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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

Church leaders (ministers) inevitably figure heavily in most accounts of church history. They tend to leave more for posterity – more, that is, for subsequent generations to subject to critical analysis – than do the members of their congregations. It is ministers who feature heavily in this issue. Alan Argent's article analyses Richard Baxter's work as *pastor*. The formerly popular view that the emotions were somehow discovered by the eighteenth-century revivalists has long been challenged, if not repudiated. Dr Argent shows that among seventeenth-century Puritans there was a concern for the *affections* as much as for the intellect, as he expounds Baxter's use of the term "heart". Roger Ottewill draws attention to a minister probably known only in his own locality and among his own churches, but who nonetheless exercised a significant ministry. This article shows how difficult the historian's task often is, as the information is pieced together from often brief references in a variety of sources. Given that the minister in question, Samuel Longmore, was not the subject of an obituary in the *Congregational Year Book*, it is remarkable how full a picture emerges from this piece of detective work. The third article is based on the Society's Annual Lecture, delivered at City United Reformed Church, Cardiff, on 23 July 2016, the year in which the Battle of the Somme was commemorated, and note made of the introduction of conscription during the Great War. Ministers clearly led, in Wales, both in supporting and opposing the war, but some acknowledgement can be found here that Christian witness was possibly most acute among those who were not ordained, but sought to live out their beliefs in the most difficult and complex of circumstances.

In the reviews section, we publish one as a tribute to Anthony Earl, a faithful member of our Society, who sadly died in December 2016.

We welcome David Figures as reviewer.

NOTE: family historians and others may be interested in obtaining a transcription of the diary of the Revd Bernard Upward, with the London Missionary Society in Wuhan, central China, (together with the Swansea missionary, Griffith John). He and his colleagues were caught - literally - in the crossfire between the opposing armies in the Xinhai Revolution of 1911. The diary is a detailed first-hand account of the missionaries' experiences during the uprising, which includes not only descriptions of the relief work they provided to soldiers and civilians alike, but of the interviews they undertook in negotiations with leading figures on both sides (especially with General Li Yuan Hung). It is illustrated with Bernard Upward's original photographs of events. The book may be obtained from Upward Books, 9 Royal Close, Penarth CF64 1NJ for £10 plus £1.75 postage and packing; cheques should be made payable to Jennifer Childs, (Bernard Upwood's great-niece).

CONSCRIPTION, CONSCIENCE AND BUILDING GOD'S KINGDOM: WELSH NONCONFORMISTS AND THE GREAT WAR

When Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914, Welsh Nonconformist ministers leapt to defend the conflict. There was no other option but to honour ancient treaties and go to war against a nation that had swept through "little Belgium" and was, in the process, apparently guilty of committing horrific atrocities. Nonconformist support for the war was not always enthusiastic, but it was virtually unequivocal, as ministers claimed the moral high ground over a German militarism that had made the conflict inevitable.[1] Militarism had to be opposed and the rape of the nations, which had begun with Belgium, simply had to be stopped.[2]

Previous commitments to peace were abandoned with remarkable haste. The Union of Welsh Independents had agreed that "every war is contrary to the Spirit of Christ",[3] during their 1913 assembly held in Rhyl. Some two years later, however, their assembly at Merthyr Tydfil expressed "pleasure that there was sufficient voluntary enlisting in the army", though their celebration proved somewhat premature. Some demonstrated great fervour for the cause in the rather absurd but widespread belief that the devastation of war would bring about a golden age. The Revd J. Edwards, Congregational minister in Porthmadog, commented:

> There is one bright spot in international affairs in Europe today and that is that England [sic] has seen its way clear to interfere in a war that has been thrust upon peaceful people by the spirit of tyranny. It is a war that is nothing less than a great struggle between the Prince of Peace and the God of War. England today is fighting for international justice and ultimate peace. There is surely a silver lining to this terrible cloud that is hanging over the nations of Europe to-day. Let us look at it in the light of another day that will soon dawn when the death blow shall have been dealt to the spirit of war, and when the nations shall be once more marching on peacefully together along the path of Christian civilization.[4]

Alongside the misplaced apocalypticism, Nonconformists enthusiastically divided nations into the embodiment of good or evil. Another Congregationalist,

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1 See, e.g., *Seren Cymru* (7 August 1914), p.8; *Y Tyst* (12 August 1914), p. 9; (30 September 1914), p. 4.

2 *Y Goleuad* (4 September 1914), p.8.

3 See R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales*, tr. and ed. by Robert Pope (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), p. 220.

4 *Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard* (14 August 1914), p. 7; cf. Robin Barlow, *Wales and World War One* (Llandysul: Gomer, 2014), p. 221.

the Revd T. Esger James of Cardigan, asked rhetorically, in March 1915, "Is our cause a just one?" He went on to answer:

> Yes, if it is just for the strong to support the weak; yes, if the Lamb and not the beast is to rule … Yes, for this is a battle between truth and error, between light and darkness, between righteousness and unrighteousness, between Christ and Anti-Christ, between the beast and the Son of Man.[5]

Demonization of the enemy, was commonplace, though few Welsh Nonconformists reached the extremes of the Calvinistic Methodists Thomas Charles Williams of Menai Bridge and John Williams of Brynsiencyn, both of whom wore khaki in the pulpit, preached sermons encouraging young men to enlist in the Army and shamelessly placed copies of the enlistment form on the communion tables. Doubtless their convictions were sincere, but the infamous photograph of John Williams in full uniform at number 11 Downing Street, and his elevation to the rank of Honorary Colonel, witnessed to Welsh Nonconformity's "compromise with the political establishment",[6] aided and promoted by its most famous son, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, but soon to be Prime Minister, David Lloyd George. Through his mastery of religious rhetoric not to mention his acutely keen understanding of the Nonconformist psyche, Lloyd George played an important part in convincing Nonconformists, (in England as well as in Wales), to embrace the war as just, fought against an overbearing militarism which became, from the allies' perspective, a virtual incarnation of evil. He appealed directly to his compatriots, as when he declared to the London Welsh Society in September 1914:

> Wales must continue to do her duty. I would like to see the nation that withstood the Norman for centuries in the struggle for freedom, the nation which helped to win Crécy, the nation that fought under Owain Glyndŵr against the fiercest captain in Europe – I would like to see that nation giving a taste of its courage in this effort in Europe.[7]

The appeal to Gyndŵr is noteworthy as the only hint in Welsh history of what could be deemed to be its own military tradition, while the allusion to the Battle of Crécy reinforced the legend of Welsh proficiency with the longbow and the

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5 *Y Tyst* (17 March 1915), p. 6, quoted in D. Densil Morgan, *Span of the Cross: Christian Religion and Society in Wales, 1914-2000* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), p. 44.

6 The photograph included the academic and philosopher, Sir Henry Jones, Lloyd George and John Williams, "resplendent in clerical collar and the uniform of the 38th Welsh". See Morgan, *The Span of the Cross*, p. 44.

7 "'Drwy Arswyd i'r Orsedd': Apel at y Genedl gan Ganghellydd y Drysorlys, 1914", a speech to the London Welsh Society, 19 September 1914, quoted in Aled Eirug, "Agweddau ar y Gwrthwynebiad i'r Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf yng Nghymru", in *Llafur,* 4/4 (1987), pp. 58-68 [p. 60]. See also Alan Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945* (London: SCM, 1986), p. 27.

myth that Welsh bowmen had, in the past, played a decisive role in significant military victories. Along with the idea that the Welsh withstood the Norman conquest, these references served the rhetorician's purpose as he painted a picture of a heroic past in which Welshmen played a full part in fighting on the side of right, and employed that image in order to encourage voluntary enlistment to the armed forces in the present conflict.

Despite Dewi Eirug Davies's claim that Lloyd George succeeded "in making a bloody war into a holy crusade",[8] it is difficult to measure the extent of his direct influence on those who enlisted, though some were almost certainly encouraged to fight by the silver-tongued rhetoric of Wales's most famous figure, dubbed by his own son "the greatest Bible-thumping pagan in Christendom".[9] By the end of the war, some 272,924 Welshmen had enlisted, around 21.52 per cent of its male population. It might be over-stating matters to conclude that "the overwhelming mass of the Welsh people cast aside their political and industrial divisions and threw themselves into the war with a gusto",[10] but support for the war was widespread and the voices of protest were few and far between. It was only the die-hard pacifists, bolstered by their commitment to philosophical Idealism and the unwavering belief that human beings were morally capable of identifying the good and choosing to do it, who raised any concern about the apparent ease with which the "civilized" nations of Europe, and Britain in particular, had drifted into war.

I: The Pacifists

For John Puleston Jones (1862-1925), the blind preacher of the Calvinistic Methodist Connexion, war might have been permissible in more primitive times, but enlightened modern human beings had come of age and ought to be able to discover other ways to resolve their disputes.[11] For him, the Church was "an international institution … [consisting of] the redeemed of every tribe and language, and people and nation" and could not, therefore, simply endorse the policy of the nation in which it found itself.[12] As a representative of the Church, it was the minister's task to instruct his congregation in these principles and nurture in them this morality rather than persuade their members of the justice of the government's

8 Dewi Eirug Davies, *Byddin y Brenin: Cymru a'i Chrefydd yn y Rhyfel Mawr* (Swansea: Tŷ John Penry, 1988), p. 35.

9 See Richard Lloyd George, *Lloyd George* (London: Muller, 1960), p. 10, quoted in Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1990* (3rd ed. London: SCM, 1991), p. 121.

10 Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales, 1880-1980* (London: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 159. It was once widely believed that proportionately more Welshmen enlisted in the armed forces than men from any other part of Britain, though the claim does not stand in the face of careful statistical scrutiny. See Barlow, *Wales and World War One*, pp. 19-22.

11 *Y Goleuad*, (23 October 1914), p. 4.

12 R. W. Jones (ed.), *Ysgrifau Puleston* (Bala: Gwasg y Bala, 1926), p. 173.

war policy.[13] He took issue with P. T. Forsyth's infamous apologia *The Christian Ethic of War*.[14] While his review was sympathetic, Puleston's critique was penetrating. In typical fashion, Forsyth argued that the Cross and not the Sermon on the Mount was at the heart of the Christian gospel, a point which Puleston conceded. But Puleston rejected wholeheartedly the idea that because the Cross, as the setting of Christ's suffering, was redemptive, so too war, as a place of man's suffering, could bring a kind of redemption. "War is suffering through fighting; the Cross is fighting through suffering", he wrote.[15] Puleston's stance on the war was met in turn with opposition within his own church. The elders of Pen Mount Chapel in Pwllheli sought to silence him, while it was recorded that anti-war statements from the pulpit were met with "coughs of disapproval".[16]

There were other notable opponents of the conflict. Thomas Evan Nicholas (1879-1971) was, perhaps, one of the more colourful characters of the period. During his ten years as Congregational minister at Glais in the Swansea Valley (1904-1914), he became a leading spokesman for Socialism and Keir Hardie's Independent Labour Party, lecturing throughout Wales and publishing articles which invariably ended with the rallying cry "Gwerin Cymru: I gysgod y Faner Goch!" ("People of Wales: To the shade of the Red Flag!").[17] Always finding himself in opposition to the Establishment, he lost his first job (as an errand boy for a shop in Llanfyrnach, Pembrokeshire) after he composed a poem mocking the vicar of nearby Eglwyswrw.[18] For Nicholas, the Socialist agenda contained "the closest ideals to Jesus' teaching", in fact giving them "a practical expression".[19] Just prior to the outbreak of war, he moved to the Congregational churches at Llangybi and Llanddewi-Brefi in Cardiganshire, though he would, for the rest of his life, be known as "Niclas, y Glais" (that is, "Nicholas of Glais"). He became one of the war's fiercest opponents, combining political and religious motivations in order to reach a fundamentally moral judgement on the conflict:

> This is an unjust war, and unjust men are carrying it out. The country's beloved boys are being turned into murderers in order to carry out the plans of our great evildoers. I have no enemy in any place, and if I have an enemy the Founder of my religion says that I am to pray for and love him. I will let the future pass judgment on the stance I have taken on this war.[20]

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13 *Y Goleuad* (18 July 1914), p. 6.
14 London: Longman Green and Co., 1916.
15 *Y Deyrnas* (March 1918), pp. 5-6.
16 Ioan Wyn Gruffydd, "Yn Cofio'r Parchedig John Puleston Jones, MA, DD (1862-1925)", http://cyngortrefpwllheli.org/eglwysi-gweinidogion.html (accessed 29 June 2016).
17 See, e.g., *Y Geninen* (1912), pp. 158, 265; (1913), p. 26.
18 David W. Howell, *Nicholas of Glais: The People's Champion* (Clydach: Clydach Historical Society, 1991), p. 7.
19 *Y Geninen* (1912), p. 14.
20 "Dros Eich Gwlad", letter from T. E. Nicholas to D. J. Davies on the "unjust war", D. M. Jones Collection, National Library of Wales.

If Puleston Jones faced opprobrium from his congregation, Nicholas suffered what amounted to persecution. One Winifred Inglis-Jones wrote to the prominent Suffragette "General" Mrs Flora Drummond of the Women's Party, on 22 November 1917 referring to him as "a most objectionable and dangerous man" and asking that he be "put away for a bit". Having appointed herself spokesperson for the whole area, she continued: "What he says causes great annoyance to the better thinking portion of his congregation, but it is doing untold harm to others, especially to the young who of course go to hear anything, so dareing [sic] and original as his utterances". Then, apparently oblivious to the irony of her words, she confessed that "The difficulty to me is that it is all in Welsh and I can get no real record of his sermon". Nevertheless, she asserted, "I can assure you that it all much encourages the pacifist and pro-German propoganda [sic] and if this Nicholas could be made an example of it would go a long way towards restoring a patriotic feeling".[21]

Such was his notoriety, and such was the zeal of Captain Lionel Lindsay, the Chief Constable of Glamorgan, that Nicholas's speeches and sermons came under surveillance, though Lindsay (like Winifred Inglis-Jones) was unsuccessful in having him carted off to prison. This is a little surprising, given the apparent extremism of his speeches. At an ILP meeting in Aberaman, he was recorded as saying: "'God keep the people' is what we should say and not God save the King, an individual who has not sufficient talent to be Chairman of a Parish Council". He continued:

> When the Government were asked to make grants for the better education of the children, they said the country could not afford it, but when it came to war, millions of money is being spent every day, and the Government are willing to spend the last shilling and the last man, but I will tell you where the last shilling and the last man will be, is on the golf links at Criccieth … There is a greater distance between a palace and a cottage in this country than what there is between a palace in this country and a palace in Germany, and our King would rather see his son marry a high personage in Germany even now than see him marry a daughter in Glamorganshire …[22]

Despite his genuine conviction, his mastery of oratory and his invariably perceptive analysis of the injustices of industrial society, Nicholas was even in his day considered a little odd. He stood against Charles Butt Stanton, a bellicose supporter of the war, for the Aberdare constituency in the "Coupon" election of 1918, but was defeated by a large majority and after that he left the ministry. For some time he had built a reputation as a dentist (or, more accurately, a "tooth

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21 Deian Hopkin, "Patriots and Pacifists in Wales, 1914-1918: The Case of Capt. Lionel Lindsay and the Rev. T. E. Nicholas", *Llafur,* 1/3 (May 1974), pp. 27-41 [quotations from pp. 34-35].

22 Ibid., pp. 40, 38.

puller"). Indeed, Winifred Inglis-Jones had complained: "He is quite skilful at drawing teeth and supplying fresh sets and is constantly consulted by the whole neighbourhood as well as his flock and so the people are naturally unwilling to give him away with their aching jaws restored to full usefulness".[23] He also left the ILP for the Communist Party and was a faithful listener to "Uncle Jo Stalin" and his Sunday broadcasts. He later professed admiration for Chairman Mao's China. Given his somewhat caustic critique of the British government, especially the Liberal Party and Lloyd George, his uncritical endorsement of the two dictators is a little surprising to say the least. It possibly reveals a political naiveté, something echoed, perhaps, in his conviction that the Socialist Utopia would be a teetotal one.

Undoubtedly the most courageous and consistent opposition to the war, at least among Welsh Nonconformist ministers, came from Thomas Rees (1869-1926), by 1914 the Principal of the Bala-Bangor Independent College. Rather than the harbinger of a better age, war was simply an invalid way of resolving international disputes, because evil could not be defeated by the use of evil methods. But he also accused the government of failing to prove the cause: instead the moralistic cries of the government had hidden the true reason for conflict, namely the preservation of British mercantile interests above those of Germany. Rees was scathing in his criticism of Christian support for the war in Britain and in Germany. In every Protestant nation, he lamented, the Church had "taken the standpoint of its governments and blessed the aims of their own land, with no word to say or mission to pursue which would rise above the limits of 'Jew and Greek, barbarian and Scythian'". He concluded, "Both the Calvinists of Germany and the Calvinists of Wales have turned God's pulpits into Caesar's platform".[24]

Rees suffered bitter criticism for his stance. As early as October 1914, *The Western Mail* castigated him as a friend of the Kaiser,[25] while the Anglican weekly paper *Y Llan* ("The Parish") claimed that Rees was guilty of treason for suggesting that Britain was not innocent of guilt in pursuing the war, but in fact defending its own imperial interests.[26] Alongside vilification in the press, the windows of Bala-Bangor College were smashed while Rees was ignominiously expelled from Bangor Golf Club,[27] a petty-minded gesture which demonstrates the depth of resentment faced by those who opposed the war.

Nevertheless, these men were exceptions rather than the rule. In general, Welsh Nonconformists supported the war effort and commended the justice of the Allies' cause. What turned the tide slightly, and where Welsh Nonconformists more generally felt betrayed by the government, was the issue of conscription.

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23 Ibid., p. 35.
24 *Y Dysgedydd* (1915), p. 300.
25 *Western Mail* (17 October 1914), p. 4.
26 *Y Llan* (9 October 1914), p. 4.
27 It seems that Bangor Golf Club was swift to act in expelling Rees. J. Lewis Williams referred to it in *Y Dysgedydd* (1915), p. 399.

II: Conscription

As the war dragged on through 1915, conscription was mooted as a distinct possibility as it became clear that the number of volunteers was consistently falling far below the figure required to pursue the strategy of attrition employed at the front. Discerning minds might well have begun to question the efficiency of the strategy itself, or at least to acknowledge that the civil authorities had failed to persuade their citizens of the justice of the cause. But for many in government, military policy was beyond reproach and the problem simply reflected the major weakness of the voluntary principle. If the number of volunteers was insufficient for the need, then men would have to be forced to fight.

Ellis Griffith, MP for Anglesey, and Charles Butt Stanton, MP for Aberdare, both argued that conscription was a necessary evil, claiming that it would be better to lose freedom for a defined period rather than lose it for ever.[28] In support of conscription, W. R. Owen, a Congregationalist living in London, claimed that the conviction of conscience could be paramount in matters of faith, but war, and its legitimacy, were not the concern of individuals or, for that matter, the concern of the Church for it was a civil rather than religious question.[29] Even D. Miall Edwards, an otherwise sensitive soul and professor of systematic theology and the philosophy of religion at the Memorial College, the Independents' seminary in Brecon, acknowledged the legitimacy of conscription. The government, he claimed, had a certain role in God's providence in the performance of which it could force its citizens to comply with its demands. Conscription, then, was the result of the government exercising its God-given right to compel its citizens to act in its defence.[30]

The Military Service Act was passed on 27 January 1916, conscripting into the armed forces all single males, and all widowers without dependent children, between the ages of 18 and 41. In May 1916 it was extended to married men. After January 1916, 2,504,183 men were conscripted into the army, which constitutes 50.3 per cent of all wartime enlistments. The conclusion is inevitable: "Half those who fought in the First World War only did so because they had to".[31]

In general, Welsh Nonconformists could not see the logic in fighting a war against militarism in the name of freedom and then allowing the State to introduce such a form of compulsion.[32] It was, for the journalist Beriah Gwynfe Evans, the adoption of the very policies which those Nonconformists who

28 *Y Brython* (17 June 1915), p. 2; Barlow, *Wales and World War One*, p. 137.
29 *Y Dysgedydd* (1915), pp. 346-350.
30 Ibid., (1916), p. 33. It has to be said that, despite his careful thought and informed approach to theological debate (he did, after all, have a point), the war caused "a crisis of faith" for Miall Edwards. See T. Robin Chapman, "Argyfwng Ffydd Miall Edwards, 1916-1923", in *Y Traethodydd* (1982), pp. 188-192.
31 Barlow, *Wales and World War One*, p. 137.
32 See *Y Brython* (3 June 1915), p. 2.

supported the war had hoped would be eradicated by the conflict,[33] while his colleague E. Morgan Humphreys proclaimed, in almost prophetic fashion, "Nonconformity was built on the rights of conscience and once authority is granted to a State or an army or an official to trample those rights underfoot, the foundations of Nonconformity will crumble".[34] Even those who supported the war expressed their opposition to conscription,[35] though they were concerned not to impede the war effort itself. Some changed their minds. The Revd T. Esger James, who had previously endorsed Britain's involvement in the war in effusive terms, claimed in June 1916 that "the present war was not a holy war, but a shame to Christian nations". He continued: "How could we … say that the Bible was for all the world after what was going on in Europe to-day? For it was a case, not only of Christian nations at war but attempting to justify war in their pulpits and platforms from the Bible".[36]

Already a bitter opponent of the war, Thomas Rees had written to his friend, the Revd J. T. Rhys, in April 1915, declaring: "You see I am in open revolt … I will join any rebellion that comes along … to make the anti-war position recognized and of some authority in North Wales politics …"[37] Conscription must have been the final straw, and his opportunity for a more persistent campaign against the war arrived when he became the driving force and editor-in-chief of a new monthly journal named *Y Deyrnas* ("The Kingdom"). The first issue cost 2d, contained twelve pages and sold out within days of publication in October 1916. No advertisements were ever published, leaving costs to be covered entirely by sales and by the end of 1916 over 2,500 copies were printed, rising to 3,000 copies in November 1917. The cost of paper then led to a reduction to eight pages and the use of a smaller font.[38] The price rose to $2^{1}/_{2}$d in October 1918 and the final issue appeared in December 1919.

III: Building the Kingdom

While the continued pursuit of the war, and the devastating loss of life it caused, was undoubtedly the catalyst for the publication of *Y Deyrnas*, and much of its content over the three years or so of its existence was decidedly anti-war, in fact it emerged as a natural development from the social gospel movement which had been growing among Welsh Nonconformists in the years before

33 *Yr Eurgrawn Wesleaidd* (1914), p. 397.
34 *Y Goleuad*, (7 July 1916), p. 9.
35 *Y Tyst* (19 January 1916), p. 6; *Seren Cymru* (12 May 1916), p. 8.
36 *Merthyr Pioneer* (10 June 1916), p. 2. At the unveiling of a memorial obelisk at the Vachendre Chapel, Boncath, in October 1920, Esger James stated "they were not here to glorify militarism nor war, but to pay tribute to one who had laid down his life for them". I am grateful to my colleague, Dr Lester Mason, for these references.
37 Bangor University Archives: Bangor MS 17773, quoted in D. Densil Morgan, *The Span of the Cross: Christian Religion and Society in Wales, 1914-2000*, p. 59.
38 Aled Eirug, "Agweddau ar y Gwrthwynebiad i'r Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf yng Nghymru", p. 68.

1914.[39] In the first issue, an editorial note declared: "We believe especially that the carnage and grief of the present war offers a new opportunity to extend and deepen Christ's kingship in the lives of men and in the organisation of society", demonstrating a greater confidence in the basic goodness and evolutionary progress of the human spirit than was perhaps warranted by the circumstances. War was "the most obvious form of the enmity in the world towards the Kingdom of God", but it was not the only one. The Church's mission, it declared, was "to make the Kingdom of God a general fact in the world's life and convert the kingdoms of the world to the kingdom of the Lord and his Christ".[40]

As a result, articles were published promoting the better provision of education,[41] an unsurprising fact given the controversy surrounding the 1902 Education Act and the actions of prominent Nonconformists in opposition to it. The justice of the "labour" cause was upheld and, in another editorial, it was claimed that: "the Gospel's concession to every honest labour is adequate pay, just conditions, reasonable hours of work, and leisure hours that will give him a fair opportunity to live a full and blessed life. Part of *Y Deyrnas's* mission will be to help secure such rights to every labourer".[42] Landlords were challenged with the cry that it was "God's land" not theirs,[43] while concerns were expressed about prostitution and the need for all people to "commit to a pure life".[44] It was noted that the contribution to the war effort by working women had brought about a "revolution" in the relationship between the sexes because it had been shown that women could work in the same way that previously only men had done. An editorial warned that "there will be moral consequences" to this while "the moral dangers are exceptional" given the presence of hundreds of women working in munitions factories, though neither point was elaborated.[45] And, inevitably, *Y Deyrnas* supported the Temperance Movement. In its very first issue, it contained an article by the Revd T. Rhys of Swansea who, without any sense of hyperbole, asserted that, "With the exception of the present great and devastating war, the alcoholic trade is the greatest evil in our land". He claimed that in 1915, £188 million had been spent on drink in the United Kingdom which, for some reason, he calculated was £44 3s 7d for every word in the Bible.[46] Later, a "Temperance Policy for Wales" was also published.[47]

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39 See Robert Pope, *Seeking God's Kingdom: The Nonconformist Social Gospel in Wales, 1906-1939* (repr. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015).

40 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1916), pp. 1, 2.

41 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1916), p. 3; (November 1918), p. 20; (March 1919), pp. 68-69; (August 1919), pp. 85-86.

42 *Y Deyrnas* (December 1918), p. 20.

43 *Y Deyrnas* (December 1916), pp. 2, 6.

44 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1917), p.2.

45 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1916), p. 11.

46 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1916), p. 5; (November 1916), p.5.

47 *Y Deyrnas* (March 1918), p. 3.

Nevertheless, the journal's primary concern was "to oppose war and all its works, and to support peace to the best of our ability".[48]

Opposition to the war was expressed through a number of themes to which the pages of *Y Deyrnas* turned almost on a monthly basis. A major one was that the continued conflict had led only to huge loss of life and suffering on a tremendous scale, while politicians appeared to disagree over the primary aim for pursuing the war.[49] In 1914, it had appeared that this might be "the war to end all wars" and that it would be "over by Christmas". Two years later it seemed only to be "a war to deepen the grip of militarism".[50] As time went on, the conclusion was reached that the war was being fought to secure vested interests, despite the political rhetoric of the time. More often than not, this was condensed into the discussion which took place in its pages about the claim that the war was being fought in defence of the "little nations".

From the very beginning, *Y Deyrnas* declared its support for freedom and justice for the "little nations", including the goals, though not the methods, of Sinn Fein in Ireland. Authors persistently accused the British government of hypocrisy for claiming that the war was being fought in order to free nations while the Irish were kept in "intolerable captivity".[51] How could the government "condemn the German mistreatment of the Belgians, and we do as bad or worse to men who seek their freedom and independence in Ireland"? As a result, the report in October 1917 of the death of Thomas Ashe in Dublin after being force-fed following a hunger strike, hailed him as "another martyr" for Sinn Fein.[52] Sinn Fein had simply been misled by the government's rhetoric.[53] This was confirmed when the motion to allow independence for Ireland was put to parliament in 1918; it was defeated by a majority of 81. The response in *Y Deyrnas* was scathing:

> The war has deprived the majority of our politicians of any sense of honour, consistency and fairness. Neither Germania's oppression nor that of any nation in the Empire has ever compared to England's oppression of Ireland. Only the Tsar in Russia could be said to have acted similarly. Through the power of arms the Irish are governed. Dozens of their best men are imprisoned and some of their most brilliant have been murdered.[54]

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48 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1916), p. 1.
49 *Y Deyrnas* (August 1917), p. 2.
50 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1916), p. 3.
51 *Y Deyrnas* (March 1917), p. 2.
52 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1917), p. 2. At the inquest into Ashe's death, the jury condemned prison staff for the "inhuman and dangerous operation performed on the prisoner, and other acts of unfeeling and barbaric conduct". Ulick O'Connor, *Michael Collins and the Troubles* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2001), p. 124.
53 *Y Deyrnas* (November 1917), pp. 2-3.
54 *Y Deyrnas* (November 1918), p. 10.

The use of such extreme language was intentional and revealed the degree of anger that men such as Thomas Rees felt at what they considered to be their betrayal by the Liberal Party and, in particular, by Lloyd George.

By April 1918, the journal's editors were asserting that while Lloyd George continued to promote the war as a means of defending the small nations, no one else could possibly believe this. And they asked the question: "are these countries [Ireland, Scotland, Wales] to be completely freed from England, as Germany promises to free Belgium?" because "we have not noticed that there is more freedom in Wales since the outbreak of war, apart from greater freedom for the strong to oppress the weak and for the rich to pillage the poor".[55] Articles in *Y Deyrnas* claimed that the continued advocacy of justice and independence for the small nations was no more than meaningless and, in truth, straightforward hypocrisy, the result of a government that had hidden its true intentions behind the rhetoric of delivering justice to, and acknowledging the rights of, the "little nations". Significantly, over the course of its existence, *Y Deyrnas* increasingly referred to Wales and the Welsh in order to expose this deceit. Take the following account published in April 1917, with its clear and intended emotional appeal:

> A Welsh Mother in a mountain cottage received a letter from her son in France. It was written in English because of some rules which restrict writing in Welsh. The language was clumsy and obscure, but it succeeded in expressing great love towards the old woman. And yet she knew nothing of what was in it, because she knew no English. And we are fighting for the little nations! Why does the government not first of all respect Wales and the Welsh language?[56]

The public defence of the war on the grounds that it would bring freedom for the "little nations", however insincere, enabled *Y Deyrnas* to stake a claim for Wales. Indeed, it asserted, "among all the small nations of Europe, there is not one which has awakened to its national identity more than the Welsh nation. We have our own language, our own ideals, our own desires, and we will not rest until we have full freedom to live our own life". Indeed: "through moral and spiritual means, through debate and reason and cooperation Wales can achieve its freedom within the United Kingdom, and thus it might fulfil its mission to the world".[57] This did not mean separation from England, but some form of self-determination seemed logical given the reason for going to war. In February 1919 it asserted: "When the dawn of freedom and independence breaks so bloodily on all the nations of Europe, great and small, is it too much to hope that the oldest of them all, and not the least worthy, will repossess its national identity?"[58] Again, in

55 *Y Deyrnas* (April 1918), p. 3.
56 *Y Deyrnas* (April 1917), p. 8.
57 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1916), p.2.
58 *Y Deyrnas* (February 1919), p. 33.

reiterating its mission immediately after the Armistice, *Y Deyrnas* commented: "Our ideal is an independent and democratic government for Wales, where labour and the market are subservient to the moral and spiritual aims of the ordinary Welsh people, where evangelical churches make contact with the people's conscience, and the best education [is achieved] for the common folk, all under their [own] government".[59]

As the conflict continued, so articles in *Y Deyrnas* continued to charge the government with hypocrisy and, over time, Lloyd George became the focus of anger and frustration. In February 1917, a modicum of respect remained: "We have confidence in the Prime Minister that he will not forget the principles that he preached so eloquently throughout his astounding rise to power". The question remained as to whether he would follow his principles and seek a peace based on moral grounds and also secure the interests of the ordinary people, or the working classes, against the landlord and profiteer and the alcoholic industry.[60] Similarly, in August 1917, it still appeared possible to believe that he wished to seek peace through negotiation.[61] But by January 1918, it was clear that he had failed to deliver, and that, moreover, he simply was not going to. Apart from his union with the Tories in order to win the "Coupon" election in 1918, one of the most objectionable aspects of Lloyd George's premiership had been his refusal to protect those who had objected to the war on conscientious grounds. By 1918, *Y Deyrnas* was accusing the Prime Minister, more than anyone else, of being the main stumbling-block to acknowledging the right of conscience. Because Lloyd George was, at least nominally, a Nonconformist, raised among the Churches of Christ in Cricceith, this was, according to *Y Deyrnas*, to his eternal shame:

> The Prime Minister has forgotten the rock from which he was hewn as he has persecuted the Conscientious Objectors and the Pacifists. He was raised in the smallest religious denomination in Wales, and it could be expected that he would have sympathised with the minority, however small and abhorrent it might be. But it appears that he is the chief persecutor of the exceptional objectors who languish in prison and die there.[62]

IV: The Conscientious Objectors

By all accounts, those who objected to the war on the grounds of conscience constituted only a small minority of the population. It is estimated that around 0.66 per cent of those conscripted were conscientious objectors, with around

59 *Y Deyrnas* (December 1918), p. 20.
60 *Y Deyrnas* (February 1917), p. 3.
61 *Y Deyrnas* (August 1917), p. 2.
62 *Y Deyrnas* (January 1918), p. 3.

16,500 granted exemption and only around 1,500 absolutists who refused to make any contribution to the war effort.[63]

From Wales there were between 900 and 1,000 conscientious objectors (the precise figure is disputed), around 85 of them eventually serving time in prison, five of whom died as a result of their treatment.[64] Many of the Welsh conscientious objectors combined religious and political reasons for their refusal to fight, though to varying degrees.[65] Several were prominent community leaders of one sort or another, and many of these went on to make a significant contribution to public life after the war including seven who were elected as members of parliament.[66] Such men appeared to combine political and religious motivations for their objection, though some tended more towards one rather than the other.

Arthur Horner (1894-1968) was moving from being the "Welsh boy preacher" with the Churches of Christ in the South Wales valleys to a leadership role in the labour movement when the war broke out. By the time he received his conscription letter, he was convinced not that war was wrong in itself, but that it could be fought for the wrong reasons. Assuming a false identity (Jack O'Brien) to avoid arrest, he moved ten miles up the Rhondda Valley from Ynyshir to Maerdy, later fleeing to Ireland where he joined the Irish Citizen's Army. On returning to Wales in August 1918, he was arrested and announced at his court martial: "I have no intention either now or in the future, of becoming a soldier in any army whose sole object is to carry out the behests of a privileged and exploiting class". An initial sentence of six months with hard labour was followed by a further sentence of two years for continuing to refuse any kind of military service. He was released only after a six-day hunger strike, when funeral arrangements had already been made. He was an active member of the Communist Party and became leader of the South Wales Miners' Federation and president of the National Union of Mineworkers.[67] Despite an apparent early commitment, that his attitude to religion cooled somewhat, can be seen in the fact that he chose to play football rather than attend his future wife's baptism, when it was he who had insisted she should be baptized.[68]

For Horner, the labour movement, widely conceived, had replaced religion as the best way of helping his fellow men.[69] When religious belief was the motivating factor in objecting to the war, it was sometimes interpreted in

63 Barlow, *Wales and World War One*, p. 123; also Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 251; Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978), p. 47.

64 These were A. Randall of Newport, H. Beynon of Swansea, G. H. Davies of Risca, J. Evans and one "Stratton" from Cardiff. Philip Adams, *Not in Our Name: War Dissent in a Welsh Town* (Ludlow: The Author, 2015), p. 134.

65 See Aled Eirug, "Agweddau ar y Gwrthwynebiad i'r Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf yng Nghymru", pp. 58-68.

66 Gwyn Jenkins, *Cymry'r Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2014), pp. 119-120.

67 Barlow, *Wales and World War One*, p. 126.

68 Arthur Horner, *Incorrigible Rebel* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1960), p. 21.

69 Ibid.

idiosyncratic ways. Perhaps the most famous of the Welsh conscientious objectors was George Maitland Lloyd Davies.[70] Although he joined the Territorial Force in 1909, by May 1914 he had become convinced of the pacifist cause. He wrote to his mother saying: "the more I reflect, the more I am convinced that war is utterly against the spirit of Christ. I cannot remain merely a spectator. I must do my utmost to work for a better way …"[71] He became the unpaid secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, where his undoubted administrative skills enabled the Fellowship's founder, the Revd Richard Roberts,[72] to devote more time to addressing public meetings. At his military tribunal, Davies asserted:

> I cannot take part in either combative or non-combative war service, as all war services are to me a negation of the plain teaching of Jesus Christ to forgive, help, and love even our enemies, as we expect God to forgive us, and that it is vain for us to call Him Lord and Master if we do not obey his chief commandment to love.

He claimed that his "work of national importance" during the war was to "advocate to men [Christ's] way of life",[73] and his continued public opposition to the war resulted in a court martial in December 1917 for breaching the terms of his exemption. In sentencing him to 112 days hard labour, the Lieutenant-General reputedly added, "God knows that I condemn a far better man than myself".[74] His faith was not conventional. In a letter to his mother, he wrote:

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70 His biographer writes: "He was not the only Welshman to be incarcerated as a Conscientious Objector during the War, but came to represent to Welsh Christians at least, the highest ideal". Jen Llywelyn, *Pilgrim of Peace: A Life of George M. Ll. Davies, Pacifist, Conscientious Objector and Peace-maker* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2016), p. 84.

71 Ibid., p. 81.

72 Born at Blaenau Ffestiniog, Roberts (1874-1945) was a minister in the Presbyterian Church of Wales, holding several pastorates in the various Welsh-speaking churches in London (1900-1915). He then became full-time secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He subsequently held pastorates in North America, was lecturer in theology at Emmanuel College, Toronto (1929-1932) and authored a number of theological works. See Welsh Biography on-line, http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s2-ROBE-RIC-1874.html (accessed 2 November 2016). See also Jill Wallis, *Valiant for Peace: History of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1914-89* (London: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1991).

73 Llywelyn, *Pilgrim of Peace: A Life of George M. Ll. Davies, Pacifist, Conscientious Objector and Peace-maker*, p. 90.

74 Ibid., p. 104. He gave an account of his Court Marshall in *Essays Towards Peace* (London: Sheppard Press, 1946), pp. 40-41, where he noted that "one of the soldiers winked encouragingly at me". Apart from the hard labour to which he was sentenced, he seems not to have experienced the ill-treatment suffered by many other absolutists. After the war he acted as a go-between for the British Government and the Irish nationalists as a solution was sought for the Irish question. He spent ten months as Member of Parliament for the University of Wales, and was called to be minister of the Presbyterian Church of Wales's English church at Tywyn – a post he disliked because of the bourgeois nature of the congregation.

> Church and Chapel teaching is the greatest barrier to overcome. Listening to sermons and attending services has deadened people's minds to the teaching of Christ. The teaching is principally set forth in the Sermon on the Mount, which no Church observes.[75]

There can be little doubt that George M. Ll. Davies sought, at great personal sacrifice – and the expense of his family – to serve his fellow men.[76] At his best erudite and engaging, he suffered regular bouts of depression, finally taking his own life while a voluntary patient at Denbigh Mental Hospital on 16 December 1949.[77]

From its first issue, *Y Deyrnas* supported the conscientious objector's cause, initially under the impression that the government did so as well. It argued: "there cannot be a heavier question for conscience than the responsibility to kill a man and cast an immortal soul to another world, and possibly to eternal perdition". The Military Service Act had claimed to protect tender consciences, but "the arrangements to carry out [that intention] had failed" because "in many places a petty, ignorant rabble, who know nothing about conscience but their own whims, have been placed to administer the act".[78] Much has been made of the bias of the tribunal panels set up to hear the conscientious objectors make their case. Robin Barlow has suggested that the members of the tribunal panels were not skewed in favour of "privilege" and "position", nor did they automatically favour sending men in to military service. "The picture sometimes drawn of applicants pleading their case before a battery of elderly colonels has little basis in fact", he concludes.[79] He goes on to say that the tribunals "worked extremely hard", noting, for example, that on 2 March 1916 the Llandovery tribunal dealt with 88 cases and the Llanelli tribunal dealt with 150 cases. On 28 September, the Llanelli tribunal divided into two to deal with 200 cases, rising to 300 cases on 5 October.[80] But volume does not equate to substance, and quantity does not equate to quality. It is difficult to believe that all these cases received a detailed hearing, even those that probably deserved one. Some have suggested that hearings often lasted little more than ten minutes. Indeed there is evidence that the tribunals came to surprising conclusions, made inappropriate comments and indulged in bizarre exchanges in the hope that those who objected to fighting might slip into inconsistency in their evidence.

It was recorded that the Wrexham Tribunal had exempted one conscientious

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75 Llywelyn, *Pilgrim of Peace: A Life of George M. Ll. Davies, Pacifist, Conscientious Objector and Peace-maker*, p. 104.

76 He subsequently worked with the unemployed at Rhosllanerchrugog and Brynmawr and finally at the Quaker settlement at Maes yr Haf in Trealaw in the Rhondda.

77 A second conscientious objector whose cause became well-known in Wales was Ithel Davies (1894-1989). See Ithel Davies, *Bwrlwm Byw* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1984).

78 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1916), p. 2; (April 1917), p. 6.

79 Barlow, *Wales and World War One*, p. 140; cf. K. O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales, 1880-1980*, p. 164.

80 Barlow, *Wales and World War One*, p. 41.

objector on the grounds that he was so short there was no room in him for anything but a conscience.[81] At the Briton Ferry tribunal, one that, by all accounts, was particularly busy,[82] the military representative refused to define what might constitute conscientious objection, while one objector reported: "I was told by a member of the Briton Ferry Tribunal that God never gave me a conscience".[83] When brought before the Lampeter tribunal, Joshua Davies, a farmer, was asked:

Tribunal:	Do you use a gun?
Joshua Davies:	Yes, to frighten crows.
Tribunal:	Do you kill rabbits?
Joshua Davies:	Yes to have food and protect the crops.
Tribunal:	Wouldn't you be prepared to kill Germans?
Joshua Davies:	No I would not. I eat rabbits, but I do not eat Germans. Human life is sacred.
Tribunal:	What would your response be if you happened to meet a lion on the road?
Joshua Davies:	This never happened to me and it is unlikely to happen. This has nothing to do with the case.
Tribunal:	What would your response be if the Kaiser came through the window of your house and attacked your sister?
Joshua Davies:	I would not kill him.
Tribunal:	Was it you yourself who completed the form?
Joshua Davies:	Why are you asking me such a question? Is there something wrong with it?
Tribunal:	Tell us who completed the form.
Joshua Davies:	A friend of mine completed it.
Tribunal:	Who is the friend? Give us his name.
Joshua Davies:	It has nothing to do with the case.
Tribunal:	Are you refusing, then, to give his name?
Joshua Davies:	I told you already that it is not necessary.
Tribunal:	If you were prepared to admit that you were misled, and decide to reveal the name of the friend who completed the form, we would be prepared to release you.
Joshua Davies:	My ideas are on the form; I understood it, and I hold to my convictions.

81 Gwyn Jenkins, *Cymry'r Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf*, p. 115.

82 In an intriguing piece of local history, Philip Adams has recorded that thirty-three conscientious objectors came from Briton Ferry, all of whom were employed in the steel and tinplate industries and were at least associated with both the ILP and the local chapels and churches. All but one were absolutists who spent time in prison sentenced to hard labour. Adams, *Not in Our Name*, p. 133.

83 Ibid., p. 134.

Part of the Lampeter tribunal's aim was for Joshua Davies to admit that his application for exemption had been completed by the Revd T. E. Nicholas.[84]

For the duration of the conflict – and during the months after the armistice – *Y Deyrnas* drew attention to the treatment of conscientious objectors which it claimed was immoral because of the supremacy of conscience. A "Conscientious Objector's Column" was published monthly, written by the Revd E. K. Jones, Baptist minister at Cefn Mawr near Wrexham. For E. K. Jones, the conscientious objectors had become modern-day martyrs and inheritors of the Nonconformist mantle as the proponents of conscience. Some had indeed lost their lives as result of their stance.

In July 1917, the death of John Evans was recorded. Raised at Tredegarville Baptist Church, Cardiff, he intended to go to the mission field in the Congo. He refused to work under the Military Service Act, and was sent to prison, with hard labour, on 30 June 1916 for 112 days. As a result "he was placed in a sack and thrown eight times into a lake of 'dirty water', he was stripped naked and dragged across a field and his torture continued until his will was broken".[85] The treatment he received almost certainly contributed to the consumption which killed him on 27 May 1917.

For *Y Deyrnas*, the stance of the conscientious objectors was a courageous one in the face of extremely brutal treatment. The experience of one J. B. Sanders was recorded. He was sent to Alexandria in Egypt, and reported:

> I have been in chains and handcuffs, I have been crucified to a tree in the face of a burning sun every morning and evening; for five months [kept] on bread and water; and kept in solitary confinement … For weeks water was made to pour into my cell, and two buckets full of *creasol* was thrown at me. I was gassed. I was naked for many days and nights while in chains. I had to lie on a concrete floor.[86]

Another conscientious objector, Arthur Butler, had been condemned three times by the military courts for the same offence, E. K. Jones claimed. He was sent to prison on 1 July 1916. On 16 November he began to cough blood. Concern for his well-being was growing as there was a history of consumption in the family. On 11 December, in response to an MP's question, the Home Office confirmed that he was recovering. He died the following day from pneumonia.[87] Arthur Horton died in Shrewsbury prison on 16 January 1918 aged 27. The coroner recorded a verdict of death through natural causes following pneumonia, but *Y Deyrnas* asked had not the refusal by the chief warder to give him blankets contributed to his death?[88] H. W. Firth was taken to Dartmoor on 31 December

84 Quoted in Dewi Eirug Davies, *Byddin y Brenin: Cymru a'i Chrefydd yn y Rhyfel Mawr*, p. 160.
85 *Y Deyrnas* (July 1917), p. 2.
86 *Y Deyrnas* (October 1917), p. 3.
87 *Y Deyrnas* (December 1917), p. 7.
88 *Y Deyrnas* (February 1918), p. 7.

1917, despite being nothing but "skin and bone", sentenced to nine months hard labour. He complained that the work was too much for him and that he could not stand the cold, to which the prison doctor responded that it was much colder in the trenches. He was then put to work through the night at the limestone quarries. He died on 5 February 1918. The inquest, held with "amazing irregularity", found the cause of death to be "diabetes".[89] W. E. Burns, sentenced to two years hard labour, died in prison on 14 March 1918 from pneumonia, "enhanced by force feeding". The prison doctor admitted that some food had gone into his windpipe, which could have been avoided had a longer tube been used. Letters were read to the inquest where Burns confessed that he had come to see death as the great liberator.[90] It is clear that, for *Y Deyrnas*, the true cause of death for these men was being covered up by the authorities. The war, then, had resulted not only in the loss of liberty, the right of conscience, and the massive loss of life, but also any respect for value, principle and truth in public life.

On a less sombre note, *Y Deyrnas* recorded, in February 1918, the arrival of a new form of conscientious objector in the form of one Alfred Blanfield of Halstead. He was a "respectable and responsible farmer". The government had asked him to sell his barley either to the miller for 63/- a quarter or to the brewer for 68/- a quarter. Being "a zealous teetotaller" he did not want his barley sold to make beer, and he considered that the miller could well sell it on to the breweries. As a result, he fed the barley to pigs in order to supply bacon to the people, "because he believed that bacon is better than beer". Nevertheless, such a belief was considered unlawful and he was fined £25 with £50 costs.[91]

One little-known effect of the Military Service Act was the ruling by the War Office that Nonconformists had no right to ordain ministers after March 1916. As a result, the Revd Benjamin Meyrick, ordained as a Baptist minister in Anglesey in May 1917, was hauled before Bangor Magistrates on 3 July 1917 for failing to join the army. He was fined £2 and escorted to prison in Wrexham. *Y Deyrnas* initially expressed its shock: "As far as we know, this is the first time for the authorities to deny the right of any minister not to join the army, and it is likely that this is the first government in the history of the world to say emphatically to the Church of Jesus Christ that its ministers MUST raise the sword to kill their fellow-men!"[92]

While concern was not restricted to Nonconformists, or even to Christians, what received most criticism was the Chapels' apparent silence in the face of such persecution. Nonconformity, argued *Y Deyrnas*, was built on the rights of conscience, while personal freedom is the condition for national freedom. Articles began to appear which referred to "Nonconformity's prophets and martyrs" who had fought for "the sanctity of conscience and its freedom".[93] And yet

89 *Y Deyrnas* (March 1918), p. 7.
90 *Y Deyrnas* (April 1918), p. 6.
91 *Y Deyrnas* (February 1918), p. 2.
92 *Y Deyrnas* (July 1917), p.3.
93 *Y Deyrnas* (November 1916), p. 6.

Nonconformists were not standing up for the rights of conscientious objectors. It was asked, rhetorically, "Has two centuries of Nonconformity in Wales been in vain?"[94]

> The Nonconformists' pride and joy is a splendid history of a host of martyrs. Some three and a half centuries ago the prisons of Wales and England swarmed with the prisoners of conscience. They were Christ's captives and witnesses. To their persecutors, of course, and as usual, they were stubborn, unruly, ignorant and treacherous men. They deserved only to be beaten, to be imprisoned, to be starved, and to be killed. Every one who held a minor post or authority took for granted that he possessed the qualifications to judge his neighbour's conscience.[95]

It was clear that history was now repeating itself. When Nonconformists suffered persecution two centuries previously, "The government united with the magistrates and the riff-raff of the time to force our fathers to meet in mountain caves and similar places".[96] By the end of 1916, and less than a year since the passing of the Military Service Act, *Y Deyrnas* claimed "the government has already punished and imprisoned more men for their religious convictions than did Charles II".[97] And yet, so soon after the 250th anniversary of the 1662 "Ejectment", Nonconformists were "indifferent in the face of the unlawful persecution meted out to today's martyrs of conscience".[98] The language became extreme. When news reached *Y Deyrnas* of a Jewish conscientious objector being forced to eat non-Kosher food and to work on the Sabbath, it declared: "The priests of Mars, in contempt and cruelty, are outdoing the priests of the Inquisition".[99] As conscientious objectors were re-arrested on release, court-martialled and sentenced to further periods in prison with hard labour, which *Y Deyrnas* perceived to be the result of the singular crime of objection, it claimed: "It would have been difficult for the Catholic Inquisition to have devised so despicable a plan".[100]

Alongside references to the Inquisition, comparisons with the Tsarist regime in Russia were common. After the first Russian revolution, and in reference to the decision to dismiss four teachers from their posts in Cardiff for teaching pacifist ideas, *Y Deyrnas* noted:

> When Satan was ejected from his job in Russia, he collected his belongings and walked westwards in search of a place to lie down. He passed by Berlin and London because there were enough of his faithful

94 Ibid., p. 12.
95 *Y Deyrnas* (April 1917), p. 6.
96 *Y Deyrnas* (August 1917), p. 3.
97 *Y Deyrnas* (December 1916), p. 2.
98 *Y Deyrnas* (August 1917), p. 6.
99 *Y Deyrnas* (September 1917), p. 7.
100 *Y Deyrnas* (August 1917), p. 6.

> officers there; he heard that there was in Cardiff an ambition to become a capital city … The first fruits of [Satan's] labour was for the town council to begin a religious persecution as unprincipled and cruel as was possible and as anything that Bloody Mary ever did.[101]

The treatment of conscientious objectors, it was claimed, was the greatest stain on the nation's character. William George, brother to the prime minister, had begun to refer to the conscientious objectors as "objectionable cowards". At the commemoration of the 1662 Ejectment in 1912, he had referred to "the excellent two thousand … [for whom] conscience had been more important than endowment".[102] Yet, wrote E. K. Jones, "over five thousand of them have been imprisoned, about twenty have died due to their treatment, murdered as certainly as Abel was murdered, and around thirty have been driven mad. Of course, Mr William George knows no more about the men he reviles than the man in the moon".[103]

Over the course of 1919, the Conscientious Objectors' Column recorded the gradual release of conscientious objectors while also publishing reports of those still being sent to prison. Once again, it was Lloyd George who came under attack. "Mr Lloyd George will be forgiven for his part in prolonging the war, the foolishness of the election will be forgotten, his labours with [President] Wilson for peace will be lauded, but his cruelty towards the conscientious objectors will remain as a dark, indelible stain on his name for as long as he is remembered".[104]

Following the Armistice, *Y Deyrnas* reiterated the conviction that a "new mission" was needed "without political party or ecclesial denomination to preach 'the Gospel of the Kingdom' and seek to apply it to human life in all its aspects". The journal lasted a year. In December 1919, it admitted that the call for *Y Deyrnas* had diminished. The war was over and the journal was running at a loss. While it had claimed to present the values of the Kingdom more broadly, it was clearly associated in the public mind with the need to bring a bloody and apparently aimless war to an end. Its parting shot was:

> The war did not achieve any of the high objectives that many good men were tricked into seeking through it. Freedom was not won for anyone, justice was not done, and an end was not made to war. There is more oppression, more wrong, more war and more disarray in the world today than anyone alive has ever seen.[105]

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101 *Y Deyrnas* (May 1917), p. 2. One of the teachers was James Ewart Edwards. He was initially granted non-combatant status as a conscientious objector and subsequently won an appeal against his dismissal. Intriguingly, the tribunal assigned him to do work of national importance, which it was decided would be for him to teach. Adams, *Not in Our Name*, pp. 112-3.

102 *Y Deyrnas* (April 1919), p. 51.

103 *Y Deyrnas* (February 1918), p. 2.

104 *Y Deyrnas* (February 1919), p. 34.

105 *Y Deyrnas* (December 1919), p. 8.

V: Conclusions

Clichéd as it is to say so, the world was changed irrevocably by the Great War. The conduct of the war and the apparent pursuit of totalitarian control of its citizens by a coalition government headed by Lloyd George resulted, in Wales at least, in the end of political Nonconformity. There was also complete disillusionment with its former ally, the Liberal Party, which was, by this time, already divided over the issue of Irish Home Rule and heading for the political wilderness. Thomas Rees was particularly scathing in this regard. For him the Liberal Party had betrayed all its principles in order to win a war that was in itself evil and should never have been fought. Writing in 1920, Rees noted that political involvement by Nonconformists had resulted in the corruption of religion and in betrayal by their political allies:

> [Welsh Nonconformity] stood by and approved or tolerated the undermining of its own foundations, the suspension of civic liberty, the imposition of military compulsion, the oppression of tender consciences and the betrayal of the principles for which its founders made their supreme sacrifices. Thousands of innocent men – let us suppose them mistaken or misguided – yet good and honest men, were imprisoned and cruelly used under the Conscription Acts; dozens of them were done to death, and Welsh Nonconformity "was standing by, and consenting, and keeping the garments of them that slew them".[106]

Opposition to war among Welsh Nonconformists was motivated by a number of factors. There was the warning that the needs of the State should not be placed above the needs of the Kingdom of God and, indeed, of individual conscience which suggested that blind obedience to government policy was little more than idolatry, even if that word was not employed. Appeal was made time and again to the Sermon on the Mount and its demand that believers love peace over violence and love "enemy" as well as "neighbour". Although this constituted a reduction of Christianity to a moral teaching, the moral emphasis of nineteenth-century philosophy encouraged many Nonconformist leaders to interpret Christianity in ethical terms. The Sermon on the Mount was central to this scheme; only a relative few saw this as problematic in explaining what constituted an authentic *Christian witness*. While the idea of a ministry of suffering was not explicit, the witness of conscientious objectors would ultimately earn the admiration of those who fought and others, especially when the time came to promote peace, while it was argued that no-one should kill another human being because of the value each person had, as a result of her or his creation in the image of God.

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106 *Welsh Outlook* (1920), p. 58.

This outline of conscientious objection to the Great War in Wales reveals the same motivations as those identified by Geoffrey Nuttall in his characteristically pithy but erudite study, *Christian Pacifism in History*.[107] Despite these similarities, there is one aspect of the Welsh Nonconformist witness against war which differs from Dr Nuttall's analysis. For him, the pacifist stance was a churchly one. In his account of Reformation principles, especially that of *sola Scriptura*, he concluded:

> One effect of everyman's being encouraged to go to the Bible for himself was an assurance, which they also found confirmed *in* the Bible, that everyman might know God for himself: not by himself but for himself, as God's Spirit with him answered to the truths which, together with other Christians, he was seeking, and finding, in the Bible.[108]

For the Welsh Nonconformists during the Great War, pacifism was an *individual* witness based on commitment to the absolute ideal of the sanctity of each human being. In this they might well have taken the "right of private judgement", as it emerged from the Reformation commitments to justification by grace through faith, and the priesthood of all believers, to its logical conclusion. But in doing so it undermined the idea of a corporate witness, any sense of the obedience of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church to Christ's teaching, and thus also any real justification for establishing a better society. Convinced as they were, that the better *society* was the natural result of converting individual men and women to the higher morality, the Welsh Nonconformists were left only with the courageous stance of individuals, many of whom, such as George Maitland Lloyd Davies, in fact had a reductionist view of Christianity as a moral teaching which could be adopted, but which could also be easily dismissed, as indeed had been done by John Williams, Brynsiencyn.

Neither the pockets of courageous and principled objection to the bloody destruction of war, nor the wholesale support of conflict presaged a golden age or a revival of religion. While there were small signs of growth in the chapels during the 1920s, and the "social gospel" movement had a degree of success, in reality some of the seeds had been sown which contributed to what became relentless decline in the chapels and which, by the end of the twentieth century, some were hailing as "terminal".[109] The destruction that war had brought, and

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107 Geoffrey F. Nuttall identified five different motivating factors in favour of pacifism as an authentic expression of a Christian ethic, identifying each one with a specific period of Christian history. See Nuttall, *Christian Pacifism in History* (repr. Berkeley, CA: World Without War Council, 1977).

108 Ibid., p. 33.

109 E.g., the phrase "terminal decline" was used of "Nonconformist bodies in Wales" by Elfed ap Nefydd Roberts in his review of D. Densil Morgan, *Cedyrn Canrif: Crefydd a Chymdeithas yng Nghymru'r Ugeinfed Ganrif* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), in *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 2 (2002), pp. 108-10 [p 110].

the commitment to avoiding further conflict, encouraged the peace witness throughout the 1920s, only for this, in turn, to fall foul of the rise of Fascism in general and Nazism in particular as Europe and the World slipped once again towards slaughter in the 1930s. Even at the height of the carnage, the Nonconformist and pacifist writers in *Y Deyrnas* believed that they could build – indeed they were building – God's Kingdom on earth. Both the war and the decades that followed in truth revealed that establishing the Kingdom of God was an elusive goal, and those who sought its establishment would simply have to keep seeking.

ROBERT POPE

REVD SAMUEL LONGMORE'S PASTORATE AT BISHOP'S WALTHAM AND BOTLEY CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES, 1894-1924

In his detailed and insightful article on the ministers of Congregationalism's List B, Alan P. F. Sell paid a long overdue tribute to their contribution to the sustained witness of churches and chapels, often in challenging circumstances.[1] He also drew upon the official obituaries of ministers published in *Congregational Year Books* to illustrate and highlight some of the characteristics of these "unsung" heroes of the Congregational ministry. In a few instances, however, for reasons which are not always entirely clear, List B ministers have not been recognised in this way. One such instance concerns the Revd Samuel Longmore who spent his entire and extremely productive ministerial career at the Congregational Church in the small Hampshire town of Bishop's Waltham while also exercising responsibility for the smaller church in the neighbouring community of Botley.[2]

The main purpose of this article is to make up for the absence of an official obituary by offering an account of Samuel's sole thirty-year pastorate, which included the difficult years of the Great War. In so doing, consideration is given to his background, the fortunes of both churches during his pastorate, and his approach to ministry. For source material, considerable reliance has been placed upon newspaper reports, which are not necessarily comprehensive or consistent, and the Bishop's Waltham Congregational Church Book which *inter alia* includes the minutes of church meetings for the years 1894 to 1902.[3] Other church records do not appear to have survived or, if they have, they are not in the public domain. However, since the churches at Bishop's Waltham and Botley were in receipt of financial assistance from the Hampshire Congregational Union (HCU), they were required to submit annual reports which are summarised in those of the HCU. Such reports provide insights into the challenges each church faced and how far they were able to surmount them.

I: Background and Early Life

Samuel Longmore was born in about 1848 and was therefore aged approximately 46 in 1894, when he commenced his pastorate in Bishop's Waltham. He and his wife Kate, née Lavender, whom he married in 1870, both came from Staffordshire. Samuel's father was an "iron bedstead maker", who in 1861 employed twenty men, so it can be assumed that Samuel had a relatively

1 Alan P. F. Sell, "The Unsung Ministers of Congregationalism's List B", in *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 9/6 (May 2015), pp. 339-57.
2 The Botley Church was grouped with that of Bishop's Waltham in 1890.
3 Hampshire Record Office (hereafter HRO): 128M88/1.

privileged upbringing. Indeed, aged fourteen, he was still described as a "scholar". In 1871, newly married and living in Darleston, his occupation in the census returns is shown as that of "miller"; in 1881, residing with his wife in Tamworth, as "machinist"; and in 1891, when they had moved south to Portsmouth, as "manager". Those of 1911 indicate that Kate and Samuel had no children. However, at the time of the 1901 census their niece, Kathie Longmore, was living with them and, as might be expected, she together with Samuel's wife played an important part in church life.[4]

The absence of an official obituary means that a potential source of information about Samuel's spiritual journey is missing. However, from comments made at his official recognition as Bishops Waltham's Congregational minister in June 1894, it is clear that he was a somewhat reluctant recruit to the ministry. It was reported that:

> Mr Longmore then laid before the meeting the history of his call to the pulpit, and said, it had not been of his own seeking, he had had three calls to the ministry, but refused them till now [when he had come] to see he must take the cross if he would win the crown. The speaker referred to his family history and connections, and in conclusion to his faith for the salvation of souls in Bishop's Waltham.

Unfortunately, no specific details of "his family history and connections" are provided. However, he was clearly very moved by the occasion because during an initial "hesitation the congregation in a spirit of the revival times broke out into singing".[5]

At the same event, various other speakers made reference to Samuel's credentials and eminent suitability for the ministry. For example, the Revd Says Howell, minister of Albion Congregational Church in Southampton and superintendent of the Bishop's Waltham Church referred to his "spotless character" and indicated that he "would not be like the finger posts, which pointed out the roadway, but did not walk in it themselves". Mention was also made of Samuel's "prominent position in Portsmouth as Secretary to the Christian Evidence Society" by a leading figure in the organisation, Dr Norris. He also appealed to any young people looking for guidance and "who could not understand the way, to go to Mr Longmore as he was an able man to help them out of any difficulty". Finally, Mr Richmond of Portsmouth indicated that "Mr Longmore would always give them the pure gospel and the church would find their pastor genuine in every sense of the word".[6] In part, such praise was clearly prompted by the nature of the occasion, but it was nonetheless heartfelt.

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4 At the time Kathie was 20 years of age and her occupation was that of "Board School teacher". She was no longer living with them in 1911.

5 *Hampshire Observer* (9 June 1894), p. 6.

6 Ibid.

A further glimpse of Samuel's early life was evident at a gathering to mark his retirement in 1924, due to ill health. At this, the rector of Bishop's Waltham, the Revd Henry Edmund Sharpe, congratulated the Congregational Church "on having such a learned and gifted pastor in languages and mathematics, and also one of wide experience of travel and residence in Germany many years ago".[7] Thus, it would seem that he was both well-educated and well-travelled in addition to being spiritually astute. Moreover, he had some musical ability and interests. For example, in 1895 it was reported that a singing class, with Samuel as conductor, had been founded and in 1897 that the class gave a concert in aid of the Indian Famine Fund. [8] All of these attributes were undoubtedly evident during his pastorate.

II: The Character of the Pastorate

By the time of Samuel's arrival in what a contemporary source describes as the "small town" of Bishop's Waltham,[9] the Congregational cause was over thirty years old.[10] The imposing chapel in which the Congregationalists worshipped had been constructed in 1862 and was situated in Lower Lane. It could seat 300. Its size and prominence had been deemed necessary by "many influential Non-conformists … to meet the needs of the population" of a town that was, at the time, "one of the most prosperous" in that part of Hampshire.[11] In addition to the Congregationalists, the Primitive Methodists had two chapels, one in Bank Street, seating 80, and the other in Waltham Chase, seating 100.[12] These, together with St Peter's Parish Church, which had 800 sittings, could accommodate just over half of Bishop Waltham's 1901 population of 2,309.[13] The Congregational cause at Botley was substantially older than that at Bishop's Waltham dating from 1791. However, the chapel, situated in Winchester Street, was far smaller with seating for about 100. Apart from the Parish Church, it was the only place of worship in what was still described as a "small market town", even though Botley's population in 1901 was just 856.[14]

Between 1890 and 1894, the church at Bishop's Waltham had experienced a relatively difficult period in its history. The death of its beloved pastor the Revd John Stevenson in 1890 was keenly felt. Although the pastorate of his successor

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7 *Hampshire Chronicle* (11 October 1924), p. 8.
8 *Hampshire Observer* (7 December 1895), p. 5; (27 February 1897), p. 8.
9 *Kelly's Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (1895) (London: Kelly's Directories, 1895), p. 59.
10 According to the records of the Hampshire Congregational Union (hereafter HCU), it had been established in 1861.
11 *Hampshire Chronicle* (11 October 1924), p. 8.
12 In addition, there was a local corps of the Salvation Army in the town.
13 By contrast, in 1891 Bishop Waltham's population had been 2,842. However, between 1891 and 1901 the area of the parish was reduced from 7,429 to 5,151 acres.
14 *Kelly's Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (1895), p. 65.

the Revd William Henry Wilcock began well, it was terminated prematurely by his decision to join the Church of England. Thus, in the Church's report for 1893 it was commented that: "The work during the year has been carried on under many disadvantages". It was also reported that the Church had been re-designated as an "Evangelistic Station". In the circumstances it was not surprising that there were high expectations surrounding Samuel's arrival. As it was put in the same report, it was hoped "that a happy and prosperous future may be before it".[15] In the local newspaper the comment was made that:

> The Congregationalists now have strong hopes [that] their church may be revived and a prosperous and flourishing cause built up, and seeing the realization of these hopes is much needed, we wish them every success.[16]

As the Church's report for the following year makes clear, Samuel's pastorate did get off to a very promising start:

> Mr Longmore's services have been greatly blessed. In every department of the Church work there are tokens of renewed interest and quickened spiritual vitality. Under Mr Longmore's continued ministry, there is every reason to look forward to a time, not distant, when Nonconformity shall occupy its old position of influence and prosperity in the town. The work at Botley is also well sustained.[17]

Moreover, as recorded in the minutes, over the next few years membership and income increased, buildings were repaired and the *Congregational Hymnal* introduced. Thus, in 1898 it was reported that: "The Church and congregation fully appreciate the services and work of their Pastor, who they feel does effectual work in their midst".[18]

However, although Samuel proved to be a loyal and effective pastor, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, the Church again encountered problems. In the words of the Church Secretary, which were quoted in the report for 1899: "The history of our Church during the [past] year … has been that of a struggle against a worldly element to maintain truth and preserve purity and uphold the right in the face of bitter opposition …" From the available source material it has not been possible to determine the nature of the opposition. Moreover, there is nothing in the press or minutes for that year to indicate what trials the Church faced. Nevertheless, it is clear that, whatever they were, Samuel was able to cope with them for the Church Secretary concluded by commenting that there was still "room for great encouragement".[19] At the same time, a "friend of the

15 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1893) HRO: 127M94/62/40, p. 17.
16 *Hampshire Observer* (24 March 1894), p. 7.
17 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1894) HRO: 127M94/62/41, p. 21.
18 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1898) HRO: 127M94/62/43, p. 20.
19 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1899) HRO: 127M94/62/44, p. 22-3.

cause" had offered financial help to build above the existing schoolroom an additional classroom for senior Sunday school scholars and to undertake further improvements to the premises.[20] Thus, a year later, it was reported that the "period of opposition and darkness … [had] given place to hopeful conditions"; the Church was gaining in strength; and Samuel felt "very confident as to the gradual growth and success of their work".[21] This suggests that they had "weathered the storm" and Samuel and his colleagues had regained the initiative.

For the remaining 25 years of his pastorate it is possible to chart the fortunes of the two churches in statistical terms, since from 1899, Congregational churches were required to collect and submit to their county unions data relating to membership and Sunday schools. These have been collated in Table 1.

Table 1: Membership and Related Data for Bishop's Waltham & Botley Congregational Churches 1901-1924

Year	Members No	3 Year Average	Sunday School Scholars	Teachers
1899	60 & 15	–	104 & 35	14 & 5
1900	61 & 13	63 & 14	107 & 35	12 & 5
1901	69 & 14	66 & 15	109 & 33	14 & 3
1902	68 & 18	68 & 17	109 & 35	16 & 5
1903	67 & 18	67 & 18	115 & 35	15 & 5
1904	67 & 18	67 & 18	115 & 35	15 & 5
1905	67 & 18	66 & 18	115 & 35	15 & 5
1906	63 & 18	65 & 18	139 & 35	12 & 5
1907	64 & 18	64 & 18	102 & 35	12 & 5
1908	64 & 18	62 & 18	102 & 35	12 & 5
1909	57 & 17	60 & 17	133 & 26	14 & 3
1910	58 & 15	57 & 16	115 & 29	8 & 4
1911	57 & 17	57 & 17	109 & 31	10 & 3
1912	57 & 17	58 & 17	109 & 31	10 & 3
1913	59 & 17	57 & 17	85 & 31	9 & 3
1914	55 & 17	57 & 17	85 & 31	9 & 3
1915	58 & 17	53 & 17	91 & 30	8 & ?
1916	Not available			
1917	47 & 16	52 & 16	73 & 29	7 & 4
1918	50 & 16	49 & 17	73 & 29	7 & 4
1919	49 & 18	49 & 17	78 & 26	7 & 4
1920	49 & 18	49 & 20	78 & 26	7 & 4
1921	49 & 23	49 & 20	76 & 26	6 & 4
1922	49 & 20	47 & 22	75 & 31	8 & 4

20 *Hampshire Chronicle* (28 October 1899), p. 5.
21 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1900) HRO: 127M94/62/45, p. 23.

Year	Members No	3 Year Average	Sunday School Scholars	Teachers
1923	44 & 24	46 & 22	70 & 28	8 & 3
1924	45 & 21	–	73 & 38	7 & 4

Notes
The figures are for Bishops Waltham & Botley respectively
a. Most of the data in this table have been taken from the Yearbooks of the HCU (HRO: 127M94/62/46 to 68).
b. The three year moving average has been calculated to even out sudden changes in the figures for individual years.
c. It seems likely that the returns for 1904, 1912 and 1920 were not submitted and the figures for the preceding years were simply repeated.

Taken at face value, the data suggest that, between 1901 and 1924, the church at Botley was more buoyant than the one at Bishop's Waltham. Indeed, with respect to membership, they indicate a gradual decline in that of the larger church. This might suggest that it was unable to recruit new members. However, it is important to note that the figures shown are net and give no indication of the movement to and from the church roll. As the Church's report for 1908 indicates this could be substantial: "The year has been remarkable for the very large number of removals, twenty-six members having been removed from the roll by transfer; but twenty-three members have been received by confession and transfer, so that the loss is not so much felt as it might be".[22] Three years earlier in 1905 "nineteen Members … [had] been added to the Church, twelve on Confession of Faith".[23] While in 1911: "Heavy losses by death … [had] been sustained during the year, but ten new members … [had] been added to the Church";[24] and for 1913: "The report speaks of losses through departure from the district".[25] For 1920 it was recorded that: "Fourteen new members … [had] been received into the Church … on confession of faith".[26] The acquisition of new members throughout the period, especially on "confession of faith", indicates that Samuel was mindful of the need to engage in vigorous evangelism in order to offset losses due to death, transfers to other churches, and striking off arising from non-attendance.

Another consideration is that some of those who identified with the Congregational cause did not wish, for various reasons, to take the step of becoming members. Thus, attendance at services was always much higher than membership alone might suggest, as evidenced by the figures shown in Table 2, which have been taken from the annual reports.

22 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1908) HRO: 127M94/62/53, p. 24.
23 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1905) HRO: 127M94/62/50, p. 28.
24 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1911) HRO: 127M94/62/56, p. 27.
25 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1913) HRO: 127M94/62/58, p. 26.
26 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1920) HRO: 127M94/62/64, p. 14.

Table 2: Bishop's Waltham Congregational Church Reported Attendances 1901-1914.

Year	Average Attendance	Year	Average Attendance
1901	n.r.	1908	145 & 57
1902	112	1909	160 & 78
1903	n.r.	1910	156 & 80
1904	n.r.	1911	156 & 86
1905	134	1912	130 & 88
1906	138	1913	112 & 90
1907	144	1914	n.r.

Notes
n.r. = not reported
From 1908 the figures are for Bishops Waltham & Botley respectively.

Overall, the data in Tables 1 and 2 reflect the mixed fortunes of the churches frequently mentioned in the reports with many of "the difficulties of the work at Bishop's Waltham" being attributed mainly "to removals from the town".[27] These also impacted upon the Sunday school when families moved away and again the figures indicate the changes in the number of scholars on the rolls of the schools at Bishop's Waltham and Botley.

Although statistical data have a part to play in assessing the performance of a church, it is erroneous, not to say invidious, to base judgments on these alone. Much of the good work done during the thirty years that Samuel was minister is unquantifiable. Through his endeavours and those of his congregation, the Church was able to make progress and respond to the challenges it faced. As it was put in its report for 1907:

> As we survey the work of the year we find great cause for thankfulness; we are doing better, and more in line for united action, and are better equipped for Christian Service and the work we have to do. All our way has from the beginning been up the mysterious hill, the hill of difficulty, yet the obstacles and hindrances we have encountered have not prevented us going forward, onward and upward, in the spirit of humility and self conquest with a determination that does not submit to failure; and the Church is in a better position financially, morally and spiritually than it has been in for a number of years.

That said, regret was expressed at the decrease in the "number of Sunday School Scholars through removal from the town".[28]

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27 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1912) HRO: 127M94/62/57, pp. 26-7.
28 *Annual Report of the HCU* (1907) HRO: 127M94/62/52, p. 29.

Undoubtedly a heavy burden rested on the shoulders of Samuel in partnership with the deacons. Since the records of church meetings after 1900 are missing, the identities of the deacons for much of the period under review are not known. However, it is assumed that those who were in post in 1900 continued to serve for a number of subsequent years. Details of the diaconate in that year are provided in Table 3.

The occupations of the deacons reflected, to some extent, the mainstays of the local economy, in particular brick-making. Interestingly, unlike the position in many other Hampshire communities, there were no shopkeepers and none had a live-in servant, which can often be taken as an indicator of relatively high social status. This is surprising since Congregationalists were generally perceived as the most middle class of the Nonconformist denominations.[29]

Table 3: Bishops Waltham Congregational Church Deacons in 1900

Name	Age[3]	Occupation	Address	Ser.
James Boyce[b]	59	Gardener	10 Claylands Road	0
Charles W Gilbert[1a]	39	Manager of lime works	5 Pondside Terrace	0
Henry Giovanelli [a]	48	Brick and tile manufacturer's clerk	1 Oak Villa, Newtown	0
W.C Gossmith [2]	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.
Thomas Pink[b]	30	Builder and undertaker	Runnymede	0
George Reeves [a]	47	Brickmaker	Sunnyside Villa, Avenue Road	0

Notes
1 Church Secretary
2. Church Treasurer
3. Age shown in census returns (a) less one year or (b) eleven years
Ser. = number of live-in servants
n.k. = not known
Source: a *1901* and b *1911 Census Returns*

Another leading figure in the Church was a farmer, Charles Paice. He was a deacon during the 1890s and in 1900 he was appointed superintendent of the Sunday school, a post he held until his death in 1911. In view of his close association with the Church for over twenty-five years, a Sunday evening

29 The claim was made as early as 1848 in Thomas Binney's address to the Congregational Union, when he somewhat infamously asserted that Congregationalism's "special mission" was to "the thinking active, influential classes … the modern movers and moulders of the world". Quoted in Lesley Husselbee and Paul Ballard (eds), *Free Churches and Society: The Nonconformist Contribution to Social Welfare, 1500-2000* (London: Continuum, 2012), p. 112.

memorial service was held, "the rostrum being draped in black and white, and the Communion Table bore some beautiful mauve and white flowers". During his "eloquent sermon", Samuel commented that Mr Paice "had proved faithful in service, and true to the end in every branch of church work he has undertaken" and that, by implication, he owed a great deal to such lay leaders of the Church.[30]

III: Approach to Ministry

How then did Samuel approach the task of serving the churches at Bishop's Waltham and Botley? One obvious trait was his willingness to devote his considerable energies, over a very lengthy period, to their well-being. An anonymous historian of the Church at Botley considers that "Mr Longmore's *long stay* was a happy period for both churches [emphasis added]" suggesting that 1900 was the turning point "when perhaps local opposition and difficulties [had] been overcome". He also highlights the fact that "Mr Longmore … walked the four miles from Bishop's Waltham to Botley on Sunday afternoons, and cycled the distance for Wednesday night meetings at 7.0 pm". In his view: "Being a popular man and having these advantages perhaps explain the reasons why locally he was able to forestall national trends of decline".[31]

In building up and sustaining the causes for which he was responsible, Samuel paid particular attention to ensuring that services, both on Sundays and week-nights, were vibrant and decorous acts of worship. Indeed, an order of a typical service from 1894 has survived. This included an address of "not more than 8 minutes, the subject to be a moral or explanation of the previous scriptural recitation", as well as a sermon.[32] Little evidence of Samuel's preaching skills have survived but the longevity of his pastorate might suggest that he was deemed, at the very least, a competent performer in the pulpit.[33] It is also significant that not long after his arrival he introduced a fortnightly "pleasant hour service" to follow the regular evening service. This was presumably intended to appeal to those who might be less willing to attend more traditional services. In so doing, he was clearly aware of the need to ensure that the styles of worship offered appealed to as wide a section of the community as possible.

Apart from acts of worship, Samuel recognised the importance of other elements of ministry. In many respects the highest profile of these and the one which attracted most attention was the Sunday school. As explained by Samuel:

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30 *Hampshire Independent* (10 June 1911), unpaginated.

31 Author unknown, "The Dissenting Church in Botley", typescript history, c.1972 HRO: 42A01/C2.

32 Ibid.

33 There are, however, a few references to the titles of Samuel's sermons. For example in 1899, he preached on "The Ministry of Suffering" at a day event organised by the Newtown and Bishop's Waltham Sick Benefit Society. *Hampshire Chronicle* (27 May 1899), p. 3. At the Easter Sunday evening services in 1915 his theme was "What resurrection teaches". *Hampshire Chronicle* (10 April 1915), p. 6.

> … the object of the school was to give the children a carefully thought-out understanding of the Bible. Each teacher devoted a certain amount of time to preparation and he hoped … parents would ask the children when they came home what they had learnt. The children would never forget the lessons they learnt at that age, and it would be a blessing to have them in their later life.[34]

His commitment to the Sunday school was reflected in the fact that he often accompanied scholars, teachers and parents on the annual outing.[35] Samuel also gave his full support to the Church's Band of Hope and Christian Endeavour Society. Although few traces remain, it is probable that Samuel was equally assiduous in ensuring that there were plenty of opportunities for intellectual and social intercourse and in this regard his musical skills would have been to the fore.

In addition, he appears to have been ecumenically minded enjoying good relations with other Free Church ministers and, as evidenced by the attendance of the rector of Bishop' s Waltham at the gathering to mark Samuel's retirement. Additional evidence of his fraternal approach to other denominations include a report from August 1908 indicating that he and the Rector both addressed some of the "well attended" gospel meetings organised by the Evangelisation Society, which were held "in a tent pitched in a meadow close to the Railway Station".[36] In early 1914 he and his wife supported the Revd Buckley and his wife in opening a sale of work to raise funds for the Salvation Army.[37]

However, while Samuel recognised that his first responsibility was to the Christian Church he did not limit himself to its advancement, but saw the need to engage in community activities more widely. As Peter Watkins, Bishop's Waltham's historian, points out, Samuel "played a full part in the life of the town. He joined the School Board and for many years took a leading part in the work of the Parish Council. In 1903 he became the first chairman of the Managers of the Council School and remained so until he retired".[38] First elected to the Parish Council in 1897, when the number of members was increased from nine to twelve, he served until 1919, thereby contributing to the making of various decisions affecting the

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34 *Hampshire Independent* (17 January 1914), p. 7.

35 In 1905 the outing was to Lee-on-Solent, with 250 going by a train specially chartered for the occasion. *Hampshire Chronicle* (15 July 1905), p. 9.

36 *Hampshire Independent* (8 August 1908), p. 7.

37 *Hampshire Independent* (25 March 1914), p. 9.

38 Peter Watkins, *Bishop's Waltham: Parish, Town and Church* (Swanmore: Swanmore Books, 2007), p. 148. Samuel was first elected to the School Board in 1900, when he came second in the poll. In the press report of the election it was mentioned that he was highly educated. *Hampshire Chronicle* (10 November 1900). In May 1914 he presided at a meeting held to mark the retirement of Mr E. Sims who had been headmaster of the Council (formerly Board) School for 42 years. *Hampshire Independent* (23 May 1914), p. 8. It is also recorded that he conducted annual examinations in religious knowledge at the boys' school. *Hampshire Independent* (27 March 1915), p. 5.

well-being of the town over a relatively lengthy period.[39] One particularly contentious issue in the first decade of the twentieth century was a costly drainage scheme. At the annual parish meeting in 1905 Samuel drew attention to "the great hardship" that its adoption "would bring upon the working men of this place" due to its impact on the rates.[40] In his early years on the Council, he served alongside the then rector of Bishop's Waltham, the Revd James Palmer Nash. As a parish councillor, Samuel was by no means unique, with a number of other Congregational ministers incorporating public service of this kind into their ministerial role.[41]

During the Great War Samuel played his part in efforts to maintain morale on the "home front" and in commemorative events. During the spring of 1915, the Congregational church organised a number of short sacred concerts, to follow Sunday evening services, "for the entertainment of troops stationed in the town".[42] In March 1916, Samuel was a member of the platform party at a meeting "to discuss the employment of women for Agricultural War Work",[43] while in June of that year he read the lesson at a special service held in the Parish Church in memory of five or six parishioners who had "laid down their lives for King and country in the great naval battle off the coast of Jutland".[44] Lastly, during the celebrations to mark the conclusion of the War he delivered an "able address" at a thanksgiving service, which also took place in the Parish Church.[45]

All the available evidence suggests that Samuel was a well-regarded and conscientious minister. Indeed, in reporting his resignation from "the Pastorate at Bishop's Waltham and Botley", the local newspaper emphasised his "30 year's [sic] faithful service in this sphere".[46]

IV: Conclusion

Following his retirement as minister in 1924, Samuel remained in the neighbourhood for the rest of his life and frequently took services. Indeed, on the Sunday before his death in March 1926, "he conducted a young people's service in the afternoon, and was also present at the morning service".[47] At a

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39 He was re-elected in 1898, 1901, 1904, 1907, 1910 and 1913. In 1898 he was seventh in the election which was conducted by show of hands at the parish meeting; in 1901 and 1904, fourth; and in 1907, third. The elections of 1910 and 1913, however, were more competitive and a poll was demanded. In 1910 Samuel was ninth in both the show of hands and poll and in 1913 third in the show of hands and sixth in the poll.

40 *Hampshire Chronicle* (8 April 1905), p. 10.

41 For additional examples, see Roger Ottewill, "Locals and Cosmopolitans: Congregational Pastors in Edwardian Hampshire", in *Congregational History Society Magazine*, 6/3 (Spring 2011), pp. 124-37.

42 *Hampshire Independent* (6 March 1915), p. 4.

43 *Hampshire Independent* (25 March 1916), p. 8.

44 *Hampshire Independent* (10 June 1916), p. 5.

45 *Hampshire Chronicle* (16 November 1918), p. 7.

46 *Hampshire Chronicle* (11 October 1924), p. 8.

47 Samuel died on 27 March 1926. *Hampshire Observer* (3 April 1926), p. 6.

Brotherhood meeting held on the day after his death, the Rector "paid a fine tribute" to Samuel who had been a vice-president of the Branch.[48]

In these circumstances, it is surprising that he did not receive the accolade of an obituary in the *Congregational Year Book*. Although a List B minister, he was undoubtedly a gifted individual and his ministry resonates with a number of broader themes in the history of Congregationalism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One of these was the debt owed to those individuals who felt called, however diffidently, to take on leadership responsibilities and devote skills and competences that they had acquired in the secular sphere to the task of sustaining and developing Congregational churches. In Samuel's case the churches at Bishop's Waltham and Botley undoubtedly benefited greatly from his talents not least during the particularly difficult period at the end of the nineteenth century and that of the Great War. At thirty years, his was by far the longest pastorate of the two churches.[49]

A related theme was the commitment to public service. Through engagement with institutions of local governance, ministers were made aware of many of the issues that confronted towns and villages and enabled them to make a contribution to the life of the community at large. A final theme was the fostering of good relations with clergy of other denominations, including the Church of England. This partly arose from working together on public bodies, but also, at least in this context, from the recognition that they were no longer rivals but partners in advancing the Christian faith.

ROGER OTTEWILL

48 Ibid.

49 Bishop's Waltham Congregational Church closed in 1978 and the premises were subsequently demolished.

RICHARD BAXTER AND HEART WORK[1]

Despite the attention he received in his lifetime and still receives, Richard Baxter (1615-91) was only ever a pastor and his reputation must rest, at least in part, on his pastoral work. Indeed much of his writing is but an extension of his pastoral ministry. According to his friend William Bates (1625-99), who preached Baxter's funeral sermon, the "reigning Affection" in his heart was "the saving of Souls" so that he preached "to convince the Mind and gain the Heart".[2] This evaluation of the heart's importance is shown, for instance, in the full title of his *Poetical fragments: heart-imployment with God and it self. The concordant discord of a broken-healed heart. Sorrowing-rejoycing, fearing-hoping, dying-living*. Baxter explained his liking for the poetry of George Herbert (1593-1633) because Herbert "speaks to God like one that really believeth a God, and whose business in this World is most with God. Heart-work and Heaven-work make up his Books".[3] In controversy in the 1680s over the place in worship of read, as against extempore prayer, with one consistent protagonist, the leading Congregationalist John Owen (1616-83), with whom Baxter stated in his autobiography "all our business with each other had been contradiction", Baxter the pastor rebuked the scholarly Owen: "I doubt you lay too much on words ... Words must be used and weighed; but the main work is heart work".[4] Indeed a leading nineteenth century biographer of seventeenth century Puritans, William Orme, attempted to explain the reasons for the ongoing conflict between Baxter and Owen. He wrote: "The differences between them on various subjects, lay more, perhaps, in words than in things".[5]

This article will explore Baxter's assertion that the chief task of the Christian pastor is "heart work", by which he meant that the pastor must draw to himself the emotions and inclinations of his people that their assumptions are challenged, their prejudices confounded and overthrown, and in consequence the gifts of the

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1 An earlier version of this paper was read at a workshop on Richard Baxter at Dr Williams's Library in November 2008.

2 William Bates, *A funeral-sermon for the reverend, holy and excellent divine, Mr. Richard Baxter* (London, 1692), pp. 89-90.

3 Richard Baxter, *Poetical fragments: heart-imployment with God and it self* (London, 1681), title page, epistle to the reader.

4 Geoffrey F. Nuttall, "The personality of Richard Baxter", in idem, *The Puritan Spirit* (London: Epworth, 1967), p. 114; Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae: or, Mr. Richard Baxter's narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696), III, p. 61; Tim Cooper *John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 11. Cooper's study gives a detailed examination of the enduring antipathy between Owen and Baxter from the 1650s, and its effects.

5 W. Orme, "Memoirs of the life and writings of Dr Owen", in Thomas Russell (ed.), *The Works of John Owen D.D.* (London, 1826), I, p. 90. For Orme, see Alexander Gordon, "Orme, William (1787–1830)", rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, *ODNB* (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20834).

Spirit become explicit in their lives. In brief, they undergo a profound and lifelong Christian conversion. In the preface to his *Directions and Persuasions to a Sound Conversion*, Baxter clarified what he meant by conversion. He noted "so many worldlings, that think themselves religious men; that make Christ but a servant to their worldly interest ... and all because they never knew a sound conversion, which should have rooted out of their hearts this worldly interest".[6] Yet he knew that a true conversion was demanding. "To change your Opinions is an easier matter than to change the Heart and Life", he wrote. "A holding of the truth, will save no man, without a Love and practice of the truth".[7]

As an example of conversion he wrote, in the *Breviate of the Life of Margaret*, his wife, that "Conversion ... was received on her heart as the seal on the wax". She had prayed for a "humbled heart", believing that God's mercies had affected her heart, and in addition that God had given her an interest in "the hearts and prayers" of many in Kidderminster. After her death, Baxter recited these occurrences as evidence of "soul workings" towards God, thus blurring the distinction between heart and soul.[8]

I: Baxter's Use of Heart

Baxter, therefore, used the term heart for what is most sensitive and telling, the seat of affections, of essential feelings and attitudes which are distinct from the intellect but may inform it. In this he was far from original. He saw the intellect as "subject to the will" and stated, "You are never truly changed, till your Hearts be changed: And the heart is not changed till the Will or Love be changed".[9]

Over 900 uses of the term heart occur in the Bible. Baxter's use of the term clearly accords with Psalm 51:10 which reads,

> Create in me a clean heart, O God,
> And put a new and right spirit within me.

and with the gospels, Matthew 6:21: "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also"; and Luke 6:45: "from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks".

Baxter's evangelical aim was at one with Paul in Romans 10:1: "Brothers and sisters, my heart's desire and prayer to God ... is that they might be saved". In addition to scripture, other devotional tools reinforced the same understanding. This familiar collect from the Book of Common Prayer stresses the heart as the seat of conscience and morality: "Almighty God, unto whom all

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6 Richard Baxter, *Directions and persuasions to a sound conversion* (1658), in *The practical works of the Rev Richard Baxter*, ed. William Orme (London: J. Duncan, 1830), VIII, p. iv.

7 Richard Baxter, *A Christian directory: or, A summ of practical theologie, and cases of conscience* (London, 1673), p. 38.

8 Richard Baxter, *A breviate of the life of Margaret, the daughter of Francis Charlton, of Apply in Shropshire, Esq* (London, 1681), pp. 4, 11-12, 22.

9 Baxter, *Christian directory*, p. 23.

hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy Holy Name".

As Tudur Jones observed: "For the Puritan the seat of real religious experience was the heart, and 'experimental knowledge' (as Puritans called it) of God's dealings with man was to be had by studying the heart".[10] He noted that Baxter's radical and zealous Welsh contemporary Vavasor Powell (1617-70) was also deeply concerned about the heart. Powell advocated sharing the experience of the heart or "heart-knowledge" as a means of helping others because what God's spirit wrote on any one heart was for the benefit of all the saints. Just as Baxter wrote of "heart work" and "heart imployment", so also Powell used composite terms such as "heart-knowledge" and "heart-walk".[11]

Gordon Rupp also pointed out the "blood transfusion" between Puritan patterns of contemplation and medieval Catholic models and specifically referred to the teachings of Robert Bolton (1572-1631) who, thirty years before Baxter's *Everlasting Rest*, advised his readers in passionate terms:

> Feed, enlarge, improve ... to the uttermost, with meditation, prayer and practice, so shalt thou preserve thine heart in a soft, holy comfortable temper which is singular happiness ... what Christian heart can endure to discontinue its sweet and humble intercourse with God for one day? Let thy broken heart therefore everyday ... bathe itself deliciously in the blissful depths of God's boundless mercies in Christ, that he be kept spiritually merry, thankful and in heart to all holy duties. To kiss sweetly the glorified body of our crucified lord with the lips of infinitely dearest and inexpressible affectionate love: though the distance be great, yet the hand of faith will bring them easily together.[12]

Although Bolton used the term heart here in similar ways to Baxter, the former's advice was for the spiritual devotee and aspirant Puritan mystic, not for the pastor seeking to convert more deeply the people in his charge.

II: The Pastor works on the hearts of his people

Baxter therefore actively looked for and sought to prompt changes of heart among his flock. In *A Call to the Unconverted* he observed that Satan does not force men's "hearts from holy thoughts" but tempts them. Baxter's remedy was

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10 R. Tudur Jones, "The healing herb and the rose of love: the piety of two Welsh Puritans", in R. Buick Knox (ed.), *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall* (London: Epworth, 1977), pp. 156-7.

11 Ibid. p. 159.

12 Gordon Rupp, "A Devotion of Rapture in English Puritanism", in Knox (ed.), *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent,* pp. 120-1.

to pierce and prick "the hearts of sinners" with holiness, to break and humble the heart so as to encourage repentance.[13] One anxious correspondent, Francis Youell, an apprentice to a London stationer, wrote to Baxter in 1659, after reading *A Call*, that he was "pricked at the heart" with a sense of his numerous sins.[14]

As a youth Baxter himself had entertained doubts about the validity of his own salvation, moved by his inability to "trace the workings of the Spirit upon my heart", according to the method, described by Robert Bolton and others.[15] Nevertheless he admired Bolton's works and, in his mature years, recommended to one youthful correspondent, anxious about his "spiritual state", just as Baxter had once been, that he should read and study all Bolton's publications.[16] A later Nonconformist in the Baxterian tradition, John Rastrick (1650-1727), when preparing to go to university, was given the freedom of his master's study where, among his books, he found Bolton's works "which I extremely liked, and they wrought much upon me" and he also read Bolton's *Life* which "excited" his desire to become a minister. Later, as a curate, Rastrick wanted to obtain a copy of Baxter's *Confession of his Faith* which book the rector owned, although he would not lend it to him because he feared he would "fall in Love" with Baxter and the Nonconformists and "what is good in the Knaves". However, before long he did manage to acquire Baxter's book.[17]

In the first treatise of *The Divine Life* on "the knowledge of God", Baxter wrote, "his holy ones shall know him ... with a knowledge effectual upon heart and life". He wanted his people to have such knowledge of God that it necessarily affected their hearts and quickened their sensibility.

At times Baxter appears to have used heart and soul inter-changeably. For instance, in *The Divine Life* the reader learns that "He is the best Christian that hath the fullest impression made upon his soul by the Knowledge of God in all his Attributes". The contents announce that the second chapter deals with the "necessary effects" of the knowledge of God on the heart but the term heart is not used in the chapter where the discussion is of "the Impress that the Being of God must make upon the Soul".[18] He detected such a change of heart in London during the virulent outbreak of plague in 1665 when several "silenced" ministers preached

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13 Richard Baxter, *A call to the unconverted to turn and live and accept of mercy* (London, 1704), pp. 2, 11.

14 *Calendar of the correspondence of Richard Baxter*, ed. Neil H. Keeble and Geoffrey F. Nuttall (hereafter *Calendar*), (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), I. pp. 401, 402; Dr Williams's Library, London, MS Baxter letters, iv. letter 229.

15 *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter*, abridged by J. M. Lloyd Thomas, ed. Neil H. Keeble (London: Dent, 1974), p. 10.

16 *Calendar*, I. p. 405.

17 *The Life of John Rastrick, 1650-1727*, ed. A. Cambers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [for the Royal Society], 2010) pp. 42-3, 80. For Rastrick, see J. A. Oddy, "Rastrick, John (1650–1727)", *ODNB* (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23152). Rastrick left the Church of England in 1687.

18 Richard Baxter, *The divine life: in three treatises* (London: For F. Tyton: London; and N. Simmons: Kederminster, 1664), contents, 7, 15.

to and comforted the citizens, after the parish clergy had fled the City, discerning that "Religion took that hold on the Peoples Hearts, as could never afterward be loosed".[19] Yet Baxter's heart work was as much for ordinary, as for extraordinary, times. At Kidderminster it was evident from the outset. On settling there, he presented "ten directions" to the people. The third enjoined them to "keep open the passage between your heads, and your hearts, that every Truth may go to the quick". The sixth urged them to seek peace but, if "any heart burnings" arose, they were to "lovingly debate it, or pray together", for reconciliation. The seventh was against "the pride of your hearts", which he identified as the most common and deadly of sins. Thus the Kidderminster folk were encouraged not to have "secret heart risings" against any who hold them in "low esteem" for, Baxter judged, they could not be Christians, if they nurtured such pride or resentment. He advised them, "Let most of your daily work be upon your hearts; be still suspicious of them; understand their mortal wickedness, and deceitfulness, and trust them not too far".[20] The heart needed to be examined critically by true believers, in Baxter's view.

In the conclusion to the first part of *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, Baxter prayed that "the Lord would now open your eyes, and your hearts, to discern, and be affected with the Glory Revealed! That he would take off your hearts from these dunghill delights, and ravish them with the views of these Everlasting Pleasures!"[21] He questioned his readers, "Is there ... such a Rest remaining for us? ... Sirs, ask your hearts in good earnest ... Should not the strongest desires of our hearts be" for this rest? These are the words of a preacher. "If ever I shall prevail with you in anything let me prevail with you in this, to set your heart where you expect a Rest and Treasure".[22]

III: Devotion of the Heart

Gordon Rupp, when exploring "the Puritan devotion of the heart" in 1977, found that it must be set against "an austere pattern of religious life", in community, family worship, Bible study and concern for conscience, as well as adherence to the ordinances, and Sabbath observance. He argued that little attention had been paid to Puritan spirituality and to what the Puritans said "of Christian experience, of their devotion to Christ, and about the joy of the Christian religion". Rupp asserted that this spirituality was found everywhere: "in crowded congregations in the Inns of Court, and in the Universities, and even before the House of Commons" as well as in Bedford where Bunyan overheard old women sitting on their doorsteps in the sun, and discussing

19 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, III, p. 2.

20 Richard Baxter, *The saints everlasting rest: or a treatise of the blessed state of the saints in their enjoyment of God in glory* (London, 1650), dedication.

21 Ibid., p. 164. Bates wrote of Baxter's usual self-description as "the vilest Dunghil-worm ... that ever went to Heaven": Bates, *Funeral Sermon for Richard Baxter*, p. 124.

22 Baxter, *Saints everlasting rest*, pp. 598, 601.

Christian doctrine, just as they had in fifth century Byzantium and would do so again in nineteenth century Scotland, but "not often elsewhere and nowadays nowhere at all". Among this list of surprising loci for detailed theological discussion, Rupp might well have included the Kidderminster of Baxter's ministry. Rupp's conclusion was that this Puritan spirituality, Christian experience and joy all demonstrated "a devotion of the heart".[23]

IV: Hypocrisy, Double Hearts and Dead Hearts

The half-converted heart presented dangers. Baxter warned that hearts set on the world would be "divided" and "distracted"' because the "confusions of the world" confound such hearts. A hypocrite has "a double heart" and "God will not accept of half a heart". In contrast, those who walk with God possess "deep, effectual, heart-changing knowledge" and "the great master-truths" in their hearts about "God, and Grace and Glory". "Walking with God doth greatly help us against the deceitfulness and erroneous disposition of our own hearts".[24] Baxter was severe on hypocrites whom he urged to "Come into the Light that your hearts and lives may be thoroughly known to you". Such sinners should "Be very diligent in the examining of" their hearts and should know that "The word of God is quick and powerful, discovering the thoughts and imaginations of the heart".[25]

In 1639 he had found the parishioners of Bridgnorth, where he had been assistant to the vicar, to be "a very ignorant, dead-hearted" and "unprofitable People" in contrast to the "poor tractable People" of Dudley where he had previously spent nine months. At Bridgnorth, though he was in "the fervour of ... Affections, and never any where preached with more vehement desires of Mens Conversion ... their tipling and ill company and deadheartedness quickly drowned all".[26] As chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment in 1645, he found the leaders of the sectaries railed "against Ministers, and Parish Churches, and Presbyterians", yet had "little other knowledge, nor little discourse of any thing about the Heart or Heaven".[27]

Almost thirty years later, in *A Christian Directory*, he complained of "Hardness of Heart" which, he alleged, signified "the passive and active Resistance of the heart against the Word and Works of God". This "Hardness of heart is not a distinct sin, but the habitual power of every sin, or the deadness, unmoveableness and obstinacy of the heart in any sin". Indeed "the hard hearted sinner ... will not be brought to a love of Holiness, nor let go his sin, when God commandeth him; but ... is still the same".[28] That these comments, based on his pastoral experiences, might equally be applied to himself, is clear from his confession in old age that,

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23 Rupp, "A Devotion of Rapture in English Puritanism", pp. 119-120.
24 Baxter, *Divine life*, pp. 18, 46, 239, 258, 264.
25 Baxter, *Christian directory*, p. 214.
26 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I. pp. 14-15.
27 Ibid., p. 53.
28 Baxter, *Christian directory*, p. 204.

when young, he had been guilty of "Hardness of Heart".[29]

Baxter was not only severe on the stubborn hearers who would not receive the truth, as he saw it. He also lamented the "woful case" of hearing "a dead Minister speaking to a dead people, the living truths of the living God". Such a "meeting of a dead Minister and a dead people is like a place of graves", he commented.[30]

V: Examining one's own Heart

Therefore heart work was not merely to be applied by the pastor to his people but should also be part of the believer's critical approach to his or her own faith. In *The Character of a Sound Confirmed Christian*, Baxter commented on the religious speech of a Christian: "heart-work and heaven-work are the usual employment of his tongue and thoughts; unprofitable controversies, and hurtful wrangling he abhorreth".[31]

In the first part of *A Christian Directory*, which aimed to promote "Holiness of heart and life",[32] Baxter offered advice, similar to his Kidderminster directions, in dealing with "Christian Ethicks: or, Directions for the Ordering of the Private Actions of our Hearts and Lives". He cautioned readers "to be suspicious ... and diligent in searching and examining" their own hearts. Repentance turns the heart so far from sin "that thou wouldst not commit it ... it hath ... turned thy heart to God and Holiness, that thou wouldst live a holy life ... Because thou hast not the same heart". To renew the heart, Baxter's advice was to study the scriptures, in which is "a heavenly light and power and Majesty which ... may pierce the heart; and prick it, and open it, that corruption may go out, and grace come in". [33]

> The principle or heart of Holiness is within, and consisteth in the Love of God, and of his Word and Wayes, and Servants, and Honour, and Interest in the world, and in the souls delight in God, and the Word and Wayes of God, and in its inclination towards him, and desire after him, and care to please him, and loathness to offend him.[34]

VI: Heart Work in Families – Keeping the Sabbath

The pastor was not alone in taking heart work seriously. Christian families were also engaged in this task. In *The Christian Directory* Baxter advised family members, when alone in their labours, to "improve the time ... especially in

29 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I. p. 128.
30 Baxter, *Christian directory*, p. 208.
31 Baxter, *The character of a sound, confirmed Christian* (1669) in *Works*, VIII, p. 442.
32 Baxter, *Christian directory*, Advertisements.
33 Ibid., pp. 3, 8, 9, 10, 16.
34 Ibid., p. 19.

heart-work and heaven-work: let your chiefest meditations be on the infinite goodness and perfections of God, and the life of glory".[35] On the Sabbath the believer should remember "that it is a day for heart-work, as well as for the exercise of the tongue, and ear, and knees; and that your principal business is with heaven: follow your hearts therefore all the day, and see that they be not idle while your bodies are exercised: nothing is done if the heart do nothing".[36]

In 1683 Baxter again turned to the heart in *The Catechizing of Families*, observing that "though men cannot reach the Heart, God hath appointed Parents and Masters, and Teachers to Instruct their Inferiours by words, and hath written the Scripture to that use, that by them his Spirit may teach or illuminate the Mind, and renew the Heart".[37] The witness of the Spirit is such that through its work the scripture is written in the heart which is "the inward witness".[38]

VII: Implementing heart work

Baxter's generous use of the term heart should not lead to confusion with passion, although he had a place for passion in his thinking and his pastoral activities. He described reason as "a sleepy half-useless thing, till some Passion excite it; and Learning to a Man asleep is no better for the time being than Ignorance. And God usually beginneth the awakening of Reason, and the conversion of Sinners, by the awakening of their useful Passions, their Fear, their Grief, Repentance, Desire, etc".[39]

Baxter's awareness that the education or intelligence of his people was unimportant, in terms of the reality of their Christian conversion, assisted him in working out this pastoral insight. He saw that, "Thousands believe savingly, that have not wit enough to tell you truly what believing is; and many thousands have the Spirit that know not what the Spirit is". Yet they know their own lives and their knowledge is "sensible and experimental, and beneficial to them".[40]

Baxter understood that his own verse was undistinguished but stated that "Common Painters serve for poor Men's Work; And a Fidler may serve at a Country Wedding".[41] His writing appealed, not merely to the gentry, the merchant classes and the well-to-do of late seventeenth century England, but also to the "lower-middling ranks", servants, poorer families and younger people in both town and country. He was keen to prevent the poverty of his potential readers from depriving them of "godly reading matter" and he ensured, as much as his finances allowed, that every family in Kidderminster had a catechism,

35 Ibid., p. 566.
36 Ibid., p. 570.
37 Richard Baxter, *The catechizing of families: a teacher of housholders how to teach their housholds*, (London, 1683), preface.
38 Ibid., pp. 64-5.
39 Baxter, *Poetical fragments*, epistle to the reader.
40 Nuttall, "Personality of Richard Baxter", p. 117.
41 Baxter, *Poetical fragments*, epistle to the reader.

and some of his "lesser Books", and a Bible where a family had at least one literate member. His concern for the poor resulted in his expressly writing for them, as in his *Two Sheets for Poor Families and The Poor Man's Family Book*.[42]

Yet his pastoral efforts did not succeed as much as he had hoped. In *The Reformed Pastor* he related how at Kidderminster he was "daily forced" to wonder "how lamentably ignorant many of our people are, that have seemed diligent hearers of me these ten or twelve years, while I spoke as plainly as I was able to speak".[43]

VIII: Heart Work above Controversy

His advocacy of "heart work", as the pastor's essential concern, is at one with his standing apart from the ecclesiastical parties of his day, especially after 1662. His attempts to reconcile the parties led in 1668 to an exchange of friendly contacts with John Owen. Their discussion of heresy led Baxter to refer to "Hereticks ... in Heart" and to state that "Heart-Infidels" are found in all the churches. He asserted that "Our Business is to heal Church-Divisions, and Heart-Divisions".[44]

The dispute with Owen in the 1680s, over Baxter taking communion in the parish churches, led Owen to complain of "the ill fruits of Liturgies". On his side Baxter was concerned that Owen might persuade some that the worship of the parish churches was "false Worship, and heinous sin ... and Idolatry".[45] Baxter admitted "that Forms are oft a help to me" and said,

> It is a great Error to think, that the Gifts and Graces of the holy Spirit may not be exercised, if we use the same words, or if they be prescribed. The chief help of Gods Spirit, lieth in giving us a due esteem of the things prayed for, and a holy Desire after them, and a lively Faith and Hope that we shall obtain them ... for out of the abundance of the Heart, the Mouth speaketh.[46]

This arguments with Owen led Baxter also to assert that,

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42 Neil H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987), p. 132; I. Green and K. Peters, "Religious Publishing in England, 1640-1695", in J. Barnard and D. F. Mackenzie, with assistance of M. Bell (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), IV, pp. 82, 89; Richard Baxter, *The Poor Man's Family Book* (London, 1674); idem, *Two Sheets for Poor Families* (London, 1665).

43 Richard Baxter, *Gildas Salvianus; the first part: i.e. the reformed pastor. Shewing the nature of the pastoral work; especially in private instruction and catechizing* (London, 1656), preface.

44 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, III, pp. 65-66.

45 Baxter, *An account of the reasons why the twelve arguments, said to be Dr. John Owen's, change not my judgment about communion with parish-churches*, in *Catholick communion defended* (London, 1684), preface.

46 Ibid., p. 20.

> Gods Spirit worketh on the heart, and its greatest help is in its greatest gifts, which are Faith, Repentance, Love, Desire, etc. and not words: Words must be used and weighed; but the main work is heart work, and God knoweth the meaning of the Spirit when we have but groans, which we cannot express, and cry out but Abba, Father.[47]

He had expressed similar views in *A Christian Directory* almost ten years earlier, "Look more to your own hearts than to the abilities of the ministers, or the ceremonies or manner of the churches' worship ... It is heart-work and heaven-work that the sincere believer comes about; and it is the corruption of his heart that is his heaviest burden, which he groaneth under with the most passionate complaints". He again denounced hypocrites who "find so little work with their hearts and heaven, that they are taken up about words, and forms, and ceremonies, and external things, applauding their own way, and condemning other men's, and serving satan under pretence of worshipping God".[48]

In this work again Baxter directed pastors and people to "Be laborious with your hearts in all God's worship ... and be watchful ... lest they slug or wander. Remember that it is heart-work that you are principally about. And therefore see that your hearts be all the while at work. Take yourselves as idle when your hearts are idle".[49]

He confided to Owen that "I was never much troubled my self for want of words ... but I have ten thousand times more beg'd hard for more Knowledge, Faith, Love, and Hope, than ever I did for the gift of utterance; a full heart is earnest, fervent and ready".[50] The pastor's heart work consisted of his encouraging his flock to acquire these spiritual fruits and similarly to be "earnest, fervent and ready".

IX: Pastor at Kidderminster

Baxter had a liberal view of church membership, although he valued church discipline and a controlled admission to the Lord's Supper. He knew that "God breaketh not all Mens hearts alike" and did not require potential church members to expound their spiritual experiences, unlike the Independent and Separatist churches.[51] In a letter to Katherine Gell in September 1658, Baxter made clear that, although for some persons formal, written prayers were "most fit", he had not used such a "form" since he was seventeen or eighteen years' old, apart from the Lord's prayer. In 1684 that was still his practice.[52] Although, in time, Baxter came to regret the *ad hoc* character of his writing, his terse style indicated what lay "heavy on his heart".[53]

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47 Ibid., p. 21.
48 Baxter, *Christian directory*, p. 687.
49 Ibid., p. 679.
50 Baxter, *Account of the reasons*, p. 34.
51 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I. p. 7.
52 *Calendar*, I. p. 338; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter* (London: Nelson, 1965), p. 50.
53 Nuttall, "Personality of Richard Baxter", p. 113.

In old age, he admitted that "Heretofore" he had "placed much of" his "Religion in tenderness of heart, and grieving for sin, and penitential tears; and less of it in the love of God, and studying for love and goodness, and in his joyful praises, than now". He came to value more greatly "Love and Praise" and was "less troubled for want of grief and tears", although he gave more weight to humility and "needful Humiliation".[54] Baxter knew that those who encouraged him to write expected him to communicate "Soul-Experiments" to others but, in *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, he reflected that "God's dealing with my Soul" had changed his "Mind and Heart since those unriper times". He refrained from being too candid about these "Heart-Occurrences, and God's operation" on him.[55]

X: Preaching

In preaching Baxter intended "a communion of souls" and sought "a communication" from his soul to his hearers. He aimed to convince the mind and kindle the heart. He remembered that

> when God first warmed my heart ... and when I was newly entered into a Seriousness in Religion: when I read such a book as Bishop Andrews Sermons, or heard such kind of preaching, I felt no life in it: methoughts they did but play with holy things … But it was the plain and pressing downright Preacher, that onely seemed to me to be in good sadness ... and to speak with life, and light, and weight ... such kind of writings ... were wonderfully pleasant, and savoury to my soul. And I am apt to think that it is thus now with my Hearers; and that I should measure them by what I was, and not by what I am.[56]

In writing on "self-analysis and life-review" in his autobiography, Baxter reflected on his young self's preoccupation with his heart, causing him to pore over his own "Sins or Wants" and examine his sincerity. His older self remained "greatly convinced of the need of Heart-acquaintance and imployment" but saw the need to look more "often upon Christ, and God, and Heaven, than upon my own Heart". Although he continued to find "Distempers" in his own life, he knew that he must find "matter of delight and joy and love and peace itself" from "above".[57]

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54 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I. p. 129.

55 Ibid., p. 124.

56 Nuttall, *Richard Baxter*, p. 48; Richard Baxter, *A treatise of conversion* (London: R. W. [R. White], Kiderminster, for N. Simmons, 1657), epistle to the reader; *Calendar*, I. p. 254.

57 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I. p. 129; *Autobiography of Richard Baxter*, p. 113.

XI: Baxter's readers and heart work

Among Baxter's readers were the first Earl of Balcarres (1618-59) and his wife, Anna (c.1621-1707). Baxter's books had been recommended to them by the Countess's cousin, the second Earl of Lauderdale (1616-82), and the Countess became "a most affectionate Friend to me", wrote Baxter, "before she ever saw me". In August 1661 Baxter wrote to the Countess of Balcarres praising her as an exemplary Christian, especially given her discipline of critical self-examination and "Heart-converse".[58]

The extensive manuscript diaries of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick (1624-78), reveal how, after being hostile to Christianity, especially Puritanism, in her youth, she prayed for a cure for her son's illness and warmly embraced godliness for the rest of her life. Among her devotional practices, spiritual reading came to have a singular importance and she was particularly taken with the writings of Richard Baxter, reading them as avidly as she did scripture. She found his *Saints Everlasting Rest* "did mightily draw out the strength of [her] affections after God". In her diary she described one day in March 1667.

> In the morning ris very early, and then reatired and red in the word of god, with which my heart was affected, then red I, Mr Baxtres Saintes rest, and whilst I was reading of the Joyes of heaven God was pleased much to ravisch my heart with thinkeing of it …

On another occasion she took comfort and consolation from Baxter's *The Crucifying of the World*:

> in the morning as sone as drest went into my clossett red in Mr Baxteres booke of being crusefide to the world by the crosse of christ, God was pleased whilst I was reading much to move my heart and to make me shed many tears, after I had done readeing I meditated upon what I had red and God was pleased to affect my heart much by this passage …[59]

Baxter's works thus moved the hearts of pious aristocratic ladies but they also affected other readers who found in them, as one correspondent put it, "that Piercing Quicknes, and Spirituall Excellency" which he "could never yet discern in the Works of any others".

This man, Abraham Garington, although a stranger to Baxter, wrote to him from Tideswell in Derbyshire in August 1657, asking that he "compose" a "Breife Soliloquy; Conteyning such Soule Humbling Considerations and

58 *Calendar*, II, pp. 20-1.

59 British Library, Additional MSS 27351-5 (Diaries of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, 1666-77), i. fos. 67v-68r, 38v. Quoted by Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 48-50.

Piercing and Patheticall Expressions; as may be a meanes to make Impressions upon my Stony Heart; and to make knowne unto mee the Nature of my Sinne, and the Sinns of my Nature". Garington explained that he had read the works of William Whateley, Paul Bayne and Robert Bolton and most of the serious English divines but Baxter's writing was "more patheticall" and worked "more powerfully" on his spirit.[60]

Baxter's practical influence extended also to a Bristol linen draper, William Stephens who, on the eve of his marriage into "a most religious family", sought Baxter's advice. Among his counsel, he urged Stephens to settle under a faithful pastor and to mix with those "that are neither cold hearted on one side, nor carried by spirituall pride into uncharitablenesse, censoriousness, & Church dividing the other". Furthermore he gave the linen draper a reading list which included the works of the Puritan divines Robert Bolton, William Perkins, William Whateley and Jeremiah Burroughes, among others.[61]

Indeed Baxter's writings had an international effect for good. The Swiss pastor Johan Zollikoffer (otherwise John Sollicoffer 1633-92) who served at Herisau, Appenzell from 1666 until his death, enthused over Baxter's works, after a ten month visit to England some years previously. By April 1663, when he was a deacon (or second pastor) at St Leonhard at St Gallen, he had bought *The Saint's Everlasting Rest, The Reformed Pastor, True Christianity* and *A Sermon of Judgment* and, as a result, had commended them to neighbouring Swiss pastors in Zurich and Schaffhausen who had also succeeded in obtaining them. Zollikoffer was such a devotee of Baxter that he had also bought the remainder of his writings, some thirteen works in all at that date, including *The Safe Religion, Call to the Unconverted*, and *Holy Commonwealth*. However, Zollikoffer particularly praised *Everlasting Rest* and *Reformed Pastor* in the latter of which "you strike home to the very heart many Ministers".[62]

Moreover Baxter was not alone in the importance of the heart in effecting Christian conversions. His contemporary, John Flavel (1627-91), wrote *On Keeping the Heart*, which was recommended by a bookseller to a customer who berated him for so doing, but nevertheless agreed to read it. A month later the man returned and thanked the bookseller, announcing that "it had saved his soul; and bought a hundred copies to give away".[63]

XII: Was his heart work taken up by his successors?

John Rastrick's keen appetite for Baxter's works has already been noted. In 1670 he wrote that he "engaged in the close and serious Study" of Baxter's writings, particularly of "all his best practicall pieces". He confessed that when in a Cambridge

60 *Calendar*, I. p. 260.
61 Ibid., pp. 404-5.
62 *Calendar*, II., pp. 38-9.
63 Samuel Palmer (ed.) *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (London, 1802), II, p. 21.

bookshop he had remarked to a friend that he would never buy books by a man who had not attended a university. Yet on borrowing and subsequently buying Baxter's *Reasons of the Christian Religion*, he found in it "so much Godlyness and Divinity in so serious and heavenly a Style, and a Spirit that so much suited me, that I was exceedingly taken with it, and could not stop here but thirsted after more of the same Author". Soon afterwards Rastrick bought Baxter's *A Call to the Unconverted* and *The Reformed Pastor* and developed a "Love to that heavenly man, and his Books". His later ministry, both within the Church of England and as a Nonconformist, revealed a desire to improve the spirituality of his people.[64]

Baxter's piety and "passionate caring" influenced Philip Doddridge (1702-51) whose "deep seriousness" in religion mirrored Baxter's devotion. Just as Baxter wrote from "experience and from his heart" so also did Doddridge. In 1744 the physician William Oliver (1695-1764) observed to Doddridge, "You write as if you felt, while others seem to desire that their Brethren should feel what they themselves were insensible of. They write from the Head, but you from the Heart".[65] Doddridge commented on preaching, "Let it be Affectionate". "Appear to feel all you say. If your tears will fall, do not restrain them; tho' they should never be forced". Baxter felt that there is "Nothing more indecent than to be a dead preacher, speaking to a dead people the living truth of the living God".[66]

In *The Reformed Pastor* Baxter urged the preacher to speak so "that the people can feel him preach when they hear him"; and stressed that "whatever you do, let the people see that you are in good sadness"; and said, "I seldom come out of the Pulpit, but my Conscience ... asketh me ... Shouldst thou not weep over such a people, and should not thy tears interrupt thy words?"[67]

Baxter's heart work grew out of his pastoral endeavours for the conversion of his hearers and readers, and for sincere worship. Doddridge's well-known hymn testifies to that desired affinity of affection.

> O happy day that fixed my choice
> On Thee my Saviour and my God
> Well may this glowing heart rejoice
> And tell its raptures all abroad.

Both Baxter and Doddridge felt God's immediate presence, with the latter confiding to a former student, Risdon Darracott (1717-59), "I did but dream

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64 *Life of John Rastrick*, pp. 3, 5, 64-5.

65 Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge: A Study in a Tradition*, Friends of Dr Williams's Library Lecture (London: Dr Williams's Library, 1951), pp. 2, 13-14. For William Oliver, see Anne Borsay, "Oliver,William (1695–1764)", *ODNB* (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20736).

66 Nuttall, *Baxter and Doddridge*, p. 14; Philip Doddridge "Lectures on preaching", in *The Works of the Rev Philip Doddridge, D.D., in ten volumes*, eds Edward Williams and Edward Parsons (Leeds, 1802-5), V, p. 461.

67 Baxter, *Reformed Pastor*, pp. 212, 276, 370.

awhile ago that our Lord Jesus Christ was come into the room ... and my heart sprung with such a joy that I immediately woke as in an extacy". In December 1724, Doddridge wrote that "Baxter is my particular favourite ... and, if he has described the temper of his own heart ... one would imagine God raised him up to disgrace and condemn his brethren, by showing what a Christian is and how few in the world deserve the character".[68] Baxter and Doddridge shared a concern for the "Heart-work and Heaven-work" which unite in Christian experience. Besides Doddridge, we might look to his students for a continuance of Baxter's influence and also, as Geoffrey Nuttall indicated, to the Baptist pastor, Andrew Fuller (1754-1815) of Kettering, who suffered much personal loss and privation and had a deep concern for people.[69]

Baxter's heart work reminds us that religion in general, and Christianity in particular, must appeal to and fulfil, not only the intellectual, but also the emotional needs of men and women.

In Matthew Sylvester's sermon *Elisha's Cry after Elijah's God*, preached at Rutland House in Charter-house-Yard, ten days after Baxter's death in 1691, Sylvester described Elijah, for whom we may read Baxter, as commissioned to "deliver the mind of God to Men, and to present their Case and Hearts to him". At the fall of Elijah's mantle upon Elisha, Sylvester wrote "Any thing wins the heart which is appointed thereto by God; Word, Look, Touch, or Sign. God openeth the heart as he sees fit. ... Elijah's Mantle cast upon Elisha strangely stole his heart away". Sylvester continued, in reference to the two prophets, "Hearts toucht and won by God cleave fast to him, and stick at nothing. Elisha, he left all; his Kindred, Flocks, and Interest, to Minister and cleave unto his Master. So did the Apostles …"[70]

A further influence of heart-work may be found in Methodism. In Charles Wesley's hymn "Praise the Lord who reigns above", the second stanza urges the believer to praise God with "the music of the heart". Indeed eighteenth-century Methodism has been described as a movement of the heart – "a heart repentant, assured, and forgiven; a heart overflowing in joyous response; a heart of love, and a heart of perfect intention".[71] Baxter's practical pastoral work in his preaching and the evangelical nature of his writings played their part in preparing the way for the revival of the eighteenth century.

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68 Nuttall, *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge*, pp. 16, 18; Doddridge wrote of Darracott as "Absolutely the most successful Minister I have known amongst us for many years". See W. P. Courtney, "Darracott, Risdon (1717–1759)", rev. Brian W. Kirk, *ODNB* (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7167).

69 Nuttall, *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge*, p. 19.

70 Matthew Sylvester, *Elisha's cry after Elijah's God consider'd and apply'd* (London, 1696), pp. 2, 8-9, in Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*.

71 Carlton R. Young (ed.), *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians: An Anthology* (Carol Stream: Hope Publishing, 1995), p. 12.

XIII: Conclusion

Heart work was undeniably Baxter's chief pastoral strategy. It is Biblical, is found in the Book of Common Prayer, and his contemporaries used it – namely George Herbert, Robert Bolton and Vavasor Powell, among others. Baxter's heart work takes us beyond all differences of education, wealth and social position, and the divisions which separated ecclesiastical parties. Its success may be traced in Baxter's own personal popularity and in the sales of his publications, during and after his own lifetime. His concern with heart work lay behind his writings and reveals his essential pastoral intent, and its continuing influence is evident on Doddridge and his students, and on Andrew Fuller, the Wesleys and the development of Methodism.

Baxter had learned that "the Transcript of the Heart hath the greatest force on the Hearts of others". As Geoffrey Nuttall noted, Baxter's writings represented "the transcript of his heart" and was "a very plain transcript of a very warm heart" or, to borrow a phrase from Baxter's own verse, his was "a well-tuned heart" which sang "the songs of love".[72]

ALAN ARGENT

72 Nuttall, "Personality of Richard Baxter", p. 114; Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I. p, 108; Baxter, *Account of the reasons*, p. 21.

REVIEWS

***William Stephen Gilly: An Exceptionally Busy Life*. By Hugh Norwood. Edited and completed by Nicholas Groves. Norwich: Lassa Press, 2014. Pp. 272. £18.00. ISBN 978-0-95687-588-4.**

In the weft and warp of the United Reformed Church's ecumenical contacts, one, of which many congregations are unaware, is the Waldensian Church (the *Chiesa Valdese*); Trinitarian, Presbyterian, in the Reformed tradition, but one which claims origins in the twelfth century, subsequently bolstered by Calvin's Reformation. No less than three committees foster links with the Valdesi (the Waldensians must not be confused with Valdes the Spanish reformer): the Waldensian Fellowship, emanating from the North West Synod, the Waldensian Committee, perhaps the longest standing, now based in Cambridge, and the Scottish Waldensian Committee, the existence of which reflects ties with the Church of Scotland, later shared with the URC.

The Kirk, nevertheless, was not the first in the queue. Both Oliver Cromwell and William III took active interest in what was then an Alpine community of beleaguered and frequently persecuted Protestants. In the early nineteenth century, when travellers began adventurous crossings of the Alpine passes, it was evangelically-minded Anglicans who read the matter up, and undertook investigative, if rather brief, visits to the pre-Alpine valleys, then as now the historic base of this Church. Two figures are significant, to this day revered by our Italian friends. One was the Revd (later Canon) William Gilly who gave impetus to the establishment of the Liceo (secondary grammar school) which still serves the pre-Alpine area, the other Colonel (later General) Charles Beckwith, who had fought at Waterloo, and who then spent thirty years in the Valleys founding elementary schools, buoying up church polity and fund-raising in the United Kingdom for new church buildings.

A sceptic might claim that both men were well-intentioned interferers. Without their interventions, however, the Valley Protestants might well have dwindled and would certainly have lacked the educational apparatus and theological clarity which are today one of their strengths. Knowledge of Gilly's life and motivations was somewhat umbrageous until the publication of Hugh Norwood's book, the fruit of thorough researches. Main archival repositories on the Waldensians are in the Cultural Centre and Church Archives situated in Torre Pellice, in Cambridge University Library, and, oddly, in Dublin.

William Gilly (1789-1855) followed a career path typical of his origins: Cambridge-educated, he took ordination, was found an Essex parish, and by his thirties was writing books of Evangelical Low Church theology, following Henry Martyn. After his first wife's death, he travelled on the burgeoning tourist path to Italy, made contact with Waldensians in Turin, and then in the Valleys met the hoary Isaiah-like Moderator Peyran, in a brief visit which shaped his outlook and renewed the life of the Waldensian Church. Somehow he conceived the notion that these grizzled Alpine Protestants stood in the Apostolic Succession from their twelfth century origins, so circumventing the medieval Catholic Church. This misconception, shared by his partner-in arms, Beckwith, may have been one of the

factors impelling his interest. The hard fruits of his short stay were the *Narrative of an excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont*, and the foundation of the London Vaudois Committee. The latter's main scope was fundraising, for which it had the support of various high-and-mighty personages, and which under a slightly different form, continues to exist. Gilly, in pluralist style, took on other parishes, including Somers Town in East London, where he was able to undertake social projects in what might be termed Shaftesbury style. He made a second, much longer visit to the Valleys in 1829, when he began to promote his idea of a college for ministerial training, and took detailed interest in its curriculum, recruitment, architecture and accommodation arrangements. If that College has morphed into the Liceo Valdese, in the very buildings designed in Gilly's time, it nonetheless maintains, as from foundation, true Protestant openness and intellectual integrity, and now enjoys effective links with the United Reformed Church. The curious story of the finance which Gilly channelled through to Piedmont involves his second marriage to the niece of the Prince-Bishop of Durham, and a generous inheritance from an aunt who lived as a member of his family. In his later career, Gilly, Canon of Durham, Vicar of Norham, initiated several social projects for the alleviation of poverty and the furthering of social justice. He had some part in the foundation of the University of Durham and remained secretary of his London Committee until death.

Hugh Norwood's book fills a notorious gap. Forgivably, lack of confidence in Italian, and some theological hesitation, lead to scattered errors not least in nomenclature: to say Gilly was High Church is confusing; the ancient Moderator is known as Peyran not Peyrani; the monarch of Piedmont was King Carlo Alberto not Carlos; Gilly's attempt to induce the Waldensians to use a liturgy in their services was a failure; and like Beckwith, his wish that his Italian friends use the term Bishop was illusory. The bibliography should surely include reference to the work of the ever-active historian of the Church, the Revd Giorgio Tourn.

As far as the Church of England is concerned, this whole story is about the one that got away. It is part of the heritage of which the United Reformed Church is guardian, and should be better known. This book enables such knowledge to be spread more widely.

ANTHONY EARL

***Funding Religious Heritage*. Edited by Anne Fornerod. Farnham, Ashgate, 2015. Pp. 258. £70.00. ISBN 978-1-47242-019-0 (also available as an e-book at £65.00).**

Unless you are invited to review this book, you are unlikely to pick it up and read it from cover to cover. It is long, detailed, closely argued and leaves few stones unturned in its aim to provide a comprehensive account of the methods by which a number of European countries approach a common issue, namely, how to manage the buildings and objects which by general consent are valued as representative of a nation's heritage.

The majority of these are (or are in) religious buildings, mostly churches.

This fact adds more layers of complexity. Separation of church and state is a common European position. This being so, how does a state fund this heritage without appearing to subsidise religion? The religious profile of most European countries has greatly changed in the last thirty years: what difference does this make? What happens when there are few or no worshippers?

In the subsequent account of the practice of seven European countries, including France, Italy and the United Kingdom, but not Germany, it becomes clear that although practice varies, there are common features. In each country public money is available for the maintenance of heritage buildings, including churches. Frequently the criteria for direct support focus on cultural heritage and if a church building fits these criteria, it qualifies. Additionally, tax relief in one form or another is a widespread means of giving public support to churches. This ranges from tax deductibility on charitable donations, to direct relief for example through reduced VAT rates. Recent financial stringency means there is less public money available.

History has a bearing on how the support is provided. In Spain and Italy, centuries of relationship between government and the Roman Catholic Church, has a significant bearing on how the support mechanism is managed, creating a matrix into which other religious bodies have to fit. In France, creating a secular state in 1905 involved taking church property into public ownership, so now the French government (national and local) finds itself maintaining numerous churches and cathedrals.

The United Kingdom's arrangements for the public management of religious buildings and for their financial support is ably set out by Frank Cranmer. It is a good account of the present position which compared with some other European countries appears ad hoc and haphazard.

What of the future? Until now it has seemed reasonable for "religious heritage" to ride on the coat tails of "cultural heritage" accepting the support available even though its use might be ambiguous. However times are changing. Declining congregations, redundant church buildings, the increased use of church buildings for activities other than worship, increased tourism all point to further questions: can a religious building ever be used for non-religious purposes or when does a religious building cease to be a religious building? These are questions some church authorities have yet to face.

Who is this book for? For the immediate future it will be a useful source of reference for the legal framework and support mechanisms for religious heritage, plus insights into how they have come about, in a number of European states, (plus Turkey and Quebec). On another level it presents some interesting questions about the church in the modern world which are worth pursuing.

DAVID FIGURES