https://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN WALES



Bookseller
Hay-on-Wye Castle, Wales
250,000 books in stock

C. W. Kelly

A POPULAR HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH IN WALES

A POPULAR HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH IN WALES

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY THE

REV. J. E. DE HIRSCH-DAVIES, B.A.

(JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD)

AUTHOR OF

Y Tadau Apostolig; Yr Eglwys a'r Diwygiad;

Selections from Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*

LONDON: SIR ISAAC PITMAN & SONS, LTD.

No. 1 AMEN CORNER, E.C. . . . 1912

PRINTED BY SIR ISAAC PITMAN
& SONS, LTD., LONDON, BATH,
AND NEW YORK . . 1912

I DEDICATE

THIS LITTLE BOOK

TO MY OLD FRIEND

CANON W. G. EDWARDS REES, D.D.

LIBRARY
NOV 14 1969
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

BR
773
D45

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Of the few histories of the Welsh Church available for English readers, scarcely any cover the whole field from the planting of Christianity in Wales to the present time, and I hope, therefore, that this short historical sketch of the four oldest dioceses of the Ecclesia Anglicana—*Eglwys Loegr*—may have its use.

Eglwys Loegr means the Church *of* England, not the Church *in* England as distinguished from that part of it which is within the Principality of Wales. *Eglwys Loegr* is distinguished, not from any constituent portion of itself, such as the four Welsh sees, but from the Church in France, Germany, Italy, and other lands. The term was more correctly used by the early Welsh Methodists than by Nonconformists to-day.

The history of the Welsh Church has, by reason of the linguistic, racial, political and other problems which it presents, certain features of its own which demand the special attention of the student of Church History. The Church in Wales is an organisation older by several centuries than the Church in England, and is the most ancient part of the Christian Church in this realm. It has exhibited through the centuries of its long history a definite character of its own. It claims to be the historic successor, on any scientific definition of continuity, of the ancient British Church, the Church of *Dewi Sant.* The explicit recognition and acknowledgment of this claim by Freeman, Bryce, Stubbs, and Creighton among historians, by Gladstone and Asquith among statesmen, is evidence that the claim is valid ; that it is based upon the plain witness of the facts of history, and that the denial of that claim is due to the exigencies of political programmes. Modern

controversies, which, in so far as they are purely polemical, lie outside the scope of a historical sketch, involve, nevertheless, historical questions of the first importance; and controversy has created a demand for accurate information conveyed in a simple form, concerning the history of the Welsh Church, its position and work in the past, and its claims upon the nation to-day.

The present volume makes no appeal to the professed student of ecclesiastical history. It aims only at presenting a plain and simple narrative, for the general reader, of the course of ecclesiastical history in the Principality of Wales from the earliest times to the present day, a narrative in which the salient forces are stated as fairly and accurately as possible. It makes its appeal to the large number of readers whose acquaintance with the main features of Welsh Church history is but slight, partly on account of the scanty literature on the subject, partly because the special character of the history has not, for various reasons, attracted the attention it deserves. I have aimed at presenting, not a scholarly treatise, but a simple and serviceable handbook, setting out fairly and without prejudice the historical facts.

Such a handbook is by no means easy to write. The available material is distributed very unevenly over the various periods, and much of the material is not readily accessible. Nor is it easy, in proceeding with the narrative, to avoid overloading it with illustrative detail, and to follow the main course of events in such a way as not merely to give the reader definite information, but to enable him to take an informed point of view. Yet, until a more adequate popular account of the Welsh Church is forthcoming, this sketch may serve the end which I have kept in view.

For the earlier period, I have had the advantage of the helpful criticism and advice of Mr. Frank Morgan, M.A., Tutor of Keble College, Oxford, whose ample historical

knowledge is always at the service of anyone interested in the welfare of the Church in Wales. I wish to acknowledge very gratefully the kind help I have received from him. My thanks are also due in a very special degree to Dr. Hermitage Day, at whose suggestion this little book was, in fact, written. I had in view a larger work on the subject, but, on his advice, undertook to write a short popular account, which is much needed. Dr. Day has spared no pains to help in every possible way by criticism and advice, and he has read and corrected the proofs with me. If this short history will prove useful in any way to those who wish to acquaint themselves with the history of our Mother Church, the credit will be due in no small measure to the assistance and ready encouragement rendered by Dr. Day. His accurate scholarship, and experience as a man of letters, have been throughout of the greatest service to me. I desire to acknowledge my great obligation to him for the cordial interest he has taken in the work from its inception to its publication. The usual method followed in historical work, of filling the pages with foot-notes and references has been discarded, in order to enable the reader to follow the story with undivided attention ; but a list of books is appended which will show the reader what my authorities are.

Three short chapters on Welsh literature are also included —very brief and very elementary : the object being to *suggest* further points of study, and to give the reader some general idea of the way in which the religious history of the Welsh people is associated with, and reflected in their national literature. A fairly full Index has been added, and it is hoped that it will prove useful for purposes of reference.

In conclusion, I desire to express my sense of real indebtedness to my publishers for their ready and sympathetic co-operation in the production of the book.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	AUTHOR'S PREFACE	vii
I.	THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH CHRISTIANITY	1
II.	EARLY CELTIC MONASTICISM . . .	14
III.	CELTIC MONASTICISM AND THE EARLY SAINTS	21
IV.	THE PATRON SAINT OF WALES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE WELSH SEES . .	36
V.	THE COMING OF S. AUGUSTINE, AND THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD	52
VI.	THE LAWS OF HOWEL DDA, AND THE CHURCH IN TRIBAL SOCIETY.	66
VII.	THE CHURCH IN THE NORMAN ERA . .	74
VIII.	THE EARLY LITERATURE OF THE CYMRY .	93
IX.	THE NEW MONASTERIES	104
X.	GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS AND THE CHURCH IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY . . .	117
XI.	THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH TO THE "CONQUEST OF WALES" . . .	131
XII.	THE CHURCH IN WALES FROM THE ANNEXATION TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES	149
XIII.	THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES .	168
XIV.	WELSH LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES .	186
XV.	THE REFORMATION IN WALES . . .	198

CHAP.		PAGE
XVI.	THE AGE OF ELIZABETH	211
XVII.	THE STORY OF THE WELSH BIBLE. . .	226
XVIII.	THE STUART PERIOD AND THE PURITAN OPPRESSION	242
XIX.	FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE CHURCH REVIVAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY .	261
XX.	THE RISE OF WELSH METHODISM. . .	282
XXI.	MODERN WELSH LITERATURE . . .	296
XXII.	THE CHURCH IN WALES IN MODERN TIMES	308
	LIST OF AUTHORITIES	336
	INDEX	342

THE CHURCH IN WALES

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH CHRISTIANITY

THE Church in Wales is the modern historical representative of the old British Church whose bishops met Augustine, the founder of the English Church, on the banks of the Severn in the year A.D. 603. It has seen and survived three political conquests, the Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman. The history of the original introduction of Christianity into Britain is most obscure. How, and by whom, the message of the gospel first reached these shores is a question on which we have no definite evidence. The origin of the British Church is lost in the silent centuries which witnessed the Roman occupation of Britain. A number of traditions professing to account for its origin have survived, some of them clearly legendary, others varying from probability to improbability. Archæology sometimes steps in where the historian is unable, for want of reliable records, to tread. We have a good instance of this in the discovery, made at Silchester in recent years, of the foundation of a building which experts have declared to be a fourth century church, similar in design to the early basilicas of Italy, Syria, and North Africa. This, therefore, enjoys the high distinction of being the earliest place of Christian worship hitherto found in Britain.

A visible monument of the past is always a more authentic and satisfactory piece of evidence than a written record, but we know from other sources, such as the writings of Jerome and Chrysostom, that there was in Britain a settled Church before the end of the fourth

century, with buildings, altars, bibles, and a regular discipline, and that this church was in communion with the Gallican and Roman Churches. Even before that period we have the evidence of Tertullian that at the end of the second century the territories of the Britons, though unconquered by the Romans, had been conquered for Christ. After making allowance for the rhetorical character of Tertullian's testimony, we may reasonably conclude that the Christian faith was established in some form or other in Britain by the third century, but we have no further evidence to show to what extent it had spread, what was the nature of its organisation, or among whom it flourished, whether among the natives, which would appear to be the *primâ facie* meaning of Tertullian's words, or among the Roman soldiers and settlers. Some, like the late Professor Hugh Williams, a high authority on the subject, are inclined to the former ; others, *e.g.* Professor Zimmer, to the latter belief. Where the leading authorities disagree we must leave the matter an open question, but in some respects the view of Professor Zimmer, that Christianity had gone beyond the Roman pale, and that it had even extended to Ireland by the fourth century, seems to be more in accordance with some well-established facts. Leaving aside the more fantastic accounts of the origins of British Christianity, a popular version long cherished among the Welsh people is that Bran the Blessed, father of the famous chieftain Caratacus, went to Rome with his son, and, after being converted there, returned to his native country as a missionary.

Another account of British Christianity, first mentioned by the Venerable Bede, is that a certain king of the Britons, Lucius by name, appealed to the Bishop of Rome in the second century to send Christian teachers to convert the Britons to the faith of Christ. This story seems to have originated from Rome late in the seventh century, and is for that reason open to suspicion as having an ulterior

purpose. As we cannot afford to linger over doubtful and speculative accounts of the early history of the Church, we must pass on to state briefly and broadly that it is fairly certain that by the time of Constantine the Great, *i.e.*, by the fourth century, Christianity was established and was making fair progress in Britain. We have evidence that the British Church contributed to the roll of martyrs during the Decian or Valerian persecutions circa A.D. 250-260 viz., Alban at Verulam, and Aaron and Julius at Caerleon, the City of the Legions. Giraldus Cambrensis and Geoffrey of Monmouth testify that churches were dedicated to these two martyrs in the neighbourhood of Caerleon; one of them, Llanharan in Glamorganshire, bearing the name of Aaron. Caerleon is certainly one of the oldest centres of Christianity in this country. Westwood tells us in his *Lapidarium Walliæ* that Glamorganshire is the earliest seat of Christianity in Wales, and richest in respect to its lapidary remains. And as regards the two martyrs associated with the neighbourhood, their *territorium* is mentioned in the *Book of Llandaff* as being situated beside the river Usk. Where historical records are wanting we are often able to fall back on the evidence of archæology, but unfortunately the period of the Roman occupation is very poorly represented in archæological remains, so far as Christian antiquities are concerned. There is evidence of Græco-Roman cults of Jupiter, Serapis, Hercules, Minerva, Diana, and Mithra (the latter at Caerleon, known as Isca Silurum) in vogue among the Roman soldiers and colonists; but there is little or nothing to show that side by side with these pagan divinities the Christian Church flourished in the land. There are no Christian inscriptions in Britain until the sixth century at least. The first undoubted and authentic fact concerning the British Church is the presence of three British bishops at the Council of Arles in 314. These were Eborius, Restitutus, Adelphius, the Bishops of London,

York and Lincoln, together with a priest and a deacon; which shows us that the threefold ministry of the church was early and firmly established in Britain. This is followed by further evidence of the presence of several British bishops at the Council of Rimini in the year 359, where three of the British bishops took an independent line in voting on the subject at issue. This points to a considerable number of bishops being present from Britain, and we are fully justified in inferring from these facts that the Church in Britain was at that time in a well-developed state of organisation, and was recognised as an orthodox and duly constituted branch of the Western Church. The growth of a settled organisation, such as appears to have existed at this time, was by no means the work of a few years: it clearly presupposes a considerable period of missionary and organising activity. It proves conclusively that Christianity had long been established in Britain, and that communication with the Church in Gaul had been frequent and intimate.

About the middle of the fourth century the bishops of the British Church wrote to S. Augustine signifying their adhesion to the truths embodied in the Creed of Nicea, and S. Athanasius states that British bishops supported his cause against the tenets of the Arian party at the Council of Sardica in 347. Hilary of Poitiers in A.D. 358 congratulated the British Christians on their freedom from all contagion of the heresy of Arius.

An interesting problem presents itself to us at this point: Was the Church in Britain at this period composed principally of members of the Roman colonies or were its adherents for the most part native Britons? The connection of the British Sees, London, York and Lincoln, with the well-known centres of Roman civilization in Britain, together with the preponderance of Roman names in the early British records, seems to favour the view that the strength of the Church in Britain lay in the great

centres of Roman life. But there are strong considerations which point to a different conclusion. One is the failure of archæology to find any distinct traces of Christian life and worship in the great Roman settlements of Britain. Another is that the argument from the supposed Roman form of the names found in the early martyrologies and other ecclesiastical records is by no means a conclusive one. In those days the Britons had very often a Roman as well as a British name, and it would be very natural for later chroniclers to adopt the Latin name or Latinise the Celtic name. The early British Christians were, moreover, addicted to the laudable custom of choosing scriptural names, or adapting their Celtic names, whenever possible, to scriptural forms or equivalents. Aaron, David, Samson, Ismael, Daniel, Asaph, Solomon, are well-known instances of this characteristic of early British nomenclature. But the weightiest argument in favour of the view that the British Church at the time of the Roman occupation was a truly native church, and not merely a kind of chaplaincy of the Roman pale, drawing its strength from the Roman soldier or merchant or camp follower, is that the Roman evacuation of Britain, which, *ex hypothesi*, should have seriously and permanently weakened the British Church by depriving it of the principal source of its strength, was followed by an unmistakable revival and expansion of British Christianity, and very shortly inaugurated a period of missionary activity which may well be termed the golden age of Celtic Christianity—the age of Dewi Sant, Gildas, Teilo, Beuno and the long roll of saintly founders who flourished before the coming of Augustine. "It is certain," writes Zimmer, "that about A.D. 400 a great majority of the British speaking population were Christian. In the vicinity of the towns part of the population was bilingual, those of less culture spoke a Low Latin dialect as well as their native British, while Latin was the language of the educated." Though we have no clear

records to guide us, there is no doubt that during the fourth century, the last century of the Roman occupation, Christianity continued to extend its border and consolidate its forces. The Pax Romana provided the social conditions favourable to the work and progress of the church; the Roman lines of communication helped and facilitated the movements of missionaries; and intercourse with the neighbouring Church in Gaul kept the island Church in touch with the progress of events in the great centres of Western Christianity.

This century witnessed the origin, or at least the development, of a movement which was destined to play a leading part in the history of the church for the next thousand years, viz., the rise of monasticism. Monasticism has left an indelible mark on the history of the Church, and for many centuries the history of Christianity is to all intents and purposes the history of monasticism. Its ideals of morality, discipline, and worship; its attitude to the world; its relation to society and Western civilization; its relation to theology, philosophy, literature and laws, have been profoundly influenced by the monastic ideal. Starting from Egypt this movement spread rapidly towards the West, until it reached the utmost bounds of distant Britain. By the end of the fourth century it was firmly established in the Northern provinces of Gaul, mainly through the influence of one of the most distinguished and zealous of the teachers of the West, S. Martin, Bishop of Tours. His disciples carried on his work with great zeal, and very soon planted the first seeds of the new movement on British soil, where it immediately struck root and flourished mightily. His disciple Ninian, a native of Strathclyde, went back to his own country, and converted the Picts of Galloway to the Christian faith. The dedication of churches in Britain to SS. Martin, Hilary, and Germanus, furnishes very strong evidence of the link that bound together the Churches in Britain and Gaul in those early days. This happy

intercourse was unfortunately soon to be interrupted, though not perhaps entirely superseded, by the Saxon invasion of South-Eastern Britain, which acted for a long time as an effective barrier between the two churches. But at a later period we find that Armoricans crossed over to Cornwall and Wales, and were instrumental in founding not a few churches on British soil—Cadvan, Sulien, Mael, Trinio, Padarn, Tydecho, Cynon, Llonio and others ; some driven westward over the sea by the advance of the triumphant Clovis. It is necessary to bear in mind this close communication that existed between Gaul and Britain, and subsequently between the British and Armorican Church, for it supplies the key to the understanding of many facts and movements in connection with British Christianity. The Christians of Britain first began to emigrate to the more peaceful shores of Brittany to escape the ravages of the Picts and the Saxon marauders ; and later on the Yellow Plague, which swept over the island in the sixth century, compelled many of the British bishops and clergy to leave their native land and take some of their people with them to Brittany. The early records tell us *e.g.*, that Teilo, among others, fled there with his flock. The two Churches thus afforded each other mutual help and encouragement. Some of the founders of the Breton churches came from Wales ; Gildas the founder of Rhuys ; Samson of Dol ; Paul Aurelian of Leon.

Racial sympathy was naturally the strongest bond of union between the two countries, but their political and ecclesiastical environment was also exactly similar ; for both were subject to the pressure of alien invasion, and both were strenuous in resisting the domination of the neighbouring Metropolitan, the one at Canterbury, the other at Tours. The Franks at the beginning of the sixth century laid claim to Armorica, and the Breton Church, resenting the Teuton invasion, withheld obedience from the See of Tours and, like the British Church, made a stand for independence.

From the departure of the Romans to the coming of Augustine is a period of about a hundred and fifty years. The records bearing on this period are scanty and fragmentary; the documentary evidence is indirect, but the archæological records may yet prove useful and informative.

During this period the British Church, and afterwards the Irish Church, had become the centre of learning and missionary enterprise in the West. The Roman occupation came to an end in 410, and the British Church gradually found itself cut off from communication with the continent. The Picts and Scots from the North, and the Anglo-Saxons on the South and East, pressed steadily upon them. It was an age of insecurity and turbulence, but the work of Christian teachers and missionaries was still carried on with undiminished vigour in the face of all difficulties. As we cannot pursue our subject in strict chronological sequence, we shall only review the principal events or movements which throw light on the history of the period. We can but glance briefly at some of them, others must be dealt with a little more fully. The first point to notice in regard to the period is that the Britons, under the pressure of Anglo-Saxon invasion, were being steadily driven westwards, until towards the end of the period they were shut up in the less accessible regions of Cornwall and Devon in the South-West, Wales in the West, and the Cumberland district to the North. Cunedda, the British *Dux Britanniarum*, or Gwledig, as he was called by his countrymen, had his capital at Carlisle and ruled Upper Britain. We know very little about these Gwledigs, but another doughty defender of Britain in the South against the Saxon pirates was Ambrosius, known as Emrys Wledig. Cunedda is the common ancestor from whom all the subsequent reigning families of Wales traced their descent. To this stormy period belongs the great Arthur, the story of whose achievements has been so mixed up with legend and romance

by enthusiastic bards and patriotic chroniclers that it is difficult to get at the real facts which stand to his credit as a national hero. Towards the end of the fifth century, however, the Britons under his leadership inflicted a crushing defeat on the Saxon host at Mount Badon, and peace was secured for half a century. Gildas, the sole writer of this dark period, was born in this memorable year, as he himself tells us.

The most notable event that happened in the early part of this period, shortly after the departure of the Romans, was the coming of the two Gallican bishops, Germanus and Lupus, to help the British Christians to fight down the heresy of Pelagius. Germanus was bishop of Auxerre and Lupus bishop of Troyes. Pelagius is supposed to have been a Briton by birth, though he does not appear to have ever set foot on British soil. About the year 400 Pelagius, who was then at Rome, adopted erroneous views about sin, grace, and free will; views which were at variance with the teaching of the Church. These heterodox views gave rise to a heated and prolonged controversy, in which SS. Augustine and Jerome took a leading part on the orthodox side. Though the Pelagian heresy was eventually condemned and suppressed in Italy and Gaul, it succeeded in striking root in Britain owing to the detached position of the country. Agricola, Pelagius' disciple, was the leading spirit of the heretical movement among the Britons. Seeing that the heresy was making headway to an alarming extent, the British authorities appealed to the Church in Gaul for help to stamp it out. At a synod of the Gallican Church it was therefore decided to send Germanus and Lupus to combat the Pelagians. Their first visit took place in 429; and at a great conference held at Verulam orthodoxy was restored, and Germanus rendered further assistance to the Britons by taking the lead in a successful attack on a host of Picts and Saxons which was afterwards called the Alleluia Victory. Tradition has placed the

victory at Maes Garmon in Flintshire, a locality which bears the name of Germanus. In his *Itinerary*, Leland, who lived in the time of Henry VIII, informs us that pilgrimages to the church of Llanarmon in Ial were still in vogue. A second visit, however, appears to have been paid by Germanus a few decades later, which shows that the heresy had not been entirely suppressed. It will be obvious that the mere fact of a heresy of any kind being able to strike root in the soil of British Christianity, argues a well developed state of Christian belief at the time, which is all the more remarkable when we consider the disturbed state of the country. The Venerable Bede is our authority for this account of events relating to the extirpation of the Pelagian heresy, and his account is based on a *Life of Germanus* written by Constantius, a priest of Lyons, about A.D. 480. In addition to his service in stamping out the Pelagian heresy, Germanus is also credited with inaugurating the definite establishment of the monastic life in Britain. His visit to the British Church seems to be in a sense the *terminus a quo* of the development of Celtic monasticism. But together with his influence on the movement, we must also emphasise the importance of the strong impulse received from the monasteries which had by this time been established in Gaul, notably those of Lerins, Treves, and Tours. Egypt was the source of monastic inspiration ; and it is a singular fact that in Rhygyfarch's *Life of S. David*, whose history will shortly come before us for review, it is expressly stated that S. David imitated the Egyptian monks, and led a life similar to theirs. The monastic ideal very soon exercised a powerful charm over the best and noblest representatives of Christianity. A passion for holiness and the imitation of Christ, and a desire to withdraw from a world where violence, unrest, and the clash of arms were, as a rule, the daily experience of mankind, urged men to seek quiet retreats, either singly or in communities, where they could cultivate their spiritual life

in peace and security, and serve God by prayer and abstinence, and their fellow-men by acts of Christian charity.

Though his history belongs to Ireland and not to Wales, the life of S. Patrick throws some light on the condition of affairs and the trend of events in Britain about the end of the fourth century. Wales cannot boast of any single name quite on a level with S. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, as the founder of the national faith. But inasmuch as British Christianity was not in those days limited to the modern Principality of Wales, it will be obvious that we cannot trace the course of events intelligently unless we include in our purview the leading personalities around whose lives the main facts of early history are grouped. Even before S. Patrick we have on record the history of Ninian, to whom we have already referred, as the first missionary to the Picts of Galloway and to others further North. He was born about A.D. 350, of Christian parents, so that even at that early date Christianity was by no means an unknown force in Northern Britain. Communication with the Continent and with Rome was then comparatively easy; so we are not surprised to find that Ninian journeyed to Rome and was there instructed in the Christian faith. On the way back to his native country, he was attracted by the fame of S. Martin, the good Bishop of Tours, and spent some time with him. Then he departed for his native country in the far North and built a church, which was called Candida Casa, afterwards known as Whithorn, a famous monastery to which Irish and Welsh students in later years resorted in considerable numbers.

All this time the British Church was being steadily encouraged and supported through the influence of the neighbouring Church in Gaul and Italy, with the great See of Rome as the fount of inspiration. We should recognise, and that gratefully, the beneficent impulse given to missionary work by the occupants of the Roman See in those

early days, for, as Bishop Dowden remarks in one of his books, "the Pope was then a Protestant." And no Church was more pure in doctrine or more strenuous in evangelistic work than the great Church of the Seven Hills.

What Ninian did for the North, and men like Columba after him, others who have not had the good fortune to find biographers doubtless did elsewhere in their humble way. We cannot otherwise account for the wide diffusion of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries. There is one most interesting fact in regard to the great apostle of Ireland. All competent critics are agreed that we have two genuine writings of S. Patrick. One is called his *Confession*, the other *An Epistle to Coroticus*. These two writings are the oldest extant documents in British history. S. Patrick was a Briton, probably from Alclwyd, *i.e.*, Dumbarton, and born well before the end of the fourth century. His family had been Christians for some generations, his father being a deacon and his grandfather a priest. His native language was Brythonic, but his writings are in Latin which is uncouth and uncultivated in style. Though lacking in literary culture, his great work in Ireland was the result of intense zeal and great force of character, combined with a rare endowment of tact and practical wisdom. The principal events in his life are referred to in his writings. We need only state briefly that he was carried away captive from his native country by some Scottish pirates to Ireland, to the district now known as Antrim. He eventually managed to escape, and after wandering for some time on the continent he returned to the country of his former captivity as a missionary. His extant writings testify very clearly to the rapid spread and development of the monastic system.

Coroticus, to whom he addressed his epistle, was the Prince of Strathclyde, and his object in writing was to protest against the prince's conduct in harrying the Irish coast, and carrying away numbers of Patrick's converts. Coroticus,

or Ceredig, was himself nominally a Christian, but he does not appear to have been a very consistent adherent of the new faith. S. Patrick's name is also associated with the Church in South Wales, but on that point we have no definite testimony to guide us. In old Menevia, there is a church close to the sea bearing the name of S. Patrick. An old tradition asserts that S. Patrick established a monastery close by, probably for the purpose of training missionaries for Ireland. This remote spot may have been chosen on account of its accessibility. One fact emerges very clearly from all this, that there is no name of any eminence in early British Christianity which is not definitely associated with the monastic life.

CHAPTER II

EARLY CELTIC MONASTICISM

THERE is a peculiar fascination about island monasteries. Their isolation from the turmoil of the world seems to accentuate the sanctity and the severity of the life devoted to the particular service of God. Iona and Lindisfarne in the North, Bardsey and Caldey on the Welsh coast, are links with the far past which no man can contemplate without some emotion, not unmingled with grateful pride at the thought that the same British Church which produced the saintly founders of these venerable sanctuaries of religion, still survives in the twentieth century as the national Church of the spiritual children of Dewi, Illtud, Gildas, and Cadvan. The services rendered by Celtic Christianity to the organised religion of Britain are by no means limited to the Celtic fringe. The Celtic Church, in spite of its repudiation of Augustine's authority, contended subsequently in noble rivalry with the Roman and Gallican missionaries for the evangelisation of Saxon England. Columba, Columbanus, Aidan, and Chad, all Celtic missionaries of the Irish Church, which was a daughter of the British Church, carried the gospel into the heart of England, and share, equally with Augustine and his followers, the honour of establishing the Catholic faith on English soil. That Ireland was evangelised from Britain is hardly open to doubt ; and when, after the death of S. Patrick, the Christian faith fell on evil days in Ireland, and paganism revived its strength, it was from the teeming monastic life of the Welsh Church that Christian teachers were sent forth to repair the breach and restore to the Irish nation the privileges of faith and baptism. David, Gildas, and Cadoc are the three saints who are recorded to have gone

over to restore the decaying faith and revive the monastic system in the Irish Church. "The Irish branch of the Celtic Church," says Zimmer, "was an offshoot of the British Church, and had sprung up as early as the fourth century." In our study of the origin and development of Celtic monasticism, our present purview will necessarily be limited to the church in Wales, but it is necessary to recognise that its history in Wales is really a part of its wider history outside Wales, in Brittany, Ireland, and Scotland. As we trace the growth of the movement, we find clear evidence of a strong and continuous connection between the Welsh and Irish Churches. Nor does the connection end there, for the same chain of evidence includes Cornwall and Brittany in its sphere of influence. We cannot undertake a detailed study of all the ramifications of this connection between the different Churches, but it is important that it should be constantly kept in view. The Irish element was at one time strong in North Wales. It is sometimes called the Goidelic element, and represents the race that was settled in Wales before Cunedda and his descendants, the Cymric or Brythonic tribes, came and supplanted them. Traces of a Goidelic civilization in pre-Cymric times in Wales are fairly abundant. Those who wish to acquaint themselves more fully with this subject, which is one of extreme interest, should read Bishop Basil Jones' book on the *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, though subsequent investigation has added considerably to the stock of our knowledge on the subject. One reason in support of this Goidelic occupation is to be found in the distribution of what are called the Ogam stones, which are sepulchral inscriptions written in the Goidelic or old Irish language. The Ogam inscription consists of groups of notches, and they are for the greater part Christian inscriptions. Their distribution and diffusion throughout Wales enable the archæologist to collect evidence for determining the character and extent of the Goidelic or Irish

settlement in Wales, both North and South ; for they are by no means limited to North Wales. In fact, Pembrokeshire can boast of the greatest number of Ogam stones, and Carmarthenshire comes second. Seeing that the Ogam stone is, so to speak, an exclusively Irish institution, its importance in determining the problem of the distribution and the settlement of the Goidel in Wales is apparent. And there is an interesting difference between the Ogam stones found in Wales and those found in Ireland viz. : that while most of the Welsh Ogams have a Latin inscription as well, the Irish Ogams have not. The conclusion is obvious that we have here not only evidence of the Goidelic occupation but also proof that the influence of Christianity had overtaken the Goidelic tribes who have left these interesting relics of the past. Of course, our evidence upon this point is by no means confined to the witness of Ogam stones. Place-names also tell their tale. And Welsh literature is equally explicit. As an illustration of this, we may point to the evidence contained in the life of S. David, who, when he came to settle in Menevia, found one of these Goidelic chieftains named Boia established in the district. And Vortipor, another local Goidelic chieftain, was probably one of S. David's patrons in establishing his monastery.

Life in an old Celtic monastery is a subject which we cannot well pass by without a brief notice. The legendary accretions which impair the historical value of the lives of the Saints cannot, however, conceal the true touches of real life which peep out between the lines of the narratives. Even the story of the virtuous cauldron of water, that refused to boil the flesh of a *stolen* cow, probably conceals some historical fact.

Other legends probably preserve some primitive customs which the monkish chroniclers could not well have invented. The old Celtic monks lived a life of great austerity. Hard work was recognised as the essential condition of physical

health and a holy life. The austerities practised by some of the more ardent spirits are almost incredible ; they are certainly in sharp contrast to the more humane rule introduced afterwards by the Benedictines of the Middle Ages, but it was in the more austere simplicity of the Cistercians that the Welsh people recognised the lineaments of the monastic ideal of Dewi and Illtud. An old Celtic monastery was, in its outward aspect at least, very different from the stately settlements of the mediæval orders. It consisted of an enclosure, surrounded by a mound and palisade, and contained a church, a cemetery, domestic buildings, and huts for the monks. This was the primitive Llan. The buildings were all of timber, not stone. Stone buildings, says Bede, were not in vogue among the Britons. The monks cleared the forest, farmed their land, made their own coarse garments, cooked their own food. Nothing, of course, was allowed to interfere with the regular succession of canonical offices in church, and the Holy Sacrifice was offered on Sundays and Holy Days.

Their diet was simple, no meat being allowed, as a rule, in S. David's monastery. This appears to have prevailed for a long period, for in the ninth century, Bishop Morgeneu, having departed from S. David's rule of abstinence from meat, was killed by the Danes, and his death was consequently reckoned as a judgment of God on his self-indulgence. These early monasteries, it need hardly be said, represented and fostered all that stood in those days for civilization and social order. They were schools of learning ; and the picture of little Samson early in the sixth century brought by his parents to Father Illtud's monastery to be trained for the religious life, illustrates the work of the early monasteries as training schools for the youth of Wales. The education given to young Samson was no doubt similar to what others received in those days. He was instructed in the Old and New Testament, in all manner of philosophy, geometry, grammar, and rhetoric.

Classical Literature must also have received attention, for, in the extant *Life of Cadoc*, it is stated that the Saint of Nantcarvan was much attached to the writings of Virgil. A characteristic story is told of him: "Cadoc loved his Virgil, and could not endure the thought that the poet should be in hell. He took the occasion of a visit from Gildas to discuss the question. Gildas characteristically adopted the harsher view. Then Cadoc opened the volume to show to his grim companion the wondrous prophecy of the coming of Christ in Eclogue IV." A few of the inmates of the Celtic monasteries, who were specially qualified for the work, would be scribes. Their occupation was to copy manuscripts of Holy Scripture, and various other works, chronicles, and books of devotion. There is no doubt that historical records were kept in the monastery library, and later chroniclers used these documents in compiling their accounts of the earlier ages. We are informed in the *Life of Columba, e.g.*, that he was in high repute as a monastic scribe. In fact, every early monastery had one or more scribes specially engaged in what would then be considered literary work. A glance at some early *Penitentials* will show another side of monastic life, viz., the difficulties that the early leaders of the Church had to contend with in the matter of moral offences, not only in the case of the laity, but also of those under monastic vows. The age was rude and coarse, and it needed wisdom, energy, and indomitable faith, in the face of harassing difficulties, to persevere in the all but forlorn task of making Christianity a living power in the land. When we reflect that the age was one of incessant fighting, whether between the natives themselves, or against the Picts and Saxons, another feature of early Celtic Christianity will appeal to the sympathy of the reader, viz., the privilege of sanctuary and the practice of hospitality. The hospice, or guest-house, was a recognised portion of the monastic buildings. Here strangers from

all parts of the country, and even from abroad, would be freely welcomed, lodged, and fed. We can well understand that all the important news of the world and the events of the day would find their way into the monastery. The law of sanctuary was another privilege of the monastic houses ; and it needs little imagination to appreciate the immense value of such an institution in an age when justice had little authority beyond the strength of a man's arm and the keenness of his sword. The Church was very jealous of the privilege of sanctuary, and very prompt in punishing every violation of a right peculiarly her own as the guardian of the Moral Law. As regards hospitality, here is a picture of the daily life at Cadoc's monastery at Nantcarvan : " He fed daily a hundred clergy, a hundred workmen, a hundred poor men, and the same number of widows. This was the number of his household, besides servants in attendance, and esquires, and guests whose number was uncertain, and a multitude of whom used to visit him frequently." This picture of the princely Abbot's hospitality has, of course, been touched up by the mediæval chronicler to suit the requirements of a later age, but Cadoc's monastery at Nantcarvan was undoubtedly a very important one in early times, and his hospitality was proverbial, for there was a very close connection between it and the Irish Church. But " servants in attendance " is a delightful anachronism which would have shocked the monastic simplicity of the gentle Cadoc. Apart from the religious character of a Welsh monastery, with its daily round of hours of prayer and study, manual labour was the most conspicuous feature of the life of the inmates. In the *Life of S. David* we are given a detailed account of the monastic life at Menevia, and we cannot be far wrong in concluding that it is on the whole a fair picture of contemporary life as lived by the early Welsh monks. They worked in the fields until the evening, not even using oxen for ploughing, but every one was an ox to himself.

When open-air work was over, they returned to the monastery and spent the rest of the day in reading, copying or meditating, until the bell rang for prayer. After Vespers they had supper—a simple frugal meal, for " excess even of bread breeds licentiousness." Bread, vegetables, and a temperate kind of drink, formed their evening meal. After grace, they went again to chapel, and there for three hours they continued in watching, prayer, and kneeling. They had all things in common, and no one was permitted to call anything his own. For a brother to call a book " *my* book " meant a hard penance. Unfailing obedience to the Father Abbot's commands was required of all. He on his part was a true Father to them.

This was the austere life led for many ages by these simple devout men. And though there is enough evidence to show that the world found its way often enough even into the inmost sanctuary, it was from these ascetic settlements that men went forth to evangelise Wales. And whatever their failings, or the defects of their monastic system may have been, they achieved a missionary work which would in any age, even better equipped than theirs, have taxed the energy of the most successful missionaries that the church is capable of producing. That is high praise for these old Celtic monks, but who will venture to say that it is not well deserved ?

CHAPTER III

CELTIC MONASTICISM AND THE EARLY SAINTS

THE early Celtic Church was monastic in origin. The terms Llan, Cil, Disserth, Merthyr, recall the first stage of the monastic movement. Of these, *Llan* is by far the most frequent prefix, and meant a monastery: its original signification being an enclosure. The monastic houses of the Celtic Church were not, of course, as elaborate as the new foundations that came into vogue after the Norman Conquest, under the auspices of the great monastic orders, but life in a Celtic monastery was very simple and severe. In fact the Celtic monks practised much greater austerity of life than was permitted under the more humane rule of the Benedictine houses which later on continued the traditions of the older Celtic monasteries. They were really centres of learning, where men were trained for missionary work and prepared for the sacred ministry of the church. In some respects the Celtic monks resemble the preaching Friars of a later age, for every monastery was a kind of mother church, whence daughter monasteries or colonies were established far and wide according as circumstances, political and otherwise, permitted. As in the later monasteries, the abbot was supreme and the rule of obedience was very strict, but the Celtic monks, in spite of the austere discipline under which they lived, had greater freedom of action than the monks of the mediæval church. They were sent out to preach the gospel and found new churches. Many of these devout and ascetic men embraced the life of solitary hermits or settled in small companies in remote districts or on the small islands that fringe the Western seaboard. S. Tudwal, Bardsey, and Caldey became at a very early period the home of devout

hermits and the resort of saintly men weary with the labours of a well spent life. Bardsey, *e.g.*, was chosen by the aged Dubricius as a place of retirement after long years of Christian work in South Wales.

Dubricius, or Dyfrig, as he is better known among Welsh people, is perhaps the most prominent figure in the earliest period of Welsh monasticism. The ardent patriotism and the poetic imagination of the chroniclers of the Norman era drew this venerable figure into the current of the Arthurian romance. Geoffrey of Monmouth, the *fons et origo* of the Arthurian tale, made him Archbishop of Caerleon, whose pallium, according to the prophecy of Merlin, was afterwards transferred to Menevia, the seat of the patron saint. The disparity between the historical Dubricius, with his modest but worthy achievements, and the legendary Dubricius, Archbishop of the Britons, and the *doyen* of Celtic Christianity, who is introduced with archiepiscopal splendour and dignity to crown the immortal king Arthur, is of interest to us only in so far as it illustrates the intrusion of the romantic spirit of a later age into the meagre records of the Celtic past. All the known facts of the history of Dubricius are few and simple. He is sometimes called the founder of the see of Llandaff, but there appears to be no ground for thinking so. He undoubtedly gave hearty support to the monastic movement in South Wales and was himself the episcopal abbot of a monastic college at Henllan, and afterwards at Mochros in Herefordshire. Llandaff was then a daughter church, and Teilo, disciple of Dubricius according to the book of Llan Dav, but more probably a disciple of Paulinus at Ty Gwyn, was appointed abbot. A word of explanation is needed here, in regard to the title of archbishop attributed to Dubricius, to show that it was really a genuine title according to its original signification. The following is quoted from Mr. Newell's *History of Llandaff:* "In later times the term archbishop was misunderstood and was regarded as involving a primacy over

other diocesan bishops, whereas it meant only the primacy of the episcopal abbot of the arch-monastery over the episcopal abbots of subordinate monasteries. The claims both of the bishops of S. David's and of the bishops of Llandaff to the title of archbishop were justifiable only so long as they retained their daughter monasteries in subordination. When the episcopates became diocesan, the reason for the title expired, and in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis or of the compiler of the book of Llan Dav, it was an anachronism." The head of a mother monastery had authority over its daughter or dependent foundations, and this explains the wide and real influence exercised by the leading monastic houses, and by those who presided as episcopal abbots over them. Dubricius ended his days at Bardsey, but so great was the veneration in which he was held by his countrymen, that his relics were brought back, in the time of Bishop Urban (A.D. 1120), to Teilo's Church at Llandaff, with the consent of the Bishop of Bangor. After Dubricius had retired to Bardsey, Llandaff under Teilo became the leading monastery in Morganwg, and retained that position until it became a diocesan episcopate. Teilo was, therefore, the first bishop-abbot of Llandaff, and must consequently be regarded as the founder of that See. He was also the patron saint of the many Llandeilo churches in South Wales. There are many other great abbots and saints in that fertile age of Christian activity, and most of them are connected with monastic houses.

We cannot deal at any great length with their individual history, but they must be briefly noticed in order that the leading personalities of the period, together with the principal monastic houses in Wales, may fall into their proper place in the development of Welsh Church history. It is disappointing to find that the only writer of this period, Gildas, has given us so little information about his contemporaries. Gildas wrote his *De Excidio Britanniæ* about the middle of the sixth century, but we search his

writings in vain for precise information about the doings of his famous contemporaries, or the individual history of the monastic houses that were being founded in his time. It is true we have from his pen a valuable account of the religious condition of the age, and a vivid picture of the state of the Church, and incidentally some valuable historical references. Without the testimony of Gildas the history of this period would certainly be a blank. Our knowledge, however, of the lives of the saints is derived from documents written about the time of the Norman Conquest, based no doubt on records carefully preserved and handed down from the past. These lives are largely of a legendary character and require very skilful critical handling before they can be made to yield a residuum of reliable historical facts. The monkish chroniclers of the Norman era were possessed of a prodigal imagination, and had a voracious appetite for marvels and miracles. Sometimes their motive in re-editing the ancient documents becomes apparent, and it is then possible to some extent to reconstruct the real history or to fasten on a clue to its correct interpretation. Fortunately we are not without some authentic material for a fairly reliable account of the early Celtic saints and their work. In the generation that partly coincided with and partly succeeded the age of Dubricius, we come across a band of men whose work and position in the Church left a permanent impress on the subsequent history of Christianity in Wales, and not in Wales only, but also in Ireland and Brittany. We are now, however, only concerned with their sphere of activity in Wales. The first of these in point of eminence is S. David, or Dewi Sant, as he is affectionately called by the Welsh people. As the patron saint of Wales, though originally only a saint of Dyfed, he deserves more than a passing notice, so, reserving him for special treatment, seeing that his history constitutes a very important chapter in the story of the Celtic Church, we pass on to others.

First comes S. Illtud, the founder of the famous monastery of Llanilltyd or Llantwit Major. Illtud the knight, as he was called, came from a princely stock, as indeed did most of the abbots and leaders of the Celtic Church. He is probably the eminent person referred to in the writing of Gildas, as the cultured teacher of nearly the whole of Britain. And in the life of S. Samson, a disciple and contemporary, he is termed the *egregius magister Britannorum.* Illtud was a noted teacher and occupied a position of great distinction and influence in the church of the sixth century. He is stated on good authority to have been the teacher of Maelgwn Gwynedd, the Welsh prince, to whom, with all his failings, the Church of that age owed so much. In his *Increpatio* Gildas addresses Maelgwn as follows :—" Warnings are certainly not wanting to thee, since thou hast had as instructor the refined teacher of almost the whole of Britain." Gildas therefore spoke from personal knowledge when he described the excitement and pleasure caused among the godly by Maelgwn's conversion and the hopes it inspired.

Illtud is stated to have been a pupil of Germanus, but he served some time under King Arthur, whose cousin he appears to have been. He afterwards gave up his secular calling and devoted himself to the monastic life.

In addition to the great monastery at Llantwit Major, in Glamorganshire, Illtud had a daughter house situated on an island off the coast of Dyfed. There can be little doubt that this island monastery, which is very definitely described in the early Breton lives of Paul Aurelian and Samson, was the island now known as Caldey, then known as Ynys Pyr. Illtud had other pupils, S. David, Gildas, Samson, Paul Aurelian, and Maglorius. Llantwit Major even to-day preserves some relics of its ancient glory, and its natural beauty helps to deepen the impression of its departed greatness. There still exists an ancient building at Llantwit, now used as the town-hall, in the

belfry of which there is a bell inscribed " Sancte Iltute ora pro nobis." Llantwit has been called the " Pompeii " of the old Celtic saints, and the locus of the Grail stories.

" If you look behind the histories of the San Greal you find a scenery very like that of the Llantwit region, and a disappearing figure very like that of Illtyd Farchog."

Next comes Cadoc the founder of Nantcarvan. He is one of the holy trio who revived the drooping faith of the Irish Church, the other two being David and Gildas. He also forms part of the Arthurian legend, and is sometimes identified with Sir Galahad. The Welsh Triads mention him as one of the three knights that kept the Holy Grail. The monastery at Nantcarvan was famous for its princely hospitality, which is not improbable, for the abbot of Nantcarvan was a great personage, not merely in virtue of his office, learning, and personal sanctity, but also on account of his princely origin.

Perhaps one of the best attested of the lives of the early saints is that of Samson. Educated in the monastery of Llanilltud under Illtud, he spent the greater part of his life in Brittany, where he became Archbishop of Dol. He is known to have been one of the signatories at the Council of Paris, A.D. 557. His life was written at a very early date, possibly about A.D. 600, and in spite of the inevitable accretion of legend, the main events of his history are indubitably authentic.

We will next glance at the age of Gildas (circa 500-570), who, as we have already seen, was associated with S. David and Cadoc in missionary work in Ireland. A Breton life of Gildas has come down to us, and from it we gather that he was a North Briton from Strathclyde. His principal work was written, according to Gould and Fisher, about 544. " He was one of the sons of Caw, who were obliged to leave their native country and seek refuge in *Mona* from the Picts and Scots, where they were granted lands by Cadwallon Law Hir." His critics state that the extant

fragments of his letters give us a higher opinion of Gildas as a balanced writer than his *Increpatio*. Britain during his time was enjoying a brief respite from " those whelps from the kennel of Barbarism," as the Saxons were contemptuously called, and Gildas was therefore free to draw the undivided attention of his contemporaries to the religious state of the country, which was according to him highly unsatisfactory. We have to remember that Gildas was more of a prophet or a revivalist than a sober historian, though his bitter denunciation of the vices of the age necessarily contains some historical truth. It was the age of Maelgwn Gwynedd, the island dragon, as Gildas calls him, who was in charge of the defences of the country, and lived in his fortress at Deganwy in North Wales, where he was surrounded with admiring bards—the great Taliesin among them. Maelgwn was grandson of Cunedda, and had driven out or at least overcome, the Goidelic settlers of North Wales. Gildas draws a dark and unlovely picture of his character, but we must make allowance for the writer's exaggerated account of this puissant ruler, for Maelgwn appears to have been a liberal supporter of the religious houses of the North, and was on good terms apparently with Cybi, Padarn, Tydecho, Deiniol, and others ; but the gifts conferred on the Church by Maelgwn and the other princes did not, in Gildas' opinion, adequately atone for their crimes, whatever those crimes may have been. The religion of the country at all events was definitely Christian, and we find in the pages of Gildas no traces of Paganism as a creed, though its influence doubtless survived in various ways beneath the surface. As we should expect, monasticism as a definitely organised system on a large scale was just in the first stage of development. The ministry of the church consisted of bishops and priests, but they do not appear to have entirely adopted as yet the monastic life, which to Gildas was the ideal of Christianity. But Gildas was himself a monk, and monasticism had already begun

to strike root. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that all the clergy of that epoch were exclusively monastic. In fact, it was the world outside the monasteries that Gildas condemns. His principal work, entitled *De Excidio Britanniæ*, does not profess to be a contemporary history of Britain. He wrote primarily in the interest of morality and religious reform, and after making the necessary allowance for the virulence of his language as a reformer, and the meagreness of his work as a chronicle of events, his testimony, such as it is, fills a large gap in the dim history of that early epoch. He was certainly a man of culture, as his Latinity and his quotations from Scripture fully testify. He probably represented the literary culture of the Roman side of British Christianity and his education under the learned Illtud would lead us to expect from him more than ordinary attainments. Subsequent writers, such as the Venerable Bede and the author of the Saxon genealogies, made use of the historical material embodied in the *De Excidio* of Gildas. Bede was the first to refer to him as a historian. Neither Columbanus, who wrote about the end of the same century, nor Alcuin who wrote in the eighth century, esteem him as such. He was just a fiery reformer writing an impassioned and somewhat unbalanced "tract for the times" on the subject of national apostasy. The latter part of his life was spent in Brittany, where he became Abbot of Rhuys, and his name is held there in veneration even to the present day. The yellow plague, A.D. 547, and the Saxon invasion, which swept with relentless fury over the unhappy island shortly after the time of Gildas' denunciation, seemed to be a divine judgment on the wickedness in high places which Gildas rebuked with prophetic warning. We must try to be fair both to Gildas and to the age which he criticises so bitterly for its vices. The explanation may very likely be that Gildas was living in the midst of church movements which had not yet had time to develop into accomplished facts, and to reveal their real worth for the

future of Celtic Christianity. It was therefore easier for him to notice the dark side of things than to appreciate the promise of the work that must have been going on under his very eyes ; for David, Teilo, Illtud, Cadoc, and others were household words in Wales at the very time when Gildas was thundering against the sins of princes, clergy, and people. This age assuredly ranks high in the annals of the Welsh Church for missionary zeal and monastic development. It witnessed the founding of the great religious houses, and the establishment of the early dioceses. The chroniclers of a later period on the other hand could, under the restraining influence of time, review the situation more calmly than one whose ardent spirit rebelled against the sordid vices of a turbulent age.

Christianity could hardly be a spent or futile force in a country where such achievements were possible. Zimmer sums up the testimony of Gildas thus : " His description is no matter-of-fact account of the British Church of his day, but rather a penitential sermon of a man who delights to paint everything in the blackest colours ; a man animated by the most rigid monastic ideas, with whom ' Convertere ad Deum ' means to go into a monastery." If there were many unrighteous men in the land, both in Church and State, there must also have been many righteous men, whose Christian lives are worthily attested by the enduring monuments which history has associated with their labours. Why does Gildas, a contemporary writer, not refer to King Arthur ? The answer, whether true or not the reader must judge for himself, is given by Giraldus Cambrensis, who states that King Arthur had killed Gildas' brother, King of Albania. Gildas had written some good books *De Gestis Arthuri*, and on the praises of his nation, but hearing of his brother's end, threw them into the sea.

Another renowned teacher of this age was Paulinus. He is connected with Ty Gwyn ar Daf, Carmarthenshire ; famous at a later period as the place where Howel the

Good, Prince of Dyfed, met representatives and leading scholars of Wales to reform the Welsh Laws for the use of the tribes.

Paulinus appears to have been the instructor of David Teilo, and many others, who flocked to the monastic college at Ty Gwyn. Though no regular account of his life has come down to us, he was a teacher of some distinction in his time. It is even recorded by Rhygyfarch in his *Life of S. David* that Paulinus was a disciple of S. Germanus. In spite, however, of the tradition which associates Paulinus with Whitland or Ty Gwyn, Prof. Lloyd states that there is no evidence that he was so connected. He gives, instead, Llangors in Breconshire, and the chapel at Ystradffin or Capel Peulin on the borders of Cardigan and Carmarthen. He doubts whether Whitland is an early foundation due to Celtic devotion. A few inscribed stones bearing the name of Paulinus have survived. One of them describes him as "servator fidei patrieque semper amator"; defender of the faith and always a lover of his country. There is no apparent reason why the identity of this Paulinus with the traditional instructor of S. David and Teilo should be disputed. One more of the early saints may be mentioned in connection with the Church in South Wales; S. Tathan, whose legend is preserved in the Cambro-British Saints. He deserves a passing reference on account of his association with Caerwent, the old Silurian capital. He was reputed to be one of the leading teachers of Gwent, where he was highly esteemed for his sanctity and patriotism.

We must now give a short account of the saints and monastic founders connected with the Church in the North. First in point of eminence is Dunawd, the famous Abbot of Bangor Monachorum, popularly known as Bangor Is Coed. He was a Northern Briton, and a warrior before he became the head of a monastery. Geoffrey of Monmouth names him as one of those invited to be present at the crowning of King Arthur. He was also present at a very

different function later on in life, the conference with Augustine on the banks of the Severn. In his account of the interview Bede calls him Dinoot. He, together with his sons, founded Bangor Iscoed late in the sixth century on land granted by Cyngen, Prince of Powys. In spite of its great reputation, Bangor Is Coed was a very short-lived institution, lasting barely half a century; for early in the seventh century the Britons were defeated at the battle of Chester, and the monastery was razed to the ground. This battle drove a wedge between the Britons of the North and their compatriots in Wales, and the extinction of this famous house was probably due to its exposed position in a district which was the scene of continual border fighting between the Britons and their enemies.

Deiniol, his son, was the founder of the episcopal foundation at Bangor on the Menai, which he established under the patronage of Maelgwn Gwynedd. The Iolo MSS. state that he was educated under Cadoc at Nantcarvan, and after residing for some time with his father, Abbot Dunawd, at Bangor Iscoed, removed to Bangor Fawr in Arvon. He is said to have been present at the Synod of Llanddewi-Brefi in 545, where S. David so greatly distinguished himself, according to the legend. That he had personal intercourse with S. David seems probable enough. He was buried in Bardsey island, the resting-place of many a Celtic saint, and one of the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of the British Church. The diocese of S. Asaph in which Bangor Iscoed is included, claims as its first bishop Kentigern, called in Welsh Cyndeyrn. He was previously Bishop of Glasgow, but owing to some local feud was forced to flee from his native country. He came to Menevia, and appears to have stayed awhile with S. David before going to North Wales in response to an invitation from Cadwallon, father of Maelgwn Gwynedd. While he was there, he founded a monastic house at Llanelwy, but his connection with that church was very short-lived, for in

A.D. 575 he returned to his native diocese. The year of his return to Strathclyde is a memorable one in Welsh literature, for it was the year of the great battle of Arderydd, which is the centre of so many Welsh traditions and the theme of so much bardic lore. These bardic traditions have been partly embodied in the mediæval *Life of Merlin* and the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, which the English reader will find in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. The charge of the monastic settlement at Llanelwy was thereupon entrusted by Kentigern to the most capable of his disciples, S. Asaph a nephew of Abbot Dunawd. The history of this See has been ever since associated with S. Asaph's name in spite of the fact that Kentigern was really its first bishop.

In the adjoining diocese of Bangor, the names of Cybi, Seiriol and Beuno, are, after Deiniol, probably the best known among the early Celtic saints. Cybi, cousin of S. David, appears according to the extant accounts to have been a very energetic migrant before he finally settled down as Abbot of Caergybi, the modern Holyhead. He laboured in Cornwall, Morganwg and Ireland, but he is best known as the founder of the monastery which afterwards bore his name on the western extremity of Anglesey.

English readers will remember Matthew Arnold's reference to Cybi and his contemporary Seiriol in his sonnet, "East and West":—

Seiriol the Bright, Cybi the Dark.

Tradition relates that the two saints used to meet every week at a point midway between their respective houses.

Seiriol was Abbot and founder of Penmon, near Beaumaris; he had also a cell on the adjacent island called Ynys Lannog or Priestholm.

Cybi's foundation at Holyhead was due to the generosity of Maelgwn Gwynedd. Beuno, the founder of Clynnog-fawr in Carnarvonshire, is one of the greatest of the saints of North Wales. Cor Beuno, as his foundation was called

in early Welsh literature, ranked with Deiniol's foundation at Bangor as one of the chief monastic houses of the North. He was the uncle and instructor of Winifred, whose name is perpetuated in S. Winifred's Well. He was a prolific founder of churches from Anglesey to Montgomery. His church at Clynnog is still one of the glories of the Church in the diocese of Bangor, and one of the noblest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture in the principality, though the present building only dates from the fourteenth century. Many of the Welsh princes bestowed gifts of land on Beuno's Church up to the time of Gruffudd ab Cynan in the twelfth century.

The original donor of the land on which Beuno's Church was built was Cadvan, King of Gwynedd. In the Welsh Laws of Howel Dda (tenth century) it was enacted that in the event of any dispute arising as to their interpretation, the " class " or collegiate body of Beuno's Church, together with the Chapter of Bangor, was to settle the dispute. A book bearing Beuno's name was reported in existence and last seen in the sixteenth century. It is mentioned in the *Record of Carnarvon* (which was drawn up in the time of Edward III) and contained, among other things, what appears to have been a list of charters relating to the gifts of land made from time to time to Beuno's Church. Amid the confusion that followed the dissolution of the monasteries, it disappeared, with many other interesting Welsh documents of priceless value in that dark period of pitiless vandalism. Another Welsh founder, though an Armorican by birth, is Cadvan the founder of Bardsey or Ynys Enlli.

Ynys Enlli, by the way, is popularly supposed to be a contraction of Ynys yn y lli : the island in the flood. Such an interpretation is, *primâ facie*, hardly in accordance with the law that governs the formation of most Welsh place-names. And there can be little doubt that it means Ynys Fenlli, from Benlli, a Welsh prince.

The sea-girt monastery of Bardsey must be one of the earliest religious foundations in Britain. We have already seen that Dubricius retired there and died, probably before A.D. 550. And even at that early date Bardsey was evidently a well-known sanctuary.

Cadvan is said to have migrated from Brittany with a considerable following of kinsmen towards the end of the fifth century, and founded in the first instance a church at Towyn in Merioneth, where Cadvan's Stone is still preserved in the parish church. Towyn was for many centuries a very prominent ecclesiastical foundation "not inferior in importance," says Professor Lloyd, " to any save the two cathedral churches of North Wales : it was the mother church of the whole of the Commote of Ystum Anner : it had an abbot in the twelfth century : and was held by a number of clergy in the days of Edward I." (*History of Wales* I. 251.)

From Towyn, Cadvan passed on to Bardsey and became Abbot of that island-monastery, with the support and co-operation of the reigning prince of Lleyn. A number of monks fled to Bardsey from Bangor Iscoed after the destruction of their monastery, at the time of the disastrous battle of Chester, A.D. 615. Welsh poets from Taliessin in the sixth century to Islwyn in the nineteenth century, have turned wistful eyes to Bardsey, the Island of the Saints, and have sung the praises of this ancient sanctuary with its hallowed memories and undisturbed calm. The Hebrew prophet might have had the bold outline of Bardsey before his eye when he wrote :—

> Thy borders are in the heart of the sea ;
> Thy builders have perfected thy beauty.

We must be content with a brief notice of one more of the early saints, S. Padarn, the founder of the Church of Llanbadarn, near Aberystwyth.

Llanbadarn was once a bishop's seat, Padarn himself being its first bishop. Giraldus Cambrensis, writing in the

twelfth century, states expressly that it was once a cathedral church. Padarn, according to the Legend, was one of the companions of S. David on the patron saint's journey to Jerusalem, where the latter was consecrated " Archbishop of Great Britain " by the patriarch of the Holy City. The journey is probably a pure myth, but its motive is obvious—to prove to the Anglo-Norman authorities of a later age that S. David did not derive his episcopal orders from Canterbury, which of course he did not. But the claim of S. David's to metropolitan status demanded heroic measures at the hands of the interested chroniclers of the Norman era, and historical facts had to be interpreted or fabricated accordingly. The historical value of old records suffered considerably from what was otherwise admirable, viz., the national revival which influenced the policy of the Welsh Church during the Norman period.

CHAPTER IV

THE PATRON SAINT OF WALES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE WELSH SEES

S. DAVID is the only Welsh saint who has earned the distinction of being canonised by the Roman Church. This was done about A.D. 1200. From being the chief saint of Dyfed, he has become the Patron Saint of Wales.

There is therefore no incongruity in coupling the story of his life with the foundation of the early Welsh Sees, for we have already briefly noticed the founders of Bangor, Llandaff and S. Asaph.

All that is known with any approach to historic certainty about S. David is really very little. The legendary *Life of S. David* is full of information, most of which we cannot accept. Much is of course probable, for the presence of legendary material in the *Lives of the Saints* is by no means inconsistent with much that is historically true. The legends merely illustrate the intellectual atmosphere of the age in which the life was written, without necessarily destroying the historical value of the document in the hands of a competent critic. The chroniclers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries make him the successor of Dubricius as Archbishop of Caerleon, and claim that the jurisdiction of the latter See was thus transferred to the Chief Pastors of Menevia. Geoffrey of Monmouth, the arch-romancer of that fertile literary age, had probably no special regard for S. David's diocese, but it suited his honest though misguided purpose, to invest the patron saint with an authority and jurisdiction at which the holy man himself would probably have been greatly surprised. But while we reject S. David's archiepiscopal pretensions, we accept S. David as a great saint and bishop, as a genuine historical character,

as the founder of a famous monastic college, and the active patron of many churches in the South-West corner of Wales and elsewhere. He flourished in the sixth century, and was probably born about A.D. 520, being thus contemporary with Gildas, Illtud, Teilo, Dyfrig, Deiniol, and Cadoc. On his father's and mother's side he came from a royal stock, the bluest of blue blood, for his grandfather is stated to have been Ceredig, son of Cunedda, while on his mother's side he had royal Goidelic blood in his veins. His mother's name was Non or Nonnita, to whom several churches are dedicated in Wales, Cornwall, and even Brittany ; a fact of high historical value. Llanon, *e.g.*, on the Cardiganshire coast, is an instance of a church bearing her name. S. David's *Life* was written by Rhygyfarch, son of Sulien, Bishop of S. David's, about A.D. 1090, and is an earlier composition than the lives of most of the other saints.

We have other formal accounts of him, by Giraldus Cambrensis *e.g.*, but this Life by Rhygyfarch is the original authority for them all. We may reasonably assume that his biographer had access to whatever records had been preserved in the Cathedral library. S. David's home was in old Menevia, Hen Fynyw, not far from the spot where S. David's now stands. He was educated by Paulinus, who was the head of a monastic school at Ty Gwyn ar Daf, better known as Whitland. Another tradition connects his early education with the name of Gweslan, or Guistilianus, a relative of the saint, and a third tradition with Illtud.

But the preponderance of evidence appears to favour the tradition which assigns his education to Paulinus' school ; unless we may assume that he received further instruction under Illtud by way of completing his training.

What his movements were between the time when his education was finished, and his final settlement in Old Menevia as the diligent and distinguished teacher of the

band of monks who gathered around him, it is difficult to decide.

Tradition attributes to him an undertaking which is highly improbable, though by no means impossible—a journey to Jerusalem, with Padarn and Teilo. Legendary traditions have followed on the saint's footsteps with commendable but uncritical zeal, and have attributed to him the foundation of monastic houses even in the heart of England, Glastonbury, Bath, Leominster, and many others. The true lines of the saint's activity can only be traced with any degree of confidence along the well-defined path marked out by historic place-names, and by churches bearing his name. Evidence of this kind is seldom untrustworthy. Guided by this rule, we conclude that he laboured over a fairly wide field, S. Wales, Cornwall and even Brittany. Nor must we omit the debt that Ireland owes to S. David, for Irish Church records of great antiquity and undoubted genuineness attribute to him, along with Gildas and Cadoc, the revival of church life in Ireland. Finnian, the famous Abbot of Clonard, is stated to have been a disciple of Dewi at Cilmynyw, as the Irish called Old Menevia.

The inflated account by his biographer of the famous Synod at Llanddewi-brevi, A.D. 569, where S. David was elected " Archbishop of Britain " by the unanimous consent of the faithful, for his conspicuous success on that memorable occasion, can be reduced to very modest dimensions. His biographer asserts that the Synod was convened to combat the Pelagians, a purely mythical account. The Synod simply dealt with matters of Church discipline, of which we happen to have an authentic account, which the reader will find in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents;* so it is needless to enter into the details of the controversy. There is another Synod at which S. David is credibly reported to have been present, viz., that convened at some place known as Lucus

Victoriæ. These synods were held in Cardiganshire, and the whole evidence establishes two important facts; first, that the church of the early Welsh saints had a system of synods for discussing matters pertaining to discipline and organisation: secondly, that the monastic bishops extended their activity beyond the limits of their own ecclesiastical tribe, or monastic sphere of influence, an important step in the direction of a territorial episcopate.

The best part, however, of S. David's life was spent at Menevia, where he had charge of a well-organised monastery, the fame of which spread rapidly from Ireland to Brittany.

Such then was the humble but real beginning of the diocese of S. David, and the same may be said of the way in which the others originated and developed. For though the Menevian and the other episcopal settlements were only monastic, and not diocesan in the modern sense, they gradually absorbed the lesser foundations and developed into territorial jurisdictions. It is not difficult to see that such a development was involved in the very nature of the primitive monastic episcopate, planted, as it was, in the soil of a tribal organisation. The ecclesiastical system of the Celtic Church was monastic and tribal, but a brief explanation is needed if we are to understand how this affected the organisation of the church, and the growth of the early Sees. The tribal system in Wales, as in Ireland, imparted a distinctive character to the religious life and customs of the people.

The lives of the early saints, the Laws of Howel Dda, the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, and the evidence of the visitation of Archbishop Peckham in the thirteenth century, all testify to the prevalence of peculiar customs and usages in the Welsh Church right up to the Middle Ages and even beyond. These, let it be remembered, had nothing to do with the essential constitution of the church as a Catholic Body.

They were by their very nature confined to matters of

domestic discipline and usage, such as the relation of ecclesiastical authority to the civil power, the right of succession to benefices, the laws of ecclesiastical property and patronage, and rules of inheritance. The institution of private property did not exist under the tribal system; all property belonged to the tribe and could not be disposed of except in strict accordance with tribal law. The same law applied to the ecclesiastical tribes which in the aggregate constituted the Church in Wales. On this point the Laws of Howel Dda are explicit : " When a bishop dies, all his property belongs to the king, for every property without an owner is waif to the king." This means that the question of inheritance and succession was to be decided by tribal law, represented by the king as head of the tribe and not by the personal wishes of the bishop. No man could bequeath his property as he pleased, it passed in equal shares to his natural heirs and was thus kept in the family. The distribution of property was thus governed by two stringent laws, the paramount claim of blood-relationship and perfect equality of treatment.

So rigorously was this principle enforced that in Howel's code, which evidently represents in this aspect at least the immemorial custom of the Welsh tribes, no distinction was drawn between legitimate and natural children. The sins of the fathers were not to be visited on the children. The Church, however, succeeded in securing a slight relaxation of the stringent law relating to inheritance, to the extent of permitting a dying person to dispose of part of his property as he wished. If we take a monastic house such as that over which Dewi Sant, or Illtud or Cadoc presided, we shall be able to see how this peculiar Celtic principle worked out in actual practice. The monastic property belonged to the tribe or family of the founder, and when the head of the monastery died, the property and the government of the house passed over to his natural heirs, from whom one would be appointed to succeed him as abbot.

Thus we find most of the early religious houses ruled by communities of clergy called a "Clas," with the abbot at their head, resembling the modern Dean and Chapter. They shared between them the revenues of the house, each receiving a portion. At first this was a very simple affair, but in process of time, when gifts of land and other property began to pour in, it became a very elaborate system, and business qualities as well as spiritual gifts were needed in the head of the monastery.

From these portions we trace the gradual growth of what afterwards came to be known as portionary churches. These portionary churches were not, strictly speaking, monastic bodies, but communities of clergy in charge of a certain district. This explains certain facts relating to the Welsh Church which would be otherwise inexplicable, namely, that many parish churches had for a long time several rectors in charge of them. The wide prevalence of these portions is confirmed by the evidence of various ecclesiastical valuations, such as the Norwich Taxation of 1254, the Lincoln Taxation of 1291, and the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. If we may select one parish as an example of the others, the story of most of the old parish churches of Wales can be fairly illustrated from the history of S. Beuno's Church, at Clynnog in Carnarvonshire. This was originally a Celtic monastery of the primitive type, similar to Dewi's or Illtud's foundation ; being, like theirs, the mother church of a great number of daughter foundations spread over a wide field. The old Celtic house lasted in some form or other until the Norman Conquest, modified no doubt in some respects by the changing ecclesiastical and social conditions of the country and age. In the Laws of Howel Dda and in the *Record of Carnarvon* we have ample evidence that it was in high repute as a centre of learning, and as a nursery of learned and efficient men for the service of the church. At some date unknown to us, it became transformed into a monastic house of the

mediæval type, a settlement of White Monks, possibly Cistercians.

That interesting old writer and antiquary Leland, of the time of Henry VIII, tells us in his quaint language that it " was suppressit many yeres ago." It was, in fact, suppressed for some unrecorded reason before the Lincoln Taxation, A.D. 1291.

The object of this taxation was to make a valuation of church property, in order to get funds for financing an expedition to the Holy Land. A grant of the Tenths was made to Edward the First for that purpose.

The evidence collected on this occasion indicates that there were five portionists attached to the church, and this evidence is confirmed by the later valuation known as the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. Some of these portionists were resident, and exercised their ministry in the parish. Others were attached to chapels dependent on the mother church, and were thus called *chaplains :* some of these chapels being in Anglesey, another as far away as Merionethshire. In the course of time the parish church was in various ways deprived of some of these portions, and to that extent impoverished by a partial but permanent disendowment. At the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, for example, the church was " visited," and most of the portions alienated to the Crown ; and Cromwell, the King's Lord Privy Seal, took good care that a portion of the spoil should find its way into the hands of his own relatives.

The church became eventually an ordinary parish church with only one portionist, the vicar of the parish, the lesser tithes alone being left : the greater tithes having passed through different hands until they came at last into the possession of Jesus College, Oxford. This very brief sketch will give the reader some general idea of the different stages through which many of the old parish churches of Wales passed in their eventful history, from early times to

the present day. Coming back for a moment to the particular case of the portions, it will be seen from the custom that prevailed, that the portion of each member of the clerical community became so small by constant sub-division, that great difficulty was experienced in securing the services of an efficient ministry; and by the time of the Statute of Rhuddlan, 1284, after the Union of England and Wales under Edward I, Archbishop Peckham complained of the smallness of many parochial endowments, and did his best to bring about a much needed reform by combining different portions so as to give the parochial clergy a living wage. In all cases where the portionist rectors did not reside, being sometimes laymen, they were made to provide vicars to discharge their ministerial duties and to pay them a share of the tithe.

The complaint of Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century against the nepotism that prevailed in the appointments made to ecclesiastical cures in Wales, is due to ignorance of the tribal law that held good in Church and State alike. "Their churches," he writes, in his *Description of Wales*, "have almost as many parsons and sharers as there are principal men in the parish. The sons after the decease of their fathers succeed to the ecclesiastical benefices not by election, but by hereditary right, possessing and polluting the sanctuary of God. And if a prelate should by chance presume to appoint or institute any other person, the people would certainly avenge the injury upon the institutor and the instituted." He adds that the same vice prevailed for a long time in Armorica as well as in Wales, from which the reader will naturally conclude not that the two countries were specially wicked, but that their ecclesiastical customs were based on tribal law. The system of appointment to ecclesiastical benefices was hereditary, and that explains the whole problem. There is no need to stigmatise old tribal customs as moral vices. In the diocese of S. David's, the family of Bishop Sulien in the

eleventh century retained the chief posts in the diocese without a break for a hundred years. This striking instance of what would to an outsider appear to be nepotism of the grossest kind, illustrates, however, a decided relaxation of the more primitive laws ; for the property in theory, and for a long time in practice, belonged to the ecclesiastical tribe. But the best institutions are subject to abuses, and we are not surprised to find that there grew up gradually a decided tendency to appropriate these ecclesiastical properties and turn them into private property. The vexed question of clerical celibacy is also mixed up in a way with the problems and needs of the tribal system. The Celtic Church never acquiesced in the institution of clerical celibacy. It is true that the outburst of enthusiasm and asceticism which marked the age of the Saints, as Dewi, Cadoc, and Gildas, brought celibacy in its train, but the principle was never formally accepted, and certainly not acted upon, except spasmodically, in Wales. It is, however, noticeable that in the Dimetian and Gwentian Codes of the Welsh Laws there is an explicit recognition of the canonical obligation of clerical celibacy, in the passage where it is enacted that the son of a clerk born *after* the father has taken priest's orders is not entitled to a share of his father's property. The absence of this provision from the Venedotian Code is rather suspicious, for there it is explicitly stated that the Law of Howel differed on that point from the ecclesiastical law ; and the reason given is that the father's act should not be allowed to penalise the child as to his patrimony. The phrase used in the other two Codes, that the child " was begotten contrary to the decree " does not strike one as convincing. It has all the appearance of a later interpolation, inserted with the object of bringing Howel's Law up to date ; and coming as it does from the Codes of South Wales, where Norman influence was at the time predominant, it is very doubtful whether it represents the original Law of Howel himself.

The general state of affairs may be gathered from the following quotation from *Brut y Tywysogion*, A.D. 961 :— "The same year Padarn, bishop of Llandaff, died, and Rhodri, son of Morgan the Great, was appointed in his place in spite of the Pope ; he was on that account poisoned, and priests were ordered not to marry except with the Pope's permission. This led to a great uproar in the diocese of Teilo, and it was consequently deemed wise to permit matrimony to priests." The charges of incest and concubinage brought by Gerald and others against the Welsh clergy are nothing but grotesque misrepresentations of facts. Whether clerical marriage was right or wrong, it was at all events the regular custom in Wales ; and to call it concubinage was a mere affectation of superior sanctity on the part of Gerald and his fellow-critics, not to mention its manifest unfairness as a specific charge against those who openly repudiated celibacy, and moreover followed less stringent laws of affinity than those prevailing in the Latin communion.

From what has been previously explained about the monastic houses and the tribal customs that prevailed in regard to their regulation, ownership, and succession, it will readily be seen that the principal monasteries would not, and as a matter of fact did not, take long to link up into one homogeneous system the whole network of daughter foundations planted by the mother church. Dewi, Illtud, Teilo, Cadoc, Beuno and similar founders were the originators of groups of churches which acknowledged and depended upon the mother church.

Political forces gradually contributed to the process of consolidating the influence and authority of a powerful monastic house, for the reigning prince would naturally lend his aid to support the principal monastery in his province so as to establish a territorial jurisdiction. The controversies between some of the early sees, as recounted in the *Book of Llandaff* and elsewhere, are probably due to

the changing character of political frontiers, which in their turn, as the student of Welsh history will not take long to grasp, depended on the fortunes of war. We cannot trace in any detail the general process towards diocesan episcopacy, for the evidence is too fragmentary. But few historical students would hesitate to admit that in its main features this account fairly represents what probably took place. The process of organisation and centralisation gradually led to the formation of territorial sees, the four principal monastic houses of S. David's, Llandaff, Bangor and S. Asaph taking the lead until they became the centre and source of diocesan jurisdiction in its modern form.

Some writers have endeavoured to make use of the fact that after the Anglo-Norman period the Church in Wales lost its ancient tribal and independent character by being assimilated to the English Church, or more correctly to the province of Canterbury, to deny the continuity of the Welsh Church of the present day with the old British Church. If that is so, the Welsh nation itself has lost its political identity with the ancient Cymry, for after the Statute of Rhuddlan, 1283, the separate organisation of Wales, the Wales of the native Princes, came to an end.

Had the Church itself retained its tribal and isolated character instead of adapting itself to the changed conditions of the Welsh people it would assuredly have forfeited all claim to be considered the national church.

Both the Church and the nation passed by a natural and inevitable process from the old tribal form of society to a different, and on the whole a higher because a more stable type of organisation. To deny the national character and the historical continuity of the Welsh Church with the church of the early Welsh Saints because it has ceased to retain the dead form of a vanished past is a grotesque misconception of the meaning of continuity, and can only be ascribed to the exigencies of a conclusion in search of premises.

Our survey of this period will not, even within the very modest limits of this popular story of the Church in Wales be complete without some individual account of the early Welsh Sees, though we have already noticed them in an incidental way.

One fact emerges with great clearness to those whose studies have made them familiar with the early narratives, namely, that the Welsh Sees continuously tended from the beginning to coincide with political divisions just as they did in Saxon England.

Bangor, as we have seen already, owes its foundation to Deiniol, son of Abbot Dunawd. Land was given for this purpose by Maelgwn Gwynedd. The Welsh records date his death in A.D. 584. This diocese coincided with the province of Gwynedd. The Princes of Gwynedd were, as a rule, the most powerful of the Welsh chiefs by reason of the mountainous and rugged character of their country. Historical records of Bangor are exceedingly meagre until the Norman era. A few names of bishops are preserved here and there, but we know very little about the history of the diocese for many centuries. A bishop of Bangor, named Mordaf, is mentioned in the Preface to the Laws of Howel Dda as one of the three prelates who are said to have accompanied the eminent Celtic prince and legislator to Rome in A.D. 926, to get the approval of the Holy See for the new Code. But the most notable occupant of the See of Bangor during this long period is undoubtedly Elfod, the teacher of Nennius the historian, and the author of the one really important event in Welsh Church history between the sixth and the twelfth century, viz., the change from the Celtic to the Roman Easter. The *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Brut*, two important and trustworthy documents, mention this event. Elfod is here called Archbishop of Gwynedd. The only fact of any diocesan importance chronicled for the period between the death of Elfod and the coming of the Normans is the

building of a new church of S. Mary, by King Edgar, in 975, close to the Cathedral of Bangor, supposed to be the first instance of a church dedicated to our Lady.

S. Asaph was founded by S. Kentigern, Bishop of Glasgow, though it bears the name of his disciple, S. Asaph.

Gerald the Welshman, in his *Itinerary*, speaks of the " poor little Cathedral of S. Asaph." This diocese was originally co-extensive with the principality of Powys. It should of course be remembered, and must be obvious from what we have already seen, that the founding of the Welsh Sees is not contemporaneous with the introduction of Christianity into the country. The establishment of the diocesan episcopate, which we are now surveying, merely represents a more definite attempt at organisation on a national basis. The history of this diocese after the death of S. Asaph is a complete blank until the end of the eleventh century. There is a tradition that Tyssilio succeeded S. Asaph, though there is no definite evidence to confirm it. This Tyssilio is said by some old authors to have written a *British Ecclesiastical History*, " whereof some fragments have been lately seen but are now lost," says Rowlands, the historian of Anglesey (*Mona Antiqua*, 154). The *Cambrian Register* also states that it was well known to Lewis Morris, who writes about it in A.D. 1763. Having survived so long, it is to be greatly regretted that such an interesting old document should have been allowed to get lost.

In the twelfth century, a certain Gilbert was appointed bishop, but previous to his episcopate, at least for a very long period, the See was described as being destitute of episcopal government owing to the desolate character of the country and the semi-civilised state of its inhabitants. Anyhow, the people of this diocese appear to have been sufficiently civilized to appreciate the value of independence, for S. Asaph was the last See to submit to the domination of the Anglo-Norman Church.

S. David's diocese, co-extensive originally with Dyfed,

has already received some notice and therefore need not detain us long. Its early history, though not so meagrely attested as that of Bangor and S. Asaph, rests nevertheless on very scanty records, but we have a fairly continuous list of bishops from the ninth century onwards. It is a curious fact that no bishop of S. David's, or Menevia as it would then be called, is recorded among the seven bishops who are stated by Bede to have met S. Augustine in conference in A.D. 603. Probably the list, which is the work of some mediæval antiquary, is not quite reliable, but assuming it to be correct, the only probable explanation is that as S. David died in 601, the See must have been vacant at the time.

We have no formal records of the diocese before the publication of the *Life of St. David* in the eleventh century by Rhygyfarch, and a metrical *Life of Bishop Sulien* by his son Ieuan. The disappearance of the historical records of the See is attributed to the ceaseless ravages of the Danish pirates. The ninth century witnessed the full fury of their attack on the Welsh coast, and modern place-names bearing the terminations -fiord, -scar, -wick, -ey, -holm, etc., bear witness to the traces left by these restless marauders. They sacked monasteries and churches for the sake of their costly vessels and precious treasures; pillaged and murdered wherever they went, and turned the western sea-board into a howling desert. But in spite of themselves they were instrumental in doing good, for their sinister presence compelled Saxon and Celt alike to compose their domestic differences in order to present a united front to the common enemy.

The unification of Wales under Rhodri the Great, and the work of Alfred in England were due principally to the pressure of the Danish invasion, which politically and socially is one of the most momentous events of the early Middle Ages in Western Europe.

Llandaff, representing Gwent and Morganwg, is in some

ways more fortunate than the other dioceses as regards its early records, for the *Book of Llan Daf*, though not compiled before the early part of the twelfth century, makes a brave show of presenting the early history of the See. It contains material which can only be used with the utmost critical discrimination, for much of it was written with a decided purpose, that of authenticating the claim of Llandaff to churches and lands situated outside the limits of the diocese in S. David's and Hereford. There are at all events three prominent names connected with the first chapter of its history, Dubricius, Teilo and Oudoceus. And there is sufficient evidence to support the conclusion that the diocesan episcopate continued without interruption since their time. The monastic system is strongly represented in the early annals of Teilo's church, and great monastic houses abounded in this ancient diocese :— Margam, Neath, Caerwent, Llancarvan, Henllan, Llandaff and Llandough. There were other dioceses in the early days of the Church in Wales, but they were eventually absorbed into the larger unities which have survived. The principal of these extinct Sees is that of Llanbadarn Fawr, founded by Padarn, a contemporary of S. David and Teilo. It represented the principality of Ceredigion, the modern Cardiganshire, together with a portion of Brecknockshire, and possibly a small slice of Radnorshire. In the *Chronicle of the Princes* the existence of a bishopric at Llanbadarn is distinctly implied about A.D. 720. Ieuan, son of Bishop Sulien, and the head of a clerical body at Llanbadarn, has left some hexameter lines written about A.D. 1100 in which he refers to the

Metropolis altae
Antistes sanctus quo duxit jure Paternus
Egregiam vitam septenos terque per annos.

And it is also stated that a certain Cynog, bishop of Llanbadarn, was transferred from that See to S. David's in succession to the saint himself. Idnerth, bishop of this

See, was put to death by the people of Llanbadarn about 720, and it is supposed that the diocese was shortly afterwards incorporated in the larger one of S. David's.

Another early diocese, whose lease of life was even shorter than that of Llanbadarn is Llanafan Fawr, in Brecknock. Afan was one of Padarn's disciples and companions, and an inscribed stone still exists which bears his name and commemorates his episcopal rank. This diocese, if we accept the extant evidence for its brief existence, must have been merged at a very early date in that of Llanbadarn, and both of them finally in S. David's. Among the Welsh bishops who came to meet S. Augustine, a Bishop of Morganwg is mentioned in addition to the Bishop of Llandaff. This bishop has been conjectured to be identical with the Bishop of Margam, which was at one time a very important ecclesiastical centre, and an old tradition which is not unworthy of credence assigns to this locality a bishopric. Another bishopric mentioned in the above list connected with Augustine is that of Wig, or Weeg, in Archenfield, Herefordshire, probably identical with Henllan, the famous monastic college presided over by Dubricius. It is by no means improbable that these smaller Sees existed for a time independently of the larger diocesan episcopates which eventually absorbed them. The varying pressure of political events, quite as much as the natural tendency towards ecclesiastical unity, helped to determine the form which the diocesan episcopates ultimately assumed.

CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF S. AUGUSTINE AND THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

THE mission of S. Augustine to England at the end of the sixth century is an event of the first importance in the history of the old British Church, for it was the first link in a chain of circumstances which profoundly influenced the development of Celtic Christianity, and eventually led to the fusion of the two churches, not without much bitter feeling on the one side and arrogance and oppression on the other. S. Augustine landed in Kent in A.D. 597. He was sent by S. Gregory the First to convert the Saxons, who were heathen. The story of the kind-hearted Roman monk and the pathetic little figures—the bright-eyed and fair-haired little Saxon slaves in the Roman market—is too well known to need repetition. It is a pretty story if true, and makes us think very kindly of the good bishop who, when the opportunity came, sent Augustine and a band of helpers to carry the message of the gospel to the distant shores of heathen England. In order to appreciate the attitude both of the British Church and of Augustine, it should be remembered that for a century and a half the Christians of Britain had had no intercourse with their brethren on the Continent except through Brittany. And Breton churchmen, though in communication with the church of the mother country across the sea, had very little dealing with their Frankish neighbours. The result of this long suspension of communication between the British Church and Western Christianity was that the former had in many important ways been left behind the times. Before communication was suspended the last recorded act

of the British Church, mentioned in the *Annales Cambriæ* in 455, was the adoption of the Roman Easter promulgated by Leo the Great. Since that date, however, Rome had changed the Easter computation, but the British Church had on account of its isolation adhered to the older method. It is, therefore, no wonder that the British bishops were annoyed at finding that this very custom, which they had adopted from the Roman Church, was one of the first things they were asked to discard.

Another point to bear in mind is that the British Church at the time of S. Augustine was in a flourishing condition, strong in numbers, in missionary zeal, in learning and in organisation. She had organised Christianity within her own borders; had helped to revive the decaying faith of the Irish Church; and possessed a great number of famous monastic houses where pure religion and sacred learning were successfully cultivated. Her doctrines were pure and Catholic— as is proved by S. Augustine's appeal to her bishops to join him in preaching the gospel to the pagan Saxons. The Britons had been harassed and ravaged pitilessly by the Saxons for over a century, and gradually driven into the fastnesses of the West. It is not surprising that the memory of smoking hamlets and desecrated churches and murdered kinsmen, kept the Britons smarting under a deep sense of wrong. Their refusal to help S. Augustine to preach the gospel to the Saxons who had ruined their country, was not, we must admit, the attitude of a Christian nation; but it was an attitude that most people would understand and make some allowance for. When S. Augustine landed in England, Ethelbert was King of Kent and lord of the country south of the Humber. By securing the goodwill of this prince, S. Augustine strengthened his position and was able to form his plans for extending his mission. The first important step to take was to get into touch with the leaders of the Church in the West, about which he and Pope Gregory knew very little. The

story of the famous conference with the British bishops near the Severn in A.D. 603, is told by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*. S. Augustine pointed out to the representatives of the British Church that they had departed from the custom of the Western Church in some important respects, but declared his readiness to overlook certain pecularities of Celtic Church usage if they would accept three conditions; (1) adopt the Roman computation of Easter, (2) complete the rite of baptism in accordance with the custom of the Roman Church, (3) join him in the conversion of the heathen Saxons. The reply of the bishops was that they could not depart from their ancient customs without consulting their people. A second conference was arranged, at which Dunawd, Abbot of Bangor-Iscoed, and many learned men of the British Church attended. The conference failed. S. Augustine's want of tact, or perhaps his unconscious arrogance, irritated the British bishops. They declared that they owed no allegiance to the Bishop of Rome beyond what was demanded by Christian charity. They were Catholic bishops and would not submit to the dictation of any foreign prelate. S. Augustine prophesied retribution upon them for declining to accept his terms. The battle of Chester, A.D. 615, was supposed to be the fulfilment of this tactless prophecy, according to Bede. The real stumbling-block in the way of an agreement was S. Augustine's implied claim to supremacy over the whole Celtic Church. This claim was repudiated as emphatically by the Irish as by the British Church. The insolent claim of a continental bishop to override the ancient customs which had been sacred to David, Gildas and Cadoc, Welsh saints whose lives were fragrant with hallowed memories throughout the whole of the Celtic Church, was greeted with profound indignation. If S. Gregory or S. Augustine had taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the history of the Church which had once sent representatives to Western councils, and still adhered to Catholic usages

approved by the leaders of the Western Church, the subsequent history of the Welsh Church might have yielded different results. Bede's account of the controversy is that of a partisan, whose knowledge of the British Church is very limited, and probably unsympathetic. His complacent view of the terrible disaster that overtook the Britons at the battle of Chester as a judgment of God on the British Church " for rejecting the offer of eternal salvation," is very poor testimony to the sanity of his judgment on the matter at issue between the two churches. The Chester massacre was, however, speedily and ruthlessly avenged by Cadvan, Prince of Gwynedd, so that the value claimed for it as a fulfilment of prophecy was very soon cancelled. The result of this unhappy collision between Latin and Celtic Christianity was that the two churches drifted into a state of mutual suspicion and animosity for about two centuries. Bede, writing about A.D. 730, complains bitterly that in his time it was the fashion among the Britons to despise the religion of the English, and to treat them with contempt as though they were heathen.

The period which extends from the days of S. Augustine to the Norman Conquest, is, on the whole, somewhat featureless. And yet important events were happening in a quiet undramatic sort of way. No great historian has bequeathed to us the story of any portion of that long epoch. The English Church has a worthy chronicler in Bede, not to mention the lesser annalists, but the Welsh Church produced no writer of commanding merit to compare with him. We have, it is true, the *Chronicle of the Princes*, the *Annales Cambriæ*, and the *Book of Llandaff;* but though they cover the period, these are chronicles written at a later period and their meagre testimony has to be eked out with the help of scattered records of various kinds. It is only when we come to the age of Giraldus Cambrensis, the gifted historian and man of letters of the twelfth century,

that we have a really luminous account of the Church in the Principality; and though his strong prejudices and his credulity rather impair the value of his historical criticism, his contribution to our knowledge of Church History for the period with which he deals is so great that

Even his failings lean to virtue's side.

But it must not be supposed that we are altogether in the dark even for the earlier period, though we have no regular history.

In the eighth century, for example, we have the testimony of Aldhelm, Bede, and Nennius, not to mention the side-light thrown on the state of affairs in Wales by the Irish and Scotch records. In the ninth century Asser is a very prominent landmark in the annals of the British Church; while in the following century we have the valuable testimony of the Laws of Howel Dda, one of the greatest literary events in the whole of Welsh history, so far as the enactment of a Legal Code can be described as such.

On its religious, as well as on its civil side, it is certainly a most important landmark in the annals of the Welsh people. This period begins, as we have already seen, rather inauspiciously with the two Churches, the British and the Anglo-Saxon, in a state of unfriendliness and mutual aloofness. The Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans. Two conclusions may be fairly drawn from the state of things existing at that time between the two Churches, and allowing for the heat of the controversy, the direct evidence confirms two conclusions beyond all cavil. Firstly, that the British Church, whether its attitude was right or wrong, was admittedly orthodox as regards the Catholic Faith. It had supported S. Athanasius against the Arians and still adhered to the Nicene symbol of faith. It had also the Catholic episcopate. Even S. Augustine tacitly admits that the British bishops had valid orders; his opposition to them is confined to a question of Celtic customs of secondary importance. Secondly, that it was, and that it

claimed to be, independent of the Roman Church, and repudiated the Papal pretensions to supremacy. "It is an indisputable fact," writes Zimmer, "that in dogma the whole Celtic Church at the end of the sixth century shows no difference from the Western Church of the fourth century, and differs but slightly from the Roman Church of the seventh century. But at the same time it is undeniable that the spirit of the representatives of the Celtic Church at the close of the sixth century was essentially different from that displayed by the representatives of Rome sent to the British Isles. Both adhere to the same dogma, but on the one side we find a striving for individual freedom and personal Christianity, on the other a bigoted zeal for rigid uniformity." Both the substance and the tone, however, of the writings of Aldhelm and Bede prove quite clearly that the ground of their complaint against the British Church was not its Orthodoxy or its Catholic Order, but its unfriendliness, and the incredible tenacity with which it clung to an obsolete Easter computation in defiance of the universal custom of the West. On the merits of the case this complaint was, of course, quite justified, for as an Irish bishop of the time admitted: it was absurd to say, Jerusalem is wrong, Constantinople is wrong, Rome is wrong, the whole Church is wrong, except the Church in Britain!

But the issues between the Welsh Church and the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy were not merely the custom of tonsure, or the method of administering baptism, or the date of Easter. The real issue was, as is generally the case in such controversies, much deeper; it raised the larger question of the national freedom and the spiritual authority of the British Church over its own subjects and within its own sphere. The mental attitude of writers in that remote age was in many ways so different from our own, that a wide margin must be allowed for the discrepancy between the ancient and the modern estimate of things. But it is

difficult to understand the view of such a worthy and esteemed writer as Bede, that the British Christians were imperilling their hopes of eternal salvation simply because they kept Easter a matter of a few days before or after the Roman Church, especially when the Roman Church itself had once followed precisely the same custom. When we realize the overwhelming prestige of the Roman Church in that turbulent age, a prestige too of which we must admit that it was, whatever its failings, eminently worthy, we cannot but admire the sturdy spirit of independence which was shown by a handful of British prelates in resisting the encroachments of an alien See.

Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, who writes about the beginning of the eighth century, gives a vivid picture of the attitude of the British Christians towards the Saxons. The priests of Dyfed are singled out for special vituperation for the way in which they swerved from the Catholic faith and the Evangelical tradition by declining to hold communion with their Saxon brethren. Neither in Christian worship nor in social intercourse would they join with them. But Aldhelm had no charge to bring against their orthodoxy or their morals unless it were a suspicion of self-righteousness. In fact it would seem that the British priesthood professed and practised a very high standard of Christian living.

An incidental remark reveals the existence in the British Church of a large number of anchorites living an austere life of lonely contemplation in secluded parts of Wales. Giraldus Cambrensis, writing several centuries afterwards, bears similar and even more emphatic testimony to the same feature in Welsh Christianity.

Aldhelm complains that " if any of us who are Catholics do go amongst them to make an abode, they will not vouchsafe to admit us to their fellowship till we be compelled to spend forty days in penance." The spectacle of the proud Saxon having to submit to a forty days' penance as a

condition of admittance to fellowship with the ancient Britons is one to provoke a smile, but it certainly reveals a very determined attitude on the part of the Welsh clergy, and a lofty confidence in the rightness of the position they had taken up. Years of oppression had left a wound that was still raw, and even the healing virtue of a common faith had not yet availed to salve it.

But such a strained relation between the two peoples could not last long. Nor was it to the interest of the British Church itself to prolong a barren controversy, and hold aloof from Catholic fellowship with the English Church.

The other branches of the Celtic Church conformed one by one to the Roman observance of Easter. The Church in Cornwall accepted the Western custom as a result of Aldhelm's appeal. Then the Church in the South of Ireland, then Northumbria, then the North of Ireland gave up the struggle, and accepted the Roman Easter. They were probably tired of a controversy which merely created bad blood, and involved no real sacrifice of principle.

By the middle of the eighth century the Welsh Church stood sullenly alone in its policy of resistance.

Very soon, however, wiser counsels appear to have prevailed. In the *Annales Cambriæ* we read under A.D. 768 that the Welsh Church adopted the Roman Easter, "Elbodwg, man of God, being the author of the reform." The Chronicle of the Princes calls him Bishop of Bangor, and elsewhere Archbishop of Gwynedd.

The title " man of God " seems to point to his being a monk at the time, afterwards becoming a bishop. He was a scholarly and a saintly man, and Nennius, who was his pupil, calls him the most saintly of bishops. But the same Chronicle adds that the bishops of South Wales declined to follow his lead. No mention is made of any protest from S. Asaph, so we may possibly assume that Elfod's reform was accepted in the two northern dioceses, the southern

sees refusing to conform until a few years later, if the evidence of the Chronicle on this point is to be accepted, which is not altogether beyond dispute. So ended the unhappy schism, by an entirely spontaneous act on the part of the Welsh Church, and the foundation of mutual good fellowship was thus firmly established.

The work of fusion was materially encouraged by the pressure of a common danger that threatened England and Wales alike; the ravages of the Danes.

In reference to the termination of this Easter controversy, Professor Lloyd writes : " The Welsh Church still retained in many respects the marks of its monastic and Celtic origin, and there was still room left in Wales for the growth of distinctive features of Church life." This is the writer's very sensible comment on the views of those who think that the Welsh Church could not adopt any reasonable custom from the English Church without losing its Celtic continuity. It is hard to understand why the Church in Wales should be supposed to forfeit her national characteristics by observing Easter a week earlier or later than she had hitherto done.

We now come to Nennius, the author of the *Historia Brittonum*. He flourished towards the end of the eighth century. His work, however, is of very little direct value to the student of Church history, though it presents some interesting problems to the student of Welsh literature. Nothing is known about the author, or rather the editor of this book, for it is really a revision of some older historical documents put together from various sources, including Irish Saxon and Norman annals, and " our own ancient traditions." From the words of the preface, " Nennius, humble minister and servant of the servants of God, disciple of Elbod," we may conclude that he was a Welsh cleric. He apologises for the meagre character of his history, but he is anxious to preserve from oblivion the traditions of the ancients. Others had undertaken a similar

task before him, he says, but, somehow or other, have abandoned it from its difficulty, either on account of frequent deaths, or the oft recurring calamities of war.

Nennius gives us some account of S. Germanus and S. Patrick, but the whole record is of a legendary character. He has obviously gleaned some genuine historical facts, though he adds nothing to our real stock of knowledge. His treatment of King Arthur is on quite an extended scale, and no effort of imagination is spared to set forth the majestic story of the hero of Badon Hill. Arthur was under the direct patronage of the God of battles; "no one but the Lord affording him assistance." It is in the history of Nennius that we meet for the first time with the Arthur of romance. His history reveals incidentally the character of the culture that must have prevailed among the clergy in the eighth century; and the following passage, in which he describes the sources of his compilation, will give some idea of the literature to which the rank and file of the priesthood had access. "I have presumed to deliver these things in the Latin tongue, not trusting to my own learning, which is little or none at all, but partly from traditions of our ancestors, partly from writings and monuments of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, partly from the annals of the Romans, and the chronicles of the sacred fathers, Isidore, Jerome, Prosper, Eusebius and from the histories of the Scots and Saxons, although our enemies."

We pass from Nennius to Asser, who is a writer of a very different stamp, and one moreover of whose life we have an authentic record. He wrote an account of Alfred's life, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*. Apart from the value of his writings, Asser's personal history throws an interesting sidelight on the circumstances of the age at the end of the ninth century. He was a nephew of Novis, Bishop of S. David's, and was educated at the old monastery of S. David's, which was in high repute for the learning of its

clergy, and eventually became its bishop. Asser's title to fame is however principally due to the fact that he was invited by King Alfred to come to his court and to help him to revive sacred learning in the English Church in Wessex. After consulting with his brethren at S. David's, Asser arranged to spend six months of the year at Alfred's court. This plan was the more readily approved by the monks of S. David's, seeing that it held out a hope of securing for them, under the protection of the English king, some immunity from the oppression of Hemeid, the reigning Prince of Dyfed. Asser's friendship with the English king was a happy and auspicious symbol of the better feeling that was now beginning to draw more closely together the two races, after the bitter estrangement of the past. Alfred's strong arm was a welcome ally to the Welsh princes in their difficult task of defending their homes against the fierce Danes.

Not only Hemeid and the princes of South Wales, but even Anarawd, Prince of Gwynedd, placed himself under Alfred's protection. Alfred, according to Asser's testimony, was a liberal supporter of the Church, not only in England, but in Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, and even Ireland. His anxiety for the religious welfare of the country is proved by his determination to have by his side a learned ecclesiastic like Asser, whose fame had reached the court of the English king, to assist him in the work of education.

Alfred's zeal for knowledge is very happily described by Asser, and the life of this good English king, apart from its historical value in an age which is otherwise, as far as the Welsh Church is concerned, so deficient in records, is a pleasant episode in the mutual history of Saxon and Celt. Asser was eventually appointed Bishop of Sherborne, and died about A.D. 910. One chronicle adds that he was Bishop of Britain, meaning, of course, that he was a British bishop.

In the latest edition of Asser's *Life of Alfred* (Stephenson's), it is pointed out that the internal evidence proves conclusively, if proof were necessary, that we have here the genuine writing of a native Welshman, for the writer gives, with the accuracy of a skilled contemporary narrator well versed in Welsh affairs, a list of the reigning princes in his time. A forger would very soon be found tripping in this region. Another feature of his work, confirming his Welsh origin and antecedents, is his custom of giving the Welsh names of places in England, a still more searching test of the genuineness of the author, such as Caerwuisc for Exeter, Caerceri for Cirencester, and Coit Mawr for Selwood. And again, he translates literally the Welsh equivalents for north and south, sinistralis and dextralis, which mean respectively left hand (gogledd) and right hand (deheu). These are details of no great interest perhaps to the general reader, but they give the essential touch of genuineness and truthfulness to a work which is an important landmark in the early history of the Welsh Church. The happy result of this friendship between the English court and the Welsh Church was illustrated soon after Asser's death in a very practical way by an act of kindness on the part of Edward, King of England, to Cyfeiliog, Bishop of Llandaff, who had been taken prisoner by the Danes, but was ransomed by Edward for forty pounds.

Before we pass on to the next century, there are one or two points to which we may briefly refer, for where the formal records are scanty, it is necessary that we should follow every clue that enables us to detect the trend of events. Early in the eighth century, there is an entry in the Chronicle of the Welsh Princes to the effect that the first church dedicated to S. Michael was consecrated. This was in A.D. 717.

The Celtic custom was to name all churches after their actual founders—hence the evidential value of the names of old churches. The Latin custom was more elastic:

churches were frequently enough dedicated *honoris causa* to departed saints. Consequently, the record of the first dedication of a church in Wales to S. Michael is direct proof of the progress made in the Principality about this time in the direction of adopting ecclesiastical customs and traditions from the Western Church. There are three distinct stages in the history of the dedication of churches in Wales. The first represents the living founder, and it may be safely asserted that this custom prevailed until the tenth century. The second is that of S. Michael, and the third that of the Blessed Virgin—Llanfair.

The earliest supposed instance of this last has already been quoted, that of S. Mary's, near the Cathedral of Bangor, founded by King Edgar, A.D. 975 : though the first actually mentioned in the Welsh Chronicle is the " Church of S. Mary, consecrated at Meifod in A.D. 1155." The importance of these records relating to the dedication of churches will be readily grasped by the reader from the fact that their occurrence was deemed worthy to be placed on record in a formal historical document.

Another entry in the same Chronicle, under the year A.D. 883, enables us to draw aside for a moment the veil that half conceals the history of this period. Under this date it is recorded that Cydifor, Abbot of Llancarvan, died. It adds that he was a wise and learned man, and that he sent six learned men of his abbey to Ireland to instruct the Irish. This is very good evidence that the Welsh and Irish Churches were still in close communication with each other. It is known from other sources that the Church of Armagh was destroyed by the Danes in 867, and then restored by the Irish Bishop, Fethgna ; and it is supposed that these learned Welsh monks from Llancarvan were sent over at this critical juncture to help in the work of restoration. Another indication of the steady tendency to break down the barriers between the Welsh Church and Western Christianity is to be found in the frequent journeys to Rome,

made by Welsh princes and bishops during the ninth and tenth centuries ; in some cases for the purpose of taking religious vows, as is recorded, for example, of Dunwallon, a Prince of Dyffryn Clwyd. Zimmer's words are obviously true : " The extrication of the British Church from an isolation leading to intellectual ossification was begun by Bishop Elbodug, of Bangor, and the culture of the Welsh clergy reached a higher grade after Wales emerged from her spiritual isolation by conforming to the Anglo-Roman Church in the matter of Easter."

The spirit of the West had begun in earnest to invade the Celtic Church in its mountain home, to its real benefit : and the prestige of Roman culture began to influence the mental and the spiritual attitude of those who sat in Dewi's seat.

When we find evidence of Saxon clerks admitted to the great monastery at Llanilltud, and Welsh bishops of Llandaff and S. David's receiving consecration, not under compulsion from a domineering metropolitan, but at the friendly hands of an English Archbishop, according to the *Book of Llandaff*, we feel that the trend of events indicates the close of a long barren period of isolation. A later age, it is true, has a less pleasant tale to tell as regards the relation of the Welsh Church to the See of Canterbury, but we must be fair to the facts of each period, and it is, therefore, not surprising, as Newell says, that " at a period of comparative friendliness . . . . towards the Welsh Church in general, we find records of consecration of Welsh bishops by Archbishops of Canterbury. These records are confused, but it is highly probable that they contain a measure of truth."

CHAPTER VI

THE LAWS OF HOWEL DDA AND THE CHURCH IN TRIBAL SOCIETY

THE tenth century is memorable for the publication of a Code of Laws drawn up by Howel Dda, Prince of Dyfed, and over-lord of all Cymru. There are really three Codes, the Venedotian, the Dimetian, and the Gwentian, representing the three great territorial divisions of Wales. This codification of the old tribal laws is an event of great interest and importance, and our present concern is to inquire what light it throws on the history and condition of the Welsh Church. In order to grasp its significance in the general history of the country, it must be pointed out that it is not an isolated phenomenon. It is clearly the culmination of tendencies in the national life that had been gradually maturing for some time. For one thing, the inconvenience of conflicting customs among the Welsh clans must have been felt more and more as efforts were made towards national unity. In fact, the Dimetian version states definitely that Howel was induced to undertake the work of reform because the people were perverting the laws and customs of the country. This can hardly mean that there existed a general spirit of lawlessness; it probably indicates a conviction that the conflicting character of the customs that prevailed, culminating, to a large extent no doubt, in their disuse, had become a serious embarrassment in the administration of justice.

Howel had before him the legislative efforts of Alfred in England, and the great work of Charlemagne on the Continent. And special reference is made to the Law of the Emperor in the Dimetian Code. It is evident that Howel

and his advisers had taken some pains to study the legislative models of the West as useful guides for their own particular Code. There was a distinct movement in the Celtic world towards unifying the national life, and this could not be effected without some revision of the old tribal laws. As a political system the old tribal form of society had serious defects. Its basis was not wide enough to support the weight of a solid national unity. To take one instance: the equal distribution of a chieftain's property among his sons was an equitable provision, according to every code of ethics, and yet in Welsh history it clearly acted as a centrifugal force that tended, in an unstable state of society, to be a constant source of disunion and family feuds. In speaking of " equal shares " under Welsh tribal law, it should be remembered that though a division of property sometimes took place, the people were still mainly in the pastoral stage, and the *Record of Carnarvon* and other documents seem to show that shares were generally undivided, an arrangement by no means difficult in a pastoral state of society. The codification of the Welsh laws is therefore the symptom of a distinct movement towards a more stable basis for the political progress of the Welsh people. The Laws of Howel testify to the leading part played by the clergy, as well as by the monastic traditions of the Welsh Church, in fostering the essential spirit of Celtic nationalism.

The proof of the loyalty with which she served the best interests of the Welsh tribes in their constant struggle for independence and freedom, is seen in the claim laid down in the laws, that it was the privilege of the civil sword to defend the crozier.

The moral position of the Church in the social life of Wales is seen in the provision made and recognised in the laws that every bishop and abbot should have his own court for distributing justice—each in his own jurisdiction. It was the expressed desire of Howel and his legal advisers

that the tribal law in its revised and codified form should not be in conflict with the law of the Church in any matter affecting religion and morality. There are, of course, problems connected with these laws which we cannot undertake to discuss. For example, in their present form the MSS. represent an enlarged and amended version of the original enactments of Howel. The Venedotian Code is the oldest edition, but the Dimetian is the code that seems to come nearest to the original laws as they left the legislator's hands. But later regulations dating from the time of the Lord Rhys are incorporated even in this. The primitive nucleus is nevertheless sufficient in all essential respects to give us a true picture of the social and ecclesiastical life of the people at the time.

In A.D. 926 Howel Dda invited the leading scholars of Wales, clerical and lay, representing the whole of the country, to Whitland in Carmarthenshire, to help him to reform the laws of the country. The clergy were summoned lest the laics should ordain anything contrary to Holy Writ. They assembled in Lent, " because at such a holy season every one should be pure and should do no wrong." And after the Lenten fast, a select committee of twelve of the most learned men in all Cymru, headed by Blegywryd, a doctor learned in the law from Llandaff, set to work to examine the ancient laws ; some of which they suffered to continue unaltered, some they amended, others they entirely abrogated, and some new laws they enacted. When the code was completed and approved, it is stated that Howel went to Rome to have the laws confirmed by canonical authority, taking with him some of the Welsh princes, the Bishops of Menevia, Bangor, and S. Asaph, and Blegywryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff. The tradition that Howel went to Rome with some of the Welsh princes and prelates is very strongly attested, but whether his object in going to Rome was to secure papal confirmation for his Code is a point that has been disputed and not without some reason ;

especially in view of the explicit statement in the Venedotian Code that in one important respect the Law of Howel differed deliberately and materially from the law of the Church, a difference that would hardly receive the sanction of the Roman Pontiff. As the tendency of the later recensions would be to modify all divergences between the Welsh laws and the Canon law of the Roman Church, this enactment must be considered a genuine provision of the original laws, and as such is not quite consistent with the tradition that Howel sought Papal sanction for his enterprise. They were, when completed, promulgated throughout the whole of Wales, and put in force as the recognised law of the land; and " the malediction of God as well as that of the promulgators and that of all Cymru was pronounced upon such as should not henceforth observe them unless altered with the concurrence of the country and the Lord." (Preface to Dimetian Code.) These laws continued to be in force until the time of Edward I, but it should be remembered that these Welsh laws represent in some form the social system in Wales for many centuries in the past. And even after the Statute of Rhuddlan, 1282, the organisation of the Principality proper (that is outside the Lord Marcherships) on a tribal basis continued for social and tenurial purposes to a very much later date. Howel and his wise men merely systematised and defined, and in part modified, what had already been in vogue among the Welsh people for centuries as custom law. Consequently as an expression of the social custom of the Welsh people they cover a very wide field in the history of Celtic civilization.

As the subject is far too wide for a detailed survey, we must select a few typical features of the mutual relations of the Celtic Church and civil society as mirrored in these laws. We find the Church in a highly developed state of organisation, and its monastic character is strongly impressed on the ecclesiastical order. But the work of the

Church was also represented by non-monastic clergy, and by communities of " claswyr," what we should call collegiate clergy. The prince had his private chaplain, or court priest, and so had the queen. The chaplain of the king's household was a very important personage. He was the instructor of the royal youth, and of others connected with the king's family, who were intending to take the tonsure, and be admitted to holy orders. Even the bishop could not present anyone to the king's chapels without the permission of the priest of the household. His duties and his privileges are set forth very minutely, and he had very important functions to perform in the king's court of justice. He is reckoned as one of the three indispensables of a king which are, a priest to say mass, and to bless his meat and drink ; a judge to decide cases ; and a household to execute his commands. Certain dues were to be paid to him by the royal household three times a year at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Evidence of the establishment of a diocesan episcopate is quite explicit. Seven bishop houses in Dyfed are enumerated in the Dimetian Code : Menevia a principal seat in Cymru, the Church of Ismael, Llan Ddegeman, Llan Usyllt, Llan Deilo, Llan Deulydog, Llan Geneu. The leading position of Menevia in South Wales is indicated by the provision that it is free from all dues to the lord of Dyfed. Among these seven houses of the bishop the pre-eminence of S. David's is emphasised. Monastic bishops are in fact carefully distinguished from the diocesan bishops. In the Venedotian Code a bishop *in his own jurisdiction,* that is a diocesan bishop as distinct from a monastic bishop, is stated to be one of those " superiorities " that have the legal right to make their own capitular regulations by their own law, provided they do not contravene the law of the king : and it is interesting to note at this early stage in Welsh history that another " superiority " who possessed a similar right was a " master of an hospital." There is

one provision in the laws which we note with great interest. First of all, it must be pointed out that in the Welsh tribes there was a class of serfs or villeins called "taeogion." Their lot was not a hard one, but they did not enjoy the privileges of the free Cymric tribesmen, though they were permitted to hold land. It has been surmised that they were the descendants of the conquered Iberians. They lived in separate hamlets, called the "taeogtref," or "villeindref." And the Welsh "Velindre," which is of frequent occurrence in many parts of Wales, is an instance of the survival of the old serf village.

The following quotation from the Dimetian code will show at a glance the character of the influence of the old Welsh Church in tribal times: "Three persons whose privileges increase in one day: the first is where a church is consecrated in a taeogtrev, a man of that trev who might be a taeog in the morning becomes on that night a *free* man." It is given in a slightly different form in a subsequent passage in the same code: "If a church be built within a taeogtrev and there be a priest offering Mass in it, and it be a burying place, such a trev is to be free thenceforward." Not only do we find, therefore, that the church was the source of culture and learning and the patron of education in tribal times, but her influence was also steadily exerted in favour of social freedom of the most practical kind. From the early penitentials and systems of penance and, perhaps above all, the Law of Sanctuary, we gather that the strong arm of the church was often stretched forth in various ways between the oppressor and the oppressed. And it was from the armoury of the Church that the civil power borrowed the weapon for enforcing the observance of oaths taken in courts of law, the relics of the saints, who were believed to be relentless in their vengeance on those who dared to bring disgrace upon them by bearing false witness. The normal life of the Church is seen in the strict observance of the sacred seasons and holy days. Mention

is made of the seasons and festivals of Lent, Epiphany, Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas, of S. Bride, S. Patrick, S. David, S. Cruig, S. John, S. Michael, All Saints, S. Martin, the first Feast of the Virgin (Purification), Little Easter Day (Low Sunday), Day of S. Teilo, Feast of the Cross, the Day of S. Mor, and S. John Baptist's Day, June 24th, as "Gwyl Ieuan y Moch" as being the day when the swine go into the wood. The independent origin and "non-national" character of Church property in tribal times may be gathered from the following passage in the Venedotion Code :—The law is not closed for Church land at any time among themselves, for *it did not emanate from our law.* The clearest distinction is drawn between the separate and, so to speak, private property of the Church, and "the land of the Court and the land of the Community." Church land was explicitly recognised as having an origin independent of the property of the tribe, and as being, on that ground, outside the ordinary jurisdiction of tribal law. "Men who are under abbots and men who are under bishops may engage their lands with the consent of those persons if they will" (Ven. Code ii, xix) ; *i.e.*, not being land belonging in any sense to, or given by the tribe, its disposition was not subject in any way to the ordinary jurisdiction of tribal law.

One more point : in modern times every person is an infant in the eyes of the law before the age of twenty-one. In tribal times it was in some respects different, for it was enacted that no one can be called by name until baptized. Baptism, in other words, conferred upon the young tribesman his full legal status as a member of the tribe. An interesting passage may be cited relating to the age at which a young Cymro normally came under the discipline of the Church, and was regarded as having attained the age of moral responsibility. It occurs in the Venedotian code : referring to a son's coming of age it says : "At the end of seven years he himself is to swear for his acts

and his father is to pay, for then he shall come *under the hand of his confessor* and shall take duty to God upon himself." His civil coming of age, however, was at the end of fourteen years, when his father took him to the lord and commended him to his charge. There are many other interesting matters connected with Howel's Laws on which we could dilate with much interest but space forbids. We must pass on to another period and other subjects.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH IN THE NORMAN ERA

We are now face to face with the Norman Conquest, and the history of the Church in Wales emerges from the semi-darkness that obscured it during the preceding centuries. From this point the story of the Church is so full of movement and incident that it is a task of some difficulty to follow the main course of events, and resist the temptation to wander into by-paths. The Norman Conquest introduced profound changes in the history of Wales, as of England, both in the political and the ecclesiastical sphere.

But the same treatment was meted out by the Normans to the Welsh and English Church alike. They were certainly not more anti-national in Wales than they were in England. As long as they felt themselves secure in the possession of political power, the Norman kings were by no means hostile to the appointment of Welshmen to ecclesiastical offices. What they wanted to guard against was the possibility of these appointments being made use of for any purpose inimical to Norman supremacy. It was not his Welsh nationality, *e.g.*, that prevented Gerald the Welshman from being appointed to the See of S. David's, but the fact that he was far too energetic and ambitious to be a safe person to appoint. His vigorous personality would turn academic problems into harassing and living issues. Gerald's uncle, David Fitzgerald, had been Bishop of S. David's though he was a thorough Welshman ; but being of a peaceful disposition he could be trusted not to embarrass the Norman king with visionary projects of metropolitan claims for the diocese.

Geoffrey of Monmouth was certainly the greatest figure of his age in Welsh literature, and he was a great Welshman; and yet he was appointed a bishop under Norman auspices. At S. David's, the old order of things shows signs of passing away when we read that the typical old Celtic Bishop Sulien of Menevia died A.D. 1088. Ten years later his son, Rhygyfarch, the biographer of the patron saint, died; and the Welsh Chronicle adds: "Then instruction for scholars ceased at Menevia." The term scholars "ysgol-heigion," it may be pointed out, always meant clerics.

So the famous school of S. David's came to an end, after a long and honourable career stretching back for many centuries. It could boast of an unbroken record for sacred learning from the time of S. David himself; and its traditions of culture were worthily continued by such men as Asser, Sulien and Rhygyfarch. The last of the old line of independent Welsh bishops was Wilfrid, who was appointed, after Sulien in 1085, without any interference from Canterbury. The desire of the Norman kings to pursue a conciliatory policy towards Welsh national feeling is shown by the pilgrimages made by some of them to the shrine of S. David's in honour of the patron saint. William the Conqueror, says the *Welsh Chronicle*, came there in A.D. 1081 and bestowed gifts upon the churches, bishops, priests, monasteries, and monks. Henry II paid a similar visit in 1171 on his way to Ireland, and made an offering to the church. Even the first Norman appointment to Bangor in 1092, when Hervé, chaplain to Rufus, was nominated to the See, had one redeeming feature; for Hervé was a Breton, and the appointment was probably made under the impression that his Celtic origin would recommend him to the clergy and people of Bangor. The strength of the national sentiment against the introduction of Norman nominees may be gathered from the fact that Hervé had to abandon the diocese and flee from the fury

of the Welsh, and for twenty years no bishop could obtain possession of the See. It is, however, no exaggeration to say that "even in this melancholy period of Norman conquest and Norman rule, quite a third of the bishops of the Welsh dioceses were Welshmen. There was certainly no attempt to enforce a Norman monopoly throughout the whole of the Welsh Church. The Norman kings and Henry II cared little, probably, for the character of their nominees or for the real interests of the Welsh dioceses, but they cared a great deal for the security of their authority over Wales, and their appointments were made solely in the interest of that authority. If there was a Welshman who would serve their purpose, they appointed him; if not, they appointed an alien. But they certainly did not uniformly reject Welshmen and only nominate Normans or other aliens."

The result of the Norman Conquest on the Church in Wales was, of course, very far-reaching. The Normans had very strong religious instincts, and entertained very definite ideas about the organisation of the Church. They were specially devoted to monastic houses, and it is to them we owe the introduction of the great monastic orders which played so great a part in the religious history of the Middle Ages. The Norman attitude towards the native Church could not be expected to be sympathetic, for they differed in race, culture, language, social traditions, and last, but not least, in the matter of clerical celibacy. But Celt and Saxon were at all events treated alike, and it was the deliberate purpose of the Norman ecclesiastics to bring the native church, Saxon and Welsh, into line with his own traditions. When we bear in mind that before the Conquest there were, on account of racial animosity, no English settlements in Wales, this new factor in the social life of the country after the coming of the Normans will enable us to realize how favourable the new situation was for the effective spread of Norman influence. Domesday Book, which is a very valuable document relating to this epoch, is too special in

its scope, and too technical in its terms of reference to throw much light on the religious conditions of the country. It was entirely a civil survey—its object being to register the extent and nature of land and its tenure, etc., so that the information contained in it bearing on ecclesiastical matters is quite indirect, and lies outside the scope of our present investigation. Some knowledge of Welsh domestic history, and more especially of the unremitting attempts of the native princes to keep back the tide of Norman invasion, is really necessary to a full understanding of the trend of events in this period. As that is too large a subject to be dealt with here, we must be content with the general remark that the eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed a magnificent struggle on the part of the Welsh princes to stem the tide of Norman aggression. Had they been more united, there can be little doubt that their efforts would have achieved far greater success. Llywelyn ab Seisyllt, Gruffudd ab Llywelyn, Gruffudd ab Cynan, Owen Gwynedd, Owen Cyfeiliog, The Lord Rhys, Llywelyn the Great, and Llywelyn the last native prince of Wales, are names which command deep respect from every patriotic Welshman, and deserve to be better known by students of English history, for they compare favourably even with the English kings in most of the personal qualities that contribute to make statesmen and military leaders. Men like Owen Gwynedd and Llywelyn were leaders of great ability, not only as fighting men, but as administrators and rulers. Owen Gwynedd was a brave and cultured prince, whose exploits are faithfully and enthusiastically chronicled in the earliest Welsh composition we possess, *The Black Book of Carmarthen.* The poet Gray has given to English readers the striking Ode of the Welsh poet Gwalchmai to this distinguished Welsh prince :—

> Fairest flower of Roderic's stem !
> Gwynedd's shield and Britain's gem :
> Dauntless on his native sands,
> The Dragon-son of Mona stands.

Owen, by the way, was a skilled diplomatist, and successfully defied, in defence of the Welsh Church, the influence of both Canterbury and Rome for many years. Llywelyn the Great was another and even more striking personality, whose prowess in the field was only equalled by his wise and enlightened leadership in times of peace. He is in fact the most important figure in Welsh mediæval history. We have evidence of his power in three clauses of Magna Charta (56-58) which describe, protect, and preserve the privileges of the Welsh king.

Owen Cyfeiliog again, in addition to being a first-class leader in war, was a Welsh poet of real merit; while Llywelyn, the last native prince of Wales before the country was subordinated to the English Crown, had practically united the whole force of Gwynedd in opposition to the English king. His tragic death in the midst of his successful struggles on behalf of freedom is one of the saddest episodes in the history of a gallant race fighting against heavy odds.

The entry in the *Welsh Chronicle* A.D. 1091, which was long before Llywelyn's time, that "Rhys ab Tewdwr, King of South Wales, was killed by the French (*i.e.*Normans) who inhabited Brycheiniog, and then fell the kingdom of the Britons," is substantially a true statement, for it marks the beginning of the end. Welsh independence, in South Wales at least, never recovered after that. The Normans steadily worked their way westward, and despite occasional checks, sometimes of a serious kind, they never really relaxed their grip on the country.

It has been necessary to make this brief reference to the Welsh princes during the Norman period, in order that the reader may realize that Wales was engaged in a determined struggle for independence on its political no less than on its religious side. In regard to Church matters the policy of the Normans was to secure, wherever they could, all the appointments to Welsh sees. It was their genius for

organisation that enabled the Normans to establish their power in Wales, far more than force of arms. In sheer fighting power the Welsh princes were probably well matched against the Norman soldiery, but courage and mobility are ill-matched against castle walls. Norman castles arose all along the Welsh borderland, and occupied every possible point of vantage. In the Vale of Glamorgan alone, where the Norman power was strongest, there were over forty of them. Around these castles clustered young communities of traders, artisans, and merchants; while the new monastic orders, themselves established under the patronage of Norman barons, found beneath their frowning walls ample protection for life and property, and peace for their religious activity. The great marcher lords, again, formed a strong barrier between the native princes and their Anglo-Norman oppressors, and occupied a strategic position which enabled them to check very effectively the resistance of the Welsh. The new monasteries introduced and founded by the Norman barons had, for some time at least, little sympathy with the native clergy, who, with their primitive national customs, appeared to them uncouth and uncultured; and the ecclesiastical traditions of the old Celtic Church found it hard to maintain more than a precarious existence. It was inevitable that the control of the nation over its ecclesiastical organisation, as it had hitherto existed, should undergo a profound change. Norman greed was proverbial. The beginning of many disastrous evils in the later history of the Welsh Church can be traced to the Norman custom of allocating the property and endowments of the ancient Welsh houses and parishes to new monastic houses, not only in Wales, but in England. Even in a remote district like Llanbadarn Fawr in Cardiganshire, we find that in 1175 the revenues of this ancient parish were appropriated to S. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. Tewkesbury Abbey was another English house which profited very considerably from this misappropriation of Welsh

Church property ; while the Earl of Chester, many years even before that date—to quote one typical instance out of many—was able to secure from the Prince of Gwynedd possession of lands in Flint, Denbigh, and even Anglesey. This wholesale confiscation of lands and religious endowments went on ruthlessly, and it is only right to give credit, when we have the opportunity of doing so, to the Roman Pontiff for interfering on several occasions to restrain the rapacity of the Norman nobles and to compel them to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Popes Calixtus II and Honorius II in the early part of the twelfth century, whose correspondence on the subject may be seen in *Haddan and Stubbs*, intervened in behalf of the South Wales bishops against the nobles and others who had unlawfully appropriated lands and tithes, etc., belonging to the Welsh Sees. Whether this intervention proved effective we do not know. It is more likely that it had, in any case, little more than a temporary effect, but that does not detract from the moral value of the Pope's action in support of the just claims of the Welsh Sees. It would of course be impossible within the limits at our disposal, to give an adequate account of the enormous loss to the Welsh Church occasioned by this constant drain on the resources of the ancient parishes, but a reference to the valuations of church property made in A.D. 1254 and A.D. 1291 called respectively the Norwich and the Lincoln Taxations, will show how numerous were the monastic appropriations of parochial property made during the Norman period. It was considered quite praiseworthy for the patron of a benefice to give the parochial endowment to support some monastery. The monastery thus became the patron and the rector of the parish. And as it was, in virtue of this arrangement, responsible for serving the parish, it had to support a vicar—sometimes one of its own members—to perform this duty, for which he received a fixed pension or a portion of the tithe. When Henry VIII confiscated the property

of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, instead of restoring it to its rightful owners, the Welsh parochial clergy, he transferred it to private impropriators, himself and his agents.

It is well to draw attention at this point to the precise nature of these endowments belonging to the church. Those who are acquainted with the contents of old charters, such as those to be seen in the *Book of Llandaff*, the *Record of Carnarvon*, and *Monastic Chronicles*, are well aware that all grants made to the church were invariably allocated by individuals to particular parishes, not to the church as a corporation—there being no such thing in fact or in law as Church property. The term is widely used, and correctly enough, if it is realized in what sense it is so called; but the phrase "Church Property" is what we should call a legal fiction. All the endowments of the Church were given not to the Church as a whole, but to individual parishes. The device of applying the phrase "National Property" to these parochial endowments indicates an unscrupulous disregard for the plainest facts of history. Another important innovation introduced by the Normans whenever opportunity offered, and opportunities were unfortunately frequent enough, owing to the hold they had over the greater part of the religious organisation of the country, was the rededication of the old parish churches to saints of wider repute. This is not surprising, however much we may deplore the policy of the invader in his attempt to obscure the old Celtic ecclesiastical landmarks. S. Andrew *e.g.*, was associated with S. David, and S. Mary with Deiniol at Bangor. It was an invariable custom of the Cistercians to dedicate their churches to the Blessed Virgin Mary, as the reader will see if he glances at the dedication of churches in parishes which have been under Cistercian influence. The old Celtic dedications and the new Latin traditions were thus blended, to the satisfaction of the Norman at least, though the new order of things in

this respect would be highly distasteful to Celtic hearts so deeply attached to the native saints and the founders of their own beloved church. The old " Clas " system of the Welsh Church, which we have previously described, also fared badly at the hands of the Normans, except in cases where the " Clas " had an episcopal head. In such cases the " Clas " became what is now known as a Cathedral chapter. Otherwise it was transformed into a monastic house of the new type, or became an ordinary parish church. This change, however, was limited to South Wales and the border districts, to what we may call the Norman sphere of influence. It will be obvious that Llandaff diocese especially, being in close touch with English life by reason of its geographical position, would be, of all the Welsh Sees, the most thoroughly impregnated with Anglo-Norman influence. Other parts of Wales lagged behind the times in this respect for a very considerable period. S. David's was, in a sense, quite remote from the highways of Anglo-Norman civilization, but even S. David's succumbed to the all-conquering Norman before the Northern Sees. Gwynedd and the North held out longer ; and as a result, we find that the " Clas " system managed to survive there in such places as Aberdaron, Towyn, Holyhead, Clynnog Fawr, Bedd Gelert, etc. This latter is, by the way, next to Bardsey, probably the oldest religious foundation in the Principality. At the time of the Conquest it still retained its primitive monastic character. Llywelyn the Great is recorded in an old charter as having conferred upon it a grant of lands. Gelert's Grave is well known to the modern tourist in connection with the story of Llywelyn and his gallant hound, but the monastic history of this romantic spot in the heart of Snowdonia is little known. In S. David's, the first Norman bishop abolished the old " Clas " organisation and reconstituted the cathedral body, for that is really what the change meant, and established a community of Canons, but without a Dean, instead of the old " Claswyr."

The English, Scandinavian, Norman, and Flemish settlers in Pembrokeshire—the last of whom were first introduced in A.D. 1105, and a second body of Flemings arriving about A.D. 1155 was established in Rhos—helped to change the character of the whole district, and to make it what it has been ever since, "Little England beyond Wales."

Though we cannot dwell at length upon the subject, the appointment of the first Norman bishops must be briefly noticed in order that we may grasp the nature of the change from the old order to the new. Much of our knowledge of this period is derived from the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, who was born about the middle of the twelfth century. Gerald is a very racy and prolific chronicler, and gives us delightful pictures of contemporary life, but his inferences and impressions have to be carefully scrutinized, for he was, with all his brilliant gifts, a man of strong prejudices. The first Norman bishop appointed to a Welsh See was Bernard, of S. David's. This was in A.D. 1115. Urban, bishop of Llandaff, appointed 1107, was the first Norman nominee, but he was apparently of Welsh extraction. It is interesting, however, to find that these two prelates, though they represent Norman influence in the Church, could not have laboured more loyally and patriotically in the interests of the Welsh Church had they been native Welshmen elected by prince and people.

The following passage from the *History of S. David's Diocese*, by Archdeacon Bevan, sums up the position accurately and fairly: "That the Welsh clergy smarted under the indignity of having a foreign bishop thrust upon them, and that the laity, especially the princely families, regarded such an appointment as a badge of their forced submission to Norman power—this might naturally be expected. But it is a mistake to represent the appointment of foreign bishops as a grievance peculiar to Wales, or as a grievance imposed on the Welsh by their hereditary foes, the Saxons.

It is necessary to remind those who entertain this view (and it is by no means unknown in Wales) that the Saxons were at this time fellow-sufferers with the Welsh from their common foe—the Normans ; and that the appointment of bishops in Wales, ignorant of the Welsh language, was paralleled by the appointment, in England, of bishops ignorant of the English language. It is, further, a mistake to assume that the bishops so appointed were utterly indifferent to the interests of their diocese." Bishop Stubbs, who, on this subject, is a more trustworthy guide than modern liberationists to those who value historical truth, states that the Norman bishops realized their new position, entering immediately on the claims of their predecessors, and declaring that as far as their power went the churches they espoused should suffer no detriment. In view of the misconceptions that prevail as to the precise nature of the change involved in the fusion of the Welsh and Anglo-Norman Churches during this eventful era, it is necessary to make this point quite clear. " The idea," writes Mr. Newell, " that there was a sudden break at this epoch with the past history of the Church, and that a new line of bishops began, which had no connection with the old Celtic bishops, is entirely modern, and would have seemed to Urban himself, as it does to any sober and unprejudiced student of the facts, nothing less than a ridiculous fantasy." The work of Bishop Bernard, at S. David's, is a striking confirmation of this view. Very few bishops achieved such a success as is attributed to this Norman prelate. Not only did he rebuild the cathedral and reorganise the work of the diocese, but he was a sturdy defender of the rights of the premier see. He successfully contested the right of the Bishop of Llandaff to certain lands in Archenfield, in Herefordshire ; and, aiming still higher, he was the first to claim the rights of metropolitanship for the See of S. David's. He waited, it is true, until the death of his patron, Henry I, before putting forward this claim, but as

Henry's death freed him from what he considered a kind of personal obligation, he immediately proceeded to press this claim with a tenacity of purpose, quite equal to that displayed by his better known successor in this historic contest—Gerald the Welshman, who appears to get all the credit for championing the cause of S. David's. As Gerald is often quoted, and correctly enough, as a sturdy nationalist in the Norman era, in virtue of the valorous fight he made on behalf of the independence of S. David's against the claims of Canterbury, it is only fair to give credit to the Norman bishop, who raised the issue before Gerald's day, for an equally meritorious service to his church. The argument used in support of the claim was that the pall of S. David's had been transferred by Archbishop Samson of Dôl to Brittany at the time of the yellow plague. The argument will not, of course, bear investigation, for Samson never was Bishop of S. David's, nor had S. David's ever possessed the pall, which was the symbol of metropolitan authority. It was, moreover, in Bernard's time, and therefore through his influence, that S. David received the honour of canonisation during the pontificate of Calixtus II. Under the year 1147, *Brut y Tywysogion* has the following entry: "In that year Bernard Bishop of Menevia died, in the thirty-third year of his episcopate—a man of extraordinary praise and piety and holiness; after extreme exertions upon sea and land towards procuring for the Church of Menevia its ancient liberty." If nothing else stood to Bernard's credit, every patriotic Welshman has reason to hold in high esteem the Norman bishop who did this eminent service not only to S. David's Diocese, but to the whole of Wales. This achievement secured for the Welsh Church a kind of recognition or prestige in the Western Church which may be difficult to define, but is nevertheless a very real influence. It has certainly served to unite all sections of the Welsh people in the bond of a common patriotism inspired by the memory

of a great Welsh Saint. Urban, the first Bishop of Llandaff appointed under the Norman regime, was another active supporter of the claims and privileges of his church, and it was he who built Llandaff Cathedral. The original building was a tiny structure twenty-eight feet in length, and fifteen feet in breadth. The present Cathedral is stated to be an enlargement of Urban's building—it has never since been built *de novo*. In other ways, as we should expect from one who proved himself so zealous of the dignity of the mother church of the diocese, Urban, whatever his shortcomings may have been, was a diligent and a worthy pastor of his flock. He resolutely resisted the greed and the predatory habits of the Norman barons, and carried on a long controversy with the Bishops of S. David's and Hereford regarding his right to certain lands on debatable ground on the borders of his diocese. His dispute with the Bishop of S. David's in regard to these claims was a very tedious affair, and lasted for many years, in the course of which Urban made several appeals in person to the Papal Court, but eventually his death in Rome brought the controversy to an end. It is not necessary to enter into the details, but apparently Urban was in the wrong, and the Bishop of S. David's was left in undisturbed possession of the disputed lands. We cannot, however, help admiring the tireless courage of Urban in defending his claim, though it was a flimsy one, until old age and proverty put an end to all hopes of success. It was during his episcopate that the relics of the grand old man of the ancient British Church, Dubricius of blessed memory, were transferred from their resting-place in Bardsey to Teilo's Church. It was a stroke of genius on Urban's part to associate the new Cathedral with the memory of the old Celtic saint, and it proves that he was wise enough to see the right way of reconciling Welsh Churchmen to the new order of things. Matters did not proceed quite so smoothly in Bangor and S. Asaph. The dispute began

in Bangor in A.D. 1092 on the appointment of Hervé, the first Norman nominee, though of Breton extraction. He was one of the chaplains of William Rufus. Hugh of Chester seems to have been the moving spirit in the appointment of Hervé, but Hervé found he could not get on with the clergy and people of Bangor. Their customs and manners were strange to him, and the application of too much discipline to his rebellious flock ended in the bishop's flight. His tenure of office depended upon the strength of Norman influence in the North, and when that waned, he was obliged to abandon his diocese. It appears to have been vacant, after Hervé's inglorious departure, for about twenty years. Thereupon Gruffudd ab Cynan succeeded in getting David, a Welshman, elected, on condition that he recognised the supremacy of Canterbury. After David's death further trouble arose. Meurig, a Welshman, was chosen by the clergy and people of the diocese as their candidate, but he informed his friends that he was not prepared to swear allegiance to the king, having been forbidden to do so by his predecessor's Archdeacon—Simeon of Clynnog. Meurig, however, thought better of it, and consented to take the necessary oath. But this change of front did not suit Owen Gwynedd and his brother Cadwaladr, and the result was that Owen appealed to Bishop Bernard, who had, as we have already seen, acquired quite a national reputation as a stout defender of Welsh claims, to help them to resist Meurig's appointment. Nothing, however, came of the attempt to depose him, and he was left in peaceful possession of his see. S. Asaph was, during this period, in a depressed condition. In 1125 a heartless attempt was made to use Bangor, S. Asaph and Chester, as pawns in a political game, by transferring these dioceses from the province of Canterbury to that of York. It is hardly necessary to point out the utter indifference to Welsh Church sentiment manifested in such a proposal. However, nothing came of it, for the simple

reason that, as far as Bangor and S. Asaph were concerned, the authority of Henry and Canterbury was not recognised in North Wales. In the records bearing upon this particular proposal, S. Asaph is not referred to by name, but only as the third diocese lying between Bangor and Chester, "now deprived of episcopal supervision on account of the wildness of the country and the rudeness of the inhabitants."

The first Norman appointment to S. Asaph was Gilbert, 1143. Though it was a Norman appointment, it must have been made with the consent of Owen Gwynedd, for Owen was in full possession of the country at the time. This year is also memorable for a much more important event than Gilbert's episcopate viz., the introduction of the Cistercian Order into Wales, their first settlement being Whitland. Gilbert was followed by Geoffrey of Monmouth, the author of *The History of the Kings of Britain*, the source of the vogue of the Arthurian cycle of romance, and the first populariser of the legends of early Britain. But apparently Geoffrey, though he was appointed bishop, never saw his diocese, and his death is recorded in A.D. 1155. The *Welsh Chronicle* refers to him as "a man whose like could not be found for learning and knowledge and all divine excellences."

We cannot follow any further the history of the conflict between Norman and Welshman in ecclesiastical matters. The greed of the Norman, his contempt for the native traditions of the Welsh and English Church alike, his alienation of parochial property to monastic purposes—these are facts which no one can dispute. But this is, after all, not the whole of the story. Some of the Norman bishops were good men, some were not. That their greed and rapacity were productive of disastrous consequences to the Welsh Church in after years, when the wealth and the deterioration of the monasteries incited the cupidity of that avaricious monarch Henry VIII—all this is matter of history.

But the Norman Conquest has after all many redeeming features, which the most uncompromising defender of the native church and its claims must gladly recognise. We have already seen in the case of the first Norman bishops that they loyally strove to serve the Church of their adoption. Not all Norman bishops were equally devoted to their Church, nor were all Welsh bishops.

The Normans undoubtedly brought the Welsh Church definitely into line with the Western Church, though they were rather heavy handed in doing their work. However much Wales afterwards suffered from the results of Norman rapacity, no honest student can regret even for a brief moment that the Normans have been here, to add a new chapter to our island story, to influence our political institutions and our ecclesiastical organisation. They brought a new spirit—we see it in the whole of our subsequent literature, our monastic traditions and antiquities, our ecclesiastical customs and architecture, and in that wonderful creation of the Middle Ages, the world of Chivalry and Romance.

The apparent difference in regard to social and religious life generally, between both Wales and England before and after the Norman Conquest, with its feudal system, its elaborate monastic organisation, and its distinctive types of architecture, law and literature, is so great that it is natural to draw the conclusion that the Normans substituted an entirely new order of things for what had previously existed. That, however, is not the case. As the principle which controls the development of events in an age of transition is as important a subject of investigation as the events themselves, if we wish to study those events intelligently, a brief word must be said here upon this point before proceeding to the next chapter.

The most pronounced change introduced by the Normans, in Wales at least, was that affecting the tenure of land. Yet even in Wales we have to note that the earlier system

which prevailed in the seventh and eighth centuries had undergone a very important modification by the time of the Norman Conquest. The old tribal clan system, with its petty kingdoms, in which the relation of the tribesmen to the chieftain was based on kinship not on tenancy, had by the time, let us say, of Llywelyn the Great, undergone a marked change. The sovereignty of men like Llywelyn or Owain Gwynedd was more feudal than tribal in its character.

And as civil and political changes during this period were reflected in the life of the National Church, it is obvious that the student of Welsh Church history must have some idea of what was happening in the former sphere. The truth is that the change which took place in the Norman period was the culmination—though a sharp and summary one—of changes which had already been slowly maturing in the Principality as a result of domestic conditions. The old family group system had begun to break down for various reasons. The growth or the centralisation of the power of the Welsh princes led to the consolidation of larger territorial groups, and consequently of larger territorial jurisdiction, with its inevitable modification of tribal conditions of tenure and tribal customs. The political system in Wales, therefore, in its later developments at the time of the Conquest, resembled a Welsh *State*, rather than that of a Cymric tribe. Several domestic factors, the slow and silent economic forces which are so often ignored, can be discerned in the process that led up to this condition of affairs. The first is the gradual growth of municipal communities involving the transference and re-arrangement of land and its conditions of tenure, the breaking up of the tribal groups, the slow decay of villeinage, and the accumulation of landed property on a large scale in private hands. The Escheat principle is another. An Escheat signifies " any lands or other profits that casually fall to a lord within his manor by way

of forfeiture, or by death of his tenant leaving no heirs." What we see here is a very significant and momentous change: namely, the old tribal principle of consanguinity giving way to the feudal principle of territorialism, and genealogy giving way to geography. This was partly the result of English influence, partly the result of civil dissensions and complications in Wales itself, especially in North Wales, for it became the custom for successful princes to dispossess of their lands their worsted rivals and opponents on the termination of some domestic revolt.

The *Record of Carnarvon* contains several instances illustrating the working and the growth of this new factor in Welsh politics. Though it is of later date, another factor of immense influence in this connection—a factor, however, that only emphasised and developed what was already in operation—was the Black Death. Its consequences were manifold, and affected the whole country: depopulation, physical deterioration, poverty of small holders, and the lapsing of lands to the lords, owing to the inability of poor and distressed tenants to continue their holding. The reader must try to think out for himself, as space forbids a more detailed treatment, how greatly all these civil changes served to prepare the way for the introduction of that new system which was in a more definite form established by the Normans. But it will show that the Norman innovation merely accelerated and defined a change which had already begun.

And the same holds true in an even greater degree of the change affecting the life of the Church and its national institutions. An English writer, after dwelling on the results of the Norman Conquest, declares that " the special interest of our own history lies to some extent in its *continuity*, and this continuity is never more evident than when we study the history of our own people under the dynasty of the Norman kings."

The change on the surface appears revolutionary and suggests a break with the past, but beneath the surface we can detect the persistence and the continuity of the national life in all its strength. The Welsh Church did not become a new institution, it was still the old Church, but with a new spirit developing its dormant strength. Wales, like England, though to a greater extent, was insular, and none but a narrow nationalist will deny that it needed the stimulus of some wider influence carrying with it the organising power and the culture of the West to revive its energies and broaden its outlook.

" In spite of all that the Normans destroyed, our vigorous local institutions survived the Conquest. Our national identity and our language sustained the shock, and conquered the conquerors themselves. In the general overthrow, national life was preserved by the Church. Her monasteries kept alive the spirit of patriotism, her services perpetuated our language and the memories of the past, and her ministers led the people to join in every struggle against violence and wrong."

CHAPTER VIII

THE EARLY LITERATURE OF THE CYMRY

As we have now passed the period of the Norman Conquest, the influence of which on the literature of Wales was so far-reaching, a brief sketch of the literary activity that prevailed among the old Cymry will help us in some measure to understand the religious history of the Welsh people. This literature, even in its main outlines, is a *terra incognita* to most people even in Wales, though it must be conceded that the Welsh peasant possesses more knowledge of the literary " classics " of his country than the corresponding class in England. The earliest specimens of what we now claim as our national literature, are the product of times and circumstances when " Wales " was a much wider geographical expression than it is at the present day. Cornwall, Brittany, Cumberland and Strathclyde are all included in the general history of the Celtic race, in the period which gave us our earliest literary records. Cunedda, " the father of us all " and the founder of the Cymric dynasty, came from the North. The oldest extant poem in the Welsh language, the " Gododin," comes from Strathclyde. Some of the most characteristic traditions of the Welsh people are associated with Glastonbury—Ynys Wydrin, the Isle of Avallon, where, as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, King Arthur was buried. Arthur himself, according to the primitive Cymric tradition, had his court at Gelliwig, Cornwall. Some of the most eminent of the early Celtic saints are connected with Brittany, to which many of the early Cymry emigrated in the fifth and sixth centuries, to escape the horrors of the Fad felen—the yellow plague—and the Saxon invaders. When the Cymro is away from

his native land he is even more patriotic than when at home, and this explains the intimate connection of Brittany and Wales in the early centuries, and the influence of the latter country on the revival of Celtic literature in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Nor must we omit Ireland from our account, for there was an intimate connection between Wales and the Emerald Isle from the very earliest period. Ireland was for centuries the home of learning, par excellence, in Western Europe ; and the Welsh and Irish Churches were in uninterrupted communion with each other for a long period. Welsh princes in distress found a refuge there when hard pressed at home: Welsh bishops and clergy fraternised with their Irish brethren, and matrimonial alliances were frequently formed between the Irish and Welsh princely families. These facts must be borne in mind in studying the history of Welsh literature, otherwise our canvas will be too narrow for the picture which has to be drawn. Giraldus Cambrensis has given us many interesting facts about the literary and musical proclivities of the Welsh people : and his testimony is important because it gives us the results of the acute observation of a sympathetic critic, who had Welsh blood in his veins, but was in other respects a typical Norman. We recognise at once that his picture is a true one, for the literary traits which he has recorded are attested by the entire history of the race even to modern times. As we shall have occasion to refer to his testimony later on, we must now go back to the very beginning to see what there is in the way of literature at the dawn of Welsh history. We have no space to discuss the subject of Druidism, which was the religion of the ancient Britons. Much of our bardic lore is supposed to be derived from, and to perpetuate, Druidic traditions, but this is probably mere affectation on the part of some of the bards. Early writers, such as Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, etc., testify, however, that in their day the Britons had an order of Bards,

who composed poetry and accompanied their poetic effusions on the harp. It is, therefore, not improbable that the well-known names that have come down to us from the sixth century, Myrddin, Taliesin, Aneurin, Llywarch Hên and others, were real historical characters, and that they wrote a portion at least of the fragments that are now attributed to them. These men lived in the sixth century, and their literary remains are associated, as we should expect, with one of the many episodes in the Celtic struggle against the Teutonic invasion. Those who are competent to judge of the antiquity and genuineness of these venerable poems are now practically unanimous as to the authenticity of a considerable portion of them. The oldest poem in the Welsh language is called "Gododin." Manau Gododin was the old name for Strathclyde, and this poem, written by Aneurin, is a description of a great battle fought in A.D. 570, at a place called Cattraeth, where the confederate Cymry suffered a disastrous defeat, mainly owing to the quantity of mead they had imbibed the night before the battle: but they fought with desperate valour, for only three out of the three hundred and sixty-three chieftains who fought at the head of their clans survived, of whom Aneurin was one.

> None from Cattraeth's vale return,
> Save Aeron brave and Conan strong.
> Bursting through the bloody throng:
> And I, the meanest of them all,
> That live to weep and sing their fall.

This poem, partly heroic, partly lyric, is of no great poetical merit, as the reader can judge for himself if he refers to it in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. It is valuable mainly because of its antiquity and its interest to the historian. Taliesin's name is probably better known to the average reader than Aneurin: and a great number of poems of later date have been attributed to him. In critical times, when patriotic inspiration was needed to rouse

the drooping spirits of the Welsh people against their country's foes, the authority of a great name was a handy weapon for reviving ancient prophecies. This is the reason why so many poems and prophecies bear the magic name of Taliesin and Merlin. The ode on the battle of " Argoed Llwyfain " is said to be a genuine product of the great Taliesin's muse. This battle was fought between Urien Rheged, King of Cumberland, and the Torchbearer Fflamddwyn, viz., Ida of Northumbria. Urien was victorious at Argoed, Gwen Ystrad, and other battles. Taliesin was his chief bard, and afterwards flourished as chief bard at the court of Maelgwn Gwynedd. Another famous battle, perhaps the most famous after Cattraeth, is that of Arderydd, fought between Rhydderch Hael, a convert to Christianity, and Gwenddoleu, who supported the old pagan faith. Myrddin, or as he is now called, Merlin, was another, but a more shadowy member of this little band of British poets who have recorded in stirring verse the Cymric struggles of the sixth century. He was bard to Arthur, who like Urien, fought against the Saxons. The " Hoianau " and " Avallenau " contained in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, poems which predicted the future glory of the Britons, are attributed to Merlin ; but they are really the work of later bards who used Merlin's name in order to fire the hopes of their countrymen. The importance of Merlin, however, is not reflected in the earlier literature. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, does not mention him, though he refers to Taliesin and Aneurin. Llywarch Hên has left poems " which are undoubtedly old, and, in referring to an age of whose manners we have but few other transcripts, are very valuable, nor are they destitute of poetical excellence." Unlike Taliesin, who appears to have been a professional bard, Llywarch Hên could handle the long spear with as much vigour and skill as he could write heroic verse. He was Prince of Argoed and a friend of Urien. When Urien fell, he joined forces

with Cynddylan, Prince of Powys. On Cynddylan's death, Llywarch wrote his lament, which begins:—

The Hall of Cynddylan is gloomy to-night!

There are other poets belonging to the sixth century, but we must pass them by, as we have now referred to the most eminent representatives of this period. From the sixth century to the twelfth, when a great revival of bardism and other forms of literary activity took place, there is a barren period of which Welsh literature has preserved no records so far as the bards are concerned. To use their own language, the Welsh Muse slept a long sleep until the coming of the Normans roused her from slumber. Or are we to assume that the records have perished? It was a warlike unsettled age, and the ceaseless struggle against the Saxons and the Norsemen left little leisure for literary pursuits. And many literary documents were doubtless lost during this long period of sack and pillage. Stephens, however, in his *Literature of the Cymry*, writes: "In the eleventh century the Welsh had an ancient literature, a language which had been forming for many centuries, and was always used as a vehicle for the transmission of thought; and an order of bards possessing great influence over the popular mind, very numerous and held high in public estimation. Add to these, intelligent princes, a people of subtle genius, an educated priesthood, and an intimate intercourse with Ireland, the then favourite seat of learning." The intervening centuries, however, are not altogether dumb, for if the poets were silent, the chroniclers are more in evidence. The first figure to greet us is Gildas, whom we have noticed already—the author of *The Subjection of Britain*. One tradition asserts that he was a fellow-disciple with Llywarch Hên, and a brother of Aneurin. Gildas was a monk, and his writings contain a severe condemnation of the evils of the age. Incidentally he gives us a good deal of historical information. We claim

him for Welsh literature—though he wrote in Latin and probably knew no Welsh—because he deals with the history of the Britons of his day. He was followed by Nennius, about A.D. 800, who is the first to introduce the Arthur of romance. His work is entitled *A History of the Britons*, and he thus refers to Arthur : " There it was that the magnanimous Arthur with all the kings and military forces of Britain fought against the Saxons. And though there were many more noble than himself, yet he was twelve times chosen their commander, and as often conqueror." Then he gives a list of the twelve battles. In one of them Arthur is stated to have carried an image of the Virgin on his shoulder. This is a mistake for a shield—ysgwydd meaning shoulder, and ysgwyd, shield. This is the first humble beginning of the Arthurian legend. Nennius or his editor clearly made use of documents already existing, for he refers to the *antiquis libris nostrorum*—the ancient books of our ancestors. Asser, monk of S. David's and afterwards probably bishop, fills up a gap between Nennius and the next great literary landmark in the history of Wales—the Laws of Howel Dda. He wrote very little directly concerning Wales, but he deserves an honoured place in the list of Welsh chroniclers.

The Welsh Laws, even allowing for the later material and later changes introduced into them, throw a good deal of light on the domestic history and institutions of Wales in pre-Norman times. For our present purpose they are chiefly important for the evidence they contain regarding the position of the bards. There can be in the light of these Laws no question as to the importance of the bards in the social life of the old Cymry. Their work, position and privileges are carefully defined, and the study of the subject leaves an impression on the reader that the Welsh princes as well as the Welsh people took a keen practical interest in literature. The bards were a recognised class of official historians. They kept the records and documents

of the tribe ; and matters relating to genealogy—a very important subject in tribal times—were determined by them. Genealogical records in those days were the title-deeds of the members of the tribes ; and there is no doubt that pedigrees were very carefully preserved and handed down by the family bards. In times of war it was customary for the bard to sing the *Monarchy of Britain* before an engagement began ; and an extra share of the spoil, if any, was allotted to him for his performance. In return for this the Laws of Howel testify that the bards were accorded an honourable position in the social system of the people. The bard's land was to be free ; he was to be next but one to the patron of the family, he was to receive a harp from the king and a gold ring from the queen on his elevation to the bardic office. He was also a family tutor, and this explains the cordial relations that existed between the bards and the princely families. This arrangement, however, had occasionally its disadvantages, as Dafydd ab Gwilym found out after falling in love with the fair Morfydd, the daughter of his princely patron, Ivor Hael. As we shall have occasion to give a more particular account of the bardic institution in a subsequent chapter, we will leave the bards here in order to give some account of other subjects.

In the eleventh century two important events took place—the return of the exile Gruffydd ab Cynan from Ireland in 1080, and the return of Rhys ab Tewdwr from Brittany in 1077. The first recovered his territory in North Wales from Trahaiarn the usurper, and the other won back South Wales. The restoration of these two gifted princes to power led to a great revival in literature. The bards broke forth into song, and a new life was infused into Welsh literature. Gruffydd ab Cynan brought back from Ireland a revived interest in culture, and introduced reforms for the government of the bardic order : while Rhys, the Prince of the South, brought back from Brittany new

ideas, or rather old traditions, which had meanwhile lost nothing in the keeping on Breton soil by the Cymric exiles who had settled there. It is necessary to keep these facts in mind, for they enable us to understand the remarkable literary activity that now began to manifest itself in North and South Wales. North Wales excelled in poetry, but the South excelled in bardic congresses, eisteddfodau, and chroniclers. It is a singular fact, when we consider the position which the great Arthur had now attained in the romantic literature of the period with which we are dealing, that the Welsh bards clung to their own tradition in regard to the restoration of Britain, not by Arthur, but by Cadwaladr, the " last of the kings of Britain." Geoffrey of Monmouth, who is chiefly responsible for the position of pre-eminence given to King Arthur, refers nevertheless to the " Cadwaladr " legend: " He fled to Brittany at the time of the plague. When the plague ceased, he asked the King of the Bretons to help him to return and recover his kingdom. While he was preparing for that, an angel deterred him from his enterprise and ordered him to go to Rome, and said that when he died and was enrolled among the saints, his bones with those of other saints, would be brought from Rome to Britain, and the Welsh would recover their lost supremacy in that country." This tradition must have come from Brittany, but the seed fell on ready soil as far as the bards were concerned. But the popular estimate of Arthur soon compelled them to fall in line, and accept the popular choice. If North Wales gave us poetry, South Wales gave us valuable records—*Brut Tyssilio; The Chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvan; History of the Kings of Britain* by Geoffrey of Monmouth; *The Cwtta Cyfarwydd of Glamorgan; The Liber Llandavensis*, or *Teilo's Book; The Black Book of Carmarthen*, and *Brut y Saeson*. A brief account of the most important of these chronicles must be appended here. *Brut Tyssilio* is stated to be the work of Walter Map, Archdeacon of Oxford—

a Welshman from the borders of Herefordshire. It was a translation of a British book (brought by Map from Brittany) first into Latin, then back into Welsh. It has a good deal in common with the *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth.* The *Chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvan* is a history of the kings of Britain since the time of Cadwaladr. The fact of his beginning with Cadwaladr seems to prove that there already existed some historical records of the British kings prior to that period. This chronicle was added to from time to time by other writers, so that it is not altogether the work of Caradoc himself. It is also called *Brut y Tywysogion*, the *Chronicle of the Princes. Brut y Saeson* is so called because it contains a general account of British History and deals with Welsh History in its relation to contemporary events in England. *The Liber Landavensis*, also called *Teilo's Book*, is a chronicle dealing with the early history of the diocese of Llandaff. It was written about A.D. 1150 and goes back about 500 years. It contains the lives of some of the early occupants of the See, records of Celtic saints, charters, legends, etc. It contains a *Life of Teilo*, in which it is stated that the author of the "Life" was Galfrid, brother of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff. Later hands have contributed a few important details and the last entry is by Bishop Field, who added his name to the list of bishops in 1619. It is written in Welsh and Latin. The *Black Book of Carmarthen* is the oldest Welsh document we possess. It dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. It contains poems to some of which we have already referred in connection with Merlin, such as the "Hoianau," "Avallenau," "Englynion y Beddau," which the reader will find translated in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales.*

An important name is that of Geoffrey of Monmouth —the father of Mediæval romantic literature. He was a nephew of Bishop Uchtryd, of Llandaff, and was appointed Archdeacon of Monmouth, hence his name. He

translated the *Prophecies of Merlin* from Welsh verse to Latin prose. This " Prophecy " is a string of mystic ambiguities, and is an eloquent tribute to the imaginative faculties of its author whoever he was. But Geoffrey's fame rests on the *History of the Kings of Britain.* In the first chapter he states that " Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, offered him a very ancient book in the British tongue, which related the history of the kings of Britain from Brutus, the first king of all, to Cadwaladr, son of Cadwallon." Whether Geoffrey's history is a mere translation or an adaptation, or an original work based on existing documents is a problem which need not detain us. We are only concerned here with the influence of this wonderful History on the whole of the subsequent literature of Romance. It may be said to have had two results—one literary the other political. In less than half a century, the romances of King Arthur, the Round Table, the Holy Grail, Sir Perceval, Sir Lancelot, partly based on Geoffrey's legendary history, had gained an extraordinary popularity. His stories of King Arthur and Merlin circulated in France, Germany and Italy. His writings had an enormous circulation, and later chroniclers down to Holinshed treated Geoffrey as a sober historical authority ; while the mediæval poets found in his tales a wealth of material for poetic use. " King Lear " and " Cymbeline " are instances of Shakespeare's indebtedness to the old Welsh romances. The other result may be described as a political one. Geoffrey's solemn fictions did much to soften and mitigate the bitterness of race feeling that existed between the British, Saxon and Norman sections of the population. According to Geoffrey, all of them had a common ancestry ; for they were all descended from Trojan fugitives who had escaped to Britain after the destruction of Troy. Walter Map's contribution to the development of the Arthurian Romance must be briefly noticed. He does not usually figure very largely in books on Welsh literature, but he has a distinct

place in the history of the Arthurian legend. He had Welsh blood in his veins and is supposed, as we have said, to have translated a British History into Latin. He was a gifted writer and a noted satirist. His book *De Nugis Curialium*, or "The Trifles of Courtiers," contains some curious tit-bits of information about Wales—anecdotes, legends, folk-lore and historical allusions—betraying a fairly intimate knowledge of his native country, especially Herefordshire. His Leonine verses, which purported to be the composition of a Bishop Golias, are a scathing indictment of monastic morals, which must, however, be accepted with some reserve. In 1170 he wrote the *Romance of the Quest of the Holy Grail*, into which he introduces the heroes of romance, Lancelot, Owain, Gawain, Caradoc, Galahad, and Perceval. He also wrote *La Mort d'Arthur* and *Lancelot du Lac*. In bringing the Holy Grail, the symbol of the mystery of godliness, into the mediæval legends, he infused a Christian soul into the body of the Arthurian Romance.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW MONASTERIES

THE history of the new monasteries that sprang up in the wake of the Norman Conqueror is a very large subject, and we can only deal very briefly with the chief points of interest. The ruined abbeys which still adorn many a peaceful valley and lonely hillside in Wales recall an age from the conditions of which we are far removed. Some of these venerable relics, like Tintern, Valle Crucis, Cymmer, Strata Florida, Abbey Cwm Hir, etc., are still left in undisturbed possession of the beautiful scenery of woodland and meadow which formed their first environment. Others, like Neath, stand side by side with the grimy centres of modern industry—silent witnesses of a vanished stage of Christian civilization from which with all our progress we have yet much to learn. The Normans introduced no new institution when they brought into this country the great monastic orders in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But these differed in many ways from the old Celtic monasteries on the foundation of which many of the mediæval orders, especially the Cistercian, were established. One point of difference is easily noticed; the old Celtic houses were missionary communities, and simpler both in the manner of their life and in the character of their monastic buildings.

It was within these monasteries that the historical records of the Welsh people were written and preserved. The same is true of the English monasteries which produced the great chroniclers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Matthew Paris, Henry of Huntingdon, Florence of Worcester, John of Salisbury, and others.

The first houses were introduced into Wales about A.D. 1110, for about that time we have evidences of the foundation, or *re*-foundation as was the case occasionally, of Ewenny, Kidwelly, Goldcliff, Pembroke, S. Dogmael's and Brecon—all by Norman barons.

Then followed in rapid succession the great Cistercian settlements, Neath in 1129, Tintern and Basingwerk in 1131, Whitland and Abbey Cwm Hir in 1143, Margam in 1147, Strata Florida in 1164, Strata Marcella in 1170, Aberconway in 1186, Cymmer and Valle Crucis Abbey in 1200, Clynnog Vawr in Arfon, etc. The earlier houses were those of the Benedictine Order, which had monasteries at Cardiff, Abergavenny, Chepstow, Bassaleg, Cardigan, Shrewsbury, Bardsey, Penmon in Anglesey, and other places. There was also a Tironian (reformed Benedictine) house at S. Dogmael's, to which Caldey and Pill were subject. The Order of S. Benedict is the oldest monastic institution in Western Christendom and dates from the sixth century. The Austin Canons, whose manner of life was based on the rule of S. Augustine, had settlements at Carmarthen, Haverfordwest, Llanthony and Beddgelert. The Præmonstratensians had a house at Talley—Talyllychau. Then followed in the thirteenth century the different Orders of Friars, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites and the Austin Friars.

The friars were the Methodists of the Middle Ages. Their aim was to supplement the work, or rather the deficiencies of the monastic and parochial clergy, by getting in touch with the people, by special attention to preaching, and by reliance on the voluntary principle. The sad decline of the friars shows, among other things, that the voluntary system proved itself a complete failure. Welsh literature contains a good deal that is both historically instructive and amusing about the enormities of the friar. The friar was in a way an ecclesiastical free lance, independent of the bishop and the parochial clergy and acknowledging no authority but that

of the Pope. The friar would have rendered great service to the Church had he used his freedom with some sense of responsibility, but the things that should have been for his wealth became unto him an occasion of falling.

The Welsh bards are very eloquent in their denunciation of the friar's iniquities, and they took special pains to depict him in lurid colours. One of the triads mentions three things that bode no good: the grunting of a sow on a windy day, the croaking of an old hag, and the preaching of a Grey friar.

The Welsh people did not at first take kindly to the newcomers, not because they represented the monastic system—for to this they were warmly attached—but because they were associated with and reminded the natives of their Norman conquerors. Some of the Monastic Orders had indeed little sympathy with the native clergy, and took very little trouble to establish an *entente cordiale* with their Welsh brethren. The Benedictines generally chose large and populous centres close to a Norman settlement and devoted themselves principally to the cultivation of learning. They were the learned Order *par excellence*, and did not profess to practice the same austere mode of life as the Cistercians. Their houses were schools of learning and centres of a well-organised system of education. It was from their ranks that the leading scholars and theologians of the age were recruited.

Other Orders identified themselves more or less with the life that was centred in the Norman pale, or in the newly-formed English colonies in the Principality, especially in South Wales. But this aloofness between the Welsh people and the Monastic Orders was not long maintained. The advent of the Cistercians, a reformed branch of the Benedictines—due to Stephen Harding, an Englishman, and Abbot of Citeaux—paved the way for a complete reconciliation. The Cistercians became a thoroughly Welsh Order by adoption, and associated themselves with the

national interests of the people. Quite half a dozen of the new Cistercian houses were founded by Welsh princes, such as Strata Florida by Rhys ab Gruffudd (or at least endowed, if not actually founded by him); Strata Marcella by Owen Cyfeiliog; Aberconway and Cymmer Abbey by Llywelyn the Great; Abbey Cwm Hir by Cadwallon ab Madoc; and Valle Crucis by Madoc ab Gruffudd Maelor. It is important to remember that although monastic life in Wales did not for a moment compare in visible splendour, ecclesiastical dignity, and material wealth, with the Norman religious houses, the monastic traditions of the Welsh Church had by no means died out. And the association of the new Orders with the old Celtic haunts of sanctity, Whitland with Paulinus, assuming the old tradition to be true, Neath and Margam with the district sacred to Cadoc, Strata Florida with Padarn's land, etc., helped to harmonize the process of transition from the old to the new. There is an old Welsh proverb: "Hawdd cynneu tan ar hen aelwyd" —It is easy to light a fire on an old hearth! But the trend of monasticism in Wales had ever been towards the solitary life which was the true Celtic ideal of sanctity. And we have the evidence of Giraldus Cambrensis that even in his day "nowhere will you find hermits and anchorites of greater austerity and spirituality than in Wales." Bardsey Island, for example, was at this time inhabited by a curious order of monks known as the Culdees. And the Welsh people were evidently deeply attached to this Holy Island. The Welsh poet Meilir early in the twelfth century has some pathetic lines on Bardsey, the island where he hoped to rest his bones when his work was done:—

> A place that is solitary,
> By wayfarers untrodden.
> Around its graveyard heaves the bosom of the deep.
> The fair Island of Mary,
> The Holy Isle of Saints.

It is no wonder that the Welsh people had a warm corner in their hearts for the religious Orders that continued the

sacred traditions of the Church in these ancient homes of Celtic piety. One famous hermit very nearly gained the honour of canonisation, Caradoc of Rhos. He appears to have been a noble youth of Brycheiniog and is mentioned in the *Book of Llandaff*. He had been a cleric in the first instance in Llandaff and S. David's, but afterwards retired to lead a hermit's life in Pembrokeshire. Pope Innocent III, to whom Gerald the Welshman recommended this saintly recluse for the highest honour the Church could bestow, actually wrote to the Abbots of Strata Florida, Whitland and S. Dogmael's to make an official report as to Caradoc's fitness for the honour of being enrolled in the *Catalogus Sanctorum*. Nothing, however, came of the proposal. But with a people so enamoured of the extreme form of asceticism symbolised by the hermit's life, the Cistercian's severe type of Christian sanctity was assured of a ready welcome. The reason why the Cistercians were, beyond all others, the religious Order that appealed to the Welsh people, is soon explained.

The Cistercian mode of life was one of austere simplicity joined with a strenuous life. In their early days poverty was to them a kind of sacrament which conveyed a special measure of divine grace. The Welsh people, therefore, recognised in the earnestness and complete self-renunciation of this Order a revival of the primitive simplicity associated with their own native saints. While the other Orders, speaking generally, identified themselves with the alien element in Wales, the Cistercians avoided the patronage of nobles and territorial magnates, and chose secluded and lonely spots remote from large centres and the haunts of men. Mixing with the natives and serving them with simple devotion from purely religious motives, they soon attracted the attention of a people who were quick to detect sincerity, and in consequence they gained the complete confidence of the people and the support of the princes. These lonely spots, beloved of the Cistercians, were more

readily found in Welsh valleys and among Welsh hills than in England—the North of England excepted. This explains why it is that most of the Cistercian houses are found in Wales and in the North of England. The mother house of the Order in Wales was Whitland in Carmarthenshire, Alba Landa.

From this monastery all the Cistercian houses of Welsh origin were colonised. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Lord Rhys, in South Wales, and Llywelyn the Great, in North Wales, warmly espoused the new monasteries. Indeed Llywelyn by no means limited his support to the Cistercian Order, for he was a broad-minded ruler, and a true friend of religious causes. In addition to the large grants he made to Aberconway he also endowed the Benedictine foundation at Penmon, and founded a Franciscan friary at Llanfaes, where his wife Joan was buried. Even humble communities of anchorites like those at Priestholm or Ynys Lannog were encouraged and supported by his liberality.

From Whitland, the well-known Abbey of Strata Florida was founded in a wild and remote district at the foot of Plinlimmon ; a house that afterwards became the most famous religious foundation in Wales, the home of bards and chroniclers and the place of assembly for the Welsh princes in times of national crisis. Here Llywelyn the Great held his historic council of war with the Welsh chieftains, when they were marshalling their forces to resist the English king.

Much of the Welsh literature of the Middle Ages emanated from Strata Florida. Dafydd ab Gwilym, the greatest of Welsh poets, lies buried there, with many of the Welsh princes. The Abbots of Strata Florida were Welshmen from the very beginning. One of them, Abbot Seisyllt, accompanied Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus Cambrensis in their preaching crusade through the Principality in A.D. 1188. Whitland sent another colony to Powys, and

founded a daughter house at Strata Marcella, in Montgomeryshire, which was started with a grant of land from Owen Cyfeiliog. Aberconway, from its association with Llywelyn the Great, is perhaps the best known of the monasteries in the North. During the wars between Llywelyn and the English king, Aberconway came very much to the fore, and its Abbots figure very prominently in the stirring events and controversies of the early days of Welsh history.

Valle Crucis Abbey again, with its Pillar of Eliseg and its interesting inscription dating from the ninth century, is the glory of the beautiful vale of Llangollen. Margam with its Annals, like Strata Florida with its Welsh chronicle, has preserved for us a most valuable record of mediæval Church history. Cymmer Abbey, on the banks of the Mawddach, under the Cader Idris range, amidst the most romantic scenery in the Principality, ranked high among the Welsh monasteries in pre-reformation times. The scarcity of Nunneries in Wales cannot well escape the notice of the student of Welsh Church history. Llanllyr, in Cardiganshire, and Llanllugau in Montgomeryshire, both Cistercian, share between them the privilege of representing the female side of monasticism in Wales. These are but a few, taken at random, of the famous abbeys that figure in the history of the Welsh Church. We could, if space allowed, linger with profit and pleasure on the other monastic houses, as Tintern, Neath, Abbey Cwm Hir and Basingwerk, etc. Each has its own tale to tell, and each played a not inglorious part in the annals of our National Church, before the hand of the bigot and the fury of the spoiler robbed them of their beauty and left them silent and desolate. Their records testify to the greatness of the work they did in that period of the nation's infancy in which divine providence called them into being for the service of His Church ; and it is by that work that they must be judged. The later history of the Welsh, as of the English,

monasteries is a record of deterioration and decay. Even in the time of Gerald the Welshman, barely a hundred years after their foundation, monastic ideals—if we may trust the evidence, which, however, is not always very convincing—were beginning to succumb to the subtle temptations that followed in the wake of increasing wealth and social power. It is hard to say how far Gerald's picture is true. He is not always to be taken seriously as a witness against the monks. His contemporary, Walter Map, the brilliant satirist of the twelfth century lashes the monks, and especially the Cistercians, as unsparingly as Gerald himself. But both Gerald and Walter had a strong grudge against them, for the Cistercians were keen men of affairs and well able to take care of themselves. We could quote the contemporary evidence of other writers, such as Matthew Paris, who tell a different tale. We have to remember that the monks had many natural enemies, and amongst them were the secular clergy, for their interests were not identical. The Welsh bards also joined in the general chorus of vituperation, for they also had a string of grievances. The lay landowners were another class hostile to the monks, for the monasteries always offered a very effective resistance to the predatory instincts of grasping nobles anxious to remove their neighbours' landmark. All these facts have to be borne in mind in dealing with the judgment of contemporaries on the character of the monks. As their shortcomings have often inspired the pen of many a ready writer, it is unnecessary to discuss the subject here at any length. That there was a sad declension in some of the monasteries is true enough, but the wail of the modern Puritan over the iniquities and corruption of the monasteries has been overdone. We should rather try to mark in the first place what *good* the old monks did, instead of complaining of the good they left undone. The jovial monk of the Canterbury Tales, with his delightfully human but most unmonastic interest

in horses, hounds and the chase—the sporting parson of the mediæval Church—easily lends himself to caricature in the hands of a competent cynic. He is certainly far removed from the ascetic type, and cuts a sorry figure in the light of his monastic vows ; but like his modern representative, he might very often be as good a Christian at heart as many of his critics. The evils that attended the later stages of the history of the monasteries are, of course, very real. The appropriation of parochial endowments to monastic purposes, the growing wealth of the monasteries themselves and their immunity from episcopal control, leading to the growth of papal aggression at the expense of the National Church—these in their practical working foreboded disastrous consequences which followed at the time of the Reformation. Our present concern, however, is to find out what influence the monasteries exercised for good in the history of the Church, and in the social life of the people.

A visit to a Cistercian monastery will give us a better idea of the great service rendered to Wales in the Middle Ages by the Welsh Cistercian houses than a bald record of historical facts. Such an inquiry into the daily routine of monastic life will enable us to see the actual relation in which the monastery stood to the social life of the people generally—industrial, social, and spiritual. A Cistercian monastery was a small Christian *civitas ;* a well organised and self-supporting community. Life in country districts in the Middle Ages would have been a very grey and featureless existence without the monasteries. The monks were, apart from their monastic calling, very successful farmers and great employers of labour. The waste tracts of land given them by the Welsh princes and landowners were soon transformed into smiling fields and well organised estates. They built bridges and houses, made roads, cut down forests, and made land fertile and profitable. By letting it to tenants they acquired large estates which

yielded a good revenue. They were great breeders of sheep and cattle, and carried on an extensive trade in wool, the great industry of the thirteenth century. The monastery was an industrial as well as a spiritual centre of great activity, with its crowd of workmen and artisans of every description. Apart from their spiritual functions, the abbots of these little commonwealths dotted about our secluded Welsh valleys or on remote hills were large land proprietors, and had to be very competent men of business. As landlords they acquired the status of feudal lords, and thus became factors in the social and political organisation of the country. Some of them became state officials and served the king in various capacities, judicial, diplomatic, and political. And as landlords it must be conceded that in spite of the hard things said about them they were of real service to the people; for they were always in residence, while the lay landlords were often away from their homes on business or on a campaign. They were, like the old-fashioned squire, always among their tenants and knew their needs. The daily routine inside a monastery may at this distance of time seem to us to have been depressingly dull, with its regular hours of prayer and its monotonous daily round of duties in the cheerless and fireless cloisters. Monastic life was, of course, a severe discipline, but those who took vows knew what it meant, and they certainly did not enter a monastery with the idea that they were going to have an easy life. We cannot judge that age by the standards of the present day. People's tastes and feelings and outlook on life in the Middle Ages were in keeping with the circumstances and conditions of the time. The discipline that prevailed in the monasteries is attested by the eagerness with which many of the weaker brethren embraced the independent life of a recluse in a hermit's cell. The Guest House in those days was in constant use. No other provision existed for travellers and wayfarers of all kinds than the hospice of a monastery. The

monasteries were the hotels or inns of the Middle Ages. Here all the news of the world circulated freely, and intercourse with visitors kept the inmates in touch with the history and movements of the times. Historical records were kept in most monasteries, and our knowledge of the past would be slender indeed were it not for the literary activity of the monks. In Wales, the monasteries cultivated and encouraged quite a distinct type of literature, represented by the *Mabinogion* and the Arthurian Legend. It may be compendiously characterised as the literature of romance, and appears to have represented a literary tradition different from that of the bards, with their stiff and elaborate system of versification. This monastic type of literature certainly acquired an enormous popularity with the Welsh people, and the *Mabinogi* still appeals to the Welshman quite as much as the *englyn*. The Abbey of Strata Florida is specially noted in connection with Welsh literature, and there is a peculiar fitness in the choice of this venerable home of sanctity and learning as the resting-place of the greatest of our bards, Dafydd ab Gwilym. But apart from their services to the national literature, the monasteries were schools of education for the young, not only for those who were preparing for parochial work or for the monastic calling, but also for secular professions. The monks were the only educators of the age, and they were moreover very efficient and successful teachers. The whole of the intellectual life of the Middle Ages was centred in the monasteries; and it is to their inspiration and activity that we probably owe the universities, certainly the great public schools, and after them the old-fashioned grammar schools which have done such yeoman service to the cause of education, before the state became alive to its responsibilities. The care of the poor and sick was another department of monastic life. The monasteries dispensed both medicine to the sick, and food to the poor. The philanthropic institutions of the

Church in the Middle Ages are, in fact, but imperfectly known at the present day. There were over eight hundred hospitals in the golden age of monastic activity in England and Wales—definitely founded and maintained either under monastic or parochial auspices. A more correct description of them would be ecclesiastical nursing homes for the poor, sick, and suffering—infirmaries, almshouses, hostelries, and leper-houses. In Wales, the words *yspytty*, *spital*, *spyddid*, etc., preserve the memory of these religious institutions. Bishops were under a special vow to show hospitality to all in need, " Pauperibus et peregrinis omnibusque indigentibus."

All this will give the reader some idea of the strenuous, and many-sided activity that prevailed for many generations in a mediæval monastery. And monastic activity was carefully organised; each of the brethren had his special work to do in the internal economy of the monastery itself, or in attending to the various demands made on its material or moral resources from outside—hospitality, business, education, and the relief of distress. Princes and people alike rallied in support of the Welsh monasteries and responded generously to their appeal for funds, so giving the best possible proof of their popularity and usefulness, and of their genuine devotion to the best interests of the nation. People in the Middle Ages had a very profound sense of sin and of the need of atoning for it; and this inclined them to set a high value on the ministry of the church as a means of reconciliation with God, hence their readiness to make proof of their penitence by some very definite act of sacrifice. Penitence that cost them little or nothing they held in small esteem, so they availed themselves of the opportunity of giving some valued possession, generally land, to the monasteries. Even our Welsh place-names bear witness to the extent to which the monastic system struck root in the social life of the people, in the frequency with which we come across names compounded

of *mynach* or *mynachlog*. And the monastic life with its characteristic organisation was certainly well adapted to the needs and conditions of those days. Rude and coarse in many ways was the age which witnessed the rise and development of the monasteries; and these were, as a matter of fact, the only power strong enough to act as an effective restraint on the tyranny and violence of evil-doers, whether prince or peasant. Even the satirical references of the Welsh mediæval bards, and of literary documents like the Triads, are directed—and this is an important distinction which the reader should carefully note—not so much against the monks as against the friars, who were heartily and deservedly disliked by the monks as well as by the parochial clergy, into whose parishes they thrust themselves without compunction, and in defiance of all ecclesiastical discipline and decency. The failure of the monasteries does not, as many assume, mean that they became centres of corruption and hotbeds of iniquity. That is a popular modern inference which has no warrant in the facts of history. That scandals occurred is doubtless true enough, but it is also true that these scandals were generally dealt with by ecclesiastical authority. The growth of avarice, wealth, luxury, and here and there of licentiousness, was the real cause of their failure. They failed to maintain the stern ideals of religious discipline which was their original and professed aim. But no convincing evidence is forthcoming to support the sweeping charge of universal corruption so commonly made against the monastic houses. We must therefore in common fairness, without wishing to whitewash any stains that disfigure the history of some of the monasteries in the period of their decline, give them ungrudging credit for the noble work that they did in their day, work without which the religious history of our country would even to-day be very much the poorer.

CHAPTER X

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS AND THE CHURCH IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

THE classical authority for the history of the Church in Wales for the eleventh and twelfth centuries is Gerald de Barri, generally known as Giraldus Cambrensis. Gerald was one of the most learned men of his age. Green, the historian of the English people, calls him the father of popular literature. Both as a man of letters and as a man of action he is by far the most conspicuous figure in the history of this period: "A busy scholar in Paris, a reforming Archdeacon in Wales, the wittiest of Court chaplains, the most troublesome of ecclesiastics, Gerald was the gayest and most amusing author of his time." A brief account of his strenuous life and his voluminous writings will give us a good insight into the conditions of the age in which he lived.

Gerald was born in 1147 at Manorbier Castle, in Pembrokeshire. He had both Welsh and Norman blood in his veins, being on his mother's side descended from the famous Nesta—the "Helen of Wales," the daughter of Rhys ab Tewdor—and on his father's side from Gerald of Windsor. Nesta's descendants, in spite of the fact that this famous Welsh beauty exercised a wide discretion in the choice of their fathers, even in an age that was far from being strait-laced in matters of sexual morality, combined in one of the most important enterprises of that age, the conquest of Ireland. His descent from the Welsh princes and his connection with the Norman nobility made Gerald a very powerful ecclesiastic, and this fact explains a good many points in the story of his chequered career. His uncle, David Fitzgerald, was Bishop of S. David's, and under his supervision Gerald received a good education in old Menevia before going

to Paris to complete his studies. The University of Paris was at that time a great centre of learning in Western Europe, and here Gerald applied himself diligently to the study of Canon and Civil Law, and the usual curriculum of a clerical education. He then returned, full of zeal for church discipline and reform, to his native country. His first act was characteristic. He had some trouble with the inhabitants of Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire in regard to the payment of tithe. This was about 1173. The Welsh farmers soon came to terms, but the Flemings of Pembrokeshire, who had only recently established themselves in the district, were not so amenable to reason, but Gerald showed them that he meant himself to be taken seriously. This incident is interesting, not merely for the light it throws on Gerald's character, but also for the reason that it points to "tithe" being, even at that date, an acknowledged and established custom. He afterwards discovered to his great distress that the worthy Archdeacon of Brecon, after the example of many Welsh dignitaries, was a married man. To his great credit this Archdeacon, though threatened with suspension, refused to put away his wife. The Bishop, though himself a married man, was persuaded by his nephew to deprive him of his Archidiaconal office, and Gerald was appointed in his place in A.D. 1175. It was a very inauspicious beginning for a man who afterwards complained so bitterly of alien interference with the rights and customs of the Welsh Church. This new post, however, gave him just what he desired, an opportunity to reform some of the abuses of the Church. His reforming zeal brought to light many strange features of Welsh Church life, and many problems which the lack of activity on the part of his predecessors had kept in a dormant state. The various controversies in which the brilliant and energetic Archdeacon took part—Church reform and diocesan disputes—are duly recorded by the author himself; and apart from their historical value are most

interesting reading. It would indeed be difficult to select an author who gives us a more intimate account of the *atmosphere* of life and religion in the Middle Ages than Gerald the Welshman.

The greatest event in Gerald's life was his contest for the independence of S. David's. This historic controversy was started by the death of Gerald's uncle, David Fitzgerald, in 1176. The struggle had already been begun by the Norman Bishop, Bernard. It was, in truth, part of the national revival of the age. Gerald acquired a great reputation for the leading part he took in championing the rights of S. David's against Canterbury—not, be it remembered, against Rome. A similar contest however, though not so well known, was carried on by the Canons of Bangor about the same time. A short account of this Bangorian protest against Canterbury is given in *Haddan and Stubbs*, where it is stated that a Welsh opposition parallel to the great strife (almost contemporaneous) at S. David's and only less known, *Caret quia vate sacro*, because it was not fortunate enough to have a Giraldus to record it, lived on in the form of appeals to the Pope until at least A.D. 1203. On David Fitzgerald's death, the chapter elected Gerald to the vacant see, but the Archbishop of Canterbury and Henry II, would not consent to his appointment; and Peter de Leia, Prior of a Cluniac House at Wenlock, in Shropshire, was chosen instead. This was the beginning of a bitter estrangement between Gerald and Henry, and the disappointed Archdeacon never missed an opportunity of showing, within the limits of discretion, his hatred for the English king and his advisers. Later, when Peter found he could not manage his diocese, Gerald was appointed administrator. His account of Peter's character is a very unfavourable one, as we should, in the circumstances, expect. But Peter is favourably noticed by other writers of the period; and he could not have been wholly indifferent to the interests of his diocese, for the

cathedral of St. David's, as we see it to-day, owes the greater part of its grandeur to Peter de Leia. He was also chosen to succeed Archbishop Richard, though the appointment was not confirmed. It was during Peter's episcopate that the third crusade was preached throughout Wales by Archbishop Baldwin, who was accompanied by Gerald. On the death of Peter de Leia the controversy broke out afresh, and Gerald carried his appeal to Rome against the obdurate refusal of the English King and Archbishop to accept the chapter's election. Pope Innocent III received poor Gerald most kindly and delighted in his company, for he could not help admiring the man's indomitable courage in fighting such powerful opponents almost single-handed; but he was too astute a pontiff to support the claims of an insignificant country like Wales against the powerful English king.

It must be remembered that the right of free election to the Welsh Sees claimed by the Chapter of S. David's on behalf of their National Church was a valid question to contend for, quite distinct from that of the metropolitan claims of S. David's. In fact it must be recognised that the claim put forward in behalf of S. David's was, as both Gerald and the Chapter practically admitted, only a pious belief resting on no historical certainty. In 1203 the Welsh Princes, Llywelyn the Great, Gwenwynwyn and Madoc of Powys, Gruffudd and Maelgwn and Meredydd ab Rhys, presented a petition to the Pope in behalf of Gerald, protesting against the injury done to the Welsh Church by English prelates ignorant of the language and customs of the country—*prae-esse quidem nobis et non prodesse cupientes:* wishing only to rule us and not to benefit us. They also strongly resented the frequent and unjustifiable use made by the English bishops of the weapon of excommunication.

The whole dispute concerning S. David's, with its constant appeals to the Roman Court and the many conflicting interests involved, into the details of which we have no

space to enter, is a miserable revelation of the methods of controversy and diplomacy prevalent in those days. The Roman Court in particular, with its sordid cupidity and its shameless disregard of the elementary principles of honesty and fair dealing, cuts a very sorry figure. Innocent III was a great prelate and an astute statesman, but Gerald's prospects from the very beginning could have been pronounced by anyone familiar with the methods of Rome as forlorn in the extreme before a tribunal where justice was dispensed to the highest bidder. Gerald spent altogether over twenty years in this memorable contest, and had at last to retire from the fight a beaten man. The remaining years of his life he spent at Lincoln, where he devoted himself to the peaceful pursuit of letters. Llywelyn the Great, referring to Gerald's prolonged fight for the National Church, paid him the compliment of saying that " many and great wars have Welshmen waged with England but none so great and fierce as his who fought the king and archbishop, and withstood the might of the clergy of England for the honour of Wales. So long as Wales shall stand by the writings of the chroniclers and by the songs of the bards, shall his noble deed be praised throughout all time." It was not, however, from any antipathy to the appointment of Welshmen to Welsh Sees that Henry II refused his assent to Gerald's selection. " Am I," writes Gerald to the Pope, " to be debarred from preferment in Wales because I am a Welshman ? " He is, however, answered out of his own mouth, for he declares in his autobiography, *De Rebus a se Gestis*, that both Bangor and Llandaff were offered to him, but he declined them. His heart was set on S. David's and he would accept no other diocese. Henry and the Archbishop were aware of Gerald's ambition, and they were not blind to the danger of appointing to the premier See in Wales a man of Gerald's calibre. His cousin, the Lord Rhys, was the King's Justiciar in South Wales, and the appointment of such an energetic and ambitious

ecclesiastic as Gerald would be inimical to the interests and policy of the English king. Henry, moreover, disliked the Geraldines, for he knew all about their successful exploits as the first conquerors of Ireland. If he consented to Gerald's appointment to S. David's, he knew that he would be supplying the latent energy of Welsh opposition with the one thing needful to bring it into action. This no doubt was hard on Gerald, and hard on the Welsh Church, but Henry's motive is perfectly clear, and that motive was purely political. He wanted to avoid complications. The king was astute enough to see the wisdom of finding congenial employment for such an inflammable character, so we find Gerald employed as a mediator between the king and the Lord Rhys, an office he discharged with success. He was afterwards appointed a Court chaplain. Then the king selected him as guide, philosopher, and friend to accompany Prince John on his visit to Ireland. It is to this expedition that we owe the *Topography* and *The Conquest of Ireland*, both important documents for Irish history. In 1188 he accompanied Archbishop Baldwin on his preaching crusade through Wales. We have reason to be grateful for the part he took in this memorable journey, for it resulted in the publication of two important works bearing on Wales—the *Itinerary* and the *Description of Wales*. His account of Ireland is disfigured by unconcealed dislike of the Irish people. "If a scoundrel or an impostor," says Professor Stokes of him, "is to be produced on the stage of history, if he is not a Cistercian monk he is sure to be an Irishman, priest or layman." The story of the Conquest was too good an opportunity to be missed of placing before his readers the glorious exploits of the Geraldines, the men of S. David's. His tour through Wales with Archbishop Baldwin is a most valuable record of the condition, customs, and manners of Wales in the twelfth century. His *Description of Wales* was written a little later and contains a more formal account of the country

and its inhabitants ; being " a soberer and a more academic survey taken from the Olympian heights of a scholar's lofty seclusion." Apart from his amazing credulity, so characteristic of the age, Gerald's account of Wales in the twelfth century reveals an astonishing power of shrewd observation ; but in spite of his interest in Welshmen and their affairs, his judgment and his impressions are those of a sympathetic critic who looked at Wales and Welshmen from a detached standpoint. Though he was proud of his Welsh descent he does not see things with the eyes of a native Welshman. If a great English journalist happened to be professionally associated with and interested in the Welsh people, he would probably publish an impressionist sketch similar to that of Gerald. Gerald's knowledge of Welsh was imperfect, although sufficient to entice him into the field of comparative philology. But his work remains of the greatest value for the light it throws on the religious condition of Wales. In his more controversial works Gerald draws a very dark picture of the religious state of the country, and his bitterest criticism is invariably reserved for the monks. Those who thwarted or opposed Gerald in any way are always treated with scant respect, nor does he scruple to malign their characters by imputations of vice which are often transparently untrue. Even the merits of great constitutional questions, like the rights of S. David's, and the authority of the English metropolitan, or the freedom of the Welsh Church, are mixed up with personal interests and antipathies which introduce into the controversy an alien element that confuses the true issue. Gerald was not at all opposed to the exercise of metropolitan authority from Canterbury, when the exercise of that power served his own purpose. His journey with Archbishop Baldwin was inconsistent with the principle he professed, and for which he contended so long and so earnestly ; for Baldwin's tour through Wales had a double purpose, first to support the third crusade

by enlisting Welsh recruits, and secondly, to assert his own metropolitan authority over the four Welsh dioceses by celebrating Mass in each of the four Welsh Cathedrals. The prominent position assigned to Gerald in the Archbishop's mission as a national representative ministered to his personal vanity ; and where his vanity was concerned consistency was of little account. And Gerald threw himself heart and soul into the enterprise, to the great benefit of posterity. His *Itinerary* is the first comprehensive account of the social and religious condition of Wales. And Gerald's many gifts as a writer, his wide scholarship. his keen faculty of observation, his racy bon mots, his nterest in the native customs, his predilection for folk-lore, his prodigious and entertaining vanity, and his naive credulity, all help to make the *Itinerary* a document not only of great historical value, but of unflagging interest. Leland's *Itinerary* in the sixteenth century, though an important work for the historian and antiquary, is quite a dull book compared with the picturesque and sparkling tale of Gerald's tour nearly four centuries before. Gerald sometimes preached, not in Welsh but in Latin or French ; and compared with the Archbishop's efforts, always produced a great impression even when the people did not understand him. The court jester of the Lord Rhys—this is Gerald's own account—who had evidently taken a correct measure of the Archdeacon, congratulated his royal master on the fact that his brilliant kinsman had been unable to preach to the people in their native tongue, for had he done so, there would not have been a man left. Gerald would have carried them all off with his eloquence. That Gerald clearly recognised the real purpose of Baldwin's tour through the four Welsh dioceses is evident from a passage in his *Itinerary*, where he states that the Archbishop was the first English Primate to enter the borders of Wales, and that he celebrated Mass in all the cathedral churches as a token of his right of investiture. Baldwin's

visitation was not, however, allowed to pass by without some protest—not from Gerald, but from the Canons of S. David's. At Radnor, certain Canons from Menevia tried to persuade the Lord Rhys not to permit the Archbishop to proceed into the interior of Wales and especially to the Metropolitan See of S. David's; asserting that "if he continued his intended journey, the church would in future experience great prejudice and with difficulty would recover its ancient dignity and honour." The Prince, however, declined to interfere with the Archbishop's progress. Apart from this dignified protest, the only unpleasantness experienced by Baldwin was with Owen Cyfeiliog. He alone among the Welsh princes declined, when the crusaders approached Shrewsbury, to offer them a welcome, and he was promptly excommunicated! On the whole, the Welsh people appear, according to Gerald's account, to have offered the Archbishop, and his no less distinguished companion the Archdeacon, a warm welcome: the Welsh princes likewise, with the solitary exception of Owen, offered them every hospitality. The Archbishop, a grave kindly man, celebrated Mass with due pomp in the four Cathedrals without let or hindrance. Gwion, Bishop of Bangor, was apparently unsympathetic, not hostile, for he required the application of a little peaceful persuasion before consenting to take the crusaders' cross. Some of the princes acted as guides through their own territories, and the natives showed their visitors marked respect, and responded with alacrity to their appeal in behalf of the Holy Sepulchre. The whole narrative is full of anecdotes and contains highly amusing and interesting passages. Two Abbots, John of Whitland, and Seisyllt of Strata Florida, accompanied them as guides and interpreters. The actual preaching appears to have been in Latin and French—the Archdeacon of Bangor acting as interpreter to the Welsh monoglots. But his services were not essential to the success of the mission, especially when Gerald

occupied the pulpit, for, as he himself testifies, " it appeared wonderful and miraculous that although the Archdeacon addressed them both in the Latin and French tongues, those persons who understood neither of those languages were equally affected and flocked in great numbers to the cross." The *Itinerary* leaves, on the whole, an impression of a devout, law-abiding and God-fearing people, if we make allowance for the rudeness of the times, the unsettled state of the country, and the superstitious character of the age. The actual picture that Gerald draws of the religious condition of the people, as a result of this experience, does not harmonise with the sordid tale of unbridled wickedness and corruption which his other and more controversial writings would lead us to believe. He speaks highly of their religious faith and devotion, and of their respect for the Church and the priesthood. " This nation," he says, " is earnest in all its pursuits, nowhere will you find worse men than the bad or better than the good. Happy and blessed would the people be if they had good pastors and but one prince, and he a good one." In regard to ecclesiastical customs, Gerald refers to many points of similarity between the Welsh and Irish Churches at this period; such as the reverence for croziers, torques, trumpets, and books ; the horn of S. Patrick, which was used in Wales as well as in Ireland: miraculous stones, such as the Llechlavar; the use of saints' bells as holy relics ; the prevalence of the Culdees ; lay Abbots (Gerald mentions a case at Llanbadarn Fawr) ; hereditary benefices ; the vindictive character of the Welsh and Irish saints in the case of those who perjured themselves on the saints' relics. From the political history of the country, we know that Wales and Ireland were in close touch with each other, for Ireland was a convenient place of refuge for many of the Welsh princes when hard pressed at home. And the Welsh Chronicle reveals an intimate knowledge of Irish affairs before the Conquest of Ireland. The following passage from the

Itinerary is instructive as to the state of religion in Wales : " Nothing contrary to the true faith was to be found amongst the natives. But it is said that some parts of the ancient doctrines are still retained. They give the first piece broken off from every loaf of bread to the poor ; they sit down to dinner by three to a dish in honour of the Trinity. With stretched out arms and bowed head they ask a blessing of every monk and priest or of every person wearing a religious habit. But they desire above all other nations the episcopal confirmation and chrism, by which the grace of the Spirit is given. They give a tenth of all their property either when they marry, or go on a pilgrimage, or when by the counsel of the Church they are persuaded to amend their lives. This partition of their effects they call the great tithe, two parts of which they give to the church where they were baptized, and the third to the bishop of the diocese. But of all pilgrimages they prefer that to Rome, where they pay the most fervent adoration to the Apostolic See. We observe that they show a greater respect than other nations to churches and ecclesiastical persons ; to the relics of saints, bells, holy books, and the cross, which they devoutly revere : and hence their churches enjoy more than common tranquillity." The whole passage is a valuable comment on the religious customs of the old Cymry ; and this testimony has the advantage of being first-hand evidence derived from the personal experience of a contemporary. There is, of course, a darker side to the picture. In his other and more formal treatises, Gerald deals with the evils of the day and the gross abuses that disfigured the religious history of the times, both in England and Wales. In his *Speculum Ecclesiae*, " The Mirror of the Church," he addresses himself to the subject of the monasteries and the serious corruptions that had crept into the very citadel of the Church's life. But the work entitled the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* is the most valuable treatise he has left from the point of view of the student of Church history. This

was addressed to his clergy for their guidance in various Church matters ; and from the nature of the problems with which it deals it throws a strong light on the moral condition of the Church in the twelfth century. With all his failings, Gerald here reveals himself as a genuine and an earnest reformer, whose heart was saddened by the overwhelming evils that were already beginning to threaten the very life of the Church. The evils were due to several causes ; the first was the demoralisation of the Welsh dioceses owing to the want of sympathy between the English bishops and the Welsh people. Non-residence was a serious evil, but it was probably in many cases involuntary, and largely the result of hostility towards strange bishops, ignorant of the Welsh people and of the Welsh language. Simony and the abuse of patronage, and the alienation of Church property were rife. The clergy, so Gerald informs us, were poor and ill educated, and sometimes immoral. This last charge, however, must be accepted with some reserve, for clerical marriage meant to Gerald concubinage, and that was equivalent to immorality. Owing to his pronounced views on this question he cannot be considered an impartial witness in regard to this aspect of clerical morality. The Welsh clergy were not so obnoxious to the charge of intemperate habits as their Irish brethren. The two crying evils of the age were (1) the rapacity and unscrupulous greed of the higher dignitaries, bishops and archdeacons, and (2) the poverty of the parochial clergy. A pauper clergy, in that as in any other age, meant an inefficient ministry. The Welsh clergy were obliged to eke out their wretched stipends by turning their energy to the breeding of pigs and cattle : and the time that should have been devoted to parochial duties was thus given to secular pursuits and to the care of their wives and families. A careful diagnosis of all the facts of the case seems to prove beyond all doubt that the predominant cause of the evils that prevailed in Gerald's time was clerical poverty. The

monasteries had annexed parochial property whenever they could: some of the bishops taxed, fleeced, and oppressed the lower clergy unsparingly, and the usual results followed. Whether the state of affairs was quite as bad as Gerald represents it to have been is hard to decide, but that these evils existed to a very serious extent is unfortunately only too true. The dark periods of church history have generally been the products of financial impoverishment and oppression. Gerald's age was reproduced in the sixteenth century under Henry VIII's policy of spoliation, and again under the Puritan tyranny of Cromwell's time. It is a singular coincidence that on each occasion those who sit in judgment on the Church for her laxity and inefficiency have only one remedy to propose for this state of things—to spoil her still further, and aggravate her poverty, which is the root of the very evil they profess to deplore. The Church has been partially disendowed more than once in the course of her history, and disendowment has not availed to quench the divine life that dwells within her; but it is hard to understand how any sane person can bring himself to believe that the Church, more than any other institution, can do her work better by being deprived of the slender resources bequeathed to her by her own children. Up to a certain point, poverty is a bracing and a wholesome discipline, but beyond that point it tends to demoralise and to degrade. The other evil of which Gerald complains, the ignorance of the parochial clergy, was, so far as it was true, due to the causes we have enumerated. But it is doubtful whether Gerald is correct in thinking that the Welsh clergy were ignorant and ill educated. It must be remembered that he was, in spite of his Welsh descent and his antipathy to alien appointments, a Norman to the finger tips. He represented Norman culture and was steeped in Norman traditions. He was not a Welsh scholar and had no acquaintance with the native literature, so he could not have been in a position to estimate the extent

and the character of the culture that must have prevailed among the native clergy. Though he was a secular priest and mixed with the Welsh clergy, there was a barrier between him and them; for his ideal of culture was that of a polished Norman and his attitude that of a monk. Welshmen of that age possessed an ample and a noble literature, and it would be strange indeed if the humble parish priests of Wales, though destitute of Norman grace, and perhaps deficient in Latinity, were not familiar with the treasures of Celtic lore and poetry for which the age was memorable. It was, in fact, an age of great social and literary activity. The names of the Welsh poets of this period, Meilir, Llywarch, Cynddelw, Owen Cyfeiliog, Gwalchmai, Davydd Benvras, etc., might not be known to Gerald, any more than they are to most Englishmen to-day; but they were familiar enough to Welshmen and they represent the literary spirit of a gifted race. "Besides chronicles, romances, poems of various characters, and mabinogion," says Stephens in his *Literature of the Kymry*, "they had a large collection of moral and historical Triads, and were in the habit of holding periodical Eisteddfods, where bards and musicians displayed their skill. The Kymric princes busied themselves to reform the laws and improve the popular manners and to patronise literary meetings; and were in no respect with regard to knowledge or necessary art inferior to their neighbours." "These facts," he adds, "coupled with the literature which we have already passed in review, gives us an elevated conception of the Kymric character of the time of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and fully justify the conclusion arrived at by M. Augustine Therry that the Welsh were the most civilized and intellectual people of that age."

CHAPTER XI

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH TO THE "CONQUEST OF WALES"

THE thirteenth century was an age of grievous trouble for the Welsh Church. It was the age of the two Llywelyns, Llywelyn the Great, and his grandson Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, the last native prince of Wales. During the greater part of the reign of Llywelyn the Great, the Church enjoyed the blessings of comparative peace, for Llywelyn was a strong and capable ruler, and his policy towards the Church was that of a generous benefactor. The lament of the bards on the death of this powerful prince shows that he had not neglected the social needs of his people or the welfare of the Church. "He had been kind to Christ's poor and kept peace for the monks." All religious movements for the welfare of the people and for the advancement of religion received from him ready encouragement and practical support. Franciscan and Dominican friars, as well as Benedictine and Cistercian monks, found in him a large-hearted patron. So great was his reputation as a friend of the monastic houses that the Pope intervened on his behalf during his struggle with that weak and fickle English monarch King John, by inhibiting an Interdict that rested on Llywelyn and his territories. His reign is an almost uninterrupted record of domestic feuds with the smaller Welsh princes, and of strenuous resistance to the encroachment of the English kings. King John found it politic to show some respect for this stubborn fighter, which he did by giving him his daughter Joan in marriage. Joan doubtless smoothed many a difficulty by acting as mediator between her husband and her father; but the pressure of political forces was too great even for the influence of a devoted wife and daughter, in an age when most problems

were settled by brute force. Gwenwynwyn, Prince of Powys, was a thorn in Llywelyn's side; and in 1207 we find Llywelyn and King John making common cause against him. As a result Llywelyn became master of the whole of North Wales. But this truce did not last long. In 1211 John invaded the Prince's territory and was joined by Gwenwynwyn in a bootless expedition, for Llywelyn retired to the fastnesses of Snowdonia. But John made, later on, a second attempt, and this time he had his revenge by burning Bangor Cathedral and taking prisoner Robert, the Bishop, who was afterwards ransomed for two hundred hawks! Once more the tide turned in Llywelyn's favour, and John's power in Gwynedd was completely shattered. It is not generally known that Llywelyn played a leading part in the events that led up to the promulgation of Magna Charta. In the conflict between the English Barons and King John, Llywelyn's acknowledged power secured for him a position similar to that conceded to the King of the Scots. And as we have seen in a previous chapter, three clauses of Magna Charta deal with the rights of the Welsh Prince. In 1240 Llywelyn died, after taking the habit of religion, and was buried at Aberconway, and his son David reigned in his stead. In spite of its warlike character Llywelyn's reign was on the whole a fruitful one in many ways. Law and order were to some extent established and the arts of peace were encouraged and fostered. It was, moreover, an age of great literary activity, as the reader will find if he consults the pages of Stephens' *Literature of the Kymry*. Bards and monks alike joined in a whole-hearted pæan of praise to the powerful prince who had protected them so long and had treated them so generously. The predominant influence he exercised over Welsh affairs for nearly half a century proved an effective check to the advance of the English element in the Welsh Church, and enabled old Church customs and traditions to secure a fresh lease of life. His enthusiastic support of

Gerald in defence of S. David's has already been noticed. It may, of course, be asserted that for all practical purposes the independence of the Welsh Church had been lost when Archbishop Baldwin and Gerald made their crusading Itinerary throughout Wales; that being the ulterior purpose of the tour. But the power of Llywelyn enabled the Welsh Church to assert itself to some purpose in regard to episcopal appointments. A case in point occurs in the very year that Magna Charta was signed, A.D. 1215. On the death of Galfrid, Bishop of S. David's, King John wrote a suppliant letter to the Bishop of Hereford begging him to use his influence to secure the appointment of the King's nominee, Hugo Foliot, Archdeacon of Salop, to the vacant see. A similar missive was written by the King to the Chapter of S. David's, extolling Foliot as a man distinguished for his learning and character. But the Canons of S. David's had now a free hand, thanks to the political influence of Llywelyn, and, as Gerald puts it, *ex temporis occasione nacti audaciam*, emboldened by the then state of affairs, selected their own man, Iorwerth, Abbot of Talley, a pure Welshman, as Bishop of S. David's. In the same year the *Welsh Chronicle* mentions the appointment of another Welshman, Cadwgan of Llandyfai, Abbot of Whitland, to the vacant See of Bangor. The royal consent was duly given to these appointments and the two Bishops, Iorwerth and Cadwgan, were consecrated by Archbishop Stephen. What we do find in this century even more than the intrusion of the authority of English kings in Welsh appointments is the growing menace of papal power. And this power was exercised with an almost total disregard of the rights of the Welsh Church. Swayed by mercenary motives and political considerations, Rome used the rights and liberties of the Church as pawns in a game of self-aggrandisement and pecuniary profit. The policy of the Papal Court was well exemplified in the case of David, Llywelyn's son and successor. In 1241 David, who had

not inherited his father's ability and strength of character, was obliged to make his peace with the English King, Henry III. His act of homage, made at Rhuddlan, showed the most complete submission. The Bishops of Bangor and S. Asaph guaranteed his submission in case he should feel inclined to violate his compact. David evidently felt the authority of the English king a burden too grievous to be borne, for in 1244 he made an attempt to intrigue with the Roman pontiff to hold his kingdom as a fief of the papacy. The account of this futile transaction is given by Matthew Paris. David promised to resign himself and his land to the Roman Church as against the jurisdiction of the English king. All this happened while the Welsh prince was waging furious war in the Marches against the English power. In return for having his Welsh dominions recognised as a fief to his Holiness, David promised an annual payment of five hundred marks. Money, so the contemporary chroniclers asserted, weighed more than any other arguments with the Holy Father. Innocent at once instructed the Abbots of Aberconway and Cymmer to inquire into the matter and to report whether it would be right to absolve David from the obligation of his oath. The two Welsh abbots, on receipt of the Papal missive, constituted themselves into a court and summoned Henry to appear before them at Kerry to answer the charges made against him " if it should seem expedient to him." Henry was furious, and his reply to this insolent summons was to hasten his preparations for proving the justice of his claims by force of arms. Innocent saw that he had made a false move and dissembled with David. He recalled the commission, but did not return David's money. Henry now carried the war into his enemy's camp, and, fortifying Deganwy, he ravaged not only North Wales, but Anglesey and even the adjacent parts of England, in order to starve out his enemies. During this campaign the Abbey of Aberconway was sacked and burnt by Henry's troops,

and its books and chalices carried away. This last piece of information is, by the way, derived from a very interesting document preserved by Matthew Paris, a letter written by some nobleman in the English army. This letter throws much light on the savage methods of warfare practised in those rude days on both sides, and on the fearful devastations which followed a Welsh campaign. The wholesale slaughters and the ruthless burning of churches, monasteries and homesteads must have made it a task of amazing difficulty for the people to rebuild the waste places and recover their means of livelihood; and for the Church to rise from the ruins to continue her ministrations. And yet, in a short time, the historian can speak of the wonderful revival of the fortunes of Wales. But before this came about, the condition of the country, as a result of the struggle between the Welsh and the English, was deplorable. David died in 1246 and was buried at Aberconway with his illustrious father. "Wales," says Matthew Paris under the year 1247, "was in sore straits in those days, agriculture, commerce, and the care of cattle ceased, people began to perish of hunger, crushed against their will under the rule of the English. Their proud ancient nobility drooped away, and even the harp of the men of the church was changed to grief and lamentation. The Bishop of Menevia died of grief. William, Bishop of Llandaff, was afflicted with blindness: the Bishops of S. Asaph and Bangor, their Sees destroyed by fire and sword, were obliged to beg and live on the charity of others." If this is done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? What must the poor have suffered if bishops had to beg their bread! How can we measure the grief of the poor peasants over the calamities that overwhelmed their native land when a bishop lost his sight through ceaseless weeping for his country's woes! To crown the sorrows of the Church, a great earthquake is recorded by the chroniclers in 1248, which destroyed a great part of S. David's

Cathedral and brought down many houses in the land, both in Britain and Ireland.

After a short period of sullen peace, English misrule drove the Welsh again into open revolt. The tyranny of the new Marchers and the rapacity of the English officials, who treated the Welshmen as though they were cattle, could only end in one way. A new leader appeared on the scene to avenge the wrongs of his countrymen, Llywelyn the last native prince. He had, in the beginning, some trouble with his brothers Owen and David, and after a little family war, Llywelyn began to consolidate his power. It was too early as yet to attempt to throw off the English yoke, and Llywelyn was obliged to come to terms with Henry and bide his time. In 1257 he began to give trouble, for he had succeeded in forming an alliance with the Scotch nobles against the English King, and Henry in consequence made an attempt to subdue the rebellious prince, but his invasion proved a fiasco. Internal feuds, however, kept Llywelyn busy for a while, but on the death of Henry III, 1272, the last stage of rebellion began. By that time this vigorous Welsh prince had united nearly the whole of the Principality in one solid confederacy. The strength of his position in Wales, together with the fact that Edward I—who succeeded Henry—was abroad at the time of Henry's death, tempted Llywelyn to assert his independence and to refuse homage to the new king. In 1276 Edward invaded Wales with an overwhelming force, and Llywelyn was penned up in the wilds of Snowdonia. Resistance was useless, so Llywelyn submitted to the inevitable. Matters proceeded smoothly again for a short time, but the brutality and petty tyranny of Edward's officials exasperated the people and drove them once more into fierce rebellion, determined to die on the field of battle rather than submit to the galling tyranny of their new masters, the insolent officials who acted for Edward. Wales rose as one man, and the revolt spread like wild fire. Llywelyn and his

allies overran the country, carrying all before them. Edward determined that this time it should be a fight to the finish, and made his preparations accordingly. Archbishop Peckham was commissioned to induce Llywelyn to come to terms with Edward, but he failed. It must be acknowledged that Peckham acted throughout in a kindly and sympathetic way towards the Welsh prince and his people during this unfortunate campaign. He was no friend of Edward's, and he did his best to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Peckham was, it is true, a fussy and officious ecclesiastic, but he was thoroughly honest, and whatever there is in his dealings with the Welsh Church open to criticism, is due to his ignorance of Wales and things Welsh. Others after him with better opportunities and less excuse have made similar mistakes. He was genuinely concerned for the best interests of Wales, as he conceived them, and he acted accordingly. Llywelyn's death, however, in 1282 deprived the rebellion of its leader, and by the statute of Rhuddlan, 1282, Wales was annexed to the English Crown. When all resistance was crushed, Edward acted, on the whole, with fairness and moderation, and the extant documents show that Archbishop Peckham made every effort to reconcile the Welsh people and clergy to the new system of government. His letters of advice to King Edward in regard to the administration of the newly acquired territories are full of kindly and honest counsel regarding the King's duty to his new subjects. The Welsh Church was an object of special solicitude to the Archbishop, for to him it was still the *Ecclesia Walliæ*, and he urged upon Edward his bounden duty to make compensation for all damage done to the Church and its fabrics during the war, and to respect its ancient rights and privileges. Many of the Welsh clergy, not content with supporting Llywelyn's cause, had taken up arms in his favour, and these had now to be protected. In 1284 the Archbishop made a formal visitation of the four Welsh

Dioceses with the object of reorganising the sadly-harassed Welsh Church. King Edward also, with his Queen Eleanor, in the year 1284, paid a visit to S. David's shrine, a graceful pledge of the King's desire to deal gently with the national susceptibilities of his Welsh subjects. As Peckham's visitation is an important event in this critical period of Welsh Church history, we leave it for the nonce and will return to it again.

A brief account of the bishops of the period preceding the Statute of Rhuddlan, will bring us into closer touch with the domestic affairs of the Church. All the information given here about the bishops of this epoch, is taken from Godwin, *de Præsulibus*, and Brown Willis, *Survey of the Four Welsh Dioceses*. The wonder is that with the endless civil wars in which the country was embroiled, the Church was able to carry on any work at all. The frequent use also of excommunications and interdicts, which were bandied about as mere political instruments of retaliation and revenge, must have been a serious embarrassment, and a demoralising hindrance to the effective discharge of parochial ministration. That the Church was able, amid all these disturbances, to keep the light of the gospel burning, however dimly, was due to the fact that the parochial system was well established in the period prior to the Annexation, and that the ancient parishes were provided with some endowment, though it was pitifully meagre and inadequate. As a fixed provision for safe-guarding and ministering to the highest interests of the people, amid circumstances destructive of the moral foundations of society, these ancient endowments were the means of rendering an immeasurable service to the national life. And we have reason to be thankful that in those lean and critical years the ministrations of religion were not obliged to depend on the precarious support of a voluntary principle, whose resources would be forthcoming only with the greatest difficulty, if at all. Her slender endowments

kept the Church from going under—a lesson that very many people in Wales should take seriously to heart, for history repeats itself. Although the Cistercians, almost to a man, supported the national cause against the English invaders, that did not prevent their monasteries from being sacked and burnt, if they happened to lie in the combatants' line of march. Both sides were equally guilty of methods of barbarism. The Welsh, complained the good Archbishop Peckham to Llywelyn, are more cruel than Saracens. Unfortunately, the retort of the Welsh was ready, and well supported, as Llywelyn stated in his reply, with the damning evidence of ruthless sack and red slaughter, " that the English were more sacrilegious than pagans."

With a few exceptions we have very little information about the bishops who were called upon to pilot the Church through the troubled waters of the Welsh wars of independence. Their names and a few meagre facts about them represent all the evidence we have. But by reading between the lines we shall be able to catch an occasional glimpse of the state of the Church. Episcopal appointments during this period provide us with a very good clue to the nature of the forces at work in the government of the National Church. The appointment of Welshmen, or at least Welsh speaking bishops, to Welsh Sees, proves that the right of the Church to elect chief pastors, qualified to do their work, was being recognised and respected. And, on the whole, we have no reason to complain of the personnel of the Welsh bishops in the period with which we are dealing. In the diocese of Llandaff, where English influence was strongest, we find that most, though not all, of the bishops were of English descent, but associated in some way with the diocese. Their nationality does not imply that the English King was able to impose his own will on the diocese, for we have specific instances proving the contrary : such as that of William of Radnor, who presided over the see about the middle of the century. The King's

position at the time was too precarious to enable him to interfere with any hope of success. Godwin states that William was treasurer of Llandaff Cathedral. Another prelate, William de Braose, had been Prebendary of the cathedral, and again, John de la Ware had been Abbot of Margam. Though their names do not strike us as being typically Welsh, these men were, nevertheless, dignitaries of the Welsh Church before they became bishops. In S. David's diocese, there were bishops of some note, such as Thomas Wallensis or Thomas the Welshman, and at the very end of the century Thomas Beck (1280). Thomas Wallensis appears to have been a man of parts, for he was held in high esteem by the famous Bishop Grosseteste. He was also a man of some force of character, for he contested the right claimed by the King in regard to some matters of patronage, and by an appeal to the Pope gained his point. The other bishops of the period, Iorwerth, Anselm, Richard de Carew, were either pure Welshmen or born in Wales. They paid a good deal of attention to the affairs of the cathedral, and did useful work. Richard Carew appears to have reported to King Henry III on the unsatisfactory condition of the country about 1260, for in that year the King issued a proclamation to his bailiffs to protect the Church of S. David's. The report stated that " the liberties of the Church were being violated, owing to the state of war in Menevia ; that religious houses and residences of the clergy and even parish churches were burnt : that the roads were rendered unsafe for travelling for the bishops, archdeacons and other ecclesiastical persons ; and that this was due as much to Welsh as to English law breakers."

In how many ages has the building of the temple been carried on with a trowel in one hand and a sword in the other ! Bishop Beck has made a name for himself as the last Welsh bishop of S. David's to protest against the metropolitan jurisdiction of Canterbury, on the occasion of

Archbishop Peckham's visitation. Beck was an Englishman, and it seems a very curious coincidence that the stoutest defenders of the claims of the Welsh Church were Norman, semi-Norman and English: Bernard, Gerald de Barri, and Thomas Beck. When Archbishop Peckham reached S. David's, Beck declared that he was ready to welcome him as Primate, but not as Metropolitan; alleging that the bishops of S. David's had enjoyed the privileges of a Metropolitan See; that the matter at issue between S. David's and Canterbury formed the subject of an appeal to Rome, and was still *sub judice*. Peckham, however, rejected the bishop's protest under penalty of excommunication, and the matter ended. This was the last echo of the long controversy in behalf of S. David's. As Peckham's Visitation of the Welsh dioceses has been sadly misinterpreted and strangely misunderstood by some critics of the Welsh Church, although the truth of the matter is clearly set out in plain ecclesiastical Latin, it is important in the interests of historical accuracy to remember that according to the evidence of the contemporary documents in *Haddan and Stubbs*, Bishop Beck's protest was not intended to dispute Peckham's visitatorial rights over the Welsh dioceses. That Beck recognised these rights plainly appears from the fact that he had already offered the Archbishop a most kindly and loyal reception at Llanbadarn. At S. David's, however, he made a formal protest against the Archbishop's visit in order not to prejudice the Metropolitan claims of S. David's. His protest was, of course, overruled in the usual formal way by the Archbishop, who declined to accept the distinction drawn by Beck between receiving him as Primate, and receiving him in the capacity of Archbishop: *nec isti distinctioni inter Primatem et Archiepiscopum ad praesens aliqualiter assentimus.* Peckham did not recognise the Metropolitan status of S. David's. Nor did anyone else! But Beck wanted to keep the matter an open question—

pendente lite; and he could not therefore do less than make his formal protest just "to preserve the right of way," to use an expression that all will understand. Both acted in a perfectly consistent and correct manner from their different standpoint, which both quite understood. The fact to be emphasised is that this incident does not imply in the remotest sense that Peckham "suppressed the Welsh Church" or deprived the Welsh dioceses of their ancient rights and liberties. He did nothing of the sort; nor did he in any way endeavour to do so; and the evidence is emphatic enough that all his efforts were in the direction of safeguarding those rights and liberties, as his correspondence with King Edward testifies. Nor, on the other hand, are we to suppose that the Welsh bishops disputed Peckham's visitatorial rights over their dioceses. Beck's protest at S. David's was simply the last utterance of Welsh ecclesiastical independence as against Canterbury; and the last appearance of the phantom conjured up by Giraldus of a S. David's Archbishopric and Metropolitanship. Bishop Beck had a share in the task of drawing up the Statutes of Rhuddlan; and he is also said to have been the founder of two collegiate churches, Abergwili and Llanddewi Brevi. The object of these institutions, says Archdeacon Bevan, in his *History of S. David's*, as stated in the foundation deed, was that places of misery should be changed into places of spiritual joy. Possibly, owing to the impoverished state of the districts chosen for these settlements, Beck thought that it would conduce to greater spiritual efficiency if the clergy were withdrawn from their parishes, and their work directed from a common centre. But there is no evidence that any advantage was gained from them. In the two Northern dioceses the Welsh episcopate held its ground even more successfully than in S. David's. In the Bangor Diocese, Bishop Cadwgan, Richard, and Anian were thorough Welshman. In spite of the distracted state of the country,

Cadwgan found leisure, so Godwin informs us, to write a book entitled *Speculum Christianorum*, being a collection of Homilies. Richard had a sharp controversy with Llywelyn ab Gruffydd concerning some civil rights, and Anian, the Bishop of S. Asaph, was called to arbitrate between them. Godwin says that he excommunicated Llywelyn for keeping his brother Gruffydd a prisoner in defiance of his oath. In S. Asaph, perhaps the most notable bishop of this period is Anian II, called *Y Brawd du o Nannau*, a Dominican friar. He appears to have been rather a cantankerous prelate, but he was certainly a man of considerable force of character. In 1267 he received several privileges from Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, and procured from Edward I a confirmation of the rights and privileges of the Church. He had, nevertheless, rather a serious dispute with Llywelyn, and lodged a complaint against him in the Papal Court, alleging that he had wronged the monasteries. Though the Abbots of seven Cistercian houses in Wales defended Llywelyn against these charges, Anian gained his point. In spite of this dispute, he sided with Llywelyn in his struggle for independence, and in so doing drew down upon himself the wrath of the English king. When sentence of excommunication was pronounced on the Welsh prince, Anian alone delayed the publication of it. A letter written by this Bishop in 1278 to the Friars Preachers, contains a gloomy account of the condition of the Church in the diocese, owing to the country being in the throes of a civil war. They needed, he said, the prayers of the brethren all the more, seeing that they were becoming more harassed every day, " and now there does not seem to be any hope of remedy from man but from God alone." Anian, says Browne Willis, is called in an old Welsh MS. " by far the most courageous of all others as vindicator and defender of the rights of his see."

Peckham's Visitation throws a good deal of light on the condition of the Welsh Church at the time of the Annexation.

In 1284 he issued Injunctions for the four Welsh Sees, and these, together with the letters he wrote to King Edward concerning the state and re-organisation of the Welsh Church, reveal his own undoubted sincerity and honesty, and, we must add, his ignorance of the inner life of the Church, its customs, and traditions. Had he known these a little more intimately he would have seen things with a more discriminating eye and with less English self-complacency. In the course of his official journey through Wales he was struck, he says, with the rude uncultured state of the people. He, therefore, left instructions for the Welsh clergy to conform to the general custom in regard to dress, to be less impetuous in speech, and to cultivate greater proficiency in Latinity.

He also enforced the canonical rule as to chastity—*i.e.*, celibacy—and declared that the prevalence of clerical incontinence was a clear proof of negligence on the part of Welsh prelates in the past. In future, this was to be remedied under penalty of deprivation, or other fitting punishment. Divine service was to be conducted in accordance with the law of the Church ; the canonical hours to be rigidly observed, and the Holy Eucharist to be celebrated with due reverence. The old tribal institution of portionary churches, to which we have previously referred, is severely dealt with ; for the future, the Archbishop gave instructions that they should be entirely abolished.

Where the rectors were non-resident, they were to appoint a vicar to undertake their duty and provide an adequate stipend for his services. It is worthy of note that the duty of hospitality—*gratia hospitalitatis*—was considered a normal part of the ministry of a parish priest.

The cathedral staff also needed re-organisation. The dean and canons were to have their places of residence close to the cathedral. Their ancient liberties, which the Welsh Church had admittedly enjoyed from the distant past, were to be confirmed by the King.

He further urged upon the Welsh bishops the duty of promoting peace and goodwill between the Welsh and the English, advising the former to give up their visionary hopes of an impossible independence. Then he turns to the superstitions prevalent among the Welsh people. Those who dabbled in the occult, the devotees of dreams, auguries, and fantastic visions, were to be rebuked and urged to give up these vanities, and cling to the wholesome truth of the gospel, and to glory rather in the cross of the Lord Christ. His strictures on what he calls the idleness of the Cymry reveal one of the traits of the old tribesmen, the custom of devoting themselves almost entirely to the pursuits of war and the chase, leaving manual labour and the culture of the soil to their serfs or hired servants. "There are three gentlemanly arts," says one of the Triads, "arms, horsemanship, and hunting; and there is not one of these free but to an innate Cymro." Peckham stigmatises this as the life of thieves not of Christians—to eat the bread of idleness. In order that both clergy and people should receive proper instruction they were urged to receive and welcome the ministrations of the Preaching Friars. He had heard, he says, with regret, that parish priests in Wales were not in the habit of inviting or securing the services of the Friars. "Among them alone in these parts is true doctrine to be found." At this period the friars were the salt of the earth. "Their high ideals," says Owen M. Edwards, "their self-sacrifice, their zeal for morality, their devotion to the cause of peace and justice, their championship of the weak, and their sympathy with suffering, had appealed to Llywelyn as to many others. From pleasant Llanfaes by the Menai to the leper-haunted streets of Haverfordwest, the friar passed through Wales on his exalted mission."

Turning to a different subject it may be noted that two important valuations of church property took place in this century; one in A.D. 1254, the other in A.D. 1291, in the

reign of Henry III and Edward I respectively. They were commonly known as the Norwich and the Lincoln Taxations. As landmarks in the financial history of the Welsh Church they are important events, and the information collected in these valuations, enables us to add a few touches to the picture of the Church during this period. The purpose of these valuations was to enable the king to undertake a crusade with the help of a grant from the ecclesiastical revenues. What follows will be, of course, very elementary information to students acquainted with the facts of Church history, but as this book is meant for those who are not special students, the reader should note very carefully the following points in connection with these valuations, for we have here an opportunity of forming accurate conclusions as to the nature of ecclesiastical property in the thirteenth century. As Wales was included in both these valuations, we have particulars as to the extent of all parochial and monastic endowments. The valuation was conducted on the assumption that Church property was not national property, but an aggregate of private properties, belonging to individual parishes. When English kings wanted funds for the crusades they had occasionally to be financed by the Church. But the kings, who knew very well what these endowments were—their source, nature and title—were not, like modern liberationists, under the delusion that they had a right to annex these grants as though they were state endowments given to the Church. They needed, and they sought, lawful and canonical permission from the authorities of the Church before touching a penny. Legal acumen in the thirteenth century was quite as competent to seize the points of a financial problem, such as that of Church endowments, as that of the twentieth century; and the reader may be well satisfied that English kings and their legal advisers in the thirteenth century, when in need of funds, would hardly trouble to consult, and appeal for permission to, the Church authorities

for financial assistance if they thought for a moment that Church property was derived from the State. They knew better, and their constitutional acts prove the point up to the hilt. If the reader inquires why should they seek monetary help from the Church, the answer is that the crusades were religious movements, which the whole Church was expected to support, and did support.

Taking now a general view of the situation at the end of this period, we have to notice one or two features of special significance in the trend of events in spite of the political and religious tangle that marks the age.

The first is the growing power of the Pope in political and ecclesiastical matters. As an arbitrator between various contending parties throughout the Western Church, the Papal Court gradually established its authority as a Court of Appeal. In cases which offered no motives of cupidity, financial or political, its decisions were generally just and equitable. In an age when men's passions were violent and ruthless, and brute force the normal method of settling disputes, some moral Court of Appeal, whose authority was recognised by king and people alike, was a distinct gain in the interests of national progress, however selfishly and imperfectly its authority might be exercised. Without it the National Church or the Democracy would have been entirely at the mercy of an unscrupulous monarch or tyrannical nobility. For example, the contest in behalf of S. David's, with its appeal to the Pope, though it failed of its immediate purpose, was not without result. Gerald's action awoke the Welsh Church to a consciousness of its unity. He taught the Welsh princes to appeal to the Pope as a great international protector of the just cause of the weak. He taught the Welsh princes to support the National Church.

Another strong factor in the situation was the unifying power of the National Church. The monastic Orders, although in their origin and aim they represented the

traditions of the Latin Communion, were not less loyal to the national cause than the bishops and clergy. The Monks of Strata Florida, the *doyen* of Welsh monasteries, and the head-quarters of *Cymru Fydd* in those stirring days, are specially mentioned as stout supporters of the Welsh princes, even to the extent, apparently, of taking an active part in the Wars of Independence. And they, like the bishops and clergy, suffered in consequence. Let the reader try to realize the many conflicting interests that were struggling in those days to assert themselves, and the many racial, political, and religious animosities that were contending for supremacy in the social upheaval of that eventful century. He will then be able to estimate the immense moral value of an institution that was capable of welding together the various elements of the national life, and preserving them in the unity of the National Church.

Celt, Saxon and Norman, each representing a more or less definite and divergent type of spiritual faith and ecclesiastical polity, became united in one common fold; and under the inspiration of a common faith preserved the unity of the National Church; and in preserving that, they also preserved instead of shattering to pieces—as they otherwise would have done—the unity of the nation.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH IN WALES FROM THE ANNEXATION TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

After the annexation of Wales to the English Crown, the old political divisions of the Cymry, outside the territory of the Lords Marchers, came to an end. Henceforth Wales was divided into shires, and very soon made a beginning at least of sending representatives to Parliament. But it is worthy of note that the Church has, speaking roughly, preserved the old territorial divisions, in her diocesan, archidiaconal and ruridecanal system.

Great changes followed the turn of events represented by the Statutes of Rhuddlan. Edward I devoted about three years to the task of organising the new system of government for Wales. But although the country had been pacified by force of arms, the spirit of rebellion—if that is the correct term to apply to men who were fighting for their independence—was only slumbering, ready to burst forth with undiminished courage when a suitable opportunity offered itself.

Local revolts were frequent, especially in South Wales. In 1295 there was a considerable rising in the North, where a certain Madoc emerged from the fastnesses of Snowdon and harried Carnarvon with fire and sword. Another Madoc swept over Pembroke and Carmarthen, while Morgan of Avan appears at one time to have gained complete mastery over Glamorgan. Edward had to make another progress through Wales, and peace was patched up once more. In 1315 still another revolt broke out in East Glamorgan, under the leadership of Llywelyn Bren, a powerful landowner on the banks of the Taff in the hill country. These sporadic outbreaks show that the spirit of the people was still unconquered. The state of the

country may be gathered from the complaint made by the King in 1316 to the Bishop of Llandaff, that he hears "that many outlaws and other malefactors frequent the Church of Llandaff, and are there received and kept, going to and fro at their pleasure and committing robberies in those parts." When peace was again restored, a serious effort was made to repair the fearful damages wrought during the civil wars. Edward acted very generously in making amends for the loss and material damage caused by the combatants, though he appears to have recouped himself to some extent by levying a subsidy on Wales in 1305. In Bangor and S. Asaph, the bishops devoted themselves with commendable zeal to the work of restoration, and the dawn of a brighter day seemed to be well in sight. The reader will recognise that it will be impossible to give, within the short compass of a chapter, an adequate account of the period with which we are now dealing, of over two centuries. A dry chronicle of events would, moreover, hardly give the reader an intelligent idea of the condition of the Church, and of the progress made during this era. We must confine ourselves to a few selected topics which will, to some extent, illustrate the main trend of events during a very complicated period.

The fourteenth century has been called "the age of illustrious bishops"; most of these were English, and only few of them were of Welsh descent. It must not, however, be supposed that the preponderance of English bishops was due to the domineering policy of the English kings. It was due rather to the steady growing power of the Roman Pontiff and to the vicious custom of what is known as Papal provision, *i.e.*, of appointing to a see *before* it became vacant. This discreditable custom was the result of appealing to Rome to arbitrate in cases of disputed elections, and was first introduced for the purpose of preventing the crown from keeping sees vacant in order to enjoy their temporalities. The principle of the *corruptio*

optimi pessima is thus well exemplified in a custom, originally a good and honest one, becoming in time an engine of oppression and scandalous injustice. But though many of the bishops of the Welsh Church at this time were of English or Cambro-Norman extraction, most of them were men of some distinction, and were far from neglecting the interests of their dioceses. A few of the bishops of this period, English and Welsh, are really well-known names, and conspicuous either for their learning and personal qualities, or for the part they played in some of the more prominent movements of the age—Anian and Llewelyn Bifort, Thomas Ringstede, Henry Gower, John Trevor, and Reginald Pecock. The Welsh element was stronger in the North, especially in Bangor, than in the Southern dioceses. Anian, Gruffydd ab Iorwerth, Anian Sais, Madoc ab Iorwerth, and Howel, are typical Welshmen.

A study of the history of episcopal appointments during this century reveals the increasing proportion of members of the various monastic bodies elevated to the episcopal bench.

The friars also came in for a good share of preferment, and most of them were, moreover, well worthy of the office they were called upon to fill. This, it need hardly be said, reveals the predominant power of the Pope.

The ominous growth of Papal power, or, what was really the more serious complaint, the unscrupulous use made of this power, to trample on the rights and privileges of the National Church, had already begun to exercise the minds of English statesmen. The Statute of Provisors in 1351 attempted to restrain the evil custom of Papal provisions, while the Statute of Præmunire in 1353 inhibited all appeals to any foreign jurisdiction. These statutes only partially, however, attained their object. Their special value for us to-day lies in the testimony they bear to the deliberate protest made in a definite and constitutional manner against the usurped authority of the

Roman court. This legislation against Rome, though it only partially succeeded in restraining the immense influence exercised by the Papal Court in ecclesiastical appointments, is surely an irrefutable argument against those who seek to prove that the Roman Canon Law was constitutionally binding on the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, or that the repudiation of it at a later period involved the forfeiture of all legal title to church endowments and ecclesiastical continuity.

We must go back for a moment to the beginning of this period in order to explain the conditions under which the Church in the fourteenth century was enabled to repair the widespread damage, both material and moral, wrought during the sanguinary struggles for independence.

Constructive work of this kind cannot at the best be rapid, and the wonder is that the Welsh Church succeeded so well in bringing some order out of the chaos ; for it is fairly certain that there was distinct improvement in the conditions of church life in the century preceding the last and most bloody and devastating struggle in the whole history of Wales—that of Owen Glyndwr. The Welsh bards, whose notes as a rule echo very faithfully the general state of the country, are very much in evidence during this period, but their martial strains were now attuned to gentler themes, and even reflect in some isolated cases, such as that of Sion Cent, the theological awakening of the age represented by the Lollards. Even the controversy between the bards and the friars, which is a feature of this epoch, represents that type of class animosity which can only flourish in times of comparative peace, when the pressure of external danger is relaxed. Edward II, who succeeded his father in 1307, adopted a conciliatory policy towards Wales from sheer good-nature. He inherited neither his father's ability nor his force of character, but it was fortunate both for England and for Wales that he was anxious to redress the grievances of the Welsh people ;

for no king, however powerful, can long trample on the liberty of others without imperilling his own.

The English officials who administered affairs in the Principality were singularly short-sighted in their dealings with the natives, but it stands to Edward's credit that he made every effort to restrain their insensate folly and insist on just dealing to those who were naturally restive under the oppressive tyranny of the border barons and their agents. It is small wonder that Edward was in consequence very popular with Welshmen, and that they contemplated his failings with an indulgent eye. Edward II was the only king who summoned Welsh members to Parliament before the time of Henry VIII. This happened in 1322. A factor of some importance in the social life of Wales in the fourteenth century was the migration of numbers of unemployed Welsh gentlemen and soldiers of fortune to France, to take a hand in the French wars, as there was not enough fighting to be done in their own country. Restless and adventurous spirits, to whom campaigning was the very breath of life, and the normal condition of their existence, they joyfully crossed the sea for fame, and congenial occupation on French battlefields. Some fought on the English side, others, like the famous Owen of Wales, the disinherited Prince of the Cymry, fought on the French side. The Black Prince took with him great numbers of first-class fighting men from Wales, and there can be no doubt that by turning their warlike energy from the struggle for Welsh independence into safer channels on French soil, the English king was able to keep a firmer hold on the allegiance of the Welsh people and preserve the peace of the country. The Black Death, which first broke out in 1348, is an important landmark in the social and economic history of the country, owing to the appalling mortality that followed in its train. It swept away at least half the population of the country, and the scarcity of labour that followed this wholesale

destruction of human life opened a new chapter in the economic history of England and Wales. The subject is outside the scope of this work, but it deserves this passing notice; for, indirectly, the Black Death affected the religious conditions of the country by gradually emancipating a large proportion of the people from a state of serfdom. It was beyond the power of the Church to effect this change on a large scale; but the Laws of Howell Dda are sufficient evidence that the redemption of the peasant from villeinage was reckoned a religious duty and inculcated as such. The rise of Wycliffe towards the middle of the same century, has only a general interest for the student of Welsh Church history. He probably had a small following in Wales, but the movement never assumed any serious proportions in the Principality. Walter Brute, who claimed to be a Welshman, and a few bards, mentioned by Stephens in his *Literature of Kymry*, accepted his teaching, but the main influence of Wycliffe's doctrines was confined to England. The tenor of his teaching could hardly appeal to Welshmen of that age either as churchmen or as patriots. His work on *Civil Lordship* emphasised the novel doctrine that a man's right to property depended on his being in a state of grace—a kind of theological feudalism which would offer little attraction to men steeped in tribal traditions, who would moreover, as regards their legal title to property, claim to be always in a "state of grace" until driven out by force. A theory of this kind would be a handy weapon for those who were casting about for some decent excuse to despoil the Church of her endowments; and signs were not wanting even then that when the state exchequer was low such an act of spoliation would be gladly attempted if it could be done without much risk. Although we have no Giraldus to give us a living picture of the religious state of Wales during this period, we have enough evidence from various sources to warrant the belief that the country was slowly recovering from the desolation caused by the Wars

of Independence. Edward I had conferred charters on many of the leading Welsh towns in order to encourage trade and commerce.

One of the projects of the well-meaning Peckham was to gather the Welsh people into towns in order to civilize them ; and to get as many of them as possible educated in England in order to rescue them from the wild life they had hitherto lived in their native forests and mountain solitudes. The extraordinary tenacity with which the Welsh people clung to the soil and to their ancient manner of life was a formidable hindrance to these ambitious schemes, but there is no doubt that the country prospered appreciably as the century advanced. The literary revival which marked the latter half of the century tells an unmistakable tale, with its outburst of poetry and renascence of the Celtic tongue. A similar revival was taking place in England, for we find that in 1362 the English language supplanted the French tongue in the law courts. The language of the people both in England and Wales was coming to the front, as the language of social life, and as the language of the people's literature. Chaucer in England, and Dafydd ab Gwilym in Wales, were the pioneers of a new type of national literature, a literature which was to be not the perquisite of the cultured few, but the heritage of the common people. Just as the long-bow had become a strong democratic force in the very citadel of feudalism by making peer and peasant equal on the field of battle, so the new popular literature was destined to emancipate the masses from the depressing servitude in which feudal society had hitherto kept them fast bound in misery and iron. The contest between the two types of society, the old feudalism and the new democracy, took various forms, for competing ideals of life have an inveterate habit of allying themselves with the concrete conditions of life, religious, social, political. But for our present purpose it is enough to point to one form peculiar to Wales, the

controversy between the bard and the friar. Into the merits of this controversy we cannot now enter. It is only necessary to point out that the work of the friars and the profession of the bards represented different currents of the national life. The bards were the professional advocates and patrons of Welsh patriotism; and the English reader must bear in mind that the bardic fraternity represented the best culture of the day. The bards were, as a rule, educated men—some of them learned men, not merely in the mysterious lore of Celtic bardism, but in the classical culture of the West. The Laws of Howel Dda are very clear and definite as to the exalted place occupied by the bard, as the repository of the highest culture of the times. As a class they were rather in advance of the popular theology of the age, and probably had little sympathy with the narrow theological interests of the friars, and still less with their methods of work. The influence they exercised over their countrymen by keeping alive the ancient prophecies and glories of Britain, and nursing the dormant hopes of Welsh independence was quickly recognised by Edward I as a menace to peace. And he deemed it advisable to proscribe their calling as a precaution against future trouble. Their animosity against the friars was partly due to professional jealousy, for some of the friars, as well as the monks, were active patrons of the national literature, being themselves native patriotic Welshmen.

In proof of this we can point to the legislation directed by Edward against the regular clergy prohibiting them from becoming "rhymesters and raconteurs." This fact, as Stephens has stated, goes far to explain the enmity which existed between them and the bards. This enmity appears to have sprung from their being rival candidates for popular suffrages; it was in fact jealousy. The friars, before the period of their decline, worked hard for the common people, and devoted themselves with heroic self-denial to the welfare of the poor, ignorant, and destitute. The

fact that their professional interests were identified with the Papal authority did not interfere with their patriotism, as their conduct proved conclusively at the time of Owen Glyndwr's revolt.

" The final struggle," says Owen M. Edwards, " between bard and friar was prevented by the outbreak of war in Wales. Monastery and Friary were to suffer from the merciless sword of an orthodox persecuting king; the bards were to have an Act of Parliament directed against them. The Grey friar of Cardiff and the Cistercian monk of Strata Florida as well as the bards of the vale of Clwyd and Glamorgan welcomed Glyndwr.

" It is worth noticing that the last defender of the friars was the Welshman Pecock, and the last great mediæval poet was a Franciscan friar."

The comparative peace and progress of the fourteenth century were unfortunately soon changed into wild revolt and pitiless devastation. The history of Glyndwr's rebellion must not detain us beyond a brief account of the circumstances which gave rise to the most sanguinary struggle that Wales ever witnessed. It is the old dreary tale of brutal and stupid oppression, and of the short-sightedness of the English king and his advisers.

Owen Glyndwr, a descendant of the royal house of Powys, was a cultured and wealthy Welsh gentleman who lived on his estates at Glyndyfrdwy and Sycharth near the Berwyn range. He was educated at Oxford, and became a student of the Inns of Court. A dispute with his powerful Norman neighbour, Lord Grey of Ruthin, who forcibly annexed a portion of Glyndwr's estate, ended in a lawsuit in which Glyndwr failed to get redress for his grievance. Wales was already in a dangerous condition, and simmering with discontent; and this act of tyranny lit the flame of fierce rebellion from one end of the country to the other. The red dragon was unfurled, the bards and minstrels struck up the battle cry, and the wrongs of the

Cymry were once more trumpeted to the tune of Merlin's stirring prophecy, and Wales plunged afresh into a disastrous civil war which lasted nearly fifteen years. In the first year of the war, Trevor, Bishop of S. Asaph, who was then in the confidence of the King, warned him and his nobles of the danger of exasperating such implacable foes by a policy of repressive legislation. But they scoffed at his warnings and contemptuously replied that "they did not care in the least for those barefooted rascals." Several generations had passed by since the last Welsh campaign, and Henry and his men had had no taste of the Welshmen's spears and guerilla fighting.

In 1401, Henry passed some very stringent and exasperating laws against the Welsh people, by which they were pronounced incapable of purchasing lands or carrying arms, or performing any office in any town, or owning any castle or house of defence.

English judges and juries were to decide disputes between English and Welsh. Englishmen who married Welsh women were disfranchised.

Bishop Trevor opposed this savage legislation, but after finding that he could not prevail upon the King to act justly towards his countrymen, he threw in his lot with Glyndwr. For nearly fifteen years, Owen successfully defied all the efforts of the English King to wear down his resistance. Army after army poured into the stricken country, only to return beaten and demoralised. The name of Glyndwr struck terror into the very heart of the Midlands. The very forces of nature seemed to conspire to support him in his heroic efforts to avenge the wrongs of his country. Storms and floods followed in Henry's steps and thwarted his military movements; and more than once turned his glittering battalions into a half-starved and bedraggled rabble, glad to turn their backs on the horrors of a Welsh campaign. Glyndwr's success and resourcefulness as a military leader, and the mystery

that attended his movements, led the people to look upon him as a wizard who could summon spirits from the vasty deep to bring tempest and disaster to succour him against the foes of his country.

When the war was at last over, the country was in a terrible state of desolation—the patient work of a hundred years swept away by a devastating flood. Churches, monasteries, towns, were in ruins—the land untilled, the people decimated and reduced to beggary, the Church impoverished and crippled.

Our sympathy with this deeply-wronged and gallant chieftain is, however, tempered with regret that he should have tarnished his fame as a patriot with acts of wanton desecration. He burnt the cathedrals and bishops' houses of Bangor and S. Asaph, but fortunately Llandaff and S. David's escaped. The Pembrokeshire churches were saved from destruction by a payment of money. With the exception of the Franciscan houses, which he specially favoured and therefore spared, his hand fell heavily on monastic houses and Church property.

At a later period he tried to disclaim responsibility for these acts of vandalism by attributing them to the fury of his followers ; but though one would gladly acquit him of blame if that were possible, the responsibility rests on his own shoulders. Henry IV retaliated, of course, in kind,—by burning Strata Florida and Llanfaes. From Strata Florida Henry carried away with him a thousand little children as hostages—a pitiful picture of the callous brutality of mediæval warfare.

Adam of Usk, a contemporary writer and a prebendary of Abergwili, says that Glyndwr, " like a second Assyrian, the rod of God's anger, did deeds of unheard-of tyranny with fire and sword."

This sanguinary struggle left a bitter legacy to Wales and the Welsh Church, and the Wars of the Roses which followed hard on its heels, before the land had time to heal

its sores, helped to perpetuate the unsettled condition of the country, though Wales was fortunately only slightly affected by these. When after the Battle of Bosworth, which the Welsh troops helped to win, the grandson of a Welsh squire, Owen Tudor, of Penmynydd in Anglesey, ascended the English throne, a new era opened up for Wales. Merlin's prophecy was at last fulfilled! A king with blue British blood in his veins sat on the throne of England, and the Welsh bards with immense and genuine enthusiasm sang their *Nunc dimittis!*

A word must be said before we part with Owen Glyndwr in regard to the larger schemes that he had in view in the midst of his struggles for Welsh Independence. These schemes are embodied in a document addressed to the King of France, who had helped Owen with a body of troops. It was the time of the Papal Schism, and Glyndwr decided to espouse the cause of the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIV, in common with the French king.

In the first place, S. David's was to be the metropolitan see of an independent Welsh Church, free from Canterbury, but acknowledging the authority of the Roman Pontiff. The historic arguments in favour of this claim were duly set forth as in the strenuous days of Gerald. All the clergy of the Welsh Church, from bishops to curates, were to be Welsh-speaking. The ancient endowments of the parish churches which had been appropriated to English houses were to be restored to their rightful owners. Two universities were to be founded, one in North Wales, the other in South Wales.

This magnificent ideal of an independent Wales with a metropolitan see and a university for the people, reveals Owen Glyndwr in a new light as an enlightened statesman, whose patriotism was inspired by political wisdom as well as attested by prowess in the field. The solicitude of this brave old Welsh patriot for the welfare of the National Church, is a strange comment on the policy of that narrow

and intolerant faction which at the present day makes a parade of its patriotism by endeavouring to paint the Church of the Cymry as an alien institution, and seeks by a campaign of misrepresentations to humiliate the old Church, which Owen Glyndwr delighted to honour!

A short account of the episcopate and its work during this period will bring us into touch with another and a more intimate aspect of Welsh Church history. Only those who stand out with some prominence in the annals of the Church will be noticed, in order to illustrate the conditions of ecclesiastical life and the work done in quiet periods. Amid the din of arms it is easy to overlook the actual work carried on, in spite of all distraction. One important fact in connection with the Welsh Episcopate needs to be specially emphasised. Though many of the bishops of the Welsh Church in this period were English or Anglo-Norman, it is often forgotten that all the working clergy were native Welshmen. The bishops, in spite of the influence they possessed and represented, did not constitute the Church. The parochial clergy were then as now the backbone of the Church, and the popular idea that because many of the bishops in Wales were Englishmen and represented the influence of English politics or Papal power, the Church in Wales was out of touch with the needs and sentiments of the Welsh people, is entirely a mistaken one. If it were true, the Church in Wales would have become an effete institution centuries ago. In the diocese of S. David's the most notable bishop in the period before Glyndwr's revolt is Henry Gower, who is stated by the historians of that diocese to have left more extensive traces of his mind at S. David's than any bishop either before or after him. He was the Chancellor of England and Archdeacon of S. David's before his elevation. He built the palace of S. David's and also that at Lamphey. He founded a hospital at Swansea for the sick and poor. Thoresby (1347-1350) was considered one of the most learned men of his time,

and wrote a commentary on the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. He also had been Chancellor, and subsequently became Archbishop of York. The prestige of the diocese was evidently very high, for Bishop Gilbert, who had previously held Bangor and Hereford, was preferred to S. David's (A.D. 1389). Chicheley, prebendary of Abergwili, was another prelate of note, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Rodburn (1433) was a man of wide learning, a great theologian and a distinguished mathematician. Many of these bishops were migrants and much of their time was spent outside the diocese attending to state affairs. Nor are Welshmen altogether absent, especially towards the end of this period, such as John Morgan and Edward Vaughan, both of whom held several important preferments in England as well; so it is evident that no marked disability attached to Welshmen.

To this period also belongs William Lyndwood, the author of a standard work on Canon Law. In the diocese of Llandaff, there are no names of sufficient prominence to merit any detailed notice. Most of the bishops of Llandaff were Englishmen, and in this, as in some of the other dioceses, the mendicant orders are very much in evidence in episcopal appointments—a strong proof of the predominant power of the Pope in spite of legislation. Some of the bishops were useless to the diocese, but there were others who rose above the average and did good work. John of Monmouth and Marshall were benefactors to the see, and Pascal was a man of learning and a noted preacher, who was, in virtue of his gifts, promoted by Edward III to this see. It is singular that while the bishops of this diocese were generally Englishmen, the monasteries of the diocese were in the hands of Welshmen, and especially after Glyndwr's revolt. The Welsh Abbots of Glamorgan figure very prominently in the bardic literature of that century, either as patrons of the Welsh muse,

or as recipients of bardic eulogies of a somewhat fulsome character.

In the Northern dioceses, the Welsh element was strong. Anian of Bangor is well known in connection with the *Pontifical,* which he drew up for the use of his diocese. He survived the Annexation, and appears to have devoted himself to the welfare of his flock. We read, for example, that he granted an indulgence to those who were willing to help the ancient monastic house at Beddgelert—at that time an Augustinian Priory. It had been burnt during the Civil War and Edward had restored it—which seems to imply that the king recognised his responsibility for the disaster that had befallen it, though Bishop Anian in the document which contains this grant of indulgence, states that it was *incendio casuali destructa,* burnt by accident. He was, however, in sympathy with Edward and possibly his account of what had happened to the monastery reveals a desire to shield the king from all blame in the matter. Beddgelert, according to Anian's testimony, was at this time widely famed for the hospitality it offered to both English and Welsh travellers.

Anian's *Pontifical* is still preserved in Bangor, being the property of the Dean and Chapter. An occasional English name occurs in the list of the bishops of Bangor, one of whom may be noticed, viz. : Thomas Ringstead. He was a learned man, and, according to Godwin, left £100 to the cathedral, £40 to buy vestments for poor parishes, and £20 for poor students in Cambridge, but his will shows that he was not in love with the Welsh people, for he left instructions that the administration of his estate was not to be placed in the hands of any Welshmen. The reason for this antipathy is not chronicled. The revolt of Owen Glyndwr brought into prominence a Bangor prelate of very militant proclivities—Llewelyn Bifort. He was one of Owen's right-hand men, and worked and even fought for him. His appointment was due to Owen's influence with the Avignon

Pope, and Bifort's sympathies with the national party must have been strong because the See of Bangor offered at the time no inducement to anyone anxious merely to enjoy its emoluments; for the Cathedral and palace had been burnt and the bishop's estate left in a ruinous plight. The previous bishop, Richard Young, owing to his sympathies being enlisted on Henry IV's side, had been kept awhile in bondage, apparently by the Welsh people, though this is denied by Browne Willis, but afterwards fled to England and found refuge in Rochester. Bifort was not therefore in canonical possession of the see, but that does not seem to have worried him. He undertook many diplomatic missions in Owen's behalf, and was altogether a most valuable ally to the Welsh leader. David Daron, Dean of Bangor, was another faithful supporter of Glyndwr, and acted as one of his commissioners in the intrigues that took place between the Welsh Prince and the Earl of Northumberland. It was at Dean Daron's house at Aberdaron, the farthest point on the mainland, just opposite Bardsey, that the famous Tripartite Indenture, the agreement between Glyndwr, Percy, and Mortimer for the division of the kingdom, was drawn up in 1406. When the war was over, both Bishop Bifort and Dean Daron were proclaimed outlaws. Bangor Cathedral was left for many years in a ruined state. The diocese of S. Asaph had in those days the unenviable distinction of being the battle ground of the contending parties whenever hostilities broke out. Rhuddlan Castle, which figures so prominently in the military annals of the Principality, is only a few miles distant from S. Asaph. S. Asaph Cathedral suffered both during the War of Independence in Llywelyn ab Gruffydd's time, and in that of Owen Glyndwr. After the annexation, the work of restoration was taken in hand with great energy, and the canons of S. Asaph collected a considerable sum of money for the purpose, by going about the country and exhibiting a famous copy of the Gospels that belonged to

their cathedral. They seem to have included the whole of Wales, as well as Lichfield and Hereford, in their peregrinations. The fact that this copy of the Gospels was considered sufficiently noteworthy to attract such widespread interest of a very practical nature, leads us to suppose that copies of Holy Scripture were not very plentiful in those days.

The rebuilding of the cathedral and the residences of the cathedral clergy was completed in 1295, having been begun by Bishop Anian, and finished in Bishop Llywelyn's time. His successor, Dafydd ab Bleddyn, is memorable as the bishop in whose episcopate the famous *Llyfr Coch Asaph*—The Red Book of Asaph—was written.

English appointments henceforth mark the history of the diocese, Papal provisions being very much in evidence. No bishop of any great note appears on the list until we come to the time of Glyndwr. John Trevor was then in possession of the see ; and the reader will recall his name in connection with the repressive legislation aimed by the English king against the Welsh, as a result of Owen's rebellion, when he warned Henry of the risk of exasperating the long-suffering Welsh people.

Trevor had offended Owen by pronouncing sentence of deposition on King Richard, Owen's patron and liege-lord. Owen had his revenge by burning S. Asaph Cathedral and reducing the whole place to ashes—an unpardonable act of vandalism. Trevor became for a while a prisoner at Henry's expense, and in return rendered him important diplomatic service. But at last he threw in his lot with Owen. " Whether his Welsh blood warmed at the prospect of a revived Cambrian independence or whether ambition was the key-note of his actions, no one may know. At any rate, it was not neglect at the hands of the English king that drove him back into the arms of Owen. The latter gave him a cordial welcome, and it must be said for Trevor that through good and ill he proved faithful to

his new master's cause. Militant clerics were common enough in those days. Trevor, with the martial instincts of the great border race from which he sprang, and whose history is written deep for centuries beside the Ceiriog and the Dee, had been in the thick of the fight at Shrewsbury beneath the King's banner. He now followed Glyndwr both in the council and in the field, dying eventually in Paris, a fugitive and an exile in 1410."

His mission in Paris was to procure military assistance for Owen from the French king.

The fate of those who followed Owen's fortunes—and misfortunes—to the bitter end is a pathetic one. Iolo Goch, Owen's famous bard, was left to pour out the sorrow of his soul in song. Llywelyn Bifort and Dean Daron were declared outlaws. Trevor died an exile on French soil, Owen Glyndwr himself disappeared—no one knows where, a homeless, nameless wanderer, and no man knows certainly his grave, though it is probably on English soil, at Monnington on the Wye. Two Welsh bishops and a dean alone shared the exile of the last and greatest of the champions of Welsh independence.

It was nearly a hundred years before the wreckage, material and moral, left by Owen's revolt was cleared away. S. Asaph Cathedral was restored in 1485, by Bishop Redman, whose learning, wisdom, and Christian charity are highly extolled by Browne Willis. Bangor Cathedral rose again from its ruins in 1496 through the good offices of Bishop Dean.

The last of the Bishops of S. Asaph to deserve special mention is not the least in point of merit—Reginald Pecock, one of the ablest of all prelates, who had hitherto sat in Kentigern's seat. He was appointed to the see in A.D. 1444. He was a thorough Welshman, being a native of Carmarthen, and a very learned man. He has been described as a forerunner of Hooker. He proclaimed some novel views in regard to the Catholic Church and its doctrines,

some true, some false, but all of them strange in those days. The trend of those views may be inferred from the fact that in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* there is a long vindication of him. But though Pecock was a learned prelate, he was not of the stuff that martyrs are made of, for he afterwards recanted. " Much of the Scripture," says Browne Willis, " he translated into English which I perceive not to have been misliked."

The spirit of the Middle Ages was now beginning to lose its hold over the minds of thinking men, and the printing press was destined to banish it altogether. In Wales, as elsewhere, there is no doubt that people were as a rule very superstitious, though it is quite possible to exaggerate the extent to which superstition prevailed. Anyone fairly familiar with the bardic literature of that age knows that while superstitious ideas, the worship of relics and kindred errors were widely prevalent in the popular religion of the age, there was also a deep conviction abroad that these things were not consistent with the Christian faith. The writings of the bards reveal an intimate knowledge of Holy Scripture, and an intelligent grasp of evangelical truth. Superstition may no doubt in every age vulgarise and obscure, but it does not follow that it destroys, true and genuine piety. An unsympathetic and jaundiced Puritanism sees nothing in the past but superstition; but an honest student will see there many other things that put us to shame, and leave us no room for boasting.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

AMID the clash of arms and the records of battles we are prone to overlook the quiet solid work done in the intervals of peace. The rise of the Tudor dynasty inaugurated a new era in the history of Wales. By his marriage with Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV, Henry VII brought to a happy conclusion the strife between the rival Houses of Lancaster and York, and his Welsh origin secured for him the willing allegiance of the Welsh people. An old document published in the Welsh Historical MSS. Report, testifies to the prevalence of a belief in Wales that Henry was the Koronoc Vaban, the " crowned babe " of Merlin's prophecy. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of a sentiment of this kind to Henry's fortunes. Welshmen now began to pour into England, and the records of the English Universities bear witness to the increasing proportion of Welshmen who attained distinction in England, in Church and State. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, a well-known biographical account of university men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, provides ample material in confirmation of this. A real interest in Welsh history and Welsh affairs generally became popular in England. Many of the historical documents relating to this period, the early Tudor period, deal for example with such matters as Welsh pedigrees. Henry appears to have given distinct encouragement to genealogical studies. He even sent a commission to Wales to inquire into the pedigree of Owen Tudor, his grandfather, whereof an account is still preserved. All this is very interesting and very important, but our principal concern is to find out the condition of religion and the state of the Church. One fact stands out prominently; this reign saw the high-water mark

of Papal power in England, and we must unfortunately add, of Papal corruption. It was the age of the Medici, the Borgias, and Leo X, men whose depravity was a disgrace to Christian civilization. Corruption on the one hand and superstition on the other stare us in the face at every turn. And yet this age produced on the Continent the great Florentine reformer Savonarola: it was also the age of Erasmus, Colet, More, Linacre, Grocyn. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 helped to swell the tide that carried on to the West a flood of new knowledge, a knowledge not only of classical but also of Christian antiquity. The importance of these new intellectual elements in the development of events was immensely increased by the introduction of the printing press, which became immediately an instrument of education unparalleled in the annals of Christianity. In view of the coming struggle against the Papal power and what we may call—for want of a better word—mediævalism, it is interesting to note that the first printing presses in this country were set up in the monasteries. It was the eve of the publication of the Bible in the languages of the people, English and Welsh. Wycliff had already paved the way with some success, others were soon to follow with greater success. But before that happened, an event of profound importance occurred in the annals of the Church—the dissolution of the monasteries.

Most people's theological position may be inferred generally from the view they take of the suppression of the monastic system in England and Wales; and the study of that event has more than a merely historical or antiquarian interest for us, for it carries with it some very serious and valuable lessons for those who are called upon to take an active part in the religious movements of the present day. We must confine ourselves more or less to a simple statement of facts, but we cannot altogether dispense with a brief survey of the events that led up to this final *debacle* in the ecclesiastical history of mediæval England. And

we can do this without being guilty of straying outside the province of this work, for Wales, now that its civil and ecclesiastical fortunes were linked with England, participated in the events of the day. There was now no Llywelyn, no Owen Glendwr to stay the ruthless hand that defaced and despoiled the noble monasteries to which the Welsh people were so deeply attached. The desolating wars that had swept over the country had almost stamped out the old nobility, not only in England, but in Wales also. In fact, the old feudal baronage was practically a thing of the past, and this in part explains the despotic power of the monarch in Tudor times. The Wales of the old princes had given way to the Wales of the peasant. The Black Death, to which we have previously referred as a very important factor in the history of mediæval society, had produced a profound change. The peasant became, owing to the scarcity of labour and other collateral causes, a more important person economically, and in an indirect way politically. The same cause affected the church, owing to the terrible mortality among the priesthood. It is necessary to state these facts briefly in order that we may understand the change that had taken place in the character of society during this period. This change made it possible for Henry VIII to carry to a successful issue the policy of uprooting the most ancient and the most powerful institution in the country—the monastic system. The nobles were reduced to impotence and the people lacked a leader. Henry VII had played into the hands of the Pope in order to strengthen his position on the throne ; so that Henry VIII had little difficulty in forcing on the country any policy that commended itself to him.

The first step was taken by Henry VIII's minister, Cardinal Wolsey, who obtained authority to suppress several of the alien and smaller monasteries, principally Benedictine, Cluniac, and Augustinian, in order to transfer their endowments to support his new educational foundations

at Oxford and Ipswich. There were precedents for this policy of suppression, for the houses of the Knights Templars had been dissolved early in the fourteenth century, and the alien priories, which were attached to foreign monasteries and were a drain on the resources of the country, had been suppressed during the French wars, on the advice of Archbishop Chicheley. Only a few, however, were closed by Wolsey. The task of razing the whole system to the ground was reserved for Henry and his unprincipled minister, Thomas Cromwell. Cromwell was well fitted by nature and experience to be Henry's agent—a low-born soldier of fortune, astute, ambitious, utterly unscrupulous, and avid of wealth. The smaller monasteries, those with less than twelve inmates, were suppressed in 1536. In the Preamble to the Act of Parliament authorising their dissolution, it is expressly stated that " in the larger and solemn monasteries religion, thanks be to God, is right well kept and observed." Cromwell's agents, Dr. London, Legh, Bedyl, Richard of Dover, Dr. Ellis Price, John Price, and Richard Williams—these last three being Welshmen—were sent all over the country to report on the condition of the religious houses and their property. The character of these men, a subject on which there seems to be very little difference of opinion, throws a sinister light on the whole sordid transaction. Without entering now into the larger subject of the real condition of the monasteries, it is clear that most of the evidence collected by these men is not worth the paper on which it was written. They knew what was Henry's real aim, and acting under Cromwell's astute guidance, they conducted their investigations accordingly. They were sent out to find the monks guilty of all sorts of irregularities, and the monasteries full of wickedness. And they naturally found that it was even so. It is not to be assumed for a moment that all the monasteries were what they should be, but it is sheer prejudice to accept the glaringly false report of these

men as evidence against the monasteries. Most of us have been brought up to believe that at the time of their dissolution the monasteries were hotbeds of vice. Modern research has, however, shown that our views on this subject will have to be changed very considerably. When King Ahab set covetous eyes on Naboth's vineyard, he first of all took pains to get him slandered, and made that a pretext to relieve him of his property. This fairly represents Henry's policy towards the monasteries. As we have already seen, the larger monasteries were pronounced to be, on the whole, above reproach, in that "they observed religion right well." But even with regard to the smaller houses, the numerical line of demarcation was soon changed for the financial; for it was announced that only those whose income was under £200 a year were to be suppressed, an arbitrary, and withal a very suspicious line of distinction to draw between virtue and vice. Even according to the commissioners' own report, many of the smaller houses were found to be sufficiently well conducted to be permitted to escape, and among them were Neath, Whitland, and Strata Florida. The principal commissioner for Wales appears to have been Richard, Bishop of Dover. He visited the North Wales monasteries in 1538, and the House of the Black Friars at Bangor is on the list of those he investigated. Dr. Ellis Price also appears to have conducted an investigation in the Principality, for his report refers to the famous statue of Dervel Gadarn in the parish of Llandderfel, which the superstitious folk esteemed very highly for its supposed miraculous powers. This curious effigy was taken to London, and was used for burning the famous friar Forest—a grim fulfilment of some curious prophecy that Dervel Gadarn would set a forest on fire! It may be convenient to state here that the various letters and correspondence relating to this inquisitorial commission will be found in one of the Camden Series, *Suppression of the Monasteries*, by Wright. When the bill was first brought

before Parliament, the House was evidently far from being unanimous as to the necessity or justice of passing it. It was passed "though so unwillingly, that when the bill had stuck long in the Lower House and could get no passage he (the king) commanded the Commons to attend him in the forenoon in his Gallery, where he let them wait till late in the afternoon; and then, coming out of his chamber, walking a turn or two among them, and looking angrily on them, first on the one side and then on the other, at last, 'I hear,' he saith, 'that my bill will not pass, but I *will* have it pass, or I will have some of your heads!' and without other rhetoric or persuasion returned to his chamber. Enough was said, the bill passed, and all was given him as he desired." The truth is, and nothing can disguise the sordid fact, that Henry wanted the money. He had already tasted blood, and as one old abbot put it "all the water of the Thames would not slake the royal thirst once the king had tasted the fruits of the monastic spoliation." As the suppression of the monasteries represents what is probably the greatest confiscation of property in the history of civilized society, the motives that swayed the king and his agents need the closest investigation, in order that the blame should not be allowed to rest on innocent shoulders. Henry himself was the moving spirit, not Parliament. Both Houses of Parliament bent submissive to his iron will; "they bent with every breath to his capricious humour, they were responsible for the illegal trials, for the iniquitous attainders, for the sanguinary statutes, for the tyranny which they sanctioned by law, and for that which they permitted without law." Even noble statesmen, the scions of honourable families, supported the king's policy; for the *auri sacra fames*, the cursed lust for gold, and greed for the acquisition of fresh estates, swept away all scruple and involved all in a mad scramble for the monastic spoils. "The Tudor king carried out his plans by a code of pains and penalties so

horrible as to affright every class of society; and when the nation became reduced to this abject and cowardly condition, the king imbrued his hands in the best blood of the land, and he plundered his subjects on a scale never before known in any civilized country." Thus Hallam writes. Having made a successful start with the smaller monasteries, Henry's determination with regard to the greater monasteries, where religion, as he himself confessed, was right well kept and observed, was a foregone conclusion. In 1539 the decree went forth that they were to be suppressed. The methods employed by him and his agents in the preliminary preparations for his final act of spoliation leave no doubt as to his real intentions from the moment he started. Under the pretext of reforming the monasteries, of converting the endowments of those he suppressed to more useful purposes, such as founding educational institutions, colleges, hospitals, and of relieving the people of the intolerable burden of public taxation, Henry tried to throw the cloak of the genuine reformer and public benefactor over the sordid and ruthless greed of the spoiler. His zeal for the reform of the monasteries was stimulated by the prospect of unlimited plunder, and his example proved contagious, for the sacrilegious sycophants who, like the shepherd's dog, had one eye on their master's nod and the other on the flock they expected to fleece, worked themselves up to an amazing pitch of enthusiasm for the reformation of the wicked monks, and for the suppression of superstition. The reverence paid to relics caused them profound grief, and more especially those valuable relics—and they were many—which were set in valuable reliquaries studded with jewels and precious stones. The pick of these found their way to the king's pocket, but the commissioners would hardly have been human if they had not secured a good share of the spoil. Groaning under a heavy burden of taxes, many of Henry's subjects acquiesced in his plans; though the destruction of the

monasteries was bitterly regretted by the poor, and especially the peasantry. The repo s of the commissioners deceived nobody. Cromwell's character was too well known, and his methods of carrying out his master's schemes too glaringly unjust and pitiless to hide the ugly tyranny that lurked behind all the specious pretence that was sedulously kept up in the interests of public decency. An old writer under the date 1615 remarks: "This havoc thus wrought on churchmen and on their possessions proceeded not, as most men thought, from the love which the king bore to the reformation of religion, out of extraordinary devotion, nor from the purity of his mind desiring the extirpation of that wickedness, but from the covetous humour of his nobles, and from the secret grudge and unreconcilable hatred which he bore to the Pope. But thus the world then fared, and thus the Church was pared and made a prey, every bird being desirous to beautify her nest with her fair feathers." The monasteries and the nunneries had not the remotest chance of establishing their claims to exemption, for Cromwell's agents had a perfectly free hand to condemn any house; and if evidence of monastic evil living was not forthcoming, a charge of contumacy or conspiracy was easily substituted. The reader will not find it very difficult to imagine the treatment that monks and defenceless nuns would receive from Cromwell's mild lambs, the pitiful and pitiless poltroons whose slender purses were leagued in an unholy alliance with an elastic conscience, and whose sole and even professed aim, as their letters clearly testify, was to please their master, whose motive was not reform but plunder. Intimidation, bribery, garbled and false reports, suspicion submitted for evidence, pretended confessions in lieu of genuine proof of corrupt living—these form the material on which the King and Cromwell proceeded to destroy the monasteries and take away their property. "The voices raised against the monks were

those of Cromwell's agents, of the cliques of the new men and of his hireling scribes, who formed a crew of as truculent and filthy libellers as ever disgraced a revolutionary cause." It must be remembered that Henry was incensed against the monks and friars on account of their stubborn opposition to his petition for divorce. The Friars Observants—a reformed order of friars—were his first and most implacable opponents in regard to his divorce, and when Henry quarrelled with the Pope, and tried to force the doctrine of the royal supremacy on the monastic orders, he had a new and powerful weapon in his hands which more than compensated for the inadequacy of clear evidence of monastic corruption. With the three possible charges of treason, heresy and corrupt living hanging over them, it would be surprising indeed if one of these could not be made to fit any case marked out for destruction. The hangings, burnings, tortures, imprisonments, not to mention the smaller pains and penalties that followed, are surely ample proof of the desperate case of the party of spoliation. Those who seek to refresh their souls with the stirring evidence of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* in behalf of the cause of the Reformation, should not forget to study the records of Henry VIII's reign to see how slight a claim even the Marian persecution has to be considered the culmination of religious persecution compared with the atrocities and cruelties of Henry. And yet the mere suppression of the monasteries is not the only or the worst charge that lies at Henry's door. It may for the sake of argument be conceded that he was within his rights in taking away the endowments of the monastic houses. But the work was accompanied by acts of cruelty and of vandalism for which there is not a shadow of excuse. The wilful desecration of noble buildings, the sacrilegious treatment of sacred edifices and of all the hallowed accessories of the people's religion, is a stain that will rest for ever on the character of a great English king, who bore the proud title of " Defender

of the Faith." "The face of the kingdom was changed by this memorable event; foreign nations stood at gaze to behold the course of England. The land was strewn with hundreds of ruins. Stately buildings, churches, halls, chambers, and cloisters, a whole architecture into which the genius of ages and races had been breathed, were laid in dust and rubbish. Vast libraries, the priceless records of antiquity, the illuminated treasures of the Middle Ages, were ravished with a waste so sordid as to have wrung a cry of anguish even from the rabid ribald Bale! 'The successors of the monks,' says Bale, 'reserved of those library books some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots. Some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over the sea to the book binders, not in small numbers, but at times whole ships full. But cursed is the belly that seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural country. I know a merchantman that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings apiece, a shame it is to be spoken! This stuff hath he occupied instead of grey paper by the space of more than these ten years and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come.'" It must be fairly obvious that the work of reform was accompanied by these barbarities, not on account of the wickedness of the monks, but through the insatiable greed and vindictive tyranny of the king and his willing tools. The very magnitude of the atrocities perpetrated by Henry and his agents in putting an end to the monasteries, lends colour to the popular belief, diligently fostered by writers who dislike everything connected with monasticism, that such treatment must have been called forth by a state of things of the utmost gravity, and one demanding summary measures. The monasteries were no doubt in need of reform, severe reform, they always were, and no doubt in a sense always would have been. But allowing for the difference between

the moral atmosphere of the sixteenth and that of the twentieth century, it is probable that the monks and nuns of those days were, on the whole, no worse, if they were no better, than the average professors of Christianity at the present day, though this may seem strange doctrine to many readers. Let all their iniquities be stated, and clear evidence adduced in support of the charge, and a critic of twentieth century Christianity will easily be able to parallel every charge, one by one, from the annals of contemporary religion. We have besmirched the name of the old monks without taking the trouble to find out what is the value of the incriminating evidence. Froude, the historian, thinks we must hold the monks to be guilty for the only alternative is to brand Henry, his Parliament, and his sorry crew of commissioners with infamy. Jonah must be jettisoned in order to save the ship. It would indeed be difficult to add a deeper stain to the infamy with which Henry by his own undisputed acts, and those of the men he employed, has tarnished his own name as a Christian monarch.

The unpopularity of his policy was manifest in the riots and insurrections that broke out in different parts of the country, not only among the lower classes, but among the gentry as well. Appeals, entreaties, protests, complaints, poured in from all sides. The learned and saintly Bishop Fisher, whose knowledge of the condition of the monasteries is a much better guarantee of the real state of affairs than the reckless charges of Cromwell's minions, defended them against their traducers.

The famous *Pilgrimage of Grace* and the armed resistance offered to the work of destruction showed that the people were not convinced of the iniquity of the monks. These were, of course, put down easily and ruthlessly, but the significance of their witness against Henry's policy remains.

Few writers on the religious history of this period can claim a higher reputation for discrimination, impartiality,

and fairness than Canon Dixon; and he writes as follows: "England, free heretofore, and free hereafter, was passing through an interval of slavery. There is not in history so memorable an example of the greatest interests being put in a corner, and destroyed by the vilest means, as the fall of the monasteries. So far as their history can be traced in English antiquity, they exhibited at all times the same combination of human frailty and superhuman sanctity; and the rebukes with which Archbishop Cuthbert in the eighth century, or King Edgar in the tenth, denounced their shortcomings, were repeated in succeeding ages even by their friends and well-wishers, until we come to the letters of Bishop Fox and the satires of Sir Thomas More." The writer makes no attempt to gloss over the shortcomings of the monks, but after the most exhaustive examination of the evidence bearing on the subject, he concludes by saying: "I am inclined to believe that in the reign of Henry VIII the monasteries were not worse but better than they had been previously, and that they were doing fairly the work for which they had been founded."

Under the hypocritical pretext of a desire for the purity of the monasteries and the welfare of religion, Henry robbed the church and the poor of their inheritance, and reduced both to a state of pauperism. The results of the suppression were speedily seen. Writers on social economics are generally free from theological bias, and can be trusted to pronounce fair judgment on the merits of great historical questions, which appeal to them only as factors in the social situation. So, Professor Thorold Rogers writes of the work of the monks of this period, that they were "its men of letters, historians, jurists, philosophers, physicians, the students of nature, the founders of schools, authors of chronicles, teachers of agriculture, fairly indulgent landlords, and advocates of genuine dealing towards the peasantry." Some idea of the kind of activity that prevailed in the monasteries at that time may be gathered

from the *Chronicle of Croyland*, a monastic chronicle that has survived from the times of the civil wars. Music, architecture, painting, sculpture, organ-building, bell-founding, and embroidery, were among the arts pursued within monastic walls. All this, together with their agricultural pursuits, meant employment for great numbers of people around every monastic community. It would even appear that fairs and markets were held within their precincts, for in the Injunctions issued by Henry for their reform it is enacted that " no fairs or markets were to be kept or used within the limits of this house." But when they were suppressed, this employment ceased. The abbey lands passed into the hands of laymen who rack-rented and sweated the tenants, and made it impossible for more than a small proportion of the original tenantry to remain in possession of their ancestral holdings. The new owners were the king's courtiers, agents, and favourites, the new nobility that sprang into existence on the strength of the royal bounty freely lavished by an indulgent king at the expense of the rightful owners. The immediate result of the fall of the monasteries was widespread poverty. The law of hospitality had always been scrupulously observed by the monks, but the new owners considered themselves under no sort of obligation to minister to the needs of the poor. The practice of keeping hospitality was at all times observed with the greatest fidelity in the monasteries. It is well known that many of the monastic houses were at this time in a low financial condition from various causes, and this fact may explain the clause in the instructions that were issued at the time of the general visitation, which enacted that inquiry was to be made " whether the abbot do keep hospitality according to the ability of his house and in like manner as other fathers thereof have done heretofore." Thousands of men and women—we are not referring now to the great army of disbanded monks and helpless nuns who were turned out

into the world—were now thrown out of employment. Small towns decayed owing to the break up of the monastic establishments. Labouring men and dispossessed peasants made for the large towns to seek fresh employment which was rarely forthcoming. Pauperism was rampant, and laws, " godly statutes," had to be passed to put down vagrancy. Men and women in search of food and employment were subjected under these tyrannous laws to every kind of indignity and barbarous treatment.

In the large towns the suppression of hospitals and religious foundations of an eleemosynary character created a serious situation on account of the sick and suffering—sick people and infectious cases had to shift for themselves as best they could. The closing of the free monastic schools again created a deadlock in the matter of education. And the effect of this sudden cessation of educational facilities was immediately reflected in the dearth of clergy, the decay of the universities, and the check given to the new learning. The monasteries maintained scholars at the universities and provided for young clerics until their ordination, when they supplied them with a title. At Cambridge the scholars in 1545 petitioned King Henry for privileges as they feared the destruction of the monasteries would altogether annihilate learning. At Oxford most of the halls and hostels, writes Anthony Wood, were left empty. Arts declined and ignorance began to take place again. The rise in rents, due to the greed of the new lay owners who had supplanted the monks, made it impossible for small tenant farmers to send their sons to school. Looking back on this period in after years, honest old Latimer complained bitterly of the change that had taken place. " It is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected, to consider what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is a marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation ; schools are not maintained, scholars have not exhibitions. Very few there be that help poor scholars.

It would pity a man's heart to hear of the state of Cambridge . . . what it is in Oxford I cannot tell; I think there be at this day (A.D. 1550) ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years, and fewer preachers."

The monastic system was in its practical working much more democratic in character than many subsequent systems of education. The educated classes in those days were recruited from the humbler ranks of society—the labouring classes, the artisans, the yeomen, the small tenants—owing to the facilities freely provided in the monastic schools.

Men like Wolsey and Latimer were sprung from humble parents. Of the seventy odd bishops of the reign of Henry VIII only about fourteen at the most were men of good family. The rest were the sons of poor parents who were enabled, thanks to the opportunities freely opened for them in the schools maintained by the monasteries, to rise from their humble position to the highest offices in Church and State. Birth and wealth, after the suppression of these democratic schools, naturally secured a monopoly of educational facilities ; and in the light of these facts it is a sorry exhibition of cynical ingratitude and historical ignorance to try to fasten on the Church the charge of neglecting the education of the poor and pandering to the aristocracy. The truth is the exact opposite, as these facts testify with absolute conviction. The impoverishment of the Church, and the dearth of clergy that followed the suppression of the monasteries, affected the parochial efficiency of the Church right on to the eighteenth century. Clerical poverty became once more the characteristic feature of Church life, with all that that implies. A few of the old monastic churches in Wales were fortunately spared, and were converted into parochial churches, of which we have instances at Brecon, Kidwelly, Abergavenny, and a few other places.

But the lay impropriators, into whose hands the appropriated endowments of the Church had fallen, repudiated the responsibilities that had been discharged by the old monks, and contented themselves with paying the smallest possible pittance to the incumbents of the parishes for which they were obliged to provide. So wretched was the stipend provided for the great majority of these men, that they often had to serve several parishes in order to get a living wage. Henry's fraudulent promise to the long-suffering people of rare and refreshing fruit from the spoliation of monastic property ended in bitter disillusionment. The people found themselves in a worse condition than before. Granting all the shortcomings of the monks, the monastic system ministered to the best interests of the people. Popular prejudice and popular misconceptions in regard to this subject are so great that it is necessary to point out that the property confiscated by the king—property that belonged originally to the parochial clergy for the service of religion and the relief of the poor—passed into the hands of laymen and remains in the hands of the descendants of those laymen at the present day.

A very important document published during Henry's reign was the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, which contains an account of the true value of the first fruits and tenths of all sees and benefices as commanded in the Act of Restraint of Annates, 1535. It was a kind of Domesday Book of all Church revenues, and it is a valuable source of information to the Church historian in many ways.

Before bringing this chapter to a close, a word must be said as to the fate of the monasteries and religious houses suppressed by Henry VIII. The reader may find it useful to know into whose hands they eventually passed. The list is taken from Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

Many of the alien priories had, as we have previously seen, been suppressed before the General Dissolution; such as S. Clear's, a Cluniac priory given to All Souls',

Oxford, in Henry VI's time; also Llangennith, given to the same corporation. Holyhead was transferred to Francis Morrice and Francis Philips. The great tithes of Holyhead belong, like those of Clynnog Fawr in Arvon, to Jesus College, Oxford, by the gift of Rice Gwynne in 1648. Glannog, a house of Black Monks, was given to John More in Elizabeth's time. Brecon was allocated to the Bishop of S. David's and his successors in the first instance, and shortly afterwards to John ap Rice. Whitland to Henry Audley and John Cordel: Carmarthen, a house of Black Canons, to Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple. The Grey Friars' house at Carmarthen was given by Henry VIII to Thomas Lloyd; and by Edward VI to Sir Thomas Gresham. Bardsey first to Thomas Seymour, then to John, Earl of Warwick, in Edward VI's time. Beddgelert was granted to Chertsey Abbey, then to Bisham in Berkshire, and afterwards became the property of Lord Radnor. Cardigan came first into the possession of Bisham Abbey, then of William Cavendish. Llanllyr, in Cardiganshire, a Cistercian nunnery attached to Strata Florida, was given to William Sackvill and John Dudley in the time of Edward VI. Valle Crucis came at a later date into the possession of Edward Wotton. Aberconway, or Maenan, went to Elizabeth Wynne; Ruthin College to William Winlove and Richard Field; Denbigh, a Carmelite house, to Richard Andrews and William Lisle. Basingwerk, a house of Cistercian monks, fell to Henry ap Harri: so did Rhuddlan. Ewenny was given, with S. Peter's, Gloucester, to Edward Carn; Margam and Neath to Sir Rice Mansell and Sir Richard Williams respectively. Strata Marcella was given in Elizabeth's time to Rowland Hayward and Thomas Dixon; Llanllugan, a Cistercian nunnery, to Sir Arthur D'Arcy. S. Dogmael's was transferred to John Bradshaw: Pembroke to John Vaughan and Katharine his wife. Haverfordwest, Pill, and Slebach, were given to Roger and Thomas Barlow. Abbey Cwm Hir came into the

possession of Walter Henley and John Williams in Henry VIII's time.

Thus it fared with the hard-won and worthily-used patrimony of the Church, and this was the fate reserved for those noble buildings, or what was left of them by the spoiler's hand, that had been for many generations the glory of our native land.

CHAPTER XIV

WELSH LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

In our previous sketch of the early literature of Wales, we reached the period of the Norman Conquest, with the revival of ancient Cymric lore in the Arthurian Romance, and the rise of the Welsh chroniclers. We touched lightly on the position of the bards in the social life of the people, and to them we must now return. The Normans were great patrons of literature, and possessed in an eminent degree the gift of developing and making a skilful use of legends and literary traditions borrowed from other races. Under the influence of this new awakening under the Norman regime, the bards began to search more closely into the lore of the past. The new monasteries introduced a higher culture through contact with the wider world of Western civilization. The Crusades, moreover, had contributed to give a wider scope to men's ideas, and to teach them to take an interest in a world wider even than the land of Arthur. .

The monasteries rendered a great service to Welsh literature, and though the bards might have been now and again rather severe in their criticism on the inmates of the monastery, they were not always unfriendly, as we shall see. Owing to the difficulty of reading their poetic compositions, the old Welsh bards receive little attention, except from practised students of Welsh literature. Their style, moreover, apart from its archaic character, appears to the uninitiated, cumbrous and pedantic, owing to the stern necessity of the Cynghanedd. But some knowledge of bardic lore is essential to the understanding of what is characteristic of Welsh literature. Was it not Professor Palgrave who set himself the task of learning Welsh in order to be able to appreciate the poetry of Dafydd ab

Gwilym, whom George Borrow, no mean critic, declared to be one of the greatest poets in Europe ?

A great deal of the composition of the bards is adjudged by those who have a right to pronounce judgment in these matters, to be work of a high order. And even where poetic excellence is not conspicuous, their poems are rarely lacking in interest of some kind, historical or religious. One bard, *e.g.*, Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, who is otherwise not distinguished for poetic power, has retrieved his character by leaving us a very interesting poem on S. David, in which he gives a valuable list of churches dedicated to the patron saint.

A mere list of our most famous bards will not give the reader much knowledge of bardism, but we will nevertheless give a few names with a brief account of whatever there may be of interest connected with them. It is not often that kings take a practical interest in poetry ; but Wales is a marked exception to this rule. Many Welsh princes could write polished verse as easily as they could handle a sword. The first bard to revive Welsh song after the silence of centuries, in the twelfth century, was Meilyr, who was chief bard to Trahaiarn, and afterwards to Gruffudd ab Cynan, whose return from Ireland we have already related. " The death-bed of the Bard," is Meilyr's best known poem, and in it he expresses a wish to rest his bones in the Isle of Saints, Bardsey, with the deep blue sea around him. But the general theme of the bards was war and fighting, and the prowess of their princely patrons, for every prince had his bard to sing his praises. We have two royal poets in Owen Cyfeiliog and Howel, the son of Owen Gwynedd. The reader will remember that Owen Cyfeiliog played the part of a passive resister when Archbishop Baldwin and Gerald were on their crusading tour through Wales. Owen's best known poem is called " The Hirlas Horn," one of the longest poems we have of the twelfth century. The Hirlas Horn was a

long blue drinking horn rimmed with silver. Here is one verse, which gives a fair idea of the swing of the poem :—

> This day we dedicate to joy,
> Then fill the Hirlas Horn my boy!
> That shineth like the Sea!
> Whose azure handles, tipped with gold,
> Invite the grasp of Britons bold,
> The sons of liberty!

In this poem, the prince, who presides at a public feast with his fighting men after the battle of Corwen, 1166, where Henry II was so severely beaten by the Welshmen, recites the gallant deeds of two chieftains, Tudur and Moreiddig; and then, turning to greet them with a "health," he finds their seats are empty! They had fallen in the morning's fight. It is a stirring scene and well worked out. Another poem of his, "The Circuit," describes the custom of going, on tour to collect the royal revenues and hold "Court." It throws an interesting light on old Welsh customs. Llywelyn the Great was a liberal patron of literature, as well as a loyal son of the Church. Cynddelw was the most noted bard of his day, and his poems show that he was acquainted with the leading princes of the time—Llywelyn the Great, Owen Gwynedd, the Lord Rhys, and others. He was, however, a bitter enemy of the monks, for some of the monks were bards.

> I will not receive the sacrament
> From excommunicated monks,
> With their togas on their knees.
> I will commune with God Himself.

What is true of him is true of most of his bardic brethren: viz., that apart from their poetic merit their poems reflect the customs of the age and therefore have a considerable historical value: Llywarch ab Llywelyn, Dafydd Benvras, Elidir Sais. This latter poet wrote on religious subjects and wrote well; and the information contained in the

writings of these men concerning the religious state of the country is by no means to be despised.

Llywelyn ab Gruffudd, the last of our native princes, had a remarkably gifted bard called Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, whose " Lament " over the tragic death of the last prince is a most touching piece of composition. It has been translated into English, and is worth reading. The greatest of the bards, however, is Dafydd ab Gwilym, a native of Cardiganshire, the home of many a Welsh poet ! He was *bardd teulu* to his uncle, Ivor Hael of Maesaleg ; and flourished towards the end of the fourteenth century. Readers of Borrows' *Wild Wales* will recall that interesting writer's judgment of Dafydd ab Gwilym—that " he possessed in combination the gifts of Ovid, Martial, and Horace, and that he was the greatest genius that had appeared in Europe after the revival of literature."

His " Cywydd y Daran "—" Ode to Thunder," is a wonderful exhibition of descriptive power and poetic beauty. As you read it, you can almost hear the claps of thunder rolling over head, and then dying away. Like many other bards, he disliked the monks, and criticised their theology, especially the doctrine of purgatory. He was buried at Strata Florida, the Cistercian Abbey in Cardiganshire. The rising of Owen Glyndwr provided the famous Iolo Goch with a stirring theme. Iolo was Glyndwr's bard. Gruffudd Lloyd was another. To stir up enthusiasm for a great cause we rely in these days on great public meetings ; the old Cymry relied on their " bards " : and right well these men responded to the call. The voice of an enthusiastic bard was like the shout of a king !

Sion Cent was half bard, half monk : but though he was influenced by Lollardism, through Sir John Oldcastle, he leaned towards the monks. He accused the bardic fraternity :—

> Of falsehood and omens base
> That have been chosen by the men of Hu,
> The usurping bards of Wales.

Sion was a learned man and a prolific writer of Latin theological literature. Here is his description of Satan :—

Wynebwr brwnt aniben
Corniog, danheddog hên !

The fifteenth century was prolific in bards in spite of the stormy character of the age. We will notice three of the best known.

Guto'r Glyn (1430-1460) was a native of the lovely vale of Llangollen. Not far off is Valle Crucis Abbey, and Guto is stated to have been domestic bard to the Abbot, Dafydd ab Iorwerth. He was held in high estimation, not only by the members of that and other monasteries, but by the leading families of the country. The chief point of interest in Guto's poetic works, however, is the account they contain of monastic life in his day. He was intimately acquainted with the inner life of monasticism, and the picture he draws is a highly favourable one. We hear so much of monastic corruption that we are glad to hear—from a reliable eye-witness—the other side of the story.

The generosity of the monks, their hospitality and their literary tastes are particularly noticed.

Gutyn Owain is another contemporary bard, the historian of Strata Florida and Basingwerk. Like the previous bard, he was associated in a very intimate way with monastic life, of which he speaks very highly, and many of his poems are addressed to the Abbot of Valle Crucis. He brought the *Brut of Caradoc* up to date, and the chronicle is now known as the *Black Book of Basingwerk.* When Henry VII came to the throne he issued a commission of experts to inquire into the pedigree of Owen Tudor. Gutyn Owain was a member of this commission, for which he was well qualified by his intimate knowledge of genealogical matters and old records. The return of this commission is to be seen in Cardiff MS. 50 (Welsh Hist. MSS. Report, 251).

Lewis Glyn Cothi is pre-eminently the poet of the Wars of the Roses. From the few facts known about him, he appears to have been a man of some social standing. His poems have a very special value, not merely for their poetic merits, but because they are full of information about the events of the age : the struggle between the White and the Red Rose, the condition of the country ; accounts of old families, the customs and lore of the day, the prosperity of Wales before those devastating wars, and the wreck they left behind them. He saw, however, the Welshman's hope realised—Henry Tudor on the throne of England. After the rise of the Tudor dynasty, the special interest of Welsh bardism ceased, for in the person of the Tudor king, the " Monarchy of Britain " was restored to its rightful owners ! This leads us to a subject of very great interest, on which we will dwell very briefly—the prophetic element in the literature of Wales. This will give the reader a far better notion of the ideas that inspired, and, therefore, formed, the peculiar character of Welsh poetry up to reformation times, than a detailed chronicle of the leading writers and their works. The political fortunes of Wales materially influenced the development of the literature. After the Statute of Rhuddlan, for example, the bards were put under a ban and were obliged to change their warlike themes for more pacific subjects. Edward I enacted that the " westours, bards, rhymers, and other idlers and vagabonds who lived upon the gifts called Cymmorthau be not supported nor sanctioned in the country, *lest by their inventions and lies they lead the people to mischief.*"

The tradition that Edward massacred all the bards is, of course, pure myth, but he did put down the baser sort—the needy, greedy clerwyr, and ministrels who went about the country living on their wits and their songs. The regular bards were a different set of men ; they also went on tour, like the troubadours of France. And the

literary traditions of the Welsh people are no doubt due in some measure to their being in regular contact with the itinerant "men of song" and "men of letters." These facts will explain the jealousy that existed between the bards and the "mendicant friars." They were both competitors for popular favour and support; and as the friar as a rule was an accomplished beggar, there would be little left to be gleaned after him.

There were no doubt other reasons; the bards were, as a class, better educated men than the friars; and being endowed with a gift for satire, it was natural that they should hold up the friar to ridicule, for hawking relics and other "devices" about the country for the purpose of collecting funds.

> O'er all the wide world they are rife,
> With a false form of holy life,
> Dull Friars;

says Dafydd ab Gwilym. Though the monks could not go "on circuit," they fared no better at the hands of irascible bards.

"False, luxurious, gluttonous monks," says the unknown author of the "Avallenau."

Coming back to our subject, the prophetic element in Welsh poetry, we find that it was the policy of the Welsh princes to make the bards foretell their success in war, in order to inspire their people with confidence and courage.

In the *Laws of Wales*, the "chief of song" was expected to know, from Taliesin's prophecy, what should happen in the future. The gift of prophecy in its literal sense was claimed by the bards, and expected of them.

"Pair Ceridwen," the cauldron of Ceridwen, was their phrase for the source of "inspiration."

It would perhaps be more correct to say that they were expected to possess the gift of "interpreting" the ancient prophecies of Merlin and Taliesin, and apply them to current events. By the directions of their patrons and

chieftains, they prophesied whenever circumstances demanded, the coming again of Arthur or Cadwaladr. In the time of Owen Gwynedd and Llywelyn the Great, and Llywelyn, the last native prince, the bards made use of Merlin's name to prophesy a national restoration. These stirring predictions were circulated among the people and served the cause of the princes by holding out the promise of deliverance. The *Prophecy of Merlin*, which constitutes the seventh Book of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, had an extraordinary history. For a long time it took possession of the soul of Western literature. " Kyfoesi Myrddin," which was long considered to be a genuine production of the seer himself, belongs to this class of predictive poetry, but the composition in its present form belongs to a very much later period, for it contains allusions to events of a later date.

The *Prophecy of Merlin* is full of historical allusions which can be identified—such as the establishment of the See of S. David's, Norman Conquest, and the subjugation of Ireland by Henry II. So authoritative had this *Prophecy* become that—Alanus de Insulis, a Latin author of the thirteenth century, wrote a commentary on it. This was actually reprinted in the seventeenth century—which shows that it still served some apocalyptic purpose. That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Merlin !

This, however, is no more ridiculous than the spectacle of a Fifth Monarchy divine struggling with the mysteries of the book of Daniel and Revelation to find out the destiny of Cromwell.

There seems little doubt that Llywelyn ab Gruffudd was encouraged by his belief in some ancient prophecy to enter on the last war of independence against Edward I.

There is an ancient line on the struggles of the Celt quoted by Maclean in his *Literature of the Celts* :—

They went forth to the wars but they always fell !

These ancient prophecies undoubtedly made a great impression on the Welsh people, and to some extent on the Welsh princes, and their frequent falsification failed to shake their faith.

Cadwaladr, who, as we have seen already, shared with King Arthur the honour of being the long-expected restorer of Cymric glory, is specially referred to in Merlin's *Prophecy*.

"Cadwaladr shall call upon Cynan and take Albania into alliance. Then shall there be a slaughter of foreigners. Then shall break forth the fountains of Armorica, Cambria shall be filled with joy, and the oaks of Cornwall shall flourish, the island shall be called by the name of Brutus, and the name given to it by foreigners shall be abolished."

But the most striking illustration of all of the strength of ancient Cymric prophecy, be it Merlin's or Taliesin's, is connected with the history of Owen Glyndwr. It will be remembered that Glyndwr made a formal agreement in Dean Daron's house at Aberdaron, with his two allies, in regard to the division of the kingdom should they be successful. This was the *Tripartite Agreement*, and one passage in it reads as follows:—

"If through God's providence it should appear in course of time unto these lords that they are the very persons of whom the prophet speaks, as those who should divide and share the realm of Great Britain between them, they shall labour to the utmost of their power to bring it to pass."

In the light of this evidence, it is not at all difficult to understand the pathetic and unconquerable faith with which the Cymry time after time followed their princes, in spite of temporary defeats, to fight for their independence and to regain it when lost.

The ancient prophecies of Merlin and Taliesin were adapted and utilised by the bards to keep alive the hopes

of their countrymen, and to inspire them with confidence in their struggles for freedom, and this accounts for the deep respect felt by the Welsh people for the men who preserved their ancient traditions in order to sustain their patriotism—the bards of the Isle of Britain.

A short account of the *Mabinogion* must be given to supplement the story and productions of the bards. The *Mabinogion* represent the highest form of the prose literature of the Welsh people. *Mabinogion* mean "tales for young people." These old Welsh romances were translated and published early in the last century by Lady Charlotte Guest from an old MS., called *The Red Book of Hergest.* These were originally tales told by the winter fireside to amuse and interest the young. The bards probably gave them the name by which they are now known, as light literature fit for the young, but not to be compared with their own superior productions. They became, nevertheless, very popular and were handed down from generation to generation, and were added to and developed until they acquired the distinction of being looked upon as national romances. It is possible that these old tales partly supplied Geoffrey of Monmouth with material for "history." Some of these *Mabinogion* are very old, others are quite late. The central figure in this great prose literature is King Arthur. The study of the *Mabinogion* is very interesting, for this reason. In some of them King Arthur does not figure at all, in others he does figure prominently, but only as a Cymric prince of limited power, residing at Gelliwig, Cornwall, where he held his court. In some of the romances, again, he figures as a magnificent hero, as the ideal knight of chivalry, and a great emperor holding his court at Caerlleon and ruling over a great empire. In the latest romances we are in the world of knight-errantry, and in the golden age of Chivalry. It is, therefore, obvious that these latter romances do not represent the primitive

stages of the Arthurian tale. In the very earliest, such as the Mabinogi of Pwyll, Manawyddan and Branwen, Arthur does not appear at all. These are the *Mabinogion* properly so called. The antiquity of each romance can be determined by a few simple tests. The earlier the romance the more supernatural is its character and setting. Again, knight-errantry belongs to the later and is altogether absent from the earliest tales. The most highly developed, and therefore the latest of the romances are Geraint and Enid, Owain and Luned; in which Arthur and his knights have received the last finishing touches, as it were, at the hands of the romancer. The conservative character of the earliest Cymric traditions makes it necessary to trace the element of knight-errantry to Norman sources. It cannot be attributed to Celtic sources. This can probably be done by assuming that this element came through Breton influences from the Normans. The Welsh bards still cling to Cadwaladr, and to the native traditions, untouched by either Breton or Norman ideas. But, as we have already seen, the return of Rhys ab Tewdwr with his company of exiles from Brittany, about 1077, led to the introduction of a more developed tradition of the Arthurian legend into Wales, and this will account for the difference between the later and the earlier form of the Arthurian story. The very oldest of the *Mabinogion* is Kulhwch and Olwen, in which Arthur and his knights hunt the boar—The *Twrch Trwyth.* The atmosphere of this tale is the most primitive of all in the Arthurian group. Another important element to be observed in the development of the Arthurian Romance is the religious motive. This is due to monastic influence. The legend of San Greal, or the Holy Grail, represents the desire of the monastic writers to give the Arthurian Romance, which had now become so universally popular, a religious tendency. The San Greal held the Blood of the Cross, which was invisible to all but the pure in heart. It was a stroke of

genius on the part of the old monks to use these old romances, with their antiquity, patriotism and chivalry, as a means of propagating the Christian faith, and of teaching all men that the ideal knight is he who sallies forth in quest of the Holy Grail.

CHAPTER XV

THE REFORMATION IN WALES

THE most important event in the history of Tudor legislation as it affected Wales was the Act of Union, 1535. This completed the work of consolidation of England and Wales begun by Edward I (Statute of Rhuddlan, 1284). By this Act the Marches of Wales were abolished and converted into shire ground. Five new counties were created, Brecknock, Montgomery, Radnor, Denbigh and Monmouth. The courts and privileges of the Lords Marchers, which had been a source of perpetual trouble and oppression, thus came to an end; and the whole of Wales enjoyed the same uniform code of laws as England, and had, moreover, a voice in Parliament. The laws hitherto in force against Welshmen were rescinded. But the abolition of the old Welsh custom of gavel-kind, which was now supplanted by the English law of primogeniture, was very unpopular, and the people petitioned Parliament against it in 1558, though in vain.

Political equality and uniformity were, however, bought at a heavy price, in one respect. The Welsh language was suppressed and English established as the language of the law courts. This was the beginning of that alienation between the old Welsh gentry and the peasant class which has been such an unfortunate episode in the social and religious history of the Principality. English politics and English law provided new channels for the energy and talents of the old Welsh gentlefolk; and slowly but surely they lost their old sympathy with the national life of the people—their language, literature and traditions. The disendowment of the old monasteries of the Church made many of them rich, but it made the Church and people poorer, materially and morally. By some inexorable law

of national morality, the diverting of religious endowments to uses other than those for which they were originally left, has been followed by a distinct deterioration of the moral fibre and the social welfare of the people. The death of Henry VIII closes the first chapter in the history of the Reformation. The comment of the saintly Bishop Fisher on Henry's schemes of reform, that " they are not religious nor do they proceed from faith," expressed the conviction of the vast majority of Henry's subjects as to the justice of his policy. It was not a very auspicious beginning for a noble movement, nor was it calculated to commend the merits of the Reformation even to those who on other grounds were prepared to welcome it. Wales was not so well supplied with monastic houses as England, but even in Wales the clean sweep made of an institution which was, despite its shortcomings, part and parcel of the social life of the country and rooted in the affections of the people, could hardly fail to produce a feeling of bitterness against the sacrilegious tyranny that trampled without remorse on the good and evil alike.

All the evidence we have goes to prove that the Welsh people esteemed Henry's remedy for the evils of the age to be worse than the disease itself. It is well known that nowhere was the Reformation more unpopular among the masses than in Wales. This is true not merely of that part of the Reformation movement which is represented by Henry's reign, but of the Reformation as a whole. Opposition was not aroused by the Reformation as a national attempt to remove the yoke of Papal tyranny, and to lift the religious life of the people to a higher level, but by the methods adopted in bringing it about, which failed to appeal to the people's sympathy. There were in Wales at least very few martyrs at the time of the Marian persecution. The modern Protestant may shake his head sorrowfully over the fact, but there is little doubt that Welsh people in the sixteenth century objected more to the

Pope's taxes and exactions than to his theology. So long as their religious customs were not interfered with, they took very little interest in the more serious problems, political, theological and ecclesiastical, that lay behind the Reformation movement. It is well for us to look at the problem from the point of view of the popular mind, in order to see the *vis inertiae* which made the Reformation such a prolonged and complicated movement.

The ruthless pillage and unprincipled greed that accompanied the first stage of its history during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI did not present the Reformation in a very favourable light to those who were unable to see the deeper significance of a movement which exacted so heavy a penalty of suffering and desolation. So great was the revulsion of feeling produced by the ceaseless pillage, plunder, and plotting of those who guided the movement, that when Mary was proclaimed Queen, " the voices of Englishmen were raised in a tempest of loyalty, whilst bonfires blazed all over the country."

If the unfortunate Mary had married an Englishman, as was proposed, instead of Philip of Spain, a bigoted Papist, the Reformation would probably have taken a less violent course. But the fires of Smithfield brought about a bitter disillusionment which could hardly have been unforeseen by the clearer heads of the reforming party.

It is not intended in this chapter to follow the different stages of the Reformation ; such an attempt is beyond our scope. A general survey of the situation is, therefore, all we propose to undertake within the limits at our disposal ; and our main object will be to investigate briefly its effect on the Church in Wales. Its progress in the Principality was much slower than in England on account of the language. The new movements and the ideas they embodied could not make headway in Wales until the Welsh people were provided with a literature dealing with the subject in the vernacular. The publication of the Welsh Bible

was practically the beginning of the new era in any real sense in Wales. The Reformation was a very complex movement, and was due to a variety of causes—political, religious and intellectual.

In England it was precipitated, not caused, by Henry's desire to divorce his wife, and by the resulting dispute between him and the Pope for supremacy. During his reign the doctrinal aspect of the Reformation was kept in the background: the political issues between him and the Papacy dominated the theological issues. He certainly undertook to reform the more glaring abuses that were rooted in the popular theology of the day: and the Injunctions he issued reveal his desire to effect some improvement in the religious customs of the people by the publication of the Bible in English, by laws against heresy, and by the destruction of shrines and other objects of superstitious veneration.

We may follow the course of the Reformation in three main directions. The first may be called the political—the assertion of the independence of the National Church against the Papal claims. The substitution of the Royal supremacy for the Papal supremacy was the assertion of a political claim, and though Henry VIII tyrannised over the Church, and, in his antagonism to Papal domination, carried things with a high hand in his dealings with the Church, the idea which is even yet not exploded—that he shattered the continuity of the Church and erected a new establishment is one of those venerable heresies which are based on very imperfect historical knowledge.

Queen Elizabeth's reply to the foreign princes who, after the Act of Uniformity was passed, desired her to allow the non-conforming Marian bishops to have separate churches for the use of the Roman Dissenters, where they could have the Latin service-books, accurately represents the true facts:—" There was no new faith propagated in England, no religion set up but that which was commanded

by our Saviour, preached by the primitive Church, and unanimously approved by the ancient fathers." In 1560 the Lord Chief Justice Coke stated, as a fact within his knowledge, " that the Pope, Pius IV, had sent a private nuncio to England bringing with him an offer to agree to all the changes the English Church had made in the Liturgy, the translation of the Scriptures, and the appointment of bishops, *if only his supremacy would be recognised.*"

This surely is ample proof, though we have no space to labour the point, that no new religion had been imposed on the nation and no new Church established. These are modern ideas, fond inventions kept alive to serve the purposes of interested controversialists and liberationists. England in the sixteenth century threw off the Papal yoke, and the king and his advisers had in the anti-Papal legislation of the preceding centuries ample precedents for the steps they took to free themselves from a usurped and galling jurisdiction.

Two points of view have to be carefully distinguished. It is quite true, in the first place, that for all practical purposes, the authority of the Roman Pontiff was tacitly acquiesced in for a long period in English history. The respect due to the greatest of bishops in Western Christendom had gradually gained for the Pope the status of a Court of Appeal : and he was, in the popular mind, looked upon as the fount of Christian authority and ecclesiastical doctrine. The unique power and prestige of the Pope in mediæval times could not fail to leave a profound mark on ecclesiastical custom and history in England, in spite of its isolation. And there were, moreover, periods and circumstances in the history of English Christianity, in which the Papal power was a welcome refuge from tyranny. The acquiescence of England in the Papal claims, both in the political and ecclesiastical sphere, was due to the policy of refraining from a complete break with a power which could occasionally be of service to English interests. The

old statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*, however, formally asserted the independence of the National Church of all foreign jurisdiction, though these statutes were often more honoured in the breach than in the observance. The fact is that it suited the convenience of English kings and English ecclesiastics to acquiesce in the claims of Rome, without formally committing themselves. But the Church of England, apart from the exigencies of English politics, had always asserted her freedom: *Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit.* And her position must be judged by what she formally and constitutionally asserted and claimed, and not by what was forced upon her by the tyranny of circumstances and by the growth of customs and practices alien to her true spirit.

This distinction between practical aquiescence in the Papal claims on the ground of policy and custom, and a formal and explicit acknowledgment of their authority, is not one that the popular mind would readily grasp, but the distinction is a real one. And on its reality we base our contention that the continuity of the Church of England was fully maintained throughout all the changes which made up the history of the Reformation. A principle which had been practically neglected, but always asserted from the time of Magna Charta, was now acted upon with logical and constitutional thoroughness. "The Pope hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England."

The second direction followed by the Reformation was that of doctrinal reform. The whole fabric of mediæval theology, and the superstitious conceptions that prevailed in regard to the doctrine of the Mass, had, like the traditions of the Jewish Elders, made religion of none effect. The spirituality and the evangelical simplicity of the Catholic Faith as based on Holy Scripture and the Primitive Church had given way to a hard unspiritual dogmatism, in which there was a good deal of metaphysics but very little religious power; and to a mechanical and

superstitious conception of the sacramental system of the Church. Religion needed simplification and purification, not by way of abolishing " dogmas " ; for religion cannot do that without committing suicide, but by making Christian truth more ethical, intelligible and scriptural. That is what the reformers aimed at. They undertook to reform religion on the basis of Scripture and sound learning. And from the first tentative efforts of Henry VIII to the religious settlement under Elizabeth, we find that the reformers steadily kept in view the standard by which all doctrinal reform was to be determined—Scriptural Truth and the testimony of the Early Fathers. The reference to the standard of the Primitive Church is the principle which saved the English Church from the Protestant excesses, to which the cranks and fanatics of Continental Protestantism would have led her.

The third direction taken by the reformers was in one sense the cause, and in another sense the result, of what was best and most fruitful in the Reformation settlement, viz., the policy of bringing home to the hearts of the people the great truths of religion and the realities of public worship in a form and in a language they could understand. The old Latin service-books were changed for English service books in England, and Welsh service books in Wales. And the Bible, the Magna Charta of Christian truth and Christian worship, was translated into the language of the people. Previous to the Reformation there was no uniform service-book in use throughout the *whole* Church ; but various forms or uses prevailed—such as the Sarum, Bangor, Lincoln, and Hereford. The first English communion service was published in 1549, drawn up by Cranmer, but it must be added that this innovation was not popular in the country. It will help us to understand many of the problems of the Reformation if we bear in mind that it was the work of a *few*. The great majority of the people were either hostile or indifferent to the new

order of things—in so far as it affected their beliefs and religious customs. As we shall presently see, the Welsh people clung with extraordinary tenacity to the unreformed faith, and quaint customs which formed part of the old religion were preserved and cherished for many generations. The progress of reform in the reign of Henry VIII was limited to the assertion of the constitutional principle of the authority of the National Church against the Papal claims. A few minor reforms were introduced, such as the abolition of some of the grosser superstitions that prevailed, but no doctrinal change of importance was inaugurated.

The translation of the Bible was authorised, and that was a marked triumph for the reformers; but the *Act of the Six Articles* (1539) counterbalanced this gain. The six articles were :—(*a*) Transubstantiation, (*b*) communion in one kind, (*c*) celibacy of the clergy, (*d*) vows of chastity, (*e*) private masses, (*f*) auricular confession.

Henry's attitude towards Wales was not exactly what one would expect from a monarch who had Welsh blood in his veins. His callous treatment of young Rhys ab Gruffydd, a man of great affluence and influence in Wales, the grandson of stout old Sir Rhys ab Thomas who had served Henry VII so well, and had helped to establish the Tudor dynasty, shows what a savage and vindictive nature he had, and how little he really cared for the land of his fathers. Rhys' crime was that he disapproved of Henry's divorce! In fact, Henry's reign was a reign of terror. The history of the Reformation during his time is the history of his personal likes and dislikes. As the Tudors were popular in Wales, the Reformation was quietly accepted, for the Welsh people had now no leaders even had they wished to rebel against Henry's schemes. The old nobility were powerless and the Welsh gentry too preoccupied with their share in the spoils of the monasteries to trouble about the needs of the peasantry.

During the short reign of Edward VI, the doctrinal

changes of the Reformation made rapid progress. The previous settlement under Henry VIII's regime, which may be described as Catholicism without the mediæval accretion of Papal supremacy, was abandoned for more thorough-going reforms, which were influenced to a large extent by Continental theologians; the Duke of Somerset, as Protector during Edward's minority, and Archbishop Cranmer, as ecclesiastical adviser, led the party of Reform. Zeal for Protestantism was used as a cloak to cover the policy of Church spoliation, and Somerset sent out commissioners to continue the ruthless work of demolishing altars, images, relics, and everything that savoured of the old popular faith. Being under the impression that the people were ripe for extreme measures of reform, he authorised his agents to set to work ruthlessly, even to the extent of whitewashing the beautiful frescoes that adorned the old church walls. The work was carried out with offensive irreverence and studied blasphemy: old ornaments and religious symbols were dragged down and destroyed with indecent revel and scorn. Ancient and time-honoured ceremonies connected with the great feasts of the Church—Candlemas, Ash-Wednesday, Holy Week, etc., were, of course, suppressed. Chantries, hospitals and colleges were confiscated by the Protector, and as a sop to the public conscience a few grammar schools were founded from a portion of the spoil. The work of founding grammar schools was continued right up to the eighteenth century by church benefactors. Between 1595 and 1715 ten grammar schools were founded and endowed by Welsh clergy, and they have done excellent work in the educational history of Wales. Not content with this, Somerset further proceeded to disendow the old trade guilds which had existed even before the Norman Conquest, and played a great part in the social life of the people.

These guilds were eminently useful societies, being benefit clubs of various kinds, the members of which kept

public holidays with feasts, and services in the church. Setting an example of mean cowardice for other spoliators, who wish to hurt but dare not strike, they spared the London guilds for the very good reason that these were too powerful to be safely attacked. A few of the grammar schools referred to were established in Wales, but they failed to meet effectually the educational needs of the country, being too few and far between.

The doctrinal changes of Edward VI's reign were embodied in the publication of two Prayer Books. The first Prayer Book was published in 1549. The second Prayer Book, which was a further advance in the Protestant direction on the first, was published in 1552. Cranmer was the moving spirit in the compilation of both : and it must be admitted that he was an incomparable craftsman in liturgical work. Macaulay's verdict on Cranmer's work is well deserved. He refers to " the moderate articles, decent ceremonies, the noble and pathetic liturgy of the Church of England. Her worship is not disfigured by mummery, yet she has preserved that art of striking the senses and filling the imagination in which the (Roman) Catholic Church so eminently excels."

Cranmer's doctrinal policy was to accept the existing doctrines and practices of the church and test them by the combined application of critical scholarship and the historical study of Scripture ; all doubtful points being interpreted by the teaching of the early fathers. In this way he was successful in preserving the continuity of the Church of England and in laying down the lines on which it was afterwards to develop. He had ample material as models for the new service-books in the old Latin Mass books, supplemented by Archbishop Hermann's "Consultation." In 1553 the Forty-two Articles of Religion were drawn up, and on these were based the Thirty-nine Articles, drawn up in Elizabeth's time.

The influence of Continental reformers in the latter

half of Edward's reign accounts for the more Protestant character of the changes which mark this period. Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr were learned Continental reformers and both became professors of theology in England, one in Oxford, the other in Cambridge.

Apart from the general progress of the Reformation as carried on by the authorities in church and state, the main event of interest in the history of the Welsh Church during Edward's reign is the publication of the first book ever printed in the Welsh language—by the eminent Welsh scholar, William Salesbury, 1546. This book contained the alphabet, calendar, creed, the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, the seven virtues of the Church, and other matter. It should be mentioned, however, that some writers attribute the authorship of this interesting book to Sir John Price, of Brecon. The reader will find material for forming a judgment on the question at issue in Archdeacon Thomas' *Life and Work of Bishop Davies and William Salesbury*. In 1551 another publication by Salesbury followed, entitled, *Kynniver Llith a Ban*, being a Welsh translation of the Gospels and Epistles for the Sundays and Holy-days throughout the year. As there were as yet no complete Church service-books in the Welsh language for the use of the Welsh people, Edward VI ordered that the parish churches in Wales should be provided with English Bibles and Prayer Books; and Erasmus' *Paraphrase of the Gospel* was recommended for the use of the clergy. Beyond these praiseworthy efforts by Salesbury, little or nothing was done to advance the cause of the Reformation in Wales. Salesbury had come under the influence of some of the leading scholars of the Reform party in Oxford, such as Peter Martyr and Jewel. The Welsh bishops, as well as the people, were lukewarm if not hostile in their attitude towards the Reformation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Welsh people hailed the return of the unreformed faith under Mary with the greatest delight.

Hitherto the Reformation had been associated in their minds with ruined abbeys, silent monasteries, the spoliation of religious endowments, the abolition of educational institutions, the destruction of old customs, and a general ruthless wreck of the old order of things, to which with all its imperfections they were strongly attached. On Mary's accession, Salesbury retired from his sphere of labour to Caedu in the hills of Denbighshire. There, in a small farmhouse, which was unfortunately pulled down a few years ago, he continued the work which was afterwards to bear such good fruit.

Bishop Richard Davies, subsequently Bishop of S. Asaph, retired to Geneva. Many of the Welsh clergy were deprived of their posts on the ground of their marriage. Bishop Goldwell, of S. Asaph, 1556, inhibited all married clergy from officiating. Not a single clergyman is known to have been deprived on the ground of invalidity of orders, but only on the ground that he was *conjugatus*, a married man. The Welsh roll of martyrs in Mary's unhappy reign is not a long one—only three, and all of them Englishmen. The most famous of the three was Bishop Ferrar of S. David's, who was burnt at the stake in the market-place, Carmarthen, March 30th, 1555, for upholding the doctrine of the Reformers. The points in dispute between the Romanisers and the Reformers were: (1) the doctrine of transubstantiation, (2) clerical celibacy, (3) justification by faith, (4) a vernacular Liturgy. The two other martyrs were obscure men, and of no note, except for the bright example of the courage and faith they showed in defence of their religious convictions.

A very distinguished Welshman in Mary's time was Morris Clynnog, who was appointed Bishop of Bangor on the death of Bishop Glyn in 1558. But as Queen Mary died before he could be consecrated, he and Bishop Goldwell of S. Asaph fled to Rome. "Morris Clynnog became the first rector of the English College there, and was noted by

the students for his partiality to his countrymen from Wales." He endeavoured, however, to gain the sympathetic ear of his countrymen through the press, for he afterwards published a book entitled *Athrawiaeth Gristionogol*—" Christian Doctrine," 1567.

Dr. Griffith Roberts, another learned Welsh scholar, wrote a preface to this work. He afterwards became Canon of Milan Cathedral and wrote a Welsh manual of devotion —*Y Drych Cristionogol*—and dedicated it to his " Beloved Welsh People." Canon Roberts is a notable figure in the history of Welsh literature, being the author of the first Welsh grammar.

The Welsh language was now coming to the front as an organ of education and literary culture ; and the progress of the Reformation in Wales is henceforth intimately associated with the development of the Welsh language and Welsh literature—and the greatest factor of all, the Welsh Bible, which will be noticed in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

THE reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603, was a bright spot in the history of the Reformation. Though we cannot follow the course of events in detail, a brief account of the state of affairs and the problems awaiting solution or settlement at the beginning of her reign must be given. The key to the understanding of the settlement arrived at under Elizabeth is to be found to some extent in Elizabeth's character. She had no great affection for theology, but she had a decided preference for a moderate and attractive type of Catholic ritual, and for the celibacy of the clergy. She was, moreover, a typical Englishwoman, stubborn of will, and devoted to the best traditions of English national life. The establishment of some kind of religious uniformity and order was the first step to take. The Papal solution was out of the question, for with a shrewd insight into the trend of events she was convinced that where the fires of Smithfield had signally failed, milder measures were not likely to succeed. At the same time the extreme Protestant party would have to be curbed and kept within limits. It was a struggle between the Papal and the Puritan parties, and both sides prepared themselves with stubborn determination for the contest ; and as the bulk of those who had genuine religious convictions belonged to the one party or the other, the difficulty of Elizabeth's position became evident. She was, however, fortunate in her advisers, Sir William Cecil and Archbishop Parker, both strong, cautious and moderate men, who helped her to steer the barque of the British Church successfully between the Scylla of Calvinism and the Charybdis of Romanism.

The harsh and rigid system of Calvinism with its

presbyterian autocracy, its gloomy creed and its sour hostility to whatever was beautiful and seemly in religious worship and ritual, was exercising a strange fascination over minds of a certain temperament, but it would never suit the healthy religious instincts of the average Englishman. Its austerity and fanaticism were ill-suited to those who had inherited the wholesome Catholic traditions of English Christianity, and Elizabeth set her face against it. And in this she carried the nation with her. She successfully resisted all the attempts of the extreme Puritans with their Calvinistic creed and their presbyterian republicanism to upset Episcopacy and revise the Prayer Book. These men were led by a distinguished Cambridge professor of divinity, Cartwright.

It is important to bear in mind the difference between the two Puritan parties of that period—the Presbyterian and the Independent. The Presbyterians—the Calvinistic party was Presbyterian—upheld a definite and rigorous system of church government by "Presbyters." The Independents, or Congregationalists, were not committed to any system of church government. Their guiding principle was that each congregation should be free to settle its own affairs—doctrine and government. These were also called Brownists from Brown, a Cambridge man, who was the founder of the sect. The Baptists were also in this sense Independents, *i.e.*, they were congregational in church policy, though their theological tenets and practices differed from those of the Independents proper. The Ironsides of Cromwell and the Pilgrim Fathers were all Independents. Modern readers often assume that these early Puritanical sects were the heralds of the Dawn of Freedom, and that they had inscribed on their banners, "Religious Liberty." It is a sad disillusionment : nothing could be further from the truth. The Pilgrim Fathers, who left their country in search of liberty, were as cruel and intolerant towards those who differed from

them as the most accomplished officer of the Holy Inquisition. The same is true of the Puritans who remained at home. Lest the reader should think this judgment exaggerated or biassed, here are the words of Professor Green, in his history of the English people, on one of the early Puritans most distinguished for scholarship, piety and sincerity of character, Cartwright, and his case is typical. "He was unquestionably learned and devout, but his bigotry was that of a mediæval inquisitor; for the Church modelled after the fashion of Geneva he claimed an authority which surpassed the wildest dreams of the Vatican. With the despotism of a Hildebrand he combined the cruelty of a Torquemada." The early Presbyterians of Cartwright's type believed in state establishment and endowment.

Coming back to the events of the religious settlement established by Elizabeth, we have to record the passing of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559. Elizabeth defined the Royal supremacy by proclaiming herself "Supreme Governor," not like Henry VIII "Supreme Head," of the Church in England, This was a concession to the Catholic party, for it showed that the Crown claimed no spiritual jurisdiction over the Church, but only the supreme power over all causes ecclesiastical and civil in the realm of England.

The *Advertisements* of Archbishop Parker, published in 1565, which enjoined a strict conformity with the law of the Church, and insisted on such simple and modest regulations as the wearing of a surplice, put an end to the hopes of the extreme Puritan zealots, and some of them left the Church and became Separatists.

The famous *Martin Marprelate Tracts*, which were published anonymously in 1587, were the result of Puritan disappointment. John Penry, who is considered by Welsh Nonconformists as the first Nonconformist martyr, was connected with these bitter and libellous pamphlets.

Penry was a Welshman and appears to have been a well-meaning and active propagandist of the Puritan creed, but he was intolerant, scurrilous and indiscreet. Those who wish to acquaint themselves with a closer study of the relation of Penry to these famous Tracts will find all they desire in a *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (William Pierce, 1905). The modern idea, so widely and assiduously cultivated by Nonconformist writers, that he was the proto-martyr of Nonconformity, has not the slightest warrant from the facts of history; and all honest students of Nonconformist history ought to discard this idea once for all as a ridiculous pretence. He was put to death by the state because he was found guilty of seditious language against the Queen, and the attempt to stir up prejudice against the Church as being responsible for his "martyrdom" is a dishonest one. As he figures very largely in the later history of Elizabeth's reign, a few facts in connection with his life and work will not be out of place here. He was a native of Pembrokeshire, and started life as a strong Papist, but after a study of Cartwright's works he became an aggressive Puritan. He declined Holy Orders in the Church although both deacon's and priest's orders were offered him. He was a vigorous and attractive preacher, but, like that of most Puritan preachers of the age, his preaching was scurrilous and violent. His connection with Wales appears to have been limited to occasional "open-air" preaching, but he was acquainted with the Welsh language and knew the condition of the country. He draws a sad picture of the religious state of the people, which he attributes to the incompetence and non-residence of the clergy. There is, of course, some truth in the charge of non-residence, but let us take one instance to show that in many cases an unfair interpretation might be put on facts. Bishop Wharton, of S. Asaph, 1536-1566, was a non-resident. He divided his time between Denbigh and Wrexham, and did not reside in S. Asaph. Why?

Because the palace had been burnt in Glyndwr's time, and had not been rebuilt. Penry's verdict on the inefficient state of the Church must obviously be accepted with much reserve, for a Puritan could hardly be expected to see much good in an institution which he described as a "Popish dunghill," whose bishops and clergy "were swinish dumb dogs, mire and puddle, murderers of souls, accomplices of Satan," to cite his own phrases. In 1587 he published an appeal to Parliament in behalf of Wales, urging that some steps should be taken for the preaching of the Gospel. The Welsh people, he complains, were very ignorant, believed in fairies and magic, and upheld mediæval superstitions. He recommended the system of "lay-preachers" for mission work in the Principality, and advised that the Old Testament should be translated into Welsh. The New Testament had already been translated in 1567. His testimony in regard to Wales and the Welsh Church is interesting and valuable, for allowance can easily be made for his peculiar fancies, and the true facts can be picked out from the wild language which was the Puritan fashion of the age. Penry's own opinion of his "mission" may be gathered from the fact that he compared himself to Jeremiah and S. Paul! One fact is clear enough—Penry had no following in Wales. His work was done in England.

The Puritan party, in fact, gained its best recruits from the Continental Protestants who poured into the country towards the end of the sixteenth century; and when we bear in mind that Wales was far more conservative of the old faith than England was, we shall not be surprised to find that the beginning of Dissent in Wales was not a native movement but the result of alien immigration!

Elizabeth's struggle with the Papal party was a very serious one. At first both the Papal and the Puritan Nonconformists remained within the pale of the National

Church. It should be remembered that the first Nonconformists were all members of the National Church. Modern dissenting historians sometimes claim the earliest Puritan Nonconformists as though they were dissenters of the modern type, which is not the case. The simplest way to correct this misconception is to compare the Puritan party to modern *Low* Churchmen, and the Papal party to modern *High* Churchmen. The point to emphasise is that both were parties *within* the Church, though their views as to doctrine and ritual differed considerably, just as modern Low Churchmen deprecate the use of eucharistic vestments, and other matters of ritual and ceremonial; but they were, and considered themselves to be, staunch Churchmen all the same. The same may be said of the Papal party in the Church. They, too, were members of the National Church, and worshipped at her altars, however opposed they might be to the abolition of Papal authority and the Latin Mass. But when the Pope, after finding that there was no hope of restoring his authority in England, excommunicated Elizabeth, the position of the Papists was a desperate one: for they could not be at the same time faithful Papists and loyal citizens. The Pope had made that impossible for them. They had to choose between fidelity to the Pope and loyalty to the Queen. The danger to Elizabeth from the political machinations and conspiracies of the Pope's emissaries was so great that stringent laws had to be passed against the Papists in order to safeguard the throne and ensure the peace of the nation. Elizabeth and her advisers had no desire to punish even the Papists for their religion, but they insisted on their giving tokens of loyalty. Those who declined were called "recusants." The Spanish Armada, 1588, was the Papal reply to England's firm stand for religious freedom: just as the *Martin Marprelate Tracts* were the Puritans' reply to Elizabeth's religious settlement. But even the Papists joined heartily in the national cause against the insolent

attempt of the Pope to subdue England and England's Queen by means of the Spanish Armada.

The most notable feature of Elizabeth's reign in connection with the Church in Wales was the appointment of native Welshmen as bishops. Richard Davies, Thomas Davies, Morgan, Vaughan, Meyrick, Rowlands, Glyn, Jones, Bleddyn, are a few names taken at random. From the time of Henry VIII to the period of the Revolution, forty-four Welsh bishops were appointed to the four Welsh dioceses. So that in spite of the masterful character of the Tudor monarchs they were not unmindful of the national claims of the Welsh people. Only two of the Welsh bishops refused to conform when Elizabeth published the Act proclaiming the Royal supremacy—viz., Goldwell of S. Asaph, and Bishop Morgan of S. David's. Both were deprived, and left the country.

A special interest attaches to one of the Welsh bishops in Elizabeth's reign, namely Bishop Barlow, who was the senior bishop at the time of Parker's consecration to the See of Canterbury, who had been consecrated to S. Asaph, and who was afterwards Bishop of S. David's. The validity of Parker's consecration, with the consequent continuity of the English episcopate, was not called in question until Roman controversialists of a subsequent generation found it necessary to cast about for a decent excuse in justification of their schismatical policy. The learned Dr. von Döllinger —great among Roman Catholic historians—says, "The fact that Parker was consecrated by four rightly consecrated bishops, *rite et legitime*, with imposition of hands, and the necessary words, is so well attested, that if one chooses to doubt this fact, one could with the same right doubt one hundred thousand facts. The fact is as well established as a fact can be required to be. Bossuet has acknowledged the validity of Parker's consecration, and no critical historian can dispute it. The orders of the Romish Church could be disputed with more appearance of reason."

Bishop Richard Davies, the patriotic and learned Bishop of S. Asaph, refers in a most appreciative way in his Preface to William Salesbury's Welsh Testament to Elizabeth's policy of appointing native pastors to the Welsh Church, and his own appointment is an eloquent tribute to the Queen's sympathetic concern for the welfare of the old Church of the Cymry.

Bishop Hugh Jones, again, of Llandaff (1567) was the first Welsh bishop appointed to that see for nearly three centuries. Bishop Jones succeeded the famous Anthony Kitchin, who retained his see from the time of Henry VIII to the reign of Elizabeth, a living proof of the continuity of the Church throughout all the vicissitudes of the Reformation, whatever may be thought of the elasticity of his views. Bishop Godwin, the author of *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, refers to Bishop Kitchin as the calamity of his see, on the ground that " he sold in parcels all the episcopal farms with the exception of a very few, and let out the rest on very long leases receiving extremely small payments." The truth is that the Church was financially in a very low condition, as the result of the severe process of confiscation through which it had passed since the dissolution of the monasteries. Poverty led to inefficiency and inefficiency to abuses.

Political circumstances brought about another crying evil—the want of efficient preaching. Preaching was severely restricted and sometimes entirely prohibited, as a safeguard against the publication of doctrines obnoxious to those in authority. No clergyman was allowed to preach without a licence. It is worthy of note, however, that " preaching " at this period of the church's history meant something much higher, and more exacting than delivering an address of half an hour's duration. A " preacher " was one who was capable of delivering a long systematic homily such as would entitle him to be considered a qualified theologian. When men like John Penry complained

of the paucity of " preachers," it must not be inferred that the parish priests were uneducated and incompetent men in the pulpit. It merely shows that the long treatises on abstruse doctrines of theology, such as Puritans loved, were not as frequent as they ought to have been. Archdeacon Thomas, referring to this subject, writes :—" Taking this to refer more especially to Welsh preaching, I conceive the explanation thereof to be that pointed out by Dr. Morgan in his dedication to Queen Elizabeth, where he accounts for the continued paucity of Welsh preachers by the long disuse of the language in the Church, and the absence of a complete translation of the Bible, the proper terms having become either forgotten or so obscured that neither those who teach can explain with sufficient clearness what they wish nor those who listen understand with sufficient readiness what is explained." The fact, however, still remained, that the " preachers " were very few and the people ignorant and unlearned ; so much so that in the preamble to the Act passed in 1563, for the translation of the Bible into Welsh, it is stated " that her Majesty's loving subjects inhabiting within Her Highness' Principality of Wales are entirely destitute of God's Holy Word, and do remain in the like or rather the more darkness and ignorance than they were in the time of Papistry."

There was a great scarcity of clergy, and especially of efficient clergy, owing to the impoverished state of the Church. A clergyman had often to serve two or three parishes in order to secure a living wage. This state of impoverishment together with—being in fact the result of—the tremendous convulsion through which the country had passed, had brought about all the evils that afflicted the Church in Wales in the later stages of the Reformation. The wonder is, that there was so much life and energy left in her. The number of patriotic and energetic bishops ; the literary and spiritual activity that marked the later part of Elizabeth's reign, the rise of Welsh religious

literature and the impetus given to educational work, prove that the Church in Wales was a living and a growing institution in spite of the wounds inflicted upon her by the hand of the spoiler.

We will deal in the next chapter with the story of the Welsh Bible and religious literature; but a word must be said before bringing this chapter to a close on the general condition of Wales during this period, and on the Catholic sympathies of the Welsh people. Before turning to the darker side of the picture let us take a glance at the bright side. The following quotation from a report on the habits and disposition of the Welsh people sent by Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor (1566-1585) to the Government of the day, gives us a delightful picture of Welsh country life in the sixteenth century. "Upon the Sundays and holy-days the multitude of all sorts of men, women and children of every parish do use to meet in sundry places either on some hill or on the side of some mountain where their harpers and crowthers (violin players) sing them songs of the doings of their ancestors, namely of their wars against the kings of this realm and the English nation, and then do they rip up their pedigrees at length, how each of them is descended from those their old princes. Here also do they spend their time in hearing some part of the lives of Taliesin, Merlin, Beuno, Cybi, Llywarch Hên, etc., and such other the intended prophets and saints of that country."

This love of music, poetry and the national literature, so deeply implanted in the Welsh people, is at the root of that flourishing national institution the Eisteddfod, which is so ancient in origin and so powerful an instrument in the cause of popular education of the very best kind. In 1567, Elizabeth issued a commission for holding an Eisteddfod at Caerwys—a notable event in the history of Welsh Bardism. A similar commission was issued by Henry VIII in 1523. The object of both was "to license bards

and to prevent those unable to compose in the regular metres from professing poetry." In plainer language, the object was to separate the bardic sheep from the goats, and put an end to vagrant minstrelsy. Its chief value for us is that it illustrates the profound interest taken by the Welsh peasantry in the literature of their native land. However unsettled the country might be, it is clear that the people would insist on having their Eisteddfods and listening to their national bards. And there is evidence unfortunately that the general state of the country was very unsettled, wild and lawless.

Sir John Wynne (in *The History of the Gwydir Family*), who lived during this period, draws a very gloomy picture of the state of society—the gentry lawless and oppressive ; their halls the refuge of thieves and freebooters ; life and property in perpetual danger ; family feuds a regular feature of the age. The fate of Judge Owen about the middle of the sixteenth century (as he was returning with an armed escort from the Dolgelley Assizes) at the hands of the notorious and dreaded Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy, shows how little respect there was for the law. The javelin men, who nowadays form an ornamental escort to our judges, were once a very stern necessity. Writing about the same time, Canon Griffiths of Milan remarks : " I hear that there are many places in Wales, yea, whole counties without one Christian in them, living like beasts and not knowing anything good. And in those places where they are Christians, they are only those who are common and poor who follow Christ. The gentry and the wealthy are without thought of faith in the world. In England the gentry are often good and show a good example of life and faith ; the Welsh gentry give example to the poor and common people to be without any faith or conscience." Bishop Richard Davies bears similar testimony : " Lust for the things of this world has drowned Wales at this day, and has driven away everything

good and virtuous . . . . Often in Wales the hall of the gentleman is found to be the refuge of thieves. Therefore I say were it not for the arms and wings of the gentry, there would be but little theft in Wales." (Preface to Salesbury's Welsh Testament.) In the diocese of S. David's, cases of immorality were so frequent "that lamentable it is to hear there be in my diocese put to open penance 500 every year." So the Bishop writes to Whitgift in 1577.

It would be tedious to go on adding to this sad tale of demoralisation. What was the cause of it? It was not altogether due to the moral upheaval caused by the Reformation. The past had left a legacy of unsettledness, which time had not yet succeeded in healing. "The story of our country under its native princes," says Yorke (*Royal Tribes of Wales*) "is a wretched calendar of crimes, of usurpations and of family assassinations. Our laws of distribution, the law of gavel-kind, balanced the power and raised the competition of the younger branches against the elder, a Theban war of Welsh brethren ending in family bloodshed and national destruction." But the main cause undoubtedly was the religious unrest and the laxity of religious belief, following on the disastrous policy of Henry VIII. Henry's robbery had crushed for a time the religious teachers of Wales, had impoverished the Church, and paralysed the organised forces of morality and religion. The dwindling resources of the Church as regards the parochial ministry are illustrated by the order issued by Archbishop Parker in 1560 forbidding bishops to ordain mechanics. So hard it was to secure fit candidates for the ministry of the Church!

It is perfectly clear from contemporary evidence derived from many sources, that Wales was passing through a dangerous state of religious unsettlement. The unreformed faith was banned—the new order of things had no time to take the place of the old as a restraining and uplifting moral force in the life of the people. The report of the

Welsh bishops and the inquiries sent down by the Archbishop and the Privy Council touching the moral condition of the country prove that the people were very loth to accept the reformed faith. Here is an illuminating comment by Bishop Robinson, of Bangor, 1566, in his reply to Cecil: " As regards Carnarvon, Anglesey and Merioneth, the inhabitants live in much obedience." This refers to their civil allegiance. But in religious matters he has a different tale to tell. " But touching the Welsh people's receiving of the gospel, I find by small experience amongst them here that ignorance continueth many in the dregs of superstition, which did grow chiefly upon the blindness of the clergy, joined with greediness of getting in so bare a country, and also upon the closing up of God's Word from them in an unknown tongue: of the which harms though the one may be remedied yet the other remaineth without hope of redress, for the most part of the priests are too old they say now to be put to school." " Upon the inability to teach God's Word . . . I have found since I came to this country images and altars standing in churches undefaced: lewd and indecent vigils and watches observed; much pilgrimage going; many candles set up to the honour of the saints; some relics yet carried about, and all the country full of beads and knots besides divers other monuments of wilful serving of God."

The Welsh bishops had considerable trouble with " recusants ": though there were very few who declined outwardly to conform to " Church services and sacraments." Bishop Richard Davies testifies: " Notwithstanding that, I perceive a great number to be slow and cold in the true service of God, some careless for any religion, and some that wish the Romish religion again." Richard Price, writing to Lord Burleigh in 1576, says: " The people do still in heaps go on pilgrimages to the wonted wells and places of superstition, and in the nights, after the feasts, when the old offerings were used to be kept at any idol's

chapel, albeit the churches be pulled down, yet do they come to the place where the church or chapel was, by great journeys barefoot very superstitiously." An anonymous document dated 1580 points out: "Truly at this day if you look thoroughly to the whole number of gentlemen and others of all sorts in North Wales, ye shall scarcely find any (the bishops and some few others excepted) yet in any sort well instructed in the faith of Christ; for of the whole multitude such which be under thirty years of age *seem to have no show of any religion*, and others well near generally all dare to profess to maintain the absurdest points of Papist heresy."

In June, 1579, instructions were drawn up for the guidance of the Council of the Welsh Marches. "The Queen hath been given to understand that through lack of good teaching and negligence of the clergy certain evil-disposed persons being sent from Rome and termed 'reconcilers' have crept among her subjects of those parts and seduced many of them from the true religion." Then follows a curious inquiry: "whether divers of the best benefices are not bestowed upon children under colour of supporting them in the universities; or else upon persons not admitted to the ministry, and how many benefices have been bestowed upon gentlemen and other laymen." These quotations reveal one thing very clearly, namely the pathetic devotion of the Welsh people and the bulk of the clergy to the religion and customs in which they had been brought up. This stubborn adherence to the unreformed faith will account to some extent for the unfavourable view of the religious condition of Wales entertained by the extreme Puritans, such as John Penry. Religious partisans are generally prone to depict in gloomy colours those who differ with them, and to fasten upon them the charge of reviling the banners of the dawn. The age of transition was specially critical for the rising generation. "Those under thirty years of age" were naturally not so

deeply attached to the old faith as their parents, for it was banned: still less were they attached to the reformed religion, for they knew very little about it.

With so many difficulties around them the Welsh bishops and clergy of the Elizabethan era, who set about the arduous task of presenting the Scriptures and the literature of religion and devotion to the people in their native tongue, deserve the lasting gratitude of the Welsh nation. No body of men in any period of the Church's history rendered a greater service to the cause of true religion, and to the best interests of the people than Bishops Davies and Morgan and William Salesbury, and the other fellow-workers associated with them. They were as much alive, as we have already seen, to the evils of the day, as Penry and his friends were, but instead of contenting themselves with denouncing those evils, which is not a particularly arduous task, they quietly set about the work of removing them, by providing the Welsh people with the Word of God in the language they could understand.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STORY OF THE WELSH BIBLE

THE story of the Welsh Bible deserves a separate chapter. The greatest gift of the Reformation to Wales was the Welsh Bible. We are now departing slightly from the chronological sequence of our story of the Church, for the subject of this chapter belongs to the period dealt with in the preceding chapter. But it has been reserved for special treatment, because we should not be able to appreciate the great importance of the subject if it were merely included as an episode in the general events of the Reformation period. In Wales the history of the Welsh Bible is almost synonymous with the progress of the Reformation in any real sense. What did the people do before they had the Bible in their own language? What was the extent of their knowledge of Scripture? That they were not unacquainted with it is evident from many sources. Welsh literature from the Norman Conquest to the late Middle Ages is conclusive evidence of this. Mystery-plays and stations of the cross, sacred pictures, religious ballads and various dramatic means were used by the old parish priests, to impart to their flocks a knowledge of Biblical scenes and events, and the Laws of Howel Dda testify to the use of the Gospels in the religious life of the old tribesmen. How early in the history of the Welsh people parts of the Bible were translated into Welsh we have no means of knowing. The devastating wars that swept over the country from time to time played havoc with the earlier records of Welsh literature. We have evidence in a letter written by Archbishop Peckham to the Canons of S. Asaph, shortly after his visitation of the Welsh dioceses, that there existed at that time a MS. copy of the Four Gospels in Welsh, in the Cathedral Library at S. Asaph. This letter is dated May

19th, 1284, Rhuddlan, and is an open letter to all the clergy and laics of the dioceses of Coventry, Lichfield, Hereford, and the four Welsh dioceses, recommending the mission of the Canons of S. Asaph who were touring the country for funds in behalf of S. Asaph Cathedral. He refers to this interesting Welsh translation as the "librum seu textum Evangeliorum de ecclesia Assavensi; vulgo Euaggultheu appellatum." Evenegylltheu (*i.e.*, Efengylau, Gospels) is the word in the original document (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., vol. I, p. 554: or in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. II, p. 104). This is the earliest extant reference to a Welsh translation of any part of the Bible. The next reference is found in the preface written by Bishop Richard Davies of S. David's, to Salesbury's Welsh edition of the New Testament, published in 1567. In this preface, entitled *Epistol at y Cembru*, he states that when a boy, he had seen, while visiting an uncle of his, a Welsh translation of the *Pentateuch* in MS. In the same preface, he declares that the Welsh people, though they were destitute of a published translation of the Scriptures, were nevertheless acquainted orally with their contents. Educated Welshmen possessed Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, of which several editions had been published before the year 1534. Then Coverdale's translation of the Bible, which had been authorised in the time of Henry VIII, 1535, and the Geneva Bible, were already in the field and doubtless prepared the way for the Welsh Bible by creating a need. In 1551 William Salesbury published *Kynnifer Llith a Ban*, containing the Gospels and Epistles for the Sundays and Holy-days throughout the year. We have already referred to the first book printed in Welsh, 1546, by William Salesbury (or according to others, by Sir John Price) containing the Welsh alphabet, calendar, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, etc. In 1561 a diocesan council held at S. Asaph ordered that after the Epistle and Gospel had been read in English they should also be read

in Welsh. The Catechism also was to be read in Welsh every Sunday. All these changes were rapidly preparing the way for a complete Bible in the Welsh language. In another work edited and published by Salesbury, *Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd*, 1546, a collection of Welsh proverbs by Gruffydd Hiraethog, the author advises his countrymen to petition the king to have the Scriptures translated into Welsh. Mary's reign put a stop for a time to all these projects, but on the accession of Elizabeth, Dr. Richard Davies, who had resided at Geneva, returned, and was appointed by Elizabeth Bishop of S. Asaph, and two years afterwards Bishop of S. David's. Being one of the most distinguished scholars of his day, he was elected one of the committee appointed to translate the Bishops' Bible, 1568. For this English Bible he translated the Book of Joshua, Judges, Ruth and the two Books of Samuel. In 1567 two very important Welsh publications issued from the press. The first was a Welsh translation of the Book of Common Prayer. This was the joint work of William Salesbury and Dr. Richard Davies. The second was the New Testament in Welsh—the joint work of Dr. Davies, Salesbury and Dr. Thomas Huet, precentor of S. David's. The greater part of the work, however, was accomplished by Salesbury himself. We have already referred to the interesting preface to this work by the Bishop. In it he reviews the history of the Church in Wales, and the degradation which followed on the destruction of the old Welsh books of history and Scripture after the coming of the Normans. He further holds out a promise that the Old Testament would speedily follow. Of the New Testament, published by Salesbury, Dr. Davies translated the following parts: Timothy, Hebrews, S. James, I and II Peter, while Dr. Huet, the Cantor Menevensis, translated the Book of the Revelation. The expenses of publication were shared between the bishop and Salesbury. Salesbury stands forth so conspiciously

in the history of this great literary movement in the Welsh Church of the sixteenth century. He was born at Plas Isaf, Llanrwst, and was on his father's side descended from an old Norman family. After taking his degree at Oxford, he went to London to study Law. But he spent the rest of his life in the pursuit of literature. His home was at Caedu, in Denbighshire. He was an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and two or three modern languages. His Welsh, however, is awkward and cumbrous, and has been severely criticised. In fairness to him it should be remembered that he was a pioneer, and the stimulus he gave to the important work of providing the Welsh people with a translation of the Scriptures far outweighs the defects of his method of handling the Welsh language. He had previously published *A Dictionary in Englysche and Welshe*—intended to enable monoglot Welshmen to learn the English language. Some of his definitions are very quaint. Dr. Thomas Huet, the other member of the triumvirate engaged on the New Testament, was a native of Breconshire and a Cambridge graduate. He became precentor of S. David's in 1560, and remained there until his death in 1591. He was a Doctor of Divinity and learned in Ecclesiastical law. The task of translating the Old Testament was now taken in hand by Bishop Davies and Salesbury. They had apparently made considerable progress when some unfortunate dispute arose between the two collaborators, which is thus described by Sir John Wynn in his Memorials of the Gwydir family: "They were very onward with it, and had gone through with it, if variance had not happened between them, after they had spent nearly two years in that business, concerning the general sense and etymology of one word which the bishop would have to be one way and William Salesbury another, to the great loss of the old British and modern tongue; for being together, they drew homilies, books and

divers other tracts in the British tongue, and had done far more if that unlucky division had not happened; for the bishop lived five or six years after, and William Salesbury about twenty-four, but gave over writing (more was the pity) for he was a rare scholar and especially a Hebrician, whereof there was not many in those days." The publication of the Welsh Bible was in consequence delayed for twenty years. An Act of Parliament had been passed in 1563 ordering and authorising the translation of the Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh, and instructions were issued to the bishops of Bangor, S. David's, S. Asaph, Llandaff and Hereford and their successors. They were to " take such order among themselves for the soul's health of the flocks committed to their charge within Wales." A copy of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer so translated was to be provided for every Cathedral, collegiate and parish church and chapel of ease. The work was ordered to be ready by March 1566. This allowed three years; the parson of every parish was to share with his parishioners the expense of providing copies for parochial use. The price was to be fixed by the bishop. In default of the work being ready by the appointed time and the instructions given above being fully complied with, a penalty of £40 was to be imposed on each bishop. The terms were, of course, utterly unreasonable. How could the Welsh bishops be expected to publish a Welsh translation of the whole Bible in an age when a knowledge of Hebrew was rare; and competent scholars few, even in England. One does not desire to turn from a purely historical treatment of this subject to a controversial matter; but it is well to point out, as an answer to an imputation that has been made by some ill-disposed critics of the Welsh Church, what was the significance of this Act of Parliament in reference to the publication of the Welsh Bible. Writers who ought to have known better have stated that the Church in Wales did not move in the

matter of the Welsh Bible until compelled by an Act of Parliament to do so! The same charge might have been brought against the English Church. The truth is that no translation of the Bible could be published without lawful permission, for the simple reason that the authorities held it to be their duty to see that the translation of the Bible was so far as contemporary Biblical Scholarship permitted, a correct and reliable version of the original text. The printing of it, moreover, could not be done without a licence. Salesbury, *e.g.*, was granted a patent by the Queen for the purpose of printing the New Testament. Salesbury had, however, as we have already noticed, advised the Welsh people to petition the King for an authorised Welsh translation as far back as 1546. Then there was the question of the necessary funds for carrying on the work. Parliament voted a sum of money to defray the expense of publishing the English version, but no grant was made to meet the expense of publishing the Welsh Bible. It was published however, in spite of this important omission. A Welshman of the name of Toy, a London printer, undertook the expense of the publication on his own shoulders. A passage from Morris Cyffin, a contemporary writer and a master of Welsh prose, is worth quoting at this point. He is referring to the benefits derived by the Welsh people from the Welsh translation of Scripture: "Before this it is easy to see how languid the state of the Welsh language was, when scarcely anything was heard but either wanton song or some other frivolous jeering without learning grace or substance in it. If by chance some bard should endeavour to spin coarsely a little theology in verse, he was deficient in many respects for want of knowledge and learning; pointing out to the people some old fable or old women's tales of the neighbourhood; and those taken for the most part from the book of lying monks, called *Legenda Aurea*. The New Testament was translated in the eight or ninth year of the reign of our Lady

Queen Elizabeth, but the printed expressions in it were so crude and incorrectly rendered that the ear of a pure Welshman could not bear to hear them read. It was in this Testament that I saw a godly and learned letter by the Right Reverend Father Richard, Bishop of S. David's, to lead them to know the Catholic Faith, and the faith of the Gospel of Christ ; which letter the said bishop wrote in clear, clever, and skilful Welsh, and doubtless it did much good to every Welshman that read it." The long disuse of the native tongue as the language of theology and public worship had made it very difficult to adapt it at once for the expression of religious truth and for ecclesiastical use : and the first attempt of our Welsh reformers was naturally rather crude and inelegant, though Bishop Davies was a better Welsh writer than Salesbury. But the Welsh translation of the whole Bible by Bishop Morgan is of a different quality. William Morgan was born near Penmachno, Carnarvonshire, and educated in S. John's College, Cambridge. It is said that young Morgan received his earliest education from a monk who resided in his native parish after the suppression of the monasteries. His marked ability brought him to the notice of his powerful and patriotic squire, Sir John Wynne, of Gwydir, who enabled him to proceed to Cambridge. He began his great work on the translation of the Bible when he was Vicar of Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, in the diocese of S. Asaph. He was not, however, permitted to do so without some opposition. His parishioners, not realizing the value of their pastor's undertaking, brought some ill-natured charges against him, incompetence for the work being one of them. This brought Morgan to the notice of Archbishop Whitgift, a most auspicious event for the young scholar, as it afterwards turned out. Whitgift found out his talent, and at once gave him every encouragement to proceed with the task he had set himself. His own bishop, William Hughes of S. Asaph (1573-1600),

also deserves great credit : for, having come in contact with Morgan at Cambridge, he brought him to his diocese with the object of encouraging him in undertaking the translation of the Bible. At Cambridge, Morgan had studied Hebrew, a rare accomplishment in those days. Even Greek had only recently been introduced into the University curriculum. There are few Welsh documents more interesting than the Latin preface, in which Morgan dedicated his great work when completed to Queen Elizabeth. He tells us in simple, straightforward language the story of his early struggles and the many difficulties that beset his path, some inherent in the nature of his work, others needlessly caused by unfriendly critics, " the evil affection of certain persons." But his Bishop, among others, encouraged him to go on. " When I saw, therefore, that the translation of the rest of the Scriptures was so useful, nay so necessary (though long deterred by the sense alike of my own weakness and the greatness of the subject), I yielded to the appeals of good men and allowed myself to be persuaded to undertake this most important, troublesome, and to many unacceptable work." The part played by the good Archbishop Whitgift in the history of the Welsh Bible is one that has gained for him a warm place in the affections of the Welsh people. Without his help, material and moral, the publication of the Welsh Bible would have been hindered for a considerable time. Whitgift took a keen interest in the young Welshman's arduous task. And Morgan gladly and gratefully acknowledges his debt to this good Archbishop " who loved our nation." Whitgift had at one time been President of the Council for the Welsh Marches ; and this office had brought him into contact with the Principality and its needs. " Overwhelmed by the difficulty of the task and the greatness of the expense I should have given in at the very threshold so to say," writes Morgan, " had it not been that the most Reverend Father in Christ, the Archbishop of Canterbury,

that most excellent patron of literature, most keen champion of the truth, and most prudent guardian of order . . . . prevailed upon me to proceed; and helped me with his purse, his influence and his counsel. And following his example, other good men have given me very great assistance." It is quite clear from Morgan's own testimony, apart from other sources of evidence, that there was considerable opposition from some quarters to the publication of the Welsh Bible. That this opposition did not come from the Church authorities is, fortunately, quite clear; for Morgan's own Diocesan, apart from the Archbishop, gave him steady encouragement. The opposition, as far as we can gather, appears to have come from the baser sort of the Welsh gentry. Canon Griffith Roberts, the learned and patriotic Welshman who had settled at Milan writes bitterly of this unpatriotic faction. "You will find some as soon as they see the river Severn or the church steeples of Shrewsbury, and hear an Englishman say in his language 'good morning' who will begin to forget their Welsh and speak much broken language; their Welsh is Anglicized and their English is too Welshy." Archdeacon Edmund Prys, a contemporary of Morgan, says the same: "The Welsh gentry had by this time formed such associations with England that their national customs had worn away to a great extent—prejudice was entertained against the Welsh language and means were adopted, though ineffectual, to abolish it altogether." The plea put forward by the Anglicizing party was that the continuance of the Welsh language would prove a serious hindrance to the progress of the Welsh people, and to the union of the two nations. The bishop replies effectively and in weighty words to this unpatriotic sophistry in his *Preface:* "I would that those who think that in order to maintain agreement, our people must be forced to learn the language, rather than have the Scriptures translated into our own, were more careful lest in their zeal for unity they hinder the

truth and more anxious lest in the promotion of agreement they eradicate religion itself. For though it be greatly to be wished that the inhabitants of the same island should be of the same speech and language, it must be equally borne in mind that to effect such a result would need so much time and pains that it would be both barbarous and cruel to wish or to allow God's people to perish in the meanwhile through most miserable famine of His Word. Besides there can be no doubt that a community and agreement in religion is more potent for unity than is that of speech." This noble plea in behalf of the Welsh people is as valid now as it was in the sixteenth century. No political or commercial expediency should be permitted for a moment to interfere with the sacred claims of a people's mother-tongue. The disastrous policy followed by the bulk of the Welsh gentry since the Tudor period of ignoring the Welsh language, landowners being often unable to speak the language of the people among whom they live and from whom as tenants they receive the greater portion of their income, has not made for wisdom or concord in the social life of Wales. Snobbery is the mildest term that can fitly be applied to those who in the Wales of the past as well as the present, holding a position of responsibility in the country as landowners or in other ways, think it *infra dignitatem* to learn the mother-tongue of Wales, one of the noblest and richest of all the languages of Europe, and the organ, moreover, of the most ancient literature we possess. The renascence of the Welsh language and Welsh literature is due in a large measure to Bishop Morgan's Welsh Bible. It infused new and vigorous life into the language, and fixed the standard by which Welsh prose has been judged ever since. In recognition of his great work, Morgan was appointed Bishop of Llandaff in 1595, and of S. Asaph in 1601. A strong light is thrown on his conscientiousness and independence of character by a correspondence (printed in

Philip Yorke's *Royal Tribes of Wales*) which passed between him and Sir John Wynne, of Gwydir. Sir John had asked him for a lease of the rectory of Llanrwst, evidently thinking that his past kindness to the Bishop entitled him to expect a favourable reply to his petition. It needed courage to refuse his request, but Bishop Morgan was not wanting in courage. He said his conscience would not permit him to do such a thing: "On granting it, I should prove myself an unhonest and unconscionable and irreligious man: you a sacrilegious robber of my Church, a perfidious spoiler of my diocese, and an unnatural hinderer of preachers and good scholars—the consideration of which would be a continual terror and torment to my conscience."

Other scholars and sympathisers helped Morgan in various ways to accomplish his work on the Welsh Bible. It must, of course, be remembered that Morgan himself did the work of translation single-handed, a notable achievement compared with the corresponding work done with the English Bible, on which several scholars were engaged, who, moreover, had previous translations to help them. It is true that Morgan also had some material to work upon, and that he made use of Bishop Davies' and Salesbury's labours upon the Old Testament or the part of it they had completed. But that does not detract from the merit of his work, for he went over the whole ground himself, and those who are qualified to judge of the merits of the translation, assure us that it is a close and idiomatic rendering of the original text. The Welsh language seems to have a closer affinity with the Hebrew idiom than is the case with the English tongue. In the narrative portions the difference is not so marked, but in the prophetical books, the psalms and proverbs, the reader will notice, if he compares the English and Welsh versions side by side, that the latter is generally shorter by a line, sometimes by two lines, than the English. This shows that owing to the closer kinship, as regards

idiom, between the Welsh and the Hebrew languages, the Welsh version stands less in need of circumlocution than the English. The excellence of Bishop Morgan's translation is attested by the fact that Bishop Thirlwall always made a point of consulting it before giving his opinion on a controverted passage. The names of Bishop Morgan's helpers and patrons are recorded in the preface to his work; Dean Goodman; Hugh Bellot, Bishop of Bangor; William Hughes, Bishop of S. Asaph; Dr. David Powell; Archdeacon Prys; and Dr. Richard Vaughan. It was at Dean Goodman's residence in Westminster that he stayed while the Bible was being printed—a whole year. Goodman, a "good man" in reality as well as in name, as Morgan describes him *vir re et nomine bonus*, was the founder of Ruthin Grammar School, and one of the translators of the Bishop's Bible, 1568. The nature of the assistance rendered by these scholars to the translator himself is not specified. It was probably by way of helpful suggestion and criticism, by lending books and examining the proofs. Only eight hundred copies of the first edition of Morgan's Bible were printed, and it was in *black letter*. There is in the Cathedral library of both S. Asaph and Bangor a copy of this edition, which is now very valuable. The next chapter in the history of the Welsh Bible is the recension of Morgan's translation by his successor in the See of S. Asaph, Bishop Richard Parry, who was assisted by the learned Dr. John Davis, Rector of Mallwyd. This was published in 1620. Thirty years' wear, together with the limited number of copies printed of Morgan's edition, made it necessary to undertake a fresh edition. Though the English authorised version preceded it, Bishop Parry's version is independent of the English Bible. The changes introduced by Bishop Parry and Dr. Davies into this version of the Welsh Bible are numerous—in regard to syntax, orthography and the order of words. Apart from some slight improvement in the matter of orthography this is the version now in use.

The work of revisers who enter into the labours of others is generally an advance on that of the pioneer, and this is the case with Parry's Bible, compared with Bishop Morgan's. And yet there are numerous instances which show that Morgan's rendering is superior to that of Parry. The first " popular " edition of the Bible, *i.e.*, portable Bible, available for general circulation, as distinguished from the larger edition only intended for the use of cathedrals and churches, was printed in 1630, ten years after Parry's edition. This was a most important event, for the Welsh Bible would obviously be only of very slight use to the nation at large as a means of disseminating a fruitful knowledge of Scripture among the masses until it could be brought within their reach. It would be difficult to exaggerate the immense influence of the Welsh Bible on the subsequent history of Wales, not only on the religious character and customs of the people, but on the tone and spirit of Welsh literature. So much is this the case that critics of our literature have frequently complained that much of our best poetry has been too deeply inoculated with theological ideas and used as a mere vehicle for the expression of religious orthodoxy. It may be said on the other side the advocates of a pure literature untrammelled by theological dogmas are apt to be equally biased in favour of what they consider the classic forms of literary work. It is true, however, that much of our modern eisteddfodic poetry is far too prone to dress up the ancient literary characters of Wales in the lineaments of the modern Methodist deacon or Calvinistic divine. These are the extravagances of the modern Muse, but the solid fact behind it is the deep infusion of the spirit of Holy Scripture into the body of Welsh literature in all its forms ; and in spite of many defects and much pietistic extravagance, we cannot be too thankful for this feature in the literature of our native land. In the threatened secularisation of our national ideals by political dissent, this literature will

be a powerful ally to those who are called upon to uphold the banner of the Christian faith in the "Land of the Bible."

The period which gave the Welsh Bible and Prayer Book to Wales is memorable for two publications second only in importance to the Bible itself. And they may be fittingly introduced here in connection with our present subject. The first is the metrical version of the Psalms published by Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, in 1621. Prys was born at Tyddyn Du, in the parish of Maentwrog, Merionethshire, and graduated at S. John's College, Cambridge. He became chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales. Prys was very skilful in Welsh verse, and a strong supporter of the bardic fraternity. The Psalms had already been translated into the strict Cynghanedd metre by William Middleton (known as Gwilym Ganoldref) and some of them into a more elastic metre by Edward Kyffin, for use in the services of the church. But Edmund Prys opened up new ground by wisely discarding the restrictions of the orthodox metres, on the plea that a free simple metre was the medium best fitted for popular use. The people could not appreciate the stiff orthodox Cynghanedd affected by the bards. His metrical version of the Psalms—*Salmau Cân*—proved a great success. Those who could not read, could at least commit to memory the simple religious ballads thus provided for them by the Archdeacon. A copy of this metrical Psalter was appended to the new edition of the Welsh Prayer Book, and it may be said to be the foundation of Welsh hymnology. Prys' Psalms are in fact still popular in Wales, but their greatest merit is that they enabled the Welsh people, from the early seventeenth century onward, to combine congregational singing with a knowledge of Scripture. The second publication to which we have to refer is *Canwyll y Cymry* by Rhys Prichard, Vicar of Llandovery (1579-1644). "In the history of the religious

awakening in Wales," says the editor of theWelsh Historical MSS., "there is no greater name than that of Vicar Prichard, of Llandovery, the greatest missionary in verse that probably any land ever produced." Vicar Prichard lived in an age when the religious and moral state of the country was very low. The manners and habits of the people were coarse and brutish; and rude ballads the principal means of education. Laud was Bishop of S. David's in the "old Vicar's" time, and appointed him Chancellor in 1626. During his residence at S. David's Vicar Prichard attracted immense congregations whenever he preached. The cathedral not being spacious enough to hold them, he preached to them in the open air from a movable pulpit. A powerful, persuasive preacher, he did a good work in his generation and stirred the slumbering conscience of a frivolous age to ponder on the eternal truths of religion. Finding, however, that preaching was not of itself sufficiently effective for the repression of vice and the cultivation of Christian habits, he conceived the happy idea of throwing his teaching into the form of popular verse, simple, vigorous, homely and "understanded of the people." It formed a body of practical divinity which the people could grasp and remember; and the venture was crowned with success. Apart from the service they have rendered to the cause of religion, these verses of Vicar Prichard should be of interest to the historical student, for they contain many allusions to contemporary customs and events. Even within living memory many a humble home in Wales can recall the Bible, Edmund Prys' *Salmau Cân* and *Canwyll y Cymry*, as being the principal contents of the Welsh labourer's library. The reader will notice that the two publications, which we have here associated with the story of the Welsh Bible, viz., the *Metrical Psalter* and *Canwyll y Cymry* point to the channel along which religious truth, as these two patriotic and earnest pastors of the Church rightly conceived, would most easily and effectively

reach the hearts and stir the conscience of Welshmen. The fondness of the Welsh people for singing suggested the best means for bringing home to them the truths of religion ; and those means were adopted. So great was Bishop Bull's admiration for the character and labours of the " old Vicar " that he expressed a desire to be laid by his side in the churchyard at Llandovery. When we consider the spiritual chaos that prevailed throughout the country during that transition period, as a result of the abolition of the old order of things in religion, as the common people would then view it, we are forced to the conclusion that the religious condition of the country would have been deplorable had it not been for the earnest and self-sacrificing efforts of the distinguished band of Welsh Churchmen whose work has been briefly described in this chapter. They stand in point of merit second to none before or after them, as those who for the benefit of their countrymen carried the banners of the dawn.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE STUART PERIOD AND THE PURITAN OPPRESSION

ELIZABETH'S firm and moderate policy enabled the Welsh Church to repair the ravages of the past and to make a beginning of setting its house in order. It was no small task for even the highest statesmanship to keep an even balance between the two extreme parties that contended for supremacy, or at least against uniformity—the Calvinistic Puritans and the Papal faction. This latter party was very strong in Wales, and the steady growth of Calvinism tended to stiffen its resistance to the religious settlement under Elizabeth. Not all the Roman Nonconformists, however, were anxious for the restoration of papal authority, in spite of their adherence to the unreformed faith. And in Elizabeth's reign no Romanist was required to abjure his religion. The Spanish Invasion and the Pope's Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth had alienated the sympathy of a great body of loyal English Romanists. The Pope had three weapons to fight the Reformation party: (1) The Inquisition; (2) the Jesuits; (3) the Index Expurgatorius.

Much of the religious and political unrest in England and Wales during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign and the early Stuarts was due to the activity of the Jesuits. The ingenuity and determination with which they carried on their propaganda in secret created an intense anxiety, and led to the most stringent measures against recusancy. It also strengthened the Puritan party by identifying its cause to some extent with the principles of loyalty. The progress of events, and the movement of parties in Wales, in the period covered by the present chapter, make it clear that Wales was strongly attached to the Catholic traditions of the Church and opposed to Calvinistic innovations. It

was in Wales that the Jesuits found their most enthusiastic recruits. The records of the period show that the bishops were troubled for a long time with the problem of recusancy. Welsh Romanists passed to and fro continually between Douai and Wales. Many of the old Welsh gentry were well-known adherents of the unreformed faith, and the common people clung to their old customs and " superstitions " in spite of the risks they ran. " The fact that in North Wales nearly all those who wrote between 1600–18 in defence of the old faith chose to remain unknown is not without its significance." Some of the more daring of the Welsh Romanists were executed. Richard White at Wrexham ; William Davies at Beaumaris ; Philip Evans at Cardiff. Other well-known and able emissaries of the Romanist faction were Robert Jones, the Jesuit, who carried on his secret work from Raglan ; Walter Powell, of Llandaff ; and John Jones, of Llanfrynach, a fellow-student with Laud at Oxford. Jones has been called the " Newman of his day." When the Stuarts came to the throne, the Welsh people transferred to them the same fervent loyalty that they had shown to the Tudors, for the Stuarts, too, had Welsh blood in their veins. They appointed native bishops for the Welsh Church, especially in the two northern sees. When the Civil War broke out, the state of affairs may be gathered from the fact that various Puritan sectaries, Presbyterian and Independent, who had their head-quarters at Bristol and the border towns of Wales, immediately made for the frontier ; for Welshmen were Royalists almost to a man, and staunch upholders of the National Church.

" At the end of the reign of James I," says Southey, " the condition of the Church was to all outward appearance as flourishing as its truest friends could have desired. It was looked upon as the head of the Reformed churches, honoured by foreign Protestants, and dreaded by the enemies of the Reformation. The world did not contain

men of stronger talents, sounder learning, and more exemplary lives than were to be found among its ministers. Their worth was soon to be tried in the furnace of adversity, and their works have stood, and will continue to stand, the test of time. They had maintained their cause with consummate ability against the Papists on the one hand and the Puritans on the other, and their triumph was as complete as their cause was good. But it is not by reason that such struggles are terminated."

The internal condition of the Church in Wales during the early Stuart period is further illustrated by the following quotation from the preface to the *Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefœdd*, by Robert Lloyd, of Chirk, 1630 :—

" When your lordship (Bishop Owen) comes to occupy the tent to which the providence of God has called you, and you become acquainted with your clergy, you will find there many of your under-shepherds training and guarding their flocks with care and tact and thoroughness. Some full of energy and whole-hearted, like the shepherd David of old, hesitating not to face the lion and the bear in the cause of their poor sheep to rescue and keep them safe from becoming the prey of wild beasts. Some gathering smooth and serviceable stones from the stream of God's Word to hurl at the spiritual Goliath who blasphemes and contemns the Israel of God. Others, eminent for their learning and talents, bringing to the upbuilding of the Church of Christ distinguished gifts of pure doctrine, eloquence of speech, and boldness to overthrow sin and iniquity."

This was addressed to Bishop John Owen of S. Asaph, who did excellent work for the diocese and for the cathedral, introducing Welsh preaching, among other needful reforms, as Browne Willis testifies. Wales certainly produced a band of most distinguished and capable men during these strenuous years, not only for the service of the Church, but as public servants, and in the learned

professions. A study of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* shows that during the reign of Charles I alone, a great number of Welshmen who had graduated at Oxford, attained positions of distinction in literature, learning, and offices of State—doctors of divinity, bachelors of divinity, and fellows of colleges. With few exceptions, the parochial clergy and gentry of Wales were university graduates. Perhaps the most notable figure of this stirring period from the Welsh point of view is Sir John Williams, the Lord Keeper, and Archbishop of York, 1641. He was a native of Conway, educated at Ruthin Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he was made a Fellow. He became Lord Keeper in 1618, a position held by a clergyman for the first time since the reign of Henry VIII. He acted as a conscientious and cautious adviser to King James, and laboured hard to compose the difference between king and Parliament. Laud's preferment to the See of S. David's was due to his influence. At the time of Charles' troubles with Pym and Hampden, Williams represented the party of compromise, whose policy, however, Charles refused to adopt. When the Civil War broke out, the archbishop fortified and held Conway for the King. He only survived Charles by about a year, having spent the remainder of his days in retirement. His views were distinctly moderate, but he was definitely anti-Calvinistic. Some idea of the man's character may be gleaned from the advice he once gave to a headstrong Puritanical clergyman, that "he would find no such ceremony equal to Christian charity." Turning from the man of affairs to the men of letters, we may notice Lewis Bayley, Bishop of Bangor, who wrote one of our religious "classics"—the Practice of Piety—*Ymarfer Diuvioldeb.* It was translated into Welsh by Rowland Vaughan, of Caergai, in 1630, and in the course of the next century passed through sixty editions; and was, moreover, translated into French and had a wide

circulation in France. John Bunyan spoke very highly of it, having himself derived much spiritual profit from the study of it. Rowland Vaughan, the translator, was a devout layman, a staunch Churchman, a good Welsh scholar and poet, and fought for the King in the Civil War. This age also produced three men whose names are as well known in England as in their native country: George Herbert, the poet; Henry Vaughan, the mystic; and Peter Heylyn, the learned champion of the Laudian policy and the author of *Microcosmus* (1621). It would be tedious to give a long list of those who laboured more particularly in the field of Welsh literature and especially religious literature; but the pages of our Welsh Bibliography—*Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*—will provide the reader with ample evidence of the devotion of Welsh Churchmen to the service of the National Church and our native literature. The religious controversies of the period, made more bitter perhaps by political differences than they would otherwise have been, were not conducive to the highest form of spiritual work; and a lowered state of morality was the natural result of political and religious partisanship. The Stuart doctrine of the divine right of kings was not suited to the age, though it might have commended itself if it had been maintained with greater tact and discretion. The Church, ever loyal to King and Constitution, suffered in consequence of her loyalty. The new political ideal borrowed from Geneva was definitely embraced by the extreme Puritans as a desirable substitute for monarchy, and Calvin's Presbyterianism adopted as an improvement on episcopacy. It was only after the country had made trial of Puritan politics and theology that it decided to remain loyal to the National Church. Few events in history are more significant of the deepest convictions of the English and Welsh people than the enthusiastic welcome accorded to the Stuart king at the time of the Restoration.

The beginnings of dissent in Wales can be traced back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Organised Welsh dissent is of a much later origin; it dates, in fact, from the year 1811, when the Calvinistic Methodists seceded from the Church and formed a separate connection. The earlier dissent to which we are now referring was not a native Welsh movement at all. As impartial evidence in support of this, the following quotation from the *Welsh People* (Rhys and Jones) will suffice. Referring to the men whose names are associated with the origin of dissent in Wales, in the earlier period under our notice, they say: "The work of these men and of others during the seventeenth century seems to have been very largely confined to the English side of Welsh life, that is to say, to the towns and the more Anglicised portions of the principality . . . the bulk of the Welsh-speaking population was untouched by their ministrations."

"Dissent," says Archdeacon Bevan, "did not gain a footing in Wales so early as in England. In no case was it indigenous to the soil of Wales; it was imported from England, and first gained a footing in those parts of Wales which were most readily accessible from that country, particularly Monmouthshire and the seaboard of Glamorganshire." Its pioneers were Wroth, Erbery, Walter Cradock, and Vavasour Powell. William Wroth was Vicar of Llanfaches, Monmouthshire, and appears to have been an earnest, devout man, of strong Puritanical leanings. The Bishop of Llandaff (Theophilus Field) had some trouble with him on account of his defiance of church order, but apparently treated him with consideration on account of his sincerity. But the unfortunate *Declaration of Sports*, 1633, which was ordered to be read in all churches, brought matters to a head. This famous Declaration stipulated that the King's subjects were not to be prohibited from any lawful amusements on Sunday *after* Divine service. This was a great offence to the

Puritan party, for Sabbatarianism had now begun to be the chief shibboleth in its creed. Even Vicar Prichard's fierce invective against the sin of Sabbath-breaking must not be taken too seriously; for the Sabbath-breaker of those days was not necessarily an evil-liver, but merely a person who went to church and followed the custom of his fathers of spending the rest of the day in innocent recreation! Still it was, in the circumstances, an unwise policy to adopt with such fierce Sabbatarians as the Puritans; and it cost the Church dearly, though the Church was only partially responsible for it. Wroth, however, left the Church for deeper reasons. His views were entirely subversive of Church government, and opposed to the principles of her teaching. As a consequence, he founded the first dissenting chapel in Wales, at Llanfaches, in 1639.

William Erbery (1604–54) was Vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff. He was a Glamorganshire man, and graduated at Brasenose College, Oxford. Wood, in his *Athenæ*, states that "he was always schismatically affected and preached in conventicles, and refused to read the *Declaration of Sports*." In 1634, the Bishop of Llandaff pronounced him a "dangerous schismatical preacher." In 1638 he was obliged to resign his living and leave the diocese. He then started preaching against episcopacy and ecclesiastical ceremonies, and threw in his lot with Independency. This obtained for him the chaplaincy of Major Skippon's regiment. He held some strange views, *e.g.*, that at the end of the Apostolic period the Holy Spirit withdrew Himself from the Church and that men substituted a carnal worship; that when apostacy was removed, the New Jerusalem would come down clearly from heaven. Baptism meant going ankle-deep in water, and none had a right to administer that ordinance without a fresh commission from heaven.

Walter Cradock was Erbery's curate, and was pronounced

by Bishop Murray " a bold, ignorant young fellow." His disobedience to Church order led to his suspension, and he eventually became Wroth's helper at Llanfaches.

Vavasour Powell (1617–70), who figured so prominently under Cromwell's regime, was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, at the expense of his uncle—Erasmus Powell. He was converted by Walter Cradock, and in 1639 became an itinerant evangelist. On the outbreak of the Civil War, he left Wales in 1642, and transferred his activities to London and the neighbourhood. When Parliament succeeded in getting the upper hand in Wales, Powell was induced to return and take up evangelistic work as one of the Commissioners for carrying out " the Act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales." He was appointed pastor of Newtown, and called " Metropolitan of the itinerants," *i.e.*, of Cromwell's preachers.

A brief recital of the events that preceded the downfall of the monarchy, the suppression of episcopacy, and the reign of the " saints " under Cromwell must suffice for our present purpose.

The Civil War was the issue of the differences between Charles I and Parliament. The Church, being loyal to the Throne, was naturally involved in the King's downfall. On the outbreak of war, the few scattered sectaries who professed that they alone were spreading " true religion " in Wales were immediately driven out by the Royalists. The Welsh nobles, gentry, and commonalty espoused the King's cause, and contributed willingly of their substance to provide the sinews of war. They were greatly impoverished in consequence ; and this, together with the heavy financial oppression they suffered under the Commonwealth, explains the deplorable poverty that marks the history of the Church during the century that followed. The policy of Archbishop Laud is another factor in the situation. Laud's policy was to establish that *via media* which was meant to keep England from

the extravagances of Pope and Puritan. He honestly believed that uniformity of worship, or conformity to the order and discipline of the National Church, was the best method of attaining unity. He therefore insisted on a loyal obedience to the Prayer Book. In all he did, he acted within the limits of Church law, and made the canons of the Church the standard of uniformity. It must be admitted that he enforced discipline with severity, but judged by the standard of that age, he was strictly just and impartial. High and low alike had equal justice meted out to them. He deemed it his duty, as the chief ruler of the Church, to purge the historic faith of that stern and fanatical Puritanism which was the contribution of continental reformers to English Christianity. It should be remembered that no one in those days conceived the idea that there could be more than *one* Church in the nation. It is our tendency to misjudge the men and movements of that age by reading back into it modern ideas which were wholly alien to the times. The most ardent Puritan, who claimed religious freedom, believed in the necessity of one national Church; believed in uniformity of doctrine and his own type of worship, and disbelieved in toleration. So that when the Puritan's turn came, he put his belief in practice and suppressed the Church and episcopacy, as we shall presently see, with a severity which left Laud's "discipline" far behind. There is a noble side to Puritanism which appeals to the best instincts of the English race, but the Puritanism of Laud's time, as a religious establishment, was permeated with that religious despotism which represented an excessive reaction from Papal tyranny.

> They ran sae far to get frae Rome
> That they ran oot o' Christendom!

The Puritans proved themselves to be tyrants in office and rebels when out of it.

Laud's policy might have been carried out with greater

sympathy, in view of the religious scruples and the many tender consciences the Church had to deal with ; but he acted throughout from a high sense of duty ; and in its main features his policy represented the constitutional position of the Church of England. That he failed to convince the Puritans of the rightness of his position and the lawfulness of his policy was not altogether his own fault. The cause lay deeper. It was a conflict between Calvinism and the National Church, and Laud had to take a definite course. Those who think that Laud's policy was open to severe criticism should, however, compare the merits of his work with the equally definite course taken by the " godly divines " who assuredly failed to set a better example of the clemency they expected from him, when they hurried a conscientious old man to the block. In 1643, when the Parliamentary cause was in a parlous state, the English Parliament opened negotiations with the Scots with a view to an alliance against Charles. The Scots agreed, on condition that Presbyterianism should take the place of Episcopacy in England. The Westminster Assembly of Divines had already taken a step in this direction. The result was the *Solemn League and Covenant*, 1643. Parliament had before this passed an Act for ejecting malignant and scandalous ministers, *i.e.*, those who adhered to Episcopacy and the Prayer Book. The clergy were ordered to swear allegiance to the *Covenant* and those who refused were turned out of their livings. A Presbyterian or Calvinistic system was substituted for the Church of England. In 1649 Charles was executed. He could have saved his life had he consented to the abolition of Episcopacy. This he refused to do. Charles had many serious faults, but his determined loyalty to the Church of England brought him to the block and gained for him the distinction of being a martyr in defence of her principles. England was then declared a Commonwealth, with the Rump Parliament in power. The real power, however,

lay with Cromwell and the army, which was Independent, and as much opposed to Presbyterianism as to Prelacy. Oliver Cromwell was of Welsh descent, his family name being Williams. His chief adviser in religious matters was Dr. John Owen, a native of Talybont, Towyn, in Merionethshire. He was special preacher before the House of Commons on the day after the execution of Charles. He was acknowledged to be a man of great learning and eloquence, and though a strong opponent of the Church, he was on the side of moderation. It was he who told the Commons " if you should once go so far as to declare that you have nothing to do with religion, God will soon show you that He has nothing to do with you as rulers."

" The Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales " was passed in 1649. The Westminster Assembly of Divines had in 1646 instructed a number of " preachers " to propagate the Gospel in the Principality; the chief of whom were Vavasour Powell, and Walter Cradock. These preachers were to be paid out of the sequestered revenues of the Welsh dioceses; a Committee of Sequestration being appointed for each county to handle the confiscated funds. The Act of 1649 provided that seventy-one commissioners and twenty-five " approvers " should be appointed to superintend the work. The chief commissioner for Wales was Colonel Harrison, and the chief " approver," Vavasour Powell. It was a disastrous period for the Church in Wales. The Royalist cause had laid a heavy tax on Wales, in men and money. The Puritan revolution was the last straw. Wales was treated as a conquered country. The Church was under the heel of the Puritan, and the marks of his hobnails remained on her for over a century. Her Liturgy was proscribed under severe penalties: her revenues confiscated to support the Parliamentary preachers: her bishops and clergy turned out of office, fined, imprisoned, and many of them put to death, for being

malignant, scandalous, and insufficient, *i.e.*, for refusing to renounce their Church and liturgy in favour of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the *Directory for Public Prayer*. Charges and complaints against the parochial clergy were investigated by the Committees of Sequestrators. The Prayer Book was forbidden even in private, and the public reading of it ranked with drunkenness, adultery, and the like, as equally bringing the offender under the definition of " scandalous " and its consequences. " It was made a crime," as Macaulay says, " for a child to read, by the bedside of a sick parent, one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians." " An ever-abiding sense of wrong stirred up the indignation of men who had looked back with regret to the Church observances which had been familiar to them in youth. Extempore prayer offered abundant facilities for the display of folly and profanity as well as of piety, and there were thousands who contrasted the tone and language of the new ministers with the measured devotion of the Book of Common Prayer, altogether to the advantage of the latter. Church and King, the old religious forms and the old political institutions came to be inextricably fused together in their minds; mingled with a vague and inarticulate sense of wrong being done to England by the openly avowed attempt to drive her by force when argument made no impression." (Gardiner.) Evelyn's Diary contains an account of this dismal period. Writing in 1655, after the edict issued against Christmas Day—turning it into a fast—he says : " There was no more notice taken of Christmas Day in churches ! So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the captivity of Zion ! "

Any act or expression that savoured in the slightest degree of the Prayer Book was severely punished. The burial service was not permitted to be read for the dead,

nor the marriage service at a wedding. The monuments of " superstition " were ruthlessly destroyed—altars, fonts, windows, carvings, statuary, screens, brasses, sacred vessels, tapestry, Church records, Prayer Books, etc. The Cathedrals of Bangor and S. Asaph were used as stables, and profanities which cannot be named were perpetrated on altars and fonts in derision of the sacraments !

These statements are not rhetorical generalisations from a few isolated facts, but the uniform record of every diocese in England and Wales. Every reputable historian accepts the substantial accuracy of the events of this period as recorded by Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy ;* and the facts stated here in connection with the hideous profanations of the Puritans during this period are all quoted from his writings, facts which he took the utmost pains to verify from written documents all over the country.

The number of clergy ejected from their livings, ostensibly on charges of evil-living, ignorance, delinquency, etc., but in reality for being loyal to the Church, has been disputed ; but three out of every four at the very least were turned adrift, and Puritanical preachers appointed in their place. It was enacted that the commissioners might, *if they thought fit,* allow the wife and children of every ejected clergyman one fifth of the net value of his living. The enactment was little more than a dead letter : it looked well on paper, but in practice it only added to the cruelty of the situation by raising hopes of relief for the starving families of the dispossessed clergy which were rarely realized. And even if they had been realized, it would not have kept them from starving. This pittance of compensation was hedged about with so many conditions, skilfully conceived so as to allow the Puritan intruder to evade his obligations, that in most cases there was not the remotest chance of recovering it by legal process. " No Presbyterian or Independent was ever known to allow any

Loyalist, whose place they had occupied for several years, the least farthing, but rather vilified and scorned them."

One zealous author actually wrote a book on the ethics of giving one-fifth of the net value to the sequestered ministers' wives and children, entitled " General reasons grounded on equity, piety, charity and justice *against* the payment of a fifth part to the sequestered ministers' wives and children."

When a gentleman in Redcastle petitioned Vavasour Powell for the maintenance due to the poor children of certain ejected ministers, Powell replied that " their heads should be dashed against the walls as Babylonish brats, and so their portions would be paid." All this is neither pleasant reading nor pleasant writing, but these facts throw a sinister light on the " Gospel preaching " done by the Puritans in Wales. Not content with this, Cromwell took care that the ejected clergy should not be allowed to gain an honest livelihood for themselves and their families by teaching or acting as chaplains. An edict of 1655 enacted that no one was permitted to keep in his house as chaplain or schoolmaster for his children any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a College or schoolmaster : no ejected person was allowed to keep any school, public or private, nor preach in any public or private place ; nor administer baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons or use the book of Common Prayer. Severe penalties were imposed upon those who offended against this ordinance. Nor did the authorities of the Commonwealth confine their attention to the clergy. The laity, too, felt the weight of their heavy hand. A tax of one-tenth was levied on the revenues of all Royalists throughout the country, and Major-Generals were appointed to enforce the payment. Wales received its full share of attention from the commissioners and sequestrators. Walker states that he experienced some difficulty in getting at all the facts connected with the Puritan persecution in Wales, " owing to the frequency

of the same surnames, and the great number of parishes of the same name!" Vavasour Powell and Cradock, who were the chief Evangelists, represented their countrymen, he says, "as pagans and infidels, and a people that understood nothing of God or of the power of godliness, and so had need to be converted to the faith." So they made it their business in the country by all possible methods of calumny and reproach to decry not only the old ministers, but the ministry itself." Powell, like his fellow-evangelists, was allowed £100 a year (worth a great deal more in those days). He also enjoyed the emoluments of several sequestered livings in North Wales. He waxed rich and acquired property and was able to build himself a very fair and sumptuous house in Kerry, Montgomeryshire. The commissioners for Wales "set themselves to the task of extirpating the whole clergy of these counties: having, in order to do it, hired beggars with such like to observe the actions of the clergy, allowing some 18d. a day for their good service, or appointed certain journey-men pedlars and itinerant tobacco-mongers and others of like quality to perambulate several of the counties at 18d. per diem to make feigned discoveries of the pretended obliquities of the ministers."

Powell said "he knew not any in the six counties of North Wales that had the power of godliness and very few the form, but most of them were unpreaching curates or scandalous in their lives." A list of ejected dignitaries and parochial clergy in one diocese alone, S. Asaph, which the reader will find in Archdeacon Thomas' *History of the Diocese* (vol. I, p. 111), men of academic distinction, one of them Provost of Eton and Warden of All Souls, is a strange comment on the intellectual and ministerial poverty found by Powell, in the Church of North Wales. Walker calculates that at least three out of four of the Welsh clergy were Masters of Arts, and some Doctors of Divinity!

The testimony of Powell and his associates can hardly be considered worthy of serious attention when tested by facts like these. They would consider any psalm-singing ruffian godly and sufficient, provided he could pronounce the party Shibboleth and show his devotion to the "godly party." The spectacle of the learned Dr. Pocock, the distinguished Orientalist, ejected by a local committee of Puritan "Approvers," on the ground of insufficiency, was surely enough to make angels weep—or laugh! And his case was only typical of others, all over the country.

How were the vacant parishes served? They were served by Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, etc.—men without ministerial orders; most of them uneducated. "Many of these," says Walker, "had never seen, some had not even heard, of any University"!

The chief Itinerants appointed for Wales were, of course, men of some education, as Vavasour Powell, Walter Cradock, David Gam, Captain Jenkin Jones, William Erbery, and Morgan Lloyd, author of *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, probably the best Welshman of the lot.

These men, Fifth Monarchy Men, superintended the work and "sublet" the preaching function to others, and pocketed the difference. Vavasour Powell was deliberately charged by an opponent from his own side, Alexander Griffith, with sacrilegiously misappropriating large sums of money. They had serious scruples at first, as to the godliness of receiving "tithes": for they had always inveighed against tithe, while it remained in the possession of the old parish priests, as being Jewish and Mosaical. But the process of passing through the fingers of the commissioners, where no small portion of it stuck, was deemed a refining one, and tithe having received a Christian baptism under the title of "stipend" and "salary," was forthwith received without a scruple.

Lest the reader should suspect the statement to be an exaggeration, the exact words of Walker are quoted:

" They filled the vacant livings with cooks, ranters, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, felt-makers, millers, gingerbread-makers, carpenters, etc. Only one academick whose name was Stephen Young." This refers to a district in South Wales. The services at Llandaff Cathedral under the Puritan regime were conducted by a weaver, named Walter ; helped by Henry Nichols, and Watkin Jones, of Mynydd Islwyn. This latter evangelist had converted the font of the parish church into a trough to water his cattle.

One who personally knew the state of the country writes : " You might ride ten or twenty miles on the Lord's Day where there were twenty churches and not one door opened. In some places there was scarce a sermon heard in sixty miles. Yea, the petition itself delivered to the Parliament avers that the churches were in most places shut up and the fabrick thereof ready to fall to the ground for want of repair. There were no less than 700 parishes in the thirteen counties unsupply'd with any ministers." In the petition sent to Parliament from South Wales the people complained that they had neither preaching, praying, christening, decent burials, or other spiritual rights or comforts administered to them, that they endured a famine of the Word of God, that many hundreds were converted to popery, after the casting out of the old ministers and that whole parishes have fallen off in that way : the people choosing " rather to go to Rome than to Bedlam ! " Records from the different counties, Denbigh, Carnarvon, Merioneth, etc., show that parishes were neglected wholesale, though the commissioners pocketed their revenues.

The truth is, that many of the leading Itinerants appointed for Wales spent their time and salaries in London, instead of attending to their duty. The author of *Gangraena*, himself a Puritan, deplores the lamentable state of things brought about by his own party. Things must have been pretty bad before a sympathiser could go to the

length of charging the Puritans with " damnable heresies, horrid blasphemies, libertinism and fearful anarchy." " The worst of the prelates held many sound doctrines and had many commendable practices : but many of the sects and sectaries of our days deny all principles of religion ; are enemies to all holy duties, order, learning, overthrowing all. What swarms are there of all sorts of illiterate mechanic preachers : Yea, of women and boy-preachers." Douglas writes : " During the calamitous war kindled and carried on by the Presbyterians, more country mansions were plundered and burnt, more churches robbed and profaned, more blood spilt within the compass of four years, and in short more frightful scenes opened of savage slaughter and confusion than had been acted in the long contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster."

Baxter, who sympathised with the Parliamentary party, remarks that " the clergy cast out of the churches, whatever their faults, were yet better than any of the Itinerants who displaced them." Hume states that all the " Itinerants " were men of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical trades in order to follow a new and more profitable profession and pretended to be more apostolical ! These detailed testimonies from various writers have been quoted here in order to present to the reader a vivid picture of the actual state of the country during the period of Puritan rule. The repulsive and despotic character of that rule was brought home to the people in a way not likely to be forgotten for many generations.

Cromwell was not altogether responsible for everything done in his name, nor are we pronouncing a verdict on his character and motives. His military genius, his strength of character, and his personal piety are beyond doubt. But these virtues of the Protector cannot conceal the horrors and profanities that marked the history of the Commonwealth. The Puritans assuredly loved liberty

civil, and religious—for themselves; but they failed to discover the art of conceding it to others.

The Quakers, Unitarians, and Anabaptists were pitilessly ill-treated by Cromwell's "Saints," for these sects, like Prelacy and Popery, were considered to be outside the pale of religious toleration. The restoration of the monarchy and the National Church was hailed with the glad joy of men who felt that they were returning from captivity.

The best conceived plans of the Puritans signally failed, because they tried to enforce morality by law, and religious orthodoxy by force of arms.

CHAPTER XIX

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE CHURCH REVIVAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Our survey of the period from the restoration of the monarchy, 1660, to the accession of Queen Anne, 1702, must be a brief one. It includes the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William and Mary. Within two years of the King's restoration, as many of the sequestered clergy as were still living were restored to the benefices from which they had been ejected under the Commonwealth. As the apologists of Nonconformity are prone to make capital of the events of the Restoration period to stir up prejudice against the Church for the part she played after being emancipated from Puritan rule, it is necessary to examine the facts carefully. The Puritan ministers who had been illegally presented to the benefices of the parochial clergy should have been the last to complain of the necessity of having to give up their usurped tenures to their rightful owners. The benefices did not belong to them. A usurper has no moral right to complain when the rightful owner is strong enough to return and claim his own again.

That is what happened at the Restoration. But there was no vindictive violence and no unseemly hurry in restoring the *status quo ante*. The intruders were permitted to retain their posts until an ecclesiastical settlement was decided upon. When the decision was made, it was enacted that those Puritan ministers who were willing to conform to the law of the Church, the endowments of which they enjoyed, should be permitted to retain the benefices in all cases in which there were no ejected clergy to be reinstated. Many of the Puritan lay-preachers accepted the conditions and remained in the

benefices. The conditions of subscription and conformity were not only reasonable, but necessary. The reader will remember that a large proportion of these men had not received any kind of ordination—they were merely laymen who had taken to preaching. It does not, therefore, seem unreasonable to hold that if they desired to remain in their benefices as ministers of the National Church they should conform to her laws. The fact that the great majority acquiesced in the reasonable demands of the Church shows that they had no insuperable objection to conformity.

Not many of the clergy had survived the troubles of the Commonwealth, but the few that still remained were at once reinstated. Only one of the Welsh bishops survived the Puritan era—Dr. William Roberts, of Bangor. Godwin speaks highly of Bishop Roberts as a man of learning—a Cambridge Doctor of Divinity—and as one who ruled his diocese diligently and firmly. This had brought down upon him the hostility of the Puritans, who ejected him; but he was restored on the return of King Charles, and lived until 1665. He was followed in the See of Bangor by Robert Morgan, who had undergone much suffering during the Commonwealth period. In Wood's *Athenæ* we read that he was a man of "great prudence in business, good learning, and eloquence in preaching, both in the English and his native tongue."

Dr. John Owen, Bishop of S. Asaph; Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff—who dropped dead on hearing of the execution of Archbishop Laud; Roger Mainwaring, Bishop of S. Davids, who had been harassed and deprived by the Puritans, and driven from his see, were all dead.

Dr. Hugh Lloyd was now appointed to Llandaff, William Lucy to S. Davids, and Dr. George Griffiths to S. Asaph.

In the Convocation of 1640 Dr. Griffiths had pleaded for a fresh revision of the Welsh Bible. After the Restoration he had a long controversy with Vavasour Powel, took

a leading part in the last revision of the Welsh Prayer Book, and helped to compose the " Public Baptism of such as are of riper years," a form rendered necessary by the doctrinal innovations of the Baptists and Quakers. It is worth noticing at this point, in order to mark the contrast between the Stuart ecclesiastical policy and the gloomy annals of the Hanoverian period, that Welsh bishops are, so far, well in evidence: Hugh Lloyd, Francis Davies, William Lloyd at Llandaff; William Thomas, John Lloyd of S. Davids; George Griffiths, William Lloyd, Edward Jones of S. Asaph; Robert Morgan, Humphrey Lloyd, Humphrey Humphreys, and John Evans of Bangor.

The Stuarts were self-willed and obsessed with their peculiar notion of the Divine right of kings, but they were not unmindful of the peculiar claims of the Welsh Church, as these names testify.

The needs of the Church were immediately attended to, for we find that in 1662 it was enacted that the Welsh bishops should undertake the task of publishing a revised translation of the Book of Common Prayer. One final attempt was made by the Presbyterian party to capture the Church of England at the Savoy conference; but the proposals they put forward and the changes they insisted upon on that occasion seem to imply that they had no serious intentions of accepting any compromise. Their proposals would simply have changed the National Church into a Presbyterian system. Baxter, Calamy, and Reynolds were offered bishoprics, but only Reynolds accepted the offer. The Presbyterians, who had hitherto kept a footing in the Church, thereupon formed a separate denomination, and became dissenters.

The Baptists had already formed separate connections, the first record of a dissenting Baptist chapel being that at Ilston in Glamorgan, 1647.

The *Uniformity Act* of 1662 brought matters to a head and to a logical issue, for the Calvinistic Puritans held

views that were irreconcilable with the principles of the National Church; and in insisting on loyalty to her doctrines and formularies the Church merely reversed the great Puritan injustice that had been forced upon her.

The measures now passed to guarantee and safeguard the new settlement and the restored liberties of the Church would hardly be expected to favour the eccentricities and intolerant views of the Puritans; but a brief account will enable the reader to judge the issue for himself.

The *Conventicle Act* was passed in 1664, by which all unauthorised meetings, held ostensibly for religious purposes, were prohibited. This appears to be a harsh provision, but its aim was not so much to interfere with the religious practices of the Puritans as to guard against sedition. It was supposed, rightly or wrongly, that Nonconformist meetings were used as a blind to foment rebellion, and the Government was determined this time not to allow the sectaries any opportunity of maturing their schemes. No measure intended to be thoroughly effective, after the bitter experience through which the country had passed, could be otherwise than harsh; but the Puritans had only themselves to thank for this.

If we compare the terms of this measure with the enactment passed by the Commonwealth against the Royalists, we find that while the Puritans were now permitted to invite five strangers to join in their private worship, Churchmen under the Commonwealth had not been permitted any visitors at all!

The *Five Mile Act*, 1665, again, prohibited ministers from settling within a radius of five miles of any town where they had formerly preached. But this was only enacted against those who refused to take the oath of non-resistance to the Government. The corresponding treatment meted out to Churchmen in Cromwell's time was to be sent to prison!

But the essential point in all this is generally ignored by partisan historians.

The responsibility for the sufferings of the Puritans during this period rests, not on the Church, but on the civil magistrates.

The troubles of the past compelled the Government to take special precautions to check and put down everything that savoured of sedition; and as the pulpit and religious meetings were suspected of being made a vehicle for the expression and dissemination of seditious ideas, the Government were inevitably compelled to take steps to "regulate" these matters.

The political and religious issues were so intermingled that it would have been impossible to restrict the one without checking the other. It is, of course, to be regretted that so many earnest men, like Bunyan, should have had to suffer hardship, but let the responsibility for that be laid on the right shoulders—not on the Church.

The most deplorable legislation enacted at the Restoration was the imposition of the sacramental test on all who held office under the Crown. It is scarcely possible to conceive any measure more likely to prejudice the best interests of religion and civil society than an enactment of this kind. It was sheer profanation of the holiest ordinance of the Church. It was imposed, however, not by the Church, but by Parliament, and was inspired by anxiety to preserve the peace and safety of the realm from Puritan enthusiasts and popish plotters.

The reign of James II, who, though he promised to support the liberties of the National Church, was a papist, is memorable for the splendid protest made by seven bishops against the absolutism of the king. The *Declaration of Indulgence*, 1688, which James ordered to be read in all churches, was the beginning of trouble. Lloyd, Bishop of S. Asaph, was one of the seven bishops who drew up a petition asking the King to withdraw the *Declaration*.

The purport of this enactment was to suspend by an illegal exercise of the King's authority all penal statutes against Roman and Puritan Dissenters. It was an ingenious bid for popularity, because Churchmen were withdrawing their support from the King on account of his attempts to introduce papalism. But the King's apparent clemency deceived nobody, and the attempt failed. It is stated that when the *Declaration* was published, Samuel, the father of John Wesley, preached in one of the London churches from the text: " Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

Bishop Lloyd, who, as one of the seven protestors against royal tyranny, has made such a name for himself in our national history, came from an old Welsh family settled at Hên Blas, Anglesey. He had been Archdeacon of Merioneth and Dean of Bangor before he became Bishop of S. Asaph.

Browne Willis gives a long list of writings published by him, and states that he assisted Wharton with his *Anglia Sacra;* and that he was a most learned man and withal a diligent pastor. His efforts to compose the differences between Churchmen and Nonconformists may be noticed here as an illustration of the spirit actuating the leaders of the Church during the later Stuart period, in spite of the controversial atmosphere in which men lived.

Bishop Lloyd, supported by Humphreys, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, and Henry Dodwell, invited some of the dissenters of his diocese to meet him to discuss points of difference. It was an excellent example to set, and though he failed to convince his opponents of their errors, he did not fail to convince them of his own goodwill and Christian charity. The same spirit of concern for the best interests of the Church is shown in his careful and efficient administration of the diocese.

The supply of educated clergymen was inadequate, as

a result of an article passed in Convocation in 1685, restraining the ordination of men who were not university graduates. "We have," he says, "a great many more cures of souls than we have graduates in this country; and as most of the people understand nothing but Welsh, we cannot supply the cures with any other but Welshmen."

Towards the end of his episcopate he writes as follows: "For the state of the Church in North Wales I bless God; I do not know any reason we have to complain. I am well assured that in these six counties there are not six persons fewer in the Communion of our Church than there were in the beginning of His Majesty's reign. And for them that are in the Church Communion, who are the generality of our people, I thank God I do not find that they grow worse—I hope they rather grow better; and that which is my greatest comfort, I do not know one scandalous Churchman in this diocese."

Even after allowing a little margin for optimism, this is certainly a good record. It is certain that on the whole a serious effort was made to level up the spiritual work of the Church in Wales from the deplorable condition to which it had been reduced by the Reformation pillage and afterwards by the Puritan oppression. The Welsh laity had suffered grievously in regard to their financial resources during the Commonwealth period, and were consequently unable to contribute much towards the restoration of church fabrics demolished, or left in a ruinous condition, by the Puritan soldiery.

The accession of William and Mary (1689–1702) brought fresh trouble as a result of political causes. Some of the bishops and higher clergy, holding that they were bound by ties of loyalty to the Stuart sovereign, despite his folly and treachery, declined to take the oath of allegiance to William, and are known as Non-jurors.

They were deprived, and others of the right political complexion appointed in their place. The new men,

English in speech and sympathy, and distasteful on that account to the Welsh people, checked the good work that had been begun by their predecessors, and were the first-fruits of the disastrous policy of using the Welsh Church as a pawn in a political game. Wales was strongly Jacobite. The Marquis of Powis and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, of Wynnstay, were among the most influential supporters of the Stuart cause. And Wales had, in consequence, to be carefully watched to its own hindrance. William was the first to contribute towards the support of poor Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist ministers. This took the form of a yearly grant called the *Regium Donum*.

One bright spot in the history of the Church during this period is the restoration by Queen Anne of the " first-fruits " which belonged originally to the parochial clergy, had been taken away first by the Pope and afterwards by the Crown. Anne now restored it to the Church, and it is known as " Queen Anne's Bounty."

The Church needed a good many bright spots to relieve the gloom that was presently to settle upon her—from no fault of her own, but from the political exigencies of the Hanoverian period. The Non-jurors represented a strong body of national feeling, which sympathised with Jacobism and desired the restoration of the Stuart line.

In order to stamp out this anti-Hanoverian feeling, it was necessary to be circumspect in the choice of bishops. Only those known to be in sympathy with the House of Hanover were appointed bishops. In England the calamitous results of this policy were not so obvious as in Wales, for English bishops, whatever their politics might be, knew the English language ; but when English bishops were appointed to Welsh sees in virtue of their political orthodoxy, knowing nothing about the Welsh people or their language, the consequences were soon painfully evident. The troubles of the Welsh Church, as they

present themselves to us to-day, are due in the first instance to English statesmen of a past generation, who subordinated the welfare of the National Church to the political needs of the reigning dynasty. In the second place they are due to English-speaking bishops, most of whom were men of learning and piety, but had not the necessary qualifications for presiding over Welsh sees. Many of them were absentees, holding other preferments in England by way of supplementing the meagre income they received as bishops of the Welsh Church.

Were it not for this cynical policy of English statesmen, persisted in for many generations, it may be confidently affirmed that at the present day Welsh dissent would be a mere fringe embroidering the skirts of the Church in Wales. But in spite of the obstacles needlessly placed in her path by the exigencies of English politics, the Church refused to be discouraged. Her clergy were still native Welshmen, who loved their Church and their country.

From the period of the Revolution down to the beginning of the nineteenth century—the gloomiest period in the annals of the Welsh Church—her history is relieved, to some extent, by the record of meritorious work done by the parochial clergy.

It is often assumed that as some of the English bishops of the Church in Wales were indifferent to her welfare, alien in sympathy, spending most of their time in London, or on their English estates, that the Church was altogether neglectful of her duty to the people. These critics have forgotten the existence, even in the gloomiest periods, of patriotic and energetic Welsh clergy—the rank and file who lived among the peasantry, and by their pastoral ministrations and literary work enabled the Church to retain her hold to an extent we would hardly expect on the affections of the Welsh people. It was from the religious and patriotic fervour of the most earnest of these

men that Welsh dissent, in so far as it was a native movement, really sprang.

This view of the facts will help the reader to appreciate the results of the careful research made in recent years into the history of this period—results which have entirely overthrown the conclusions previously arrived at by those who were unacquainted with facts that have now come to light.

A few quotations from *A View of the Diocese of S. David's* (1721), by Dr. Erasmus Saunders, who flourished early in the eighteenth century, will show the condition of that diocese in the first decades of the century, as a result of the long process of disorganisation caused by Reformer and Puritan alike. No doubt S. David's diocese was more or less typical of the others. The first point he dwells upon is the poverty of the clergy, " excise officers being better paid than incumbents, common sailors and letter-carriers than curates." Many of the latter had to serve three or four churches in order to earn £10 or £12 a year.

As late as the year 1764 the diocesan register refers to several stipends ranging in value from £10 to £20. Daniel Rowlands, of Llangeitho, one of the Church revivalists of that period, received a stipend of £10 as curate of Nantcwnlle and Llangeitho in 1733. The sartorial equipment of the poorer clergy appears to have caused some dissatisfaction, for Dr. Saunders defends them by asking: " How can they appear in gowns and cassocks, when their mean salaries scarce afford them shoes and stockings? " The dilapidated condition of Church fabrics, as a result of their treatment under the Commonwealth, and their subsequent neglect owing to the poverty of the clergy and parishioners, is described as follows: " In some places we have churches without chancels, in others we have some piece of a church, an end or a side aisle remaining; in some other parishes none at all; and the desolate appearance of those that are yet standing speak how difficultly

they subsist, and how miserably they are neglected. . . . Did you see these desolations of our noble cathedral and collegiate churches, and of so many parochial churches and chapels, of the bishops' palaces and of almost all the parsonage houses in the diocese, it might well tempt you to think we had lain in the road of the Turks and Saracens in some of their wild excursions, or that we had but very lately the discipline and reformation of an Oliverian army."

"Nor," he adds, "is it reasonable to expect that they should be better served while the stipend or the service of them is so small that a poor curate must sometimes serve three or four churches for ten or twelve pounds a year, and that perhaps when they are as many miles distant from one another."

Dr. Saunders attributes the baneful system of absenteeism to the poverty of the Welsh sees: "We are not always to impute it to their lordships' choice, but to their necessities, that they are so commonly obliged to make us thus unhappy; for since their bishoprics afford neither proper habitation for them to live in, nor competent and just revenues for them to live upon, they may well be excused if they hold them with what rectories and dignities they have in other dioceses, though it should be wished that what commendams are allowed them were always in their own; for seeing that in the present state of things not only the service of the public and the Parliament but their foreign cures and dignities will require so much of their attendance, it cannot be expected they should be much at leisure to attend to their dioceses."

The root of the evils that afflicted the Church at that period is thus seen to be poverty.

Episcopal inefficiency—the result of the operation of two main causes, poverty and political appointments—reacted on the general organisation of the Church. Archdeacons and rural deans exercised no functions, thus depriving the

parochial clergy and their parishes of a very valuable connecting link with episcopal supervision and discipline. The suppression of Convocation in 1717, after the Bangorian controversy, added still further to the general demoralisation of Church life by depriving the bishops and clergy of a valuable stimulus to united action and common counsel. The appointment of Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor—a Hanoverian nominee and a Latitudinarian of a particularly aggressive type—did much harm to the Church, though Hoadley himself never set foot in his diocese.

So far, we have only called attention to one side of the picture, in order that the reader may have some idea of the difficulty the Church had to contend against—and these difficulties were not of her own making. They were partly a heritage from the past. Our next concern will be to show very briefly what the Church did during this period for the Welsh people. Nonconformist historians have hitherto held up this period as one of the dark blots in the history of the Church in Wales, and they have tried to convince their readers that all the men of light and leading in the religious history of this epoch were dissenters. Facts tell a different tale, as we must now proceed to show. Some passages from the *Life of Bishop Bull*, who presided over the diocese of S. David's (1705–10), throw a good deal of light on the state of the Church and on the movements that were then on foot for religious reform. The first point that struck Bishop Bull was the low financial state of the diocese. He lamented the great number of lay impropriations, and looked on the alienation of tithes as the scandal of the Reformation. Even at the Restoration, sufficient care was not taken of the interest of the Church in respect to its revenues: "The salaries allowed to curates by the impropriators were too mean to make a tolerable maintenance. He made an unsuccessful effort to induce some of the lay-impropriators to restore a part of her patrimony to the Church. He held, however,

that the application of the impropriated tithes and lands (held by corporate bodies such as colleges and chapters) to the maintenance of scholars and cathedral dignitaries is not so gross a perversion of the ends for which they were first given, and so sacriligious an abuse of them as their alienation to laymen who did no service to the church." He advocated practical reforms by recommending family worship, the founding of charity schools, the founding of family libraries, and the circulation of a cheap edition of the Welsh Prayer Book.

Writing in 1708, he says: "Welsh Prayer Books in a small volume are much wanted by the people of my diocese, and I am informed that they will be universally purchased, since they will be sold for about eighteen pence a piece."

His biographer speaks very highly of the wholesome influence of old Vicar Prichard's *Canwyll y Cymry* on the moral habits of the people. The old vicar's ballads "are in very great repute among the inhabitants of that country, as well for the plainness of the language and the easiness and smoothness of the measures, as for the importance of the subjects upon which he wrote; the whole book being in a manner an entire body of practical Divinity, in which several of the natives, even those that are illiterate, are so well versed that they will very pertinently quote authorities out of this book for their faith and practice."

"We cannot ignore the part played by the Established Church in the history of the religious revival in Wales," so writes the Rev. Thomas Shankland, a scholarly Nonconformist, in reference to this early period.

In order that we may find our bearings in regard to the religious revival of the eighteenth century, it should be stated that it is generally assumed that there is no evidence of organised Church activity in Wales before the time of Griffith Jones, Vicar of Llanddowror, who flourished about the middle of that century, his first circulating school

having been founded in 1730. The founding of the S.P.C.K. in 1698, which was strongly supported by Welsh Churchmen, and had its representatives working in the Welsh Church, is a notable landmark in this period of our history. But pioneers had been at work before the S.P.C.K. Thomas Gouge and Stephen Hughes had already instituted a successful movement for popular education and for the dissemination of religious literature. Here is a list of books published and circulated by these men and their fellow-helpers, the value and importance of which the Welsh reader especially will immediately grasp: *Hanes y Ffydd, Canwyll y Cymry, Ymarfer Duwioldeb, Holl ddyledswydd dyn, Trysor i'r Cymry, Llwybr Hyffordd, Llyfr y Resolusion, Taith y Pererin.* This was in addition to copies of the Church Catechism and Prayer Book.

Thomas Gouge had been Rector of S. Sepulchre in London, and had taken a keen interest in the spiritual welfare of the Welsh people. He used to make a tour through some parts of Wales twice a year; and, being a man of means, he conceived the idea of supplying the poorer people, as far as he could, with copies of the Bible, Catechism, and devotional books. He established charity schools in various parts of Wales,—North and South—in which children were to be trained in religious principles, and taught to read and write. A Welsh Society was formed for the purpose of maintaining and carrying on the work of these charity schools, and for this "he enlisted the help of divers of his Reverend Brethren in Wales." With him was associated a Welshman of marked ability, Stephen Hughes, Vicar of Mydrim. Dissenting historians often mark him for their own, but they are mistaken; for he was not a dissenter, but a clergyman of evangelical views similar to Vicar Prichard, whose works he was the first to publish in 1649—the complete edition being published by Hughes in 1681. He and Gouge, helped by Archbishop Tillotson, issued a cheap

edition of the Welsh Bible, containing also the Welsh Prayer Book and *Salmau Cân* (Edmund Prys, 1678). Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* also was translated into Welsh by Stephen Hughes, with the help of a few friends, and published in 1688. Hughes may fairly be considered one of the ablest Welsh scholars of that age, and he was, moreover, inspired by missionary zeal, apart from his literary industry. His greatest contribution, however, to the religious history of this period is his publication of *Canwyll y Cymry*.

Charles Edwards, author of *Hanes y Ffydd*, was another active supporter of the revival of religious literature and elementary education for the benefit of the Welsh people.

The first period of the religious revival in Wales may be dated 1670–98. Gouge's movement, with which Stephen Hughes and others were associated, then came to an end, or, to be more correct, was absorbed by the new S.P.C.K. movement. There were three eminent Welshmen among the founders of this venerable Society: Sir Humphrey Macworth, Member for Cardiganshire; Sir John Philips, of Picton Castle; and Dr. John Evans, Bishop of Bangor. The activity that now prevailed throughout the whole of Wales as a result of the zeal of the Welsh agents of this Society was followed by the establishment of charity schools for the education of the young and illiterate; and by the circulation of cheap copies of the Bible, Catechism, Prayer Book, and devotional literature, as well as other wholesome books of a character not specifically religious. The records of the Society, which are available for those who care to consult them, contain eloquent testimony to the unwearied devotion and self-sacrifice of the bishops, clergy, and laymen, who now contributed of their best to cover Wales with a system of elementary schools, in which reading and writing "and casting of accounts" were taught to the children

of the poor, together with instruction in the principles of the Christian faith.

In order to maintain these schools and add to their number, considerable sums of money were collected at a time when money was scarce, and the incomes of the clergy "mean and insufficient." Wherever necessary, children, whose parents could not afford it, were clothed and fed; boys were apprenticed and given a start in life; while girls were taught to "spin and sew plain work."

It is often assumed that our system of elementary education in Wales can be traced back to the schools of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror. This is not the case; his schools were circulating schools. The earlier schools which we are now describing were *not* circulating schools, but local *established* schools, founded and maintained by the parochial clergy for the most part.

The other and supplementary side of this educational activity is seen in the provision of suitable literature for the education of the people. A great stimulus was given to the publication of the Welsh Bible and Prayer Book, of which edition after edition was issued for distribution among the poor. Old Welsh works were revived, re-edited, and published; new books composed to meet the educational needs of the time; English devotional books translated into Welsh and distributed cheaply and, where necessary, free.

Dr. Woodward's *Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies*, Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England* (translated by the Rev. Thomas Williams, Rector of Denbigh), *The Practice of Piety*, Books on the Catechism, etc., are samples of the kind of literature that now found its way to the humblest cottages in Wales.

Lending libraries were also started—both diocesan and parochial. One central library in each of the four dioceses was established at Cowbridge, Carmarthen, Bangor, and

S. Asaph, as well as small collections in the Welsh market-towns for the use of the clergy and schoolmasters. To this period of Welsh history, which is supposed to be so barren of results, we owe no inconsiderable portion of our Welsh classics, books that will always rank high in the estimation of Welsh readers as long as the Welsh language will last, such as *Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant*, by Charles Edwards; *Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsg*, by Elis Wyn; *Drych y prif Oesoedd*, by Theophilus Evans, the author of *The History of Modern Enthusiasm;* and many others far too numerous to be quoted. These are religious books, written with a definitely religious aim; the books on general literature are not here touched upon, for they do not concern our immediate purpose. Even the *Bardd Cwsc* (1703), by our Welsh Dante, is not mere apocalyptic literature, but written under the influence of the Church revival then going on; and the themes on which the author dwells are those of the revivalists. Its voice is the voice of a Welsh prophet crying against the evils of his age. "It is pure imagination," says Shankland, "to suppose that the state of religion, morals, education, and literature was getting worse instead of better." The leading spirit in this movement is one whose name is not even mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sir John Philips, of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire. For nearly half a century he devoted himself heart and soul to every good cause for the furtherance of religion and the interests of the people. All his resources, material and moral, were at the service of his Church. Sir John Philips was acquainted with Whitefield, and it was he who gave the great English revivalist means to live in Oxford and to take his degree. He was also a friend and a liberal patron to the two Wesleys. Indirectly, the work of Griffith Jones is due in no small measure to his inspiration and encouragement. He gave Griffith Jones his half-sister to wife, and presented him to the living of

Llanddowror. It is not creditable to us as Welshmen or as Churchmen that the history of this eminent Welshman, who deserves so well of his Church and nation, should be left so long in undeserved obscurity.

John Vaughan, of Derllys, was another who ranked very close to Sir John Philips. The lady who was afterwards known as Madame Bevan, the foundress of the charity called after her name, was his daughter.

Bishop Humphreys and Dr. John Evans, Bishop of Bangor; Moses Williams, co-editor of the *Leges Wallicæ*, and many other eminent literary men, heartily assisted in the good work we have described.

The writer of a *Welsh Dictionary* (1687) remarks in his preface: "We are now as fortunate as any in the three kingdoms, and need nothing but the perfection of our original tongue."

Edward Samuel, who translated Grotius' *Truth of the Christian Religion*, writing in 1715 of the Church in Wales, says: "God be thanked; the light of the Gospel shines as bright in Wales now as in any other country; there are more religious and useful books published; there are more, and, probably, better preachers now among us than at any time these last thousand years."

This is not the traditional view of the state of the Church in Wales at that time, but this view has the advantage of being based on ascertained facts and contemporary evidence of reliable writers.

"Those," says Shankland again, "who attribute the national revival in Wales to the Methodist movement are far from true to historical facts."

There was a new reform movement throughout the Church in Wales, and the heart of this movement was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

"There is a class of historians who follow each other in writing contemptuously of the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century, as

though that age produced nothing worthy of notice but ignorance and evil; but the truth is, that from that very period sprang some of the noblest movements and institutions of the last two centuries" (Shankland).

The authors of the *Welsh People* write as follows: "It is probable that the Welsh farmers and their families had hardly progressed intellectually (referring to the year 1735) as a class from the time of the Conquest. Every indication that we possess shows that hardly any one of them could read or write, and it is clear that the provision for education was of the scantiest possible description."

Wesley, writing some years after the description given by Dr. Erasmus Saunders, says that "the people were as ignorant as the Creek or Cherokee Indians. In 1730, the Welsh-speaking people were probably, as a whole, the least religious and most intellectually backward in England and Wales. By 1830, they had become the most earnest and religious people in the whole kingdom. The country districts were entirely neglected, and down to the time of the religious revival of the eighteenth century it is hardly too strong to state that no opportunity was afforded to the great majority of the Welsh-speaking people for the education of their children. All accounts show that the condition of the Welsh people in regard to education was most lamentably backward down to comparatively recent times, but especially so until the time of the religious revival."

A general charge of this nature is difficult to refute, but that its main contention is quite untenable is abundantly proved by the facts that have already been placed before the reader. The leading assumption is that before the Methodist revival Wales was immersed in darkness and ignorance—a view which Shankland, after an exhaustive investigation, has stated "to be far from true to historical facts"; and, he adds, "the testimony contained in these papers (in the *Seren Gomer*) has destroyed, we

hope for ever, the old fables, invented and propagated by certain historians, of that marvellous revival concerning the period with which we deal, from 1698 to 1738." He is here referring to the *Church* Revival.

Sir John Philips died in 1737, and his work was continued by Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, who now became the leading spirit of the revival. In 1713 he was invited to go to India as a missionary, but in his reply he states that " he thinks himself obliged to decline it upon the prospect of doing more service to religion in his native country than he can propose to do abroad." Griffith Jones was a great preacher, a true prophet, and a loyal son of the Church. His name is chiefly associated with the system of circulating schools, the first of which he established in 1730. He was led to establish these schools because of the difficulty he felt in dealing with people who were unable to read. It was his custom to catechise his parishioners in a homely way before Sacrament Sunday, and his experience on these occasions taught him the urgent need of providing simple instruction for the people.

His first step in regard to the circulating schools was to train teachers and then send them on circuit from town to town and village to village, stopping for a few months at a time in each place, and then going on to the next centre. The scheme grew rapidly, and before his death nearly 4,000 schools had been opened. The account of the progress of these circulating schools is contained in an annual publication (1737–61), called *Welsh Piety*, written by himself. He afterwards established at Llanddowror a kind of theological seminary to train young men for the ministry of the Church. He had as contemporaries and pupils, who became prominent as leaders of the revival in the next generation, Howel Harris, Thomas Charles, Peter Williams, and Williams of Pantycelyn. He has been called the " Morning Star " of the Welsh Revival. Wherever he went to preach immense congregations

assembled to hear him. He stated that those who dissented from the Church did so, " not from any scruple of conscience about the principles or orders of the Established Church. That gave occasion to scarce one in ten of the dissenters in this country to separate from us at first. They generally dissent at first for no other reason than for want of plain, practical, pressing, and zealous preaching, in a language and dialect they are able to understand, and freedom of friendly access to advise about their spiritual state."

Daniel Rowlands, of Llangeitho, a younger contemporary, attributed his conversion to Griffith Jones' preaching. Howel Harris states that when he met John Wesley in Bristol about 1732, " the latter prayed, before retiring to rest, for Griffith Jones, and myself and for Wales."

In Madam Bevan he found an ardent supporter of his great schemes for the education of the masses and the furtherance of the principles of the National Church. He contributed more than any other man of that age to the preservation of the Welsh language by fostering the study of the Bible and religious literature in the mother tongue.

The work begun by others before the preceding century, and continued by Griffith Jones, had now taken root ; but a combination of circumstances in the next generation guided part of this work of revival in a direction not contemplated by those who gave its strongest and earliest impulse to the movement. The next stage of the Revival will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XX

THE RISE OF WELSH METHODISM

"We are not dissenters; we are Methodists!" This phrase was familiar enough to Welsh people of the last generation. It recalls the time when Welsh Methodists, Calvinistic Methodists as well as Welseyan, considered themselves to be members of the National Church. None but the clergy of the Established Church administered to them the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and none but the parish priest would be permitted to baptize their children. Though they conducted their religious meetings in separate conventicles, they did not consider that to be an act of schism; any more than the early monks considered themselves dissenters from the Catholic Church by having their separate monastic churches. In order to make this point quite clear, we will quote their own words, from "the Rules of the *Private Societies* among those called Methodists in Wales, agreed upon at Bala, 1801." Nowadays, the title of "Free Churches" would be substituted for "private societies": thus showing that modern Welsh Dissent has drifted away from its old moorings and lost all organic continuity with its original constitution. These are the words:—"We do not intentionally dissent, nor regard ourselves as dissenters from the Established Church. With regard to our doctrinal position, *we fully agree with the Articles of the Church of England.* We only desire with all humility, in that unity, the full liberty which the excellent form of our government allows, of using all scriptural means to extend the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ Whom He has sent. It is not our purpose to create a schism or a sect or a party, God forbid; but our own benefit and that of our fellow-countrymen. This is the mark to which we aspire through

all means." Welsh Methodism remained for a long time within the bosom of the Mother Church, and was, therefore, all the stronger when it finally cut itself adrift. Even at the risk of being tedious, the point needs to be made as clear as possible, that though there were dissenters in Wales before the Methodist Secession, there was no *Welsh dissent* properly so-called, as a native movement. The dissent that did exist in Wales was the work of English sectaries, the followers and successors of Vavasour Powel, Walter Cradock, and Cromwell's Independents, who gained their recruits chiefly in the border towns and in large centres where the English element was fairly strong. Those who are considered the founders of Welsh Methodism were Welsh clergy, such as Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, Howel Harris and Daniel Rowlands; but they had no intention of creating a schism by seceding from the Church. That was the work of the extreme party among their followers and successors of a later period, who were getting impatient of all discipline and restraint; and eventually turned a laudable reform movement into a schismatical body, opposed to the Church that gave it birth. Before proceeding to give a short account of the men who led the movement in its first stages, it will be well to draw attention to the difference between English and Welsh Methodism. The English Methodists were the followers of Wesley, and embraced the Arminian tenets; while Welsh Methodists can trace their origin to Whitefield and were Calvinistic in their views. Unlike Wesley, who, though he "lived and died a hearty but inconsistent Churchman," founded a religious sect, Whitefield died without creating any *separate* religious body to carry on his work. And as the Welsh Methodists followed the teaching of Whitefield rather than that of Wesley, their tendency to separate from the Church was on that account checked for a considerable period. The antagonism between these two Methodist bodies, the one Calvinistic with Whitefield, the other

Arminian with Wesley, was very bitter in the early history of the Methodist revival; nearly as bitter as the present antagonism of Welsh dissent to the Church. Hence, even the early Methodist brethren did not always dwell together in unity. The Arminian Controversy, as it is called, raged for twenty years (1729-1749). The Arminian doctrine was that God will save all those who persevere in grace. The Calvinist held the contrary view; once in a state of grace, always in a state of grace. These controversies were a source of great weakness to the cause of Nonconformity: but the full force of the theological storm was only felt in South Wales. In North Wales, Nonconformity at this time could only boast of about a dozen congregations in the whole six counties. The reason given for this by some of the historians of dissent is characteristic. It is maintained that religion in North Wales was at that time in a very low state, and that the people were in a condition of brutish ignorance, being the willing slaves of Tory parson and squire. South Wales, on the other hand, where the Methodists were more in evidence, was religious and enlightened! Such a sharp line of geographical demarcation between irreligion and ignorance on the one side and religion and enlightenment on the other, is, however, capable of a very different interpretation. The Church in North Wales had retained her hold on the people. Feeling ran so high, as a result of this controversy, that Howel Harris, the founder of Welsh Methodism, went so far in his antipathy to Wesley's followers as to pretend to ignore even their existence, though he must have known all about them when he was in Oxford. The history of every movement is connected with a few representative men, and that is true of Welsh Methodism. The problems of the age, the causes of the religious upheaval, and other matters demanding investigation, are all reflected in the personal history of these men.

Welsh Methodists claim Howel Harris as their principal

founder, but though this may in a sense be true, Shankland, on the other hand, states that " Whitefield was the head of the revival in Wales." And Whitefield firmly protested against the idea of founding a sect, though his wonderful influence led to the formation of what was afterwards known as " Lady Huntingdon's Connexion." We know that Whitefield and Howel Harris were intimate friends, and much of our information about the famous Welsh reformer is contained in Whitefield's *Journal.* Whitefield occasionally visited Wales, and Harris often took charge of Whitefield's Tabernacle in London.

If it be true that Whitefield was the moving spirit in the early history of Welsh Methodism, then this latter movement loses the best part of its claim to be a native movement representing the aspirations of the Welsh people. The fact that Howel Harris towards the close of his life was financed and supported by the Countess of Huntingdon, the patroness of Whitefield, seems to countenance this view of Harris' indebtedness to the English Evangelist. This point may seem purely academic and irrelevant to the reader, but in tracing the history of a movement which is claimed to-day as a characteristic expression of the deepest religious convictions of the Welsh people, it is highly important to estimate the precise nature of the influences that contributed to its original formation. A really *national* movement does not need the inspiration of alien and external support. An oppressed people are not in the habit of waiting to advertise for a deliverer, or of tardily allowing themselves to be roused to action by the kindly offices of alien benefactors. That Welsh Methodism had Welshmen as founders is, of course, true, but all these men were clergy of the Established Church, and had not the remotest intention of seceding from the Church and forming a separate organisation.

A writer, who is not biassed in favour of the Church, testifies that " the giants with whose names the revival is

intimately associated were clergy of the Established Church, who, realising that the increasing strength of Nonconformity was due in large measure to the sluggishness of the Church, endeavoured to fortify it against dissent by bringing about radical reforms from within and by fervid appeals to the masses to lead nobler lives."

The educational and spiritual work of Griffith Jones led to a widespread revival. It liberated new forces and opened up fresh channels of activity for earnest and able men all over the country. Its most characteristic feature was *preaching*. This period produced a race of preachers rarely equalled in the history of any country.

The great preachers of the latter half of the eighteenth century were earnest religious reformers and men of deep piety, whatever mistakes we who live after the events may attribute to them. Unlike their modern imitators they did not preach " politics " or endeavour to harry the Church under the pretence of furthering " National righteousness." Their one aim was to create in their countrymen a deep sense of the need of personal religion. The dull and dreary character of contemporary Church life, and the dry " theological " type of preaching that prevailed is supposed to be the only satisfactory explanation of the wonderful results that these great preachers produced. But it is quite possible to exaggerate the dulness and deadness of eighteenth century religion in Wales. The mere fact that the great revival of preaching by Griffith Jones and his successors created a sensation and profoundly influenced the people, does not of itself prove that the ordinary ministrations of the Church were in an abnormally low condition. We have only to recall the revival that took place in this country about six years ago to see signs of the same unrestrained emotionalism and the same sensationalism that accompanied the revival of the eighteenth century. And no one would venture to say that the Church in Wales in 1904 was dead or even dull in regard to her spiritual work.

In his seminary at Llanddowror, Griffith Jones trained a number of young Churchmen, some of them of strong Calvinistic leanings, to act as evangelists and schoolmasters for Madam Bevan. The risks attending a one-sided development of this undisciplined Calvinism under the strong stimulus of the revival that was now in the air, were overlooked by the generous and loyal reformer himself, for he had a single eye to the spiritual improvement of the people.

Howel Harris, 1714-1773, the reputed founder of Welsh Methodism, was born at Trevecca, in Breconshire. He was a man of good family and received a university education at Oxford. He had intended to take Holy Orders, but changed his mind and remained a layman. On his return home from the university, he took up evangelistic work and toured the country as a " revivalist." The " revivalists " or the Methodists, as they were then called, were not altogether popular in Wales. Up to the end of the century, South Wales was the nursery of the Nonconformist propaganda. North Wales, where the Welsh element was strongest, gave them but a cold welcome. This was not due to want of sympathy on the part of the parochial clergy, for we have ample evidence that the latter were on the whole well disposed towards them. In 1739, Harris formed " religious societies " modelled on those already described by Dr. Woodward in connection with the early work of the " Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," He merely copied the model that had been adopted by the founders of the S.P.C.K. ; and his " societies," which have since been such a characteristic feature of Welsh Methodism, were originally meant as handmaids to supplement the work of the parochial ministry after the manner of modern parochial missions. He and Daniel Rowlands, of Llangeitho, co-operated for a while in making preaching tours throughout the Principality, but a dispute arose between them in 1751, which ended in a rupture. Henceforth they led a

divided following, which seriously threatened the cohesion of the Methodist party.

In his *Autobiography* Harris refers to the dissenting proclivities of some of his fellow Methodists with strong disapproval. He quoted against them, "the example of the old prophets and other godly persons of old, who remained in the Jewish Church without separating from her, greatly as it had degenerated in every way. We do not find," he says, "that the apostle S. Paul urged the Corinthians to leave the Church at Corinth, although it was guilty of so many irregularities." His own opinion of the religious condition of the country at that time was that "the whole country lay in a lukewarm and lifeless condition: in some places nothing but a learned English discourse to an illiterate Welsh congregation! And where an intelligible sermon was preached it was generally so legal, so much in the spirit of the old covenant, that should any give heed to it, they could never be led thereby to Christ, the only way to God." If we make allowance for the almost fanatical enthusiasm of men like Harris, who, being themselves gifted with a tempestuous eloquence, looked on perfervid preaching as an indispensable sign of divine grace, the charge against the preaching of the age is reduced to very modest proportions. Other men might estimate very differently the value of "dull and sleepy sermons," condemned by Harris and his followers. In any case, people had as a rule a horror of all enthusiasm and "godly zeal," after their experience of the Commonwealth and the outrageous tyranny and sanctimoniousness of the "Saints." Harris himself, in fact, testifies to a different state of things prevailing in the Church generally; for, in rebuking the dissenting proclivities of some of the Methodists, he says that though others blamed him for his loyalty to the Church," he rejoiced in his loyalty, as a member of the Church of England, and thanked God for the good work that had been begun in the Established

Church. He felt the presence of the Lord in the worship and ordinances of the Church and hoped that God would accept and revive His work in her." His own conversion was due to the ministry of his parish priest at Talgarth. The latter part of his life, Harris retired from the life of peripatetic preaching and established in 1752, a sort of monastic Institution at Trevecca, where he presided over a community of about a hundred men. They had a place set apart for them in Talgarth Church, which they frequented regularly for worship. Under the altar in his parish church his remains are buried, and the inscription on his grave reads, that he was " a devoted servant of God and a true member of the Church of England."

Daniel Rowlands of Llangeitho has been called the Whitefield of Wales. He was a preacher of remarkable power, and Sacrament Sunday (once a month) at Llangeitho was always a notable event in the religious life of the district. His biographer, writing early last century, states that a very old clergyman then living had informed him that he was himself one among eight clergy who helped Rowlands on one occasion in administering the sacrament to over a thousand people.

It has been asserted that Rowlands was " turned out of the Church " for being a Methodist. There is not a scrap of evidence in support of this, though some of the historians of Welsh dissent find the assertion far too valuable for partisan purposes to part with it. That he was admonished not to break the law of the Church by intruding into other parishes without permission is very likely. Rowlands, as we have seen, joined Howel Harris in the latter's preaching tours through Wales, and if he was inhibited by the bishop in response to complaints from aggrieved parishioners, the inhibition would only apply to other parishes, not to his own. His zeal for more vigorous preaching of the gospel made it difficult for him to restrict his energies to a definite sphere of work, so he became an itinerant

preacher. Archdeacon Bevan writes :—" Daniel Rowlands had been a pronounced Methodist for a quarter of a century before 1763 (the time of the supposed inhibition) and had not as far as we know incurred the censure of any bishop on that account." He resisted, however, the tendency that prevailed among the more violent and less responsible members of the Methodist party to leave the Church, and " ordain " lay preachers, and was persecuted by them in consequence.

Shortly before his death he told his son " to stand by the Church in spite of all : there will be a great reformation in the Church of England, God has revealed this to me in prayer."

William Williams of Pantycelyn is to many people in Wales the most attractive figure in the early annals of the revival. His Welsh hymns have earned for him the title of the " Watts " of Wales, and these hymns, simple, melodious, and evangelical, are known and treasured by all who love their Bible and their native land. The English hymns, " Guide me O Thou Great Jehovah," and " O'er those gloomy hills of darkness," are Williams' compositions, but they do not, of course, compare with the magic of his Welsh hymns. Coming under the influence of Howel Harris, he took Holy Orders, and was at one time curate of Llanwrtyd for three years. It is stated that on account of some irregularities, possibly his Methodist leanings, he was refused priests' orders, but here again we have no proof. Like many others, he probably preferred to be a free lance ; but in any case, there are no records to prove or disprove the charge. Shortly before his death he is stated to have left the following message : " Exhort the young preachers, next to the Bible, to observe carefully the doctrine of the old reformers as set forth in the articles of the Church of England."

Thomas Charles, known as Charles o'r Bala (1755-1814), is the last of the Methodist-leaders to be noticed. He owes

his fame, not to any particular talents or preaching power, but to the fact that the unhappy task of taking the final step of separating from the Church was reserved for him, though deeply against his will and better judgment.

Charles was a native of Carmarthenshire and was sent at the age of twelve to Griffith Jones' school at Llanddowror. He attributed his conversion to a sermon preached by Rowlands of Llangeitho. He graduated from Jesus College, Oxford, and was ordained by the Bishop of Oxford. He was at one time curate of Llanymawddwy, under an absentee rector. The parishoners complained of his Methodist sympathies and he had to leave. The blame for this unfortunate episode is laid on the Church, but it seems rather unfair to adduce the action of the parishioners of Llanymawddwy in bringing about his dismissal to create a prejudice against the authorities of the Church. Many of the bishops of those days have enough to answer for without saddling them with unfounded charges. It must be remembered that the country was at the time in a state of suppressed fear lest there should occur a revival of the dissenting tyranny as established under Cromwell. This is a point which is often overlooked in dealing with the early Methodist movement. In the popular mind, the Methodists, who were, strictly speaking, evangelical reformers within the Church, were generally identified with, or suspected of being, dissenters of the Cromwellian type, Independent or Baptist, and often treated accordingly. The highly-coloured accounts of the persecution of the early Methodists, as given by some of the historians of Welsh dissent, are due to this confusion of thought. The attitude of the bishops to the Methodist movement was one of passive indifference rather than of active opposition. Howel Harris declared that he could not refrain from commending the " peaceful spirit that animated the rulers of the Church." They made no attempt, he says, to quench or interfere with the work of the revivalists. Charles

afterwards settled at Bala, though he could easily have obtained clerical work in the Church. The statement frequently made that he failed to obtain a fresh post by reason of his Methodism is untrue. His wife did not wish to leave Bala, and he failed to obtain a post in the neighbourhood sufficiently near to suit his convenience—which is a very different matter. Charles, who had a considerable gift for organisation, now worked zealously in the Methodist cause ; founded Sunday Schools and carried on his evangelistic work in a chapel at Bala, which he looked upon as a chapel of ease to the parish church. In proof of this we read in his *Vindication of Welsh Methodism :* " Our steady attachment to the Established Church cost us in fines nearly £100, for we scrupled to have our place of worship recorded, and our preachers licensed, as '*dissenting*' under the *Toleration Act.*" He states in one of his letters, " I am a Churchman on principle and shall therefore on no account leave it." In view of his profession of Churchmanship his conduct seems to us rather inconsistent, but there can be no question that like many of his fellow Methodists before him, he conceived that his work, though on different and more elastic lines, was supplementary to the more rigid system of parochial ministration. These men preferred, and they claimed, a freer hand for doing good in the way they considered best, without for a moment intending to leave the fold of the Church they loved and desired to serve. They were not dissenters, nor did they wish to become dissenters, but there could only be one ending to their policy, in spite of their good intentions, and the end came in 1811 when the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Denomination was formed. At that time there were many clergy connected with the Methodist movement ; but when it was decided, owing to the importunity of some of the more aggressive and ambitious of the lay preachers, to ordain a number of these latter for the regular work of the ministry, including the administration

of the Sacraments, more than half of them left the party and washed their hands of the guilt of schism. Among the number then "ordained" was the worthy John Elias, one of the most wonderful preachers of that or any other age, who never failed in after years to show his profound regard for the National Church, though he had thrown in his lot with the Methodist ministry. Thomas Charles was the chief agent in bringing about this unfortunate schism; but it is evident that his hand was forced. The strongest opponent of the schismatical party was David Jones, Vicar of Llangan, Glamorganshire. Jones was one of the saintliest of men, and exercised a strong restraining influence over the restive members of the party; but his death in 1810 removed the last remaining obstacle to the realization of the hopes of the determined minority who now turned Methodism into dissent. Three years afterwards, in 1814, Thomas Charles died. The seriousness of the step which he had been forced to take, against his feelings and judgment, preyed upon his mind and "contributed to his decease while he was yet in the prime of life."

Such then is a brief account of the men whose names are associated with the origin of Welsh dissent. It was a movement which began within the Church, and when we consider the strength of the centrifugal forces at work in that age, it is perfectly astonishing to think that it remained within the Church so long. What were the centrifugal forces? First must be placed the demoralising effect of the appointment of English bishops, who could not be expected to appreciate, and did not appreciate, the importance of guiding a sturdy, healthy, revival, born of religious zeal, into the right channels, instead of allowing it through neglect to develop into a schismatical movement, with a new centre of gravity outside the Church. By neglecting it, they allowed a tremendous volume of religious earnestness, which was almost entirely due to a

little band of earnest patriotic clergy, to be lost to the Church ; and by the inevitable logic of circumstances it became identified with the cause of patriotism, with simple evangelical zeal, with love for the Welsh language and Welsh traditions. The consequent sluggishness that pervaded the religious life of the period, the disheartened condition and poverty of the clergy were additional forces working against the Church, and in favour of the movement towards dissent. But in spite of all this the facts of history enable us to affirm that even after the Methodist secession, the Church retained for a long time the affection of the best representatives of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, though they had chosen new paths for their religious aspirations. We have seen, from their own recorded testimony, with what feelings the founders of Welsh Methodism regarded the Church. When her breasts were dry, these men did not rejoice over it ; they grieved over it ; and tried in irregular ways to remedy her barrenness and conceal her nakedness. Modern political dissenters, glad to leave the Church in peace so long as she was content to slumber, but eager to wound her when she began to show signs of life and activity, have little in common with the noble god-fearing men whom they claim as their founders—little except the denominational name under which their property is registered.

There are two facts which stand out clearly in the annals of early Methodism. The first is, that when the Methodists left the Church and became dissenters, the doctrines they professed—and they were careful to state the fact—were the doctrines of the *Church.* " So far as our doctrinal views are concerned, we agree entirely with the articles of the Church of England." Considering that the Church has not changed her doctrines in the slightest particular since the days of Daniel Rowlands and Howel Harris and John Elias, the contemptuous attitude of modern dissenters—or of those who speak in their name—towards the religious

teaching of the National Church, throws a sinister light on the distance that separates them from the faith of their founders. The second fact to be noticed is, that not one of the founders of Welsh Methodism, much as they deplored what they felt and believed to be amiss in the Church in their day, dreamt of describing her as an " alien " body. They had assuredly far more reason then when the Church was somnolent in the soporific atmosphere of Hanoverian politics, and half throttled in the coils of an Anglicising policy, for which Welsh Churchmen were not responsible, to call her an " alien " institution, than their descendants have to-day. The old Methodists knew better than to be guilty of such folly. In going over this historical ground, we have not made any attempt to gloss over the shortcomings of the Church at the time of the Methodist revival. Institutions, like individuals, have their periods of depression. But many of those shortcomings were due to a combination of circumstances, past and present, over which the Church had no control. It was not her fault that English statesmen made a convenience of her highest offices to suit the exigencies of the Hanoverian dynasty regardless of the spiritual needs of Wales. Nor was it her fault that the Puritan tyranny of a previous generation had left her a legacy of dilapidation, poverty, and general disorganisation. Dissenters have, nevertheless, drawn a very much darker picture of this period than history warrants. As is often the case, the evils of the age have been recorded and preserved, but the good work has been left unnoticed.

CHAPTER XXI

MODERN WELSH LITERATURE

THE Reformation period was a disastrous one for Welsh literature by reason of the widespread destruction of ancient MSS. The Pre-Reformation *Annals of Wales* have consequently suffered a loss the full extent of which we cannot now estimate. The influence of the Renaissance in Wales is not difficult to trace, though the literature that embodies the spirit of that revival, whether in poetry or in more serious work, is scanty enough. Men like Dafydd ab Gwilym were in touch with the intellectual movement of the outside world, for Wales was not nearly so isolated in those days as we are apt to think. The publication of some of the earliest Welsh books on the Continent, and the number of Welshmen who plied to and fro—some receiving their education in Continental Universities, tells a tale of considerable intercourse between Welshmen and the centres of Western culture.

The Renaissance on its intellectual side led in the first place to a revived interest in the classical languages. Latin especially became as familiar in the schools of Wales as English itself.

One of our Welsh bishops, Reginald Pecock, may be considered among the first to show the influence of the new learning. His *Book of Faith* is a distinct departure from the traditional theology of mediæval Wales. His views were novel and startling to his more conservative contemporaries. " Some of his ideas were true and some were wrong, but all were new."

It has been remarked by the latest editor of his *Book of Faith*, that Pecock is " the one man of the country who may be classed with the Italians of the Renaissance."

With a little more intellectual force, and with a character

equal to his mental gifts, Pecock might easily have left his name in English philosophy as that of the originator of modern Rationalism.

It is a notable fact that the last of the mediæval Welsh bards was a Franciscan monk—Tudor Aled. "His excellent knowledge of Welsh prosody constitutes him one of the most reliable of the bards for quotations in works dealing with the laws of verse; and most of the Welsh grammars which became numerous a little later found in his poems apt illustrations both in language and versification. He was the bardic teacher of Gruffudd Hiraethog, and on this account his influence was undoubtedly great upon the bards of this century, for many of the foremost of them were the latter's disciples." Tudor has some odes which, apart from their merit as poetic compositions, are specially interesting by reason of their historical allusions; one being addressed to the Abbot of Caerleon, another to the Abbot of Aberconway, and one to S. Winifred, containing an account of the Winifred legends. No bard of commanding genius like Dafydd ab Gwilym figures in Welsh literature between what we may call the two extreme ends of the Reformation period, though we have poets of considerable merit in men like Gruffudd Hiraethog and Gwilym Llyn, and others. When the Reformation was an accomplished fact, from the political point of view, we find that the first chapter in the history of Post-Reformation Welsh literature is closely associated with the Continent. The earliest Welsh books of a religious character were published in Milan, Cologne, Paris, etc. Here we can only mention a few names of men eminent for their service to Welsh literature, though written in the Roman Catholic interest, viz. Dr. Morus Clynog, the author of *Athravaeth Gristnogowl*, a facsimile of which was published a few years ago by the Cymmrodorion Society: Dr. Gruffudd Roberts, the learned Canon of Milan, and author of *Y Drych Cristnogawl:* Dr. Rosier Smyth, author of *Crynodeb o addysc*

Cristnogawl: John Salesbury, author of several devotional books. Some of the devotional books first used by the Welsh people in the sixteenth century were written by Welsh Roman Catholics.

As we advance towards the seventeenth century, we find great attention paid to Welsh grammars and Welsh Dictionaries. Welsh grammars especially became very numerous.

Gwilym Llyn, the bard, had left a Welsh grammar. Dr. Sion Dafydd Rhys likewise published one in 1592, written in Latin. Being a fine linguist he had previously ventured farther afield by writing and publishing an Italian book on the Latin language, as well as a Latin book on the Italian language—*De Italicæ Linguæ Pronuntiatione*, which was highly esteemed in Italy. But the most successful of the Welsh grammarians and lexicographers was Dr. John Davies, Rector of Mallwyd, who published in 1621 his *Antiquæ Linguæ Britannicæ Rudimenta;* which was well illustrated with references to the works of the Welsh bards. He also wrote a Latin-Welsh and Welsh-Latin Dictionary. Until Dr. Owen Pughe's time, early in the nineteenth century, this was the standard work on the subject. The religious literature, published in connection with the Welsh Bible, has already been noticed so far as it is related to our present purpose. We can therefore pass it by, merely adding that a great part of the earliest religious literature due to the Reformation, in Wales, took the form of translations from English or Latin.

Most of the original work of this fertile period in Welsh literature dealt with Welsh philology, poetry, "flores poetarum," medicine, folk-lore, genealogical studies, local antiquities, and "Collections" of old Welsh history.

Perhaps the best known of this latter class of work is the *Historie of Cambria*, by Humphrey Llwyd, a learned antiquary, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. This *Historie* was compiled from the works of Caradoc of

Llancarvan, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Matthew Paris, and other early chroniclers. Subsequent writers brought this *Historie* up to date, the last published edition being that of 1832, by a namesake of the original compiler. A still more important and valuable work is the *Archæologia Britannica* of Edward Lhuyd (1707) the founder of modern philology. This is a scientific work of great value, and is moreover a monument of Celtic learning. The best known historical work of a popular character—being an original work and not a mere compilation—is undoubtedly *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, the "Mirror of the Early Ages," by Theophilus Evans, a cleric from the diocese of S. David's. It has now no value as a historical work, but is an interesting landmark in Welsh literature, and the author's Welsh is flexible and idiomatic.

His *History of Modern Enthusiasm* contains a rather pungent but not ill-natured criticism of the extravagances and foolish excesses of the Methodist revival. This, together with Elis Wynn's condemnation, in his *Bardd Cwsc*, of the Methodist innovations, proves that there were many able and earnest men in the Welsh Church, who, though they had little sympathy with the wild language and effervescent zeal of some of the Methodists, were equally anxious for religious reform; and in fact contributed, in their own less showy way, very materially to its success. We have, in another chapter, already dealt with *Bardd Cwsc* by Elis Wynn; a book which placed its author in the front rank of Welsh prose-writers in the eighteenth century. Few books have taken greater hold on the imagination of the Welsh people. The pages of *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* bear striking witness to the varied activity and religious zeal of literary Churchmen during this period.

Without presuming to pronounce judgment on the comparative merits of the poets of this period, we may refer here to a poet who is in many ways the most attractive personality of his day—Edward Richards, the founder of

Ystrad Meurig Grammar School. His collection of poems is a treasury of melodious verse, breathing the air of "Old Wales." Richards was an excellent classical scholar, and an incomparable schoolmaster. It is related that at one time his pupils had acquired all the knowledge he could impart to them. He thereupon broke up the school for about two years, in order to replenish his store of learning before starting afresh!

Goronwy Owen holds the first place as a great Welsh poet in the history of the eighteenth century. He has no rival. He was in fact one of the few great poets of Wales. He was an accomplished linguist and his "Cywydd y Farn," a poem on the Last Judgment, ranks among the finest productions of the Welsh muse in that or any other age. "No poet more tasteful, classical, and lofty in conception has appeared in Welsh literature. He wrote prose also with equal taste, and about all his work is the finish of the skilled artist and accomplished scholar." His love for his native Môn is intensely pathetic and finds expression in his verse, and especially in that entitled "Cywydd hiraeth am Fôn." His personal history is a pathetic record of chequered hopes and adverse fortune. The ecclesiastical rulers of his age have often been severely criticised for neglecting so gifted a writer and so deserving a cleric; but as it is easy to be wise after critical events, it is only fair to say that this imputation is hardly deserved. We could heartily wish that Goronwy Owen had achieved the desire of his heart of being able to settle in his beloved Môn, but his baffled hopes were due to circumstances over which the bishops had no control.

Ieuan Brydydd Hir (1730-1781), born in Lledrod, Cardiganshire, was a poet and antiquary of unusual ability, to whom modern Welsh literature is deeply indebted. He served various curacies in North Wales, Llanberis and Towyn among others. As a skilled interpreter and diligent collector of old Welsh MSS., he contributed very

materially to the formation of the *Myfyrian Archæology*, as the editor of the *Welsh Historical MSS. Report* acknowledges in very generous terms. Ieuan was a gifted but restless character, and served his country better than his own personal interests. The MSS. he copied and collected became known as the *Panton MSS.* collection. His principal work, *De Bardis Dissertatio*, is written in English, Welsh, and Latin ; and contains a wealth of references from the works of the Welsh bards. Moses Williams, whose name has already been mentioned, a Cardiganshire man, was not only an eminent scholar, but took a prominent part in the work of religious and educational reform associated with the name of Sir John Philips and others. He was co-editor with Wotton of the *Leges Wallicæ* published in 1730. He was a diligent student of old Welsh MSS., and his labours paved the way for the more complete *Welsh Bibliography* published by Gwilym Lleyn and Dr. Silvan Evans.

In the foregoing sketch we have merely chosen a few typical names of men eminent in different departments of Welsh literature, more by way of illustrating the literary activity that was inspired by the wide interests of the National Church, than as a detailed account of the literature of the period, which, even on the most modest scale, would be an impossible task within the limits of a short chapter. Equally meritorious work in a great variety of ways has been done for Welsh literature by a band of men whose names are only familiar to special students. But one name may very deservedly be singled out from the last generation as that of the greatest Welsh scholar of the nineteenth century—the distinguished lexicographer, Chancellor Silvan-Evans. The history of Welsh literature in the nineteenth century is closely bound up with the record of his work, not only on its lexicographical and philological side, but in its wider aspects as well, as the long list of works written, edited, and

published by him testifies. His *Welsh Dictionary*, though left unfinished, was a great work and represented the labours of a long life.

There is one more subject, on which a few words, before we conclude, may not be unwelcome to the reader—a subject in which the religious life and the literary history of Wales are blended, and that is *the devotional literature of the Welsh people.*

That side of literature which attracts the historian is not always the most important in its bearing on the inner life of the people. The spiritual character of a nation is more faithfully reflected in its private habits than in its public records.

As the Welsh people have always been deeply religious, and, as Giraldus Cambrensis noticed, conspicuous for their observance of religious forms and devotional habits, some knowledge of this side of Welsh life will help us to understand the national character.

For many centuries, Latin was the language of public worship, but the private devotions of the people would be in the mother tongue. Even at the present day, in Wales, many who are perfectly acquainted with English, prefer the Welsh language for religious observance and private devotion. All that is deepest and holiest is generally clothed in the mother-tongue. In the early ages of the Church, Welsh was, as to-day, the language of the people.

But no religious literature has survived from those times. Some fragments of Welsh poetry have been preserved, but no Welsh devotional literature. It is difficult to believe that none existed; it is more likely that it has perished. The *Lorica* of Gildas, a curious form of prayer, to the recitation of which special importance was attached by the credulous, is a typical illustration of the devotional habits of our forefathers in earlier ages.

But it is not likely that religious forms or prayers would continue to retain their hold over a people who could not

understand them. Though no portions of the Bible had, so far as we know, been translated into the "British" tongue, in the early centuries, the Welsh people were not unacquainted with the truths of the Bible. A little knowledge of Latin would suffice for that. Latin words are embedded in the Welsh language, especially in ecclesiastical and liturgical Welsh.

The Roman occupation had introduced Latin as the language of public life; and the Norman Conquest introduced it afresh as the language of Christian worship. But throughout, the Welsh language was the language of the people, of the home, and of private devotion. When political changes, affecting the status and customs of the people, occurred, this fact was always recognised. For example, when the Statute of Rhuddlan was promulgated by Edward I, he published it in Latin and Welsh. A rubric in one of the *Peniarth MSS.* (No. 41) states that Edward ordered two copies of the new code to be sent to each commote, one in Latin and one in Welsh. But although we have no direct documentary evidence of early devotional literature, we have indirect evidence to help us.

In the *Myfyrian Archæology*, there is a mass of religious poetry containing fragments of scriptural quotations and phrases in their undigested Latin form. This Welsh religious verse of the Middle Ages offers a promising field for investigation to the student of early Welsh religion. All we can say now is that it seems to embody fragments of some kind of popular devotional forms and liturgical phrases then in use inWales, sequences, litanies, invocations, etc.

In *Haddan and Stubbs, e.g.*, we have a few fragments of some old sequences, supposed to be Welsh, from the tenth and eleventh centuries.

"The contents [of these sequences] resemble closely in enigmatical grandiloquence what would probably have been the sacred compositions of the countrymen of Taliesin."

The earliest evidence we possess of a Welsh version of

the scriptures is a copy of the Welsh Gospels, which belonged to S. Asaph Cathedral. To this interesting MS. we have already referred. This copy existed at the time of the Annexation, 1282. How long it had been in existence before that date we have no means of ascertaining. But it proves that the need of presenting the original records of the Christian faith to the Welsh people in their own language had been recognised, and, to some extent, acted upon. It inclines us to believe that there existed other kinds of religious literature in the vernacular. In the Welsh Laws a copy of the gospels was used in the Tribal Courts for litigants to swear upon.

The bards generally prefaced their poetic compositions with an Invocation of the Holy Trinity, and ended with a petition for Divine favour, coupled as a rule with a request for the intercession of the saints, Stephens, in his *Literature of the Cymry*, quotes the high authority of *Carnhuanawc* for the following: "The bards at this period possessed religious feelings fully as warm, and knowledge quite as extensive, as the same class of men in any portion of the world. They show an intimate acquaintance with Christian doctrine and scripture history. No other nation can produce such specimens of old literature so intelligible at the present day." This refers to thirteenth century bardic literature. But the great devotional prayer of the Welsh people was undoubtedly the *Pader*—the Lord's Prayer.

> Few people know a sweet *Cywydd*,
> But every one knows his *pader*;

says Dafydd ab Gwilym.

In the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the following lines occur:—

> Thou shouldest pay what is equal to
> Seven pater-nosters daily.
> A pater-noster, the chief prayer to be repeated.

And again:—

> What is the best thing for the soul?
> A pater-noster, and consecrated wafers
> And a holy creed.

Canu y Pader was one of the functions of the priest of the household, in the old Laws of Wales. The use of the *Pader* was thus an essential part of all devotions, even when connected with superstitious practices.

Paderau came to mean, by a natural sequence " rosary beads."

Salesbury, in his *Welsh Dictionary*, defines paderau as " prayers of beedes," *i.e.*, rosaries. There is an old proverb inculcating a peaceful disposition in the following form :—

Bid lyfn dy baderau
Bid rydlyd dy arfau.

" Let thy rosary be smooth and thy weapons rusty ! " Strype, writing in 1550, says : " In Wales the people ordinarily carried their beads about with them to church and used them in prayer." An anonymous writer, quoted before from Leland (1589), tells us " that the people do carry beads openly and make such clappings with them in the church that a man can hardly hear the minister read for the noise thereof, alleging that they can read upon their beads as well as others upon their books."

The use of the *Pader* is referred to by old Vicar Prichard of Llandovery in the following line :—

Ofer rhedeg dros *baderau*,

which clearly shows that even in that Puritan age, people used " rosaries," The best known and most widely used primer of devotion in the Middle ages was *Gwasanæth Mair*, " The little office of the Blessed Virgin Mary." This was translated into Welsh by Dafydd Ddu, a monk of Neath Abbey.

The Welsh title for primers of devotion was *Llyfr plygain*, which means Mattins-book. These devotional books were in frequent use in the later periods ; and contained the daily office, short Litanies, collects, special prayers, the seven psalms, *and a list of the Welsh fairs.* The prevalence of these primers is gathered from a line in one of Vicar Prichard's verses :—

Heb un Bibl nac un *plygain.*

The book of religious ballads or carols written by the old Vicar, *Canwyll y Cymry*, may fairly claim a place on the list of popular books of devotion in the Wales of olden time, for it contains a number of private prayers suitable for use on various occasions, put into simple verses easily committed to memory.

A private prayer once greatly in vogue among the Welsh people was that called *Breuddwyd Mair*, " Mary's Dream," or " Gweddi'r Forwyn. It is in the form of a dialogue between the Virgin Mother and the Holy Child, referring to the agony of His coming Passion.

A sure reward of divine blessing and deliverance from evil was promised for the nightly recitation of this prayer. This prayer was well known in certain parts of Wales well into the nineteenth century.

A more or less similar prayer has been discovered in Brittany. For the benefit of Welsh readers, one of the best known versions of this quaint form of devotion is appended :—

Mam Wen Fair wyt ti yn huno ?
Ydwyf fy anwyl Fab, yr wyf yn breuddwydio.
Mam Wen, beth a weli yn dy freuddwyd ?
Gweled y'th ymlid a'th ddilyn a'th ddal,
A'th roi ar y Groes a hoelio
Dy draed a'th ddwylo ;
Gwr du dall, wedi'r Fall ei dwyllo,
A phig ei ffon Dy bigo Di
Dan Dy fron ddethau,
A'th holl waed bendigedig yn colli.

* * * * *

A dros fynydd ac oer fynydd,
Gwelwn Mair a'i phen ar obenydd,
Yn tirio lle rhwng pob enaid ac Uffern,
Tir uffern byth nis cerddo
Y sawl a'i medro
Ac a'i dywedo
Dair gwaith cyn huno :
Byth wnaiff breuddwyd drwg niwed iddo.

But from the Reformation to modern times, the great book of devotion, overshadowing all the rest, has been the

Welsh Prayer Book. It has stamped its character on the whole body of devotional literature produced by the later generations, and its spirit of ancient and Catholic piety still broods over the religious life even of Welsh Nonconformity. The spirit of the past is still strong on the religious instincts and habits of Welshmen, and " there are to be found even to-day, among the mountains and valleys of Wild Wales, many shreds of the mediæval creed—echoes, more or less distinct, of the religious life of Wales in the past."

CHAPTER XXII

THE CHURCH IN WALES IN MODERN TIMES

THE story of the Welsh Church during the nineteenth century may fairly be described, after the first two or three decades, as the entry upon a new era of marked and continuous progress. The period of declension and dilapidation, as Bishop Burgess termed it, had reached its nadir in the earlier part of the century. From that point onward the advance has been, in nearly every direction, steady and sustained.

The beginnings were modest enough, for the shadows of the past still hung gloomily over her, but the beginnings were, at all events, in the right direction, and contained the promise and potency of future success. "The history of the Church in Wales," writes Canon Overton of this period, "is certainly not one of which Churchmen need be ashamed."

As soon as the dead hand of Hanoverian policy began to show the least sign of relaxing its grip on the National Church, she responded to the summons to fresh work that the new century, with its increasing population, and its new social and religious needs, brought in its train. In South Wales especially, owing to the enormous increase in the population, the task of providing for the religious needs of what was, owing to the coal and iron and other industries, practically a new Wales, was a very heavy one. But the position to-day of the Church in the great industrial centres of the south, compared with the beginning of the nineteenth century, shows how faithfully and diligently she has striven to meet the demands made upon her.

But though progress in these districts is perhaps more marked, it is not more real than in other parts of Wales.

Even before the baneful custom of appointing English bishops to Welsh sees was finally abolished, the foundations of progress had been firmly laid by the enlightened and patriotic policy of bishops who proved themselves to be superior to the system under which they were appointed.

It should be remembered that most of the English bishops, who presided over Welsh sees during this period, were distinguished and devout men, whose failings as rulers of the Welsh Church were more the fault of the age than due to any personal incompetence or want of sympathy with the nation's welfare. But they devoted more time to the defence of the Christian faith against the various forms of unbelief than to the internal affairs of their dioceses. The unhappy Bishop Hoadley held the diocese of Bangor for several years without setting foot in it. In his case, at least, non-residence cannot be looked upon as being an unmixed evil. Bishop Watson, of Llandaff, who has enriched our biographical literature, even if he has not contributed much to the annals of the Welsh diocese which he graced with his learning, found congenial occupation on the banks of Lake Windermere. He wrote an "Apology for Christianity," and an "Apology for the Bible." Though he did not altogether neglect his diocese, he was an inveterate non-resident, and an extreme Latitudinarian, like Hoadley. "He had no particular objection," says Mr. Newell, in his *History of Llandaff*, "to changing the present form of the Church of England from Episcopacy to Presbyterianism; desired a review of the doctrine and the discipline of our Church, and a complete purgation of it from the dregs of Popery and the impiety of Calvinism; would not refuse the name of Christians to Unitarians; had doubts about the efficacy of prayer; was willing to acknowledge the force of arguments against the doctrine of the Trinity."

Horsley, Bishop of S. David's, had a much higher conception of the episcopal office, and was an energetic and diligent chief pastor of his flock. He gave practical proof of his sense of the unsatisfactory state of things as regards the incomes of the parochial clergy, by insisting on the stipends of assistant curates being raised to a minimum of fifteen pounds per annum! "He was," says Canon Overton, "in his seventieth year when he was translated to S. Asaph; but in spite of his years, the old man set himself bravely to do the uphill work of a Welsh diocese, and was not content with being a mere cipher. His primary *Charge*, according to the historian of S. David's diocese, was published in *Welsh*—a unique case as far as we know." Bishop Copleston, of Llandaff, 1829-1849, though he set no great store by a knowledge of the Welsh language, was conscientious enough to require that qualification in those whom he appointed to Welsh-speaking districts. He carried out, moreover, a great work of church restoration in his diocese. There are other bishops still worthier, as well as better known, for the work they achieved. We shall refer to some of them presently; but these few instances show that good work was being quietly done in spite of the anglicising tendency that generally prevailed in episcopal circles in Wales at that time. The spirit of revival which gave rise to the Methodist movement was entirely due to a small band of Welsh clergy. The foundation of the Bible Society in 1804 was the result of an increased demand for copies of Holy Scripture, owing to the religious revival.

Thomas Charles, of Bala, was the person chiefly instrumental in bringing this about. He was at that time still in communion with the Church, and was strongly supported in his efforts by Bishop Burgess of S. David's, Bishop Warren of Bangor, and others.

The Methodist secession of 1811 was a great blow to the Church, and deprived her of the services of many earnest

men, whose acquiescence in this unhappy act of schism was due to the pressure of a small band of extremists. As we are glad to discover some redeeming features in the policy of the bishops towards the Methodist movement, it may be pointed out that Bishop Horsley, in the early part of the century, declared that the folly of the Methodists consisted not in perverse teaching but in a disorderly zeal for the truth. "He spoke kindly of them; affirmed that they were doctrinally entitled to a place in the Church, and discountenanced controversial attacks upon them." The author of the *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, whose hearty support of Welsh dissent makes his testimony specially trustworthy when the weight of evidence constrains him to depart from the conventional views of dissent on this subject, declares that "Methodism effected great changes in the religious habits of the Welsh people, and some of them very much for the worse. It opened the way for a great number of ignorant and illiterate men to go about the country calling themselves preachers; many of whom allowed themselves to be so carried away by a zeal laudable in itself, but capable of great folly, as to say and do many senseless and contemptible things." This aspect of the Methodist movement is one that should be taken into consideration in criticising the events of that age. It will, to some extent, explain the want of sympathy that prevailed in high quarters, and even among many of the parochial clergy, with the wild language and disorderly zeal of certain sections of Methodism. All the Methodists were not, of course, guilty of this folly, but the prejudice felt against the unseemly extravagance of some would naturally extend to the movement as a whole. Nor can the early Methodists claim to have shown greater tolerance than the bishops, whose attitude towards them has been so severely, and on the whole so unjustly criticised. The complaint frequently made that the Methodists were turned out of the church is

simply not true. The more responsible historians of dissent know that it is not true; and they ought not to permit the less responsible apologists of Welsh dissent to continue to repeat the assertion. Even if it were true, every sensible man would admit that though it might be a short-sighted policy to do so, it would have been strictly defensible on the principle of order and discipline, without which no organised community can carry on its work.

That the Methodists had nothing to teach the Church in the matter of toleration is abundantly proven by the treatment they meted out to the venerable "Bible Commentator," Peter Williams, the most learned member of their body; who, after serving his party faithfully for half a century, was persecuted out of the Methodist communion for some microscopic heresy touching the doctrine of the Trinity. It would need the acumen of a Greek theologian to detect the heresy, but some of the Methodists, with their keen eye for heterodoxy, thought they discovered it. The historian of Welsh Nonconformity characterised the treatment of Peter Williams as "an act of the basest ingratitude." It may be mentioned, in connection with Peter Williams, that the attitude of the early Methodists may be gathered from the fact that two of his own sons were trained for the ministry of the Church! In fact, well on in the nineteenth century, it was the general custom of the old-fashioned devout Nonconformists to refer to the Church as the "mother" of the Methodist connection; and their feelings and conduct towards the Church were quite consonant with that confession of belief. But the rise of the "Liberation Society," in 1844, due in great measure to the revival of Church life in the Principality, gradually changed the whole character of Welsh Nonconformity, and turned its religious ideals into political channels—a sure sign that a process of spiritual deterioration had begun to set in.

Coming back to the secession of 1811, we find that most of the clergy who had sympathised and worked with the

party of revival, now withdrew their support, and continued to carry on the movement of reform entirely within the fold of the Church. The fact that these men, in spite of their strong and widely known Methodist leanings, lived and died within the pale of the National Church, is sufficient evidence in the eyes of all reasonable men that the "Methodists" were not turned out. The most eminent of the "Methodist" clergy remained loyal sons of the Church. "Their praise is in all the churches":— Vicar Griffiths, of Nevern, William Jones, Llandudoch; Vicar Davies of Cynfil; Hughes of Sychbant; David Jones, the saintly and eloquent Evangelist of Llangan, and others. We want to give due weight to the blame that attaches to the bishops of that age for their inability to watch the interests of the Welsh Church; but it must be remembered that there were other circumstances, even more potent than episcopal indifference, operating against the Church, and in favour of the movement towards dissent. The clergy were very poor; many parishes being worth not more than £10 a year.

Financially, not much progress had been made since the time when Dr. Erasmus Saunders complained, in his *View of the Diocese of S. David's* (1721), of the crushing poverty of the parochial clergy, and of the demoralising influence of that poverty on the ministerial efficiency of the Church. It was found necessary in a great number of cases to unite two, sometimes three, parishes together under the care of one parish priest. This meant holding only one service a Sunday in each church, and that often enough at an inconvenient hour. This unfortunate state of affairs, prevailing at a critical period in the history of the Church in Wales, by reason of the religious revival that was taking place at the time, afforded an unparalleled opportunity for the expansion of dissent, not from any intrinsic merits of its own, but owing to the temporarily depressed condition of the long-suffering Welsh Church. Owing to the want

of adequate opportunities of worship at the parish church, people naturally attended dissenting services held at convenient times and in convenient places. The sheer force of circumstances—not any spontaneous desire to dissent, still less antipathy to the teaching and ministrations of the Church—was mainly responsible for the progress of dissent in the early nineteenth century.

The tactless and irritating policy of the Act of 1830, whereby the Courts of Great Sessions in Wales were abolished, and the jurisdiction of the English Courts extended over the Principality, with the Welsh language excluded from the Law Courts, did not tend to make matters easier for the Church, which many of the Welsh people regarded, not without some excuse, as a tool used by English statesmen for the furtherance of English interests. And yet Welsh Churchmen had no responsibility whatever in the matter. Some cases of nepotism again, which have been unduly exaggerated by those whose business it is to support the Liberationist cause, and to magnify any grievances that can be raked up from the dust-bin of forgotten controversies, still further added to the troubles of the Church by creating a feeling of prejudice against her—a prejudice of which the Church was wholly undeserving. A few bright spots can, however, be discerned amid the encircling gloom, and the bright spots became more numerous as the years rolled by.

Mr. Newell, who speaks with authority for the diocese of Llandaff, writes: "It must not be supposed that the Church was altogether lifeless and useless: exaggeration in these matters is easy but unphilosophical." He quotes the opinion of Malkin, who, writing in 1807, gave a highly satisfactory account of the moral and intellectual condition of the people of Glamorganshire compared with the corresponding class in England. "There were few persons in the towns who were unable to read, and even in the villages and more mountainous parts, schools were very

common, and when there was no hall, the school was kept in the Church porch or in the body of the Church."

The work of education, begun by Sir John Philips, Bishop John Evans and their fellow-workers, and continued by Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, paved the way for a more adequate system of instruction. The founding of the National Society in 1811, the year of the Methodist secession, marked the beginning of a new era in the history of education in Wales.

The schools of Griffith Jones had created a new need. The establishment of Sunday schools was mainly due to the charity schools of the Church, and the circulating schools, or schoolmasters, of the revivalist of Llanddowror. Howel Harris, who must have known what he was talking about, says : " The circulating day schools have been the principal means of erecting *Sunday schools*, for without the former, the state of the country was such that we could not obtain teachers to carry on the latter ; besides, Sunday schools were set up in every place where the day schools had been." The establishment of elementary education on a national scale was due to the Church schools, founded under the auspices of the National Society. These schools did the work of the pioneer. The State had not yet undertaken any responsibility for popular education ; and with the exception of a few Wesleyan and Roman Catholic and other schools, the Church was practically alone in the field as an agent of education. Popular education, moreover, was by no means looked upon with favour.

Nor were the claims of higher education much more fortunate, as the history of Dr. Lewis Edwards of Bala proves conclusively. Dr. Edwards experienced very great difficulty in overcoming the antipathy of the Methodist leaders to a University Education. And this, be it remembered, when the nineteenth century was well advanced !

A well-authenticated fact of this kind will give the reader a vivid idea of the true state of affairs in Nonconformist circles in a past generation in regard to education. It proves that the praiseworthy zeal of modern Nonconformity in Wales for education is of comparatively recent origin, and is due in great measure to the contagious influence of the Church.

It is therefore highly creditable to Churchmen in the past that, in spite of State neglect and Nonconformist indifference, they proved their zeal for the education of the young by building and maintaining schools at their own expense. The Education Act of 1870 aimed, not at supplanting, but at supplementing the work of voluntary schools; and as Nonconformists were opposed to the policy of making religious instruction a fundamental principle of elementary education in the day schools, the Church continued to maintain her own schools. In so doing Churchmen had to bear a double burden ; in common with Nonconformists, they had, and still have, to share the burden of the State-aided schools, and maintain their own as well, in order to safeguard the principle of definite religious teaching. The battle of definite religious teaching, as distinct from undenominationalism, which is only the thin end of the wedge of secularism, is really the battle of Christian civilisation, as the future will show.

The history of the old Welsh Grammar Schools, on which an instructive chapter could be written if space permitted, forms a very important part of the story of Welsh education in the past. Wales owes a great deal to these fine old schools, with their long and honoured traditions ; and it is not a mere unreasoning conservatism, or the spirit of the *laudator temporis acti* that makes one regret that so few of them have been spared. Most of them have now been transformed into intermediate schools ; a few, however, such as Ruthin Grammar School, Llandovery and Brecon College, have succeeded in retaining their traditional

character as intended by their founders. In the eighteenth century, the old grammar schools of Wales made a brave and not unsuccessful attempt to fill a gap in the higher education of the country. Ystrad Meurig school is particularly deserving of notice for its services in providing a classical and liberal training for candidates for Holy Orders. Its worthy traditions and its association with the silent ruins of the historic Abbey of Strata Florida have invested this old grammar school with a unique interest.

The foundation of S. David's College, Lampeter, by Bishop Burgess, of S. David's, is a notable event in the ecclesiastical history of Wales in the nineteenth century.

Impressed with the need of some adequate provision for the education of the Welsh clergy, a need hitherto partially supplied by the Welsh grammar schools, the value of which he fully appreciated, Bishop Burgess set aside a tenth part of his income for many years, and invited the clergy of his diocese to do the same for one year, in order to start a fund for endowing the new institution at Lampeter. S. David's College has been of very great service to the Welsh Church for the last half century, and its future service may reasonably be expected to eclipse the record of the past. A large proportion of the Welsh clergy, many of them among the most eminent preachers and successful parish priests in Wales, claim S. David's College as their *alma mater*.

The tints of antiquity have not yet had time to mellow its walls, nor are its traditions linked with a dim past ; but it represents, perhaps, better than any other institution connected with the Church in Wales, the new spirit of national revival and patriotic Churchmanship. It was the first fruits of the new policy of training and appointing Welshmen, in speech and sympathy, for the spiritual needs of Wales. No one did more to discredit and abolish the old anglicising policy than Bishop Burgess, though himself an Englishman. The bilingual difficulty in Wales, which is the clue to the peculiar problems of the Welsh Church,

made those problems so acute that a solution *had* to be found.

The bilingual problem was not the only hindrance to the progress to the Church, but it made the other hindrance—the anglicising policy with its subordination of high spiritual offices to political ends—a much more serious one. "We know well," said Archbishop Benson, "where the evil root lay. We know all about George II and Sir Robert Walpole. We know how your Welsh sees and your deaneries were used for political purposes. We know the bitter fruits of that day of formality and torpor, of nepotism and non-residence. But we know it best because we suffered along with you." Bishop Horsley, Burgess, Ollivant and Thirlwall, though English prelates themselves, were the pioneers of the new policy of appointing native bishops to the Welsh Church. Some of the English bishops in Wales now began to take some trouble to acquaint themselves with the Welsh language in order to administer the affairs of their dioceses more efficiently.

The appointment of Bishop Thirlwall to S. David's gave a powerful impulse to the new policy that was soon to renew the face of the Church. Not only did he set vigorously about the task of church restoration in his diocese, but he also set a high example of episcopal duty by learning the Welsh language. In one of his *Visitation Charges*, 1842, he spoke strongly of the need of encouraging the use of the Welsh language in the interests of religion. He maintained that the prevailing custom, supported by the anglicising party, of discouraging the use of the Welsh language represented an erroneous opinion and "was attended with many practical consequences injurious both to the people and to the Church. The people remain destitute of that information which they might have derived with ease and pleasure from works written in their own language. They can join but imperfectly in the public service of the Church, and are therefore the more easily

persuaded to forsake it, while the Church has no means of reaching them through the Press, and is compelled to abandon them without a struggle to all the errors and prejudices they may imbibe when they are withdrawn from the real instruction of her ministers."

It would be difficult to point to a more accurate account of the causes, or conditions, that led to the depressed state of the Church in the preceding generations. The last occasion on which any attempt of a serious nature was made to sacrifice the welfare of the Church in Wales to English interests was in 1846, when it was proposed to unite the dioceses of Bangor and S. Asaph, and divert the income of the suppressed see to endow the new diocese of Manchester. A happy combination of circumstances prevented this scheme, with its scandalous disregard of the feelings of Welsh Churchmen and the interests of the Welsh Church, from being carried out. When the critical moment arrived to put it in execution, Bishop Bethell of Bangor, the surviving bishop, refused to suit the selfish convenience of the English Government by undertaking the burden of an additional see; and as no provision had been made to compel him, the scheme had to be dropped, and an ancient diocese was preserved from extinction. The Earl of Powis, who led the forces of opposition to this discreditable project, deserves the lasting gratitude of Welsh Churchmen for his service to the nation and to the see of Kentigern.

The restoration of the native episcopate is due to the policy inaugurated by Mr. Gladstone; and since 1870, when Bishop Josiah Hughes, an eloquent preacher and a thorough Welshman, was appointed to S. Asaph, all the bishops of the Church in Wales have been patriotic Welshmen, thoroughly acquainted with the native language and the needs of the Welsh people.

We cannot undertake a detailed narrative of the progress and the varied activities of the Church during the intervening period, though this period really contains the

most striking part of the record of the Church in modern times. The history of the last forty years or so may be aptly described as " the golden age of Church Defence " against the ever-recurring attacks made upon her with unparalleled bitterness under the auspices of the Liberation Society backed up by political dissent. But the position of things to-day in regard to disestablishment is very different from what it was forty years ago. The old enthusiasm for disestablishment has practically died away. There are new problems before the country, and a plebiscite would in every probability reveal a marked preponderance of feeling in the country—in spite of the impressive phalanx of Welsh Members of Parliament elected on a variety of issues—opposed to the ruthless policy of shattering an ancient religious body and robbing it of its slender endowments at a time when every penny spent on religious work is the best moral and social investment the nation could possibly make.

This decay of the old enthusiasm may be attributed to two causes: (1) the steady progress made by the Church, and her increasing usefulness in every department of the nation's life—religious educational and philanthropic. " Everybody knows," said the Prime Minister in 1909, " that during the last seventy years, at any rate, in the Church in Wales, there has been opened a new chapter, a new beneficent and fruitful chapter. She now, by every means which an enlightened ecclesiastical statesmanship and a strong spiritual devotion to the best needs of the Welsh people could dictate, is overtaking the arrears of the past." It would be difficult to quote a more conclusive argument against the policy of the party of spoliation and dismemberment, and in support of the Church's claim to be allowed to carry on her beneficent work in peace. But as an argument in support of the destructive policy of political dissent, it would be hard indeed to point to a more amazing example of political cynicism.

(2) The second cause may be said to be the spread of more accurate historical knowledge about the position and claims of the National Church. All this has been slowly but steadily bearing fruit, in spite of the quaint and entertaining "histories"—recalling the literary methods of the Arthurian Romance more than the historic truthfulness of a Stubbs or a Freeman—which have been published from time to time in support of the cause of disestablishment.

The beginning of a new era in the annals of Church Defence in Wales may be traced back to the work and influence of a band of men who came into prominence in the latter part of the nineteenth century—preachers, patriots, educationalists, and scholars: Archdeacon Griffiths, Canon Evans, Dean Howel, Dr. Silvan Evans, and others. Among these, one name—though it may seem invidious to single out one individual for special mention where all are so worthy—figures, and will figure in the future, very prominently in the ecclesiastical history of Wales in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the late Dean Edwards of Bangor. As a vigorous defender and a typical son of the National Church, he infused a new spirit of confidence, and conviction of the rightness of her position, throughout the whole of the Church in Wales. At a time when the opponents of the Church were unusually bitter and aggressive, his Celtic eloquence and sturdy large-hearted patriotism raised the Church controversy to a higher level than it had attained before, and he achieved this by vindicating, on historical and religious grounds, the position and claims of the Church of the Cymry as the nursing mother of the nation.

That this is the only interpretation that can be given to her history in the past must be obvious to every reader who has followed this brief historical sketch so far; and the fatal weakness of the position of the party of aggression at the present day is due to this—that *all the facts of history are against them*, and the more these facts are known, the

better it will be for the honest conduct of a national controversy. We cannot, it is true, live on the merits of the past, nor do we desire to do so; the present must also justify itself before the bar of the nation's conscience. But once more, thanks to the pioneers of recent generations, the Church, as her least sympathetic critics have abundantly acknowledged, has revived her youth and renewed her strength like the eagle. In the restoration of her old parish churches and in the erection of new ones; in the formation of new parishes to meet the crowding needs of a new Wales, industrial and rural; in the increased provision and facilities for religious worship; in her wide and liberal philanthropic interests; in her thorough and intelligent sympathy with national causes and the social advancement of the people, the Church has now attained the first position as a moral and religious force in the Principality. Her interests and activities are co-extensive with the whole of the nation's life. No institution reflects more faithfully the peculiar interests and the aspirations of the Welsh people than the *Eisteddfod;* and it is deserving of notice that the revival of the Eisteddfod, which had long lain in a moribund condition in the depressing atmosphere of a narrow Puritanism, was principally due to the initiative and encouragement of some of the Welsh bishops and clergy, as the Welsh bards of the early nineteenth century have gratefully testified; but this fact is not generally known. That, however, is the case. And as an organ for the cultivation of Welsh literature and for fostering the best elements of the national life, its renewed usefulness was due in large measure to the impetus given to it by the striking literary career of a band of able Welsh clergy—poets and men of letters: Gwallter Mechain, Nicander, Silvan-Evans, Blackwell, Glan Geirionydd, Bailey Williams, Ioan Tegid, Tudno, Glasynys, and many others. This revival of the Eisteddfod has been quoted, as one instance out of many, to show the genuine interest taken by the Church in all

literary and educational movements for the benefit of the Welsh people. Even to-day, the history of institutions where Welshmen meet, and meet very cordially, on common ground, such as the *Cambrian Archæological Association* on the literary side, or philanthropic movements, on the social side of the national life, shows a marked preponderance of Welsh Churchmen in most causes which stand in need of financial support and educational zeal. This is not stated in any unworthy spirit of boasting; but facts of this kind should be recognised in estimating the moral position and the wide usefulness of the Church in the Principality. Her spiritual work in the last generation is too widely attested and too apparent from outward visible signs to need any detailed account. On all sides and in all directions she has made enormous strides towards recovering the exalted position she previously occupied as the spiritual teacher and benefactor of the Welsh people. When we see so many striking signs of new life and progress in the four oldest dioceses of the Church in Great Britain, it is surely no idle boast to claim that the prophecy of Daniel Rowlands, the Church evangelist and revivalist of Llangeitho, has been fulfilled. A great reformation has taken place in the established Church. He and his fellow-revivalists would have rejoiced to see this day.

Those, however, who claim to be his spiritual descendants, so far from inheriting any portion of his generous spirit, have greeted this revival of Church life in the Principality with renewed hostility, and have spared no effort during the last thirty years to deal the Church of their fathers a deadly blow as a reward for her religious vitality. Instead of being allowed to continue her beneficent work in peace, she is obliged to lead a distracted life, and to spend a precious part of her time and resources in speaking with the enemy at the gate.

The latest document dealing with the present condition

of the Church in the Principality is the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Church in Wales.*

A brief account of the results established by the evidence laid before the commissioners, together with a few critical remarks on some matters connected with the Report, will bring our sketch of Welsh Church history to a close.

By a comparative study of statistics, the evidence of the *Report* also enables us to see what progress the Church has made in the last twenty-five years. In its bearing on the present controversy, the importance of the *Report of the Royal Commission* is emphasised by the authoritative statement made by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer at the *Welsh National Convention* at Cardiff in 1906, that " the evidence and facts collected and sifted carefully by the Royal Commission, they might depend upon it, would be accepted by English public opinion as more or less settling the dispute." This assurance gave the country clearly to understand that some weight would be attached to the findings of the Commission, and that the merits of the present controversy in regard to disestablishment and disendowment would be judged in the light of the published evidence of the Report. The Report testifies unequivocally to the steady progress, and the pre-eminent position of the Church, as a religious body in the Principality at the present day.

The current views concerning the position of the Church and the claims hitherto put forward by dissent in Wales will now have to be revised. The broad facts established by the evidence may be classified briefly under the following heads.

1. It has been confidently stated, as a self-evident proposition that Wales is a nation of Nonconformists. This can be stated no longer, for the evidence has completely disproved it.

A few statistical facts will enable the reader to see that

this claim has been dispelled. The monoglot Welsh element in the Principality represents 15 per cent. of the population; the duoglot element 35 per cent.; the monoglot English element 50 per cent. From the figures presented by Nonconformist witnesses before the Commission, the number of Nonconformists of all denominations—and this includes the Roman Catholics—adults and children is considerably less than half the population, about 45 per cent.

The Nonconformist figures submitted to the Commissioners could, moreover, hardly claim the same high level of accuracy as those submitted by Church witnesses. On the Nonconformist side, only estimates and tables and round numbers were submitted; and for the purpose of calculating the number of Nonconformist adherents, these were pronounced to be " of little or no use for statistics." On the other hand, the Church submitted for every parish in Wales " carefully prepared and checked lists of communicants with names and addresses; these lists were open to any scrutiny by the Commissioners, but they did not think it necessary to conduct such a scrutiny."

A belated attempt was made by a few of the Liberationist members of the Commission to dispute the accuracy of the Church figures, but the attempt proved a miserable *fiasco*, and only revealed the *animus* of its authors. It must be remembered, of course, that these statistics are only approximate estimates of the comparative numerical position of the Church and dissent; but the most favourable interpretation put on these figures shows that Welsh Nonconformity, or, to be more precise, all the various Nonconformist bodies in Wales put together, does not represent nearly the half of the total population.

An official religious census, such as is taken in Ireland, is the only satisfactory method of finding out the true numerical relation of the Church and Nonconformity; and

if the problem is to be settled on statistical grounds, there ought to be an official census to give us accurate statistical evidence.

2. Another fact, proven from the evidence of the Report, is that instead of being, as was usually assumed and stated, one of the weakest of the religious bodies in Wales, the Church has now been proved to enjoy a *numerical pre-eminence* over every other religious body in the Principality.

This numerical pre-eminence acquires a still greater significance from the fact, borne out by the statistical evidence, that the Church is the only *numerically progressive* body in Wales.

The statistical year selected by the Commission was 1905, the high-water mark of the Revival, and therefore eminently favourable to the Nonconformist cause. Since 1905, the Nonconformist bodies in Wales have steadily declined in numbers, as their *Annual Returns* show, and the decline still continues. Since 1905, the Church has, numerically, continued to advance steadily, and the advance still continues. From the available statistical data, drawn from a variety of sources, and judged by a variety of tests, it has been estimated that the Church represents, and ministers to, about a *third* of the total population of Wales. We do not attach the same value to numbers, as a criterion of good work or as a test of spiritual efficiency, as Nonconformists do; but they have appealed to numbers, and the Church has not shrunk, nor suffered, from the numerical test.

3. Another point established by the evidence is the worthless character of the test pronounced by Mr. Asquith in 1909, as a specially " trustworthy " argument in support of the Nonconformist claim to numerical preponderance in Wales.

The superior accommodation, in the form of chapel sittings, provided by Nonconformity has been advanced as

a reliable proof of the numerical superiority of Nonconformity. The evidence contained in the Report, however, shows that in many of the Welsh counties the seating accommodation provided in Nonconformist chapels is greatly in excess of the whole population.

The excess of accommodation over population is very marked in typically Welsh counties, such as Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, Merionethshire, Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire. The high-water mark of statistical absurdity in regard to this method of computation was reached by a set of Nonconformist figures reported from Cardiganshire, where the Nonconformist statisticians claimed a greater number of children than there were in the whole county! And yet the Church in Cardiganshire is strong and progressive. The conclusions therefore drawn in favour of the numerical preponderance of Welsh Nonconformity from the number of chapel sittings, are entirely misleading.

"We are clear," says the Report, "that this accommodation is greatly in excess of the number of persons who may reasonably be expected to avail themselves of it."

What counts is the number of *sitters* not the number of sittings; and if Nonconformists are desirous of proving their numerical superiority they have the remedy in their own hands—a religious census. Those who conduct an official census are not, however, in the habit of calculating the number of people in a family from the number of chairs in the house.

4. Another remarkable fact established by the Report of the Commission is that Welsh Nonconformity does not, as is usually assumed and claimed, represent a separate national body, or an exclusively Welsh denominational organisation. It is not really correct to speak of *Welsh Nonconformity* as though it represented a homogeneous religious organism. It is only a convenient phrase

to designate a number of Nonconformist bodies differing in many matters of doctrine, organisation, and polity.

No hard and fast line, geographical or linguistic, is drawn between Nonconformity in Wales and Nonconformity in England.

Just as the Church in Wales, or the four Welsh dioceses, are part of a larger whole—the Province of Canterbury; so the various Welsh Nonconformist bodies are part of a larger whole, which is *not* limited to Wales, but includes England and Wales alike.

The four principal Nonconformist bodies in Wales—the Calvinistic Methodists, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Congregationalists and the Baptists, are parts of larger Unions—Methodist, Congregational or Baptist, as the case may be. There is no *Welsh* Free Church Council. The formation of a Welsh independent Free Church Council was proposed quite recently by some of the Welsh "Nationalists," and rejected in the interests of unity and mutual co-operation. Welsh Nonconformists have naturally found out the overwhelming advantage of unity with their English co-religionists. The Welsh Church found out the advantage of this unity many centuries ago, even before the Norman Conquest, as we have already seen, when the four Welsh sees entered into communion with the English Church. The four Welsh sees sent their proctors to represent them in the Convocation of Canterbury two centuries and a half before Wales sent representatives to the English Parliament. It would be most unfair, however, to infer that, because Welsh Nonconformists have decided to join forces with their English brethren, and are now only units in a larger organisation co-extensive with England and Wales, with their constitutional acts and their denominational policy subject, to a large extent, to the approval of the central body in London or elsewhere, they are for that reason less patriotic or less loyal than before to the best

interests of their native land. But it is surely a remarkable thing that the Welsh Church should be considered unpatriotic, anti-national and alien for having done many centuries ago precisely what Welsh Nonconformity has found it necessary to do in the last century, and for precisely the same reasons! This point needs to be placed before the reader with absolute clearness, for it has a very special practical bearing on the controversies of the day. If Welsh Churchmen had the power, or the wish, to inhibit Welsh Calvinistic Methodists from organic communion with their co-religionists in England, and to prevent them from joining forces, as a united denomination, for religious work, they would be considered guilty of an act of callous and unchristian tyranny. And so it would be. Yet that is the treatment Welsh Nonconformists—for it is done in their name—are now proposing to mete out to the Welsh Church. According to one of their own witnesses before the Commission, " it would be injurious " and " disastrous " to their best interests, to be separated from their English brethren. And the rejection of the proposal, recently made, to form a separate Free Church Council for Wales proves that the advantages of unity are seen far too clearly to be sacrificed to a narrow sectarian isolation. We do not, for that reason, so far forget the obligations of fair argument as to call any Welsh Nonconformist body the " English " Methodists, or Congregationalists, or Baptists in Wales. What makes any institution " national " is not its policy of aloofness or isolation, but the fact that it serves, or does its best to serve, the highest interests of its native land. If Welsh Nonconformists therefore attach, as they clearly do attach, such importance to *unity*, why do they seek to shatter ours?

5. The bilingual difficulty is at the root of many of the peculiar problems of the Church in Wales. And the evidence of the Report shows that the difficulties with which the Church has been obliged to grapple for many centuries,

have begun to appear and to press upon Welsh Nonconformity. A charge frequently levelled against the Church was that it neglected the Welsh language. The Church has to minister to the people, be they English or Welsh. Into the merits of the question, as regards the past, there is no need to enter.

Considering, however, that the Church, by her Welsh Bible, her Welsh Liturgy, and her copious vernacular literature, may be said to have saved the Welsh language from extinction, the Welsh Church needs no defence against the imputation of having neglected the Welsh language.

" We are face to face," said one witness before the Commission, " with the inroad that the English language has made into Wales." The Welsh Church was face to face with the same inroad in the time of Bishop Morgan, as the reader will recollect. And the Welsh Church then met that inroad by giving Wales a Welsh Bible and a Welsh religious literature. As regards the present day, with which alone we are now concerned, the Report states that " the clergy, while not neglecting the English, have rightly shown a generous preference towards the claims of the older language."

" In deciding the proportion of English to Welsh services in a parish," said the Bishop of S. Asaph before the Commission, " if any bias is shown, it has been shown in favour of Welsh."

It should be remembered, in dealing with this bilingual problem, a problem of acute practical difficulty, that compared with the various Nonconformist systems, with their congregational methods and limited obligations, the Church is in a position of far greater responsibility, and has to make provision for all the parishioners according to the circumstances of the parish. Scattered minorities in rural parishes, be they English or Welsh, have to be ministered to; and this can only be done by providing

double services; or dividing the services as evenly as possible between the English and Welsh sections of the parish.

Welsh Nonconformity is now obliged to make provision for English services, for, as one witness before the Commission put it, " it is of more importance for us to uphold religion than even to keep our language vigorous. In many places at the present time we must either sacrifice our religious causes and look at our chapels half empty, and the neglecters multiplying around us, or endeavour to place the truths of religion before men in the English language."

The provision made in Welsh by the leading Nonconformist bodies in Wales is really less than the statistics would lead us to believe; for in South Wales especially, though there are similar instances in other parts of Wales, many chapels tabulated as Welsh are either monoglot English or bilingual. That the Church has not neglected and does not neglect the Welsh language, is clearly proved from the testimony of the Bishop of S. David's that *the progress of the Church in rural areas is specially noteworthy.*

As regards the attention paid to the Welsh language, Church progress in Welsh rural areas speaks for itself; but it is satisfactory to have the fact officially recognised and chronicled in the Commissioners' Report.

There are two or three more points which deserve a brief notice.

(*a*) The rate of progress. The Church in Wales, by a comparison of percentages with the corresponding figures for England—in regard to Easter communicants, Confirmations, Sunday School scholars, accommodation, Sunday services, and voluntary contributions—shows a slightly *higher* rate of progress than the average standard of the whole Church in England and Wales. In view of its bilingual difficulties, and the chronic attacks it has to meet, and its comparative poverty, this rate of progress, steadily

maintained under harassing circumstances, is surely a record of which the Welsh Church need not be ashamed; and ought to be accounted unto it for righteousness, instead of being used as a plea to despoil it of its ancient patrimony and dismember it from the body with which it has been connected for nearly a thousand years.

(*b*) Compared with the Nonconformist denominations, the Church, through her parochial system, is evenly distributed throughout the whole of Wales. That is not the case with Nonconformity. In North Wales, *e.g.*, the Calvinistic Methodists are strong; but in South Wales the "cause" maintains only a precarious existence. The Baptists and Congregationalists, again, are more flourishing in the South, but correspondingly weak in North Wales.

Speaking roughly, in one parish out of every four in Wales, no provision is made by *any* Nonconformist denomination for the spiritual needs of the people by providing a resident minister. The Nonconformist system, elastic and admirable in many ways, is not fitted to meet the needs of all classes of the community. It relies, or professes to rely, on the voluntary principle, and the result is that it tends to settle in the regions of prosperity; and the empty chapels frequently seen in what were once prosperous districts, tell their own tale of a religious system that is obliged to desert the people in adversity. The slums and the lean districts are left to the Church. Those, again, who are most in need of pastoral care and the ministrations of religion are the last to take the trouble to seek them. And the *Report* testifies that these ministrations, which the Church alone is able to provide on a national scale, *i.e.*, in every parish, are generally appreciated. Facts like these prove conclusively that the services and the usefulness of the Church are not to be measured by any numerical test. It is difficult to understand the attitude of those who profess to judge the moral claims or the spiritual usefulness of a great institution by the mere counting of heads. What

chance would the Christian faith itself stand either in England or Wales at the present day if its claims had to be submitted to the numerical test?

If the numerical test is a valid one, both the Church and Nonconformity might perhaps be asked to hand over their endowments to those who belong to the great neutral zone —the great number who are, by conviction, indifferent to all forms of religion. In proposing to divert religious endowments, left for the service of God, to secular uses, that is really what political dissenters are now doing. The quibble about "legal title" and "national" property cannot conceal the plain historical fact that whatever may have been the circumstances of their origin, they have been given, and used, as religious endowments; and to convert them from the service of God to any secular use is surely an act of sacrilege. Even the old Puritans considered tithes to be religious endowments which could on no account be diverted from religious purposes. But Welsh political dissenters have made up their minds that the endowment of municipal baths is a much better use for religious endowments than the service of God.

And this is the result of applying the numerical test to great moral issues. There is only one valid test by which the present issue can rightly be judged—not whether the Church in Wales is in a majority or otherwise: that is a pure irrelevance: but whether the religious endowments of our ancient parishes are worthily used for the purpose for which the pious donors originally left them. The *Report* of the Welsh Church Commission has shown clearly that these ancient endowments are being worthily used for the service of God and in the best interests of the Welsh people, judged by every reasonable test that can be applied to the work of a religious Institution. That the result of the *Report* has been a great disappointment to those who confidently expected a different account, has long been obvious. It is in no spirit of cynicism that we may venture

to compare the feelings of political dissenters towards the published *Report*, with its strong clear testimony to the vitality of the Welsh Church, to the complaint expressed by Balak when his plans miscarried: "What hast thou done unto me? I took thee to curse mine enemies and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether."

Such then, in brief, is the testimony of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Church in Wales.

It has shown that the Church is the strongest in numbers, and the most progressive religious body in the Principality. It has also proved that the condition of affairs in regard to religious work and its difficulties, in Wales, is such that, as one witness put it: "it would be a disaster to the whole of Wales if any denomination were crippled in its resources."

It does not fall within the province of this short historical sketch to discuss the bearings of the evidence, established by the Report, on the Church controversies of the day. It is enough to place before the readers the main facts that testify to the present activity, and steady and sustained progress of the Church in the Principality.

These facts speak for themselves, and the whole matter must, under God's providential ruling, be left to the conscience of a Christian nation. But no reader can have followed even this brief account of Welsh Church history without being convinced that the Church has been throughout the long ages of the nation's story, the soul of the people's history. Her history is intimately bound up with all that is holiest and deepest, and most ancient in the experience of the Cymric race. An old institution is, as a rule, possessed of immense vitality; and that vitality is never more apparent than in times of stress and crisis. And what old institution in the Principality can compare in moral authority and power of appeal, and in the prestige of its hoary antiquity, with the national Church of the Cymry, which to-day is more active, and stronger in

numbers, in social usefulness, and in spiritual devotion than at any previous time in her history!

The Wales of the past has been nursed on the bosom of the Church. Every department of the nation's life shows the impress of her work, the influence of her spirit—in its traditions, institutions, customs, architecture, literature, and religion. The further we go back, the deeper are the traces of the Church's life and labours on everything connected with the story of the Welsh people. The Wales of the future may so far forget its highest interests as to reject the ministrations of our ancient Church, but it will do so to its own profound and permanent spiritual loss.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

A SHORT list of the principal works which have have been consulted in the preparation of this volume may be of service to those who desire to undertake a more detailed study of the subject. The list is by no means exhaustive. It does not profess to be a bibliography, even on a modest scale: it represents only the works to which reference has been made. But it may be helpful in indicating the quarter to which the general reader may look for fuller treatment of the periods and subjects surveyed in this sketch of Welsh Church history. The list has been reserved to the end of the book in order to avoid the distraction of foot-notes and references.

AB ITHEL: *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry.*

ALLEN, ROMILLY: *The Monumental History of the Early British Church.* (An excellent account of the archæological evidence.)

Annales Cambriæ. Edited by AB ITHEL. (An original authority, indispensable to the student.)

Annales de Margan (being Vol. I of *Annales Monastici*). (Gives useful information on monastic and general events in the later Norman period.)

Archæologia Cambrensis. Passim. (The periodical of the Cambrian Archæological Society. Contains a wealth of information on historical and antiquarian matters.)

ASHTON: *Hanes Llenyddiæth Cymru.* (A full and accurate account of late Welsh literature.)

ASSER: *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi.* Edited by STEPHENSON.

BANGOR WELSH MS. SOCIETY: Vita S. Tathei.

BEDE: *Ecclesiastical History.*

BEVAN: *History of the Diocese of St. David's.*

BIRCH: *History of Margam Abbey.*

BIRT: *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement.*

Black Book of Carmarthen. Edited by GWENOGFRYN EVANS. (Early Welsh poetry.)

Black Book of St. David's. Edited by J. WILLIS BUND.

Book of Llan Dâv. (Original records of Llandaff, to be used with caution owing to the inclusion of legendary material.)

BOWEN, IVOR: *Statutes of Wales.*

BRADLEY: *Owen Glyndwr.*

BREESE, EDWARD: *Kalendars of Gwynedd.* (Contains useful information on matters connected with civil administration and the old county families.)

Brut y Tywysogion. (Indispensable; contains authoritative records of early Welsh history.)

BROWNE-WILLIS: *Survey* of the four Welsh dioceses. (One of the most important books in the list.)

BURY, PROF. : *Life of St. Patrick.* (A valuable critical account of historical problems connected with S. Patrick's life.)

Cambrian Register. (Contains much useful information on various matters connected with the later periods of Welsh history and literature.)

Cambro-British Saints, Lives of. (Contains the Lives of some of the early saints : an original authority, though a new and critical edition is needed.)

Camden Series—

(*a*) *Suppression of the Monasteries ;*
(*b*) MAP : *De Nugis Curialium ;*
(*c*) *Poems* of WALTER MAP.

Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts. To be consulted in the National Library, Aberystwyth. (Worthless as literature, but interesting to the antiquary.)

CLARK : *Land of Morgan.* (Strong in genealogical matters.)

CLAY : *Mediæval Hospitals in England.* The Antiquary's Books. (Shows the extent of philanthropic institutions connected with the Monastic houses.)

COLLIER : *Ecclesiastical History.*

COLLINS, W. E. : *Beginnings of English Christianity.*

Cymmrodor. Passim.

Dictionary of National Biography. Passim.

DUGDALE : *Monasticon Anglicanum.* (Reference work on the subject of monasticism.)

EDWARDS, OWEN M. : *Wales.*

EVELYN'S *Diary.* (Side-lights on the Cromwellian period.)

FISHER, J. : *The Private Devotions of the Welsh People.* (An excellent account of Welsh devotional literature and customs.)

FREEMAN : *Norman Conquest.*

FRYER, A. C. : *Llantwit Major.*

FULLER : *Worthies of Wales.* (Valuable and interesting biographical sketches.)

GASQUET : *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries.*

—— *English Monastic Life.*

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH : *Historia Regum.* in Monumenta Historica Britannica. (An English translation is also available in Bohn's Library.)

GILDAS : *Opera.* Edited by HUGH WILLIAMS. (Text, Introduction and Notes, with a wealth of information on ecclesiastical affairs in the sixth century.)

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS : *Opera* (Roll's Edition). (There is an English translation of his *Itinerary* and *Description of Wales* in Bohn's Library.)

GODWIN : *De Præsulibus Angliæ.* (Gives a list of bishops from the beginning, with brief biographical notices. The last entry is in 1740.)

GOUGAUD, DOM LOUIS : *Les Chretientes Celtiques.* (Though written from the Roman standpoint, this is one of the very best and most scholarly treatises on early British and Irish Christianity, based on Welsh and Irish records.)

GOULD AND FISHER : *Lives of the British Saints.* (Gives a full and scholarly account of the early saints : a standard work.)

GREEN : *Short History of the English People.*

HADDAN AND STUBBS : *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents.* (Contains all the most important original records and documents and is indispensable to the student.)

HALLAM : *Middle Ages.*

HARFORD : *Life of Bishop Burgess.*

HILL, GEOFFREY : *English Dioceses.* (Gives the boundaries of the early Sees.)

History of the S.P.C.K.

Iolo MSS.

JAMES, IVOR : *The Welsh Language.*

JOHNES : *On the Causes of Dissent in Wales.* (One of the best-known books on the subject.)

JONES, BISHOP BASIL : *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd.*

JONES, GRIFFITH, of Llanddowror : *Welsh Piety.*

JONES, DAVID : *Life and Times of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror.* (The best available book on the life of Griffith Jones, but is not quite up to date.)

JONES AND FREEMAN : *History and Antiquities of S. David's.* (A very full account, but most readers will find Bevan's History sufficient.)

LEWIS : *Topographical Dictionary of Wales.* (Contains much useful information on antiquarian and historical matters connected with localities.)

LELAND : *Itinerary in Wales.* Edited by L. J. SMITH. (This is a special edition for Wales.)

Leges Wallicæ. Edited by ANEURIN OWEN.

Life and Letters of THOMAS CHARLES.

LITTLE, PROF. : *Mediæval Wales.*

LLOYD, J. E. : *History of Wales* (to the time of the annexation). (Deals very fully and fairly with ecclesiastical subjects, and is always worth consulting on special points demanding special scholarship.)

LLWYD, ANGHARAD : *History of Mona.*

Llyfr Ancr. (An original document ; contains the most satisfactory text of S. Beuno's Life.)

Llyfryddiæth y Cymry. (The only complete book of reference we have on the literary activity of the various periods of Welsh history.)

Mabinogion. By LADY GUEST.

MACLEANE : *Literature of the Celts.* (Deals only incidentally with Welsh literature, but is worth reading for its treatment of early Celtic literature.)

MATTHEWS : *Welsh Records in Paris* (1910). (Contains an account of Glyndwr's ecclesiastical policy for Wales.)

MONTALEMBERT : *Monks of the West* (English trans.). (Written from the Roman Catholic standpoint, but is one of the best books on the subject.)

MORGAN, REV. J. : *Four Biographical Sketches.* (Welsh Church life in the nineteenth century.)

MORRICE : *Manual of Welsh Literature.* (A brief but excellent popular account of Welsh literature to the eighteenth century.)

Myfyrian Archæology. (Indispensable to the student.)

NELSON : *Life of Bishop Bull.* (Throws much light on the religious condition of Wales at the beginning of the eighteenth century.)

NENNIUS : *Historia Brittonum.* (In M.H.B. An English translation is also available, by Giles.)

NEVINS : *Wales during the Tudor Period.*

NEWELL : *History of the Welsh Church.* (Covers the period to the Dissolution of the Monasteries.)

—— *History of the Diocese of Llandaff* (S.P.C.K.).

NUTT, A. : *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail.*

OVERTON : *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century.*

OWEN, HENRY : *Gerald the Welshman.* (A brief but excellent account of Gerald's life and times.)

PARIS, MATTHEW : *Historia Anglorum.* (One of the most important of our early chroniclers.)

PECOCK, REGINALD : *Book of Faith.* Edited by J. L. MORISON. (Deals with Pecock's heterodox views and incidentally with the Renaissance in England.)

PENNANT : *Tours in Wales.* (Always a valuable book of reference on the state of religion in Wales in his day.)

PIERCE, WILLIAM : *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts.* (Discusses John Penry's connection with these pamphlets.)

PLUMMER, A. : *Churches in Britain* before 1000 A.D.

PRITCHARD, RHYS : *Canwyll y Cymry.*

PRYCE, J. : *The Ancient British Church.* (A very full account of British Christianity.)

Puritan Manifestoes.

Record of Carnarvon. (A most important record of early agrarian, ecclesiastical, and political matters.)

REES : *Essay on the Welsh Saints.* (Should always be consulted together with Gould and Fisher's work.)

REES : *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales.* (A decidedly partisan account, and full of inaccuracies; but contains a good deal of useful information on the subject if the reader will make allowance for the author's bias.)

Report of the Welsh Historical Manuscripts Commission.

RHYS, SIR JOHN : *Lectures on Welsh Philology; Celtic Britain; Studies in the Arthurian Legend; Celtic Folk-lore, Welsh and Manx.* (Indispensable.)

RHYS and JONES : *The Welsh People.* (A valuable work for general reference.)

ROWLANDS: *Mona Antiqua.* (An interesting, antiquarian, but rambling account of the affairs and history of Anglesey.)

RYMER: *Foedera,* etc. (Statutes, Letters and Public Documents of all kinds from the Norman Conquest to the eighteenth century. An invaluable book of reference to those who wish to consult original authorities.)

SEEBOLM: *Tribal System in Wales.* (The best book on a difficult and complicated subject.)

SKEEL, C. A. J.: *Council of the Marches of Wales.*

SKENE: *Four Ancient Books of Wales.* (Translations of our earliest Welsh poetry, such as the *Black Book of Carmarthen,* but needs revising.)

SPELMAN: *History of Sacrilege.*

STANLEY, DEAN: *Letters of Bishop Thirlwall.*

STEPHENS: *Literature of the Kymry.* (The best treatise on the early literature of the Cymry: ends with the fourteenth century.)

STEVENS: *History of the Abbeys and Monasteries of Great Britain.* (Should be used to supplement Dugdale's *Monasticon.*)

STOKES: *Ireland and the Celtic Church; Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church; Tripartite Life of S. Patrick.*

STRYPE: *Annals* and *Memorials.*

STUBBS: *Constitutional History of England.*

—— *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum.* (Contains list of bishops and the dates of their appointment.)

TANNER: *Notitia Monastica.* (Important for the history of the monasteries.)

THOMAS, ARCHDEACON: *History of the Diocese of S. Asaph.* (In parts.) Part I for general history. (A complete and learned account of S. Asaph diocese.)

—— *Life and Work of Bishop Davies and William Salesbury.* (Very useful for the subject of the Welsh Bible.)

TODD: *S. Patrick.*

USHER: *Antiquitates ecclesiarum Britannicarum.* (Contains a great deal of valuable information, and is always worth consulting as an authority on many matters connected with British Church history.)

Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII.

WADE-EVANS: *Welsh Mediæval Law.*

WARD, JOHN: *Roman Era in Britain,* "The Antiquary's Books." (Gives a trustworthy and an informed view of affairs in Roman Britain.)

WARREN: *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.* (A most valuable work, and indispensable to the student.)

WARRINGTON: *History of Wales.*

WALKER: *History of the Sufferings of the Clergy.* (Deals with the Puritan oppression and the sufferings of the clergy during the Commonwealth. The standard work on the subject, and substantially accurate.)

WESTWOOD : *Lapidarium Walliæ.* (Contains an illustrated account of lapidary remains bearing on Celtic Christianity.)
WHARTON : *Anglia Sacra.* (A work of reference for the history of bishops to 1540 A.D.)
WHITEFIELD'S *Journal.*
WILKIN'S *Concilia.* (One of the principal works of reference for all students.) Contains account of Convocations, Synodal and other ecclesiastical records, from the Council of *Verulam* 446 to 1717 A.D.
WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY : *De gestis Pontificum Anglorum.*
WILLIAMS : *Eminent Welshmen.* (Book of reference.)
WILLIAMS, R. : *History and Antiquities of Aberconway.* (A very brief but useful sketch of the old abbey and its place in early Welsh history.)
WOOD : *Athenæ Oxonienses.* (Contains an account of Oxford men, 1500–1695.)
WYNNE, SIR JOHN : *History of the Gwydir Family.* (Gives a very valuable account of Wales in the sixteenth century.)
YORKE, P. : *Royal Tribes of Wales.*
ZIMMER : *Ireland and the Celtic Church.*

INDEX

Aaron, 3
Aberconway, founded by Llywelyn the Great, 107
Aberdaron, 82
Abergavenny, 105
Abergwili. Bishop Beck founds Collegiate Church, 142
Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, 249, 252
Act of Supremacy, 213
Act of Uniformity, 213, 263
Act of Union, 198
Adam of Usk, prebendary of Abergwili, 159
Adelphius, British bishop at Arles, 3
Advertisements of Parker, 213
Agricola, disciple of Pelagius, 9
Aidan, 14
Alanus de Insulis, writes commentary on *Merlin's Prophecy*, 193
Alban, the martyr, 3
Alcuin, 28
Aldhelm, 56, 58
Alfred, 49, 62
Alleluia Victory, 9
Ambrosius, 8
Anarawd, Prince of Gwynedd, 62
Andrew, S., 81
Aneurin, a sixth century poet, 95
Anian, Bishop of Bangor, 142
Anian, Bishop of S. Asaph. *Y brawd du o Nannau*, 143
Anian Sais, 151
Annales Cambriæ, 47, 53, 55, 59
Annexation of Wales, 149
Anselm, bishop of S. David's, 140
Archbishop, original meaning in Celtic Church, 22-23.
Arderydd, battle of, 96
Argoed Llwyfain, 96
Arius, 4
Arles, Council of, 3
Armada, 216
Armagh Church, 64
Arminian Controversy, 284
Armorican, Church, 7
Arthur, King, 8, 29, 93, 96, 98, 100
Arthurian Romance—origin, 61—influence of Breton traditions, 99-100—influence on Western literature, 102
Asaph, disciple of Kentigern, and his successor, 32
Asaph, S. diocese—foundation and early history, 31, 48—meagre records previous to eleventh century, 48
—— *Copy of the Gospels*, 226, 304—Diocesan Council of 1561, 227—proposed transference to province of York, 87
Asser, bishop of S. David's, 62—at Alfred's Court writes Life of Alfred, 63—knowledge of Welsh affairs, 63
Augustine, S., 4, 9
Augustine, conference with British bishops, 54-57
Avallenau, 96, 101

Badon Hill, battle of, 9
Bayley, Lewis, bishop of Bangor author of *Practice of Piety*, 245
Baldwin, Archbishop, preaches Crusade in Wales, 123-126—celebrates Mass in the Welsh Cathedrals, 124
Bangor, foundation and early history, 47—Early bishops,

Bangor—(*contd.*)
151, 163-164—Bangor Pontifical, 163—Proposed transference of See to Province of York, 87
—— Monachorum or Iscoed, 30, 31
Baptists, first dissenting chapel at Ilston, 263
Bardd Cwsc by Elis Wyn, 277, 299
Bards, 98-99—controversy with friars, 156-7—treatment by Edward I, 156, 186, 188, 191—position in tribal society, 98-9—bardic literature, 190—value to the native Princes, 192—use Merlin's name, 193
Bardsey, founded by Cadvan, 33-34—Dubricius retires there, 23—Culdees settled there, 107
Basingwerk, 184—*Black Book of*,
Bassaleg, 105 [190
Baxter, criticises "Cromwell's preachers," 259 — declines bishopric, 263
Beck, Bishop of S. David's defends metropolitan claims, 140—protests against Peckham's visit as Metropolitan, 141—but welcomes him at Llanbadarn, 141—founds Collegiate Church at Abergwili and Llanddewi-Brevi, 142—assists in drawing up Statutes of Rhuddlan, 142
Bedd Gelert, 82, 163, 184
Bede, 2, 28, 49, 54, 56
Bedyl, one of Thomas Cromwell's agents, 171
Benedict XIV, supported by Owen Glyndwr, 160
Benlli, Welsh prince, 33
Bernard, first Norman bishop of S. David's, 83—work at S. David's, 90—dispute with Bishop of Llandaff, 84—first to claim metropolitan rights for the See, 84—S. David
Bernard—(*contd.*)
canonised during his episcopate, 85—Testimony of the *Brut*, 85
Beuno, founder of Clynnog and other Churches, 32—Beuno's Book, 33
Bevan, Madam, 278, 281
Bible Society, 310
Black Book of Carmarthen, 32, 77, 96, 101, 304
Black Death, effect on economic and social history of the country, 91, 153-4, 170
Black Friars, House of, Bangor,
Blackwell, 322 [172
Blegywryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, helps to revise Welsh Laws, 68
Boia, a Goidelic chieftain, 16
Borrow, George, on Dafydd ab Gwilym, 187, 189
Bosworth Field, 160
Brân the Blessed, 2
Brecon, 105, 184
Breuddwyd Mair, an old Welsh prayer, 306
Brittany: early connection with British Church, 7, 100
Brut of Caradoc, 190
Brut Tyssilio, 100-101
Brut y Saeson, 100-1
Brute, Walter, follower of Wycliffe, 154
Bull, Bishop of S. David's, on the state of the diocese as the result of financial depression, 272-3
Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, translated into Welsh by Stephen Hughes, 275
Burgess, Bishop of S. David's, founds S. David's College, Lampeter, 317

CADOC, founder of Nantcarvan: associated with David and Gildas in reviving Church life in Ireland, 26—connected

Cadoc—(*contd.*)
with Arthurian Romance as Sir Galahad, 26—*Life of Cadoc*, 18—hospitality at his monastery, 19
Cadvan, S., migrates from Brittany and founds Towyn and Bardsey, 33-34—*Cadvan's Stone*, 34
Cadvan, King of Gwynedd, 33, 55
Cadwaladr Legend, 100, 194
Cadwallon Law Hir, 26
Caerleon, 3, the seat of the mythical Arthur, 195—ancient Archiepiscopal seat, 36
Caerwent, 30, 50
Caerwys Eisteddfod, 220
Caldey, 21, 25
Calamy, declines bishopric, 263
Calvinism, 211-212, 251
Caratacus, 2
Caradoc of Llancarvan, Chronicle, 101
Caradoc of Rhos, a saintly recluse, 108
Carmarthen, Black Canons of,
Carnhuanawc quoted, 304 [184
Cattraeth, battle, 95
Celibacy in Celtic Church, 44
Charity Schools, founded by Welsh agents of the S.P.C.K., 275—by Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, 280
Charles, Thomas of Bala, pupil of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, 291—Curate of Llanymawddwy, 291—settles at Bala, 292—declares his attachment to the Church by declining to avail himself of *Toleration Act*, 292
Church in tribal society, 71-72—non-tribal origin of Church lands, 72—influence of Church on tribal life and institutions, 69-73—right of patronage and inheritance, 40—tribal portionary Churches, 41
Chronicle of Croyland, 180
Cistercian houses in Wales, 104-105—Welsh founders, 107—support the Welsh princes, 108—life in C. monastery, 112-116
Clas and Claswyr in early Welsh Church, 41, 70—suppressed in Norman era, 82
Clynnog-fawr, S. Beuno's foundation, 41-42, 82, 105, 184
Columba, 12, 14—*Life of Columba*, 18
Columbanus, 14, 28
Communion Service, first English, 204
Confession of S. Patrick, 12
Constantius, priest of Lyons writes *Life of Germanus*
Conquest of Ireland, 122
Conventicle Act, 264
Copleston, bishop of Llandaff, 310
Coroticus, Epistle to, 12
Corwen, battle of, 188
Counter-Reformation: Jesuits propaganda, 242—Romanist martyrs in Wales, 243—Welsh Romanist literature, 297-8—"recusants," 216
Cradock, Walter, curate to William Erbery, 248—pronounced by Bishop of Llandaff "bold and ignorant," 249—joined Wroth's dissenting chapel at Llanfaches, 249—appointed "preacher" in Wales under the Commonwealth, 252—considered Wales "pagan," 256
Cromwell, Thomas, his character and early history, 171—his ruthless methods in suppressing the monastic houses, 175-176
Cromwell, Oliver, 252, 259
Cruig's Day, 72
Culdees, settled in Bardsey, 107, 126
Cwm Hir Abbey, 105, 107, 184

Cwtta Cyfarwydd, 100
Cybi, founder of Caergybi, or Holyhead, 32
Cydifor, Abbot of Nantcarvan, *Cymmorthau*, 191 [64
Cyngen, Prince of Powys, grants land to Bangor Iscoed, 31
Cynog, Bishop of Llanbadarn, and reputed successor of S. David, 50
Cynddylan, Prince of Powys, 97
Cynddelw the bard, 130, 188

Dafydd ab Gwilym, 109, 155, 189, 192, 304
Dafydd ab Iorwerth, abbot of Valle Crucis, 190
Dafydd Benvras, a Welsh bard, 130, 188
Danish Invasion, influence on Welsh history, 49
Daron, Dean of Bangor, supports Owen Glyndwr, 164, 166, 194
David, S., a saint of Dyfed, 36—his early history, 36-7—His *Life* by Rhygyfarch, 37—founder of Churches, 37-38—canonised, 85—S. David's School at Old Menevia, 75
David's, S., diocese: foundation and early history, 48-49—its pre-eminence according to the *Welsh Laws*, 70—fight for its Metropolitan claims, Bernard, 84—Gerald's, 120—Beck's, 125, 140, 141
Davies, Dr. John, Rector of Mallwyd, his writings, 298—helps Bishop Parry with the revision of Welsh Bible, 237
Davies, Bishop Richard, his work on the Welsh Bible, 209, 218, 221, see *Salesbury*
Decian persecution, 3
Declaration of Indulgence by James II, 265
Declaration of Sports, 247
Dedication of Churches, 63-64—changes in Norman era, 81—
Dedication—(*contd.*)
different stages in dedication of Churches in Wales, 64
Deganwy, Maelgwn Gwynedd's fortress, 27
Deiniol, founder of Bangor, son of Dunawd, 31—educated at Nantcarvan under Cadoc, 31—receives grant of land from Maelgwn Gwynedd, 31
Denbigh, Carmelite House, 184
Dervel Gadarn, 172
Devotional literature of Wales, 302-307
Dictionary in Englysche and Welshe, by W. Salesbury, 229
Diodorus Siculus, 94
Directory for Public Prayer, 253
Disserth, 21
Dogmael, S., 105, 184
Dôl in Brittany, 26
Dŏllinger, Dr. Von, on Anglican orders, 217
Domesday book, 76
Drych y prif Oesoedd by Theophilus Evans, 299
Dubricius, or Dyfrig: episcopal Abbot of Henllan, 22—connection with Llandaff, 22—the legendary Dubricius of Geoffrey of Monmouth, 22-23—retires to Bardsey, 22-23—his relics brought back to Teilo's Church, 23, 86
Dunawd, head of Bangor Iscoed, 30—Geoffrey's account, 30-31

Eborius, a British bishop, 3
Edgar, King, founds S. Mary's Church, Bangor, 48
Edward I and Conquest of Wales, 136-137
Edward II, his policy towards Wales, 152
Edward VI, doctrinal changes during his reign, 205-209
Edwards, Dean of Bangor, 321
Edwards, Charles, author of *Hanes y Ffydd*, 275

Eisteddfod, 100, 220—revived and encouraged by Welsh bishops in nineteenth century, 322
Elfod, teacher of Nennius, 47—adopts the Roman Easter, 47, 59—Nennius' tribute to his character, 59
Elidir Sais, 188
Eliseg, pillar of, 110
Emrys Wledig or Ambrosius, 8
Englynion y Beddau, 101
Epistol at y Cembru, Bishop Davies' Preface to Salesbury's Welsh Test, 227
Erasmus' *Paraphrase of the Gospel*, 208
Erbery, Vicar of S. Mary's, Cardiff, 248—his early history—resigns his living—preaches against episcopacy—joins the "Independents," 248
Escheat principle: its effect on tribal system of land tenure, 90
Evans, Dr. John, Bishop of Bangor, one of the Welsh supporters of the S.P.C.K., 275
Evans, Theophilus, author of *Drych y prif oesoedd* and *History of Modern Enthusiasm*, 277

Ferrar, Bishop of S. David's, burnt at Carmarthen, 209
Finnian, Abbot of Clonard, reputed pupil of S. David, 38
Fisher, Bishop, defends the monks against Henry VIII's agents, 178
Fitzgerald, David, uncle of Gerald the Welshman and Bishop of S. David's, 74, 117
Five-Mile Act, 264
Flemish settlers in Pembrokeshire, 83—Gerald's dispute with them concerning payment of tithes, 118
Foliot Hugo, 133
Forty-two Articles of Religion, 207
Friars, controversy with bards, 105, 156-157—tribute to their work, 145—Franciscan houses spared by Owen Glyndwr, 159

Galfrid, reputed author of *Life of Teilo*, 101
Gavel-kind, Welsh custom of, 198
Gelliwig, Arthur's seat in Cornwall, 93
Geoffrey of Monmouth, legendary account of S. David, 36—appointed Bishop of S. Asaph, 88—his *History of the Kings of Britain*, 88—testimony of Welsh Chronicles to his learning, 88—his contribution to Mediæval Romance, 101—translated *Prophecy of Merlin*—influence of his "history" on Western literature, 102
Germanus, helps British Church against Pelagian heresy, 9—supports the monastic movement, 10—Churches dedicated to him, 6—reputed teacher of Illtud, 25
Gilbert, first Norman Bishop of S. Asaph, 88
Gildas, founder of Rhuys in Brittany: parentage, 26—author of the *De Excidio Brit.*, 28—denounces the vices of the age, 27-29—goes to Ireland with David and Cadoc, 26—rebukes Maelgwn Gwynedd, 25—his lost writings *De Gestis Arthuri*, 29—his letters, 27—pupil of Illtud, 25
Giraldus Cambrensis, 83—descent, 117—education, 118—starts reform in S. David's, 118—his fight for its Metropolitan claims, 119—appeal to

Giraldus Cambrensis—(*contd.*) Rome, 120—supported by the Welsh princes, 120—his writings, 121, 122, 127—his Itinerary with Baldwin, 122-126—his account of Welsh Church customs and religious character of Welsh people, 126-130
Glan Geirionydd, 322
Glastonbury, 93
Glasynys, 322
Gododin (by Aneurin) the oldest poem in the Welsh language, 93, 95
Goidelic remains in Wales, 15
Goldcliff, 105
Goldwell, Bishop of S. Asaph,
Goronwy Owen, 300 [209
Gouge, Thomas, and charity schools, 274
Gower Henry, Bishop of S. David's, 151, 161
Grammar Schools, a few founded from the monastic spoils, 206—fresh ones founded by Welsh clergy, 206
Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, his circulating schools, 273—his efforts supported by Sir John Philips, 277—his *Welsh Piety*, 280—his theological seminary at Llanddowror, 280, 287—his pupils and contemporaries, 280—his impressive preaching; his view of causes of dissent, 281—result of his labours, 286
Griffiths, George, Dr., Bishop of S. Asaph after the Restoration urges fresh revision of Welsh Bible, 262—controversy with Vavasour Powell: helped with last revision of Welsh Prayer Book, 263
Gruffydd ab Cynan, bestows lands on Beuno's Church, 33—returns from exile, 99—secures Welsh bishop for Bangor,
Gruffydd ab Cynan—(*contd.*) 87—reforms the bardic order, 99
Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch, the bard of Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, 189
Gruffydd Hiraethog, 297
Guilds, suppressed in time of Edward VI, 206
Guto'r Glyn, a fifteenth century bard, on friendly terms with the monastic houses, 190
Gutyn Owain, another fifteenth century bard; historian of Strata Florida, 190
Gwalchmai the poet, 130
Gwallter Mechain, 322
Gwasanaeth Mair, a Welsh mediæval primer of devotion, 305
Gwenddoleu, 96
Gwyl Ieuan y Moch, S. John Baptist's Day, 72
Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy, Welsh banditti, 221

HARDING, Stephen, Abbot of Citeaux, founder of Cistercian houses, 106
Hemeid, Prince of Dyfed, 62
Hen Fynyw, or old Menevia, 37
Henllan, monastic house of Dubricius, 22, 50
Hervé, Bishop of Bangor, a Breton, and first Norman nominee, 87—obliged to abandon his diocese, 87
Hilary of Poitiers, 4
Hirlas Horn, a twelfth century poem by Owen Cyfeiliog, 187
Hoianau, 96, 101
Honorius II, Pope, 80
Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, 272
Horsley, Bishop of S. David's,
Howel, Dean, 321 [309
Howel Dda, Prince of Dyfed, revises the Welsh Laws, 66-69—reputed journey to Rome to secure Papal sanction, 68—See *Laws of Wales*.

Howel Harris, early life, 284, 287—his *Autobiography*, 288—protests against schismatical tendency of his followers, 288—tribute to the established Church and bishops, 288-289—establishes a kind of monastic brotherhood at Trevecca, 289—dies a member of the Church, 289
Huet, Thomas, Cantor Menevensis, assists in the translation of Salesbury's *New Test.*, 228-229
Hughes, Stephen, co-operates with Gouge in educational work, 274—Vicar of Mydrim, 274—translates Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, 275—publishes *Canwyll y Cymry*, 275
Hume criticises Cromwell's "preachers," 259

IDNERTH, Bishop of Llanbadarn, 51
Ieuan Brydydd Hir, poet and antiquary, 300
Illtud, founder of Llantwit Major, 25—"most distinguished teacher in Britain" (Gildas), 25—teacher of Maelgwn Gwynedd, 25—reputed pupil of Germanus, 25—served under King Arthur as Illtud Farchog, 25—his pupils, and monastic house at Caldey, 25
Independents, 212
Iolo Goch, Owen Glyndwr's bard, 166, 189
Iorwerth, Abbot of Talley, 133
Irish Church, daughter of old British Church, 14—its faith revived in sixth century by David Gildas and Cadoc, 15—Irish element in Wales, 15-16—friendly intercourse between Irish and Welsh
Irish Church—(*contd.*) Church, 64, 94—points of similarity, 126
Isca Silurum, 3
Isle of Avallon, Arthur's grave, 93
Ivor Hael, Dafydd ab Gwilym's patron, 99

JESUITS, 242
John, Abbot of Whitland, 125
John de la Ware, Bishop of Llandaff, 140
John of Monmouth, Bishop of Llandaff, 162
Jones, Basil, *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, 15
Jones, David, Rector of Llangan, restrains the early Methodists from Schism, 293
Jones, Bishop Hugh, of Llandaff, first Welsh bishop of Llandaff (1567) for nearly three centuries, 218

KENTIGERN, or Cyndeyrn, founder of S. Asaph, previously Bishop of Strathclyde, 31, 48—visits S. David at Menevia, 31—invited by Cadwallon to N. Wales, 31—returns to Strathclyde, 32
Kidwelly, 105
Kitchin, Anthony, Bishop of Llandaff from time of Henry VIII to Elizabeth, 218—Godwin's complaint, 218
Knights Templars houses, dissolved, 171
Kynnifer Llith a Ban, by William Salesbury, 208, 227
Kyfoesi Myrddin reputed production of the Seer Merlin, 193

La Mort d'Arthur, by Walter Map, 103
Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, 285

Lampeter, S. David's College founded by Bishop Burgess, 317
Lamphey, bishop's palace built by Bishop Gower, 161
Lancelot du Lac, by W. Map, 103
Land tenure, changes in Wales, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, 3 [90
Latimer, on the disastrous effects of the suppression of the monasteries, 182
Laud, Archbishop, his ecclesiastical policy and contest with the Puritan party, 150, 151
Laws of Wales; revised by Howel Dda, 68—modelled partly on Western Codes, 67—three Codes, Venedotian, Dimetian, Gwentian, 66—present form represents later recensions, 68—Church life in tribal society, 69-73—separate and non-tribal origin of Church endowments, 72—influence of the Church in abolishing villeinage, 71—independent jurisdiction of Bishops' and Abbots' Courts, 67—differ in some respects from ecclesiastical law, 69—continue in force for tenurial purposes after Statute of Rhuddlan, 69—Ecclesiastical officials in tribal society, 70—evidence of observance of Church seasons, 72
Legg, one of Henry VIII's commissioners at the dissolution, 171
Leland's *Itinerary*, 10, 42
Lewis Glyn Cothi, the bard of the Wars of the Roses, 191
Lewis Morris, 48
Lhuyd, Edward, author of *Archæologia Britannica*, 299
Liberation Society, 312
Libraries, diocesan and parochial, established in early eighteenth century, 276
Linacre, 169
Lincoln Taxation, 41, 42, 80, 146
Llan, 21
Llanafan-fawr, an old bishop's seat in Brecknock, 51
Llanbadarn-fawr, founded by Padarn, 34—an old episcopal foundation, 34, 50—evidence of the *Brut*, 50—Cynog, Bishop of Ll. succeeds S. David, 50—referred to in *Hexameter* lines by Ieuan ab Sulien, 50—its revenues appropriated in twelfth century to an English house, 79
Llancarvan Nantcarvan, Cadoc's foundation, 50
Llandaff, founded by Teilo, 23—becomes leading monastery in Morganwg, 23—its early history, 50—evidence of the *Book of Llan Dâv*, 50—its numerous monastic houses, 50
Llan Dâv, Book of, 3, 45, 50, 55, 65, 81, 101, 108
Llanddewi-Brevi, Synod, 38—Collegiate Church founded by Bishop Beck, 142
Llandeilo Churches, 23
Llandough, 50
Llanfaes, Franciscan Friary founded by Llywelyn the Great, 109—burnt, 159
Llangennith, 184
Llangors, supposed connection with Paulinus, 30
Llanharan, Church dedicated to Aaron, a British martyr, 3
Llanilltyd, or Llantwit Major, the "Pompeii" of the old Celtic saints, 25—centre of the "Grail stories," 26—founded by Illtud Farchog, 25—its daughter house at Caldey, 25
Llanllugan, Cistercian Nunnery, 110, 184
Llanllyr, Cistercian Nunnery, 110, 184

Llanwrtyd, Williams, Pantycelyn, curate of, 290
Llonio, Armorican Saint, 7
Lloyd, Bishop of S. Asaph; one of the seven Bishops against *Declaration of Indulgence*, 266—descent and writings, 266—his account of the state of his diocese, 267
Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd, by Lloyd, Vicar of Chirk, 244
Llwyd Humphrey, author of *Historie of Cambria*, 298
Llwyd, Morgan, author of an allegorical work: *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, 257
Llyfr Coch Asaph, 165
Llyfr plygain, 305
Llywarch Hên, sixth century prince and poet, 96
Llywelyn ab Iorwerth: his reign, 131—supports monastic houses, 131—his struggle with King John, 132—evidence of his power in Magna Charta, 78—testimony of monks and bards to his generosity, 132—supports Gerald in his contest for S. David's, 133—gives grants of land to Bedd Gelert, 82—founds Aberconway and Cymmer Abbey, 107—supports Benedictine house at Penmon and founds Franciscan friary at Llanfaes in memory of his wife, 109
Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, his struggle against Edward I, 136-137
Llywelyn ab Seisyllt, 77
Llywelyn Bifort, Bishop of Bangor, supports Owen Glyndwr, 163—his appointment due to Owen's influence, 163-164—fights for Glyndwr, 163—proclaimed outlaw at the end of the war, 164
Llywelyn Bren. (= Brenin) his revolt, 149
Lollards, 152
Lord Rhys, Justiciar of Henry II, and cousin of Giraldus Cambrensis, 121
Lords Marchers, 79, 149, 198
Lorica of Gildas, 302
Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, 9
Lyndwood, William, author of standard work on *Canon Law*, 162

Mabinogion, tales for the young, account of, 195-197
Macaulay on the Puritans, 253
Macleane's *Literature of the Celts*, 193
Mackworth, Sir Humphrey, member for Cardiganshire, one of the early supporters of the S.P.C.K. in Wales, 275
Madoc, revolt of, 149
Madoc ab Iorwerth, Bishop, 151
Mael, Armorican Saint, 7
Maelgwn Gwynedd, 25, 27, 32, 96
Maes Garmon, 10
Maglorius, 25
Magna Charta, 78, 203
Mainwaring, Bishop of S. David's, 262
Major-Generals, under the Commonwealth, 255
Manau Gododin = Strathclyde, 95
Map, Walter, native of Herefordshire, archdeacon of Oxford, 100-101—brings a "British History" from Brittany, 101—his place in the Arthurian Romance, 103—*De Nugis Curialium*, 103—Satire on the monks, 103
Marches of Wales, 198
Marches, Council of the Welsh 224
Margam, an old episcopal foundation, 51, 105, 184
Marshall, Bishop of Llandaff, 162
Martin Bucer, 208

Martin of Tour, 6
Martin Marprelate Tracts, 213
Martin's Day, 72
Martyr, Peter, 208
Matthew, Paris, 104, 111, 134, 135
Meifod, first church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, according to *Welsh Chronicle*, 64
Meilir, the poet, 107, 130, 187
Merlin, Life of, 32—sixth century poet and bard to King Arthur; name used for patriotic purposes by later bards, 96—reputed poems in *Black Book of Carmarthen*, 96—his *Prophecies* translated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, 102—Alanus writes a commentary on them in thirteenth century, 193
Merthyr, 21
Methodism, Welsh, originally reform movement within the Church: supported by Welsh clergy, 283—difference between English and Welsh Methodism, 283-284—Methodist secession, 292—Loyalty of early Methodists to the National Church, 293-294
Meurig, Bishop of Bangor, 87
Michael, S., dedication of Churches, 63
Mochros, monastic College connected with Dubricius, 22
Mona Antiqua (Rowlands), 48
Monarchy of Britain, sung by the bards before a battle, 99
Monasticism, rise of, 6—Celtic M., 17-20—influence on Welsh literature, 114—place of Monasticism in social life of Wales, 114-116, 147-148—Welsh founders of Cistercian houses, 107—Educational and philanthropic work, 114-115—179-182 suppression of the monasteries, 170-185
Mor's Day, 72
More, 169
Mordaf, Bishop of Bangor, 47
Morgan of Avan, revolt of, 149
—— William, the translator of the Welsh Bible; early history, 232—educated at Cambridge, 233—tribute to Archbishop Whitgift, 233-4—preface to Welsh Bible, 234—appointed Bishop of Llandaff, then of S. Asaph, 235—dispute with Sir John Wynne, 236
—— Robert, Bishop of Bangor, 262
Morris Clynog, 209
Morris Cyffin, 231
Myfyrian Archæology, 303

National Society, 315
Neath Abbey, 50, 184
Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts of Church of England*, copies distributed in Wales, 276
Nennius, his *Historia Brittonum*, 98—first mention of King Arthur, 98—Arthur's twelve battles, 98—pupil of Elfod, 60—account of Germanus and Patrick, 61—sources of his writings, 60-61
Nicander, 322
Nicea, Council of, 4
Ninnian, a North Briton: converts Picts of Galloway, 6—his parentage and early career, 11—visits S. Martin of Tours, 11—founds Candida Casa, 11
Non or Nonnita, S. David's mother, 37
Non-jurors, 266, 268
Norman Conquest, ecclesiastical and other changes, 88-90, 92
Norwich Taxation, 41, 80, 146
Novis, Bishop of S. David's, uncle of Asser, 61

Ogam stones, 15
Oldcastle, Sir John, 189

Ollivant, Bishop, 318
Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd, collection of proverbs edited by William Salesbury, 228
Oudoceus, Bishop of Llandaff, 50
Owen Cyfeiliog, prince and poet, 78—his *Hirlas Horn*, 187—founds *Strata Marcella*, 110—refuses to welcome Archbishop Baldwin, 125
Owen Glyndwr, his revolt, 157-161—his plans for an Independent Wales, with a Metropolitan See and a popular University, 160
Owen Gwynedd, 77-78
Owen, John, Bishop of S. Asaph, 244
Owen, Dr. John, Cromwell's religious adviser, 252
Owen Tudor, Penmynydd, Anglesey, grandfather of Henry VII, 160, 168, 190

PADARN, founder of Llanbadarnfawr, 34, 50
Pader, the great devotional prayer of the Welsh people, 304—"canu y *pader*," in Welsh Laws, 305
Paderau, "rosaries," 304-305
Pair Ceridwen, the fount of poetic inspiration in bardic lore, 192
Paris, Council, 26—University, 118
Parker, Archbishop, 211—his consecration, 217
Parry, Bishop Richard, publishes revised version of Bishop Morgan's Bible, 236
Pascal, Bishop of Llandaff, 162
Patrick, the apostle of Ireland: his early history, 12—his connection with the British Church, 12—his *Confession* and *Epistle to Coroticus*, 13—his connection with the Church in South Wales, 13
Paulinus, disciple of Germanus, 30—reputed teacher of Teilo and David, 22, 37—head of Monastic School at Ty Gwyn ar Daf, 22—his settlement at Ty Gwyn disputed—Llangors and Capel *Peulin* suggested, 30—inscribed stone to Paulinus, 30
Peckham, Archbishop, acts as mediator between Llywelyn and Edward I, 137—his sympathetic attitude, 137—re-organises the Welsh dioceses after the war, 138—his visitation, 141—controversy with Bishop Beck at S. David's, 141—his visitatorial rights undisputed, 141—urges the King to respect the rights and liberties of the *Ecclesia Wallicæ*, 142—injunctions to the four Welsh Sees, 144—his reforms, 144—rebukes superstitions of Welsh people, 145—his efforts in behalf of the Welsh people, 155
Pecock, Reginald, Bishop of S. Asaph, "the forerunner of Hooker," 166;—translated some portions of scripture into English, 167—His *Book of Faith*, 296—influenced by the Renaissance, 296-297
Pembroke, 105
Penitentials, 18
Penmon, Benedictine foundation, 32, 105
Penry, John, a Welshman, wrongly claimed as the first Nonconformist martyr, 213—connected with the *Martin Marprelate Tracts*, 213-214—his early history and his account of religious condition of Wales, 214-215—had no following in Wales, 215—put to death by the State on charge of sedition, 214

Pentateuch MS., in Welsh, seen by Bishop Richard Davies when a boy, 227
Peter de Leia, appointed Bishop of S. David's when Gerald was rejected, 119—Gerald gives poor account of his character: other writers testify differently, 119—present grandeur of S. David's Cathedral largely due to Peter, 120
Philips, Sir John, of Picton Castle: his great work for educational and religious reform in early eighteenth century, 275, 277
Pilgrimages in old Wales, 223
Pilgrimage of Grace, 178
Pilgrim Fathers, 212
Pill, Tironian house, 184
Pius IV, Pope, offers to recognise Reformation changes, 202
Portionary Churches, 41
Powell, Vavasour, his early history, 249—appointed Commissioner for Wales under the Puritan regime, 249, 252—describes his countrymen as "pagans," 256—amassed wealth and charged with misappropriating money, 257
Prayer Book, first English, 207
Presbyterian party, 212
Price, Sir John, reputed author of first book printed in Welsh, 227
Prichard, Rhys, of Llandovery, author of *Canwyll y Cymry*, 239—Chancellor of S. David's, 240—popular preacher, 240—Bishop Bull's appreciation, 241
Priestholm or Ynys Lannog, 32
Printing Press, 169
Prys, Edmund, Archdeacon of Merioneth, early history, 239—his metrical Psalter, or *Salmau Cân*, 239
Queen Anne's Bounty, 268
Record of Carnarvon, 33, 41, 67, 81, 91
Red Book of Hergest, 195
Restitutus, a British bishop, 3
Restoration of the Monarchy: legislation connected with it, 261-262
Rhodri the Great, and the unification of Wales, 49
Rhuddlan Abbey, 184
Rhydderch Hael, 96
Rhys ab Gruffydd, 205
Rhys ab Tewdwr, 196
Rhys ab Thomas, 205
Rhygyfarch, son of Bishop Sulien, 37—author of *Life of S. David*, 37, 49—testimony of the *Brut*, 75
Richard Edward, founder of Ystrad Meurig Grammar School, 300
Ringstede, Bishop of Bangor, 151, 163
Roberts, Griffith, Canon of Milan, 210
Robinson Nicholas, his report on the state of his diocese (Bangor), 220, 223
Romance of the Quest of the Holy Grail, by Walter Map, 103
Roman Easter, 47, 53, 59, 60. See *Elfod*
Romanists, Welsh, 243
Rosaries, 305
Rowlands, Daniel, of Llangeitho, 270—joins Howel Harris on his preaching tours, 289—dispute between them, 287—no proof of his being "turned out of the Church" for his Methodist views, 289—resisted the "dissenting" faction, 290—his advice to his son "to stand by the Church," 290
SABBATARIANISM, 248
Salesbury, William, his descent,

Salesbury, Wm.—(*contd.*) 229—author of first book printed in Welsh, 208, 218—publishes *Kynnifer Llith a Ban*, 227—*Oll Synnwyr*, 228—Welsh Dictionary, 229—Welsh Prayer Book (jointly with Bishop Davies); Welsh New Testament (jointly with Bishop Davies and Huet), 228—starts with Bishop Davies on the Old Test.; but work abandoned owing to a dispute, 229-230
Samson, Archbishop of Dol, educated at Llanilltyd, 26—present at Council of Paris in A.D. 557, 26—reputed transference of S. David's Archbishopric, 85
San Greal, 196
Samuel, Edward, on state of Welsh Church in 1715, 278
Sardica, Council of, 4
Saunders, Dr. Erasmus, *View of the Diocese of S. David's*, 270-271
Savoy Conference, 263
Saxon Genealogies, 28
Scandinavian settlers in Wales,
Seiriol, 32 [83
Seisyllt, Abbot of Strata Florida, accompanies Baldwin on his Crusading tour through Wales, 125
Seren Gomer, Shankland's articles in, 279
Shankland, on the Church revival in eighteenth century, 273-278
Shrewsbury Abbey, 105
Silchester, remains of fourth century church, 1
Silvan-Evans, 301, 321
Simeon of Clynnog, 87
Sion Cent, Welsh bard, 152, 189-190
Sion Dafydd Rhys, grammarian and linguist, 298
Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 32, 95, 101
Slebach, 184
Societies, early S. connected with S.P.C.K. copied by Howel Harris and the Methodists, 287
Solemn League and Covenant, 253
S.P.C.K. founded, its work in Wales, 273-278
Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*, 151, 203
Statutes of Rhuddlan, 137, 149
Stephens, *Literature of the Cymry*, 97, 130, 132, 154, 304
Strabo, 94
Strata Florida, 105, 107, 109, 114, 148, 159
Strata Marcella, 105, 107, 109, 184
Sulien, Bishop of S. David's, 7, 37, 43—*Metrical Life of S.*, 49—death, 75
Superstitions in Wales, 145
Swansea hospital, founded by Bishop Gower, 161

Taeogion, serfs; how the Church secured their emancipation, 71
Taliesin, sixth century poet, 95-96—bard to Maelgwn Gwynedd, 96—his *Prophecy*, 192
Talley Abbey, 105
Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, 183
Tathan, a saint of Gwent, 30
Teilo, founder of Llandaff, 22—disciple of Paulinus, 22—patron of the Llandeilo Churches, 23
Thomas Wallensis, Bishop of S. David's, 140
Thirlwall, Bishop of S. David's, 318
Tillotson, Archbishop, helps in publication of Welsh Bible, 274
Tintern Abbey, 105

Towyn, an ancient ecclesiastical foundation, 34, 82
Trevor, bishop of S. Asaph, offends Owen Glyndwr, 165—warns Henry II of the risk of repressive legislation, 158—joins Glyndwr, 158—acts as Commissioner for Owen, 166—dies in Paris, 166
Triads, 26, 145
Tribal system and the Church, peculiar customs, right of patronage and inheritance, 30-40 — tribal portionary churches, 41—some abuses remedied by Peckham, 43—Gerald's criticism of Welsh Church customs due to ignorance of tribal system, 43-44
Trinio, Armorican saint, 7
Tripartite Indenture between Owen Glyndwr and his allies, 164, 194
Tudno, 322
Tudur Aled, Franciscan friar and last Mediæval bard, 297—his writings and influence, 297
Tudwal Island, 21
Twrch Trwyth, 196
Tydecho, Armorican saint, 7
Tyssilio, reputed successor of Asaph, and author of a lost *British Ecclesiastical History*, 48

Uchtryd, 101
Urban, first Norman appointment to Llandaff, 83—built the Cathedral, 86—dispute with S. David's, 86—brings relics of Dubricius from Bardsey to Teilo's Church, 86
Urien Rheged, King of Cumberland, 96

Valerian persecution, 3
Valle Crucis Abbey, 105, 107, 110, 184
Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII, 41, 42, 183
Vaughan, John, of Derllys, 278
Vaughan, Rowland, of Caergai, 245, 246
Velindre = old serf village, 71
Vortipor, Goidelic chieftain, 16

Walker, on the Sufferings of the Clergy during the Puritan oppression, 254
Wars of the Roses, 159, 169
Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, 309
Welsh Bible, Act of, 1563, authorises translation, 219-230—revision of, 262
Welsh bishops in the Stuart period, 263
Welsh *Book of Common Prayer*, revision, 263
Welsh Genealogies, Tudor interest in, 168
Welsh Historical MSS. Report, 168, 190, 301
Welsh Literature of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, 274, 277
Welsh members first sent to Parliament (time of Edward II), 153
Westminster Assembly of Divines, 252
Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 266
Whitgift, Archbishop, 232, 233
Wig or Weeg, old bishop's seat, 51
Wilfrid, Bishop of S. David's, 75
Willams, Sir John, early history, Lord Keeper and Archbishop of York, supports Charles on the outbreak of civil war, 245
Williams, Moses, Co-editor of *Leges Wallicæ*, helps in the Church Revival of eighteenth century, 278, 301
Williams, Peter, the Bible Commentator, 312
William Williams, Pantycelyn, the "Watts" of Wales, his

William Williams—(*contd.*)
hymns, curate of Llanwrtyd, no proof that he was "turned out of the Church," 290
Winifred, 33
Wolsey, Cardinal, suppresses some of the alien priories to endow his educational institutions at Oxford and Ipswich, 170-171
Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 168, 181, 245, 248, 262
Woodward's account of the rise and progress of the religious societies, 276
Wroth, William, Vicar of Llanfaches, refused to read *Declaration of Sports*, 247—his views incompatible with
Wroth, Wm.—(*contd.*)
Church Order; founded first dissenting chapel in Wales in 1639, 248
Wycliffe, 154, 169
Wynne, Sir John, *History of the Gwydir Family*, 221, 229, 232
Wynn, Sir W. W., of Wynnstay, supports the Stuart dynasty, 268

YELLOW Plague, 28, 93
Young, Richard, Bishop of Bangor, 164
Yspytty, 115
Ystradffin, 30

ZIMMER (quoted), 2, 5, 15, 29, 57, 65

THE END

Printed by Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., Bath.
(2330)

[Catalogue O]

A CATALOGUE

OF

GENERAL LITERATURE

PUBLISHED BY

SIR ISAAC PITMAN & SONS, LTD.

(*Incorporating Isbister & Co.*)

ANTHOLOGY, AUTOBIOGRAPHY, ART, BIOGRAPHY, ECCLESIOLOGY, FICTION, HISTORY, METALLURGY, NATURAL HISTORY, POETRY, CRITICISM AND LITERARY HISTORY, SCIENCE, SOCIOLOGY, TRAVEL, TOPOGRAPHY, ETC., ETC., ETC.

Other Catalogues may be obtained by applying to SIR ISAAC PITMAN & SONS, Ltd., 1 Amen Corner, London, E.C. (See abridged List at end of this Catalogue.)

SIR ISAAC PITMAN AND SONS, LTD.
LONDON, BATH, AND NEW YORK

M—11

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ANTHOLOGY	3
ANGLO-SAXON LIBRARY	3 & 4
ART	4 & 5
AUTOBIOGRAPHY	5
BIOGRAPHY	6-8
CATALOGUES	24
COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHIES	8 & 9
DAINTY VOLUME LIBRARY	9
ECCLESIOLOGY	10
FICTION	10 & 11
HISTORY	11, 12 & 13
METALLURGY	13
MISCELLANEOUS	14-18
NATURAL HISTORY	14
PERIODICALS	24
POETRY, CRITICISM, AND LITERARY HISTORY	18
POLITICS	19
SCIENCE	20
SOCIOLOGY	20 & 21
TRAVEL, TOPOGRAPHY, AND SPORT	21-23

ANTHOLOGY

THE SUNLIT ROAD: Readings in Verse and Prose for Every Day in the Year. By the Rev. W. GARRETT HORDER. In demy 16mo, cloth gilt, gilt corners, 3s. net; leather gilt, gilt corners, 4s. net.

"A dainty and delightful little 'day book' for quiet moments. It is the most charming book of its kind we have seen for a very long time, for Mr. Horder has given no day without a thought to crown it, a thought pure and sweet and true, to brighten the hours of workaday life."— *Lady.*

A BOOK OF THE LOVE OF JESUS. By ROBERT HUGH BENSON. In foolscap 8vo, leather gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net; cloth 2s. net.

"An anthology of some old Catholic devotions, slightly modernized, which will appeal to many by reason of its simplicity and beauty."—*To-Day.*

ANGLO-SAXON LIBRARY

THE ANGLO-SAXON LIBRARY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN CLASSICS. In fcap. 8vo, limp lambskin gilt, gilt top. With frontispieces. 2s. 6d. net each volume. Also in cloth 1s. 6d. per volume net.

THE REVERIES OF A BACHELOR: Or, A Book of the Heart. By the late IK MARVEL. With an Introduction by ARLO BATES. (In limp lambskin only, 2s. 6d. net.)

ESSAYS BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON. First Series. (In cloth only, 1s. 6d. net.)

ESSAYS BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Second Series.

NATURE AND OTHER ADDRESSES AND LECTURES. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

THE CONDUCT OF LIFE. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. With an introduction by ANDREW J. GEORGE, M.A.

THE AUTOCRAT OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. With an Introduction by RICHARD BURTON.

THE PROFESSOR AT THE BREAKFAST TABLE. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. With an Introduction by RICHARD BURTON.

SOME LITERARY ESSAYS OF THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Selected and edited by GEORGE A. WATROUS.

ANGLO-SAXON LIBRARY (*contd.*)

SOME HISTORICAL ESSAYS OF THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Selected and edited by GEORGE A. WATROUS.

NO CROSS NO CROWN. By WILLIAM PENN. With an Introduction by J. DEANE HILTON. (In cloth only, 1s. 6d. net.)

ART

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE. Delineated by HANSLIP FLETCHER. With an Introductory Chapter by the late J. WILLIS CLARK, M.A., Registrary of the University of Cambridge, and described by various writers, including: The Provost of King's, The Warden of Keble, W. H. Hutton, Edward Bell, Desmond Coke, Eric Parker, F. D. How, Athelstan Riley, T. A. Lacey, John Murray, John Buchan, The Warden of Wadham, Arthur Waugh, Arthur Reynolds, H. P. Stokes, Arthur Gray, E. B. Chancellor. In demy 4to, cloth gilt, gilt top, with about 60 illustrations. 21s. net.

"An excellent idea enabling us to compare in comfort the different styles followed by the architects of the two Universities."—*Evening Standard.*

GREAT PAINTERS OF THE 19th CENTURY AND THEIR PAINTINGS. By LÉONCE BÉNÉDITE, Keeper of the Musée National de Luxembourg. With over 400 illustrations and 13 coloured plates. In large demy 4to, cloth gilt, gilt top, 10s. 6d. net.

"It is a splendid survey of the progress of painting in Europe and America during the nineteenth century, and combines art criticism with biography in a scholarly and instructive manner.—*Western Mail.*

THE HISTORY OF MUSIC: A Handbook and Guide. By WALDO SELDEN PRATT. With 130 illustrations and three maps. In demy 8vo cloth gilt. 7s. 6d. net.

"A most convenient and valuable work of reference . . . the book may be said to cover the whole extensive field to which it is devoted, in a remarkably thorough and comprehensive fashion."—*Westminster Gazette.* "Indispensable in the music-lover's library."—*Pall Mall Gazette.* "A book which for terseness and inclusiveness has never been equalled in music literature."—*Sheffield Telegraph.*

SEVEN ANGELS OF THE RENASCENCE: The Story of Art from Cimabue to Claude. By the late Sir WYKE BAYLISS, F.S.A. (*sometime President of the Royal Society of British Artists*), author of *The Likeness of Christ Rex Regum*, etc., with 40 plate illustrations. In demy 8vo, buckram gilt, gilt top, bevelled boards, 10s. 6d. net.

ART (*contd.*)

COLOUR PRINTING AND COLOUR PRINTERS. By R. M. BURCH. With a chapter on Modern Processes by W. GAMBLE. With 23 colour prints and 8 half-tone illustrations. In super royal 8vo, cloth gilt. 12s. 6d. net.

"An important contribution to the history of colour printing, and should take its place as the best and most authoritative work on the interesting subject."—*British and Colonial Printer.*

"Though it is the first devoted to the subject, it has been done with a thoroughness and completeness which call for the heartiest recognition. . . . The thanks of everyone interested in the subject are due to Mr. Burch for the painstaking labour he must have devoted to the production of his book. It will certainly become a classic."—*British Journal of Photography.*

"In his excellent work recently published on this subject—a work which is to be heartily commended for the thorough knowledge it displays of colour printing in all its phases as well as for the clear and pleasant style in which this knowledge is communicated—Mr. Burch has traced the history of the colour print from the first doubtful experiments of the Fifteenth Century down to the present day."—*Morning Post.*

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF A HUMOURIST. Grave and Gay. By the late ARTHUR À BECKET (*late Assistant Editor of "Punch."*) With Photogravure Portrait. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 12s. 6d. net.

NEW ZEALAND REVISITED. Recollections of the Days of My Youth. By the Right Hon. Sir JOHN ELDON GORST. With 16 illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 12s. 6d. net.

"Mature and mellow with the judgment of a wise and far-reaching career. . . . Full of the fruits of keen observation and mature judgment. . . . The author's descriptions are bright and stimulating to the fancy."—*Daily Telegraph.*

REMINISCENCES OF MY LIFE. By Sir CHARLES SANTLEY. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with 15 illustrations, 16s. net.

"Not a trace of the weary veteran is discernible in this entertaining volume, to the intrinsic interest of which its author's perennial youthfulness of spirit and almost boyish love of fun add a peculiar and an irresistible charm."—*The World.*

MY WORK IN LONDON. By ARTHUR W. JEPHSON, M.A., *Hon. Canon of Southwark, Rector of Ecton; Sometime Curate of Croydon, Vicar of St. John's, Waterloo Road, Vicar of St. John's, Walworth.* In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, with portrait, 3s. 6d. net.

"It is a work full of practical hints for social work among the very poor, it is written with admirable directness and vigour, and is full of lessons for town workers. Here is a rousing book touching every aspect of Church work, and it deserves to be read far and wide."—*Contemporary Review.*

BIOGRAPHY

BOSWELL'S JOHNSON. (*See* "Life of Samuel Johnson.")

JOHN BUNYAN: His Life, Times and Work. By the Rev. JOHN BROWN, B.A., D.D. With portrait and illustrations by WHYMPER. Cheap edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 7s. 6d.

"The best life of John Bunyan."—*Literary World.*

(*See also* Dainty Volume Library, page 9.)

THE CAMBRIDGE APOSTLES. By Mrs. CHARLES BROOKFIELD. With twelve full-page illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 21s. net.

"This book—not one for the casual reader but one to be loved and remembered by serious men—conveys without effort a wonderful impression of the commanding ability, the sincere and noble ideals, the loftiness of purpose of the Apostles."—*Morning Leader.*

MRS. GASKELL. Haunts, Homes, and Stories. By Mrs. ELLIS H. CHADWICK. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, photogravure frontispiece, and 38 other illustrations. 16s. net.

"The volume is certain of an enduring place among those which deal with the literary history of this country, and it is certainly indispensable to any who wish to understand the woman of whose life it tells, or the value of her work and influence . . . indeed, a sympathetic and faithful picture not only of Mrs. Gaskell, but also of the days in which she lived."—*Manchester Daily Despatch.*

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON AND HER CIRCLE. By SARAH TYTLER. With photogravure portrait and eight other illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 12s. 6d. net.

THE LIFE OF DANTE. By the late E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Dean of Wells. Edited by ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER. In fcap. 8vo, lambskin gilt, 2s. 6d. net. Also in cloth, 1s. 6d. net, and paper, 1s. net.

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL. (*See* Dainty Volume Library, page 10.)

BISHOP WALSHAM HOW. A Memoir. By his Son, FREDERICK DOUGLAS HOW. Cheap Edition. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s.

"Extremely well done . . . altogether a book which cannot be read without profit and encouragement."—*Guardian.*

THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D. By JAMES BOSWELL. Newly edited with notes by ROGER INGPEN. With 568 illustrations, including 12 photogravure plates, fully indexed. In two vols., crown 4to, half morocco, 21s. net. (Also in two vols., handsome cloth gilt, 18s. net.)

"A singularly complete and attractive edition. The greatest judgment has been shown in selecting pictures which should illustrate Johnson's period, and bring before the reader's eye the actual features of the men and women among whom he moved. Altogether the New 'Boswell' is one which will be certain to secure a fresh band of admirers for a work which will ever remain one of the treasures of our literature."—*Westminster Gazette.*

GEORGE MACDONALD. A Biographical and Critical Appreciation. By JOSEPH JOHNSON. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 2s. 6d. net.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN. By JACOB B. BULL. A book for the young. Translated from the Norwegian by the Rev. MORDAUNT R. BERNARD, one of the translators of *Farthest North.* Illustrated. In crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

THE LIFE OF NELSON. By ROBERT SOUTHEY. In fcap. 8vo, leather gilt, gilt top, 2s. 6d. net.

DANIEL O'CONNELL: HIS EARLY LIFE AND JOURNAL, 1795-1802. Edited with an introduction and explanatory notes by ARTHUR HOUSTON, LL.D., K.C. With three full-page plate illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 12s. 6d. net.

THE LIFE OF SIR ISAAC PITMAN (Inventor of Phonography). By ALFRED BAKER. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with about 50 illustrations, including photogravure and steel plates, 7s. 6d.

"The book is very well done. It gives a life-like picture of a strenuous reformer, an original personality, an inventor to whom every newspaper, every public body, and every great business house owes an incalculable debt."—*Christian World.*

LIFE OF REGINALD POLE. By MARTIN HAILE. Second, Revised, and Cheaper edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with eight illustrations, 7s. 6d. net.

"An excellent book, based on a first-hand acquaintance with documents, some of which are here utilised for the first time. It gives a vivid and most faithful picture of the last Archbishop of Canterbury who acknowledged the See of Rome."—*Daily Chronicle.*

THE LETTERS OF PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Containing about 480 letters. Collected and edited by ROGER INGPEN. With 42 illustrations and two photogravures. New and cheaper edition, with corrections and additional matter. In two volumes, large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 12s. 6d. net. Hand-made paper *edition de luxe*, half leather, large demy 8vo, 21s. net.

"Mr. Ingpen has done all that can be done to provide us with a perfect edition of one of the most interesting series of letters in English literature. The edition is worthy of the magnificent material with which it deals."—*Daily News.*

THE LIFE AND WORK OF BISHOP THOROLD. Rochester, 1877-91; Winchester, 1891-95. Prelate of the most noble Order of the Garter. New and cheap edition. By C. H. SIMPKINSON, M.A. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 6s.

MRS. E. M. WARD'S REMINISCENCES. Edited by ELLIOTT O'DONNELL. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with six photogravure plates, 12s. 6d. net.

"Mrs. E. M. Ward throughout all these pages displays a wide sympathy, a charming personality, and an interesting acquaintance with men and things which make her book a sweet, wholesome, and delightful volume . . . . will win an established place among the records of the Victorian Era."—*Daily Telegraph.*

COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHIES

GREAT ASTRONOMERS. By Sir ROBERT BALL. Illustrated. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

THE HEROIC IN MISSIONS. Pioneers in six fields. By the Rev. A. R. Buckland, M.A. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 1s. 6d.

MODERN PAINTERS AND THEIR PAINTINGS. By SARAH TYTLER. For the use of Schools and Learners in Art. In crown 8vo, quarter cloth gilt, 4s. 6d.

MUSICAL COMPOSERS AND THEIR WORKS. By the same Author. For the use of Schools and Students in Music. Revised. In crown 8vo, quarter cloth gilt, 4s. 6d.

COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHIES (*contd.*)

THE OLD MASTERS AND THEIR PICTURES. By the same Author. For the use of Schools and Learners in Art. New and enlarged edition. In crown 8vo, quarter cloth gilt, 4s. 6d.

THE ORGAN AND ITS MASTERS. A short account of the most celebrated organists of former days, and of the present time, together with a brief sketch of the development of organ construction, organ music, and organ playing. By HENRY C. LAHEE. In large crown 8vo, cloth richly gilt, gilt top, with 14 full-page plate illustrations. 6s. net.

MODERN COMPOSERS OF EUROPE. Being an account of the most recent musical progress in the various European nations with some notes on their history, and critical and biographical sketches of the contemporary musical leaders in each country. By ARTHUR ELSON. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with 24 full-page plate illustrations. 6s. net.

PITMAN'S DAINTY VOLUME LIBRARY

Each in fcap. 8vo, limp lambskin gilt, gilt top, with Photogravure Frontispiece, 2s. 6d. per volume net.

DANTE. THE DIVINA COMMEDIA AND CANZONIERE. Translated by the late DEAN PLUMPTRE. With Notes, Studies, Estimates, and Life. In five volumes.

THE LIFE OF DANTE. By the same Author. In one volume.

THE TRAGEDIES OF ÆSCHYLOS. Translated by DEAN PLUMPTRE. In two volumes.

THE TRAGEDIES OF SOPHOCLES. Translated by DEAN PLUMPTRE. In two volumes.

BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON. (Abridged.) With an Introduction by G. K. CHESTERTON. In two volumes.

THE POETRY OF ROBERT BROWNING. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A., LL.D. In two volumes.

TENNYSON: HIS ART AND RELATION TO MODERN LIFE. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A., LL.D. In two volumes.

JOHN BUNYAN: HIS LIFE, TIMES AND WORK. By JOHN BROWN, D.D. In two volumes.

JOHN WESLEY'S JOURNAL. (Abridged.) With Appreciation by the Rt. Hon. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, M.P. In two volumes.

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL. (Abridged.) With Introduction by Sir W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D. In two volumes.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN. By WILLIAM PENN. With an Introduction by J. DEANE HILTON. In one vol.

CLOUGH, ARNOLD, ROSSETTI, AND MORRIS: A Study. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A., LL.D. In one volume, with four illustrations, 306 pp., 3s. 6d. net.

ECCLESIOLOGY

ROODSCREENS AND ROODLOFTS. By F. Bligh Bond, F.R.I.B.A., and The Rev. Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B. With over 88 full-page collotype reproductions, and upwards of 300 other beautiful illustrations. In demy 4to, two vols., handsome cloth gilt, gilt top, 32s. net.

"A magnificent work."—*Evening Standard.*

FICTION

THE SEPARATIST. By Anon. 6s.

BY WHAT AUTHORITY? By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.

THE LIGHT INVISIBLE. By Robert Hugh Benson. 3s. 6d.

RICHARD RAYNAL, SOLITARY. By Robert Hugh Benson. 3s. 6d.

THE KING'S ACHIEVEMENT. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.

THE QUEEN'S TRAGEDY. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.

THE SENTIMENTALISTS. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.

A MIRROR OF SHALOTT. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.

LORD OF THE WORLD. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.

MY LORD OF ESSEX. The romantic episode of Cadiz. By Frances M. Brookfield. With photogravure frontispiece. 6s.

MY LADY OF AROS. A Tale of Mull and the Macleans. By John Brandane. With coloured frontispiece. 6s.

MEN OF THE MOSS-HAGS. By S. R. Crockett. Illustrated. 6s.

WOLFVILLE. By Alfred Henry Lewis. Illustrated. 6s.

THE GOD OF HIS FATHERS. By Jack London. Tales of the Klondyke. 6s.

THE SON OF THE WOLF. By Jack London. Tales of the Far North. 6s.

ANNE OF GREEN GABLES. By L. M. Montgomery. 6s.

ANNE OF AVONLEA. By the same author. Coloured frontispiece. 6s.

KILMENY OF THE ORCHARD. By the same Author. With four coloured illustrations. 6s.

THE STORY GIRL. By the same Author. With coloured frontispiece. 6s.

FICTION (*contd.*)

PRINCESS JOYCE. By KEIGHLEY SNOWDEN. 6s.

THE GLORY OF THE CONQUERED. The Story of a Great Love. By SUSAN GLASPELL. 6s.

MY HEART AND STEPHANIE. By R. W. KAUFFMAN. With coloured frontispiece. 6s.

THE LEAD OF HONOUR. By NORVAL RICHARDSON. Coloured frontispiece. 6s.

GEORGE THORNE. By the same Author. With coloured frontispiece. 6s.

HISTORY

THE ENGLISH IN CHINA. Being an account of the Intercourse and Relations between England and China. From the year 1600 to the year 1843 and a summary of Later Developments. By J. BROMLEY EAMES, M.A., B.C.L. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with maps and illustrations. 20s. net.

OUTLINES OF THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A Study in Social Development. By H. O. MEREDITH, M.A., M.Com. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 5s. net.

THE CORONATION BOOK ; or, The Hallowing of the Sovereigns of England. By the Rev. JOCELYN PERKINS, M.A., *Sacrist and Minor Canon of Westminster Abbey.* In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with many illustrations by Mrs. Temple Perkins. 7s. 6d. net.

***THE BRITISH MUSEUM: ITS HISTORY AND TREASURES.** A view of the origins of that great Institution, sketches of its Early Benefactors and Principal Officers, and a survey of the priceless objects preserved within its walls. By HENRY C. SHELLEY. *Author of "Inns and Taverns of Old London."* With fifty illustrations. Size 6½ in. by 9⅝ in., elaborate cloth gilt, gilt top, 12s. 6d. net.

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS AND ITS PLACE IN THE LIFE OF TO-DAY. By A. C. ADDISON. With numerous original illustrations. Size 6½ by 9⅝ in., cloth gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

A beautifully illustrated book, in which the Pilgrims are followed into the New World, their individual fortunes are traced out, and details are given of recent efforts to perpetuate their memory.

* *Ready shortly.*

HISTORY (*contd.*)

INNS AND TAVERNS OF OLD LONDON. Setting forth the historical and literary associations of those ancient hostelries, together with an account of the most notable coffee-houses, clubs, and pleasure gardens of the British metropolis. By HENRY C. SHELLEY. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with coloured frontispiece and 48 other illustrations. 7s. 6d. net.

OLD COUNTRY INNS. By HENRY P. MASKELL and EDWARD W. GREGORY. With 50 illustrations by the authors. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"Messrs. Maskell and Gregory have written this history of theirs very well indeed. They classify the inns of England according to their origin, rating them as manorial, monastic, Church inns, and so on. They discourse in a pleasant gossipy strain on coaching inns, wayside inns, haunted inns, the inns of literature and art, historical and fanciful signs and curious signboards; of inn furniture, etc.—*Bookman.*

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Based on Contemporary Letters, Diaries, and other Documents. By ELLEN CHASE. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 1,500 pp. with 75 full-page plates. Three Vols. 25s. net.

"A serviceable contribution to historical literature, because it gives, with a minuteness and wealth of colour unapproached by any other work of the kind known to us, a panoramic view of the life of Massachusetts inthe early stages of the Civil War. It is a social, political, military picture on a great scale. The scenes, the people, and their doings, their thoughts, the motives of their acts, are depicted with meticulous accuracy, often in the actual words of the actors in the drama."—*Birmingham Daily Post.*

A HUNDRED YEARS OF IRISH HISTORY. By R. BARRY O'BRIEN. With Introductions by JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P. New Edition. In crown 8vo, cloth, 184 pp., 1s. 6d. net.

"This book, so clear, so telling, so convincing, should be given a wide circulation. The author has conferred a boon upon all fair-minded men who, anxious to know the facts of Ireland's later history, will be delighted to read them in these pages instinct with interest and instruction. The book will do untold good."—*Catholic Times.*

MAKERS OF NATIONAL HISTORY. Edited by THE VEN. W. H. HUTTON, B.D. Each volume in this series—the aim of which is to do fuller justice to men whose lives have not hitherto been adequately dealt with—is in crown 8vo, cloth gilt, with a frontispiece, 3s. 6d. net.

MAKERS OF NATIONAL HISTORY *(contd.)*

CARDINAL BEAUFORT. By the Rev. L. B. RADFORD, D.D.
" Studiously impartial . . . carefully written."—*Glasgow Herald.*

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH. By ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.
" It is brilliantly written . . . exceptionally clear and vivid . . . a book which was needed."—*The Morning Leader.*

ARCHBISHOP PARKER. By W. M. KENNEDY, B.A.
" Exceedingly well conceived, clearly expressed, and compiled with great care."—*The Guardian.*

GENERAL WOLFE. By EDWARD SALMON.
" A picture and an estimate of Wolfe which could not be more complete."—*Canada.*

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Bishop of Rochester (1662-1732). By the Very Rev. H. C. BEECHING, M.A., Litt.D., Dean of Norwich.
" A most delightful as well as a most valuable book."—*Guardian.*

EDWARD THE FOURTH. By LAURENCE STRATFORD, B.A.

THOMAS BECKET, Archbishop of Canterbury. By The Ven. W. H. HUTTON, B.D., Canon of Peterborough, and Archdeacon of Northampton.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES. As illustrated by the Suppression of the Religious Houses of Staffordshire. By FRANCIS AIDAN HIBBERT, M.A., *of St. John's College, Cambridge, Headmaster of Denstone.* In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 5s. net.
" An erudite and scholarly contribution to local history which also throws some light on the larger problems connected with the Dissolution."—*Manchester Guardian.*

KNIGHTSBRIDGE AND BELGRAVIA. Their history, topography, and famous inhabitants. By E. BERESFORD CHANCELLOR. In super royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with 20 illustrations, 20s. net.

METALLURGY, ETC.

AUSTRALIAN MINING AND METALLURGY. By DONALD CLARK, B.C.E., M.M.E. A detailed description of the Metallurgic Methods employed in the process of Ore Treatment and Gold Recovery. With numerous illustrations and diagrams. Royal 8vo, cloth gilt, 21s. net.

REFINING OF GOLD. By DONALD CLARK, B.C.E. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with illustrations. 12s. 6d. net.

THE METALLURGY OF TIN. By P. J. THIBAULT, F.C.S. (Lond.). With numerous illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 12s. 6d. net.

THE DREDGING OF GOLD PLACERS. By J. E. HODGSON, F.R.G.S. With 17 illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 5s. net. Principally intended for Company Directors, Property Managers, Prospectors, and the investing public.

NATURAL HISTORY, ETC.

MY BACKYARD ZOO. A Course of Natural History. By the late Rev. J. C. WOOD. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 2s.

"Really a complete course of natural history."—*Times.*

THE A B C OF POULTRY. By E. B. JOHNSTONE. In crown 8vo, cloth, cheap edition, 1s. net.

"A capital addition to the many books devoted to the outdoor life."—*World.*

CATS FOR PLEASURE AND PROFIT. By Miss FRANCES SIMPSON. Third Edition. In crown 8vo, with 25 beautifully reproduced photographs of famous prize-winning cats. 2s. net.

"The author explains that her object has been 'to help those who desire to combine pleasure with profit.' This aim is very successfully achieved."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

REPTILES OF THE WORLD. Tortoises and Turtles, Crocodilians, Lizards and Snakes of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. By Professor RAYMOND L. DITMARS. With frontispiece in colour, and nearly 200 illustrations from photographs taken by the author. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top. 20s. net.

BRITISH FERNS. A pocket help for the Student and Collector (comprising all the native species and showing where found). By FRANCIS G. HEATH. Size 6¼ in. by 3½ in., cloth, with 50 illustrations. 2s. net.

PEEPS INTO NATURE'S WAYS. By JOHN J. WARD. Being chapters on insect, plant and minute life. Illustrated from photographs and photo-micrographs taken by the Author. Cheaper Edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

MISCELLANEOUS

BODY AND SOUL. By PERCY DEARMER, M.A. An Enquiry into the effects of Religion upon health with a description of Christian works of healing from the New Testament to the present day. Eighth Impression. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

COMMON COMMODITIES OF COMMERCE. Each handbook is dealt with by an expert writer. Beginning with the life history of the plant, or other natural product, he follows its development until it becomes a commercial commodity, and so on through the various phases of its sale on the market and its purchase by the consumer. Each is in crown 8vo, cloth, about 120 pp., with map, coloured frontispiece, chart and illustrations, 1s. 6d. net. **Tea,** from Grower to Consumer, by ALEXANDER IBBETSON. **Coffee,** from Grower to Consumer, by B. B. KEABLE. **Cotton.** From the Raw Material to the Finished Product. By R. J. PEAKE. **Oil;** Animal, Vegetable, Essential and Mineral. By C. AINSWORTH MITCHELL. **Sugar**—Cane and Beet. By GEO. MARTINEAU, C.B., and **Rubber,** Production and utilisation of the raw material. By C. BEADLE and H. P. STEVENS, M.A., Ph.D. **Iron and Steel.** Their production and manufacture. By C. HOOD. **Silk.** Its production and manufacture. By LUTHER HOOPER.

Other Volumes in preparation.

CLERICAL HUMOUR OF OLDEN TIME. By F. D. How. Being Sketches of some clerical humorists between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Centuries. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with frontispiece. 6s. net.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL LIFE. By the Rev. J. WILSON HARPER, D.D. In crown 8vo, cloth, 4s. 6d. net. An attempt to show that the goal of education is social service.

FOR HOME SERVICE AND OTHER STORIES. By LYDE HOWARD. With coloured frontispiece and black and white illustrations. In f'cap 4to, cloth, decorated, coloured top, and end papers, 2s. 6d. net.

"This is one of the sweetest of this year's books. The tone is far above the average, and every touch is that of a master hand. The children's feelings and expressions are perfectly natural. We recommend this book with genuine pleasure."—*British Weekly.*

HOME GYMNASTICS FOR OLD AND YOUNG. By T. J. HARTELIUS, M.D. Translated and adapted from the Swedish by C. LÖFVING. With 31 illustrations. Fifth Edition, revised. With a prefatory note by ARTHUR A. BEALE, M.B. In stiff boards, 1s. 6d.

HOW TO CHOOSE A HOUSE. How to Take and Keep it. By CHARLES EMANUEL, M.A., and E. M. JOSEPH, A.R.I.B.A. In crown 8vo, cloth, with illustrations. Cheap edition, 1s. net.

"This book seems to us to contain well nigh all the information that a person desiring to acquire a property could desire."—*Record.*

HYPNOTISM AND SUGGESTION. In Daily Life, Education, and Medical Practice. By BERNARD HOLLANDER, M.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

"We specially welcome the book before us. It is the work of a man of established reputation, who has devoted himself for years to the subject, and whose aim is to tell the English-speaking world what Hypnotism really is, what it can do, and to what conclusions it seems to point. It is written in a thoroughly scientific spirit, No fact is shirked, and no evidence is either suppressed or rated above its real value."—*Globe.*

IN WIND AND WILD. By ERIC PARKER. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, silk register, 5s. net.

"A collection of 'Nature' Essays which have a singularly varied charm, and an almost invariable distinction."—*Evening Standard.*

LAY SERMONS FROM "THE SPECTATOR." By M. C. E. With an Introduction by J. ST. LOE STRACHEY. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, silk register, 5s. net.

LIGHTER MOMENTS. From the note-book of BISHOP WALSHAM HOW. Edited by his son, FREDERICK DOUGLAS HOW. In small crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 2s. 6d.

LIGHTER STUDIES OF A COUNTRY RECTOR. By the Rev. JOHN VAUGHAN, M.A., Canon of Winchester. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, silk register, 5s. net.

"Studies of men, birds, flowers, and places, ... thoughtful and descriptive, informing and pleasant."—*Bookman.*

MODERNISM. A Record and Review. By the Rev. A. LESLIE LILLEY, M.A. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

"Mr. Lilley is admirably suited, both by knowledge and sympathy, to be the medium through which the modernist position may be made known to the English public."— *Church Times.*

THE NEW ART OF FLYING. By WALDEMAR KAEMPFFERT. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with 86 illustrations, 7s. 6d. net.

"One of the most lucid popular explanations of the principles of flight that we have yet read."— *Yorkshire Post.*

ON LIFE'S THRESHOLD: Talks to Young People on Character and Conduct. By Pastor CHARLES WAGNER. Translated by EDNA ST. JOHN. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d.

ON THE QUEEN'S ERRANDS. By Captain PHILIP WYNTER. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 10s. 6d. net.

"His varied experiences as a Queen's messenger on foreign service are recounted with an unfailing vivacity, and with a liberal infusion of good stories."—*World.*

OVERHEARD AT THE ZOO. By GLADYS DAVIDSON. With 2 coloured plates and 26 black and white illustrations. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

The author has catered for all children who love animals. Her aim has been to present the animals' own point of view, so far as it may be divined by sympathetic study.

PUBLIC SCHOOL LIFE. Each in f'cap 8vo, cloth, with 32 full page plate illustrations. 2s. net.

WESTMINSTER. By W. TEIGNMOUTH SHORE.

ETON. By AN OLD ETONIAN.

HARROW. By ARCHIBALD FOX.

RUGBY. By H. H. HARDY.

PITMAN'S PUBLIC MAN'S GUIDE. A Handbook for all who take an interest in questions of the day. Edited by J. A. SLATER, B.A., LL.B. (Lond.). In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 442 pp., 3s. 6d. net.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF BISHOP THOROLD. With a Portrait. Preface by the Most Hon. and Most Rev. RANDALL DAVIDSON, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 5s.

THE BOOK OF THE CHILD. An Attempt to Set Down what is in the Mind of Children. By FREDERICK DOUGLAS HOW. In foolscap 8vo, leather, with dainty cover design, gilt corners, 3s. 6d. net; cloth 2s. net.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE NAVY. Being an Account of the Social Life of the Navy as seen below deck. By LIONEL YEXLEY (Editor of *The Fleet*). With 16 illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 10s. 6d. net.

THE PERSIAN PROBLEM. By H. J. WHIGHAM. With maps and illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 12s. 6d.

THE SPRING OF THE DAY. Spiritual Analogies from the Things of Nature. By the late HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

THE CLOCK OF NATURE. By the late HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

THE POETRY OF PLANTS. By the late HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

A collection of popular studies, showing the many points of beauty and interest about some of the commonest of our trees and wild flowers.

SCIENCE AND THE CRIMINAL. By C. AINSWORTH MITCHELL. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 250 pp., with 28 illustrations. Price 6s. net.

"The systems of personal identification are discussed, and the uses of photography, anthropometry, and finger prints are indicated. The selection of the cases and the manner in which the whole book is written show good judgment."—*Lancet.*

THE SOCIAL RESULTS OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY. By C. SCHMIDT. Translated by Mrs. THORPE. With Preliminary Essay by R. W. DALE, LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

"An easy book to read, and the educated layman will find it full of vital interest."—*Nottingham Daily Express.*

THE SOCIAL WORKERS' GUIDE. A Handbook of Information and Counsel for all who are interested in Public Welfare. Edited by the REV. J. B. HALDANE, *Secretary of the Southwark Diocesan Social Service Committee*, with assistance from Fifty Experts. Cloth, 500 pp., with over 500 articles. 3s. 6d. net.

"A book of reference of more than average value. The need of such a book is patent, and we do not know of any other publication which attempts to supply it. The notes are arranged in alphabetical order, and, generally speaking, they are wonderfully exhaustive."—*The Guardian.*

PITMAN'S STUDIES IN ELOCUTION. A guide to the theory and practice of the art of public speaking and reciting, with over 100 selections for Reciters and Readers. By E. M. CORBOULD (Mrs. Mark Robinson). In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, silk register, 2s. 6d. net.

"This treasury of prose and verse will appeal to all who cultivate the art of elocution or appreciate a choice store of literary gems. —*Educational News.*

THE SIMPLE LIFE. By Pastor CHARLES WAGNER. Translated from the French by MARY LOUISE HENDEE. With an Introduction and Biographical sketch by GRACE KING. In foolscap 8vo, cloth gilt, 1s. net. Cheaper Edition.

THE WORLD'S COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS. A Descriptive Account of the Economic Plants of the World and of their Commercial Uses. By W. G. FREEMAN, B.Sc., F.L.S., and S. E. CHANDLER, D.Sc., F.L.S. With contributions by T. A. HENRY, D.Sc., F.C.S., C. E. JONES, B.Sc., F.L.S., and E. H. WILSON. With 420 illustrations from photographs and 12 coloured plates and 10 maps. In demy 4to, cloth gilt, gilt top, 10s. 6d. net.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TEACHING OF MODERN SUBJECTS IN ENGLAND. By FOSTER WATSON, M.A. (Professor of Education in the University College of Wales ; Aberystwyth). In crown 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

IF, A Nightmare in the Conditional Mood. By the authors of *Wisdom While You Wait.* 1s. net.

FARTHEST FROM THE TRUTH. A Series of Dashes. By the same Authors. 1s. net.

" It rocks with merriment from start to finish."—*Daily Telegraph.*

POETRY, CRITICISM, & LITERARY HISTORY

THE POETRY OF ROBERT BROWNING. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE. Original issue. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 10s. 6d.

" The most satisfactory and stimulating criticism of the poet yet published."—*Times.*

(*See also* Dainty Volume Library page 9.)

TENNYSON : HIS ART AND RELATION TO MODERN LIFE. By the same Author. Original issue. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 7s. 6d.

" Will make a strong appeal to all lovers of our great Laureate."—*Quarterly Review.*

(*See also* Dainty Volume Library, page 9.)

A STUDY OF CLOUGH, ARNOLD, ROSSETTI, AND MORRIS. With an Introduction on the Course of Poetry from 1822 to 1852. By the same Author. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

" The book is a brilliant and remarkable study."—*Standard.*

(*See also* Dainty Volume Library, page 9.)

EXPERIMENTS IN PLAY WRITING. Six plays in Verse and Prose with an Introductory Essay. By JOHN LAWRENCE LAMBE. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt 5s. net.

THE POEMS OF JAMES HOGG. The Ettrick Shepherd. Selected and edited, with an introduction, by WILLIAM WALLACE, LL.D. With photogravure portrait frontispiece. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 5s.

WITH THE WILD GEESE. Songs of Irish Exile and Lament. By EMILY LAWLESS. With an Introduction by STOPFORD A. BROOKE. In square 8vo, cloth gilt, 4s. 6d. net.

MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE. By B. W. WELLS, Ph.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 520 pp. 6s. net.

MODERN ITALIAN LITERATURE. By LACY COLLISON-MORLEY, Author of *Guiseppe Baretti and his Friends.* In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 360 pp. 6s. net.

A SHORT HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE. From Homer to Julian. By WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, Ph.D., late of Girton College, Cambridge. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 544 pp. 6s. net.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH POETRY. By the late Professor JOHN CHURTON COLLINS. Edited with Introduction, by Professor M. MACMILLAN. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, with portrait. 3s. 6d. net.

POLITICS, ETC.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION: Should Restrictions be Imposed? By FREDERICK BRADSHAW, M.A., and CHARLES EMANUEL, M.A. In crown 8vo, cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN ENGLAND: A Scheme for Providing and Securing Religious Liberty in England and Wales. By J. FOVARGUE BRADLEY. With Introductions by the Rev. DUGALD MACFADYEN, M.A., and the Rev. T. A. LACEY. In demy 8vo, 1s. net.

THE CASE AGAINST WELSH DISENDOWMENT. By the same author. In demy 8vo, 1s. net.

NONCONFORMITY AND POLITICS. By a NONCONFORMIST MINISTER Cheap Edition. In crown 8vo, 1s. net.

"It is in every way a serious and notable work."—*Daily News.*

FAMOUS SPEECHES. From Cromwell to Gladstone. Selected and Edited with Introductory Notes by HERBERT PAUL. Demy 8vo, cloth, 470 pp. 7s. 6d. net.

"A book of selections such as this is delightful reading. Mr. Herbert Paul has chosen discreetly in the wide field from Cromwell to Gladstone, and has prefaced each orator with a judicious criticism."—*Spectator.*

SCIENCE

GREAT ASTRONOMERS. By Sir ROBERT BALL, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. With numerous full-page and other illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

"Sir Robert Ball's gifts as a narrator are very great. He is, of course, a master of his subject. . . . The most earth-bound mortal who opens this book must go on with it."—*Daily Chronicle.*

IN STARRY REALMS. By the same Author. The Wonders of the Heavens. With numerous full-page and other illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

"The style of popular exposition adopted throughout is indeed admirable, the illustrations are excellent, the binding is tasteful, and the print good."—*Saturday Review.*

IN THE HIGH HEAVENS. By the same Author. A popular account of recent interesting astronomical events and phenomena, with numerous full-page and other illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

"It has," says *The Scotsman*, "the freshest knowledge and the best scientific thought."

ASTRONOMY FOR EVERYBODY. By Professor SIMON NEWCOMBE, LL.D. With an Introduction by Sir ROBERT BALL. Illustrated. A popular exposition of the wonders of the Heavens. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top. 3s. 6d. net.

BY LAND AND SKY. By the Rev. JOHN M. BACON, M.A., F.R.A.S. The Record of a Balloonist. With four illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

SOCIOLOGY

SOCIALISM. By Professor ROBERT FLINT, LL.D. New, Revised and Cheaper Edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

"A new, revised and cheaper edition of Professor Flint's masterly study will be generally welcomed. The revision has been carefully carried out, but the original text has been as far as possible preserved. References show that the additional notes are well up to date."—*Daily Mail.*

THE PEOPLE OF THE ABYSS. By JACK LONDON. A study of the social and economic conditions of life in the East End of London. By the author of *The Call of the Wild.* With 24 illustrations from actual photographs. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s.

". . . Mr. Jack London, who is already known to the British public as a fine descriptive writer, has done for the East End of London what he did for the Klondyke—has described it fully and faithfully, looking at it as intimately as dispassionately."—*Daily Chronicle.*

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By "SCOTSBURN." An attempt to examine the principles and policy propounded by the advocates of Socialism. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 7s. 6d.

TRAVEL, TOPOGRAPHY, AND SPORT

THE ADVENTURER IN SPAIN. By S. R. CROCKETT. With 162 illustrations by GORDON BROWNE and from photographs taken by the Author. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s.

AROUND AFGHANISTAN. By Major de Bouillane de Lacoste. Translated from the French by J. G. Anderson. With five maps and 113 illustrations. In super royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 10s. 6d. net.

"This beautifully illustrated book of travels takes the reader through Persia, to Yarkand, and other famous cities of Turkestan, including Samarkand, with its majestic tomb of Tamerlane. A valuable photographic record of little-trodden regions."—*Evening Standard.*

CASTLES AND CHATEAUX OF OLD TOURAINE and the Loire Country. By FRANCIS MILTOUN and BLANCHE MCMANUS. With seventy illustrations reproduced from paintings made on the spot, and maps, plans, etc. In large crown 8vo, cloth richly gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"One of the most delightful travel books that we have come across for some time."—*Country Life.*

CASTLES AND CHATEAUX OF OLD NAVARRE and the Basque Provinces. By the same Authors. With 63 illustrations (some in colour), maps, plans, etc. In large crown 8vo, cloth richly gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"The book is well worth reading, not merely as a travel handbook, but for its sympathetic, social and historical review of a very interesting section of the French people."—*Irish Times.*

CASTLES AND CHATEAUX OF OLD BURGUNDY and the Border Provinces. By the same Authors. With 59 illustrations (some in colour), maps, plans, etc. In large crown 8vo, cloth richly gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"Their new volume strikes the reader as the most readable and most instructive they have yet given us."—*Nottingham Guardian.*

IN THE LAND OF MOSQUES AND MINARETS. By the same Authors. With 75 illustrations, in colour and black and white, maps, plans, etc. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with cover of charming design, 7s. 6d. net.

"A comprehensive account of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, and of Mussulman government, religion, art, culture, and French influence. Picturesquely illustrated."—*Times.*

Countries and Peoples Series

Each in imperial 16mo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with about 30 full-page plate illustrations, 6s. net.

ITALY OF THE ITALIANS. By HELEN ZIMMERN.

"The knowledge and judgment displayed in the volume are truly astounding, and the labour the author has expended on it has made it as indispensable as Baedeker to the traveller, as well as invaluable to the student of modern times."—*Daily Telegraph.*

FRANCE OF THE FRENCH. By E. HARRISON BARKER.

"A book of general information concerning the life and genius of the French people, with especial reference to contemporary France. Covers every phase of French intellectual life—architecture, players, science, and invention, etc.—*Times.*

SPAIN OF THE SPANISH. By Mrs. VILLIERS-WARDELL.

"Within little more than 250 pages she has collected a mass of ordered information which must be simply invaluable to any one who wants to know the facts of Spanish life at the present day. Nowhere else, so far as we are aware, can a more complete and yet compendious account of modern Spain be found."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

SWITZERLAND OF THE SWISS. By FRANK WEBB.

"Mr. Webb's account of that unknown country is intimate faithful, and interesting. It is an attempt to convey a real know ledge of a striking people—an admirably successful attempt."—*Morning Leader.*

GERMANY OF THE GERMANS. By ROBERT M. BERRY.

"Mr. Berry abundantly proves his ability to write of 'Germany of the Germans' in an able and informing fashion. What he does is to state so far as can be done within the scope of a single handy volume, particulars of all aspects of life as lived in Germany to-day." —*Daily Telegraph.*

TURKEY OF THE OTTOMANS. By LUCY M. J GARNETT

"There could hardly be a better handbook for the newspaper reader who wants to understand all the conditions of the 'danger zone.'"—*Spectator.*

BELGIUM OF THE BELGIANS. By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

"A very complete handbook to the country."—*World.*

SERVIA OF THE SERVIANS. By CHEDO MIJATOVICH.

*** *Volumes on Japan, Russia, Austria, etc., are in preparation.*

TRAVEL, TOPOGRAPHY, AND SPORT (*contd.*)

The " All Red " Series.

Each volume is in demy 8vo, cloth gilt, red edges, with 16 full-page plate illustrations, maps, etc., 7s. 6d. net.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA. By the Hon. BERNHARD RINGROSE WISE (formerly Attorney-General of New South Wales)

" The ' All Red ' Series should become known as the Well-Read Series within a short space of time. Nobody is better qualified to write of Australia than the late Attorney-General of New South Wales, who knows the country intimately and writes of it with enthusiasm. It is one of the best accounts of the Island Continent that has yet been published. We desire to give a hearty welcome to this series."—*Globe.*

THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND. By Sir ARTHUR P. DOUGLAS, Bt., formerly Under-Secretary for Defence, New Zealand, and previously a Lieutenant, R.N.

" Those who have failed to find romance in the history of the British Empire should read *The Dominion of New Zealand.* Sir Arthur Douglas contrives to present in the 444 pages of his book an admirable account of life in New Zealand and an impartial summary of her development up to the present time. It is a most alluring picture that one conjures up after reading it."—*Standard.*

THE DOMINION OF CANADA. By W. L. GRIFFITH, *Secretary to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada.*

" The publishers could hardly have found an author better qualified than Mr. Griffith to represent the premier British Dominion . . . an excellent plain account of Canada, one of the best and most comprehensive yet published . . . trustworthy."—*Athenæum.*

Other volumes in preparation.

THREE YEARS' SPORT IN MOZAMBIQUE. By W. VASSE. Translated from the French by R. LYDEKKER, F.R.S., and H. M. LYDEKKER. With 80 illustrations. In super royal 8vo, cloth gilt, 8s. 6d. net.

NATIVE LIFE IN EAST AFRICA. By Professor KARL WEULE. Translated from the German with Introduction and Notes by ALICE WERNER. With four maps and 196 illustrations. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, 12s. 6d. net.

CATALOGUES, ETC.

Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., have pleasure in calling attention to the following Catalogues of Books published by them. They will be pleased to send on application any of these Catalogues, all of which have been brought up to date.

[B] PITMAN'S COMMERCIAL SERIES. A list of Books suitable for use in Evening Schools and Classes and for Reference in Business Houses. 40 pp.

[D] PITMAN'S EDUCATIONAL BOOKS (Primary). 48 pp.

[F] SOME TEXT-BOOKS specially adapted for Evening and Commercial Schools. Illustrated. 64 pp.

[G] PITMAN'S BUSINESS HANDBOOKS. 16 pp.

[H] PITMAN'S SHORTHAND, TYPEWRITING, STATIONERY AND COMMERCIAL LANGUAGES CATALOGUE. 32 pp.

[N] A CATALOGUE OF THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE. 16 pp.

PERIODICALS

PITMAN'S JOURNAL; PITMAN'S SHORTHAND WEEKLY; THE POSTAGE STAMP; UNITED EMPIRE; PITMAN'S COMMERCIAL TEACHER'S MAGAZINE; ETC., ETC.

Specimens on Application (except "United Empire.")

Any who may happen to be in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Cathedral are cordially invited to visit Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons' Show Room, at 14 Warwick Lane, where their publications may be examined at leisure.

BR 773 D45
Hirsch-Davies, John Edwin
A popular history of the church in Wales

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY