Lord and Master,* and their fixed determination to follow him through dishonour as well as honour, through evil report as well as good report: and this well accords with the open confession usually (and we believe constantly) made by the primitive converts, at the commencement of their Christian pilgrimage, that they "believed Jesus Christ to be the Son of God."

The notion here combated was broached some years ago, and industriously propagated ever since in different parts of the country. It always appeared to the present writer an untenable and antiscriptural notion, no ways calculated to promote genuine Christianity, or that superiority and excellence of character, which it evidently appears to be one of the main ends of that holy religion to produce. He has therefore always expressed himself hostile to it,

and now considers himself as fully justified in urging the reasons contained in the preceding pages on the opposite side. The case he thinks deserves the serious consideration of all professing Christians. He wishes to promote discussion, which, properly conducted, may be expected to prove favourable to *the cause* of TRUTH.

If, however, the positions advanced in these premises, be well founded—if CHRISTIANITY be really and pre-eminently intended to produce this superiority, excellency, or peculiar holiness of character in its professors, it surely must be not a little suprising, that it has been so little held up and attended to, by most, if not all our different denominations of religionists in this country.—How often are seen among their communicants individuals of more than equivocal characters, who yet go on from year to year without any steps being taken to admonish, correct, or reclaim them!—Very little regard, in such cases, appears to be paid to OUR SAVIOUR'S memorable question, "What do ye more than others?" evidently implying that *more* was to be expected from his real disciples, than from any other men.

To conclude—It has long been the opinion of the present writer, that one of *the main ends* of CHRISTIANITY is to produce a superior order of men in the world, excelling all others in righteousness and true holiness, and whatever is really estimable; and that in order to attain, or promote that important end,

BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER, and the rest of the social observances noticed in the New Testament, have been instituted, and which appear to be appointments of *perpetual obligation*—which to dispense with, or lay aside, would be to dispense with and lay aside some of the appointed means of promoting the said important and invaluable end.

On this ground he has felt himself constrained to oppose the present prevailing Antibaptist and open-communion notions, as well as that neglect and extinction of discipline which now disgrace so many of our religious communities.

May 20th, 1818.

No. II.

REFLECTIONS

ON

Allegorical Preaching;

OR THE

PREVAILING PRACTICE

OF WHAT IS CALLED

SPIRITUALIZING THE SCRIPTURES:

WITH

A FEW HINTS

ON

SOME OTHER RELIGIOUS ABUSES.

DECEITFUL workers, blind guides, vain babblers, men who wrest THE SCRIPTURES, and handle *the word of God deceitfully*, are characters which the inspired writers have spoken of with the most pointed disapprobation and abhorrence. They evidently stand opposed to those who are called "good and faithful servants, good stewards of the manifold grace and mysteries of God, scribes instructed in the kingdom of heaven, who bring out of their treasures things

new and old, workmen who need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." That there have been formerly in the religious world many of the above description, who miserably employed themselves in corrupting *the word of God*, is beyond all doubt: nor is it to be supposed that they are now become extinct, or so decreased as to be reduced to a small number. On the contrary, they are still, probably, as numerous as ever, if not more so, and they seem to have crowds of admirers almost every where! There may, doubtless, be said to be many different sorts of them; but it is the design of this paper to notice only a few, and chiefly the ALLEGORIZERS or SPIRITUALIZERS of scripture, who follow what they often proudly call the *spiritual plan* of preaching, and who figure pre-eminently among our modern popular preachers, and so largely contribute to blind the minds of their hearers, and hide from their sight the real meaning, and beautiful simplicity of divine truth. In the hands of these men THE BIBLE becomes a mere plaything, or childish riddle! They may be said to make whatever they please of any. and of every text: even the historical parts of THE SACRED WRITINGS are by them allegorized and spiritualized, twisted and tortured, without mercy and without shame.

But to begin with the OLD TESTAMENT. No portion of Scripture, perhaps, has furnished them with more suitable or ample materials for the exercise of their fertile and wicked invention than the book

of *Canticles*, or Solomon's Song, where they have actually managed to discover all the doctrines, precepts, and institutions of the New Testament. Thus in Cant. iii. 9, the *chariot* is made to signify the human nature of CHRIST, or his church, or the covenant of grace, or rather the Gospel, and the ministration of it, in which CHRIST shews himself, as in a chariot, in the glory of his person, offices, grace, and love, &c. The chariot being made of the *wood of Lebanon*, the cedar, which is both incorruptible and of a good smell, is made to denote the incorruptness of the Gospel as dispensed by faithful ministers, and the continuation or duration of it, notwithstanding the efforts of men and devils to the contrary; and the acceptableness of it to the saints, notwithstanding the efforts of men and devils to the contrary, &c. And this is called *a spiritual opening of the text*, although no key from God can be produced for such an operation, or any authority from him to sanction such an interpretation!

The book of *Ruth* also, and *Esther*, are fields where these Allegorizers have often industriously and successfully exercised themselves. Thus in Est. x. 3, *Ahasuerus* has been made to signify God the Father, and *Mordecai* the Jew, our Lord Jesus Christ; Mordecai's being great among the Jews, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed, have been all applied to the state of things between Christ and his people, although there is not the least

appearance or probability that the inspired writer, or the spirit of God, had any such meaning; yet this is called *giving the spiritual sense of the passage.*

As to *Ruth,* the remarkable allegorization and spiritualization which her striking story has undergone, are so well known as hardly to need a particular description: one instance, however, may be given—Ruth i. 1, 2: "Now it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled, that there was a famine in the land; and a certain man of Bethlehem Judah, went to sojourn in the country of Moab, he and his wife, and two sons; and the name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife Naomi," &c. &c. In spiritualizing these words, it has been said, that "the believing church is Christ's *Naomi,* his sweet and pleasant one, and he is her *Elimelech,* her God and king. For her he foorsook the mansions of plenty and delight (by the bye Judea was not a land of plenty when Elimelech left it); with her he sojourned in a Moabitish world, amongst enemies to the God of Israel; there he died an accursed death, to accomplish her salvation; there he was buried to purify the grave for her use; rose again, to trample on all her enemies; and is now gone to Bethlehem, the house of bread, to prepare a place for his Naomi, on her arrival from the land of Moab." This also has been deemed a striking and beautiful spiritual interpretation of the passage.

Nor has the book of *Joshua* proved a barren ground, or dry breasts, to these spiritual interpreters,

as appears from a discourse that has been delivered from chapter xv. and verses 16, 17, and 19, of that book:—" And Caleb said, he that smiteth Kerjath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife; and Othniel, the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it, and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife, and he gave her the upper springs and the nether springs."

After giving out the text, " Here" (said the preacher) " is Kirjath-sepher and Caleb, and Othniel, and Achsah! See what secrets and mysteries the Holy Spirit hath couched under these veils! For, as the names are Hebrew, they express nothing to an English reader; but read those in English—take off their veil, and you may see what honey will come out of the mouth of the eater, and out of the sting what sweetness!—What then is Kerjath-sepher? In Hebrew it signifies *the city of the book*, or *the city of the letter*. In the next place what is Achsah? In Hebrew it signifies the *rending of the veil*. And then, what signifies Caleb? In Hebrew it is as much as to say, *my heart*, or a *perfect heart*. And what then is Othniel? In Hebrew it is *God's time*, or *the Lord's fit opportunity*. The text, beloved, in English, is to be read thus:—And my heart, or a good heart, said, that whosoever taketh and smiteth the city of the letter, to him will I give the tearing or rending of the veil. And Othniel took it, as being God's fit time, or opportunity, and he married Achsah, that is, he *enjoyed the opening or rending of the veil*,

and thereby obtained the blessing possessed by Achsah; for by this veil being rent, he became possessed of the *upper springs* and of the *nether springs*."

In applying this doctrine to common use, the preacher exhorts his hearers to strike at the letter of Scripture with the vigour of Othniel, in order to get at the possession of the spiritual meaning, which, like the coy Achsah, veiled from the public eye, must be sought with assiduity, before it can be enjoyed with freedom.

"Let a good heart," (says the preacher,) "*use* the letter of the word, and spare not,—take it, strike it, smite it, tear it, chew it all to pieces; not because he hates the letter, but as men do by meat, they tear it, champ it, chew it between their teeth, not because they hate meat, but because they would get all the nourishment of it they possibly can."

This spiritual preacher's name was *Everard*.

In the book of *Judges* also many passages have undergone a similar process; and many more still from *Deuteronomy, Numbers, Leviticus, Exodus*, and *Genesis*. From the latter, *Leah's sore eyes* have been made to signify the blindness of the Jews, who could not see clearly, and therefore rejected Christ. And even the story of Rebecca's nurse, Deborah, in Gen. xxxv. 8, has been made to undergo the same kind of spiritualizing operation: Rebecca has been made to mean the believer; Deborah the law; the death and burial of Deborah, the law's ceasing to have dominion

over the believer. Moreover, the *oak*, there mentioned, has been made to denote the cross of Christ, which triumphs over the law, and *Bethel* made to intend the house of God, where the believer obtains the happy deliverance.

Also in 2 *Kings* iv. 38, &c., the *great pot* has been construed as denoting the Christian ministry; *wild gourds*, unsound doctrine; and the *meal*, the pure truth, which operates as an antidote against error.

I have known 1 Sam. xxx. 13, to have been spiritualized as follows:—the *Amalekite* was made to denote the *devil; the Egyptian*, an unconverted man: all unconverted men are servants of the devil. —His falling sick denoted a sinner under conviction; his master's leaving him in that case, denotes the devil's withdrawing from those that are under conviction, or concerned about their souls and spiritual state.

Also the *thirty chargers of gold*, and the *thousand chargers of silver*, and *nine and twenty knives*, in Ezra i. 9, have been employed in the same way; but I forget their spirituality, as I also do that of the *two legs* and *piece of an ear*, in Amos iii. 12, which have been applied to the same mystical, allegorical, or spiritual use. The *instrument of ten strings*, in the Psalms, has been made to denote *man;* the ten strings, his *five* bodily senses, and *five* faculties of the soul. In Isaiah xl. 20, and xliv. 17, he that is impoverished, and hath no oblation, who is said to

choose a tree that will not rot, has been construed as signifying the convinced or awakened sinner choosing Christ, before whom he falleth down, saying, "Deliver me, for thou art my God," &c.

Numerous passages in THE NEW TESTAMENT also have been subjected to similar management; such as the journey of the wise men to Bethlehem, guided by the star; that of our Lord to Galilee, when he must needs go through Samaria; that of the two disciples to Emmaus, to whom our Lord made himself known; that of Saul to Damascus, in the character of persecutor of the Christians, and of Christ himself; and his voyage afterwards from Judea to Rome, as a faithful, zealous, and suffering servant of Christ, &c. &c. For further information of this kind, and additional specimens of the work of spiritualizing, the reader is referred to the productions of the *Hutchinsonians,* as well as those of *Jacob Behmen,* and his mystical adherents: also those of *James Relly,* and of *William Hunt,* or *Huntingdon,* and their respective disciples; those of the *Muggletonians* also might be here added, whose extravagancies have been seldom, if ever, exceeded: nor ought the *Swedenborgians* be here forgotten, who are pre-eminent for their spiritualizing skill, but who have a plan, a system, and even a language peculiar to themselves, claim exclusive privileges, and insist very gravely that the true sense of Scripture is nearly, if not entirely, unknown to all but those of their illumined and favoured fraternity! To all these may be added the productions of not a

few of our most popular preachers, whose crowded congregations and numerous adherents bestow upon them the honourable appellation of *evangelical*. The above classes or descriptions of spiritualizers have each its own particular creed or system, to support and elucidate which, their spiritualizing labours are made subservient; and they seem scarcely to agree in any thing, but in corrupting the word of God, under the pretence of spiritualizing it; which certainly must be a serious and sad consideration. It is certainly most devoutly to be wished that they might be convinced of their folly and presumption, and persuaded to relinquish this unworthy and unjustifiable practice, (which can deserve no better name than *handling the word of God deceitfully,)* or, at least, that they could be prevailed upon not to exercise this ingenuity or talent of theirs upon the Sacred Writings. If they, really, must be still practising in this way, let them rather take their subjects or their texts from the Heathen poets, or Pagan mythology: and should they be at a loss for a model or directory for that purpose, I can assure them there is an admirable one to be found, ready to their hands, in old ALEXANDER ROSS's *Mystagogus Poeticus*, or *the Muses' Interpreter*, the sixth edition of which, corrected and enlarged, was published in 1676; which contains abundance of what may be called *skeletons of sermons*, some of which are in a strain that some people would call *highly*

evangelical. One of them being but short, I beg here to subjoin as a sample or specimen.

[Text.] "GANIMEDES." [*Exordium.*] "He was the King of Troy's son, who, whilst he was hunting, was caught up to heaven by an eagle, Jupiter's bird; and, because of his extraordinary beauty, Jupiter made him his cup-bearer.——INTERPRETATION [or *skeleton of a sermon*]. 1. When *Ganimedes* was caught up to heaven, he let fall his pipe, on which he was playing to his sheep; so whilst we are carried up by divine raptures and contemplation, we must fling away all earthly delights.—2. Whilst *Ganimedes* was piping on his cane, and keeping of his father's sheep, then was he caught up to heaven. God is never better pleased with us than when we are faithful and diligent in our calling; not the sad and melancholy, but the cheerful mind is fittest for God and heavenly raptures.—3. *Ganimedes,* (Γαννυζαι μητεν,) is one that delights in divine counsel, or wisdom; and wisdom is the true beauty of the mind, wherein God takes pleasure.—4. Every eagle is not Jupiter's bird, as *Ælian* observeth, but that only which abstains from flesh and rapine, and that was the bird which caught up *Ganimedes;* so fleshly minds and thoughts set upon rapine and carnal pleasures, are not fit to serve God, or to carry the soul up to heaven.—5. The quick-sighted eagle is divine contemplation, or meditation, by which *Ganimedes,* the soul, is caught up to heaven.—6. When,

by holy raptures, we are carried up to heaven, the best nectar we can pour out to God is the tears of repentance and of a broken heart.—7. *Ganimedes* was caught up by one eagle only; but if we have the true inward beauty of the mind, we shall be caught up in the air by legions of angels, to meet the Lord, and shall for ever serve him at his table in the kingdom of heaven.—8. I wish that the *Roman* eagle would not delight so much in rapine and man's flesh as he doth; but rather endeavour to be carried up to heaven, that is, to their ancient dignity, the decayed and ruinated parts of their empire.—9. As the eagle caught up *Ganimedes,* so the wings of a great eagle were given to the woman, Rev. xii., to carry her from the dragon's persecution: the great eagle was the *Roman* empire, whereof Constantine was the head, by whose power and help the church was supported.—10. Our Saviour Christ is the true *Ganimedes,* the Son of the Great King, the fairest among the sons of men, the wisdom and counsel of his Father, in whom God delighted and was well pleased; who, by the power and on the wings of his divinity, was caught up to heaven, where he is pouring out his prayers and merit before God for us; and, like *Aquarius,* (to which *Ganimedes* was converted,) is pouring down the plentiful showers of his grace upon us.—11. *Vespasian* set up the image of Jupiter, and *Ganimedes* caught by the eagle in the temple of Peace; so the image of God and heavenly

raptures, are found in the soul wherein is the peace of conscience.—12. As the eagle carried *Ganimedes*, so *Moses* compareth God to an eagle, who carried the *Israelites* on his wings through the desart. And *St. Ambrose* saith, [Serm. 62,] that Christ is the eagle who caught man from the jaws of hell, and hath carried him up to heaven."

The above may serve as a specimen of the notable and rare contents of the said book of Alexander Ross; many of the other articles are no less curious and striking, and some of them even more so, if possible; but they are generally much longer, and therefore not so fit to be exhibited on the present occasion. Some few short extracts, however, may be here added, which serve to shew further what might be done by our SPIRITUALIZERS were they to turn their attention in good earnest to the Pagan mythology, and the works of Heathen authors, and leave the Bible to those who are disposed reverently to attend to its natural, genuine, and obvious import or meaning, and who deem it too sacred to be subjected to the wild and wayward fancies and reveries of any set or class of men whatever, however confidently they may arrogate to themselves the title of evangelical or spiritual teachers.

In the book referred to, when *Hector* becomes the author's theme, after having observed, under head 5, that he was the bulwark, pillar, and chief safeguard of his country, and was called by *Homer* the Eagle

of Troy, and also its *Hand,* (as Æneas was called its *Mind,*) and was at last slain by *Achilles;* he adds, under head 14,

"Our blessed Saviour is the true and only *Hector*, the glory, pillar, and safeguard of his church; the great Eagle that will scatter our enemies like geese before us; the hand to defend, and the mind to counsel us; whose presence only brings safety and true happiness to his church. His body was worse mangled by the soldiers than *Hector's* was by *Achilles;* but the love and wisdom of his Father defended his body from the dominion of death, Satan, and the black dogs of hell; as also from putrefaction, according to that, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy Holy One to see corruption:* from which his Father redeemed him, not with gold, but with his power."

Again, when the author comes to spiritualize *Hercules,* he says, under head 19,

"Our blessed Saviour is the true *Hercules,* who was the true and only Son of God, and of the Virgin *Mary,* who was persecuted out of malice, and exposed to all dangers, which he overcame; he subdued the roaring lion, that red dragon, that tyrant and devourer of mankind, the devil; he subdued the *Hydra* of sin, the *Antæus* of worldly affections: he, by his word, supporteth the world; Satan is that *Cacus,* [ὁ κακος,] that sea monster, from whom, by Christ, we are delivered; it is he only that went down to hell, and delivered us from thence; he alone

travelled through the torrid zone of his Father's wrath; he purged the *Augean* stable of Jewish superstition and Heathenish profanation; he overcame the world and all his enemies, and hath killed the eagle of an evil conscience, which continually fed upon the heart of man," &c. &c.

Afterward, while spiritualizing *Niobé*, he observes at head 8,

"*Amphion, Niobé's* husband, was an excellent musician; he made the rude stones hop together and make up the walls of *Thebes*; but he that put life into dead stones, and civilized such rude and senseless creatures, could not, for all his music, charm his wife's pride and insolence! Our Saviour Christ, by the sweetness of his evangelical music, charmed the Gentiles, and of stones raised children to *Abraham*, causing men to meet together towards the building of the New *Jerusalem*; but yet he could not prevail with the Jews, which he had married to himself, neither could he cure their pride and obstinacy: though he piped, they would not dance."

Again, at the article or section of *Orion*, he says, under head 8,

"Blind *Orion* carried *Cedaleon* on his shoulders, by whom he was directed and guided towards the sun; even so the blind Church of Rome carried the Protestant Church, even in the time of her greatest blindness, upon her large shoulders, who was directed by the Protestants in all ages, towards Christ; but she would not go, and in this her condition was

worse than that of *Orion*; for he followed his directors and received his sight; but she persecuted and killed her directors, and continues yet in blindness. If ye ask then where the Protestant Church was before *Luther?* I answer, upon the shoulders of blind *Orion*, or of the Romish Church, directing her to the Sun of Righteousness."

Further, and lastly, when he comes to spiritualize *Orpheus*, he observes, under the 8th head, that

"The same *harp* of *Orpheus*, when it was handled by him, charmed the beasts, and tamed their wild nature; but being handled by *Neanthus*, King *Pittacus*' son, in *Lesbos*, so enraged the dogs, that they flew upon him and tore him. By this we may see what different effects one and the same thing can produce, being used or abused; and how by the same harp of God's word, some are tamed, others enraged; some saved, some damned; to some it is the savour of life, to others of death: the Apostles, that by the harp of God's word tamed thousands of wild Gentiles who were no better than brute beasts, by the same harp so enraged the dogged natures of persecuting tyrants, that they proved worse than wolves or bears.

Afterward, in the same discourse, he says, under head 14,

"Christ is the true *Orpheus*, who by the sweetness and force of his evangelical music, caused the Gentiles, who before were stocks and stones in knowledge, and no better than beasts in religion, to follow

after him: it was he only who went down to hell to recover the Church his spouse, who lost herself by running away from *Aristeus*, even goodness itself, and, delighting herself among the grass and flowers of pleasure, was stung by that old serpent the devil! What was in vain attempted by Orpheus, was truly performed by our Saviour, for he alone hath delivered our souls from the nethermost hell; and at last was he torn with whips and thorns, and pierced with nails and a spear upon the cross for our transgressions."

The reader sees by this time what might be done with *the Pagan mythology*, and the writings of the ancient Heathens, in the spiritualizing way, as well as what has actually been done in that same way, by the memorable ALEXANDER ROSS, who discovers no less adroitness in managing those materials than the other operators do in managing the Scriptures for that purpose. I am not indeed an admirer even of Mr. Ross's operations; but I think them more harmless than those of the others, inasmuch as his materials are less venerable. The Scriptures surely are too sacred to be played with, or subjected to such unhallowed and arbitrary experiments. Such a conduct ought by no means to be countenanced: all who have a due reverence for the inspired writings and their divine Author, ought to set their faces against so unworthy and unwarrantable a practice. I recommend Alexander Ross's plan to these spiritualizers, in preference to that which they now

pursue, not as a faultless plan, but as the most so of the two; of two evils, if both cannot be avoided, we have been long taught to choose *the least*; and if they cannot be prevailed upon to relinquish entirely this spiritualizing practice, let them by all means adopt the plan of Alexander Ross, rather than the other; or let them take their texts or subjects from the *Pilgrim's Progress.* But it would certainly be far better for them to avoid such wild and pernicious ways altogether, and attend to the Scripture according to its obvious import and native simplicity.

It would be an endless task to enumerate or describe the strange vagaries of some of our spiritualizing orators.—I have known it declared and affirmed, that CHRIST is meant by the *Greyhound* in Prov. xxx. 31, and the preacher has been heard to pray to our Lord under that name!—Such preachers have also been heard representing CHRIST as a horse-breaker, or tamer of wild colts, and apostrophizing or exclaiming, "Lord, when we think what sorts and what numbers of wild colts thou hast undertaken and managed to tame, we cannot help considering how thou hast escaped breaking thy neck!"—but these things are too horrid to enlarge upon, or relate.

I knew a popular preacher, who in speaking of God's being the *Shepherd* of his people, took upon him to describe in his sermon, that shepherds have usually a *dog* attending them, and that God, in that particular also, resembled a shepherd. He too, quoth he, has his dog, to wit *the Devil,* whom he sometimes

sets on to frighten the sheep, and to bring them back when they go astray; but when he begins to worry and use them roughly, he calls out to him "Stop, Towser!"

Some of the better sort of these preachers are fond of entertaining themselves and their hearers, by preaching on odd texts, detached phrases, and even monosyllables, such as *if, but, why, where, &c.* which, though it may be very diverting and acceptable to the superficial, who generally constitute the major part of a congregation, must yet appear trifling and childish in the eyes of all sober-minded men, of correct understanding or real discernment. How unlike is such kind of preaching, and all the kinds of preaching noticed in this paper, to that which we meet with in the Gospels and book of Acts, to which the preachers of whom we are speaking seem never to have paid any serious attention. Some of these men also have a most awkward and unbecoming practice in their devotional exercises, or prayers, of addressing the Almighty in a way of coarse familiarity and blunt demand, the very reverse of that solemn reverence, devout thanksgiving, and humble supplication, with which all men ought to approach unto, and address their Maker. They rudely rush, as it were, into his sacred presence, telling him (with an affected, arrogant bluntness, that would ill become an address even to our equals) how matters stand, in the mean time, with them and their neighbours, as if the Deity needed their information; and

they *demand* rather than *supplicate* the immediate supply of their wants, as if the same were a matter of *right* more than of *favour:* in which they seem to follow the advice of a certain popular preacher, of the 17th century, who, in a sermon before Parliament, laboured, by a long train of particulars, to prove, "that *believers* ought not to stand upon *niceties* with God, but to press the point, whatever it may be, so home to him, as to put him out of countenance, if he should prove backward in giving what they solicit!" These things are certainly very awful, and much to be lamented, but they are only a part of those numerous corruptions of Christianity which have long existed in the world:—may the period soon arrive when the whole body of religious abuses and corruptions shall be done away, and all things restored to that simplicity and purity in which they were exhibited and left by OUR BLESSED LORD and his *Apostles,* and are still found in the New Testament! *Amen.*

No. III.

WICKLIFFE

AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

Dark and deplorable was the condition of Wales in the ages preceding the Reformation, and especially after the reduction or subjugation of the country under the power of England, by the arms of Edw. I. The country was then put under martial law, and by that law such as were thought disaffected to the conqueror, or to the new order of things, were every where massacred, and, among them, all who were known to be of *the Bardic Order*, who, from their well-known love of national freedom and independence, were looked upon as stirrers of the people to sedition,* and were therefore sacrificed without mercy! They continued afterwards a proscribed order till the reign of Henry IV. when the Government, it seems, viewed them in a more favourable light, by the good offices, probably, of William Her-

* See the Gwedir Memoirs, published from the original MS., by Judge Barrington, p. 62.

bert, the first Earl of Pembroke of that name, who, with others of his family, warmly patronised the British Bards. Thus it happened that they found lenity under a prince who proved exceedingly intolerant and cruel to the poor Lollards, against whom his horrid law, "*De Hæretico Comburendo*," was enacted, which long continued the curse and disgrace of England. WALES, after it was annexed to the crown of England, was long overspread with thick darkness and superstition, and even with every species of barbarism. The galling yoke of their civil and religious rulers lay hard on the necks of the helpless and hapless inhabitants. For a long series of ages, and particularly from the reign of the first Edward to that of his great grandson, Richard II., they appear to have been left in the concerns of religion entirely to the wretched guidance of blind priests and mercenary monks, of whom there was always a pretty plentiful stock, who did every thing but administer a wholesome instruction, or point out to the people the right road to truth, righteousness, and happiness.

In the reign of Edward III. appeared that great English luminary, JOHN WICKLIFFE, whose situation at Oxford gave him no small advantage to promulge his principles, and disseminate them far and wide, by means of his numerous disciples, most of whom were Englishmen, some from different parts of the Continent, and a few, it seems, from Wales. These disciples, when they left the University, carried back

with them their newly-imbibed principles, and diligently endeavoured to spread them among their respective countrymen. Many of them were also powerfully patronised by several of the nobility and gentry, and particularly by the memorable *Sir John Oldcastle*, Lord Cobham, who maintained a great number, and employed them as itinerant preachers on the borders of Wales, and divers other places, where his possessions lay, or his influence extended. Of this distinguished and illustrious nobleman, one of our most early promoters of reformation, and firmest and most able opposers of Popery and arbitrary power, a further account shall be given hereafter. Among WICKLIFFE'S *Cambro-British Disciples*, no one appears to have been more active, conspicuous, or respectable, than

WALTER BRUTE. He was brought up at Oxford, where he became a graduate, but did not take orders, though it might probably be his original intention. His birth-place is supposed to have been somewhere about the borders of the counties of Brecon and Hereford. It appears from his own account, preserved by Fox, that both his parents were Cambro-Britons; and he himself evidently possessed no small portion of that honest patriotism, or love of his own nation and native soil, which has been long characteristic of his countrymen. His parents and relations do not appear to have been in great affluence. They ranked probably among the reputable freeholders, farmers, or yeomanry of those parts, which station

he himself also seems to have assumed after his return from Oxford; for, in one of his defences, before the Bishop of Hereford, he calls himself a *husbandman*.—It is likely he became a convert to Wickliffe's principles in the early part of his residence at the University, and acted upon them afterward more consistently than many others, in the exercise of his own judgment; or, rather, that he carried his ideas in some things further than what WICKLIFFE himself and the generality of his followers did. He seemed to hold the unlawfulness of *oaths*, on all occasions, and also of *war*, as well as the priest's claim to *tithes*. Of the *priesthood* itself he appears to have been no admirer; and therefore orders, or ordination, was not by him deemed necessary to qualify a person to preach the Gospel. On the contrary, he seemed to think that any man who understood and believed the Gospel had a very good right to preach and publish it to the world: hence he himself never went into orders, or passed under any form that is called ordination; so that his enemies would never class him among those who were in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders; but they denominated him a *learned layman*, and sometimes called him by much worse names. Religious intolerance and persecution he utterly disallowed, and did not admit that the jurisdiction of church or state, priest or magistrate, the ecclesiastical or civil power, extended to matters of conscience. For civil and religious

liberty, and the right of private judgment, he appears to have been a warm as well as consistent advocate. By some of his sayings, he seemed to disbelieve the necessity of Water Baptism, at least to infants, and to view faith and hope in the Son of God as the only essentials of salvation. With those good people, who long afterward appeared in the world under the name of *Quakers*, he agreed in many things, and in others with the people called *Baptists*.*

* Many of *the Lollards*, or *Wickliffites*, it seems, were Baptists, especially in the two dioceses of Norwich and Ely. At Chesterton near Cambridge, in the latter diocese, we hear of a congregation of Lollards of that description (i. e. of Baptist principles) as early as about the middle of the 15th century. In the year 1457 it was broke up and suppressed. Six of the members were before the Bishop accused of heresy, and condemned to abjure and do penance, half naked, with a faggot at their backs, and a taper in their hands, in the public market places of Ely and Cambridge, and in the church-yard of Great Swaffham. "It was pity" (says my author) "the poor souls were forced to abjure the twelfth article of their accusation, in which they are said to have affirmed—'All priests and people in orders are incarnate devils.'" [Robinson's Preface to the 2d Vol. of Claude, p. 54.] The same writer also says, "I have seen enough to convince me that *the present English Dissenters*, contending for the sufficiency of Scripture, and for primitive Christian liberty to judge of its meaning, may be traced back, in authentic MSS., to the Nonconformists, to the Puritans, to the Lollards, to the Vallenses, to the Albigenses, and I suspect through the Paulicians and others to the Apostles. These churches had sometimes a clandestine existence, and at other times a visible, I wish I could say a legal one;

How long he had laboured about the country, in disseminating his religious principles, before he was interrupted by the monks and priests, and brought before the rulers as an evil-doer, does not clearly appear; but it seems to have been some years, which yet may be thought somewhat wonderful, when one considers the unceasing vigilance of the ecclesiastics of those times. It may, perhaps, be accounted for from the intricacy and obscurity of the country where he chiefly laboured, as well as the great precaution and secrecy he might observe in carrying on his operations. Nor is it at all unlikely that he might, for several of the first years, enjoy the patronage of some powerful persons, as was the case with WICKLIFFE himself, and many others; but afterward, when the power and rage of the Church had increased beyond all measure and bounds, it might not be in the power of those kind patrons to screen him any longer.

About the year 1383 he seems to have taken an active part with WICKLIFFE and others in opposition to the proceedings of Pope *Urban*, who was then at war with Pope *Clement:* the former lived at Rome and the latter at Avignon:—for there were then two Popes; two infallible heads of the Church—each

but at all times they held more truth and less error than the prevailing factions that persecuted them. One branch uniformly denied the baptism of infants, all allowed Christian liberty, and all were enemies to an established hierarchy reigning over the consciences of their brethren."

damning the other without mercy, and bloodily seeking his destruction! In the year already mentioned Pope Urban published a bull, in which he called upon all who had any regard for religion to exert themselves in its defence, by taking up arms for him against his rival, Clement and his adherents, promising for the encouragement of the volunteers in this service the same plenary pardon and indulgences as had been usually granted to those who were engaged or had lost their lives in the eastern Crusades or Holy War. This popish bull met with no small success in England, owing perhaps in some measure, if not chiefly, to Urban's having chosen an English Ecclesiastic for his General. This was Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, "A young and stout prelate, (says Fox,) fitter for the camping cure than for the peaceable Church of Christ." This reverend warrior having obtained an aid or subsidy from the English Parliament, set out upon his expedition full of crusading ardour and holy zeal, at the head of fifty thousand foot and two thousand horse. These furious Crusaders turned their arms against Flanders, which, however, was not on the side of Clement, but had actually acknowledged Urban. After ravaging the country and taking many towns, and defeating the Flemish forces which had attempted to oppose them, an effectual stop was at last put to their career by the French King, Charles VI. at the head of a powerful army. In short, the expedition ended dis-

gracefully as it deserved, and not very unlike a certain invasion of Holland in modern days.* A war, in which the name of religion was thus prostituted, roused the indignation of WICKLIFFE, though now in the decline of life; and he once more took up his pen, and wrote against it with great spirit. In a very free manner he expostulated with the Pope, and boldly asked him, How he durst make the token of Christ on the Cross (which is a token of peace, mercy, and charity) a banner to lead on to slay Christian men, for the love of two false priests, and to oppress Christendom worse than Christ and his Apostles were oppressed by the Jews. "When" (said he) "will the proud priest of Rome grant indulgences to mankind to live in peace and charity, as he now does to fight and slay one another?" This severe and spirited piece drew upon WICKLIFFE the resentment of Urban, and might probably have involved him in great trouble, had he lived; but he died the very next year, and so got beyond the reach of the Pope and all his myrmidons, his bulls, his bears, and his crusades! WICKLIFFE was certainly a wonderful man for the time in which he lived. It may not be amiss to mention his definition of saving faith:—"The saving faith of a Christian" (said he) "consists in believing that CHRIST was *the Messiah*;

* Upon the Bishop's return, the King ordered the temporalities of his see to be seized, and several of his principal officers imprisoned, for not following their instructions.—Rapin, I. 460.

but the Roman Church has multiplied articles of faith without number. It is not enough now to believe in Christ." Had he lived at this time of day, he probably would not have confined to the Church of Rome the charge of multiplying articles of faith, and making it not enough to believe in Christ, as it is to be feared there are *many other churches* that would now come under the like imputation.

Walter Brute, as was before hinted, took an active part with WICKLIFFE, in opposing the bull of Pope Urban, and condemning the bloody expedition of the Bishop of Norwich, as appears from the charges brought against him some years after, at his first appearance before John Tresnant, Bishop of Hereford. There he is expressly accused as having openly, publicly, and notoriously avouched, that such as preached or preferred croised matters and pardons,* (granted

* Pope Urban promised the *full remission of all their sins*, not only to all who crossed the seas in that quarrel, and personally engaged in that bloody crusade against the other Pope and his adherents, but also to all who would engage to pay any number of able soldiers employed on the occasion, and even to all such as would advance any part of their substance to the said bishop toward defraying the expenses of the expedition.—The *Pope's absolution* was expressed as follows: "By the authority apostolical to me in this behalf committed, we absolve thee, A. B. from all the sins confessed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and whereof thou wouldst be confessed if they came into thy memory; and we grant unto thee plenary remissions of all manner of sins; and we promise unto thee thy part of the reward of all just men,

by the high bishop to them that helped the purpose of the Rev. father, Lord Henry, by the grace of God Bishop of Norwich, when he took his journey upon him, to fight for the holy father, the Pope,) were schismatics and heretics, and that the Pope could not grant such manner of pardons. Also, that he had oftentimes said, and commonly avouched, that the Pope was Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the law and life of Christ. Also, that he had avouched and laboured to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give tithes or oblations; and if any man will needs give, he may give them to whom he will," &c. Such were some of the principal charges then preferred against him. Another was, that he had avouched and taught that the sacrament of the altar is not the very body (of Christ) but a memorial only. Thus we may easily perceive on what sort of ground he stood, and what manner of transgressor he was, and, withal, what was the real complexion or character of his prosecutors.

His first appearance, above alluded to, and examination before the Bishop of Hereford, seem to have

and of everlasting salvation; and as many privileges as are granted to them that go to fight for the Holy Land, we grant unto thee; and of all the prayers and benefits of the Church, the universal Synod, as also of the holy Catholic Church, we make thee partaker."—Can any one wonder that the indignation of such men as Wickliffe and Brute was roused at such barefaced and horrid impiety?

taken place in or about the year 1391, and it was probably the first time he was brought into trouble, though he had been actively engaged in disseminating his principles, and promoting the good cause in which he had embarked, for several years before; and he is said, moreover, to have been seriously accused as a delinquent and heretic before the preceding Bishop of Hereford, and also the Archbishop of Canterbury; but that business seems to have proceeded no further than complaint or accusation. His conduct now, perhaps, was become more open, and the effects of his labours more visible. He might no longer be able to observe his former caution and secresy, and so would become unavoidably more exposed to the observation of the church spies, who would not fail to give speedy information, and raise the devil. It appears that the priests and their party were, or affected to be, much alarmed and shocked at his goings on; they therefore furiously proceeded against him, resolved at all events to have him silenced and crushed. The bishops, priests, and monks, together with the nobility and gentry that were under their influence, took up the business in good earnest: even the king himself (Richard II.) appears to have taken an active and determined part against him. All which would seem to indicate that he was really deemed no mean or insignificant person, and that his exertions or labours had not been without considerable success, and were likely to be attended with still more, if they suffered him to proceed. Having to do with so many enemies,

and enemies of such description, what chance could he have of fair play, or of escaping, after he had once fallen into their hands? He had, doubtless, some worthy fellow-labourers in those parts; but it does not appear that the names of any of them are now remembered upon earth, except those of *William Swinderby* and *Stephen Bell*, neither of whom was, probably, from Wales. The former was a Lincolnshire clergyman, and a disciple of WICKLIFFE, who had fled into those parts from the persecution that had raged against him in his own country. But the diocese of Hereford, and the recesses of the Welsh mountains, proved to him no safe retreat, though he probably might have had some such expectation. A grievous persecution was there raised against him, and he is supposed to have suffered afterwards among those who were burnt for their faith in the cruel reign of Henry IV.! What countryman Stephen Bell was, cannot now be said; but he, too, was deemed a very dangerous person, and a mighty outcry was raised against him, as well as Walter Brute and William Swinderby. Many crimes, of course, were laid to their charge; some of which were, their preaching in woods, cottages, and such unhallowed places, and their shifting or changing their abode, hiding themselves in starting holes, lurking from place to place, appearing sometimes in the diocese of Hereford, and sometimes in obscure parts of the neighbouring Principality, and so rendering it the more difficult for

their pious pursuers, good creatures! to get at them, and take them up, &c. If such were among their worst deeds, one may pretty safely conclude that they were not bad men, but rather the followers of them, of still more ancient times, of whom THE WORLD WAS NOT WORTHY; "*who wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; wandering in deserts, and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.*"

No. IV.

BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

SERVETUS.

[From the Monthly Repository, Vol. I. p. 449.]

To the Editor of the Monthly Repository.

SIR,

"ALL things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," has been laid down by our Lord Jesus Christ, as a first principle of his religion, and an invariable rule of conduct for his followers. Had all who have borne his name been always careful to act accordingly, a bitter and bloody spirit would never have been found among them; nor could they ever have been the advocates or abettors of intolerance and persecution. Calvin, in that case, would never have imbrued his hands in the innocent blood of Michael Servetus; nor would his followers, at this day, ever attempt to

justify or palliate his murderous conduct. In short, they would think and speak with horror of that most black and bloody deed, and earnestly warn and dissuade one another against every thing that may lead in the remotest degree, to the imitation of that part of Calvin's character or behaviour. That, however, does not seem to be yet the case among them. An undue attachment to that unfeeling demagogue, and a disposition and readiness to vindicate or extenuate his very worst actions, are still as visible as ever. In a very popular periodical publication belonging to that party, the Evangelical Magazine, of which no less than 18,000 copies are said to be circulated every month, instances frequently occur, which but too plainly evince that modern Calvinism is by no means free from the antichristian spirit of its founder. In some late numbers of that work, (those for March and May,) attempts have been made, if not directly or absolutely to justify, yet at least to palliate and excuse the part which that Reformer acted in the above memorable and detestable tragedy. But it no more admits of excuse or palliation, than does the part the Jews acted against Christ and his apostles, or that which the inquisitors and other modern persecutors have acted against their hapless victims; if, indeed, so much: for Calvin ought to have known better; he had been himself a persecuted man, and forced to flee out of his own country, where he could expect no mercy, and to take refuge among strangers. For such a man to become the merciless and bloody

persecutor, and even murderer, of a friendless stranger, fleeing for his life from the deadly rage of wicked men, passing quietly along to seek refuge in a strange land, as had been before his own case, must surely have been the very perfection of human baseness; and for his present followers to take upon them to vindicate or palliate such a conduct, and the very murder itself, must be truly infamous and detestable. I humbly conceive it will be no way improper or unseasonable to lay before your readers the following short narrative of the above memorable transaction, as it may prevent their being misled by false representations, enable them to form a right judgment upon the case, and confirm their attachment to the honourable and glorious cause of RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Much is daily said among us of the right of private judgment, the value of liberty of conscience, the necessity of free inquiry in religious matters, and the duty of making an open and honest confession of our faith; but no sooner does any one exercise the said right of private judgment, or use his liberty of conscience, or inquire freely after divine truth, and openly declare the result, if his sentiments happen to differ from those of his neighbours, than he is viewed by them as a dangerous person, and treated as an evil-doer. This applies not only to Calvinists, but also to Baxterians, and orthodox Arminians: nor are our more heterodox and unpopular sects always quite free from the same inconsistency. It

is a case much to be lamented, and proves of no small service to the prevailing cause of scepticism and infidelity. On this topic, however, I will not now enlarge, but shall proceed to the proposed narrative. In the mean time, I remain, Sir, your humble servant,

1806. G. EMLYN.

A Brief Account of MICHAEL SERVETUS, *and of the Treatment which he met with from several of the Reformers, and particularly from* JOHN CALVIN, *who caused him to be taken up, and put to Death, for differing from him in Opinion, and opposing his Doctrine.*

MICHAEL SERVETUS (called also Michael Servet, or Servede) is said to have been born in 1509, at Villaneueva, or Villanova, in Arragon; or, according to others, at Tudelle, in Navarre, where his parents had, probably, removed from Villanova. His father, who was a notary, bestowed on him an excellent education, and is said to have sent him in due time to the University of Thoulouse, to study the civil law; but that seems rather doubtful. It has been thought most probable that his childhood was spent at Tudelle, his native place. "There," says one of his biographers, "Jews, Moors and Christians lived at ease; and there, most likely, he received his education, and his notions of civil and religious liberty, as well as his knowledge of physic, and his

peculiar sentiments of religion. He was a student in his earliest youth, and understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and, in some degree, philosophy and mathematics, before he was fifteen. His residence at the said University, if he ever did reside there, was, most probably, subsequent to that period. At what time he first imbibed his Anti-trinitarian and Baptist principles, does not appear; but they seem to have been among his most early religious sentiments, and he soon became very fond of them."— "After he had been two or three years at Thoulouse," says another of his biographers, "he resolved to retire into Germany, and set up for a Reformer. He went to Basil, by way of Lyons and Geneva; and, having had some conference at Basil with Oecolampadius, he set out for Strasburg, being extremely desirous to converse with Bucer and Capito, two celebrated Reformers of that city. At his departure from Basil, he left a MS. against the Trinity in the hands of Conrad Rouss, a bookseller, who sent it afterwards to Haguenau. Thither SERVETUS went in 1531, to get it printed: that piece was published at Strasburg and Frankfort before the month of August that same year. When brought into Switzerland, several Protestant divines were much displeased at it. Oecolampadius, writing on the occasion to Bucer, says, "I saw this week our friends at Berne, who send their salutations to you and Capito. They are very much offended with a book entitled, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, which some

of them have seen. I desire you would acquaint Luther, that this book was printed out of this country, and without our knowledge: for, to mention but one article, it is an *impudent thing* to affirm, as the author does, that the Lutherans do *not understand the doctrine of justification.* But that man, whether he be a Photinian, or of any other sect, thinks he knows more than every body else. Our churches will be very ill spoken of, unless our divines *make it their business to* CRY HIM DOWN.* I beseech you, in particular, to keep a watchful eye over it, and to make an apology for our churches, at least in your confutation inscribed to the Emperor. We know not how *that beast* came to creep in among us; he wrests all passages of Scripture, to prove that *the Son* is not *co-eternal* and *consubstantial* with *the Father,* and that *the man Christ* is the *Son of God.*" This very curious letter was dated August 5, 1531. Two letters were also written by the same person to SERVETUS about that time, in which he endeavoured in a civil manner to confute what he had advanced in his book, and entreated him to renounce his errors. The next year SERVETUS published at Haguenau another book against the Trinity. After

* This notable device of *crying a man down,* when he presumes to examine for himself and exercise the right of private judgment, or deviates from the popular creed and orthodox faith, is still in the highest reputation among most of the religious people of this country, as the most effectual antidote against the poison or contagion of heterodoxy or heresy.

that, he resolved to return to France, because he was poor, and did not understand the German language, which were the reasons he alleged for it at his trial. Melancthon, whose original or proper name was Schwartzerd, wrote a letter to Joachim Camerarius, with his thoughts of SERVETUS and his books. He represents him as a subtle and cunning man, whose thoughts were confused, for want of having sufficiently meditated upon the things he treated of, and whose notion of *justification* was very extravagant, &c.; and he adds, "You know that I was always afraid that these disputes about the Trinity would break out some time or other. Good God! what tragedies will this question produce among posterity, Whether the *Logos* be a *subsistence* or a *person?* Whether the *Spirit* be a *subsistence* or a *person?* I have recourse to those words of Scripture which command me to worship Christ, *i. e.* to ascribe the honour of divinity to him, which is full of consolation. But it is by no means expedient accurately to examine into the ideas of subsistencies, or persons, and of their difference."

SERVETUS, having remained two or three years at Lyons, went to Paris, and applied himself to the study of the medical art. He was admitted to the degree of A. M. and soon after to that of M. D. in that University. Beza says that Calvin knew him then at Paris, and opposed his doctrine; and also that they had agreed to engage in a disputation, but that SERVETUS afterwards declined it, or dared not

to meet him; which, if true, may be accounted for from the spirit of persecution which then violently raged in that city.

While SERVETUS was at Paris, his book *De Trinitatis Erroribus* was dispersed in Italy, and very much approved by many who were inclined to forsake the Church of Rome. Melancthon, being informed of it, wrote in 1539 to the Popish Senate of Venice, signifying that a book of SERVETUS's, who had revived the error of Paul of Samosata, was handed about in their country. He besought them, therefore, to use their utmost endeavours that the impious errors of that man might be avoided, rejected, and abhorred. [Be it observed that this address or application was made by one of the chief of the Reformers to a corporation of violent Papists, seemingly afraid that they would not be ready enough to proceed to extremities with such heretics as SERVETUS. This was the man who is commonly called the *mild* Melancthon!] It is not improbable that Lælius Socinus, Faustus's uncle, and several other Italians, took their Anti-trinitarian notions from SERVETUS's book. The latter having finished his studies at Paris, left that city to go and practice physic elsewhere; which he did for two or three years at Charlieu and Lyons, and then at Vienne, in Dauphine, for twelve or thirteen years. He went to settle there at the instance, or by the advice and invitation of its then Archbishop, Peter Palmier, who was his very good friend, and generously offered him apartments in his palace.

There he lived for years safe and happy, always employed in the duties of his profession, or in some literary occupation. He also made frequent journeys to Lyons, where he one time revised a new edition of Pagnin's Latin Bible, in folio, printed by Hugo de la Parte, to which he prefixed a preface, and added marginal notes. Calvin called the latter *impertinent* and *impious;* but it has been observed, that wiser men than he thought otherwise, and even the direct contrary. SERVETUS had given a literal exposition of several of the prophecies; and Calvin pretended that was an affront to Jesus Christ. Of some doubts SERVETUS had expressed concerning the extreme fertility of Palestine, Calvin said, "It was judging like a *block-head* and a *beast,* and when the *villainous dog,*" he adds, "was told it was blasphemy, he only wiped his mouth and said, Let us pass over this, there is no harm in it." Calvin, however, seems to have kept a pretty long epistolary correspondence with him, and endeavoured, as he says, by the space of sixteen years, to reclaim him from his errors. Each of them, it seems, would fain reclaim the other. One of the letters SERVETUS sent him from Lyons contained the following questions, which he desired him to answer:—"1. Whether the *man* Jesus that was crucified was the *Son* of God; and what was the reason of his filiation? 2. Whether the kingdom of God be in man—when a man may enter into it—and when is he regenerated? 3. Whether Christian Baptism ought to be performed in faith, like the

Lord's Supper, and to what end these things were instituted in the new covenant? Calvin answered these queries: but SERVETUS, far from being satisfied with his explications, wrote him a second letter, containing a confutation of his answers. With this Calvin was highly displeased, and made a sharp reply, as he himself owns: whereupon SERVETUS, who was no less fiery than his antagonist, grew in his turn very angry with him. Calvin complains, that *that heretic* did not cease, from that time, to utter imprecations against him. This charge is probably unfounded; but if not so, surely he ought not to murder the poor heretic for his imprecations! SERVETUS sent a MS. to Calvin to have his judgment upon it, six years before he was apprehended at Geneva; and though that piece was never printed, it was produced against him at his trial. Such unfair methods do inquisitors and persecutors commonly take, while they pretend to be actuated by the love of Christ! Calvin was so incensed against SERVETUS, that he could not forbear reviling him in his Commentaries on the Bible; for he there calls him a *profligate fellow, full of pride,* the *proudest knave of the Spanish nation,* and a *dog.* In his notes on Gen. i. 3, he charges him with *blasphemy,* and says, *this obscene dog barks* so and so. Varilla says there is at Paris an original letter of Calvin's to Farel, written in 1546, in which he suggests SERVETUS had written such intolerable things, that if ever he came to Geneva, (as he, in his letters, had

proposed to do,) he would use his power with the magistrates that he should not escape with his life. Bolsec and Grotius, likewise, both saw an original letter of Calvin's, in which he declares, "that if ever this *heretic* should fall into his hands, he would order it so, that it should cost him his life." Unfortunately he did fall into his hands, and he took special care to verify or fulfil his bloody threatening; and ever after he gloried, it seems, in having done so. Voltaire speaks of a letter in Calvin's hand-writing, which is still preserved in the Castle of Bastie Roland, near Montelimar. "It is directed," says he, "to the Marquis de Poët, High Chamberlain to the King of Navarre, and dated Sept. 13, 1561," and contains these remarkable words: "Honour, glory, and riches shall be the reward of your pains; but, above all, do not fail to rid the country of those zealous scoundrels who stir up the people to revolt against us. Such monsters should be exterminated, as I have exterminated MICHAEL SERVETUS, the Spaniard." Such was the man in whose name so many myriads of our dear countrymen still glory!

SERVETUS, notwithstanding the ill treatment he met with, continued in his former opinion, and resolved to publish a third book against the Trinity and some other doctrines. That book, for which he was burnt at Geneva, came out at Vienne in the beginning of 1553, with the title of *Christianismi Restitutio*, or the Revival, or Restoration of Christianity. This is the famous book in which he, the

first of all the physicians, mentioned the *Circulation of the Blood!* He printed a thousand copies: most of them were burnt, either at Vienne, with the author's effigy, or at Frankfort, which is the reason why it is now so very scarce. SERVETUS was neither an Arian, nor a Photinian; for he asserted not only the pre-existence of Christ, but also that he is not a creature, or a being of finite power, but true God, and that he ought to be worshipped as such. He calls this doctrine "a mystery unknown to the world:" at the same time he owns, that such as acknowledge Christ to be the Messiah, and the Son of God, only as he is *a man*, may attain to salvation. "Writers have not agreed," says the late Robert Robinson, "in what class of heretics to class this Spanish physician. His notions of a Christian church were just, and he protested against all dominion over conscience. He was a confirmed Baptist, and considered the baptism of little children in a very severe and serious light, calling it a detestable abomination, &c."—[than which scarce any thing could be a more unpardonable heresy in the sight of Calvin.]—"He was also a determined Unitarian, and held the doctrine of the Trinity in abhorrence. He thought Jesus was *a man*, but, like Paul of Samosata, he could never get over the first chapter of John, and therefore sometimes called him *God*, and accounted for so doing by supposing some sublime inhabitation of the Deity in the man," which entitled him to a divine character and divine homage.

Though the *Christianismi Restitutio* was printed at Vienne very privately, without the name of the author, the city, or the printer, yet Calvin somehow got information of it, and obtained a copy of the work. It is not known how he got the copy, but it must have been surreptitiously, for it had not been published. He now got one William Trie, a great ardmirer of him, to write a letter to Lyons, in March 1553, (or rather he himself wrote that letter in Trie's name,) representing SERVETUS as a pernicious man, who ought not to escape unpunished, but deserved to be burnt, for calling the Trinity, which Calvin and the Papists maintained, a *Cerberus,* and opposing what the Scripture teaches of the *eternal generation* of the Son of God, and withal condemning the baptism of little children, calling it a diabolical invention, &c. On these and other like accounts, Calvin urges the Papists to destroy SERVETUS. This execrable letter was accompanied with the *title page,* the *index,* and the *first leaves* of the book. SERVETUS complained of it upon his trial at Geneva, and said that Calvin had sent those sheets to Lyons to have him arrested and prosecuted for heresy. About a fortnight after, Calvin sent by the same man above twenty letters which he had received from SERVETUS, that he might be the better convicted of his heresy. These letters were mentioned in the sentence pronounced against him at Vienne. Thus Calvin succeeded in his bloody design: SERVETUS was soon after apprehended at Vienne, by

virtue of William Trie's letters, or rather Calvin's. The Papists did not appear to have any inclination to destroy SERVETUS till they were thus set upon it by Calvin. SERVETUS was not ill-used in the popish prison: the jailer was ordered to use him kindly, on account of his rank; but no such order had afterward the protestant jailer of Geneva. SERVETUS was not long confined at Vienne. The two next days after he had been taken up, he was interrogated. On the following day he arose at four o'clock in the morning, and asked the jailer leave to walk in the garden. The man, observing he had a cap on his head and was wrapped in his morning gown, gave him the key, and soon after went with his servants to work in his vineyard. As soon as the Doctor found the coast was clear, he took off the black velvet cap, and the furred night gown, laying them at the foot of a tree, and putting on a hat, which he had concealed under his gown, he jumped from the terrace, got into the court, quickly passed the gate of the bridge of the Rhone, and escaped. His flight was not known till more than two hours had elapsed: orders were sent every where to apprehend him, but he could not be found. The process, having begun before his departure, was carried on in his absence; and he was condemned to be burnt alive in a slow fire! The sentence was executed, in effigy, on the 17th of June. The effigy of SERVETUS was set in a dung cart, with five bales of his books, and all burnt together by the common execu-

tioner or hangman, for the glory of God, the defence of the faith, and the safety of the Church!

After SERVETUS had made his escape from Vienne, he lay concealed for some time, nobody knows where. In the mean time he resolved to retire to Naples, and practise physic among his countrymen who were settled in that city, one of whom was John Valdesius, or Valdesso, then secretary to the King of Naples, and also a Baptist and Unitarian. He chose to go by way of Geneva, where he arrived on foot, having left off riding at the place where he lay the night before. He lodged at the Rose Inn, designing to hire a boat the next day, in order to go to Zurich. He probably took the way of Geneva rather than that of Piedmont, in hopes that, if he should be discovered, the Protestants would be more merciful to him than the Papists: but if he really had ever entertained such hopes, he very soon found himself greatly and grievously mistaken. While he was waiting for a boat to cross the lake, Calvin, by some means, got intelligence of his arrival; and although it was on a Sunday, he prevailed on the Chief Syndic to arrest and imprison him. On that day, by the laws of Geneva, no person could be arrested, except for a capital crime: but this difficulty was easily removed; for Calvin affirmed that SERVETUS was a heretic, and that heresy was a capital crime! He was therefore arrested, and cast into prison, and treated more cruelly by these pious Protestants than he had been by the bloody Papists. There were found about

him, and taken from him, his prosecutors say, 97 pieces of gold, (but he himself said 200,) a gold chain, weighing about twenty crowns, and six gold rings. It was necessary that some person should now appear as his accuser or prosecutor. Calvin employed one of his own family, a Nicholas de la Fontaine, who, under the direction of Calvin, exhibited thirty-eight articles against him, on which he desired he might be examined. His trial began August 14; after which he was frequently called to the bar, sometimes day after day, for several days together. They raked into his life and actions, for the purpose of multiplying their accusations; and every time he appeared, they generally laid something new to his charge; but "abusing Calvin" was almost always one of the articles against him. The chief accusation related to his notions of the Trinity, (for he held that Christ, in Scripture, is never called the Son of God, but only as he is a man; and that he was not the Son of God from eternity, but only from the time of his incarnation,) and his denying Infant Baptism! It was Calvin that furnished La Fontaine with evidence, such as it was, against the prisoner; and he expressly avows that the said La Fontaine demanded justice against him "by his advice;" nor did he blush to say, "I ordered it so, that a party should be found to accuse him, not denying that the action was drawn up by my advice." How honourable, and how humane!

On the 21st of August Calvin appeared in court,

attended by all the ministers of Geneva, and disputed with the prisoner on the words "person" and "hypostasis;" which could answer no other end but to bias the Court, and so promote the prisoner's destruction. After Calvin and his attendants were gone, the Judges gave the prisoner leave to buy, at his own charge, such books as he might want. They also allowed him the use of pen, ink, and paper. The next day he presented to the Syndics and Council a petition, consisting of three articles:— 1st. He petitions to be discharged from the criminal accusation of a capital offence, because the Apostles and Primitive Church had no notion of making a criminal process of any doctrine of Scripture, or any questions arising from it. 2dly. He prays to be discharged, because he had not committed any civil offence; because he had never been seditious or turbulent; because the questions before the Court were difficult; and because he had never spoke of them in Germany to any more than three, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito; he ought not to be punished, he said, for proposing questions to divines, without sedition. Lastly, he humbly requests, as he was a stranger, and wholly unacquainted with the laws and customs of the republic, that they would grant him counsel to speak for him. The petition was rejected: even the benefit of counsel was denied him; and it became evident that they were already determined upon his destruction.

On the last day of August arrived there the Captain

of the Royal Palace at Vienne (*alias* the head jailer), with a letter from some of the magistrates of that city to those of Geneva, in which they thanked them for informing them that SERVETUS had been apprehended, and desired he might be sent back to Vienne, that their sentence might be executed upon him. When SERVETUS was at the bar, and this captain or jailer came in, the Judges asked the prisoner, "whether he would stay at Geneva, or go back to Vienne with the jailer that was come to fetch him." Upon which he threw himself upon the ground, and melting into tears, he most earnestly begged of the Judges, not to send him back, but try him at Geneva, and deal with him as they should see fit. Here was a scene that would move the heart of almost any man but an inquisitor! A poor, friendless, destitute foreigner, taken up as he was passing through their city, where he had done them no injury—and imprisoned because he was not of the same opinion with them, who themselves differed from the majority, and had lately broken off from the Church of Rome; and when he was upon the ground at their feet, all in tears, begging for protection and mercy, their zeal had no ears, their hearts no sympathy or relenting; they only kept him from returning to Vienne, that they might have the glory of burning him at Geneva! Can mortal men thus treat one another, and yet hope for mercy from God?

The jailer of Vienne returned home without SERVETUS, after he had got an attestation from him that

he had escaped without his assistance or connivance. SERVETUS refused to name the persons connected with him or who were in his debt, in France.—Sept. 1, Calvin appeared again in court, and had another dispute with the prisoner, to as little purpose as before. —Sept. 15, SERVETUS presented a petition to his Judges, begging they would make an end of the affair, and signifying that he was eaten up with *lice*—that his breeches were torn in pieces—and that he had no other pair, nor any other doublet or shirt but a very sorry one; and in the conclusion of the same petition, he desired Calvin might be prosecuted as an "unjust accuser," and the author of all his miseries. In another petition, he concludes thus: "I beg of you, my Lords, to do me justice—Justice, my Lords, justice! —From your prisoner at Geneva, Sept. 22, 1553.—MICHAEL SERVETUS, pleading his own cause."

His petitions were all in French: the following is a translation of the last of them entire:—

"MAGNIFICENT LORDS,

"It is now three weeks since I desired to have a hearing, but could not obtain it. I beseech you, for Christ's sake, not to deny me what you would not deny a Turk, when I desire you to do me justice. I have several things to tell you that are very important and necessary. As for the orders you gave, that something should be done to keep me clean, they have not been performed, and I am more miserable than ever. Beside, I am very much troubled with cold, by reason

of my cholic and rupture, which occasion some other miseries that I am ashamed to write. It is a great piece of cruelty, that I should not be allowed to speak, in order to supply my wants. For God's sake, my Lords, give some orders about it, either out of compassion, or out of duty.

"MICHAEL SERVETUS.

"*From your Prison at Geneva,*
Oct. 10, 1553."

In this deplorable situation, far from his own country, fallen into the hands of cruel strangers, all under the influence of Calvin, his avowed enemy, who bore him a mortal hatred; stript of all his property, confined in a damp prison, and neglected till he was almost eaten up with vermin; denied an advocate, and loaded with every indignity that barbarity could invent; in this situation one of the Syndics, or chief magistrates, had compassion on him, and advised him to petition that his cause might be removed to the Council of Two Hundred, which was the highest court. Calvin opposed this, and reviled the merciful Syndic, who tried to save SERVETUS by an appeal. "He came into court," said he, sneeringly, "truly, to save the wretch from punishment!" "In order to this," he adds, "he had the face to move that the cognizance of the cause should be referred to the Council of Two Hundred." The influence of Calvin prevailed; the voice of the humane and merciful magistrate was disregarded, and the destruction of SERVETUS rendered

inevitable. To give a more specious appearance to the approaching tragedy, letters of approbation were now procured from the neighbouring magistrates and ministers of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basil and Berne. When the bloody business was ripe for execution, Calvin wrote to his friend Farrel, saying, "I hope SERVETUS will be condemned to death; but I wish the severity of the punishment may be softened:" the common cant of persecutors and inquisitors; who, when they have contrived and accomplished the ruin of their hapless victims, and come to deliver them up to the civil magistrate to be burnt as convicted heretics, desire that they would have mercy upon them! Farrel, however, in his answer, is for shewing no favour, but says, "that SERVETUS deserved to die ten thousand deaths;" and intimates, that "the Judges would be very cruel, and enemies to Christ and his church, if they did not proceed and make an example of him." Nor is it to be doubted but that all this was perfectly agreeable to the mind of his correspondent. Calvin glories in it, that Bucer, (whom he represents as a moderate man!) had said in his pulpit concerning SERVETUS, that he deserved to have his entrails plucked out, and to be torn in pieces! Bulinger also intimated, that the magistrates acted bravely, and that punishing such obstinate heretics was "for the glory of God." It is hard to say what good their separation from the Church of Rome did to these men, as they evidently brought away with them the very worst part of Popery—its persecuting and bloody spirit—

which reconciled them to some of its greatest atrocities, and made even murder appear not only harmless, but meritorious—even an incumbent and important duty! No wonder the slaves of bigotry and intolerance are still so numerous among their followers and admirers!

On the 26th of October the Judges condemned the unhappy SERVETUS to be burnt the next day, together with all his books, both printed and manuscript; and Beza doth not scruple to say, that "it was according to the opinion of all the Helvetian churches." The more shame for them! Their present imperial conqueror, it is to be hoped, will teach their descendants a better lesson. The sentence, after reckoning up the several charges against the prisoner, concludes thus: "For this cause and others moving thereunto, desiring to clear the church of such an infection, and cut off such a rotten member; having consulted our citizens, and invoked the name of God to give a right judgment, sitting in the place of our ancestors, having God and the Holy Scriptures before our eyes, saying, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' by this our definitive sentence, which we give in writing, we condemn thee, MICHAEL SERVETUS, to be bound and carried to the place called Champel, and there to be fastened to a stake, and burnt alive, with thy books, both written with thine own hand and printed, till thy body be reduced to ashes: and thus thou shalt end thy days, to give an example to others who would do the like!" They then added

—" We command you, our Lieutenant, to cause our present sentence to be put in execution."

" Omitting a great number of manœuvres of injustice and cruelty," says one of his biographers, " the last act of this tragedy was performed at Geneva, on the 27th of October, 1553. Calvin had drawn up the process against SERVETUS, and had extracted a catalogue of errors from his books: the Syndics and the council had denounced sentence against him, that he should be burnt alive: and on this day, with many brutal circumstances, the sentence was executed, to the encouragement of Catholic cruelty—to the scandal of the pretended Reformation—to the offence of all just men—and to the everlasting disgrace of those ecclesiastical tyrants who were the chief instruments of such a wild and barbarous deed! Many have pretended to apologize for Calvin; but who is John Calvin, and what are his nostrums, which end in tyranny and murder, that the great voice of nature should be drowned in the din of vain babbling about him? SERVETUS was not the subject of the republic of Geneva; he had committed no offence against the laws of the state; he was passing peaceably on the road which lay through the city; he was not a member of any reformed church; he was a man of unimpeachable morality; he was then the admiration of numbers of good judges, who afterward pleaded his cause; for from him proceeded partly, if not wholly, the Unitarian Baptist churches in most parts of Europe. Calvin's hard heart never relented at the recollection

of this bloody action :" but if he himself died impenitent, or was never sorry nor ashamed on the occasion, it is surely high time that his followers should begin to be so, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

" October 27, 1553," says another of SERVETUS's biographers, " being the day appointed for his execution, he desired to see Calvin, two hours before he was burnt. Calvin went to him, accompanied with two of the magistrates. SERVETUS begged his pardon for all the abusive language he had ever used toward him ; but I do not find that Calvin begged his pardon, though he had used as [abusive and] scurrilous language towards SERVETUS, and [had, moreover] basely and treacherously procured against him the sentence of death. He did, indeed, say, when SERVETUS begged his pardon, that he never thought of revenging himself for the hard words SERVETUS had given him, and intimated that he had used all gentle methods to convince him of his errors, till he saw they were in vain." [But this is only talking like the Inquisitors, who have always moderation, good-will, mercy, and piety in abundance in their mouths, or in words, towards those they are about to sacrifice—all contradicted and confuted by their actions, which speak much louder, as Calvin's also certainly did.] " Calvin likewise exhorted him," says the above writer, " to pray to God, that he would forgive him, for having attempted to pluck three hypostases out of his substance, &c.; but SER-

VETUS continued steady in his opinion, and was not moved by any thing Calvin could say." By what has been just now said, it would seem that the great and damning crime, in the estimation of Calvin, which SERVETUS had been guilty of, was "attempting to pluck three hypostases out of the substance of God:" a crime so thoroughly mysterious and incomprehensible, so wholly unnoticed or overlooked in the Scripture, as not, surely, to possess any very mighty degree of turpitude or atrocity!

After SERVETUS was condemned to die, Calvin says, "He sometimes appeared speechless, and without any motion; sometimes he fetched deep sighs, and at other times again made great lamentations, like a madman, crying out, Mercy, Mercy! after the Spanish way."—Such is Calvin's pitiless tale! Was it any great wonder or dishonour, then, that an innocent, injured man should be deeply affected in such a situation, or at the near approach of such a scene? To such an unfeeling and cruel wretch as Calvin it might, and it seems it did appear, disgraceful; and he evidently records it to the disadvantage of the hapless sufferer: but, had not his mighty malice deprived him of his recollection, he might have remembered, that even in the history of the Son of God himself some traces may be found not very dissimilar to the above. How easy would it be for a bitter enemy to sneer or scoff at the agonies of Christ in the near prospect of his sufferings!—his becoming sorrowful and very heavy!—

his saying that his soul was exceeding sorrowful, even unto death!—his strong crying, and tears!—his falling on the ground on his face, and crying to the Father, that the cup, if possible, might pass from him!—and his sweating great drops of blood! Whatever modern professors may think, the sons of apathy, however fit they may be for the school of Zeno, or that of Calvin, and however numerous they are among the present nominal Christians, they certainly cannot be said to bear any resemblance to Jesus of Nazareth.

When SERVETUS came to the stake, he made no speech to the people, nor shewed any sign of relenting. It is very likely, considering their former unfeeling and cruel conduct, he thought his enemies would not suffer him to speak to the people. Slichtingius says, "that he died calling upon Christ, in the midst of the flames!"—Such was the end of the memorable MICHAEL SERVETUS, one of the most learned and most conscientious men of that, or perhaps of any other age; who fell a victim to the resentment and malice of Calvin, and the cruel zeal of the Protestant magistrates of Geneva, and a flagrant instance of the horrible tendency of religious bigotry and persecution, whether found among Papists or Protestants.

Calvin, as has been already hinted, never repented of the part he had acted in this murderous affair. He even wrote a book in defence of it, called, "A Faithful Exposition of the Errors of Michael Ser-

vetus, and a Refutation of the same, in which is shewn that Heretics are to be punished with Fire and Sword." He also drew up a Confession of Faith, one of whose articles has these words: "We detest all the heresies which have anciently disturbed the churches, and especially the diabolical imaginations of Servetus, who attributes to the Lord Jesus a fantastical divinity."—"It is said," observes the late Erasmus Middleton, "that all the candidates for the ministry in Switzerland, and also in the French Reformed Churches abroad, are bound, before their ordination, to subscribe that article." "Besides," adds he, "in the Confession of Faith which all the students of the public school of Geneva are to make before the Rector, there is this article: 'Although God is one simple essence, yet there are in him three distinct persons; wherefore I detest all the heresies condemned by the first Council of Nice, &c. together with all those errors that have been revived by Servetus and his followers.'" Thus it appears that Calvin's obduracy did not forsake him. The ministers of Switzerland, as was before intimated, were exactly of his mind, heartily consenting to and approving of the death of SERVETUS; which seemed to give him no small encouragement and satisfaction, as appears by a letter he wrote to Farrel the day before SERVETUS died. Nor was his associate, Beza, a whit behind the most unfeeling bigot among them: even in his Annotations, published about three years after the death of SERVETUS, he could not forbear

justifying the fact, and reviling the hapless sufferer. Having mentioned SERVETUS's "standing in his opinion even to death," (in his Note on 2 Peter i. 4,) he adds an ironical scoff, not much less cruel than his death itself—"Yet, good man! some think he had great wrong done him." This Beza, no doubt, was worthy to be Calvin's associate and successor in the Church of Geneva. The more one thinks of these men, the more detestable they appear; and yet these are the men that are daily recommended to us, as our best guides and instructors.

Calvin persecuted SERVETUS, because he disbelieved the doctrine of the Trinity; yet it has been observed that he himself but half believed that doctrine; so that his zeal for it may be suspected to have been but a pretence, or cloak of maliciousness. In one place (Admonit. 1, ad Polon.) he says, "I like not this prayer, 'O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity!' It savours of barbarity: the word *Trinity* is barbarous, insipid, profane—a human invention, grounded on no testimony of the word of God—the popish god, unknown to the prophets and apostles." Yet this man could persecute people unto death, for not being orthodox in regard to the Trinity!

SERVETUS suffered the same year that bloody Mary, aided by Bonner and Gardiner, was burning the Protestants in this country; and she certainly had as good reasons for her conduct as Calvin had for his: nor can any one of the martyrs who then perished here be said to suffer more unjustly than

SERVETUS did at Geneva. One hundred and seventy-six persons of quality, besides many of the common people, were burnt that year in England, says Father Paul, in his History of the Council of Trent; and none of them, it may be added, who then perished here in the flames (no, not Cranmer or Latimer, Ridley or Hooper, or any of the rest) suffered more unjustly than SERVETUS did at Geneva. Nor can even Bonner and Gardiner, and the rest of the English actors in those bloody scenes, be said to have exceeded the wickedness of Calvin's conduct towards SERVETUS: and yet this is the man that multitudes of people are so fond of being called by his name; which is carrying their blind zeal and bigotry even beyond the very Papists themselves, who have never been so extravagantly mad as to assume the name of Bonner, or express a desire to be called Bonnerites, which they as reasonably and decently might have done. Some, in our day, appear most remarkably fond of being called Calvinists. It is to be hoped they do not really prefer that name to that of Christians; otherwise they might be said to resemble those of old who denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto them! Those who are so fond of the name of Calvin might be asked, Is Christ divided? Was Calvin crucified for you?

Many unfair and very base methods were used by those Protestant and Calvinistic persecutors of SERVETUS, in opposing him and effecting his ruin. One

of them was that of "crying him down," as Oecolampadius had advised, or hunting down his doctrine, by writing inflammatory letters, sounding an alarm, and filling people's minds with prejudice against him, which would not fail of favouring and promoting their crooked designs. They represented him as no Christian, and even an Atheist, for not believing Christianity according to their interpretations, and exercising the right of private judgment. They also held him forth as an immoral man, though they were not able to prove or substantiate the charge. They moreover misrepresented his tenets, expressing them generally in their own words, and fixing their own odious consequences upon them: a method still but too common among bigots of all parties! But the grand source of their cruel treatment of him was a tacit claiming to themselves, what the Church of Rome openly lays claim to, that is, infallibility. If Calvin and his friends had not set themselves up as standards of truth and orthodoxy, what pretence could they have had of prosecuting SERVETUS for differing from them, and delivering him over to the flames, as a blasphemer and heretic convict? It is true, they did not openly declare for infallibility; but it is evident by their conduct, they claimed as much deference among the Reformed Churches, as the Pope claimed among the Papists; for, as the latter declares that he is always right, the former were very positive they were never wrong; and he must be very sharp-sighted that can find out the

difference. The truth is, Calvin had no more dominion over SERVETUS's faith than SERVETUS had over his; and therefore he certainly proceeded on a wrong and antichristian ground, as all those must do who imitate him.

What has been here said, it is presumed, is sufficient to convince any impartial mind, that the part which Calvin acted towards SERVETUS will not admit of being either justified or palliated, but was altogether unjust, antichristian, and abominable. Those who would wish to see a more circumstantial account may consult Robinson's Eccl. Researches, Dr. Benson's Brief Account, and the Life of Servetus, published in 1724, from the two former of which the above has been chiefly extracted, often *verbatim*.*

The impartial reader is now left to form his own judgment; and an appeal is here made to him, if any thing but blind prejudice, violent party-zeal, or the most unreasonable, unpardonable, and detestable bigotry, can induce any one to justify or even to palliate the conduct of the persecutors and murderers of MICHAEL SERVETUS.

N. B. Of a similar complexion are remarks by an intelligent and liberal Clergyman, the Rev. C. Colton, A. M., Vicar of Petersham, and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. The Editor will introduce them to shew that Dr. RICHARDS is by no means

* See also "*An Apology for Michael Servetus.*" By the Rev. R. Wright, 8vo. price 8s., a work of interest and ability.

singular in his sentiments respecting *Calvin's* conduct towards SERVETUS. Disclaiming human authority in matters of religion, Mr. Colton thus writes on the subject :—" As far as CALVIN, or any other Reformer or Teacher can be reconciled to *the Gospel,* so far he is entitled to our attention—and no farther. In defence of CALVIN's persecuting spirit it has been usual to say, it was the error of the times in which he lived and the necessary fault of his education. But surely, one who, after tearing himself from the pale of the Church of Rome, became a kind of *Protestant Pope* at Geneva—who after escaping from the very laboratory of persecution was ever after blinded by the smoke ; ' Ardentis massæ fuligine lippus'—who in the case of SERVETUS gave woeful proof that, with all his wisdom, he was not above the *damning* error of the age in which he lived,—surely such an one is not exactly *the Oracle* that is to guide the faith and regulate the opinions of posterity ! But suppose CALVIN had given us, what he certainly has not, the *best* proof, that he was indeed entitled to the highest veneration and authority amongst posterity—namely, that HE himself was above *the errors* of his own day ; yet, even that in the present case would hardly justify us in pinning our faith on his sleeve ! Because the superadded experience of so many centuries, and the glorious light of the Reformation, of which he was only one of the Morning Stars, have enabled us to be much better judges in these matters *now* for ourselves than CALVIN could

at that time have been possibly for us. On this subject LORD BACON has expressed himself with his usual pregnant brevity.—'But that opinion which men entertain concerning *antiquity* is altogether vague, and hardly to be reconciled to the very term itself. For *the old* and *advanced age* of the world may indeed be considered to be true antiquity, and this *antiquity* belongs to MODERN TIMES, not to that younger age of the world such as it was amongst the Ancients! For that age of the Ancients with respect to OUR age is certainly the older of the two, but it is certainly the younger with respect to the world.'"

The Editor would also beg leave to observe, that DODDRIDGE, in his SERMON on *the Absurdity and Iniquity of Persecution for Conscience' Sake, in all its Kinds and Degrees*, remarks, with his usual good sense and piety, "St. Paul calls himself *the chief of sinners*, for those severities which he exercised on Christians *ignorantly*, and while he *verily thought* that it was his duty to do *many things against the name of Jesus of Nazareth*." And, indeed, Mr. Baxter well expresses it in his masculine and lively manner—"If CHARITY be a grace most necessary to salvation, then certainly it will not keep any man from damnation that he had *malice* and *uncharitableness* enough to persuade him that the members of CHRIST were children of *the devil*, though he persecuted them under that notion!"

No. V.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

THE ORIGINAL STATE

OF THE

Sacred Writings,

And of the Changes which they have since undergone, both in ancient and modern Times, and particularly the Division of them into Chapters and Verses: with some Hints relative to the earliest English Translations and Editions of the Bible.

The generality of religious professors in this country appear to know so little of the original state and appearance of THE INSPIRED RECORDS, that not a few of them seem to suppose, or take it for granted, that they were, from the very first, actually divided into *Chapters and Verses*, pretty much, if not altogether, as we now have them. Such a notion, however, is so absolutely unfounded, that an attempt to rectify it, and set the matter in a true and clear

light, will not, it is hoped, prove either unacceptable or useless. The following account of *the original* or *early state* of the Sacred Text, and the subsequent changes it underwent at different times, is, perhaps, as clear, correct, and complete, as any that can be met with upon the subject in so small a compass; and, though it has appeared already, a good many years ago, in a respectable periodical publication, yet being now but little known, and containing much useful information, there can be no impropriety in having it re-published.

"It is probable that the most *ancient manuscripts* of THE BIBLE were written without any divisions or distinctions at all; without even any spaces to separate, not only one paragraph, but one word from another. In this, the Scripture agrees with all the ancient books and writings of the Greeks and Romans, which we find written in the same manner. As this was the case, it seemed necessary, for the more convenient reading of the law in the synagogues, that certain pauses and breaks should be agreed upon; and that these should be distinguished by some known marks and characters. Accordingly we are told that about *the time* of EZRA, the five books of the law were divided into a number of sections, corresponding with the number of sabbaths in the year*, and that one of these sections was publicly read every Sabbath-day. This agrees with the account we have

* Buxtorfii Tiberias et Synagoga Judaica.

in the Acts of the Apostles, xv. 21, where we are told *that Moses had of old time them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every Sabbath-day.* Till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews only read THE PENTATEUCH. But then being forbidden to read the law any more, in the room of it they substituted an equal number of sections out of the Prophets, and continued the use of these ever after; so that, as the learned Prideaux observes†, when the reading of the law was again restored by the Maccabees, the section which was read every Sabbath-day out of the law, was their *first* lesson, and the section out of the Prophets their *second:* and thus the practice seems to have been in the times of the Apostles, where we read of PAUL'S standing up to preach *after the reading of the law and the prophets.*

"In process of time, not only the LAW, but the Prophets, and those books, viz. *Job, Psalms, Proverbs,* and *Ecclesiastes,* which learned men have distinguished by name of HAGIOGRAPHA, came also to be divided into sections. But besides these great divisions, *these Sections* themselves were divided into *Verses,* which the Jews called Pesakim. They are marked out in the Hebrew Bibles by two great points at the end of them, and called from hence *Soph-Pasak,* i. e. *the end of the verse.* The necessity of this provision will immediately appear, if the

* Elias in Tisbite, Buxtorfius, &c.

† Connect. Part I. B. 5.

manner in which the Law, and afterwards, the other parts of Scripture were read and explained to the people, be considered. After the Babylonish Captivity, the Chaldee language became the mother tongue of the Jews, and the custom was, in the public reading of the law to the people, for a person, appointed for this service, to read a verse of the law in its original language, which was immediately rendered by an interpreter in the Chaldee, that it might be fully understood: then the reader read another portion, which the interpreter also explained, till the section was finished. It is from hence highly probable that this method of dividing the Scriptures, very different indeed from our present form, was as ancient as the time of interpreting them into the Chaldee language in their Synagogues, which was not long after their return from captivity.

"The state of the most ancient books of the writers of the *New Testament* is very similar to what we have found in the Jewish Scriptures, *without accents, without punctuation,* and *not divided into chapters.* It is not probable that they should continue very long in this form; the conveniency of reading these sacred books in Christian assemblies, of comparing the different accounts of the Evangelists and apostolic writers, and of citing the words of the text itself, in the controversies that arose, would naturally make way for some regular and orderly division of them; and accordingly we meet with references to such divisions as early as in the wri-

tings of Justin Martin, and Tertullian. The first division we meet with was among the Greeks, who divided the books of the New Testament into Κεφαλαια, according to which it appears from Eusebius, Euthymius, and others, that Matthew was divided into lxviii. greater sections; Mark into xlviii; Luke into lxxxiii; and John into xviii. These are called the *greater divisions*, and are marked in the margin by the capital letters A, B, C, &c. to which correspond, at the top, or at the bottom of the page, certain επιγραφαι, or τιτλοι, *tituli*, giving a short account of the subject, or argument. Fabricius says, that other kinds of division took place in the Latin Church, and particularly mentions St. Hilary, as dividing the Gospel of Matthew, in his Commentaries, into 33 canons; and that others divided it into 94 sections, and Luke into 107*. The principal and most ancient division of the books of the New Testament was into Τιτλες and Κεφαλαια; the intent of which, says Dr. Prideaux, was rather to point out the sum or contents of the text, than to divide the books; and they were vastly different from the present chapters, for many of them only contained a few verses, and some of them no more than one.

"We now come to speak of the division of the Holy Scriptures into Chapters and Verses, as we now have them, and which is of much later date than what we have been considering. Some have

* Fabr. Biblioth. Gr. Lib. iv. C. v.

ascribed the present form of our Bibles to the *schoolmen:* others say it was the invention of *Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury,* in 1220; and Heidegger assigns it to one *Arlott,* an *Hetruscan General of the Order of Minims,* who flourished about 1290. But others, and those of the ablest and most judicious critics, ascribe the invention to *Hugo de Sancto Claro,* a *Dominican Monk,* better known by the name of *Cardinal Hugo,* who wrote about the year 1240, and died in 1262. This celebrated monk was the first who made a concordance of the vulgar Latin Bible. In doing this he found it necessary, in the first place, to divide the books into sections, and these sections into under-divisions, that he might make his references with greater ease, and point out in the index with greater exactness where every word or passage might be found in the text, which, till then, was extremely difficult, if not impossible. These sections are the chapters into which the Bible hath ever since been divided. But as to the under-divisions of these sections or chapters, Hugo's way of making them was by the letters A, B, C, D, &c., placed in the margin, at equal distance from each other, according as the chapters were shorter or longer; which method was imitated by our first English translators of the Bible."

Robert Stephens, the learned and famous French printer, taking the hint from Hugo, subdivided his under-divisions, and instead of letters, placed *numeral figures* in the margin of a GREEK TESTAMENT, which

he printed in 1551; and afterwards in an edition of the vulgar Latin Bible, which Conrad Bodius printed for him four years after. But now, whereas Stephens had only put numeral figures in the margin, the editors of AN ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT, about this time, printed the several little *sub-divisions* with breaks, and placed the number at the beginning of every one of them.*

Thus was the present state of our ENGLISH BIBLES fixed about 250 years ago; since which time it hath not received any improvement whatever from public authority, except, perhaps, what has lately been done by Mr. *Reeves,* in his large octavo edition of THE BIBLE, where the Sacred Text has undergone a new division into sections, and the verses, though numbered, are printed without breaks.

The learned *Isaac Casaubon,* though he did not entirely disapprove the present method, or common division into *Chapters* and *Verses,* yet was of opinion that there might be another far more convenient, if some great divine would undertake the work.†—*Bengelius* has since attempted a new division, in which he has been followed by *Wynne,* who published an *English New Testament* about 1764, in which the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles are divided into sections and paragraphs, according to the various transactions related by the evangelists, and the epistles, agreeably to the subjects they treat of, without

* Lewis's Hist. Transl. Bib. † Notæ in Nov. Test.

destroying the connexion, or huddling together a variety of matter. *Doddridge* also, and *Scarlett,* and perhaps some other private individuals, have made similar attempts, but none of them, it is thought, have been sanctioned by public authority, unless that of *Reeves,* above-mentioned, be an exception.*

For near a *thousand* years after the Anglo-Saxons, or English nation, had professed CHRISTIANITY, the *Scriptures* were, in a great measure, withheld from the laity and common people. *Bede* translated them into the vulgar tongue in the eighth century, and *Wickliffe* in the fourteenth; but as the art of printing had not been then discovered, these translations could have got but into few hands. The *Lollards,* indeed, made great efforts to get their translations widely circulated, at the expense of Lord Cobham, and others of their chiefs; but those efforts were soon cramped, and the party itself suppressed by the furious priests of that day, aided by a blind priest-ridden government. One of the vile clergy of that period makes the following complaint against WICKLIFFE and his *translation:* "This JOHN WICLIF," says he, "translated out of Latin into English the Gospel which CHRIST had intrusted with the clergy and doctors of the church, that these might minister it to the laity and weaker sort, according to the exigency of the times, and their several occasions. So that by such means the Gospel was made *vulgar,*

* See Monthly Review, No. XXXI. p. 401.

and laid more open to the laity, and even to *women* who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of the best understanding; and thus *the Gospel jewel,* or evangelical pearl, was thrown about and trodden under foot of swine!" *— Such was the notion then promulgated of the danger or evil of having THE SCRIPTURES in the vulgar tongue put into the hands of the common people. It is well the same notion does not still prevail among our rulers.

Early in the sixteenth century, the never-to-be-forgotten *William Tindal,* a native of Wales, it is said, or somewhere about the borders of that country, undertook and completed *an English translation* of the NEW TESTAMENT. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, in Oxford. Having imbibed the opinions of Luther, he was involved in great troubles; but in the midst of them he resolutely prosecuted his great design of translating the New Testament into English. The measures taken by him in life were all subservient to this end, which he proposed to himself for the following good reason: "Because he had perceived by experience that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, unless THE SCRIPTURES were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text." But finding no opportunity to execute his pious intention in England, he sought

* Lewis, pp. 4—6.

for greater security and liberty at *Antwerp*. Here he finished his favourite work, with the assistance of *John Fry*, or *Fryth*, and *William Roye*; the former of whom was burnt in Smithfield for heresy, July, 1552, and the latter suffered that dreadful death in Portugal, on the same accusation! Tindal himself had suffered many years before them. Thus *the first English New Testament* that was ever printed, was gotten at the expense of the blood of all the persons who were principally concerned in publishing it.* After the publication of the book without a name at Antwerp, or Hamburgh, in 1526, those imperious English prelates, *Warham* and *Tonstall*, hurled furious censures against the translator and his adherents, and almost all the first impression was purchased by Tonstall, to prevent its dispersion among the mass of the people. This purchase-money proved of great use to Tindal, as it enabled him to publish a new edition, more correct than the former, and also helped to support him in a strange country. The prelates represented Tindal and his associates as "*children of iniquity*, blinded through *extreme wickedness*, and the translation as tending to profane the majesty of the Scriptures, and contaminate and infect the flock committed unto them, with the most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to their charge, and the offence of God's divine majesty."—

* See Abp. Newcome's Hist. View of the Eng. Bib. Transl. pp. 17, 24.

This conduct of theirs ought not to be considered as anywise strange or wonderful; it is still daily imitated by the bigots of almost every party. Those popish bishops, however, acted very consistently in this business, since it is an avowed principle of Popery, that the Scriptures ought not to be translated into the vulgar tongue, or put into the hands of the common people. The Popes have expressly prohibited the use of THE BIBLE to the people; and the following are the express words contained in their regulation for that purpose:—"As it is manifest by *experience* that if the use of the holy writers is permitted in the vulgar tongue, more evil than profit will arise, because of the temerity of man; it is for this reason all Bibles are prohibited, with all their parts, whether they be printed or written, in whatever vulgar language soever; as also are prohibited all summaries or abridgments of Bibles, or any books of the Holy Writings, although they should be historical, and that in whatever vulgar tongue they be written." It is there further said, "The reading the Bibles of *Catholic writers* may be permitted to those by whose perusal or power the faith may be spread, and who will *not criticize it.* But this permission is not to be granted without an express *order* of the *bishop* or the *inquisitor,* with the advice of the *curate* and *confessor;* and their permission must be first had in writing. And he who, without permission, presumes to *read* the Holy Writings, or to have them in his *possession,* shall

not be absolved from his sins before he first shall have returned the Bible to his bishop." A Spanish author (who seems to be another very consistent Papist) says, that if a person should come to his bishop, and desire liberty to *read the Bible,* and that also with the best intention, the bishop should answer him from Matt. xx. 20, *You know not what you ask.* Indeed, (he adds,) the nature of this demand indicates an heretical disposition.*—Thus Papists prohibit the *book,* while PROTESTANTS generally proceed no farther than prohibiting the *sense!* Sir Thomas More, then Lord Chancellor, was one of poor Tindal's bitterest enemies.—He inveighs most bitterly against both Wickliffe and Tindal, and their translations, charging them with being of malicious minds, and purposely corrupting the Scriptures, &c. After Tindal had finished *the New Testament,* he proceeded to the Old, most part of which he is supposed to have turned into English, and published. With his translation, both at that time and since, some have pretended to find great fault, but the late *Dr. Geddes,* as competent a judge, perhaps, as any, has spoken very favourably of it:—"Though Tindal's," says he, "is far from being a perfect translation, yet few first translations will be found preferable to it. It is astonishing (he adds) how little obsolete the language of it is even at this day; and in point of perspicuity, and noble sim-

* See D'Israeli's Cur. Lit., Vol. II. p. 392.

plicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style, no English version has yet surpassed it." He also declares that if he had been inclined to make any prior English version the ground-work of his own, it would certainly have been Tindal's; and that, perhaps, he should have done this, if their Hebrew text had been the same.*

Tindal's *translation* was very industriously, and not unsuccessfully, spread abroad among the people, notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of the prelates and their agents. A great many copies, however, were seized, and publicly burnt! Some of the persons also who were employed in circulating them, met the same fate. Humphrey Monmouth, who supported Tindal abroad by an annuity of 10*l.* was imprisoned in the Tower, and almost ruined. To Thomas Patmore, and Tindal's brother *John*, penance was enjoined, on suspicion of importing and concealing these books.—The Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, who was a bloody persecutor, adjudged, "that they should ride with their faces to the tails of their horses, having papers on their heads, and the New Testaments and other books which they had dispersed, hung about their cloaks, and at the standard at Cheapside, should themselves throw them into a fire prepared for the purpose; and that they should afterwards be fined at the King's pleasure!" Such were the difficulties those good men had to encounter,

* See Geddes's Prospectus, p. 88, and Gen. Ans. &c. p. 4; also Abp. Newcome's Hist. View, p. 25.

who introduced among our ancestors *the first English edition* of THE SCRIPTURES. Not long after these violent proceedings, the Government, which had hitherto appeared so hostile to the idea of allowing the Scriptures to appear in the vulgar tongue, all of a sudden became disposed to promote that very measure. A new English translation, by royal authority, was accordingly undertaken and completed. It came out in 1535, and is commonly called *Coverdale's Bible.* In 1537, came out another edition, printed at Hamburgh, or, as others say, at *Marpurg,* in Hesse. It bore the name of *Thomas Matthewes.* It seems to have been partly *Tindal's* and partly *Coverdale's* translation. It is generally denominated *Matthewes's Bible.* Two years after, *i. e.* in 1539, came out what is called *Cranmer's,* or the *Great Bible,* with a beautiful frontispiece, designed by *Holbens.* Coverdale is said to have been the chief overseer of the work. In the self-same year came out another edition, which was printed by John Biddell. Its conductor was Richard Taverner, who was patronized by Cromwell, by whom he is supposed to have been encouraged to undertake the work, on account of his skill in the Greek tongue. It is called *Taverner's Bible,* and said to be a correction of that of *Matthewes.* These, it is thought, are all the editions of Henry VIII.'s reign. In that of Edward VI. came out *eleven editions* of THE BIBLE, and *six* of the New Testament singly. In that of Elizabeth appeared many editions, the chief of which were the *Bishops'*

Bible, and that of *Geneva:* the latter much blamed by some, but highly commended by *Dr. Geddes,* who makes no hesitation to declare, that he thinks it, in general, better than that of James's translators, or our present and *common translation,* which first appeared in 1611. For a fuller account of these matters, the reader is referred to *Johnson's* Historical Account of the English Translations, &c.; *Lewis's* History of the Translations of the Bible; and *Archbishop Newcome's* Historical View of the English Biblical Translations. May our nation more generally know the value of THE SACRED WRITINGS, walk in their light, and enjoy their consolation! *Amen.*

N. B. *A new Translation of the Holy Scriptures* is in course of publication by Mr. John Bellamy, and the *Third* Part (finishing *the Pentateuch)* is nearly completed. It is extolled by some and decried by others, but the Translator has not been backward in its vindication. The work is liberally patronised by his PRESENT MAJESTY, (whom may God long preserve!) and by many illustrious members of the Royal Family.

POSTSCRIPT.

On the Rev. J. Ivimey's History of the Baptists, and the Treatment of Dr. Richards's Memory.

The APPENDIX ought to have been enriched with a valuable *Letter* drawn up for *the Baptist Magazine,* but which was never inserted in that miscellany. The late Rev. Thomas Thomas of Peckham, when at Lynn, towards the close of the year 1817, visited DR. RICHARDS, and on his return assured the Editor with a liberality which reflects honour upon his memory, how much he was edified as well as delighted with his conversation and company. Knowing him to be well versed in *the history of the Baptists,* Mr. Thomas entreated him to furnish some articles for *the Baptist Magazine,* and the above Letter was his primary communication. This was sent, *post-paid,* to the publisher, Mr. Button, Paternoster Row. The article was neither inserted, nor even acknowledged! DR. RICHARDS in a letter to the Editor dated Feb. 18, 1818, has the following paragraph—"I wish you to recover a paper which I sent Button some time ago for *the Baptist Magazine,* and which they seem not disposed to insert, because, as I guess, it bears rather hard on Mr. Ivimey's correctness in his *History of the Baptists.* I kept no copy of it, and therefore if they do not mean to insert it, I wish to have it returned."

The good old gentleman guessed right, though the fact was not ascertained till after his decease. Upon inquiry it was found that Mr. Button had received it, and gave it to the *Rev. Mr. Ivimey,* then happening to be present, who thought proper to detain it! Had the author of the paper lived, this treatment would have roused his honest resentment. As biographer of Dr. Richards the Editor, through the intervention of a friend, got sight of the Letter, on condition of returning it, as he understood it would still be used. It has not appeared, and probably never will appear in that miscellany. He only regrets that he did not take a copy of it. Having to do, he thought, with honourable men, he had not the least suspicion that after what had happened it would be finally suppressed. The *Letter* is in the author's best style, both as to its diction and spirit, nor ought it to be lost to the world. The Editor civilly requested its return from Mr. Ivimey, who has not deigned to make any reply. *Charity,* which *hopeth all things,* induces the Editor to suppose that this infallible gentleman may yet be visited with compunctions of conscience, retaining the communication to correct the next edition of his work! His compilation is not without merit, though with regard to *the General Baptists* it were to be wished that as an impartial historian, he had shewn less dogmatism and more charity. The adoption of the emendations of Dr. Richards, with due acknowledgment, will enhance the value and promote the sale of his publication. There is a

sacredness attaching to the facts of *History* which no one dares violate with impunity. Strange it is to tell that, at the commencement of *the nineteenth century*, certain religionists, with the praises of civil and religious liberty upon their lips, should have to be informed that the interests of truth are best promoted by the indulgence of free inquiry, and by the exercise of evangelical urbanity.

Such was Dr. Richards's increasing reverence for *the word of God*, that his early *Confession of Faith* was adjudged to the flames. In his opinion, articles of belief, elaborated into metaphysical creeds, and enjoined upon others, became a violation of Christian liberty, an implement of spiritual domination, and a barrier to all improvement. No man ought to be ashamed of saying, that he is wiser to-day than he was yesterday. Christians indeed should approximate to the goal of perfection. A *Confession of Faith*, however innocent in itself, when set up as a standard is the source of indescribable mischief. It is the iron bed of the ancient tyrant Procrustes, upon which were laid the bodies of his subjects for rigorous admeasurement. Were their limbs too long, they were lopped off with dreadful excision; were they too short, they were stretched in all the agony of muscular extension! "The *Bible*, the *Bible* is the religion of Protestants."

Dr. Richards was no admirer either of the Athanasian Creed or of the Assembly's Catechism. But with respect to the *person of* Christ, the Author of the preceding volume could say with an inspired

writer—GOD *was in Christ* (2 Cor. v. 19) *reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.* With regard to *the death* of THE SAVIOUR he could adopt the words of the apostle, (Rom. v. 11,) together with Doddridge's interpretation of them: *By whom we have now received the Atonement,* or "THE RECONCILIATION, and all the blessings of his friendship." And as to the final purposes of *the advent* of THE MESSIAH, he wished to employ no other words than those with which the New Testament furnished him—HE *gave himself for us,* (Titus ii. 14,) *that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous for good works.* In these views the Editor cordially acquiesces, and with these prospects this upright minister of Christ expired, upheld by *a hope full of immortality!*

Would to God there were less of *faith* in human systems and more of PRACTICE throughout the religious world! Not upon the head, but upon the heart are the chief claims of the New Testament. Matters are reversed since the times of Christ and his apostles. The Eunuch's primitive *Confession of Faith,* Acts viii. 37, *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God* or THE MESSIAH, has an impressive brevity. "Fallen on evil days and evil tongues," a creed couched in the expressions of Scripture savours of heresy and generates dissatisfaction. *Peace* (the Saviour's legacy to the world) is the ruling passion of THE CHRISTIAN. The disciple of Jesus smiles at the clamours of bigotry, and anticipates the rewards of

unadulterated Christianity. The declaration of the divinely-commissioned legislator of the Church—*Ye know not what spirit ye are of*—is a sufficient reply on these occasions. CHILLINGWORTH, a distinguished ornament of the Church of England, and the champion of Protestantism, hath most truly laid down this fundamental series of evangelical maxims: "Propose me any thing out of THE BIBLE, and require whether I believe or not, and seem it never so incomprehensible to human reason, I will subscribe it with hand and heart, as knowing no demonstration can be stronger than this—*God hath said so, therefore it is true!* In other things I will take no man's liberty of judging from him, neither shall any one take mine from me. I will think no man the worse man nor the worse Christian, I will love no man the less for differing in opinion from me. And what measure I mete to others I expect from them again. I am fully assured that GOD does not, and therefore *men* ought not to require any more of any man than this—*To believe the Scripture to be God's word; to endeavour to find the true sense of it; and to live according to it.*"

The Editor hath to observe, that the history and treatment of *Robert Robinson* and of *William Richards* have strong points of resemblance. Like the reformers of old they disdained to crawl along the beaten track of error and superstition, stood erect and asserted *the liberty* with which CHRIST hath *made them free.* Their superior intellect, singular endowments, and incorruptible purity, would have

adorned any denomination. To the Editor's own knowledge, however, there are individuals among the *Particular,* as well as among the General Baptists, who have discernment enough to hold their writings in estimation. The managers of that mirror of perfection, *the Baptist Magazine,* not only passed over the death of Dr. Richards in silence, but are so insensible to his merits that they have never suffered his name to pollute the pages of their miscellany. Having been the reiterated vindicator of *Adult Baptism,* it was not to be expected that the conductors of *the old Evangelical* and of *the Congregational Magazines* would pronounce his eulogy. The *Eclectic Reviewers* did themselves credit by attesting his intellectual and moral worth. But the Editor of *the New Evangelical Magazine,* who at the time of his decease declared him to be "no ordinary man," did justice to his character by a judicious abstract of *the Memoirs of his Life and Writings,* in a detail of biography. He proclaimed his excellence and embalmed his memory.

A few months only previous to his decease, writing to a much-esteemed correspondent, THE HONEST WELSHMAN expresses himself thus freely: "Though all of them are right in some things, yet in the main all our sects and parties appear to me to be *Christian Corruptionists!* The period of the grand apostacy is not yet terminated. *All* belong to it in some measure—Unitarians not excepted." To their praise, however, be it spoken, the Editor of *the Monthly*

Repository, in the manner of noticing his death, did homage to his disinterestedness and integrity. Such is the imperfection of human nature, that a spirit of intolerance will be found lurking in the bosoms of certain individuals of every denomination—Catholic, Churchman, and even Protestant Dissenter. The pious Bishop Hall, even when writing in behalf of Christian moderation could say, "Master Calvin did well in bringing Servetus to the stake at Geneva;" and, with all his sagacity, Richard Baxter writhing under the lash of spiritual tyranny, limited his toleration to "errors not quite intolerable." *Uncharitableness* (whatever form it may please to assume, and under all its serpentine evolutions) is the germ of persecution. With perfect good-will to bear and forbear in articles of Faith, as well as in matters of practice—the great lesson inculcated by Jesus Christ and his apostles—is still to be learnt by the professors of Christianity:—

A NEW COMMANDMENT I GIVE UNTO YOU, THAT YE LOVE ONE ANOTHER. (John xiii. 34.)

AND NOW ABIDETH FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY, THESE THREE—BUT THE GREATEST OF THESE IS CHARITY. (1 Cor. xiii. 13.)

Reader—these sentiments treasure up in thy memory, and in "cyphers deep" engrave them upon the tablet of thine heart.

Farewell—May *the God* of TRUTH and of PEACE be with thee! AMEN.

FINIS.

BY THE EDITOR.

1. SKETCH of THE DENOMINATIONS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD. Thirteenth Edition. Dedicated to the Right Honourable Lord Erskine. With Heads of the Founders: Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin, &c.

2. SEQUEL to *the Sketch.* Containing One Hundred Testimonials in behalf of Candor and Charity. Fourth Edition. With Eight Heads: Tillotson, Burnet, Watts, Doddridge, &c.

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4. JUVENILE TOURIST through various Parts of Great Britain: with a prefixed Miniature Sketch of London. Fourth Edition. With a Head of the Author.

5. EXCURSION TO WINDSOR, in July, 1810, through Richmond, Twickenham, and Hampton Court. With *Frontispiece* representing the last walks of HIS MAJESTY on the Terrace of Windsor Castle; also SAIL down the Medway to the Nore, to open the Oyster Beds with the Mayor of Rochester. To the whole of which is annexed, a *Trip to Paris.* By John Evans, Jun., A. M.

Say, shall my *little bark* attendant sail?

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Anti-Jacobin Review, Sept. 1817.

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adequate conception of the portion of entertainment it furnishes, and particularly in that most pleasing department of Literature—Biography."

New Evang. Mag. Oct. 1817.

"Mr. Evans has long been known as a successful Teacher of Youth, and in addition to his former useful publications designed for their benefit, he has conferred upon them no small obligation in presenting to their use the present well written volume."

Literary Panorama, Feb. 1818.

6. *Progress of Human Life*; or, THE SEVEN AGES of MAN, illustrated by a series of Extracts, in Prose and Poetry, for the Use of Schools and Families. With a Memoir of Shakespeare and his Writings; and EIGHT WOOD CUTS.

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Monthly Mag. March, 1819.

7. MEMOIRS of the Life and Writings of *the Rev. William Richards*, LL. D. who died at Lynn, September 13, 1818, in the 69th year of his age; with some account of *the Rev. Roger Williams*, Founder of the State of Rhode Island, as well as first Assertor of complete Religious Liberty in the United States of America. With a Portrait, and dedicated to the Marquis of Lansdowne.

"MR. EVANS'S *Memoirs* of DR. RICHARDS of *Lynn*, will form a Companion to Dyer's Life of Robinson, and will be long esteemed among Dissenters for the variety of anecdotes

and facts which it records and preserves, for the general elegance of its style, and for the amiable sentiments it inculcates."

Monthly Mag. July, 1819.

"To the Author of the present MEMOIR we cannot but tender our thanks at parting, for *the interesting volume* he has presented us."

Eclectic Review, November, 1819.

*** A SECOND Edition of these MEMOIRS, with valuable additions, is in contemplation.

8. *The Christianity of the New Testament impregnable and imperishable.* AN ADDRESS occasioned by the Trial of Mr. Richard Carlile, for the Republication of *Paine's Age of Reason*, delivered Oct. 24th, 1819, in behalf of a Sunday School, (containing nearly 100 Children of both sexes,) at Worship Street. Third Edition.

"A CHRISTIAN is—the highest style of Man!"—YOUNG.

See MONTHLY REVIEW, Jan. 1820.

9. *Death the inevitable Lot of Man.* Reflections suggested by the Demise of his late venerable Majesty GEORGE III., who expired at Windsor, Jan. 29, 1820, in the 60th year of his Reign, and in the 82d of his age, including a Character of the Deceased Monarch; and a brief Eulogy on his late Royal Highness the Duke of KENT; delivered Wednesday, Feb. 16th, the day of Interment, at Worship Street, Finsbury Square, with an Appendix, containing an Account of his late Majesty's last Walks on the Terrace of Windsor Castle. Second Edition.

"Righteousness is immortal!"—Wisdom i. 15.

See EUROPEAN MAGAZINE, March, 1820.

PREPARING FOR THE PRESS,

IN ONE THICK VOLUME,

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS AND SERMONS,

Delivered on Public Occasions.

Dr. Evans has long been importuned by his Friends to make this Collection, as the several Pieces are out of Print. The Volume commences with an *Attempt to account for the Infidelity of Edward Gibbon,* Esq., which was honoured by the approbation of Dr. Watson, the late Bishop of Landaff; and also with a *Letter to the Rev. Dr. Hawker,* of Plymouth, on General Redemption. Then follow Sermons on the Deaths of Drs Kippis, (1795,) Stennett and Harris; on the Death of the Rev. Charles Bulkley, 1797; on the Peace of Amiens, 1802; on the Threatened Invasion, 1804; on the Victory of Trafalgar, 1805; on Opening a Chapel at Cranbrook, 1808; on the Lancasterian Education of the Poor, at Canterbury, 1808; on the Baptism of Isaac Littleter, one of the Jewish Nation, 1808; on the Rejection of Lord Sidmouth's Bill, 1811; on the *Twentieth Anniversary* at Worship Street, 1811; on the Opening of Salem Chapel, Lynn, 1812; on the Death of the Rev. Hugh Worthington, 1813; on the Return of Peace, 1814; on the Decease of the Princess Charlotte, 1817; before the Southern Unitarian Society at Lewes, 1819; on the Trial of Carlile

for republishing Paine's Age of Reason, 1819; and on the Demise of His Majesty George the Third, 1820.—*Funeral Orations* on Mr. J. J. Evans, and Thomas Mullet, Esq. close the volume.

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ESSAY on the *Education* of YOUTH. Fifth Edit.

"It is evident that Mr. Evans has it warmly at heart to train up the pupils in his Seminary to knowledge and virtue, to make them enlightened, pure, and useful members of the Community."

Monthly Review, April, 1799.

G. SMALLFIELD, *Printer, Hackney.*