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EDITORIAL

This issue, which completes the *Journal's* seventh volume, marks the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade, or rather the formal abolition of Britain's role in the transatlantic trade. Dr Thompson's paper explores the evolution of Dissenting attitudes to slavery as expressed by Richard Baxter, Philip Doddridge and – less of a household name – Henry Grove. Jean Silvan Evans's paper on Howell Harris, delivered at the society's summer school in Leeds in September 2005, is a welcome contribution to debate and to the history of women's studies signalled by *Daughters of Dissent*. Rosamund Ridley's paper combines the history of leisure with radical politics and introduces detective work that is still in progress.

This is an appropriate point to draw attention to the Society's first Occasional Publication, David Bebbington's *Congregational Members of Parliament in the Nineteenth Century* (2007), delivered as the Society's Annual Lecture in September 2006, to which Professor Bebbington has appended a biographical list of 102 MPs who can reasonably be called Congregationalists and a further 28 whose denominational attribution is much less clear, but who certainly illustrate the remarkably wide hinterland of Congregational connexion. Such a hinterland

is further explored in *Who They Were*, a biographical dictionary of men and women associated in the twentieth century with Congregational, Presbyterian, Churches of Christ and United Reformed Churches in England and Wales, conceived by John H. Taylor, a past President of the Society, and launched during the 2007 General Assembly of the United Reformed Church.

We welcome as contributors Dr. Jean Silvan Evans, of Peterson-super-Ely, a member of the Society's Council, and Rosamund Ridley, a freelance writer of Kentmere, near Kendal, who holds an M.Sc. from Bristol. New reviewers include David Allen, formerly Dean and Senior Lecturer in Church History at Mattersey Hall, near Doncaster and James Cook, a political researcher and press officer, reading for a Ph.D in Political Theology.

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DISSENTERS AND THE SLAVE TRADE¹

The bicentenary of the ending of the British slave trade in 1807 is an appropriate moment to re-examine the attitude of Dissenters to the trade and to slavery itself. This is one of the few aspects of transatlantic slavery to have escaped exhaustive exploration by scholars and researchers in recent years in what has become a massive "literature".

The neglect is probably due simply to the shortage of surviving material and this in turn is easily explicable. Serious British involvement in the slave trade began late in the history of slavery – the early 1660s – and the abolition movement did not get seriously under way until the 1780s. The first coincided with the ejection of Dissenters from the Church of England and the years of their persecution. The second was a period when Dissenters were weak in the country owing in part to theological divisions among them, before the evangelical movement revived their religious interest.

If one looks for references to slavery in the earliest writings or sermons of Dissenters it is therefore unsurprising to find very few. The Dissenters' main concerns, at least until the Act of Toleration (1689), were to form stable congregations and avoid imprisonment or damaging fines. A revival of intolerance during Queen Anne's reign had then to be faced down. Religious freedom, in practice and belief, was the Dissenters' principal political objective and was not even partially secured until the Hanoverian succession. Division and decline then followed.

The denial of religious freedom was also an aspect of plantation slavery. The plantation masters resisted the Christianisation of their slaves as it was assumed it would lead to emancipation, or at least loosen control over their labour force and so jeopardise their business. Sugar production in particular required disciplined and well drilled teams of workers working long hours. Denied his own freedom of religious expression, the first recorded intervention by a Dissenter on the subject of slavery was to assert that slaves must be allowed religious instruction and baptism. As much God's children as their masters, they should not be cruelly or harshly treated. This appeared in a section of Richard Baxter's *A Christian Directory*², which was published in 1673 but had been written much earlier, in 1664 or 1665, a time when the authorities feared the influence of his writing and suppressed it.³

- 1 I rely mainly on Baxter, Doddridge and Grove and cover the period up to 1750. I assume an understanding of the main features of the British slave trade. An accessible account of it, drawing on current research, is contained in Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, 1997.
- 2 Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory, or a Sum of the Practical Theology and Cases of Conscience*, 1673. The section on slavery is in Part II, chapter XIV.
- 3 *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter*, edited N. H. Keeble, Everyman Edition, 1985, Appendix II, p 276.

In 1664 the British part in the African slave trade had just begun. Apart from three slave voyages by Sir John Hawkins in Elizabeth I's reign, and purely trading ventures with West Africa over the years, the first serious move into the slave trade was the establishment of the Company of Royal Adventurers in Africa in 1660. As the name suggests, this was a gentlemanly – indeed courtly – venture. Their primary intention was to trade for gold but they were given a monopoly right to carry slaves and are known to have shipped just over 3000 to Barbados in 1663/64. The Dutch War in 1665 and commercial incompetence led to the Company's collapse. Their monopoly right to carry slaves passed eventually to the Royal African Company, which was formed in 1672, and their first cargo of African slaves (220) was delivered to Barbados in 1673⁴. It must be questionable, therefore, how much Baxter knew of his compatriots' involvement in the trade when he was writing the *Christian Directory*, as against their treatment of slaves in the plantations.

Richard Baxter

The purpose of *A Christian Directory*, a vast work, was to provide guidance for the conduct of Christians in daily life, drawn from Baxter's pastoral experience and questions or issues put to him in correspondence. Unlike other Protestant books of casuistry of the time, it is less concerned with principles of conduct than with offering direct practical advice to individuals in particular situations. The section on slavery contains "directions" on the treatment of slaves and is addressed "to those Masters in foreign Plantations who have Negroes and other Slaves, being a solution to several cases about them." But he also answers the question, "Is it lawful for a Christian to buy and use a man as a slave?"

Fairly certainly, Baxter's interest was prompted by Thomas Jackman, vicar of Berrow, Worcestershire, and a member of the Worcestershire Association of clergy formed by Baxter in 1651 to work for comprehension within the Church of England.⁵ In a letter to Baxter on 6 May 1659 about conditions in Barbados, Jackman speaks of the "Impious and Unchristian Custome among [the planters] prohibiting theyr Slaves and Negroes to be instructed in the faith and to become Christians. Denying them Recourse to the Common Saviour, because they can be theyr slaves no longer than whilst Heathens. A Cruelty beyond that which the Spaniards [exercised] towards the poor Indians. And such which if continued will be an Everlasting Stayne to the British Nation". Regarding the destruction of Bridgetown by fire and storm as evidence of Divine displeasure, he suggests that "a word of Exhortation whilst the Rains and Ashes are yet before theyr Eyes" would be timely⁶.

Barbados was the first sizeable Caribbean island to be colonised by the English (from 1625) and was originally worked by white indentured labourers and the

4 K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company*, 1957, pp 41-44 and 363.

5 F. J. Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, 1615-1691, 1924, p 174.

6 N. H. Keeble and G. F. Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, 1991, volume 1, 570.

remaining indigenous population. When sugar, requiring more intensive labour, replaced tobacco as the island's main crop, African slaves were introduced and by 1653, close enough to the date of Jackman's letter, the Africans just outnumbered the white population by 20,000 to 18,000 (8,000 indentured workers, 5,000 freemen - former indentured workers - and 5,000 freeholders)⁷. Barbados always retained a relatively large white population, perhaps because its kinder climate for Europeans encouraged freemen to stay on. As a result, a good deal was known in England about conditions there and reports on the treatment of the slaves tended to support Jackman's.

Baxter's first "direction" tells the plantation masters that their slaves are "as good a kind as you...Nature made them your equals...God is their reconciled tender Father and if they be as good doth love them as well as you. And therefore you must use the meanest of them no otherwise than beseemeth the beloved of God to be used."

The assertion of equality of masters and slaves is logically a refutation of the right to make men slaves. But the conclusion he draws is that it compels masters to treat their slaves with common humanity. Emancipation, it should be remembered, was two centuries away. Baxter, inevitably a man of his time and not ours, is addressing what was feasible, not the unthinkable.

His second direction tells the masters that they are Christ's trustees and guardians of their slaves' souls. If the masters in Barbados keep their slaves from hearing God's word, they "openly profess rebellion against God and contempt of Christ as the Redeemer of their souls". The natural disasters affecting Barbados may be God's judgment on them. He entreats them to remember that visiting cruelty on slaves teaches them to hate Christianity. He contrasts the "odious" name the Spaniards have for their treatment of their slaves in their colonies with the practice in New England - a reference here to the native population, not Africans - "where they take not so much as their native soil from them but by purchase, that they enslave none of them, but shew mercy..."

The next three directions tell masters to treat their slaves in work and religion as considerately as they would their ordinary servants and in the sixth direction to be "neither...too hasty in baptising them, when they desire it, nor too slow..." The seventh summarises his message: "Make it your chief end in buying and using slaves to win them to Christ and save their souls...Let their salvation be much more valued by you than their service...Carry yourselves to them as those that are sensible that they are redeemed with them by Christ from the slavery of Satan..."

Locked into Baxter's "directions", other slavery issues are addressed, including the fundamental question, "Is it lawful for a Christian to use a man as a slave?" He writes: "There is a slavery to which some men may lawfully be put, and there is a slavery to which no man may be put; and there is a slavery to which only the criminal may be put, by way of penalty."

7 R. Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 1997, pp 231-232.

Unlawful slavery, "the slavery to which no man should be put", Baxter defines as "such as shall injure God's interest and service and the man's salvation". From what he has said in the "directions", slavery as practised in Barbados would be unlawful for a Christian unless he started to treat his slaves well and allowed them access to Christian teaching.

Lawful slavery is tightly defined. It must be such "1.as wrongeth no interest of God, 2.nor of mankind by breaking the law of nations, 3.nor of the person himself by hindering his salvation, or the needful means thereof, nor of those comforts of life which nature giveth to man as man, 4.nor the Commonwealth or society where we live".

In short, the forfeiting of a man's right to liberty must not dishonour God, must be lawful, that is, not arbitrary, consonant with the standards of his society, and must not threaten his rights to salvation or his humanity.

Baxter supplies the tests but offers no examples. It would not however be doubted in his day, or for a hundred years, that circumstances might arise when liberty could properly be forfeit by voluntary choice, or as just recompense for an injury done, or as punishment for criminals. The proven lawfulness of the forfeiture was the necessary condition. One expression of it in seventeenth century England and Scotland, and indeed in France and elsewhere in Europe, was the practice of indentured labour or indentured service. Under it, and by agreement, or as a recompense, or as a punishment, for a set period your life and your service were your master's without payment and this right to your usage could be bought and sold. Men and women gave up their liberty voluntarily in this way to escape poverty or their family, to satisfy a burdensome debt, or right some other civil wrong, or simply to better their chances in a new place. It was a widely used form of emigration to the new European colonies: your liberty and capacity to work were sold for a free passage, either paid for by an intended master, or given by a ship's captain who would "sell" you on arrival. In the form of criminal punishment, indentured labour was regarded as a preferred alternative to death, and had been so used for prisoners of war by Cromwell in Ireland. West country Dissenters would have a taste of it after the Monmouth rebellion.

The treatment accorded to indentured labourers, especially in the colonies, might be on a par with African and indigenous slaves, and the climate in much of the Caribbean added its own punishment. But manumission after a period – seven years for indentured labourers, less for indentured servants – was normal and so the system was only a limited form of slavery (though alternative paid work afterwards was not always available). There was more chance too that religious observance and access to clergy, if desired, would be allowed. Nevertheless, Baxter adds:

Though poverty or necessity do make a man consent to sell himself to a life of lesser misery, or to escape a greater, or death itself; yet it is not lawful for any other so to take advantage of his necessity, as to bring him into a condition as shall make him miserable...Because no justice is beseeming a Christian or a man which is not conjoined with a due measure of charity.

Such arrangements of course involved Christians being enslaved by Christians, nominal or otherwise, and Baxter does not regard this as unlawful, though he thinks fellow Christians “must be used with more love and brotherly tenderness than others”. He makes no reference to Scripture, but this view accords closely with Exodus, chapter 21, which sets out the laws concerning Jews selling themselves to other Jews as slaves, with release in the year of jubilee, and is perhaps one reason why seven years was the normal term for voluntary indentured labour.

The insistence that any forfeiture of liberty must be lawful raises a question about how African slaves were acquired, and Baxter condemns this out of hand in a famous passage which also finds its place among the “directions”:

To go as Pirats and catch up poor Negros or people of another Land that never forfeited Life or Liberty, and to make them slaves, and sell them, is one of the worst kinds of Thievery in the world; and such people are to be taken as the common enemies of mankind. And they that buy them and use them as beasts, for their meer commodity, and betray, or destroy, or neglect their souls, are fitter to be called incarnate devils than Christians, though they be no Christians whom they abuse.

Writing so soon after the start of British involvement in the slave trade, Baxter’s “Pirats” may have been the Portuguese, who began to buy and carry African slaves across the Atlantic in the early 1500s and had supplied their own, the Spanish and other colonies for a century or more. Nevertheless, the latter part of the passage fits the English in Barbados, as he describes them in the “directions”. The earlier part prompts the question of the Christian’s duty when offered a slave he knows to have been unlawfully acquired. Baxter’s answer is quite firm. “It is their heinous sin to buy them unless it be charity to deliver them, [and] having done it, undoubtedly they are bound to deliver them.” It was possible to grant slaves their freedom, and became fairly common practice to do so in Caribbean wills where the slave had worked in the house, coupled with a small bequest. Freedom without means risked starvation or dependence.

Despite Jackman’s hopes for Baxter’s influential word, there is no indication that it bore fruit in Barbados, or elsewhere. His *Christian Directory* was a book, not a letter, and a heavy, cumbersome one at that. In 1680, after a visit to Barbados, an Anglican clergyman named Godwyn published a tract whose title summarises the failure of Baxter’s pleading: “The Negro’s and Indian’s Advocate, suing for their admission into the Church”. The masters, he said, claimed their slaves were brutes and that this justified their own brutal treatment. He called their traffic in slaves “a Cruelty capable of no Palliation and for which Vengeance cannot be long expected ere it fall on the inhuman Authors”.⁸

Baxter came across Godwyn’s tract and it prompted a sermon to the citizens of London (published but never preached) in which he set out a way in which the

8 R. Coupland, *Wilberforce*, 1923, p 77.

evangelisation of the slaves, indigenous and African, might be addressed if the masters continued to keep them in ignorance.⁹

...Might not some skilful, zealous preachers be sent thither, who would promote serious piety among those of the English that have too little of it, and might invite Americans [ie native peoples] to learn the gospel and teach our planters how to behave themselves christianly towards them and win them to Christ? Is it not possible to do more than hath been done to convert the blacks that are our own slaves or servants to the Christian faith? Hath not Mr Godwyn justly reprehended the neglect, yea and resistance of this work in Barbadoes and the like elsewhere? Might not better teachers be sent thither for that use?

Either because he remembered he might be addressing some with financial interests in the colonies, or because he presciently anticipated the economic consequences of emancipation, he added:

And whereas the law manumits them from servitude when they turn Christians...were it not better to move the Government therefore to change the law so far as to allow these covetous masters their service for a certain time, using them as free servants?

The sermon also addresses an issue which Christian planters would increasingly face, more particularly after abolition and before emancipation:

And whereas [the slaves] are allowed only the Lord's Day for their own labour, and some honest Christians would willingly allow them some other time instead of it, that they might spend the Lord's Day learning to know Christ and worship God, but they dare not do it, lest their wicked neighbours rise against them for giving their slaves such an example; might not the governors be procured to force the whole plantation to it by law...And what though the poor infidel desire not their own conversion, their need is the greater, not the less.

If Dissenters in the City did not respond to Baxter's sermon, the Quakers had already adopted the practice of sending itinerants to the Caribbean islands from England and the American colonies, as much to visit and encourage Quaker planters as to evangelise their slaves. Quaker meetings were formed, and closed, from time to time on Barbados and Jamaica. George Fox himself visited Barbados in 1671, was well received by the Governor and defended Quaker planters from the charge of inciting rebellion by their more kindly treatment of slaves. Even so, two Quakers there were prosecuted for taking slaves to meeting.

9 *The Practical Works of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, edited Rev. William Orme, 1830, ch XVII, p 330.

It was on this visit that Fox suggested that slaves might be given their freedom after thirty years.¹⁰

As for Anglicans, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), formed in 1701, sent men mainly to the American colonies where they had some success among slaves and the Indians, but a plantation on Barbados, with 300 slaves, left to them in 1710 by General Christopher Codrington to provide funds and accommodation for the Christian education of slaves, functioned only intermittently because of hurricane damage and staffing problems until after abolition.¹¹ The ordinary Anglican parochial system in the Caribbean colonies was poorly supplied and served the white population (though slaves might be baptised for a fee). Curates were appointed to evangelise the slaves, but not until 1816. Moravian missionaries arrived in Jamaica in 1754, a Baptist missionary in 1784 and a Methodist missionary in 1789, arousing opposition and – except for the Baptists – achieving little.¹² With these exceptions, when anything of Baxter's kind was attempted, it was after the end of the slave trade, when the missionary societies were freer to gain access to the islands and the slaves. Conversions then were relatively few and hard to win, and looser management of the plantations led to unrest and occasionally rebellion. But by this time the situation was not comparable with Baxter's day. Numbers of slaves had grown exponentially and a century of abuse, cruelty and hard labour had created a resentful and vengeful work-force.

Doddridge

The lecture on slavery by Philip Doddridge to his students at Northampton is the next certain contribution to the subject by a Dissenter.¹³ Precisely when Doddridge wrote it is not known, but one book he recommends for further reading, "Snelgrave on Guinea", was not published until 1734.¹⁴ By this date, the British contribution to the slave trade had grown substantially, joined now by the French, Dutch and Danish chartered companies shipping slaves to their own colonies. The Royal African Company's trading stations still negotiated the supply of slaves for British ships with local African rulers, but carrying the slaves across the Atlantic was now in the hands of private traders or the South Sea Company. In the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, Britain had acquired the *asiento* – the

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- 10 *The Journal of George Fox*, edited Norman Penney, 1911, volume II, pp 200f. His meetings were occasionally interrupted by what he called "Bawling Baptists" but whether this is alliterative abuse or a reference to another religious presence on Barbados is uncertain.
- 11 H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands, the History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950*, pp 158f.
- 12 Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*, 1967, pp 207-211.
- 13 Philip Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity*, edited S Clark, first edition 1763, volume I, p 169.
- 14 Captain William Snelgrave, *A New Account of some parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade*, 1734.

right to carry slaves to the Spanish colonies – and had passed the contract to the South Sea Company. Jamaica, a colony originally taken by Cromwellian soldiers from the Spaniards in 1655, and settled by planters from England and Barbados after civil rule was introduced in 1661, became an *entrepôt* where slaves for the Spanish colonies were initially landed, traded and sent on to their final destinations. There was also some trade in slaves from the Caribbean islands to the American colonies, and also some direct trade from Africa to America.

In 1735, perhaps the year in which Doddridge wrote his lecture on slavery, British ships carried 7,000 slaves from West Africa to Barbados and Jamaica, of whom 2,500 were passed on elsewhere. Up to that year, 85,000 slaves in all had been carried to Barbados in British ships and nearly 203,000 to Jamaica, of whom about a third had then been moved on.¹⁵ Inevitably, more was becoming known about the nature of the trade in West Africa as the volume of the traffic rose and some references, critical and supportive, were beginning to appear in journals around the time Doddridge was composing his lecture.¹⁶ He and his students were fortunate to have in Snelgrave's book a rare, first-hand account of how slaves were acquired and transported.

By 1735, eighty or so years on from Baxter, Dissenters were a settled, if not wholly accepted, religious presence in England, but were obliged to educate their own ministers because of the Anglican religious tests imposed by the universities or colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. The larger Dissenting academies also accepted lay students for the professions. Given Doddridge's wide social connections and interests, his lectures can be read as offering a broad view of Dissenting attitudes to a range of social and ethical issues, as well as straight religious and scientific instruction. The lecture on slavery, condensed as it is, appears to be of that character as it contains no overt religious teaching. It shows concern and awareness, but the restraint after Baxter's direct speaking is marked.

Some of this restraint is down to academic style and Doddridge's teaching method of open enquiry. The lecture could be read as a settled or finished argument but in practice might be used more as a prompt for discussion, perhaps debate. The suggested reading material was an important part of the process and might be chosen because it was at variance with the conclusion of the lecture, or simply additional information which illustrated the argument. As a result, the text of the lecture by itself could look bare. It was, however, usually possible to discern from the lecture where Doddridge stood, if not necessarily what the students concluded.

The main interest of the lecture – far wider than the present context of exploring Dissenters' attitudes to slavery – is that it is about West Africa and how slaves are bought, not about the plantations and how slaves are treated there. This, and his

15 Statistics on the slave trade are being constantly updated. These figures, which now look low, and ignore other destinations, are taken from R. B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: an Economic History of the British West Indies*, 1974, Appendices IX and X.

16 See examples in H. Thomas, *op cit*, pp 466–467.

use of Snelgrave's book, gives it a particular importance in its period. The lecture nevertheless begins with the ethical issue of slavery, acknowledges that it is a current issue, and rejects the classical view that some kinds of people – some races even – are natural drudges.

It is disputed whether it be lawful to buy men as slaves and forcibly compel them to do service for life or a term of years. Some have thought the strength of body, and stupidity of mind, to be found among some parts of the human species...intimate that they were designed to be drudges to the rest. But to admit such an argument might be attended with dangerous usurpations and contentions; for who does not think he has genius enough to command others?...

Doddridge's denial that there is a class of people who are natural slaves is not just a dry refutation of Aristotle. Racial inferiority was a commonly accepted justification of African slavery. Doddridge's language may be colder but the argument is the same as Baxter's, that men are equal irrespective of their aptitudes. This would be evident when the students followed his other recommended book, Pufendorf's *De Officio Hominis et Civis juxta Legem Naturalem*. Samuel Pufendorf (1632-94), a Lutheran, separates what he calls the law of nature from the moral law (which is revealed) and the civil law (which is determined by the state). The natural law is known instinctively and is therefore implanted by God through reason in individuals and society, an argument familiar to Doddridge from his own student days, as Pufendorf was used at Kibworth, as well as in his own academy. If the students had opened *De Officio* they would have found such arguments as –

It would be most absurd to believe that nature herself has actually and directly given the more prudent sovereignty over the more dull, or such a right that the former can force the latter to serve them for ever against their will...Since nature has made all men equal and since slavery cannot be understood apart from inequality...it is understood that naturally all men are free.

Even if freedom and equality are the natural state of man, Doddridge says that he may still be condemned to slavery if it is done lawfully, that in such a condition he may be sold, and that slavery is always to be preferred to the death penalty:

Nevertheless, if any case occurs in which a man be justly condemned to be a slave by the laws of his country, it seems very allowable to buy him and use him as such: and if purchasing men for slaves out of the hands of their enemies, by whom they are taken prisoners, may be a means of preserving their lives, which in Guinea is often the case, it seems allowable to purchase them...

The concept of lawful condemnation to slavery has already been encountered in Baxter and was commonly accepted in much of the eighteenth century as well. The question in the context of Doddridge's lecture is whether such a concept made sense in "Guinea", a term then used to describe the whole of the West African slave-coast, or whether, as Baxter claimed, slaves were taken by theft. Doddridge relied on Snelgrave's book¹⁷ at this point and recommended it to his students for further reading.

William Snelgrave traded for slaves, gold and ivory over the period 1704 to 1730, and he dedicates the book to "the merchants of London trading to the coast of Guinea", though in the earlier period his employer was a merchant in Virginia (a reminder that British ships did not all come from England). He describes the different ways in which trading was conducted in different parts of the coast, though the first section of the book is mainly an account of the king of Dahomey, a war-like inland ruler, grand enough to send a gift of slaves and a letter of greeting to George I. The king invades the coastal area around Whidaw and Jaqueen (nowadays Benin) to seize control of the slave trade there. He favours Snelgrave and invites him on a rare visit away from the coast. This reveals the tawdry splendour of the court and among other barbarities the practice of slaughtering war captives in large numbers as they are too numerous to be fed or usefully employed. This leads Snelgrave to claim in a later section of the book; when he is defending "the lawfulness of the trade", that "tho' to traffick in human Creatures may at first sight appear barbarous, inhuman and unnatural...[yet] it is evident that abundance of Captives taken in War would be inhumanly destroyed was there not an opportunity of disposing of them to the Europeans." He puts the figure of slaves transported by Europeans as a whole as high as 70,000 in some years along the entire length of the coast. Debtors unable to repay their debts, and criminals, are other minor sources of slaves, according to Snelgrave, and these might be said to have been lawfully condemned in a European sense. The argument, as Snelgrave presents it, is whether saving large numbers from a horrific death justifies enslavement and transportation. He adds another which Doddridge does not use, though it was commonly used at the time, that the African's life is so wretched at home he must be better off on the plantations, where the masters have invested in his labour and have an interest therefore in his welfare.

In the next part of the lecture Doddridge expresses a suspicion (which he does not find in Snelgrave but may have inferred it from the evidently constant supply of slaves) that the African rulers engineer wars in order to collect prisoners, whose lives are then "spared" by being sold to the European slave ships; and, although he puts it ambiguously, he appears to recognise that this may in some cases invalidate the justification of buying the prisoners as slaves:

17 Snelgrave is a rare first-hand source for this early period and for this reason is still used by writers on transatlantic slavery today. H. Thomas, *op cit* has five extracts, for example.

[it seems allowable to purchase them] unless it prove the means of encouraging unreasonable and destructive wars, and the mischief occasioned thereby be greater than the good arising from the preservation of lives already taken and the fruit of their labours, which may possibly make the matter a greater difficulty than some imagine...

And finally;

...Yet virtue will require even in this case that the slaves be treated with as much humanity as may be consistent with the safety of the master and with a prudent care of his affairs.

That is the entirety of the lecture. The plea for humanity of treatment comes at the end in the unemotional style of language now to be expected. But after Baxter it grates, especially as the dubious circumstances in which some of the slaves have probably been taken has just been noted.

Reliance on Snelgrave may be the cause of Doddridge's apparent equivocation. The reference to the master's safety and his business probably comes from Snelgrave's account of slave mutinies during the voyage and the need to use force to save the ship. Even so, Snelgrave seems to have been in many respects a more liberal slave-ship master than many, claiming to leave the women and children unshackled on board ship and to release the men once out of sight of Africa. In circumstances of much personal bravery, he rescued a child, and restored him to his mother on board his ship, and on another occasion, a woman thrown into the sea. They were about to become human sacrifices, the fate of many captives, and he delivered these to named masters in Antigua whom he knew would be "kind" to them. He also employed an interpreter ("a linguist") to reassure slaves from up-country and unfamiliar with the sight of white men, that they would not be eaten, a terror which often caused hysteria at the most dangerous time for them and the crew when they were being rowed in open boats over the breakers from shore to ship.

It may be unfair to Doddridge to imply that he relies too much on Snelgrave. We know from his correspondence and much journeying that he was open to many influences, well informed as well as well-read. One respected influence on his general thinking was John Locke, the philosopher of the age. It is to be noted in the lecture that (unlike Baxter) Doddridge does not say men may sell themselves into slavery. John Locke, had denied that a man had the right to do so, since he does not have the power of his own life. In the same passage, Locke describes as "the perfect condition of slavery" its imposition as a consequence of an act committed by an individual which deserved death.¹⁸ This Doddridge might

18 John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, 1690, edited C. B. Macpherson, 1980, pp 17-18. "Perfect" because life rather than death was a compact between master and slave which the slave could end by asking for death.

well regard as applicable to the prisoners of war taken in West Africa, even if some wars were contrived. (Locke's views on African slavery are nowhere stated, but he was a stock-holder for a time in the Royal African Company¹⁹ and even more to the point, he was from 1696 to 1700 an active member of the Government's Board of Trade and Plantations and so well aware of what slavery meant in practice for Africans).

Another possible influence on Doddridge was William Coward, a financial benefactor of the Northampton academy, whose wealth came from the West India trade. Coward died in 1738 and had probably retired from business at the latest by 1720. He had been a pioneer planter in Jamaica in the late 1670s, and had hired one of his ships to the Royal Africa Company for three slave voyages in the very early 1700s. His main business over the years was shipping sugar and other Caribbean produce to London. Although he and Doddridge were much in touch on religious matters in the last years of Coward's life, Coward had no personal experience of West Africa, but might be thought by Doddridge at least to add respectability to the trade.²⁰

The brevity of the lecture possibly indicates Doddridge's view of the doubtful relevance of the subject to his students, for whom, of course – not the public – it was written. It is placed among a longer set of lectures in the same section on duties within the family and between masters and servants and it appears just before a lecture on the (admittedly limited) circumstances in which he accepts a father (in England) may sell his children – a timely reminder nevertheless that he was writing in a markedly different age and about people of different sensibilities from our own.

What did future generations make of Doddridge's views? His lectures were first published posthumously in 1763. A second edition appeared in 1776, both edited by a former student, Samuel Clark. The third and fourth editions were published in 1794 and 1799, still before abolition, though with the true nature of the slave trade by then exposed and further public agitation on hold during the French wars. The text of the lecture was unchanged in all editions, but the editor of the third and fourth editions, Andrew Kippis, another devoted former student, added the following note²¹ which, if followed through, in effect replaced the lecture with the case for abolition:

The question concerning Negro Slavery has lately received the most ample discussion. It may suffice to refer to Mr Ramsey's treatise on the subject²², to Mr Clarkson's two publications, first on the Iniquity and secondly on the

19 K. G. Davies, *op cit*, p 65n.

20 J. H. Thompson, *A History of the Coward Trust, the first two hundred and fifty years, 1738-1988*, 1988, pp 1-4.

21 Philip Doddridge, *op cit*, third edition, 1794, edited, Rev. Andrew Kippis, volume I, p 268.

22 Rev. James Ramsey, *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies*, 1784.

Impolity of the Slave Trade, to Mr Dickson's letter on Slavery²³ and to Mr Beattie's "Elements of Moral Science"²⁴... The poets have not been deficient in appearing on the side of justice and humanity. This is evident from... Mrs Barbauld's Address to Wilberforce".²⁵

All these references date from long after Doddridge's day. Apart from Laetitia Barbauld, none of those recommended for reading by Kippis was a Dissenter (though Beattie was a Scottish Presbyterian). Mrs Barbauld was a granddaughter of John Jennings, who had taught the young Doddridge at Kibworth, and the daughter of John Aikin, tutor at Warrington Dissenting Academy, and Doddridge's contemporary. A literary figure of standing, and regarded as an authority on the education of children, she was married to an English Presbyterian minister, Rochemont Barbauld, a conscientious anti-slaver who insisted on using East Indies sugar in his tea. He was on the Unitarian wing of Dissent.

As a post-script to Doddridge's contribution to the issue of African slavery, one ought to add a note on the influence of his book, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. It was said to have greatly influenced the religious conversion of the young Wilberforce during his Grand Tour,²⁶ and his evangelical Christianity is commonly said to have been the strength of his long, unremitting but eventually successful political campaign for abolition of the slave trade. The book is said to have had a similarly powerful influence on the conversion of John Newton while still the master of a slave ship.

Henry Grove

One other leading Dissenter recorded his views of slavery in the period well before the public campaign for the abolition of the slave trade began in 1787.²⁷ Henry Grove (1684-1738) was the grandson of an ejected minister, Edward Grove. He attended the Taunton Dissenting Academy and returned there as tutor in 1706 after further study in London under Thomas Rowe, his cousin and Isaac Watts's tutor. A disciple of Newton and close friend of Watts, despite differences of opinion on theology, Grove remained at the Taunton Academy until his early death. Although he taught all subjects at some point, his own main interest was moral philosophy and his reputation in this field, which extends far beyond

23 Dickson's letter is untraced. Thomas Clarkson's, two books mentioned, with his later *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*, are the standard contemporary works.

24 James Beattie, *Elements of Moral Science*, two volumes, 1792.

25 Actually, *Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq., on the Rejection of the Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade*, 1791. There is a copy of the poem and a memoir by her niece, Lucy Aiken, in *Works of Mrs Barbauld*, two volumes, 1825. Mrs Barbauld is well overdue for re-discovery.

26 Coupland, *op cit*, pp 34, 230.

27 This was the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The London Quaker Meeting for Sufferings had set up an Abolition Committee in 1783.

Dissent, rests on his *System of Moral Philosophy*, published posthumously in two volumes in 1749, but based on his teaching in the Academy.²⁸

Doddridge, for all his renown as tutor, hymn-writer, incessant correspondent and author of remembered spiritual works, was a journeyman in philosophy. Grove writes on the subject with the care and authority of the scholar. He reveals no particular knowledge of African slavery, or plantation life, and to that extent his contribution is more to the development of thinking about the morality of slavery than the practical advancement of its abolition. Nevertheless, his arguments can so easily be read in the wider context of African slavery that one wonders if in fact he had it well in mind.

He begins in familiar vein, acknowledging a debt to Pufendorf's *De Officio*:

Every man receiving his body and mind, and all the powers of both from God, has with them given him of God a right to the free exercise of them, provided he injures not others... It is therefore manifestly unjust for any others, where persons have not forfeited their liberty, to take it from them and force them to labour not for their own good but for others' convenience or advantage.

But "where men, by unjustly attempting upon the lives and liberties of others, have made a forfeiture of their own, it is ...just to compel them to serve, at least so long as shall make full amends for the injury done or attempted; and discourage others from like injurious designs....And if nothing short of perpetual servitude will answer these purposes, they may be made slaves for life..."

There is nothing here, beyond eighteenth-century language, that would seem out of line with modern views of criminal justice, both as punishment and as deterrent. But Grove is evidently not confining the argument to servitude for criminal injuries. This today would be unusual, but imprisonment for debt, for example, was once common.

Doddridge thought it permissible to buy someone who had legitimately forfeited his liberty, especially to save his life. Grove does not envisage buying such people, but he does accept that those who have been offended "have plainly a right to [the offender's] time and labour, and the like; and the offender tacitly consents to slavery as a less evil than perpetual imprisonment, or death".

Even so, "in exerting this right, humanity and justice oblige the master not to make the slave's life a greater evil to him than death, by hard usage, consuming labours, undeserved and unmerciful punishments..."

Turning that into a condemnation of compelling slaves to cross the ocean in shackles, to be branded and to work as a chattel slave on a plantation is not

28 Henry Grove, *A System of Moral Philosophy*, in two volumes, 1749. The section on slavery is in volume II, pp 511-513. Additions were made to the text by Thomas Amory when preparing it for posthumous publication, but the section on slavery is Grove's own.

difficult, even if one concedes the master's right to the slave's service in the first place, perhaps, in the African's case, because he had earlier been bought to save him from death as a prisoner of war. But that is interpolation. Grove is writing in terms of principles.

Then follows a considerable advance in thinking about slavery. Even if the war is lawful, and not contrived, Grove denies that slavery is a proper outcome for the prisoner of war.

That prisoners taken in a lawful war have a right not to be treated as slaves is clear from various considerations. It is not generally their choice that engages them in war, but the ambition and authority of their sovereigns; and in this sense they can scarcely be said to be guilty of any crime. Or if they are faulty they suffer enough in the hardships, wounds and damages of death to which they are exposed from those whom they attack; and therefore when they abandon the injurious design, make a proper satisfaction for damages done and give security for their living peaceably for the future; they should be released, being exchanged for others, and for moderate ransom...

There is again no reference to African slavery, but after Doddridge's lecture the relevance of this passage to it is obvious.

Grove has one further argument relevant, whether intended or not, to plantation slavery – the ownership of the children of slaves. Grove denies that they also are slaves, as plantation masters customarily claimed.

The children are not strictly speaking the property of their parents but the offspring of God. Receiving from God their minds and bodies, they receive with them a natural right to use and enjoy these (according to the kind intention of their Creator) for their own satisfaction and advantage and on condition that they hurt not others; that is, they have a natural right to liberty; and having done nothing to forfeit this right ought to be dismissed free...

Like Doddridge, Grove makes no reference to selling oneself into slavery, and his reference to Locke's *Treatise of Government* in a foot-note perhaps signals his agreement that no such right exists, as well as acceptance of Locke's view, already mentioned, that the perfect condition of slavery is to save a life which has been legitimately forfeit by an injury which merits death.

Conclusion

Each of the three Dissenters considered had his own approach to slavery, as well as his own style of presenting it, governed by the times in which he wrote and his purpose in writing. Baxter, writing in an age when the abolition of slavery would be unthinkable, was offended by the failure of British planters to treat their slaves as human beings, since slaves were as much creatures of their Maker, with souls to save, as the masters were. He regarded the taking of slaves in West Africa as theft and it was the duty of Christians who bought unlawfully acquired slaves to

bring them to God, or free them. He was writing for any to read, but later made more specific proposals for a mission to evangelise the slaves which materialised after abolition of the trade but before emancipation.

Doddridge, in the considered language of the academic tutor, was an early enquirer into the legitimacy of the purchase of slaves in West Africa. He used a rare and reliable contemporary witness, and concluded that saving the lives of thousands of enslaved Africans probably justified the trade. But he was doubtful about the circumstances in which local rulers acquired the slaves they sold and did not consider the treatment of the slaves after they left Africa. In any case, his influence was initially limited to his students, though given his connections his views were probably a fair reflection of the assumptions current among Dissenters. When his lectures were republished as the abolition movement was in progress, a note was added drawing attention to a range of contemporary works supporting abolition.

Grove, in the even more careful language of the philosophical treatise, lifted the argument to a new plane. He accepted the view that a person's natural entitlement to liberty and equality can be lawfully forfeit if he commits an injury serious enough to require the surrender of his time and free labour to the benefit of the person injured, and that this surrender is especially justified if the injury is so serious that the offender's life might otherwise be forfeit. But any such forfeiture of liberty must be legitimate and Grove removes capture as a prisoner even in a lawful war, or being born the child of a slave, from such legitimacy. He says all this without reference to African slavery, and it remains no more than an observation that his argument, if read in relation to African slavery, would have done much to destroy its legitimacy as it was practised.

The careful definition of the ways in which an individual's liberty might be legitimately forfeit was in eighteenth-century European terms a defence of the individual's rights against the arbitrary power of state or monarch. Hence, the care with which it was expressed and debated, and its importance to Dissenters, among others, whose religious liberty had been curtailed. The purchase of Africans as slaves might save them from death and be justified on that account, but the legitimacy of their original forfeiture of liberty was highly questionable, even if taken prisoners in a war which had not been contrived for the purpose of supplying additional slaves for sale. The slaves' subsequent treatment at the hands of Europeans, whether at sea or in the plantations, was inhuman, and it was the shame and horror of this, intensified by the increasing scale of the traffic in slaves as the century advanced, which in the end carried the abolition of the trade in the British Parliament. At mid-century, nearly forty years before organised public agitation for abolition began, this point had simply not been reached, but Baxter, Doddridge and Grove had by then already made their individual contributions to informing and changing public opinion.

HOWELL HARRIS: A WELSH ICON AND THE TWO WOMEN CLOSEST TO HIM

Howell Harris was the charismatic and cantankerous mainspring of the eighteenth century Welsh Methodist Revival. For 200 years he has been an icon in Welsh history but, even now, he is not widely known outside Wales. Yet he was a key leader in English as well as Welsh Methodism. He was close to all the English Methodist leaders, John and Charles Wesley, the Countess of Huntingdon and George Whitefield. When Whitefield was in America, Harris regularly took charge of his Tabernacle in London. As the only Welsh leader working extensively in England, he was an important link between Methodism in England and Wales. It was Harris who invited both John Wesley and Whitefield on their first preaching tours of Wales.

Although so much of Welsh historiography has been consumed by Howell Harris, as late as 1965 Geoffrey Nuttall could say he was “virtually unknown” to English students.¹ He set out “to rescue Harris from his neglect by English writers” and “restore to him his rightful place in the Evangelical Revival as a whole”.² It was a good time for a new study. Howell Harris was an inveterate writer, famously leaving almost 300 volumes of diaries and nearly 3,000 letters – written in an almost indecipherable hand. In the previous 10 years, a number of the diaries and letters had been published,³ so that, as Nuttall said, the words of Harris had “at last (in part) been made available”.⁴ Nuttall’s slim volume of essays remained the most complete historical picture of Harris for 35 years until the first critical and detailed study of the diaries by Geraint Tudur, *Howell Harris: From Conversion to Separation 1735 – 1750*,⁵ was published in 2000. In tribute to Geoffrey Nuttall, Tudur said his “revealing glimpse” into the “the mind and soul” of Harris had “pointed the student of Welsh Methodism in the right direction”.⁶

The new perspectives revealed by Geraint Tudur in this major work present, for the first time, a detailed analysis of the two women closest to Howell Harris, his wife Anne and the woman he hailed as a “prophetess” Madam Sidney Griffith. Previously, they had been largely shadows and stereotypes glimpsed behind the great man. As the first historian to explore these triangular relationships in detail,

- 1 Geoffrey Nuttall, *Howell Harris 1714 – 73, the Last Enthusiast*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1965), p.3.
- 2 *Ibid*, ix *et seq.*
- 3 Gomer Roberts (ed), *Selected Trevecka Letters 1742 – 1747 and Selected Trevecka Letters 1747 – 1794*, (Caernarvon: Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society, 1956 and 1962); and Tom Beynon, *Howell Harris, Reformer and Soldier*, (Caernarvon, 1958); *Howell Harris’s Visits to London*, (Aberystwyth, 1960); *Howell Harris’s Visits to Pembrokeshire*, (Aberystwyth, 1966).
- 4 Nuttall, p.4.
- 5 Geraint Tudur, *Howell Harris: From Conversion to Separation 1735 – 1750*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2000).
- 6 *Ibid*, x.

Tudur has opened the door on the women in Harris's life. He demolishes stereotypical views of Anne as weak and vacillating and of Mrs Griffith as a dominant hypocrite, to draw a portrait of tangled relationships. But his reading of both Anne and Sidney Griffith remains traditional and male dominated. He does not explore all the complex and controversial relationships involved. Although he shows the women more clearly than ever before, they are presented from a patriarchal perspective; their own perspective is missing. There remains a void in the historiography on Harris where the voice of women should be. It is with this first attempt to explore that void that this paper is concerned.

More than any other player on the tumultuous and dramatic stage of the Welsh Methodist Revival, Howell Harris has dominated its history.⁷ His voluminous diaries, putting him firmly at the centre of the movement, have been a major source for the history of the revival. Self-willed and self-deluding, Harris's most outstanding characteristic was his arrogance. Converted at 21, he immediately began to berate and instruct the priests of the Established Church. He believed God had commissioned him, individually, to bring the Gospel to Wales and would allow no one to direct him. He believed God spoke directly to him and refused to accept that he could be mistaken. It was a conviction that made it difficult for others to work with him, and Tudur shows it was this "insurmountable conviction" that was his "final undoing".⁸ It guaranteed the eventual Great Separation when Harris split from the main Methodist movement to retreat to Trefeca and set up the agricultural-industrial community, the Trefeca Family.⁹ Tudur throws a sympathetic searchlight on Harris's renowned temper, showing him as autocratic as ever but broken by the burden of the Revival, first in health and then in spirit, a man whose health had deteriorated to such an extent he was "mentally unstable" and "possibly undergoing a serious nervous breakdown".¹⁰

Harris agonised over his relationships with women and once wrote in frustration, "Lord, save me from all women".¹¹ In a turbulent courtship he married a woman whose father threatened to disinherit her and whose brother vowed to shoot him. She refused an offer from the family of £1,500 not to marry Harris.¹²

7 Yet there were other contenders for the mantle Harris so easily assumed. The great preacher Daniel Rowland, Llangeitho, and the superb hymnist William Williams, Pantycelyn, were with Harris the three acknowledged leaders of the Revival. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, a generation older than the revivalists but with close ties of friendship to all three, whose circulating schools provided the reading community on which the Revival thrived, has been called the "father" of the Methodist Revival.

8 See Tudur, *Howell Harris*, pp.192 – 194.

9 The Trefeca Family was an agricultural-industrial community brought together by Howell Harris. By 1755, more than 100 people lived in the main buildings and some 50 more on nearby farms.

10 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.224.

11 Geraint Tudur, "The King's Daughter: a reassessment of Anne Harris of Trefeca", *Wales, Women and Religion, The Journal of Welsh Religious History*, vol 7, (Welsh Religious History Society, 1999), preface, p.57.

12 *Ibid*, p.58.

Some four years after his marriage, Harris met Madam Sidney Griffith, wife of Caernarvonshire squire William Griffith and member of a wealthy and influential family, sister to Watkin Wynne, who commands an entry in the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Madam Griffith was already an enthusiastic Methodist. Harris soon claimed her as a “prophetess” and “a Mother in Israel”. He insisted on taking her to meetings of the Methodist Association and claimed she had been sent as an “Eye” to him and – crucially but typically Harris – to the Welsh Methodist movement.

Both his wife and mother protested but he dismissed their views as “unreasonable, unchristian and unkind”.¹³ Harris realised the danger of his travelling with Mrs Griffith but when he “turned to God”, he was, predictably, soon satisfied “it was right” for Mrs Griffith and her maid to accompany him. His diary, says Tudur, “betrays the excitement that he felt in her company, and the emotional agitation that he experienced as they travelled together”.¹⁴ His indiscreet relationship with her scandalised Methodism in England as well as Wales. Bawdy songs were sung about them and they were “becoming the laughing stock of the country”.¹⁵ The distinguished Welsh historian Geraint Jenkins says “tongues wagged freely all over Wales” and comments: “His behaviour lent credence to what enemies of Methodism had always suspected: that the movement positively encouraged sexual debauchery”.¹⁶ Tudur says, “it was not a private affair, but a public scandal”.¹⁷

Now that Tudur has opened the door, it is a good time to pass beyond a world where women are what men perceive them to be – either in 18th century life or 21st century historiography – to wonder how women perceived themselves and each other. Porter says women in the eighteenth century “were laced tightly into constrictive roles: wives, mothers, house-keepers, domestic servants, maiden aunts”.¹⁸ As those roles are gradually unlaced, there is no shortage of women whose perspectives would illuminate the life of Howell Harris. So far, women’s history has made little impact on the Welsh Methodist Revival. As late as 1999, Professor Keith Robbins, as president of the Welsh Religious History Society, could say in the preface to a special publication, *Wales, Women and Religion*, it seemed appropriate to “embark”, a word he said he used “advisedly”, on the exploration of the role of women in religion in Wales. He acknowledges such an exploration would make a fundamental difference to our understanding of the past and says when the work is further advanced it might be possible to produce a Welsh religious history which has a “different balance, flavour and composition

13 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.227.

14 Tudur, “King’s Daughter”, p.65.

15 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.209.

16 Geraint Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, (Oxford and New York, 1993), p.364.

17 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.195.

18 Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books Ltd, 1982), p. 36.

from that which we have inherited".¹⁹

David Cornick made the same point in *Under God's Good Hand*, his history of the traditions that formed the United Reformed Church. He said historians were "slowly and painstakingly" recovering the role of women in the church and suggested that when that was complete, histories such as his would have to be rewritten.²⁰ That is a vision that could be particularly distant in Wales, where, it has been claimed, additional barriers arise from the enduring male domination of the public sphere. Constance Wall Holt stresses that the "gender discrimination of patriarchal Wales" has "further obscured" the "visibility" of women's stories, though she does little to bridge the gap in perspectives when she talks of "the disinterment of the perspectives of women" from what she contemptuously calls "the slag heaps of history".²¹ The publication of *Wales, Women and Religion* at least signalled the problem. It brought together work on women in the church in Wales and most of the writers were women, but, as Keith Robbins so accurately recognised, "we are still substantially stuck with women as perceived by men".

In the diaries, Harris uses spiritual imagery to describe his relations with Sidney Griffith. Incredibly, he had hopes of grafting his wife into this "spiritual union". Anne, however, "showed little intention of sharing her husband with another woman". When Harris suggested that Mrs Griffith should make her home at Trefeca, Anne gave "a positive Denyal" and Harris, as ever oblivious to other people's problems, was "shaken to the bottom". He attributed his wife's opposition to Satan working in her and, as he said, "shewed my dear Anne how she stays behind". Tudur says Harris could not express his feelings for Mrs Griffith "in sexual terms", so turned to a "spiritual vocabulary"²² but, he asserts, the "binding ingredient" between them was "evidently one of romantic love". There seems "little doubt", says Tudur, that Harris "had fallen deeply and madly in love with her". Soon Harris was prepared to admit to his diary, "I love Mrs Griffith above Anne", not sexually, of course, but because she had "more of God in her".²³

As the relationship grew, Harris began "to piece together his vision of the

19 Keith Robbins, *Wales, Women and Religion*, preface. This view accords with the experience of Renaissance scholar Joan Kelly, who talks of seeing history from the "vantage point" of women. When she went through her "kaleidoscopic" change to what she then called "women's history", she said she had no new information but knew her "entire picture" of the Renaissance was "partial, distorted, limited, and deeply flawed", Joan Kelly, *Women, History and Theory*, (Chicago & London, University of Chicago Press, 1984), p.xiii.

20 David Cornick, *Under God's Good Hand*, (London: United Reformed Church, 1998), foreword.

21 Constance Wall Holt, *Welsh Women: an Annotated Bibliography of Women in Wales and Women of Welsh Descent in America*, (Metuchen N J & London, The Scarecrow Press Inc, 1993), preface.

22 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.199.

23 Tudur, "King's Daughter", p.67.

future". He saw himself and Mrs Griffith as "father" and "mother" to the converts. Tudur attributes the establishment of the Trefeca Family as coming directly from this vision. The family was intended as "a court in which he and Mrs Griffith would reign in the name, and through the authority, of God".²⁴ Harris dismissed the "hostile rumours" about their association as "directed against God rather than himself", an attitude that made it difficult for others to persuade him his conduct was "seriously threatening the credibility of the whole Methodist movement". He insisted she was a "gift from God"; those who objected to her were "guilty of resisting God's will".²⁵

Harris's diaries and letters contain numerous references to his association with Mrs Griffith but research into the relationship was strongly discouraged by the Presbyterian Church of Wales, which dates its foundation from the day of Harris's conversion, for fear of "discovering" unfavourable material about their iconic founder – although there was always a lively discussion about the relationship in Welsh religious circles.²⁶ Tudur defends Sidney Griffith from attempts by "later generations of Methodists, embarrassed by the relationship", to "portray her as a deceiver".²⁷ He rejects claims that she was a hypocrite who used Harris, a view, he says, that seemed to have "the sole intention" of making Harris an "innocent victim" and Sidney Griffith a "ruthless predator".²⁸

In fairness to Harris, says Tudur, it was necessary to examine Sidney Griffith's motives but he found "no reason to suspect" she was not genuine.²⁹ He sees the "only logical reason" for her interest in Harris was that she was "sincere in her convictions", "devout in her belief that she possessed prophetic gifts", and "in love".³⁰ It is that "only logical reason" that is open to challenge from the perspective of Sidney Griffith herself. It is possible to see Sidney Griffith as a strong woman with leadership capacity at a time when women were not allowed to lead, a time when "public life was a man-only club".³¹ One of the few ways open to a woman to exert influence was to align herself with a prominent man. Sidney Griffith was the only woman to attend Methodist Association meetings and clearly that was "by virtue of her association" with Harris.³² Tudur suggests that possibly Sidney Griffith "fulfilled a need" in Harris for "a helpmeet" at a time when the birth of children restricted his wife's freedom to travel with him and his doctrinal aberrations meant he was increasingly isolated from the other Methodist

24 Ibid, p.68.

25 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.205.

26 Ibid, p.195.

27 Ibid, p.228.

28 Ibid, p.227.

29 Ibid, p.225.

30 Ibid, p.227

31 Porter, *ibid*.

32 Eryn M White, "Women in the Early Methodist Societies in Wales", *Wales, Women and Religion*, p.105.

leaders.³³ He does not comment on the “need” that might have driven Sidney Griffith.

Sincere in her convictions, she no doubt was. But that she was convinced she possessed prophetic gifts or that she was in love, is more open to question. As a woman whose leadership potential was frustrated by the age, it is just as likely that she used her relationship with Harris to forge some form of entry to the “men-only club” of public life. When church structures kept women out, “gifts of the spirit” could often let them in.³⁴ Kirsty Thorpe describes as a “sociological fact” that women have claimed “charisma” rather than “office”, not “as men have supposed”, she says, because women are more disposed toward the emotive and intuitive, but because it “reflects the sociological fact” that women for the most part were “not allowed to claim authority of office”. It was in the area of the “gifts of the Spirit” that there was likely to be “more space for women”.³⁵

Sidney Griffith could well have exaggerated her own belief in her prophetic gifts. They were certainly erratic. When she claimed her “prophecies” were “infallible”, even Harris was shaken and made one of his periodic attempts to break away from her.³⁶ Possibly she realised she had gone too far. When he rationalised, to his own theological satisfaction, that although she was the “Eye”, he was the “Head”, the one to communicate her visions to the world,³⁷ she soon allowed herself to be persuaded. As to her being “in love” with Harris, Tudur admits that although Harris was clearly “besotted” with her, there is “but scant evidence of her feelings for him”. Even so, he insists “there is no reason to suspect that she did not reciprocate”.³⁸ It is possible she did. But it is possible, too, that Harris’s devotion offered her a pathway to exercise what limited power was open to women. It was not that she was a hypocrite who used Harris but that he, too, “fulfilled a need” in her.

One reason Tudur adduces to show Sidney Griffith was genuinely committed to Harris was that, as “one of the gentry” and “not without money”, she could have gone to London to join people of “the same social class” but chose, instead, to stay “in rural Breconshire among people of rigid religious beliefs”. She was “denied many of the luxuries to which she was accustomed”; she was aware of the “strong opposition” to her and the “vulgar insinuations” about her. Many of “her own

33 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.225.

34 Cf White, *ibid*, p.106. White shows this was true of Methodism, too. She says: “claims of prophesy and divine guidance” were one of “the most effective means” by which a woman “could gain prominence”.

35 Kirsty Thorpe, “Repeating patterns in the hidden story of women’s ministry”, papers from *Daughters of Dissent*, conference in September 1998 at Mansfield College, Oxford, p.4, (published as a book by the United Reformed Church in 2004). Dr. Thorpe bases this section on Rosemary Radford Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin, *Women of Spirit*, (1979), that discusses early Congregational, Brownite and Baptist sects.

36 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, *passim*.

37 *Ibid*, p.213.

38 *Ibid*.

rank" frowned on her association with "inferior and fanatical people". He says she did not have to suffer these indignities.³⁹ This, indeed, indicates that Sidney Griffith was sincere in her Methodism but she was not alone in this. It was the lot of all the few converts from the upper classes. The Countess of Huntingdon was happy to spend a great deal of time at her college in Trefeca with these people of rigid beliefs.⁴⁰ It was a time when "all, or almost all, the beau monde" satirised Methodism as "a form of insanity",⁴¹ and she, like Sidney Griffith, bore with indignities and ribald remarks.⁴² In some ways, perhaps, these barbs served to strengthen the fellowship inherent in Methodism, being ostracised was part of the experience of being Methodist. There are class as well as gender concerns to explore here.

Three women in the life of Howell Harris are bound up in the bizarre encounter that took place on Harris's abortive visit to London when he was refused the pulpit at the Whitefield's Tabernacle. Arriving, incredibly, with both Sidney Griffith and his wife, it fell to Elizabeth Whitefield to refuse him his old rooms. Given that Harris had earlier paid court to her, before he decided – somewhat unilaterally it seems – that she was "designed for Bro Whitefield", it is possible to suppose she took particular pleasure in telling him that the presence of Sidney Griffith was "unacceptable".⁴³ Harris records "a most dreadful combat" with her.⁴⁴ His offer to take care of the society in Whitefield's absence was refused. Harris, typically, was "puzzled". Whitefield had to explain that "if Harris took charge" of the Tabernacle the lease "would not be renewed". Harris had become "an embarrassment" to the movement.⁴⁵ The missing perspectives of the three women in this explosive encounter would make a fascinating area of study of women who crossed the English-Welsh Methodist divide.

Harris's "fateful encounter" with Sidney Griffith has often been cited as a cause of the Great Separation in Welsh Methodism when Harris finally split from the more orthodox Daniel Rowland. Tudur points out this rejects Harris's own claim in the diaries that it began "before Madam Griffith was heard of". Tudur sides with the diaries and says that even if she had not appeared, Harris's doctrine and autocratic manner, "together with his mental instability", would probably have caused the separation. He shows convincingly that other factors were more important to Rowland. Many Methodists were finding it impossible to work with Harris.⁴⁶ Tudur's judgement is that Sidney Griffith was no more than a "catalyst

39 Ibid, p.227 *et seq.*

40 Edwin Welch, *Spiritual Pilgrim: A Reassessment of the Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), p.175.

41 Silvester Horne, *Popular History of the Free Churches*, (London: James Clarke & Co, 1903), p.276.

42 Faith Cook, *Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2001), p.127.

43 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.217.

44 Beynon, *Howell Harris's Visits to London*, (Aberystwyth, 1960), p.248.

45 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, *ibid.*

46 Ibid, p.223.

in an already tense situation". It was Harris's doctrinal aberrations that caused the break. Before Harris met Mrs Griffith, Rowland believed he could persuade him to change his views. Her presence led to "a willingness in Rowland" to allow a separation to occur. So, too, with Harris. He believed she was "divinely appointed to assist him", so reasoned that if other Methodists refused to accept her, he had "no choice but to leave them".⁴⁷

Few historians have commented on the possible sexual nature of the relationship between Harris and his prophetess. Harris certainly dreamt of having Sidney Griffith in his bed and no doubt the jealous guarding of the archive was from fear of confirming what was unthinkable in Methodist terms. When Methodist historian Gomer Roberts edited his two volumes of Harris's letters, he omitted all the letters between Harris and Sidney Griffith. He said he expected to be criticised for that but urged a selection would give only "a partial insight" into this "most controversial aspect" of Harris' life. He insisted there was "nothing to hide" but suggested it was better to wait until the correspondence could be published as a whole.⁴⁸

Of those who have ventured an opinion, Derec Llwyd Morgan maintains that although Sidney Griffith was gossiped about as "that Methodist's concubine" it was unlikely the relationship was sexual. Had he "loved her in the flesh", he says, Harris would "certainly have said so in his diary".⁴⁹ Given Harris's insistence on expressing their relationship in what could be somewhat ambivalent spiritual terms and his own self-delusion, however, some might contest this. Geraint Jenkins certainly does. He has robustly claimed the "evidence in the journal leaves no doubt" the relationship was "adulterous" and even cites "some efforts" to "bowdlerize indelicate passages".⁵⁰

Tudur, himself, is adamant the relationship was not adulterous. Reading the same diaries, he asserts that although Harris was "tempted towards adultery", there was "nothing in his writings" to suggest he "submitted to his lust".⁵¹ Harris's spiritual vocabulary is certainly capable of obfuscating a physical sin, but Tudur is probably closer to the truth, a physical relationship over a period of some four years without a pregnancy might be unlikely for the period. It seems likely that neither Daniel Rowland nor William Williams, Pantycelyn, the other great Methodism leaders who continued to direct the revival when Harris retired to Trefeca, suspected him of adultery. If they had, it is unlikely they would have been so glad to welcome him back when he returned to the revival.

Both insisted that their opposition was due to Harris's doctrinal anomalies, his harsh treatment of the converts, and the fact that he and his followers had decided

47 Ibid, p.195 *et seq.*

48 Roberts, *Selected Letters 1747-1794*, p.x.

49 Derec Llwyd Morgan, *The Great Awakening in Wales*, translated from the Welsh by Dyfnallt Morgan, (London: Epworth Press, 1988), p.80.

50 Geraint Jenkins, *Foundations*, p.364.

51 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.295.

to separate from the other Methodists.⁵² His harsh methods were, probably, another aspect of increasing mental stress. He expected the “total obedience” of all society members; failure was met with his “fierce condemnation”. Those who did not approve of his methods were subject to strong verbal attacks, as Harris was led to “wound, cut, lash and reprove”. Members who would not submit “would be turned out”.⁵³ Even so, as Tudur points out, Rowland and Pantycelyn knew that many people would assume the separation was justified by an “immoral association”.⁵⁴

Throughout this whole tortured period, Mrs Griffith’s predictions continued, usually specific and often “dangerously imminent”. She predicted that Anne would become ill “the following Sunday”. When she did not, Harris was “set to reason” about it but he “did not for one moment doubt the gift” which he believed she had been given.⁵⁵ She predicted the death of her husband, who did indeed die, and of Anne, who did not. It was Sidney Griffith, herself, who died of tuberculosis, catapulting Harris into “deep shock and confusion”. He had believed that God would intervene in her illness and experienced “profound bewilderment” on her death. This was “exacerbated” by the “mental and physical exhaustion” he had been suffering and led to his withdrawal from public life “in less than three months”.⁵⁶

Tudur shows how Harris’s relationship with Sidney Griffith magnified two of his most problematic traits, his “unwillingness to listen to reason or to accept criticism” and his “disturbing ability to justify to himself what was patently unacceptable to others”. By the end of the 1740s, there was “little doubt” Harris was suffering from “extreme mental and physical exhaustion”. The potent addition of Sidney Griffith to the fatigue of “years of itinerating” blinded him to the dangers that finally led to his alienation from Methodism and his retreat to Trefeca.⁵⁷ Tudur calls Harris’s relationship with Sidney Griffith an “episode” – it was only some four years from their meeting to her death – and describes it as “an unnecessary blemish” on Harris’s reputation. Few people had attempted to defend him. He had been called “foolish” and “unwise”, yet in his defence, says Tudur, it could be said that his health had deteriorated to such an extent that he was “mentally unstable” and “possibly undergoing a serious nervous breakdown”. But Sidney Griffith is worth more than being dismissed as a “blemish”. She had a profound effect on Harris, and through him on the Revival.

Turning to Harris’s wife Anne, Tudur presents, even from the male perspective of Harris, a fundamentally changed picture of her. He rejects views that she was too feeble for the dynamic Harris and shows her as a woman of spirit. He corrects the widespread belief that Anne stayed at home and says Harris “often took her

52 Ibid, p.224.

53 Ibid, p.220.

54 Ibid, p.224.

55 Ibid, p.215 *et seq.*

56 Tudur, “King’s Daughter”, p.72 *et seq.*

57 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.196.

with him on journeys and preaching rounds".⁵⁸ Tudur says Harris had a "healthy interest in the opposite sex" but was always anxious about God's purpose for his life and suggests this accounted for the delayed consummation of the marriage, something Harris called "a trial on both sides". Harris was trying "to prove to himself, and to God", that this was not a "carnal" relationship but an "intensely spiritual union".⁵⁹

Soon, however, Anne was pregnant. Typical of the time, the couple lost children to death. The first baby died soon after birth, then Anne miscarried before delivering a healthy girl who was named after her. The only child to survive to adulthood, however, was their third child, Elizabeth. The young Anne died of smallpox shortly after her second birthday. The traumas are recorded in Harris's diary and show, says Tudur, a great deal of mutual love and support between the couple, Harris emerging as "a dotting husband". Typical of the "expressions of his love and admiration for his wife" that "abound in his writings", he says, are, "What a wife I have, a king's daughter", "My dear wife and me exceeding happy", and after travelling through a snowstorm, "happily singing together though it did snow and blow most sorely".⁶⁰

Tudur sees diary entries on the early years of the marriage as evidence that they enjoyed "true happiness", not only were they well matched but also content and "deeply in love".⁶¹ Given Anne's insistence on marrying him in the first place, this is a likely reading. More questionably, he sees Anne's determination to stay in the family home after the advent of Sidney Griffith as evidence of her love for Harris. Despite her husband's "fanatical infatuation" and "the indignity of having her personal crisis the topic of popular conversation",⁶² Tudur maintains that her love for her husband was "so great" she was "willing to undergo extreme psychological pressure, character assassination, personal abuse and public humiliation over a long period of time in order to keep him".⁶³ That seems improbable. It is a reading from Harris's own perspective as a patriarch in a patriarchal society. In a period when women's voices were notoriously muffled, subsumed into the dominant male perspective, Anne had the further disadvantage of being portrayed by the most egotistical of husbands.

Although Tudur brings so much new material to light, his reading leaves many unanswered questions about Anne's views and options. In Keith Robbins's words, "we are still substantially stuck with women as perceived by men". It could be that she was simply confined by the expectations of the time. Tudur dismisses too lightly as "hardly tenable" the view that social pressure would have made it "unthinkable" for Anne to leave when he cites the "precedent" of Mrs Griffith "under her own roof".⁶⁴ Mrs Griffith was a very different character with very

58 Tudur, *King's Daughter*, p.61.

59 *Ibid*, p.59 *et seq.*

60 *Ibid*, p.62.

61 *Ibid*, p.64.

62 *Ibid*, p.73.

63 *Ibid*.

different motivations. Few women could have borne the indignity she tolerated so lightly. If Anne had returned to the home of her father or brother she would have been an adjunct there, a position less socially acceptable and personally pleasant than remaining in control of her own household where she had the unstinting support of Harris's mother. And she had a young daughter to consider. In a patriarchal society, Anne had limited options. Marriage was a secure way of gaining status, if only in the private sphere. Outside marriage – apart from the wealthy widow – the position of single women was anomalous. Anne could well have decided that, domestically and socially, Trefeca was the best option. Love was not necessarily a factor in her decision.⁶⁵

Even so, her spirited fight to retain her place is evident. Tudur convincingly shows that earlier judgements that Anne was “weak” or “not suited to the temperament of her husband” did her “an injustice”. He even asserts that considering “her tenacity”, it could well be argued she was “indeed the ideal wife for Harris's. Significantly, on the theological side, he credits Anne with saving Welsh Methodism from even greater catastrophe than was occasioned by the destructive Great Separation. Without the “restraining influences” of her “incurable spirit and resilience”, he says, the outcome of the Sidney Griffith episode could have proved “an even worse disaster” for the movement.⁶⁶ This chimes with Nuttall's concerns on how the fusion of enthusiasms of Harris and Mrs Griffith might have changed the nature of early Methodism. Theologically, Nuttall was definite. He says that in Harris's circle “enthusiasm did not break out into glossalalia” but suggests the combined “enthusiasms” of Harris and Griffith might have changed that. He says, “We may be thankful Harris married Anne Williams and not Mrs Griffith”.⁶⁷

Through it all, Harris remained totally “unaware of how desperately unhappy” Anne was.⁶⁸ Tudur, however, gives a moving portrait of her trials. Convinced as ever of his own divine appointment to wield authority, Harris decided she was “torn by Devils” and all her protests were “dismissed as irrelevant”.⁶⁹ He reacted to her “intransigence” by criticising the “notion of romantic love” and claimed that “to be beloved in Nature”, as he was by her, was comparable to “having the Devil's arms around him”. His “spiritual” relationship with Sidney Griffith was “far superior”.⁷⁰ Even so, Anne “fought tooth and nail to save her marriage”.

Tudur talks of Anne's “magnificent display of the greatest of Christian virtues within marriage, namely, faithfulness even in the face of unbearable adversity”. It was his wife who nursed Harris back to health after his “forced retirement”. She

64 Ibid.

65 Cf Kelly: “Marriage seemed preferable, because it put a woman in charge of the domestic arrangements of her husband's household”, Kelly, p.123.

66 Tudur, “King's Daughter”, p.74.

67 Nuttall, p.52.

68 Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p.203.

69 Ibid, p.207

70 Ibid, p.211.

was deeply involved in the growth of the Trefeca Family. When he enlisted as a captain in the Breconshire Militia with a company of men from the Trefeca family in 1759 to defend a Protestant king against a Catholic invasion, she played a vital role in regulating the activities of the community. On his return to the Revival she continued to work with him to make Trefeca a success.⁷¹

After twenty-five years of marriage, Harris's diary echoes the happiness of the early years when he says "I have not once repented or seen one that I would choose before my wife, or one more fitted to me than her". When she died, Harris could say "I had such a blow as I never had before". At her funeral, the congregation were led to thank God for three things: her conversion, that she married Mr Harris, and, significantly, that "through afflictions and all crosses she had been faithful". What Harris was thinking as he heard those words, says Tudur, is not recorded in the diary.⁷² Quite!

Tudur's work, for all its missing perspectives, gives a more complete picture of the two women closest to Howell Harris than we have had before. Christopher Hill has claimed history needs "to be rewritten in every generation because although the past does not change the present does". Each generation, he says, "asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors".⁷³ Whether that is always as true as he would like or not, Geraint Tudur's work certainly presents an image of Howell Harris that will, perhaps, find a greater empathy today than it did at the time or at any period in the two and a half centuries between. For a deeper understanding of the women in his life, we might have to wait a little longer.

JEAN SILVAN EVANS

71 Tudur, "King's Daughter", *ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*, p.75.

73 Christopher Hill, *The World Turned upside Down*, (Penguin Books Ltd, reprinted 1980), p15.

**“ADVENTURES IN HOLIDAYMAKING” - A POLITICAL
APPROACH TO LEISURE: THE INSPIRATION AND
INFLUENCE OF T. ARTHUR LEONARD, 1864 – 1948**

“Six Nomads in Normandy” surfaced in a chaotic junkshop. The binding suggested a very ordinary Edwardian photograph album, but interleaved between pages of photographs there was a story in eight chapters. Even the briefest glance at the typescript suggested that this was rather more than the conventional record of an Edwardian holiday. There is an itinerary, but no formal record of the Nomads’ names.¹ One unforgettable fortnight has been examined in every detail. The hand-drawn map was meticulous, every major town neatly marked, black ink for the many kilometres on foot, red for journeys by public transport, the south coast of England, the north coast of France, a date, MCMXII. To the young backpackers - one of the first photographs is captioned “sac à dos” - both their faith and their experience of another culture are integral to this story. Bayeux and the tapestry are obligatory, but the “Nomads” are travellers, not tourists, they do not linger in the touristy town. Their Bayeux photographs are of washerwomen by the river. Chapter by chapter, the four men and two women in turn describe their adventures and reflect on the experiences of each day. Informed by the King James Bible and the Prayer Book, the text is witty and elegant, occasionally slipping into French, a word or two of Latin. Someone has inserted accents, correctly. They respect, equally, French etiquette and French wildlife, discuss current developments in psychology, and how to secure Papal approval for a contentious royal marriage. Imperfectly or not, they are eager to speak the language; in 1912, they are aware of the *entente cordiale*. Evangelical Anglicans and Nonconformists, their first impressions of French Catholicism are decidedly negative. Some of the group are frankly hostile.² Meeting and making friends with local people, they learn, over a fortnight, to respect the faith of their hosts. The “wicked party” cheerfully acquire a taste for Normandy cider. The teetotal chapel contingent express reluctance, then, in the spirit of the Walrus and the Carpenter, follow suit. Walking through summer cornfields, they admire the poppies. Their story ends with a graceful tribute to the people of France, and a toast, to “friendship, long life, and happy days.” Journeying, mostly on foot, through what would become, two wars later, D-Day country, the “Nomads” were a credit to the Congregational minister who had revolutionised the whole concept of a holiday.

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- 1 “Six Nomads in Normandy” comprises just over 16,000 words of typescript, bound, with seventy-two photographs, and over forty postcards, some from fine engravings, in a photograph album, 8” x 10” . Written “By Themselves”, there is no reason to question the 1912 date. I am grateful for help received from David Harkisson of Kendal URC, and Christine Bradley of Colne Reference Library.
 - 2 References to “priest-ridden people”, “superstition”, and “tawdry crucifixes” moderate, eventually, to recognition of “the one touch of nature which makes us all akin!”.

Analysing the text, I failed initially to recognise the most important clue of all. According to the writers, their adventures in France began in a railway carriage, on 20 July 1912. As “Mr Pulford’s party”, they were heading for London and the Southampton-Le Havre overnight ferry. But the inspiration for their French idyll had its origins more than twenty years earlier, at the Congregational Church in the Lancashire mill town of Colne. In the final chapter of their story, told by Emma Irving, a Birkenhead typist, they are in Dinan, searching for the CHA centre. Identified as the Villa St Charles, this was one of the earliest overseas houses of the Cooperative Holidays Association. Dusty and dishevelled after their twenty mile walk from Dol, the six travellers welcome a rare chance of speaking English, but the imposing villa is not for them. They find somewhere else to stay, though they are invited to join the St Charles guests for an evening of music. Emma suggests, tactfully, that their clothes are not suitable for the company. She and most of her friends came from Merseyside, and they had spent most of the past fortnight living out of rucksacks.³

Arthur Leonard would have understood the young typist’s anxiety only too well. Few clerks and factory workers from the North of England were likely to reach the Dinan CHA centre. Emma would not have been daunted by the villa itself. In Britain, she had enjoyed other backpacking holidays, staying in big country houses in Snowdonia and the Peak District. Philanthropists who admired and supported Leonard’s “holiday movement” had enabled the CHA to acquire substantial properties, in highly desirable locations, all around the British Isles, and in France, Switzerland, and Germany. The fees charged to holidaymakers only covered living costs. A shoestring budget and spartan living kept prices low. Those who could afford to were invited to donate to the “Goodwill Holidays”, offered to people who were unable to pay. Young guests - in the beginning, most of them were young - were expected to share household chores. Many young people worked hard to restore ramshackle and near-derelict buildings, including, at Newlands near Derwentwater, a disused woollen mill.⁴ In any household, however transient, some chores are essential. Leonard’s approach to hiring domestic staff was novel indeed. The women were offered a fair wage, with the same standard of food and accommodation as the guests. Staff were welcome to join guests on excursions and for social evenings. Early CHA groups included, in the same party, mill hands, carpenters, university students and shop assistants. On arrival, guests were reminded that “the status of our domestic staff” is “one of

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- 3 All the party carried some kind of rucksack. They spent the middle weekend of their fortnight in Jersey. Walking up to twenty miles a day, they arranged most of their accommodation *ad hoc.*, at village inns. In Normandy, they used a map, and recognised footpaths. In Brittany, they do not seem to have had a map, and walked along the *routes nationales*.
- 4 The former mill, known as Newlands, was leased from 1905, and later bought, for £1,270. T.Arthur Leonard, *Adventures in Holidaymaking*, Holiday Fellowship, 1936, pp. 40 – 42.

social equality and mutual service.”⁵ Tipping was strongly discouraged, cheap for employers, but, in Leonard's opinion, sustaining a corrupt social system.⁶

With or without tipping, the astute middle classes soon spotted a bargain. Gentrification was almost inevitable. By 1912, to Leonard's great regret, his idealistic foundation was in danger of failing on two counts. The “element of snobbishness” dismayed him. In the Edwardian period, many photographs, even those taken on the summit of Scafell Pike, suggest Ladies' Day at Ascot, rather than fell walking. In Leonard's opinion, high fashion was inappropriate. On holiday, dress should be simple, so that poorer members would not feel out of place.⁷ More seriously, losing touch with its working-class origins was stifling the spirit of adventure and international friendship. The middle classes wanted their creature comforts, including hot water, and unlike the pioneer mill hands, they did not want to polish their own boots or wash dishes. Leonard was troubled above all by the insidious middle-class preference for associating with “people of their own sort.” Almost from the beginning, he had sensed that what had begun in Lancashire should and must become international, challenging the divisions of class, faith, politics and nationality.⁸ Two years later, recruiting posters would reassure middle-class office workers that they could serve with men of their own class.⁹

Leonard saw his work for the holiday movement not as abandoning his calling, but as a development in faith and ministry. On 19 November 1898, when the CHA was just four years old, he had again tendered his resignation as minister of a Congregational Church.¹⁰ Resignation was becoming a habit for this outspoken and passionate young man. At thirty- four, this was the third time he had resigned, and his second resignation from the church in Colne. In all, he served as a Congregational minister for barely eight years. Turning thirty, four years earlier, he had left Colne to work in London for the short-lived Social Institutes Committee. He did not go quietly, and at his (supposedly) final service, “the greater part of the congregation were filled with emotion, which at times broke out into audible sobs.”¹¹

Young men who have studied and prepared hard for ministry do not, as a rule, set up holiday companies, let alone one targeting the most hedonistic age group.

5 *Ibid*, p.135.

6 *Ibid*, p 136.

7 Detailed advice on suitable clothing for guests appears in the CHA handbook, and, abbreviated, in. T.Arthur Leonard, *Adventures*, pp. 135-36.

8 “Mr T. A. Leonard, his life and work”, feature, *Nelson and Colne Times*, February, 1931.

9 From the earliest days of the war, recruiting posters reassured men that they would be able to serve “in the company of their own friends and business acquaintances.” *Liverpool Courier*, 25 August, 1914.

10 Minutes, Colne Congregational Church, T. Arthur Leonard, second resignation, October, 1898. Lancashire Record Office.

11 *Nelson and Colne Times*, 23 November, 1894.

Leonard's remarkable move was inspired by faith, and the tragedy of stunted lives, physically and spiritually wasted, both by wretched working conditions, and the misuse of leisure. Arriving in Colne, after a period of ministry in Barrow-in-Furness, he had discovered that in his view, the young people simply did not understand how to use their leisure time. In one August sermon, he expressed his dismay in robust language.¹² Traditionally, as entire factories closed down for annual maintenance, mill workers took their "wakes" holidays en masse, among the fleshpots of Blackpool and Morecambe. The kind of holiday they found there has changed remarkably little and needs no description here.¹³ The formula is now available from Faliraki to Phuket, the target age-group, then as now, is eighteen to thirty. In the twenty-first century, Leonard's opinion of such holidays needs very little editing, and he would have understand the current use of wasted only too well.¹⁴ The colloquialism is unusually accurate.

Leonard set out to educate the young mill hands, many of whom were his contemporaries. Coming to Colne from another industrial town, he understood why factory workers might seek oblivion. The Factory Acts and Coal Mines Regulation Act had achieved a measure of improvement but, for many, working conditions remained unpleasant and dangerous. Today, strictly regulated by Health and Safety law, and briefly, visitors to cotton mills reborn as heritage centres can experience the (literally) deafening conditions. The noise is ear-shattering to the point of pain, though the museum staff have switched on only one loom, in a room built for fifty.¹⁵ The choking cotton-waste, like falling snow, cannot be replicated, nor can the suffocating heat and humidity.¹⁶ The fibres benefited from that humidity, the stifled workers suffered constant respiratory illness. Small wonder that after a long working day, young men and women spent their evenings in public houses and their annual holiday in Blackpool. The Lancashire resorts could be reached easily by train. Compared with the still horse-drawn road transport, train journeys were relatively cheap, and in Blackpool, at least the mill hands and their money were welcome. Twenty-five per cent of Blackpool's town council were associated with the drink trade.¹⁷ Leonard sought to offer a very different kind of holiday, explaining to any critics that holidays

12 *Nelson and Colne Times*, 7 August, 1890, reporting a speech by TAL.

13 J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday*, (Faber and Faber, London, 1947).

14 "Mr T. A. Leonard, his life and work", *Nelson and Colne Times*, 1931 Also, T. Arthur Leonard, *Adventures*, p 19.

15 Quarry Bank Mill, Styal, Cheshire, (National Trust) and Wigan Pier both offer the experience, explaining that mill workers communicated by sign-language.

16 The combination of high humidity and lint-polluted atmosphere are associated with several serious respiratory diseases, including asthma, bronchitis, oral cancers, and byssinosis, from dust inhalation. Even when masks were provided, workers proved reluctant to wear them. In the high humidity, masks added to existing discomfort. (Various sources, including HMSO publications on industrial diseases, visits to heritage centres, BBC history).

17 Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday*, chapter II.

were not an indulgence, but an absolute necessity. “The clerk, chained to his desk all day, the mother, out of sorts with the fretting worries of home, the father and son, weakened by the heat and impure air of the mill, all these require recreation of the body God has given them.”¹⁸

When they invited Leonard to be their minister, in May, 1890, the deacons of Colne Congregational Church knew that the appointment might be controversial. Born in Stoke Newington, educated in Germany, and trained for the Congregational ministry at Nottingham, he was twenty-six years old, married, with an infant son. The meeting had agreed that he seemed a most suitable person, but was he doctrinally “safe”? Reports from Barrow had hinted at unorthodox beliefs. In the radical, intensely political Colne of the 1890s, all kinds of unorthodox beliefs flourished. But Arthur Leonard had been accused of Unitarianism.¹⁹ The charge had to be investigated. A deputation was sent to Barrow to make enquiries about Leonard's character and his work as a minister there. In addition, they would like him to serve at the church for one more Sunday, before the final vote was taken.²⁰ In Barrow it was confirmed that Leonard's decision to leave arose because of doctrinal differences with some of the deacons. This was a serious matter. The charge of Unitarianism was thoroughly examined. Church members and Leonard himself were questioned. Returning to Colne, the deputation reported that Mr Leonard was “totally cleared of the charge of Unitarianism”. The final vote in favour of his appointment was almost unanimous.²¹ Four people abstained, none opposed. Leonard, always personally austere, had been reluctant to discuss finances. The church was offering £190 per annum, with four Sabbaths' recreation.

Admired and loved throughout the mill town in both his periods of ministry, Leonard and his wife worked tirelessly for the poor, of any faith or none, and for the young, who were initially Congregationalists of both sexes. Soon after he arrived, he suggested a new kind of worship. Once a month, instead of the normal service, there would be a talk, followed by a discussion on any popular subject, a work of art, or, in that famously musical town, music too, which need not be officially “religious”.²² In another experiment what Leonard styled “Free Will” offerings were introduced.²³ There was initial scepticism, but the change caused no loss. The Young Men's Guild was allowed its own space, in the chapel cellar.²⁴ “Bicyclists” were the boy racers of the 1890s. Leonard, often described as visionary, was also a very practical realist. He arranged regular services for the

18 Leonard, *Adventures*, *op.cit.*

19 In the church minutes, the reason for the charge of Unitarianism is never defined, but in Barrow, as in Colne, deacons could be aware of the connection between some Unitarians and the Labour Church movement.

20 Minutes, Colne Congregational Church, 1 May, 1890, Lancashire Record Office.

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*, September, 1890.

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*

young speed merchants, with a retiring collection for the local hospital. The cyclists came, and they gave...²⁵ Bicycles were still a luxury. Walking was free. Over a century before “right to roam”, much of the wild and beautiful countryside around Colne was already accessible, by footpath, and along traditional “corpse roads”. Leonard began to lead the young men, and soon the women too, from the hilly and narrow streets around the mills into a world few of them had seen, though it was all around them, the Pendle hills, the Ribble valley, and the high moorland around Keighley and Haworth. It was this work among young people which began to redefine the nature of his ministry. Leonard, and the many friends he inspired, “dreamt of showing the earth to the company of youth.”, and not just the youth of Britain.²⁶

In his foreword to Leonard's only book his friend, Lewis Paton, High Master of Manchester Grammar School, from 1903 to 1924, defines Leonard's inspiration as “a great piece of social engineering.”²⁷ The son of Dr John Brown Paton, Principal of the Congregational Institute at Nottingham, and a formidable scholar and teacher in his own right, Lewis Paton had remarked, on accepting the Manchester post, “I am looking forward to doing something for poor boys”.²⁸ He believed unreservedly in aiming high. Unless young people's expectations and ambitions changed, the machinery of routine would stifle achievement

There is a high way and a low. The man who chooses the low way is the man who has a low view of life, a low view of his own human nature, a low and perverted view of the chief end of man.²⁹

Paton longed to “put the best education within reach of the humblest home.”³⁰ No matter how poor their homes, his grammar school boys had already joined an elite. Transforming the lives of factory workers, many of whom would have ended their formal education at eleven, was a very different matter.³¹ Social

25 *Ibid.*

26 Lewis Paton's and Leonard's own schooldays in Germany are cited as inspiring both men to introduce urban boys to the countryside, and long-distance walking. Rural workers, especially miners, habitually walked long distances to their work.

27 J. Lewis Paton, M.A., “Introit”, to T. Arthur Leonard, *Adventures in Holidaymaking*, Holiday Fellowship, 1936. Paton, appropriately, focuses on Leonard's vision, and his achievement. As its author admits, in his disarming foreword, his work lacks balance. There is no index, and the internationalism so central to his work is not discussed until the twelfth chapter.

28 Manchester Grammar School, Archives, J. Lewis Paton.

29 J. Lewis Paton, “Introit”, T. Arthur Leonard, *Adventures*.

30 J. Lewis Paton, Manchester Grammar School archives.

31 In the late nineteenth century, when Arthur Leonard was in Colne, over 100,000 boys and girls worked as half-timers mostly in the cotton-mills of Lancashire. Many of the most telling accounts of their lives are on websites created in the former cotton towns. See, for example, www.rochdale.gov.uk

engineering can be a slow and unwieldy process, often managing to alienate all the parties involved, without achieving any significant improvement in their relationships.³² Leonard's own version of his vision is both more poetic and more immediately practical. He wanted to show young people "regions of loveliness to seek out and preserve, for the highest uses of the human spirit", and led the young men into the hills above their town.³³ Rambles on the Pennine moors were only the beginning. Within a year of his arrival in Colne, he was planning an outrageous social experiment. He would take the young mill workers to the Lake District. Already, through the Home Reading Union, the working men of Colne had learned to love Wordsworth, or rather, his poetry. Whether they had read some of his more acerbic prose, especially his observations about industrial workers, is not recorded, but their young minister knew exactly what he was doing. In 1891, however, the Lake District was, and intended to remain, strictly carriage trade only.

The residents of Ambleside, blessed with many friends in high places, had recently defeated the 1887 Railway Bill, which would have brought the Lake District within reach of toiling millions.³⁴ "Trippers" were not wanted. Their presence would devalue property, and drive away the better class of visitor, making the area no better than an inland Blackpool. In countless letters to the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Spectator*, the factory workers of Lancashire and Yorkshire are singled out as grotesquely undesirable, in language which makes Wordsworth's reservations seem moderate. Class hatred becomes indistinguishable from racism.³⁵ Ruskin was horrified: Ambleside must be reserved for the delectation of the whole country, as a specimen of mountain village. Allowed into the Lake District, factory workers would drink bottled beer. They might even eat sandwiches.³⁶ Leonard could have reassured his former idol on that point. Officially at least, his young men did not drink beer, and it would be years before the mill workers achieved the middle-class refinement of sandwiches. They made do with dried fruit and ginger biscuits. Oatcakes, and "pots of butter", carried in jacket pockets, were rather less successful!³⁷

32 Current Government initiatives, seeking to achieve ethnic balance in access to National Parks, have resulted in the withdrawal of such services as guided walks, judged to be ethnically unrepresentative.

33 Anglicans and Roman Catholics continued to segregate young people's leisure activities. In the late Victorian period, the Nonconformist churches opened recreations such as walking clubs to both sexes. Lyn Murfin, *Popular Leisure in the Lake Counties*, (Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 158.

34 The Ambleside Railway Bill, Select Committee Enquiry, 1887.

35 Offered, almost verbatim, to A level history students and undergraduates, the vituperative letters and articles are invariably assumed to refer to immigrants from Pakistan or Bangladesh.

36 John Ruskin, 1885 - 1887, letters to the *Westmorland Gazette*, the *Times*, and others, objecting to working class visitors.

37 T.Arthur Leonard, *Adventures*, pp. 24 - 25.

The Lake District adventure was a triumph. Arranging cheap lodgings, and walking heroic distances, Leonard kept the price within the guinea he had promised, though this sum was for many well over a week's wages.³⁸ Over thirty young men from Colne spent three days in the Lakes. Many of them had never before spent a night away from home.³⁹ One pieceworker had dedicated a "holiday loom", to pay for his adventure.⁴⁰ On the slopes of Wansfell Pike, Leonard held their Sunday afternoon service. Later, in the Langdales, his address was based on "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" Next day, they climbed Helvellyn. According to the cotton manufacturer, Joseph Hacking, who accompanied the party, "many of us received an uplift we have never forgotten." Or, in the words of one mill hand, "it were champion."⁴¹ The following summer, they travelled to Caernarfon, and in 1893 the local paper informed its readers that Leonard was now the secretary "of a scheme which embodies a new idea of summer holidays." Walking in the Lakes or Snowdonia, holidaymakers would travel with University guides, explaining the landscape, its geology, its wildlife, its history.⁴²

In Colne, Leonard's first resignation "caused a pang of sorrow to be felt in many a heart."⁴³ *The Nelson and Colne Times* leaders for 23 November and 30 November 1894 clarify and expand the turbulent story told so disjointedly in the church minutes. Some of the most vehement exchanges exist only in draft, in a separate file. Blank pages and gaps in the formal minutes tell their own story.⁴⁴ Once again, there were serious objections to aspects of Leonard's personal faith. His "advanced" views had offended influential members of his congregation. Leonard himself would refute the charge. Throughout his long life, the convictions he held dear barely changed, and his resignation from the pastoral ministry did not signify any fundamental loss of faith. Described as "big in heart, big in mind, and perhaps most of all, big in soul", he had seen, in the mill hands of Lancashire, poverty of mind, body, and spirit.⁴⁵ Like other Nonconformist ministers, he had explored new approaches to worship. He had given the young men and women of his congregation life-changing experiences, physically, rambling on the moors, and intellectually, through the National Home Reading

38 Leonard's young mill workers are not impoverished, certainly not to the same degree as the families studied by Maud Pember Reeves, in her Fabian inspired "Round About A Pound A Week" (1911).

39 Joseph Hacking, of Colne, cotton manufacturer, writing of June 13-16 June, 1891, quoted in *Adventures in Holidaymaking*, pp. 20-22.

40 Joseph Hacking's report - as a manufacturer, he was impressed by the priority which one weaver gave to his holiday.

41 *Nelson and Colne Times*, tribute, February 1931.

42 Professor Peter Sandiford, University of Toronto, quoted in T.Arthur Leonard, *Adventures*, p. 37.

43 *Nelson and Colne Times*, 23 November, 1894, Lancashire Record Office.

44 Minutes, Colne Congregational Church, November, 1894.

45 T.Arthur Leonard, "His Life and Work", tribute published in the *Nelson and Colne Times*, February, 1931.

Union.⁴⁶ At first, there was considerable anxiety when women began to join the young men. Though supportive, Leonard's former teacher, J. B. Paton, Principal of the Congregational Institute in Nottingham, warned that including women was "a great moral responsibility." Leonard took the risk, and, with great daring, encouraged "rational dress", including knickerbockers. Strenuous ridge-walking and rock climbing should not be attempted in the absurd garments dictated by late Victorian fashion.⁴⁷

It was Dr Paton who saw the potential for wider mission, suggesting "why not do it for thousands?"⁴⁸ A meeting in the New Year of 1894 began to shape eager idealism and experimental journeys to the Lakes and Snowdonia into a movement which would quickly become international, achieving friendship between young people of all classes and many nationalities.⁴⁹ The timing was critical. Leonard was just approaching thirty, and the new charges he faced were serious. He had been accused of wanting to make Colne a Labour Church, and of using the pulpit to bring this about. In 1894, many people in Colne would probably have welcomed a Labour Church.⁵⁰ As Leonard had learned to his cost, a powerful minority opposed any suggestion of socialism, whether Christian, ethical, or any other brand. Founded in Manchester only three years earlier by John Trevor, a former Unitarian minister, the Labour Church movement was spreading rapidly through the industrial towns and cities of Britain. The hymns and readings at Labour services mainly comprised socialist songs and poems. Critics complained that God was rarely mentioned.⁵¹ From Plymouth to Dundee, Labour Churches were attracting leading socialists, including Keir Hardie, Ben Tillett, and, in nearby Keighley, Philip Snowden. Leonard's response to his accusers was measured and surely unanswerable. He had never sought to make Colne a Labour Church, and if everyone were to follow the teachings of Christ, there would be no Labour churches and no need for them. In his formal resignation, Leonard

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- 46 The National Home Reading Union was founded to persuade people to read and appreciate good literature.
- 47 CHA Annual reports frequently cite the importance of simple and practical dress. CHA photographs indicate that this advice was routinely ignored by the younger women.
- 48 Dr Paton's suggestion "why not do it for thousands?" came just as the National Home Reading Union had offered the use of its premises in Ambleside and Keswick.
- 49 Dr Paton had given his own son - Lewis - a wide-ranging education, in Germany, at the Halle Gymnasium, then Nottingham High School, and finally, Shrewsbury.
- 50 Textile districts like Colne were becoming the centre of working-class politics. In the 1890s, Leonard's increasingly political Congregational ministry was matched in rhetoric by that of his contemporary and near neighbour, Philip Snowden. Ordained minister and journalist/editor, both were passionate campaigners against war, and for a new moral order. See David James, 1987, "Our Philip", *The Bradford Antiquary*, Vol 3, 1987, pp. 39 – 47.
- 51 Mark Bevin, "Labour Churches and Ethical Socialism", *History Today*, Vol 47, April, 1997.

suggests that some of the church were “out of sympathy with his wider interpretation of the teachings of Christ.”⁵² It was simply a case of a strong difference of opinion, “on the part of a minority whom it was not expedient to disregard.”

The tribute of the majority is worth quoting in full. :

This meeting wishes to testify its sense of the deep loss it feels at the removal of a Minister who has become so much entwined in the tender affection of the young men and women connected with the church, whose exemplary life has silently, but still effectually testified to his noble Christian character, and whose outspoken denunciation of wrong in whatever form it has been presented to him has won him the sympathies of all true hearted men and women. Finally, the Church would express its heartfelt good wishes for them, in their new sphere of labour, and hope that under the guiding hand of God, the good work they have undertaken in London may be the means of cheering and brightening many a home.⁵³

In London, Leonard and his colleagues, who included the pioneering social worker, Archdeacon Sinclair, had hoped that, after the school day, the Board Schools of the metropolis could be used as social and educational centres for the working people of London. Political difficulties ended that initiative.⁵⁴ The next election was at least two years away, and, as Leonard admitted in a letter to the Dockray Square church, he did not feel justified in remaining out of the ministry any longer. Accepting a second call from Colne was “both a duty and a great delight.” On 29 January 1896 Leonard accepted the church's invitation, on one condition. For the three summer months, he wanted to be freed from pastoral duty, so that he could work for the “holiday movement“. Anticipating objections to this unusual request, he suggested that they deduct a quarter of his salary. During the summer, he would serve as a supply minister whenever possible.⁵⁵

They agreed. The town had missed him. For six months, November 1894 – May 1895, following his dramatic departure, no baptisms were recorded. Other services were conducted by relief ministers, but not baptisms. However, from May 1895, though living in Tottenham, he must have returned many times to the town. When the infant baptisms resume, his name, in his handwriting, and no other, appears in the baptismal register.⁵⁶ Then came his second and final, resignation from the Colne pastorate in 1899. In a letter to Joseph Hacking, his

52 Minutes, Colne Congregational Church, November, 1894, Lancashire Record Office.

53 *Ibid.*

54 *Ibid.*

55 T. Arthur Leonard. Letter to “The Church Worshipping in Dockray Square”, 29 January, 1896.

56 In nearby Haworth, when Patrick Brontë was over eighty and confined to his room, parents brought their infants to him, refusing to accept baptism from Arthur Nicholls. Roy Aspin, *The Parson on the Hill*.

friend and a prominent church member, Leonard suggests that this time, there was no doctrinal difficulty. A Manchester physician had advised that the Colne climate was damaging the health of his wife and son. The timing of this advice was certainly convenient, and their new address in Dumbarton, hardly suggests a move to a drier climate.⁵⁷ Leonard intended to devote himself full time to the holiday association, seeing this as a different expression of his ministry. In his own words: “The Gospel of Christ must touch every part of a man’s life. If it is good for anything, it is good for everything.”⁵⁸

In his new role, Leonard, unerringly sought out as allies some of the most gifted men and women in Britain. Norman Angell, R.H.Tawney, Arnold Rowntree, Bernard Shaw, Cecil Sharp, Charles Trevelyan, the Archbishop of York, the composer Walford Davies, Ramsay MacDonald, and, until her early death, MacDonald’s wife Margaret, all contributed to the developing movement. The first officers of the CHA included, in addition to both Patons, Dr D.W. Kitchen, Dean of Durham, and Dr Alex Hill, Master of Downing College, Cambridge. A letter to Professor Patrick Geddes, written in August 1900, could almost define the experience Leonard sought for young holidaymakers. Geddes had just welcomed a CHA party to the “Outlook Tower” in Edinburgh. In 1900, this experience would certainly “show the earth to the company of youth” in a completely new way.⁵⁹ Officially a botanist and biologist, Geddes still defies definition, but current understanding is slowly catching up with his vision of life on earth, and mankind’s place as part of that whole. Long before the Apollo programme, Geddes created images of Edinburgh, and the whole planet, in relation to the universe.⁶⁰ Thanking Geddes, Leonard expressed his hope that his “business in Paris” had worked well. He had hoped to attend the *Exposition Universelle* himself, but two months of ill-health prevented him from being there.⁶¹

In the decade before the First World War, Leonard’s “holiday movement” rapidly acquired new territory, buying or leasing properties in France, Ireland and Switzerland. British and other visitors came in their thousands. In Dinan, Emma Irving refers to “the buzz of many tongues” - but they were merely visitors, nothing more. There is no suggestion of lifelong friendship, or heartbreak. The increasingly close relationship with young people in Germany led to both. Early

57 T. Arthur Leonard. Letter to Joseph Hacking, (unfiled, 04/2007) within Colne Congregational Church minutes, Lancashire Record Office.

58 T.Arthur Leonard, Minutes of Colne Congregational Church, Lancashire Record Office , 1894, also quoted in the tribute to Leonard, published in the *Nelson and Colne Times*, February, 1931.

59 Letter to Professor (Sir) Patrick Geddes, from Arthur Leonard, 8 August, 1900 (Strathclyde University Archives).

60 University of Dundee, School of Town and Regional Planning, and The Geddes Institute, Dundee.

61 Leonard’s wish to attend the *Exposition Universelle*, and his reference to Geddes’ “business” there provide further evidence of his commitment to social improvement by design. (letter, TAL to Geddes, above, n. 59).

in 1919, the occupying British forces were startled to hear German children singing “D’ye ken John Peel”. They or their parents had learned the song when CHA groups stayed at Dockweiler, in the Eifel. Some boarded at the Gasthaus Geschwister Meyer, others stayed in the village. Once a week, walkers and villagers met for an Anglo-German singsong.⁶² In 1908, Manchester Grammar School began to send parties of boys trekking in Germany.⁶³ Like Leonard, Lewis Paton had spent part of his schooldays in Germany. Perhaps it was Paton himself who suggested opening a centre at Kelkheim in Taunus, near Frankfurt. Soon, Dr Max Walter, Direktor of Frankfurt’s Musterschule was helping CHA parties to plan the best local walks. Boys from the Musterschule travelled to England, visiting Oxford, Stratford and the Lake District, staying at CHA centres and with the families of Manchester Grammar School boys. The 1910 “trek” from Manchester was led by Paton, who delivered a gift of books to the Musterschule. After the official school trip, some of the Manchester boys remained with their host families for another fortnight, so presumably close friendships were formed.⁶⁴ Bernhard Seib, a Musterschule student, spent two summers working at Newlands. Seib was so popular with the guests, that he was invited for a third year, to serve as secretary (manager) of the Newlands centre. A photograph of 1913, taken in the grounds of the old mill, shows a group of boys from Frankfurt. Called up, and sent to trenches near Rheims, Seib found it impossible to fight against his English friends. As a concession, he was allowed to transfer to the Eastern front, where he died.⁶⁵

On 17 November, in the uneasy aftermath of the 1911 Morocco crisis, Leonard warned an audience in Colne that war was nearer than any of them imagined. At thirty, he had rejected the charge of seeking to create a “Labour” church, but in this key pre-war period, his friendships were very much with men and women of the Left, engaged in trying to prevent war. Newly returned from a visit to Germany, he had been alarmed by the change even in his closest friends there. They no longer trusted England, and looked for a “real, practical move”, from the English Government, to show that they were in favour of peace, that they wanted to stop this race for armaments, and that they were willing to come to some arrangement by which this could be done. As reported in the local newspaper, Leonard argued that the blame lay more with England than with Germany.⁶⁶ He

62 T. Arthur Leonard, *Adventures*, pp. 42 – 45.

63 Manchester Grammar School Archives.

64 *Ibid.*

65 T. Arthur Leonard, *Adventures*, pp. 94 – 96.

66 *Nelson and Colne Times*, 17 November, 1911. Occasionally lapsing into dialect grammar, the lengthy reports of Leonard’s political speeches are invariably supportive. The area was by now Labour heartland. On this occasion, there is, in the report, no evidence of any hostile response to Leonard’s argument that Britain, more than Germany, was responsible for deteriorating relationship between the “cousin nations”. As a fluent German speaker, educated in that country, Leonard was well-placed to assess Germany’s mood.

spoke of the efforts of the Navy League in Germany to awaken warlike feelings in the hearts of the people, especially in the country districts. He also stated that the Kaiser was much misunderstood, and that he was really one of the strongest forces for peace. Forty years before the European Coal and Steel Community, Leonard suggested to his audience that colliers and railwaymen in Britain and Germany could go on strike to prevent war.⁶⁷

Nearly twenty years earlier, Leonard had been attacked for his “radical” beliefs and practices. On 12 January 1912, he was in Colne again, delivering another speech. To loud applause, he spoke about the socialist opposition to war, the waste of money on armaments, which could be spent on education, and the relief of poverty. Like his exasperation with mindless dissipation in Blackpool, his theme is wearily familiar, but he concludes on a more positive note, with an account of the CHA’s years of work promoting international goodwill, literally bringing the people of Europe nearer together, visiting each others’ homes:

This intermingling of the peoples of various countries, especially the cousin nations, Germany and England, will do as much to create fraternal feeling amongst nations and help to lessen the probability of a war between Germany and this country.⁶⁸

No longer a minister in pastoral charge, he was, if not already a Quaker, close to that position.⁶⁹

Backpacking across Northern France, the (mainly) Merseyside party had learned, through the CHA how to create and enjoy an inspiring holiday. Earlier photographs, taken in Wales and the Peak District, suggest that the group probably formed during a CHA holiday. Their 1912 map could almost be a template for Operation Overlord. The date, and their confident final toast - to “friendship, long life and happy days”, - prompted the inevitable questions : Who were they, and how did their story really end ? Identifying them was far from easy. Many CHA house party records survive but France was their own adventure and they lodged in village inns, arranging most of their accommodation *ad hoc*. Some of the villages where they stayed were completely destroyed in June 1944.⁷⁰ One man is only referred to by his forename, one woman is always “Miss Gleave”, the other young woman is anonymous throughout. Once, in Normandy, they were required to supply their names, addresses, and occupations. Inevitably, such records have not survived, nor are there passenger lists from the cross channel ferry. Eventually, close analysis of the text and photographs suggested four and a half

67 *Nelson and Colne Times*, 12 January, 1912.

68 *Ibid.*

69 David Cornick, *Under God's Good Hand*, (United Reformed Church, 1998), p. 158. “Some younger ministers were firmly pacifist”.

70 The devastation of many villages can best be understood at the Caen museum. Ironically, almost all the 1912 backpackers’ photographs show the few mediaeval buildings which survived June, 1944.

names. From the photographs, the party appear to be in their early to mid-twenties. Returning to England, “three remained in London, three returned to Liverpool”. The 1901 census found the young Gladys Gleave and Alexander Westmore in the West Derby area of Liverpool. Frederick Ivor Pulford lived in the next street. On 12 October, 1916, Pulford, F. I, of the 17th battalion, King's Liverpool Regiment, was reported missing and is listed on the Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, at Thiepval, and also at his former school, the Liverpool Institute.⁷¹ The third man's name, Frank Bourne, was too common to allow definite identification, and the fourth man had no surname.

Serendipity achieved a crucial breakthrough.⁷² The story of six young backpackers came full circle, to the inspiration of Arthur Leonard, and his dream of international friendship. Fred, who had booked all the tickets, keeping his friends awake all night, as he recited comic monologues, and falling in love with every pretty French girl, must have been an eager volunteer. On 31 August, 1914, the 17th, the first of Liverpool's “Pals” battalions, was oversubscribed by 10.00 a.m.⁷³ In contrast, Alexander Westmore, who married his backpacking girlfriend, waited more than six months before volunteering as a stretcher-bearer, in the RAMC. His surviving son, born several years after the war, confirmed that his father could never have shot anyone, of any nationality. Frank Bourne's history was explained. Educated at Christ's Hospital school, Frank had enjoyed well-paid employment until the war; he was the only backpacker able to afford his own camera. He became a conscientious objector, paying a heavy price for his refusal to fight. Alec and Gladys Westmore chose Frank as godfather to their first son, born in September, 1915. In choosing a despised “conchie”, the young Westmores were demonstrating the strength of their friendship, and their respect for Frank's faith.⁷⁴

After the war, Frank Bourne's employers refused to take him back, an experience common to many conscientious objectors. In Liverpool, Lord Derby had urged all employers never to hire any man who had failed to do his duty at the

71 Commonwealth War Graves Commission website. Fred Pulford is also commemorated on the Liverpool Institute memorial, (now the Liverpool Institute for the Performing Arts.)

72 Inevitably, data protection limits access to recent personal information. An article on the backpackers and their journal was published, with photographs, in Liverpool, which then reached another university. Descendants came forward, offering further documents, photographs, and personal information.

73 Fred Pulford must have been among the first to volunteer. The 17th, also known as the 1st City battalion was formed on 31 August, 1914. It was oversubscribed by 10 a.m. that day. Graham Maddocks, *Liverpool Pals*, (Leo Cooper, 1991), 1996 edn., pp. 23 – 27.

74 Their first son was born in September, 1915. Alec Westmore was then in France, heading towards the battle of Loos. Stretcher-bearer casualties were heavy. The choice of godfather was, in 1915, an important spiritual decision.

front. Nevertheless, in 1919, Frank was given an office job at Lever Brothers, remaining with the firm for the rest of his life.⁷⁵ Among their grandfather's papers and photographs, Frank Bourne's family have found many confirming the Nomads' pre-war friendships with young Germans, on backpacking holidays in the Peak District and in the Lakes. In the summer of 1913, Frank stayed at Newlands again, and must have known Bernhard Seib.⁷⁶ It was the current German manager of this Lakeland outdoor centre who first suggested that the fourth young man in the 1912 party was surely German. Lacking a surname, he cannot easily be traced in German archives, unless and until someone recognises him from a photograph.⁷⁷ The diary text indicates that he probably worked in the timber trade, in 1912 an important export to Britain. Two British costume experts have concluded that his clothes are unlike any English leisure wear of that period. Both, who had been given no other information, suggested German styling. Studying his footwear, a shoe historian identified a style originating in Vienna.⁷⁸ In France, he is the "military expert". Spotting a warship in the channel, the friends joke about German spies.⁷⁹ Footloose in France, they never mention military exercises, but at Manchester Grammar School, the older boys were training to fight for their country. Lewis Paton, who had encouraged so many Manchester boys to share his lifelong love of Germany, and form close friendships with boys from Frankfurt, was to become the foremost recruiter for the Public

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- 75 Personal communication, from Norman Westmore, younger son of Alexander Westmore, and later confirmed by the Unilever archives. As a conscientious objector, F.R.Bourne was fortunate in securing work. The Lever Brothers' Congregational connections could be relevant, but there is no evidence in the Unilever records regarding the employment of former conscientious objectors.
- 76 Frank Bourne's descendants have made all his personal records available, including many other photographs of his friends, and records of photographs sold to raise funds for Leonard's "Goodwill Holidays". In 1913 Frank stayed at Newlands, near Derwentwater, at the same time as a party of young Germans. He certainly had German friends, and in 1938, welcomed a German speaking family of refugees to his home on the Wirral.
- 77 The Bundesarchiv and Militarchiv have advised that identification from official records is unlikely.
- 78 The Victoria and Albert Museum suggested that two leading experts in this period should be consulted. At the shoe museum in Northampton, the long oval toe of the young man's shoes was identified as a style originating in Vienna. His choice of clothing is not, of course, conclusive evidence of nationality, but the CHA background and Frank Bourne's contact with German friends met on holiday indicate a strong possibility.
- 79 Emma Irving and the young man who appears to be German were close, though they never married. In the diary text, mention of "German spies" is clearly humorous.. William Le Queaux's thrillers were widely syndicated, and appeared in the pre-war *Liverpool Courier*.
- 80 Manchester Grammar School, Archives.

Schools Battalion.⁸⁰

Throughout the Great War, Leonard and his colleagues, now based at Bryn Corach, near Conwy, befriended many young soldiers in training. Known to be pacifists, and often welcoming the “rascally, pro-German, unpatriotic scoundrel” Ramsay Macdonald, they attracted some suspicion, and even accusations of spying. At the suggestion of the YMCA, the “holiday movement” dedicated to international friendship made its own contribution to the war effort. Singing their way to the Western Front, many soldiers carried “*le petit livre vert*”, the CHA songbook which had served for years almost as a passport.⁸¹ How the friendship between Arthur Leonard and Lewis Paton was repaired after the war is not recorded, but in 1934 Paton’s “Introit”, and tribute to Leonard’s work is a celebration of achievement, and “hope for wider fellowship with our fellow men.”⁸²

ROSAMUND RIDLEY

81 *Songs of Faith and Fellowship*.

82 Leonard, *Adventures*, “Introit”, J.Lewis Paton, MA, pp. 13 – 16.

REVIEWS

Christ the Mediator of the Law: Calvin's Christological Understanding of the Law as the Rule of Living and Life-Giving. By Byung-Ho Moon. Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006. Studies in Christian History and Thought. Pp. xx + 307. £24.99. ISBN 1-84227-318-X.

The son of a lawyer, whose early life was spent in the study of law, John Calvin was caught up in the spirit of the Reformation and has become a central reference (if not the primary reference) for Reformed thinking. For Calvin, it could be said that law was in his blood and Christ was in his heart. It was perhaps inevitable then that he would seek to articulate a Christological understanding of the Old Testament Law for the Christian faith.

Byung-Ho Moon's study sets out to investigate Calvin's understanding of Christ as the mediator of the law and, in doing so, to discover the exalted place given to the law in Calvin's theology. Moon's work has involved a detailed study of the whole spectrum of Calvin's works in order to provide us with an informed exploration of his main thesis. He also seeks to understand Calvin's concept of *Christus mediator legis* in the context of Calvin's own life and in his ecclesiastical context.

After the introductory chapter, Byung-Ho Moon draws a picture of the influence of the law, and various teachers of it, on Calvin's early life, suggesting that Calvin developed a unique theology arising out of his life as lawyer, priest and humanist. Moon helpfully explores Calvin's first published work (a commentary on the philosopher Seneca's treatise *De Clementia*) which, though not a theological work, nevertheless reveals the influence exercised on him by the Apostle Paul and the Church Fathers, particularly Augustine. An exploration of the development of Calvin's understanding of the relationship of Christ and the law begins to reveal his opinion that, in displaying the Lord's will, the law is the "only rule of life we have." Calvin held that this relationship was essential in order to establish a continuity and unity between the "Old Covenant" and "New Covenant", between the two written Testaments of God's Word in Scripture. The biblical passage which is essential for this study is Galatians 3:19-20, and Calvin's sermon on it, which examines the function of the law and Christ the Mediator, has rightly been central to Moon's work. Moon states that the mediation of the law is three-fold, including two "priestly" functions, namely reconciliation and intercession, and one "prophetic" function, namely teaching. Also important is the eternal nature of Christ the Mediator, who, because he is "the same yesterday, today and forever" enables us to see the continuity and unity of the Christian faith, the law and gospel. Within all this Moon explores the principles of the two natures of Christ, God's accommodation, *extra Calvinisticum* and *adiaphora*. The chapter entitled "The Mediator of the Law in the Old Testament" incorporates a discussion on Calvin and Servetus, as well as Calvin's understanding of and relationship with Judaism. After this Moon surveys Calvin's exegesis of the

gospels in relation to his thesis. Here, as throughout, he incorporates comparisons with various other Reformers, giving particular regard to their views on the Sermon on the Mount. These comparisons continue into the chapter on Calvin's understanding of the office and use of the law. The impression is that Calvin tends to stand in a mid-way position between the extremes of Zwinglian and Catholic thinking, showing a close affinity with the thought of Martin Bucer. The concluding chapter brings the thesis together with clarity.

While there are a couple of points in this work where Moon appears to make overstated claims for Calvin without substantiating evidence (for example, he declares that "Calvin *must* have been one of the most brilliant law students of his time") this ought not distract the reader from the very real contribution to Calvin scholarship which Moon has made in his book. It is informative in a number of areas of study besides the work and life of John Calvin. It would be useful for students of the Reformation and for theologians and preachers alike not only in exploring the relationship of Christ to the law but also in understanding the value of the law for the Christian life.

JASON ASKEW

The Origins of the Scottish Reformation. By Alec Ryrie. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2006. Pp. 205. £55.00. ISBN 0-71907-1054.

In this study, Alec Ryrie attempts to go beyond the long accepted narratives of reform in Scotland, in order to present a fuller and more nuanced picture of just what happened, and more importantly, why it did so.

There have been two distinct ways of approaching the history of the Reformation in Scotland. The first is a concentration on Knox and the Lords of the Congregation which has given a narrative driven mainly by theology and which shares the conviction that there was an inevitability about reform, because it was committed to truth. The second focuses on the political patterns, the changing relationships with France and England, and the tricky position of the Guise party and Mary, Queen of Scots. This account understands the Reformation as primarily a political event, driven by shifting allegiances, and pulling theological change along with it – or, more cynically, using theological energy as a cover for political ambition. Ryrie attempts to accomplish something different, by taking seriously the political and military events, including some unanswerable questions, and by giving due weight to theological conviction, and the place, in particular, of preaching.

The main part of the book covers the period from 1543 until 1560, and thus includes the Rough Wooings, the Guise regency, and the so-called "Revolution". Ryrie explores the notion that the medieval church was corrupt, and shows both that the problems were real (and that those in power were aware of the issues, and were looking for ways to ameliorate the situation) and that Reform was not inevitable. He ponders why, after a significant defeat, and the apparent loss of a future, still reform theology took such a strong hold on Scottish policy and

practice, and, refreshingly, is prepared to say that some of the questions that the whole story raises for historians are simply unanswerable. He demonstrates that other outcomes were, at various points, possible, and that what did happen might not have. By examining these possibilities, as well as the clear and accountable aspect, and showing that the whole event has a hidden quality to it, Ryrie helps us to see more clearly that these are real people's stories we are dealing with in this history, and that not everything that happens can be accounted for in terms of politics, self-interest or logical thought.

This is a useful addition to the studies of the Scottish Reformation. It is not designed for complete beginners to the subject, and would not, indeed, form the ideal introduction. But it does not assume a great deal of prior knowledge, and does allow for a relative newcomer to begin to grasp the complexities of the story. The style is accessible, the end notes to each chapter are helpful and comprehensive, and the select bibliography is very useful.

RUTH GOULDBOURNE

The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes. By Jeffrey R. Collins. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005. Pp. xii + 313. £55.00. ISBN 0-19-926847-9.

The philosophical and political writings of Thomas Hobbes have caused controversy continuously since their publication. Hobbes's principal work, *Leviathan* (first published in 1651), has often been associated with the idea of absolute and undivided sovereignty as the only means to secure peace within a polity. Given the context in which Hobbes was writing, a Britain torn apart by civil-strife, this conclusion may seem unsurprising yet it was a message that was to create considerable trouble for Hobbes. The problem was that Hobbes had been a royalist for much of the 1640s, having fled England and joined various other adherents of the Stuart cause in Paris. When *Leviathan* appeared some of his erstwhile royalist associates felt that Hobbes had gone too far in his affirmation that obedience was due to governments that had *de facto*, even if not *de jure*, authority. This came perilously close to an endorsement of the new parliamentary regime. It was a charge that Hobbes had to defend himself against frequently, especially after the Restoration of 1660. The current scholarly consensus tends towards viewing Hobbes as a reasonably consistent royalist, in part because it relies on Hobbes's own post-1660 justifications of his conduct.

This consensus is something that Jeffrey Collins hopes to disrupt in his new book. Collins argues that to understand Hobbes's views on allegiance and obedience, we need to recover Hobbes's ecclesiological thought. Modern students and scholars tend to concentrate their attention on books I and II of *Leviathan*, dealing with human psychology and the commonwealth, while neglecting the rest (in fact the majority) of the text in books III and IV that deals with the Christian commonwealth and the kingdom of darkness. Collins shows persuasively the importance of this neglected portion of the text both for Hobbes's general thought and understanding how Hobbes was read at the time. To understand why Hobbes

was willing to endorse the post-1649 regime, albeit indirectly, Collins draws our attention to the strong Erastian element in Hobbes's thought. While Hobbes himself probably derived his emphasis on the need for all spiritual power to be subject to secular authority from humanist writers, particularly Machiavelli, his concerns also chimed with an English tradition of magisterial reformation.

Collins redescribes the conflicts of the 1630s and 1640s as being more about a struggle over who could control the church than issues of theological consistency (the Calvinist/Arminian dispute that so many recent scholars have seen as crucial to the Civil War). Hobbes began as an opponent of Laudian innovation, not because of its ceremonial content but because of the implied superiority of the church over the state. In exile in France he was closer to those who argued that the church should not be independent of civil power rather than old royalists, like Clarendon, who sought to defend a high church position. Within Britain, Hobbes became worried about the growth of Presbyterianism for similar reasons – an estate separate from the state. He chose, instead, to support Independents (and their leader Cromwell) because he viewed them as believers in the subjugation of the church to state power. This view may surprise us, accustomed as we are to statements about the government of the church being distinct from that of the state, but Collins is following in the footsteps of such scholars as Blair Worden, who has argued that the “magisterial Independency” of the Interregnum was highly statist in its outlook. Work on such figures as John Owen has shown the limits that he placed both on freedom of conscience and toleration. Collins's account of Hobbes and Erastianism finds support from the evidence that he presents about how Hobbes was read and debated in the 1650s: his writings found much more support from Independents (although they remained worried about some of the potentially atheistic aspects of his thought) than from either Anglicans or Presbyterians.

Jeffrey Collins has offered a valuable reappraisal of Hobbes's thought. As he points out, the famous frontispiece of *Leviathan* that contains a figure of a sovereign made from the multitude also portrays that sovereign holding not just the sword but the crozier too – spiritual and secular authority must be united if peace is to be preserved. Readers of this *Journal* will find much to ponder in the account of the Presbyterian and Independent attitudes towards the state in the 1640s and 1650s, not least because it upsets our usual assumptions about who thought what. As in so much else, 1662 fundamentally altered Dissenting attitudes.

ANDREW C. THOMPSON

Restoring the Reformation: British Evangelicalism and the Francophone “Réveil” 1816-49. By Kenneth J. Stewart. Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006. Studies in Evangelical History and Thought. Pp. xvi + 269. £19.99. ISBN 1-84227-392-2.

This book is one of the many “Studies in Evangelical History and Thought”

recently emanating from Paternoster Press. It provides a detailed, well-documented and scholarly account of the interchange between British (mainly English and Scottish) evangelical leaders on the one hand, and their Swiss and French Protestant counterparts on the other, in the first half of the nineteenth century.

British observers had watched the progress of the French Revolution with a mixture of apprehension and hope. On the whole, English Nonconformists approved of the French Revolution and welcomed the granting of freedom of worship in 1795. It encouraged them to hope for the abolition of the restrictions they themselves experienced. The interest of the newly-founded London Missionary Society was drawn not only to other continents, but to new opportunities in Europe. One of its Directors, David Bogue, now saw the opportunity to circulate French translations of the New Testament on the continent. In 1802, during the brief interval of peace in the midst of the Napoleonic wars, Bogue and three of his fellow Directors visited Paris and found a demand for such Bibles. Chiefly in response to the French demand for Bibles (and only to a lesser extent in response to a Welsh demand for Bibles, it is now generally agreed), the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1804, and its agents were eventually sent all over Europe. In anticipation of British missionary efforts in France, French language instruction was introduced into Bogue's Academy in Gosport, where Protestant French students were now able to study. The links with France established in the brief period of peace between 1802 and 1804 were quickly resumed after 1815.

However, even more important for the author of this study were the links with Geneva, which since the sixteenth century had symbolised for the rest of Europe the Calvinistic Protestant Reformation. Though the vigour and quality of its theological life had long declined, the city was now about to undergo a renewal of religious life, the "Réveil", in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars.

The names of Robert and James Haldane have always been associated with this movement, largely through the account of their work given by their nephew, Alexander Haldane, in his *Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and of his brother, James Alexander Haldane* (Edinburgh 1855), a work whose perceived significance is illustrated by the fact that it is still in print. The author of this study argues that Alexander Haldane's account distorted and exaggerated the role of Robert Haldane, and failed to give sufficient credit to his contemporaries. Though Haldane certainly exercised a considerable influence over theological students in Geneva during his visit in 1816, his disdain for local support and his encouragement of the formation of an independent congregation at Bourg-de-Four, were not everywhere appreciated. However it was partly due to his efforts that the Continental Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge on the Continent of Europe was founded in London in 1819. Haldane was one among a number of British visitors to Geneva, both earlier and later, who contributed to the revival of Reformed principles and practice in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The British-Swiss connection was not only a one-way process. Three Swiss

preachers visited England and Scotland after the end of the Napoleonic wars and were treated as “religious celebrities”: César Malan, Louis Gaussen and Merle D’Aubigné. The developments of the 1830s and 1840s provoked a call for unity and co-operation among all European Protestants in opposition to what John Angell James, in an address to the Congregational Union of England and Wales in May 1842, called the threat of “Popery, Puseyism and Plymouth Brethrenism”. When the Evangelical Alliance was eventually founded in 1846, in opposition to these threats, forty-eight continental representatives were present at the launch. However, it can hardly be said that the Reformation was restored. The nineteenth-century context was utterly different from the sixteenth, and secularization was now the challenge.

This book throws light on a lesser-known aspect of British religious history, and its careful documentation of sources will be a useful guide to anyone wishing to study the subject further. It is a timely reminder to British adherents of the Reformed tradition of their longstanding links with Europe.

ELAINE KAYE

Gathering to His Name: The Story of the Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland. By Tim Grass. Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006. Pp. xx + 589. £29.95. ISBN 1-84227-220-9. Illustrated.

The first words that come to the reviewer’s mind when getting to grips with Tim Grass’s book are “compendious”, “encyclopaedic” and, probably without exaggeration, *tour de force*. At close on six hundred pages it is a major study both in terms of scholarship and size. Despite its bulk, a detailed list of contents enables the reader to navigate with ease.

The author, whose parents had Brethren connections, traces the history of the movement from its origins in the 1820s to the present day. This is the only study, in fact, comprehensively to do so. The Brethren influence means that Grass brings warmth and sympathy to the task, but this does not mean that scholarly objectivity has been in any way compromised.

Copiously illustrated and containing a wealth of statistical data, the study has none of the one dimensionality and historiographical tincture of some denominational histories, as Grass very ably sets Brethrenism, from its beginnings to the present time, within its religious, social and political context. Having said that, the writer never loses sight of his avowed aim of writing something that would “contribute to the extension of God’s kingdom”. A concluding section, eschewing the cynicism of Hegel’s dictum that “the only thing we learn from Church history is that we do not learn from it”, he points the way ahead. Based on an understanding of how the Open Brethren “got to where (they) are”, Grass suggests topics for further research, and even gives advice as to how to “Write your Assembly’s History”.

The study is divided into four main sections, with a fifth (and brief) concluding section as mentioned above. Part One covers the earliest days of the movement in

Ireland – J. N. Darby's spiritual odyssey is deftly and sympathetically traced here – and Plymouth which, of course, gave its name to the emerging movement. The work of Craik and Müller in the Bristol area, early expansion, doctrinal and disciplinary controversies and Brethren views on prophecy and the importance of mission complete the section.

Part Two, covering the period from 1850 to the outbreak of the Great War, documents the evangelistic successes of the movement throughout the British Isles, traces its maturation and outlines its distinctive doctrines. Local assembly life is not neglected: how one became a member of an assembly and what a typical Sunday ("Lord's Day") was like are detailed. Would-be members were carefully vetted and, as regards corporate worship, the emphasis was, and continued to be, very much on the Eucharist – typically termed the strictly biblical "Breaking of Bread" – with everyone at liberty to speak "as led by the Spirit". However, as Paul's words regarding the silence of women (1 Tim. 2:12) were rigidly applied, this meant that in practice only the males could be "led by the Spirit". Such open, free participation meant, at times, the domination of the "meeting" by one or two strong characters.

The role of women was a frequent topic in the various periodicals with some seeing it as a manifestation of the *zeitgeist* but yet others calling for a change of heart, especially in the light of the fact that women like Mary Yapp (1830-1911) and Hannah Burlingham (1842-1909) were being acceptably "used" and were a source of blessing via their writings, their hymns and their Bible studies. John Anderson, a Brethren leader in Aberdeenshire, defended the fact that his mother had preached in the local assembly at Rhynie on the grounds that "both men and women are priests in this dispensation and...were filled with the Spirit at Pentecost".

The early years of the last century saw the emergence of Pentecostalism. Though British Pentecostalism, in the years immediately before the outbreak of the First World War, owed much to the pioneering work of Anglican and Keswickite A. A. Boddy, Grass shows that Brethrenism was an important influence in the spiritual odyssey of early denominational Pentecostal leaders such as John Nelson Parr and equally significant, Pentecostally speaking, in terms of Dispensationalism, missionary emphasis and, last but not least, the centrality of the Breaking of Bread.

Part Three covers the period from the outbreak of the First World War, through the inter-war years, to the ending of hostilities in 1945. Grass characterises the period, paradoxically, as one of both confidence and a lack of confidence. Brethrenism had survived the wars and the rapid and dramatic social changes they generated and seen success in evangelism – and steady influx from other churches of those who deplored liberal theology – but they increasingly shared the anxiety of other evangelicals regarding the survival or otherwise of the faith in an increasingly secularized world.

Part Four, covering the period from 1945 up to the present, demonstrates once again one of the great strengths of the book: Grass is equally at home when presenting us with the wider picture or with local colour and detail; neither

national trends nor grass-roots problems are neglected. His Brueghel-like canvas is wide; but it is teeming with incident and colourful characters.

In the post-war period a number of challenges had to be faced and, in the religious world, the arrival of Billy Graham was seriously problematical: to participate or not to participate? That was the question. Did joining in and supporting the crusades imply acceptance of denominational views long deplored? While conservatives held aloof and sniped, a number of assemblies organised coach trips to the Harringay arena and, north of the Border, Glasgow's Kelvin Hall. Whether or not to join the Evangelical Alliance posed a similar problem for the Open Brethren; and the arrival on the scene of the "new" churches posed yet another. And here, as with Pentecostalism in earlier decades, former Brethren became the movers and shakers.

Drawing on an impressive arsenal of sources, Grass demonstrates how a movement that never boasted huge numbers – and in its nearly two centuries of history often faced criticism and misrepresentation – nevertheless has had an influence far in excess of what its numerical strength might suggest. And, if the reviewer be permitted to close on a personal note, Tim Grass has done me, as a Classic Pentecostal, a great service in reminding me the Brethren's championing of the central truths of "the faith once and for all delivered to the saints", namely the centrality of the Cross, the necessity of the new birth and the supreme authority of Scripture. In addition, in terms of Christian life, this study also recalls the importance of the Eucharist and of living in the daily expectation of the *Parousia*.

DAVID ALLEN

The Life and Ministry of William Booth: Founder of the Salvation Army. By Roger J. Green. Nashville/Edinburgh: Abingdon Press/Alban Books, 2006. £6.99. Pp. xvi + 287. ISBN 0 687 05273 4.

Roger Green is deeply rooted in Salvationist soil. This has given him access to people and resources which clearly were of value in researching this book. However, there can be dangers in writing from within one's own tradition. In this biography of William Booth, the founder and first General of the Salvation Army, Roger Green seeks "to see [him] for the man he was, not a perfect stained glass figure or saint" but a passionate, loyal servant of Christ in his generation with both strengths and also significant weaknesses. His conclusion is that "history has demonstrated that the vision of William Booth, as it has been en fleshed by Salvationists around the world, has adorned both the world and the Church."

A major aim of the author is to consider the effect of the Methodist tradition in which William Booth was brought up, and its Wesleyan theology, on his subsequent roles as preacher, evangelist, charismatic leader and social activist. Throughout the work, Roger Green is able to show the deep influence that Wesley and Methodism had on such major theological areas as sanctification and holiness, on William Booth's approach to the poor and social holiness, on his

approach to autocratic leadership and management style, and on his appreciation of learning – although this was at the prompting of his wife, Catherine. William Booth could never aspire to John Wesley's position in society, education, or learning and had to work for the devotion and respect of his followers. Both founders of religious movements claimed to have no desire to form a separate sect or church, but both had eventually to plan for this. Methodism accepted this more quickly, and it is only recently that the Salvation Army has begun to come to terms with being a church within the Church Universal. One major divergence between Methodism and Salvationism was the refusal of the latter to accept the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The first half of the book deals with William Booth's life up to his move to the East End of London and the early shoots of a ministry and mission that would eventually blossom into the Salvation Army. After early years in poverty and then employment as a pawnbroker's assistant – which would colour his later compassion for the poor – William Booth was to be introduced to the Methodist Church and at the age of fifteen to undergo a profound conversion experience. Roger Green details his pilgrimage through the various groupings of Victorian Methodism, contacts with ministers, preachers and evangelists who would influence the young man, his friends, and Congregationalism as William Booth sought to understand God's will for his life and his call to be an evangelist and preacher. It was also at this time that William was to meet Catherine, also from Methodist stock, and fall in love. They were to become a dynamic partnership with Catherine exercising a preaching and pastoral ministry in her own right. Their relationship was one of mutual support, sustained by extensive correspondence when they were apart. The importance of Catherine is shown by the fact that Roger Green wrote her biography before turning to William. Catherine's influence is considered in this work – her insistence on total abstinence; her demand for an equal role for women; her encouragement of William to read widely; her unifying influence on their children. She was welcomed as a preacher and evangelist in her own right, and she played a crucial role in the developing story of the Salvation Army.

The second half of the book follows the life of William and Catherine Booth in the context of the Christian Mission in the East End of London and its evolution into the Salvation Army with its characteristic military imagery. Roger Green presents William Booth as a charismatic, autocratic leader, who regarded any dissent as desertion: while he felt that he was allowed to rebel against Methodist authority, no-one was to question his. His family were given high office in the Salvation Army without regard to their suitability, and treated far more favourably than other officers. At first, William Booth concentrated on saving souls – the spiritual poverty of the people – although he was very aware of their physical poverty. Attempts to tackle the latter, for which the Salvation Army is perhaps most famous today, were introduced hesitantly and spasmodically. It was after 1885 and *The Purity Crusade* against prostitution, the death of Catherine Booth in 1890, and the publication of William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* that the social ministry was really to take off. But he was never sure that he

had made the right decision.

As William Booth's life drew to a close, although showered with recognition for his work through the Salvation Army, he became a lonely and bewildered old man. His son, Bramwell, had taken over command, and his high-handed approach led to members of the family withdrawing from the Army. Family tension grew. His daughter, Emma, who was his closest child, died. Within him there was conflict between a longing for affection and the need for power. The latter was victor. An active preacher as long as possible, even using the new motor car for travel, William Booth became blind and frail and unable to continue his ministry. He died in 1912, an occasion for great public mourning.

Roger Green has written a very readable biography of William Booth which is also a lucid account of the early days of the Salvation Army. It is a well researched and balanced introduction to the subject for the reader not familiar with the history of the Salvation Army, yet it also offers something to those who know the existing literature. William Booth was very much a man of and for his time. How would he have fared today?

PETER M. BRANT

James Denney (1856-1917): An Intellectual and Contextual Biography. By James M. Gordon. Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006. Studies in Evangelical History and Thought. Pp. xx + 286. £19.99. ISBN 1-84227-399-X.

During the last three hundred years it has been to Scotland, by and large, that we have had to look for dynamic, home-grown theological engagement with the Reformed tradition. Scottish theologians have approached their task with vitality and originality which has at times refuted and at other times accommodated the challenges (if not also the attacks) of modern thought. As time has passed, so many of these once renowned theologians have been forgotten, while others are only half-remembered by name and possibly by reputation but almost certainly not because of the details of their contribution. James Denney probably belongs to this category. Many will have heard of him; some may have read of his work; few will be aware of the consistency and profundity of his thought. This work by James Gordon retrieves Denney by analysing his published work alongside hitherto untapped archive sources and then placing it all into an intellectual and historical context. The result is an erudite account of one of Scotland's foremost theologians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its publication ensures that we are reminded, once again, that there was a time when Reformed theologians, even in Britain, were at the forefront of theological debate.

Dr Gordon subtitles his book "an intellectual and contextual biography", and it certainly lives up to this claim. We are skilfully led through Denney's early life and his initial nurture in the faith among the Reformed Presbyterians – the "extreme Calvinist conscience of Scottish Presbyterianism" – and later in the Free Church of Scotland. The industrial and social development of the Greenock of his youth is recounted in which anti-Irish Roman Catholic sentiment, sabbatarianism

and temperance were virtual articles of faith. Readers are treated to an exposition of the thought of leaders of the Free Church as well as details about the road to union in the denomination, the theological controversies which followed scientific advance and the rise of biblical criticism which culminated in the ousting of David Macrae from Gourrock United Presbyterian Church in July 1879 and William Robertson Smith's removal from his lecturing position at the Free Church College in Aberdeen in May 1881. We learn of the influence of Scottish Common Sense philosophy and the debt owed to former teachers Richard C. Jebb, who taught him respect for the details and context of the biblical text, to John Veitch, who taught him to apply reason and logic when dealing with the text and applying it to experience, and to A. B. Bruce who taught him the value of reason in pursuit of spiritual truth. Interestingly, Edward Caird, his philosophy professor at the University of Glasgow, made no impact on him and Denney was consistently dismissive of Caird's Idealism throughout his life.

Denney's work, both intellectual and pastoral, was marked by a seriousness and rigour which saw him quote classical poets, Plato, Aristotle, Calvin, Schleiermacher, Nietzsche, Spurgeon, Bunyan, Liddon and Faber (among others) in his sermons. His theology was decidedly Reformed, though he refused to accept that scripture was inerrant except in that it contained the gospel whose soteriological efficacy, focused on the person of Jesus, was in all cases inerrant. There was an objective atonement in Christ, but there had to be the subjective sense that one had been reconciled to God. Thus scripture was to be read with the inner witness of the Spirit convicting the believer of its truth. Human experience was paramount, but faith's focal point is the historical person of Jesus Christ.

Having ministered as a probationer at Hill Street, Gallowgate, Glasgow (1883-1885), he was ordained at Broughty Ferry, Dundee, in 1886. After more than a decade in the pastorate he moved to the Theological Hall, Glasgow, where he was successively Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology (1897), Professor of New Testament Language and Literature (1900) and Principal (1915), a post which he held until his untimely death from pneumonia on 15 June 1917 at the age of sixty-one. Though his orthodoxy was clearly in doubt at the time of his appointment to the Theological Hall, during the following twenty years he grew in stature, "becoming a trusted scholar and senior churchman within the United Free Church and beyond", evidence of which was the award of the DD from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Chicago and Princeton.

In many ways Denney's work has not endured, his liberal evangelicalism eclipsed by subsequent developments such as the Barthian bomb on the theologians' playground. There is a harshness in his style which was born of deep conviction but appears repellent to subsequent ages. He was a "man of his time", especially regarding social renewal and his attitude towards women. Nevertheless, as a theologian he emphasized the enduring themes of the Reformation – a passion for the Scriptures that recognizes their authority without insisting on inerrancy but calling instead for the inner witness of the Spirit – and the content of the gospel, namely the reconciling work of the historical Christ. This he taught and preached for over thirty years. He deserves to be remembered

and Dr Gordon's lucid biography is a fitting tribute to a minister and theologian of "stern but warm piety", who was committed to dogmatic truth but whose life was dedicated to the service of the Body of Christ.

ROBERT POPE

Church and State: The Contribution of the Church of England Bishops to the House of Lords during the Thatcher Years. By Andrew Partington. Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006. Studies in Christian History and Thought. Pp. xxvi + 324. £24.99. ISBN 1-84227-334-5.

The contribution of the Lords Spiritual to the legislative process during Margaret Thatcher's premiership has been thoroughly mapped out by Andrew Partington in this broad, and yet detailed, survey of Episcopal activity in the upper chamber during the 1980s. The reader is left with a clear impression of overarching trends in areas such as voting patterns, attendance, speech making, key parliamentary sessions and political issues, but also has a rich resource to turn to time and again when precise information is required – for example, looking at a specific bishop, on a specific issue at a particular time. Partington illuminates his copious charts, graphs, tables, figures and analysis with revealing interviews and correspondence with bishops who served in the Lords during the period in question. It is this latter aspect of the book, along with his timely critiques in the conclusion to each chapter, that gives it real value, a value that goes beyond the interesting empirical data and addresses issues such as church and state, the propriety of Episcopal participation in the legislative process and future reform of the House of Lords.

Following the introduction, chapters two and three outline the political and ecclesiastical context for the study. The analysis follows a conventional line and Partington establishes Thatcher's crusading credentials, her radical economic agenda and her suspicion of "the establishment". Similarly the Labour opposition is characterised as weak and divided and the House of Lords championed as the real opposition to the Thatcher Government (defeating it more than 150 times between 1979 and 1990). Although Bishop Montefiore claims that the bishops had a vital hand in this opposition it is interesting that Partington's own analysis shows that because of the small number of bishops actually voting they only made a real difference in one division leading to a government defeat. This figure goes some way to explain Partington's general tone of quiet disappointment concerning the House of Bishops, a recurrent theme in the book. He acknowledges the hard work of a number of bishops and the positive public profile that some cultivated in championing the rights of the deprived, poor and dispossessed, but generally their activity in the chamber, perhaps for understandable reasons, was not equal to their rhetoric.

The main body of the research is contained in chapters three to eight and offers an impressive array of facts, figures and statistical analysis. Partington saves his harshest criticism for the chapter analysing the Bishops' use of the Bible (chapter

8), citing the fact that in only 7% of Episcopal contributions was explicit reference made to the Bible. He comments: "John Habgood...was eligible to speak in the House of Lords throughout the Thatcher years (as Bishop of Durham and Archbishop of York) yet considered referring to the Bible to be worthwhile just once".

This is a crucial part of Partington's thesis as it prompts the question, if the Bishops attend, speak and vote infrequently in the House Lords, and even when they do intervene rarely use the Christian scriptures as a basis for their comments, then what is the distinctive mandate securing their position in the upper chamber? Partington's conclusions are clear and his recommendations helpful. He requests flexibility and imagination from the House of Bishops if they are to retain some influence in a reformed second chamber. He calls for a reduction in their number, an increase in their activity and for mechanisms to be put in place to ensure meaningful and distinctive contributions. These changes will not be easily achieved.

In August 2006 the Archbishop of York, Dr John Sentamu, seized public opinion when he criticised the Government over its stance on the Israeli-Palestinian bombings. He was not speaking in the House of Lords but in the context of a week's prayer vigil for the Middle East, spending day and night inside York Minster in a tent. This was an event that attracted huge media interest and put pressure on the government's stated policy of non-condemnation of Israeli action. This example highlights a change in British culture as to how the public relates to leaders in our society. It is no longer a powerful speech in Westminster that inspires a nation, instead the focus is on the "media event" and the words that are spoken simply provide a framework for the visible message which is mediated through the television screen. Archbishop Sentamu's example reminds us of the ever changing way in which governors relate to the governed and is also a timely reminder that perhaps a cold church floor is a more appropriate starting point for Christian influence in society, than the comfort of the red leather benches.

The legislative process in parliament matters enormously; those chosen to legislate, whether by election or appointment, should be fully engaged with society and the parliamentary process. Bishops are in a unique position to offer insight and reflection on moral and spiritual issues as well as to reflect concerns from the communities they serve. Partington's analysis helps us to understand the challenges facing bishops and offers helpful suggestions for future reform.

Regardless of the timescale and structure of a future reformed second chamber it seems certain (at present) that Church of England Bishops will have a role to play in it. However, as Partington clearly shows, they cannot rely on recent history to strengthen their claim.

JAMES COOK