A

CRITICAL STUDY

OF THE WORKS OF

CHARLES EDWARDS

(1628 - 1691?)

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D.Phil Thesis

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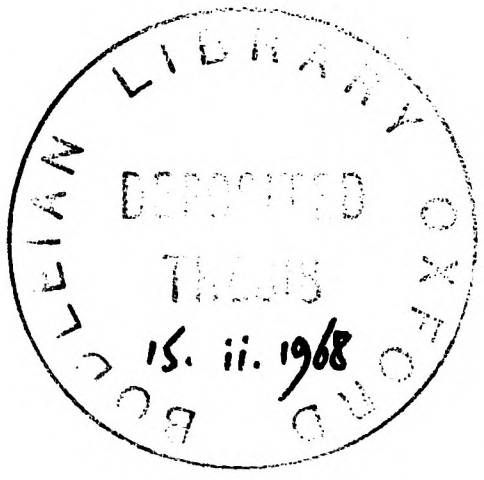

I wish to thank Professor I. Ll. Foster for his generous help to me during the time I spent preparing this thesis.

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ABSTRACT.

Charles Edwards's works have not, before now, been subject to much critical scrutiny. Of course, there are many other sixteenth and seventeenth-century Welsh writers who have not received the attention they deserve, but they are mostly translators of English works and not original authors. 'Mae'n syn', observes Mr Saunders Lewis in a volume of essays collected in 1945, 'mor araf deg yw beirniadaeth Gymraeg yn cydnabod mawredd Charles Edwards.' In the nineteenth century Lewis Edwards was the only critic who concerned himself with demonstrating Charles Edwards' literary gifts, emphasizing especially his genius for metaphor. William Edmunds, in his 1856 edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards's major work, contributed to the study of that work by attempting to trace and note some of the sources of the historical section of the book. Ivor James in 1886 was the first to write an acceptable history of Edwards's life. In the twentieth century little was heard of Edwards until G.J. Williams's standard edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, which included a masterful introduction, was published in 1936, after which Mr Saunders Lewis wrote three illuminating articles on Edwards's chief work (in 1945, 1949, 1950). Mr Hugh Bevan's Hanes y Ffydd yng Nghymru (1948) sought only to stress the importance of one chapter of "Hanes y Ffydd". My study of Charles Edwards, then, is the first comprehensive study of all his works.

The first Part of the thesis is devoted to Edwards's life and times. I have outlined some of the more prominent religious ideas of his age, and attempt to show how they, together with Edwards's consciousness of the most pressing needs of Wales during his lifetime, influenced the Puritan preacher to use his literary skills, with a view to reach a public that would attain spiritual benefit from his books.

His greatest work, as I have noted, was Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, a volume that grew in three editions between 1667 and 1677 from being little more than a sketchy history of the faith to become one of the masterpieces of Welsh prose, a history of the work of God in the affairs of the world and in the soul of man. Part 2 of this thesis deals with the various sections of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. The first three chapters treat of "Hanes y Ffydd" In Chapter I I trace the growth of the history from 1667 to 1677, note Edwards's revision and innovations and discuss the nice change in his attitude towards Popery. Chapter II constitutes a brief survey of the tradition of Christian historians to which Edwards belongs: as a historian he is at one with the prophets of the Old Testament, with Eusebius and Walter Ralegh no less. Like Isaiah and Jeremiah, he believes the special unity of the nation, and persistently urges the Welsh, his special concern, to please God: the nature of his appeal is discussed at the end of this second chapter of Part 1. The third and final chapter on "Hanes y Ffydd" deals with the main sources (excluding the Bible) of Edwards's history. It is a study of the way in which Edwards manipulates the knowledge he gleans from others to suit his own ends.

Chapter IV of this part of the thesis is a description of the ideas portrayed in the second section of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, a 'proof' of the 'verity' of the Christian religion. The chapter is closely related to Chapter V, which is an ordered discussion of the various ideas, traditional and contemporary, which constitute Charles Edwards's theological standpoint. These are the ideas alluded to in the images and descriptive passages of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd", the third and greater part of Y Ffydd Ddi-

ffuant, where Edwards describes God's work regenerating the human soul. In this chapter I try to describe his partial affinity with the moderate Anglican writers of the earlier seventeenth century (and with others) and how his brand of Puritanism - for Edwards is invariably described as a 'late Puritan' - is one generously wary of the stricter tenets of Calvinism. Chapter V briefly describes Edwards's purpose in recruiting Welsh poets - some of the pre-Reformation era - to swell his army of witnesses who testify to the goodness of the unfeigned faith.

The last chapter of Part 2 of this thesis is a study of Edwards's style of writing in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. I have demonstrated how his (possible) coming under the indirect influence of Ramism affected his method of expression.

Part 3 consists of a less detailed study of Edwards's other works, In Chapter I his idiosyncratic preoccupation with the affinities of the Welsh and Hebrew languages is discussed - the possible sources of Edwards's interest and the type of books (lexicographical and instructional) which may have been of assistance to him in his pursuit of this study. The first half of Chapter II is a description of Edwards's first English work, Fatherly Instructions (1686), an anthology of the works of some of the Early Church Fathers. In the second half of the chapter I have shown the nature of the anthology - i.e. the way in which the editor used these early works to defend and advance his own near-Puritan ideas. Chapter III treats of two separate pieces which Edwards brings together: i) the nature of his abridgement of Gildas's De Excidio Britanniae, published in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant; and ii) a series of 'sermons', printed with Fatherly Instructions, under the title Gildas Minimus, written with Gildasian intensity though not with Gildasian insight 'to disswade from

Apostacy, and those other Abominations that are like to be very pernicious to these Nations'. In Gildas Minimus there are signs of the mental ill-health more easily detected in Edwards's An Afflicted Man's Testimony Concerning His Troubles (1691), the subject of Chapter IV. The last chapter of Part 3 is a description of the editorial work carried out by Edwards for the Welsh Trust during 1675-1682, and a discussion of the significance of this work.

Part 4 of the thesis is an attempt to assess the greatness of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant and to show how the one motive of winning souls to God invests all Edwards's works, though all different from each other, with a unity of purpose.

PART 1

BACKGROUND

CHARLES EDWARDS AND THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF WALES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Charles Edwards was born at Rhyd-y-croesau in the parish of Llansilin, Denbighshire, in 1628, one of ten children born to Robert Edwards of Lledrod and his wife Anne, daughter of Robert Cyffin of Cynllaith.[1] In the short biography he wrote towards the end of his life, Edwards, though proposing 'to leave some Account of my Ways', reveals nothing about his family connections or of his early years.[2] In 1644 he was at Oxford, a Bible Clerk at All Souls.[3] He most probably went to school at Oswestry or Rhuthun;[4] and was elected to his Bible Clerkship through the influence of the Warden of Rhuthun, Dr David Lloyd, a former Fellow of All Souls.[5] Nothing more is known of Edwards's youth.

Lloyd came to Rhuthun in 1642, the year King Charles set up his standard at Nottingham. Then, possibly for the first time, Edwards became acquainted with the nature of the division that rent the realm, England more than Wales. His County, like his headmaster, remained faithful to the crown throughout the first war with the Parliamentarians.[6] The Rhuthun that Charles Edwards left in 1644 contained cavaliers in its castle;[7] and the Oxford he reached was the Royalist headquarters.[8] The students at the University were no doubt afforded ample opportunity to follow the course of the war. At the surrender of the city on 24 June 1646[9] they probably understood as well as anybody that the civil war was at an end. Yet the full implications of defeat were not wholly understood until the arival of the Visitors sent by Parliament to prove the University's loyalty to the new regime.[10] In the Testimony Edwards recalls that around this time 'I was among others questioned to be removed from a Place I had

in a Colledge, and another voted in'.[11] His 'Crime' was the answer he gave to 'the said Visitors': Burrows reports that when interrogated Edwards said,

> I humbly submitt to this Visitation, as farre as its proceedinge be accordinge to the Lawes of the Land and the Statutes of the Universitie. [12]

Yet he did not allow himself to be deprived for long, for on 27 October following, he was 'voted in' to another scholar's place at Jesus College. Edwards notes that he gained this place 'Upon the solicitation of some friends', Sir Thomas Myddelton, MP for Denbighshire, probably among them.[13] It is obvious that Edwards had submitted to the Visitors sometime during the eighteen weeks between 1 June and October, for at that time Myddelton was still championing the parliamentary cause as chief-of-defence in North Wales during the second civil war[14] and probably would not bargain with the Visitors on behalf of a stubborn Royalist.[15]

Edwards graduated in June the following year. In his B.A. dispensations during the same month he 'was appointed to make a Latin Declamation in Praise of Clemency', which he did as 'effectually' as he could.[16] Ivor James, in his article on "Charles Edwards a'i Amserau", claims that certain parts of the declamation appear to contain criticism of the government, especially of Cromwell's promotions.[17] Perhaps the historian misrepresents the case by over-interpretation. For if Edwards truly coveted the 'Fellowship promised [him]',[18] then it is obvious that he desired more than anything to remain in Oxford, in a university now subject to Puritan rule. In order to do so, he would have been meticulously careful not to offend the anti-Royalists in any way. However Edwards was 'denyed' the Fellowship: according to the Testimony, the

Visitors connived with the Principal and the new Fellows of Jesus to make him 'Socius Honorarius only,'[19] a claim not upheld by any other record.[20] 'Being thus left destitute of any encouragement in the University' Edwards left Oxford and returned to 'the Countrey to see my Friends.'[21] He arrived home in Denbighshire during the winter of 1649.

It is tempting to add, following the report of his failure to become a Fellow, that Edwards arrived home a disappointed young man. But since the Testimony furnishes an account of his spiritual condition at that time, it is known that as a student he had experienced God's grace. 'At Oxford', he writes,

> very piercing inward Troubles pressed my Mind for several Months together, which made me spend many an hour in secret pensiveness, and by supplication to importune the Lord for his Mercy and favour through Christ, in a more earnest manner than I had been acquainted with before. And being heartily convinced of the goodness of God, I took a Resolution to serve him more carefully than I had done... [22]

It was in the temper of this conviction that Edwards 'soon found much sweetness in Duties both publick and private.'[23] 'Soon' perhaps refers to 21 November 1650 when at Wrexham the Commissioners of the Propagation of the Gospel in North Wales 'Ordered y^{t} 60$\underline{l}$ per ann. be payd to Mr. Charles Edwards for his officiating in y^{e}...worke of y^{e} gospell.'[24] During the twelve months or so he spent idle in Denbighshire he was given ample time not only to consider the actions that had led him to leave Oxford but also to consider the religious and political conditions of Wales.

Wales at that time was certainly not a place to warm the heart of a man who had supplicated for 'favour through Christ': it was a country in which there was 'a great famine of the Word', bereft of the basic essentials of godliness.[25] Indeed, her more conscientious

sons had called for a programme of evangelization since the end of the sixteenth century. John Penry in 1587 saw 'the spirituall miserie wherein we nowe live in the Country of WALES'[26] as sufficient reason for the Lord to punish the land with 'great plagues', 'flames of inquenchable vengeance'.[27] To Elizabeth's counsellors, he pleaded, 'You must not sleep at night....but intreat the Lord, her maiesty, and this honourable court, to raise the ministrie of his word in Wales.'[28] Both history and necessity spurred Penry to his task: he speaks of the gospel as the inheritance which 'our fore-fathers the Cymbrubrittons many hundred yeares agoe possessed in this lande', and as the only medicine that will cure the 'obstinate idolators that would fair be again in execrable Rome.'[29] This sad state of affairs had not been rectified even forty years later. In 1625 it was an Englishman who informed the Commons of the 'want of knowledge in Wales'.[30] Resistant pockets of Catholicism still remained. On St Winifred's Day in 1629 there congregated a host of between 1400 and and 1600 by her well in Flintshire, and during the same year forty-eight recusants appeared before the bench in the Vale of Glamorgan. In 1637 there were nineteen recusants from Carmarthenshire summoned before the Grand Sessions.[31] Popish practices continued in the Welsh countryside down to the 1650s.[32] These 'blind superstitious ceremonies' lingered 'among us', insisted John Lewis in 1646, simply because Wales lacked a preaching ministry.[33] The Gospel was suppressed and the Word hid. 'Ac nid rhyfedd i anwybodaeth bylu ein cenedl ni', comments Charles Edwards in 1677, 'pryd na lefasent gan y gyfraith roi dysceidiaeth iw plant: na chan babyddiaeth yr amseroedd hynny gael golwg o'r scrythyrau'.[34]

Moreover, there exists sufficient testimony to accuse the

Established Church of carelessness in Wales. Penry, in imploring his countrymen to live in parishes where there were godly ministers,[35] condems all the rest as ungodly. Oliver Thomas in "Y Rhagymadrodd at Eglwys-wyr Cymru" in Car-wr y Cymry (1630) is at pains to persuade the clergy, without seeming too critical of their work, to tend to their flocks more diligently. He reveals that in each of the Welsh dioceses there were between forty and sixty churches without a preacher even in high summer when roads were dry and the weather fine. Woe to them, exclaims Thomas, who remain '[yn] swrthgwsc eu difrâwch!'[36] Walter Cradoc's statement, made in 1646, that in the thirteen counties of Wales there were no more than thirteen ministers sympathetic to the parliamentary cause who preached twice on a Sabbath,[37] is all the more acceptable in the light of the declaration made by the more moderate Thomas. For Vavasor Powell, the Welsh were 'my dear and soul-hungering countrymen'.[38]

This sorry situation had been allowed to develop partly because for Canterbury Wales had been but one of the 'dark corners of the land.'[39] For the higher clergy Welsh bishoprics were but as stepping-stones to more lucrative sees in England. In England itself the advent of Puritanism as a force within the Anglican Church testified to a lack of missionary zeal and spiritual endeavour among its hierarchy, whose members, Laud especially, were (towards the beginning of Charles I's reign) concerned with re-establishing the authority of the church in the state, made manifest in a community of worshippers.[40] Laud wished for power in the land, a 'national corpus Christianum'.[41] He joined the shepherd's staff and the king's sword: indeed, in early Stuart times, elaborated praise for the monarchy was a characteristic of many churchmen.[42]

To support his high position, Laud stressed the 'divine commission of episcopacy'.[43] And to be prince of the church, attended 'abroad' by 'forty or fifty' mounted ushers, was more comfortable than to be a preacher to fine consciences.[44]

Laud's intention, then, was to restore priests to a position of privilege, thus elevating them further from their impoverished flocks, many of whom were more used to listen to the readings of homilies than the preaching of sermons.[45] Laud set out to revive ceremony and rite: rails were placed around church communion tables, now restored to the chancel; moreover, it was insisted that communicants should kneel at the altar; then in 1629 the King ordered that lecturers, wearing surplice and hood, should read the service provided in the Prayer Book before delivering their sermon.[46] What the former Bishop of St David's sought for above all was 'ecclesiastical supervision' over the devotional habits of the King's subjects, an arrangement that would give the Established Church full control of religious opinion. One way of succeeding was to censor books and limit the number of lectureships, and during the eleven years of personal rule that Charles I enjoyed with Laud at his side, both printing rights were with-held and pulpits silenced.[47] Such action by the powerful Arminian minority naturally provoked criticism, however muffled. By 1640 the majority of English Protestants agreed with Francis Rous that 'the root of all our grievances I think to be an intended union between us and Rome.'[48]

This attitude among the higher clergy was also assumed by the common parish rector, and it spread like a cold which froze over 'y dwfr bywiol o n golwg fel na chae ein heneidiau sychedig vfed o honaw.'[49]

The Archbishop's policies roused William Wroth, recotr of Llanfaches, and William Erbury, vicar of St Mary's and St John's, Cardiff, to oppose them, an action for which they were summoned to appear before the High Commission in October 1635.[50] In the previous year the authorities had withdrawn Walter Craddock's licence to preach.[51] From Cardiff, Erbury's curate went northward to Wrexham, where his preaching attracted crowds as early as six in the morning: yet officialdom caught up with him and he was dismissed with a year.[52] The Calvinist vicar of Llanymddyfri was one who did manage to attract both promotion (Laud appointed him Chancellor of St David's in 1626) and congregations too large to be accommodated in the nave.[53] Yet the few could never cope with the vast missionary field that was Wales at that time: the ice that Daid Rowlands mentions was frozen deep.

Not only was there a shortage of sermons in Wales, but also a scarcity of devotional books. The small number of Welsh books available was, to Oliver Thomas, indicative of the priests' unconcern for the souls of the people.[54] 'I have beene in an agony [in the land of our nativitie]' confesses Morgan Llwyd, 'lest I should imprison the trueth of God in silence.' In diagnosing the drastic condition of his people, he too, like Thomas, and John Penry before them, couples the need for scriptural knowledge and 'llyfrau cymreig'.[55] The five-shilling Beibl bach of 1630 was designed to put the Gospel in the hands of the Welsh people[56] - previously only two folio editions had been issued[57] - yet Vavassor Powell could complain loudly in 1646 that his compatriots possessed only 'one Welsh Bible for five hundred families.'[58] Even so a start had been made. There were a few other books, apart from the Bible, on the market. In 1595 Morus Kyffin had published Deffiniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr,

a translation of Jewel's great work; and in the same year Huw Lewis translated Perl mewn Adfyd. But Wales had to wait for over thirty years for a concerted effort begun by Sir Thomas Myddelton and Rowland Heylin for anything approaching a 'surfeit' of devotional publications. In 1630, for instance, an exceptional year, beside the small Bible, Robert Llwyd's translation, Llwybr Hyffordd yn cyfarwyddo yr anghyfarwydd i'r nefoedd appeared, Rowland Vaughan's translation of Bayly's Practice of Piety, as well as the first, small Car-wr y Cymru, and a reprint of Dent's Pregeth Dduwiol. These were followed in 1632 by John Davies's Llyfr y Resolusion. These two years, then, saw the appearance of important books that are named again and again throughout the seventeenth century as the corner-stones not only of the tradition of translating into Welsh but also of the Welshman's religious education: in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant they are revered as 'llyfrau godidog tuag at adeiladaeth ysprydol.'[59] Only within the last few years, writes David Rowlands in 1633, have the Welsh learned to use the art of translation to promote knowledge, open the understanding and purify good morals and Christian behaviour.[60] His own contribution, however inferior, emphasizes the fact that there was at the time a conscious attempt to awaken the dormant spirit of the common Welshman.

Dr Geraint Gruffydd, in treating of the works of Oliver Thomas, notes that 'he represents, at an early date, the meeting and fusion of English Puritanism and Welsh culture.'[61] Moreover, both Myddelton and Heylin, men who had made their fortunes as businessmen in London, were typical representatives of the wealthy middle-class in England who were the backbone of the Puritan Movement. Just as the Welsh stalwarts of the Grocers Company and Ironmonger Company tended to the spiritual needs

of their countrymen, so on a much larger scale in England rich men tried to correct the weaknesses of Anglicanism 'in the field' by patronising ministers or establishing lectureships. In London a group of twelve Feoffees (which comprised four lawyers, four merchants and four ministers) by 1633 had raised enough money to employ eighteen ministers of notably 'radical religious views' in 'strategic preaching posts in and around' the capital.[62] But Laud procured the dissolution of this band, an act which provoked Prynne to observe that the Archbishop 'would rather keep people in ignorance than see them instructed with the Gospel's light.'[63]

Nevertheless, preaching could not be stamped out. And the men who taught their audiences to know Christ through the spoken word also trained them to respect and use the written word. The preachers, writes Haller, 'created a literature in English' setting forth 'a doctrine of faith and courage.'[64] Bayly and Dent contributed greatly to this body of literature, a power which Laud so feared it was alleged that he refused licence to reprint Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Jewell's Works and the Practice of Piety.[65] Yet, contrary to the case of the author of Car-wr y Cymru, it can not be claimed that Puritanism was the force that inspired Robert Llwyd or Rowland Vaughan or Davies Mallwyd to their tasks. Llwyd and Davies were Anglican clerks; and Vaughan too was a faithful member of the Established Church.[66] But they belonged to the moderate wing of that Church, with Hall, Downame, Ussher and Hammond, men who sought 'a comprehensive unity in a broad and tolerant definition of the essentials of saving faith.'[67]

To divide simply and to borrow political terms, the Puritans in the Church of England occupied a position to the left of these Moderates. However, it must be remembered that historians have continually stressed

the indefinability of the energy that constituted early Puritanism. It is described variously as a movement that developed into a 'tremendous storm,'[68] as a 'philosophy of life' and 'an attitude to the universe' born of complete trust in the Almight and the spirit within.[69] It was also a craving for simplicity of belief and morality in the state. Calvinistic in theology the Puritan faith was built around the central pillar of the doctrine of predestination. Man's total depravity could be repaired only by the Lord in His Justice. Until visited by grace, man could not receive salvation. Thus they who were sure of their own election achieved an artistocracy of spirit that could lead only to self-confidence. Moreover, they gradually looked upon themselves as a community of saints. In time this was seen as sufficient justification for them to dissent from the Established Church that was indistinguishable from the state and that through its customs under Laud had alienated itself from the standards of true Christian living as defined by the Puritans themselves. (For instance, the latitude granted to wordly pleasures in the Book of Sports of 1618 and 1633 especially Sunday frolics, was anathema to the Puritans, who prized the Sabbath as a day of worship and prayer.[70]) Not only did the elect look upon themselves as a godly band set apart from sinners, they also had been taught to recognize the equality of all men before God. They developed, thus, a sense of destiny, a readiness to help themselves along confident of God's support. 'And presently', William Haller adds, 'to draw the obvious practical inference that God before whom all men are leveled is sure in his own time to uplift the low and humble the great.'[71]

The Long Parliament that saw fit to oppose the King, or, of greater significance, to breach the sanctity that hedged him, as Hill

puts it, was largely composed of men who had experienced such Puritan thoughts. Though the Civil War was not primarily a religious war, there were many, including Cromwell, for whom it came to that. There were some Welshmen who never thought of the campaign in civil terms. Craddock, Erbury and Llwyd served as chaplains in the Parliamentary army, and exhorted their soldiers to believe that they had God on their side. (They also sometimes preached to captured Royalists, among whom there were many Welshmen.[72]) Even Charles Edwards in 1677, restricted as he was by censorship, does make a note on the Civil War, and observes that it was a religious one. Under guise of commenting on the Thirty Years War in Europe, he cleverly (if glancingly) refers to the matter of the battle at home. 'Yn yr oesoedd diwethaf', he tells the reader, 'yr oedd y Germaniaid, a gwyr Ffrainc, a'r Saeson yn daer ar yr awdurdodau oedd arnynt am gael rhyddid i ddilyn purdeb crefydd.[73] Edwards undoubtedly knew of the Lutheran struggle in Germany and of the problems posed for the Huguenots by the Catholic revival in France, and these affairs certainly won his sympathy, but it is the struggle on the home fromt that most interests him. He makes use of these recollections about foreign religious wars to emphasize the density of Welsh inertia at that time. For he adds: 'Ond gorfu ir awdurdodau goruchel gymell y Cymry i ddaioni'.[74] Edwards now refers to the consequences of the Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales, passed on 22 February 1650.[75]

Welshmen had petitioned the Commons for more preachers to serve the Principality as far back as 1641, but they had to wait for over five years before the House, moved by Craddock's sermon, "The Saints fullnesse of joy", began to finance gospel-work in the land. Though the Committee

for Plundered Ministers, sitting in London, appointed over a hundred-and-thirty preachers, no progress was made until the passing of the 1650 act, which gave Wales a high degree of 'religious self-government.'[76]

Commissioners were appointed to examine the clergy already incumbent in Welsh livings, and 278 of them were ejected. The revenues of their vacated benefices were then pooled to finance an itinerant ministry that was set up by twenty-five Approvers. By September 1652 'there were 150 good preachers in the 13 Welsh counties; most of them preached 3 or 4 times a week.'[77] One of these was Charles Edwards. Yet this number was hardly sufficient to meet the starving needs of a country which had, in 1654, over seven-hundred parishes with no incumbent, and sometimes, Alexander Griffith reports, twenty churches within twelve miles radius with not 'one door opened.'[78]

The printing press, too, was kept busy. During the seven years between 1647 and 1654, Powell and Craddock were responsible for the distribution of no less than three editions of the Welsh New Testament (each of three thousand copies) and one edition of the Bible (of approximatel six thousand copies).[79]

Yet the Puritan programme did not prove successful. For one thing it was much easier to eject than to recruit ministers. Though some sixty schools were set up, it was all their masters could do to teach children to read. Even if a college had been established to train ministers,[80] the problems of empty pulpits and unhardened convictions would not have been solved. In March 1653 the Propagation Act legally expired, and it was not given a second term. The financial resources that provided for the itinerants was discontinued, and some of the

itinerants themselves were appointed to 'settled parochial duties'.[81] On Charles Edwards the rich 'Sine Curâ of Llanrhaiad in the Counties of Denbigh and Montgomery' was conferred.[82]

On 20 March 1654 'Triers' or 'Commissioners for the Approbation of Publique Preachers' were given powers by Cromwell, now Lord Protector, and the Council in State to review the work accomplished by the Propagators, and to advance further the work of Christ in Wales. Their first task was to reassert the appointment of ministers licensed between 1646 and 1652. In order to secure retainment these ministers were asked to secure a testimonial signed by 'three persons of known godliness and integrity', testifying to their knowledge and ability to preach.[83] Fourteen persons supported Edwards's claim to remain in the lucrative living of Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant.[84] There, he recalls, 'I exercised my Talent in Preaching... and sometimes Catechizing, and with such as were willing I monthly fasted and prayed on a Week-day, either in private or in publick, and invited others to assist me therein also.'[85] From his own testimony at least, it appears that Edwards, still only twenty-six years of age, had settled down to some profitable work. Thanks perhaps to the diligence of George Griffiths, a former minister in Montgomeryshire who served on the board of 'Triers', there were by 1658 but five parishes in Edwards's adopted county without an incumbent. He probably enjoyed the company of a lively fraternity.

Yet the early years of the Commonwealth saw no great improvement in the crusade. The ejected clergy were hostile towards the usurpers who had taken over their livings, and many of their old parishioners remained unconvinced of the glory that was offered them anew. Richard Jones in the preface to his translation, Galwad I'r Annychweledig (1659),

rebukes the Welsh for persisting in sin: though impassioned preachers, he writes, opened the doors of hell to horrify them, yet they shunned all criticism: 'Ac nid oedd yr holl bregethau a bregethwyd i chwi ond megis bwledau o bapir at gaer o bres'.[86] In some parishes the people were not afforded a chance to warm to the Word of God, for they did not understand the language of the monoglot Englishmen placed among them: Llandinam, Llanllyfni, Newton Nottage and Abergele all fell prey to Anglo-Saxons.[87] Where there was no minister at all, the parishioners were 'growing into a careless content of being without.'[88] This situation served no worse than that of many another parish which retained an uneducated incumbent, incapable of delivering a sermon. Few of these remained, though enough to warrant the criticism of Rowland Vaughan, who speaks disdainfully in 1659 of 'llawer o Grefftwyr' who became priests 'yn ddiweddar', men who sowed tared but who insisted that theirs was choice wheat.[89] All in all, John Owen was justified in giving a 'melancholy description' of the state of religion in Wales when he preached before Parliament on 30 October 1656. In the sermon Owen deplores the 'unhappiness of all men running into extremes' or inconveniencing 'the advancement of the gospel': some congregations, he observes, demanded nothing less than the return of 'their old road of beggarly readers', whilst some preachers, over-zealous, lacked the talent for diplomacy essential in such delicate affairs. 'Between complaints on the one side and the other I fear - between misguided zeal and formality - the whole work is almost cast to the ground; the business of Sion, as such, is scarcely by any cared for.'[90]

In the light of Dr Owen's theme it is interesting to focus on Charles Edwards's business of January 1657 at Llanrhaeadr. Like Bishop Morgan before him, he too suffered at this 'Nazareth'.[91]

It appears that the 'richer sort' there, who 'delighted more in natural Recreations' than in 'Preaching' or 'Catechizing' (these are Dr Owen's 'some' who 'are still zealous of the traditions of their fathers'[92]) sought to have Edwards dismissed from his benefice, and to invite 'the Regius Professor' of Divinity at Cambridge, an Englishman, to secure the living. Perhaps it was the self-pitiful 'afflicted man' of 1691 who believed that his parishioners had brought allegations against him into the Protector's hands, and wished him away.[93] For Richards notes that it was Anthony Tuckney, the professor himself, who had made 'a vigorous effort' to be installed in the parish.[94] However, the Approvers in London upheld Edwards's claim to remain.[95] But even if emnity had developed between the incumbent and his more influential parishioners, the Protector's Committee were scarcely in a position to oust a diligent Welsh-speaking physician of souls and replace him with an English-speaking university Fellow who would most certainly be an absentee.

Nevertheless, by the end of 1660, Edwards was out. It is difficult to say exactly when. According to his own account, 'about the end of Winter' of that year, 'the Bishop of the Diocess newly installed', Dr George Griffith, 'sends word that he had my Benefice granted him in Comendam by the King.' Edwards recalls that he was justly indignant. He had obtained Llanrhaeadr fairly 'without misplacing any Man'; and had 'paid yearly about forty pounds to Widows and Fatherless'. Moreover, at the Restoration, nothing was demanded of him by authority that he refused to do. Even then he had proposed to 'continue' in possession of the living.[96] The official records, however, tell a different tale. (And G.J. Williams recognizes the discrepancy.[97]) According to the

Lambeth Manuscripts, in January 1659 Francis Howell, then Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, was presented with the benefice.[98] How is one to explain this sudden transformation of favour, asks Thomas Richards, 'except on the ground that Edwards resigned or (as is more probable) was removed on account of trouble with the parishioners and complaints made against him to the Government?' It is not impossible that Edwards's memory had been slightly deranged by 1691 - indeed, perhaps it was late in 1658 that his parishioners exhibited 'Articles.... alledging him to be disaffected' to the Protector, now Richard Cromwell, and his Government. Did Edwards, then, become disillusioned with the Protectorate, like Powell before him? (He certainly did not turn his coat in 1658 or 1659. For although he confesses that he bowed to the new monarchical authority in 1660 he did not become a faithful Anglican again). Or was his puritan zeal too energetic for the unspiritual royalist sympathizers of Montgomeryshire who would go to any lengths to have Edwards ejected, preferring an absentee Puritan occupied in Oxford to a meddling soul-physician always on his rounds? The records of the Denbighshire Quarter Sessions complicate things further - yet they do confirm the fact that Edwards did not embrace Anglicanism. In a recent essay on the trends of the restoration process within the diocese of St Asaph, Mr Milwyn Griffiths reveals that Charles Edwards (among a few others, including Jonathan Roberts, and Ambrose Mostyn)[100] found himself presented by the grand jury 'for not having reintroduced the Book of Common Prayer into the services at Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant.'[101] This means that Edwards was still there in the late summer of the year of the Restoration. But in the next paragraph

of his article, Mr Griffiths, following the list compiled by Thomas Richards, states that on account of the dispensation granted to Bishop Griffith to hold the benefice in commendam to October 1660 it was Francis Howell who had to vacate Llanrhaeadr.[102] Is it possible that Edwards, though ousted from his place, obtained Howell's permission to stay there, acting as 'curate'? But then, what would the parishioners think of this state of affairs? Certainly, there is something mysterious about 1660 for Edwards's biographers.

The true facts of the case may never be known. But one thing is obvious: it was the end of an era both for Charles Edwards himself and for the Puritan experiment. In a way, the deaths of Morgan Llwyd and William Erbury in 1659 symbolize the close of an era which had not been a happy one for those concerned with the spiritual advancement of Wales. The dispute between Vavasor Powell and Craddock over Cromwell's policy during the Protectorate had opened a rift in the Baptist and Independent ranks;[103] the stigma of Anglicanism was too strong to be erased; and the preachers failed to win the support and patronage of civil officials who, as the years went by, became increasingly unco-operative.

If his word is to be believed, Edwards took the Oath of Allegiance to the Restored King.[104] Richards observes that the Puritans who conformed in this manner fell into two classes: i) men 'who had no conscientious objections to a complacent conformity in its full sense'; and ii) those who looked forward to an Anglican Establishment that would tolerate a Calvinistic Puritan wing.[105] From succeeding events in his life, it appears that Edwards did not work

for any such comprehension. At the time, perhaps Charles II's Declaration at Breda fully satisfied him. No-one can tell. Edwards apart, Wales produced many 'complacent' turncoats. Twenty-one ministers appointed to livings in Puritan times were confirmed there by the King;[106] and twenty-three reordained.[107] A further thirty were settled in a new livings, six of whom displaced a Puritan incumbent who had not applied for reinstatement.[108] And of course the ejected Anglicans returned.

This episode of 'indecent' scrambling[109] for livings is not as totally shameful as it seems. It afforded the Purtians a chance - the first in ten years - to know exactly who were faithful to their cause.

Moreover, for allthe mistakes in tactics and appointments and organization made by the Propagators and Triers, a large area of Wales had been given the opportunity to listen to God's Word: and the seed had undoubtedly found some good ground. In one part of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant Edwards is dejected by the gospel's lack of success with the Welsh: notwithstanding official persuasion, 'braidd y deffrôent er hynny:'[110] But he adds, 'nid yn ofer y goleuodd Duw ei lampau.'[111]

From 1660 to 1666 Charles Edwards lived, as he says, 'very privately, and as inoffensively as I could.'[112] It is difficult to imagine a former Oxford scholar who had of late developed a zeal for pastoral work doing nothing during these years. Bereft of his pulpit, he probably took to his pen, and began to write the history that was also to be a justification of his stand for the unfeigned faith of the non-conformists of his age, now being harrased severely

for their dissent. By the Act of Uniformity 19 May 1662 the use of the Book of Common Prayer in services was legally re-established. Thus all non-conformist forms of services were made illegal. 'For peace sake' Charles Edwards 'often went to hear the Conformists in publick.'[113] The uncompromising dissenter was granted very little peace. In May 1664 the first Conventicle Act made illegal a religious meeting that comprised of five people (above 16 years of age) over and above the number of one family present;[114] and harsh sentences were imposed on offenders. The enforcement of this act severely hampered the work of non-conformist congregations for three barren years, during which the restored Anglican clergy tried their utmost to reassert their ecclesiastical authority. Then in October 1665 Parliament passed The Five Mile Act to restruct a dissenting preacher from entering a town or city; or to approach within five miles a village in which he had previously held a living.[115] Could it be that Charles Edwards in 1666 fell victim to one of these laws? For then, though he 'seldom joyned in private Worship with any greater number than the Law allows of', 'several armed men, and one of them with his Sword drawn' rushed into his house, 'abused' his family, called him a 'Traytor' thrust into his Cellar, made themselves drunk with his beer, and took him prisoner 'to the County Gaol'. Edwards does not mention that he appeared before the bench, only that it cost him 'Time and Money to be released.'[116]

This terrifying event marked a tragic turning-point in his life. The enjoyable days of the rich living at Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant were over. Though 'strength after strength' was perhaps

added to the 'moral justification of dissent,'[117] the non-conformist's lot was a hard one. Christian principles had to weigh very heavily indeed in Edwards's mind to counterbalance the emotional setback he received in 1666 at the alienation of his family. The family crisis began upon his return from prison when one of the children died, having taken 'Fright of that Riot', and a fret in the father's absence.[118] Edwards's enemies, perhaps some of his 'Relations... prejudiced by his Persecutors,'[119] persuaded his wife and children to become 'undutiful' to him. In the end, he writes, 'my Wife was so far alienated form me, that she importuned me to part with her and lived asunder' after 'Sixteen Years' of living together 'as lovingly as any couple in that Countrey'.[120] By 'mutual Consent' he was 'induced to go to Oxford', where in 1667 he supervised the printing of his first book, Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

Edwards probably returned to Denbighshire from Oxford. G.J. Williams suggests that he spent some time in Llansilin between 1667 and 1670 preparing a new chapter, "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y Cymru", for a later edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.[121] In the introductory letter at the beginning of Dad-seiniad Meibion y Daran (1671) Edwards reveals that he found a copy of Kyffin's Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr in Glascoed in that parish while he was searching for books on 'helynt y grefydd Gristnogol ym-mysc ein gwladwyr ni gynt.'[122] Williams admits it is possible that Edwards had collected the material for his Welsh history before 1667, but adds that it is more reasonable to believe it was assembled after that year.

It is interesting to note that Edwards contemplated the

reprinting of Jewel's work during the years of severest persecution for non-conformists. He strove to educate his compatriots in the truth of the Christian Religion - 'a chyda hynny ddanghossiad a datgydduad amhuredd crediniaeth Pâb Rhufain'[122(b)] - at a time when the Anglicans, under the Laudian Sheldon, were enforcing the Second Conventicle Act, which became Law on 10 May 1670. Moreover, it was a time when the Established Church failed to outshine itself in Wales. Pluralism (there were 28 pluralists in St. Asaph, 51 in St. David's) was rife; nepotism openly practised - note the affairs of the Lucy family in Dyfed; and the Principality still suffered absentee bishops,[123] one of whom was 'a drunken swearing rascal, and a scandal to the Church.'[124] Even when the 'ejected generation' gave way to young clergymen fresh from the universities, there was no improvement in the attitude of the Anglicans towards the Welsh non-conformists. 'In theology and practice', observes Thomas Richards, 'the churchmen of the Restoration deliberately went back to the ideals of William Laud and Roger Mainwaring.'[125] Edwards bears witness to the fact that many of his contemporaries were 'llawer medrusach ar byngcio dyrîau anllad yn y tvvmpathau chvvarae, nag ar ganu Psalmau â llais peraidd, ac à chalon bur i'r Arglwydd.'[126] Appealing to history, he rebukes the present: 'Oh nad ymegniai'n cenedl i fod mor fywiog, ac mor wresog yn y grefydd Gristnogol ac y fu rhai o'n hen deidiau ni gynt'.[127]

However, his return from Oxford in 1671 (after the publication of Dad-seiniad Meibion y Daran and the second edition of Y Ffydd Ddiffuant) must have been more pleasant than the journey of 1667. By now, persecution of non-conformists had eased somewhat. There was

even speculation that the King - now relieved of his financial dependence upon Parliament[128] - would once more demonstrate his desire for toleration. And in March 1672 Charles II issued his famous Declaration of Independence. It was published primarily to secure concessions for papists; but the Protestant dissenters of the land wasted no time in securing for themselves the licences needed to preach and hold meetings.[129] Charles Edwards was one of only five Welshmen issued with general licences:[130] he was to be 'gen^all Pr: Teach(er) att Oswestree in Salop'.[131] Richards notes that he was included in The Entry Book among the Presbyterians; but adds that no further evidence to prove whether he actually was a Puritan has come to light.[132] Perhaps there is a suggestion in the Testimony that Edwards at least leaned towards Presbyterianism. There he notes: 'My Disposition .... towards the established Ecclesiastical Government was Moderate.'[133] Does this mean that like Baxter and Manton and Bates he had looked anxiously for Comprehension in February 1668 or, again, in 1674?[134] Furthermore, did his interpretation of 'Church-Government, according to the pattern given us in the New Testament', of which Christ should not 'be deprived', tally with that of the orthodox Presbyterians?[135] Edwards fails to elaborate on his statements. Nor does he mention that he held a licence, in 1672. For that matter, he apparently did not take advantage of the new freedom for long: if he was the 'Mr Edwards' at Oxford who informed Anthony Wood of Thomas Ellis's death 24 April 1673, it must be assumed that he had by then relinquished his new duties.[136]

A month previously, Charles II had been forced by Parliament to break the Great Zeal on his Declaration, and although licences were

not recalled until February 1675 non-conformists had been allowed only a year's respite from persecution. The twelve months, nevertheless, had been full of activity: congregations had grown, new ministers confirmed, and - most important of all - the dissenters had been afforded a glimpse of how their spiritual energies could be employed in toleration.[137] Yet in 1676 Wales could boast of little more than 4200 Protestant dissenters (whilst there were over 155,000 churchmen in the land; even the tail-enders of the long innings Rome had enjoyed numbered 1122).[138]

However, though the fruits of thirty years' preaching were not plenty, they were certainly mature and well-tended. In the dark days of the Test Act that followed Sheldon's renunciation of the Declaration of Indulgence, God's Welshmen were blessed with a bounteous supply of devotional literature. Stephen Hughes,[139] as far back as 1659, had realized that the press was a weapon that could greatly profit the non-conformist cause. His publication of the New Testament, the Book of Psalms and the "Salmau Cân" of Edmwnd Prys in one volume in 1672 marks the beginning of a new era in Welsh religious literature. 1674 saw the forming of the Welsh Trust, with Thomas Gouge as its prime mover:[140] it was the intention of the Trust to establish charity schools in the Principality and to print Welsh books to be supplied freely to the poor. By 1675 Hughes had met Edwards (probably in London)[141] and the Welsh author was henceforth employed as proof-reader and editor for the Trust. To be 'busie about the Printing of Welch books' was a work in which Charles Edwards undoubtedly revelled. In 1675 he prepared for publication Vaughan's translation of Bayly's masterpiece, Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb. During

the same year he edited Richard Jones's translation, Hyfforddiadau Christianogol, which was published in 1676 with three other translations by William Jones Dinbych, Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, Principlau neu Bennau y Grefydd Ghristianogol, and an untitled treatise on "Meddwdod, Aflendid, ofer-Dyngu, a Chelwydd."[142] In 1677 Stephen Hughes published two further omnibus volumes, the one, Trysor y Cymry (which included Oliver Thomas's "Car-wr y Cymru Yn anfon tri o ddrychau ysbrydol..." and Richard Jones's translation of Baxter's Now or Never), the other, Cyfarwydd-deb i'r Anghyfarwydd.[143] Towards the end of that year Hughes and Charles Edwards supervised the printing of eight thousand copies of a further edition of the Welsh Bible, a thousand of which were given free to the poor, the rest sold for four shillings each.[144] Then in 1679 Edwards translated Gwyddorion y Grefydd Gristianogol from Gouge's newly extended The Principles of Christian Religion. A new edition of Cannwyll y Cymry in 1681 - the first time this title was given to Prichard's verses - was followed a year later by a reprinting of Vaughan's translation, Prifannau y Grefydd Gristianogawl (1658), that was bound with a Catechism yn Cynwys Pynciau y Grefydd that was probably of Edwards's own composition. In 1682 there was also the reprinting of the 1630 edition of Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd and Llyfr y Resolusion: Edwards was "Dywygiwr y Preinwasg" for the first, and it is possible that he shared with Hughes the burden of reproducing Dr Davies's work.[145] His name has been mentioned in connection with the translation of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in 1688, but most probably his work with the Trust came to an end during 1682.[146]

The Welsh Trust is important in the history of religion in seventeenth-century Wales for one other reason. It succeeded to secure the patronage of both Anglicans and dissenters to advance the work of education the Welsh. Gouge was a minister in London, whilst Stephen Hughes was a non-conformist preacher of great repute in Carmarthenshire and Swansea. They were generously assited by a group of higher clergy that included the future Archbishop Tillotson, Dean Patrick - men of 'strong pastoral devotion'[147] - and William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph. However, 'the generality of Churchmen', writes Thomas Rees, 'were either indifferent, or violently opposed to their proceedings'[148] - one of these churchmen being Humphrey Lloyd, bishop of Bangor, who frowned especially on Hughes's undertaking to print the Bible in 1677-8.

Charles Edwards was further employed during these years in bringing out two books on his own. The first, ready for the press on 24 December 1675,[149] was a curious pamphlet called Hebraismorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen, which comprised of a list of Hebrew words and phrases of like sound structure to words and phrases in Welsh. The supposed affinity between the two languages must have been one of his pet subjects during this time, for to the third, enlarged edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, 1677 Edwards added, as Chapter Thirty-One, "Cryn swm o iaith y patrieirc a'r proffwydi Sanctaidd yn y Gymraeg etto." This edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, like the other two, was printed in Oxford, but not under Edwards's personal supervision. G.J. Williams suggests that the task was undertaken by Hugh Salesbury of Clocaenog, at the time a student at Jesus, author of "Barddoniaeth

ir llyfr hwn" printed in the 1677 edition.[150]

In 1682 Edwards produced what Williams calls 'math o Lyfr Plygain gydag Almanac'.[151] He now ventured into a field strange indeed for a former Puritan minister. There is not one copy of the book - called Priflyfr Newydd by Thomas Jones[152] - extant, but a summary of its contents is given at the end of the 1682 edition of Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd:

> Gwyddorion Ysprydol a Naturiol, gyd ag ysbyserwydd o'r amser, a Ffeiriau Cymru, fel yr oedd yn y llyfr Plygain gynt.[153]

William Rowlands, who saw a copy in a Glamorganshire farmhouse during the middle of the nineteenth century, adds that it also included an Almanac for 1683-4-5, "Barddoniaeth i Hanes y Ffydd" and a section on Rhetoric.[154] The Thomas Jones already mentioned was furious that someone should try to break the monopoly granted him by the Stationers Company,[155] and rebukes ' y lladron digydwybod' who steal his market.

The 'some' that Edwards complains were 'writing' against him probably included Jones - indeed, he probably constituted the 'some'.[156] For during these years Edwards developed a persecution complex that, with the onset of old age, helped to transfom his whole outlook. He saw that there were others, besides Thomas Jones, who allayed the joy he found in the 'gospel' and in 'the opportunity to be serviceable to the publick':

> some reproaching me to the World, and accusing me to men in power, some robbing and defrauding me of my Estate, some tempting me to Uncleanness, others poysoning my Body;... others Preaching against me, and such Ordinances were mounted in my Pulpits as were levelled at me, not to edifie, but to batter down my spiritual Comforts,

> and I should hear terrifying Voices not from black Clouds only, but from bright ones also.'[157]

Then when he returned to the Border Country, having 'been in London a long while', things were no better. His wife died in 1686;[158] and he 'took a Farm...intending thereby to be helpful to the remainder of my Children.' Malice and persecution followed him, his cattle were stolen by night, his crops damaged. But when Edwards wrote of these events, his mind was obviously deranged. For after noting that he was 'brought to a Court' and fined, Edwards concluded, 'the best of my Beasts were presently driven away by a Levari,' though he has just noted the 'killing and stealing' of them all.[159] Edwards's description of his suffering closely resembles one description given by Vavasor Powell of the treatment meted out to non-conformists in 1660-1: but such persecution could hardly have taken place in the more lenient days of James II.

It is not the truth or falsity of the account that interests the critic or historian, but the fact that Edwards states that he was 'induced to translate and print' the Fatherly Instructions of 1686 in consequence to his sorry fate. 'Finding good satisfaction therein', it was to the 'Old Authors' that he turned 'for Advice' in his 'Straits'.[160] He testifies that he profited nothing from the company of fellow dissenters, 'having but few to joyn with me in Prayer, and other Gospel Duties.'[161] (This statement is perhaps a measure more of Edwards's own character at that time, impatient, uncommunicative and of unbalanced mind, than of the nature of the Oswestry conventicle). But Edwards had probably 'searched'[162] the works of the Fathers at Oxford while preparing the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

For in that volume he publishes his own translations of parts of the works of Ignatius, Justin and Tertullian. The extracts were probably ready in book-form before Edwards moved to the farm in Shropshire in 1686. For it is singularly difficult to believe that he could have found time after June 1686 to edit, translate the 'Writings' that constitute Fatherly Instructions, as well as write Gildas Minimus, published as an appendix to it, and secure the printing of the book before the end of the year.

Whereas Fatherly Instructions is presented as a book of spiritual comfort, Gildas Minimus, its complement, was written 'to dissuade from Apostacy, andthose other Abominations that are like to be very pernicious to these Nations, if not timely repented of.'[163] Printed with these works are two letters, one a respectful note "To my Kindred and Acquaintances in the Counties of Salop and Denbigh, and elsewhere." And the contrasting natures of Gildas Minimus and the letters afford further testimony of the unstableness of Edwards's mind in 1686 - a condition that had seriously deteriorated by 1691.

By then even the facts about incidents which had taken place within the previous few years, even months, escaped him. One is especially worthy of notice. Edwards recalls in the Testimony that, following persecution, he had been 'forced to remove' from the farm: this was late in 1686 or early in 1687. In April 1687 James II issued his first Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the Test Act and granting liberty of public worship to both papist and Protestant dissenters.[164] Follwing a second Declaration of Indulgence in May 1688,

the Anglican Church reconsidered its position, now perilous, and sought means to secure some degree of relationship with the Protestant non-conformists of the Kingdom. The one course open to Canterbury was to grant them toleration, and on 24 May 1689 the Toleration Bill 'for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain Laws' received the royal assent of William and Mary.[165] Like all Welsh non-conformists, Edwards was exceedingly 'glad for the liberty given to such as God enlightens and sanctifies with his good Spirit.'[166] Under the Bill's protection the Presbyterians and Independents established a Common Fund to finance the propagation of the gospel; and searched for competent preachers 'inclineable' to be employed. One ready to 'betake himselfe' to the ministry was Charles Edwards, described in a report from that period as an 'ejected minister who lives vpon a Farm' in Shropshire.[167] Yet he himself does not once mention his willingness to preach again. In the Testimony, he merely notes, 'Afflictions have bereaved me of the help of such Gospel Society, and forcibly hindered me to exercise my Talent, as I would, for the promoting thereof'.[168] Apparently, by the end of 1690, he had repeatedly refused the offer of a maintenance of £8 per annum 'if he would devote himself to the ministry'[169] though, during the first six months of 1691 he was so employed.

The episode is but one of the strange scenes that make up the drama of Charles Edwards's life. It is rendered even more complicated by a comment which follows his testament of 'hindrance' in this part of the Testimony. Having stressed his own inability to take up preaching, he writes, 'yet I congratulate that others may

have it', andadds strangely,

> Envy need not counterwork this matter, the success thereof in this sinful Age not being like to be exceeding great. [170]

Envy of what, for goodness sake? Why should Edwards have felt envious, for instance, of those who were free to preach, when he actually did take up the joint Presbyterian - Independent offer? Or was Edwards by now, burdened by knowledge of increasing mental illness, incapable of generosity towards others, including his own colleagues? Hypersensitive to the affliction of being persecuted, Edwards had become paranoic.

There is room to believe that in an Afflicted Man's Testimony concerning his Troubles, Edwards is giving vent to his conviction that this 'stormy, tossing and sinful... World' was approaching its end.[171] Death for him came soon after the publication of this pamphlet: after 'London, July 1. 1691'[172] nothing more is heard of him.

PART 2

Y FFYDD DDI-FFUANT

2, Chapter I

THE HISTORY OF "HANES Y FFYDD"

The first edition of Charles Edwards's major work is entitled Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Adroddiad o helynt y Grefydd Gristnogol Er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon. The book was printed by Henry Hall at Oxford in 1667. It consists of eighty-nine closely printed quarto pages.[1] The first sixty-two pages contain "Hanes y Ffydd er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon". This section can be subdivided thus:

(i) pp. 1-7: A description of the geography of the world, which Edwards calls 'Argraph y ddaiar'.

(ii) pp. 7-14: A history of the world from the Creation of Adam to the Coming of Christ, which is more or less an unrepresentative summary of the story of the Israelites as portrayed in the Chronicles of the Old Testament.

(iii) pp. 14-17: A guide to the missionary fields where the early apostles spread the Gospel.

(iv) pp. 17-23: An account of the ten Roman persecutions of the first three centuries, A.D. ending with the emergence of toleration under Constantine.

(v) pp. 23-26: A sparse account of the plight of the Christians from the time of their liberation from persecution to the Fall of Rome, including a description of how they fared under Constantine, Julianus and the godly emperor Theodosius.

(vi) pp. 26-27: A short paragraph on the Saxon infiltration

into Britain, followed by a statement on the Contemporary State of Christianity in the island.

(vii) pp. 27-32: A report on the evil doings of Antichrist from 666 A.D. to approximately 1324.[2] Edwards accounts for the rise of Mahommedism, and describes the atrocities of the Roman Church of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. During this period, too, the Danes and the Normans in turn fought against the English. In the East the Turks menaced the Christians. Edwards also describes the resistance put up against the Antichrist by the faithful of Toulouse, Croatia, Dalmatia, etc.

(viii) pp. 32-42: An account of the advent of Christian reform in the persons of Husse, Jerome, Wycliff and Brute; in the publishing of the Scriptures; and later in the writings of Luther, Melanchthon and Zwingli.

(ix) pp. 42-45: An account of how the English received the Reformation.

(x) In pp. 45-57 Edwards gives a comparatively detailed history of the sufferings, and a record of the last words and testimonies of Marian martyrs.

(xi) pp. 57-62: A history of Protestant progress in England from 1558 to 1605, followed by a summary of the lot of the Papists in Ireland and Piedmont, and a final desideratum, 'Ac am deyrnasoedd y dwyrain, gobeithio nas gorthruma Coel-grefydd Mahomet mor efengyl yn y gwledydd hynny dros nemawr o amser'.[3]

The second edition, also printed at Oxford by Henry Hall, in 1671, is entitled Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Adroddiad o helynt y Grefydd Gristianogol Er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon, a phrofiad oi gwirionedd a'i rhinwedd. Edwards affixed an English translation of the title to the Welsh one: The unfeigned Faith. Containing a briefe History of the Christian Religion from the beginning of the World to this present Age: and a proofe of its veritie and efficacie.[4] The book now consisted of two hundred and forty pages of narrative, the printed page being a narrower column than that of the first edition. In addition, Edwards had prepared directions for the illiterate to learn to read Welsh. They filled three pages at the very beginning of the volume: The Welsh alphabet in capital and small letters are printed in three different types; Edwards groups the vowels ('bogeiliaid') and the consonants, demonstrating liberally how they form a syllable ('sylaft'); in homely fashion, he explains the functions of various punctuation marks: 'os bydd y nôd hwn (?) yn canlyn ymadrodd, darllen ef ar sain ymofyn ... Ond pan welech hwn (.) attal dy leferydd...'; finally, he lists examples of Roman numerals and explains how to ascertain the meaning of a year-date.

Further, the author has included an introduction At y Darlleydd dated 'Rhydychen. Rhagfyr 31. 1670', which he signed CHARLES EDWARDES. In it, Edwards makes five points. He says that (a) having considered how advantageous a history of the faith and a proof of its truth and efficacy would be, he undertook to compile one. At the end of the short preface, (b) he apologises for having taken such an important task into his own hands, and urges others, of greater ability and more leisure, to

undertake similar work. (Prefacial humility is of course commonplace in books of this period.) The most important and extended topic is the second: (c) here Charles Edwards stipulates what the purpose of the book is. He states that he recorded in Y Ffydd Ddiffuant the examples of the people of God so that he and his fellow-Christians ('ni') could pass through the cutting which their forefathers cleared through the drifts of tribulation found in this stormy world, and follow the narrow path to everlasting rest. The metaphor is reinforced: quoting Genesis 30^{38-39} Edwards notes how Jacob's sheep came to drink before rods piled in the gutters in the watering troughs, and brought forth lambs of the same colour as the rods; he adds the moral,

> Bydded i ninnau ... iawn graffu ar Grist a'i ferthyron sanctaidd.

In the same vein, he advocates the veneration of 'ein hên deidiau', the ancient Britons, and explains that it was with this end in mind that he supplemented his world history with an account of the history of the faith among the Welsh. (d) Edwards enjoins his Reader to read assiduously and carefully so that he should understand that the faith is old and truthful. (e) He also states that he had hoped to enlarge his section on the efficacy of the faith; and Deo Volente he will do so another time.

At the end of this edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant the author publishes a short vocabulary of one hundred and fifty North Welsh words unknown to some people in the South. This is followed by a short exposition of the Art of Rhetoric.

"Hanes y ffydd er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon" now fills ninety-two pages, but, considering the smaller size of the actual printed page-column, the increase in the number of pages signifies little. G.J. Williams stated 'Y mae'n llawnach nag yn argraffiad 1667', yet the implication of his adjective must be questioned.[5]

Certainly there are various additions to the original narrative in the 1671 edition. Where Edwards in the first edition was pleased merely to refer to passages in Scripture in order to furnish his statements, in the second edition he often - though not always[6] - quoted the verse in full or else gave a synopsis of its contents. For example, while reviewing the history of the people of God in which he compares the behaviour and desires of the godly of the Old Testament and the New, Edwards retains in 1671 the judgements he formed in 1667; the Biblical references are also identical but they are in the later edition grafted onto the narrative.

Yr un dedwyddwch yr oeddent yn ei geisio, sef gogoniant tragwyddol, Job. 19. 25, 26. Hebr. 10. 34.	Yr un dedwyddwch yr oeddent yn ei geisio, sef gogoniant tragwyddol, Job. 19. 25, 26. Gwyddai Job fod ei Brynwr yn fyw ac y safai yn y diwedd ar y ddauar, ac er i bryfed ddifetha ei gorph ef, y cafai ef weled Duw yn ei gnawd. Ac yr oedd y Cristnogion custuddedig yn cymeryd eu yspeilio am y pethau oedd ganddynt yn llawen, gan wybod fod ganddynt olud gwell yn y nefoedd. Heb.10. 34.
drwyr 'un Cyfryngwr yr oeddent yn cael trugaredd Dduw. 1 Cor. 10.4.[7]	Drwy'r un Cyfryngwr yr oeddent yn cael trugaredd Dduw. Dywed yr Apostol Paul ir Corinthiaid yn ei amser ef, ac ir Israeliaid yn y diffaethwch

yn amser Moses fwytta o'r un bwyd ysprydol, ac yfed o'r un ddiod ysprydol o'r graig ysprydol a'r graig oedd Grist.[8] — 1 Cor. 10. 4

The quoting of a verse in full often clarifies a statement: the reader can more easily grasp its meaning without having to refer to a Bible. When Charles Edwards describes the courage of the French martyrs at the time of Irenaeus, he states:

> ... Cafodd y gweiniaid ddiangfa, a'r Cryfion galondid i ddioddef er mwyn Christ, gan ystyried Rhuf. 8.18.[9]

but the story is incomplete because Edwards does not disclose in the narrative what the martyrs thought about. When he does quote the verse, in the second edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Paul's wisdom lights up the whole passage and immediately reveals the purpose of both the French stand and the Welsh description:

> ... cafodd y gweiniaid ddiangfa, a'r Cryfion galondid i ddioddef er mwyn Crist, gan ystyried nad yw dioddefiadau yr amser presennol hwn yn haeddu eu Cyffelybu i'r gogoniant a ddatcuddir i ni.[10] — Rhuf.8.18.

It appears sometimes as if Edwards deliberately leads his readers up a road only for them to find that it is a cul-de-sac: those who wish to discover where it would otherwise lead are invited to climb the end-wall and spy over it; or indeed it is possible that he devised this reference game in order to give his readers verse-finding exercises, for his practice is often irritating and unjustified. On page twenty-one of the first edition, Edwards relates how Origen fell from grace and, under Ethiopian torture, sacrificed to a pagan idol; how he afterwards repented and was banished

to Judea, where a congregation invited him to preach to them:

> agorodd y bibl, ar lle cyntaf y trawodd wrtho oedd Psal. 50. 16. yr hyn a wnaeth yw ddagrau ef attal ei eiriau, ac ir holl dyrfa wylo gydag ef.

Both curiosity and history are left unsatisfied until 1671.

> agorodd y bibl, ar lle cyntaf y trawodd wrtho oed hwn, sef, wrth yr annuwiol [sic] y dyweddodd [sic] Duw, beth Sydd iti a fynegech ar fy neddfau, neu a gymmerech ar fy nghyfammod yn dy enau? yr hyn a wnaeth yw ddagrau ef attal ei eiriau, ac ir holl dyrfa wylo gyda'g ef.[11] Psal. 50. 16.

Similarly the reader of the first edition is at a loss to know into what distress the Calvinist Beza was cast after the Lord had subdued him through injury.[12] Only when the verse referred to, Psalm 142. 7, is quoted - as it is, again, in the second edition - is Beza's plight fully described. The 1667 edition reads:

> ac wedi i'r Arglwyd ei ddarostwng ef drwy ddolur, ymrôdd i ogoneddu ei waredwr yngweinidogaeth yr efengil, gan wneuthur amod a Duw yn ei gyfyngder yngeiriau'r Prophwyd Psal. 142.7.

which were

> dwg fy enaid allan o garchar fel y moliannwyf dy enw.[13]

Because Edwards chose to quote fully in the second edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, the book is undoubtedly improved: stories and accounts of events are related in full, and are associated with similar circumstances. Consequently the whole narrative is smoother and more finished.

The same effect is achieved when the author inserts a short paragraph of criticism at the end of a descriptive account of a war or

debate: it is the judgement of the more confident historian, and serves to generalize the particular. For instance, Edwards, having described an incident in the struggle which ensued between the orthodox Christians and the Arians,[14] comments that it was strange that so minute a difference in interpretation could give rise to such a great enmity; he proceeds to explain exactly what the difference was, and even prints the two Greek words which boned the contention. To this, he adds in 1671 a more deliberate, powerful reflection:

> ond tân myglud yw cyfeiliorni, godebyg ir angel du y fydd yn ei gynneu, a dywylla'r deall, ac a bortha'r gwyniau i wneuthur mwyfwy o ddrwg.[15]

The narrative is bolstered slightly in the second edition of Y Ffydd Ddiffuant when Edwards resorts to elaborate some of his descriptions, or modify his argument. I have only been able to find two examples of this type of textual expansion: Edwards, describing the means by which persecutors tried to force three Christian virgins in Africa to deny their faith, reveals how they were compelled to drink vinegar and gall, and how their enemies whipped them severely. Then his reports differ. The 1667 account, 'yna dirdynwyd hwynt i balfau bwystfilod rheibus,'[16] is replaced in 1671 by this uglier, more detailed one:

> yna dirdynwyd hwynt, a rhostiwyd hwynt ar farwor, a thaflwyd hwynt i balfau bwystfilod rheibus.[17]

which augments not only the suffering of the maidens and their claim to immortality but Edwards's narrative as well. The second example is to be found on page twenty in the first edition. Here the author relates

how the Christians persecuted by Nero, were blamed for all the crises in which the Empire found itself: famine, plague and rebellion were all attributed to their refusing to worship Roman gods; and Charles Edwards argues that it was this which infuriated the pagans to massacre the Christians. The argument holds true in 1671 also: 'tybient i [newyn, neu haint] fod o herwydd ir Cristnogion ddirmygu eu gau dduwiau hwynt'; but now it is supported by another, - it was this, '<u>gyda</u> chwant yw meddiannau hwynt, ai blaenllymei nhw i ddifetha'r ffyddloniaid'.[18] These additions come to very little, yet they do testify that Edwards conscientiously re-examined his sources before printing <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u> for the second time, and that he did strive to improve and, in some places, augment the narrative.[19]

One interesting and timely addition to the first edition is the extension to the last paragraph of "Hanes y Ffydd er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon". As printed in 1667 the report has all the suddenness and expectancy of a good Stop Press news item: 'Gwelwyd tair seren gynffonog o fewn yr un hanner blwyddyn, a diameu y dilin pethau mawrion ar eu hol'.[20] 'Diameu'! - indeed the portentousness of such a wonder itself warranted another edition of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u>. Charles Edwards proved that he himself was fully aware of this opportunity to animate his history with a full account of a dramatic contemporary situation. In 1671, he wrote:

> Gwelwyd tair seren gynffonog o fewn yr un hanner blwyddyn, ac ychydig gwedi torrodd allan gornwyd angerddol yn Lloegr, a gwympodd fwy o bobl na haint y nodau yn amser Dafydd. A lloscodd Llundain: a bwriodd mynydd Ætna dân ofnadwy allan o honaw a loscodd drefydd, ac a

> wnaeth niweid mawr yn Sicilia. Canys ar ol daiargryn dychrynllyd, tarddodd allan o'r mynydd ffrwd boeth o ryw fettel toddedig, ac a aeth yn ddilyw o chwe chan milltir o lêd, gan ddifetha pethau y ffordd y cerddodd.[21]

Edwards not only appended sentences and passages to Y Ffydd Ddiffuant (1667), but he also pruned a number, and excluded others. Most of the passages omitted from "Hanes y Ffydd er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon" were on British history.

In the first edition of his book, Edwards recorded events which took place in this island as events which occurred in the world outside. Britain was looked upon and treated as part of the world; and Christian Britain as a member of Christendom: the troubles which beset her were the calamities suffered by the whole Church. For example, in the early part of the fourth century, Britain - according to Edwards - felt the tail-sting of a Roman dragon which breathed fire on the Christians of the Empire: 'A bu'r creulondeb hwn drwm ar ein cenedl ni yn Prydain, lle merthyrwyd Albanus ac eraill; cans dan awdurdod y Rhufeiniaid yr oedd ein gwlad ni'.[22] Then, during his preparation for the second edition of the history, Edwards completely revised his approach to British history, decided to present a more comprehensive coverage of home events and so wrote a fresh narrative which he called "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y cymru". Consequently the references to events in Britain which were included, in 1667, in the section on world history were either transferred or omitted. By 1671 the passage quoted above had been shortened to: 'a bu'r creulondeb hwn drwm ar ein cenedl ni yn Prydain[23] (Albanus is not mentioned again,

neither in the second nor the third edition of the book). Similarly, Constantine's British connection is ignored in the section "Hanes y Ffydd er dechreuad y byd..." in 1671.

[1667] Wedi ir gerwindeb hwn barhâu ddeng mlynedd, cododd Duw Constantinus Brittwn o du ei fam. (Cans ei dad ef Constantius y briodasei Helen merch Coil brenin Prydain) yr hwn ... y welodd groes yn yr awyr, ...[24]

[1671] Wedi ir gerwindeb hwn barhâu ddeng mlynedd, cododd Duw Constantinus yw liniaru. yr hwn...y welodd groes yn yr awyr,...[25]

The greater part of what British history there is in the first edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is confined to two paragraphs on pages twenty-six and twenty-seven: they span the hundred and forty years from 462 A.D. to circa 602.[26] Here again, events in fifth-century Britain are linked with events in Christendom - 'Cafodd Prydain hefyd ei rhan o ddialedd yr oes hon'.[27] The coming of the Saxons is recorded, their victories, the setbacks they suffered at the hands of Aurelius Ambrosius and Arthur before they finally over-ran Britain; Gildas is given his say; Austin's missionary work is noted and also the dispute over Easter. Charles Edwards rewrote this history in "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y cymru" 1667 in such greater detail that the temper of some events are changed and statements qualified. For example, in his first account of Aurelius and Arthur's defence against the Saxons, Edwards presents it as a backs-to-the-wall campaign, whereas the later fuller account testifies to a more spectacular series of battles, over which God exerted supreme control; the consequences of the hostilities were not exactly the same either.

[1667] Ac er i <u>Aurelius Ambrosius</u> o <u>Lydaw</u>, <u>Brittwn</u> o'r naill du, ac yw nai ef y <u>Brenin Arthur</u> ymdrech yn ddewr a'r Saeson, etto or diwedd gorescynnasant <u>Loegr</u> oll, gan ddifa ei thrigolion ganedigol, a gyrru'r gweddillion i fynyddoedd Cymru.[28]

[1671] ond drwy ddewrder a phwyll Emrys Aurelianus, a'i frawd Uthr, a'i nai ef y brenin Arthur, gwelodd Duw yn dda roddi'r Maes ir Brit-aniaid mewn llawer brwydr, ac attal gerwindeb y Saeson, nas gallasant mo ddifrodi ein henafiaid ni a'r unwaith. Canys heb law Cymry glanasant yngorllewin a gogledd Lloegr amryw flynyddoedd, wedi ir Saeson breswylio Llundain, a dwyrain barthau'r ynys.[29]

The difference in Charles Edwards's approach to British history in 1667 and 1671 can be most clearly demonstrated by comparing his disinterested account of Lles's conversion in the first edition of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u> with the fuller deliberate account in the second. The christening of the British king towards the end of the second century - an event that was tantamount to the establishing of a 'state' church on the island - is but curtly chronicled in 1667: 'Yn yr oes hon y bedyddiwyd llysin brenin prydain'.[30] Edwards even gives the diminutive version of the king's name! Four years later, he proudly celebrates the christening as the work of God Himself; and carefully examines the developments.

> A gwelodd Duw yn dda beri i'r wreichionen efengylaidd yn Prydain losci tua'r nenn, ac ennyn zêl yn y brenin Lleucius, yr hwn a fedyddiwyd ynghylch y naw ugainfed flwyddyn o Oedran Crist. Galwyd hwn Llês, a'r Lleufer Mawr, am y gwybodaeth a ddigwyddodd yn ei amser ef; canys canlynodd y Penaethiaid ei esampl ef; a chynorthwyodd Doewan a phregethwyr eraill y ffydd yma yn odidog. Ac felly

> aeth ein gwlâd ni yn flaenor ar yr holl
> deyrnasoedd yn proffesu'r efengyl drwy
> gyffredin gyngor.[31]

Charles Edwards certainly spread his wings in 1671. "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y Cymru", was, apart from the minor points mentioned above which correspond to certain sections in the first edition of Y Ffydd Ddiffuant, an entirely new piece of work. The author traces the history of the British (later, the Welsh) from what was to him the first age to 1654.[32] From (i) pp. 92-94 Edwards briefly examines the origins of the Welsh people, and touches upon the pre-Roman and Roman invasions of Britain. (ii) pp. 94-105:[33] A history of the British from the time Christianity was introduced into this island to the middle of the sixth century. This section includes an anthology of the testimonies made by certain Church Fathers on the flourishing state of religion in Britain; an account of the Pelagian heresy; and the coming of the Saxons. (iii) Edwards presents his own translated abridgement of Gildas's De Excidio. (iv) pp. 130-142: A chronicle of the hostilities which raged between the Welsh and the Saxons from the seventh century till the time of Henry Tudor, Henry VII of England. (v) pp. 142-160: A history of Wales under the Tudors, followed by a review of the state of the nation after the translation of the Scriptures into Welsh.

William Lewes of Llwynderw, in a letter at the beginning of Drych y Prif Oesoedd (1716), commented that no one - as far as he knew - before Charles Edwards had written a history of the Britons in Welsh for five or six hundred years. But whereas Lewes could have commended Edwards for being the first also to attempt a world history in Welsh, he merely criticized "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y Cymru" for its brevity and obscurity.[34]

He probably spared his praise in order to acclaim more generously the distinction of Theophilus Evans's work. Yet it stands that Charles Edwards in 1671, tracing for the first time the history of the unfeigned faith in Wales, gave his countrymen a brief history of their nation in their mother-tongue. For to him both histories were one.

Although this history in itself was an important revelation for the Welsh reader, Edwards's resolution to separate, in a way, the history of the faith in the world and in Wales was not without repercussions. For the separation severed somewhat the world's religious experience and that of Wales. The point can be more clearly made by quoting an example. Edwards, in the first edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, tells of the work of one Walter Brute,[35] a lay Welshman from the diocese of Hereford who taught his fellow-countrymen how blasphemous Papism was; and ranks him with the other, European, fourteenth century Christian reformers. In the 1671 edition, the account of Brute's work is placed, chronologically, after an account of the building of Edward I's castles in North Wales. His protest is linked, in the narrative, with the risings of other fearless Welshmen who risked their lives continually in their fight for political freedom. Brute's courage was not, after all, Owen Glyn Dŵr's courage. Edwards narrative reads:

> eglurodd [Brute] mor wrthwyneb i Grist
> oedd yr ymarweddiad gyffredin, gan fod
> Crist yn gorchymyn cariad, a'r Pâb
> yn tywallt gwaed, ac ir efengil
> ddiddymu'r defodau Cnawdol, a
> bod y Pab yn eu hailgosod hwynt i fynu.
> Digwyddodd amrafael rhwng yr arglwydd
> Gray o gastell Rhuthyn, ac Owen
> Arglwydd Glyndyfrdwy ynghylch cau
> mynydd...[36]

By leaving the passage where it originally was Edwards could have more profitably and pointedly shown how Wales at that particular time participated in the affairs of Christendom. Yet his proclaimed intention to relate the history of his own country 'beth yn helaethach...mal na byddem ddieithriol ac anghyfarwydd gartre'[37] and its fulfilment testify so openly to Edwards's responsible patriotic attitude that such fine criticism of the construction of "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y cymru" suffers from anaemia.

The third edition of Edwards's book was published in 1677: Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Hanes y Ffydd Gristianogol a'i Rhinwedd.[38] It consists of 421 numbered, seven unnumbered pages and four pages of woodcuts; and the book is divided into thirty-two chapters. The section "Rhinwedd y Ffydd Gristianogol" ends on page 383, but there follow two extensive appendicies: the first (pp. 383-394) is a chapter on the thought of the Welsh bards of the latter ages - it comprises of a very short introduction and an anthology of many cywyddau written between 1400 and 1600; the second appendage details the relationship of the Welsh and Hebrew languages.[39] A further extra-textual innovation is a list of chapters, "Llechres o'r Pennodau a'u cynhwysiadau, a'r dalennau lle ceir hwynt yn y llyfr hwn," which takes up two pages at the very end of the book, following the vocabulary and "Peth o Retoreg" which were included in the second edition.[40]

Now that Charles Edwards had fulfilled his intention of elaborating upon the earlier versions of "Rhinwedd y Grefydd Gristianogol" there was naturally a change of temper and emphasis in one part of his preface. In 1671 he confessed that he had planned his work: 'o gwêl Duw yn dda

roddi i mi einioes, a gallu, gwnaf hynny amser arall'. By 1677 a satisfied author reports:

> Gwelodd Duw yn dda roddi i mi amser i orphen yr hyn a ragfwriadaswn ei yscrifennu ynghylch Rhinwedd y ffydd, ac i ddatcan ei helynt hi beth yn helaethach nag o'r blaen...[41]

Striking a personal note, Edwards confesses that the Heavenly Majesty, in His wise providence and wisdom, caused that he, through long personal experience, should know the infallibility[42] of the main contentions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Further, he reports a strange discovery - 'cefais ganfod llawer o'r Gymraeg yn y Bibl Hebraeg'[43] - which instigated the formation of the second appendix.

The history of the faith has been extended to cover two hundred and fourteen pages, the first hundred and fifty of which register its history in the world. The larger part of this increase can be attributed to the inclusion of abridged versions of some of the works of Ignatius, Justin the Martyr, Tertullian and Mahommed's Al Koran. These Church Fathers were cited in both the 1667 and 1671 editions of Edwards's book, but it was not until 1677 that he saw fit to quote extensively from their writings. For instance, while tracing in the first two editions the history of the persecution instigated by Nero, Edwards tells how Ignatius was martyred after having preached against Trojan's idolatry. In the third edition, the author appends to this story a brief note, explaining how Ignatius, in transit from Antioch to Rome, sent before him a letter to the Christians at the capital asking them not to prevent his martyrdom. This passage serves as an introduction to Edwards's translation of Ignatius's Epistle.

By 1677 Edwards had amended his version somewhat, for a sentence extracted from the letter which was quoted in the first two editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant does not exactly correspond to the translation of the same sentence as it stands in the longer quotation included in the third edition:[44]

[1671] Nid wyfi ond yd i Dduw (eb y merthyr) ond pan falo'r anifeiliad gwylltion fi rhwng eu dannedd, byddaf fi fara gwyn, ni byddaf si (sic) lai er hynny.[45]

[1677] Yd Duw ydwyfi, melir fi yn nannedd bwystfilod fal i'm caffer yn fara pur i Dduw.

Charles Edwards's final version assumes all the strength and concentration of Ignatius's resistance.

Justin also features in both 1677 and 1671 editions: his conversion is described in exactly the same fashion in all three editions; and as an introduction to a translated anthology of some of his writings,[46] Edwards merely adds, 'Cymer hyn a ganlyn o'i yscrifenniadau ef'.[47] Of the three Fathers referred to, Tertullian is the most extensively quoted.[48] In the first two editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, having accounted for 'Capten Basilides's' conversion to the faith, Edwards relates how this man, a former executor, - himself in the end suffered martyrdom; and comments,

> Am hyn dywed Tertullianus yn ei scrifen dros y Cristnogion, fod gwaed y merthyron yn hâd yr Eglwys.[49]

Tertullian is not credited with the observation in 1677. But Edwards uses it as a comment on the behaviour of one 'Capten Basilides' who, once a persecutor, in the end died a Christian martyr. 'Am hyn y dywedir fôd gwaed y merthyron yn hâd yr Eglwys'.[50] Yet Tertullian is

greatly revered in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant of 1677. Edwards explains that because Tertullian's Latin writings were full of wisdom, he undertook to abridge and translate some of them. Contrary to this practice, Edwards does not present a direct translation of Origen's defence of the Faith, but resorts to give the gist of his debate with Severus,[51] a dialogue which was not reported in the earlier editions of the book. A short paragraph by Lactantius is also quoted in translation.[52]

A further substantial addition is the chapter "Ynghylch crefydd Mahomet".[53] In it, Edwards outlines the life history of the prophet; but by far the larger part of the new section is devoted to selections from the Koran, 'y pethau gorau ynddo', as Edwards states. To justify his strange resolution to quote from a non-Christian book, he argues that an enemy's avowal is a strong testimony against himself, as well as a benefit to the true cause which he suppresses.[54] Moreover, the heresies expounded in the Koran should impel the faithful to love their own redeeming faith all the more fervently, 'canys gwelir y glân yn hawddgarach wrth ei gyffelybu â'r gwrthyn'. Edwards returns to the subject of Mohammedism later in the narrative,[55] to describe the religious habits, ceremonials and hopes of its followers 'yn yr oesoedd diwethaf hyn'.

Besides these major innovations, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant between 1671 and 1677 underwent numerous minor textual amendments. For instance, verses referred to, but left unquoted, now become part of the narrative: e.g.

[1671] A chlybwyd llais yn yr awyr yn perid ir Cristnogion fyned ymaeth i Pella. Yma Cymmerth	[1677] A chlybwyd llais yn yr awyr yn peri ir Cristnogion fyned ymmaeth i Pella. Yma Cymmerth fwgythion Crist afael

Luc. 19.41.	fwgythion Crist afael arnynt. och gwelwn ac ofnwn.[56]	arnynt. Efe dan wylo a rybuddiodd Jerusalem y gwnau ei gelynion hi yn gydwastad a'r llawr, a'i phlant o'i mewn, o herwydd nad adnabu amser ei hymweliad. Och gwelwn ac ofnwn.[57] Luc 19 41, 44.

Phrases are changed, and with them, references - for example, Edwards adopts new criteria to mark the limits of ages or the passing of time:

[1667/71] Noah berffaith, yr hwn y fu chwe chant o flynyddoedd gyda rhai y welsent Adda:[58]	[1677] Noah berffaith, yr hwn y fu chwe-chant o flynyddoedd cyn y diluw:[59]

or, again,

[1667/71] Darllen lyfr Genesis,... yr hwn lyfr a gynwys histori 2369 flyn. Sef o ddechreuad y byd hyd gaethder Israel yn yr Aipht.[60]	[1677] Darllen lyfr Genesis,...yr hwn lyfr a gynwys ystori 2369 o flynyddoedd: sef o ddechreuad y byd hyd farwolaeth Joseph.[61]

Similies which were but - as it were - affiliated to the narrative in the earlier editions, in 1677 attain full membership, e.g.

Ar ol hyn cafodd yr Eglwys ychydig ysbaid o dangnheddyf, y barodd (fel llygedyn rhwng dwy gafod yn codi chwyn yn yr yd) falchder, ac anghydfod ymhlith y Christnogion...[62]	Ar ol hyn cafodd yr Eglwys ychydig ysbaid o dangnheddyf, y barodd falchder, ac anghydfod ymhlith y Christianogion, fel llygedyn rhwng dwy gafod yn codi. chwyn yn yr ŷd...[63]

Second thoughts produced second versions of certain passages and phrases. According to the first two editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pride provoked two English bishops 'mewn cymanfa eglwysig i ymwthio ac i ymgwffio am yr eusteddle uchaf';[64] according to the third, 'i ymwthio cymmaint am yr eisteddle uchaf'.[65] Edwards makes a significant revision of the text in one part of the chapter on the Marian martyrs. He describes

what facets of Papism were repugnant to contemporary Protestants:

> Gan wrthod addef y pâb yn ben ir eglwys, nag yn wir aelod o honi, o herwyd ei ddrygioni. Gomeddasant hefyd addoli lluniar [sic] ar bara yn yr offeren; gan egluro nad oedd na chorph nag yspryd Christ yn bresenol ynddi, am hynny y dylid tynnu oddiwrthi beth bynag fyddeu'r dial dynol.[66]

> Gan wrthod addef y pâb yn ben ir eglwys, nag yn wir aelod o honi, o herwydd ei feiau. Gomeddasant hefyd addoli lluniau, a'r bara yn yr offeren.[67]

Furthermore, Charles Edwards took advantage of the new edition to revise some of the hypotheses he made in the section on British history in 1671. In the second edition he stated that the Welsh language contained many Greek words, 'megis haul, dagrau, argraphu, a'r cyfryw'.[68] This supposition was excluded from the final, 1677, narrative. Similarly, Edwards chose not to republish his idea that 'cysgod', was derived from 'Scotia' ('y sydd air Groegaidd yn arwyddoccâu tywyllwch...')[69]; nor his earlier conviction that the Welsh - 'eppil Cam'[70] - deserved the retribution implicit in the name. These withdrawals did not mean that Edwards had lost his nerve for making bold etymological investments, for he still chose to publicize his interest in the practice, indeed that it was growing. According to Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, 1671, 'Llundain', before that version of the name was finally adopted, was called 'Caer Lûdd', so named after Llûdd who was once a praiseworthy King of this island. But according to the third edition of the history, only some people supposed it so - 'gwell gan eraill gymmeryd yr enw oddiwrth longau, megis Llong-ddinas'.[71]

The other additions to the historical part of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant 1677 were of a different nature. Towards the end of "Hanes y Ffydd er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon" Edwards undertakes to examine in retrospect 'yr oesoedd diwethaf' and comments on contemporary affairs.[72] Not the affairs of Parliament or the execution of Charles I or the Protectorate of Cromwell, but the spiritual business of the graceful people who were dear to God: a pious traveller who secured the companionship of an angel; a righteous farmer whose harvest was left unspoiled by a storm of hail and lightening; Mr. Steward, a godly clergyman in Dunagor, Ireland, who foresaw a war worse than the one in Germany, in which thousands of the persecutors of the faith would die; and finally, a graceful charitable preacher who rightly prophesied the time of his own death. This deviation from the narrative is similar to a practice which Edwards had adopted earlier in the third edition of his book, where he undertook to halt the history in order to observe its tracks and satisfy the reader of the unwavering continuity of its course. Retrospective paragraphs begin,

(a) Y cyfammod a wnaethai Duw ag Adda a adnewyddwyd i Noah. (p. 13)

(b) Adnewyddwyd y Cyfammod i Abraham, a rhag efangylwyd yr efengil iddo, A'r cyfammod a wnawd ag ef a berthyn i fil o genhedlaethau. (p. 14/15)

(c) Wedi amser Moses yr oedd y drugareddfa a'r typau eraill yn penodi at Grist. (p. 17)

(d) Dyfodiad Christ yn y cnawd a gyflawnodd yr hyn a addawsei Duw. (p. 24).

These are the changes which, to use once again Mr. Saunders Lewis's epithets, transformed 'the Historie of the Christian Religion' from being a pamphlet to being one of the masterpieces of Welsh prose. His claim for the third edition of Edwards's Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is characteristically a strong and enthusiastic one. And it can well and legitimately be asked whether, enchanted by Charles Edwards's innovations - for it was he who first translated and quoted the works of the Fathers in Welsh, a task Mr. Lewis would always unfailingly commend - he saw the swell and mistook it for the scavenging tide. For, as I have tried to show, the amount of material cast out of the 1667 edition of the history is utterly insignificant; and, apart from "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y Cymru", which was an entirely new construction, no fresh history as such was added to that first edition. Moreover, no new names were added to the original roll-call.[73] Mr. Lewis argues that Charles Edwards in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant gave evidence to the effect that he was in touch with important Latin, Greek, and Welsh sources. But the authors of these 'sources', Justin, Ignatius, Tertullian, and Gildas were on Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant's register in 1667. Charles Edwards had most probably read their works before ever conceiving to write his history. The 'copiwr', of 1667 was even then possessed of the scholarship which re-shaped the history for the third edition. And to what use were extracts from the classical works put in 1677? They could, ungenerously, be regarded as useful, homiletic, breaks in the narrative; and at best, serve to stimulate the history, which is throughout colourfully presented, with contemporary comment on events, and testimony. Charles Edwards

himself was quite decided what their function was. He explains to his readers that he undertook to translate Ignatius's letter 'mal y dirnedech ei yspryd ef wrth ei eiriau'.[74] Justin's work also is presented as testimony 'nad ellid wneuthur niwed i Gristion, er ei lâdd ef.'[75] Indeed, all the letters and dialogues included in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant 1677, by testifying to the unyielding spirit of the ancient Christians, serve to substantiate the claim made manifest on every page of the history - that the God who created the Universe strengthens, inspires and keeps the faithful of this world for ever in His care. What was for Charles Edwards the essential lesson to be learned from the world's history is summed up in a paragraph he extracted from Justin's dialogue with Trypho:[76]

> Er ioed ni bu, ac byth ni bydd vn Duw arall, o Trypho, heb law yr hwn a wnaeth yr holl fŷd; ni obeithiwn ni chwaith mewn neb arall onid yn Nuw Abraham, Isaac, a Jacob. Ond gobeithiwn nid trwy Foesen, canys felly y gwnaem fel chwithau. Darllenais am gyfraith ddiweddarach ydoedd i ddyfod, a Thestament o awdurdod trasiccr. Y Testament hwnw sydd raid ei gadw gan bawb yn awr a'r a geisiant gael etifeddiaeth Duw: Christ yw'r gyfraith olaf, a'r dragwyddol a roddwyd i ni, a'r testament ffyddlon, gwedi'r hwn ni bydd na chyfraith na gorchymmyn arall.

The fathers are 'hyn o dystion yn achos Duw'.[77]

Furthermore, Charles Edwards's approach to history remains one and the same in 1667, 1671 and 1677. His high regard for the nature and purpose of his composition - the recording and examining of the examples of the people of God - is as constant as his desire that the

Welsh should 'earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered into the saints'.[78] And were not the ideas which permeated 'the Historie of the Christian Religion' in 1677 essentially those which inspired Edwards to write it in the first place?

2, Chapter II

CHARLES EDWARDS AND THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

The Matter of History

'Dyledus ini chwilio', states Charles Edwards at the very beginning of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, 'helynt y Ffydd ymhob oes ac ymhob gwlâd .... Ac fal y gallem wybod pa fodd y gwasanaethodd pobl Dduw gynt, trefnwyd iddynt fynegi hynny drwy air a scrifen, i'r cenedlaethau oedd i ddyfod'.[1] It can be understood, therefore, that the Course of the Faith is the history of the relationship between God and man, revealed item by item in the recorded story of life in the world, 'er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon'.[2] Edwards believed that the Scriptures themselves were written as part of this chronicle, and that even the old pagans were writing 'veritable histories'[3] of the events that took place in their midst also. For to the seventeenth century church historian, no less than to Isaiah, God, as the centre of being, was the supreme controller of all transactions. Pagans were either people who ignored His ways and neglected His worship, the lapsed faithful, or else the ignorant, and were people whose code of behaviour formed an important part of the example of history. 'Cawn weled yma siamplau pobl Dduw', Edwards told his Reader,[4] emphasizing that God's people were they who respected His will and kept his commandments, 'fel y bo i ni ganlyn y brîsc a dorrasont hwy drwy lychfeydd profedigaethau'r bŷd dryc-hinog hwn'. And just as the good should be followed so should the sins of the wicked be shunned: 'Na fyddwch fel eich tadau, y rhai y galwodd y prophwydi arnynt, gan ddywedyd, dychwelwch oddiwrth eich ffyrdd

drwg, ond ni chlywent, ac ni wrandawent, nes i fygythion Duw eu goddiwes hwynt'.[5]

To enable his fellow-countrymen[6] to appreciate and take this lesson of history to heart, Edwards wrote the story of Man's relationship with God from his Creation to the Fire of London:
In the first chapter, entitled 'Ynghylch Ystori a pharthau'r bŷd', he explains the geography of the 'familiar countries' of the world, spicing his descriptions with stories and historical information about the far lands. The second chapter, relates the history of the Faith from Adam to the conquest of Canaan: having described the innocent bliss of Eden, the naming of the animals, Edwards does not dwell over the Fall, but reveals that God did not fail one day to tell Adam and Eve about a saviour who would mullify sin and Satan. (- so, at the beginning of the world, God and man find their relationship defined, and their respective places in the subsequent history.) Edwards, in Chapter Three, skips from the death of Joshua to the conception of Christ, deviating for the first time from Biblical history to recount, for example, how Alexander of Macedonia, conquerer of Persia, shied from despoiling Jerusalem, and how enthusiastic Ptolemeus Philadelphus was to have the Old Testament translated into Greek.[7] The birth and death of Christ are of course recorded, but simply, briefly; the fourth chapter is mainly concerned with the early propagating of the gospel (Thomas, for instance, preached to the Medes and the Persians, Simon Zelotes evangelized in Africa, Peter to the exiled Jews) and with an appraisal of its nature and antiquity. The chapter comes to an end with the beginning of the story of the Roman persecutions. Some of them are

mentioned in the title of the Fifth Chapter, 'Yr Erlid dan Trojanus, Hadrianus a Ferus ymmerodron Rhufain, pryd y merthyrwyd Ignatius, Polycarpus, Justin ac eraill', though half of the chapter is taken up with Edwards's translation of Ignatius's letter to the Christians at Rome. Chapter Six also contains extracts of translated letters, those of the convert saint Justin the Martyr;[8] similarly the relatively long eighth chapter is an abridgement of Tertullian's Defence of the Faith. The subjects of Chapter Seven are the persecutions in Gaul and Africa at the time of Ireneus and Origen: Edwards tells how the former negotiated for peace in the churches, how he and his fellows were encouraged to suffer for Christ; and how, in Africa, Origen longed to achieve martyrdom alongside his father. The punishing of the Christians continued throughout the reigns of Decius, Valerian and Diocletian (Chapter Nine) until, early in the fourth century, God sent Constantine, 'ein gwladwr',[9] to alleviate its severity (Chapter Ten). He established religious toleration in his empire, and converted many kingdoms to Christ; images everywhere ceased to give utterance, and the gentiles flocked to Christ. But when Arius rose up this temperateness gave way to debate and rift. Julianus, claiming the throne re-established the superstitions of the Gentiles; then an earthquake moved the new temple in Jerusalem where unchristian sacrifices had been offered. Then awhile sympathy and peace brought quieter times, until the Goths and the Vandals in the fifth century conquered Rome, an event which presaged widespread fires in cities, earthquakes and world-wide plagues which lasted for over forty years. Towards the end of his tenth chapter Edwards briefly forsakes

the continental calamities to report that in 598 A.D.[10] Augustine and others came from Rome to preach the Gospel to the Saxons of England who had tarried long in unbelief. Immediately after, he reports the success of the new Mahommetan religion and criticizes its vulgar attractiveness: Chapter Eleven, 'Ynghylch crefydd Mahomet', traces in outline the life story of the prophet and contains an anthology of the best pieces[11] from the Koran translated from an English version* by Edwards. Coupled with enforced new Latin ceremonies in the Church of Rome, litanies and fancy customs,[12] the Koran substantiates God's threat that he would send 'strong delusion' (2 Thes. 2:[10,11]). Tribulation came upon England - the Danes invaded and routed the land - God's vengeance on the divided Saxons; a Norman invasion followed and a foreigner, William the Conqueror, crowned King. No sooner is Edwards's history back on English soil than it again emigrates. Edwards notes the religious sincerity of the faithful Waldenses of Lyons and the Albigenses of Tolouse, Croatia and Dalmatia. Antichrist is at large. Frederick Barbarossa is severely humbled by Rome in the West; and in Eastern Christendom the Turks c1250 raid and plunder successfully. Only at the eleventh hour does hope come - to England in the person of Wycliffe who enlightens the country. He is followed by Cobham and the Lollards; witnesses to the true faith. John Huss preached in Bohemia, and so did Jerome his friend; and although they were martyred at the stank the fire which killed them inspired their disciples to defend their beliefs with their lives. In Chapter Thirteen Edwards touches upon the Turkish success in Constantinople in 1453 and

outlines their subsequent history. This is followed by a colourful detailed portrait of the religious habits of the Mahommedan Turks ('wrth ddyfod iw gweddiau golchant eu dwylo a'u traed, a thanellant ddwfr ar eu pennau deirgwaith, gan ddywedyd gogoniant i'n Duw');[13] and a report on the adherence of the Jews, so many of them now exiled, to their creed. In England c. 1506[14] godly men are being burned for abstaining from popery - they are martyrs on the eve of a New Age: scholars study the scriptures, Luther and Melanchthon and Zwingli criticize severely the Romish commercialization of religion. Many more men are burned. Then, 'Ynghylch hyn y bu Calfin yn bregethwr kynod yn Genefa,'[15] Knox restored gracious learning[16] in Scotland, and in England, soon afterwards, the Pope lost all authority. The fourteenth chapter is a history of the Protestant suffering under Queen Mary: Edwards recounts the martyrdom of godly preachers who suffered this 'brofedigaeth danllyd'.[17] The Faith met with success once more in the happier reign of Elizabeth, but though the English turned the shamed and disastrously weakened Armada back to Spain, the French Protestants were still in trouble, still subjected to papal rage. And in 1605 the Gunpowder Plot nearly succeeded in Westminster.

'Bellach,' comments Edwards, reviewing his history, 'wedi bwrw golwg ein meddwl ar bôb gwlâd, ac oes, ni allwn ddywedyd yn hŷ, na bu gwybodaeth yr efengyl erioed eglurach, a'r scrythurau, a llyfrau da amlach ... nag ydynt yr amser hwn ynheirnasoedd y gorllewin, lle mae adgyweiriad a rhydd-did crefydd'.[18] 'Ar bôb gwlâd,' except Wales.

And in the last four chapters Edwards traces the history of the Faith in his own country. Christianity came to the land, though it was so far from Palestine,[19] in the days of the Apostles. Eusebius, Tertullian, Origen and Theodoret all testify that the Britons accepted the ways of the crucified;[20] and in the fifth century Chrysostom wrote that churches had been established on the Islands of Britain where everyone debated wisely on the Scriptures.[21] Morgan is treated kindly and further on Gildas venerated: the whole of Chapter Seventeen is devoted to Edwards's abridged Welsh version of Gildas's Ynghylch Adfyd Prydain.[22] His chastisement of contemporary Welsh kings reveals their corrupt natures and his pleas for them to return to sanity in religion emphasises not only their degradation but also his assumption of the power and reforming influence of Christianity in Wales at the time. Reasonably, a long period of affliction followed such tyrants: the Roman exodus weakened the country drastically and the treason of Vortigern proved too tragic to be totally arighted even by the genius of Arthur; the Saxons slaughtered 1100 monks at Bangor Îs y Coed and in 644[23] a deadly harvest-time plague ravaged the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland. Wales did not regain her self-respect until the reign of Hywel Dda, a pious man,[24] who called a conference of religious leaders and noblemen to reform the laws. A century and a half later, the Normans, having established themselves in England, coveted Wales too. The Welsh retaliated, but in so doing roused the wrath of William Rufus to attack them twice with all his might. In the same tradition both Henry I and Henry II tried to massacre the Welsh, who took to the hills; King John

extracted Flintshire and 20,000 head of cattle from Prince Llywelyn ap Iorwerth; and in 1282 Edward I finally managed to subject the whole country.[25] Owen Glyndŵr failed to rectify the situation, and it was not until 'Owen Tudyr o Fôn'[26] was crowned King of England that the fetters were loosened.[27] Wales was joined to England in the reign of Henry VIII and thereby received her political freedom. Then in the days of Edward VI she was relieved of her spiritual oppression. The final chapter of the first part of Y Ffydd Ddi-Ffuant is a review of the state of Wales since the translation of the Bible into Welsh. Extracts from the letters which William Salesbury and Bishop Morgan addressed to Queen Elizabeth are translated by Edwards and included here. A list is given of the 'llyfrau godidog'[28] which were published in Welsh during this period; and Edwards terminates his history with the joyful statement that 'er pan ddaeth yr Scrythurau yn Gymraeg i'n plith, y mae'r helynt orau ar ein cenedl ni ac y fu ers llawer o genedlaethau'.[29]

These, then, are the events which Edwards chose to narrate in order to give his reader an understanding of the way God works in the world. It can be criticized as an unbalanced unrepresentative account of the history of the world. A century is sometimes accounted for in two sentences - for example, the fires that broke out in Rome in 405 are immediately succeeded by earthquakes in 544 A.D. - and judging by the space and devotion given to the relatively detailed report of the Marian martyrs, it seems as if their suffering was the most important event ever witnessed.

But Edwards's history should not be assessed by such criteria as historical accuracy, density of research and critical use of sources: these are the standards of a later and different age. For Edwards never proposed to compile a precise sound comprehensive history of the world, but rather an anthology of events which would exemplify the control God in His Providence has over mundane affairs, how men are subjected to their Creator - in a word how the Omnipotent rules His universe. When "Hanes y Ffydd Gristianogol" is read in this light it is seen that every account it contains is subservient and contributory to the main end of impressing these lessons on the mind of the reader,[30] who will gather a knowledge and experience of God's working in history relative to their awareness of what the author has made manifest.

THE TRADITION

Charles Edwards inherited this idea of history from the prophets of the Old Testament and some of the Early Church Fathers, especially Augustine of Hippo. He was a senventeenth-century practitioner of their ancient craft, wonderfully aware of the impact of their works. He set out to teach his own kith, as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel taught generation after generation of Israelites to know the mind of God and justify His ways to men.

History, as a record of God's actions, is, as Professor Patrides says, 'elevated to a position of unrivalled prominence and unique importance'.[31] For its writer reports on events which he knows are controlled by God. The prophets in this office served God as His ambassadors on earth, the

interpreters of His actions. All the yesterdays of Israel were composed by the will of God made visible in action, the evidence of His Presence being the activity itself. 'God's character,' argues R.G. Collingwood,[32] 'is ... regarded as unknowable - not only undiscoverable by unaided human reason, but not even capable of being revealed. All we can know about God is His activities.'[33] Since they were the products of Yalweh's demands, His will was discernible from the run of past events; and thus, the ultimate standards of values and behaviour derived.[34] In the writings of the prophets God is always kind to the faithful, is always angered by evil-doers, for this, they have learnt, is the order of the reactions of God. From the sinful nation, Jeremiah warns, God will take away His peace,

> even lovingkindness and mercies ... For mine eyes are upon all their ways: they are not hid from my face, neither is their iniquity hid from mine eyes. And first I will recompense their iniquity and their sin double; because they have defiled my land, they have filled mine inheritance with the carcases of their detestable and abominable things.[35]

The part became the curriculum of the present school.

The concern of Greece and Rome, on the other hand, was principally with the past and the present as separate entities, and with the future only in so far as the notion of recurrence afforded opportunities for didacticism.[36] They held the cyclical view of history, that each generation dies without leaving a legacy of useful experience for the new one born. For them, there was no lesson to be found in past affairs. Indeed the only spiritual meaning that history possessed was perceptible

into the examples it gave of moral virtue, political wisdom or their opposites[37] - reinforcement to the Greek idea that only the eternal was knowable. Undoubtedly, the views of an Isaiah would shock the Hellenic mind no less than a modern rationalist.

To the Israelite, and subsequently to the Christian at large, God intervened in the affairs of the world in accordance with a Divine Plan. Every action and decision is undertaken with an end in view; and all human traffic is directed towards that end. In the operation all men are alloted their individual roles. According to Christian doctrine, it is inevitable that man should act at a given moment in time without knowing what repercussions his actions will have: in his minute present, by his nature he can but await the retaliation of the vast future. His achievements, thus, are not his own, for it was not he who propelled the forces of the will and intellect which led to them. Rather, he is guided to desired ends which seem to be worth pursuing, and to act according to this stated ambition, by a force from outside, which is God. In this way, by executing what seems to him to be personal policies, he actually executes the purposes of God, and becomes a participant in the Divine Plan.[38] Israel believed that she was the heroine of the Divine escapade and saw herself as the centre-piece of the whole movement.

To retain proper supervision over His purpose, it was imperative that the God of Israel had the authority to influence her neighbour's actions. This, the prophets realized, and propounded that the whole of mankind was subject to Yahweh's Providence. The God of Isaiah stakes

his claim,

> Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands and Israel mine inheritance.

Israel's was the strong sentimental bond. This affirmed her belief that he was God's servant, the heroine, the chosen nation. All would revolve around her. Nations who warred against her did so as the agents of an angered God, who 'used' them to punish his favourite. When the country forsook the Lord God, and followed other gods 'the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies'.[39] Isaiah asked,[40]

> Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? did not the Lord against whom we have sinned? for they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient unto his law.

Again, the Lord testifies to Jeremiah,[41]

> Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad.

For Israel to forsake God was to invite his fury, and in crises like the Babylonian exile it seemed that He had completely forsaken the nation, that unfaithfulness bred unfaithfulness. Yet as is obvious the two great prophets transformed the apparent denial into a positive affirmation, and saw punishment as a salutory retribution.[42] In addition, God, on particular occasions, saw that it was necessary to cast one enemy upon another. He proposed to scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and

promised Ezekiel[43]

> I will strengthen the arms of the King of Babylon,
> and the arms of Pharaoh shall fall down;
> and they shall know that I am the Lord, when
> I shall put my sword into the hand of the
> king of Babylon, and he shall stretch it out
> upon the land of Egypt.

However, for all the threats and actions of punishment recorded by the prophets, the emphasis in the Old Testament is on 'the eternal spring of [God's] infinite mercy,'[44] the restoration to sanity. And in particular 'Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation'.[45] For God chose to chastise her especially not because she was more wicked than Assyria or Babylon, but precisely because she had a mission on earth, her suffering being a necessary part of the Divine Plan.[46]

Since God controlled the movement of all nations, it was believed that all were united in the sight of God. Professor Patrides says that the roll call of names in the early part of the Old Testament are meant to stress the essential unity of mankind: 'before God all nations are equal both in punishment and in mercy'.[47] The furtherance of this belief into a presumption that there would be a Day of Universal Judgement when all nations under the sun should answer for their sin was a rather late development in Jewish thought. Its most notable proponents were again the prophets - particularly Amos, Isaiah and Zephaniah - and the author of the apocalypse in the Book of Daniel.[48] The idea substantiated Israel's adherence to the belief in the Divine Plan, and offered a severe awful climax at the end of life. Now to the critic and historian who accepted that the Fall of Man and the Day of Judgement were the ends of time, it

was impossible to divorce world history from man's destiny - both were bonded in Providence. History thus became the history of man's faithfulness to his Creator and Judge, it became his history of the Unfeigned Faith.[49]

In this immeasurable length of time, the coming of the Messiah was an event of climatic importance. For Jesus was the incarnation of a promise made by God to His People. His birth had been gradually revealed to the Israelites in the writings of the prophets. And salvation through the seed was a vital thread in the weaving of the Divine Plan.[50] Of course to the writers of the New Testament Christ's coming was the most significant event of the historical record since Adam, as St. Paul made explicit in his letter to the Romans: 'Therefore as by the offence of one judgement came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life'. The Saviour also affirmed the prospect of the Day of Judgement, again intensifying, and by His Act of Redemption ennobling the pilgrimage of man in life and history.

His work began a new era in the idea of the relationship between man and God. Whereas the prophets of the Old Testament revealed the unique bond between God and Israel, "mine inheritance", the Messiah and his Apostles in the New Testament taught that the whole Jewish dispensation was itself but a stage in the Divine Plan. This message proclaimed that the barrier between Jew and gentile was now removed so that humanity might be reunited in an organic spiritual unity, as it was at the beginning of Time.[51] The society of Christ's followers constituted a reestablishment of the primitive unity to which Patrides refers.[52] And brotherhood in Christ

gave man a plurality of elders, Edwards's 'henafiaid', predecessors in history. Now all shared fully Israel's nearness to God.

In Christian times this view of history was upheld by the early Church Fathers and was voiced by historians down the centuries. Patrides argues that Augustine was the (new) father of this tradition.[54] Eusebius, who died before Augustine was born, can also stake a claim to this title. He was the first to conceive the idea of compiling a history of the Christian Church;[55] but the scope of his Historia Ecclesiastica is far greater. Eusebius begins his history in the period before the Creation, describes the making of the Universe, and shows how God gradually revealed Himself to Israel; the grand climax of this part of the work is the description of 'the Incarnation of the pre-existent Word'.[56] Then follows the history of the Church during the three centuries from the time of Christ to Constantine's reign. This itself is no mere chronicle of ecclesiastic events. Eusebius's own prefatory summary makes it clear that his intention was far more complex. He registers the succession of bishops, reveres the custodians of Christian tradition - the guarantors of the preservation of one unchanging God-given doctrine,[57] and describes the ordeals of no fewer than one hundred and forty-six martyrs. Moving outside the precints of saintliness, Eusebius seeks to expose the enemies of the Church, the tyrants who launched widespread bitter and recurrent campaigns against the divine message. These included the Jews, who had rejected Jesus, and Eusebius dutifully recounts the calamities which had visited them as punishment for their sin. The favourites and adversaries of God, thus presented, characterise the working of Providence

on earth, where the advancement of Christ's church is the central concern. Eusebius's Historia Ecclesiastica, being the first register of the history of the divine cause, sets the pattern, in theme and execution, for church histories for the fourteen succeeding centuries.

Augustine's great work is of a slightly different nature. De Civitate Dei was occasioned by Alaric's sack of Rome in 410, a disaster that generated pessimism among both Christians and pagans. The Christians feared that God sought to destroy Rome, which had strong traditional ties with their religion, because of their sins and spiritual apathy. It was to contradict and quell their cries of anxiety that Augustine, in De Civitate Dei, put forward these two main arguments: firstly, that the world had experienced far greater disasters in the past than the invasion of Rome; secondly, and of greater consequence, that the importance which the Christians attached to Rome was totally erroneous, for in the progress of history from the Creation to the Day of Judgement a city is utterly insignificant. Rome, according to Augustine, was one of God's pawns. He had given her fortune and He had won her battles. For although God gives happiness in the Kingdom of Heaven only to those who worship Him,

> Earthly Kingdom He gives alike to those who do and those who do not, according to His will who wills nothing unjust. I have stated a truth which He willed should be clear to us. None the less it is beyond me and defeats the powers of us men to disclose what is hidden and to pass clear and transparent judgement upon the merits of this or that kingdom. And so the one true God who did not leave the human race without his guidance and help granted to the Romans an Empire when He willed it and as far-flung as He willed it.[58]

In promoting this philosophy, Augustine placed the Israelite view of history in its cosmic setting. Moreover, by claiming that every happening - the traffickings of daily business no less than the great movements of history - could be referred to God for causality and therefore justification, Augustine argued that everything assumes a dimension in infinity, that all life is subjected to divine control, and conducted towards a specific end.[59] This is the Day of Judgement, the culmination of all temporal events. Augustine's affirmation of the Last Judgement indicated more clearly than ever before the linear nature of history.

Paulus Orosius (c 380-c 420) elaborated upon the argument of De Civitate Dei. In order to demonstrate just how inconsequential the Fall of Rome really was, Orosius traced in his Historia adversas Paganos the rise and decline of the empires of Babylon, Macedonia, Carthage and Rome. A contemporary of his, Sulpicius Severus (c. 363-c. 420/5), also compiled a history to demonstrate the workings of the Divine Plan from the Act of Creation to 400 A.D.[60] Later in the fifth century, St. Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390-c. 463) compiled a chronicle in analystic form outlining the principle events of world history from the Birth of Adam to 455 A.D. Salvian of Marseilles (c. 400 - 480) in his De Gubernatione Dei presented a narrative survey of history since the Creation, singlemindedly attempting to establish that God is present throughout history.

Gregory of Tours (c. 540 - 594) breaks new ground with his Historia Francorum. The book is primarily an account of the birth of the

Merovingian Culture, but this main part is preceded by a detailed history of world events from the beginning of the world. Gregory's history constitutes the beginning of a tradition of national histories. For the historians of the Middle Ages strove not only to uphold the jurisdiction of Providence throughout created order, but also believed that God's concern was ultimately focused on their own nations severally.

In Britain, the foundation of history was laid by Bede[61] (673-735) in his Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. The book, completed in 731, relates the history of the Britons from the time of the first Roman invasion to the early eighth century. Another, later, British Chronicle, the Historia Brittonum, said to have been compiled by Nennius c. 800,[62] begins with the Creation, and adopts the scheme of dividing universal history into six ages, as Augustine and other historians had done. It can be seen that Augustine's influence was already profound even in Northern Europe. Furthermore, King Alfred's (?848-899) translation of Orodius's Historia Contra Paganos confirms the widespread acceptance of the providential view of history.

There were three dominating figures in the historiography of the later Middle Ages.[63] The first was Otto, Bishop of Freising (?1114-1158) who wrote Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus, the most eloquent statement of the eschatological aspect of the Christian view of history. The work germinated in the contemporary pessimism of Christians who were deeply convinced that the Day of Judgement was at hand. Otto's book shifted the centre of gravity from the Incarnation to the Second Advent.

Throughout the book, its author stresses the fact that he and his contemporaries stood witness to the closing days of history, for the sinfulness of the times would inevitably precipitate the wrath of God. Professor Patrides comments, 'such is Otto's pessimism that at times he comes perilously close to an affirmation of the cyclical view of history through his excessive stress of life's vicissitudes'. Yet ultimately Otto concurs with Augustine's revelation of the linear view of history. Joachim of Fiore (c. 1132-1302) was another who propounded a less orthodox philosophy - the concept of the three Eras of Nature, Law and Grace. He proclaimed the Era of Grace the last era, its duration unknown, its condition temporal, its rulers celibate and responsible to the Holy Ghost. Joachim's belief that this period would culminate in the Day of Judgement and the End of the World made him too an advocate of the Augustinian philosophy. Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190-1264) was a more orthodox historian. His colossal Speculum Historiale, which comprises four thousand chapters[64], is a synthesis of traditional views, beginning with an account of the Creation, progressing to the twelfth century and ending with a detailed description of the last events of temporal history. This is a pattern that was adhered to by tens of later historians.

The twelfth century produced other historians competent in the extreme. William of Malmesbury (d. 1143) produced two renowned works, Gesta Rerum Anglorum and Historia Novella, an account of the history of the Saxons from their landing on British shores in 449 A.D. to 1142. Geoffrey of Monmouth finished his Historia Regum Britanniae, 'the most

significant book in the history of British antiquities,' c. 1135.[65] And high praise had been traditionally reserved for Matthew Paris (c. 1199-1259) who was, according to John Milton, 'the best of our historians'.[66] Villhardonin and John of Oxnead wrote famous histories in the thirteenth century; and Richard of Cirencester's Speculum Historiale is a fourteenth century product of the same tradition.

To deviate from this long tradition was to challenge the dominance of Augustine's theology of history, which had influenced not only the writing of history but which had also shaped the mind of the Middle Ages. Indeed his philosophy was too deeply and extensively rooted to be undermined by any one writer or ruler.[67] Only a vast upheaval of the old ways of life and a pressing compulsion to face new experiences with a different outlook could produce the climate of opinion which would gradually replace the Augustinian view of life and history. But for one to try and assess the changes which brought about the Renaissance in Europe and the differences the New Awakening itself brought about in learning and commerce and methods of Government would be impossible in the course of a short survey such as this one. It will be sufficient to state that historiography was affected as much as anything by the coming of the Renaissance.

The recovery of the ancient histories of Latin and Greek writers such as Livy, Thucydides, Dionysius of Habicarnassus, caused some fifteenth-century historians to divert from the main highway of historical writing.[68] Machiavelli (1469-1527)was one of the first to map and travel the alternative route. But he too had his predecessors. Professor F. Smith Fussner, describing Machiavelli's Historie Florentine as full of 'political

concentration and patriotism' adds that Thucydides, centuries before, had understood that people lived in greed for power, and that both Livy and Dionysius had written works which were 'political and patriotic'. Yet with Machiavelli, human history for the first time appeared autonomous. Whereas 'freedom' and 'necessity' were, for Augustine, terms as irrelevant to human history as were chance and fate, for Machiavelli they replaced the 'wrath' or 'benevolence' of God as the water that turned the mill-wheels of history. Francesco Guiccardini (1483-1540) was another early historian in the Machiavellian mould. His Storia d'Italia was the most strictly political history produced in his age, and of such 'half-hearted providential tendencies' as to occasion much adverse criticism.[69] For to refute the providential view of history was to deny the 'deific marshalling of events to good ends':[70] history was running loose, as it were. The Machiavellian studied it not in order to understand or interpret the ways of God but in order to judge and benefit from actions and decisions made by his forefather. Whereas Augustine emphasized man's ignorance and God's omnipotent sovereignty, Machiavelli speaks only of man's responsibility:

> In all our decisions we must consider well what presents the least inconveniences, and then choose the best, for we shall never find any course entirely free.[71]

For him, human activity existed per se, unconditioned by any assumptions of a theological character. Yet, for all its revolutionary significance, Machiavelli's philosophy of history merely bruised the strong body of traditional Christian historical opinion, or to use Professor Patrides's image, it merely shook the ladder.

A century later, Francis Bacon, in De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientarum (1623) proposed to divide history into two major areas of study: natural history, and civil history, which was to comprise of ecclesiastical history, civil history proper and the history of learning and the arts. Further, Bacon advocated that the same rigorous research should be the basis of each type of history. He insisted, in effect on a comprehensive understanding of the particular topic under review. This meant that the historian, to all practical purposes, should ignore the motivations of Providence and concentrate on immediate, local causes of events. Bacon, in forwarding this philosophy, was giving expression to a method that was already widely adopted. Although Richard Knolles, for example, in his Generall Historie of the Turks (1603) explained that the rise of the Turks was controlled by God, he did not fail to consider the causes that came 'next to those from above'.[72]

As the focus of attention shifted from the divine to the human, to commerce and government and secular learning, the scope of histories became even more limited. William Camden's Britannia set the standard for national histories. In 1611, the year following the translation of Camden's work into English, Steede published his Historie of Great Britaine. Bacon himself produced a History of the Reign of King Henry VIII in 1622. Godwin had confined himself to one narrow aspect of history in compiling A Catalogue of the Bishops of England, published in 1601. William Lambarde published the first county history, his Perambulation of Kent, in 1576. This inspired Richard Karew to write a survey of Cornwall; and Sir William Dugdale to compile a history called the Antiquities of

Warwickshire (1656). Inadequate as it was, The Antiquities of Canterbury, which appeared in 1640, has the distinction of being the first town history produced in England.

Yet the doctrine of providence in historical writings was far from abandoned. Eusebius's Historia Ecclesiastica was published in English for the first time in 1577. Thomas Stapleton, twelve years previously, had translated Bede's History of the English Church. Healey produced an English version of Augustine's De Civitate Dei in 1610; and Gildas's De Excidio was translated by Thomas Habington in 1635. Ralph Carr, in his 'epistle dedicatory' to The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie (1600) reiterates the belief of the Fathers that

> God almightie in his secret iudgements doth their [the Turks's] proceedings, to chastice the ingratitude of us Christians for the small thankefulnesse wee show for so many his gratious benefits.

Nevertheless he proceeds to argue that his task was to account for what the Turks did, for the deed 'rather than the reason of the deed'. Carr finds himself at a crossroad and apologises for choosing to go the secular way. Walter Raleigh also, the author of the popular History of the World (1614), also found himself in a situation akin to Carr's. He too saw world history as the theatre of God's judgement; but it was more than that. For Ralegh, God represented the principal law in history, the guiding spirit. Consequently he believed that the 'end and scope of al Historie' was 'to teach by examples of times past, such wisdome as may guide our desires and actions'.[73] On the other hand, Ralegh, according to Mr. Christopher Hill

'shows the ineluctable working out of cause and effect at the human level, so that evil actions ultimately but inevitably produce evil consequences for the doer'.[74] Ralegh's idea of the co-operation that existed between God and man in world affairs are best explained by quoting his own comment on Moses's actions after having being called by the Lord to lead Israel from captivity:

> Moses well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprises, so he lay not still in the ditch crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed, becoming a wise man, and a valiant and skilful conductor.[75]

The key phrase is 'God guided his understanding' - He was the determinant of Moses's achievements. Although Ralegh never deviated from this opinion throughout his History,unless a critical catastrophe pointed unmistakably to God's direct intervention in world affairs, he always assumed that God worked mysteriously, subjecting everything to the Divine'secret will'.

The Reformation too, as well as the Renaissance had its effect on historiography in sixteenth-century Europe. In consequence to Luther's stand against Rome, and the spread of Protestantism in Northern Europe, the continent was divided into two religious camps. In order to convince the faithful that they belonged to the True Body of Christ both the Catholic Church and the Protestant conscience appealed to scripture and antiquity. This constituted an intellectual deadlock which had to be broken. For the first time ever, the study of history was recognised to be a crucially important weapon in the war of truth.[76] Under the direction of Flacius Illyricus, the Lutherans launched their first offensive: between 1559 and

1574 they published the Centuriae Magdeburgenses, a detailed history of the increasing corruption and decadence of the Church of Rome from New Testament times to 1400. Vatican retaliation was instructed to a young Oratorian called Caesar Baronius, who defended his church in the Annales Ecclesiastici published between 1588 and 1607. Both works were as biased as each other, both churches as concerned with the necessity of winning converts and assuring their own faithful as they were with establishing impartial truth.

But the mere declaration of intellectual war had led to the sharpening of weapons, to the intensification of historical research and, consequently, to the development of historical controversy.

The most celebrated attack on the Roman cause in English was John Foxe's Acts and Monuments (1563). According to Patrides[77], it was only secondarily a condemnation of those who had turned truth into heresy, yet no reader can misinterpret Foxe's obvious denunication of the prelates and popes who brought to ruin the Church's age of innocence.[78] He plainly and untiringly recorded the martyrdoms of those who had with true Christian fortitude protested with their lives against the despoilers of the true Church of Christ. The resilience and courage they showed proved beyond doubt to Foxe that God stood firmly on the Protestant side of the European rift, indeed that He was working 'mightily'[79] to restore Christian purity and truth in the world. Foxe, in believing this, fully accepted the providential view of history.

Foxe's Acts and Monuments and Ralegh's History of the World were two of the most popular books of the seventeenth century.[80] In

Dr. Heylyn's opinion Ralegh was a profound and exact writer of universal history.[81] Cromwell, deeply conscious that he was a human agent through whom God acted, was expressing Ralegh's view of history when he asked,

> What are all our histories and other traditions of actions in former times but God manifesting Himself that He hath shaken and tumbled down and trampled upon everything that He hath not planted?[82]

John Milton stated that he wrote his History of Britain (1670) 'to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read': to carry out his purpose, he not only extended the tradition of the exempla but also reiterated the providential view of history. The Puritains, then, found nothing reprehensible in Ralegh's theory about history. Calvin himself had discussed the office of the tyrant as the appointed scourge of God in his Institutes.[83] William Perkins, the most influential of all the early Puritan writers, stated in A Golden Chaine that although everything ultimately depended upon 'God's eternal decrees', such decrees do not jeopardize the 'nature and property of second causes but only brings them into a certaine order, that is, it directeth them to the determinate end'.[84] Thus, twelve centuries after De Civitate Dei was written, the pious and impious still watched the workings of Providence with awe, marvelling at God's inscrutable ways.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

This belief in the omnipotence of God, His control over history,

His lasting concern for the faithful and in the end of life in Judgement was Edwards's rich inheritance. The Welsh Readers in 1667, 1671 and 1677 was subjected to exactly the same kind of history as the Kings of Israel were in the time of Isaiah and the Christians of the Fifth Century in Augustine's age. It was an exhortation for them to follow '[Y] rhai drwy ffydd ac ammynedd sy'n etifeddu yr addewidion...'[85]. 'Ni a ddeuwn i borfeydd gleision, os awn rhagom ar hyd ôl praidd y gwir fugail'.[86]

Edwards determined throughout "Hanes y Ffydd Gristianogol", to assert how the flock of the true shepherd chose the narrow way, adversity in faith rather than leisure in sin.[87] To live in purity was to ensure the favour of God. It is stated that Moses preferred to be the son of God rather than the godson of Pharaoh; Solomon, also, chose godly wisdom before material wealth.[88] In Chapter Twelve Edwards tells the story of how Bajazet, the cruel Turk, weighed down with care and sorrow, - for news had just reached him of Tomerlan's victory in Sebastia, and the death of his son Orthorbules - on his way to battle passed a shepherd playing his flute, and, sighing heavily, uttered, 'dedwydd wyti nad oes geniti na Sebastia nag Orthobules iw golli'.[89] The moral is driven home: 'Yr hyn sy'n dangos, mae gwell yw cyflwr y rhai sy'n bodloni ar ychydig na rhai sy'n meddu llawer'. For have not the covetous always come to an odious end? Has not God always proved his strength against the most perverse and rebellious of men? -

> Taflodd gowri yr hèn fŷd i fod yn furgynnod
> ar y ddaear, bwriodd Pharao a'r Aiphtiaid
> i byscod y môr côch, Herod i'r llau, a
> Jesabel ir cŵn.[90]

History had shown time and time again that the Christian underdogs are, without exception, tougher than the incredulous authorities. Even the most stupidly obstinate in the end turn to the ways of the shepherd: when the sea would not obey his command, did not Canute chastise his flatterers, subject himself to God, confess that God was King and that everything was governed by Him?[91] The prime purpose of Charles Edwards's "Hanes" was to urge everybody to return to God in this way.

In the narrative the author constantly emphasises his case by contrasting the lot of the faithful with that of the wicked. In Chapter Four, having mapped the missionary expeditions of Christ's early apostles, Edwards resorts to consider that the true religion, for over two thousand five hundred years, was simple and plain; and that with the coming of Christ, it was once again reinstated with its primitive plainness, 'gan weithio yr un grasau ynghalonau'r ffyddloniaid cyntaf a'r diweddaraf'.[92] In the passage following this statement, Edwards indicates, by citing examples, how the godly through the ages suffered for their cause. More examples are given in the Second and Third Editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant:

[1667] gwell oedd gan rai duwiol yr hen destament Dduw na'i bywyd, Dan. 3. 17,18[93]

ac felly yr oedd gan St y Testament newydd Act.21.13.

Gwell oedd gan rai duwiol yr hèn destament Dduw na'u bywyd, Dan.3. 17,18. Cymerent eu bwrw i ffwrn o dân poeth yn hytrach nag yr addolent Eulun yn lle'r Arglwydd byw, ac felly yr oedd gan Sainct y Testament newydd: Parod oedd Paul nid iw rwymo yn unig ond i farw hefyd er mwyn enw yr Act 21.13.

Yr un moddion gras arferent, sef cynghori, myfyrio, a gweddio.94	Arglwydd Iesu. Yr un moddion grâs arferent, sef cynghori, myfyrio, a gweddio. Ymadroddion Job a gyfodent i fynu yr hwn oedd yn syrthio. A dywed yr angel wrth Cornelius, anfon am Petr, yr hwn a lefara eiriau wrthit, trwy y rhai i'th iacheir di, a'th holl dŷ. Yn amser y Psalmydd yr ydoedd y gwynfydedig yn myfyrio ynghyfraith Dduw ddydd a nôs. A gorchymynwyd i Timotheus, lynu wrth ddarllen, a myfyrio ar y pethau hynny. Nerthol oedd gweddiau pobl dda ym mhob oes, fel y gwelir yn Moses ac yn Elias; ac medd Iago, llawer a ddichon taer weddi y cyfiawn.95	Job.4.4. Act.11.14. Isah.1.2 1.Tim.4.15. Iag.5.15.

Charles Edwards spared no effort to impress upon his readers that the coming of Christ and the ensuing New Testament constituted no break and certainly no change in the teaching of the true religion. Timothy and James meditated and prayed as Moses and Isaiah did. In the Third Edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards's insistence is further strengthened by the addition of the following paragraph[96]:

> Yr unrhyw orchymmynion moesawl y sydd yn yr Scrythurau Cyntaf a'r diweddaf. Rhaid ydoedd i Israel gynt megis y rhaid i'r Christianogion yn awr wneuthur da am ddrwg, a cheisio lleshau eu gelynion, gan ddychwelyd iddynt eu heidionnau a elent a'r gyfrgoll, a chynnorthwyo eu assynnod llwythog hwynt. Rhaid ydoedd iddynt beidio â thwyll, ac â lledrad, a bwytta eu bara drwy lafur, a chwŷs. Y gorchymmynion Moesawl ydynt gopiau o'r sancteiddrwydd a'r cyfiawnder ysydd yn Nuw, ac a ddarlunia ef ar eneidiau dynion: a chan fod ei ddaioni ef yn anghyfnewidiol, y mae ei gyfraith ef felly hefyd. Er dywedyd o'r Apostol nad yw enwaediad na dienwaediad ddim, etto ni ddywed nad yw sanctaidd addoliad, ac eulunaddoliaeth, gonestrwydd a lledrad ddim, eithr annogiff bawb i gadw gorchymmynion Duw. Exod.23 4.5.

He eagerly confirms the continuity of the faith. For instance, having simply reported in the first two editions how Noah and his sons reinhabited the earth and how the true faith was sustained by the lineage of Sem, he contends in the 1677 edition that all Cain's descendents had been destroyed by the Flood:[97]

> Llwyr ddifethwyd eppil Cain gan y diluw, ond parhâodd eppil Seth yn Noah. Y cyfammod a wnaethai Duw ag Adda a adnewyddwyd i Noah. Mewn amser tyfodd chwyn eulunaddoliaeth gyda hâd Cain, ond yr ydoedd y wir ffydd yn hynach na hi agos o ddwy fil o flynyddoedd.

This is an obvious attempt to work towards making explicit who were the key link-men who promoted the continuance of the faith. Charles Edwards the historian tightens his hold on the reins and rests the story awhile in order to reidentify his passengers. And again, towards the end of Chapter Two in the Third Edition of Y Ffydd Ddiffuant, he explains how God arranged for all his travellers to make the same journey under like conditions:[98]

> Wedi amser Moses yr oedd y drugareddfa a'r typau eraill yn pennodi at Grist. Y deg gorchymmyn a roddes Duw yn ei amser ef yw'r vnrhyw ac a ddyscasau'r ffyddloniaid, ac a ddilynasent hefyd o'r blaen. Y gorchymmyn cyntaf sy'n peri cymeryd yr vn Duw ac oedd gan Adda, Noah, ac Abraham. A'r ail a bair gasau eulunnod, fel y gwnaeth Jacob pan gladdodd ef ddelwau Rachel. Dengys llŵon Abraham, ac Isaac, a Jacob mal yr oeddent yn perchi enw Duw, ac yn ei arfer ef yn vnic ar wirionedd pwysfawr. Yr oedd y Sabbath o'r dechreuad. Melldithiwyd Canaan eisiau iw dâd ef anrhydeddu ei dâd yntef. yn amser Isaac a Juda cospid godineb â marwolaeth. Ni fynnai Abraham ddwyn dim oddiar Lot, na Jacob oddiar Laban. Enwog

Gen.2.3. ac 9.2. Gen.26.11

> oeddent am eu gwirionedd, a choelid iw haddewidion a'u hamodau. Ni chwennychai Abraham ddim o'r eiddo brenin Sodom, na Joseph wraig ei feistr.

True to his case, Charles Edwards not only emphasizes the unity and tradition of the faithful, but also singles out instances of discord among communities, which precipitated disaster and confusion. These events, like the orgy that followed the worshipping of the golden calf under Mount Sinai, took place in an oasis of ease after the hardships of the desert. "Hawddfyd" is the evil circumstance which breeds calamity. In all the instances he quotes, Christians have become careless, undisciplined and, finally, unattached to God.[99] Edwards sharpens his comments on these dissensions with choice metaphors:

> Ar ôl hyn [the persecution under Decius] cafodd yr Eglwys ychydig ysbaid o dangnheddyf, y barodd falchder, ac anghydfod ymhlith y Christianogion, fel llygedyn rhwng dwy gafod yn codi chwyn yn yr ŷd.[100]

Similarly, during the forty-four years which followed the persecutions under Aureliamus, the Christian congregations multiplied so greatly that they had to leave their 'old corners' where they used to worship and raise new sizeable buildings;

> Ond fel y mae'r hâf yn magu pryfed, felly tyfiff ymrysson a chenfigen a hawddfyd.[101]

In the fourth century the church flourished anew under the protection of the christian Emperor Constantine. According to Edwards, her mind was alert to the bluff of pagan poets, images were mute, and her members

acknowledged that the Scriptures expounded the will of God. Moreover, a large portion of the world was converted to Christianity. But to what avail?

> Yr oes hon drwy amlder a rhydd-did yr efengil a fagodd foethysdra ymmysc proffesswyr, a chwestiynau rhy ddyfnion ynghylch y Drindod, ac undeb Crist a'r Tâd o'r un sylwedd, rhwng Arius ac eraill; oni thyfodd anghydfod gofidus ymmysc yr eglwysydd.

Luxury, once again, corrupts the good. Edwards's insistence on simplicity, industry, fidelity is a reiteration of the pleas of the prophets of Israel, as well as a reflection of Edwards's own adherence to the seventeenth-century non-conformist cause.

To refuse, in all ages, 'the waters of Shiloah that go softly' was to suffer 'the waters of the river, strong and many'.[102] But since Isaiah's faith was based essentially on the confidence that the maintenance of Zion was inseparable from Yahweh's purpose, he saw beyond political upheaval.[103] He saw the cane of the strict father chastising the unruly boy, banishing him temporarily from the realm of his favour though not from the realm of His care. Charles Edwards too was guided by the same commanding faith. The Lord who brought Israel out of the Land of Egypt would never fail neither the Jews nor the Christians. But punish, that indeed he would. From the Bible Edwards had learned how strictly God kept to the pattern of destroying the wicked, restoring the penitent. He states, in Chapter Three, that from the time of Joshua's death to the time of Saul, when Israel was without a king, 'pan bechei'r

eglwys drwy gau addoliad a drwg foesau gadawei'r Arglwydd i erlidwyr ei gorthrymmu, a phan ddiwygei ei ffyrdd cyfodei waredwyr iddi'.[104] It was universally accepted down to the seventeenth-century - and beyond[105] - that God's hand was the force which did and undid all things in history. The lapses of the faithful resulted in torture or dispersion inflicted by an angered God through His serviceable agents. And they were various; sometimes they were armies.

Edwards reports the coming of Pompey's army to Jerusalem to crush a civil war - an evil which frequently accelerated a calamity.[106] The Romans were also instrumental in quashing Jerusalem and destroying the Temple in 72 A.D.![107] this, Charles Edwards explains, was God's punishment for the Jews who had hardened their hearts against the Gospel and who had multiplied their confusions.[108]

> Ac o herwydd iddynt ddewis Cæsar o flaen
> Crist, cawsant ddigon o Cæsar; canys
> Cymmellid hwynt i addoli ei lûn ef,
> ac erlidiwyd hwynt am wrthod hynny.

To fulfil exactly the same task, the Danes in the ninth century were sent to an England rent into seven kingdoms, where interstate war had been continually waged between men who had, four centuries, previously unitedly massacred the Britons, 'a gallent ddywedyd fel Adonibezec, megis y gwnaethom felly y talodd Duw ini'.[109]

Nevertheless, there were limits to the wrath of God and an end to His patronage of pagan powers. 'For thus saith the Lord God the Holy One of Israel; In returning and in rest shall ye be saved.'[110] As a footnote to his short report on a war between the Pope and the Turks, Charles Edwards

says of the Infidels: 'Amseroedd eraill pan aent ir frwydr dan gablu Crist, gorchfygid nhwythau; ond y naill amser gyda'r llall, caniadodd Duw iddynt fod yn fflangell lifeiriol iw bobl anufudd.'[111] (Indeed, the concept could be called 'the principle of the flowing whip'. Defeat stung; and the agent could never afflict unless it was handled.) And the disobedient were, after all, His people. Just as Israel had undergone punishment as the Chosen One of God, now, on the cosmic scale, the Christians, as the spiritual inheritors of the Israelite tradition, were the chief players on God's stage. Always aware of a Divine Providence, Charles Edwards and his like accepted the harshness of God's wrath and understood that when He disciplined His company for their performance it was not to banish them for ever from his production.

More often than not God defeated the Christians' antagonists. The swords were hired to achieve this end also. For instance, Crassius, Pompey's successor as the Roman leader in Jerusalem,[112] having plundered the Temple, was crushed by the Parthians, who in disgust filled his mouth with gold. In the third century,

> Ar ôl i Falerius erlid yr Eglwys ddwy flynedd,
> cymerwyd ef yn garcharor mewn rhyfel gan
> Sapores brenin Persia, a gwnawd ef yn gŷff
> ir brenin hwnnw i sangu arno wrth fyned
> ar ei farch.[113]

The Persians were at hand once more to quell Emperor Juliamus c.365,[114] who himself had, according to Edwards, been placed on Constantius's throne in order to afflict the Christians for their schisms.[115] God used other methods, more especially His own power to cause natural upheavals such as earthquakes, fires and floods. The wicked breed of Cain was drowned in

the Great Flood. God struck Antiochus Epiphanes 'â dolur gwaedlyd' for having caused great destruction in Jerusalem, 'oni bu ef farw'.[116] A deadly plague was planted in the Empire of Decius to revenge the persecution of the Christians. And in the later ages God did not neglect this work: within a month of the mass martyrdom of thirty-six Lollards in England in the fifteenth century, He had struck Archbishop Arundel's tongue in such a way that he could neither swallow nor speak, for several days before he died.[117] At the time of the Marian burnings in England, many persecutors met with strange deaths:

> Cipiodd angau disyfyd un Duning Canghellawr Norwich, a Jeffrey Canghellawr Salisburie. Bu farw Gardiner ai dafod allan ...
> (138-9)

In Tridentium, a big black fiery-eyed dog frightened one Cardinal Cressentius to death; and a sudden strong wind lifted the carriage of a great persecutor in Antwerp off the road into a deep ditch where both he and his wife died. In tales such as these did Charles Edwards testify to the lasting concern of God for His faithful.

By the seventeenth century a new enemy of Christ's true religion had been long established. God, in Charles Edwards's considered Protestant opinion, was no longer at war only with pagans living in ignorance, but also with the Anti-Christ living in so-called Christian office. He was the Pope. Calvinism and British Puritanism of course were diametrically opposed to Roman Catholicism. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, in much too

crude a fashion to win the outright regard of either the Elizabethan or Stuart Church hierarchy, had, by obligation as it were, condemned the standing and the works of the Roman Bishops and executives. And anyone who had steeped himself in both Genevan theology and Foxian history, as Edwards had done, was bound to be fiercely opposed to Romish designs. Further, did not a Spanish naval officer in 1588 admit that he believed Christ to be a Protestant?[118]

In Edwards's "Hanes" God is just as antagonistic towards the Papists as he is towards the Persian and the Turk. According to Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant the rot was allowed to set in in 602:[119]

> Wedi i Phocas waelyd lâdd ei feistr Morys a myned yn ymerodr yn ei lê ef, er cael gair da escob Rhufain, rhoddodd iddo Distl i fod yn ben ar yr holl eglwysi: er i Gregorius ychydig o'r blaen brofi yn erbyn escob Constantinopl, nad allei escob yn y bŷd ymhonni or fath beth.

What were the consequences of pontifical rule? The end of the seventh century sees the introduction of Latin services and litanies which minimized the purity of religion.[120] Some believe, comments Edwards, that this was the beginning of the Age of the Beast. Enlarging on his statement, he catalogues some of the innovations instigated by Rome - the worship of crucifixes and saints, extra ritual rites at mass, prayers for the dead, and, in the first two editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Charles Edwards tells the story of a Pope who could indeed have been condemned as a beast.[121]

> ynghylch hyn y dewisodd yr escobion Siwan[122] yn Bab yn dduwybod, cans dillad gwr

> y wiscei hi, ac yscolheictod y fedrei
> hi, a phrifiodd yn wir Buttain o Babilon,
> a thra yr oedd yn rhodio dinas Rufain
> daeth gwewyr escor arni hi, a ganwyd iddi
> fasterdin yn yr heol. Cywilyddiodd yr escobion
> yn ddirfawr oi phlegyd hi, am ddarllen o
> honynt yr offeren a'r profesi wrth ei dewis hi.

The passage is omitted from the third edition. But this is not to say that Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was by then purged of attacks on the Papacy. G.J. Williams comments on the fact that Charles Edwards used more restrained language when he described the bishops and heads of the Roman Church in 1677: 'Er enghraifft, gwelir yn aml iawn ddileu'r ansoddeiriau gwaedlyd, llygredig, ofergoelus, etc.'.[123] Mr. Saunders Lewis also would have us believe that Edwards's attitude had moderated a great deal.[124] True, there are passages whose edges had been blunted by the third edition: Hildebrand[125] for example, condemned in 1667 and in 1671 as

> yr hwn oedd Consuriwr cythreylig[126] (fel y
> buasei'r pab Syvester[127] yr ail oi flaen
> ynteu yn y flwyddyn 1000.) ac yn
> gablwr, ac yn ymdderchafu uwchlaw
> brenhinoedd y ddaiar...[128]

was, by 1677, merely one 'oedd yn ymdderchafu uwchlaw brenhinoedd y ddaiar'. Yet the most important accusation against this Pope remains. In all three editions Edwards insists that it was

> Yn yr oes hon y tynnodd yr Anghrist y mwgwd
> oddiar ei wyneb, gan ymddangos ir byd, y
> Twrc yn rheibus yn y dwyrain, a'r Pab
> Hildebrandus yn y Gorllewin.

and that

> o'r amser yma allan, a thalm o'r blaen, drwy
> gleddyf a gwenwyn yr ymgodeu yr Pabau yn

> o fynech: weithiau byddeu dau, weithiau tri
> o honynt yn ymdynnu am y goruchafieth A
> chan iddynt ymroddi i ddilyn cyngor y drwg
> cydffurfiasant addoliad Eglwysig yn y modd
> tebyccaf i ddiffodd purdeb ffydd yn enw
> crefydd, drwy attal oddiwrth bobl air Duw,
> ac ysbryd deallus mewn gweddi, ac yn
> lle hynny adrodd geiriau ladin ar dâsc
> heb ddirnad, na theimlad.[129]

To deride and condemn in this fashion is not the habit of a man given to moderation. Edwards's main criticism of the Pope is left unweakened: to extinguish the purity of the faith and keep the Word of God from the people was, emphatically, to sin, be it 1667, 1671 or 1677. Substituting the adjective drwg for cythrael and beiau for drygioni[130] was merely to put away the pointed sabre and continue fencing with the smoother sword.[131]

The fight was certainly on. Edwards argues that, in 1324, God Himself was seen to testify to the corruption of the Roman Church.[132] Some interpreters of the Book of Revelations now prove that the Pope was the Antichrist: they prophesy that humble ministers will be raised to preach to and care for the flock of Christ. Moreover, they criticise the way the superstitious hypocrites whip the live images of God because they would not worship the mute images; 'A'u bod yn porthi, neu yn hytrach yn siomi defaid Crist â phorfa súr, ac afiachus,[133] sef dychymygion dynol, ac yn cau yn fanwl rhag iddynt gael blâs ar dŵr Duw, sef y scrythyrau.'[134] Can such criticism be regarded as a sign of moderation?

Edwards shows his colours not only in direct attacks on Papal policies, but also indirectly: in his history, God always sides with the Protestants. 'Joan Wiccliffe' is one of the spirit of Elias, raised up by God to restore the purity of religion; Husse was sent by Him; and

the cleansing of the Church from Roman corruption was prophesied by godly men.[135] The Marian burnings provided Edwards with numerous chances to score against Rome. For instance, when Cranmer was burned at Oxford the Papists dressed him up in bishop's vestments only to strip him again 'fel y gwnaeth y milwyr â Christ wrth ei watwor ef â gwîsc frenhinawl', adds Edwards.[136] The martyrs are compared to Christ and the Apostles, and they are always comforted by God.[137] Converts to Protestantism were many 'canys gwelwyd llawer o râs ac o anwyldra Duw tuag at y rhai cystuddiedig y pryd hyn'.[138] To be sure, even an Oxford don who had lost his fellowship for showing such zeal towards the Pope during Edwards's reign confessed to a co-Papist at the time:

> Yr ydym yn dioddef llawer dros y Pâb, ond nid oes gennym y fath felysdra yn ein Calonnau oddiwrth ei grefydd ef, ac y welwn ni y Protestaniaid yn ei fwynhau yn eu ffordd nhwy;[139]

then, witnessing how the martyrs received their comfort in Mary's time, he was converted to the gospel[140], and burned at 'Newberie'

> lle y dywedodd wrth ei gydfilwyr, Byddwch gysurus, yn llê'r marwor hyn ni gawn berlau, y mae Yspryd Duw yn tystiolaethu hynny i'n ysprydoedd ni.[141]

To Charles Edwards, the Pope was at the head of a rival cause which certainly did not promote the unfeigned faith.

Charles Edwards's view of the importance of the nation as a spiritual unity is, again, similar to the view held by the Israelite prophets.

Wheeler Robinson argues that 'God's concern was with the nation, and the prophets in whom the religious consciousness of the nation becomes articulate are at once the representatives of the nation before God, gathering it up into their own consciousness, and the live point in the nation at which God made contact with its inner life'.[142] It would be both ridiculous and capricious to claim that Edwards saw himself as a 'representative' of the Welsh, but in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant he attempts to impress upon his readers that God sat in judgement over them not only as individuals but also as a nation. 'Eled y Cymro' - man and people - 'yn hoff gan Dduw'.[143]

In the first edition of the history, Edwards stated categorically - as he did in the later editions - that Joseph of Arimathea came to plant the Gospel in Britain. The only further report given in 1667 on its progress in Wales is a lament 'na chafwyd ynghymru yr un a roddes ei fywyd er tystiolaeth i air Duw yn yr amser hwnnw [the time of the Marian persecution oddieithr dau neu dri yn y deheudir'.[144] But in 1671 and 1677, intent on creating and emphasising the importance of a national religious consciousness in Wales, Edwards wrote his Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y cymru. A measure of the influence of a new period of studying Welsh history on Edwards's outlook is his qualification of the above lament in the second and third editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Having ascertained that Wales had experienced spiritual poverty and was educationally backward in early Tudor times, he realised that this was the reason why no Welshman during Mary's reign 'testified through suffering', except for three in the South who understood

English.[145] Yet God, once, had given his forefathers the Word. And just as Isaiah revelled in the truth that God had adopted Israel as His chosen nation, so did Charles Edwards, joyful that Wales was a part of Christendom, report that God had adopted her also to be a nation within the realm of His care. Professor North describes how the Hebrews all through their history 'retained a vivid recollection of the time when Yahweh was unknown to their fathers,' when indeed He began to be their God: this was when He delivered them from the land of Egypt.[146] Accordingly the Israelites laid emphasis on their deliverance, calling Yahway 'the God of Battles'. Edwards describes how God moved to save Britain, and release her from worldly captivity, the Roman occupation. He sent

> foddion rhyddid ysprydol o Gaersalem, gan ganhiadu yr efengyl yn gynar iddi; sef yn nyddiau'r apostolion[147]

and Edwards adds, 'er pelled ydoedd hi oddiwrth Palestina', as if to comment that God made a special effort to grant the Britons spiritual nourishment.

Christian conviction was so powerful in Britain in the early fourth century that it was from here that God, through Constantine the Great, worked a reformation in the world. Bishops from Britain - Charles Edwards proudly reports - attended the Councils the Emperor convened in France and Nicea; and soldiers from Britain were in the ranks of the imperial army. By the latter half of the fifth century, religious debate was so widespread and stimulating that Wales could boast a heretic famous and well-liked for his sanctity and knowledge throughout Christendom.[148] When the heresy of Pelagius threatened to agitate the Britons to dispute,

the bishops Garmon and Lupus were sent from France to preserve the unfeigned faith on the island. Thus God was seen to generate power for his attacks on the heathen from Britain; and also to defend her. For Garmon and Lupus proved to be more than useful diplomats of Orthodoxy. When the Britons faced fierce constant onslaughts at the hands of the Picts and the Saxons, Garmon, having fasted and prayed and celebrated mass ('cymûnan'), with a chosen band of disciples waited in ambush for the enemy; and as soon as the Saxons appeared, the Bishop and his band rose, cried '<u>Alleluia</u>' three times very loudly, so that the countryside rang with the noise. Frightened, the Saxons and Picts disarmed, and in panic, retreated. 'Dyma fuddugoliaeth', comments Edwards,[149]

> debyg i un Gideon gynt, pan ffôawdd gwersyll
> Y Midianiaid wrth glywed rhai diarfog yn
> llefain <u>Cleddyf yr Arglwydd a Gideon</u>.

Thus God revealed Himself to the Welsh as their Grand Protector as strikingly and convincingly as He showed Himself to the Israelites.

This insistence on the parallel between Wales and Israel is carried still further: in a passage towards the end of "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y Cymru", Edwards reviews the history of the Welsh over the preceding thousand years and adopts for his 'henafiaid' the name the Lord gave Jeremiah, Magor Missabib, for they in the same way as the prophets' friends fell by the sword.[150] Then Charles Edwards asks '<u>pwy a gyfyd</u> Gymru, <u>Canys bechan Yw</u>?' ; in the same tenor he might have asked 'Who will release Israel from captivity?', for the answer to both questions is the same:

<u>Yr arglwydd ai cofiodd yn ei hisel radd o</u>

> herwydd ei drugaredd: a gweithiodd ei gwarediad [hi, Cymru] fel un Israel..[151]

Such comparisons must not be regarded as the minutiae of an arrogant nationalist's religious propaganda. Edwards was certainly not intent on claiming for Wales a standing above the other Gentile nations in the sight of God. He refers time and again to events in Jewish history simply because the people of Israel had enjoyed a special relationship with the Creator which had been recorded and published; and Edwards knew his Old Testament better than any other history. The history of Israel was for him the norm, the known pattern of God's actions.

As He defended his people with His right hand, so with His left hand God smote them when they lapsed to sin. Charles Edwards fully understood that Wales could not avoid punishment:

> am fod Prydain yn gwybod ewyllis ei Harglwydd ac heb ei wneuthur, darperir iddi lawer o ffonnodiau:[152]

Picts, Scots, pagan Saxons from 'Germania', all in turn use the fire and sword of God's wrath against her. Yet he does not forsake Wales:

> drwy ddewrder a phwyll Emrys Aureliamus,
> a'i frawd Uthr, a'i nai ef y brenin Arthur,
> gwelodd Duw yn dda roddi'R Maes ir
> Britanniaid mewn llawer brwydr, ac attal
> gerwindeb y Saeson,...[153]

Edwards, as if abandoning his theocentric view of history, for one brief moment, dons a Modern historian's gown, and argues that foreigners constantly invaded Britain because her soil was so fertile - 'Ffrwythlondeb y pren afalau y wnaiff ergydio cymmaint o bastynau atto'.[154] But it is the Ancient who triumphs, who corrects -

> Pe buasai yn addoli Duw yn ddyladwy, ni chawsai neb chwennych moi thŵr, ... os buasai rhuthr iddi, creuasai'r Arglwydd amddiffyn ar ei holl ogoniant.[155]

and to prove his assertion states,

> Ond wedi iddi ddigio Duw, aeth ei golud hi yn obrwy ir Sawl ai Lladdent hi ... Cyn pen nemawr ar ôl yscrifen Gildas bu agos i blâ a elwid y Fall felen a dibennu gweddillion y Britaniaid: Y rhai wedi hynny a gollasant Gaerloiw, a'r Bath, a'r cwbl o orllewin Lloegr, oddieithr Cerniu. A daliodd y Saeson y grefydd Gristnogol, a throesant yr Eglwysydd yn demlau eulynnod Paganaidd, drwy eu harglwyddiaethau oll.[156]

Welsh panic and failure in later centuries were still attributed to the same adherence to sin. The English who put down Owen Glendower's rebellion in the fifteen century outlawed the Welsh themselves. Edwards's review of the crisis - in a paragraph in which God is not mentioned at all - has all the feeling and political understanding of a patriotic social historian. He lists unreasonable decrees which Henry IV passed to deprive the Welsh of all civil rights: they could not hold land nor office, nor convict an Englishman except in an English Court; their children were not allowed to learn a craft; they could not import food without royal or Councilar consent; and furthermore Edwards condemns the law, 'goleuni gwladwriaeth', for its injustice, and its officers for their malignity. Indeed, the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677) so eloquently surveys this particular international situation that, taken out of its context, the review could easily be taken for the work of a more wordly minded historian. But true to his purpose, Charles Edwards does not abandon

Providence: he locks the significance of these political sanctions in one lasting conclusion:

> Gwelwn yma mor aflesol fu i'n henafiaid
> amcanu bwrw cystudd oddiwrthynt cyn troi
> at Dduw drwy edifeirwch.[157]

And links Owen Glyndower, whose rebellion provoked the sanctions with a Hebrew counterpart:

> Prifiodd y gwrthryfel hwn fel un zedeciah,
> yn achos o gaethiwed Babilonaidd.[158]

But God in His own time, changed the role of England. The antagonist became, during Henry VII's reign, the ally. And Edwards's attitude towards the Tudor English is similar to that of the celebrated Welsh Protestants, William Salesbury and Bishop William Morgan. It was Salesbury who first moulded the new view in his English dedicatory letter to Queen Elizabeth at the beginning of his Welsh New Testament. Bishop Morgan, in 1588, complimented the Queen on the godliness with which God had endowed her, and which inspired her to care for the Welsh nation. Edwards in the same vein praises the Lord for planning Wales's deliverance as he did Israel's in the time of Ahasverus and Esther, 'drwy briodas'.[159] But Charles Edwards reserves the curt criticism that had the Britons, when they were subject to oppression, offered to teach the Saxons Protestant ways, it would have been as difficult for them to accept the creed as it was for the poor Americans to accept the faith of the arrogant Spaniards.[160] He did not address the sovereign as Salesbury and Morgan were obliged to do, and thus he was able to qualify his praise of royal gracefulness. A former advocate of Commonwealth rule, he is noticeably sparing in his praise of

the Royal House of Stuart. For the supply of the popular Welsh Bible printed in 1620 he duly commends the generosity of 'Dr. Thomas Midleton' and Mr. Heilyn'. And in his conclusion, Edwards offers further, legitimate, criticism of the slow sympathy that was generated by English authorities towards the publication of cheap editions of the Welsh Bible. He cannot forget the deprivation Wales suffered: 'nid rhyfedd i anwybodaeth bylu ein Cenedl ni, pryd na lefasent gan y gyfraith roi dysceidiaeth iw plant'. Moreover, he is perceptive enough to realise that this loss made the nation mentally frigid, and insensible to the Word of God when it was finally published in the mother-tongue: 'gorfu ir awdurdodau goruchel gymell y Cymry i ddaioni, a braidd y deffrôent er hynny.[161] Yet though he gives good sound reasons why the Welsh were plagued for so long by inertia, Charles Edwards is convinced that all is God's doing:

> Ond <u>Arglwydd y cynhaiaf</u> a ddichon drefnu ir dydd a gododdd yn araf, brifio yn dèg i achub llawer o ffrwyth a llafur yn ein gwlad, <u>a bod goleuni yn yr hwyr</u>, a llestair i'n pechodau ei dywyllu.[162]

Until, by 1677, the English wolves had become the shepherds of the Welsh; English printers supplied Welsh books; English scholards educated Welsh undergraduates, and English politicians managed the Welsh economy. 'A diammeu', adds Edwards, 'pe cryfhaeu ufudd-dod i air Duw yn ein mysc ni, ychwanegid at ein trugareddau ni'.[163] The Edwards who in some passages in "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y Cymru" wielded the pen of a modern patriotic historian is primarily and finally a historian who respects and proclaims the eternal rule of God's Providence. And throughout, England is the convenient arm of that divine law.

3, Chapter III

CHARLES EDWARDS'S SOURCES

It has been established that the author of "Hanes y Ffydd" belongs to the body of writers who composed according to the Christian view of history. When Charles Edwards took up the task of compiling a history in the Welsh language, it was into the coffers of this tradition that he delved for his knowledge.

In "At y Darlleydd" in the second and third editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards reveals that he pursued the compilation of a history of the faith after considering how beneficial such a work would be to his compatriates. Yet, though inspired to his task by an acute awareness of a specific national spiritual and intellectual need, he still found it necessary to inform - or, indeed, to apologize to - his reader that he knew of no single volume similar in content to his planned Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant which he could translate into Welsh. He was obviously conscious of the fact that he was, in contemplating an original work, deviating from the established practice of Welsh men of letters. The great majority of the Welsh books published between the beginning of Elizabeth's reign and the Restoration were translations. Except for the Puritans Oliver Thomas and Morgan Llwyd, who wrote in the last quarter of this period, all Welsh Authors restrained themselves from indulging in original work. Dr Geraint Gruffydd believes that they were so unproductive because 'their awareness of their countryman's spiritual need was not sufficiently urgent to compel them to speak directly.'[1] Yet they fully appreciated the need to translate and make available for the Welsh the spiritual manuals which had found a ready readership in England. Bayly's Practice of Piety, for example, had already been issued in twenty-four English editions

before it was published as Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb in 1629. Perhaps one other reason for this literary phenomen can be suggested forwarded. Politically, the Anglican Welsh authors, from William Salesbury to Robert Llwyd and John Davies, were fervent supporters of the Crown; and as such tended to regard the spiritual and intellectual appetites of their fellow-countrymen as extensions of the needs of the common Englishman. On the other hand, Morgan Llwyd, by addressing "Y Cymro Cariadus" in 1656, honours the seventeenth-century Welshman with an individuality few religious prose writers of his era had perceived, or at least admitted. It is indeed significant that the Welsh Puritans, who were the first to voice anti-royalist opinion in Wales since 1485, were also the first to publish their own original works in Welsh. Charles Edwards, who had an intimate knowledge of the history of Welsh publications', understood only too well that in taking upon himself the task of research and selection in order to write a book that answered a specific need, he was taking a step strange to Welsh letters.

To collect his material for "Hanes y Ffydd", Edwards states:

> cymerais gwrs y wenynen i sugno
> llawer llysieuyn i wneuthur hyn o
> ddilyn. [2]

It is a common but apt metaphor, for what is the bee's pollen constitutes the historian's raw material, ready to be processed into a new product.

Edwards does not name one of the 'llawer llysieuyn'. But in this chapter I intend to trace his sources, examine his attitude towards them, and criticize the use he makes of his borrowings.

"YNGHYLCH YSTORI, A PHARTHAU'R BŶD" and PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMAGE.

It was only fitting that a historian who so concerned himself

with God's judgements, as Charles Edwards did, should know the plan of the theatre in which they took place; and, further, that he should impart his geographical information to his reader as additional, but primary, information before presenting the actual history of those judgements. Charles Edwards realised this, and argued that it is essential to consider the geography of the earth 'fel y deallem ystori yn well'.[3] His study, presented on the first eleven pages of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, affords a substantial introduction to the more relevant study of world history.

Samuel Purchas's Pilgrimage, a long and complex history of the "Relations of the World and the Religions", was Edwards's source for his knowledge of geography. Purchas in his introduction invites the natural philosopher, the historian and the divine - and Edwards donned the mantle of each in his book - to profit from the Pilgrimage: the philosopher to 'observe the different constitution and commixtion of the Elements' and 'their divers working in divers places;' the 'delighter in State-affaires' 'to observe the varietie of states and kingdomes, with their differing Lawes, Policies, and Customes, their Beginnings and Endings'; and the divine 'to contemplate the workes of God, not in creation alone, but in his Justice and Providence'.[4]

It is as a dedicated historian of the Christian faith, interested solely in the Biblical or ecclesiastical connections of the towns and countries Purchas deals with, that Edwards delves into the Pilgrimages. When he describes a place Purchas gives its historical background, supplies his readers with information about the tribe or people who founded it, and enlightens them on the religious or quasi-religious habits of the present inhabitants. For example, in a passage describing Galatia,

Purchas discloses that 'of the Galatae were three Tribes' Trogini, Tolistobogi, and Tectosages; all of which Goropius deriveth from the Cimmery'; and that one of these tribes, the Trogini, now inhabited Tavium, where there stood 'a brazen statue of Jupiter, whose temple there was a priviledged sanctuarie.'[5] Concluding his description, Purchas briefly mentions the fact that Paul wrote an epistle to the Christians at Galatia. And this is the only piece of information Edwards is interested in. He knew from his reading of Paul's Epistles that there was a church in Galatia,[6] but in his own description of Asia Minor he links together 'Bythinia, Pontus, Galatia' and 'Cappadocia' described by Purchas on consecutive pages.[7] Edwards adds Armenia to the group of states, noting that Mount Ararat, where Noah's Ark rested, was situated here, a fact which Purchas disinterestedly does not enlarge upon in his study of the state.[8] Again, in describing the wonders of the vicinity of Mount Sinai in Arabia, Purchas presents choice information, such as the fact that there was kept near there 'an Epistle of Eugenius Bishop of M. Sinai, written 1569 to Charles the Arch-duke' or that the cows there were smaller than the cows of Egypt. Edwards is unconcerned. It is sufficient for him to note that God gave the law to Israel on Sinai, and manna from heaven.[9] Joppa for him means Peter's miracle - 'lle cododd Petr Dorcas o farw i fyw'; Damascus and Antiochia worthy of note because it was there that the disciples were first called Christians.[10]

Yet for all his adherence to strictly Biblical references, Edwards has the interest to refer to a geographical phenomenen when he chooses to do so. He is attracted by Purchas's detailed description of the Dead Sea, which he knew of course from his knowledge of the Bible,

and retells some of the interesting facets of the place which Purchas reveals:

Broard telleth of those Trees with ashes growing under Engaddi, by this Sea; and a vapour, rising out of the sea, which blasteth the neighbour fruits." [11]	[y] môr marw yn yr hwn nis gall dim fyw gan ei sawr pyglyd ef.[12]

and

there (saith [Fucherius Carnotensis]) did I see apples on the trees, which when I opened, I found blacke and dustie within.	Ynghylch y llyn sawrllyd hwn ytyfiff pren ag afalau arno, teg yr olwg, ond Pan gyffyrdder â hwynt ânt yn vlw;

Edwards, far from abandoning his religious concern, in the same passage notes that Sodom and Gomorah 'a dinasoedd eraill' - the 'thirteen cities' cited in Purchas[13] - were situated on the banks of the Dead Sea. They had stood there, adds Edwards, until their sins brought upon them 'ddialedd tanllyd'. Purchas say that some cities 'were consumed by fire'. And Edwards's description, 'yma nid Llyn Llyncys ond Llyc-ddinas', which seems misplaced in the narrative[14], is probably an attempt to express in Welsh Purchas's statement that other cities were 'swallowed by earth-quakes and sulphurous waters.'[15]

Edwards gathered his information on Palestine from Purchas's commentary on Honius's Map of the Holy Land, which is printed in the Pilgrimages.[16] The Welsh historian enlarges upon the fact that the Mahommedan 'theeves', as Purchas calls them, had made Jerusalem their den by the early seventeenth century, and argues that this is a good reason why the land had lost its furtility. Still, Jerusalem was symbolically and geographically 'Canol y Byd', Edwards made this

deduction after reading Jerome's description of the Old Jerusalem which is printed as a marginal note by Purchas:[17]

> this was...in the midst of the world, and the navell of the earth; having on the East Asia, on the West Europe, Africa, on the South Scythia, &c on the North.

The references to Assyria and the countries to the East of Palestine made in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant can be traced to a chapter by Purchas "Of Ninive and other neighbouring Nations";[19] and the references to the Persians and Scythians to Book Four of the Pilgrimages, "Of the Armenians, Medes, Persians, Parthians, Scythians, Tartarians, Chinois, and of their religions."[20] Edwards, though he does cite the size of Scythia and praises the achievements of Tamburlaine, is as usual primarily concerned with the religions of the Nations. As far as he was concerned, the detailed descriptions of Asia's topography or tribal habits or history found in the Pilgrimage were totally impertinent.

Even Purchas's account of Eastern Asia was scrutinized for the remains of Christianity. Purchas relates how 'Fryer Gasper de la Crux' had seen the image of a woman 'with a child hanging about her necke' in a chapel at Canton;[21] and Edwards comments, 'Ffrŵd yr efengyl a adawodd hyn o rŵd oi hol.'[22] Enlarging upon this account of the religion of the ancients in China, Purchas states that they 'made no question of the soules immortalitie, speaking often of the Dead as living in Heaven;'[23] then adds, 'the later professors teach that the soule dies with, or soone after the Bodie, and therfore believe neither Heaven nor Hel'. This second statement, of course, testifies against the prevalent influence of Christianity in China. So, Edwards ignores it, and using

the present tense of the verb to include even the lapsed 'later professors' states uncompromisingly

> Cydnabyddant fod yr enaid yn anfarwol,

He will not confess to the disappearance of the Christian rust.

Neither does Edwards view the Europeanization of India with the same eye-glass as Purchas.[24] The Englishman is at the same time both joyously proud of his country's newly found prosperity in the East - 'Oh, how doth my soule honour those glorious exploits in the Indian Ocean' -[25] and distressed that critics condemn English behaviour there. He finds himself giving 'many arguements in defence' of it. Here is one:

> Neither can the English be charged with annoying eyther Christian or Heathen, except in Necessarie Defence, or Just Revenge... they plant Factories, not Fortresses, on the Land.[26]

Edwards totally ignores the insinuation that the English, or else the Dutch and Portuguese,[27] could annoy Christians anywhere. It is his opinion that India is full of idolatry, except for the coastal strip where the Europeans have built cities and, yes, fortresses - for could they not serve as convenient battle stations to promote God's punishment upon the Heathen? Edwards even reports, without comment, that the Spaniards were planting the seeds of Papism in the islands off Asia,[28] maintaining perhaps that the fruits of Papism would be an improvement on the fruits of paganism.

Edwards adopts the same formula of presentation in his description of Africa, too: he names some of the countries which constitute the continent, indulges in one or two comments on its climate - 'Poeth gras yw eu tîr, am fod yr haul yn union uwch eu Pennau', but

concerns himself mainly, as before, with references to the connections the countries hold with the unfeigned faith. It is Purchas who explains to him the meaning of the word Ethiopia;[29] but it is the Acts of the Apostles which relate how the Ethiopian eunuch was converted to Christianity. Purchas also describes the library which houses the writings of Enoch, showing, as usual, a greater sense of surprise and enthusiasm than Edwards, who, probably here in contempt of anything faintly Romish, locates the library in one of the Emperor of Abyssinia's palaces and not in a monastery as Purchas does.

In the monasterie of the Holy Crosse are two rare peeces, where on Wonder may iustly fasten both her eyes; the Treasurie and Librarie of the Emperor, neither of which is thought to be matchable in the world..there are the writings of Enoch copied out of the stones wherein they were engraven.[30]

dywedir fod Llyfrdy yn un o balasau yn ymmerawdr hwn, a bod ynddo brophwydoliaeth Enoch,

Ptolmeus Philadephus's library is also described in detail by Purchas,[31] and briefly cited by Charles Edwards.

In describing the New World, Edwards naturally has to relate more history of a secular nature. He speculates, as Purchas does,[32] on who were the first inhabitants of North America and whence they came. He measures, to the yard, the depth of the volcano at Nicaragna.[33] And, driven undoubtedly by Protestant partisanship, he even resorts into the field of politics: Spain, England's prime enemy during Purchas's lifetime, is still in 1677 criticized at every turn. Soto's men are made out to be murderers; Spanish settlers, looters and thieves. Edwards insists that God Himself condemned the Spaniards, for ever since the Iberians went to and settled in the Americas 'gwnaeth daeargrynfâu niwed mawr...yno! Charles Edwards also shows more interest in native pagan rituals in this passage, but does not condescend to emulate Purchas's

custom of describing them at great length. Of course he did not intend Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant to be a compilation of descriptions of diverse religious rites. Yet his summarized versions of Purchas's descriptions, even though they lack the colour and detail, adequately characterize the events. I quote two passages from the works of the two authors to demonstrate their different approach. In describing the Mexican rite of sacrifice, Purchas is at his very best, sensuously noting every splendid move of the spectacle colourfully and precisely. Edwards's precise of his passage is plain pragmatical reportage.

In the moneth of May, the Mexicans made their principall feast to Vitzilipulzi: two days before which, the Religions Virgins or Nuns mingled a quantity of Beets with rooted Maiz, and moulded it with Hony, making an Image of that Paste, in bignesse like to the Idoll of wood, putting in, in stead of eye, graines of glasse, greene, blue, or white, and for teeth, graines of Maiz...The Ceremonies, Dances, and Sacrifices ended, they went to vnclothe themselves, and the Priests and Ancients of the Temple took the Image of paste, and spoiled it of all the Ornaments making many pieces of it, and of the consecrated Rolls, which they ministered in a kind of Communion, beginning with the greater, and continuing unto the rest, both men, women and children: who received it with teares, feare, reverence, and other affects, and effects of devotion, saying that they did eate the flesh and bones of their God. [34]

Gwnaeth gwŷr Mecsico ddelw o basteu, ac wedi ei dwyn megis mewn prosesiwn, rhannasant y crystyn rhwng y bobl, gan ddywedyd eu bod yn bwytta cnawd eu Duw, a hynny mewn modd parchedig.

Because of his reticence to impart any of Purchas's details on South American divinities, Edwards's account, in one instance lacks cohesion. There is no logical connection for an uninformed reader between

the fact that Peru has three images for the God of Thunder and that the ruler of the country confesses his sins to the sun.[35] Purchas, true to his fashion, gives a fuller account of things, and explains the Prince's actions:[36]

Next to Viracocha ('the supreme Lord and Author of all things') [the Peruuians] worshipped the Sunne and after him the thunder, which they called by three names, Chuquilla, Catuilla, and Intij'lapa...the Iugna confessed himself to no man, but to the Sunne, that he might tell them to Viracocha, of him to obtain forgivenesse iw boddi. which done, hee made a Bath to cleanse himselfe in a running River, saying, I have told my sinnes to the Sunne, receive them, then, River, and carry them to the Sea, where they may never appeare more.

Yr oedd gan wyr Peru dri delw i Dduw'r taranau, ...Cyffessei'r ty ysogei bechodau i'r haul, ac yna neidieu i ddwfr rhedegog gan ddymuno ar yr afon ddwyn ei bechodau ef ir môr

Happily for Edwards, Purchas does report that there were in 'Jucutan', as in China, traces of Christianity. He reveals that the Spaniards had seen 'crosses amongst the natives'[37] when they first explored the land, but had been given varied reports on how they had been acquired in the first place. One group of natives explained that 'a certaine man of excellent beauty passing by that coast, left them that notable token to remember him;' and another that 'a certaine man brighter than the sunne dyed in the working thereof.' Edwards chose to report the answer more conducive to the attractive idea that a Christian traveller had passed that way.

"YNGHYLCH CREFYDD MAHOMET" and THE ALCORAN OF MAHOMET

There was a lively interest in Mahommedism in England in the seventeenth century. The event that probably gave rise to the popular

study was the publication in 1543, by Theodorus Bibliander, of Robert of Reading's twelfth-century translation into Latin of the Koran.[38] Pope Clement V at the Council of Vienne in 1311 enacted that certain universities should maintain professors of Arabic to translate books from that tongue into Latin. But his concern for the expansion of scholarship to include heathen literature within its precincts was not wholeheartedly condoned by some Christians at the close of the sixteenth century, who regarded the Koran with the stern contempt usually reserved for paganism. Samuel Purchas called it 'this riming, harsh, confused, packing worke, disagreeing each copie from other, and all from truth and honestie.'[39] Neverthless he found the book of sufficient interest to inform his reader that the Koran had been translated into Latin by Robert of Reading and later by a Spaniard named Ioannes Segobiensis at the Council of Constance; and also that it had been published in Italian by Andrea Arrivabene.[40] Purchas's antagonism towards the Koran and its author was regenerated by William Bedwell's Mahommedis Imposturae, published in London in 1615. The book's subtitle testifies clearly to the nature of its contents: it is 'A Discovery of the Manifold Forgeries, Falsehoods and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed.' Bedwell, like Purchas, makes much ado of mocking the disparity of the Koran's several editions.[41] In the same vein, Alexander Ross also called Mahommed 'the great Arabian Impostor 'when he announced that Mahommed's work had, at last, 'by way of France arrived in England'. He did so in an appendix he contributed to an English translation of the Koran that appeared in 1649.

It is from this translation that Charles Edwards gained his information about Mahommed. The title of the volume is The Alcoran of

Mahomet, translated out of Arabique into French; by the Sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malzair, and Resident for the King of France at Alexandria. And newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities. The test, appended by a short biography of 'the Prophet of the Turks, and Author of the Alcoran', extends to four hundred and nine quarto pages. Its introduction consists of three short expositions: 'The Translator to the Christian Reader' (four un-numbered pages); 'The French Epistle to the Reader' (two pages); and 'A Summary of the Religion of the Turks'. Ross's essay, printed at the end of the book, is called 'A needfull caveat or Admonition for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran.'

The translator himself suggests to his Christian Reader that the book, 'such as it is', should be used, 'though it have been a poyson', as an antidote 'to confirm thee in the health of Christianity.' This is his excuse, as it were, for ever having ventured to published in a 'civilized' state a book whose falsehood and wickedness had hitherto infected only the 'unsound part of the universe.'[42] Charles Edwards obviously noted the point but presents it differently. He too observes in his chapter 'Ynghylch crefydd Mahomet'[43] that the heretical ideas which the Prophet propounds should urge the true faithful to cherish their health-giving creed even more fervently,

> canys gwelir y glân yn hawddgarach wrth ei gyffelybu â'r gwrthyn. [44]

Edwards, enlarging upon the point made by the Englishman, suggests that the prodigal sons as well, restored to their right mind, will prefer the

food at home after tasting the husks offered in the far country. Yet, Edwards does not present to his Welsh readers the husks of the Koran. Rather, he chose to translate only the best things in the book, the passages where 'Mahomet' mentions the Christian faith, for the good reason, Edwards argues, that an enemy's confession is strong self-discriminating evidence.[45]

Barely two pages of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant are devoted to the Life of Mahomet, a study which takes up twelve pages in The Alcoran of Mahomet. Edwards, unconcerned with the details of his life, merely outlines the history of the prophet's progress. Whereas the English writer, following Du Ryer, names the prophet's mother and father, notes the years of their deaths, and recounts how his guardian uncle sold him to Ismalite merchants, Charles Edwards dismisses the youth's condition in one abrupt sentence. In his impatience to have done with the heretical rogue, Edwards does not consider that 'Mahomet' could have won his mistress Aijessa's favour by presenting her with 'rare toyes, procured on his Travels'[46] as well as through sorcery: Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant uncompromisingly states that the prophet won his mistress's affections 'drwy gwnswriaeth'.[47] And whereas the English narrative declares that 'Mahomet' was, in marriage, advanced to be the lord of both Aijessa's person and fortunes, Edwards only mentioned his advancement to her fortunes: there is an insinuation in the phrase 'ac a feddiannodd ei mawr olud hi' not found in the English statement. It is obvious that for Edwards 'Mahomet' was a heretic and a culprit who was to be condemned at every turn; and, lacking Du Syer's greater sense of toleration - which stemmed, no doubt, from a deeper interest in and knowledge of Arabian affairs - Edwards chose to present 'Mahomet' as such.

However, in describing Mahommed's newly-found spiritual aspirations and his retreat to a cave near Medina for two years, Edwards follows closely the English version of the story:

Sergius..persuaded [Mahomet] ...that...the Jews and Christians being likewise enemies to each other, and the Christians at variance among themselves: He might in that juncture of affaire, assume the title of a Prophet sent from God, to disabuse the one, and the other, and save the world by another law...To this effect, on a sudden he retires to a solitary cave, not far distant from Mecca, while Sergius proclaimed the vain perfections of his life, and filled the ears of the people with the noise of his deservings. The term of two years expired. Mahomet again appears to the world, as if newly returned from the oracles of Heaven, stileth himself a Prophet sent from God.[48]

[Sergius] a ddangosodd iddo ef fal yr oedd y Christianogion a'r Iuddewon yn elynol iw gilidd, ac yn wahannedig yn eu mysc eu hunain hefyd. a bod yr amser yn gwasanaethu arno ef i gymeryd arno swydd prophwyd i ddwyn cyfraith arall ir bŷd. Am hynny aeth i lechu mewn ogof dros ennyd, tra fyddai Sergius yn cyhoeddi i'r bobl berffeithrwydd ei fuchedd ef. Ac ymhen dwy flynedd y mae ef yn ymddangos i'r bŷd gan ymhonni o'i fod yn brophwyd.[49]

Edwards contrives to link with the appearance of the newly fledged prophet a tale which Du Syer does not relate in the same context,[50] but which does have a bearing on Mahommed's deciet. Edwards's version of the story is a good translation of the English:

[Mahomet] had other slights, which in the sight of the people, by Art or Sorcery, he performed, and they stupidly believed, and entertained as miracles: as a pigeon being by him taught to come and pick a Pease out of his ear, he told them it was the Holy Ghost that came to tell him what God would have him do;

Ac er peri [i'r bobl] goelio ['i fod yn brophwyd] cynefinodd glomen i bigo pyssen allan o'i glûst ef; a thaerai mai'r yspryd Glân ydoedd yn descyn arno ef yn y rhîth hwnw i fynegu iddo beth a wnai.

It is from the biography of Mahommed that Edwards learns of the proclamation the prophet made, emancipating all slaves, 'who fled to him as their Redeemer',[51] and whom he organized into a successful army. They conquered the Jews at Medin and overcame the resistance of a the noblemen at Mecca.[52] Mahommed's timely alliance with the Saracens and their subsequent attack on Heraclius of Constantinople is reported in detail by Du Syer. Edwards, though he gives only in summary form the background politics of the alliance, is quick to realise with Du Syer the significance of a war waged against an 'ymmerawdr Christianogol', and especially the ultimate pagan victory.

the people generally esteeming the success of Mahomet's armes (which) he was diligent to employ) as a sure testimony of the goodness of his cause, embraced his religion.[54]	Ac ymostyngodd y bobl yn gyffredin i grefydd Mahomet wrth weled ei arfau ef mor llwyddianus.[53]

Again more or less translating the English narrative, Edwards records the portentous happening of the day Mahommed died:

The day of his death... a Comet, resembling a sword, appearing at high noon, pointing from South to North, when it was beheld for the space of thirty dayes...[55]	Ac ar ddydd ei farwolaeth ef gwelwyd seren gynffonnog yn ffurf â chleddyf yn blaen weddu o'r dehau tua'r gogledd, a barhaodd i oleuo ganol dydd dros ddeng niwrnod ar hugain.[56]

Du Syer reports that the sign was interpreted in 'that age' to portend the 'fatall rising and splendour' of the Arabian Empire. Edwards stresses only the tragedy which the growth of Arabia 'ar draws y byd drwy nerth y cleddyf' subsequently brought.

Every sentence of 'Ynghylch crefydd Mahomet' contributes to Edwards's portrait of the prophet as a pagan outlaw who, intent on personal gain and wordly power, attracted slaves and soldiers to come and fight for him by promising them, upon death, a paradise of the flesh - 'gwleddoedd, a gwragedd'.[57] Although his story is based completely on Du Syer's Alcoran, Charles Edwards edits his information according to his purpose, contracting some passages of the English translation, and selecting to translate only the denunciatory parts of the 'Life'. Arabia, at the mercy of the seventeenth-century Welshman, is disembellished of all her 'splendour'.

"HANES Y FFYDD YMMHLITH Y CYMRU" and David Powel's HISTORIE OF CAMBRIA

The Historie of Cambria, published in 1584, is based on "Cronica Walliae a Rege Cadwalader ad Annum 1294", one of three histories which Humphrey Lhuyd had written between 1556[58] and his death in 1568, and which were left in manuscript. Lhuyd's other works were both published in their original form within a few years of his death. De Mona Druidium Insula appeared, firstly, as an appendix to Sir John Price's Historiae Brytannicae Defensio in 1573, and later in the same year in Ortelius's Theatrum Orbio Terrarum, which was printed at Antwerp.[59] The unfinished draft of a history of Britain Lhuyd sent to Ortelius from his death bed was published as Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum at Cologne in 1572. Then, a year later, Thomas Twyne produced an English translation of this Book, under the title The Breviary of Britayne.

It was probably the increasing popularity of Twyne's translation

which instigated the publication of the "Cronica Walliae". This was an English adaptation of the Chronicle of the Princes.[60] The manuscript had for some time been in the possession of Sir Henry Sidney, then the Lord President of Wales, when in September 1583, intent on publishing it, Sidney invited his own chaplain, Dr David Powel of Rhiwabon - who was already regarded by his fellow-clergymen as a historian of note - to prepare Lhuyd's manuscript for the Press. 'But I', testifies Powel,[61] '(knowing my selfe to be far unable to performe and accomplish those things which are requisite to the publishing of such a historie, and being otherwise called and imploied)was verie loath anie thing to medle therein'. Powel's resistance soon fell, and once resolved to accept the task he put aside every other business to concentrate upon preparing a history of Wales.

A comparison between the three extant copies[62] of "Cronica Walliae" and the Historie of Cambria shows that Powel revised Lhuyd's work to such an extent that the publication can be regarded as a new work. From Powel's own testimony, the reader can discern how diligently he laboured: not only did he compare Lhuyd's English manuscript with 'the Brytish booke' (the original chronicle, compiled as Powel believed, by Caradoc of Llancarfan and augmented by the monks of Conway and Strata Florida), but he also read all the authors 'that I could come by, which have anie thing written of the affaires of Wales'. Of these, he names fifteen whose works had been published; and a further list of ten authors, manuscripts of whose works he borrowed from 'I. Stowe citizen of London.' He also possessed 'the Brytish books of petegrees'. Lord Burghley gave him the works of Castor, Sylvester and Gerald the Welshmen; and directed

him to 'all the offices where the Records of this realme are kept.'[63] As a result of his expansive reading and research work, Powel added a great deal of new material to Lhuyd's original manuscript, including the history of the Welsh Princes from 1270 to the fall of Llywelyn in 1282[64] and a section on "The Princes of Wales of the blood royall of England from Edward of Caernarvon to Elizabeth: collected for the most part out of the Records in the Towre."[65] Powel also left certain passages out of Lhuyd's manuscript and effectively polished his style.

It is from Powel's published Historie that Charles Edwards selected his information about the history of Wales from 777[66] to the end of Edward VI's reign.[67] The two writers set out to compile their histories for completely different reasons. Edwards, as I have demonstrated previously, was intent on justifying to ways of God to his fellow-countrymen, while Powel on the other hand, though he would never deny the directive powers of Divine Providence in history, seldom pronounced that God is directly responsible for any event. Indeed, he holds the 'law of Nature'[68] more responsible for the acts of Welshmen than the laws of God. When the Normans, already conquerers of England, sought Welsh lands, the Welshmen were driven to defend themselves, 'for which fact they are by some writers accused of rebellion, whereas by the law of Nature it is lawfull for all men to withstand force by force'. Powel reinforces his argument with further 'natural' reasons for Welsh retaliation:

> They were in their owne countrie, the land was theirs by inheritance and lawfull possession: might they not therefore defend themselves from violence and wrong, if they could? What right or lawfull title had the Earle of Chester to Ryuonioc & Tegengl? or the Earle of Salope to Dyuet, Cardigan, & Powys?

Notice that for Powel a man's land was his lawful possession. Thus he adhered to a secular criterion - the law - which Edwards would be loathe to recognize. Powel appeals to the same civil seat of Justice when, in inspired rhetoric, he asks, 'shall a man be charged with disobedience, because he seeketh to keepe his purse from him that would robbe him?'

Edwards follows Powel's report of how the Normans came to Wales, stating that because the Welsh could no longer suffer their oppression, they rose in arms to drive the foreigners away. William Rufus,[69] the Norman King, upon 'hearing of the great slaughter of his men doone by the Welshmen,'[70] rallied his forces to counter-attack, only to meet with divinely-inspired defence. Edwards contentedly restates Powel's report of the incident:

> the Brytaines fearing the great strength of the King, put their hope onlie in the almightie Lord, turning to him in fasting, praier, and repentance of their sinnes; and he that never forsaketh the penitent and contrite hart, heard their praiers So that the Normanes and Englishmen durst never enter the land, but such as entred were all slaine, and the King returned with finall honor after he had built certaine castles in the marches 71

> a gwaeddodd y gorthrummedig ar Dduw yn daer, ac a gawsant eu gwaredu na lwyr ddifrodwyd hwynt. 72

Here, instead of reviewing the event with the sound political judgement he shows in his introduction, Powel merely reiterates the comments of Castor and Marianus Scotus.[73] But this, of course, is not to admit that Powel did, after all, admit God unhampered to dictate history to the degree Edwards did. He immediately abandons God from the affairs of the

Welsh. In 1096, the year following William Rufus's failure, the Normans invade North Wales once again, and come 'over against the Ile of Môn.'[74] Gruffydd ap Cynan and Cadogan ap Bleddyn manage to muster only a small force to defend the island. 'Then,' continues Powel, 'the treason appeared, for Owen ap Edwyn...was the cheefe caller of those strangers into Wales, who openlie went with all his power to them....' Edwards, on the other hand, weaves the fresh Norman attack to finish another pattern on his tapestry of history: God, the saviour in battle in 1095, is abandoned in 1096 by the same subjects He carried to victory: thus He drives the enemy once more to harrass the sinner.[75] Whereas Edwards stresses the guilt of his forefathers in neglecting to worship God and live according to his Gospel, Powel, separating the sheep from the goats, pronounces the Welsh to be 'innocent' and the Normans 'the wrong doers'.[76]

Similarly, in revoking the writers who at every turn 'reported not the best of Welshmen' because they favoured their own countrymen who had oppressed Wales, Powel asserted that these historians 'objected to the Welshmen, without opening of cause or declaration of circumstances'. He pointed to over-severe officers as antagonizers who enraged the suffering Welsh 'to disobeie English laws and to seeke revengement'. The oppressed to him were 'desperate men', the invaders, rigorous profiteers.[77] Powel, in a fashion Edwards - even though he wrote nearly a century later - did not succumb to, promotes to the fore what Bacon and Ralegh called the second causes; in modern idiom, God with him took a back seat.

The corresponding account of Owen Glyndŵr's rebellion differ to some degree, too. Edwards faithfully follows Powel's account of Owen's

first encounter with Lord Gray, and, like Powel, mocks the Welsh hosts for finding inspiration in their conviction that the prophecies of Merlin would come true. The author of Historie of Cambria flouts the prophecies because they were of no political consequence, being merely mysterious dreams that brought Owen 'into such a fooles paradise.'[78] Edwards sees them as the comforting prophecies to which every oppressed nation in turn gives ear. Israel listened to the flattering prophets in ages past, but their false words were never fulfilled. And Edwards forwards three reasons why the Welsh believed these 'superstitious thoughts'[79] it was the habit of those Popish times to do so; they were oppressed; and they longed for any kind of deliverance. He links all superstition with the casts of Antichrist, condemning at every opportunity what he saw as a curse upon his forefathers. Powel - though he, too, hated Rome - links superstition with unreality, fearing that there were

> in those daies, as I feare there be now, some singular men which are deeplie overseene in those mysteries, and hope one day to meete velvet upon London bridge with their bowes. [80]

Edwards, for some reason, fails to record that Owen Glyndŵr fought against the Earl of March. His reader thus gets the impression that the sanctions which Henry IV passed against Wales were the consequences of Owen's battle against Lord Gray, which he won convincingly. Commenting on these oppressive laws, Powel, as ever the indignant patriotic political commentator, condemns the severity of their enforcements and argues impassionedly,

> Neither was it anie reason that for the offence of one man and his complices, all the whole nation should be so persecuted, whereby not onelie they that lived in that time, but also their children and posteritie should be brought to perpetuall thralldome and miserie.

The Challenge Powel offers 'anie indifferent man' is the raison d'etre of Historie of Cambria:

> Let anie indifferent man therefore judge and consider whether this extremitie of law, where justice it selfe is meere iniurie and crueltie, be not a cause and matter sufficient to withdraw anie people from civilitie to barbarisme. 81

Some of Edwards's comments on the laws echo Powel's forthright indignation. Characteristically, he makes use of scripture, and, quoting St Matthew and Amos, insists mockingly,[82]

> Y gyfraith yw goleuni gwladwriaeth, am hynny os ydoedd hi yn dywyllwch, oh faint oedd y tywyllwch hwnnw? os rheol llywodraeth oedd anghyfiawn, mawr oedd yr anghyfiawnder hwnw! pan drowd barn yn wermod aeth trais yn fustl.

Edwards is grieved that these measures inevitably extinguished the magnaminity of the Welsh, and created an environment in which skill, art, faith and good morals counted for nought. Moreover they remained unrepealed through the reigns of five kings, long enough to bring severe poverty and ignorance to Wales. This is the concern of a social historian pained by past injustice, , a seventeenth-century Powel. But Edwards adjusts his comments and draws his reader's attention to the dreadful implications of armed rebellion on man's relationship with God. The sanctions passed by the worldly enemy serve, in the end, only to teach

> mor aflesol fu i'n henafiaid amcanu bwrw cystudd oddi wrthynt cyn troi at Dduw drwy edifeirwch. 83

Powel's patriotism and reasoning so nearly extinguish and yet so feebly take second place to Edwards's adherence to his belief in Divine Providence. The arms flayed in passionate debate are folded once again as Edwards

marvels at God's inscrutable ways.

Even so, Edwards does not register God's presence at every event in his Welsh history. He recounts the founding of schools in Oxford by 'Asser a Joan D'erigena o Fynyw' under the patronage of Alfred;[84] he praises, following Powel's account closely,[85] Hywel Dda's achievement, and retells how Madog ab Owen the prince of Gwynedd sailed to seek another country in the direction of sunset,[86] treating each event as something with which God had no direct relationship. Neverthele s it is to be noticed that these acts - the first two, at least - were contributory to the expansion of knowledge and moral goodness. Indeed, they can be said to be events of spiritual consequence.

Wales's relationship with God is not mentioned in Edwards's account of the fall of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, the last prince. Although Powel treats Llywelyn's case against the English very fully, Edwards chooses not to account for the long campaign which ensued between the Welsh leader and Edward I. The one happening he does record is that it rained blood in 1277 'in divers places in Wales',[87] an event that was undoubtedly to be understood as a portent of calamity for the nation. Edwards leaves well alone the strategic details of the war, for he appreciates the moves of God much more easily. In the same way, he fails to relate the history of the early battles Henry II fought against North Wales in Owen Gwynedd's time: he does not mention Henry's flight from 'Coed Eulo',[88] nor the heavy defeat his troops suffered in Anglesey,[89] reports of which Powel gives, but does record how Henry was forced by a united Welsh army to withdraw from his camp on the Berwyn mountains, skilfully emphasizing that he had to do so because of torrential rain - another of God's weapons of war. In Powel's account of the siege,

worked on Henry's troops, the reign is but one contributory factor to their retreat. These are the corresponding reports of the final stages of the siege:

the king...came to the mountaine of Berwyn, where he laie in campe certaine daies, and so both the armies stood in awe each of other: for the king kept the open plaines, and was affraid to be intrapped in straites; but the Welshman watched for the advantage of the place, & kept the king so straitlie, that neither forrage nor victuall night come to his camp, neither durst anie soldiour stirre abroad. And to augment these miseries, there fell such raine, that the kings men could scant stand upon their feete upon those slipperie hills. In the end the king was compelled to returne home without his purpose,... 91

gwersyllodd [Harry] ar fynydd Berwyn. Ymgasclodd y Cymru ynghŷd ir coedydd a'r uchelderau, a chwaraesant oddiyno mor ddyfal nad allai dim llunieth ddyfod at wersyll eu gelynion. A syrthiodd glaw mor angerddol, oni ymroddodd y brenin i ddychwelyd tua Lloegr heb wneuthur fawr niwed.[90]

There is one exceptional passage in the Historie of Cambria which, although it deals directly with the cause of the unfeigned faith, Edwards does not reiterate. Powel, following Ihuyd,[92] describes how Gruffydd, one of Owen Gwynedd's grandsons was buried in a monk's cowl, (according to the fashion amongst the nobles of the time). It is explained that they did so because they had been taught by the monks and friars that 'that strange weed was a sure defense betwixt their soules and hell, how so ever they died'. Powel complains that the twelfth-century clergy abandoned 'the right Christian faith', only to infect the land with the Romish habits which had been brought to Britain by Augustine, whom Powel calls 'the proud and bloodthirstie monke'.[93] He quotes an ode written - or so he believed - by Taliesin, who warns the Britons

the resist the Romish wolves. The verse, Powel argues, proves that the ancient Britons abhorred the Church of Rome. And the following passage could legitimately be taken as an English description of the purpose of 'Hanes y Ffydd' - indeed, it is to be revered as the expression of the need which inspired Charles Edwards to write his book in the first place. Powel says that Taliesin's criticism

> may be to us a mirrour to see our owne follie if we doo degenerate from our forefathers the Ancient Brytaines in the sinceritie of true religion, as we doo in other things.[94]

Edwards refrains from repeating Powel's censure probably because, in a short summary of Welsh history from Augustine to Elizabeth such as his, he could not afford to deviate to describe the mediaeval fashions in shrouds; moreover, the point is made in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in other places.[95] But this does demonstrate that there was affinity between Powel and Edwards in their attitude to Rome and in their responsibility to their own generation of readers.

'LLWYDDIANT Y TWRCIAID' and Richard Knollers's GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE TURKES

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century histories, the Turkes were invariably linked with Mahommedism. For they were the pagan power that had constantly threatened the stability of Christian Europe since the early fifteenth century. In 1453, Turkish armies conquered Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Christian Empire; and by the 16th century the Turks had reached the heights of their power. During the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent they had knocked menacingly at the door of Europe, seizing Rhodes, besieging Malta and Vienna, conquering

Belgrade, and over-running the better part of Hungary. René de Lucinge expressed the awe of all Europe when he proclaimed that the Turk were 'the scourge of the East and the Terror of the West'.[96] By all accounts their cruelties surpassed anything experienced in the world; and most probably Charles Edwards refrained from describing their conquest of Constantinople for this very reason: 'Cofidus fyddei aynegu a chlywed dosted fu ei difrod.'

But what form did 'the Terror of the West' take? How did Europe react to the constant and mighty attacks of the infidel Ottoman Empire? Luther at first advocated a policy of non-resistance, arguing that they had been sent by God to punish the lands of Christendom; but later when Suleiman's hosts approached Vienna, he acknowledged the necessity of declaring war upon them. On the other hand, the Roman Church linked the rise of the power of the Turk with the rise of the Protestant cause in Northern Europe, and combined its attacks upon Islam with its attacks upon Lutherans and Calvinists. Consequently, the Protestant controversialists, not to be outdone, in turn tended to associate Rome and Islam as partners in iniquity.[97] As late as 1677, it was clear to Edwards that Roman and Turkish forces worked to the same end. The Catholics were as cruel towards their fellow-Christians who placed their faith in the Word as were the Turks to those who professed Christianity. Edwards insists that the infidelswere succesful for these obvious reasons,[98] 'Sef,

> Oblegid ir Cristnogion ymlygru gan mwyaf,
> heb roddi iawn ymddiried yn-Ghrist,
> ond dewisent St George, a St Dennis,

a'r cyfryw yn ymddiffynwyr iddynt,
gan adel Jesu heibio, heb yr hwn
nis gallent ddim.

Although Edwards, like Luther and his fellow Protestants, recognized the success of the Turks as the dispensation of an angry God, he strongly regretted the consequences of their unquestioned sovereignity over the Christians of the East. Not only was he despondent over the fact that the defeated and oppressed Christians were forbidden to worship, or hold office, or carry arms, but worse still, 'y peth truanaf o'r cwbl',[99] their children were taken away to Mahommedan monasteries where they would be trained to fight against Christ's gospel.

This attitude toward the Ottoman Empire was conditioned, as is obvious, by Luther and other Christian commentators. But there was a substantial body of literature on the subject to express the English attitude in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Thomas Newton's A Notable Historie of the Saracens was published in 1575; George Whetstone's English Myrror (1586) reflected the general hatred of the Turks; and 1603 saw the publication of both Ottomanno, a translation by Abraham Hartwell, and Richard Knolles's Generall Historie of the Turks, the most comprehensive and popular work on the infidels.[100] Roger Ley carried on the criticism of Islam's paganism in The Bruising of the Serpent's Head, which was published in 1622.

There is a copy of the third edition of Knolles's work in Jesus College Library,[101] and it is quite probable that Charles Edwards learned what he knew about the history of the Turks from this copy. It is certain that The Generall Historie was his source. The story which Edwards relates concerning Bajajet and the shepherd is found in The Generall Historie in the same form.

[Orthobules's] death with the loss of the citie, so much greeved [Bajazet](as is reported) that marching with his great armie against Tamerlane, and by the way hearing a countrey shepheard merily reposing himselfe with his homely pipe, as he sate upon the side of a mountaine feeding his poore flocke; standing still a great while listening vnto him, to the great admiration of many, at last fetching a deepe sigh, brake foorth into these words:O happie sheepheard, which haddest neither Orthobules nor SEBASTIA to loose. 102

Pan oedd Bajazet yn myned tua'r frwydr hon mewn gofal a galar (canys clywsei ddarfod i Tamerlan ynnill Sebastia oddiar eu wŷr ef, a llâdd ei fab ef Orthobules) aeth heibio i fugail ydoedd yn canu pibau dan areilio ei braidd, gan ochneidio, a dywedyd, dedwydd wyti nad oes genniti na Sebastia nag Orthobules iw golli. 103

It was Knolles, too, who provided Edwards with the story of Bajazet's humiliation at the hands of Tamberlain, how he was carried around 'shut up in an iron cage made like a grate, in such sort, as that he might on every side be seene'; and how Tamberlain used him 'for a footstoole to tread upon, when he mounted to horse.'[104]

Edwards devotes a further part of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant to describe how respectfully the Turks treated the Koran and to describe their mode of worship. Knolles, of course, provided him with plenty of information on Turkish habits and religious ceremonies; and, as was shown above, Du Syer's Alcoran of Mahomet included a brief treatise on 'the Religion of the Turks', from which Edwards drew further knowledge.

Towards the end of 'Hanes y Ffydd Gristianogol er dechreuad y byd hyd yr oes hon', reviewing the state of the Eastern kingdoms, Edwards hopes that Mahommed's false religion would not oppress the gospel there for ever. Then he reveals that there have already been signs that a change would take place. At Medina, 'lle mae bedd Mahomet,'[105] terrible thunder followed by a storm awoke the minds of all the inhabitants to

perceive these words written in Arabic letters in the sky:[106]

> oh Pam y Credoch mewn celwyddau! Ac yn foreu gwelwyd gwraig siriol mewn gwisc wen, a'r haul oi hamgylch, a llyfr yn ei llaw, yn dyfod oddiwrth y gogledd-orllewin, a chyferbyn â hi yr oedd megis byddinoedd o'r Persiaid ac o'r Twrciaid mewn trefn barodol i ymladd â hi: etto hi safodd yn ei llê, ac a agorodd y llyfr ydoedd yn ei llaw hi; ar hynny, ffoawdd y byddinoedd, a diffoddodd yr holl lampau wrth fedd Mahomet. A bu hyn beunydd dros dair wythnos.

Edwards adds that one Mahommedan priest was moved to interpret the vision, and summarizes his Exposition. The book, explained the priest, was one which the Mahommedans had refrained from examining; upon its being opened, every human power would flee. It represented the Holy Law of the True God of Christ, who - contrary to the sorcerer Mahomet - will come a second time as bright as the sun, and stay for ever.

In The Cresent and the Rose,[107] Samuel Chew deals briefly with what he calls 'a curious book (a tiny quarto of only four leaves)' that was published in 1642. Its long title is at the same time a rather detailed description of its contents; Strange and miraculous Newes from Turkie, sent to our English Ambassadour resident at Constantinople. Of a woman which was seene in the Firmament with a Book in her hand at Medina Talnabi where Mahomet's Tombe is. Also severall Visions of Armed men appearing in the Ayre for one and twenty dayes together. With a Propheticall interpretation made by a Mahumetan Priest, who lost his life in the maintenance thereof. It will be seen that this pamphlet is Edwards's mine for the information concerning the sign in the sky. Chew explains that the woman was thought to be the virgin Mary and the book in her hands the Bible.

'HANES Y FFYDD' and John Foxe's ACTS AND MONUMENTS

During the reign of Catholic Queen Mary, the body of English Protestantism was divided. The one half lived in exile in the Protestant cities of Northern Europe, while the other resisted the tortures of royal intoleration at home. But the exiles at Geneva and Strasbourg were pressingly concerned with conditions in England. They had to find means of inducing all their compatriots to continue to embrace and defend the faith to which their associates under Mary were testifying with their lives. To this end they accomplished two things: they produced, in 1557 at Geneva, a revised translation of the English New Testament, and, in 1560, a complete Bible, suited to the needs and capacities of the vernacular reading public; and, secondly, a Book of Martyrs was compiled to commemorate those who had died for the True Faith under Mary.[108] This, in its final form, was the most important gift the Marian Exiles presented to Elizabethan England.

At a very early date in the history of Protestantism, writers had begun to collect and assemble historical material, tales and testimonies concerning the deaths of their fellow-reformers who had been martyred for their beliefs. At Geneva in 1554, a French lawyer called Jean Crespin published the first of several editions of his Book of Martyrs, which was conceived from a French Calvinistic point of view.[110] The German Flacius Illyricus published a collection of testimonies by martyrs and others against Papism, in 1556: this book was called Catalogus Testium Veritatis. At Strasbourg in 1554 Edmund Grindal published the first book of his Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum per totam Europam, persecutionum, à Vinclevi temporibus ad hanc aetatem descriptio.

This, as its title suggests, is primarily a history of the work of John Wycliffe and the Lollards, the first reformers; but it also notices in brief the work of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Savonarda. The book was greatly enlarged by John Foxe and republished at Basle five years later as Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum.[111] To Grindal's original text, Foxe added a history of Luther's break with Rome, Henry VIII's defiance of the Pope, the reign of Edward VI and of the reign of Bloody Mary. So far, the work was a history of the English Church from the later fourteenth century to the time of writing, with incidential references to continental reformers. This, in turn, supplied the core of Foxe's Acts and Monuments of these Latter and Perilous Dayes, which was published in Basle in 1563.[112] The book now constituted a history of the martyrs of all ages: the general narrative was extended to include the history of the early Christian persecutions; the foreign reformers of the sixteenth century were dealt with in greater detail; and still more attention was given to the events of the Reformation and the establishment of an independent Protestant Church in England, especially to the tragic episode of Mary's reign.

The Acts and Monuments achieved instant popularity. A second, extended edition was published in 1570, a third in 1576, and yet a fourth in 1583, the last before Foxe died.[113] The title of the book was not changed after the fourth edition: its final form was Acts and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, Happenyng in the Church, with an Universall History of the Same.[114] In 1589, Timothy Bright published An Abridgement of the Booke of the Acts and Monumentes of the Church.[115]

Foxe's work was held in such high regard that as early as 1571 Convocation ordered that a copy should be kept with the Bible in every Cathedral Church in England and Wales, and that every clergyman above the rank of canon should keep a copy in his hall or dining-room for the benefit of servants and visitors. Moreover, numerous parish churches, following the example of the greater churches, kept copies themselves.[116] The mayor and corporation of London, prompted by the Bishop of London and Ely, immediately ordered the 'full and perfect history 'to be set up for all to read in city orphanages and in the halls of city companies.[117] And, strange as it may seem, Foxe's Acts and Monuments was one of the books the East India Company supplied as reading matter to its ships.[118] It was also Charles Edwards's chief mine of information for the history of the faith in the world.

The Acts and Monuments was a history of the protest of the True Church during the long centuries of Romish rule in Christendom. Foxe explained and demonstrated in great detail how the enemy of Truth had attempted from the beginning to stamp out God's Word, and terrorise the faithful by persecution, but how, in the end, through the grace of God, victory was placed in the hands of the champions of the unfeigned faith. His over-riding conviction was that God, all through the dark years of Roman autocracy, had preserved the True Church intact; and Foxe's history seeks to make manifest the continuity of its existence. When the Papists, challenging their adversaries, ask what attraction the young upstart Protestant church holds in competition with their own ancient establishment wealthy with traditions, the Protestants, after Foxe, can

answer that their own church

> after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begun matter, but even the old continued Church, by the providence and promise of Christ still standing, which albeit it hath by the tyrany of Roman Bishops more than before, yet notwithstanding it was never so oppressed, but God hath ever maintained in it the truth of his Gospell, against heresies and errors of the Church of Rome, as in this history more at full is to be scene. [119]

According to Foxe, the history of this true church is composed of five periods, each of approximately three centuries' duration. The first three hundred years encompass the Apostolic Church in its primitive purity; the second period, which begins with Christian emancipation under Constantine, is one of peace; the third, from Egbert to William the Conquerer, is a period of serious decline - though Alfred endeavoured in England to promote piety and learning, the corrupting influence of Rome poisoned Europe; the fourth period, which Foxe describes as the 'proud and misordered raigne of Antichrist,'[120] spans from the beginning of the eleventh century to the lifetime of John Wycliffe; and the fifth sees the climax of the spiritual war between the forces of Christ and Antichrist.

All the history led up to this climax. According to the time scheme revealed in the Apocalypse the fourteenth century saw the end of the thousand years of freedom from persecution which had followed Constantine's triumph 294 years after Christ's death.[121] That is to say, the year 1300 or thereabout was the year of the letting out of Satan from his bounds to prosecute the elect anew. Foxe maintained in the Acts and Monuments that Wycliffe's persecution was the first sign that Antichrist had broken his charge. Conversely, Wycliffe's stand against the powers of Rome in London represented the first step of the

recovery of the unfeigned faith. Thus Foxe contends that the Reformation really began in England, indeed that the Gospel had made its home there - had not Joseph of Arimathea preached it in Apostolic times? - and remained untarnished through all vicissitudes.

Where does Edwards stand in relation to Foxe on this score? He certainly reiterates the fact that the gospel had been preached in Britain in Apostolic times. But this idea was commonplace in histories at that time. So too does Edwards to some extent adopt Foxe's periodization of world history. He relates the history of the first period, from the birth of Christ to the end of the reign of the Roman emperor Dioclesian, selecting his material from Foxe's text,[122] in Chapters 4,5,7 and 9 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. In his Tenth Chapter, Edwards deals with the success of the gospel from Constantine's reign to the advent of Mahommedanism.[123] The end of the third period is not so obviously marked in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant: Antichrist's fresh offensive in the eleventh century does not, in Edwards's history at least, warrant a new chapter. Whereas Foxe begins a new book to deal with the dangers of Anti-christ Risen, Edwards merely continues his narrative, stating simply that in 1074[124] Antichrist unmasked himself, appearing unto the world, in the East as the rapacious Turk and in the West as Pope Hildebrand.

Neither is Wycliff honoured with the lavish praise Foxe gives him. The English author insists joyfully that his hero's protest was the fulfillment of the vision St John the Divine recorded in the Book of Revelations, and the beginning of the fifth and most glorious period in the history of the faith. Foxe describes Wycliff as

> a valiannt champion vnto whom it may iustly be applyed that is spoken in the booke called Ecclesiasticus of one Simon the Son of Onias. Even as the mornyng starre beyng in the middest of the cloud, and as the moon being full in her course: so doth he shyne and glitters in the temple of the church of God. [125]

Edwards, on the other hand, before acclaiming Wycliff , refers to the prophecy that there would come a band of poor ministers to preach the gospel and feed Christ's flock. Then, looking for safety in numbers, looks to the prophecy of 'rhai sanctaidd' who foretold that there would come a few in the spirit of Elijah to restore the purity of religion. The Wycliff revered in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is he who fulfills these promises, preaching barefooted - shorn even of the 'long frise gown' Foxe gives him[126] - to the common people on market days. In a word, Edwards refrains from acclaiming Wycliff as an international hero, as Foxe does. 'This foreseyd Wycliffe', claims the Englishman, 'by God's providence, sprang and rose up; through whom, the Lord would first waken and raise up again the world.'[127] In Edwards's estimation, it was to enlighten England, his native country, in an hour of need, that the spirit of the Lord moved Wycliff.[128]

This difference of emphasis represents the central difference between Foxe's historical outlook and Edwards's. Foxe believed that England had been chosen by Divine Providence to reinstate the unfeigned faith in the world. Past history upheld his conviction. England, so he maintained, had been the first country to embrace Christianity; Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, was of British stock; Wycliff had been the first man to challenge the Pope openly; moreover, Henry VIII had been the first king to renounce Roman overlordship, and his son, Edward VI, the first to outlaw popish superstition.[129] Then, in Acts and

Monuments, the bloody five years of Mary's reign were portrayed as a period when the common Englishman donned the cloak of his illustrious ancestors. He was the custodian of the True Faith. There were others who believed England and the Englishman had been blessed with this glory. In An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjects John Aylmer declares that his fellow-countrymen should thank God seven times a day that they were born Englishmen and not Italians, Frenchmen or Germans! In the margin opposite this statement Aylmer notes 'God is English.' He makes England herself confess

> [God] would that out of my wombe should come that servant of his your brother John Wycliffe, who begat Husse, who begat Luther, who begat truth. 130

John Lyly was in the same frame of mind when he addressed his compatriots:

> O blessed prince, oh happy Prince, O fortunate people: the lyuing God is onely the English God. 131

The full 'authoritative' explication of this idea is Foxe's Acts and Monuments. The work was designed to set before Englishmen in overwhelming detail not only a conception of universal history, but also a conception of England's prime place in that history. Only half of the book is taken up by the affairs of the spans the history of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary.

Charles Edwards could not share Foxe's exuberant enthusiasm. For one thing, he was much too concerned with Wales's contemporary spiritual condition to exalt overmuch the Elizabethan Anglican Church. Besides, the history of that Church during Edwards's lifetime proved clearly that John Foxe's aspirations would not be fully satisfied in the seventeenth century. In Edwards's youth, Laud had steered the Anglican vessel back into a Roman storm, only for the Puritan coastguard to retrieve

and abandon it; and in Edwards's latter years, Charles II's Catholic tendencies were not conducive to fresh optimism about the safety of the Unfeigned Faith in English hands. As a Welshman, Charles Edwards was acutely conscious of the fact that his countrymen, not the Anglo-Saxon of England, were the true custodians of the faith: at last, the 'evangelical vineyard' was their inheritance.[132] Furthermore, Constantine was '<u>ein gwladwr</u>', a Briton:[133] And Henry VIII, the grand adversary of Rome, was of Welsh stock.[134] It was 'our forefathers', claims Edwards, who converted the Scots and the Picts and the Germans to the Christian faith,

> ac a esceuluswn ni hi yn ein cartref
> ein hunain? yr oeddent hwy yn flaenaf, ac a fyddwn
> ninnau <u>yn olaf</u> yn achosion teyrnas nêf? [135]

For all that, Edwards is still tied to Foxian shackles. Dependent upon the <u>Acts and Monuments</u> for his information about the Reformation period in Europe, he sees it from Foxe's standpoint. For instance, Edwards introduces John Huss, as Foxe did, as a preacher who was raised by God to affirm Wycliff's teachings.[136] Edwards dispenses with the abundant detail with which Foxe relates the history of Huss's protracted debate with the Romish Authorities at the Council of Constance, and chooses only to outline the course of events there.[137] Yet Edwards dwells on the verdict of the Court passed upon the Protestant, describing how the Catholics tried to humiliate him. Notice that the 'paper crowne' becomes a 'Cap' in <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant:</u>

they agreed to cut off the skyn of the crown of [Huss's] head with a payre of sheares. And when they had done that they added these words: now hath the	blingasant ei goryn ef, (er tynnu ymmaeth yn olew Cyssegredig meddent, ar hwn yr enneiniasid ef wrth dderbyn urddau) a gwiscasant am ei ben ef gap â

church taken away all her ornaments and privilegies from him...There yet remayned another knache of reproche. For they caused to be made a certayne crowne of paper, almost a cubite deepe, in which were paynted three devils of wonderfulle ouglye shapes[138]

lluniau Cythreuliaid wedi eu peintio arno, a lloscasant ef yn vlw;

To round off his account of Huss's stand, Edwards describes how the martyr, at the stake, counselled his fellows and prayed fervently.

To present the faithful to his readers, Edwards makes extensive use of this formula: he summarizes the circumstance of a martyr's quarrel with his adversaries, notes the manner of his death and ends by quoting whatever message he left to his fellows. For instance, in his account of Jerome of Prague's visit to see Huss in prison at Constance, Edwards does not, as Foxe does, describe Jerome's torture in prison,[139] nor enlarge upon his abjuration. Here, the Welshman's account is somewhat misleading. He probably misinterpreted Foxe's story or else chose to ignore the facts as Foxe gave them. He reports that Jerome confessed to the Roman prelates, 'I do beleue and hold all the articles of faith as the holy Catholic Church doth holde and beleue the same.'[140] Jerome added that he realized he would be put to death because he would not consent to condemn Huss and others who had been executed at the stake. Thus, according to Foxe, Jerome did not profess the true faith. Edwards, however, states, 'a phrofessodd y wir grefydd yn nerthol.'[141] He ends his account of Jerome's stand with a quotation from the martyr's defence at the Council, and links Jerome's threat to the papists with a similar prophecy made by Huss.[142] Jerome, according to Foxe, said, 'And here I cite you all to answer unto me before the most high and just judge, w 'in a C.yeres.'[143] According

to Edwards,

> dywedodd y ddau ferthyr hyn wrth y Papistiaid, y caent atteb i Dduw, ac iddynt hwythau am eu gwaed ymhen y can mlynedd.

Edwards adopts the same method of presentation to describe the protests and deaths of Thomas Mann,[144] George Scherter,[145] and Pomponius Algerius..[146] And although Luther died peacefully 'ai ben ar y gobenydd' some of his final words, too, find their way to the pages of Y Ffydd Ddi-Ffuant.[147] More space is given in the book to the history of a certain James Baynham's testimony and martyrdom than to Calvin's life! Baynham is portrayed as the model martyr. Edwards's description[148] of his avowal is a translation of Foxe 's account;[149] but, for clarity's sake, he omits the names of the warehouse and parish church cited by Foxe. Here are the two parallel accounts:

Scarce a moneth continued, but he bewayled his fate and acquiration, and was never quiet in mind and conscience, untill the tyme he had uttered his fall to all his acquayntance, and asked God and all ye world forgiveness before the Congregation in those dayes, in a warehouse in Bow Lane: and immediatlye the nexte Sondaye after, he came to St Austens, with the New Testament in his hand in Englishe, and the obedience of a Christian man in hys bosome, and stoode up there before the people, in hys pew, there declaryng openly with wepyng teares, that he had denyed God, and prayed all the people to forgive him...[150]	cyn pen y mis wedi iddo gael rhydd-did ei gorph, yr oedd ei gydwybod ef yn gaeth, nes iddo fyned at gynulleidfa ddirgel o'r bobl dduwiol, a chydnabod eu gwymp yn edifarus: aeth hefyd ir eglwys blwyf ar y Sabboth, a'r testament newydd Saesonaeg yn ei law, a mynegodd ir holl bobl dan wylo dagrau heilltion, fel y darfuasen iddo ef wadu Duw, a'u galw hwynt yn dystion, ei fod ef yn dychwelyd at y gwirionedd eilwaith,...

The climax of both studies is the publishing of Baynham's warning to the Papists at the stake. Edwards is pleased to translate faithfully the speech as Foxe records it.-

O ye Papistes, beholde, ye looke for miracles, and here now ye may see a miracle, for in this fire I feel no more payne then if I were in a bead of downe: but it is to me as swete as a bead of roses. [151]

Yr ydych [Bapistiaid,] yn gofyn am ryfeddodau gennym, gwelwch yma yn awr ryfeddod, canys nid wy fi yn teimlo may o boen y tân hwn, na Phe byddwn ar wely mân-blu, neu un o bêr-lysiau

but, for some reason, Edwards has misinterpreted the last statement!

His brief accounts of the testimones and death of Tyndal,[152] Lambert,[153] Lord Cromwell,[154] Anne Ascew[155] and the 'gracious woman in Scotland'[156] are all summaries of lengthier accounts in the Acts and Monuments. Edwards's lack of detail sometimes leads to a misrepresentation of Foxe's descriptions. In the story of the woman in Scotland, he tells his reader that she had been condemned as a heretic because she had refused to appeal to the Virgin Mary to lessen her pains at childbirth. Edwards portrays her consoling her husband 'yr hwn oedd hefyd i gymeryd eu farwolaeth gyda hi am y ffydd.' The reader is led to believe that it was the husband who was committed to die with her at her martyrdom; and that they died together: 'Ni ddywedaf nôs da i chwi'. Foxe reports that it was the woman who 'desired earnestly to dye wyth her husband'. In the end, she was taken away from him to be drowned.

But Edwards's misrepresentation of the facts as given by Foxe is of no great import, for neither author set out to relate in their books, everything that happened in a particular place at a particular time, but to select and present such details as would sustain the moral of each event or episode. The finished account of each martyrdom is a panegyric that constitutes a lesson to the reader, invariably summarized in the hero's last speech. Thus, each singular account in the martyrology is part of a coherent whole. It is a report of one battle in the long campaign

between the forces of God and Antichrist in the world.[157] Both the Acts and Monuments and 'Hanes y Ffydd' are written on the traditional theme of this spiritual war. And it is his concern with the demand of this theme that saves Edwards's sparse accounts of the martyrdom from being a mere catalogue of names and situations compiled from the massed information of the Acts and Monuments. He finds, for instance that one sentence[158]-

> A Thomas Man a folianodd Dduw am ei wneuthur ef yn offer i droi saithgant at y ffydd, yr oeid ef yn marw drosti

- is sufficient both to present the martyr's determination to stand against the foes of the true faith, and to connect him with all the other godly people who were burned for resisting idolatry and Papism. Furthermore, Edwards easily resists the temptation to include choice Foxian trimmings to a tale, satisfying himself with its inherent core of truth. He reports a burning at Cheaping Sadbury, during which a bull ran loose in the crowd.[159] Foxe purposefully explains that the bull, ready for slaughter, had freed himself and had ran from his butcher, a man 'belike not so skilfull in the arte of killying beastes, as the Papistes be in murderyng Christians'. Edwards does not reiterate the criticism; but only repeats Foxe's account of how Dr Whittington, the chief persecutor at the burning, was the only one in the throng gathered around the stake to be touched by the bull, and he was gored to death. Rather than linger with the details of the incidence, Edwards prefers to explain its relevance. He adds his warning to his account: 'Etto, ni chymereu'r erlidwyr ddim rhybudd'. Foxe, on the other hand, enjoys doing both exercises.

In the same vein, Charles Edwards's account of the Marian persecution is a drastically edited version of a much fuller history by

Foxe. For the Englishman, his account of Queen Mary's reign was the most important part of Acts and Monuments. All previous history led up to this crucial period in the history of the Church of Christ. In order to describe the crisis in detail, Foxe gathered all the information he could, written testament and hearsay, about the lives, testimonies, and deaths of the two hundred and seventy-five[160] men and women who had been executed for heresy between 1553 and 1558. For they were the true stout defenders of the faith in that Age, and their blood the price of Victory over Papism. In the book, Foxe presents the martyrs individually, incorporating each single story into his historical argument.

How did the Welsh historian, writing a hundred years after the appearance of the first publication of the Acts and Monuments, view Foxe's enthusiastic and lengthy Exposition of this defence of the Faith? In his first paragraph in his chapter on the Marian persecutions,[161] Edwards insists that it was God, disappointed with the measure of Protestant activity in the Kingdom, who had allowed the Papists to control England and Wales, 'i edrych y ddygei hi ffrwyth gwell gwedi![162] His subsequent account of the stand taken against the reinovation of the 'false religion' is given as evidence of the improved character of the Protestant faithful in England. In a word, he describes the 'ffrwyth gwell'.

Of course, Edwards did not translate the whole of Foxe's account; that would have been neither practicable nor consistent with his own intention of writing a balanced history of the faith in the world. After all, to the seventeenth-century Welshman, the persecution in Marian England was only one of tens of similar crises which Christ's

faithful had had to overcome down through the centuries. Yet the sheer weight of Foxe's magnum opus undoubtedly influenced Edwards to commit himself to portray at comparative length the heroism displayed by Protestants during Mary's reign.

He does so in a simple direct way. Whereas Foxe describes in detail each individual martyr's office or status, his work for Christ, his arrest and trial by the authorities, and, finally - the climax of each episode - the circumstance and incidence at his death, Edwards, choosing to mention nineteen martyrs by name and eighty anonymous heroes, selects to describe one or two aspects of each martyrdom.[163] The most vital and moving part of the history of the burnings was the final testimony of the martyr at the stake. Edwards realised his, and in eleven cases records a part of the martyrs' speeches.[164] His versions of them are translations of the speeches as found in the Acts and Monuments.

Here, for example are the corresponding reports of the final words spoken by Bradford:

He turned his head unto the young man that suffered with hym, and sayd bee of good comfort brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night.[166]	trôdd Mr Bradford at ei gyd-ferthyr, gan ei galonni ef, wrth ystyried y cafent y nos honno swper llawen gyda'r Arglwydd.[165]

Edwards changes slightly the phrasing of 'Philpott's 'last utterance,[167] but maintains its full implication.

coming into Smithfiled, he kneled down there saying these wordes: 'I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield. And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake and sayd: 'Shall I disdaine to suffer at	Pan ddaeth at y stanc, plygodd ei lîn, a dywedodd, talaf fy addunedau ynoti o Smithfield: a chusanodd y stanc, gan d dywedyd eilwaith, a wrthodafi ddioddef wrth y pren hwn dros fy mhrynwr, y

this stake, seing my redemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the crosse for me?

ddioddefodd farwolaeth wradwyddus drosofi ar y groes?

Professor Haller, reviewing Foxe's practice of recording a martyr's final words, comments that one can only marvel at the unfailing gift which Englishmen of all ranks could command 'for appropriate, expressive and dramatic speech.'[168] He infers that Foxe himself was the author of a large number of these speeches. Indeed, the dramatization of such horrible scenes as human burnings are bound to uphold dialogue of equal tension. Therefore, whether the words quoted by Foxe were actually said at the stake or are fabrications is not very important. For it is the effect that a statement testifying to the joy experienced in dying for the Ture Faith had on a sixteenth or seventeenth-century reader that is important. Edwards in one or two instances fails to recreate the full effect of Foxe's dialogue. In retelling the story of the death of the cripple and the blind man at the hands of Boner, Edwards[169] records one of the most dramatic of all the 'last utterances.' But he fails to reproduce the original abusive tone of the lame man's speech because he does not translate the witty mocking of the Bishop, the 'Lord of London'.[170]

At their death, Hugh Laverlocke, after he was chein, casting away his crooch, & comforting John Apprice hys fellow Martyr, sayd unto hym: Be of Good comfort, my brother: for my Lord of London in our good Phisition. He will heal us both shortly, thee of thy blindness and me of my lamenes.

A digwyddodd i Boner losci dau ŵr duwiol yn yr un tân a'r naill yn gripl, a'r llall yn ddall, ac wedi eu rhwymo hwynt gerfydd eu canolau wrth y stanc, bwriodd y cripl ei faglau ymmaeth, gan ddywedyd wrth ei gyd ferthyr, Cymer gyssur, fy mrawd, iacheir di o'th ddallineb yn awr, a minneu o'm cloffni.

Others among the martyr spoke their most memorable lines at

their trials. In the Acts and Monuments the speeches made on both sides of each debate between the authorities and the persecuted are given, in direct speech. Although Edwards only writes a brief summary of Dr Taylor's trial, he manages to capture fully the dramatic tension of Taylor's final confession there:

> dywedodd iddo dwyllo llawer yn Hadley; ar hyn tybiasant y troeu ef, hyd oni ddeonglodd y peth, sef y twylleu ef y pryfed yn monwent Hadley, am na chaent fwytta mo'i gorph cnawdig ef. 171

One sentence of Laurence Saunders's testimony is sufficient to convey to the Welsh reader the power of the defendant's courage of conviction.[172] Bishop Hooper's testimony is also presented in one brief statement.[173] Yet the gist of the complete Protestant argument is incorporated in the extracts Edwards quotes from their speeches: the one stresses the supreme authority of the Scriptures, and the other advocates a simple unceremonized worship of Christ.

The courage displayed by the Marian martyrs is also described in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, and it is depicted there as the courage of men inspired by God to withstand all physical pain in defence of the Unfeigned Faith. Edwards follows Foxe in portraying some of these acts of valour. Here again naturally he records the more momentous and memorable of the dramas at the stake. Edwards's most detailed description is his account of Haukes's martyrdom which is depicted in a woodcut in the Acts and Monuments.[174] This 'knowledgable man', on the way to the stake, had promised to his friends that he would give them a sign from the flames 'for the sake of the gospel.'[175] Edwards's account of the fulfilment of Haukes's promise follows Foxe in all its detail and anguish:

and when hys speeche was taken — A phan oedd y merthyr

away by violence of the flame, his skynne also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fier, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, sodainly and contrary to all expectation, the blessed seruant of God, being myndfull of the promise afore made, reached up his hands burning on a lyght fier (which was marveilous to behold) over his head to the liuing God, as seamed, strooke or clapped them three times together. [176]

yn y tân, wedi crychu ei groen, a cholli ei leferydd, a llosci ei fysedd, oni thybiodd pawb iddo drengu, yn ebrwydd cododd ei ddylaw (six) (a nhwy yn ffaglu yn olau) vwch ei ben, gan eu taro ynghyd dairgwaith.

Edwards sketches other scenes on the Foxian landscape: he describes 'wonderful alteration' in 'Rawlins Wynne's appearance at the stake;[177] Craumer's resilience in the fire;[178] how the five Christians who were burned together at Canterbury in 1556 sang Psalms in the flames;[179] how Robert Smith, charred 'blacke with fyre,...lifting up the stumpes of hys armes and clapping the same together' declared 'a rejoysing hart' unto the spectators around him;[180] and - the most poignant description of all - how a baby, born of its martyred mother in the flames at 'Garnsey', was thrown back into the heat, to be baptized and killed by fire.[181] The intensely dramatic obviously appealed to him; but he recorded these scenes because they revealed how God worked to control the will and to inspire courage in the souls of his faithful.

Both Foxe and Edwards presented the Marian martyrs to their readers as examples of virtuous Christians whose behaviour in time of crises and persecution should always be emulated. They are also shown to be worthy followers of Christ in time of peace. The most touching story Edwards retells is how a blind woman from Derby, as soon as she earned a penny, used to give it to someone who would read to her from her New

Testament.[182] 'Mr Sauders' too was never content except with his books.[183] And Bradford, who judged himself unworthy of God's call to the ministry, had no peace of mind until he chose his appointed path.[184]

Thus what Edwards borrowed from Foxe's epic was a series of simple portraits, which he exhibited in his own gallery for the good of seventeenth-century Welshmen: he wished to convey to them the resilient character of the stand the English Protestant made against the cruel bedevilled Marian Catholic persecutors.

In the Acts and Monuments the experience of the recent English martyrs were declared to be one with the experience of Christian martyrs in all ages.[185] Those who died in Mary's reign were, for Foxe, the spiritual descendents of the Members of the early Christian church who had been martyred by the Romans during the first three centuries, A.D.

In the first book of the Acts and Monuments, Foxe describes what he calls "the ten persecutions of the Primitive Church."[186] It is upon this book that Edwards based his account of the plight of the Early Christians.

To present the history of this period, Edwards does not adopt the method that he used to present the history of the Marian troubles (i.e. a series of individual portrait). He resorts to describe the general condition of the persecuted at different times, portraying the courage and resilience of the Christian church by describing the stand and defence of the faith made by its ablest and most reverend members. The few are seen to represent the many. This is the nature of Foxe's narrative also. Although his account, in Book One of the Acts and Monuments, are invariably longer and more fully documented than Edwards's,

the Welshman's history of this period - Chapter Four, Five, Seven, and Nine of y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant never lacks cohesion. For instance, to describe the condition of the Christians of the second century, both Foxe and Edwards refer to a letter sent by Antonius Pius to the Commons of Asia which notes the faithful confidence of the Christians in adversity.[187] Foxe quotes the letter in full; Edwards summarises its main contention in one compact balanced sentence. I quote the relevant part of the letter as Foxe published it:

'And here it shall not be inconvenient to advertise you of the earth quakes, which have and doe happen among us, that when at the sight of them you tremble and are afraid, then you may confere your case with them. For they upon a sure confidence of their God, are bolde and fearlesse, much more than You.'

Fe yscrifenodd Antonius Pius at ei swyddogion ei fod ef yn gweled y Cristnogion yn ddiofn ar ddaiargryn, pan fyddeu ei Ddeiliaid Paganaidd ef yn llawn dychryn.

Then, to portray this fearlessness, Foxe and Edwards give an account of Polycarpus's strange martyrdom. Edwards's account differs from Foxe's in one detail. According to the Englishman's translation of an eye-witness account, the 'sweet scent' that comes from the fire is smelt before Polycarpus is killed with the sword.[188] According to Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, it is the martyr's corpse that gives off the 'arogl peraidd'.[189]

This method of narrating is widely adopted. In relating the history of the persecution conducted by Severus, Foxe maintains that the places 'where the force of this persecution most raged, were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage,' revealing that the first to be martyred was Leonides, Origen's father, 'who was beheaded'.[190] Edwards follows suit:

> Dan emerodraeth Seferus y bu orlid tôst yn enwedig ar Gristnogion Affrica a Chappadocia, y pryd y merthyrwyd tad Origen. 191.

Similarly, Cyprian is reported to have been beheaded at a time when the Valerian storm drove the Christian sheep to huddle together;[192] three hundred Carthagian Christians were burned in a lime kiln during the same persecution;[193] and three virgins thrown to the wild beast in Africa.[194]

The martyrdoms Edwards chose to depict are not selected at random. In the first place, he describes the deaths of some of the great Church Fathers - Ignatus,[195], Polycarpus, Justine, etc.[196] - but he also pays homage to simpler, less illustrious Christians whose martyrdoms seem to him worthy of special notice. Foxe's book thus is used as a catalogue from which Edwards selects the more attractive stock, adapting the material to suit his own needs. For instance, Foxe gives a full account of the trial and punishment of a certain Christian virgin called Agnes, a 'constant damosell and martyr of God' who had sworn that she would never defile her body.[197] Edwards records only a precis of the story.[198] Yet the Welsh reader is adequately informed to realize that Agnes's shame in being 'set naked at the corner of some streete...such as strumpets used' was her cross for Christ, and that the Fork of lightning which sturck the first man who coveted her was sent from God. Foxe adds that, according to Prudentius, from whom he himself got the story, the man was revived to life by Agnes's prayers and his sight restored. This does not concern Edwards: the story and its moral are complete for him without an appendage. Another martyr whose faith and bravery moved Edwards, to include him in his history was a small seven-year-old Antiochian boy. Foxe makes him speak like a placid theologian, experienced in debate. When asked whether it is wiser to worship several gods or remain faithful to one, the boy answers, "Whatsoever it be that men

affirme to be God, must need be one."....[199] Although Edwards dispenses with Foxe's full tapestry of details, he follows Foxe's account of the martyrdom of this boy scene by scene:[200]

The captain commanded the child to be horsed up and scourged. His mother..rebuked her sweet babe for craving a draught of cold water, she charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethleem (sic) once dranke of, forgetting their mothers milk and paps: shee willed him to remember little Isaac, who beholding the sword wherewith and the altar whereon he should besacrificed, willingly preferred his tender necke to the dirt of his father's sword. Whilest this counsell was in giving, the butcherly tortor plucked the skin from the crowne of his head hair and all. The mother cried, suffer my child, anon thou shalt pass to him that will adorne thy naked head with a crown of eternall glorie.

afrywiogasant hwy yn erbyn y plentyn gan ei fflangellu a'i benydio ef. Yna ei fam ef a hi yn wraig Gristianogol ai hannogodd ef i ddioddefgarwch, gan beri iddo ef ystyried plant Bethlehem, ac Isaac ieuangc a ymroddasai i gymeryd ei aberth. A phan ddarfu iddynt dynnu ei wallt ef, eb hi wrtho ef, yn y man di gei goron yn lle gwallt.

In his chapters on the early history of the faith, Edwards, as he does in his chapter on the Marian persecutions, notes and describes Divine intervention in world affairs. In the Acts and Monuments, Foxe insists that when Aurelian was ready 'to subscribe the edict' that was to legalize the persecution of Christians during his reign, it was 'the mighty stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from above' which 'did stop his purpose.'[201] Edwards more reservedly notes, 'rhwystordd Cwlwm gwythi ef.'[202] Aurelian's predecessor, Valerian, aslo felt the 'iust stroke' of Christ's hand.[203] Edwards's statement is not so emph tic. He describes how the pagan Emperor, taken prisoner by ing Sapores of Persia, was derided and humbled in the royal court, where he was used as

a horse-block. Yet wherever Edwards does not directly announce that God was the author of the events he describes, the fact is indirectly inferred.

It is seen that Charles Edwards does not reiterate every important assertion John Foxe makes. Indeed, he ignores some of Foxe's statements. As a post-script to his account of Captain Basilides's conversion to Christianity,[204] Foxe, acknowleding Eusebius's history as his source, writes, 'Albeit the said Eusebius giveth this story of no credit, but onely of heare-say'. Edwards, however, has no qualms about retelling the story, unqualified by any apology.[205]

The Acts and Monuments is Charles Edwards's source of information for the history of the reign of Constantine also.[206] As usual, Foxe's account is much lengthier and more detailed than Edwards's. Foxe, in describing Constantine's journey to war with Maxentius, dwells on the 'great doubt and perpexitie' that haunted the emperor's mind, for such uncertainty in the face of the pagan enemy was a measure of Constantine's lack of complete faith in God.[207] Edwards, on the other hand, does not enlarge upon his statement that the emperor went into battle 'mewn gofal'. Nor does he expound, as Foxe does, on the full significance of the sign Constantine saw in the sky. Always at the ready to aim a sharp arrow at Rome and score a point for Protestantism, Foxe explains to his 'good reader'

> that this signe of the Crosse, and these letters added with all, In hoc Vince, was given to [Constantine] of God, not to induce any supertitious worship or opinion of the Crosse,...But only to seeke and aspire to the knowledge and faith of him, which was crucified upon the Crosse for the salvation of him, and of all the world.

Edwards merely describes Constantine's vision. But he joyfully lists the reforms carried out by the Christian emperor;[208] and notes his intervention in Persian affairs.[209]

At the end of Chapter Ten in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards includes two seemingly isolated paragraphs.[210] They tell of two events of the utmost importance to the history of the unfeigned faith. The first paragraph sparingly records the coming of Austin to England, '598' A.D.: the date, given by Foxe, is printed in the margin of Edwards's page.[211] The only event noted in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is the baptizing of ten thousand Saxons near York during one day. Foxe names the river where the baptism took place, and informs his reader that the day was 'Christmasse daye.'[212] In the second paragraph Edwards comments on the decree that gave to the Bishop of Rome the title of Head of All the Churches.'[213] Foxe passes two comments on the announcement. Firstly, condemning Phocas for forwarding the honour, Foxe reveals how Gregory had previously 'withstood the ambitious pride of John Patriarch of Constantinople, which would be the universall priest, and onely chiefe bishop of all others, declaring him to be no lesse than the forerunner of Antichrist.'[214] Edwards advances the same criticism. Then, in militant mood, Foxe makes the most of another opportunity to condemn Rome: having described how Phocas met his death, he adds pointedly,

> But Rome would not so soone loose his supremacy once given, as the giver lost his life; for ever since from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this present day, by all force and policie possible.

Edwards refrains from reiterating these words. Criticism of Rome was more difficult in late stuart times than in the early Elizabethan age.

Edwards's history of the faith in England and Europe from 729[215] to 1245[216] is also based on the Acts and Monuments. The five centuries are reported in as many pages. Edwards manages to do so by selecting to report only what seem to him the most important and, at the same time, representative events of each age. Gregory II - though merely 'y Pâb' to Edwards[217] - is portrayed as 'the setter up and upholder of...blinde superstition 'as Foxe calls him.[218] Leo the Greek emperor is presented as the representative of the true believers of this period who opposed the devillish Bishop of Rome. And yet another 'y Pâb' - Adrian[219] - is introduced as the one who came 'to ratifie and confirme...the order of S. Gregories masse.' Foxe explains that he inserts this information in his narrative so that the reader would 'understand the time when this small masse of the papists began first to be universall and uniforme'.[220] Edwards also draws his reader's attention to this point.

In the next chapter of his Acts and Monuments, Foxe deals with the history of England in the ninth and tenth centuries. Edwards follows suit. He briefly notes the coming of the Danes and the signs that preceded their coming;[221] describes Alfred's piety;[222] and the story of Canute and the sea.[223] The coming of the Normans is reported in one short statement.[224] But the history of England from 1066 to Wycliff's time is a blank in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, except for a description of the 'divers wonders' of the twelfth century which Foxe depicts. The English author notes the geographical position of each marvel - 'A blasing starre over Constantinople. A spring boyling out blood (seene at Finchamsted in Barkeshire) three weekes together...the floud of Trent, about Nottingham... dried up;...in Shrewsbury a great earthquake hapned'[225] - but Edwards does not: he merely catalogues the kind of wonders that were observed.[226]

The omens signified a critical period for the True Faith. Frederick Barbarossa was forced to supplicate to the Pope. Foxe reproduces a woodcut depicting the 'proud Pope' setting his foot upon the emperor's neck, and reciting the 'verse of the Psalme, Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem & draconem.'[227] Edwards describes the scene in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant as Foxe does.[228] Then, spanning the years, and the pages of the Acts and Monuments, he links this act of pride with the vain glory sought by two English Archbishops 'mewn cymanfa eglwysig'.[229] Contrary to Foxe, Edwards does not name them.[230]

Then there follows in the Acts and Monuments a chapter on "The History of the Waldenses, concerning their originall and doctrine, with their persecutions." Basing his account on this chapter, Edwards describes how 'Waldez',[231] the founder of the sect came to be converted to the true faith, and what his first acts were:[232]

first hee began to minister large almes of his goods to such as needed. Secondly to instruct himself and his familie with the true knowledge of God's word. Thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him by any occasion, to repentous and vertuous amendment of life...he began to give out to them certaine rudiments of the Scripture, which he had translated himself in the French tongue.

(ymrôdd) i wellhâu ei fuch-id: dechreuodd rannu llawer o'i dda ir tlodion, a chwilio'r yscrythyrau, canys llythyrennog oedd ef, a chynghori ei deulu ai gymmydogion i edifarhâu, a chyfieithodd rannau o'r yscrythur lan ir rhai y welai ef yn ewyllyscar iw dilyn.

After describing 'Waldez's' conversion, Foxe then deals with the Waldensian creed. Edwards reverses the order of things and notes the places where the sect settled after persecution[233] before presenting the articles of their creed. He chooses to present the most truly protestant of their decrees.[234] And as an indication of their earnestness as defenders of

the True Faith, Edwards retells a story he found in the Acts and Monuments concerning one of the Waldenses who swam by night across a river - the 'Ibis'[235] in the dead of winter to explain the grace of God to an acquaintance. The spiritual descendants of the Waldenses were the French Protestants of the sixteenth century who suffered great and cruel persecution. Edwards briefly deals with them in his Fifteenth Chapter, "Llwyddiant y ffydd yn Lloegr yn amser y frenhines Elizabeth, ei herlid yn ffrainc a lleoedd eraill."[236] Foxe did manage to include a short report on the persecutions in France in 1572 in the 1576 edition of Acts and Monuments.[237] But the 1632 edition contains an appendix of one-hundred-and-six pages called A Continvation of the Histories of Foreign Martyrs: from the happy reign of the most renowned Qu Elizabeth, to these times, with sundry relations of those bloody massacres executed upon the Protestants of the Cities of France, in the yeare 1572. Whereunto are armesed the two famous Deliverances of Our English nation; the one, from the Spanish Invasion, in 88. The other from the Gunpowder Treason, in 1605. Together with the barbarous cruelties exercised upon the Professors of the Gospell in the Valtoline, 1621.

Edwards does not give the story of the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day in any detail. Following Foxe's account, though the story is told at much greater length and detail in the Continvation, Edwards states that ten thousand perished on that day, but Foxe states that 'above ten thousand' were killed not in one day, but in 'the first three dayes 'of'greater slaughter'[238]. The massacre spread, says Foxe, 'to other Cities and quarters of the Realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Tholous, and Roane'. In the Continvation, there is a detailed account of the persecutions in each of these cities; as well as in Bordeaux,[239] which is mentioned with

the other four by Edwards in his own account. He does not enlarge upon the effects of the massacres in any of these places, but does describe how God intervened to encourage the Protestants of Rochel to hold out against a formidable besieging Papist army. Both Foxe[240] and the author of the Continvation[241] describe the miraculous 'provision of civtuals which God furnished this besieged people with all.'

The Papist atrocities in the Valtoline that Edwards mentions briefly in this chapter are described in the Continvation in some detail.[242] Summarizing on the many accounts of individual valour in the appendix, Edwards singles out for special mention the courage of one young woman who, 'bolde and undaunted', did not heed 'her persecutor's threat to kill her two months-old son.'[243] What appealed to Edwards was the simple powerful lesson to be drawn from the woman's retaliation. In order to clarify the parallel which is inferred in the young woman's speech as it is reported in the Continvation, Edwards emphasizes the argument:

And how, saith shee, should I have regard in this case of my infant, since God our heavenly Father spared not his onely sonne, my Lord Jesus, but delivered him up to death for the love of me and all sinners?	atebodd hi iddynt fel hyn; Gan nad arbedodd Duw mo'i fâb, ond ei roddi i farw er fy mwyn i , minneu a'm rhoddaf fy hun am plentyn i farw er ei fwyn yntef.

The 'strange signs' which are described by Edwards in connection with the persecution in the Valtoline are listed and described as "Signes and Prodiges, which happened before the Massacre in the Valtoline" in the Continvation.[244] They are presented as proof that God was in control of events, and as evidence that He gave His people sufficient warning of forecoming calamity.

The battle at sea between the English Navy and the Spanish Armada in both the Continvation[245] and Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant[246] is looked

upon an another episode in the long campaign between the forces of Christ and Antichrist.. So too is the Gun Powder Plot of 1605. Indeed it is for the facts and figures of the history of this campaign that Edwards is so indebted to Foxe.

"HANES Y FFYDD YMHLITH Y CYMRU" and Enderbie's CAMBRIA TRIUMPHANS.

Percy Enderbie is a curiosity of Welsh historiography. Born in Lincolnshire and the second son of a lawyer named Thomas Enderbie in the first decade of the seventeenth century,[247] he lived for most of his adult life in Wales. There he developed a warm enthusiasm for the history of the nation, and dedicated many years of his life to its study. In his introduction to Cambria Triumphans, "To the Gentle Reader, whether English or Welsh", Enderbie reveals that it was his marriage to 'a person of quality of that Nation', Winifred, sister of Sir Edward Morgan of Llantarnam in Monmouthshire, and his long stay in Wales, that 'pricked' him forward, as he says, to study Welsh history.[248] This primary inspiration, reinforced by the 'Civilities of the Gentry' and the help of Sir Edwards's 'good library' encouraged him to bring 'this Embrion to its full maturity'.

The 'Embrion', of course, is the eulogistic Cambria Triumphans. It was published for the first time in 1661 and dedicated to, among other, Charles II the restored King and his brother, James Duke of York. At the beginning of the book, Enderbie traces the Stuart line back to the marriage of Fleance's son Walter with Nest the daughter of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn. He attempts to establish - following Halinshed's Chronicles (1578)[249] - that the Stuarts were of Welsh stock; and published a history

that demonstrated amply that Wales, who had given both Tudor and Stuart families to the English throne, was rich in regal traditions. Indeed, Enderbie's main reason for writing Cambria Triumphans was to reveal the glorious history of Wales, so that 'many'could 'undeceive themselves, and rectifie there misled judgements, who apprehend the thirteen counties of Wales to produce nothing but Barrenness.'[250] He reiterates David Powel's complaint that English historians were blind to Welsh problems and ignorant of Welsh traditions. 'Mr Camden', for instance, was 'not willing to write anything which may advance the glory of the Welsh or Brittish Nation'.[251] Enderbie repairs the loss.

His Cambria Triumphans is a history of the 'Welsh or Brittish Nation' from the earliest times to the reign of the King Charles I. Had Enderbie been a weaver of such intricate skill as to be able to work the content of his history into a massive tapestry cloth, it would have been universally praised as the kingdom's most spectacular gift to Charles II at the Restoration. For the book is undoubtedly the most colourful and fabulous history to have been written in Wales in modern times. Its style, decidedly but artificially metaphorical, is mock-poetic: Britain, for example, is described as

> This Isle...garnished with pleasant and enamel'd meadows, and embroidered with many goodly Rivers and purling Brooks and Rivulets...encircled by Neptunes curled tresses and watry furrows round. [252]

For a historian, Enderbie is sometimes carelessly unconcerned with the apparent truth or falsehood of a situation. Of Brutus, for instance, although he admits 'I deny not Brute', he leaves every one else 'to his own best liking and opinion'.[253] Arthur, on the other hand is faithfully

attended to. Enderbie passes over the claims that it was Arthur who killed the giants of Albion as 'trifeling tales'; but dutifully records his successful exploits against the Saxons and, moreover, against the Romans in Paris, as unadulterated truth. Referring to two contemporary conjectures about Arthur, Enderbie dismisses the belief that the King will reappear as 'so vain a fable', and, again, rebukes those who believe that the whole history of Arthur is a fabrication by insisting that his bones found in Glastonbury are sufficient testimony to disprove their belief.[254]

But for Charles Edwards, writing in the 1660s, an informative history, new from the presses, that dealt with the pre-Gildasian period of Welsh history, and which gave an account of the history of Wales from the sixth to the ninth century, a period not accounted for in Historie of Cambria, Cambria Triumphans must have been a Godsend. Yet he makes but sparing use of the volume. So many of Enderbie's theories seem to Edwards unscaffolded by testimony. For instance, in the history, Enderbie does more than 'not deny Brute': he described fully the route and circumstance of the voyage Brutus and his sons and followers took to reach Britain, what his opinion of the land was, and how he proceeded to make it habitable.[255] Edwards, sensibly relying on his own 'liking and opinion' does not mention the Trojan, but does argue that the nation has its origin in the East 'gan fod cymaint carenydd rhwng ein iaith ni ag ieithoedd y parthau hynny.'[256] Enlarging upon his statement, Edwards explains that the Welsh vowel sounds are similar to the Hebrew in that 'They come from the precincts of the heart, from the back of the mouth.'[257] The English is spoken 'from the tip of the tongue.'[258] Ten years before Edwards published this argument,[259] Enderbie had expressed his similar

opinion that the Welsh, or 'the Brittish' as he calls it, 'received its first being at the confusion of Babel, for it sounds most after the Eastern Way'. The Welsh, he notes, is so different from all the other European languages. And in answer to some who dream that the language was derived from 'the Romans as conquering', he insists that it would be more sensible to believe that the Latinists borrowed from the Welsh. Edwards ignores this typical Enderbian imputation.[260]

As I said, Edwards is very selective in his borrowings from Cambria Triumphans. The primary reason for this is that the first third of the book deals with pre-Christian, pagan Britain, while Edwards's main pre-occupation is the history of the faith. Furthermore, Edwards had already gleaned the information given in the latter half of Cambria Triumphans from the pages of Historie of Cambria. Thus most of the accounts he borrows from Enderbie are in some way connected with religion.

The first account is of learning. Enderbie descibes how Bladud went to Athens 'for the knowledge of Philosophy, Astrology, and all other Sciences whatsoever', and brought back to Britain with him four philosophers 'to lay a platform, and found an habitation for the Muses and Nursery of Learning, making choice of Stamford in Lincolnshire for his design and purpose.'[261] Edwards, having no native reason to praise the founding of the school in Lincolnshire, does not state where Bladud's 'yscolion dysc' were founded.[262] He links these establishments with a plague that killed thousands of people 'tra yr oedd Rhifall yn rheoli' by arguing that the plague had been sent by Divine Providence to punish the Britons for being ignorant of the philosophical knowledge that was in their midst.[263] Enderbie sees no connexion between the plague and the contemporary British

attitude towards education! Indeed, while Edwards's interest is theological, Enderbie shows a pointed zoological interest in the 'animalia insecta' which swarmed over Britain causing the 'great and strange mortality, insomuch that the Island seemed in a manner unpeopled':[264] he even describes the insects, 'Vermine, divided as it were between the head and the belly, having no flesh, blood or sinews'! But they are, for Edwards, the carriers of God's message, His first to the Britons. The events therefore, is of the utmost importance to him.

On the introduction of the Gospel to Britain, Enderbie is strangely reticent. He acknowledges that some ancient writers testify to its coming in the infancy of Christianity, that it was carried across the seas by 'Simon Chananaeus' or 'Aristotulus' or else by Joseph of Arimathea;[265] but he does not enlarge upon his statement. For a patriot of Enderbie's enthusiasm to deny Britain a place of honour among Christian countries is indeed peculiar. Only six years before the publication of Cambria Triumphans, Thomas Fuller had insisted that the Gospel came to Britain 'in the later end of the Reigne of Tiberius, some thirty-seven years after Christ's Birth'.[266] Edwards agrees with him. He believes the gospel came early, in the days of the Apostles;[267] and, following Fuller, anticipates a challenge from those who questioned this early date.[268]

To reverse things, it is Enderbie, again emphasising the strong illustrious royalist traditions of his adopted country, who champions King Lucius's conversion to Christianity, 'the first and principal means' of which 'is ascribed to certain learned scholars of Cambridge.'[269] Fuller is suspicious of the transaction. He lists the names of twenty-six authors who all give different dates for the Conversion of Lucius, and

and Comments, 'it would puzzle Apollo himself to time these jarring Instruments into Consort.'[270] But this time, Charles Edwards puts his faith in Enderbie, who states that 'Brittains' had 'the happinese to see and enjoy the first Christian Prince' 'about one hundred and four score years after the Birth of our Saviour.'[271] Enderbie even goes as far as to say that St Timothy and St Marcellus, who preached in the country at that time, proclaimed Lucius the Vice-regent of God.[272] Fuller is as sceptical as Enderbie is exultant. The church historian finds it 'very improbable' that 'all of the Natives' became Christians after their King's conversion;[173] but both Enderbie and Edwards (following the account in Cambria Triumphans) report a mass reformation.[274]

Therefore, although Charles Edwards follows Fuller in his argument that Christianity reached the British Isles soon after the death of Christ, he did not revere Fuller more highly than he revered Enderbie. In truth, Edwards seems to put his weight behind the one whose account of a particular period magnifies the religious glory of Britain. He does not mention the reported fact that Lucius sent a letter to Pope Eleutherius,[275] but does name 'Doewan' as one who came to preach to Britain.[276] Rome, even the Rome of the second century, was taboo to the Puritan! Yet, again furthering the reputation of the early British Church, and following Enderbie, Edwards gives an account of an episode which testifies clearly to Britain's position of favour with God:[277]

Marcus Aurelius...preferring the prayers of the Christians appealed unto them. But after God by the prayers of the Christians which he procured them to make, had so miraculously delivered him and his Army;... and his people distressed with thirst and hunger, not having drunk in five days,	(fe wnaeth) ymerodr Rhufain gyhoeddi ei ewyllys da tuag at y Cristnogion, am iddynt weddio am law iw fyddyn ef oedd ar dringo o syched.

> by sending a most cooling and
> comforting Rain into the Camp of the
> distressed Emperor, and Hail like
> fire and lighting among his Enemies
> ...he presently sent out his Imperial
> Letters and Edicts...wherein he gave
> liberty for any man to be a Christian.

It is interesting and equally revealing to note that Edwards ignores completely Enderbie's account of Constantine's vision of the cross in the sky. As I demonstrated above, Edwards's version of the story is based on the description in John Foxe's Acts and Monuments.[278] Percy Enderbie, the Stuart loyalist, of course did not possess Foxe's furiously anti-Romish principles, and unhibitedly describes (after Eusebius) how Constantine ordered a replica of the cross he saw to be made 'of gold and precious stones.'[279] The 'Image' was then placed as ' a sign of victory before his armed souldiers and guards'.[280] Moreover, 'Constantine caused the sign of the Cross to be made upon the armour of his soldiers to accustom them thereby to serve God.'[281] Such was the noble Christian Emperor's way, Romish in the extreme, of 'trusting in the help of God.'[282] Edwards will have none of it in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. He notes only the more 'worthy' works of Constantine, his programme of church building[283] and his convening of councils.[284]

It is with the same Protestant reserve that Edwards describes Garmon's defence of the Welsh against the allied attaks on the Picts and Saxons during the fifth century. He readily notes that the defenders fasted, prayed and held Holy Communion;[285] but does not report, as Enderbie narrates, that Garmon 'exhorted the Britons to fight comagiously as the soldiers of Christ, under the banner of the Crosse,' an ensign unhoisted

in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.[286]

In this chapter Edwards follows Enderbie in relating some secular history as well. Full of patriotism, he chooses to describe episodes of history which shows Welsh (Or British) military and political power at its most influential. Maximus's government of Gaul is noted. And the renovation of London receives particular attention, especially the origin of its present name. Enderbie, in his own exorbitant style, dramatizes the change comically-[287]

> Trinovant being now beautified...began to shake hands with its old Name, and bid it adieu, resuming a new Nomenclation from its present Benefactor and Restaurator, and begins to be better known by the Name Luds Town then Trinebant, now corruptly London, then Trynovant.

Edwards, in contrast to his custom of choosing one explanation from many meanings of a place-name given by Purchas in the chapter on "Parthau'r Byd", lists two meanings from the name 'Llundain'. The one, following Enderbie, 'caer-Ludd'; the other, "Llong-ddinas.'[288]

EDWARDS'S DEBT TO GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE

There is hardly any need to stress the importance of Geoffrey's Historia Regum Britanniae[289] for all mediaeval historians - indeed, down to the modern era, to Theophilus Evans in 1716 and 1742[290] - whose intention it was to relate the history of Britain from the arrival of Brutus twelve centuries before Christ to the death of the last native king, Cadwallader, in 689 A.D.[291] Following the Historia's publication in 1136,[292] a great number of copies of the Latin text were made, over a hundred-and-eighty of which are still extant,[293] a powerful testimony to the work's vast influence on the development of popular ideas concerning the early

history of the island of Britain.[294]

The story that won the ear of all Europe begins with the Trojan landing c.1170 B.C. and the conquering of the race of giants who inhabited Britain at that time. Brutus was succeeded as King by his sons; and Ebraucus, Bladud and Lear follow in direct descent. The dynasty was toppled only after Dunvallo Molmutius, a Cornish prince, killed the ruling kings 'and forced their people to accept his own rule.'[295] Dunballo's son, Belinus, according to Geoffrey, conquered Gaul and proceeded to conquer Rome c.390 B.C.[296] He is the second dominating figure of the Historia. After him about fifty kings of the Molmutian line reigned in succession. In 55-54 B.C. Julius Caesar enters Geoffrey's stage, only to be forced off by the defending Britons. It was not until Claudius came to the island 43 A.D. that the natives, then under Arvirargus, submitted to Rome. But the British King, married to Claudius's daughter, eventually 'refused to continue his homage to the Senate';[297] and Vespasian came to restore order. The reign of Arvirargus's great-grandson, King Lucius, proved to be a very significant period, for then, notes Geoffrey, Britain was converted to Christianity. Under Asclepiodotus, the British triumphed over the Romans; but Coel, who in pitched battle conquered Asclepiodotus's murderer, lost ground again to Rome in the person of Constantius, who married Coel's daughter, Helen. Their son was Constantine the Great. The final departure of the Romans from Britain lay the island open to new foreign invaders: Vortigern invites Hengist and Horsa to stabilize the British defence and is tricked miserably. Aurelius Ambrosius, Utherpendragon and, later, King Arthur triumph over the Saxons. The latter, Geoffrey's fabulous hero, moves on to greater, more splendid conquests on the continent,

prepares even to march on Rome, but is forced by a crisis at home to return to Britain. In Battle against his unfaithful kinsman Modred at Camlan Arthur is mortally wounded, and is borne away to Avalon to rest. The crown is handed to his cousin Constantine in 542 and he and his successors down to Cadwallader find themselves continually harassed by warring Saxon and African hordes who gradually drive the British into Wales and Cornwall.

'For Geoffrey', observes one critic, 'his history was a pageant of striking personalities.'[298] One who has not been mentioned in the above summary of the Historia's content in Merlin the magician, whose prophecies constitute Book Seven of Geoffrey's work. But the history is not only a gallery of colourful portraits. His people move and create; many of the events described are fantastic in the extreme, the coming of Brutus, the sack of Rome by Belinus, and the phenomenal rise of Arthur as the all-conquering King of Britain who held Western Europe and Scandinavia in his grasp.

But where did Geoffrey find his material? Henry of Huntingdon, a contemporary of his, who had also intended to write a history of ancient British Kings, was forced to abandon part of his prospect because of the lack of material.[299] Geoffrey claimed that it was his good fortune to have received from his friend Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, a 'certain very ancient book written in the British language' which 'set out all the deeds' of the Kings of Britain 'down to Cadwallader, the son of Cadwallo'. He adds that his Historia Regum Brittaniae is a translation, made at Walter's request, of the vetustissimus liber.[300] Kendrick notes that there is no traditional knowledge that such a chronicle existed;[301] and no discovery has been made to render inaccurate Sir John Edward Lloyd's

assertion, made in 1911, that 'no Welsh composition exists which can be reasonably looked upon as the original, or even the groundwork, of the History of the Kings of Britain'.[302] Yet it is generally accepted that Geoffrey did possess some record or chronicle which served as a small store of knowledge from which he developed his Historia. 'It is probably not true', writes Kendrick, 'that the Historia is a complete invention from start to finish'.[303] Parry and Caldwell suggest that Geoffrey made use of many tales told by Walter and others; that he exploited 'a collection of pedigrees like that found in the Harley 3859 manuscript of Nenius', and that Gildas and Bede provided him with much material.[304] The theory has been propounded that the Vulgate text of the Historia is a 'deliberate revision' of an 'earlier draft put together from original sources', called the Variant Version, which is claimed to be the work of another author.[305] But were this theory accepted it would still remain for scholars to discover the sources of the original work. In the end it must be admitted that even after much intensive study scholars of mediaeval history are still not decided whether Geoffrey was 'an outright liar or was telling what might be generously described as a quarter-truth.'[306]

Yet this problem did not deter the Historia's success. It won for itself a unique place among mediaeval histories, and immediate praise. Henry of Huntingdon was overjoyed when he was shown 'the big book' in Normandy in 1139.[307] Giraldus Cambrensis, though humorously sceptical, on occasion found it useful to cite the work; Kendrick notes that circa 1150 'not to have read' the Historia 'was a matter of reproach.'[308] Other historians, including Henry of Huntingdon himself, incorporated a great

deal of it in their own works. Englishmen from Alfred of Beverley, writing circa 1150, down to John Stow, who died in 1605, profitted from it. For Welsh historians, Geoffrey's book was a magnificent eulogy for their ancestors. Moreover, poets read the Historia and borrowed much as subject-matter, developing themes and embroidering the tapestry of events according to their own taste and imagination. Chretien de Troyes, the most famous of all French mediaeval poets, made Geoffrey's Arthur the grand, central figure of his verse-romances. He was followed by a host of lesser authors, among them Renaud de Beaujeu[309] and Raoul de Hondeuc.[310] In Germany Wolfram von Eschenbach wrote his Parzival, and circa 1190 Hartmann von Aue his Evec,[311] both based on characters described in Historia Regum Britanniae as Arthur's Knights. The Arthurian legends thus grew to European proportions. Mediaeval Welsh tales - among them Culhwch ac Olwen and Breudwyt Rhonabwy [312] - were built around it. And down the centuries writers revelled in the wonderful pageantry of tale and fiction that was their Galfridian inheritance. The most famous fifteenth century work based on the Historia is Malory's Morte d'Arthur of 1469. Spenser found inspiration for the Fairie Queene in Geoffrey's work, and Shakespare's Cymbeline and King Lear have their roots there. Welshmen, even in the twentieth century, returned to Geoffrey: T. Gwynn Jones's Ymadawiad Arthur (1902) is a beautifully constructed poem on an overworked romantic theme.

Yet, though countless historians looked no further than the Historia for their knowledge of early British history, and though poets magnified splendidly its tales, the work never lacked its critics. William of Newburgh, a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis (1146-1220),

was the most feared of Geoffrey's early critics:[313] he denounced the work's 'patent falsehoods',[314] casting upon it 'scurrilous language'.[315] Giraldus himself, recognizing the Historia for what it really was, criticized it with candour and humour.[316] But Geoffrey's reputation was not very seriously damaged until the sixteenth century, when antiquarians of the stature of Polydore Vergil and William Camden revealed to their readers the true nature of the Historia Regum Britanniae. Polydore, according to Kendrick, established 'a new and admirable standard in appraising sources and the veracity of chroniclers'. Geoffrey's work obviously could not survive his scrutiny; and the twelfth-century historian was blatantly accused by the Italian in his Anglica Historia (1534) of belauding his nation, 'feigninge of them things to be laughed at', and of fabricating his accounts 'with most impudent lyeing'.[317] Towards the end of the sixteenth century Polydore's criticism was reinforced by Camden's 'polite' denial of the truth of Geoffrey's 'Trojan story'.[318] His views carried substantial weight, and greatly influenced the approach of a younger school of historians in their study of the British past. John Clapham, for instance, the author of the Historie of England published in 1602 and the Historie of Great Britannie four years later, not only reasserted the falsehood of the Brutus saga but also discovered that the true Arthur of history was a soldier who fought in twelve battles listed by Nennius in his Historia Brittonum c.800.[319]

It was from a Historia Regum Britanniae of such stigmatized reputation that the historian of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant took much of his material concerning early British history. Yet Edwards cannot be blamed for showing such lack of scholarly judgements. For these English

critics had been answered.

A hundred years previous to the appearance of Clapham's histories, the story of King Arthur's conquests was accorded the highest significance. The Welsh Henry VII on England's throne named his first-born Arthur. Poets and historians alike reacted faithfully, and revealed to readers that death had not totally extinguished the powers of the first Arthur. Moreover, the Welshman's and the Englishman's faith in Geoffrey's sincerity was proclaimed in counter-attack, launched to quell the criticism generated by the foreigner Polydore Vergil. John Leland, the first champion of the British cause, published in 1536, two years after Anglica Historia, a pamphlet called Codrus, sive Laus et Defensio Gallofridi Arturü Monumetensis contra Polydorum Vergilium[320] in which he concerned himself with establishing 'the ancient background of the Arthurian legend'.[321] During the same period, British anger at Italian arrogance was channelled into verse as well. A knowledgable scholar by the name of Arthur Kelton published in 1547 a lengthy rhyming poem called the Chronycle that fervently and flatteringly praised all things Welsh and condemned all things Roman, especially Polydore himself! The Romans, he insists, compared with the Welsh, were merely unsurpers. 'Remember Rome', he cries,

> thy olde abasion
> Thy infamed, and cursed governance
> Thy tyrrany, and false extorsion
> Thy great adultrie, and foul dalliance
> Way these together, al in one balance
> And thou shalt not fynd, any rightful sentence
> Against the Brutes, to give evidence.[322]

Later in the sicteenth century Humphrey Lhuyd[323] and David Powel after him condemned in powerful diatribe both William of Newburgh and Polydore

Vergil as men who sought to damage the proud reputation of 'so invincible and victorious a prince' as Arthur. In Historie of Cambria the critics are said to have denounced Geoffrey's hero - the back-bone of this historiographical contention - 'with the envious detraction and malicious slander of their reproachful and venomous toongs'.[324] Charles Edwards of course knew Powel's book very well. But the most distinguished defender of Geoffrey's Historia was Sir John Price, author of the Historia Britannicae Defensio, which was published in 1573. In direct contrast to Kelton, for example, who expended more passion than thought in his condemnation of Polydore, Price rationally met the Italian on his own ground. He debated in orderly fashion that Polydore Vergil's thesis was not essentially sound. Both Leland and Price himself stressed the fact that Geoffrey saw his work as the work of a translator, not an original author. They argued that ancient manuscripts could be found which would verify Geoffrey's case; they referred to Bardic poems which testified that the Welsh knew of their Trojan origin long before 1135; they cleverly overcame the problem that Arthur was not mentioned at all by Gildas; and, furthermore, pointed out that Arthur's grave at Glastonbury provided final and valid proof of the King's existence.[325]

Encouraged by such confident reasoning, Welshmen, even in the second half of the seventeenth century and in 1716 looked to the Historia Regum Britanniae for their material. By then three printed editions of Geoffrey's Latin texts were available: the first, edited by Ivo Cavellatus, was published in Paris in 1508; and reprinted, with a few minor changes, in 1517. The third, edited and printed in Heidel - burg by Jerome Commelin, was issued in 1587.[326] Percy Enderbie, a Welshman

by adoption, testifies in his Cambria Triumphans (1661) that he was a dedicated follower in Geoffrey's camp. Charles Edwards, too, it will be shown, profited from the twelfth-century work; and in his college at Oxford there were four manuscripts of Geoffrey's Historia.[327] But towards the end of the seventeenth century, nineteen years before the final Galfridian flourish of Theophilus Evans's Drych y Prif Oesoedd, William Wynne demonstrated a new attitude towards the problem of Geoffrey's veracity. Wynne's heart is all for Geoffrey; and following Leland and Price, he emphasizes Geoffrey's sincerity of purpose, noting once again that he was a translator not a fabricator. In his introduction to the second edition of Powel's Historie of Cambria in 1697, Wynne criticizes William of Newburgh's 'unmannerly treatment' of Geoffrey and observes that William 'therein expresses his Ignorance and Malice, rather than any Love and Regard to Truth and Ingenuity.'[318] Yet Wynne's reason, influenced no doubt by the arguments of nearly two centuries of English scepticism, saw that though Geoffrey's work could not be altogether dismissed, it did not present a true picture of ancient Britain. William Wynne, notes Sir Frederick Rees, 'very reluctantly abandons Geoffrey of Monmouth'.[329]

Charles Edwards did not live to see the 1697 edition of the Historie of Cambria. Yet he cannot have been ignorant of the various English attacks made on Geoffrey's narrative; and, no less, of the Welsh defence. He had studied closely Polydore Vergil's edition of De Excidio (1525),[330] and possibly perused the Anglica Historia also. And Camden was an author whom every historian read and revered. The Geoffrey that was left to the seventeenth century was a Geoffrey diluted,

so to speak, by criticism.[331] On the other hand, Edwards cannot have failed to realize that the defence of Arthur conducted by Leland and by Powel in his Historia - a book well-known to him - was closely connected in spirit if not in rationality with Sir John Price's respected Defensio.

Perhaps Price's work had escaped the notice of Rowland Vaughan, for in his introduction to Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb in 1630 Bayly's translator proclaims his desire to see the English critics of the British History answered 'gan ryw frythwn calonnog'.[332] Edwards undoubtedly read Vaughan's preface. There Vaughan denounces Camden-

> Camden ai gau athrawiaeth ddyscedig...yn
> gwadu Brutus ac yn haeru mai Ieffrey o fynyw
> a scrifennodd o honaw gyntaf.

With the same vigour he proceeds to note that while it is unchristianly to damage the reputation of the deceased, he can rile at Camden's disciples. He does so in no uncertain terms:

> mi allaf adrodd fy meddwl iddynt,...sef, fy
> mod i yn tybied mai mwy o ran cael mawl
> ac anrhydedd gan Saeson ardderchawg, nac
> o ran dosparthu'r gwirionedd y saethasant
> eu geiriau anguriol gywilyddus.[333]

For one brief moment, a moral theologian, roused by his patriotism, enters the debate. Edwards, predictably, does not follow suit. Even though he was passionately concerned with Welsh affairs, he does not once neither mention Geoffrey by name nor demonstrate in writing that he was conscious of Geoffrey's deflated reputation. The truth is that the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was not in the least interested in historiographical wranglings. His chief concern was for the seventeenth-century Welsh reader's consciousness of the Christian

tradition that enriched the lives of his forefathers. And if Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae could furnish him with testimony of Britain's religious past then Edwards would draw upon the work freely irrespective of whether Geoffrey was a falsifier or a sincere translator of another's work. Man of course can believe what he wishes to believe. But it must be stressed that the body of Welsh (and several English) historians who extolled Geoffrey's Historia exercised a greater influence over Welsh authors than the English scholars who, in the light of new research, criticized the work.

From another standpoint, it could be argued that Edwards chose not to name Geoffrey as one of his sources in the belief that such an acknowledgement would bring Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant into disrepute. But then - by whom? The Welshmen that read and revered Drych y Prif Oesoedd forty years after the publication of the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant certainly did not show any antipathy towards the Galfridian tendencies exercised there. In any case, Edwards was not in the habit of divulging his sources. Furthermore, what Edwards did borrow from the Historia would not bring him into much disrepute with the most fanatical anti-Galfridian critic— and Wales could boast of none in 1677.

The great Arthur is only mentioned twice, and from Edwards's narrative concerning him it would be impossible for the reader to discern that the king was known throughout Europe as a victorious monarch, magnificent and chivalrous, the head of a numerous array of illustrious knights. He is first named with 'Emrys Aurelianus a'i frawd Uthr' as one of the three courageous and astute men who defeated the Saxons.[334] In Geoffrey's Historia there is a much more detailed description of the

whole campaign conducted by the House of Constantine - in the persons of Aurelius Ambrosius and Utherpendragon - not only to rid Britain of the Saxons but also to 'hunt down Vortigern.'[335] Vortigern is burned in his tower;[336] Hengist is killed;[337] and his son Octa and Kinsman Eosa are pardoned in York.[338] It is only later, in Book Nine, that Arthur is introduced. But the pomp and ceremony of his crowning and the wonder that he, a 'young man only fifteen years old', was victorious against the assembled Saxons, Scots, and Picts - in fact, the whole of Geoffrey's splendid report[339] - is soberly disregarded by Edwards. What was important for him was Octa's confession to King Aurelius:

> Uicti sunt dŭ mei. deumque tuum regnare non hesito.[340]

In his own narrative Edwards condenses all the fighting and the Saxon's confession into this one sentence:

> Ond drwy ddewrder a phwyll Emrys Aurelianus, a'i frawd Uthr, a'i nai ef y brenin Arthur, gwelodd Duw yn dda roddi'r Maes ir Britanniaid mewn llawer brwydr, ac attal gerwindeb y Saeson, nas gallasant mo ddifrodi ein henafiaid ni i gyd a'r unwaith.[341]

So, in <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u> it is God who emerges as the true victor. It is interesting to note that Gildas (from whom Edwards got the 'Aurelianus' in 'Emrys's' name) and Bede after him wrote that the Britons obtained victory over the Saxons 'by the Lord's favour'.[342] Edwards was, of course, well-versed in their works, and their comments on this score did not escape him. But since neither of them mentions Utherpendragon or Arthur it is reasonable to assume that it was Geoffrey who provided Edwards with the report of the anti-Saxon campaign.

Arthur's victory against the three united forces under Colgrin beside the river Douglas[343] must have been viewed by Edwards as sweet

and just revenge for the injury caused to the Britons by the successive waves of invaders from Northern Europe. Judging from his style of writing and from the narrative of "Hanes y Ffydd" it is obvious that Charles Edwards had a visual imagination. He often saw a number of unconnected historical events embroidered closely together on the tapestry of time. And here, the fact that he mentions Arthur in the same context as Aurelius and Utherpendragon can be justified or explained only by the fact that on the smae page in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant he had just written this:

> Mar'r Phichtiaid a'r Scotiaid yn rhuthro iddi fel bleiddiaid yr hŵyr, ac mae'r Saeson anghredadwy, pobl o ogledd-dir Germania, a gyflogid iw gwrthsefyll hwy, yn lle cynorthurywyr yn prifio yn llwyr ddinistrwyr ein cenedl ni. [344]

The coming of the Scots and Picts, and the coming of the Saxons were for him connected. And though Geoffrey the historian gives separate descriptions of their invasions, he observes with Gildas that the attacks amounted to God's punishment on the Britons:

> O diuinam ob preterita scelera ultionem.[345]

Edwards similarly comments:

> Am fod Prydain yn gwybod ewyllis ei Harglwydd ac heb ei wneuthur, darperir iddi lawer o ffonnodiau. [346]

For him it was to reverse the fortunes of the British that God allowed Arthur, and his kinsmen before him, to gain revenge. But why should God, within a few years, change sides? Because Britain had suffered enough, and had, at one stage, been tricked cruelly by Hengist and Horsa. Edwards infers that the first Lord commends a 'clean' attack of a sinful nation, but will not tolerate the cunning acts of a rampact force. One act which Edwards chooses to describe is the massacring of the Britons ordered by

Hengist at 'Kaercaradduc, which is now called Salisbury'. In summarizing the description of the event, Edwards distorts one of Geoffrey's facts. In the Historia, it is said that when Vortigern knew of Hengist's preparations to return to Britain, he and the 'princes of the realm' 'consulted together and decided to oppose the Saxons and to drive them away from their coasts'; Hengist's daughter informed her father of this decision, and he 'in turn considered what he could do best to counteract it'. He proposed that they should meet and confer.[347] Edwards turns this compromise into a British victory. He notes that the conference was convened 'wedi ir Britaniaid eu curo hwy [y Saeson] yn ddewr.'[348] And, moreover, he compresses Geoffrey's detailed dramatic description of the massacre into one sentence. It is the event in its cosmic historical context that interests him.

The second reference to Arthur in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant occurs further on in "Hanes y Ffydd" where Edwards treats again of members of the House of Constantine. He covers the same historical ground on page 187 as he does on page 160, though not as a historian repeating himself. The moral theologian, making use of the past does not have to abide by chronology. The lesson Edwards wishes to convey in this passage is not that God comes to the aid of a harrassed nation, but that a 'kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation!'[349] Two instances of civil war or division are cited. The first is Vortigern's stubborn trust in his hired Saxons; and the second, Arthur's battle against Modred. Again Edwards does not follow Geoffrey faithfully. He erroneously names 'Melwas' as Guinevere's partner in adultery: this is unaccountable,

for the Latin text printed by Griscon and the Welsh Brut Dingestow name Modredus and Medravt.[350] Of greater consequence is that in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant Arthur is said to have died in battle:

> trwy anfodlonrwydd ei nai Modred cafodd
> ei farwolaeth. [351]

In Historia Regum Britanniae Geoffrey writes that Arthur was only 'mortally wounded'; and was afterwards carried to Avalon, 'so that his wounds might be attended to'.[352] This sentence must have perplexed Edwards:

> set et inclitus rex arturus letaliter uulneratus
> est qui illuc ad sananda uulnera sua in
> insulam auallonis euectus. [353]

The Puritan could scarcely uphold Geoffrey's statement. In the opinion of the Christian realist, man's immortality was preserved only in heaven or in hell, and to enter either man had to die on earth. The story of Arthur's passage to Avalon belonged to the world of fairy tales. But, Edwards claims elsewhere, 'mae gwybodaeth wedi amlhâu, a'r cythreuliaid yn y coedydd wedi distewi.'[354] He could not have avoided disillusioning his fellow-countrymen in this way, because in order to emphasize the truth of his moral, Arthur had to be pronounced dead, and, with him, the prosperity of the nation. Only then could Edwards observe:

> a'r deyrnas wedi ymrannu yn ei herbyn ei hun a
> anghyfaneddwyd. 355

One very illuminating facet of Edwards's treatment of Arthur is that, though he relates the story of Modred and Guinevere, which is choice Geoffrey, his soldier-hero is not taken only from Geoffrey, but from Nennius as well. Arthur met his death, states Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, 'chwedi iddo ynnill deuddeg brwydr oddiar y Saeson'.[356] This is the Arthur of Historia Brittonum not the magnificent European of Historia Regum Britanniae.

Thus it can be argued that though Edwards was suspicious of the veracity of Geoffrey's history, especially Geoffrey's Arthur, he was not loathe to make use of the work to furnish his own morals with 'fact'. But there was no Constancy in Edwards's approach to Geoffrey. The author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant totally disregarded Brutus and the Trojans. In Chapter Sixteen Edwards does not name anyone as founder of the British people, but merely states that the nation probably came from the East. He does not abandon Giraldus's thesis, reiterated by Sir John Price, that the Welsh language, 'Cam-graec', might be 'distorted Greek'.[357] 'Yr oedd cydnabyddiaeth', Edwards notes, 'rhwng ein gwlad ni â'r Groegiaid'.[358] Yet at the very end of "Hanes y Ffydd" he warily subscribes to the theory forwarded by Bale in 1548 and developed in 1557 that the British were founded by Noah's sons, Ham (in Bishop Morgan's Welsh, Cam) and Japheth.[359]

On the other hand, Belinus,[360] another of Geoffrey's magnified heroes, is mentioned in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. He is named conqueror of Germania; and his daughter is said to have been betrothed to the prince of Germany, - 'ac o honi y daeth y Cimbriaid, cenedl enwog o'r Gogledd.'[361] This piece of information did not come from Historia Regum Britanniae. But again, 'Beli', like Arthur, is not extolled as a European hero. Edwards accords Geoffrey's champions but a portion of praise.

Several passages in Chapters Sixteen and Eighteen of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant have their origin in the Historia. Some, as it has been noted, came via Enderbie's Cambria Triumphans.[362] One event redescribed by both Enderbie and Edwards is the plague of Rivalld's reign. Both, no doubt, read of it in a Latin text of the Historia Regum Britanniae. Edwards's

'Rhifall' is a Cambrification of the proper name 'Rhivallo' found in Geoffrey; the form found in Brut Dingestow, to cite one Welsh text, is 'Rhiwallavn'.[363] Geoffrey makes but a brief note of his reign, and pictures the plague of flies that followed days of blood-rain as the only noteworthy event. He attaches no significance to the happening as Edwards does. For the seventeenth-century author, such a terrible thing could but denote the Lord's displeasure; therefore he infers that the British as a result of this plague were nearly exterminated. In Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, the supernatural motive behind such a devastation had to be stressed. Here are two corresponding passages:

In tempore eius [Rivallo]
tribus diebus cecidit
pluuia sanguinea &
muscarum affluenta
homines moriebantur.[364]

yn yr oes honno, tra yr
oedd Rhifall yn rheoli,
glawiodd gwaed dros
dridiau yn ddibaid; ac
o hynny cododd y fath
liaws o wybed gwenwynllyd,
ac ar ol y rheini canlynodd
y fâth blâ marwol, oni
ddeleuwyd agos genedl a henw
y Britaniaid.[365]

Some of Geoffrey's stories are repeated in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant because they reflect the glory of Christian Britain. The most striking is the account of the deportation of British women to marry Conanus Meridiadocus's troops, who had conquered Gaul and who were now stationed in Brittany. In the Historia there is a detailed account of the whole operation, from the assembling of 'eleven thousand daughters of noblemen, with sixty thousand others born to the lower orders' in London, to their sad end on the sea-coast of northern Germany. Edwards having summarized Geoffrey's account, faithfully follows the report of the women's death:

Inspicientes ergo eam

derbynwyd hwy gan

pulcritudinem earum lasciuire cum eis uoluerunt. Quod cum abnegassent puelle. irruerunt in eas ambrones. maximamque partem sine mora trucidaverunt.[366]	genhedloedd Barbariaidd gelyniaethol i Prydain, a fynnasent ymrewydd â hwynt, ac am nas Caent eu llâdd a orugasant.[367]

Then the Puritan author adds commendingly:

> Y mae parch i goffadwriaeth y merthyron hyn am euliweirdeb.

Contrary to Geoffrey, Edwards portrays Constantius in a favourable light, presumably because he wished to whiten the character of the father of gracious Constantine. In the Historia it is said that Constantius 'seized the royal crown'.[368] Edwards prefers to note that he charmed the Britons with his mildness ('dyhuddodd hwy ai fwynder'),[369] a sentiment far removed from Geoffrey's portrayal of him. Helen, of course, is described by both as the paragon of loveliness and wisdom - though Edwards, characteristically, manages to slip an extra eulogistic adjective into his portrait of her. Her beauty, writes Geoffrey, surpasses all; moreover, she had been given 'the kind of training that would enable her to rule the country more efficiently' after her father's death.[370] In Edwards's estimation the princess was not only 'hawddgar, ddyscedig' but also 'crefyddol'.[371] After all, Constantius and Helen's prime virtue was that they were Constantine's parent - 'ymerawdr...a brifiodd yn Swccwr daionus ir Cristnogion oll'.

Other passages in Historia Regum Britanniae are briefly summarized in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, included merely for their historical worth. The period from the death of Lud to the first Pictian invasion is surveyed in half a page of Edwards's book. He notes only the swing of British fortune,

how the natives were pacified under Claudius, roused to fight again under Arvirargus (whom Edwards calls 'Arifog'), before they had to succumb to make a treaty with the Romans, a bond which in the end improved their lot. Edwards by now expected his readers to realize that the strength of the Lord's anger - or, in better times, mercy - was discernible from the narrative. He did not comment, at every turn, upon the spiritual condition of the country. Invasion was, for him, indicative of the Lord's wrath; victory the gift of His mercy.[373]

This is not to state that Edwards withdrew from his commentary position. The account of Lucius's reign was a wonder not to be disregarded lightly, for then the nobles as well as the British King were converted to Christianity. As Geoffrey notes,

> Nec mora undique nationum populi exemplum
> regis insecuntur. eodemque lauacro mundati.
> caelesti regno restituuntur. [374]

Edwards grasps the national significance of this event: 'Ac felly', he writes,

> aeth ein gwlâd ni yn flaenor ar yr
> holl deyrnasoedd yn proffessu'r efengyl
> drwy gyffredin gyngor.[375]

Here the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant did not follow Geoffrey faithfully, for Edwards believed that the Gospel had been introduced to the Britons 'in the days of the apostles'. This idea has a very interesting history in Welsh writing and deserves further, more detailed study.

EDWARDS'S IDEAS ON THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY TO BRITAIN

From the two last quotations above it is seen that Edwards shares

with Geoffrey his delight in the full acceptance of Christianity by the British nobility. Yet for Edwards, the baptism of Lucius signified not the coming of Christianity for the first time to Britain,[376] but rather the affirmation of its influence in the island. It was the 'evangelical spark' that was already circulating in Britain that fired the zeal of Lucius to accept faith.[377] And Edwards observes that the consequence of Lucius's conversion was not a steady slow increase in the ranks of the faithful. No. The effect was electrifying: 'felly', - he notes that is, with the conversion of the King - 'aeth ein gwlâd ni yn flaenor ar yr holl deyrnasoedd yn proffessu'r efengyl'.[378] Edwards, then, infers that the root of the matter was already in Britain, but that it did not flower until circa 180 A.D. Indeed, he states that God had sent the gospel to Britain 'yn gynar', 'ser yn nyddiau'r apostolion'.[379]

This had been made known to Welsh readers over a century before Edwards wrote "Hanes y Ffydd ymmhlith y cymru". In his introduction to the Testament Newydd of 1567, Richard Davies brings to mind one excellent virtue that the ancient Britons possessed, a virtue, as he claims, that afforded them preeminence and superiority,

> sef crefydd ddilwgr, crystynogaeth bur, a ffydd ffrwythlon ddiofer.[380]

This was the true faith of Christ, which had been introduced into Britain, according to Bishop Davies, by the 'honourable alderman' Joseph of Arimathea in the thirtieth year after the ascension of the Lord Jesus the 'Joseph' sent, as Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant announces, 'i blannu yr efengyl yn Prydain'.[381]

Davies adds that 'Wales' came to possess her own books, not only 'gair Duw',[382] 'Scrythur lan', but also books on art and history and

genealogy[383]. The inference is made that the Britons had built upon the basis of their religion a cultured society. Edwards himself records John Chrysostom's testimony:

> Profodd ynysoedd Prydain rinwedd y gair, canys seilwyd eglwysydd yno. Od ai i'r môr mawr, neu'r ynysoedd hynny o'r eiddo Prydain, neu os Llongwrio a wnei i fôr Eucsinus, neu od ai i barthau yr Deheu, cai glywed pawb ym-hob man yn philosophyddio ynghylch pethau'r scrythyrau, yn ddiau ag iaith arall, ond nid â ffydd arall, â garw-sain y llefarant, ond buchedd dduwiol a ddilynant.[384]

William Salesbury - in 1547 - urging his Welsh readers to demand the Bible in their own language, writes,

> mynwch yr yscrythur lan yn ych iaith, mal y bu hi y gan ych dedwydd henafieit yr hen Urythanneit.[385]

In this way, he too, twenty years before Bishop Davies, propagates the theory that there was a pure Christian Church in Early Britain. Indeed, Mr Saunders Lewis insists that Salesbury was the original author of the idea, and that Richard Davies, who worked closely with Salesbury on the translation of the New Testament, merely added to it.[386] The theory, notes Lewis, received Archbishop Parker's blessing in his De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae in 1572. And in the same year Humphrey Lhuyd extolled the learning of the Britons and the great libraries of their church;[387] adding, in the Historie of Cambria, that this church was of 'the right Christian faith (which Joseph of Aremathia taught at the Ile of Avalon)'.[388]

Edwards, in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, added appreciably to the evidence forwarded by Richard Davies to prove the truth of his statements

concerning the early introduction of Christianity to Britain. Bishop Davies recruits but one witness:

> dowait Sabellius historiawr ddarvot i ynys Prydain dderbyn ffydd Christ yn gyntaf or oll ynysoedd. [389]

Edwards, a more thorough researcher, appeals to a distinguished array of Church Fathers and historians for testimony - to Eusebius, Tertullian, Origen and to Theodoret. He quotes their words in their original Greek or Latin; and then translates them into Welsh.[390] Salesbury and Davies, and Parker no less, during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, had propagated the theory of the Early 'Protestant' Church to prove how ancient and revered Protestantism really was, at a time when the people of England and Wales heeded the criticism that it was but a late innovation.[391] Of course, by the second half of the seventeenth century, Welshmen had long been convinced of the truth of Davies's claims. But the evidence Edwards offered in 1671 and 1677 was still valuable, in two ways. Firstly, it greatly substantiated Bishop Davies's theory. And, moreover, by quoting contemporary evidence, Charles Edwards was bringing the past vividly alive to his readers. 'Dodwn hawl i fraint a bonedd ein hên deidiau', he had told them. Now, face to face with, for example, Origen's acclamation of their forefathers - '<u>Fod rhinwedd yr Arglwydd Jachawdwr gydâ rheini yn Prydain...</u>'[392] - the readers of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u> could appreciate for themselves the universal praise the Britons had won for their godliness.

Thus reinforced and made manifest anew, it was undoubtedly through the pages of Edwards's book that the 'Protestant myth' was first transferred to the common Welsh consciousness, and not through <u>Drych y Prif Oesoedd</u>, as Mr Saunders Lewis would have it.[393]

Furthermore, Edwards was the first historian to assess fully the change that was effected in the British Church by the coming of Augustine to convert the Saxons to Popism. His Protestant reaction is understandably similar to Geoffrey's nationalist opposition. And both differ contrastingly with Bede's attitude, the ultimate source of their two accounts. By studying these three together, Edwards is seen to be even more greatly in Geoffrey's debt.

In the Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum (731), Bede praises all Augustine's deeds. Geoffrey and Edwards criticize them. The two opinions, of course, betray the divergent allegiances of these authors. Bede, the devout, learned eighth-century monk, conscious and proud that he belonged to 'the new Church of the English' established 'through the grace of God' and the efforts of Augustine, saw the pre-Augustinian British Church as an isolated establishment which in some of its customs disagreed 'with the whole world'.[394] For him, Augustine carried not only the key to universal church unity but also represented the means by which spiritual power was transferred from the older, native Britons to the new Saxon inhabitants of the island.[395] Geoffrey, on the other hand, was concerned with extolling the Britons, and consequently detected in the Romish mission a desire to interfere with the protection and promotion of the unfeigned faith in Britain. Charles Edwards shared Geoffrey's views - views which had gained specifically Protestant voice in Richard Davies. The bishop had observed in 1567:

> Croesau a delway, crio ar y saint
> meirw, pendefigeth Escop Ruuain, dwr

> a halen swynedic, a chyfryw ofered
> anhebic i ysprydoldep Evengil Christ a
> gymyscai Awstin a'r Chrystynogaeth a
> osodai ef ymhlith y Sayson. [396]

Edwards also, in 1677, ever wary of Rome, abhorred the corruption of the British Church in this way. Yet he does not forthrightly criticize Popish ceremonies.[397]

Davies and Edwards here, of course, represent the attitude of the upholders of the Early British 'Protestant' Church as the true church of Christ. Bede acknowledged the establishment of that church, but for him it had grown isolated, independent of home. The difference of opinion and affiliation between the two schools in the three accounts given by the historians - notably Bede and Edwards - of Augustine's confrontation with Dinoot, the Abbot of Bangor Is Coed, the representative of the British Church.

Between Dinoot and Augustine there were two points of conflict. Firstly, Augustine tried to obtain the compliance of the Britons, who, writes Bede, 'stubbornly preferred their own customs to those in universal use in the Christian Church.[398] Then, secondly, the Britons refused to preach to their English enemies. In Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum it is said that Augustine, in order to overcome the deadlock, like Elijah, arranges a test or tournament of spiritual influence to determine whether his or the British way was more 'pleasing to God'. A blind Englishman was brought to their midst, but from the British ministry 'he obtained no healing or benefit'. Then, after the prayers of the Roman bishop, he is restored to sight. Augustine thus proves himself and wins over some of the Britons, who, before committing themselves on the question of orthodoxy, asked 'that a second and fuller conference might be held'.

At that conference Dinoot accused Augustine of pride, refused to bring his church into the Roman fold, and left, having received from Augustine this threat - that if he and his colleagues refused to preach the faith to the English, they would eventually be punished by 'meeting death' at the hands of their enemies.[399] Augustine's prophecy - 'as though by divine judgement', comments Bede - is fulfilled when King Ethelfrid slaughters twelve hundred monks from Bangor and destroys the British forces under Brochmail at Chester. In Bede's opinion, 'the temporal destruction of the faithless Britons' was inflicted at God's bidding. The Lord, Bede notes, punished the Britons for rejecting the universal truth which was tantamount to an 'offer of eternal salvation'.[400]

Geoffrey's interpretation of the events at Chester is totally different. For him the Angles and the Saxons were the heathen raiders who ousted the Britons from their more fertile plains to occupy only the corners of the land. His Dinoot proves to Augustine on a number of points - 'diversus argumentationibus' - 'that they owed him no allegiance at all and that they would not dream of wasting their preaching on their enemies'. Indeed,

> fidemque & religionem eorum pro nichilo
> habebant, nec in aliquo anglis magis
> quam canibus communicabant. 401

Bede would certainly have resented this last comment.

Now, the historian whose sympathy is totally pro-British does not reiterate Augustine's threat of death and defeat. Moreover, Geoffrey's account of the battle at Chester differs from Bede's in several telling details. The monks in Historia Ecclesiastica were assembled to pray for

the British soldiers; in Historia Regum Britanniae, to pray for the safety of the people.[402] Whereas Bede notes that Brochmail took to his heels at Ethelfrid's first assault, Geoffrey writes that Brochmail stood firm 'although his force was smaller': it was only 'ad ultimum' that he abandoned the city. In a word, the war correspondents interpret the events patriotically. Yet the greatest change of emphasis comes with the account of the massacre of the monks. Their death, in Bede's opinion, was punishment. Geoffrey praises them wonderfully:

> sic mille ducenti eorum in ipsa die
> martirio decorati. regni celestis adepti
> sunt sedem. [403]

The claim that God is on the side of the monks is inherent in this description. And it is seen that the allegiance of the Lord is contracted not by Himself but by historians on earth!

Geoffrey, moreover, adds to Bede's account. He writes that when they heard of Ethelfrid's 'mad frenzy' - 'insania' - British leaders 'came from all directions to oppose him'. Victorious, they chose Cadvan as King, and signed a treaty with the fugitive Ethelfrid limiting his powers to the North of the Humber.[404]

Charles Edwards's accounts of this event in 1671 and 1677 reveal that he used both Bede's and Geoffrey's histories as his sources. His sympathies, too, are mixed. He is concerned with the Welshmen's reticence, and notes: 'ni chafodd y cymru fawr esmwythâd, o herwydd na chynorthwyent bregethiad yr efengyl ir Saeson.'[405] On the other hand he is sufficiently informed about the affairs of the Roman Church to treat objectively of its insistence that Christians in Britain should follow Catholic customs. Edwards obviously knows more about the debate over the

observance of Easter than is revealed in Bede's chapter on the synod at Whitby,[406] and is consequently in a position to condemn the Papal Church, which itself did not adopt the Alexandrian custom of observing Easter until the sixth century,[407] for taking pains 'i droi eraill i gydymffurfio â hi'. Edwards notes with disapproval that the pontificial power of Rome is on the ascendancy. This, more than anything is for him the sad significance of Augustine's stand. Here again, Edwards voices the opinion formed by Geoffrey and perfected in Richard Davies's introduction to the Welsh New Testament. His comment is:

> duc min y cleddyf [y Brytaniait] or diwedd i gytuno a ffydd y Sayson, ac i ymadaw a phuredd a chowirdeb y cynefyn Chrystynogaeth eu hunain. [408]

Unlike both Bede and Geoffrey, Edwards does not claim that there is a connection between the British decision to defy Rome and the massacre of the monks at Chester ('Caerlleon ar Ddyfrdwy') c.617. Perhaps he believes that this connection is obvious and understood. Ethelfrid is not named as the leader of the English; but 'Brochwel' and the three princes who came to Brochwel's aid, cited in Geoffrey's Historia, are mentioned as the conquerers who killed over a thousand Englishmen and put the rest to flight.[409] Oddly, Edwards miscounts the toll of heavy casualties at Chester. 'About twelve hundred' is Bede's count; Geoffrey gives the same figure. ('[M]il a deucant' writes Richard Davies.[410]) But Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant accounts for only 'un cant ar ddêg'. And although they are not revered as martyrs, nevertheless the loss of the English is regarded as revenge for the spilling of the monks' blood.[411]

A FURTHER NOTE ON EDWARDS'S BORROWING FROM BEDE.

Another story told in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant that was related in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica[412] and mentioned in Geoffrey's Historia is the coming of St Germanus and Lupus c.429 to restore the true faith to Britain following its corruption by the Pelagian heresy. Bede speaks with disdain of Pelagius: he is the Briton who 'spread far and wide his noxious and abominable teaching that man had no need of God's grace'. It is obvious that Bede's history is not the source of Edwards's information about Pelagius, for he notes that Pelagius's heresy was the refutation of original sin.[1003] Moreover, Edwards sees the Briton in a different light. Moved probably by his pride that a compatriate of his had gained the ear of the whole of Christendom, Edwards praises Pelagius's character:

> Bu ein Gwladwr ni yn enwog, ac yn
> anwyl am ei sancteiddrwydd ai wybodaeth
> ymysc y Cristnogion, a'r dyscawdwyr
> godidocaf yn y byd; megis escob Rhufain,
> ac Awstin escob Hippo. [413]

It is only then that Edwards reveals that 'Morgan' preached heresy:

> ond er diwedd athrawiaethodd ymmhob
> gwlâd, fod ewyllys rŷdd gan bob dŷn,
> heb bechod gwreiddiol; a pharodd
> anghydfod mawr ymhob mann.

But in his account of the overthrowing of the Pelagians in fifth-century Britain, Edwards follows Bede's account closely. The request for bishops from Gaul is noted, and so too is the public debate between Germanius and Lupus on one side, and the heretics on the other. St Germanus, of course, won, and he was greatly acclaimed by the people.

Here, Geoffrey merely states that the Pelagian 'poison' was counteracted by the 'preaching of these holy men'.[414]

For Bede and Edwards, the greatest testimony of God's satisfaction with a reformed Britain is the victory gained by the nat ves against the advancing Scots and Picts shortly after Lent - 'ar ol aml ymprydiau'[415] - in 429 A.D. Germanus, directing the battle in person, with a select army of men, prepared an ambush for the approaching enemy. Edwards's account of the ensuing surprise closely follows Bede' .

The English historian claims that the victory was 'heaven's', that the battle had been won 'by faith and not by force'. It has been argued that Bede placed this account of Germanus's deeds after his description of the efforts of Ambrosius Aurelius - that is, not in chronological order - for two reasons.[416] Firstly, to emphasize that the saint helps the country 'in a way superior' to the soldier's; and, secondly, to reveal that Germanus's 'mission to the Britons makes the sharpest possible contrast' to the native refusal to preach to the Saxons. That is, Bede wished to stress the debt owed by Britain to the Continental Church: her refusal to co-operate with the missionary Augustire is thus considered as a much greater sin.

Geoffrey does not heed the lesson. He merely states that God 'through' Germanus and Lupus 'performed many wonders',[417] thereby inferring that God found pleasure in aiding the Britons. Charles Edwards goes further still in his interpretation of the victory. He notes a Biblical parallel to the event, in this case Gideon's attack on the Midian camp.[418] By citing a parallel in Israelite history Edwards raises the significance of the Welsh event to a position of preeminence and thereby compares the favour enjoyed by the welsh host with that received by the men of Israel. It is Charles Edwards's way of extolling his fore fathers.

"HELYNT CYMRU ER PAN GYFIEITHWYD YR YSCRYTHYRAU YN GYMRAEG" AND FULLER'S THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

Mr Saunders Lewis's observation on Thomas Fuller's influence on the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is misleading. From his statement - 'disodlwyd dylanwad Fox gan ddylanwad Fuller'[419] - the unwary reader can be led to entertain the notion that "Hanes y Ffydd" as written in 1677 shows few signs of the Foxian tendencies of the 1667 edition, and that Fuller's more moderate temper and less biased outlook permeates the whole section. It is not so. It has already been demonstrated that even in 1677 Edwards owes more to Foxe's Acts and Monuments than to any other single source. Indeed, Fuller's direct influence is limited to one chapter of "Hanes y Ffydd", the nineteenth, "Helynt cymru er pan gyfieithwyd yr yscrythyrau yn Gymraeg."[420] There Edwards imitates some of the things done by Fuller in his The Church-History of Britain (1655).

Fuller includes in his work the full texts of many documents. For example, in Book V he prints all sixty-seven items of 'The Protestation of the Clergie of the Lower House, within the Province of Canterbury, ...', addressed to the 1536 Convocation;[421] Henry VIII's declaration and principal Articles of the new faith;[422] and Henry's will, 'which', explains Fuller, 'here we thought fit to transcribe, both for the rarity thereof, and because containing many passages, which may reflect much light upon our Church-History.'[423] For exactly the same reason - 'am fod [y] llythyr...yn amlygu peth o helynt ein cenedl ni y prŷd hynny'[424] - Edwards includes in Chapter Nineteen abridged translations of William Salesbury's epistel to Queen Elizabeth (the letter printed in the Welsh New Testament of 1567),[425] and of Bishop Morgan's Latin letter to the

Queen printed in the Bible, 1588.[426]

Fuller also gives in Book VII of the Church-History of Britain 'a List of such principall Books which in the reign of the King and His Father, as Preparatory to, and Introductive of Reformation'.[427] In the margin of p.375 these books are collectively described as 'The Protestant Library'. Furthermore, he traces the history of the translation of the Bible and the writing of the Book of Common Prayer and notes the various editions of the Bible printed in the sixteenth century. Edwards follows suit. But he in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant catalogues most of the major Welsh publications of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, categorically stating that they were all of benefit to the Christian cause in Wales. Salesbury's Dictionary, for instance, is singled out because it made 'ymadroddiad ynghylch pethau Scrythyrol yn hawsach'; and 'Doctor Dafies', the reader is told, perfected 'Thomas Williams's' Dictionary 'i hyfforddi ein pregethwyr'.[428] For Edwards, as for Henri Perri, Grammar and Rhetoric were the handmaidens who paved the way for the Gospel. 'Y doctor Griffith Roberts'[429] would have grieved at the thought of his Grammar being labelled as an aid to Protestantism, but the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant could give it no higher praise. Of course, books like Morris Kyffin's translation of Jewel's Apology, 'Carwr y Cymro, a Sail y grefydd Gristnogol, a chaniâdau Scrythyrol Ficcar Llanddyfri' were by nature meant to be of benefit to religion.[430] But that Edwards should brand the scholarly works with the same spiritual iron only goes to show further that in his vision ofhistory everything valuable was wielded by God's Hand and turned to profit His own cause.

This was the extent of Thomas Fuller's direct influence on Y Ffydd

<u>Ddi-ffuant.</u>

Yet, by following Fuller's example of making a list of the works published during this period Charles Edwards creates for himself an opportunity not only to observe how Wales received this bibliographical stimulus but also to treat of the significance of the works. Though he was not loath to criticize his father's generation for its slowness in bringing the Bible to the common homes, for him 1588 to 1630 or thereabouts was a period of establishing a scriptural base, of giving man a chance to read about God. Now to his own generation he urges,

> gwnaed yr oes hon ei rhan yn adeiladu ar y sail yscrythyrol a osododd yr oes ddiwethaf, ac yn cynnyddu'r gwaith a ddechreuwyd drwy gymmaint o anhawstra, fel y <u>torro goleuni Cymru allan fel y wawr, ac na ddiffodder ei phentewyn</u>.[431]

A degree of civilization has already been achieved, -

> Nid oes mor fath yspeilio, a threisio,
> a mwrdro ag y glywsom ni gan ein
> henafiaid ei fod yn eu mysc er's talm,
> Mae Powys yn weddus wrth fel y bu.[432]

- but many are still unconvinced of the powers of faith: 'Cyndyn yw'r anwybodaeth, a'r drygioni sydd yn ein mysc ni etto.'[433]

What Charles Edwards does in these final pages of his history is to prepare his contemporaries for the next two sections of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u>, which aim at clearing away ignorance and convincing the unregenerate to receive Christ into their souls. Here he crystalizes all he has striven to show in the previous chapters of "Hanes y Ffydd". Now, the story of the past, the Welshman's relationship with the Lord through the ages, is known. Or, more clearly, 'Mae ewyllis Duw yn ddatcuddiedig yn yr oes hon',[434] when the world is aged, ripe for destruction:[435]

> Gwylia arnat yn ddyfal o Gymbro, rhag iti rwystro na digalon iadferiad (sic) y ffydd yn dy fro. 436

That is, Edwards indirectly tells his reader, take heed of all that is said in this book, the history and the account of the efficacy of God's true grace.

It can not be claimed that Edwards would not have written this illuminating and central chapter of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant had he not fallen under Fuller's influence. But without doubt, because he chose to relate the history of publishing Welsh books as he did, he involuntarily proceeded to observe the state of the nation in his own time and judge his own contemporaries in the light of the vision that constitutes Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

2, Chapter IV

"SICCRWYDD Y FFYDD"

In the first edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards presents "Siccrwydd y Grefydd Gristnogol", the second part of the book, as a complement of the first, historical part. In the first paragraph of the exposition he states that in tracing the history of the faith, 'achau'r ffydd', he had already asserted that God was its source; nevertheless, he continues, much more information about this truth can be gleaned from a study of the Christian religion's character, from the Scriptures and indeed from many other considerations. It is these 'amryw ystyriaethau eraill' which constitute "Siccrwydd y Grefydd Gristnogol."[1] In this first edition Edwards arranged the considerations as sixteen points (pp.63-84), and completed the section with an instruction, divided into four main points, urging the repenting sinner to keep on the narrow path of worship and strict obedience (pp.85-89).

In the second edition of the book very little is added to this section, now entitled "Profiad o Siccr Wirionedd y Grefydd Gristnogol". One phrase, an afterthought, is added in the very first 'consideration'. Here Edwards explains that since man had been created in order to serve God, he was obliged to know the will of his creator, and had been given a law, 'reol i gyflawni dyledswyddau ysprydol wrthi'. In the second edition Edwards reflects, 'a mwy na thebygol mai'r efangylaidd oedd honno'.[2] Then - another addition - towards the end of "Siccrwydd y Grefydd Gristnogol", at the close of a passage in which he treats of the Welshman's good fortune in having the word of God in his own tongue, Edwards asks rhetorically, 'A pham y digieu'r Pape am hyn?', and argues

that the Word was sent to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language and to the Greeks in Greek in order that the common people could read and understand it.[3] In the second edition, this point is forced home: Edwards adds,

> Ac nid anghymwysach i'r Cymru ei gael ef yn Gymraec, ac i'r Saeson yn Saesona-ec, fel y llefarer ymhob iaith fawrion weithredoedd Duw.[4]

In the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant two more considerable additions are made to the text of this section - in 1677 entitled "Siccr Wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol" (pp. 215-259; chapters Twenty and Twenty-one). In point Nine in each of the editions of his book Edwards seeks to prove that there is sufficient evidence to testify to the truth of the old writings of the Scriptures.[5] As the dykes and castles of the Marches testify to the correct recording in chronicles of fierce battles between England and Wales, so too does the face of the earth reveal that the world since the Flood is not a day older than the Scriptures maintain. Similarly the numerous languages of the world assert the truth of the story of the scattering at Babel. At this point in the first two editions Edwards proceeds to propound a fresh argument. But in the 1677 edition he enlarges upon his statement concerning Babel, and considers that since all languages have adopted the same letter - sound it follows that they are derived from one root language. The words of these various tongues, insists Edwards, are Hebrew words 'mixed and thrown inside out': the Welshman says mud, the Israelite dum.[6] That for him is testimony enough! In Chapter Thirty One of the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant Edwards prints a comprehensive list of the words and phrases which in his opinion plainly testify to the relationship between Welsh and Hebrew. His treatment of this idea deserves futher, more detailed study.

the main argument of "Siccr Wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol": the last point, point Sixteen, in which Edwards invites the sceptic to prove for himself the sweet wine of the faith, is extended. In the first two editions the author ends his argument by stating that a man in the carnal state cannot fully comprehend the 'gracious truth'.[7] In 1677 Edwards proceeds to assert that he who has received grace appreciates fully that God, in working salvation, fulfills His promise made in Scripture to forgive the repentant and to answer the prayers of the afflicted.[8] He who is grieved in sin is given peace of mind: the evening's lamentation becomes the morning's song.[9] One more point is added to the section - Point Seventeen, a fitting climax to the treatise. Edwards, having regimented all his points to impress upon his reader the truth that Christianity is derived from God, now in powerful rhetoric confidently asserts that no one can truly justify 'irreligion'[10] and ungodliness, that no one can prove there is no God or that His will is unrevealed:

> Nad oes ragor rhwng da a drwg, rhwng rhinwedd a chamwedd, rhwng cydwybod dda a chydwybod ddrwg. Ni ddichon neb beri i'r bŷd goelio fod lledrad yn well na gonestrwydd, a thwyll yn well na gwirionedd, a godineb yn well na diweirdeb: fod mwy diddanwch i'r enaid mewn helynt bechadurus nag wrth ddilyn daioni; a bod cyflwr y dyn ffiaidd yn well nag un yr hwn sy'n ofni Duw."

The foulest sinners, adds Edwards, do not in private confer with the reasonings of their souls' but rather obey the wild lusts of their bodies. But when carnal delight is taken away from them they pine in affliction and feel the weight of the truths which they had previously neglected.[12] It is obvious then, concludes Edwards, that whilst unbelief is ungarrisoned,

and therefore worthless, faith is fortified by many good 'reasons'. "Siccr wirionedd y Grefydd Gristianogol" is such a fortification.

Edwards's self-appointed task in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was to persuade his fellow-countrymen to reclaim the inheritance which their forefathers had left them, 'sef purdeb ffydd efangylaidd, a grym duwioldeb'.[13] Now in this second section of the book his purpose was to demonstrate that the Christian faith is the true religion because it comes from God, and that the Scriptures which proclaim it are His Word. This was not a strange isolated undertaking in the seventeenth century. A contemporary of Charles Edwards, Edward$ Stillingfleet, tackled the same problem in Origines Sacrae, which was published in 1662, a mere five years before the first edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.[14] The book's subtitle indicates the nature of its content. It is a "Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures and the matters therein contained." Stillingfleet challenges three contemporary viewpoints; but it is his treatment of one - 'the inconsistency of the belief of the Scriptures with the principles of reason' - that interests the student of Charles Edwards's works. Not that it is certain that the Welshman had borrowed some of Stillingfleet's ideas, nor indeed that he had read the English work; for what Stillingfleet describes as contemporary arguments were most probably known to Edwards as well. The interest lies in the fact that Stillingfleet sought to answer the sceptics by affirming the 'credibility and certainty of that account which is given in Scripture',[15] a task undertook by Edwards in "Siccr Wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol".

The important difference between the works is that the one, Origines Sacrae, was a theologian's argument in an ideological debate, whilst Y Ffydd Ddiffuant was intended solely for the enlightenment of literate Welshmen as a book of introduction to the history, truth and efficacy of the Christian religion.

Yet both offer similar answers to certain common queries. To take, for instance, the problem of the authorship of the Book of Moses. Stillingfleet is concerned that men could not accept Moses as the author of the Pentateuch 'by universal consent'.[16] 'Gofynni', says Edwards, addressing his reader in "Hanes y Ffydd", 'pa fodd y gallei Moses wybod y pethau a ddigwyddasent er dechreuad y byd, ac sydd scrifennedig yn ei lyfr cyntaf ef?'[17] Both answers are the answers of the Christian Tradition. Moses learned of 'y pethau a ddigwyddasent', affirms Stillingfleet, 'by a certain uninterrupted tradition':[18]

> in Moses his time it was a very easie matter to run up their lineal descent as far as the Flood, nay up to Adam; for Adam conversed sometime with Noah, Sem his son was probably living in some part of Jacob's time, or Isaac's at least; and how easily and uninterruptedly might the general tradition of the ancient History be continued thence to the time of Moses,...[19]

Edwards vouches for the same tradition; but for him Methuselah bridges the age between Adam and Noah:

> gallei[Moses] wybod llawer drwy fynegiad dynol o'r pethau a ddyscaseu'r genhedlaeth honno gan Joseph, ac ynteu gan Jacob, ac yntef gan Isaac, ac yntef gan Abraham, ac yntef gan Sem, a Sem gan Noah, a Noah gan Methuselah, ac ynteu gan Adda.[20]

Though the similarity of opinion voiced by Stillingfleet and Edwards is in itself of no great consequence, the fact that both concerned themselves with such an argument is indicative of the religious scepticism that existed in Restoration England.

"Siccr Wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol" was written partly to quell these doubts. It was composed, as it was previously stated, to prove that the power of the Christian Faith was generated by God. The Lord is the touchstone of truth. His existence is not in any way questioned, but is regarded as an everlasting undisputed fact. It is clear that "Siccr Wirionedd..." was designed not to persuade unbelivers that a Supernatural Being was responsible for the world, but rather to convince the repentant reader that in taking upon himself the Christian yoke he would automatically become a Servant of the Creator of all things and would thus participate with Him in securing the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

GOD AND HIS CREATION: 'gwneuthuriad y bŷd...y ddylei dy gymell di i gydnabod Duw.'

The whole creation, observes Edwards, testifies to the existence of one omnipotent God.[21] For St Paul He was 'the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God'.[22] Edwards states that every one who surveys His works cannot fail to endorse the Apostle's praise. Like Augustine, he regards the universe as a miraculous work:[23] 'Rhyfeddol' in his adjective.[24] For all that, Edwards does not dwell upon the circumstances of the creation, but there is one sentence in "Siccr wirionedd..." that touches upon the perimeter of the question whether God created all world ex nilio or ex materia praeexistente.[25] And the touch obviously shocks Edwards to withdraw awkwardly from the whole subject. He begins,

Ac nid yw anhygoel i Dduw greu'r bŷd o ddim;[26]

Immediately he qualifies his statement and adds, 'y mae Cymaint rhagor rhwng byw a difyw, ac sydd rhwng defnydd a dim', an assertion that is

rendered unreasonable, or at least irrelevant to the opening statement by what follows. The 'unalive' is said to be a seed, the acorn from which the oak grows: 'dyna beth sydd, oddiwrth beth nid oedd', comments Edwards. He is obviously confused. He fails to define 'dim' exactly; and the acorn is said to be 'nesaf i ddim'![27] It is clear that Edwards was aware of the question surrounding the nature of the creation, and equally clear that he had not given the problem much thought. It was really a matter foreign to his field of considerations.

What is important is that he, like most seventeenth-century religious authors, was overawed by the order of creation. Even cold winter, he notes, brings its benefits: then rain and snow condition the soil in preparation for summer's crops.[28] Of greater wonder is the position of the 'heavy earth' - and here he reveals a pre-Copernican viewpoint - 'fel pêl fawr yn sefyll ynghanol yr awyr, ac <u>ynghrôg ar ddiddim'</u> whilst around it the massive wheels of heaven rotate.[29] Edwards considers the sun, and speculates upon the chaos that would result from its stopping in mid-air, 'neu [petteu] yn <u>troi</u> yn oestadol uwchben, ac a'r draws canol y ddaiar yn 'lûn y Cyhydedd.'[30] But this will not happen, for the lights of the sky, no more than the small creatures of the earth, have no understanding to direct themselves. Therefore, concludes Edwards,

> Diammeu..mae Duw sydd yn pennodi, ac yn rheoli eu rhodau, ac onidê ni cherddent mwy nag olwynion Clocc, neu felin, heb ryw un Celfyddgar iw ffurfio, ac iw trin i hynny.[31]

His conclusion is of course an inevitable one. However, the analogy in this particular case is not an exact analogy, for the clock-maker constructs his machine in such a way that once it is completed, it will then work independently. Though Edwards refers to God as both

the architect[32] and director[33] of the universe, he does not wish to imply that the Lord abandoned it after completion. True, he does note that the world keeps to the order set by God at the beginning, that the sun rises 'yn gynt nag y mynnai'r diog' and sets 'yn gynt nag y mynnai'r trafferthus'. That is - 'ceidw'r bŷd ei drefn osodedig gan Dduw.'[34] But this is meant to emphasize a particular point that it was God and not man who was master of the universe. Edwards also states, more than once, that God rules in His creation. Commenting on St Peter's remark, 'Lord, thou knowest all things', he notes,

> a phwy ni chydsymia â'i ymadrodd ef, a'r a ystyria amled yw'r creaduriaid y mae'r Creawdwr yn eu trefnu, a'u rheoli? [35]

In a previous paragraph he observes,

> Di weli Dduw beunydd yn anfon ir bŷd greaduriaid byw oddiwrth hâd difyw, ac yn rhoddi golwg i ddefnydd dall. [36]

There is daily intervention from Upon High. C.A. Patrides in his Milton and the Christian Tradition reveals that the comparison between God and the clock- or watch-maker was a common one in Renaissance literature.[37] John Robinson, a near contemporary of Charles Edwards, had used the analogy: he too saw the Creator as a 'skilfull Artificer' and His work similar to a watch. But Robinson qualified this comparison by adding that 'this difference must always be minded, that the Artisan leaves his worke being once framed to it selfe; but God by continuall influx preserves, and orders both the being, and motions of all Creatures.'[38]

Edwards draws an equally unsatisfying comparison between God and the mill-builder,[39] a comparison that is later drastically modified.[40] God now becomes the water that drives the mill-wheel. The mere fact

that Edwards was obliged to make God both the builder and the driver of the mill emphasizes the insufficiency of the analogy in this content. Yet at the same time the second comparison allows Edwards to convey more clearly the idea that the wheels of nature also could not rotate were their Generator not at work.[41]

Charles Edwards's predicament was a common one in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sir James Perrott, writing in 1600, overcame the problem in the same way as Edwards did in 1677 - by insisting that He who had created the Universe, the 'builder', was now its 'guider'.[42] It is highly unlikely that the Welshman had ever read Perrott. These were the common ideas of the age about the relationship of God and His creation, expressed in common metaphors. The Lord was held to be the Omniscient Caretaker. '[Y mae] gallu Duw gyda ei wybodaeth ef ymhob man', states Edwards[43]; and again - 'Amlwg hefyd yw rhagluniaeth a gofal Duw yn y drefn osodedig.'[44] The building that is the world would become a ruin were it not for the Maker's constant care, so would the sea, loosed from the Lord's control, drown the land.[45]

The greatest composition on earth is, of course, Man, created by the wisdom of God,[46] 'a little lower than the angels',[47] for one special purpose, to glorify God. His creation 'as the beauty of the world and the paragon of animals' was widely praised by Renaissance writers;[48] and Edwards adds to their panegyric. He sees man as the perfect specimen - 'yr hwn sydd ganddo bôb aelod, a chymal, a gieu, a gwythen a'r sydd reidiol iddo'[49] - and subscribes readily to the popular notion that his body is 'a small continent', a microcosm.[50] Patrides gives a quotation from the Varieties (1636) of David Person

where the author compares the earth 'unto a living man's body'.

> the rocks and stones whereof are his bones, the brooks and rivers serpenting through it, the veynes and sinewes conveying moistnesse from the fountaines unto all the members.[51]

Though Edwards does not adorn his work with the excessive detail of Person's comparison, yet the gist of this idea is incorporated in one simile in "Sicer Wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol". Edwards, in describing God's plan of constructing a network of pipes that bring sea-water to nurture the land, notes that the salt-water on its course through the upper layers of the earth is clarified. There is no need now to dwell on Edward's insecure knowledge of science, only to note the content of his own comment on this description. Just as 'pipes' carry sea-water inland, 'felly', he notes, 'y deilliaw afonydd o galon y ddaear, gal gwythi o'r afu, y gerddant drwy gorph pob gwlâd.[52] The associations between 'afonydd' and 'gwythi', the depths of the earth and 'afu' are obviously intentional, or, at least, belong to an idea that permeated the collective subconscience of the seventeenth century.[53]

God gave to man not only physical splendour, but the trappings of immortality, no less. 'Y mae ynoti arwyddion o anfarwolder,' Edwards informs his reader.[54] These are equated to the liveliness of the soul, its constant agitation, its ability to comprehend, to digest warnings and advice. Moreover, its power is said to be independent of the body's, for it remains totally unaffected by the amputation of a limb or by the onset of old age. Indeed, 'yn amser henaint pan fo nerth y corph leiaf, y mae callineb, a sobrwydd, a rhinweddau'r enaid gryfaf'.[55] Because of the soul's immortality, continues Edwards, there is eternal dispensation for both the good and the wicked.[56] Though firmly rooted

in the words of Christ[57] the argument as it is projected in Y Ffydd Ddiffuant is reminiscient of a statement made by Stillingfleet in Origines Sacrae. In the first chapter of Book Three he asserts,

> The foundations of all religion lie in two things; that there is a God who rules the world, and that the souls of men are capable of subsisting after death; for that he comes into God, most believe that he is, and that he is a rewarde of them that seek him....[58]

Now the reader is cast on the threshold of another common idea that was comfortably housed in the seventeenth century, though by then it was old and had been widely revered down the centuries. The soul of man, it is established in the above quotation form Origines Sacrae as the basis for argument, is wholly capable of seeking God. But the Lord did not expect man to reach spiritual maturity unaided. Therefore, to compensate those who did not possess the Scriptures and who were thus ignorant of their teachings, God provided a manual in the form of the Book of Nature. 'Wrth ddarllen Llyfr y creadigaeth canfuasant lawer c'r pethau hyn.'[59] Charles Edwards indicates clearly what these lessons are:

> Pe iawn anferem ni yn hyn a ddirnad ein deall ni, ac a wêl ein llygaid ni, argyoeddai hynny ni o wirionedd y pynciau mwyaf pwysfawr yn yr scrythyrau, megis fod Duw bywiol. 60

Furthermore, 'Hyspysa'r creadigaeth ini...Mae un Duw sydd.'[61]

This idea, that the creation declared 'the glory of God', has its source in the Psalms (19, 1-2). It was St Paul who influentially sanctioned it. In the first chapter of Epistle to the Romans, the Apostle maintains that even the pagans had the means to know God: they are said to be 'without excuse'

> For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead. 62

St Paul's 'pagans' are Edward's 'philosophyddion gynt' who were 'heb fawr gyfarwyddyd o'r Scrythyrau'.[63] The concept that the creation reflected as a picture-book the vast unscrutable talents of the Lord was reiterated by religious writers throughout the seventeenth century, during which Natural Theology firmly established itself.[64] Patrides shows that the Psalmist's 'firmament' that exhibited the 'handiwork' of God becomes in Paradise Lost the 'Heaven' which, in Raphael's description to Adam,

> Is as the Book of God before thee set,
> Wherein to read his wondrous works. [65]

Nature, to one writer, was a 'great volume'; to another, a 'manuscript'. The metaphors grow more exaggerated: to Joseph Hall nature is a 'folio', to Nicholas Byfield 'a great and glorious library'.[66]

Although the precepts of Divine Philosophy, as it was sometimes called, were time and again explicated by Christian writers, it was never maintained that Natural Theology alone was sufficient to teach man the ways of God. To graduate from this school was, as St Paul asserted, only to 'know in part'.[67] For both the method of elucidation and the pupils' comprehension were both imperfect. The readers of the Book of Nature, declares Edwards, understood only 'yn ô-dywyll'. [68] To achieve greater, clearer understanding of God, man has to search elsewhere - in Scripture. It is observed that 'the attempt to balance the book of nature with the written one of the Scriptures is a Renaissance common place.'[69] Writers endeavoured to complement what Edwards called 'Llyfr y creadigaeth', which, in truth, revealed to the senses only the creative powers of the Lord, with the Word of God, the vehicle of His will.[70] The author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ever faithful to his tradition, conforms

to the practice. Abandoning, as it were, his scriptureless philosophers, he declared that whosoever will anoint their eyes with the salve of Christ shall find in the things around about them ample testimony of the truth of the Scriptures.[71] Nature now becomes merely the handrail across the bridge that connects man with God.

THE PRIMACY OF SCRIPTURE

It must be remembered that Charles Edwards's intention in portraying the Lord as the 'heavenly majesty'[72] is not so much to inform or remind his reader of God's universal power, but to convince him that the Creator of all things visible is also the Father who sent His Son Jesus to save mankind. God in "Siccr wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol" is presented as the unseen founder of the Christian faith. Indeed, the beautiful goodness of the religion itself testifies strongly to the magnanimity of its source. It was God, argues Edwards, who prepared generously for man's corporal needs:

> awyr i roddi iddo anadl, haul, a lleuad, a sêr, i oleuo ac i gynhesu ei drigle ef; y dwfr, a'r ddaiar, a chwbl ac sydd ynddynt iw fwydo, iw ddiodi, ai ddilladu, ai lonni ef. [73]

If He sought to satisfy fully the baser part of man, how much more liberally will he provide for the soul, 'y rhan oreu'![74] His provision is 'Crist, a'i scrythyrau'.[75]

The Lord's character is indelibly drawn. Throughout Chapters Twenty and Twenty-One of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant Charles Edwards insists that it is the same God who constructed perfectly heaven and earth, who also fashioned the teachings of Christianity as they are revealed in the Bible. The reader is persuaded to accept that He who orders the sun to keep its

seasons,[76] who organises all animal movement,[77] and who framed the intricacies of the human body, should also seek to direct man's spiritual life on earth. It is only Scripture, explains Edwards, that contains the necessary directive for man 'pa fodd i ymddwyn tu-ag at Dduw a thuag at ddŷn, ac i edrych atto ei hun':

> Y mae pôb peth y wnelo, y ddywedo, y feddylio dynion yn orchymmynedig neu yn ommeddedig yngair Duw.[78]

Furthermore, the benefits that the gracious who live according to God's Word will receive in both this world and the next, as well as the misfortunes that will handicap the disobedient, have all been registered as the promises or threats of the Lord in Scripture. The author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant would wholeheartedly sustain Calvin's declaration that 'nothyng commeth by chance' but would question the adjective in the complementary statement that 'what soever commeth to passe in the world, commeth by the secrete providence of God.'[79] Things happen in the world, argues Edwards, as foretold in Scripture.[80] Thus, he concludes, it is obvious that such a comprehensive and successful blue-print could be the work of only the life-giving omnipotent Lord. The whole argument is compressed into one balanced, forceful sentence:

> yr hwn a ordeiniodd yr haul i ddŷn er y dechreuad i wneuthur gorchwylion corphorol wrtho, y roddes iddo reol yn foreu i gyflawni dyledswyddau ysprydol wrthi.[81]

At the very beginning of "Siccr wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol" it is emphasized that God and the Christian faith are specifically Protestant. This assertion is a weapon used in defence of the primacy of Scripture. Christianity, notes Edwards, is the oldest religion in the world; there are no writings more ancient than the books of the

Imagination are 'cywion gorphenhaf y ddeorodd gwresogrwydd llwyddiant bydol, y ddaethant o'r cibau yn ddiweddar, ac a ddarfyddant eilwaith'.[82] The reader of this invective realises that Rome is allowed no claim to the Scriptures. Their power is ancient; the power of the Papal Church merely transient. The Word, comments Charles Edwards confidently, will outlive the Papacy, 'canys tragwyddol yw.'[83]

The stand taken in opposition to Rome in "Hanes y Ffydd" is ably reinforced, and the reader is left in no doubt as to where his Christian allegiance should lie, for Edwards's terms of reference are clearly defined. His condemnation of the Pope's decrees is a reiteration of a traditional Protestant censure on the humanae traditiones. Edwards wears the badge of Lutheran regiment in this war, a conflict that was waged with increasing ferocity during the seventeenth century. Robert Barrell, who wrote half a century before Charles Edwards, in his The Spirituall Architecture (1624) denounced among 'vnwritten traditions' 'Popes decretalls',[84] and argued tenaciously that no extra-Biblical literature should be allowed to weaken the position of the Scriptures as 'the ground of all, the touchstone to try all, and the Judge to determine of all truth.'[85]

The whole argument projected in "Sicr Wirionedd y Ffydd Cristianogol" is built on this premise. Since God is revealed through the Scriptures, since He speaks to mankind through the prophets who wrote them, then, says Charles Edwards, it is obviously that He is the author of the religion elucidated in them. All aspects of the Lord's character are made known in these writings,-

> mal y creawdd; ac y prynodd, ac y cynal yr Arglwydd y bŷd, er eglurhâu ei drugaredd ef; ac fel y barnodd ef y bŷd yn amser Noah, ac wedi hynny er amlygu ei gyfiawnder ef. [86]

So, too, is the Lord's will revealed. The Scriptures call for sanctity, urge man to attain holiness, to abandon worldly pleasure, leave all and follow God.[87] Edwards, a wise judge of human nature, advises that man himself, in his fallen state, would never authorize such strict commandments, for to him sin, entertainment and comfort are desirable luxuries. Mahommed licenses his followers to indulge in unlimited wantonness. The Pope by his decrees raises nothing but his own pride. These three considerations point to God as the indisputable author of Scripture, 'canys y mae dŷn pechadurus yn dueddol i geisio, ac nid i wadu yr hunan.'[88]

Moreover, the fact that the Papists, the Mahommedans and the Jews have borrowed passages from the Bible for use in their own writings is a further surety of the primacy of Scripture. The Talmud, the Mass in the Roman Church, and The Koran have all been patched - and note the abuse incorporated in Edwards's clever simile -, like the cushions of tailors, with selections from Scripture.[89] In this context the enemies of the true faith act as witnesses to its supremacy over their heresies: for their borrowings testify not only to the inherent deficiencies of their own compositions but also to the greater wisdom of the true God, which is allowed to colour their own false opinions. Edwards rides high. Again demonstrating his genius for metaphor, he most pointedly comments:

> Ni cherddaseu arian drwg yr eurychod hynny, oni bae eu tebygoliaeth i'r arian brenhinol cyfreithlon, ydoedd mewn bri oi blaen hwynt. 90

The figure reiterates a previous assertion that the false religions, as they are called in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, are condemned by their novelty: 'haeddeu'r ffydd ynteu barch o herwydd ei phenwynni'.[91]

To combat any remaining scepticism in his readers, Edwards offers further proof of the verity of the faith. He argues that the Lord's work in keeping the Scriptures intact down through the ages, in spite of opposition afforded by the fallen angels and wicked man, is indicative of his ownership. As the sheep defends the lamb, so God His Word.[92] Have not the enemies of His will always been punished? Egypt suffered plagues;[93] Ahab, though in disguise, was struck by an arrow.[94] Every neighbourhood, observes Edwards, can name people who have failed to walk unhampered having once disobeyed the Lord. Indeed, 'histori'r ffydd' is full of examples of the atrocities suffered by God's disobedient.[95] Sinners are the mirrors in which the Lord who 'is known by the judgment which he executeth' reflects His wrath.[96] Though the Scriptures have been persecuted by 'yr awdurdodau mwyaf yn y byd' -

> gan gedyrn frenhinoedd Assyria, Babylon, Caelosyria, ymerodron Rhufain....y rhai oeddent fel bleiddiaid gwangcus, a llyfrau'r ffydd ar olwg fel wŷn diymwared [97]

- yet they have managed to survive, specifically because of the guardianship of the Lord. Edwards continues on this line of thought and makes the further point that their survival allowed the Scriptures to be at all times exposed to public scrutiny. Thus it was ever possible for the enemies of the faith, if they so desired, to refute their truths. 'Ond nid oeddent yn gwadu eithr yn cyfaddef y pethau a adroddir ynddynt'.[98]

Full of the sincere debater's confidence, Edwards goes on to

consider whether the Gospel could be the product of the deceitful imagination of man or angel. But no. Whereas the good would not desire to disappoint or deceive the Lord's flock, the fallen angels would hardly wish to publicize their own calamities. Nor would the Devil command people to abhor falsehood and malice, the very wrongs he covets; or to love God, and sanctity, which he hates. 'Am hynny', reasons Edwards, 'nid oes neb iw gydnabod yn Dâd i'r gwirionedd Sanctaidd onid Duw yn unic.'[99] Indeed, the sheer force of its authority could be generated only by the heavenly King. The word of God humbles the proud, cultivates the weak mind. It enlivens the somnolent conscience, and comforts the tortured. Moreover, it possesses the power to impassion; Luther, says Edwards, was inspired by the first chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans; Junius and Bilney by the epistle of Timothy.[100] It revitalizes every soul , transforms talent. The Apostles in the Early Church succeded in their missionary work against all mounting odds. 'Y fath dycciant', comments Edwards, 'a ddengis fod Duw ar ei phlaid'.[101]

God further testified to his ownership of the Scriptures by the miracles which were wrought through His power by the prophets, by Christ, and by the disciples. 'Aneirif ydoedd rhyfeddodau Crist, a'i Apostolion,'[102] says Edwards, inferring that the miracles were necessary elements in the successful promotion of the new faith. Stillingfleet voiced a similar opinion. Miracles, he affirms,

> were necessary for confirming the truth of the Gospel ...because the Gospel was to be propagated over the world without any other rational evidence than was contained in the miracles wrought for the confirmation of it. [103]

Stillingfleet would readily subscribe to Edward's conviction that

miracles were more infrequent in their own day than in Apostolic times primarily because the Scriptures, having been for so long an integral part of European culture, were now accepted 'yn y gwledydd mwyaf enwog, a llythrenog drwy'r holl fŷd' for their wisdom and truth.[104] It was proper, he explains, for Christ, newly ascended to His throne, to bless the Apostles with extraordinary powers; but afterwards, He resorted to govern according to the common law. It should be noted that in Edwards's opinion it is the Lord, or Christ on high, who performs wonders. For him, as for Stillingfleet, miracles were wrought, as Thomas Aquinas had declared, by God from above, '[o'r] uchelder', contrary to the laws of nature, 'outside the usual order assigned to things'.[105] This was the common view of seventeenth century writers.[106]

Although Edwards claims that miracles were performed 'i siccrhâu gair Duw',[107] he is severely critical of one - 'moethus, anufydd' - who requests a wonder: 'Nid cymwys', he judges, 'ir Mawrhydi Nefol dorri trefn arferol ei greadigaeth, a'i raglunieth heb raid'.[108] Moreover, if God condescended to allow the same miracles that Christ and His Apostles wrought to be performed in all ages, then they would not rank as wonders, nor would they support the faith. Nevertheless Edwards - not to disappoint the expectant - does afford many examples of wonders performed 'yn yr oes ddiweddaf hon' in support of the preachers who stood faithful to the unfeigned faith. These were wrought 'rhag tybied fod y ffydd yn ddiddŷst.'[109]

These are, above all, human witnesses to the faith, men who are not attracted by worldly entertainment or riches to break the commandments

of God. They endure torture and in the name of the Lord willingly die for their faith. Of course, the readers of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant were already acquainted with the 'godly professors', whose portraits hung in the gallery of "Hanes y Ffydd."[110] But even an exhibition of goodness is not always sufficient to convert the viewer from his wrongs. Edwards, fully aware of this, resorts as a last measure to invite his reader 'Os amheuei etto' 'tyred a gwel'.[111]

> Oni choeli fod athrawiaeth y ffydd yn wîn melys ac iachus, wrth weled eraill yn ei dymuno, ac yn siriol ar ei ôl ef, prawf ef dy hun, a dywedi'r un pêth. ...Derbyn ysbryd Duw i Sancteiddio dy enaid, ac yna tystiolaethiff iti mai'r scrythyrau yw ei Scrifen ef.[112]

Thus Edwards effects a shift of appeal. The greater part of the Protestant argument in "Siccr Wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol" is designed to appeal to man's reason, his powers of logic and meditation. But when the reader is implored to consider for himself the essence of the faith, Edwards appeals to the emotion, to the soul, the seat of spiritual experience. In a paragraph towards the end of this exposition Edwards readily admits after St Paul, that what has gone before was intended 'er gwreiddio'r darllenydd ystyriol mewn siccrwydd deall i gydnabyddiaeth dirgelwch Duw.'[113] The mover of a debate has portrayed the nature of God's Being, has established the authority and supremacy of Scripture beyond reasonable doubt; now he moves to persuade his reader of the nature of the full beneficial communion that man can establish with his God. "Siccrwydd y Ffydd..." is the pad from which the more complex "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" is launched. It is the basis for futher, more profound, treatment of the spiritual proximity of the Father of the Christian Faith. Without the introduction, the assurance, the confidence

afforded in the first, shorter, exposition, "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" could not have been composed as brilliantly as it was. As it is, it stands a splendid house of Protestant truths built on the rock of its "Siccrwydd.."

"RHINWEDD Y FFYDD"

Charles Edwards's essay on the 'efficacie' of the Christian faith was first published in 1671, in the second edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-Ffuant. It was entitled "Rhinwedd y Grefydd Gristnogol yn gorchfygu llygredigaeth, ac yn sancteiddio ei gwir dderbynwyr."[1] The title is an exact description of the essay's content. In a short introductory paragraph to this new section of the book, Edwards explains that in order to reveal fully the nature of the faith's regenerative powers it is necessary to consider the need for sanctification. His road to Calvary begins in the Garden of Eden. To quote his own Words:

> Ac er mynegi nerth ei râs ef (that is, the Lord) yn gweithredu..., theidiol i ni ystyried ystad halogedig Pawb wrth natur, ac yna yr modd y mae'r Arglwydd yn galw ei etholedigion allan o honi i'w wasnaethu ef mewn glendid bucheddol. 2

'Rhinwedd y Grefydd", then, is a study of the sinful nature of man and of the regeneration that is affected in his soul by the grace of God.

Three of the four chapters of "Rhinwedd y Grefydd" (1671) are concerned with man's degradation. By weight of content, the whole section should have been called "Ynghylch Cyflwr Pechadurus dynol ryw", and indeed this title given to Chapter One serves all four. Yet there is a change in content, un-noted except in the page-title printed at the top of each leaf of the text. The description "Llygredigaeth natur ddynol" gives way on page two-hundred-and-thirty-five, where Chapter Four begins, to "Rhinwedd y ffydd Gristnogol / yn gorchfygu llygredigaeth". In this chapter Edwards seeks to define the cleansing quality of Christianity.

For the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, this section, now

entitled "Rhinwedd y Ffydd Gristianogol yn gorchfygu llygredigaeth, ac yn Sancteiddio ei gwir dderbynwyr", was considerably extended. It now constitutes over one-hundred-and-forty pages of the book,[3] and begins in Chapter Twenty-Two,"Lle'r ystyrir cyflwr pechadurus dynol ryw cyn eu galw". This chapter includes the first two chapters of the 1671 edition (with one small change: the introductory paragraph referred to previously is, in 1677, contained within the chapter).

Here, Edwards systematically examines the state of man and concludes that the whole human race is wicked,every nation within and without Christendom, both the people of Jerusalem and Sodome.[4] Men of all ages, and all classes of men are in sin.[5] Sin, moreover, penetrates every faculty man possesses.[6] And this complete corruption not only divorces him from the Lord, but also alienates man from man, spoiling society.[7] "Esceulysa dynion eu gwneuthurwr", observes Edwards,

> ac yn lle ymbalfalu am dano ef, a chesio dyfod o hŷd iddo ef wrth deimlo ei ddaioni ef...dywedant wrth Dduw cilia oddiwrthym ni, canys nid ydym yn chwennych gwybod dy ffyrdd. ie Câs ganddynt ef, ac anniolchgar, a thaeog ydyw eu moddion tuag atto ef. [8]

As to the social round,

> difetha pobl eu gilidd yn fradychus, fel y gwnaeth Joab ac Amasa... A llawn yw'r ddaiar o odinebwyr a halogant gyrph ac eneidiau eu gilidd, ac a wnant nadroedd yn wyberod. [9]

Chapter Twenty-Three of the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant includes both the third and fourth chapters of "Rhinwedd y Grefydd" 1671, although the latter chapter represented a break in the argument. Chapter Twenty-Three treats of the difficulties encountered in attempting

to convert sinners from their corrupt state. Edwards argues that the ungracious, because of their complete ignorance of God's purity,[10] cannot believe the worst about themselves and those whom they love.[11] Old Adam reigns in their souls tenaciously.[12] Even the prophets of the Old Testament found their task an unrewarding one. Jonah, relates Edwards, preferred to face death than the Ninevites. Jeremiah tried to excuse himself, claiming 'Ah, Lord God! behold, I cannot speak, for I am a child'.[13] They were prepared to combat the corruption of the world only after God had encouraged them wonderfully.[14] Jesus Christ Himself received vast opposition; even now - 'bychan ydyw ei ddiolch ef gan y rhan fwyaf o'r byd.'[15]

In Chapter Twenty-Four, written after 1671, Edwards gives an analysis of the process by which sinners are made obedient to God. From the title of the chapter, it is ascertained that "Drwy argyoeddiad y gorchfygir pechaduriaid". This section is more or less a logical continuation of the second part of the previous chapter. There Edwards stated that God first planted wisdom in man's soul 'wrth daro ofn yr Arglwydd ynddo, yr hyn a wnaiff iddo ymadel â'r drwg.'[16] Chapter Twenty-Four opens with the following complementary statement:

> Wrth weithio edifeirwch ddifrifol cynhyrfa Duw gynneddfau'r enaid i wneuthur eu swyddau priodol. [17]

Yet it is Chapter Twenty-Five that treats specifically of the transformation of the faculties of the soul. The twenty-fourth notes primarily the shame and guilt experienced by the repentant. For them the memory resurrects the sins long buried in silence. Everyone says 'unto the Lord', as David did, 'I have sinned greatly in that I have done',[18]

Then, privately, overcome with grief in humiliation before the almighty, the penitent confesses the sins of his foul life.[19]

The details of the new Christian's spiritual regeneration are catalogued in Chapter Twenty-Five. Meditation leads him to follow the gracious will of the Lord.[20] Trust in God affords him peace of mind as he discovers in the Almighty's splendour a generous God who kindles love in the penitent heart.[21] All the faculties of mind and body devote themselves wholly to the good of the heavenly cause.[22] In effect, Christian order succeeds the chaos of a prolonged Eden.[23]

In the following two chapters, Edwards testifies to the power and resilience of godliness. He notes the steadfastness of God's obedient servants, how-in duty bound[24] - they can not be lured away from their new life neither by worldy wealth[25] nor by the pleasures of sin.[26] 'Parhaiff yr etholedig mewn sancteiddrwydd ym mhôb cyflwr, oed, a llê. Mewn goruchafiaeth a darostyngiad.'[27] Angels testify to their uprightness; and the godly can claim, with St Paul, 'we trust we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly.'[28] In Chapter Twenty-Seven Edwards treats of the scepticism which some people retain about the efficacy of grace, and strives to answer such questions as, for example, this one:

> A ydyw'r sainct yn berffaith rasol heb ddim gweddillion pechod ynddynt yn y bywyd presennol? [29]

Although Edwards patiently tolerates and considers the validity of all doubts, his main charge to his reader is the simple instruction of the practical Christian:

> ...cais di ddarlleydd, dy ddiwygio dy hun ac eraill, yn ol y gallu a ganiatto Duw i ti.[30]

Up to this point in the essay, Edwards has been mainly concerned with the inspiratory elements of God's grace with the supernatural. But in the final two chapters of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" he turns to consider man's own contribution to salvation. Chapter Twenty-Eight is a "Cyfarwyddwyd iw arfer fel y delo rhai i allu byw yn dduwiol"; and Chapter Twenty-Nine, similarly, a series of "Annogaethau i Dduwioldeb." Edwards reasons that they who pray earnestly will receive the grace of God;[31] the godly in the resurrection of the dead will be as beautiful as the angel and as bright as the sun;[32] they who have tortured themselves in the effort to conquer sin[38] will find comfort in heaven.[34] Edwards fuses the significance of the supernatural effort and the human strain which make for penitence and salvation in a beautifully apt metaphor:

> gyda gwlith y nefoedd rhaid wrth ddefnynnau
> a chwŷs y corph i beri i'r maes ffrwythloni.[35]

"Rhinwedd y Ffydd", to a greater extent than "Siccr Wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol", reveals the mind of Charles Edwards.* His own views on the man's fallen state, on the grace of God and on the necessity of salvation are the strands in the cloth of this essay. They are, of course, largely the ideas of his age and his connections - his Puritan conncection especially.

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* A description of Chapter 30.

THE FALL OF MAN: 'dawnsiâd ynghadwynau'r cythrael'.

It is to his obedient children, states Charles Edwards in "At Y Darlleydd" (1677), that God reveals His secret, and not to his enemies. The secret assumedly is the secret of salvation; or, in other terms, the map on which is drawn the route of the pilgrim's progress to eternal love in heavenly comfort. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was intended to advance the Welshman's knowledge of God and persuade him to partake in God's plan. Everything written in the book has the guarantee of truth; thus every reader's soul will profit from reading it. This is Edwards's claim:

> Ac o'i ddoeth ragluniaeth a'i ddaioni gwnaeth y Mawrhydi Nefol i mi drwy brofiad go-hir yn fy nghyflwr fy hun wybod siccrwydd am y prif bethau yr wyf yma yn eu cyfrannu i eraill.

As to the reader-

> ith enaid titheu y byddo adeiladaeth, mai y byddech Gristion mewn gwirionedd ac nid mewn lliw yn unig. [36]

It was the same Charles Edwards who, twenty-five years previously, had been registered as one of the preachers who were to propagate the Gospel in Wales. In 1652 as in 1677 Edwards's primary intention was to convince his fellow-countrymen that they should free themselves from their diabolical slavery and consecrate their talents in God's service. 'Crist Iesu mâb Duw', notes Edwards, 'a gymerth ei fywyd yn ei law... i waredu'r gwir Israeliaid, iw gwneuthur o gaethweision llygredigaeth yn blant i Dduw.'[37] Both as preacher and writer Edwards played his part in the campaign '[drwy] ymosod i berswadio dynion' that the whole human race was infected by sin through the Fall of Adam. 'The first two',[38] according to Genesis, had been created perfectly in God's mould; but their disloyalty severed a terrible breach between them and the Creator.

Augustine stressed that

> In committing to great a sin their whole nature, being hereby depraved, was so transfused through all their offspring in the same degree of corruption and necessity of death. 39

This is original sin defined. The doctrine was adopted as a central tenet of their theology by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, and Edwards himself explicitly states that he fully concurrs with the orthodox Protestant viewpoint. More than once he refers to 'cyflwr halogedig pawb wrth natur'.[40] Here he depicts in his own style how Adam's depravity was transmitted to his descendents:

> Pan gafodd ein rhieni Cyntaf (oeddent iachus Unwaith) yr haint bechadurus wrth sefyll yn anadl y sarph uffernol, canlynodd y ffiaiddglwyf anwireddus eu hâd hwy byth. [41]

The reader of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant will witness similar vehemence in later passages that treat, again, of original sin.

In parenthesis, as it were, Charles Edwards reiterates another Augustinian theory about the nature of man before the Fall.[42] He insists - '[bu] natur dŷn berffaith ar y cyntaf',[43] for then Adam lived according to the law of nature which was God's gift to him. In The Marrow of Modern Divinity (1645) - a treatise that was translated into Welsh late in the eighteenth century[44]- Edward Fisher maintains that this law, 'the first covenant', 'the mind and will of God', was 'perfectly written' in Adam's heart.[45] Fisher's Adam possessed moreover, an 'understanding mind' to enable him to choose in every situation between right and wrong. It was precisely because of this ability that Adam, only 'mutably good', fell from grace.[46] The argument is St Augustine's who held that sin came 'from

the bad using of free will'.[47] Edwards reveals that he too believed in man's original uprightness and seeks to prove the theory. 'Annigonolrwydd ac awydd yr enaid', he argues, 'sy'n dangos fod iddo gynt etifeddiaeth fawr a'i fod yn mwynhau peth mwy na'r byd' - that is, God Eternal.[48] The prince of the soul, Edwards notes in another passage, is the mind. Its behaviour too - 'Lyfeisiau, ystrywiau, a dichellion y meddwl' - denotes that it once possessed a great store of knowledge, 'pan ydoedd bur ar ddelw Duw.'[49] Now however,

> Gwan yw...wrth fel y bu cyn cwymp Adda.[50]

Though Edwards and Fisher give voice to the same opinion in this context, there is some diversification in their terminology. Fisher speaks of the law of nature, the first law. But in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant 'naturiol' rarely describes the period when Adam lived by the lex naturae. 'Gwreiddiol' is the adjective adopted by some Welsh writers. In W. Jones's translation, Cair i Bechaduriaid, a Cair ir Sainct (1676) the reader is told that one of the benefits of being reborn is that man is raised to 'ei berffeithrwydd gwreiddiol.'[51] Here then the pre-lapsarian state is regarded as the original rather than the natural state of man. Yet in Chapter Twenty-Four of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant Edwards observes that the sinners who ultimately enjoy salvation are they 'a arferant y tuedd naturiol y blannodd Duw ym mhob peth byw i goi.io eu hachub eu hunain oddiwrth ddestryw.'[52] The author's use of the adjective is somewhat unfortunate. Does he infer that God at the Creation endowed man with this happy inclination? This is hardly so, for then Edwards would suggest that God created in man himself a policy to misure against everlasting condemnation: only the

supernatural influx of God's grace can save man. Or else is the natural inclination, in Edwards's opinion, one of man's animal insticts? This idea too must be rejected, for the seventeenth-century idea of man - indeed the whole Christian concept of man - as God's greatest creation places him above the animals, only 'a little lower than the angels'.[53] Towards the end of the book, Edwards once more treats of the conditions placed upon the human 'iw dueddu at y da'.[54] They are again indefinitely described as a series of 'rwymedigaethau naturiol'.

Generally in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant 'naturiol' means worldly, earthly. Edwards speaks of 'tad naturiol' who cherishes his prodigal as warmly as his obedient offspring.[55] In the phrase 'achosion ysprydol a naturiol' spiritual aspects of the Christian's work are contrasted with its social aspects.[56] Further, he describes Joseph's passion in the flower of his youth as 'ei nwyf naturiol yn ei nerth'.[57] At other times the adjective signifies 'corporal' as in the instance when Edwards notes the strength of resistance shown by Christian martyrs, who were not '[o] gefnogrwydd naturiol, canys yr oeddynt lawer o gyrph gweiniaid, a thyner, hen ac afiâchus.'[58] Thus, though he asserts that man did experience a period, however brief, of bliss and uninhibited communion with the Lord, Edwards is resigned to the fact that sin is the prevailing, now 'natural' inhabitant of man's soul. When he speaks of the wonderful transformation experienced by those who willingly receive the grace of God he maintains that the behaviour of true Christian is totally contradictory to their 'natural lusts'.[59]

Now that it has been established that Edwards believed in original sin and that that failing was more or less natural for man, it

should now be considered what, for him, is the nature of man's sin - 'natur felldigedig pechod'. He states,

> Ymadawiad oddiwrth y Duw bendigedig, a throseddiad oi ewyllis sanctaidd ef ydyw....[60]

The rejection of God's will infers that man's dependence upon his Creator is at an end. Worse still, this rejection leads to a new sinful affiliation. Now that the human will reigns independently it seeks to add insult to injury by choosing its own allies:

> Nid digon gan y galon butteinaidd adel a gwrthod ei Harglwydd, ei phriod cyntaf, a'i gwneuthurwr, eithr hefyd wedi troi ei chefn atto ef, cymer y gweision yn ei lê ef iw monwes o flaen ei lygaid ef. [61]

Augustine in his <u>Confessions</u> insists, after much discussion, that the will of man becomes naturally disposed towards depravity and wrong.[62] It craves after carnal pleasure. Antagonistic towards God, the fallen worships 'the creature more than the Creator'.[63] Edwards had read in Dr John Davies's Welsh version of <u>Llyfr y Resolusion</u> of the self-indulgence exhibited in such action. In sin, reveals Davies,

> yr ydym ni yn ein meddyliau a'n calonnau megis yn rhoi Duw yn y naill beni'r Loriau, a'r ple ser yr ydym ni yn ei gael wrth bechu, yn y pen arall.[64]

The scale tips on pleasure's side. St Paul, of course, is the great denouncer of the weakness of the Flesh. Edwards, too, like most of the preachers of his time, insists that the unholy trinity is composed of 'y bŷd a'r cnawd, a'r cythraul'.[65] The soul that was created a quick light spirit to consider spiritual things wastes its attention daily on the world and its luxuries.[66]

The consequences of man's sin are infinite. St Paul defined

one of the most critical and important when he wrote to the Christians at Rome, 'Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.'[67] In the first place, man is rendered mortal, and, secondly, is forever condemned a subject of sin. For John Preston, who wrote in 1630, both conditions constitute death, for 'I say every man by nature is a dead man'.[68] Tradition has it, comments Patrides, that 'man had been created immortal';[69] if Adam had not sinned, argued Tertullian, 'he certainly would not have died.'[70] The biological impossibility of flesh lasting for ever was not considered by Preston any more than it was by Edwards, who also held that Adam had committed a disservice to his body by sinning. He notes,

> Pan luniodd [Duw] <u>Adda</u> o'r pridd, bu fyw <u>naw cant a dêg ar hugain o flynyddoedd</u>, er iddo wanychu llawer ar ei gorph drwy bechu. [71]

For Edwards, the pain and bodily fatigue suffered by Adam's offspring is also a desease of sin.[72] This is to carry the belief introduced by St Paul and enlarged upon by Tertullian to a dangerous if, in its narrow confines, logical extreme. His words are:

> Y felldith a adroddodd Duw yn erbyn Adda sydd etifeddiaeth i'w holl heppil ef, a barhânt yn yr unrhyw anufudd-dod: a'i llîdiawgrwydd sydd yn torri allan arnynt yn y bŷd yma drwy flinderau a phoenau corphorol; [73]

The association of illness with evil, or, to be more precise, with God's condemnation of Adam's disobedience, is at best to the twentieth century's way of thinking, an unfortunate one. But in one passage of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u> Edwards does manage to convey the reality of this assertion by personifying the powers of sin; they are portrayed as the Creator's enemies, who find asylum in the human body.[74] Nevertheless, problematic

inconsistences remain: What if a Christian be ill - how can his sickness be justified or be consoled? Or how is Edwards, in this frame of thought, to account for Christ's many miracles in restoring to health? Or sympathize truly with any patient? These were the practical questions which of necessity posed themselves to a seventeenth-century physician of the soul. And Edwards has the answer. There is no doubt that he was fully conscious of the consequence of his Tertullianistic belief, and he insures himself adequately against any accusation of heresy by arguing carefully,

> Os bydd y corph yn glwyfus a'r enaid yn iach, caiff yspryd gwr ei lawnwaith yn cynnal ei wendid; ac os bydd yn yspryd yn gustuddiedig er bod y corph yn iach, blin fydd ganddo fyw, megis y gwelir wrth Judas fradwr. [74]

If sin rots the body, conversely, claims Edwards, it is not impossible for bodies to live everlastingly in glory 'am eu bod yn ddibechod', in which condition dirt and germs will not tarnish them nor the worms of wrong devour them.[75]

Such an idea is, of necessity, but theological conjecture. The grim fact that faced every evangelist from Tertullian's time down to Edwards in the seventeenth century and beyond was that Adam's sin had depraved the whole of mankind. Adam's relationship with his descendents was clearly defined by Thomas Tuke when he wrote in The High-way to Heauen in 1609:

> Adam was no priuate person, but represented all mankinde. And therefore we stood and fell with him. For hee was the root and we are his branches: he was the spring and we are the streams: he was the head, and wee are as the members. [76]

From the same bank of metaphors, Edwards drew:

> A'r nôf lygredig o fôn y pren (sef Adda) a chwerwodd y canghennau oll, (sef ei heppil ef) i ddwyn ffrwyth tra deincodus,... [77]

What is the Puritan reaction to this state of affairs? Lewis Bayly, in meditation upon man's abominable condition, finds himself tortured by the catastophe that is the human soul. Edwards had undoubtedly read in Rowland Vaughan's translation of Practice of Piety Bayly's address to the sinner, 'y sgerbwd gwael', and could not but subscribe to its truth: Bayly calls man,

> Yr hwn wyt wedi dy euogfarnu, yr awr gyntaf y cymmeraist sylwedd yn y groth, a chwedi dy farnu i farwolaeth tragwyddol, cyn dy eni i fywyd amserol. [78]

This is the uncompromising Calvinistic viewpoint expressed in simple terms for the benefit of the most unintelligent reader. In Y Ffydd Ddiffuant the same reader find Edwards, in one passage, adopting a more humane stand. He cannot completely blacken the character of the new-born child, and his attitude is strikingly similar to the one Wordsworth was to take over a century later. Though he argues in Chapter Twenty-Three that parents cannot, in raising and educating their children, reform their inherent evil nature, in his final chapter, "Annogaethau i dduwioldeb", 'Edwards, as if overcome by mildness of heart, make a compromise, and admits:

> Y mae natur ddynol fel yr ydys yn ei derbyn mewn ganedigaeth, lawer diniweitiach nag yr ydys wedi hynny yn ei gwneuthur wrth ewyllyscar ymarfer â chamwedd. [79]

It is certainly too fanciful to claim that Pelagius and Wordsworth meet in Charles Edwards. For the seventeenth century author scarcely abandons the idea of original sin. Far fom it! He still maintains that a babe

is burdened with original depravity - 'llygredigaeth wreiddiol'.[80] But a certain uncalvinistic sympathy with the rigours of the human struggle can be detected in this passage in which Edwards outlines the moral progress of a child to sinful manhood. The transition from innocence to bitterness takes place, he notes, though children are not betrayed nor are under compulsion. (This is hardly the case.) Edwards goes on: 'A phan dyfont yn gryn-ddynion, bydd gwyldra o'u mewn ennyd yn eu hattal rhag dechreu godineb, a rhai pechodau ffiaidd eraill'.[81] Even after they have committed such a sin, shame and a castigating conscience try to prevent men from repeating their wrongs. Edwards remains convinced that man is blessed with an inner power of discipline; and it is this which is partly responsible, in salvation, for the sinner's repentance. The author's tenderness of faith, as shall be seen, makes for a pleasant change in seventeenth-century moral theology. At the same time it must be remembered that the above description is included in the last chapter of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd", a chapter of persuasion and sympathetic exhortation to godliness. Edwards here wishes to impress upon his more apprehensive readers that they, too, can partake of the grace of God.

In Chapter Twenty-Two, "Lle'r ystyrir cyflwr pechadurus dynol ryw cyn eu galw", forbearance is far from obvious. He now sets forth a documented description of the post-lapsarian state of man. Here there is no mention of the 'rwymedigaethau naturiol' which influence the soul to abstinence. Only the dark shadow cast by the tree of knowledge is explored, the 'filthiness of the flesh and spirit.'[82] There is a finality about this discussion which exiled compassion. 'Mae'r pechaduriaeth', the reader is informed, 'gwedi gorchfygu pob rhan o bôb dyn, holl gyneddfau'r enaid, ac aelodau'r corph.'[83] Such a statement is

a seventeenth-century commonplace; and to enlarge upon it was a favourite exercise with moral theologians, Patrides quotes from William Whately's The Neuu Birth (1618) this extremely damnatory 'castigation of fallen man':

> A man in the state of corrupt nature, is nothing else but a filthy dunghill of all abominable vices; hee is a stinking rotten carrion, becaome altogether vnprofitable and good for nothing; his heart is the diuels store-house, an heape of odious lusts; his tongue is a fountaine of cursing and bitternesse, and rotten communication; his hand is a mischieuous instrument of filthinesse, deceit, and violence, his eyes great thorowfares of lust, pride, and vanity; his feet are swift engins, mouing strongly to reuenge, wantonnesse and lucre; his life is a lougchaine of sinfull actions,...[84]

From writer to writer only the details of the invective change. Bayly held the same opinion of man, but his condemnation is more restrained. In Vaughan's Welsh, it is asked,

> Beth yw dy lygaid, onid ffenestri i edrych ar wagedd? Beth yw dy glustiau, onid fflodiardau i ollwng llifeiriant trawsineb i mewn? Beth yw dy synhwyrau, ond gosgymmon i ennyn tân i'th drachwant? Beth yw dy galon, ond yr einion ar yr hon y darfu i Satan lunio llûn echrys dy holl amcanion diffaeth? [85]

It was St Paul (Romans 3,9-18) who first considered in such fierce light the corruption rife in human frailty. Jews and Gentiles, he observes, 'are all gone out of the way...; these is none that doeth good, no, not one'.[86] All sensu l atrocities, claims Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, are derived from the black eclipse of sin that covers the sun of the understanding.[87] Pitch darkness blinds man's conscience and memory, 'golugon yr enaid'.[88] The eyes - as the eyes described in Whately's book - receive and emanate sinfulness.[89] In the 'open sepulchre' of the

mouth, the tongue, though small, performs great evil:

> Bêdd agored ydyw'r gêg, ac arogl erchyll
> gyda'r lleferydd yn dyfod oddiwrth gorph
> marwolaeth, sef y burgyn yn y galon. [90]

Through the ears evil communications which corrupt good manners pass in.[91] At times Edwards's aspersions match those of Whately's: the stomach, he says, is like Cacus's cave, filled with spoil. It is a whirlpool in which God's creatures are drowned.[92] The womb is but the bog of hell, -

> gwenir y grôth y suglen vffern, lle'r aiff pob anifail
> anllad yn ei un llam, yno y glŷn, ac y trig yn
> esmwyth, nes descyn i stafelloedd angau. [93]

St Paul's 'Their feet are swift to shed blood' is cited in Whately's '[Man's] feet are swift engins, moving strongly to revenge' as in Edwards's 'rheidr ir drwg yn nerth y traed'.[94] In the inheritance of Protestant ideas writers share a commonwealth of metaphors. Again, Micah's '[man] may do evil with both hands earnestly' is expanded in The Neuu Birth to '[man's] hand is a mischievous instrument of fithinesse, deceit, and violence'; while Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant condemns the hands as 'gweision diwyd a milwyr dewr i lygredigaeth'.[95]

Mr Saunders Lewis has described this chapter in Charles Edwards's book as a study in disorder. Edwards suceeded in writing such a classic account of spiritual chaos by emulating the approach to the subject and method of treatment of other writers of the seventeenth century. His brilliantly fertile imagination found little difficulty in creating exaggerated descriptions to fit the various sins of the members of the human body. He revels in the opportunity to paint with a thick brush in bold colours: 'Y bol', for instance, becomes 'trysordŷ anwiredd' - a treasury that is made up of individual cells, each one 'yn llawn Camwedd'.[96]

The metaphor is sustained further, and Edwards does not release it until he has squeezed from it all its poetic possibilities.

But the registering of these corporal evils is not merely a literary exercise. They are noted - and condemned with such fervour - precisely because they contributed to the further alienation of the human race from God. Anti-spiritual, they serve only to excite the flesh and please the senses.

The author of Llyfr y Resolusion also regarded the members of the human body, to quote John Davies's Welsh, 'megis yn arfau ac yn offer i wneuthur pechod'.[97] Instead of criticizing their worldly corruption directly, in a series of pointed derisive descriptions, Llyfr y Resolusion resorts to prophecy, and notes the conditions that the rancorous body will experience in the pit of hell. The author, like his contemporaries, respects the Pauline formula of presentation and lists the tortures of the eyes, the ears, the mouth in order 'Megis pe dywedid fel hyn,'-

> y cai y llygaid gwammal hoywon eu poeni a'i cospi, trwy weled golwg erchyll ofnadwy ar gythreuliaid; y clustiau tyner, a llais ac a drygnad gerwin yr ysbrydion damnedig; yr aroglau mursennaidd, a drewi ac a drygsawr gwenwynig brwmstan a brynti anesgorol; y chwaith a blas y genau mwythus blysig a dygn wangc a rhaib newyn a syched...[98]

The author's warning is clear. He states that what is visible only to the physicians of the soul in this world will be physically felt by all men as dread torture in the chambers of hell. The castigators of man in his post-lapsarian state and the prophets of hellish doom share the same intention. They wish to persuade the sinner to beware of the inner corruption which is the stagnation of the soul. For Couge the sinner is

a slave to his lusts.[99] Edwards is rarely satisfied with such a common metaphor. He sees the wrong-doer rolling indefinitely in his own dirt like a sow on a hot day wallowing in mire.[100] Or again, careless, unaware of the risk incurred, the sinner is seen playing:

> chweri suglen donnen uwchben y pwll diwaelod,
> er na bo ond llinin brau o fywyd bregus yn ei
> ddal ef. [101]

Edwards in this metaphor captures the sinner's vast spiritual immaturity, by placing him on a child's plaything; his thoughtlessness in his choice of site. Man's condition is summed up in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in this polemic:

> Hoffach ydoedd gan y dynion cyntaf y ffrwyth
> gwaharddedig, na'r holl aeron eraill a dyfau
> ym Mharadwys, er daed, ac amled oeddent.
> A'r un naturiaeth sydd yn eu [illegible]ppil hwy byth.[102]

THE RESTORATION OF MAN: 'Duw yn dechreu sanctaiddio'.

Death is still in the world. 'Pa sawl un ohonom ni', asks John Davies, 'sydd yn gollwng llawer dydd, a llawer mis dros ben, heb unwaith na myfyrio na meddylio am [ein cyflwr ein hunain?]'.[103] Citing Jeremiah (12,11) the translator of Llyfr y Resolusion comments that the land of Christianity has become desolate 'am nad yw dynion yn ystyried yn eu calonnau'.[104] Davies draws a delightful portrait of a traveller making his thorough preparations in readiness for a proposed journey from England to Constantinople, stressing that he would not take one step forward without frequent, deep contemplation on his method and speed and route of progress.[105] Then inevitably, the comparison like a poultice is applied to the sinner's wound.

Even though seventeenth-century commonfolk did, as Davies insists fail to meditate on their own spiritual conditions, the religious writers of the century certainly made up for them. Over three hundred pages of Llyfr y Resolusion are concerned with the restrictions which hindered men from consecrating themselves to God. This second part of the book is called, "Am y rhwystrau sydd yn llestair ddynion roi eu bryd ar wasanaethu Duw..."[106] Lewis Bayly had explored the same hinterland in Practice of Piety. And Charles Edwards, not unnaturally, follows suit. He is particularly pained by man's obstinate allegiance to the devil: 'Truenus yw Cyflwr dynion o herwydd eu pechaduriaeth, gan eu bod yn gaethwyveision i Satan, a phechod.'[107] Like the other moral theologians of similar conviciton, Edwards seeks to define the human stubborness.

But first of all he depicts the tragic situation of all sinners: 'glŷn pechaduriaid yn dynn yn y Cyflwr anwireddus hwn er ei fod mor druenus.'[108] Following St Luke,[109] Edwards writes that 'as it was in the days of Noah' and 'of Lot' men eat, drink, marry wives, husbands, buy, sell, plant, build, although there is forthcoming - and here imagination becomes wonderfully excited - a flood of wrath to drown them, with, as its undercurrent, an unquenchable fire to boil them all eternally.[110]

This, asserts William Haller, was the theme of most sermons in England from Chaucer to the seventeenth century: that man should not concern himself overmuch with things ephemeral but dedicate himself to care for his soul and meditate on things spiritual.[111] The same warning was given voice in Welsh literature, too, more especially in poetry, in the religions songs of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, in the

cywyddau of Siôn Cent, and down to the time of Huw Morris, who was a contemporary of Charles Edwards.[112] What the author of Y Ffydd Ddiffuant condemned in 1677 - the vile connection 'rhwng y cnawd a melystra pechod' that will terminate only in hell[113] - was likewise disparaged by Dafydd ap Gwilym's Grey Monk in the fourteenth century, who said:

> Nid da'r moliant corfforawl
> A ddyco'r enaid i ddiawl. [114]

The Welsh Catholic clerk is no less vehement than the Puritan preacher. Sion Cent, too, wrote extensively on this theme, invoking in several passages of his poems the author of Ecclesiastes:

> Afraid i lawen hyfryd
> Ryfig er benthyg byd.
> Ni phery'r byd hoff irwych
> Mwy na'i drem ym min y drych. [115]

Edwards printed the cywydd from which this extract is taken in Y Ffydd Ddiffuant as 'defnydd llesol ar gynghanedd er adeiladaeth i eraill'.[116] It was 'er llês', this time 'i'w blwyfolion' that John Davies in 1632 translated Edmund Bunny's Protestanized Christian Exercise, appertaying to resolusion...[117]; and 'er mwyn y Defnydd da, ar a ellir ei wneuthur o hono' that Charles Edwards undertook to reprint it in 1684. In Chapter Eight of the Welsh version the rhetorical question is asked to the sinner on his death-bed:

> pa gyssur fyddei i ti fod gynt yn anrhydeddus
> yn y byd...wedi pwrcasu llawer, a'th fod
> mewn swyddau, ac mewn ffafor tywysogion? [118]

The transience of the world is stressed time and again. Yet still their end men cherish it. At the inspiration of Satan they strive to please 'yr angau bach'.[119]

Such is Satan's power of persuasion that the sinners believe that they 'as gods' 'shall surely not die'.[120] Edwards portrays him in a gallery of metaphors as a sharp-witted sorcerer trapping his subjects with sweet poison. Once, the knowledgable coachman Satan blinkers his well-fed horses 'rhag iddynt ddychrynu wrth weled y pethau y sydd o ddauty'r ffordd bechadurus, ai daflu ef i lawr cyn dyfod i ben y daith.' Then, the devil becomes the deceitful innkeeper who serves his customers the best wine in the house until they become tipsy, then they are offered 'that which is worse'.[121] From both metaphors the reader gathers that the human crisis is the result of human stubborness, is man's own fault. For it is usually the self-willed horse that is blinkered; and his own natural thirst that takes man to a tavern. What is inferred is that man has the power of free will.

Charles Edwards is fully conscious of his position. Every individual, he insists, lies 'immovably' in his iniquity like the dead in his grave, 'gan ei suo ei hun â gweniaeth ei galon i gysgu'n ddiofal'.[122] The inference, yet again, is that man is responsible for his actions. It seems that Calvin and Luther are both adandoned. For Calvin, notes Patrides, 'did not hesitate to implicate God directly in the Fall of Man'.

> In the hidden counsel of God [Calvin wrote] it was determined that Adam should fall from the unimpaired condition of his nature, and by his defection should involve all his posterity in sentence of eternal death.[123]

But if man is totally depraved, doomed to live under the shadow of an eternal curse, how can he be blamed for his wrong? 'How shall any man take care of his wayes?', asks Jeremy Taylor, '...for if all actual sins are derived from the Originall,...then no man can take care to avoid any actuall sinne,

whose cause is naturall, and not to be declined.'[124] This argument is central to the work of any moral theologian. For how could an author who appealed to the conscience of a nation begin to convince the individual reader of his depravity when, at the same time, he stated that man's condition was originally and eternally one of condemnation? A way out of this dilemma had to be found.

St Augustine gave a lead. He did not once implicate God as Calvin did a thousand years afterwards, but carefully stressed that 'God was not ignorant that man would sin'.[125] Adam, according to De Civitate Dei, became 'willingly depraved'.[126] Writers of the seventeenth century concurred with this view. Arthur Dent, whose The Plaine-mans Path-way to Heaven in translation was reprinted under the direction of Charles Edwards in 1682, says that Adam 'of a free will and ready mind left God, and joyned with the Divell.'[127] Edwards, reading John (10,34), argues that sin, like a conquerer, could govern with a strong hand 'ped fae raid'. But Satan, he adds, can conserve his energies: men enlist in his service 'o'u gwirfodd'.[128] And man, who was made chief of the inhabitants of the earth, is mastered by the creatures inside him.

The figure of the 'inner creatures' has some affinity with one of Luther's metaphors. In 1525 in De Servo Arbitrio he wrote,

> man's will is like a beast standing between two riders. If god rides, it wills and goes where God wills...If Satan rides, it will and goes where Satan wills.

At first reading, it appears that Luther too suggests that man's will 'wills' - that is, chooses to obey his rider's scourge. But no. The writer goes on: 'Nor may it choose which rider it will run, or which it will seek; but

the riders themselves fight to decide who shall have and hold it.'[129] The will is totally subjected. This is not what Edwards infers. He writes, 'dyn...sydd yn cymeryd ei feistroli gan yr anifeiliaid o'i fewn'.[130] It is for him, then, a voluntary subjection. For Luther man's will is sunk; for Edwards it is merely submerged.

On the other hand Charles Edwards was never unaware of the pitfalls of the concept of free will. He did not believe, for example, that man, though his undoing was largely his own fault, could singlehandedly generate his own reparation. God, even in depravity, is always at man's hand, not in the role of master but rather of an inspector. Were it not for the preventive action of the Lord and Providence in censuring evil works, men would fail to live together. This is Edwards's argument. He expresses the gist of this belief in a witty adaptation of a verse from scripture: 'Mae [Duw]', he observes,

> yn dofi'r llewvod, heb eu troi yn ddefaid,

explaining, as he often does, in simpler terms to the less poetic reader,

> Nid yw ef yn newid eu naturiaeth hwy, ond
> ei gwârhau yn unic.[131]

A compromise is reached. Now, though man has the power to choose his own route, it is God who conditions his mode of travel, either by controlling the human acceleration or by planning the nature of the road. 'Y mae Duw', reveals Edwards, 'yn arferol o anfon rhwystrau oddiallan, neu argyoeddiadau oddi fewn, i luddias i bobl gyflawni cwbl oi drwg amcanion.'[132] Man's will, the reader is told, is not actually free, but bridled, curbed; or if at times it is untridled, then God does not afford it the occasion to enrage. St Paul in his Epistle to the Romans calls this preventive authority 'the power' of God.[133] It is the dam wall which keeps the deep water of

sin from engulfing the world.[134]

Edwards's argument is certainly plausible. Indeed it is a view point which was adhered to in Scripture, and Edwards is never at a loss to prop his opinions with reference to the World. The Lord who 'placed', according to Jeremiah, 'the sand for the bound of the sea', also binds the rage of man.[135]

To summarize: the central issue in "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" is that man suffers spiritually from his depravity, and must be healed: sin, like Circe's wine, makes one man boorish in his drunkeness, another a bear in indignation, a third a wanton goat, while a fourth lingers like a badger in his earth.[136] But since Edwards, like St Augustine, remained convinced that man was not created evil, he held that even now in his wicked state man was but weakened, diseased, degenerated. What, then, is the process of man's recuperation? Thomas Acquinas wrote of the need to 'cure' man, to 'heal his nature'.[137]

The seventeenth-century physicians of the soul treated in depth of the difficulties which impeded the sinner's regeneration. The lengthy exposition on this subject in Llyfr y Resolusion has already been mentioned. Readers of Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb also were familiar with discussion on this point.[138] Edwards in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant treats of "Anhawstra troedigaeth pechaduriaid o'u cyflwr llygredig."[139]

One difficulty is man's hardheartedness. For the author of Llyfr y Resolusion this barrier is the worst of all. Both he and Edwards cite Zechariah (7,12), noting that the wicked ones in the power of their treachery make 'their hearts as an adamant stone'.[140] The prophet goes

on to observe that sinners harden their feelings 'lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in his spirit'.[141] Men are, moreover, careless of the divine message. 'Diogi, a Diofalwch' are likewise condemned in John Davies's book;[142] as they are in Y Ffydd Ddiffuant.[143] Men postpone the day of repentence in the conviction that God is forever tolerant of the stubbornness of sin - 'gormodd hyderu ar drugaredd Duw'.[144] Fetters of worldliness bind the sinners to their habits, fetishes such as 'chwant i anrhydedd', 'cybydd-dod'.[145] Edwards too is critical:

> Ac os llwyddiant amserol digystudd (yr hyn yw cynhyscaeth y bastardiadi) a wnaiff y gwely yn glyd, dywed y bydol wrth ei enaid, cymer dy esmwythdra.[146]

In such luxury the conscience is made redundant.[147] The sinner, unaided, is doomed:

> llwyr y dylai un ofidio wrth ystyried
> anallu pawb i lanhâu natur ddynol sydd
> wedi ei ddifwyno...[148]

Siôn Cent advises him:

> Ymwrthod â'r meddwl pechod pwl.[149]

Though accorded a measure of free will, man could not lift himself out of his folly. He needed specialist help. This could come only from the Creator. Christians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries taught that God in His infinite mercy had proposed from the beginning[150] to send Christ His only begotten-son into the world to give new life to mankind.[151] Jesus thus came into the world to purge and instruct the human understanding which had been divorced from God at the Fall. Edward Fisher in 1645, following Augustine,[152] described Christ the mediator as

> a person, as having man's guilt and punishment translated on him, might satisfie the justice of God; and as having a fulnesse of Gods spirit and holinesse in him, might sanctifie and repair the nature of man. [153]

'Yma', commends Charles Edwards, 'y dylem ryfeddu cariad Duw.'[154]

The descriptions found in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant of the work fulfilled by Christ reveal traces of more than one theory of the Atonement. The first can be discerned from this passage. 'Crist Iesu mâb Duw', states Edwards,

> a gymerth ei fywyd yn ei law, ac a safodd yn y maes i dorri pen goliath, i lâdd pechod, i fwrw allan yr yspryd aflan, ac i waredu'r gwir Israeliaid, iw gwneuthur o gaethweision llygredigaeth yn blant i Dduw, ac yn frenhinoedd i reoli ar eu holl drachwantau. Ac er bod cestyll pechaduriaeth yn dra chryfion ym mhawb, ac yn anorescynol yn yr eneidiau gwrthodedig, etto ordeiniwyd arfau
> 2 Cor 10. 4. ysprydol nerthol trwy Dduw iw bwrw ir llawr yn y rhai etholedig. Er caletted calonnau pechaduriaid, gwnaiff Duw ei air iddynt megis
> Jer.23. 29 tân, ac fel gordd yn dryllio'r graig. Ac ewynniff y fâth adyn wressof yn eu cydwybodau, ac y beriff ir galon garreg ymollwng...[155]

Notice that Christ exorcises the evil spirit introduced at the Fall of Adam. Satan's slaves are now emancipated to follow 'gwasanaeth sy ddyledus ir gwir Dduw yn unic'.[156] Those who were ruled by their lusts - 'yr anifeiliaid o'[u m]ewn' - retain discipline.[157] The impregnable castles built by the Devil in the wicked ones are besieged: Christ conquers Satan's 'dalfau uchel o resymiadau, a gwyniau yn ymgodi yn erbyn gwybodaeth Dduw'.[158] Adamantine hearts are melted.[159] That is, every consequence of Adam's Fall is reversed. And Christ is recognized as the second Adam. This is the earliest 'of the four major theories of the Atonement normally distinguished by historians of dogma'.[160] Its 'promoters', states Patrides, were Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, who not only stressed that Jesus reformed the evils that the first Adam brought into the world,

but also defined certain parallels between the nature of their two conflicting tasks. Mary the Mother of Jesus was viewed by Justin as 'the second Eve'. And Irenaeus saw the tree of Calvary as a parallel to the tree of knowledge. Edwards, however, does not concern himself with these aspects of the theory, and undertakes to reveal only the consequences of Christ's sacrifice.

Irenaeus was also the propounder of the second theory of the Atonement, traces of which remain Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant - the ransom theory, 'according to which the Son of God gave his life as a ransom for many and was incarnated so "that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil"'.[161] St Mark wrote in his gospel that 'the Son of Man came..to give his life a ransom for many.'[162] But the large theological question that remained unanswered was To whom was the ransom paid? Was it to god, against whom man had transgressed? Or to the Devil, who held man in bondage? St Paul implies that it was paid to Satan. Origen and Irenaeus among others support this view.[163] Charles Edwards, too, in one argument, implies that it was the devil who profited from Christ's magnaminity. He deplores the fact that Jesus, even after he had paid the ransom for the prisoners, was obliged to fight and defeat His enemy, and thus, the bonded themselves in order to have them released. In war on earth, reasons Edwards, even the Turk respects the terms of ransom and release:

> pan daler Pridwerth am y carcharorion sydd mewn caethiwed dan y Twrc, ceir hwynt adref drwy deg; Ond gorfydd i Grist orescin Pechaduriaid drwy nerth, wedi iddo eu prynu er gwerth. Ni chaiff ef y meddiant oi bwrcas, nes ei ennill â chleddyf daufiniog. Er bod iddo hawl gyfiawn iddynt, etto ni edi diafol a phechod iddo ef gael preswylfa mewn un enaid, nes eu gorchfygu hwynt, a'u taflu allan.[164]

The reader is told specifically that Jesus deals with the Devil and with sin. He came 'i brynu' from the Prince of Darkness.[165]

Yet in the same chapter Edwards writes of Jesus's gesture '[yn] talu iawn...[i'w] Dâd'.[166] This payment is not regarded as ransom. It is more in the nature of a debt, a 'satisfaction'. There are elements here of St Anselm's theory of the Atonement. In Cur Deus Homo? St Anselm argued that in falling away from God man dishonoured his creator. This disobedience was sin; and before man could hope to repair the relationship he once enjoyed with God, 'satisfaction', an alleviation of the dishonour caused, had to be rendered. But man, since he possessed no power to overcome Satan, could not begin to satisfy God. God alone could satisfy Himself. Therefore the task of necessity had to be assigned to 'one who is God-man'.[167] There is only an implicit reiteration of this idea yn Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, but it is certainly discernible. Edwards writes that Jesus came to redeem men from the bondage of God's vengeance, that is,

> oddiwrth...[y] dialedd dyledus iw hanufudd-dod hwynt,[168]

- Anselm's 'disobedience'. Edwards proceeds to explain further why Jesus came incarnate:

> dioddefodd boen marwolaeth erchyll. A'r cwbl er talu iawn [i'w] Dâd am y camm a wnaethau, neu a wnelau pechaduriaid iw fawrhydi ef.[169]

'The wrong committed against God's majesty' is analogous to St Anselm's 'dishonour', which was cancelled at the cross where God was 'satisfied'. Satisfaction alone brought contention to an end, 'a gwneuthur y Duw nefol, a dynion ufudd ffyddlon yn heddychol, ac yn anwyl iw gilidd.'[170]

It appears that Charles Edwards adhered to both the ransom and Anselmian theories of the Atonement. In one sentence of Y Ffydd Ddiffuant the two are amalgamated. Christ, he observes, suffered for mankind 'iw prynu'

(i) oddiwrth gaethiwed diafol, a phechod

and

(ii) a'r dialedd dyledus iw hanufudd-dod hwy.[171]

The first part of the sentence reveals a trace of the ransom theory; and the second, the Anselmic theory.

There is no doubt but that by the seventeenth century, although elements of these theories still persisted,[172] they were not in circulation, and certainly were not accorded separate identities. Furthermore, the Reformation itself had given life to another, new, 'rival' theory of the Atonement. Protestants in the sixteenth century viewed the coming of Christ and His crucifixion as 'a legal transaction', a 'contract', 'whereby the debt paid to the supreme Judge was considered to be both the satisfaction demanded by divine justice and the just punishment required for our sins.'[173] It was believed that Christ came as a substitute for man, to suffer in his stead. 'Our saviour Jesus Christ...gave himself for us', asserted St Paul to Titus;[174] 'he came to be sin for us, who knew no sin'.[175] Both Luther and Calvin propounded this theory. In 1677 Edwards too describes in detail how the Lord took our punishment upon Himself:

> sef tlodi yn ei fywyd, heb le i roddi ei ben: gwradwydd yn ei henw, cyfrifwyd ef gyda'r anwir: gofid yn ei enaid, ydoedd yn anfon allan ocheneidiau trymion o waelod ei galon, ac yn drist hyd angeu: blinder a gwewyr yn ei

> gorph, yn bendifaddeu tra yr oedd wedi ei drywanu a'i hoelio ac y groes... [176]

Edwards explains the purpose of all this pain: 'A'r cwbl er talu iawn i gyfiawnder ei Dâd'.[177] That is, Jesus is said to be meeting the demands of divine justice and, thus, fulfilling the 'contract' which is the Atonement.

Here, then, in one comparatively short passage of Y Ffydd Ddiffuant Edwards propounds the basic tenets of three theories of the Atonement, and presents them together as the one great action the Lord took in order to redeem mankind. Of greater importance for the reader of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" in 1677 was that Edwards here introduces him to his Saviour. The mediator of his redemption has been found, Christ born a fact. Henceforth, man, relieved of his ignorance, has no excuse for wallowing in sin: '[Y mae] yn ddiescus'.[178]

Neverthless he persists in wickedness. Lewis Bayly, writing early in the seventeenth century, argued that some men refused to be moved towards Christianity because, having misinterpreted or misunderstood certain passages in Scripture, they consequently nurtured false beliefs which they found revoltingly absurd. One was the doctrine of justification by faith. According to Rowland Vaughan's YrYmarfer o Dduwioldeb, men shied away 'O ddiwrth athrawiaeth cyfiawnhâd trwy ffydd yn unig.'[179] The teaching is based on some passages of the Epistle to the Romans in which St Paul, in his first chapter, asserts, 'The just shall live by faith'; and in the third, 'a man is justified by faith'.[180] But the Apostle was only the torch-bearer. The incendiary who sought to scorch the Catholic earth with this dogma was Martin Luther. Naturally the fire brought its own calamities, the most marked of which was that now faith

was elevated 'to the utter detriment of works'.[181] This was what appalled the sinners in the case considered by Bayly.

Secondly, they feared and abhorred the theory of predestination: 'tragwyddol rhagddarpariad Duw a'i ddigyfnewidiol osodiad', as Vaughan calls it.[182] This doctrine taught, on the one hand, that Christ in sacrificing Himself on Calvary saved only God's 'elect', who, to St Matthew, were the 'chosen few'; and, on the other hand, that God had preordained doom for the vast majority of mankind in the 'outer darkness of Hell.'[183] If this was so, then, went the argument, no amount of human effort could change the course of things. The doomed earthling might as well enjoy his sin as mope about perdition!

These two beliefs are in a way closely related. For if the right to choose an elect was reserved to God, so too was the power to believe, to have faith, a joy experienced only by the fortunate chosen. The doctrines are interlocked. Of course, they were the subject of fierce opposition. William Haller in The Rise of Puritanism observes that 'from the beginning, wherever it penetrated, Calvin's version of the dogma of predestination encountered minds which came forward to insist that all men shared equally in the grace of atonement,... that every man must be free in some fashion to further his own redemption'.[184] The 'fundamental problem' of the seventeenth-century preachers and authors who sought to cure the souls of English and Welsh common folk was that, as long as God was held to rule over time and eternity according to a code that was beyond human logic, 'no grounds for moral obligation' 'could be devised.'[185] What is insisted upon is that a task must be found for the

human will in the great undertaking to exorcise sin from the soul. A belief in some degree of free will is therefore advocated. And it can be argued that Charles Edwards along with the other seventeenth-century theologians who bid good-night to Calvin, notably Hales[186] and Goodwin[187], saw the practical necessity of emancipating the will of man.

Yet the matter is not clear-cut nor the argument simple. Theological beliefs are often complicated. And Edwards, on this point, poses a problem for his reader. Although, as it has been established, Charles Edwards believed in a limited freedom for the human will and sought in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant to advocate human participation in man's own salvation,[188] nevertheless he refers more than once in Chapter Twenty-Three to God's elect, 'ei etholedigion', as if adhering to the Calvinistic viewpoint.[189] Christ, he notes, died 'dros ei etholedigion', and works 'yn y rhai galwedig'.[190] But Edwards gradually drops the term, for it becomes obvious, perhaps to himself as much as to his reader, that the 'elect' for him are not a band honoured as God's absolute choice. Towards the end of the twenty-third Chapter he claims that God works in the 'repentant': 'yn y rhai edifeiriol'.[191] Repentance is certainly a positive action of the human will. Yet - to return into the maze - the idea of predestination is not totally abandoned. In the very last sentence of this chapter Edwards, citing Job,[192] insists:

> a phwy bynnag a ewyllysio ef eu harbed, efe a ddengys iddynt hwy eu gwaith, a'u hanwireddau, amlhâu ohonynt: ac a egir eu clustiau hwy i dderbyn cerydd; ac a ddywed am droi ohonynt oddiwrth anwiredd.[193]

They are God's choice, again. The Lord is allowed to retain his power of selection, and Edwards finds himself adopting a position in which he avoids 'curtailing the absolute freedom of God to choose and reject'.[194]

At the same time his is not a strictly Calvinistic viewpoint. He insists that they who wish to rid themselves of sin, who repent, can receive grace. They are 'y rhai...a gynhyrfir i ddymuno gwarediad, ac i ymofyn am dano'.[195] Edwards classes them with the Prodigal Son, Manasses, and Mary Magdalene, sinners who had faith in God's mercy.[196] Moreover, Edwards asserts that God commends such repentance: 'gan fod yn well ganddo ef iddynt ddyfod ato ef, nag aros yn eu pechodau hyd farw' the Lord does not regard their behaviour as an affront to His rule.[197] Did not Jesus invite the poor in spirit 'to come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden,' and promise, 'I will give you rest'.[198] 'Gwiw ganddo ef', adds Charles Edwards, 'dderbyn dynion candryll'.[199] Thus it appears that in his opinion God saved whom He chose or '- a moot point', as Haller comments, anyone who chose to be saved.[200] Moral theologists towards the end of the Puritan century persuaded their readers to seek rebirth. William Jones in 1676 urges the common Welshman:

> cynhyrfa ynot dy hun hiraeth difrifol a thaer-ddymuniad am yr enedigaeth newydd. [201]

'Mi wn', asserts Edwards,

> nad oes neb y dydd hwn yn dymuno grâs i wasanaethu Duw, ac yn cael ei naccau. [202]

The will's task is at last defined. Its business is to seek regeneration. Anglican and Puritan writers, and Edwards amongst them, painfully aware of the pitfalls of the theory of predestination, sought to prompt human endeavour not so much as an antidote to Calvin's poison but as a complement to divine authority. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant states explicitly:

> Yr un yw daioni Duw i ddynion pa un bynnag a fo'r moddion drwy ba rai y gweithiei ef, a'i arferol, ai rhyfeddol. [203]

The miraculous call comes, as it came to Saul, 'drwy lais o'r nêf, neu ymddangosiad Angel'; customarily it comes 'drwy gyngor yscrythurol, myfyrdod ddifrifol...'[204]

If it is accepted that man may seek regeneration and find it in meditation, the Lutheran insistence on justification by faith is severely questioned. Indeed it was recognized by some theologians, who, like Bayly's characters, abhorred the strict measures of this doctrine, that even St Paul himself, its author, did in some passages comment on the usefulnes of good works. In his directions to Titus, to note one instance, the Apostle explains that Jesus Christ, in death, sought to 'purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.'[205] In the Epistle to the Romans too he commends the good behaviour of the Gentiles.[206] Paul's words, and especially those of St James, rallied the seventeenth-century physicians of the soul to concoct a sweeter medicine.

These writers did not in any way condone Antinomista's assertion in The Marrow of Modern Divinity that 'there was no more need of my works and doings'.[207] They, like Evangelista in that Dialogue apprehensively question the statement, and ask, Is not this the 'forme of godlinesse, without the power of godlinesse' of which Paul spoke?[208] Even so, though Evangelista disapproves of the doctrine of justification by faith, he is not prepared to praise Nomista either, who lives strictly by the Law.[209] That is, he insists that works alone are not sufficient, that there can be no justification by works. Indeed, the general criticism of Nomista's claim to holy-living was that it was impossible for man, though repentant of his sins, to achieve such purity of intent

without the help of God. Bayly states categorically that man cannot even repent unless he is inspired by the grace of God.[210]

Thus it can be said that the moral theologians of the Puritan era stressed that God could intervene supernaturally in a sinner's life, and also inspire by more indirect means. By both methods, man received the cleansing gift of grace.

It was St Paul who first called grace the 'gift of God'. He believed that is was 'given' to man by 'Jesus Christ' and by Him alone. 'For St Paul', observes Patrides, 'the grace of God is meaningless except as it is incarnated in the God-man.'[211] St Augustine in De Civitate Dei stresses that God was 'not ignorant that man would sin' but that the Lord 'foresaw withal that his grace should adopt the godly'.[212] For both this divine power was released upon Calvary. Edwards saw it as 'gweithrediad yspryd Duw', the spirit of God at work;[213] and in metaphor suggests that it was an arsenal, the sum of God's 'arfau ysprydol nerthol'.[214] These arms were meant to conquer every satanic stronghold and kill all the enemies of godliness.

Naturally, there were in circulation various ideas concerning the nature and power of grace. John Preston, for example, held that there was a covenant of grace. In the course of his "Tenth Sermon" in The New Covenant Preston gives a description of the sinner's supplication for regeneration, a description that is similar to one in Y Ffydd Ddiffuant half a century afterwards. 'If', claims Preston,

> a man would have his conscience purged from dead workes, let him labour for faith, whereby hee may be justified, let him labour to be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, to have assurance of the forgivenesse and pardon of his sinnes, through that blood, then he shall have that Spirit put

> into his heart, that eternall Spirit, that shall purge and cleanse his conscience from dead workes. [215]

The 'eternall Spirit' is, of course, the grace of God. Now the advent of grace is said to follow human endeavour. Works beget wonders. It will be remembered that, for Lewis Bayly, to believe in '<u>rhagddarpariad Duw</u>' was to misinterpret a basic doctrine of the Christian religion. The truth, he notes, is that God provides for the means - what Preston would call the ability to 'labour for faith' - as well as for the end, and in salvation provides for the cooperation of divine and human. Perkins, a more orthodox Calvinist, would here argue that a wish to repent constituted a ' microscopic' element of faith, enough to 'justify' the soul.[216]

In 1629, the year of the publication of the second edition of <u>The New Covenant</u>, Welshmen read in <u>Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb</u> of the joint simultaneous effort of the sinner and the Spirit of God. Preston's labourer received the pardon of grace as a reward. Bayly's sinner too endeavours: he places himself upon Christ. And at the same time, Christ or, more exactly, the Spirit excites him. Thus the natural and supernatural converge in the human soul like two gangs of tunnel-diggers, meeting in the middle, overjoyed by their success in carving a channel of light through the deep blackness. Here is the paragraph, in Vaughan's Welsh translation:

> Os tydi gan hynny ath osodi dy hûn at air ac agwedd Crist dy Arglwydd ac a ufuddhei i ddaionus gynhyrfiadau yn Ysbryd Glân, drwy ymadel â phechod, a byw mewn buchedd dduwiol; yna bydded diogel genit, dy fod yn vn or rheini, yn ddi ammeu a ragddarparwyd i iechydwriaeth tragwyddol. [217]

Llyfr y Resolusion in 1632 upheld this view. There it is argued that through the death of Christ men are empowered to attain goodness: that is, to prepare themselves for salvation.[218] Man is at last in league with the Son of God.

What is inferred by 'co-operation' between God and man is that in seeking repentence the sinner recognizes the sovereignty of the Lord - in a word, has faith in Him; and that He in turn inspires and empowers the human soul to do well, to perform good works, 'byw mewn buchedd dduwiol' as Vaughan notes. This is not to assert that man approaches the Lord, and that He merely acts in response to man's supplication. The process can be and is reversed. Demonstrating how the method of conversion 'is perfected in..four degrees' John Preston - seemingly qualifying the remark quoted from The New Covenant and nearing William Perkins's position - notes that, in the first place, God 'infuseth into the whole Soule, and so into the will, a habit or quality of holinesse, renewing it, and making it, of evill good, of unwilling willing'.[219] But whether God searches or whether God is serched for is a nice point. What is obvious in both cases, and most theologians of the Puritan era agree, is that faith generated by human repentance, or faith infused, leads to good works. 'A true justifying faith cannot want his fruites', is the general Protestant claim throughout the seventeenth century.[220] 'Faith and good works follow by a necessity of the consequences', it was asserted.[221] The sixteenth century was not slow in realizing this either. Charles Edwards reprinted in 1671 what Richard Davies had written a little over a century before then. The first sentence of this passage is totally Lutheran; but in the second the bishop anticipates seventeenth-century opinion on this subject:

> Ffydd a dderbyn drugaredd Duw trwy Christ Jesu yn cyfiowni ni ger bron Duw, ac nid gweithredoedd.

Man, according to this argument, is justified by faith alone. Even so-

> Ir hynny lle bo ffydd, e fydd gweithredoedd; can ys ffrwyth ffydd yw gweithredoedd. O blegit mal na bydd tan heb wres: velly ni bydd ffydd heb weithredoedd da. [222]

Bound with Bishop Davies's treatise in Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran in 1671 was Morris Kyffin's translation of what Edwards calls 'Bishop Juel's Apologie', 'Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr'. There is again here a sound echo of Luther - '[nid] oes dim gobrwy drwy ein gweithredoedd eyn hunain' - followed by a more practical plea for holy-living. This is Jewel's argument in Kyffin's Welsh:

> er doedyd ohonom nad oes i ni ddim gobrwy drwy ein gweithredoedd eyn hunain, eithr gossod ohom holl hanfon eyn hiechydwriaeth yngHrist ei hun, etto er hynny nid ydym yn doedyd y dlae dynion fyw mewn rhydid a masswedd, megis na bae raid i gristion ddim amgen no'i gred, ai fedydd, ac na cheisyid ond hynny gantho: canys ffydd gywir sydd fywiog a ffrwythlawn, ag ni ddichyn fod yn segurllyd. Llyma wele'r modd rym ni'n dysc u'r bobl; ddarfod i Dduw eyn galw ni, nid i loddest ac anlladwrydd, eithr fal y doedodd S Pawl i weithredoedd da mal y gallem rodio ynddynt: a darfod i Dduw eyn dwyn ni oddiar allu'r tywyllwch i wasanaethu Duw byw. Megis y gallem dorri ymmaeth holl weddillion pechod, a gweithio eyn hiechydwriaeth mewn ofn a chrynfa fal y bo hynod fod ysbryd y Sancteiddrwydd yn eyn Cyrph a Christ ei hu drwy ffydd yn trigo o fewn eyn calonneu. [223]

Edwards too, in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, cites Paul's Epistle to the Philippians; and defines clearly the terms of the working contract between man and God:

> Duw sydd yn rhoddi'r gallu i bôb da, ond rhaid i ni wregysu ein lwynau iw arferu ef yn ffyddlon ac yn ddifewid. [224]

If it is at all possible to reduce all this to one sentence, it can be expressed thus: Man's faith in God, infused by the grace of the Lord or generated by his desire to be saved, are concurrently rewarded with the cleansing of the soul from sin and with a new ability to do good. Charles Edwards describes the processes of salvation in detail.

He considers two types. Firstly, (i) the process that affects the sinner who receives the grace of God passively to begin with, then positively. Certain Protestant theologians, rather than classify the working effects of one all-encomposing grace, preferred to specify that there were two kinds of grace: the one, Gratia praeueniies, a preventing grace that conditions 'our wils and hearts to workes of pietie.' The second is 'Gratia subsequens, a subsequent grace, to assist and helpe vs forward in well doing.'[225] The other way (ii) to salvation that is mapped by Edwards is the route taken by the sinner who supplicates of his own accord, or, more correctly, who is attracted to supplicate for salvation.

To consider (i): 'gwaith cyntaf yspryd y grâs,' notes Edwards, 'yw argyhoeddi'r byd o bechod'.[226] God's world, of course, is composed of individuals. Thus it will not pay for Him or his servant to seek the regenerate in massed audiences in the open-air. No one there will heed His warning: 'ni thybi fod ei rybudd ef yn perthyn i'r naill mwy nag ir llall...cydesceulusant ef'. But when the Lord knocks at the heart, then it is known whom He seeks.[227] The fear of the Lord cast into the individual soul wakens it to recognise its own condition, just as a ray of sun breaking on a room reveals dirt unseen in the dark, 'yr hyn a wnaiff [i'r enaid] ymadel â'r drwg'.[228] To frame a mental picture of this abstract process, Edwards, citing a famous Christian act of

banishment, coins a brilliant metaphor:

> A phan êlo [yspryd y grâs] ynghylch gwneuthur dŷn yn deml i Dduw, â fflangellau gyrriff allan fasnachwyr Satan, a'i gwnaethai yn ogof lladron. [229]

The sinner's allusions that he was safe in Sin when he was actually in peril in Sodome, as at once destroyed. 'Yspryd Duw a ddidwylla'r pechadur'.[230] His soul is now cleansed, prepared for action in God.

Its faculties as soon as they are touched by the Lord are stirred to perform their proper tasks.[231] The first faculty to be excited is the conscience. Preston had also judged thus: 'The first worke, that God doth to a man, whom hee meanes to save, to waken him our of this dead sleepe, to charge sin upon his conscience'.[232] Edwards notes, 'Egyr y gydwybod ei llyfr, a dengis ir enaid lechres du ei phechodau'.[233] The metaphor is common place in Puritan literature, but for all that Edwards makes striking use of it. Previously he had condemned this faculty as an accessory to man's crime against God. He reasons,

> Er i Dduw ordeinio yr gallu hwn yn yr enaid i wneuthur swydd cofiadur, sef i roi pob peth a wnelo dŷn i lawr yn eí lyfr, ac i fod fel gwiliedydd iw rybuddio o bob perigl, etto cŵsc hwn ar ben yr hwylbren. [234]

Now it is revealed that the conscience had been busy all the time registering the soul's sins even when it was silent. It is compared to a strict official summoned to the judgement-seat of Christ to testify against the evil-doer, and admit everything that cannot be denied in the presence of the Infallibe Lord. The conscience also possesses the authority to make penitent he who is condemned: 'Digwydd dolur newydd oddiwrth godymmau hên.'[235]

For the supplicant, the conscience is awakened during the

second stage of salvation. It is not irrelevant to note that for the sinner who refuses to repent, this faulty is invariably awakened by the coming of death. Then, writes William Jones in Gair i Bechaduriaid, a Gair ir Sainct, 'daw'r Gydwybod... a'i llyfr-cyfrifon, rhestr ddû chwerw, ac a ddengys it...[g]amweddau dy holl fywyd.'[236] To keep abreast of its work, the conscience employs on assistant , the memory - 'y coffadwriaeth' - that was until the advent of grace significantly silent. Yet the memory too had its method of recording wicked acts. And to describe it Edwards's imagination once again produces a richly apt metaphor:

> Er i bechadur diofal dybied fod ei feiau megis wedi eu ysgrifennu ar draeth, ac ir llanw cyntaf o ddigrifwch cnawdol eu golchi ymmaith mal nas gallem byth mo'u darllen, etto yn ei gyflwr dychrynnedig gwybydd eu hargraphu ar y galon garreg, mal y bo anhawdd eu dileu.[237]

The Lord, emphasizes Edwards, reveals the sins of every man 'ryw amser, naill ai ar ei drœdigaeth, neu ei golledigaeth'.[238]

It is inferred in this statement that some sinners refuse to be convinced of their wrongs. They are 'y rhyfygus' who fail to conform to God's wishes. For many seventeenth-century theologians the belief that people could refuse God was anathema. John Preston, for instance, was revolted by 'the opinions of adversaries', notably Arminians, who held that the human will could turn away from salvation whilst under the influence of grace. Quoting from St Augustine, he writes, 'Free-will men cannot resist God in the work of Salvation'.[239] But his opinion is based on the premise that grace was administered solely to the elect. The Puritan who stresses the right of all men to partake of the grace of the Atonement must also be prepared to house some of them

in hell! Edwards stipulates explicitly that some do refuse God's grace:

> Ac fel y mae'n hyfryd gan [Dduw] i bobl dderbyn ei râs ef, felly trist ganddo vveled ei gwrthod.[240]

These are 'y drwg weithredwyr mud' who fail to account for their sins when examined by the Spirit.[241] But when the Heavenly King questions them on Judgement Day, 'Aiff y rhyfygus yn fud, ac yn ddiescus'.[242] They are thrown 'ir tywyllwch eithaf'.

Obviously the first stages of salvation are different in the second (ii) type of sinner. The repentant who has not been struck with fear of the Lord is told that God lends a willing ear to his cry. Edwards quotes the verse from Relevations (3, 20) - 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him' - and adds,

> Er iw pwrs hwy (yr ediferiol) fod mor wag â'u cylla, a'u anheilyndod yn gymmaint â'u hangen, etto os gwrandawant arno ef, caiff eu heneidiau ymhyfrydu mewn bra[illegible]ter.[243]

Edwards is clearly composing a brief for the defence of the idea that the non-elect are invited to enjoy the fruits of grace. For them, he argues, there is no visitation from upon high; rather, there is instruction. Their salvation begins academically and not inspirationally. Note that the important verbs in the following quotation are 'dysc', 'eglurhâ', 'ystyried':

> Wrth ddwfn fyfyrio ar y cyfryw ystyriaethau dysc Duw yr enaid cystuddiol, a rhydd iddo feddwl i adnabod yr hwn sydd gywir. (1 Joan.5.) Ac eglurhâ iddo ffordd iechydwriaeth: a thuedda ef i obeithio yn Grist, wedi iddo glywed ac ystyried gair y gwirionedd, efengyl ei iechydwriaeth. (Eples. I. 13)[244]

It is only then that God opens the sinner's heart to receive the spirit

of grace. Since the soul has not been moved mysteriously, the conscience is not automatically put to work. Rather, the penitent privately confesses to his Lord all his sins, and implores Him to cleanse his soul in the blood of Christ. The process is obviously a slower one. There is here no dramatic emptying of the temple, but a more studied catharsis. Edwards gives an orderly synopsis of what happens:

> A'r Arglwydd Jesu yr hwn ni fwrw allan y sawl a ddel atto ef, a faddeuiff bechodau'r edifeiriol, ac a heddychiff ei gydwybod ef mewn iawn brŷd, ac a rydd fywyd grasol oi fewn ef, a gallu i arwain buchedd dduwiol. [245]

From now on Charles Edwards does not differentiate between the behaviour of the two classes of 'elect'. In the gracious God becomes master of all the elements of the soul and all the members of the body. Chapter Twenty-Five in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is a detailed descriptive account of the regeneration of man's abilities under the direction of grace.

Although the 'practical writers' of the seventeenth century never disregarded the fact that grace came from the Lord, the supernatural, they preferred in their books to concentrate on describing the effect it had on the natural, on man. As if, in describing Saul's conversion, they would but briefly mention the 'light from heaven' in order to linger meditatingly on the falling 'from his eyes as it had been scales'.[246] For the task of these authors was not to advertize the dramatics of God: as Morris Kyffin put it, 'Annog y bobl i bob rhinwedd a dayoni rydym-ni'.[247]

This statement, in turn, raises another problem that presented itself to the authors of seventeenth-century religious books. If God through the spirit of grace is now master of man, what need is there for

persuasion? Does not the Lord promise to the gracious, 'A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you'?[248] Yes. That, for John Preston, is God's part in the covenant of grace:

> I say, the inward ability, the change of the heart, the renewing of us in the spirit of our mindes, the writing of the Law in the inwards parts, that is a branch of Gods covenant.

But there is another 'branch'; and it is to urge man to fulfill his part of the contract that there is need of persuasion. 'The doing of this', comments Preston,

> the bringing forth of the fruite of these inward abilities, of the inward habits and graces, that are planted in us by the power of Christ, that thing is required in us. [249]

The author of The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, 'protestantized' half a century before Preston published his ideas on the covenant, also saw the Christian Life in the nature of a partnership. It was described as a yoke, but a comfortable yoke, because Christ Himself pulls His weight at one end and 'we' at the other: 'Hynny yw, y mae ei ras ef yn y naill ben i'r iau, a minnau yn gwneuthur ein gorau yn y pen arall'.[250] Both authors insist that grace does not perform in man's stead. It is a supernatural stimulant, not a patron of parasites. Its authority is divine; as John Davies writes,

> A'r grâs yma sydd o'r fath nerth a grym yn yr enaid yr êl i mewn iddo, ac y newidia ei holl gyflwr ef. [251]

Edwards too emphasizes the fact that God, though in full command, prefers to inspire than to order. Man's mind, for instance, is not set but agitated to focus itself upon God. Edwards confesses at the same time that this task is not difficult for the regenerated sinner - 'Rhwydd yw'. And the author, alert as usual to the inabilities of his readers to

grasp abstract thoughts, resorts to capture the act of meditating upon the Lord in a revealing metaphor. He sees the soul as a firearm aimed by grace towards heaven, and the mind's thoughts as bullets shot upwards.[252]

The conscience is relieved of its former acts of chronicling sins. Now that the mind in 'sweet meditation of the Lord' follows God's will in holy-living,[253] the gracious obedient shall also enjoy a quiet conscience.[254] Although, as John Davies writes, it is not possible to show 'mor werthfawr o dryssor fydd cydwybod dda' on Judgement Day, Edwards does manage to define its worth in the holy life.[255] 'Grâs Christ yn yr enaid', he observes, 'megis ei ddyfodiad corphorol ef ir llong a ostega'r dymhestl ydoedd o'r blaen yn ei thrallodi.'[256] Peace of mind to Edwards is synonymous with 'esmwythda calon'.[257] For whereas he notes that when Christians are benevolent 'gwena eu cydwybod arnynt iw diddanu hwynt', it is stressed that when David 'had cut off Saul's skirt' it was his heart that 'smote him'.[258] For Charles Edwards as for the Psalmist 'the law of God is in the heart' of the 'gracious'.[259] But his inexact use of terminology would allow him to agree also with John Preston that this 'Law of God in the Heart' is 'an aptnesse put into the mind' disposed to keep God's commandment.[260]

The will of the regenerate is also 'aimed' towards God. It follows the admonition versified by Dafydd Jones of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd and included in Chapter Thirty of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. The poet urges,

> Dod dy fryd i gyd ar gael
> Y nefoedd dda iawn afael. [261]

Referring back to "Hanes y Ffydd" and its stories of courageous martyrdom, Edwards notes that the will matured in grace, freed of all worldly

aspirations, is obedient to the same power that moved 'llawer miliwn o ferthyron' to long for everlasting enjoyment of God.[262]

Furthermore, the mind and will together stir the passions to sanctification. Spiritual serenity, a work of God, makes the Christian abhor carnal pleasure - 'mal y gwna cynhesrwydd y ffurfafen amser hâf i bobl hepcor cynhesrwydd yr aelwyd a hoffent yn y gaiaf' - a fire kindled by man.[263] The flesh gives only ephemeral joy. This has always been (a) subject Christians have pronounced judgement upon, and the Puritans were not loathe to treat of it. 'Caroline piety', states MacAdoo, 'spared no pains to impress on man that they were working and playing in the ante-room of eternity.'[264] The author of Ecclesiastes, St Paul, and Siôn Cent would give their wholehearted consent to this following passage from Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. True Christians, notes Edwards, know 'na pheri'r helynt ddaiarol ond ychydig.' (And note the sense of difficulty and bother inferred in the word 'helynt' which the English 'journey' or 'condition' do not convey.)

> Gan fod gogoniant y cnawd yn syrthio fel blodeuyn, 1 Pet.1.24
> ni osodant mor gormod serch arno: a chan
> fod ei ofid ef yn diflannu fel chwyn, ni ddigalonnant
> hwy dano. Gwelant beunydd nad yw hawddfyd ond
> llygedyn, ac adfyd ond cafod, yn y man y derfydd y
> naill a'r llall: a bod llwyddiant y byd fel diwrnod,
> a'i aflwydd fel nôs, y sydd ag ychydig oriau ym
> mhob un o honynt. Am hynny edrychant y tu hwnt iddynt
> at sylwedd parhaus.[265]

Not that the Christian is influenced to desire death. No, that would be to anticipate and question God's actions, Rather, Edwards urges his reader,

> bydd fodlon iw ragluniaeth ef, ac ir cyflwr y
> drefnor iddo ef, er ei fod dros drô yn anhyfryd
> ir cnawd, am y caffo gymmundeb â Duw ynddo.[266]

Indeed the flesh finds its own compensations. And though the consecration of the body to the Lord means that he cannot also serve Mammon, that is no cause for vexation. The Christian is totally satisifed rooted in the Lord:

> Er i anadl ei gyfeillion chwythu arno fel
> deheuwynt, ac anadl ei gaseion fel gogledd-wynt,
> etto ni rwystrai'r un o'r ddau mono ef i fyned
> ymlaen yn ei yrfa dduwiol. [267]

But what of the body itself? How do its members react to the soul's reorientation? They, according to Edwards, are the tools of the spirit which was ordained to manage them. Whereas before the eye, the ear, the mouth, the hands, the feet, the knees, all succumbed to its evil influence, now they faithfully obey its pious promptings. Yet this general statement is inadequate to convey Edwards's description of the vast change in man's behaviour. All corporal movements move towards the kingdom of God, co-ordinate in order to achieve perfection. Edwards with his visual imagination sees the soul as a large millstone with which the other, smaller wheels of the body are intercogged: then,

> Pan droer ffrwd paradwys at yr olwyn fawr,
> sef yr enaid, hi a droiff holl olwynion bychain
> y corph a'r sydd ynglŷn wrthi i weithio am
> fara'r bywyd.

Or, less poetically,

> Ewyllis rasol oddi mewn a esid y dŷn
> oddi allan ar waith da. [268]

Faith, for the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, is made manifest in works. For the remainder of Chapter Twenty-Five, he concentrates on showing the practical operations controlled by inner grace. This part of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" is an exact antithesis of Chapter Twenty-Two. Order, the divine organization of human faculties, is the subject of this chapter.[269]

Edwards observes that the eyes that previously looked upon the forbidden fruit now gaze on the great things of God's creation.[270] Ears that attended the serpent now have been opened by God 'to hear all things that are commanded' of Him.[271] The mouth, highway of the blasphemy, takes the traffic that praises God.[272] The feet that ran to wickedness journey on His pilgrimage, knees bend in supplication to Him.[273]

Edwards himself surveys the whole meaning of man's regeneration, and no narrative can convey more brilliantly or in sweeter rhetoric the consequence of grace than his own words:

> dynion malaisus wedi troi yn gariadus, y niweidiol yn ymgleddgar, yr anllad yn ddiwair, y meddw yn sobr, a'r dwylaw a gauid i roi dyrnod yn agored i roi cymmorth. [274]

Again,

> difeia'r Arglwydd ei weision, a thyn bob trawst a brychewyn o'u llygaid hwynt, fel y gallont hwythau ganfod yn well i dynnu brychau o lygaid eraill, au cyfarwyddo yn y ffordd i'r bywyd. [275]

The holy life has been attained.

THE PURITAN WAY OF LIFE: 'ewyllysio bucheddu mor rasol ac y gweddai ir efengil'.

It will be remembered that the repentant are advised in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant to search for the Lord 'drwy gyngor yscrythurol.'[276] The gracious also are urged to make use of the Bible's wisdom. Indeed, throughout "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" Edwards stresses the importance of the Word of God, not - as in "Siccr Sirionedd y Ffydd"-as a proof of the omnipotence of the Lord[277] but as the divine counsel written for man's sake. Quoting St Paul, Edwards writes,

> Yr holl scrythur, pa un bynnag ai'r hen ai'r newydd, sydd fuddiol i athrawiaethu, i argyoeddi, ac i geryddu.[278]

Just as sinners go heedless of the teachings of Scripture, Christians live by its wisdom. The Bible is the guide-book of salvation. In an age that produced countless charts to guide the pilgrim's progress, it was held by all Protestants that the Bible was the only book that revealed to man all he wished to know. Edwards read in Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr that 'y scrythurau glan di-dwyllodrus' '[yw] cyfraith y bywyd';[279] and in Llyfr y Resolusion that the Scriptures should be accepted as the touchstone of all wisdom.[280] Similarly, for Oliver Thomas, 'peth anhepcor i bôb dyn gofalus am ei iechydwriaeth yw bôd yn ofalus hefyd am chwilio yr Scrythurau.'[281] On the other hand some moral theologians demonstrated that they were fully aware of the dangers of uncritical biblical study. Bishop Bayly was concerned, as Jewel was before him, lest knowledge of God's Word should be taken for true understanding. He published this warning:

> Nid y gwybodaeth noeth or Scrythyrau, ar seiliau cyntaf o grefydd, ydyw gwir ffydd...eithr union ffydd yw yn gystal credu yr holl bethau, ar a ddarfu i'r Arglwydd eu dadcuddio, a'i hegluro yn ei Air.[282]

In order to avoid this pitfall - 'ffrost gwybodaeth'[283] - the reader was advised to pray, before beginning to read, for a spirit of light to open the eyes of the understanding.[284]

It is reported that there was a rising interest in reading, specially history and biography, during the seventeenth century. William Haller quotes Baxter's statement that young people 'before they can read much of Theological Treatises with understanding or delight' were inclined to enjoy history, which, it was popularly believed, inspired by example. And

history to Baxter was 'the report of one Souls Conversion to God' or of 'the noble Operations of the blessed Spirit.'[285] Jewel recounts that during the third century Origen and, after him, Chrysostom, urged people to read not only the Scriptures, but to buy other books for study as well. His advice to families - 'gwyr a gwragedd, tadeu a phlant' - to 'mresymmu...gartref rhyngthynt eu hunain ynghylch pethe. duwiol' is not dissimlar to the advocation of domestic discussions made by Puritan writers.[286]

Yet though Baxter's report reflects a favourable increase in reading and studying in England, the situation was, sadly, very different in seventeenth-century Wales. The English, notes Oliver Thomas in 1647, were well endowed with a steady supply of books:

> Chwi a wyddoch mai odid gweled yn lloygr, yn enwedig mewn Dinasoedd neu drefi; na gwraig, na mâb, na merch ie hyd yn oed y gwasanaethin, heb fedru darllain, ac heb lyfrau ganddynt yn yr Eglwys a chartref...meibion, a merched ir graddau gwaelaf o honynt, sef eurychod, a chowperiaid, ar cyffelyb a'u Biblau ganddynt, ac yn hysbys ynddynt.[287]

Rowland Vaughan had sung the praises of the young English goldsmith nearly twenty years before the publication of Car-wr y Cymry. Vaughan contrasted the lot of the literate chimney-sweep 'a'i lyfr tan ei gessel yn yr Eglwys' with that of the Welsh peasant who preferred to have a cow as an heir rather than spend a cow's -worth to learn to read![288] Edwards, too, in 1677 deplored the lack of good religious treatises in Welsh, and realized that this shortage testified to the total carelessness of Welshmen towards the condition of their countrymen's souls.[289] Three generations in Wales suffered whilst their contemporaries in England profited spiritually, a fact that saddened all Welsh Puritans and which

spurred Stephen Hughes and his fellows to establish the Welsh Trust.

For, to them, reading - 'sef, darllein yr Sgrythur lân, a llyfrau da eraill'[290] - was an exercise in spiritual advancement, one element of that which constituted the Puritan outlook and way of life. Not that a code of Puritan behaviour was consciously or systematically drawn up in the seventeenth century - yet a whole range of diverse spiritual experiences and social habit began to be defined in influential books that in turn nurtured a new mode of religious experience. To label a man a puritan in the twentieth century is to mock him for his 'narrowness', his 'kill-joy qualities',[291] or his shameless zeal in keeping the Lord's minor commandments. To call him a Puritan three centuries ago was, if not always an abuse, at all times an indefinite criticism. Some men, noted Henry Parker, 'unjustly' suffered 'by the mistake, abuse and misapplication of that NAME'.[292] To rectify that wrong Parker wrote in 1641 a 'necessary and usefull' tract for the times called A Discourse Concerning Puritans.[293] According to this book 'Puritans...were at first Ecclesiasticall only, so called because they did not like a pompous or ceremonious kinde of discipline in the church like the Romish.'[294] In time the epithet developed a wider religious meaning. 'To hold the Pope fallible is tolerated', observes Parker, 'but to hold him Antichrist is abominable Puritanisme.' To conclude, he 'that is not moderate in Religion is a Puritan'.[295] Christopher Hill, in treating upon "The Definition of a Puritan", maintains that this definition is most inconclusive.[296] Emmanuel Downing, he says, in a letter to Ussher in 1620, suggested 'it were good to petition his Majesty to define a Puritan'.[297]

The reader is afforded a glimpse of the widespread mi -use of the term in a passage towards the end of Parker's tract:

> In the mouth of a drunkard, He is a Puritane which refuseth his cups; In the mouth of a swearer, He which fears an oath; In the mouth of a Libertine, He which makes any scruple of common sinnes; In the mouth of a rude souldier, He which wisheth the Scotch warre at an end without blood! [298]

One 'badge' of religious Puritans, adds Parker more significantly, is their 'honest strict demeanour'.[299] Charles Edwards's twenty-eighth Chapter of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is a brilliant series of directions - 'cyfarwyddiadau iw arfer' - to enable a Christian to achieve godly behaviour.[300] The chapter is not constituted of a number of blunt instructions set out in fine order like Hyfforddiadau Christianogol (tr.1675), for example, which teach Pa fodd i rodio gyda Duw ar hyd y Dydd.[301] Rather is it more of an essay on spiritual discipline, for, contrary to writers (like Thomas Gouge) of prosaic utilitarian manuals, Edwards probes the depth and surveys the range of sinful desires, couching his findings in finely wrought sentences that are full of the vigour of enlightening sharp metaphors. Yet he shares the same purpose as the writers of the manuals: 'cyfarwyddyd' is still the operative word in this chapter as it was for Bayly, Dent and Bunyan as well as Gouge. Instruction, asserts Edwards, is the lever that eases every undertaking. One realizes daily, he argues, how beneficial it is to use discretion and follow advice in tackling a job, especially a task surrounded by difficulties. Under instruction and with the right tackle, a weakling can manage to do things the strongest could not do without them.[302] Then follows the inevitable application of this lesson:

> A'r hwn a fynno'r maes oddiar elynion ei enaid,
> a ddylai fedru iawn drîn arfau ei filwriaeth
> ysprydol megis myfyrdod, gweddi, diwydrwydd,
> a moddion eraill. [303]

Another, 'the most ordinary badge of Puritans is their more religious and conscionable conversation, than that which is seene in other mens.'[304] Purity and sincerity of speech is the fruit of meditation upon the Lord. Gouge, in the opening Chapter of his Instructions suggests that the elements of God's character most worthy (of man's contemplation are His absolute Purity, His Omnipresence, His Omnipotence.[305] Edwards, on the other hand, concerns himself with the principles and benefits of meditation. He is a professor, Gouge an instructor. The Welshman warns that in order to benefit from the exercise, the Christian must meditate not 'ar gip, ond rhaid eu gosod i wreiddio ac i dyfu ynom ni.'[306] The Psalmist, who wrote 'blessed' is he who meditates 'in the law of the Lord' 'day and night', fortifies Edwards's case.[307]

To remain at all times conscious of the Lord, it is necessary for the Christian to avoid the devil's traps. The Puritans were critically concerned lest the gracious should fall into the satanic dens of iniquity. 'Cadw oddi wrth gadw ffeiriau', warns Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, especially on Sabbath.[308] Innkeepers, as well as fairsmen, must have despaired of the growth of Puritan instruction. William Jones, translating Gouge, states emphatically;

> Nid yw yspryd Duw yn anadlu mewn Tafarn, neu
> Win-dŷ, neu Chwareu-dŷ. [309]

Edwards, again more philosophically, takes his reader to the root of men's desire to take the wide road. His advice is a general comprehensive advice. Outwardly, he urges, 'Gochel pob achlysur pechod';[310] or, be it

an inner temptation, 'Rhwystra ddechreuad pechod.'[311] Though sin matured and undeterred has the resilience of an oak tree,

> Hawdd i wendid dynnu eginyn derwen o'r gwraidd
> cyn gynted ag y torro trwy'r ddaiar.[312]

Abstinence, too, was a Puritan hallmark. It was held that excess of food and drink led to spiritual deficiency. Man's debauchery, more than anything, claimed Bayly, makes him like an animal.[313] Edwards cites Daniel's purpose 'that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat nor with the wine'; instead the prophet asked for 'pulse to eat, and water to drink'.[314] The Christian must master his own flesh, observes Edwards, for the bloated body tends to disobey reason and grace, 'ac fel march porthiannus bwriff ei farchogwr i lawr'.[315] The brute strength of the verb 'bwriff' captures fully the dreaded ignominy and the humiliation of the fall. As always, Edwards is sensitive of the past's example. Whereas the Christians of former times, he observes, undertook to sanctify themselves by refraining from carnal pleases, today, men 'coddle' the flesh: 'yr oes hon sydd dynerach wrth y cnawd'.[316] Both the gourmet and the cosmetician are reproved. Eve, Adam's serpent, becomes, in the seventeenth century, in Dr John Davies's phrase, a 'neidr baentiedig'.[317] The faces of the early Christians, Edwards maintains, were decorated merely with the tears of repentance; but - 'amlach yw gwallt gosod a lliwiau peintiedig ar wynebau pobl yn ein dyddiau ni'.[318] Soft luxuries, then, are frowned upon, and a more rigid discipline is urged. The Puritan of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant instructs,

> Yr hwn a gadarnhao i ddioddef peth caledi
> er cystwyo ei drachwantau, a'u gwanhychu
> drwy naccau eu porthi, ac i fod yn ddiwyd
> yn y da tuag at Dduw, a dŷn, a gaiff weled
> tycciant fendigedig ar ei alwedigaeth Gristianogol,[319]

insisting at all times that conquering sin involves pain,[320] constant prayer,[321] and a total awareness of the soul's condition.

In this section of the essay, it has been demonstrated how Edwards's opinion on Christian behaviour resembles closely that of other, earlier Puritans. Yet it must be stressed that in 1677 he could build a platform from which it was possible to survey the whole ministry of early Puritan works. He did so, critically. Edwards was seriously concerned with one dangerous aspect of the Puritan manuals. He was afraid that men would faithfully follow the letter of the law laid down in them, and Pharisaically trust only to unactive strict obedience. The Bodleian copy of Llyfr y Resolusion that Edwards edited in 1684 has bound with it Gair i Bechaduriaid, a Gair i'r Sainct and Principlau neu Bennau y Grefydd Ghristianogol[322], and attached to them an exposition -

> Traethawd..âg un gocheliad cyffredinol, sef, Darfyddo i chwi mewn un peth mesur osod y Rheolau ar Hyfforddiadau rhagddywededic ar waith, ar i chi ochelyd gorphywys ar hynny, ac edrych am fywyd ac Iechydwriaeth ynddynt hwy, a thrwyddynt.[323]

'Fy meddwl yw', the author, probably Thomas Gouge, explains, 'Dyledswyddau y gorphwyser ynddynt ydynt lwybr hyffordd i uffern a destryw'.[324] Edwards undoubtedly fully symphasized with this viewpoint. In 1677, towards the end of Chapter Twenty-Eight in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, he himself had warned the reader not to be satisfied merely with the form or image of sanctity, or only with a portion of sanctity. He argues,

> Er dy fod yn byw yn ddiniwed yn y bŷd, ac nad wyt mor flîn â llawer, etto oni bydd ynot gariad cynes tuag at Dduw a dŷn, ni fyddi gymeradwy.[325]

The truth of this statement is supported by a correspondingly powerful and

exact statement: 'Anifail yw'r march dôf gystal â'r ebol gwyllt.' With the splendid gentle authority of the seer, Edwards advises his blinder fellows to avoid the pitfalls of outward puritanism. A few examples of his counsel will suffice:

> Ni wna breintiau eglwysig a phroffesse Gristianogol ddim llês i'r hwn ni byddo yn byw yn gyfattebol iddynt... Er dy fod drwy grêd a bedydd wedi ei gyssegru yn dŷ i Dduw, a chwedi ei wyngalchu oddi allan â ffurf crefydd, etto os cynnwys aflendid o'i fewn, ef a wneir yn garnedd ddinistriol...[326]

The statement has to make way for the inevitable, fine metaphor:

> Y llong a henwer Rhwydd-deb a ddryllia wrth graig, ac a fodda ei llwyth, onid edrychir at ei llywio'n ofalus. [327]

This point that Edwards raises touches upon a problem that must have vexed many a seventeenth-century theologian who was conscious of the human faculties of the gracious. Though Edwards in Chapter Twenty-Eight dedicates his instructions to those full of the Lord's grace, and though the warning, 'Gochel ymfodloni â llun...sancteiddrwydd', is given to the reader who strives for spiritual improvement, the inferrence is made that the gracious are liable to sin.[328] It is one of the questions raised by him on the quality of grace in this imperfect world, and to his credit he treats of it honestly. He asks,

> A ydyw'r sainct yn berffaith rasol heb ddim gweddillion pechod ynddynt yn y bywyd presennol? [329]

John Preston would rile at such a question. He asserts, in his tract Concerning the Irresistiblenesse of Converting Grace, 'That the Decree of Election..is absolute, and therefore doth necessarily and infallibly

attaine its effect.' This is at all times achieved, he continues, because the Lord, 'having looked upon nothing foreseen in the persons chosen' to be saved, 'decreed to work in them all conditions required of salvation'[330] That is, Preston explains, 'Faith and good works follow by a necessity of the consequent,as of which God must most properly be called the Author'.[331] A new wing is now built onto the Calvinistic palace of the doctrine of predestination: Preston insists that God affords to His chosen total infallibility.

Edwards could not agree with this premise. It was rarely admitted in the religions manuals of this period that God's beneficiaries remained human. Yet did not St Paul acknowledge that on earth men knew only 'in part' and had not yet attained the glory to come at 'the resurrection of the dead'?[332] Of course, the influx of grace did exorcise the greater sins of the chosen ones. But there remain the broken remains of wickedness, which are called the weakness of the saints.[333] 'Y cyfryw', explains Edwards, 'yw chwantau oddifewn yn codi wrth y rhan gnawdol.'[334]

The root of this doctrine lies deeply in the soil of Paul's epistles. In the letter to the Romans the Apostle sinuously reasons that under the law - in grace - his spirit is ruled by God, but that his flesh is still controlled by evil. That is, his mind, 'after the inward man', delights in the law of God, whilst 'the members' of his body 'with the flesh' serve 'the law of sin'.[335] 'And these', Paul asserts, 'are contrary the one to the other.'[336] Yet the sins of the gracious are not the same as the works of the flesh that were manifest prior to regneration. For it is not against murder or theft or adultery or deceit that Paul now complains - 'onid am drachwant yn unig', 'y chwant anifeilaidd'.[337]

Edwards divides the sins of the true Christians into two groups: there are sins made in ignorance, and unintentional sins. It was, for instance, in ignorance that Jacob slept with Leah; and when Noah became drunk it was because he did not realise the intoxicating strength of the vine.[338] Repentance in such cases, the author adds, repairs intactly. Moreover, Edwards claims that these remains of sin have their own usefulness. For the Lord in His wisdom who makes 'light to shine out of darkness' can cause temporal weakness to influence men towards everlasting perfection.[339]

THE END OF LIFE: 'amser y bŷd agos i ddarfod'.

For the religious historian and the physician of the soul, man's transformation is part of the Divine Plan. It is a task undertook by God to attain the specific end of perfection. Milton in Book VII of Paradise Lost gives voice to one traditional Christian belief concerning the creation and purpose of mankind, elements of which can be detected in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. After the rebellion of the angels, God in Heaven states:

> [I] in a moment will create
> Another World, out of one man a Race
> Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
> Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd
> They op'n to themselves at length the way
> Up hither...[340]

Patrides refers by name to seven sixteenth - and seventeenth-century writers who subscribed to this idea of the repopulation of heaven.[341] The belief must have been widely broadcast, and Patrides gives a fair warning that 'we must not allow the popularity of the repopulation theory to beguile us into thinking that it was ever proposed as the capital reason for God's creation of the universe'.[342] Yet if it was not adopted as a 'capital reason' it was doubtless a well-known and common secondary one.

The Christian ideal that man on earth should glorify God and afterwards enjoy eternal communion with Him in heaven in a way complements the repopulation theory. (i) Human endeavour in Christ reaches for (ii) the prize that God desires to bestow. And Charles Edwards in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant concurrently subscribes to the two twin beliefs. Earth is the testing ground, man's examination-room. They who will be (i) spiritually 'successful' here will be awarded (ii) a seat upon high. But there are strict conditions to the test. Compressing the Puritan ideal into a compact sentence, Edwards writes,

> Nid teilwng nêb i fwytta ffrwyth paradwys,
> ond a lafurio drwy gariad rasol. 343

Edwards is afforded an opportunity to rile against the Lord's enemies, and enlarge upon the virtues of his elect:

> Nid y llyrfion maswedd aidd, ond y rhai poenus
> yngwaith ffydd, a gorfodawg ym mhôb profedigaeth,
> a gant y gorffwystra nefol... 344

Sinners, too full of the whims of wickedness to concentrate upon praising God, are bound for hell as certainly as the gracious are bound for heaven. Nothing but doom awaits them.

> Ni chaiff [Duw] ddim ardreth addoliad galonnog
> oddiwrth drigolion annuwiol y ddaiar.... O herwydd
> hynny y difethwyd y byd gynt â dwfr, a
> Sodom â thân. 345

But once men are infused with grace, they are instated as partakers-elect of the kingdom of Heaven. 'Tywelltiff Duw râs ar ei etholedigion mal y caffo wasanaeth oddiwrthynt'.[346] They are thus given the ability to show their 'merit'. Regenerated, they fulfil their duty as creatures of the Lord. Furthermore, it is noted that God offers salvation to man not only to make of him an immaculate reflection of heavenly glory, but also to

insure that they will be agreeable company for Him in eternity. In Edwards's own words: 'cynefina hwynt â daioni yn y bŷd hwn, fel y byddont hyfryd ynddo yn ei ŵydd ef dros byth.' Once again the statement is reinforced by a metaphor. 'Yma', envisages Edwards, 'y gwnaiff Duw naidu'r meini bywiol iw gosod yn y deml brydferth frŷ.'[347] Such a thought undoubtedly has its roots in the rich ground of the repopulation theory, and Edwards allows it to flower wonderfully in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. He writes,

> Y Duw doeth a gymm wysa ei bobl i'r man lle y byddo ef iw dwyn hwynt. Ni enir plant ir byd daiarol hwn yn y môdd naturiol, nes ffurfio ynddynt yr aelodau a'r rhannau y bont iw harferu yma. A dir yw y gweithia Duw foddion sanctaidd yn y rhai y bydd ef ar fedr eu derbyn ir bŷd nefol: gan eu gwneuthur yn gymwys i gael rhan o etifeddiaeth y sainct yn y goleuni. Feriff wybod golud ei ogoniant ar lestri trugaredd, sef y rhai a rag-barâtodd efe i ogoniant, wrth eu galw yn y bŷd yma, a'u gwneuthur yn feibion ir Duw byw.

Now the imagination relieves the reason:

> Porth, cyntedd, a stafelloedd isaf y nêf sydd ar y daiar, tra bo'r eglwys yma yn filwrus. a'r rheini yn unig a'r a ymdrecho drwy bôb cyfyngdra i fyned i mewn iddynt, ac a ymddygo yn weddus ynddynt drwy râs dros amser, a gant escyn ir ystafelloedd uchaf i breswylio mewn gogoniant dros byth. [348]

According to both Milton and Edwards, it seems that God wished to avoid a repetition of the turmoil caused by Lucifer's rebellion. God, argues Edwards, took to placing men on earth rather than seat them directly in heaven in order to give them the chance to prove their 'merit', and then honour 'merit' 'up hither'.[349]

> Ac nid yw'r drefn hon heb achos, canys llê gorphwystra yw'r nêf, ac ni ollyngir yno nêb y caer blinder oddiwrtho. [350]

The unholy, as it has been said, will be thrown into perdition. But Edwards does not undertake to describe neither heaven or hell - he merely draws the contrast between 'hyfrydwch nefol' and hell's 'tristwch tragwyddol'.[351] In heaven, admits Edwards,

> caiff [yr enaid] fwy o ddedwddwch nag a allafi ei ddarlunio...[352]

Death, too, is left undefined. This is understandable, for Edwards is primarily concerned with persuading his Welsh readers to bring themselves to Christ, repent their sins, and continue in holy living through His grace. He chooses to emphasize the regenerating qualities of faith and stress the pure satisfaction which the gracious soul finds in fulfilling the will of God, rather than enlarge upon the tortuousness of Satan's eternity. Offering heaven's peace, he prefers to muffle the pandemonium of hell.

Edwards, however, could not avoid treating of the imminence of the Day of Judgement. 'Literally hundreds' of Protestant writers during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, and Morgan Llwyd amongst them, voiced their opinion of the fatal end that was at hand. The belief that universal death was near was based on certain prophecies contained in the New Testament,[353] which note that certain signs were 'to precede the Last Judgement'. These, it was held, were for the most part 'all ready fulfilled'.[354] Though Jesus had expressly stated that the day and hour of the Last Judgement would be known to no one 'but the Father', the Protestants were convinced that the Lord would 'make no long delay'.[355] Patrides lists the eight signs exposed by Nicholas Byfield in 1626, some of which are referred to by Edwards. The fourth sign in Byfield's list 'is the preaching again of the everlasting gospel, and the publicke profession

of reformed religion...' The sixth, which belongs 'to this age', is 'a fearfull corruption of manners in the men of the world'. 'The last...will be some fearefull alterations in the powers of heaven, and in the ayre, and in the earth, and seas...'.[356]

Welshmen had been given their own taste of apocalyptic foreboding in the works of Morgan Llwyd. 'Our Lord is coming once again', he maintains. Like Byfield he notes that 'wicked men and devills shall roare' at the Second Advent: 'Then shall the sun moone stars & aire, and earth ever changed bee.'[357] Llwyd, moreover, belonged to The Fifth Monarchists, who were convinced that the Day would come before 1660, 'a thousand two hundred and three score' years following the beginning of the Pope's reign in 400 or 406 A.D.[358] This date was also ascertained by doubling 'the number of the beast' - 'Six hundred three score and six' - and adding it to 325 A.D., the date of the Council of Nice.[359] 'Cyn mil a chwechant a chwe deg', asserts Morgan Llwyd, 'mae blwyddyn deg yn dyfod'.[360] Some of his presumptuous colleagues expressly stated that '"MVnDI ConfLagratIo" would occur in the year MDCLVII'.[361] Others, familiarly aware of the significance of the number 666, believed that the fire of London in 1666 was the beginning of the terrible end.[362]

Edwards, of course, lived on to see that the world did not crumble in the sixteen-fiftees or in 1666. But he too, twenty years after 1657 reveals how partial he could be at times to a contemporary obsession. Although he does not once in all his works mention the Second Coming with fanatical expectation, he is certainly aware of the fervency of the belief. Towards the end of Chapter Twenty-Seven he states,

> Ac os yw amser y bŷd agos i ddarfod, a chwedi rhedeg hyd at y gwaddod isaf (fel y tybia rhai) nid rhyfedd ei fod wedi egru a chwerwi cymmaint.[363]

The world's staleness for Edwards was a staleness both of age and sin. It was widely held that the life span of the world was only six thousand years, and according to Renaissance chroniclers approximately four thousand had passed before the birth of Christ.[364] Thus in 1650 theological arithmeticians could deduce that only three centuries of its life remained. But sin could hasten that end. And for Edwards, as for Byfield and Llwyd, the seventeenth century was an excessively evil age. He notes the signs of destruction. Byfield's 'fourth signe' becomes in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant,

> yn awr...bod..[c]ymmaint o waith troedigaeth
> y cenhedloedd wedi ei gyflawni... [365]

Whereas the Englishman saw the Reformation as an instrument of goodness, turning men to the true God of Protestantism, Edwards sees it as the culmination of all Christian missionary work in the world. Byfield's 'sixt', the onset of sin - Llwyd's 'wicked men.....shall roare' - is also recognized by Edwards. He sadly admits:

> y mae pobl weithian wedi myned yn ffyrniccach
> ar bôb pêth nag oeddent yn yr oesoedd gynt, yn
> enwedig ar y drwg, ac yn fedrusach i wneuthur
> cam ddefnydd o bethau union, megis o wybodaeth
> i dwyllo, o gyfraith i orthrymmu, ac o'r efengil iw
> hannog i bechu drwy ryfygu am drugaredd. [366]

People's way of life is in direct contrast to God's Word and the godly examples of which they read. The criticism is suddenly enveloped in a fiercely alive metaphor that Edwards draws:

> Llwyr achos sydd i eglwys Dduw alaru y dydd
> hwn am farnedigaeth ryfedd, sef ei bod mor
> ammhlantadwy, a'i bronnau mor llawn. [367]

Ephraim's punishment, too, he remembers, was 'a miscarrying womb and dry breasts'.[368] The depth of this figure of speech is probed, enriched and elucidated in one comprehensive statement that is, in itself, a complex, if borrowed, metaphor:

> Ond bod Sion mor flîth, ac heb fagu nemawr
> o blant grasol tebyg iw phriod nefol, bod
> llaeth y gair yn aml, a'r cynnydd mewn daioni
> yn brin, a ddichon beri syndod a gofid ym
> mhob calon a'i ystyrio. [369]

Neverthele s, through the mournful black of this condemnation there runs a light thread of an excuse, which serves as a faint reason for the decline of holy-living. The law of grace, Edwards insists, is old, asserting like his contemporaries that time weakens the effect of one of the gifts of the Eternal God. Indeed, 'cymerir mwy gofal rhag torri cyfreithiau newyddion na rhai hen'.[370] Citing St Paul, the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant concludes:

> A nessâodd yr amseroedd enbyd yn y
> dyddiau diwethaf a ragfynegwyd, pryd y
> bydd dynion yn feilchion, yn annuwiol,
> er bod ganddynt wag rîth duwioldeb...

In truth 'y drygioni erchyllaf a bryssura'r farn fawr'.[371]

Edwards defines only one 'fearefull' alteration: and here he cleverly co-relates the darkness of the sun's eclipse with the black shadow of sin. At the Day of Judgement 'Daw yr Ecclips du ar y bŷd, pan fo anwiredd yn ei lawn lloned.'[372]

Yet the writer does not dwell on the world's destruction. Only one page of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is devoted to considering the possibility. And there even, the emphasis is placed on men's ungodliness rather than on the terrors of the last catastrophe. That is probably viewed as something, like heaven, which is beyond the scope of Edwards's imagination.

Edwards is also wisely unconcerned with enlarging his ideas on the resurrection of the dead, or on the nature of Judgement Day, issues which had attracted so much groundless speculation during the Puritan era. He notes only one event, the sounding of the Judge's frightful trumpet, a scene familiar to the imaginations of all Edwards's readers and a scene that

commanded its own aweful associations.[373] At the sound of the trumpet 'the elect, which were dead' were believed to 'arise with their bodies.'[374] Protestant theologians in book and sermon had continually emphasized that the resurrected bodies would in heaven be like the Lamb gloriously bright and strong - 'mor brydferth ag angel, ac mor ddisclair â'r haul, yn nefol, nerthol yn dragywydd.'[375]

Also mentioned, though but briefly, is the belief founded upon Scripture that 'the heavens and the earth, which are now', are 'reserved unto fire against the day of judgment.'[376] The Psalmist had forebodings that the heavens and the earth 'shall wax like an old garment'.[377] Isaiah prophecied that as a replacement for the creation corrupted by wickedness, 'behold', God shall 'create new heavens and a new earth'.[378] These passages were interpreted literally. Commentators from St Augustine to Charles Edwards affirmed, after St Peter, that 'whereby the world that was then, being overflowed by water, perished', so now fire will destroy it. Edwards quotes St Luke, asserting that 'as it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man'.[379] Yet he detects a minute difference of motive. The flood represented God's warning to mankind. On the other hand, '[pan] y gwywa daioni', the earth will crumble, 'can llosci pôb peth'.[380]

The Significance of Chapter 30 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677)

What Charles Edwards does in Chapter 30 of the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is to show by ample quotations that during the dark centuries ('yn yr amseroedd tywyll')[1] Wales could still raise men who were candles of the Lord: 'rhai athrawon a phrydyddion ynddi yn rhoddi defnydd llesol ar gynghanedd er adeiladaeth i eraill.'[2] Nine poets are represented in the chapter, from Dafydd ap Maredudd ap Tudur (fl.1460) to Dafydd Jones of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd. G.J. Williams notes that the only manuscript to contain all the cywyddau, selections of which are printed here, is Jesus College MS.17, a manuscript once in the possession of William Maurice of Cefn-y-braich, Llansilin, who perhaps lent it to Edwards.[3]

In most cases, especially where the quotations are short, Edwards has chosen to print selections from individual cywyddau. But, as in the lengthy selection from Siôn Cent, parts of different poems are printed together, so that the 'cywydd' included in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, lacking a dialectical base, appears disjointed. Yet since it is known that Charles Edwards undertook to make his anthology with a specific purpose in mind, the selections are meaningful and their contents significant. And the most important lesson to learn about Chapter 30 - "Athrawiaeth y Beirdd Cymreig yn yr oesoedd diweddaf" - is what that doctrine was, as presented by Edwards, and how it contributed to the message of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

Two things deserve special notice. The first is that the selections made contain lines that condemn Papism, the feigned faith of the Anti-christ. In Edwards's opinion, Siôn Cent (fl.1400-30) and

Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan, who testified 'i'r gwirionedd efangylol yn yr amseroedd tywyll', were men who had overcome the dense foolishness of superstitous age to emerge as learned witnesses of the true faith.[4] Thus, they provide a link in the long chain that connected the early British Church with the Protestant Church of the modern era[5]: they are vessels in which God kept pure the healthy waters of the unfeigned faith. That 'Ioan Cent' for Edwards, by tradition, had been 'yn ŵr eglwysig yn sire Henffordd',[6] merely added to the sincerity and bite of the poets's criticism of Rome and corruption.

Yet, of the selections printed in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, very few of Siôn Cent's couplets are aimed unmistakably at Rome. Gruffydd ap Ieuan is by far the most anti-papist. He at once condemns idolatry -

> A rhoi addoliant ar ddeulin
> A ddyle Grist i ddelw grin.
> Ffinio Gwen frewi ffynon,
> Ffiaidd a hyll yw'r ffydd hon.

- and urges simplicity of worship, the abandoning of

> [C]ynhwyllau a delwau dig,
> A'r turs cwyr a'r llaswyrau,[7]
> A'r gleiniau o brennau brau

in order to effect a return to 'ffydd duwiol apostolion'.[8] Not only is the Church corrupt, but, according to Iorwerth Fynglwyd (fl.c.1480-1527) the state morally guided by that Church is without justice. In society, bribery is rife, breeding untruth. The line 'aeth y gwir ar feth i gyd' is two-edged, sharp against church and state.[9] As a result, social behaviour was totally unchristianlike, giving rise, as Tudur Aled (fl.1480-1525), to family quarrels, false accusations and libel.[10]

Nevertheless, socially, circumstances were no better in the Protestant era. Dafydd Jones complains just as appealingly as Tudur

Aled:

> Ond ynfydrwydd...
> A gwarth ydyw, a gwrthyn,
> I bridd a daear arall
> yn llwyr ddiystyru y llall?
> Ac ymrwyfo o gam ryfig,
> ym mhob ardal, a dal dig.[11]

And, as can be discerned from William Llŷn (d.1580)[12], corruption did not die with Anne Boleyn. The point Edwards strives to make is that all the poets, in Catholic and Protestant times, advocate a policy of spiritualization to conquer wordly wrong. In a way they propagate - and this is the second lesson stressed in Chapter 30 - the teaching that became synonymous with Puritanism; that is, the transience of the world and its objects; and the certainty of death, judgement, heaven or hell. Siôn Cent is the greatest exponent on this theme in Welsh letters,[13] and over three of the ten pages given to the bards in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant contain his poetry.

The moral furnished by the whole anthology is that the individual should look not for wealth - silk, wines, property - in this world: 'Llawn o dwyll...yw'r fuchedd hon', where the weak are oppressed, the poor left unloved.[14] The life that should be followed is the godly life; the strength achieved, strength in God. But Fallen Man, the poets note, must overcome certain obstacles the reach that degree of holiness. For William Llŷn, the three enemies of the spiritual life are those paraded on p.381 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant: 'Y cythraul acw uthrwas, /A'r cnawd a'r byd cyngyd cas'.[15] Yet man has the opportunity to ally himself with Christ, whose Passion is described in some detail by Gruffydd ap Ieuan,[16] and the significance of which is explained in bold alegory by Hywel Dafydd ap Ieuan.[17] For Dafydd Jones,

Ys dedwydd genfydd gwynfyd (sic)
A fedro beidio â'r bŷd. [18]

This truth is echoed throughout the chapter, which itself emphasizes statements made in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant proper. To note only one. Edwards in Chapter 23 writes:

> Llwyn y dylai un ofidio wrth ystyried anallu pawb i lanhâu natur ddynol sydd wedi ei difwyno. [19]

Gruffydd ap Ieuan provides a sounding-board for Edwards's statement in these couplets:

> Ni all angel penfelyn,
> Na llu o Saint dim lles i'n:
> Na dim byw wedi eni
> I'r nef a'n swcria ni:
> Na neb onid vn a'i aberth
> A roes i ni râs a nerth. [20]

Thus it is seen that, as in "Hanes y Ffydd", Edwards utilizes the work of others to forward his own thoughts and opinions; and will take advantage of the words of a Papist if they can be employed to forward the Protestant cause. All is subservient to the cause of the unfeigned faith.

One other thing should be mentioned. In this chapter Edwards demonstrates that the Welsh in previous ages worshipped God not only in sacrament and in philosophy, but also in poetry, an art upon which some of Edwards's Puritan contemporaries tended to frown. For them, all verses and verse-forms were probably listed with 'dyrfau anllad' as songs fit only for the devilish 'tvvmpathau chvvarae'.[21] In quoting from the cywyddau of these poets Charles Edwards tries to divorce them from songs of ribaudldry and grace them with due respect. In the short introduction to Chapter 30 he writes pointedly:

> os darllenir [y darnau] yn ddeallus ni

byddant nac anhyfryd nac aflesol.[22]

They were certainly 'er lles' to Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

2, Chapter VII

USE OF IMAGES

An Approach to Seventeenth Century Prose

Seventeenth-century Welsh prose has not enjoyed anything like the praise, or, less, the critical scrutiny accorded by literary historians to, for example, the fine dignified prose of the sixteenth century, notably that of Gruffydd Robert, and, in the early eighteenth century, to Ellis Wynne's quicksilver brilliance. Indeed, the literature of this period has often been regarded as the mutton left behind on the table that contained tastier dishes. This attitude shows the grammarian approach to the study of the language of seventeenth-century prose works (in the main, translations from English), and indicates a lack of knowledgeable sympathy for their content, which was invariably religious. Dr Henry Lewis, a fair representative of this school of grammarians, stresses that all the books of this period - except for Morgan Llwyd's - treated of 'religion at its driest'[2] or '"knife and fork" religion',[3] a statement that betrays a total lack of interest in the nature of the seventeenth-century mind. It is of course the twentieth century that pronounces their matter dry. Even Dr Thomas Parry in a way reiterates Dr Lewis's statement when he observes that 'the misfortune of these classics is that their matter is by now so devoid of interest that they are never read except by the few who take pleasure in fine style apart from substance'.[4] Mr Saunders Lewis's comment on Parry's remark goes a long way to redress the balance. In

order to discover the wealth of the classics, he argues, the student must read them knowledgeably and with perceptivity.[5]

It has already been shown in the chapter on "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" that there were strong links of thought between Llyfr y Resolusion, Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, and others of the 'perlau benthyg' reviewed by Dr Henry Lewis, and Charles Edwards's Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. It is quite probable that this book is not mentioned by Dr Lewis as Morgan Llwyd's works are, simply because it too was regarded as another devotional volume produced to prepare people on their journey to heaven.[6] Notwithstanding that it is a gross misjudgement to bundle all religious works together, Henry Lewis also failed to appreciate some of the seventeenth-century works as literature of very high order even when he took to scrutinizing them at length. The reason for this is that, prejudiced against the 'dryness' of their matter, he looked only for testimony of mastery over language. And indeed the use made of the Welsh language by translators is commended: Lewis notes for instance that the standard of prose writing had been raised by the publication of the Welsh Bible, and in order to illustrate this he quotes a long extract from William Jones's Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct 1676, commenting imprecisely on 'hwyl glasurol rhyddiaith fel hon'.[7] Again he notes that in another passage of the same work 'ceir enghraifft ragorol o wir huodledd mewn rhyddiaith goeth';[8] and argues in one place that the extracts quoted

fully demonstrate the deep passion that moved the original author's mind9. Now, it is singularly difficult to understand how a critic can, on the one hand, praise the passion of the original and admire the cultured language of the translation, whilst on the other he fails to realize that there is more to the Welsh version than the classical elegance of its style.

Even in translation, the lexical medium cannot be totally divorced from the meaning that was conjured by the 'deep passion' of a mind. Consider, for example, an extract from one of the quotations printed in "Perlau Benthyg". Stylistically, true, it is a splendid piece. There is the pointed repetition of "Oh bechadur, bechadur!", countered by the balanced sentences which define superbly the central crisis (the meaning), and they are sharpened in turn by the reduplicated phrase 'pa draflwngc, pa gwppan':

> Oh bechadur, bechadur! pam yr wyt yn
> twymddwyno dy enaid wrth dan trachwant,
> ystyr fel y gelli fod yn llosgi yn
> fflammau tragwyddol tan vffern. Pan
> fych yn ymlenwi a'th draflynciau
> melus o ddigrifwch cnawdol, meddwl pa
> draflwngc, pa gwppan chwerw
> gwenwynllyd a barattoir itti oddi isod.[10]

For William Jones himself the mode of expression without the substance would have counted for nought. All Henry Lewis sees is 'llyfndra arddull a'r feistrolaeth ar iaith'. From his essay, the reader is led to presume that these so-called 'borrowed pearls' are in Welsh reduced to but worthless pieces of glass lacquered to glint like diamonds. This impression is reinforced by Lewis's conclusion, where he writes,

> Pan feddyliwn am yr offeryn mynegiant
> hwn a oedd gan ein cenedl ni yn y
> cyfnod hwnnw, ni allwn lai na gofidio
> fod bywyd y genedl yn rhy dlawd i
> gynhyrchu gwaith y byddai ei werth
> llenyddol pur gymaint a chyfuwch a
> chyfoeth yr iaith ei hun.[11]

That is, 'style' was not matched by thought, bythe 'inner irresistable inducement' which for Lewis is the conviction that adds muscle to the body of literature.[12] Mr Saunders Lewis's corrective - 'darllen deallus a gwybodus sy'n darganfod yr hen glasuron' - is again pertinent. He is writing about John Davies's masterpiece, and as added encouragement states characteristically,

> Y mae darn pwysig o fywyd Ewrop y
> tu mewn i gloriau Llyfr y Resolusion.[13]

Mr Lewis could well have claimed that in all the religious works that came out of seventeenth-century Wales there is stored an important testament of part of the religious experience of man: the consciousness of original depravity, spiritual loss, constant self-reproach, theeternal campaign against the snipers of Satan, and, most important of all, the sense of victory and holy belonging promoted in the individual soul by the grace of God. Devotional literature there certainly was, and practical catechisms aplenty, but the few books that captured the imagination of the Welsh - 'Sef llyfr y Resolusion , a'r ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, a'r Llwybr Hyffordd ir Nefoedd'[14] - reveal a depth of theological thought and a wide knowledge of human nature. For Charles Edwards they were excellent guide-books for spiritual advancement, well conceived and well written.[15] His own Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was, from one point of view, intended as a volume that

would reinforce their power of persuasion.

Yet though the twentieth century tends to disparage and even ignore rhetoric as an art, its importance for the seventeenth-century author must be acknowledged. Charles Edwards himself included in the third edition of his work an appendix entitled "Peth o Retoreg, sef y gelfyddyd ar gywraint ymadrodd."[16] The title testifies to Edwards's familiarity with the Ramistic theory of rhetoric.[17] Moreover in his description of the four figures of speech - Metonymia, Ironia, Metaphora and Synochdoche, or, as he calls them, Trawsenw, Gwatworgerdd, Trawsymddwyn, Cyforddwyn, after the terms used by Henri Perri in his Egluryn Phraethineb of 1595[18] - Edwards faithfully keeps to the order set by all Ramistic rhetoricians.[19] He works to rule, defining accurately, to note one figure, the four different types of Metonymia in brief crisp definitions which testify to his mastery of the subject.

> Trawsenw: Pan ar ymadrodd y gosoder y gwneuthurwr yn lle'r peth a wnaethpwyd, neu'r defnydd yn lle'r peth a ddefnyddiwyd o honaw. felly y dywedir fod peth yn yscrifennedig yn y prophwydi, pan feddylier y llyfrau a wnaethant hwy; a gorchfygu gwlad drwy ddur a haiarn, sef yr arfau a wnaer o'r rheini. Weithiau trawsenwir yr effaith am yr achos o honaw: felly tyngodd Jacob i ofn ei dad Isaac. Gen. 31.53. Sef ir Duw a weithiai barch ac ofn ei bresennoldeb yn Isaac. Weithiau eraill trawsenwir y lle am y peth a gynhwyser ynddo. Megis y dywedir fod y byd yn ddrwg, pan fyddo ei breswylwyr yn ddrygionus. Hefyd trawsenwir arwydd am y peth y bo yn

> ei arwyddo, yscrifennir fod gorseddfainc Crist yn oes oesoedd. Heb. 1.8. Wrth yr hyn y mynegir ei deyrnas ef.[20]

Not unnaturally, various examples of the 'troellau' described in the appendix will be found in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant itself. Thus, there is an example of Metonymia - 'lle trawsenwir yr effaith am yr achos' - in Point Eight of "Sicrwydd y Ffydd".[21] There, the author reveals that God punishes the sinner according to his sin, just as Samuel killed Agag, whose sword had 'made women childless', by hewing him 'in pieces' and making his mother 'childless among women'.[22] Charles Edwards adopts Samuel's sword, his instrument of justice, to stand for God's justice. 'A thra mynech', he writes,

> y bydd yr Hollalluog a blaen ei gleddyf yn dangos i ddynion y pechodau y byddo iw lladd hwynt o'u plegyd...[23]

Edwards also employs the adjunctum to denote the subiectum. Here -

> Yn awr angeu derbynir y Sainct ir eglwys orfoleddus[24]

- the 'Church Triumphant' denotes 'heaven' as 'the throne' of the Lord in the example quoted in "Peth o Retoreg" stands for the 'kingdom'. At times Edwards makes use in one sentence of two or more of the figures he defines. Consider this splendid sentence:

> Gwaith cyntaf yspryd y gras, y diddanydd iachusol, yw argyhoeddi'r byd o bechod, am nad ydynt yn credu yn Ghrist, eithr yn rhyfygu; a deffroiff hwynt i weled fel y maent dan eu perigl yn Sodome, er iddynt freuddwydio eu bod yn ddiogel yn Sion.[25]

"Y diddanydd iachusol' set in apposition to 'ysbryd y gras' not only describes the spirit of grace but also the effect which grace, the cause, has on sinners. It is thus another example of Metonymia. The reference to 'the sinners' as 'y byd' - a figure borrowed from St. John[26] - is an example of what is defined in "Peth o Retoreg" as 'Cyforddwyn, pan henwer y cyfan yn lle'r rhan, a'r rhan yn lle'r cyfan, y cyffredinol yn lle'r neilltuol, neu'r neilltuol yn lle'r cyffredinol'.[27] In the sentence quoted above it is obvious that Edwards was consciously employing the synechdoche, for instead of extending the image grammatically to note 'y byd... nad yw yn credu yn Ghrist' he writes 'y byd ... nad ydynt' implying 'y pechaduriaid ... nad ydynt'.[28] The world is humanized, as it were; its sin made plural in sinners. It was necessary for Edwards to abandon the image in this case in order to compose the second half of the sentence as it now stands. The 'world' could not find itself endangered in 'Sodome', as men are. Sodom, of course, stands for wickedness, Sion for sanctity and deliverance.[29] This is another example of what Edwards calls 'Trawsenw ... drwydd am y peth y bo yn ei arwyddo'.

Edwards, then, was undoubtedly aware of the usefulness of the Art of Rhetoric. For all that, the reader of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is never conscious that Edwards writes according to a pre-conceived style. He does follow certain patterns of composition, nonetheless. He uses, for

instance, Prolepsis brilliantly: from an opening statement he advances with disciplined confidence to treat of several aspects of his subject. The statement -

> Mae pechod yn teyrnasu yn y corph marwol, ac yn mynnu ufudd-dod iw gyfraith oddiwrth yr holl aelodau.[30]

- is a springboard from which Edwards proceeds in orderly fashion to describe how each member of the body is defiled by sin: the eye, the ear, the tongue, the mouth, the stomach. Or, again, when he insists, 'Pob oedran sydd bechadurus, ievangc a hên',[31] the implication is that he will treat in detail of the various degrees of sin that degrade men in childhood and adulthood. As expected, Edwards does supplicate to the convention. The primary truth is systematically confirmed in statements which are relative to it, statements like 'Y mae baich o Ffolineb yn rhwym ynghalonau plant', which possesses the added advantage of being a quotation from Scripture.[32] Nevertheless, though the structure of such an argument is mechanical, there is nothing obviously premeditated in Edwards's metaphors that vitally refine the crude statements of fact. In the same context ('Pob oedran sydd bechadurus') the reader is told 'Medrau plant Bethel watwar proffwyd Duw'.[33] To the knowledgeable reader the reference to the well-known passage of the Book of Kings is not unexpected. But the bustling metaphor that follows is certainly a surprise. As such, it is a totally individual addition to the argument.

Thus, the first of the sentences in the following quotation structurally belongs to the preordered prolepsis; the second, though contributary, breaks off at a tangent from it.

> Medrau plant Bethel watwar proffwyd Duw. A phan dyfont i bybyrwch rhuthrant ir pechod yn awyddus, fel y march ir frwydr; dan fwrw ewin aflendid, a chnoi'r ffrwyn a'u attalio, a myned ar draws y Sawl au ceryddo.[34]

Similarly, in the paragraph which opens 'Mae pechod yn teyrnasu yn y corph marwol...', the logical sequence of the case put forward is impressive by virtue of its orderliness. Historical truth and biological fact add further support to Edwards's observations, raising them above the level of conjecture or dispute. And the hyperbole taken from the Epistle of St. James more than adequately conveys the damnatory effect of evil lodged in the human body:

> Cyniwer drygioni i mewn ac allan drwy'r llygaid. Plant y felldith sydd a'u llygaid yn llawn godineb, yn llithio'r anwadal. Derchafodd yr Aiphties ddigwilidd ei golwg ar Joseph, a dywedodd, gorwedd gyda mi. Nid oes ofn Duw o flaen y llygaid. Drwy'r clustiau y daw i mewn ymddiddanion drwg a lygrant foesau da. Wrth edrych ar y ffrwyth gwahareddig, a gwrando ar hudoliaeth y sarph, y daeth anwiredd gyntaf i galon dyn: Ac ni pheidiodd mwy a thramwyo drwy'r Synhwyrau hynny. Y tafod sydd aelod bychan, ac yn gwneuthur drwg mawr, tân ydyw, byd o anghyfiawnder.[35]

But Charles Edwards never allows his readers to relax and accept a prolepsis carefully managed, if vigorously forwarded. The energetic imagination takes over: in contrast to the comparatively tempered account quoted above, Edwards, as if impatient with simple paradox ('ymddiddanion drwg... moesau da'; 'aelod bychan... drwg mawr'), inserts this complex image:

> Bedd agored ydyw'r geg, ac arogl erchyll gyda'r lleferydd yn dyfod oddiwrth gorph marwolaeth, Sef y burgyn yn y galon: Megis gogandîr, a chelwydd oddiwrth anlladrwydd, melldith a chabledd oddiwrth wyn.[36]

The prolepsis certainly is not abandoned. But it is vitalized beyond mechanical invention by Edwards's stimulated imagination. The image of the mouth as an open sepulchre comes from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: grasping its possibilities, Edwards extends the figure, looks into the grave and discovers the dead carcass of the evil human heart. Thus far the metaphor is a concrete, visual image. Now Edwards proceeds to 'explain' its meaning in literal terms: the stench, 'yr arogl erchyll', is said to be the slander and untruth that is born of intrigue, and 'burgyn y galon', the curse and blasphemy from indignation. Yet for all the abstraction it is the physical repugnance that remains. It leaves 'such a finne impression in the memory as is not lightly forgotten'.[37]

This is so throughout "Rhinwedd y Ffydd", which is full of

wonderful images that supersede literal statements, clarifying them and extending their meaning. Thus, though he was not far from being at times a faithful student and able practitioner of the Art of Rhetoric as it was known to, say, William Salesbury,[38] Charles Edwards is primarily an author whom the twentieth century would unavowedly commend as a genius of metaphor, a writer of great poetic ability. 'Y gwir yw', claims Mr Saunders Lewis, 'mai Charles Edwards yw'r meistr mwyaf ar y trosiad neu'r metaffor mewn rhyddiaith Gymraeg.'[39] From the above quotations it is obvious that the figures of speech used by the author were not implemented as verbal trimmings to adorn the matter. In Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant thought and expression are one and indivisible,[40] even when 'thought' is partly transferred from the concrete of a particular image to the abstract. Consider one further example. Edwards begins by stating that ideally the mind should control man's will. Since Adam's Fall this has not been the order of things: now the corrupt desires which constitute the wicked will are loose. Edwards (seemingly) spontaneously conceives of them as rebellious knaves galloping at liberty, leaving the prince afoot:

> Dylai'r deall reoli'r ewyllys; ond yn awr collodd ei awdurdod, a gwnaiff y deisyfiadau llygredig a fynnont er gwaetha iddo ef. Yn yr anrhefn hwn mae'r gweision gwrthryfelgar hyn ar feirch, a'r tywysog ar draed, ie ar lawr.[41]

It would be incorrect to claim that this image describes the statement which

precedes it; even more so, that it decorates the statement, for as an analogy it is incomplete. The prince, true, is the mind or the understanding, and the riders the evil desires of the regenerate will. But nothing in the literal sentence corresponds to the horses. Therefore it must be accepted that Charles Edwards's intention in devising the metaphor was to illustrate, in his argument, a further facet of the human condition. This assumption is confirmed by the nature of the succeeding sentence in this paragraph. In it Edwards does not revert to speak of the mind and the will. Rather, he momentarily meditates on the situation implied by the metaphor of the riders and prince. From '... a'r tywysog ar draed, ie ar lawr', he proceeds,

> Wrth ei gwymp aeth dyn â'i ben tano,
> a'i fol yn uchaf, (ys drwg yr ystum)
> trêch yw ei chwant na'i reswm.

This is a classic example of the way an author allows his imagination to follow the logic of his imagery. The prince on the ground, though not prostrate, represents a fall. This fall is employed to represent both a physical imbalance and the Fall in Eden; and the picture of the rider's tumble denotes exactly the reversal of morals that followed Adam's lapse - lust and greed, lodged in the belly, overcame reason and stability of mind. These sentences convey Edwards's notions of the result of the crisis in Eden, notions which are fully embodied in the imagery.

Such poetic intensity, remarkable in prose, is the hallmark

of Edwards's style. Because of its very nature the critic who attempts to separate meaning and form is doomed to failure. Moreover, these short quotations from Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in themselves are sufficient proof that the life of the Welsh nation in the seventeenth century did give rise to a work whose 'pure literary worth', as Henry Lewis would have it, is equal to the wealth of the language itself.[42] The matter in "Rhinwedd Ffydd" is no more dry than it is in the Book of Genesis or Llyfr y Resolusion; nor is the style a silk garment covering a gaunt body. It is completely erroneous to conceive of language, words and figures, as things independent of meaning if the images or tropes utilized in a work of art are so closely related to that meaning as to state it.[43]

Thus it would be wrong to believe that Edwards in choosing to write "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" planned to compose another volume solely to augment the body of devotional literature. Though he shares some beliefs with Bayly and the authors of many other Anglican and Puritan works, Edwards's composition is a totally new work, primarily because of his unique way of thinking out into images.

The 'Metaphysical'

It was probably because of his preoccupation with imagistic writing that Charles Edwards was looked upon by one critic as the great Welsh master of the metaphysical style. Many contemporary critics are

wary of using the term 'metaphysical', especially to describe prose, chiefly because its meaning is not 'settled'.[44] Indeed, after ploughing through Croll's essays and Professor Williamson's The Senecan Amble it is easy to sympathize with the view of another critic who writes that categories like 'Baroque' or 'Senecan' or 'Ciceronian', though useful in discussing seventeenth-century prose, are 'but equivocal'.[45] Bush, however, offers a definition of the characteristics of the metaphysical prose style - and it was in accordance with this definition that Saunders Lewis judged that Edwards was a writer of this school. Bush writes,

> The metaphysical style, which was so well adapted to the paradoxes of faith, was a European phenomenon. ... In prose as in verse wit involved not merely verbal tricks and surprises but the linking together of dissimilar objects, symbols, and ideas philosophized and fused by intellectual and spiritual perceptions and emotions, weighted by frequently abstruse or scientific learning, and made arresting by pointed expression.[46]

Basil Willey, stressing Browne's preoccupation with fusing 'dissimilar objects', goes as far as to claim that the imaginative power that succeeded so pointedly to achieve such 'marriages' was 'the offspring' 'of a scholastic training blended with the expansive curiosity of the Renaissance'.[47] Willey points to the proximity of the different worlds of history and fable, Christianity and paganism. He notes, 'distinctions were only beginning to be made which for later ages shut off poetry from science, metaphor from fact, fancy from judgement.' It was the ability to

correlate and interconnect certain aspects of these differing objects or concepts in order to surprise or enlighten the reader with parallel or similitude that constituted one facet of 'metaphysical' wit.

To take an example from Browne's works. He often adjoins the classical and the Christian; another juxtaposition commonly employed is that between the new scientific world and the older values of the New Testament. In the following passage from Christian Morals the four parishes of knowledge are brought together:

> Though the Quickness of thine Ear were able to reach the noise of the Moon, which some think it maketh in it's rapid revolution; though the number of thy Ears should equal Argus his Eyes; yet stop them all with the wise man's wax, and be deaf unto the suggestions of Talebearers, Calumniators, Pickthank or Malevolent Delators, who while quiet Men sleep, sowing the Tares of discord and division, distract the tranquility of Charity and all friendly Society.[48]

The metaphor is a complicated one, because the moral of the sentence - drawn from the Parables of Tares - is encouched in terms which for the ordinary reader are inaccesible. It is the composition of an author to whom, as Willey points out, 'classical learning meant much' as did his magnanimous scepticism concerning the new astronomical sciences.[49]

Charles Edwards too is adept at bringing 'worlds' together. Sensitive to Puritan misgivings and inhibitions, he makes only very few references to mythical characters in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Man's stomach

is described in one passage as Cacus's cave;[50] and in another sin is compared with 'y ddewines Circe'.[51] But they are not employed 'metaphysically'. In one part, however, quotations from Scripture are reinforced by reference to the Greek gods of wine and debauchery. Bacchus and Venus characterize this brief satire:

> Eraill eu Duw yw eu bol, ir hwn yr aberthant lawer o fwyd, ac y tywalltant lavver o ddiod offrvvm, ir hwn y canant fawl yn eu heglvvysydd sef y tafarndai. — Phil. 3.15.
>
> Y rhai sy gyfryw ni wasanaethant yr Arglwydd Jesu Grist, eithr eu bol eu hunain. — Rhuf. 16. 18
>
> Ac ymhen isaf cafell Baccus Eulun y meddwdod, a'r trythyllvvch, y mae allor Fenus, eulun yr anllad. Atto y cyrchiff y cyfryvv ac sy'n caru melyschwant yn fwy nag yn caru Duw.[52] — 2 Tim. 3. 4.

The Greek gods in the metaphor become 'y Duw' that is 'eu bol' by method of substitution.

Of course the fusion of classical and Scriptural is but one instance of 'metaphysical' union. It is precisely Edwards's ability to see imagitively one thing in terms of another that spurs him on to metaphor. Yet the reader of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is never conscious as he is with Browne that Edwards possesses a treasury of references from Greece and Rome, or even the books of geographers or calligraphers, with which he can replenish his wit. This is not to diminish his standing. For whereas Browne often abandons true metaphor to use references merely to augment his argument by off-setting one set of morals against another, Edwards

brings concepts together into a unified pattern. Browne in the following section from Christian Morals is treating of the self-punishment that is inherent in gluttony. His references to Epicurus and Metellus and Nero serve only to intensify his argument:

> The Luxurious Emperors of old inconsiderately satiated themselves with the Dainties of Sea and Land, ... Epicurus himself found Jupiter's brain in a piece of Cytheridian Cheese, and the Tongues of Nightingals in a dish of Onyons. Hereby healthful and temperate poverty hath the start of nauseating Luxury; unto whose clear and naked appetite every meal is a feast, and in one single dish the first course of Metellus; who are cheaply hungry, and never loose their hunger, or advantage of a craving appetite, because obvious food contents it; while Nero half famish'd could not feed upon a piece of Bread, and lingring after his snowed water, hardly got down an ordinary cup of Calda.[53]

On the other hand, Edwards in this example combines, in brilliant fashion, the divergent fields of the child's playground and sinful living:

> Cymer y pechadur ei bleser a'i rwysc gyda ei gymdeithion yn yscafnder y galon; a chweri suglen donnen uwchben y pull diwaelod, er na bo ond llinin brau o fywyd bregus yn ei ddal ef.[54]

This image cannot be rendered literal. The reader can only attend to the co-identification of 'llinin brau' and 'bywyd bregus'; the situation itself; and to the mood of the piece, set by the child-like 'yscafnder y galon'. The whole can be pictured easily: a lesson has been learned. In another

instance Charles Edwards utilizes verbs from the artillery range - 'anelu', 'ergydio' - to express the graceful soul's bearing: 'Wedi i ras anelu'r enaid, ergydia fyfyrdodau tuag i fynu yn aml'.[55] It is a measure of Edwards's imagistic athleticism that these images appear to have been constructed spontaneously. Yet any writer will know that patience and practice must wait upon the master of invention. Here, for example, Edwards takes in the weather conditions and is simultaneously aware of the metaphoric possibilities involved in it:

> Towydd galed oddiallan a chwanega boethni euogrwydd oddifewn: a thra fo'r cyflwr bydol yn gymylog y saetha mellt drwy'r meddwl yn aml. Y pechodau ni chanfyddid yn y cynhesrwydd llwyddianus, a'r maswedd mwll, a ymddangosant cyn amled a'r ser pan ddel oerni calon.[56]

The facts of meteorology accurately become by association the moral truths of Christian living: nor are the two concepts kept apart. And the proof of the poetic brilliance displayed in this image is that it would take many pages of 'literal' prose to explain or even appreciate it fully. It can be suggested that: 'hard weather' may mean poverty or debt or persecution; the fork of lighting that surprises him represents his conscience, etc. The juxtaposing of 'cynhesrwydd' with the abstract 'llwyddiannus' can be noted, and, correspondingly, the concrete 'maswedd' with 'mwll', here an emotive adjective. Yet the image is not reconveyed. Its mould is unbreakable, the metaphysical creation at once lucid and liquid. Even John Donne in his

prose could hardly improve on this. Donne used comparisons, admittedly abstruse ones, to illustrate points made, not to embody them.[57] One example will suffice. Here Donne refers to an exercise with a map to illustrate the spiritual ability of Christ:

> In a flat Map, there goes no more, to make West East, though they be distant in an extremity, but to paste that flat Map upon a round body, and then West and East are one. In a flat soule, in a dejected conscience, in a troubled spirit, there goes no more to the making of that trouble, peace, then to apply that trouble to the body of the Merits, to the body of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, and conforme thee to him, and thy West is East.[58]

The passage certainly does not lack invention, but it belongs nearer to Cowley's prose than to Edwards.[59]

In addition to the images proper, "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" abounds in epigrams and phrases set in apposition which are pregnant of truth. The pointedness of short sentences such as the following is also regarded as an ingredient which adds to the acuteness of metaphysical prose (though, of course, it cannot by any means be said to belong exclusively to that mode of writing). Edwards's epigrams are born of meditation and sensuous attentiveness.

> Diogelach rhag syrthio i bechod yw'r rhai gostyngedig ar eu gliniau, na'r rhai sythion penuchel.[60]

Note the use made of the literal (physical) and metaphorical (emotional)

meanings of 'gostyngedig'. Metonymia is used economically in, for example,

> Balch, moethus, a diofal ydoedd Babilon,
> er iddi weld custudd Sion.[61]

And again in

> Nid gwiw disgwyl i'r brenin nefol breswylio
> mewn cut drewllyd o ddyn ffiaidd.[62]

Paradoxes are construed:

> Y mae yn y dil mel golyn i frathu'r
> rhyfygus, gystal a melystra i gyssuro'r
> ffeiniedig.[63]

At least two epigrams in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant allude to proverbs:

> I'r pant [here referring to the inconspicuousness
> of lowly people] y rhed dwfr y bywyd.[64]

> wrth adferu'r ffydd bu pin scrifennu Luther
> yn drech na chleddyf Caesar.[65]

Eliot referred to the unified sensibility of the metaphysical.[66] Throughout "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" the reader upon following Charles Edwards's narrative is suddenly beset by an image that engages his imagination by virtue of its acuteness and aptness; but is at once forced to leave that image and consider another one afresh. He views the portraits in a surrealist picture-gallery, is attracted to and educated by the brilliantly illustrated works.

An important question, that cannot be answered fully, remains to be asked. What influenced Charles Edwards of Llansilin in 1671 to adopt

this mode of writing that had been the fashion in Europe during the first three decades of the seventeenth century? True, the interest rhetoricians had shown in the religious use of 'tropes and figures of all sorts' during the pre-Restoration years reached a new pitch of intensity during the seventies.[67] Then dissenters, reversing their position with the Anglicans, now took to commending eloquence and the power of the imagination. And though "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" was not delivered from the pulpit, the contemporary emphasis on oratorical 'excellencies' must have influenced Edwards somewhat.[68]

Saunders Lewis suggests that Edwards managed to master the metaphysical style by studying the English literature of his period and the literature of the three classical languages.[69] In order to pinpoint Edwards's affinity with the writers of the seventeenth century, Lewis quotes a few sentences from Thomas Fuller (1608-1661) and compares them with selections from Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.[70] There is very remarkable resemblance between the two authors' use of one image. In "The Life of Monica" in The Holy State Fuller describes Monica's death thus:

> Drawing near her death, she sent pious thoughts as harbingers to heaven, and her soul saw a glimpse of happiness through the chinks of her sickness-broken soul.

Edwards, also, refers to the entry of heavenly light - Fuller's 'happiness' - through a fractured part of the human body. In "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" it is said,

> Drwy rigolau'r galon ddrylliedig, y daw
> goleuni nefol i mewn.[71]

Saunders Lewis does not suggest in any way that Charles Edwards copied, consciously or unconsciously, Fuller's composition. Similarity of concept, doubtless, is coincidental. But its treatment testifies to a common knowledge of a fashionable metaphorical pattern. Both 'broken soul' and 'calon ddrylliedig' are metaphoric to begin with; neither is it possible to **see** 'happiness' and 'goleuni nefol'. But the soul and the heart are, by virtue of the adjectives that describe them, 'concreted'. Similarly, the associations of 'happiness' render it light and welcome, and though it remains an abstract, 'light' is visual. Thus in both sentences, the clever juxtaposition of a common concrete object - a sieve or a grid - with an abstraction is conjured: a metaphysical 'marriage' contracted.

Comparisons can also be made between the construction of some of Thomas Browne's images and Edwards's. (Browne lived 1605-1682). He asserts in Section XXII of Part I of Christian Morals,

> there is no darkness unto Conscience, which
> can see without Light, and in the deepest obscurity
> give a clear Draught of things, which the Cloud
> of dissimulation hath conceal'd from all eyes.[72]

The same contrast between cloud and clarity is similarly conveyed in "Sicrwydd y Ffydd" where Edwards persuades the sinner,

> Golch lygaid gweiniaid dy feddwl a dagrau
> edifeiriol, a gloiwach fyddant, a chanfyddi
> ewyllys Duw yn graffach; a gweli'r haul
> Cyfiawnder wrth ei oleuni ei hun. Oddiwrth
> darth Cnawdoliaeth y cyfyd niwl yn y meddwl.[73]

Edwards's image is more intensely metaphysical in that it constitutes the constant identification of the corporal ('llygaid', 'dagrau', 'Cnawdoliaeth') with the abstract ('meddwl', 'edifeiriol', 'niwl y meddwl'). Making good use of a verse from the Thirty-Seventh Psalm, Edwards repeats the metaphor: 'Yr Arglwydd a ddwg allan dy gyfiawnder fel y goleuni, nas gallo malais neb ei gymylu'.[74] The fact that Browne's Christian Morals remained in manuscript until 1716 indicates clearly that Edwards, though he could not have known of the work, was thoroughly conversant with the contemporary mode of English writing. Yet it is difficult to believe that an author of Edwards's urgency of purpose was solely a follower of literary fashion.

I should like to suggest that deeper motives guided him to adopt the metaphysical style, especially his employment of images. What moves a great artist is a complex force, and at best the critic cannot attempt to define but part of its power. I believe that the spirit that moved Edwards as a writer sprang from Ramism.

Ramism and its Influence

Reference has already been made in this chapter to Peter Ramus (1515-1572) as the primary source of the ideas which permeate Henri Perri's Egluryn Phraethineb.

The main object of Ramistic criticism were the accepted Aristotelian theories concerning dialectic, logic and rhetoric as they had

been taught in schools and universities for centuries past. One critic goes as far as to say that Ramus revolutionized Europe's ideas about logic and rhetoric.[75] Another writes that what Ramus did was to rearrange Aristotle's teaching; and that it was the implication of the Ramist stress on the importance of logic rather than rhetoric that was influential.[76] Whereas rhetoric according to the Aristotelian school was divided into five exercises - inventio, dispositio, memoria, elocutio and pronunctiatio - now for the Ramist it constituted but two - elocutio and pronunctiatio.[77] Or, as Professor Howell translates the terms, style ('bright in the splendours of tropes and the involutions of schemes') and delivery.[78] Invention and disposition are not cast out, but transferred, for Ramus held that these exercises properly belonged to dialectic. It is the implications of this transfer that is important for the student of Charles Edwards. I shall summarize the thesis enunciated by Miss Rosamond Tuve in her Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery on the significance of the change, and attempt to demonstrate how Edwards's style is a product, however indirectly, of the influence of Ramist ideas concerning thought and expression. 'Given the structure of man's mind', Miss Tuve explains, 'there was but one way to "invent" or think out what one wished to say - logically, and but one way to dispose of thought - reasonably'.[79] But what office will rhetoric now assume?

> Rhetoric is far from useless or trivial; it must still handle, alone, all those formal helps to

> clear, pleasing, and suitable expression through which a framework of thought can come to be articulate and powerful. It is simply that the rhetor is a logician, just as any writer of anything must be, in the first stages of composition - those dealing with the finding of matter for a discourse and organizing it.[80]

If logic, as is claimed, teaches the author to conceive of and arrange his matter, then it can be said that all pieces of writing, poem and paragraph, have a 'dialectical base'. Therefore, to the Ramist the term 'logic' does not imply argumentation or 'proving strongly'.[81] Rather does it describe the art of explication, of examining the nature of something in an orderly fashion. Nevertheless dialectic thus defined - 'the mere orderly setting-out of matters' - in itself leads to a proof or falsity. But 'to argue the truth or advisability of something' the dialectic must be conducted through words and phrases, that is, through 'suitable expression'.

To bolster the theory expounded above, there is the Ramist concept of images ('tropes, concretions, metaphorical epithets, descriptive definitions', etc.)[82] as 'arguments' in themselves. It must be understood that 'argument' is a technical word in Ramist writings. 'That which has a fitness to argue something' - a relation, a reference, a comparison - is an argument.[83] Perry Miller notes that Ramus's definition of the word is 'whatever is affected by the arguing of something else'. Thus, he adds, in grammar an argument is a word, in rhetoric a trope, in dialectic a conception.[84] It is claimed that every word or

every similitude is tantamount to an argument because of its associations. 'To the Ramist', comments Miss Tuve, 'nothing was too small to make a logical difference'.[85]

All images, then, since they partake in the argument, are functional. Another American critic, in a recent essay, reaches the same conclusion as Miss Tuve though he travelled a different path of approach.[86] Michael McCanles observes that Rudolph Agricola, sixty years before Ramus, had asserted that dialectic dealt 'not with demonstration but with argument'.[87] He adds: 'Agricola, by asserting that all discourse dealt with ... establishing the topics of dialectic as the foundation of discourse, merely stated that whatever could be connected with something else by being found joined in a topic common to both was in fact connected with that thing in reality'. That is, the truth of an argument is contained in the expression of that argument; metaphor becoming fact persuades. Ramus imported these ideas from Germany into Paris, and developed what McCanles calls 'the wholesale identification of concepts and things'.[88]

Thus, from the Ramist point of view, to think of 'things' - metaphors, similitudes - as decorative is anathema. Of course, this is not a new theory expounded by the followers of Ramus in the sixteenth century. Neither was it an Agricolan original. A cursory glance at the types of images used and the objects cited in the molawdau of Welsh mediaeval poets (to refer to but one tradition of writing) will testify to the fact that figures

as functionaries was the accepted basis of their praise, and of their satire no less. It is possible to furnish examples at will. In his "Marwnad Madog ap Maredudd" Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr begins his praise with two images which, though commonplace, represent two aspects of the powerful lord - his defensive ability and his strength of comradeship:

> Dŏr ysgor, ysgwyd ganhymdaith;
> Tarian yn aerwan, yn eurwaith;
>
> (Door of a fort, companion shield,
> Buckler on battlefield, worked in gold.)[89]

These are followed by a wonderfully original metaphor: Madog is now seen as

> Twrf grug, yng ngoddug, yng ngoddaith;
>
> (A blaze, aflame, loud crackle of heather.)

- forceful and brilliant. To praise was impossible without metaphor in Wales. For Dafydd Nanmor, Rhys ap Rhydderch was at once a rose, an ash tree, the cob on summer wheat, a stag and a young salmon.[90] Then, Sion Tudur's derisive description of the base-born is full of allusions to things of poor quality and association. He is a 'skinflint',

> Byr ei glust, bara a glastwr
> Ac enwyn noeth a'i gwna'n wr.
>
> (Hard of hearing, reared on bare
> Buttermilk, bread and water.)[91]

The authors of the Book of Solomon, of Canu Llywarch Hen and "Merched Llanbadarn" - the choice is arbitrary - all can be said to have used images and allusions in this way. Miss Tuve, in her treatment of Ramist thought,

fully realizes this. 'All that is peculiar about the Ramistic understanding of these matters is the high-powered searchlight which it threw upon imagery's capacity to function in this manner'.[92]

One outcome of this attitude towards imaginative literature is the 'dialectical toughness' of the metaphysical poem, which is composed of witty sharp images that function as images in their own right. The process of intellectual probing that is conducted in the poem is done by means of images without the scaffolding of literal statements.

Miss Tuve does not claim to have defined the imaginative attitude which created the metaphysical conceit. Indeed, that conceit was not a new phenomenon. Her concern is that in delineating certain concepts of Ramist logic, she had provided the student of seventeenth-century writing with new criteria for the interpreting of metaphysical images. Miss Tuve's task as she saw it was to demonstrate that 'the dialectical acuteness and raciocinative temper' that characterized early seventeenth-century poetry came into vogue during the same period when 'Ramistic ideas were taking down the barriers between poetical discourse and dialectic'.[93]

Obviously, there is not the same degree or density of imagistic compactness in prose as in metaphysical poetry. Nevertheless it is quite legitimate to adopt the same critical stance to study a work such as "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" and Donne's "First Anniversary", for the mind that

composed the one is as prolific a creator of intellectually acute, strong images such as are to be found in the other. Furthermore, it is important to put Charles Edwards's Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, especially the use of imagery in "Rhinwedd y Ffydd", under intense examination, because only by studying his stylistic method is it possible to define not only the literary characteristics of the work, but also the turn of mind that made "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" a masterpiece of Welsh literature.[94]

Of course, it is not suggested that Edwards, before writing the 1677 version of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, had worked out in detail the involved obligations of the Ramist theory of logic. Indeed, it is quite possible that, if asked, Edwards would not be able to outline even its basic points. Yet his preoccupation with embodying the statement of a concept in an image is so remarkable in a writer of his temper and religious beliefs that it is difficult not to believe he was carried forth on the ninth wave of the tidal influence of Ramism.[95]

Henri Perri, from whose Egluryn Phraethineb Edwards gleaned "Peth o Retoreg", fully comprehended the importance of images as functionaries. In Chapter Twelve of his book, "Am Drawsymdhwyn", Perri lists four reasons why this figure of speech, Metonymia, is used: that is, he describes its use. Here are Perri's 'A chosion pa ham Yr arbherir Y droelh hon' as Edwards read them:[96]

> Yn gyntabh er mwyn difodhi dalh araith,
> drwy roi ar gyphlybrwydh 'oleuad hydrych,

> iw gweled yn eglur, ac iw dealh yn bwylhog.
>
> Yn ail er mwyn cynnyrbhu nwydau'r gwrandawyr, drwy gybhathrach, a'r gobhydheb rhwgh y cyphlybrwydh a'r peth.
>
> Yn drydydh er mwyn crybhau yn bybyr, a nerthogi yn rymmusawl gybhadhas dhirgoel, a phyrbhlondeb.
>
> Yn bedwerydh er mwyn cannorthwyo'r 'obhaeg; neu i dhal yn siccrach yr ymadrodh benphygiawl, ar araith draedig gyphlybus.

Mr Bedwyr L. Jones notes that Perri borrowed these reasons, the 'manifolde frutes' of 'Apt Metaphors' from Peacham's Garden of Eloquence (1593).[97] What both Peacham and Perri did was define the logical function of images, their intrinsic value in a work. Edwards no doubt understood the importance of figures of speech, if only from his reading of the Bible, before he read Egluryn Phraethineb. But given knowledge of the 'Ramist conception that every unit in every type of discourse' is a step towards the construction of a larger concept, he too fully realizes that the traditional ties between logic and the writer's method take on a new force.[98] Charles Edwards, attracted to the metaphysical style partly because of his own creative mind's visual powers and drawn to it in response to literary fashion, is now in Perri's Rhetoric issued with a code on the effect of images - a reason and a justification for using them. Henry Wilkinson declared in 1660 that 'some preachers would rather please their auditors' ears than touch their consciences'.[99] Perri, like all Ramists, teaches

that an author touches the conscience of an audience by pleasing their ears.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The argument in 'Rhinwedd y Ffydd', in some passages, is carried on a belt of images so numerous and consistently strong that the reader is surprised when 'let down' into abstraction or literal narrative. A topic ordered logically in Edwards's mind is treated to become a concept contained within an image. For him to present the working of the human understanding, for example, in abstract terms would be to philosophize beyond the ken of the ordinary people for whose benefit Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was conceived: that would constitute 'dalh araith'. What Edwards's creative imagination strives to accomplish is a definition presented in image form, 'difodhi dalh araith'.[100] The understanding, then, presented as 'the prince of the soul's elements' is accorded its full reverence and royal importance.[101]

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

In a book such as Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant the definitive image should be appreciated for its powers of clarity, its ability to denote the nature of an abstraction or an inanimate object by associating with that abstraction or object a familiar thing of known quality and character. Edwards has fully mastered this art of 'explication'. Consider, for example, the passage on his base opinion of the human body as the lodging-house of all sin.[102] This passage has been examined before in the chapter on

"Rhinwedd y Ffydd",[103] but it is so richly powerful that further scrutiny will but add to its glory. Each part of the body is defined in terms of its properties (which become its evil offices): thus the ears provide accessible thoroughfares for the traffic of corruption, the belly is the treasury of untruth. Notice that Edwards condemns these members by associating them with devilish qualities. The stomach and the womb are regarded as compartments within the belly. 'A'r cylla', Edwards notes, 'fel ogof Cacus, sy a llawer o yspail ynddo'. This 'spoil' can be taken, generously, to mean man's necessary nourishment; it also, of course, denotes accurately the dismal effects of the corporal sin of indulgence. Now extended ingeniously, the idea is reiterated in the next sentence in a new but relative description. 'Llynchyn yw, lle boddiff llawer o greaduriaid Duw'. Indulgence gives way to indigestion, which makes the stomach awhirl with pain, caused, it is inferred, by the death therein, by drowning, of God's creatures - sobriety, abstinence, self-discipline. Gluttony and drunkenness alone thrive in that pool. Quoting from The Proverbs Edwards writes, 'Ynddo y mae merched y gele (sef glothineb, a meddwdod) yn llefain moes, moes'.[104] Even the cry 'moes, moes' as a pun on moesoldeb is a clever comment on the whole picture. Here in three short sentences Edwards has managed to conjure up a strong terrible image that states precisely his Calvinistic view of the condition of unrepentant man. An idea is given visual momentum in the fewest

possible words.[105]

Salvation cleanses man of sin. To define carefully the stages of rebirth Edwards produces a series of metaphors linked logically together. Even the sentence that introduces this passage in Chapter Twenty-Three assumes metaphoric status. No one can repair his own wrong, Edwards claims. But the athletic imagination, dissatisfied with such a commonplace, acquires a new simile adapted from Scripture; and thereby gives a new wealth of meaning to a well-known passage from Revelations: man and book become synonymous, man's inability to free himself becomes a seal.

> Llwyn y dylai un ofidio wrth ystyried
> anallu pawb i lanhau natur ddynol
> sydd wedi ei difwyno, fel yr wylodd
> Joan o achos na chaed neb yn deilwng
> i agoryd y llyfr ydoedd wedi ei selio.[106]

Three images describe how God conquers sin. Two of them are images of battle, outlining different aspects of the Holy War. This is the first one:

> Crist Jesu mab Duw, a gymerth ei fywyd
> yn ei law, ac a safodd yn y maes i
> dorri pen Goliah, i lâdd pechod, i
> fwrw allan yr yspryd aflan, ac i waredu'r
> gwir Israeliaid, iw gwneuthur o gaethweision
> llygredigaeth yn blant i Dduw, ac yn
> frenhinoedd i reoli ar eu holl drachwantau.[107]

What strikes the reader at once is the way the various familiar parts of this sentence have been fused into a new unified whole. Jesus, from the line of David, is David;[108] the life He gives on Calvary the stone that kills Goliath, sin. With this enemy cast out of the battle field (the human body) the true

Israelite is given his freedom under God and complete mastery over his weaknesses. Edwards, in mid-image as it were, resorts to the plural and speaks of '|yr| Israeliaid'. 'Y maes' for him, then, is the whole human race. The second image elucidates the same abstract notion, and is constructed of similar kinds of metaphor. In the first, quoted above, Christ's life, spiritually abstract, is said to become a weapon, a concrete object, in His hand. In the second, sinfulness, by the same process of mind-transfer, is accorded its castles: Edwards writes of 'cestyll pechaduriaeth' which are overcome by God's 'arfau ysprydol'. The third image in this series is associated not with war but with the smelting industry. Curiously enough the suggestion for the image came from the Bible. Edwards had read that God's Word was for sinners - men of 'stony hearts'[109] - 'megis tân'.[110] By a series of mental juxtapositions the author composed the picture of the hard heart being melted by God in order to be remoulded. The kiln heated by the Word was seen to be the conscience, which warmed not only the heart but also bent the 'brass' in the 'brow'.[111]

Yet to rephrase Edwards's powerful metaphor is to loosen its intensity and in a way rationalize it. It should be emphasized that his furious imagination created an <u>impressionistic</u> picture of the smelting process, not a detailed parallel:

> Er caletted calonnau pechaduriaid, gwnaiff Duw ei air iddynt <u>megis tân, ac fel gordd yn dryllio 'r graig</u>. Ac enynniff y fâth odyn wressog yn eu Cydwybodau, ac y beriff ir

> galon garreg ymollwng, i'r geuyn haiarn
> yn y warr ystwytho, ac ir près yn y talcen
> doddi.[112]

These three images, moreover, constitute a logical progression. The first describes Christ's victory over the Goliath of sin on a cosmic scale. In the second Edwards outlines the direct result of the holy conquest: the easy besieging of sin's castles. And in the third the reader is advised as to how the prisoners of this war are changed to become God's faithful. In this way the bare technicalities of the central office of the Christian religion - so difficult to grasp on the level of understanding - are thus made visual. Indeed, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is throughout a portrayal of the Christian religion at work.

Father ong in his Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue, commenting on Miss Tuve's thesis, claims that it is possible to restate her 'contention in even larger perspectives such as these: Ramism assimilated logic to imagery and imagery to logic by reducing intelligence itself, more or less unconsciously, in terms of rather visual, spatial analogies'.[113] In the case of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" it would perhaps be fairer to contend that intelligence is transferred to visual terms.

The repetition of several images shows that Edwards employs them consciously. Indeed they become symbols and thus appeal to the intelligence for recognition. Man's heart, for example, since the earliest writings, has been recognised as a measure for his mood and character.

For Zechariah, the adamantive heart represented man's stubborn refusal to submit to the law of God.[114] Then, in Paul, its changed condition signifies salvation. In Chapter Twenty-Two, "Lle'r ystyrir cyflwr pechadurus dynol ryw cyn eu galw", the reader learns,

> Nid digon gan y galon butteinaidd adel a gwrthod ei Harglwydd, ei phriod cyntaf, a'i gwneuthurwr, eithr hefyd wedi troi ei chefn atto ef, cymer y gweision yn ei le ef iw monwes o flaen ei lygaid ef.[116]

Further on, in Chapter Twenty-Five, in regeneration

> Trwy... lwyrfryd calon y glynau'r prif-Gristianogion wrth yr Arglwydd nad allai dim eu gwahanu oddiwrtho ef.[117]

For Edwards what symbolizes and defines man's allegiance to his Lord is that he shatters his hard heart on the tender entrails of Jesus Christ.[118] Again using the same 'concept-object' he states,

> Ffrydia dwfr edifeirwch o'r calonnau creigiog pan eu trawer â gwialen Moysen.[119]

The heart as the centre of man's emotional complexity is, of course, an age-old concept. What Edwards did was to take advantage of its common currency, and adopt it as an image that defines the various degrees of degradation and reparation through which man travels from the Fall to the advent of grace.

'The castles of sin' is another recurring metaphor in "Rhinwedd y Ffydd". He 'attends', as Miss Tuve puts it, to the 'usefulness' of the

image; and thus entrusts it with an intellectual office.[120] The portrait of God besieging the castle (discussed above) depends for its full effect on the impression made upon the reader by an extended metaphor that appears four pages previously. There Charles Edwards describes in imagistic terms the strength which the wicked have in their corruptions. 'Y mae Satan a'r cnawd', the building contractors, 'wedi adeiladu ynddynt gestyll cryfion, a dalfau uchel o resymiadau, a gwyniau yn ymgodi yn erbyn Duw'.[121] It is seen that Edwards's choice of metaphor is not arbitrary: as in this instance, he often constructs them so that they are in themselves extendable. Castles which the devil builds can be and are reinforced by (a) rampants of reasons that refute the goodness of the Lord, and (b) bitter resentments which tower against Him. (Note the maturity of Edwards's technique: in (a) the ramparts, the concrete, stand for the abstract; in (b) the abstract is rendered touchable and visible only by the verb 'ymgodi'.) Further possibilities present themselves. In Chapter Twenty-Four the image is so stretched it becomes what may be called a 'tautological metaphor':

> Fel hyn y gorfydd i Dduw yn fynych guro
> i lawr y gwaliau pridd, sef galluoedd y
> cnawd, i wneuthur ffordd iw air i fyned
> i mewn i'r yspryd; a gorchfygu pentrefydd
> synhwyrau y corph, a chestyll cynneddfau'r
> enaid, cyn y caffo gan y Gwrthryfelwr
> cyndyn ymroddi iw Arglwydd.[122]

As yet the image is far from exhausted. Castles are built to withstand attack. Edwards, brooding on the Lord's chances of victory, asks,

'Onid yw anhaws ennill un enaid at ddaioni na dinas gadarn?' The soldiers recruited by God to attack ('Yr Apostolion a'r Prophwydi') have failed - their spiritual arms ('sef cynghorion, a bwgythion') proved inadequate. A few sinners surrender, but their number does not compare with the rebels who have withstood battle like Leviathan. Biblical references and similarities are invoked to support the metaphor: they who resist with 'caledwch calon' are also 'gwar-galed' (Acts 7.51), and like Herod they decapitate the one who accuses them of corruption.[123] This image which constitutes over half a page of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, though resplendent and convincing in itself as a definition of the sinner's strategy, does not reach its logical culmination until page two-hundred-and-ninety-four: there it is said that God's Son, Jesus in arms, finally overcomes the wicked.

The author who adopts this method of presentation is undoubtedly fully versed in the value of an image. In his work he creates a fabric through which certain metaphors are finely threaded to appear on the surface at intervals making up a significant pattern that impresses itself upon the mind of the reader. This type of definitive image in "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" testifies not only to Charles Edwards's imaginative potency but also to his skill as a craftsman in ordering his metaphors to convey a powerful and complicated truth.

Another metaphor of similar standing universally adopted by Christian writers is the New Testament concept of the Lord as the Light of

of the World. Sin and the devil, black and night-like, detain human beings in 'heavy afflicition and darkness'.[124] In one passage towards the end of "Hanes y Ffydd" Edwards wonderfully substantiates the idea that 'the light of the Gospel' alleviates such depression. For him it is not the gradual light of dawn, but lightning, sharp, sudden, tumultuous. Edwards then makes powerful original use of a traditional metaphor by reflecting the spiritual comfort usually associated with it, and charges it anew:

> Canys prifia goleuni yr efengyl i bobl
> anufudd fel mellten beryglus, a ddwg
> daranau dychrynllyd ar ei hôl.[125]

Though some of the definitive images used by Edwards have their root in Scripture, to be effective they are not wholly dependent on the reader's knowledge of the Bible. Repetition in itself makes for familiarity and, consequently, clarity. Extra-scriptural images are used more than once in different contexts, sometimes to denote similar incidents. Reference has already been made to the metaphor in which the 'understanding' was unhorsed. The same image is used to define a like concept in Chapter Twenty-Eight. There the heated flesh roused beyond obedience to reason and grace is seen to be 'fel march porthianus' casting down 'ei farchogwr'. Now Edwards adds: 'ond dirwest a diwydrwydd a'i dofa'.[126] He reverts to the abstract. Nevertheless the verb 'dofa' still retains its association with the rampant animal. In the previous image of the horse, what Edwards wished to define was the wild nature of sin, its ability to

overthrow reason. In this second instance he stresses the qualities of abstention and diligence, the 'abstracts' which though part of the metaphor contrast powerfully with the 'concrete' therein, which repetition has rendered familiar.

Edwards makes 'definitive use' of what can be called a recurring or intermittent image when he commends the damaging power of the repentant conscience. 'Ni all na bo dolur yn y galon y byddo pryfed y meddwl euog yn ei chnoi' is reiterated in the same paragraph, thus: 'Bydd loes ar y galon vvrth i argyhoeddiad ei drwysbigo (sic)'. This is a reference to Acts 2, 37. Moreover, this same image is complemented when Edwards observes that the majority, who wallow in luxury, can resist sneeringly ('yn ysmala') not only God's Word but also the sting of their own consciences:

> gan fod eu brasder yn cadw'r pigau rhag
> dyfod at y byw, a'u pethau esmwyth hwy
> yn rhwystro'r ergydion i guro eu rhyfyg hwy
> i lawr.[127]

Each example testifies to the same image treatment: in each case Edwards has given the abstract 'meddwl euog' or 'argyhoeddiad' the properties of a wasp; by the third time, the waspish conscience is understood to be the creator of '[y] pigau'. Repetition of the same concept-object correspondence is not a testament of imagative deficiency. Rather is it a proof of Edwards's ability to control his images to function within certain contexts as 'familiar' definitions.

It must be remembered that Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was written for seventeenth-century Welshmen, and although the images used vividly convey an abstract truth which would otherwise remain obscure, Charles Edwards at times is no less concerned lest the images themselves should prove 'vnprofitable'.[128] Once, even though the metaphor employed is not uncommon, he explains its extended parts simultaneously ('Sef'..., 'Sef'..., 'hynny yw'):

> Pan gafodd ein rhieni Cyntaf (oeddent iachus Unwaith) yr haint bechadurus wrth sefyll yn anadl y Sarph Uffernol, canlynodd y ffiaiddglwyf anwireddus eu hâd hwy byth. A'r nôf lygredig o fôn y pren (Sef Adda) a chwerwodd y canghennau oll, (Sef ei heppil ef) i ddwyn ffrwyth tra deincodus, hynny yw bucheddau gwrthwynebus i ewyllis Duw.[129]

It is possible that in this instance Edwards chose to explain his image lest his more knowledgeable readers mistook the 'pren' to mean the tree of knowledge. Conversely, he could have been attempting to construct an image of double meaning - but this is probably not true: to conjure literary tricks was not his line! When Edwards in Chapter Twenty-Three comments on the carelessness of sinners, after the opening general statement, he defines their situation in metaphor before reverting once again to a literal explanation:

> ..... diystyriaeth ai diofala hwy. Ni chymerant hamdden i edrych o'u mewn; nac i bwyso eu cyflyrau wrth glorian y cyssegr, nac iw mesur eu hunain wrth yr ysgwir union, sef ewyllis ddatcuddiedig

Duw yn yr scrythyrau.[130]

Again, in Chapter Twenty-Three, he gives a list of men who lay immoved in their wickedness unaware of the judgement threatening them. Edwards explains in some places what that threat is. For example,

> i) Y mae dyn yn gorwedd yn ddiymmod yn ei ddrygioni ... er bod dialedd yn effro uwch ei ben ef: ac fel gwyr Lais y mae ef yn trigo mewn diogelwch, er bod dinistr yn agos atto. A megis Balaam ni wel mor cleddyf daufiniog noeth, sef digter y Goruchaf, y sydd yn erbyn ei wyneb ei yn ei ffordd ddrwg.[131]
>
> ii) Neu fel Belsazzar ai gydwleddwyr a'r ordderchadon, yfant win, a moliannant y duwiau o aur, ac o arian, o haiarn, o goed, ac o faen (sef eu golud, a'u tai a'u tiroedd) er bod Duw wedi rhifo eu hawddfyd hwy, ac yn barod iw gorphen, a chwedi eu pwyso hwynt yn y cloriannau, a'u cael hwynt yn brin.[132]

It appears from these examples that Charles Edwards found it an easier task to think in metaphors and similes than in abstracts. Moreover, his vast knowledge of the Bible seems to have been catalogued neatly in his memory at the service of his probing imagination. Thus the literal statements that supplement his images adopt the dual role of simplifying (without damaging) the metaphor and simultaneously commenting on the scriptural passage. Yet the poetic image, because of its nature, will not always lend itself to simple division. For unlike mathematical symbols metaphors do not so much represent a meaning as express it. Rather than

explain definitive images, Edwards at times resorts to employ well-known stories or passages from Scripture and employ them as images. In this way he both adds to the potency of the original passage, and takes full advantage of the popularity of the original to describe a new concept. But now the effect of the image depends largely on the individual reader's familiarity with the verses cited, for its meaning rests in its native context. Take, for example, Edwards's manipulation of the famous passage from St. Matthew in which Christ is said to have calmed the sea. Edwards writes,

> Gras Christ yn yr enaid megis ei ddyfodiad ef ir llong a ostega'r dymhestl ydoedd o'r blaen yn ei thrallodi.[133]

A simple parallel is drawn between the soul and the ship, and by means of complete identity - the author defines visually the entry of grace as Christ into the human spirit.

Another common device is the logical extension of the Biblical metaphor itself. From Isaiah, Edwards learns that 'the wicked are as the casting out sea' whose unrestive waters 'cast out filth and mire'. His contribution to the picture is a definition of that which moves this 'sea of corruption' - 'Gwynt profedigaeth, ai gynhyrfiad naturiol'.[134] Isaiah's image allows the reader to see 'yn eglur'; Edwards's extension allows him to understand 'yn bwylhog'.[135]

Metaphors are also used as 'specials' which, in Miss Tuve's

phrase, 'open generals'.[136] That is, general abstractions like Sin or Repentance or Mercy are described in brief images which characterize them. Edwards was a writer blessed with abundant imaginative energy who did not resort overmuch to descriptions of this kind. There is not much to distinguish the examples that can be cited from another type of image used, as Peacham advocates, 'to obtaine allowances of [the reader's] iudgement..., move his affections, and minister a pleasure to his wit'. In Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, the Christian's pursuit of goodness, for instance, is said to be as natural as the river's flow to the sea, or the rise of haze to cloud.[137] Goodness is directed towards God: its movement and its escalation are defined in the similes. Then there is a beautiful sentence that proceeds not unlike a gnomic poem from the 'special' to a climax that denotes literally the 'general'. Edwards moves delicately from 'Y dwfr rhedegog sy loywaf, a'r awyr wyntog sy iachaf' to 'a'r Christion bywiog sydd ysprydolaf'.[141] The two opening statements persuade the reader by the purity of their 'objects' to accept the concept of the final phrase. They do so no less 'by the aptnesse of their proportion, and nearness of affinitie'.[138] Or, as Henry Perri notes, these images are used 'er mwyn cynnyrbhu nwydau'r gwrandawyr, drwy gybhathrach, a'r gobhydheb rhwng y cyphlybrwydd a'r peth'.[139]

It is not always wise to classify the functions of figures of speech for most of them by virtue of their complexity or abundance of associations

have more than one 'use'. However, each image has a usefulness which may 'usually be distinguished as primary'.[140] The second type of image differs from the definitive image in that they substantiate rather than circumscribe abstracts, and are often to be found engaged to a literal statement of fact. Thus, in the following example from "Sicrwydd y Ffydd", the simile is at once a dependent of the literal statement and an illustration of it:

> Ceisiodd y cythrael ym mhob oes fwrw geiriau
> Duw allan o feddyliau, a serch pobl; a
> gwneuthur eu coffadwriaethau fal rhidyllau,
> i ollwn i lawr yr yd ffrwythlon, ac i ddala
> yr sothach, a'r ehedion.[141]

Similarly the comparison made in the next quotation is in itself impotent. But when it is looked upon as a scaffold from which the fascia of the opening statement can be repainted it is seen to be of great service:

> Yma ddarlleydd dal swlw fod Duw yn dechreu
> sancteiddio rhai yn eu hieuenctid, neu cyn
> iddynt ymdroi yn y pechodau ffieiddiaf, a
> bydd cyfnewidiad y rheini o'r cyflwr naturiol
> i'r grasol yn esmwythach, gan na bydd cyn
> gryfed gwrthwyneb ynddynt i vvaith Duw, ac
> y sydd yn y rhai a ymhalogant yn fwy.
> hawdd symud planhigin tyner o'r maes ir
> ardd. Ar y cyfryw descyn gras fel gwlith
> esmwyth iw ireiddio, yn hyttrach nag fel
> cafodydd dwys.[142]

An epigram guards the border between literal and metaphor. Another serves as part of the simile in one passage in Chapter Twenty-Two. Edwards writes,

> Gwnaiff y gwan yr un drwg yn y dirgel,
> ac y wnaiff y cryf yn yr amlwg, fel y
> mae'r ffwlbard yn ei allu mor rheibus
> a'r blaidd.[143]

It is interesting to note that in these cases the concrete exempla are taken from everyday experiences, things which the most unassuming reader would need no great perception to behold. Yet it would not be true to assume that images of 'affinitie' in "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" are exclusively simple and auxiliary. Consider this comparison:

> Ac o herwydd fod pechaduriaid yn eu
> helynt droseddus er pan aned hwy, nid yw
> hynny chwithach ganddynt, na chan yr
> Affriciaid eu duedd naturiol, na chanddynt
> ronyn fwy bryd iw newid am wynder.[144]

Here Charles Edwards profits by linking the black-skinned 'Affriciaid' with sinners, whose souls are visually understood to be black. But the idea is an echo of a verse found in Jeremiah (13.23) which enrichens Edwards's sentence.

The third type of metaphor described by Peacham is that which is 'forcible to persuade' - 'to commend or dispraise'.[145] According to the Ramist conception of the power of images as axioms in themselves, the ability to commend or criticize is ingrained. Perri realized this, and rather than translate Peacham's point he extends his own third definition of the function of metaphors to note: 'arbherir y droelh hon ... er mwyn crybhau yn bybyr, a nerthogi yn rymusawl gybhadhas'.[146]

The reinforcement for him, then, must be apt and appropriate.

And Perri would have fully commended Charles Edwards's method of 'dispraising' in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant where the decrees of the Pope and Mahommed's writings are called 'Babanod anelwig disynwyr'...

> ie cywion gorphenhaf y ddeorodd gwresogrwydd llwyddiant bydol, y ddaethant o'r cibau yn ddiweddar, ac a ddarfyddant eilwaith.[147]

An interesting aspect of the function of this image as a 'derogatory' metaphor is that its sting is contained not in its visual parts but in the abstract words contained in the sentence. Babes and chicks are in themselves attractive; even when mentally deficient they invite our pity. Yet to the Puritan or the generous Calvinist that Edwards was, to have been hatched in the heat of worldly prosperity and success was devilish in the extreme. Thus in the image things adored are mutilated only by association, but there is no doubting its subtle effectiveness.

Milo and Nero are referred to in the same vein. Edwards takes advantage of the stigma history has attached to these persons to light up his argument. It is as if the lecturer brings with him his slide-photographs to prove the correctness of his statements. Edwards states, for instance, that men work untiringly in wrong simply because they are used to its weight. He adds, 'Milo wrth arfer dwyn llo ar ei gefn bob dydd oddiamgylch maes yn Rhufain, ai dug ef yr un modd pan aeth yn ych'.[148] To 'perswade', it is imperative that the metaphor employed is logically acute and that it also serves as an analogy. In the next example

quoted the supporting image is not placed in apposition to a literal statement, but itself supplements another image. Again Edwards spreads his wings! But this is how his mind works. One image presents another, references multiply among themselves. The statement that introduced this gallery of metaphors and similes is 'Glyn pechaduriaid yn dynn yn y Cyflwr anwireddus hwn er ei fod mor druenus, ac anhawdd aruthr yw tynnu neb allan o hono.' Two pages filled with definitive images follow. Then Edwards, referring to Lot and Noah, he moves to metaphor again:

> megis y bu yn nyddiau Noah a Lot, ac y bydd yn nyfodiad Crist; y maent yn bwytta, ac yn yfed, yn gwreica, ac yn gwra, yn prynu, ac yn gwerthu, yn plannu, ac yn adeiladu, er bod diluw o ddigofaint yn barod iw boddi hwynt, a than anniffoddadwy yn ei waelod iw berwi hwynt oll dros byth.[149]

These two images are substituted by another, the hammer that drives the lesson home: 'fel Nero maent yn canu, er bod eu dinas yn llosci.'

Milo and Nero were valuable to Edwards by reputation. And it is precisely the associations of image-objects along with their position in the argument that can be used to persuade. A powerful combination makes for 'dialectical force' and conviction. In "Sicrwydd y Ffydd" the reader expects to encounter several images which move him to accept a point. The potency of Scripture to move individuals is stated by Edwards as fact. He notes that it was the first chapter of Romans that moved Luther, I Timothy 1.15 that calmed the troubled Junius and Bilney. The actual

persuasion follows in the lyricism of

> Y mae gwlithin hyfryd ar bob glaswelltyn,
> a mel ymmhob meillionen, a melysdra
> ymhob mefusen, ac arogl peraidd ym mhob
> llysieuyn yn yr ardd ysprydol hon.[150]

Notice the bold rhetoric of the catalogue. And the murmuration of the several m's in the passage: 'mel ymmhob meillionen, a melysdra ymhob mefusen'. This adds to the sweetness of the 'spiritual garden'. Feeling is intensely roused, and that despite the fact that there is no hint in the literal statement which precedes the metaphor of what follows. The sudden transformation from bare historical chit-chat to the soft poetical itself adds to the effective surprise of the image.

Edwards, moreover, possesses a sense of tone. In the image considered above, the cleansing of all spiritual pain in Luther and Bilney was achieved by Scripture, just as in the growth and swell of high summer (represented in the metaphor) the earth is completely rid of winter. The image fits in every way. Then when he writes of the attractive influence of the first Christians, Edwards calls it 'ffrwyth yr hen goed paradwysaidd', creating a mellow picture of ancient noble trees.[151]

Sharp pungent similes can be employed just as effectively as longer images, abrupt though they sometimes are. In one part of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant murder and adultery are seen to be 'fel dvvy afr uffernol'.[152] Then God making food into flesh is compared to Christ ' yn troi y dwfr yn win'.[153]

This last example more than persuades, it borders on 'proof'. Edwards here claims that the impossible once achieved can be done again. 'Proof' is probably what Perri tries to convey in the phrase 'crybhau yn bybyr'. The appeal to technical or professional knowledge undoubtedly helps the author. Once, Edwards treats of the lapses into sin made by God-fearing men. Such things, he admits, do happen; but

> A chynted ac y delo atto ei hun, a chael
> hamdden i ystyried y peth, edifarheiff,
> a throiff oddiwrtho ef.[154]

Reparation is complete. To prove it, the "Home Doctor" is cited: 'Dywedir fod ascwrn a dorrer ac a gyfanner eilwaith, yn gadarnach yn y man lle y clymmodd, nag mewn un man arall'.[155] The image has strong dialectical force. And the spiritual is analysed and treated in corporal terms, as again in Chapter Twenty-Eight. Edwards firstly notes what is common knowledge - that food will not supply energy unless it is kept in the stomach ('oddieithr iddo drigo gyda ni'). There the healthy liver compresses it into blood to support the body. He then proceeds to employ what all are agreed upon as an analogy, as proof of this contention: 'Ac ni chryfheir yr enaid gan y gair heb ei gadw ynddo, a chael amser i weithio arno.'[156]

Usually where the image functions as proof, supporting a position, it is logically water-tight: it fits its literal counterpart perfectly. The fruit of meditation, it is more calculated and often less brilliant than

the definitive image. At times the appeal is directed only towards the rooted habit of community life. Edwards tries to convey to the Welshman who does not read his Bible the wealth of Scripture. Others, he notes, have testified to it, adding,

> y peth y byddo pawb yn ei gyfaddef yn ddi-nag, a ellir ei goelio yn ddiddadl; er na buost erioed yn Llundain, etto ni wedi fod y fath ddinas enwog, o herwydd i gymmaint o'th gydnabyddiaeth ei gweled.[157]

This classification of Charles Edwards's images has shown the clear logical purpose that ruled their construction. The whole of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" is permeated by images, all of which conform to a dialectical discipline. Like Llyfr y Resolusion the eight chapters of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant progress logically from subject to subject.[158] Furthermore, the first statement of every paragraph in each chapter represents a gradual advancement from the opening of the previous paragraph. The argument contained between these statements is carried on on an imagistic level in which use is made of all the devices of the literary genius. Here, for instance, are the opening sentences of the first few paragraphs of the twenty-sixth chapter, in which Edwards treats of "Grym duwioldeb efangylol, a'r achosion o hynny":

> (i) Amlwg y gwelir grym duwioldeb ym mucheddau y rhai sanctaidd.
> (ii) Diwyd fyddant yn eu dyledswydd tuag at Dduw.
> (iii) Ufuddhant i holl orchymmynion Duw.
> (iv) Gorchfygant holl rwystrau Sancteiddrwydd er amled fyddont.

(v) Llwyr ymwrthodant â'r gweithredoedd **gwarthus y sydd yn gwneuthur** dynion yn anifeilaidd, neu gythreulig...
(vi) **Caiff y grasol yr oruchafiaeth ar yr holl** brofedigaethau a geisio eu tynnu nhw **oddiwrth dduwioldeb at fuchedd ddrwg.**
(vii) Ni all holl hyfrydwch pechod moi tynnu **hwy oddiwrth Dduw.** 159

After the mosaic of the images, these sentences seem distinctly plain. In the six Edwards resorts to use but one adjective. Of greater importance is that the obvious logical progression constituted in these statements signifies that the author of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" far from being a poet overcome by his energetic imagination is a craftsman in total control of his abundant skills. As the images define, prove and persuade within a given framework, so too are the paragraphs which make up that frame nicely ordered. Edwards's remarkable igenuity and acuteness of mind are best exemplified by quoting a whole paragraph that embodies most of the abilities I have described. The author begins by exhorting,

> Rhag nwyf pechadurus cospa a darostwng dy gorph drwy ympryd, a llafur. Dioddefiff y claf chwysu a gwaedu er cael gwared o ryw afiechyd niweidiol i'r bywyd presennol: ac nid llai dioddefgarwch y Christion er mwyn iechyd bythol. Gwrthododd y Saint gynt feithriniad foethus iw cyrph rhag halogi eu heneidiau: a chan wrthod bwyd brenhinol er ei gynnig iddynt yn daer, dewisasant ffa a dwfr. A threulient fwy o olew yn y lamp i weled gwneuthur peth wrtho, yn enwedig tuag at wasanaeth Duw, nag o win yn y phiol iw llonni eu hunain. Canys os gwresogir y cnawd ormod anufuddha i reswm a gras, ac fel march porthianus bwriff ei farchogwr i lawr,

ond dirwest a diwydrwydd a'i dofa. Drwg yw'r escus am odineb ddywedyd fod y cnawd yn wan pan fydder yn ei gadw yn gryf. A thra phorther ei falchder a gwchder anweddaidd, ofer yw ymhonni o ostyngeiddrwydd. Y moddion difrifol a arferau'r prif Gristianogion tuag at ymsancteiddio, au gwnaethant i ragori cymmaint ar yr oes hon sydd dynerach wrth y cnawd. Aml fyddau dagrau edifeiriol ar eu gruddiau hwy, amlach yw gwallt gosod a lliwiau paentiedig ar wynebau pobl yn ein dyddiau ni. Y pryd hynny glynent mor hwyr wrth ordinhadau Duw, ac y wneir yn awr wrth faswedd. Yr hwn a ymgadarnhao i ddioddef peth caledi er cystwyo ei drachwantau, a'u gwanhychu drwy naccau eu porthi, ac i fod yn ddiwyd yn y da tuag at Dduw, a dyn, a gaiff weled tycciant fendigedig ar ei alwedigaeth Gristianogol.[160]

Though the passage is not particularly fertile with metaphors, yet the visual appeal of the writing is very striking. Good use is made of comparison between object ('y claf') and concept ('y Christion'), and of contrast ('aml.... amlach'). There are three references to Biblical occurrences, and skilful allusions to the nature of good Christian living. Furthermore, the series of apposites that make up the three final sentences of the paragraph add appreciably to the piece's spectrum of references, thus enrichening its appeal. Even the phrase 'iechyd bythol', newly minted, is still tinted by its former self, 'iechyd bydol'.

In direct contrast with this paragraph of wide-ranging allusions is the one that immediately precedes it. There Edwards carves divergent meanings from one concept, 'gweithio', uniting them all by singleness of purpose into one whole. The author of the paragraph quoted above placed a

spying-glass to his imagination's eye, and recreated on a small canvas the essentials of a wide panorama. Here, his tool of vision is the magnifying glass that defines sharply every details on a confined area of thought. 'Bodlona i gymeryd poen i orchfygu pechod a'i brofedigaethau', Edwards begins, 'a bydd ddiwyd i wneuthur pob daioni yn ol dy allu'.[161] The chord struck consists only of three notes: pain, diligence, goodness. In variation its sound reverberates through the passage:

> Rhaid llafurio yn ystig i gynnill attom ffrwyth y ddaiar, ac i ddadwreiddio'r drysni, a'r chwyn sy chwannog i godi o honi. gyda gwlith y nefoedd rhaid wrth ddefnynnau o chwys y corph i beri i'r maes ffrwythloni. Ac ni wasanaetha i ni dybied am natur dyn fyddo wedi ei llygru a phechodau ffiaidd y daw hi yn ddiboen i ddwyn ffrwyth da. Am hynny y perir ini weithio allan ein iechydwriaeth drwy ofn. Gorfydd gweithio heb ddiogi, ac yn frawychus hefyd am ein bywyd tragwyddol. Gofynnir genym ni roddi cwbl ddiwydrwydd i chwanegu at ein ffydd rinwedd. Duw sydd yn rhoddi'r gallu i bob da, ond rhaid ini wregysu ein lwynau iw arfer ef yn ffyddlon, ac yn ddifewid. Nyni sydd i farweiddio gweithredoedd y cnawd trwy'r yspryd a rydd y Goruchaf: ac i ail-ennyn y dawn a fyddo oddiwrth Dduw ynom ni.[162]

Such a paragraph is, stylistically, untypical of Edwards, and is reminiscent in some ways of the strict exercises of definition carried out in the sermons of Andrewes.[163] Nevertheless, it is worth quoting, for more than anything it emphasizes the fact that Edwards was quite prepared to use to the utmost all the devices logic and rhetoric had taught him to employ. Its unity

is impressive; the wonderful epigram ('gyda gwlîth...') 'leaves ... a finne impression in the memory'; and the development of scriptural imagery and emphasis lights a candle of authority not easily extinguished.

"Rhinwedd y Ffydd", without doubt, is the work of a master of prose.

Source of Images

Metaphors, for the critic, serve also as windows on the mind of the writer. They testify to his range of reading, his sensuousness, or else simply convey what interests him. This subject is not strictly connected with the detection of peculiarities of style. Rather, a note on the sources of an author's images more than anything helps to identify that author, but it will also to a certain extent emphasize what has been said previously in this chapter on the nature of Charles Edwards's imagination. This again is a path which must be trod warily, for often a writer uses as an image something which attracted his attention that very day of writing, and lodged there but an hour. The image itself can be but an accident of time and place thought the thought that gives it life was bred in long and lasting meditation.

Since Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was written mainly to replenish the needs of late seventeenth-century Welshmen, people mostly deprived of any higher education, Edwards rarely referred to things outside their ken.

It has already been shown that reference to Greek and Latin lythology is very limited. Of the Fathers, he knew something at least of the work of Eusebius, Theodoret, Origen, John Chrysostom and the authors whose works are included in Fatherly Instructions. Saunders Lewis stresses the scholastic influence on Edwards's mind, especially the works of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Acquinas. An idea that permeates "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" is that the mind as prince of the soul should rule over the body. In Christ, grace is regarded as the law of this ruler - 'ie yn gyfraith yspryd yr hwn sydd gryfach na'r cnawd'.[164] The mediaeval philosophy is defined thus:

> Pan droer ffrwd paradwys at yr olwyn fawr,
> sef, yr enaid, hi a droiff holl olwynion
> bychain y corph a'r sydd ynglyn wrthi i
> weithio am fara'r bywyd.[165]

The concept is reminiscent of the idea of the correspondences entertained by the Elizabethans, yet the 'literal' parts of the image - 'ffrwd', 'i weithio am fara'r bywyd' - suggest that Edwards recreates in metaphoric terms the mechanics of a water-mill.

It is the Bible above all things else that provides Edwards with images. He often takes recourse to a method adopted by the Fathers and which he encountered regularly in Gildas's De Excidio Britanniae - a method of cataloguing several scriptural quotations, stringing them together to make up his narrative. The passages are chosen because they

treat of a topic under review in the same fashion and from similar viewpoints. Towards the end of Chapter Twenty-Three Edwards describes the influence of the gospel in the words of the first authoritative Christian theologian. It is St. Paul, edited by Charles Edwards, who writes:

> A phrifia'r efengyl yn allu Duw er iechydwriaeth i bob vn ar sydd yn Credu, ir Juddew a'r Groegwr hefyd. Yr ymadrodd am y groes ir rhai colledig ynfydrwydd yw; eithr ir rhai Cadwedig nerth Duw ydyw, a wnaiff nad arglwyddiaetho pechod arnynt, ac na bont dan felldith y ddeddf eithr dan râs. a lle'r amlhaodd pechod, rhagor amlheiff grâs: gan eu hachub drwy olchiad yr adenedigaeth, a'u troi o dywyllwch i oleuni, ac o feddiant Satan at Dduw, fel y derbyniont faddeuant pechodau, a chyfran ym mysc y rhai a Sancteiddwyd.[166]
>
> Rhuf. 1.16 — 1 Cor. 1 18 — Rhuf. 5. 20 — pen. 6.14. — Tit. 3.5. — Act. 26. 18

Nearly every page of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" is interspersed with either direct quotations from or references to passages from the Word. Edwards must have possessed a memory that was in itself a concordance. Each paragraph testifies to his unceasing study of the Bible - and it is no wonder that this section of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant took ten years to materialize. As a further example of Edwards's use of Scripture, consider this passage taken from Chapter twenty-Two:

> Anafus yw'r llygredigaeth hen hefyd i ddyn ei hun. gan ei fod wrth bechu yn gwneuthur Cam a'i enaid ei hun : ac yn dwyn tan yn ei fonwes a'i llysc mewn modd anoddefus yma. Y mae chwantau cnawdol yn rhyfela yn erbyn yr enaid, ac yn rhoddi iddo lawer o friwiau gofidus, ac wrth eu cyflawni yn ei ddifetha ef, er gwerthfawrocced yw. A'r godinebwr Sy'n pechu yn erbyn ei gorph
>
> Dihar. 8. 36. — 1. Cor. 7. 9 — 1. Pet. 2. 11 — Dihar. 6. 32.

ei hun: A thrwy aflendid yn ei ddifwyno ai wanhychu ef. Er diwedd gwnaiff y pechod iddo ochain wedi iw gnawd a'i gorph gurio. Brycha ei henw ef hefyd: archoll a gwarth a gaiff ef, ai gywilidd ni ddeleir. enw pob drygionus a bydra.[167] — 1 Cor.6.18; Dihar.5.11; ac pen. 6, 33

The references fill the margin. Each quotation substantiates the truth conveyed in another: in this case all treat of the flesh and Edwards himself enlarges upon the effects of wrong that is suggested in them. At other times, quotations are used to extend a metaphor, in that the several parts of the picture painted in Edwards's narrative are adaptations from verses found in Scripture. In one instance, the banished Lord portrayed in Revelations entreating for entry into the human heart becomes by association the lover in the Songs of Solomon; and the dialogue between the outsider and his beloved is developed by a quotation from Jeremiah.

Gadewiff [y galon] i'w Harglwydd sefyll y tu allan wrth y drws, a churo, oni lenwer ei ben a gwlith, a'i wallt a defnynnau'r nos. — Datc.3. 20
Er maint o ddagrau a wylodd ef, ac o ddefnynnau gwaed a gollodd ef iw hynnill hi atto ei hun, — Can Sol. 5.2; Luc 19.40
etto hi ddywed yn ystyfnig, Cerais ddieithriaid, ac ar eu hòl hwynt yr âfi.[168] — Jer. 2 25

The 'drops of blood' retransform the lover into the Lord.

Edwards's extra-scriptural knowledge also supplies him with food for metaphor. The antiquarian makes comparison between the testament of war recognized in the dykes and castles that marked the Welsh border, and the visible signs of God contained in Scripture.[169] Neither is the reader allowed to forget that he is living on the threshold of a

scientific age. For whatever thoughts Edwards harboured concerning the progressive empiricism of science, he was not loathe to use images suggested by its inventions. Once he compares the sharpness of the tools of gospelling - 'yr offerau efangylaidd' - to a bullet.[170] In doing so, he describes both the shape of the bullet itself and the nature of its achievement, thus inferring a 'transference of character' to fit the spiritual concept. Even in the age of the Royal Society a Welsh farmer would probably be surprised to read the following passage in a religious book:

> Gan fod bwled, sydd dippin o blwm crwn heb
> na blaen, na min, yn myned yn rhwyddach
> drwy faen a phren, nag y gall llaw dyn
> hyrddu'r arf flaen-llymmaf, mae'n dangos
> egni'r tan yn torri allan o gyfyngdra.

The metaphor is dexterously adapted to mean:

> Pylni yr offerau efangylaidd a ddylai'n argyoeddi,
> mai nerth Zel Arglwydd y lluoedd ydoedd yn
> eu gyrru drwy gymaint o anhawstra.

But as is natural in a book designed to persuade the common people to accept the sovereignty of God, a large proportion of Edwards's images are taken from everyday occurrences and from the book of common knowledge. Edwards appeals particularly strongly to people's familiarity with the natural elements, the sun, the stars, the wind, the rain. Once he draws an analogy between mist rising to descend again in the form of rain and the ability of the gracious heart to consider things elevated, 'perthynol i deyrnas nef': meditation returns 'a chafodydd o fendithion aml'.[171]

In delineating the soul's inability to be unemployed he compares it with the river that flows unceasingly and the firmament that cannot but rotate.[172] And in one memorable passage, 'aweful voices in the soul' are associated with 'fiery lightning'.[173]

Moreover, the scholar educated at Oxford comes nearer home, and cites some of the culinary practices of his readers. Perishable foods, he knew, were preserved in salt: 'au rhoddi ... mewn heli ... rhag eu llygru'. He uses the reference to open a difficultly phrased passage in Chapter Twenty-Five, and cleverly links 'salt tears' with the workaday value of that commodity:

> Pan welo Duw yn rheidiol fel nas tra-derchafer hwynt drwy odidowgrwydd eu trugareddau adel i genad Satan gernodio peth arnynt, ac er eu darostwng leihau eu diddanwch, au rhoddi ymbell waith mewn heli dagrau rhag eu llygru gan chwantau, y pryd hynny grasol a fydd tristwch, fel na chaffont mor golled oddiwrtho ef.[174]

In another place he compares the quality of man's living ('buchedda pob dyn fal y rhoddo ef ei fŷd yn ei galon') and the water that retains the taste of the ore contained in the rock from which it flows.[175] The countryman's experience of tending animals is also brought into use. Good Christians, Edwards notes, do not allow the minutest sin to mature - 'ond llethent bob cyw drwg yn y cibin, cyn iddo dyfu yn ewinog, ac yn ormesol'.[176] Neither is the arable farmer forgotten. Treating of the progress in the arts, the reader is told,

> Nid oes llawer iawn er pan arferwyd
> Philosophyddieth, a dysceidieth, a phreintio,
> a chyfraith, a physygwrieth, ac hwsmonaeth;
> bu pryd na welsid heb wrthiau droi'r
> cerrig yn fara wrth galchu'r tir.[177]

These examples show clearly that Edwards, at all times conscious of the importance and urgency of his mission, had trained his poetic mind to think in images that would offer the most parochial of his readers an insight into the ways of God and the human soul. Careful study will reveal that through metaphors such as these just quoted Edwards expresses the basic needs and essential tasks a man must undertake to receive the full benefit of grace. 'Rhaid ceibio at y mwyn gwerthfawr o gyssur ysprydol drwy'r rhwystr galettaf'.[178]

PART 3

OTHER WORKS

The Hebraiscorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen and Chapter 31 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

Chapter Thirty-One of the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is entitled "Cryn swrn o iaith y patrieirc a'r prophwydi Sanctaidd yn y Gymraeg etto," and in it Charles Edwards for the second time undertakes to demonstrate the connection between the Hebrew and Welsh languages. The 'etto' in the title of the chapter signifies that the word-list given in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is a lengthy supplement to another, already published, a pamphlet called Hebraiscorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen, that is not mentioned in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant at all. This was printed sometime during the last week of 1675 or, more probably, early in 1676. It consists of eight pages - 'o blygiad hirgul', as William Rowlands describes them[1] - the first of which bears the title and a Latin introduction, signed by 'Carolus Edwards' in London on 'Decemb. 24. 1675.' The introduction takes the form of a letter addressed to 'Viri Honorati' - Welsh gentry who had lost their mother-tongue, and other men of means who might be prepared to help the cause of the Welsh Trust.[2] Edwards stresses the antiquity and purity of the Welsh language, and hopes to move them to offer practical help.

> Cùm Hebraicis studiis aliquantisper incumberem,
> Patriarchas priscos, & Prophetas/sanctos Cambro-Britannicè
> loquentes, & nostro idiomate Magnalia Dei patefacientes,
> mihi visus sum audire. [3]

This sentence finds an echo in the title of Chapter 31 in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

On the second page of the Specimen Edwards explains "Ad Lectorem" the content and form of the pamphlet. Each of the remaining six pages is divided into three columns: the first contains a Latin translation

of the Hebrew phrase, taken from Scripture, printed in the second column; in the third Edwards gives a 'phrase' of Welsh and non-existent words coined to resemble Welsh forms - a 'phrase' that is the 'phonetic parallel' of the Hebrew. A few examples of these parallels will explain their nature much better than a bald description. Here, for instance, are the first few examples given in the Specimen:[4]

LAT.	HEB.	BRIT.
Eleva lucem facierum tuarum. Psal. 4.7.	Nesah auor panei-cha.[5]	Nesa awyr peneu chwi.
Os ex ossibus meis, & caro ex carne meâ. Gen.2.23.	Hasem em hasemai u basar im besari.	Asen om hasennaui, a brâs om brâs i.
Luctus Misraim in transitu Jarder.Gen.50.11.	Aobhel Misraim be heber haiareden.	Ofal Misraim be haber hi Iorddonen.
Novissimum ejus usque ad perditionem. Num. 24.20.	Acharithvo hade obhed.	Ochoredd fo hyd ofid.

Readers were probably not expected to understand the contocted Welsh phrase, but were asked to see (if not hear) how similar it was to the Hebrew. But a linguist fully conversant in Welsh would have some difficulty in appreciating the significance of Edwards's strange phrases. Consider the fourth example given above. To begin with, there is no such word as 'ochoredd'; and although 'hyd ofid' does make sense, it is quite a stretch of the imagination to accept that the words represent 'ad perditionem'. To take another example, from p.6 of the Specimen:

Urbs rebellis provin-	Cireia marada medhi-	Caerei frada fyddinan
ciis. Hesr. 4.15.	nan	

The Welsh reader can appreciate, without any knowledge of Hebrew, that though 'urbs' can be taken to mean 'fortified town', 'byddinan' in no way represents 'provinciae'. The plural from 'byddinau' - though not the correct usage - would have been of more use to Edwards, but he chooses to stand by the '-an' in the Hebrew for no reason other than that he wished to salvage as many of the characteristics of the Hebrew phrase as he could. Yet he does register the mutated forms 'frada' and 'fyddinan' - perhaps in order to allow his readers to see that his contocted phrase does amount to something, but more probably to hide the fact that the words begin with b in Welsh and not m (as in Hebrew), for both soft-mutate to f.

(The point of such a detailed criticism of an unscholarly exercise is to try to show how Edwards's mind worked to construct a parallel from mere coincidence.)

Another illegitimate practice of his which the non-Hebrew scholar detects is that, in proposing a parallel, Edwards changes certain consonants to suit his own convenience. For example, two of the m's in the phrase 'Hasem em hasemai' (quoted above) become, in the Welsh, n's, only one retaining its proper sound. Then on p.5 the Hebrew l in 'aucal', 'al' and 'gilaioun' changes in the corresponding Welsh to become, successively, ll in 'gall', r in 'ar', remaining l in 'olwyn'. It is strange that Charles Edwards did not abandon the case on seeing that the evidence was so unconvincing.

The same methods of collation are used in Chapter 31 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. But there Edwards makes one radical change in his method of presentation. He is now writing for his fellow Welshmen at home,

cataloguing 'bagad o ymadroddion Hebraeg a ellir eu deall yn Ghymru' - that is, by those who understand Welsh. Most of these readers did not understand Latin, and therefore in the column reserved for the Latin in the Specimen, Edwards in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant prints "Y Cyfieithad cy'fredin [Cymraeg]" of the Hebrew phrase. (Notice that in his great enthusiasm Edwards calls this common translation 'cyfieithad sathredig': the pure true Welsh of Hebrew pedigree is that found in the third column(). Examples that appear in the Specimen thus -[6]

Quid profuit. Chabbac. 2.18.	Mah hounil.	Mae ynnill
...Dominus noster venit. Maran atha. 1 Cor.16 22.		Maer in addaw.

are in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant presented as:[7]

Pa lês a wna. Hab. 2.18.	Mah hounil.	Mae ynnill.
...Ein Arglwydd sy-'n dyfod. 1 Cor. 16.22.	Maran atha.	Maer in a ddaw.

The list of "Ymadroddion Hebraeg Cymreigaidd" taken from Scripture constitutes thirteen pages of Edwards's chapter. Again the evidence is pitifully strained. Consider this example from p.407:

Y mae Duw yn datcuddio a fynegodd beth a fydd yn ddiweddaf. hyn yma. Dan. 2.28.	Ithai Aelah gaoleh houdhah mah idh hefea beacharith denah huua.	Ydiw Allu goleu a wyddau mae ydd a fau ba ochorith. dyna hwy•

In the first place the verse has been drastically cut. Perhaps, if given in full, the Hebrew could not as easily have been 'transformed' into Welsh. Secondly, because the mutated form 'Allu' somewhat resembles 'Aelah' it is allowed to stand, as if this mutated form (of 'gallu') was the original form of the word. And then it is only by association - which Edwards boldly assumes - that 'gallu' can be said to mean 'God'. Thirdly, though the g in 'gaoleh' in Hebrew represents the same guttural sound as the first h in 'houdhah', Edwards retains the one as g in 'goleu', abandoning the other as if it were but a breathed h, dropped from common use. Thus it is seen that here his method of transliteration is governed by no principle, save that of convenience. The needs of the Welsh rule. As in this example:[8]

Eben Ezer, hyd	Aebhen hageser[9]	Faen y gysur, hyd
yma y cynnor-	had henah gase-	hynny Jehovah
thwyodd yr A-	renw Jehovah.	gysureu nhw.
rglwydd nyni.		

1 Sam. 7.12.

Again it is seen that Edwards renders the alef, the guttural g/h, which in Hebrew are one and the same sound, according to the convenience of the Welsh: as h in 'henah', g in 'gaserenw'; then in 'hageser' the alef is once transliterated as h, once as g!

The imagination that is stretched to co-relate 'Allu' and 'Duw' must be made even more athletic to grasp how 'Amledd chwi' stands for 'Dy gyflawnder' (said to be from Exodus, 22.29, but is not).[10] Or how 'âs ei reen hwy a gysurau' denotes the meaning of 'pob un a gynnorthwyodd ei gymmydog'.[11] The Hebrew 'oahol' means 'pabell' - but Edwards can

make a bed, 'gwely', of it.[12] Similarly, 'panei' means presence, but since it resembles the plural of 'pen', as 'peneu' it stands, although no feat of association could normally bring the words together.[13] And what would the common reader make of 'tyned a chwtha' that is supposed to be the pure translation for 'cilied y bwyst fil'? Or 'gyrn saim' for 'bryn ffrwythlon'?[14]

Edwards's third column is full of coined words and strange forms that resemble Welsh words: 'ymhafogeth' (p.415) is new, so is 'ymsowen' (409) and 'beboten' (410). 'Samaeth' (411) is claimed to resemble 'gwasanaeth', 'llewisi' (409) to be a form of 'llewys', whilst 'y dewrhwy' (406) is probably meant to be 'dewrion'.

In Chapter 31 there is also a very lengthy list of Hebrew words, together with the odd Chaldean word, which, Edwards explains, are in use in the Welsh language - 'cryn rifedi o'r geiriau o'r un sain ac arwyddoccâd yn y ddwyiaith.'[15] For instance,

Lluung.	Llwngc	(400)
Manegid.	Mynegid	(400)
Gareuath.	gwarth	(402)
Ragas	rhwygws	(403), etc.

Coincidence is here smiling on Edwards like Fortune. By far the greater number of the Hebrew examples he cites are words which do not retain their original sound patterns in translation. But Edwards is master of his own argument and foresees all drawbacks. He explains:

> lle mae pêth rhagoriaeth rhyngddynt gosodais arwyddoccâd priodol pob gair Hebraeg ar ei ol, ac yno'r gair Cymraeg y sydd yn cyfateb iddo, fel y dirnader y carennydd sydd rhyngddynt.[16]

Now the reader is confronted with pairings like

Barac discleirdeb, barrug. (396)

though there is nothing to link 'discleirdeb' with 'barrug' more than with anything alluding to whiteness, except the coincidental formation of the consonants b r c/g. The same is true of the second example, as it is of a few dozen other examples in Edwards's list. 'Din' does mean opinion, 'barn', but what relation this has with 'dinas' (397) only Charles Edwards knows. 'Shadai', meaning literally 'the one on the mountain', a word borrowed into Hebrew, has developed spiritual significance: Edwards's 'Hollalluog', then, can be accepted as a loose translation, but to relate it to 'sy dda' (397) again is to use too much elastic.

Edwards has no respect for accepted correct Welsh forms - and since they were for him vulgar forms it is easy to follow his logic. But neither has he any respect for Hebrew forms or for Hebrew pronunciation. At least once he completely ignores the preposition which makes up the first syllable of a word he translates: the 'um-' in 'ummyli' is the preposition prefixed to the noun - but Edwards had to take advantage of it to produce 'ymmyl i' in Welsh.[17] Neither does he take into account the significance of the various word-terminations. For instance, the '-th' affixed to 'ama-'(395) is the old feminie termination of the noun. Without the added advantage of this '-th' Edwards could not have suggested that 'maeth' was derived from 'amaeth'. Edwards again misleads his reader by ignoring incorrect pronunciation. 'Auor' (p.395) certainly looks like 'awyr', but the Hebrew word is pronounced '-or'. As for 'ap', said to be the root of 'wep' (396) - 'ap' means nose, which contributes to the quality of the 'wep'; but unfortunately, it is pronounced 'aff.'

After noting Edwards's imaginative elasticity and his elementary mistakes in grammar, it is now pertinent to ask how much Hebrew did he really know. I would suggest, not much. Undergraduates in Edwards's day were not expected to study all the liberal-arts subjects. Indeed, there is room to believe that a few subjects were not studied at all in depth, save by B.A.s. Bachelors, working for the mastership, were expected to advance their study of Greek, and also take up geometry, astronomy, natural and moral philosophy, and metaphysics. Not until the seventeenth century was Hebrew added to this curriculum.[18] Since Edwards did not proceed to work for his M.A. and since it is improbable that he studied the language thoroughly at undergraduate level, he cannot be described as an expert in Hebrew. Yet he must have learned to read the language (for his efforts at transliteration are quite acceptable) and it characteristics were not completely strange to him. He knew at least that many Hebrew consonants were guttural

- 'yn dyfod oddiwrth gyffiniau y galon, o wraidd y geneu'[19] -

even though he ignored this fact in the Specimen and in Chapter 31 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant: and he knew something of Hebrew idioms.

But for his purpose, this was enough. It was not imperative that Edwards should have a thorough knowledge of the language in order to carry out his investigation. Conviction and enthusiasm buoyed by a little knowledge could have taken him far past the barriers of ignorance. And it is indeed possible that nothing but his sense of history (as he knew it) and his adherence to some Biblical statements that urged him to his task. It would not be unprofitable to try and trace Edwards's steps along this path.

As G.J. Williams notes,[20] the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was not the first to claim a special relationship between the Hebrew and the Welsh languages, nor indeed between the Welsh nation and the Jews. Edwards's statement -

> Tybia rhai mae heppil Cam ydym ni, a pheth o weddillion y Cenhedloedd a ddiangasant o dir Canaan ... ([ac] nid yw'r chwedl heb liw).[21]

- is but a strong echo of a belief that had sounded for generations.[22] Did it not then follow that certain Hebrew words had been carried into Albion? -

> oni bae ddyfod ein cenedl ni oddiwrth barthau'r dwyrain lle'r heppiliodd Adda yn y dechreuad, a thylwyth Noah wedi'r dilyw, ni buasai gym int o iaith y cynfyd yn ein mysc ni y prŷd hyn, a ni wedi ein neilltuo gan y môr oddiwrth y rhan fwyaf o'r bŷd gyhyd o amser.[23]

Morris Kyffin, in his introduction to Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr, states that he could write a book - 'llyfr digon ei faint o'r geirieu cymreic arferedig, a fenthycciwyd nid yn vnig o'r Lladin a'r Frangaec, eithr o iaith Itali, ag iaith Spaen hefyd: heblaw'r dafod Roeg, ag Ebryw, a'r cyfryw.[24] Though Edwards, no doubt, was pleased to read that the learned Kyffin had lent his weight to this theory, he saw fit to differentiate between the words borrowed into the Welsh language and the words from which that language was originally created. The following criticism is probably aimed at those who held ideas similar to Kyffin's:

> Geiriau Groeg, Ladin, a Saesneg a hurddwyd ir Gymraeg ar flaen cleddyf, neu a ollyngwyd i mewn gyd a chwt masnach a dysceidiaeth, tra yw cyfansoddiad yr ieithoedd hynny yn anhebygol iddi. Ond y mae'r Hebraeg yn ollawl vn brŷd a gwêdd â hi....[25]

John Davies, the greatest authority on the Welsh language in the early seventeenth century, 'vnig Plato ardderchawg o'n hiaith ni',[26] also refers to the relationship between the two languages, and goes out of his way in

the introduction to his Dictionary to condemn those like Kyffin who insist 'nad yw'r iaith Gymraeg...ddim amgen, onid hanner lladin drwyddi.'[27] Furthermore, Davies states that the Welsh was not similar in any way to the other languages of Europe, but that there were similarities between it and the Hebrew.[28] Edwards obviously noted the point; and read, further on in the introduction, Davies's confessions

> Nec ante confusas in Babele linguas vel nostram vel aliam vllam praeter Hebraeam extitisse somniamus...

Davies, 'y dyscedig',[29] appeals to Scripture; and Genesis is the source of his belief that before Babel there was only one language on earth, the Hebrew.

Edwards also, of course, knew his Bible, and although it was perhaps John Davies who inspired him to his task of tracing the exact relationship between the Welsh language and the Hebrew,[30] it is his acceptance of the truth of God's Word that is at the root of his urge.

In one passage in "Siccrwydd y Ffydd" Edwards reveals how his conviction materialized. In stressing that there is plenty of evidence to prove the truth of various statements in Scripture, he notes as an instance,

> Y mae'r amryw ieithoedd ymysc dynion etto yn gwirio'r hitôri ynghylch gwascarfa a chymysciad Babel.[31]

He then proceeds to describe in more detail the nature of the scattering's disorder:

> Canys gan fod yn awr gymmaint o'r vn geiriau, a'r vn rhyw sain gan y llythrennau ym mysc cenhedloedd ac ieithoedd dieithrol iw gilidd, y mae yn hygoel mai'r vn iaith oedd ar y cyntaf gan bawb, megis y datcan Moses. Je pwy bynnag a ddeallo'r Hebraeg ac ieithoedd eraill hefyd, a ddichon ddirnad eu gwneuthur hwynt o honi hi: ac nad yw'r amrafael ieithoedd a'r sydd

> amlaf yn y parthau hynodaf o'r bŷd, ond yr vn iaith wedi ei chymyscu a'i thaflu wyneb a gwrthwyneb allan o'r drefn gyntaf gan ddynion wedi ammhwyllo, a ddechreuent ymbell air yn ei ddiwedd, ac a'i ddiweddent yn ei ddechreu. Felly y dywed y Cymro <u>mud</u>, yr hwn air yn yr Hebraeg yw <u>dum</u>. Dechreuent hefyd rai geiri[illegible] yn eu canol, a thrawent eu deupen ynghŷd, a thaflent silaftau geiriau eraill y naill ar draws y llall, fel na wyddid mai'r vn geiriau oeddent.

Upon interpreting the verses of Genesis literally, what Edwards did was to develop the argument to its logical end. If the Lord confounded the primary language of the earth, then - to retain the pictorial image - deformed 'pieces' of the Hebrew must have been scattered to 'y parthau hynodaf o'r bŷd', where they were adopted as the new, native language. For Charles Edwards theory was not enough - practical truth was more important. Before moving on, he again stresses the source of his idea; and summarizes the full implications of the story:

> Dywed yr scrythur gymmyscu'r iaith yn Babel; ynteu digwyddodd ieithoedd newyddion yno wrth ddadgyssylltu, a chwalu, a rhwystrus benblethu aneirif ddarnau o'r hên. Ac o hynny y mae arwyddion digon hynod i'r ieithydd a graffo arnynt. [32]

Thus, there were two historical bases for Edwards's conviction, the one Biblical, the other Welsh traditional, from which he could launch his project.

It is significant that in the 1671 edition of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u> Edwards did not enlarge upon the statement that the existence of the several languages of the earth prove the story about Babel true. Nor does he once mention that the scattering resulted in new formations, <u>mud</u> from <u>dum</u>, and so on. It seems then that he took to studying the relationship between the Hebrew and Welsh languages after 1671, most probably during the

three or four years before he joined Thomas Gouge and Stephen Hughes.

There is no need to look very far for his text-book. He twice, as has been noted, writes that he seemed to hear the prophets conversing in Welsh when he was reading their works in the Hebrew Bible. All the examples in the Specimen are taken from Scripture (though the references are not all correct); and so are the "Ymadroddion Hebraeg Cymreigaidd". Edwards could have studied a polyglot Bible (taking recourse to the Latin when he did not fully understand the Hebrew) specifically in order to look for examples of 'Cambrian Hebrew' phrases.[33]

At the same time it is possible that Edwards received further stimulus and no little practical help fro other books, especially to construct his word-lists. Books such as Francis Gouldman's popular Copious Dictionary which appeared in 1674 for the third time in ten years.[34] Added to 'the Simple Theams and Compounds, throughout the Whole Work' in 1674 were 'the most Textual, usual and proper Hebrew Roots and Derivatives... Inserted by W. Robertson', roots and derivatives that were also added to Thomas Hoylake's Large Dictionary of 1677.[35] Does this perhaps mean that it was fashionable with one school of lexicographers during that decade to search for Hebrew roots to words? If it was, Edwards, in Oxford or London caught the disease.

The same William Robertson who added to Gouldman's dictionary had himself twenty years previously compiled a book that, if Charles Edwards knew about it, was certainly cherished by the Welsh author. It was called The Second Gate or The Inner Door to the Holy Tongue (1654), and described as 'Being a compendious Hebrew Lexicon or Dictionary; In which all the Roots and Primitive words in the Bible, both Hebrew and Chaldee, are orderly set down, and numbered, and their significations expressed, in

each several conjugation, wherein they are found extant in the Bible'. All the Hebrew words listed in the book are transliterated and though some of his forms resemble those found in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, for every two that are similar there are ten dissimilar. Of course, in an age when there was no standardized method of transliterating, Edwards could feel free to change Robertson's forms to proximate Hebrew words to Welsh ones. Thus it would be possible to have from The Second Gate

> alah. 1 hee swore, he cursed, he did forswear himself...[36]

corresponding to

> Aleth melldith, alaeth[37]

in Chapter 31 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Or

> balah, 1 he was old.. he did consume, spend, and wear out... [38]

corresponding to

> Balu heneiddiasant. ballu.[39]

Similar forms found in both works include

> ahal, a tent, a tabernacle

from p.3 of The Second Gate,

> Ahal, pabell. wâl

from p.395 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Or

esh, fire, a burnt offering (The Second Gate, p.14)	Esh tân, us. (Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.396)
macha,... he smote mechi,... an iron ram or an engine of war (121)	Macha trawodd, Macheu, dalfeydd i ymladd o honynt (400)

I am not, of course, insisting that Edwards got his examples from The Second Gate. He lists many words that are not included by Robertson. But undoubtedly it was from a book like his, and from a polyglot Bible, that

he gleaned his 'knowledge'.

His treatment of this subject is strange and intriguing. Why did he take up the subject? Yet it is impossible not to feel that before the advent of scientific comparative philology, it was perhaps inevitable that someone should persue this course and develop a revered idea to its logical end.

3, Chapter II

FATHERLY INSTRUCTIONS: The Structure and Nature of Charles Edwards's Appeal to Antiquity.

Edwards's first English work was published in London in 1686, nine years after the publication of the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. This book is entitled Fatherly Instructions: being Select Pieces of the Writings of the Primitive Christian Teachers. Translated into English with an Appendix, entituled Gildas Minimus. The 'select pieces' themselves are contained in one-hundred-and-eighty-one quarto pages. They are preceded by a short introduction of three pages "To the Reader"; and followed by a sermon on the assertion "That in all times Almighty God is very good to his people." This, only the first part of Gildas Minimus, takes up twenty pages.[1] At the foot of the last numbered page of his book, Edwards informs his reader that 'The rest of Gildas Minimus is not yet printed'. In the Bodleian Library copy, this second part is bound with the first in Fatherly Instructions, and is not introduced by a new title-leaf. It can safely be assumed that the pamphlet of thirty-one pages containing the other four 'assertions' of Gildas Minimus came from the presses only a short while after the appearance of Fatherly Instructions.

Opposite page two-hundred-and-two of Fatherly Instructions, Edwards prints a letter addressed 'To the Honoured Persons in City or Countrey, that lately were Trustees for Charitable Works in Wales". He calls them 'Worthy Patriots' who gave of their charity to promote 'the natural good of many'. Perhaps the Welsh Trust at the time was conscious of the sharpness of some Complaints lodged against the apathy or the lack of appreciation of the 'many', for Edwards is at pains to console his

worthies. He argues that Christ Himself received thanks from only one in ten of those whom He helped. Heaven will bestow its own reward - 'God maketh a cheerful giver, and in glory gratifieth the small office of his servant with rewards proceeding from his own unsearchable riches'. It is in this spirit that Edwards urges the prople of Wales to continue the good work begun by the Trust. The other letter printed here is "To my Kindred and Acquaintance in the Counties of Salop and Denbigh, and elswhere."

The publishing of Fatherly Instructions was, for Edwards, the culmination of seven busy years in London, during which he had been responsible for the preparation and printing of at least six elsh books, including 'the last impressions of the British Bible, Practice of Piety, Plain Man's path-way to Heaven', as he himself notes in his letter to the 'Honoured Persons'. It is quite possible, as Mr Saunders Lewis suggests in Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher, that Edwards began to contemplate such an anthology as Fatherly Instructions during the years he spent at Oxford preparing, and improving upon, the several editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. For in the first, historical part of that book, not only does Edwards refer to some of the deeds of the Primitive Fathers, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen and Lactantius, but also renders in Welsh selections from the works of four of them. Thus he showed himself to be well acquainted with the Greek and Latin religious literature of the first four centuries long before 1686. But in An Afflicted Man's Testimony concerning his troubles in 1691 Edwards explains that it was to look 'for Advice in my Straits', which are described in the pamphlet, that he searched the 'Old Authors', 'and finding good satisfaction therein, I was induced to

translate and print some of their writings, calling them Fatherly Instructions'.[2] Yet his selections contain no pampering consolations for a man destituted of his family,[3] nor for one who complains of attempts made to poison him.[4]

In compiling Fatherly Instructions Charles Edwards chose from the works of no less than sixteen authors, each one a notable representative of different schools of thought. They range from Ignatius, whose working life spanned the second half of the first century A.D.,[5] to Augustine, in the fifth century. For all this, it can scarcely be claimed that Edwards chose to translate their works in order to demonstrate the various opinions broadcast through them. As shall be shown, these patristic writings were presented to the seventeenth-century reader not because of their inherent worth but rather to uphold some of the ideas held by Edwards himself.

Some writers, of course, were dramatic and significant in themselves. Selections of the works of Ignatius, for example, were included in both Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant[6] and Fatherly Instructions. In the English anthology, Edwards quotes from the letter Ignatius wrote to the Christians at Rome whilst he was making his journey to that city to meet his death.[7] In it, Ignatius reveals a new-found joy. Perceiving martyrdom as the perfect imitation of Christ, he pleads with his fellow Christians that none of them should deprive him of the opportunity to present himself, in death, as a true disciple of the Lord. He writes - and I quote Edwards's English -

> I am Gods Corn, let me be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found to be pure bread. [8]

For an author like Edwards, who for large sections of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant had been preoccupied with relating tales of martyrdom, Ignatius's letter was of primary importance. And although the translated extract contained in Fatherly Instructions is only half as long as that in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, the paragraph is sufficient to convey to the seventeenth-century reader the intense sincerity of Ignatius's noble ambition. (One interesting point to note is that Edwards, by concentrating on the meaning of martyrdom, avoids bringing attention to Ignatius's conviction of the importance of the episcopal order.[9] Edwards's silence in this case is a silence of dissent.)

Justin[10] is another whose works furnish the pages of both Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant[11] and Fatherly Instructions. He was a Greek scholar who adopted Christianity as his faith after having failed to find spiritual satisfaction in native philosophies. He was greatly appreciative of the peaceful nature of Christ's people and of their courage in persecution. In Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant Edwards claims that Justin began to consider his own spiritual state 'wrth weled mor gyssurus y byddeu'r Cristnogion yn dioddef'.[12] Justin graduated to become one of the most influential Christian Apologists of his era. His two Apologies criticize the attitude of Rome towards Christians and denounce the severities of intolerance[13] And in the celebrated Dialogue with Tryplio the Jew Justin defends the new law - 'Christ...the last and Eternal Law given us'[14] - against the champion of the old law of Moses and the Old Testament. His argument in the final chapters of the Dialogue[15] could not but make him attractive to all the historians and divines of Christendom. Here he notes that God chooses

his own people to constitute the new Israel. 'God hath chosen us', translates Charles Edwards, '...and we have gone out of that conversation, wherein we lived ill after the common manners of the Inhabitants of the earth.'[16]

(Fatherly Instructions also includes extracts from pseudo Justinian works, one - The Exhortation to the Greeks[17] - probably written in the late second century; the others, "Epistles to Zenas and Serenus, and Diognetus", probably belonging to the Aristotelian School of the fourth and fifth centuries.[18])

A selection of the work of Tatian, one of Justin's pupils, follows the master in Fatherly Instructions. Unlike Justin, Tatian, who was also converted to Christianity in adulthood (c.160), renounced all things Greek. Moreover, he rejected many Christian social doctrines, denouncing matrimony as adultery, condemning the eating of meat, and criticizing the drinking of wine even in the Eucharist. His criticism was published in his Discourse to the Greeks,[19] the third part of which Edwards found especially useful: this is a biting condemnation of theatres and the falsehoods generated in theatre-work, and at the same time a defence of divine purity - two arguments to which the Puritan moral theologian could easily subscribe.

A greater and more important contempary was Irenaeus, who lived between c.130 and c.200. He saw his Christian mission as a mission to the whole Church not to one pagan nation. Painfully aware of the schism that could be created in Christendom by the Gnostic and Montanist heresies of his day,[20] Irenaeus sought not only to attack their doctrine but also to reassert the tenets of orthodox Christianity and describe accurately the

teaching of the disciples. Of the extensive writings through which Irenaeus invalidated these false beliefs only one work remains. It is Against all Heretics. And from the First Book of this work Edwards selected a passage in which the essential unity of the Church is emphasized. The extract constitutes a warning to all heretics. Irenaeus states that the Gospel was delivered to his generation by the Apostles in writing, with whom God had deposited it as

> the foundation and Pillar of our Faith. To which whosoever assenteth not, resist their own Salvation, which all Hereticks do. [21]

The unity of control exercised by God is emphasized in another passage included in Fatherly Instructions. Wrenched from its context in Irenaeus's work, it appears as an early statement on the Christian view of history. Here Irenaeus insists that God chooses its prince for a country - 'Some of them are given for the profit of Subjects, and some for reproach'.[22]

Besides the polemic against heretics, there are extant seven fragments of other works by Irenaeus. One is a collection of excerpts from the letter addressed to Pope Victor 'concerning the computation of Easter',[23] first quoted in Eusebius's Historia Ecclesiastica.[24] It is a letter of a peace-maker troubled by the contention over the date of the Easter festival. In it, Irenaeus points out that disagreements over church observancies were common: Polycarp and Anicetus, he notes, had failed to see eye to eye about 'those things which he knew John the Disciple of our Lord to have observed', 'yet they communicated together, and parted in full Faith and firm Love.'[25] The reader is reminded in 1686 of the controversy that created such enmity between St Augustine (of Canterbury) and the Britons c.600, as it was related in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in 1677.

The instruction selected by Edwards from the extant works of Theophilus of Antioch in a way reinforces Tatian's polemic. It is taken from the third book of the apology written by Theophilus circa 180-185[26] To Autolycius.[27] Here the author refutes the accusations of depravity made against Christ's followers, arguing that 'We are taught by Divine Oracle not to sin in Deed or Thought'. He adds,

> Especially being forbidden to behold combates, lest we become partakers of such slaughters. Neither dare we go to Shows, lest our eyes be polluted, and our Ears take in prophane ribauldry there taught.[28]

Charles Edwards advocates the same purity of the senses in "Rhinwedd y Ffydd".

The teaching which, for Theophilus, was conducted by 'Divine Oracle', was for Athenagoras 'our Discipline...delivered by the Lord'.[29] His two most important works were The Supplication for the Christians, written c.177,[30] and the treatise Concerning the Resurrection of the Dead. In his apology, Athenagoras observes that the purity of the Lord is reflected in the words and deeds of Christians. The statement, as it is presented in Fatherly Instructions, can be interpreted as a comment on the doctrine of justification by faith. 'Among us', translates Edwards,

> private persons and such as live by their Labours, if they can yield no benefit of their Profession (doctrine) by speaking, declare it by their deeds. [31]

Though it is the soul that harbours man's faith, it is the body that 'Labours' 'in doing good', claims Athenagoras. In concerning the Resurrection of the Dead he argues that both the soul and the body - the unity destroyed by death - are restored in the resurrection, after which both are rewarded in heaven. 'The body should suffer injury [if]

it should have no share in the honours recompensed to Vertue'.[32]

The work of Clement of Alexandria (c.150 to c.215) in its time fulfilled a need among the intellectuals of the Eastern Mediterranean countries for a thorough knowledge of Christian doctrine. Quasten notes that Clement made of the Christian faith 'a system of thought'.[33] In his Admonition of the Greeks[34], for instance, he displays not only the assurance of faith that had permeated all previous apologies but also 'a calm assurance of the educative function of the Logos throughout the history of mankind'.[35] Charles Edwards preserves this belief in a captivating translation of Clement's appropriately patriotic metaphor: 'the World by the Word is become a Greece'.[36] The Schoolmaster,[37] the second of Clement's extant works, gives a lesson on Christian morals, emphasizing the purity of Christian living.[38] And the third work, The Stromata, is a discussion of various questions of Christian practices and thought. Edwards finds himself especially interested in Clement's approach to the condemning of heresy. Truth and untruth, the Alexandrian explains, one 'two manner of Fruit', 'the real and ripe, and the other made of Wax very like it'. He insists that 'we must not abstain from both because of that likeness', but rather should 'discern the Truth from what is seeming by Consideration and Learning through the Scriptures'.[39] The moral remains apt in the late seventeenth century.

Yet it seems that Charles Edwards's favourite author among the patristic authors was Tertullian.[40] At least he is by far the most quoted of them. Twenty pages of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant were dedicated to Tertullian's admonition Against the Gentiles[41] and his book To Scapula.[42] Now, his work fills thirty-eight pages of Fatherly Instructions. There

are two reasons to account for this. Firstly, the fact that Tertullian wrote on such a variety of topics concerning the morality, the suffering and the doctrinal ideas of Christians, bound the anthologist to select widely and amply from his writings. Then, and perhaps of greater significance, Tertullian's stress on the purity and serenity of true holy living was seen by Charles Edwards as an early cri de coeur which attained a loud echo on the pages of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd". Patience and repentance and chastity are all encouraged;[43] martyres are glorified;[44] women 'not pleased with God's workmanship' are scolded for anointing 'their Skins' and for making 'their Cheeks red';[45] the frequenting of theatres is abhorred;[46] and the worshipping of idols criticized.[47]

Edwards did not always look to the Fathers for ancient confirmation of the worthiness of his own beliefs. He translates the Homilies of Origen,[48] for instance, because of their 'educational' worth as the writings of a spiritual leader eager to derive from an explanation of the Word of God lessons for the enlightenment of the faithful. Commenting on the twenty-fourth chapter of the Book of Genesis, Origen admits,

> The doctrine is spiritual, which doth instruct thee to come to the wells of the Scriptures, to the waters of the holy spirit, to draw and carry thy vessels full home, as did Rebakah. [49]

Or again, revising the metaphor, Origen contends that 'the truly blessed Bishops pour water of the Scriptures into the basons of the Soul'.[50] The sentence for Edwards's reader was at the same time a pointer to a bishop's rightful task, and a criticism of all ecclesiastics who were guilty of neglecting that work!

Edwards also translates a passage from Origen's treatise Against Celsus, a refutation of the papan philosopher's discourse against the Christians. Its threat, according to Origen's assertions, was overwhelmingly ferocious: 'Celsus by his sayings would deprive us of life altogether', the reader is told. But Origen's retaliation is just as powerfully persuasive. We Christians, he avows, will 'preserve in the laws given us by our Creator, and will never serve the laws of sin.'[51]

The extract from Minucius Felix's Octavius in Fatherly Instructions also defends the Christian in debate.[52] The Christian's valour is commended - 'when smiling he insults over the noise of death'.[53] And the worshipping of images is denounced - the 'brass' or 'silver' Gods 'cast of an unclean vessel'.[54]

Quasten observes that 'a delighted calm' tempers the debate in Octavius.[55] But because of the nature of Edwards's anthology, the charm is not obvious. Nor, truly, is the urgency that is the hallmark of the work of the next author represented, Cyprian, an essentially practical writer who composed his letters for specific occasions. The cure of souls for him was more important than theological conjecture. He writes To Euchratius, for instance, on the difficulties facing the congregation that had been augmented by the conversion of a 'stage-player'.[56] To Fidus, he writes on the question of baptism of infants.[57] And To Rogatian, his Presbyter, and to 'the rest of the Brethren Confessors', as Edwards calls them, he defends his own course of actions in an hour of crisis.[58] Even Cyprian's more general treatises were composed to attack a specific wrong. For example, Concerning they that Fell was

written to define the foolishness of the brethren who lapsed from the Church during the Decian persecution.[59] And Concerning Alms,[60] as Edwards entitles this work, advocates the liberal presenting of gifts to the victims of the plague that devastated North Africa circa 255. Edwards, no doubt, realized that there was a lasting worth for these treatises; and his own work, too, shows how conscious he was of the urgency of answering the temporal needs of the members of Christ's Church.

There was some affinity between Edwards's work and Arnobius's, also. In his Against the Gentiles he demonstrates the stupidity of worshipping pagan Gods and, moreover, insists that the God of the Christians was the First Being.[61] The central question of the argument is:

> Doth the omnipotent and first God seem
> to you a new thing, and those that
> worship him to bring in an unknown
> and a new religion. [62]

Upon reading it, the reader is immediately reminded of Edwards's argument in "Sicerwydd y Ffydd".

Whereas Arnobius wrote to the Gentiles, his pupil Lactantius [63] composed the seven books of his Divine Institutes for the benefit of educated men.[64] His intention was to present in Latin a systematic account of Christian ethics. To begin with, he condemns polytheism as the prime source of error; and argues that error in the world is multiplied by the contradictions of philosophy, which 'destroys it self.'[65] Realistically he faces the problem of man's knowledge of God, Divine Justice and true worship.[66] Then in Book Seven, he concludes that the faithful learn to live in joy with their Lord only after they have recognized His Being 'by the mind of our eyes'.[67] There is a similar

phrase in "Rhinwedd y Ffydd".[68] And the same metaphor extended serves to describe the condition of the soul, which is often in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant synonymous with the mind, before God touches it with grace. Edwards writes:

> Er i [gynneddfau'r enaid] o'r blaen gyscu yn swrth, etto rhaid iddynt ddefroi at eu gwaith cyn gynted ag y cyffyrddo'r Arglwydd â hwynt,... [69]

The instruction afforded in Macarius's Homilies[70] also reminds the reader of Fatherly Instructions of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd". They teach that the humble in a state of grace, though never relieved of their sense of sin, can overcome 'the temptation of the evil one' by being 'soberly attentive' - constantly in prayer, waiting 'upon God' and the Holy Spirit.[71] Macarius, who exiled himself from society and established a monastic colony in the desert of scetics, teaches that no-one maintains communion with God except through suffering. For him, the 'blessed tears' of torture are 'precious pearls'. The one who has found Christ is accorded - as Edwards emphasizes in Chapter Twenty-Five of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant[72] - 'a new mind, new eyes, new ears, a new spiritual tongue', talent to contribute to the general virtue of Creation. The congregation of people who have proved the mercy of the Lord is the Church of Christ living in 'mutual love'.

Jerome was the great student of the Primitive Church.[73] But it was not for the profundity of his scholarship that Charles Edwards chose to translate selections of his Biblical commentaries. Rather, the seventeenth-century reader of Fatherly Instructions saw Jerome as a teacher concerned with 'the edification of the people;'[74] a critic of episcopal bad practices, of bishops that 'assume to themselves a Pharisaical haughtiness';[75] and a commentator who recognized the Gospels

as the true consummation of the prophecies of the Old Testament.[76]

The last patristic writer to be represented in Fatherly Instructions Augustine of Hippo.[77] Edwards translates from his Epistles, which demonstrate Augustine's concern for the every day problems of the Church, and the wisdom with which he resolved them. On the question of the Eucharist, for example, Augustine argues in Letter CXVIII that since no precedent had been set by the Apostles, every church was free to hold communion as often as the congregation wished to do so.[78] In such matters, more often than not, it was to custom and common sense that Augustine appealed. In matters of doctrine, he states unequivocally,

> I judge all those things are to be cut off,
> which are not contained in the Holy Scriptures,
> nor found appointed in the Councels of Bishops,
> nor strengthened by the custom of the Universal Church.[79]

The emphasis on the importance of Scripture is reiterated in his four books On the Christian Doctrine.[80] Here he notes that God gave the work of preparing an exegesis of His word to man: 'The Apostle did not send the Eunuch who read Isaiah to an Angel'.[81]

Augustine's Enchiridon is itself an explanation of the creed. Here he treats of the question whether man can be saved through good works executed of his own free will. The bishop states emphatically, 'By grace are ye saved through faith.'[82] Edwards would certainly agree that man can do good only in this blessed state.

In his 124th Tract on the Gospel of St. John, Augustine estimates the power of the congregation of Christ. He insists that when the keys of heaven were given to Peter, though they were placed in the hands of an individual, it was in effect to the Church Catholic that they were given.[86] This concept of one, united Church is for Augustine an important one. Writing Against the Letters of Petition he asks, 'he that doth not follow [the Shepherd], how dareth he affirm himself to be his sheep?'.[87] Since

the teaching of Christ is a Common inheritance, he is ever concerned with the preservation of unity and ready to criticize all dissenters. Edwards records extracts from his censure On the Works of Monks, written circa 400 in which Augustine condemns some of their anomalous practices, such as the wearing of long hair 'contrary to the Apostles precept'[88]-

> whither doth it tend? must they be so free
> from labour that barbers may not work?...
> feat lest a trimmed sanctity should
> be less esteemed than a hairy....

This last quotation is an unexpected, indeed unique, passage in a book which Charles Edwards calls a collection of Instructions. The paragraph, in one way, can be regarded as little more than a terse example of Augustine's flippant criticism. On the other hand, it is an unmistakable indication of the nature of Edwards's appeal to antiquity. For what the Protestant seventeenth-century reader discerns from the Extract is that the monks of the fifth century, because of their irregular practices, deserve the disapproval of Augustine no less than the contemporary monks whom he, the reader himself, recognizes as the representatives of Rome deserve to be repressed. To select that particular passage from Concerning the Works of Monks was to conscript its author to the ranks of the Protestant regular army. Origen is already in uniform. What else but a warning against acceptance of the hierarchical composition of the Church of Rome is this quotation from the homily on Ezekiel?[89]-

> To those that place confidence in the Saints we produce, not unfitly, cursed be the man that putteth his trust in man: It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in Princes.

And does not Jerome On Matthew 16 criticize unconsidered absolution of sinners? Charles Edwards's 'pieces' are, to be sure, carefully 'select'.[90] It was in their confirmation of his own beliefs that Edwards found

'good satisfaction' in the works of the 'Old Authors'.[91] All the 'pieces' in Fatherly Instructions induce the reader to examine, or else to attempt to acquire the various Protestant virtues.

The importance of Scripture and strict adherence to the Word of God is multifariously emphasised in the book. Clemens's metaphor - 'the World by the Word is become a Greece'[92] has already been noted, and Origen's inducement 'to carry thy vessel full home'.[93] In the third book of his Divine Institutes, Lactantius argues that where all philosopies fail in making the miser generous and the cruel tolerant the Word of God succeeds.[94] Jerome upholds the assertion: in His Preface to Isaiah he notes with what gladness the prophet reveals the coming of Goodness to the world.[95] To Augustine, the Scripture provides the basis of all Christian thinking.[96]

The purity of true Christian living is described by nearly every one of the Fathers. They demonstrate how the sincere simplicity of faith acquired through the grace of God by a penitent man at his conversion transforms his whole way of life. After God's call, testifies Justin, 'we have gone out of that conversation, wherein we lived ill after the common manners of other Inhabitants of the earth';[97] 'we who here to fore did delight in Whoredom, do now embrace Chastity only; we who used magical Arts, do consecrate ourselves to the good God'.[98] Origen advocates bodily cleanliness, for he believed bodies to be not only 'members of Christ' but also 'temples of the holy Spirit'.[99] The Christian's senses, observes Macarius, are totally revitalized in Christ: in Him, 'Believers have a new mind, new eyes, new ears, a new spiritual tongue'.[100] It is the same concept of transformation in Christ that

sustains Ignatius's metaphor when he states his desire to 'be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found to be pure bread'.[101] This discipline of holy living obviously involved some reprobation. Cyprian denounces together in one letter fighting and murder and stage-acting.[102] All theatres, for the Fathers, are managed by the Devil; their audiences being 'the devil's congregation',[103] their actors imitators and falsifiers.[104] Theatres, claims Clemens, are 'Seats of Pestilence'[105], where men 'follow after Piping and Dancing', becoming 'immodest'. Fearful for the wholesomeness of Christian minds, Theophilus of Antioch argues that Christians 'dare' not 'go to...Shows, lest our Eyes be polluted, and our Ears take in prophane ribauldry...'.[106] Moreover, several of the Fathers proffer advice to maidens who would improve upon 'God's workmanship'.[107] Cosmetics are frowned upon and the 'wearing of Strange Hair is to be rejected'.[108] If God's Law is to rule, then 'Modesty and Temperance' must 'flourish'.[109]

Not prepared to be satisifed with the conscription of the patristic writers into the Protesant army, Charles Edwards now places them at the van of the Puritan battalion.

Extracts from their work that colour the conduct of the early congregations are translated. Emphasis is placed on the communal spirit of the churches,[110] and on the peacful civility of Christian life.[111] The members of the Church of Christ, insists Macarius, must live in 'mutual love'.[112] 'The children of God ought to be peaceable, agreed in affection'.[113] When Cyprian advises Euchratius not to accept the actor into his congregation unconditionally, he adds that the actor should be encouraged to leave the stage, and be cared for by his new brethren in

Christ.[114] They who give in the cause of Christ are taugnt that they will be co-inheritors with Him of the treasures of the kingdom of Heaven. Every Member is important both individually - 'For the rock', states Origen, 'is every one that imitateth Christ',[115] and in unity of worship - 'the Altar that is here with us', claims Clemens, 'is the Congregation of those that are dedicated to prayer, who have one common voice and one mind.'[116]

Edwards would prefer his commons without a lord bishop. He wishes to believe with Clemens that there is no 'respect of persons with God'. In his Apology against the Heathens the Alexandrian teacher explains that the Christians tolerate no bishops: 'Approved Elders rule, that obtain that honour by testimony, not reward'.[117] Cyprian, also, notes that, according to the fashion of the Primitive Church, it was the privilege of the congregation to choose a minister, for 'they have most power of chusing worthy Ministers, and of refusing the unworthy.'[118] The readers of Fatherly Instructions can readily appreciate Charles Edwards's alacrity to quote Augustine's admission to Jerome, 'fellow Presbyter': says Augustine, 'Though a Bishop's office be greater than a Presbyters, yet in many things Augustin is less than Jerome'. There is one additional passage which underlines Edwards's preoccupation with the denouncing of episcopacy. At the end of the second half of Gildas Minimus, the part published as a pamphlet, he prints 'Some things omitted in the Book entituled Fatherly Instructions'.[119] The 'Some things' are two brief extracts from Cyprian and Jerome. Only the second concerns us here. It is a paragraph from The Epistle to Titus in which the writer casts a slur on offending bishops. Jerome advises Titus,

> so let the Bishops acknowledge themselves to be greater than the Presbyters, rather by custom than appointment of the Lord.

The fact that Edwards took pains to include this passage at all demonstrates the significance it held for him: it is a notable appendage to his already numerous anti-episcopal extracts.

A congregation of believers highly praised in many of the 'select pieces' are hardd lu'r merthyron. Edwards was obviously brimful of admiration for the sufferers of the Creed. In Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, especially in the first part of the history, the history of the faith is one with the history of the martyrs. Here also they are wonderfully commended. Martyrdom, to Tertullian, is a test 'to prove the constancy and patience of soul and body'.[120] He sees persecution as 'the fan that purgeth the floor' - the Church - 'winnowing the heap of believers, the corn of the Martyrs, and chaff of the deniers.'[122] Origen, adopting the same metaphor, regards the martyrs as the wheat 'in the confused heap of believers.'[123] The glory of martyrdom is reflected in Ignatius's plea:

> Let Fire, the Cross, and the breaking of my bones, and the concourse of the wild-beasts come upon me, that I may enjoy Christ. [124]

The road to that enjoyment runs through a battlefield. Minutius Felix praises the courageous Christians who undertake to travel it,[125] and Cyprian estimates, in a beautiful metaphor, the effect of their suffering on the Church:[126]

> O happy is our Church whom the blood of Martyrs hath made famous in our Times! it was before White by the works of the Brethren, but now is arrayed in Purple by the blood of Martyrs; neither hillies nor Roses are wanting among its flowers.

Though Cyprian once argues[127] that it would have been more beneficial for

the presecutors to test the Christians' faith 'by debating' than by torturing, he, too, realizes that the resourcefulness of the brethren commend them to God. Martyrdom itself is a gift of God; for it is only those who have had 'God's law planted in their hearts, their understanding enlightened', who can 'overcome the temptation of the evil one'.[128] Grace is the inspiring gift. No one can embrace martyrdom of his own accord. 'Our free will', observes Augustine, 'is able to do good' only 'when helped of God'.[129]

There is one other small point that aligns the Fathers, as Edwards arranges their work, with the Puritans. The keeping of the Sabbath was for the Puritans an important practice. A development of the idea of Sabbatarianism is Macarius's glorification of the special Sabbath to be enjoyed by the soul: in heaven, 'the Soul delivered from all the works of darkness, doth then celebrate a true Sabbath, and rests in joy in the Lord'.[130]

Thus, although Edwards once or twice with his extracts aims his bullets at the defe ders of the Church of Rome, Catholicism, for the main part, is without the range of fire of Fatherly Instructions. The book is primarily a Puritan or Dissenting argument in the Protestant debate of the seventeenth century. It is a replenishment of the non-conformist arsenal. Edwards himself suggest this. His first admission in the introduction to the volume is that he was attracted to the works of the Fathers in the first place not so much by their antiquity, but primarily because of their usefulness. This 'usefulness' is two-fold. In the first place, the 'few Testimonies from these Fathers' are selected in order to 'pacifie some contradicting Ones'.[131] That is, they constitute

one side of a debate; the 'few' are Charles Edwards' David to someone else's Goliath. And the giant awaits description. Secondly, Edwards saw in the Homilies and exhortations of the Fathers appropriate censures for contemporary sins and follies. In his own words,[132]

> The plain writings of good men deceased by God's blessing may quicken a studious Reader, as the bare bones of Elisha revived the man that touched them in the Sepulchre.

He admits,

> And such a good effect I hope for in this work.

Yet for all his emphasis on the usefulness of these writings, Edwards cannot avoid appreciating them for their antiquity also. Further on in "To the Reader" what were previously regarded as 'the plain writings' of 'good men' are seen to be works completed, several of them by the immediate successors of the Apostles and the Apostolic Fathers, in an age when Christianity was venerated with 'great fervency'. Now Charles Edwards believes the works to be inspired by the enthusiasm of the youth of the religion; and appreciates that the 'useful' 'wisdom' is taught by a 'multitude of years'. Usefulness and antiquity become one; the editor happily claims that 'A check from an Elder may convince of Sin more than from a Contemporary'. Playing on the idea of parentage, he affirms this conviction with a similar statement, in which he notes the greater efficiency of the Fathers to 'fellow Brethren'.[133]

This idea that the patristic works contained inherent wisdom is a late reflection of a concept that was widely held by Anglican theologians, especially in the seventeenth century; and which was conveyed by Lancelot Andrewes[134] when he noted that the best interpreters of Scripture were the Primitive Fathers 'in whom the scent of this ointment

was fresh'.[135]

As MacAdoo describes it, Andrewes's appeal to the early teachers of divinity differs nicely from Edwards's appeal. Edwards's selections in Fatherly Instructions show that his main concern is with the condition of society and with the Christian Church's reaction to its degradation. He observes the morals of the 1670s and 1680s; and in censuring them with age-old exhortations, identifies his own Puritan outlook with the authentic authoritative judgement of the Christian Fathers. In so doing, Edwards lays a strong claim to the irrefutability of his own opinions, and at the same time scores precious points for Puritanism. For Andrewes, on the other hand, the context of the appeal to antiquity was continuity with the first four or five centuries of Christianity when 'the church was at its best'.[136] The Anglicans' primary intention was to establish identity of doctrine with the Church of the early period. They were also determined to discover the precise nature of the Primitive Church in order to demonstrate the resemblance there was between it and the contemporary Church in England. The second intention - that is, an attempt to define their mutual beliefs - appears to be closely related to Edwards's appeal. Yet, MacAdoo argues that Andrewes and Laud 'did not begin with the present situation and work back to the Fathers' but took as their starting point the primacy of Scripture, which, they held, was best interpreted by the writers nearest the time of their compilation.[137] MacAdoo sums up Andrewes's position by stating that the theme of his work was that Anglicanism had no specific teaching other than that of 'Scripture interpreted by the Fathers of the Primitive Church with which it had 'a continuity historical and doctrinal'.[138]

Laud also set great store by the works of the Fathers. (It

was to Jewel, and after him Hooker, that these two great figures of early seventeenth-century Anglicanism looked for precedent: In the Ecclesiastical Polity Hooker justifies the rites and orders of the church of England by the three-fold test of 'intristic reasonableness', 'judgement of antiquity' and the 'authority of the church itself'.[139] Laud, like Andrewes was concerned with the 'judgment of antiquity' on Scripture, which, he insist, 'contains all fundamentals'.[140] It was of the utmost importance to him that this belief was held not only by the Church of England but also 'was the opinion of the Fathers'. For to Laud's way of thinking, this inheritance of opinion constituted continuity between the Primitive Church and the Anglican Church. In defence of the Church that was born of the Reformation and Henry VIII, Laud maintains in the Preface to his Conference that its establishment was no innovation, but a return, a readoption of the tenets held by the Fathers. He summarizes the Church of England's doctrinal position by saying that it is based 'upon the Scriptures, and upon the Primitive Church expounding it.'[141]

But for MacAdoo to state that Andrewes and Laud 'did not begin with the present situation and work back' is a biased, uncritical description of what evolved to be an integral part of the Anglican approach to theological questions in the seventeenth century. The appeal in itself was a defensive move. MacAdoo, in demonstrating the element of spontaniety in Andrewes's references to the Fathers, at the same time inadvertently demonstrates that the illustrious theologian often takes good advantage of them, in virtually the same fashion as Edwards did seventy-five years later. For instances in a sermon on the problem of ease, Andrewes admits

> I had rather you heard St. Augustine than myself...

Or in another, Andrewes introduces an argument by saying, 'It is Irenaeus's own words...'; or 'Gregory saith well...'; or of fasting, 'Which of the Fathers have not homilies yet extant in praise of it?'[142] This is a direct appeal for confirmation of his own opinion. Furthermore, Andrewes resorts to the word 'use' as Edwards does. He argues,[143]

> either we must cancel all antiquity, or
> we must acknowledge the constant <u>use</u>
> and observation of it...

This statement certainly strains MacAdoo's eulogistic comment that 'Andrewes seems to think with the Fathers rather than furnish extracts out of their writings'.[144]

It is just as difficult to accept uncritically the notion that Laud's appeal to antiquity lacked an inferior motive. Since his primary intention as Archbishop was to secure uniformity of religion in the land, it was of great importance to him to be able to congregate the church Fathers in support of his theological and ecclesiastical position. He needed, for example, to prove the statement that the Church of England 'practices Church government as it hath been in use in all ages and all places.'[145] Edwards's publication of Jerome's denunciation, that Bishops are greater than presbyters 'rather by custom than by appointment of the Lord', could, in the course of the general debate between Anglican and Dissenter, be taken as a direct refutation of Laud's claim. This is not to insinuate that Edwards <u>did</u> purposefully refute Laud's statement. It only goes to show how easily controversy could encourage a tendency to point scoring by both sides - with both debaters making their differing claims to the same criterion, the works of the Fathers.

To conjure such a situation as Laud and Edwards in debate is to prepare for a criticism of the general appeal to antiquity. The most

sustained criticism of the appeal made by Andrewes and Laud and their fellow Anglicans came from the group of thinkiers associated with Lord Falkland, the Tew Circle.[146] In response to the orthodox claim that the valid doctrinal criterion for the Church of England was Scripture, and Scripture interpreted by Antiquity, Falkland's group denied that such an authority could or should be found.[147] Their opinion was formed on the basis of a French work that was published in 1631, Daille's Traicte de L'employ des sincts pères, a book concerned with showing by evidence from the patristic period that differences of opinion among Primitive authors had appeared so early that Antiquity could provide no settled criterion. Furthermore, it was argued, by John Hales especially, that the nearness of the Fathers to the 'source' was irrelevant.[148] MacAdoo questions the legitimacy of the Tew Circle's criticism. He maintains that it was 'an imagined unanimity in all matters' that provided the raison d'être of the Anglican appeal to antiquity, but rather a desire to establish and demonstrate 'the substantial agreement' between the Church of England in the seventeenth century and the primitive Church 'on what constituted fundamentals.'[149] Yet to query the inherent value of antiquity as Hales did, was in itself an important act of dissention.

In order to complete this general review of the nature of the Anglican appeal to antiquity in the seventeenth century, the claims made by the successors of Andrewes and Laud should be described. These were the authors who carried on the appeal, its publicists during Edwards's periods of study at Oxford. Two, more especially, deserve notice. The first is Chillingworth, the author of Religion of Protestants: A safe way to Salvation (1637). His standpoint is easily defined. By

'conformity with antiquity' Chillingworth means conformity with 'the primitive and apostolic'.[150] His terms are general. But it is obvious that he stands with Laud. The former Archbishop's viewpoint is further sustained by Henry Hammond, an academic who wrote most of his works in retirement during the Civil War and Commonwealth periods. The contemporary plight of his Church gave urgency and point to his application of the appeal: in his age of outward suppression of the Church of England it was imperative for him to emphasise what MacAdoo calls its 'essential visibility'.[151] This, to Hammond, constituted 'that creed which is delivered down to us by the ancient Churches (I mean those of the first three hundred years)... and expounded in the homilies of the Fathers.'[152] His words echo the Laudian tenet that the patristic writers 'make the creed the rule of faith.'[153] Also in Laudian fashion, he asserts that 'the universal consent of the doctors of the first ages, bearing testimony that such a doctrine was from the apostles' preaching delivered to all churches by them planted' has been made use of by 'the orthodoxy of all times' 'for their rejecting of any new doctrine'.[154] And like Andrewes he sees the first ages of Christianity as the 'purest ages'.[155] Pearson, another learned in patristic studies, could write in 1659 that 'in Christianity there can be no concerning truth which is not ancient; and whatsoever is truly new is certainly false'.[156] Thus, on the eve of the Restoration Pearson was applying an appeal that had, by then, served Anglicanism for nearly a hundred years.

The fact that Pearson was a subscriber to this element in the Anglican theological method and that he was also the biographer of John Hales goes to show that the strictly orthodox Anglicans and the latitudinarian Tew Circle did not quarrel over this issue. Moreover, it is true to

say that the fact that the appeal was criticized by Falkland and Hales and Hyde did not detract very much from the importance accorded to it throughout the seventeenth century.

To return to Charles Edwards. There is one stated opinion by Falkland that should be carefully noted for it could in a way be utilized as an apology for Fatherly Instructions. Falkland believed that the diverse writings of the early period are a source of reference rather than a standard of reference, and argues that their extent makes any other use of them impracticable.[157] In this way, it can justifiably be claimed that Charles Edwards, in choosing to select 'pieces' from the works of the fathers, ignoring obvious differences of opinion between them, and utilizing such comments as confirmed his own viewpoint, made the best possible use of them.

One thing stands - that Edwards sought to arrange and print extracts from patristic writings to support and give the authority of age to his own Puritan ideas. Like Puritanism itself, the type of appeal he made had been generated by the forces of the Church of England. And in holding that appeal in conjunction with Scripture, Edwards's work fitted into the ambit of the accepted Anglican theological method. The machine, then, worked as well for Edwards as it had done for Laud. But the Welshman steered it onto a different track, and demonstrated, as Falkland had maintained, that it worked just as efficiently there.

It has been suggested at the beginning of this chapter, that Edwards began to familiarize himself with the patristic writings during his stay in Oxford in the 1607s. He must have known some of the works of

Laud and Andrewes when the writings of Hammond were published in the fiftees. Though he probably did, as he testifies, take to reading the Fathers in the first place for his own instruction, he cannot have failed to notice the diversity of thought contained in their works, and the bias of Anglican and episcopal claims. He compiled a pro-Puritan selection. This was to make simple uninhibited use of the Fathers; and, unwittingly, to attempt to cast a stone at the goliath of the Anglican Church.

Edwards translated the extracts into English, for him an unprecedented step. From 1667 he had been concerned only with the publishing of books in Welsh. The years from 1679 to 1684 had been spent busily in London where he worked as a press supervisor for the Welsh Trust. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant had been conscientiously dedicated to 'fy ngwladwyr anwyl',[158] and it was to contribute to the movement that sought to enlighten his compatriots - by bringing them more and cheaper books in their own language - that he chose to work for the Welsh Trust. The only conjecture I can make after propounding the thesis on the nature of Fatherly Instructions is that Edwards undertook to translate their works into English in order to reach a wider audience; and one which was, in part, familiar with the Anglican appeal to antiquity and which, therefore, could be more appreciative of the special nature of his appeal. Edwards himself, alas, gives no indication why he chose to translate the writings into English.

Yet he realizes fully that his book is the first of its kind to appear from a British press. Selections of Minucius Felix were translated by R. James and published in Oxford in 1636: but no authology had appeared. The preachers and the Anglican apologists quoted the

Fathers in their own works but did not seek to publish translations. But 'I' testifies Edwards proudly,[159]

> have endeavoured to imitate Jacob in rolling away the stone from the Well's mouth, that the weakest of the Flocks may satisfie their thirst with the water thereof.

Nobody can drink the well-anthology dry. Edwards resorts to another, more apt, precise metaphor, and says,

> Now the tenderest may eat the kernals without the pains of cracking the shells; and such as cannot purchase the whole Orchard may readily come by a basket full of its sweet fruit.

3, Chapter III

THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHARLES EDWARDS (GILDAS MINIMUS) AND GILAS THE WISE.

i

Charles Edwards makes use of the reputation of Gildas upon two occasions and in two ways. Firstly, he devotes a large section of both the second and third editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant to publish his own abridged translation of Gildas's De Excidio Britanniae;[1] and secondly he adopts the name Gildas Minimus as a pseudonym-cum-title for a sermon that he wrote, and published as appendix to Fatherly Instructions in 1686.[2] Edwards thus consciously identifies himself and his work with the work of the sixth-century monk. And in order to understand and demonstrate what justification Edwards had for claiming these bonds of co-identification that spanned eleven hundred years, it is necessary to study the nature of Gildas's De Excidio and his purpose in writing it.

Little is known of Gildas the man, and much that is known is confused. Edwards himself speaks of two Gildases. The first, Gildas Albanius, is grouped in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant with 'Dubricius of Caerlleon ar Ŵysc', celebrated by Geoffrey as the archbishop who crowned Arthur, and with 'Cadoc o Langarfan' as men who were of great assistance to learning and religion in Wales.[3] The other Gildas to whom Edwards refers, 'Gildas, (Ac a gyfenwir Badon)' - evidently a noted servant of the Church in Ireland[4] - lived a generation after Arthur, and was the author of a Latin book ('y sydd eto iw weled') which describes the ruin of Britain.[5] Two Gildases are cited. But the two lives that have been handed down profess

to tell the history of one Gildas. Yet, as Sir John Edward Lloyd observes, so widely do the lives differ from each other that many of the older school of critics believed that there were two men of the same name.[6] They were identified as a) Gildas the author of De Excidio, born in the first decade of the sixth century; and b) Gildas of the North, who belonged to an older generation and who had dealings with Arthur. Edwards undoubtedly belonged to this school of critics. But Lloyd, following Hugh Williams, who edited Gildas's works in 1899, believes that Gildas Albanius is a figment of the monks of Glastonbury.[7] Another, modern school of critics - notably Thomas Wright and Alfred Anscombe, who wrote in the nineteenth century, and A.W. Wade-Evans - demands the retention of Gildas Albanius. Wade-Evans firmly believed that De Excidio originally consisted of two books 'which have been ingeniously interwoven into one'.[8] Albanius, he claims, wrote the first chapter of that work and Chapters 27-110; and another, whom he calls Auctor Badonicus or Gildas Badonicus, wrote Chapters 2-26, in 708 A.D.[9]

This debate of course has no bearing on Charles Edwards's view of Gildas. For him the sixth-century monk was the author of the complete work, and as such a man of fine conscience who spoke clearly and prophetically against the sins of his nation. Gildas, Edwards notes, was speaking directly 'at ein henafiaid ni ynghylch amser eu difrawd,'[10] more expecially to the five tyrant-princes of his own generation, rebuking them for their crimes and inviting them to return to the bosom of the mother-church. The work, then, is primarily a lament and an exhortation not unlike that of Jeremiah or Micah. But this criticism of his contemporaries takes up only nine chapters of Gildas's work, which consists of one-hundred-and-ten in all.[11] In the remainder of De Excidio Gildas presents to

his readers a Christian interpretation of the history of Britain in the past, thus providing a backcloth of events against which his immediate criticism assumes greater moral force.

His message in Chapters 2-26 is simple. Gildas wishes to reason through his history that if and when a nation is faced with a crisis then its citizens must be corrupt and sinful, for all calamities are the visible signs of God's displeasure.[12] Then in Chapters 37-110, by selecting a great number of <u>exempla</u> from the Old and New Testaments and from the works of the early Church Fathers, Gildas chooses to demonstrate how providence consistently acts in the life of man, rewarding holiness and punishing sin. He teaches the lesson which Azariah taught Asa: 'The Lord is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you'.[13] Thus in <u>De Excidio</u> a balance is struck between national history and personal judgement. Here, as one critic has observed, 'it is by the examples of national history that the individual Christian may learn his fate, since the calamities recounted there are the prefigurations, <u>etiam in hoc saeculo</u>, of eternal judgments'.[14] In other words and from another viewpoint, what Gildas stresses is that every Christian is responsible for the fate of his nation, in that sin will result in havoc and putiry of faith in peace and prosperity.

To note only one period outlined by Gildas in his history. For one-hundred-and-fifty years before his own 'black age'[15] Britain had struggled against recurring though discontinuous invasions. The Roman withdrawal had left the island defenceless against the barbarian raiders of Northern Europe. Picts and Scots, and later, Saxons harrassed

British shores. And although these several crises constituted a political struggle, Gildas interpreted them in the light of divine dispensation. The savagery of the first invaders ('y rhai a orchguddient eu hwynebau a blew, yn hytrach na rhannau gwaradwyddus eu cyrph â dillad')[16] comes upon Britain as punishment for their dependence upon Rome, that is, a power upheld by man. Shamelessly timid, the Britons are killed like lambs by slaughterers - 'sicut agni a lanionibus.'[17] The survivors of this massacre plead for Roman assistance - unsuccessfully. Only then do they trust in the Lord rather than in man.[18] But after the dispersion of the enemy, the natives in luxury and plenty once again become corrupt and perverted in sin. Edwards's precis of Gildas's narrative conveys adequately what the monk more voluminously upbraids:

> Yn yr ysbaid tangneddyf lliferiodd yr ynys o bob rhyw lawnder cynhalieth, gyda'r hwn y cyd-tyfodd trythyllwch, oni ellid ddywedyd y pryd hynny yn gymmwys, fod yn eich plith chwi y Cyfyrw odineb, ac na henwir ymmysc y Cenhedloedd. Ac nid y bai hwnnw yn unic, eithr pob rhyw lygredigaeth a'r sydd ddigwyddawl i natur ddynol, ac yn gŵyr-droi pob daioni yn awr hefyd: Sef casineb ir gwirionedd, ac ir rhai ai haero, serch ir celwydd, ac ir neb ai gwnelo, croesawu'r drwg yn lle da, perchi gloddest am fwynder, a chwennych tywyllwch yn lle'r haul, a chymeryd Satan am angel goleuni.[19]

The 'overturning of values' by a people 'swollen with pride and prosperity' precipitates doom.[20] This time punishment takes the form of a plague so terrible that there were not enough survivors left to bury the dead. Now the penalty is redoubled. The Saxons, previously feared like death, are invited to ward off the enemy from the North. In time they rampage across the breadth of the island. Again the Britons convene, like bees

to their hive in time of storm, and pray to God for relief.[21] This is granted in the person of Ambrosius Aurelianus. But victory does not come their way immediately: it sways between the two camps. Edwards, following Gildas, notes the significance of this. 'Weithiau', he writes,

> byddai'r dinasyddion, weithiau'r gelynion yn cael y maes; fel y profai'r Arglwydd yn ol ei arfer, ydoedd Israel bresennol yn ei garu ef ai peidio,... [22]

Firstly, the writer admits that it is the Lord who controls the outcome of things. And secondly, by identifying Britain as the praesens Israel Gildas betrays the source of his view of history.

This interpretation of worldly events is, of course, fully shared by the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.[23] Furthermore, he too compares the position of Wales and Israel, on more than one occasion: 'gweithiodd [yr Arglwydd] ei gwarediad [hi, Cymru] fel un Israel.'[24] Thus Edwards's inclusion of a summary of Gildas's book in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant can be said to be important in at least two ways. It confirms the legitimacy and the value of Edwards's own interpretation of history; and it also serves as a lesson or sermon in its own right. By giving the descriptive title "Llyfr Gildas yn argyhoeddi ein henafiaid o'u pechodau" to the seventeenth chapter of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards sought to emphasise the fact that the sixth-century monk's purpose in writing was the same as his: to persuade readers that they 'should earnestly contend for the faith.'[25] Indeed, Charles Edwards readily admits that he translated Gildas's De Excidio specifically because it was relative to his own design - 'o herwydd ei fod yn berthynasol i'm perwyl'.[26]

As in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, historical events in De Excidio are seldom described in detail, for both Gildas and Edwards were interested solely in defining a pattern of history. Perhaps it was because of his

book's factual inadequacies that Lloyd criticized Gildas as one who wrote in 'dense ignorance of the history of this island' in Roman times.[27] H.M. Chadwick confirms this view.[28] But Gildas should not be judged by twentieth-century historiographical standards. He was more of a God-fearing interpreter of the signs of the times than a chronicler of events. And in another section of his chapter on "Gildas" in A History of Wales Lloyd rightly acknowledges that it was 'no part of the purpose of Gildas to write a history of Britain'. Rather, 'the whole of his treatise' is meant 'to subserve the one moral end. If a good deal of history is introduced, that is because history, as handled by Gildas, has its lessons to teach.'[29]

The first man to publish De Excidio Britanniae was the Urbinian Polydore Vergil. It was printed in 1525, probably at Antwerp.[30] Polydore had at least two reasons for publishing the work. The first is that he wished to prepare his public for the anti-Arthurian position he was to take up in his forthcoming Anglica Historia. (Gildas does not mention Arthur). The second reason is that he wished to make a scarce source readily accessible. Moreover, Polydore doubtless saw that it was valuable in its own right, and that it could benefit sixteenth-century readers.[31] The work gained popularity and it was edited anew in 1567 by John Josselin, Latin secretary to Archbishop Parker, and reprinted in 1568. In 1637 an English translation of De Excidio was published.[32] This was the Work of one Thomas Habington who observed in his introduction that Gildas, 'this Reverend Father'

> inveighs, and profitably instructs the present, by correcting the enormities of the age he lived in.

Edwards would certainly agree with this point. Yet Habington is much too concerned with the glory of being English to fully appreciate the sting of Gildas's admonition. For the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, no less than for Gildas, the age in which he lived was evil. Habington, on the other hand, though he offers De Excidio as an instruction, praises 'the undoubted worthinesse' of Britain and apologizes to his readers that 'I shall be enforced in this my translation to discover' the 'ancient imperfections' of her inhabitants.

Edwards probably did not know of Habington's work. He does not refer to it at all, nor does he mention Josselin's edition. It is from Polydore Vergil's Latin text that he translated his version "Ynghylch Adfyd Prydain."[33]

Edwards's method of translation is interesting in itself. To have rendered the whole of De Excidio into Welsh would have meant publishing it as a separate volume. On the other hand, if Charles Edwards in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant had but included extracts of the work, the significance of the liber querulus[34] as a whole would have been lost to his reader. Therefore he sought to summarize it: 'darfu i mi ei dalfyrru'.[35] By adopting this method Edwards retained not only the sense of Gildas's narrative, but, forming his sentences carefully, succeeded in keeping Gildas's own phrases and metaphors in the translation. By resisting the temptation to expand metaphors and similies, and to complicate statements in Gildasian rhetoric, Edwards succeeds in writing a fine summary of the lively original. His method of condensing can be illustrated only by example. Here in the passage quoted below, Gildas notes that the Arian 'unbelief' came to Britain like 'a snake vomiting forth upon us its

foreign poison'. The slime associated with a snake crawling suggests another metaphor: now Gildas sees 'a path' opened 'across the sea'. 'All manner of wild beasts' use it, injecting into Britain 'with horrid mouth the fatal poison of every form of heresy'.[36] Charles Edwards at once retains the metaphor of the snake and in combining it with the figure of 'the fatal poison' creates a brilliant new image:

Mansit namque haec Christi
capitis membrorumque
consonantia suavis, donec
Arriana perfidia, atrox
ceu anguis, transmarina
nobis evomens venena
fratres in unum habitantes
exitiabiliter faceret seiungi,
ac sic quasi via facta
trans oceanum omnes
omnino bestiae ferae
mortiferum cuiuslibet
haerescos virus horrido
ore vibrantes letali
dentium vulnera patriae
novi semper aliquid
audire volenti et nihil
certe stabiliter optinenti
infigebant. [37]

A pharhâodd Cyssondeb
hyfryd ymmysc aelodau
Crist, nes i hocced
Arrius ac eraill, fel
nadrodd chwythu
gwenwyn marwol
amryw heresiau
o'r tu hwnt ir môr
i'n gwlad ni, yr hon
oedd chwannog i
glywed rhyw newydd-beth.[38]

At other times Edwards does nothing more than report the basic facts of an event that is described by Gildas in illuminating detail.[40] For instance, what appears in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant as

> darfu ir gormesdeyrn Custenyn y leni yn yr eglwys lâdd dau o'r hâd brenhinol, er iddo ymrwymo â llŵ cyhoeddus na wnai dwyll iw bobl [39]

is only a short telegraphic notice of one of Gildas's more colourful passages. In De Excidio the reader is told that Constantine made his oath to God and to the choir of saints (sanctorum choris), and that he was dressed at the time 'in the garb of a holy abbot'. The method and location of the killing is described too. Constantine 'cruelly tore the

tender sides' of the 'two royal children' while they were in the bosoms of two mothers - 'in duarum venerandis matrum sinibus, ecclesiae carnalisque' - between the altars, 'so that the cloaks, red as if with clotted blood, touched the place of the heavenly sacrifice.'[41] Yet though Edwards chooses not to repeat Gildas's account in detail in his summary he misses nothing but that the crime was committed on holy ground. Constantine's cruelty and deceitfulness are adequately conveyed in the one sentence that describes his wrong in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

In summarizing Gildas's speech to Constantine, Edwards takes into account the theme of the address, and the nature of its construction; he then presents it in parvo. Gildas asks four cautionary questions to the tyrant; Edwards reduces them to two, and then condenses Gildas's final peroration:

Age iam...quid stupes, animae carnifex propriae? Quid tibi flammas inferni voluntariae accendis nequaquam defecturas? Quid inimicorum vice proprüs te confodis sponte ensibus hastis? an ne ipsa quidem virulenta scelerum ac si pocula pectus tuum satiare quiverunt? Respice, quaeso, et veni ad Christum,...redi, rogo, e longinquis licet peccatorum recessibus ad püissimum patrem, qui despicienti porcorum sordidos cibos ac pertimescenti dirae famis mortem, et revertenti sibi laetus occidere consuevit vitulum filio saginatum et proferre primam erranti stolam et regium anulym, et tum spei caelestis ac si	Oh pam yr wyti yn archolli dy enaid dy hun? Oh pam yr wyti yn ennyn y tân iti dy hun? edifarhâ a thyred at Grist y tâd daionus, y wnaiff wledd o gyssur nefol ir dychweledig, fel y profo mor felys yw'r Arglwydd.[43]

saporem praegustans
sentiet, quam suavis
est Dominus.[42]

Edwards similarly compresses Gildas's criticism of Maglocunos. He ignores such rhetorical phrases as 'thou last in my writing, first in wickedness' and again seeks only to convey the most biting clauses of Gildas's oration. Charles Edwards uses a wide brush to paint the characters whereas Gildas himself lingers meticulously over his task. But in this way sometimes telling details are lost. For instance, Gildas pictures Maglocunos 'obtusely' wallowing 'in such an old black pool of crimes'.[44] In Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant the metaphor is certainly weakened because although Edwards portrays the King 'wallowing' there is no mention of the 'old black pool' in which he soaks himself like a pig. Now the admonition reads: 'Maglocun,...pam yr ymdreiglei yn y fath ddwon bechodau...?'[45]

Nevertheless, what is important is that Edwards in his abridged translation, by making intelligent use of the original phrases and images, conveys adequately the essential iniquity of Gildas's subject-characters. It is with the inevitable consequence of sin that both writers are essentially concerned, not with the figurative illustration of wrong. And since both are equally saddened by 'such heaps of crimes', it is expected that Edwards in his summary of De Excidio should capture fully the tone and temper of Gildas's passages. That he does.

To note one instance. Having criticized his princes at length, Gildas finds himself inwardly tired. Yet he cannot rest, for his fellow-clergy too are guilty of comparable wrong and must be admonished. The passage in which he confesses his need for peace is admirably translated by Edwards. The images and the mood of the original are perfectly conveyed:

Quam enim libenter hoc
in loco ac si marinis
fluctibus iactatus et
in optato evectus portu
remis, si non tanto
talesque malitiae
episcoporum vel ceterorum
sacerdotum aut clericorum
in nostro quoque ordine
erigi adversus Deum
vidissem montes,...[46]

Yma o ran gwylder y
gorffwyswn yn ewyllyscar
fel un a ddelei o'r môr
ir porthladd, oni bae fy
mod i yn gweled
gymaint mynyddoedd
o yscelerder yn ymgodi
yn erbyn Duw yn yr
escobion a'r eglwyswyr
o'n urdd ni. [47]

The criticism that Gildas levelled at the tyrannical sinners of his own generation is through Edwards's translation now levelled at the evil-doers of the 1670s. It is not wholly superfluous to suggest that Edwards subconsciously (at least) realized that Gildas's invective against his princes could also serve as a criticism of Charles II. Indeed, that the diatribe conducted against Constantine and Vortipor and Maglocunos stood as a lasting criticism of royal immorality; and that Gildas's censure of Cuneglas - 'paid ath ddigofaint tuag at Dduw ai braidd'[48] - condemned all kings who frowned upon non-conformist worshippers. And did not the seventeenth century also have its corrupt clergy? Of that Edwards had no doubt. He translates: 'Y mae gan Prydain offeiriadau annoeth' - in 547 A.D. as well as in 1677 -

> a llawer o weinidogion digywilydd, a
> elwir yn fugeiliaid, a nhwy yn fleiddiaid
> parodol i ládd eneidiau; yn rhag-ddarbodi
> iw bolieu eu hunain, ac nid i leshâd
> y gwerin. [49]

Was not Charles Edwards - like many of his Puritan colleagues - ousted from his parish in 1660, and his living commendated to Dr Griffith of St Asaph?[50]

Yet, although Gildas and Edwards in presenting their view of history were unavoidably committed to criticize their contemporaries, they shared a common reticence to do so. Both lacked the confidence in their ability to fill the office providence had created for them. Gildas

had kept silent for ten years before he was finally forced by an over-riding faith in the viability of his conviction to 'tell of the dangers caused by indolent men.'[51] Like Jeremiah, he grieves for the nation that was a 'princess among provinces', now become 'a tributary'; and he sees 'the gold' that was the splendour of God's Word 'become dim'.[52] For so long 'prevented by a sense of inexperience', Gildas realizes that he can no longer with-hold his words and, like Balaam's ass must be prepared against all odds to testify to God's power over corrupt men.[53] Edwards also suffers from this Christian lack of self-confidence. In "At y Darlleydd" he confesses that he is timorously aware of his position as an author who seeks to correct the ways of sinners. 'Adolwg', he pleads, 'na ddigio neb wrth hyn o lyfran'. And again,

> Na friwia'r llaw a estyn it arwydd
> o garedigrwydd, er gwaeled fyddo,

Edwards's next sentence is thoroughly Gildasian.

> Nid yw ddiarwybod i mi fod eraill
> yn y wlad a fedrasent wneuthur
> y rhan fwyaf o hyn yn well. Ond
> ni rediff y sûg o'r aeron (er
> pereiddied a chyflawned fyddent)
> nes eu dryllio a'u gwascu.

Of course, it was common practice for seventeenth-century authors to plead their unworthiness. But Edwards's sincerity is confirmed by his testament that he did not take to writing Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant of his own accord. He writes,

> Yr oedd yn o-anhydyn genifi fyned
> drwy'r daith hon, i geisio it hanes
> am beth gwerthfawr a fu ar y goll,
> ac i hel ynghŷd hyn o dystion yn
> achos Duw, nes iw wialen ef fy
> ngyrru, ac iw raluniaeth ef osod
> anghenrhaid arnafi.

It is seen that both Gildas and Charles Edwards regarded themselves as commissioned servants of the Lord.

ii.

The Charles Edwards who wrote the sermon entitled Gildas Minimus does not admit any such inhibitions as those displayed in the introduction of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. This new work, published and bound with Fatherly Instructions in 1686,[54] is a sharp, bitter diatribe which Edwards wrote 'to disswade' men 'from Apostacy, and those other Abominations that are very pernicious to these Nations, if not timely repented of'.[55] In tone and in temper the work is strangely different from "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" and from the nature of the selections that make up Fatherly Instructions.

It is difficult for the critic who has very little knowledge about Edwards's life to account for the change that overcame his writing between 1677 and 1686. It is as if Edwards, roughly roused from a turbulent nightmare, set to work immediately to record the tortures that spoiled his sleep. And it is not impossible that, in a way, this is what happened. Though Gildas Minimus was not published until 1686, it could have been composed eight or nine years previously, when Edwards himself was a victim of one of the crimes he viciously criticizes in the sermon. For example, the 'very abominable' act of 'taking mens health or lives away by poisons' is condemned.[56] And in his Testimony of 1691 the same author testifies that in London in 1675 his 'Life was endangered by a most violent Poyson',[57] as it was a few years later when someone tried to poison and rob him when he was ill.[58] These experiences were undoubtedly the soil in which Edwards' hatred of poisoners, as such, germinated. Nevertheless it is

difficult to believe that the zealous moral theologian who revised "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" so masterly around 1676 could during the same period of time write with such unchristian lack of concern about poisoners and adulterers, condemning them hopelessly to hell.

During these years some nervous strain must have damaged Edwards's mind. One critic has suggested that he had become paranoiac, at least by 1691. But there are obviously traces of paranoia to be detected in Gildas Minimus.

Having said that, it must be admitted that they can be traced only in the second part of the sermon, the part published separately from Fatherly Instructions. The twenty-one pages of the work that were appended to the book and which treat of the author's 'most earnest assertion' reveal a sound mind and a quick conscience.[59] Here he is a Gildas who persuades his readers to attain purity in salvation; and the chapter is not unlike Edwards's "Annogaethau i Dduwioldeb" in Y Ffydd Ddi-Ffuant.[60] Here, he expands upon the statement that "in all times Almighty God is good to his people." Edwards begins by explaining that 'good' in this context means that which 'conduceth to the bettering of our beings' - that is, grace. God, the source of grace, is said to be 'transcendently good in himself' and to have created all things good. And the salvation of Fallen Man on the cross, for Edwards, reveals the goodness in Christ.[61] For, through this act, God, because of His great love for mankind, converts His enemies to be the 'heirs of his great blessedness'.[62] Taking up in Gildas Minimus the viewpoint he revealed in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant concerning justification by faith, Charles Edwards again renounces the Calvinistic doctrine. He readily acknowledges that

all who walk in God's ways - all who have accepted salvation - live by faith. Yet he does not concede that faith alone can guide man to his heaven in God. For Edwards, faith is functional rather than pure in itself. It is, he notes, 'the power which freeth the mind from perplexing cares and makes it better composed towards heavenly things'. A Christian must also work if he wishes to be a full beneficiary of the love of the Father.[63] Charles Edwards brings St Paul and St James together, as he did in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, and states that 'God's servants doing good, know their works are accepted of God' because they possess a 'spiritual knowledge' of Him - that is, faith.[64]

Introducing a new argument, Edwards reveals that God is 'good to his people' in that He provides to each one of His children according to his individual need.[65] The Bible voluminously affirms the truth of this statement. David, in the 103rd Psalm, rejoices that his 'goodnesses, blessings, are numerous'. Hosea, Mary and St Paul, among many others, testify to God's care over them.[66] And there is abundant evidence to prove what Edwards lavishly illustrated in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant and Fatherly Instructions - namely, that 'the Spirit of God speaketh more comfort to Christians in troubles than at other times.'[67] No amount of 'smarting on their forebacks' could 'disturb the peace of the sound minds of Paul and Silas' in prison.[68] Though, in crises, human friendships break down, 'the Lord loveth to the end'.[69] Edwards resorts to test the truth of his statement by quoting the words of a martyr deeply revered both by him and the Gildas of the sixth century. Then, commenting, he narrates, 'Polycarpus, being urged to renounce Christ, said, he had served him fourscore years, and had found him a good Lord and would not relinquish him.'[70] Edwards,

writing in English, does not so readily enrichen his writing with metaphors; but here he compares the desires of saints to be 'more vigorously drawn to God' to 'a stone falling', which 'moves faster when it comes nigh the earth, that being its natural place, and the element being attractive of it'. In martyrdom, he adds, the saints are nearer 'to the full fruition' of God, and 'of rest in him.'[71]

From being a panegyric of God's concern over mankind, this part of the sermon develops as a panegyric of martyrs. They who die at the stake 'are seen earnestly' 'to recommend the ways of God' to 'their dearest relations and neighbours',[72] as Paul continued to do at the end of his 'course', to Timothy. Martyrs such as he are rewarded in heaven with 'a Crown of Eternal life'.[73]

Edwards returns to treat of the Lord's goodness and contrasts it with 'the wealth of the world' and the 'pleasures of sin' which are things ephemeral.[74] The Lord is 'very good to his people in the life to come also.'[75] 'Though death', declares Edwards, 'be a grim Porter, yet it openeth a gate of admission for God's servants to enter the joy of the Lord', which is peace everlasting.[76] Edwards's images which describe the nature of this joyous peace are concrete ones.[77] In heaven - where the saints 'reap in joy what they sowed in tears on earth' - 'there are no Sodomites to vex Lot, nor thorns to prick the lillies'.[78] Having described the goodness of the Lord and the wealth of heaven's riches, Edwards closes the first part of Gildas Minimus on a note of fervent encouragment. Towards the end of his argument in "Siccrwydd y Ffydd" he told his reader,

> Os amheuei etto dywedaf wrthit, fel
> Philip wrth Nathaniel, tyred a gwêl.[79]

Now, similarly, he urges the sinner to 'be earnest and get thee a wedding garment, to fit thee for that desirable society', for whom God has prepared eternal goodness.[80]

This first part of the sermon is not particularly Gildasian in any way. It is not the vigorous harangue of a disappointed prophet, but rather a well-presented exposition of one facet of the omnipotence of God. The tone here is one of calculated conviction. The quotations drawn from Scripture are not those of <u>De Excidio Britanniae,</u> which threatened punishment and defeat, but are taken from the Psalms where God is 'praised wonderfully'[81A] and from the confessional passages of St Paul's epistles. The sermon of <u>Gildas Minimus</u> thus far is an 'anogaeth' rather than a <u>liber querulus.</u>

The second part of <u>Gildas Minimus</u>, if only by virtue of its subject-matter, binds Edwards more closely with the sixth-century monk whose name he uses. Four assertions are made. The first of these - that is, the second in the sermon - is "That to take mens health or lives away by poisons, is very abominable in Gods sight." Charles Edwards begins his onslaught by justifying his use of the phrase 'very abominable'. He argues that murder 'is a part of that mischief which Satan taught Sorcers and Witches to do', a training which he claims is, in his day, more intensified than ever.[81B] His description of the methods used by 'those rotten wretches', the poisoners, is an awefully vivid, if incongruous picture, which perhaps was drawn from memory. Making the mouth of their victim '<u>an open Sepulchre</u>', they

> force the stream of their putrefaction into his mouth, that by the poison of the asps from under their lipe, and by wrapping their cloaths about his victuals and in his bed and such other ways, they may infect him.[82]

Edwards imagination is enraged. He calls these criminals 'the pioneers of Apollyons army', and detects that they have been 'appointed to lay and manage the under-ground hidden train for the destroying of such as are not conveniently reducible by open battery.' The soldiers of God are indeed in open battle! The metaphor is a strange one for a peace-loving Welshman to use; and its wealth of technical detail betrays the fact that Charles Edwards probably borrowed it from another writer who condemned the use of poison in war. He quotes Tully and Seneca, who argue that in a 'just war' 'wise valour' should supersede 'witchcraft'.[83] Edwards goes one step further and passionately entreats,

> O that our Land...suppress all base tricks that the fruit of Righteousness may be Peace.[84]

Now, reveals Edwards, the sources of poison are more numerous than ever. Not only is it found in herbs and metals but also in the human body. Promiscuity brings its own penalties. The picture is here again revoltingly constructed: Edwards notes that the woman who succumbs to the entreaties of her lover 'findeth his embracies to be like those of Molech, burning and deadly, and shall be able to witness ....that such as have the faces of men and the hair of women have scorpion tails to infuse burning poison into the bowels.'[85] He returns to consider the full consequence of adultery later on in Gildas Minimus.

Then, donning the cloak of the social reformer, the author asks, firstly, whether God approves of the abortion of unborn children.

He answers, 'none may do so', for the practice does not conform to 'God's ordinary operation for continuing of mankind on Earth'. Following Tertullian, Edwards defines abortion as a 'hasty murder'.[86] Then Edwards criticizes the practice that 'superiours' have of poisoning such persons 'as they think not convenient to expose to pjblic trial or execution', for, he argues, 'God hath put a swort into Magistrates hands, and not a Gally-pot'.

Murder, 'every private killing', is the subject of the third exposition of Gildas Minimus. Edwards asserts "That in a setled Nation every private killing of men, women or children, if generally connived at, becomes publick murder, and makes a land guilty of bloud."[87] His main contention is that when a murderer is acquitted of his crime, his country shares his shame. Edwards cites the guilt of Egypt after the slaughter of the new-born sons of the Israelites; and Israel's own mourning in Hosea's time, when God condemned 'every one that dwelleth therein' to 'languish' because 'blood toucheth blood'.[88] Man shall not kill. Yet, considers Edwards, did not God reveal unto Noah, 'whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed'? Though this pledge could be interpreted as a command to punish all killers, Edwards argues that it is not a contract by which magistrates are allowed a free hand to convict and penalise a convict privately; rather is it a public responsibility. On the other hand, failure to execute punishment, 'not curbing of evil becomes in effect a commanding of it.'[89]

As he did in treating his previous assertion, Edwards reverts to consider the implications of war; but now, instead of submitting to Livy, Tully and Seneca, and seeing warfare from the Roman standpoint as a noble venture, he adopts the more humane attitude of St James. Now Edwards

states that, in war, at least one side is committing sin; and that 'Most Wars and Fightings...come from lusts.'[90] They are, he adds, 'the product of hatred and operation of Satan.'[91]

The fact that Edwards in one sermon holds two contrasting attitudes to war is indicative of the state of his mind during the period he took to compose Gildas Minimus. When he treats of poison and its effects, the reader is constantly aware that the author is obsessed by such thoughts. Obviously, Edwards's own experiences - were they real or had they been allowed to grow wild in the acreage of his own mistrust - must have influenced greatly his turn of mind. The vile realism of the portrayal of the man forced to take poison could have been achieved only by an imagination that had dwelled at length on such an act.

Yet, when he treats of his third assertion, concerning murder, now relieved of his obsession about poisons, Edwards considers anew the meaning and immorality of war with firmer judgement. His temper is at once subdued and intense. And he writes with the gravity of conviction that he demonstrated in the first part of Gildas Minimus. In this frame of mind Edwards constructs his pieces more firmly and logically: statement is proved by testament. And although these two parts, the first and third of Gildas Minimus, are not illuminated by the brilliant forceful metaphors which generate much of the bitterness of the second exposition, they are full of good Christian counsel.

On these topics, then, Charles Edwards is alternately disciplined and fitful. But on one subject - the love of women - he is consistently virulent, not to say hysterical.

In the second part of the sermon, in treating the contamination of a woman by her lover, Edwards has already bared his teeth. He bites

when he states that "for a people to indulge Whoredom, is very hateful to God's sight".[92] The Lord condemns it, explains Edwards, because 'debauched ones cannot see any loveliness in the things of God, and therefore turn aside to Prophaneness and Idolatry.'[93] Adultery opens a channel that leads to other sins - to murder, for instance: '<u>breaking of Wedlock</u> and <u>shedding of bloud</u> often go together'.[94] The fornicator must cover up his steps with numerous lies, or, as Charles Edwards relates, he needs 'a great cloud of false witness' to 'darken the air so much, that the ugliness of the sin is made indiscernable to weak eyes'.[95]

In <u>Gildas Minimus</u> Edwards condemns anew the universal sins condemned by Gildas in the sixth century. Vortipor, Cuneglas and Maelgwn all were guilty of adultery and murder. But it is to his own generation that Charles Edwards speaks. He formalizes the consequences of 'lascivious practices' primarily to warn and admonish 'our generation 'to whom they are so 'pleasing'.[96] For sensuality, that sealer of impenitency,[97] which 'almost expelled Solomon's wisdom out of him',[98] was rife in society in the seventeenth century as ever. And in denouncing it, Edwards demonstrates the sincere puritanism of a Christian minister grieved to disgust by the debauchery of his fellow human beings. Yet there must be a deeper motive and a greater reason to explain why he attacked not only fornication but the mismanagement of the institution of marriage as well, and insists so vehemently that "it is very horrible to make God's holy Ordinances and gifts subservient to Satan". This is his fifth assertion and last in <u>Gildas Minimus.</u>

As a Christian, Charles Edwards could not but regard '<u>Natural Love</u>' as ' <u>a good thing</u>'.[99] He had read that God had created Eve because

'it is not good' that Adam 'should be alone'.[100] Matrimony from the beginning of the world was thus regarded as a blessed institution; and no less a person than John Calvin had praised 'the chaste love of matrimony' as 'the second kind of virginity.'[101] Edwards himself for sixteen years had enjoyed blissful married life[102] until the day during 1666 when his wife left him. The rift must have opened a great wound in his mind. For to a man conscious of Paul's charge that married couples should not 'defraud' 'one the other',[103] his wife's desertion was an act of unfaithfulness, an act which perhaps, over the years, grew in his estimation tantamount to adultery. If he believed with Owen Feltham that 'Matrimoniall chastitie' was achieved 'when Paires' kept 'themselves...each constant to the other', Edwards would readily reason that desertion, infidelity, was unchaste.[104]

In this frame of mind, in 1686 he is suspicious of 'Natural Love' as something which can easily be distorted 'to promote ill designs.'[105] He searches for the cancer that endangers the body of marriage and enlarges its ugliness. Both partners, Edwards notes, can generate its growth. The adulterous wife can conceal her promiscuity from her husband by pampering him with caresses.[106] The husband, in turn, assisted by a midwife, can easily kill his wife in childbed. 'The white Furniture within doors covers the dark deceit, and abroad violence is covered with a mourning garment.' Charles Edwards develops the consequences of the crime with the insistence of a fiction writer. The widower, he observes, receives in his grief the deep sympathy of his neighbours; yet he goes abroad with the intention of finding a second wife - 'a greater prize'. 'Thus marriage', comments Edwards on this grotesque scenario, 'that from the beginning of the world was appointed for the propagation of Mankind, is made a most sure engine for the diminution thereof'.[107]

Biased, unsound reasoning is followed by dense suspicion. Now Edwards states that many wives, past childbearing age, resort to prostitution. The usual disparaging metaphor is at hand:

> the crop being had away, the Field
> is made common and all sorts of
> bad Cattel are turned in at easie rates. [108]

Moreover, dissatisfied with such rancour, Edwards advocates inspection. 'Search', he urges his "Christian Readers", 'search you diligently for old Murderers and Adulteres, that they may be duely dealt with.' [109]

G.J. Williams claims that there are obvious signs of madness to be detected in Charles Edwards's Testimony. But are they not here, too, in Gildas Minimus, five years before the publication of the pitiful Testimony? The second, fourth and fifth assertions of Gildas Minimus, like the first and third, are certainly statements of truth and conviction, but Edwards's treatment of them is indicative of an obsessed and overwrought mind at work. Though the sermon as a whole is both vividly illustrated and vigorously presented, its argument suffer from an unbalanced judgement that is a disease of a mentally-ill man.

Perhaps there is one justification for Edwards's method of criticism - and it has been put into words by him in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Following Gildas, who, towards the end of De Excidio Britanniae, defends the ruthlessness of his condemnation, Edwards writes:

> ni leshâ teimlo briw pwdr yn
> esmwyth, y bo rhaid ei serio â
> thân. [110]

But whereas Gildas took to criticizing degradation after having observed its real consequences, Edwards, often led on by the fever of his imagination, created his own situations and hypothesis. The compelling

first and third expositions of Gildas Minimus merit the shelter of the sermon's title. But the sheer invention of the other parts of the treatise - notably the piece on the pitfalls of matrimony - divorce Charles Edwards from the company of the more collected and responsible sixth-century monk, whose work he admired so much.

CHARLES EDWARDS'S TESTIMONY

An Afflicted Man's Testimony Concerning His Troubles was published sometime after 1 July 1691, probably in London.[1] Like the copies of the pamphlet that G.J. Williams saw in the British Museum and Swansea Public Library, the copy in the Bodleian Library also lacks a title-page.[2] All three copies are bound with Fatherly Instructions (1686), and as Williams suggests, it is quite possible that the Testimony was not published separately but, printed without a title-page, was bound with the unsold copies of Fatherly Instructions.[3]

It comprises of twenty-two pages, three of which (pp. 3-5) contain the 'Latin Declamation', "Novum inchoantibus Imperium utilis Clementiae Fama", which Edwards delivered at Oxford in June 1649. (A copy of the address must have survived the forty troublesome years that followed Edwards's removal from Oxford). The two opening pages of the Testimony and pages 6-10 are taken up with complaints against persons and the turn of events that made life miserable for the author: the acquaintance 'that seemed a Genteel person' who entered Edwards's name 'in the Toll-book as a Voucher for him' at Oxford, and who 'swore he would kill me'; the Visitors in 1648; the Fellows of Jesus College; 'some of the richer sort and others' in Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant; a 'Lurcher' who attempted to assault him; the soldiers who thrust him into prison 1666; and the poisoners who tried to kill him in 1675 and again 'a few years after'.[4] On page ten of the Testimony Charles Edwards explains what induced him to print Fatherly Instructions and add to it 'that Appendix, called Gildas Minimus'. Here too Edwards publishes a 'few Verses' on the 'Calamity'

that he had expected to 'come on the Land', verses he had been 'loath to print' in 1686.[5] They are followed by a brief commentary on Jeremiah 11. 19, 22-23 that would not have been misplaced in the second part of Gildas Minimus. Then Edwards takes recourse to speak of his own life, how he

> got my Mind fully satisfied, that to follow the Precepts and Examples of Christ, and his inspired Servants... is the only safe way for living and dying, for doing and suffering, which is the cause I do not run with the stream of the World, nor take the same course as most do, because it's so much differing from that pattern. [6]

Yet he does not realize that his constant emphasis on obedience to authority is also 'much differing from that pattern.' He feels afflicted - nevertheless, moans Edwards, 'I am not Conscious to my self of any Crime against Superiours,...I kept innocence towards those above me.'[7] A faithful subject, his pride is that 'My Disposition was Moderate.'[8] For all that, there is nothing moderate in the warning cushioned between pages 14-18 of the Testimony: Edwards sees 'in this sinful Age' 'Providence in Judgment for our Provocations, threatning to remove our Candlesticks, rather than promising to encrease our Lights'.[9] Having treated of the situation of the world, Edwards again reverts to speak of his 'Troubles' and note especially the trust he placed in God 'though I saw for certain that most of the World about me was against me.'[10] The pamphlet ends pitifully with Edwards's statement that 'I have not layd down one wrong of a hundred inflicted on me, nor one Mercy of a Thousand God shewed me.'[11]

The Testimony is obviously the work of a paranoic. Charles Edwards cannot look back upon any episode during his life unsuspicious of persecution. Writing of the Oxford acquaintance 'who swore he would kill me', Edwards adds: 'and I think he came to my Chamber-door for

that purpose.'[12] Consider also this adventure: towards the end of 1658[13] or in January 1659, Edwards writes,

> as I was riding homewards from preaching in a Winter Night, I observed a Man sit on Horseback at the end of a dark Woody lane, who affronted me as I rid by him, and attempted to assault me, but my Horse outwent him. Soon after one came down with the great Seal to claim my Benefice, and by the Date of his Pattent it appeared that it was had out about the time that Lurcher set upon me.

Richards notes that Francis Howell, then Principal of Jesus, Oxford, was admitted by the Triers to Llanrhaeadr, 12 January 1658-9[14]. Yet Howell would hardly employ a murderer to help him vacate the living! In Edwards's opinion that is exactly what he sought to do. An illness that developed into a fever is regarded as an attempted poisoning, an event repeated 'many times', Edwards having found 'dangerous baits in my Food, and perilous traps and snares laid for me in my way.'[15] These complaints are the sure signs of mental instability. They permeate the first half of the pamphlet, and because of them it is difficult for the historian to set great store by the Testimony's truth, for its contents bear the colour of the prejudice of a sick mind. That sickness is made articulate when Edwards observes, on page eighteen:

> I saw for certain that most of the World about me was against me: Great and Small, Friends and Foes, Professors and Prophane, Relations and Strangers, some reproaching me to the World, and accusing me to men in Power, some robbing and defrauding me of my Estate, some tempting me to Uncleanness, others poysoning my Body; some writing, others Preaching against me, and such Ordinances were mounted in many Pulpits as were levelled at me, not to edifie, but to batter down my spiritual Comforts, and I should hear terrifying Voices not from black Clouds only, but from bright ones also.[16]

The very thoroughness of the complaint is unconvincing.

Engrossed in the defence of his own character, Edwards's memory becomes diseased. He is not at all sure whether he took the Oath of Allegiance at the Restoration of Charles II or not. He notes emphatically that he was 'observant' of it, then adds: 'and in case I had not swron...'[17] A true non-conformist in health of mind would hardly forget the nature of his action at such a critical period in his history. Furthermore, Edwards had no cause to complain, in 1691, that his 'Afflictions' hindered him to exercise his 'Talent' for preaching in 1690, when the law of the land allowed him to do so under the auspicies of the Common Fund.[18] Perhaps by this time he had lost all sympathy for mankind and could see nothing but storm clouds in the summer skies.

Indeed it can be asserted that a man who regarded his fellow men as an evil legion allied against him was bound to believe that such gross wickedness could precipitate nothing less that cosmic doom. And this is what Edwards foresaw. True, the Fifth Monarchists of his youth had disbanded in disappointment if not disgrace. But belief in the end of the world was not a monopoly of theirs.[19] Total wickedness could still invite destruction, and Edwards in 1691 noted that 'the greatest part of our Countreys are void of true Grace, and Christian Godliness, or the likeness of it.'[20] Men molested not only him, but each other: religious intoleration was rife - 'And probably wrath for Persecuting is one deadly Ingredient in the Cup of Trembling now put into the hands of most Nations, to cause in them such a Bloody-flux.'[21] In these 'very perilous' days the 'Spirit of God' 'being so generally mocked, becomes more reserved; Christ refusing to work because of Unbelief, and other hainous sins.'[22] Moreover, Christianity is now 'less vigorous' than

it was at its inception: 'the Gentile Churches' that 'brought forth many Sons and Daughters by the Gospel-seed' now 'are grown old, withered and barren'. The Lord 'in anger' permits 'both the Eastern and Western Nations', who have neglected to walk according to the Gospel 'for many Generations', to obey unrighteousness; and because they received not the love of the Truth that they might be saved, they are left to continue in strong delusion.'[23] In Charles Edwards's opinion, according to the signs of the times, these were the 'last days'.

But Edwards's belief in the proximity of the Day of Judgement is not overwhelming. Had it been so, the Testimony would have been transformed utterly and issued as a final warning to mankind. Edwards's conviction is a by-product of his paranoia. He argues on page seventeen that 'the World may expect benefit by having good men in it', and from page eighteen to the end of the Testimony he is at pains to prove that he is one of those good men, a person especially blessed by 'many Experiences of Gods goodness', one akin to 'eight such Persons in Noah's Family.'[24] Thus, he writes 'to leave some Account' of his 'Ways' 'that Truth may appear' -[25] the truth that he was a faithful upright Christian wronged by a world taken to sin. Unless it learns quickly to respect noble spirits such as he, civilization will meet its death. Could not the doomed world find hope in the Christian Church in this dark hour? Edwards ponders over the question and answers,

> It's to be much doubted whether the Melody of
> our Organs and Temples can drown the Cries of
> our Sins, and the wailings of the Fatherless and
> Widows; or that the Halls of our Corporations be
> so well furnished with Civil or Spiritual Righteousness,
> or our Countrey Barns with such good Wheat,
> as will keep off the Fire of Gods wrath from

> consuming us as Stubble and Tares, without more general amendment.

What would constitute that 'general amendment'?

> It would prove a beneficial Indulgence, if the languid spirits of the several Forms of our Religion should be so well revived, as to divert, or overcome those strong Judgments that our Irreligion is like to bring upon us.[26]

In a way, Edwards pleads with the world to tolerate him, to love him and the Lord's men, for 'though the World need not fear hurt by the preservation of Gods Servants, yet it should greatly fear it for their destruction.'[27] To leave them in peace is the only way of diverting 'strong Judgments'.

The four pages of self-praise and self-commendation that follow this argument at first sight appear to be extraneous. But viewed in this context they form an intrinsic part of Edwards's argument. For they provide the proof that Edwards, though forsaken by his fellow men, is undoubtedly one of God's favourites. Did not the 'Author of Life' provide him with 'sure Antidotes against the Infection of Temptations' that sought to destroy his soul? And abate his and others' physical pain? Furthermore, 'the Lord exerted his righteousness many times in [Edwards's] Concerns', punishing his adversaries by death, suddenly or 'by a violent Feaver', some 'in the prime of their Age.'[28]

Through the Testimony a demented person, once an able preacher and a brilliant author, tries pitifully to set his world in order, and to advise it, 'for the Gospel's sake', that they who walk the narrow path are sure of God's comfort in heaven, if not joy on earth. Edwards's hope, even in the darkness of 1691, is full. Though the Lord, he notes, 'permitted most of my Estate to be gone from me, yet he giveth me content

and necessary Supplyes to this day, and good Hopes of having in Heaven a better and an enduring Substance, and more comfortable Mansions, and those I am deprived of.'[29]

How Charles Edwards deteriorated into this state of mind, no one can tell. Perhaps there is a clue in the last sentence quoted - that his wife's estrangement and the mental strain that he suffered as a result of his long loneliness worried him deeply, and that the torture of living for years on end in lodging in Oxford and London finally - after his life's work was done - proved too much for a man as sensitive and fine as Charles Edwards. Welsh literature can find no parallel to the pitifulness of An Afflicted Man's Testimony of his Troubles.

Yet the pamphlet has been ably written, the biographical parts are lively and direct, the argumentative passages made attractive by powerful rhetoric. And Edwards by 1691 has lost none of his ability for coining metaphors. (For instance, consider the juxtapositioning of 'wrath' as a 'deadly Ingredient in the Cup of Trembling.'[30]) He has also retained his power to see the strange significance of a famous event, as in this passage:

> Yea, I am not without fears, lest some of my dear Relations, and loving Acquaintance, have been prejudiced by my Persecutors, upon occasion of my Friendly Converse with them, or Communication of them: and If it be so, I hope God will not impute to me what has been done against my Will, any more than the Death of those innocent Children to the Wise Men that came to worship Christ at his Birth, who though wise, yet contrary to their expectation, by their devout Enquiry stirred up Herod's Cruelty, tydings of a meek Saviour making him a Bloody Destroyer beyond all suspicion.[31]

Charles Edwards's talent distorted by paranoia is one of the tragedies of seventeenth-century Welsh literature.

3, Chapter V

EDWARDS'S EDITORIAL WORK

It is significant that Edwards rediscovered Morris Kyffin's Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr and Richard Davies's Epistle "ir Cembru oll" sometime between 1668 and 1670 when he was engrossed in research work 'i geisio gwybod helynt y grefydd Gristnogol yn-mysc ein gwladwyr ni gynt.'[1] Significant because from then until 1682 Edwards divided his energies between his work as an author and as an editor. The episode is also symbolic, in that it was his sense of history that spurred him on to write and edit books for his own contemporaries. In the introduction to Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards writes that it was in order to urge his compatriots 'i fraint a bonedd ein hen deidiau, sef purdeb ffydd efangylaidd, a grym duwioldeb... y rhoddais hyn o ddiwydrwydd ar yscrifennu atoch.' Moreover, for Charles Edwards in 1670, a tale of Christian history and a page of devotional literature shared a common function: both, in an hour of spiritual need, bore witness to a living God's continual interest in Welsh affairs and in the souls of the Welsh people.

When Edwards decided to reprint these new-found essays, as he calls them,[2] the one, Davies's Epistle, was over a hundred years old, whilst the other, first printed in Welsh in 1595, was seventy-five years old. 'Mi welwn y ddau wedi heneiddio', declares Edwards, who cleverly develops his description of them to depict the spiritual condition of

/ the country that

had neglected these books, a description that is at the same time reminiscent of William Salesbury's cri de coeur of 1547:[3]

> Mi welwn y ddau wedi heneiddio, ac yn
> ddi-ymgeledd yn y wlad, yn llechu
> mewn ymbell gornel, mewn dillad sitrachog,
> llychlyd, ac yn o-debyg i'r ddau dystion,
> wedi eu gwisgo a Sachliain, a llydw
> hefyd, er iddynt haeddu croesaw gwell.[4]

Edwards, never the impractical scholar, set to to amend matters:

> cipiais y llyfrau oddiar y gwyfyn, a'r rhwd
> ydoedd barod yw difetha hwynt, a rhoddais
> wisc newydd am yr hen gyrph...

He took copies with him to Oxford (where he published the second edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in 1671) and sought to print them as correctly as he could 'wrth gopiau siccr. yr Epistol wrth lyfr y Dr Dafid Powel. a'r llall wrth yr eiddo Watkin Kyffin o'r Glascoed Esq.'[5]

They are printed in a single volume of two-hundred-and-fifty duodecimo pages called Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran. Sef ail-printiad o lyfr Escob Juel A Elwir Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr; Ac o Epistol yr Escob Dafies at y Cembru. According to his practice with Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, the title is also given in English: An Echo of the Sons of Thunder Being a second impression of Bishop Juel's Apologie, and of Bishop Davies his Epistle, in the British tongue.[6] ("Juel's Apologie" was, of course, John Jewel's Apologiae Ecclesiae Anglicanae, first printed in 1562.)[7]

At the beginning of the book Edwards prints a letter "At y Darlleyd", dated 'Rhydychen Mis Rhagfyr 31. 1670'. After "At y

Darlleydd" there follows the title-page of the 1595 edition of Kyffin's translation, the title printed correctly and in full (Deffynniad Ffydd Eglvvys Loegr: lle y ceir gweled, a gwybod, dosparth gwir Grefydd Crist, ag anghywirdeb Crefydd Eglwys Rufain...), lacking the printer's name and the year of publication, and the Latin quotation, which Edwards transfers onto the title page of Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran itself. Then follows the brief glossary of ecclesiastical and theological terms, "Dealld ag arwyddocaad (sic) y geiriau angenrheidiol, a dwyswyd i'r Cymraec, yn hyn o lyfr", out of place, for in the 1595 edition it follows rather than precedes Kyffin's dedicatory epistle to Wiliam Meredydd.[8]

The text is printed page for page, line for line, "- 'ni feiddiais i wneuthur dim cyfnewidiad ynddynt', confesses Edwards,[10] - the only change being that in the 1671 edition the pages are numbered individually whereas in 1595 Kyffin numbered each leaf only. But Edwards cannot resist correcting some of the printing mistakes of the original: 'yn briodafferch', for example is rendered 'yn Briodasferch', 'gollynddd' loses its extra d.[11] He also chooses not to employ the hyphen sometimes, so that 'yn-rhef' becomes 'yn rhef'.[12] These are the only changes effected: the majority of the minor changes are, no doubt, printing slips and not the fruits of editorial choice.

Edwards testifies that he printed Bishop Davies's Epistle - entitled Richard Can Rat Dyw Episcop Menew, yn damuno adnewyddiat yr

hen ffydd catholic a' gollauni Evangel Christ ir Cembru oll, yn enwedic i bop map eneid dyn o vewn ey Escopawt - 'wrth lyfr y Dr Dafid Powel'. The phrase is slightly misleading, for someone's book usually means a work written and published by him, or else a manuscript of his. But in this instance 'llyfr y Dr Dafid Powel' cannot mean anything but David Powel's copy of the 1567 Welsh New Testament: no edition of the Epistle appeared between then and 1671.

It is interesting to note that Morris Kyffin in his 'Annerch at yr howddgar ddarlleydd Cristnogawl' highly commends the Bishop's Epistle, 'yr hwn lythyr a scrifennodd y doededig Escob mewn Cymraec groyw, hyfedr, ymadroddus'.[13] The Epistle is reprinted on pp. 209-250 of Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran with but one or two very insignificant changes in orthography. The n is at all times noted: Salesbury's dafon is now printed as danfon (p.212), Susāna presented as Susanna (p.242); dd is also printed in its common form. Also, Edwards prints Frainc as Ffrainc (p.209).

Appended to Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran is a chart showing (i) the letters (capital and small) of the alphabet, (ii) 'Bogeiliaid', vowels, (iii) 'Y Sylaftau', syllables: 'Ab eb ib' etc., and (iv) numbers from 1 to 80, and 81, 90, 91 etc. This section emphasizes the fact that it was for the commonfolk that Charles Edwards prepared his edition of these two famous works, 'gan fod mor Elusen lonni'r tlodion yn yr yspryd, ac yw diwallu y rheidus yn y cnawd. fal wrth wneuthur pob vn o'r ddau drwy ras, yr

ymgyfoethogont mewn gweithredoedd da, ac yr amlhao ffrwyth erbyn eu cyfrif hwynt'.[14]

This quotation is part of an impassioned plea Edwards makes in his introduction to the 1671 volume. Having noted how Watkin Kyffin had proved a worthy guardian to Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr and how he would have patronized its reprinting had he lived, Edwards adds,

> O na bae i'w etifeddion ef, a phendefigion eraill gymeryd attynt y cyfryw fwriad i amlhau Cynorthwyau adeiladaeth ysprydol i eneidiau'r gwerin, gystal ag ym borth i gyrru y tlawd!

Many of the few good books to be had in Welsh sorely needed to be reprinted, but the Welsh nation, he observes, chooses to allow vermin to destroy the things that would nourish many souls. Thus, it is seen that Charles Edwards was fully conscious of the spiritual needs of the Welsh people before he ever met Stephen Hughes and Thomas Gouge. Their meeting then was the fusion of hearts aflame with the same missionary zeal and intention - to carry the Gospel into the homes of the men and women of Wales.

The three met sometime between 1673 and 1675. In 1674 Gouge and Hughes, aided by a group of benevolent Englishmen, established the Welsh Trust to finance the publishing of Welsh devotional books that were to be issued freely to the poor commonfolk of Wales. Edwards no doubt had published Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran at his own expense; now, with financial and moral support, working with men who shared his deepest

convictions, he was afforded the opportunity to realize the proposal he had made to the Welsh gentry in 1671.

Edwards began his work 'i amlhau Cynorthwyau adeiladaeth ysprydol i eneidiau'r gwerin' in 1675, by preparing the third edition of Rowland Vaughan's translation of Lewis Bayly's immensely popular Practice of Piety. The first Welsh edition had appeared in 1630,[15] and by then twenty-five English editions had been issued,[16] besides translations into French (1625) and German (1629); the second Welsh edition came off the presses in 1656. Edwards went to his task

> gan dybio nad oedd raid imi ond edrych
> ar iddo gyfatteb yn gywyr i'r llyfrau o'r blaen.

But he was hampered; in the letter, "Diwygiwr y preint-wasc ac (sic) y darlleydd", printed after the text of the 1675 edition of Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, Edwards explains his difficulty:

> wrth fyned ymlaen i holi'r Copi, daliais
> sulw fod yn angenrheidiol gyfnewid ynddo lawer
> o bethau; gan fod y darlleniad a'r ystyr
> yn dywyll, ac yn anghysson mewn llawer o
> fannau, ac heb gyrhaeddyd ergyd yr Awdwr
> yn y dafodiaith arall. Ac i'r cyfieithydd
> gamgymeryd bagad o eiriau Ladingaidd a
> Groegaidd yn y llyfr Saesonaec, ysydd anhawdd
> eu dirnad, ac allent fagu amryfusedd.

Edwards sees fit even to change a phrase in the Welsh title: Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb: yn cyfarwyddo dyn i ryngu bodd Duw, in 1675 is changed to Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb yn Cyfarwyddo dyn i rodio fal y rhyngo ef fodd Duw

to render more accurately the English... to walke that he may please God. But all in all Charles Edwards slightly exaggerates the weaknesses of Vaughan's translation. He is kinder and nearer the truth when he adds in his letter: 'y beiau mwyaf... a ddigwyddasau oddiwrth anghyfarwyddyd y preintwyr Seisnig'.

And Edwards undertakes to revise the translation when change is not totally necessary. When 'visiting the sicke' Edwards does not 'ymweled a'r claf' as Vaughan does; it is his fashion to 'gofwyo y claf'.[17] Whereas Vaughan translates 'Though thou shouldest drown me' as 'Pe bai i ti fy moddi' Edwards sees fit to replace his verb, and translate the phrase as 'Pe rhôn ac i ti fy moddi'. He even undertakes to correct Vaughan's verb terminations: adroddeu to adroddai; gweleu to gwelai.[18] The punctuation, sometimes misleading in 1630, is improved upon. Apart from these changes, the little emendation made is restricted to changes in spelling and verb-forms.

The following year, in 1676, Edwards was responsible for supervising the printing of four translations of works by Thomas Gouge himself that were generally bound in one volume. He was probably the editor of this volume inasmuch as he was "Diwygiwr y Print-wasc" and the author of a letter "...at y darlleydd".[19] There he notes that three thousand and five hundred copies of this volume were to be given 'yn rhâd ymmysc ein gwladwyr ni'; and the historian of "Hanes y Ffydd"

cannot resist the comment that it would be difficult for the Welsh of Owen Glyndwr's time to appreciate the compassion now felt for Wales by many benevolent Englishmen.

The first of the four works is Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, William Jones's translation of A Word to Saints, and a Word to Sinners (1668), originally written for the inhabitants of the parish of St. Sepulchre in London. It is more or less a sermon, in thirteen chapters, on the three first verses of John, 3. The first two chapters constitute "Esponiad y 3 wers, a'r Nod neu'r Athrawiaeth yn Codi o hynny"[20] Chapters Three to Eight dwell on the necessity of regeneration. And the remaining ones treat of the duties that must be undertaken in order to achieve new life, and show 'y pethau nodedig rhagorol a ddylai y rhai a Ail-anwyd eu gwneuthur uwch law eraill'. The Welsh translation consists of one-hundred-and-fifteen pages, is simply written and faithfully follows the original English.

Hyfforddiadau Christianogol yn dangos Pa fodd i rodio gyda Duw ar hyd y Dydd is the second book bound in the 1676 omnibus volume.[21] This is Richard Jones's translation of Gouge's Christian Directions (1661),[22] a work that appears to have been devised as a simple devotional manual. It consists of twenty-eight chapters full of detailed instructions such as 'Pa fodd i ddechreu'r diwrnod gyda Duw' and how to be wary of words. The style of writing adopted in the book is explained and justified in this

typically plain passage:

> Bydded eich ymadrodd chwi ie, ie, nage, nage, hynny yw, bydded eich ymadrodd yn eglur ac yn noeth; oblegid beth bynnag sydd dros ben hyn, sef beth bynnag sy yn myned tu hwnt i siccrhaad neu ymwadiad syml plaen, o'r drwg y mae, hynny yw o'r Diafol y mae.[23]

The author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant showed great editorial restraint in leaving this passage intact.

William Jones was also responsible for the translation of the first version of The Principles of the Christian Religion (1645), Principlau neu Bennau y Grefydd Ghristianogol, which is a book in the form of a catechism - 'y principlau... wedi eu agoryd' as Jones explains.[24] It consists of forty-six pages and an appendage of ten further pages on which are printed "Gweddi Deuluaidd" and "Gweddi i un ar ei ben ei hun", followed by the Lord's Prayer. Bound with this translation[25] is an untitled essay which treats of "Meddwdod, Aflendid, ofer-Dyngu, a Chelwydd" in sixteen pages. In Chapter One drunkenness is defined and described ("Ansawdd y pechod... a ymddengys wrth y ffrwythau trist, erchyll'); and several cautionary observations are made - for example, 'Gochel gwmpeini meddwon' for God sees all.[26] Chapter Two follows the same course: but once Gouge raises above his usual plainness to warn, 'Tan y trachwant sydd danwydd i dân uffern'.[27] In Chapter Three[28a] the author condemns "Halog-Dyngu" as damnatory and proceeds to give sensible criticism of the bad practice: 'Fe fydd pob gwr gonest yn ddiau mwy o lawer yn amau

gwirionedd geiriau y dyn hwnnw, fydd yn eu canlyn hwy a'i lw'. And in Chapter Four "Celwydd" is defined and classified.[28b]

All four books were obviously designed to keep the religious common-folk of England and Wales on the straight and narrow path to fruitful holy-living.

During 1678 Gouge greatly extended The Principles of Christian Religion which William Jones had translated in 1676. He did so at the request of 'those Christians in WALES; who...'

> did earnestly desire me to publish in both Languages a Treatise that should contain all the Fundamental Principles of Religion, and that in a plain Stile and Method.[29]

The revised version, now consisting of two-hundred-and-forty pages, was published in London in 1679; it was called The Principles of Christian Religion explained to the Capacity of the Meanest. With practical applications to each head. Whereby the Great and Necessary Duty of Family-Catechising may with much ease be performed. The task of translating the treatise into Welsh was undertaken by Charles Edwards, and his Gwyddorion y Grefydd Gristianogol was also published in 1679.

Though Edwards notes that he abridged the English work slightly,[30] by far the greater part of Gwyddorion y Grefydd Gristianogol is a faithful translation of Gouge's book. One example will suffice to show how closely the Welsh follows the original; and at the same time demonstrate with what patience and regard for the mentality of their readers the

authors of the Welsh Trust worked. Yet notice that the first part of the 'Atteb' in Edwards's version is not as full as the English answer.

32. Quest. What is Effectual Calling?

Ans. Effectual Calling is the Work of Gods spirit, whereby our Understanding being enlightened with the knowledge of our miserable condition, and of Christ as our Redeemer, we are perswaded to close with Jesus Christ as our only Saviour and Redeemer.

Explic. For the better clearing this great grace of Effectual Calling, take notice that there is a two-fold Call to grace;

1. A genral and External Call.
2. A special and Internal Call.

I. An External Call by the Ministry of the Word, inviting all that hear it, to turn from their sins, and come to Christ. Which Call some obey, others refuse. Of which Call our Saviour spake, Matth. 20.16. Many are called, but few are chosen. This external Call is not alwayes effectual to salvation, yet it is sufficient to leave men without excuse.

Gof. 32. Pa beth yw galwad effeithiawl.

Atteb. Galwad effeithiawl yw gwaith yr yspryd, trwy ba un y mae ein dealldwriaeth ni yn cael gwybodaeth o'n cyflwr gresynol, ac o Grist ein iachawdwr ni, ac i'n troir i uno ag ef.

Eglur. I ddangos yn eglurach, y grâs mawr yma o alwad effeithiawl deliwch sylw fod dau fath ar alwad at râs;

1. Galwad cyffredinol oddi allan.
2. Galwad neillduol oddi mewn.

I. Galwad oddi allan trwy Weinidogaeth y gair, yn gwahadd y rhai a'i gwrandawant ef, i ymadl â'u pechodau, ac i droi at Grist. I ba alwad y mae rhai yn ufyddhau, ond y mae eraill yn ei wrthod ef. Math. 20.16. Llawer sy gwedi eu galw, ac ychydig wedi eu dewys. Nid yw y galwad yma oddi allan yn gweithio ar iechadwriaeth bob amser, ond mae efe yn gwneuthur pobl yn ddiescus.

II. An Internal Call, when the Holy Spirit accompanying the Outward Ministry of the Word, doth by his powerful operation effectually bring the heart to Christ.	II. Galwad oddi mewn, pan fo'r Yspryd Glan trwy wenidogaeth y gair oddi allan yn dwyn y galon at Grist drwy ei allu ef. [31]

Three years later Edwards was responsible for the reprinting of another catechism, Prifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl. Wedi eu crynoi gan yr Escob Vsher. It was first published in Welsh in 1658, the first of two works by Usher bound together as Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl a Llwybraidd fodd byrr or Athrawiaeth o honi. o waith Jago Usher Escob Armagh, a chyfieithiad Row. Vaughan, Esq. But in 1682 Edwards does not name the translator or mention the fact that the work was a reprint. Vaughan's "At y Darllennydd" is also omitted, and it is perhaps because of the harsh words of criticism of the new non-conformist included in this letter that Edwards chose not to recognize Vaughan's work in translating Prifannau. Vaughan first of all states that the book was written not by a craftsman lately made a priest but by a 'genuine' priest - 'amgenach offeiriad, vn vnionddysg etholedig'. He then adds that he did not undertake to translate the work for everyone's benefit - no,

> os vn o r grefydd newydd wyt ti, a th cydwybod wedi ei serrio, a th clustiau mal y neidr fyddar, wedi dy rybuddio unwaith neu ddwy, etto heb amcanu bwrw ymaith dy gau grediniaeth, ymdrobredda yn dy fryntni yn oestadol. Nid i ti y scrifennais... [32]

But Edwards, the former Puritan minister, and the Welsh Trust - founded

by the dissenting 'Apostle', Stephen Hughes, and the sympathetic Gouge - could hardly condone Vaughan's diatribe by reprinting it.

Charles Edwards was not altogether pleased with the work itself, anyway. He notes in his own "At y Darllennydd"[33] his appreciation of Usher's achievement but complains 'bod yr yscrythyrau perthynol i bob pwngc wedi eu pennodi yn fyrr a figurau rhifyddiaeth, heb nemmawr o'r ymadroddion yscrythyrol wedi eu gosod i lawr yn gyflawn, ac nad yw hyfedr a hawdd gan bawb droi at y lleoedd hynny yn eu biblau i siccrhau'r gwirionedd'. Thus, at times in Trifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl Edwards quotes a phrase from a verse or sometimes a verse in full whereas in the original it is but referred to. For instance, in answer to the question 'Pa beth yw r enaid?' Vaughan and Edwards answer:

[1658]

Atteb. Yr ysprydol ran i ddyn oddifewn, yr hon sydd anfarwol ac ni eill fyth farw.
Eccles. 12. 7. Mar. 10. 28. Dud. (sic). 6. 9. 2 Cor. 5. 8.

[1682]

Atteb. Yr ysprydol ran i ddyn oddifewn, yr hon sydd anfarwol ac ni eill fyth farw. Nag ofnwch rhag y rhai a laddant y corph, ae ni allant ladd yr enaid. Preg. 12. 7. Mar. 10. 28. Dad. 6. 9. 2 Cor. 5. .[34]

Or again to the question "A eill yr Angelion drwg fyth ynnill y cyflwr cyntaf a gollasant?' they answer, respectively,

2 Pet. 2. 4. Na chânt ond eu poeni **Jud. 6.** **yn vffern byth bythol** Mat. 25 heb ddiben. **41.**	Na chant ond eu **poeni yn vffern byth** bythol heb ddiben. **Yr angelion y rhai** **ni chadwasant eu** **goruchafiaeth: eithr a** **adawsant eu trigfa** **eu hun, a gadwodd** **efe mewn cadwynau** **tragwyddol tan dywyllwch,** i farn y dydd mawr. 2 Pet. 2. 4. Jud. 6. Mat. 25. 41. Dad. 20. 10.[35]

Edwards also strives to achieve greater clarity than is to be found in Vaughan's translation - a fault found also in his Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb - by rephrasing some of the answers found in Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl.[36] Neither are some questions left unchanged. Vaughan's high-flown

Pa beth yw cwblarch y llech gyntaf?

is, in 1682,

Pa beth a ofyn y llech gyntaf?[37]

And his relatively elaborate

Pa beth y mae y defnyddiau neu r elfennau o ddyfr yn y Bedydd yn ei arwyddocau i ni?

is simplified to

Pa beth y mae yr elfen o ddwfr yn y Bedydd yn ei arwyddocâu i ni?[38]

Finally, for Vaughan's inadequate "Gwyddor Gymraeg" Edwards

substitutes "Yr vn cyfarwyddyd ir anllythrennog i ddyscu darllain Cymraeg, ac a breintiwyd yn Hanes y ffydd".[39]

The changes implemented by Edwards testify to the fact that he understood the needs of the readers catered for by the Welsh Trust. Indeed he was so conscious of the inadequacy of Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl, that he undertook to prepare a new catechism for Welsh readers. He had grasped the technique of writing a catechism whilst translating Gwyddorion y Grefydd Gristianogol in 1679; and eight years' experience had taught him that the prime need of those Welsh readers was to know the Scripture more thoroughly. Thus he wrote Catechism yn cynwys pyngciau y grefydd Gristianogol yng ngeiriau ac ymadroddion yr Yscrythur lan.[40] It was printed in London in 1682 and bound with Prifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl. Edwards refers to it in "At y Darllennydd" as

> catechism arall, ys ydd yn ysbysu'r
> athrawiaeth Gristianogol yngeiriau'r scrythur
> lan yn gyfannedd, yr awr-hon yn dyfod
> i'th law yn newydd-beth.

The book consists of sixty pages and treats of all the primary topics of the Christian faith,[41] from Creation to the Day of Judgement. On the question of the meaning of the Cross, for instance, ("Dros ba rai o ddynol ryw y bu Christ farw?") Edwards's answer, from Scripture, is four-fold:

Atteb: (a) Efe ai rhoddes ei hunan yn bridwerth dros bawb. (b) Efe yw'r iawn tros ein pechodau ni, ac nid tros ein pechodau ni yn vnig, eithr tros bechodau yr holl fyd: (c) profodd efe farwolaeth tros bob dyn: (d) Ac megis drwy gamwedd vn y daeth barn ar bob dyn i gondemniad (sic), felly hefyd trwy gyfiawnder vn y daeth, y dawn ar bob dyn, i gyfiawnhâd bywyd. (a) 1 Tim.2.6. (b) 1.Jo.2.2. (c) Heb. 2.9. (d) Rhuf. 5.18.[42]

As in any catechism the questions logically develop one from the other, but since Edwards chose to answer them by quoting from the Bible, at intervals he finds that he must explain the meaning of his answer. One further example will suffice to show the nature of this Catechism.

Hol. Ellwch chwi o honoch eich hun gredu ac edifarhau, a gwneuthur i chwi galon lan, ac vfuddhau i orchymynion Duw?
Atteb. Gallaf bob peth trwy Grist yr hwn sydd i'm nerthu, ond (a) hebddo ef ni allaf wneuthur dim. Phil.4.13. (a) Joan.15.5.
Hol. A ydyw Christ yn barod i'ch nerthu chwi a'i ras ac a'i yspryd.
Atteb. Efe a addawodd i bwy bynnag sydd ganddo (hynny yw a'r sydd yn arferu'r nerth sydd ganddo euscus) y rhoddir iddo, ac y caiff efe helaethrwydd. (a) Ac os nyni y rhai ydym ddrwg a fedrwn roi rhoddion da i'n plant, pa faint mwy y rhydd ein Tad nefol yr yspryd glân i'r rhai a ofynno ganddo? Math.13.12. (a) Luc.11.13.[43]

The catechism takes up fifty-two pages of the book. The last eight pages comprise of "Y Deg Gorchymmyn, Exod.20" (pp.53-4); "Gweddi yr Arglwydd, Mat. 6" (p.55); "Pyngciau'r Ffydd" (pp.55-6); "Gweddi Foreuol" (pp.56-9); "Gweddi Brydnawnol" (pp.59-60).

In "At y Darllennydd", printed on the last, unnumbered page of the volume, Edwards announces that an edition of Llwybr Hyffordd would be ready for publication before the winter. It appeared sometime after June 1682. This was the second Welsh edition of the book. The first edition, Llwybr hyffordd yn cyfarwyddo yr anghyfarwydd i'r nefoedd..., Robert Llwyd's translation of Dent's The Haine-Man's Path-way to Heaven, was published in London in 1630.

Edwards was 'Dywgiwr y Preintwasg' for the 1682 edition. In "Dywygiwr y Preintwasg at y Darllennydd" he notes, 'am yr argraffiad yma', that though he did not find much time to check the translation with the original, nevertheless some additions are made. Words, quotations from and references to Scripture 'a ddiangasai yn y llall' are included; an index is added at the end; and some difficult words are explained. The most significant of these minor additions is the addition of references to Scripture, which again emphasizes Charles Edwards's concern for the lack of scriptural knowledge among Welsh commonfolk. There are plenty of references in the 1630 edition but not enough to please Edwards. But he adds them not only to direct quotations as in this example,

(1630)		(1682)
Eithr yr Scrythur a ddywaid. Yr hwn a garo arian ni ddigonir ag arian.	Eithr y Scrythur a ddywaid, Yr hwn a garo arian ni ddigonir ag arian.	Preg. 5. 10.

but also prefers not to reproduce some noted by Llwyd. Moreover he chooses to print some that appear in the English edition of The Plaine-man's Pathway but that were left out of the first Welsh edition.[44]

This book was the last which Edwards prepared for publication under the auspices of the Welsh Trust. Though he notes, after Gouge's death in 1681, that other benevolent persons '[o] gynhesrwydd cariad' were ready to carry on the good work, by 1684 it had come to an end. Yet it seems that Charles Edwards was well pleased with what had been done. He saw that the books issued by the Trust - 'y rhai man fel y gwlith, a'r rhai mwy fel y glaw' - afforded such spiritual nourishment to the Welsh that they should bear fruit a hundredfold.[45] In the language of Gouge's The Principles of Christian Religion, the Trust had afforded 'An External Call by the Ministry of the Word ... sufficient to leave men without excuse'.[46] Moreover, to some extent at least, Edwards's desire to reprint good Welsh books for the spiritual benefit of the poor had by 1684 been realized - by then the three books he names in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant as 'llyfrau godidog tuag at adeiladaeth ysprydol'[47] had been reissued, to the poor 'yn rhodd', to others 'yn isel-bris'.[48] His work for the trust was his practical contribution to this new type of missionary work in Wales in a period when the Established Church did not overcare for the people and when non-conformist preachers, though allowed some freedom, still found much opposition.

PART 4

CONCLUSION

CHARLES EDWARDS'S ACHIEVEMENT

Of his works, Charles Edwards's masterpiece is the third edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Fatherly Instructions is a useful and impressive anthology; but both Gildas Minimus and the Testimony are of no great literary value, for all their strange attractiveness. As for the Specimen, it is remembered as an idiosyncratic study born of the marriage of an intense conviction in the truth of one of the traditional beliefs of Welsh history and the fundamental truth of Scripture. Yet at first reading, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant itself - notwithstanding Edwards's mastery of style - appears to be a work structurally made up of discordant parts: the first part of the book is a history of the faith, the second a proof of its verity, and the third an essay on its efficacy. How, then, can it be claimed as a masterpiece?

The answer is, naturally, a complex one. The material for "Hanes y Ffydd" itself, as has been shown, was selected 'o amryw lyfrau';[1] and many of its chapters are little more than abridged versions of some parts of these various books. For instance, the whole of Chapter One is taken from Samuel Purchas, and Chapter Fourteen, "Cystudd y Protestaniaid yn Lloegr yn amser y frenhines Mari", is thoroughly Foxian. In writing them Edwards did not adopt the role of the more sophisticated historian who seeks to assemble his knowledge of the whole period from

numerous sources and construct a new complex whole. Since he shared, for instance, Foxe's philosophy of history, and that of the chroniclers of the Old Testament, Edwards saw no reason why he should not simply select from their works some of the more significant events that embody this philosophy and render them in Welsh as part of "Hanes y Ffydd". It must be understood that "Hanes y Ffydd" was not conceived to enhance his own reputation as a historian, but as a book of instruction for Edwards's contemporaries. In it he narrates of things 'a wnaed yn Siamplau i ni';[2] and what Edwards did was to arrange an attractive, significant catalogue of examples from sources at his immediate disposal. In 1682 he offered further testimony of this truth when in the letter, "Dywygiwr y Printwasg at y Darllennydd", printed at the end of the Welsh Trust edition of Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd Edwards observes that Dent and writers of similar intention wrote

> i destiolaethu 'r gofid a'r ofn yn eu heneidiau wrth weld pobl mor gyffredinol yn byw yn anaddas ir efengyl a broffessent. A chan na chanlynodd edifeirwch a dywygiad ar ôl y cyfryw rybuddion ffyddlon, digwyddodd farnedigaethau trymion yn y byd drwy ryfeloedd a chlefydau, ac ni ddiangodd ein gwlad ni rhag clywed peth o'u pwys.

He, too, obviously shared Dent's concern and set to to write "Hanes y Ffydd" to record how God undertook to penalise and praise nations and men according to their behaviour. "Hanes y Ffydd" thus became a history of

God's actions in the macrocosmos. And Edwards managed to unite his various chapters that still retained the stamp of their source by emphasizing at all times God's active participation in every event. It is the constancy of his philosophy of history that makes "Hanes y Ffydd" a whole. In other words, if "Hanes y Ffydd" is looked upon, with Emrys ap Iwan,[3] as a historical novel, then it can be claimed that God is the hero of this section, omnipresent in each chapter.

Edwards saw to it that all the facts he gleaned from his sources were infused with the spirit of his belief. For instance, from page twenty-two of Cambria Triumphans he learned of Bladud's attempt 'to lay a platform, and found a habitation for the Muses and Nursery of Learning... in Lincolnshire'. Six pages later Percy Enderbie describes the blood that fell as rain and the infectious swarm of vermine that caused 'a great and strange mortality' in Britain during Rivallo's reign.[4] For him the two events are unconnected: they are merely two separate phrases in the chronicle of ancient British history. But Charles Edwards transforms the chronicle into history, simply by uniting the two stories. Since he acknowledged God as the prime-mover of all action, upon considering why it should rain blood during Rivallo's reign, Edwards could not but realize that it was the Lord who had patronized the school Bladud established, and that the consequent British unconcern for learning had roused His wrath. In "Hanes y Ffydd" the account is one, history achieved from fact:

> seiliodd Bladud yscolion dysc, ac wedi hynny bu'r Druidion yn ddyscawdwyr doethion o Baganiaid. Ond tebyg fod ein gwladwyr yn anufudd ir gwybodaeth anianol ydoedd yn eu mysc. Canys yn yr oes honno, tra yr oedd Rhifall yn rheoli, glawiodd gwaed dros dridiau yn ddibaid; ac o hynny cododd y fath liaws o wybed gwenwynllyd, ac ar ol y rheini canlynodd y fâth blâ marwol, oni ddeleuwyd agos genedl a henw y Britaniaid.[5]

Mr Saunders Lewis rightly stresses that, in this sense, Charles Edwards was the first Welsh historian to recognize a pattern and a plan in the history of the Welsh nation. 'Ef', Mr Lewis writes, 'yw'r cyntaf i weld ... hanes Cymru yn enghraifft o adull Duw o drin cenedl'.[6] At the same time, of course, Edwards was, as I have tried to show,[7] one of the last of his line. Wales raised a thoroughly Christian historian who viewed cosmic events with the same eye as Jeremiah and Augustine on the threshold of an age that was to welcome the advent of the scientific historian, the secular scholar of Machiavelli's line who was to separate politics and divinity, man's actions and God's promptings. Thus Edwards was the first and last physician of the soul who tried to teach the ways of God to the people of Wales through the medium of history - the only one who taught at every turn that the fruits of individual holy-living was national prosperity, and that all wrong received the punishment of the Almighty's wrath.

The second section of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, "Siccr wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol", re-emphasizes God's supremacy, now not only as

the master of the universe and director of all Being, but also as the fountain-head of the religion that defines man's allegiance to Him. And Edwards, obviously conscious of the need to link the parts of his book effectively, stresses the common factor between this new section and "Hanes y Ffydd". He writes,

> Er bod achau'r ffydd (y argraphwyd eusus) yn gwirio Duw yn dad iddi, etto gellir cael ychwaneg o hyspysrwydd am hynny ...[8]

This 'complementary proof' is given in the two chapters that constitute "Siccr wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol". In both sections Edwards imparts knowledge to his reader, something which for him and his generation was, as Thomas Fuller put it, 'Preparatory to, and Introductive of Reformation',[9] in this context, the reformation of the individual soul. In one powerful passage, Edwards states the need for learning:

> Nid yw ein cenedl ni wrth natur ddim hurtach, na mwy anhyddysc na phobl eraill, canys parodol ydym a'r chwedlau digrif, a rhimynnau anllad, a chastiau cyfraith; yn unic arfer, ac anwyllis sydd yn ein cadw yn anwybodus o'r da. Oh nad ystyriem yr hyn a ddywed doethineb, mae ffyliaid yw y rhai a ddiystyrant addysc : a bod anwybodaeth yn gwneuthur pobl nid yn unic yn ffyliaid, ond... yn garcharorion i gythreuliaid ynghadwynau tywyllwch, Canys collir pobl eisiau gwybodaeth.... Y mae anwybodaeth yn arwydd, ac yn achos o golledigaeth, gan beri i bobl wrthod Duw, a dewis y byd a'r pechod o'i flaen ef, eisiau dirnad ei odidowgrwydd ef.[10]

Yet knowledge and outward proof of God is not enough to ensure

regeneration. And twice towards the end of this second section of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards prepares his reader for the last section of the book, "Rhinwedd y Ffydd". Once he writes,

> Gobeithio fod yr hyn y ddywedpwyd yn ddigonol gyda gweithrediad yspryd Duw, er gwreiddio'r darllennydd ystyriol mewn siccrwydd deall i gydnabyddiaeth dirgelwch Duw, a'r Tad, a Christ.[11]

As yet, however, 'gweithrediad yspryd Duw', the work of God's Spirit in the individual soul, has not been described to the reader. Thus the book is uncompleted. Similarly, in the opening paragraph of Point Sixteen of "Siccr wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol" Edwards, having explained the full implications of God's directorship of the universe and of man's spiritual life, urges his reader,

> Os amheuei etto dywedaf wrthit, fel Philip wrth Nathaniel, tyred a gwel. Fal yr argyhoedda'r creadigaeth a rhagluniaeth dy reswm di, gwaith yr ailanedigaeth a lwyr argyhoedda dy galon,...[12]

"Rhinwedd y Ffydd" is constructed specifically to portray in vivid detail the work of regeneration conducted by Christ and the Holy Spirit in the human soul, the microcosm. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, then, as Mr Saunders Lewis so brilliantly argues,[13] is a portrayal of God at work in the macrocosmos and the microcosmos - a history of God's managership of cosmic and human affairs. And when it is claimed that 'Rhinwedd y Ffydd" is the most important section of the book,[14] it must be remembered

that its importance lies in the fact that its chapters close the cosmic circle Edwards began to draw in the opening paragraphs of "Hanes y Ffydd". The author traces 'pa fodd y gwasnaethodd pobl Dduw gynt ymhob oes ac ymhob gwlad' in order to construct the historical base on which he builds his spiritual contention, 'Mae ef yn Dad da i ni, am hynny dyledus ini ymddwyn tuag atto fel y gweddai i blant tirion'.[15]

The fact that Charles Edwards himself shows full awareness of the need to emphasize the significance of the three sections of his book is a powerful enough argument against the notion that Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is an omnibus volume treating of three separate subjects. Edwards's philosophy of history was related to his sense of the need for spiritual fulfilment in a way the modern can not fully appreciate, yet should be able to, for even the secular mind of the twentieth century realizes that the world situation depends, to a large extent, upon the mental and spiritual outlook of the humans who inhabit it. It is precisely Edwards's vision of the relationship between the history of mankind and the individual's attainment of holy living that places Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in a class of its own. It is not a simple devotional work like Practice of Piety or Plain-mans Pathway to Heaven, splendid though these masterpieces of spiritual instruction are. The influence that Bayly and Dent had on the common-reader certainly told on Edwards, and his view of salvation is undoubtedly coloured by that of these uncontroversial authors. But he was

moved both by scholarship and by patriotism to conceive of something greater. From his reading of the Bible and the Early Fathers, he realized that the past could help to solve the problems of the present. And, moreover, his knowledge of the Welsh past, especially his sharing of the fervent belief that the Britons had been blessed with Christianity from the birth of the religion, fired Edwards with a zeal that was not satisfied until he had linked a chain of Christian history between the seventeenth century and those early times, and until he had demonstrated fully how each individual was spiritually and carnally responsible to the God who had fostered that tradition. This was achieved in 1677.

(Because of the patriotism displayed in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Saunders Lewis once said of Charles Edwards that he embodied a late example of the literary nationalism of the Welsh humanists.[16] To speak of a late seventeenth-century author as a 'humanist' is in itself strange and misleading. Moreover, Edwards's nationalism was a religious and not a 'literary' nationalism: his concern for Wales was a force generated by an acute rare sense of the nation as a spiritual whole. And it was from this viewpoint that he considered love of homeland as part of the Christian's responsibility.[17])

Along with the growth of his vision, Edwards's style, his literary gift, blooms a full flower. The historian who wrote the sketchy Ffydd Ddi-ffuant of 1667, unfettered, uncramped, becomes an artist as

well, attaining in his prose a metaphoric intensity unparalled in Welsh prose. The vision, artistically conveyed, constitutes the masterpiece of 1677.

* * * * * * * * * * *

But who bought, who read, who could appreciate the great lesson contained in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant? Compared with the translations already mentioned several times in this essay - Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd and Llyfr y Resolusion, books that were designed to appeal to both 'the ignorant, and vulgar sort' and 'the learned'[18] - Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is a difficult book. The works of Dent and Bayly included simple prayers for the use of commonfolk on all occasions (e.g. "gweddi dros y claf gan ei ymwelwyr"), and meditations that served as plain patterns for generations of Christians. In England, Practice of Piety received special place in the wills of devout men along with their copies of the Bible[19]; and a Puritan minister once complained that his congregation valued it as 'an authority equal to the Bible'.[20] It appears, then, that a fair proportion of Englishmen below the rank of gentry could read - especially townsfolk and businessmen who constituted the great body of Puritans. But how many Welshmen could avail themselves of the great benefit bestowed in these books in the seventeenth century? It is a subject that still awaits its researcher, and at present the question cannot be answered satisfactorily.

As far back as 1547 John Prys noted 'bod llawer o gymry a vedair darllein kymraeg'.[21] Professor Glanmor Williams observes that this statement suggests that authors expected to have a wider public than the gentry and the clergy alone. They looked to lawyers, poets, merchants, craftsmen and to heads of households, prosperous free-holders and tenant-farmers.[22] No doubt their descendents in the second half of the seventeenth century could read also; and the fact that most Welsh books were sold in market-towns - Abergavenny, Carmarthen, Denbigh - adds weight to this belief.[23] By then, too, schools had been established (and closed) by the Works of the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers;[24] but they taught no Welsh. Neither did the schools of the Welsh Trust, which conducted their affairs entirely in English.[25] Did the instigators of this movement, then, in supplying books for the poor of Wales, prepare literature for people whom they thought could read, or did they hope to create a reading public by issuing books? Griffith Jones's pupils, it was noted, brought with them to school copies of Stephen Hughes's 1677-8 edition of the Bible, clean and untouched, Bibles which their grandparents could not read.[26] The Welsh Trust editions of Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb and Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd and Gouge's works probably augmented these unopened libraries. For all that, Edwards in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant seems pleased with educational progress. After 1630, he writes, the Bible came 'i ddwylo 'r gwerin yn amlach'.[27] People bought copies to read, even old people -

'hen bobl, a'r rhai fyddent a golugon gwannach' - for whom the New Testament was printed 'a llythyrennau brasach'.[28]

But then those of little education who managed to read and comprehend Vaughan's translation of Bayly's Practice of Piety would perhaps find Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, especially "Rhinwedd y Ffydd", somewhat obscure. The main difference between the devotional works and Edwards's book (and between Morgan Llwyd's Llyfr y Tri Aderyn no less) is in presentation - in structure and in style. The strictly devotional books are divided not only into chapters but subdivided further into points and paragraphs within the chapters. For instance, in Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, the chapter entitled "Myfyrdod am y rhwystrau sy'n, attal pechadur oddiwrth ymarfer Duwioldeb" is subdivided into these sections: 'I Camgymeryd rhannau o'r Sgrythur'; 'II Drwgaddysg y gwyr mawr'; 'III Dianc yn hir heb haeddedigol gosb yn y bywyd hwn'; 'IV Rhyfygu o drugaredd Duw'; 'V Cyfeillach ddrwg'; 'VI 'Ofn meddylgar... rhag bod yn rhybudd'; 'VII Gobaith o hir einioes'.[29] Such fine order enables the most uncomprehending of readers to follow the argument or instruction without difficulty, whilst the book, at the same time, attains all the beneficial properties of a reference book. Now although Edwards in "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" displays his ability to order his thoughts in dialectical progression, in essence that section of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant is an essay not a series of instructions. It achieves a flow and a rhythm that writers like

Bayly and Dent did not attempt to attain. Edwards's deviation from their method, added to his splendid vision of the relationship of cosmic events and the individual's spiritual state, powerfully suggest that he aimed at an audience of greater perceptiveness than that of the common Welshman. (Yet here Glanmor Williams's warning should be strongly heeded - he writes that is it wrong to think of y werin as a mass, as if there were no substantial difference between commonfolk in ability and understanding.[30]) Edwards desired perhaps to appeal to his own class, the gentry and lower gentry. Furthermore, his style, vividly metaphoric, and the content, frequently allusive, demanded the fullest attention of even the quickest intelligence. For example, this is a description of the unregenerative in Chapter Twenty-Three:

> Fel pyllau drewllyd maent yn sawrio mwy, ac yn llwydo yn waeth wrth eu cythryblu. aeth calon Pharaoh yn galed fel yr enion dan forthwylion Duw. Nid all arfau Swyddogion ond yscrythu rhai o ganghennau llygredigaeth eu deiliaid, ac nid ei dynnu o'r gwraidd.[31]

The gist of this description, in its context, is easily grasped. But to follow Edwards's meaning in detail and appreciate it thoroughly is a much more difficult task. From one simile ('Fel pyllau drewllyd') he jumps to another metaphor ('llwydo') before returning to the lower, less poetic plane of direct description ('wrth eu cythryblu'). Similarly the phrase 'canghennau llygredigaeth eu deiliaid' could present enormous difficulties for the slow unimaginative reader. Or consider this sentence:

> Ac er i eraill fel Judas ddiweddu eu dyddiau,
> a neidio o'r badell i'r tan; etto yr un dilyw
> ac sydd yn boddi myrdd o gawri anwireddus,
> a gyfyd yr Arch, a'r ychydig o rai dewisol
> ac sydd ynddi i fyny tua 'r nef.[32]

'Neidio o'r badell i'r tan' is a common saying - but to proceed directly to a difficult double image asks for quick poetical reactions: the reader must know the story of Noah and must be able to co-relate Ararat with heaven, the Ark's 'landing'-place. Yet the fact that a young nobleman of good education can read Welsh does not mean that he possesses the quick perception needed to follow all the imagistic intricacies of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd". The patient slow reader, familiar with the metaphors of the Old Testament, possibly reacts more sensitively.

In Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant there is no indication that Edwards appealed to any particular groups in society. His appeal - not unlike Morgan Llwyd's - is to 'y Cymro caredig'.[33] But then the section "Cyfarwyddyd i Ddarllen Cymraeg" was hardly included for the benefit of the educated higher middle class, the men educated, if not at the Universities or the Inns of Court, in the Welsh grammar schools or privately. And many of Edwards' metaphors are drawn from the daily life shared by gwreng and bonedd alike. Felix and Belshazzar in the following passage were known to those readers alone who knew their Bible, but the images that accompany and explain the primary statement were sure to enlighten the minds of all:

> Crynodd Felix y Rhaglaw, a Belshazzar y brenin,
> nid allai eu reiolti oddiallan eu diogelu
> rhag ofn oddifewn, mwy nag y dichon dillad
> cynes rwystro crynfa'r cryd, neu wely plu
> roddi esmwythdra i escyrn drylliedig, gan
> fod y gofid yn nes at ddyn na'r cyfryw gymmorth.[34]

Even "Siccr wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol", though composed of a series of reasons or proofs of the truth of Christianity, is presented in a less scholarly, more theatrical manner than a similar work, Edward Samuel's translation of Hugo Grotius's work, Gwirionedd y Grefydd Grist' nogol, which appeared in Welsh for the first time in 1716. Here Edwards's proficiency with images as examples make 'y Rhesymau am y gobaith ffydd ynom'.[35] attractive to all readers. Compare, for example, the following extract, the first in Samuel's rather stiff prose (note especially the technical 'Cylch gwyr-gam ar osgo'), and the second, from Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, full of concrete terms which make for colourful detail:

> Bellach os edrychwn ar Ser
> y Nefoedd, ac ymmhlith y
> rheini, ar y rhai amlyccaf
> o honynt, Sef yr Haul
> ar Lleuad. mae Hwyl a
> symmudiad y rhain, cyn
> gyfaddased a chyn
> dymmhoreiddied, er cynnydd
> ffrwyth y ddaiar a lles
> i bob peth byw, nad
> ellid byth ddychymmygu
> dim well na chymmhwysach
> Canys lle gallasent ffordd
> arall ymsymmud yn rhwyddach
> hyd Linyn y Cyhydedd,
> ni a welwn fod iddynt
> hwyl amgenach mewn Cylch
> y mae'r haul yn cadw
> ei dymhorau yn y modd
> buddiolaf ir byd; pethau'r
> lamp nefol hwn yn sefyll
> ynghanol y ffurfafen, neu
> yn troi yn oestadol
> uwchben, ac a'r draws
> canol y ddaiar yn lin
> y Cyhydedd, byddai'r
> naill ran o'r ddaiar yn
> anffrwythlon gan boethder,
> ar llall yn anghyfaneddol
> gan dywyllwch, ac oerder,
> am fod Crwmmach y
> ddaiar yn bwrw Cyscod,
> fal na thywyno'r haul
> arni i gyd ar un waith:

gwyr-gam ar osgo fel
y gallai eu llesfawr
gynnyrchiolaeth gyrraedd
i chwaneg o barthau'r
Ddaiar.[36]

am hynny ymsymmud yr
haul i amgylchynu'r
gogledd, nes addfèdu
ffrwythau'r tir y tu yma
ir byd, ac yna gan
adel i ni ddigónedd o
lunieth nes y delo
eilwaith, cilia oddiwrthym
ni a gwnaiff yr un
cymwynas o amgylch y
deheu.[37]

Or else, consider the following contrasting paragraphs that again treat of one and the same subject, namely the miraculous success of the early preachers of the Gospel in overcoming the terrifying difficulties presented by an antagonistic world. Grotius's appeal is a historical appeal; Edwards takes recourse not to the scholarly past but here uses the splendid image of the attributes of the bullet. The following passage from Gwirionedd y Grefydd Grist'nogol would hardly appeal to the common reader of 1677 any more than to the 1716 reader:

> Ymmhlith y Groegiaid, y sawl a draddodasant
> Reolau moesgarwch, a'u gwnaethant eu hunain yn
> ganmoladwy ac yn gymmeredig, Oblegid Celfyddydon
> dyfn-ddysc eraill; felly 'r oedd Discyblion Plato
> am gywreindeb Mathematicaidd; Dilynwyr Aristotle am
> hanes Natur Anifeiliaid a Phlanhigion : y Stoiciaid
> am ddichlyn ymresymmu;... Llawer hefyd oeddynt
> ryfeddol oblegyd cymmenddoeth Araithyddiaeth, megys
> Plato Xenophon a Theophrastus. Ond ni feddai
> Brif-Ddyscawdwyr Christianogaeth ddim or fath
> gywreindeb;... A chan hynny ... mae'n rhaid i ni
> gydnabod fod naill ai rhyfeddodau, ai dirgel
> weithrediad y Goruchaf Dduw neu bob un or
> ddau yn hwylio ymmlaen y Gorchwyl bendigdig(sic).[38]

Awe alone is generated. But the immediacy of Edwards's original version

of the same traditional proof is possessed with an electrifying vitality that would awaken all but the most dormant imaginations.

> Gwael ydoedd cyflyrau, a theneu ydoedd mintai pregethwyr y brif eglwys: ychydig oeddent yn erbyn llawer, a rhai siml yn erbyn cyfreithwyr; pysgodwyr a gwehyddion yn erbyn boneddigion, a swyddogion; etto cawsont oruchafiaeth yn-Ghrist, yr hwn a eglurhaodd arogledd ei wybodaeth trwyddynt hwy ymhôb llê. Gan fod bwled, sydd dippin o blwm crwn heb na blaen, na min, yn myned yn rhwyddach drwy faen a phren, nag y gall llaw dyn hyrddu'r arf flaen-llymmaf, mae'n dangos egni'r tan yn torri allan o gyfyngdra. Pylni yr offerau efangylaidd a ddylai'n argyhoeddi, mai nerth Zêl Arglwydd y lluoedd ydoedd yn eu gyrru drwy gymaint o anhawstra.[39]

Thus whereas the form and conception of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" and the brilliant fluency of Edwards's style raises that section to a literary plane above the popular devotional works, and tend to make it a difficult book for the common Welsh reader, at the same time that very style, imagistic and colourful, brings "Siccr wirionedd y Ffydd Gristianogol" within the reach of the poorer intellect. "Hanes y Ffydd" in 1667 was designed specifically to be the concern of the 'manie'[40] - 'fy ngwladwyr anwyl'[41] - and the adding to it of lengthy quotations, finely translated, from the works of the Fathers, cannot have greatly changed its appeal: no knowledge of Latin was needed to understand Ignatius's letters or to appreciate Tertullian's discourses. What Edwards sought to do was to advance his dear countrymen's knowledge of the affairs conducted by God's Providence and also widen their literary horizons by providing them with a

work that ranked, in style and structure, above the prosaic utilitarian works of, say, Thomas Gouge, and, to some extent, the more influential English devotional authors. For certainly Edwards was a writer fully conscious of his literary powers. A poet is seldom blind to the brilliance of his own best creations.

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The Specimen was aimed to appeal to prosperous men who were ready to finance the work of the Welsh Trust, men under whose patronage Edwards prepared editions of edifying books for the Welsh poor. The Puritan flavour of Fatherly Instructions probably captured a wide non-conformist audience in both England and Wales. Gildas Minimus, of course, reached the same hands. The only bond that unites Edwards's works is that they were all designed in one way or another to convey the truths of the unfeigned faith.

Charles Edwards can not easily be 'typed' as an author - he does not belong strictly with the orthodox Christian historians nor with the authors of devotional works. Theologically, too, it is difficult to place him. He himself in the Testimony alludes to the fact that he both 'went to hear the Conformists in publick', and 'joyned in private Worship' with the dissenters.[42] This certainly does not mean that Edwards was an unprincipled person, easily swayed. Rather it is nearer the truth to say that his belief in the essential unity of the Church of the True Faith was

so strong that he found quick sympathy for that cause in its various guises. Calvin's influence can be seen on Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. Yet Edwards repudiated the strict Calvinism of the extreme Puritans of the early seventeenth century who adhered faithfully to the doctrine of the predestination. Dent was not a Calvinist through and through, but even his brand of Calvinism proved unacceptable at times to Charles Edwards. Just as the Anglican Dr Williams of Llanbedrog in the nineteenth century censored parts of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" that treat of election, in 1682 Edwards himself chose not to print this passage from the Morning Prayer included at the end of Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd (it is taken from a paragraph in which God is thanked for all His good gifts):

> Hefyd oherwydd ddewis ohonot ni i fywyd cyn ein bod, a hynny o'th wir ddaioni, a'th anhaeddiannus gariad tu ag attom; ac a'n gelwaist ni yn dy amser gosodedig, a'n cyfiawnheaist drwy dy ràs, a'n Sancteiddiaist a'th lan Yspryd, ac a'n cymmeraist yn blant it dy hun, ac yn etifeddion i'r goron fawr.[43]

Edwards also displayed some Arminian sympathies - the very fact that he took to reading and anthologizing the Early Fathers shows he was not unfamiliar with Anglican theological practices. Like Henry Hammond,[44] a prominent Latitudinarian, he prefers to stress the power of repentance rather than the unattractive ŝlectiveness of predestination. Yet he reserves the right to claim that it is God who inspires the sinner to supplicate for mercy. His viewpoint is expressed in the comprehensive statement,

> Canys y rhai y mae'r Arglvvydd yn eu cadw
> a arferant y tuedd naturiol y blannodd Duw
> ym mhob peth byw i geisio eu hachub eu
> hunain oddiwrth ddestryw, ac a gynhyrfir
> i ddymuno gwarediad, ac i ymofyn am dano.[45]

Edwards commits himself to a straight answer on this point of doctrine and on justification by faith in his Catechism of 1682. There it is asked, 'Dros ba rai o ddynol ryw y bu Christ farw?'; and Edwards answers:

> (a) Efe ai rhoddes ei hunan yn bridwerth dros
> bawb. (b) Efe yw'r iawn tros ein pechodau ni, ac
> nid tros yr eiddom ni yn vnig, eithr tros bechodau
> yr holl fyd : (c) profodd efe farwolaeth tros bob
> dyn : (d) Ac megis drwy gamwedd vn y daeth barn
> ar bob dyn i gondemniad, felly hefyd trwy
> gyfiawnder vn y daeth y dawn (sic) ar bob dyn,
> i gyfiawnhâd bywyd. (a) 1 Tim.2.6. (b) 1. Jo.2.2.
> (c) Heb. 2.9. (d) Rhuf. 5.18.[46]

(Edwards prefers to quote the 'all men' of Romans, 5.18 and avoids commenting on the 'many' of verse nineteen.) But the obvious inevitable question follows. Does this mean that man has no task to fulfill? No, answers Charles Edwards - as in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant - he must repent, believe, obey. But what about faith? The Catechism proceeds thus:

> ...ffydd oni bydd genddi weithredoedd marw yw,
> a hi yn vnic : ac y mae'r cythreuliaid yn
> crynu. Jago 2.17.19.
> Hol. Pan yw'r scrythyrau mewn amryw fannau yn
> ysbysu fod cyfiawnhâd neu faddeuant pechodau drwy
> ffydd, ac y cyfrifir ffydd yn gyfiawnder, pa
> fath ffydd y maent yn ei arwyddoccâu?
> Atteb. Y cyfryw ffydd ac a buro'r galon, ac a
> weithio drwy gariad, ac* a ddiffoddo holl
> biccellau tanllyd y fall. Act.15.9. Gal.5.6.
> *Ephes.6.16.[47]

Faith's working qualities are stressed in similar fashion in Chapter Twenty Seven of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant: 'Mae cyfiawnder yn gofyn i'r neb a ddisgwilio'r cyflog mawr wneuthur y gwaith daionus am yr hwn yr addewidir ef'.[48] And again - 'y rhai poenus yngwaith ffydd... a gant y gorphwystra nefol'.[49] Another extremely significant disclosure, and one that conclusively excludes Charles Edwards from the inner precincts of the Calvinist camp is his treatment of Ephesians, 2.8 in "Peth o Retoreg". The fourth figure of speech defined in that section is Cyforddwyn (Synochdoche), in which the general is substituted for the special and the special for the general. The example Edwards gives of '[y] neilltuol yn lle'r cyffredinol' is 'Y mae'r gwir Gristion yn gadwedig trwy ffydd', and from his comment - 'Wrth yr un gras o ffydd y deallir yr holl rasau iachusol a weithia Christ yn y rhai cadwedig', - the reader is urged to entertain the belief that faith is only one of many saving graces.[50] It is obvious that Luther was unwelcomed in Llansilin.

Perhaps it was because of Edwards's generosity of soul and reasonableness of mind that Emrys ap Iwan saw fit to observe, 'ei garu yr ydys oblegid ei wylder, ei fwyneidd-dra, ac ireidd-dra ei ysbryd'. Though this is not the dominant streak in Edwards's highly allusive literary character, Emrys adds to his personal portrait of the author of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant by referring to his style as 'arddull dlos' and his metaphors as 'ffigurau gogleisiol'.[51] These 'feminine' adjectives hardly describe the power of Edwards's masterpiece or the energetic, bounding quality of the

images. Moreover it is wrong to depict him as a charming writer of poor mental gifts. In Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant he reveals himself as a masculine figure, thoughtful, thorough in his meditation on philosophy and learning, and at once close to the heart-beat of human life. It is as if he came into the inheritance of the Christian Tradition and at the same time was given the ability to make of its silver coinage to enrichen the mind and soul of late seventeenth-century Wales, pressed in a mould unpatented by any other Welsh author. He stands with John Milton, whose Paradise Lost appeared during the same year as the first edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, as one of the last Christian authors blessed with an untainted vision that could span the sixteen hundred years of Christian thought, notice clearly its essentials, and make of them lasting literature. Ignatius and Augustine and Thomas Acquinas, as Saunders Lewis rightly states, all contribute to the glory of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. So, too, do the moderate Puritans of Edwards's own time and, indirectly, even the Latitudinarians of the Tew Circle. Furthermore, the riches of Welsh history are mined; and Edwards alloys with them his observations of contemporary life in the country. A contemporary of Boyle and Newton, he is not fully alienated from the medieval idea of the cosmic order, and the 'idea of man summing up the universe in himself' which the Elizabethans had found so fascinating,[52] still had a strong hold on his imagination. All is significantly alive to him. For Edwards believed that modern man could not prosper - indeed, only

Destruction and Judgement awaited him - unless his prosperity was rooted in the spirituality of the Christian faith as interpreted by the host of Christian writers from Paul to Bayly and Fisher. Of course, this material was not all assembled as by a scholar in his study. Much, certainly, is the result of lengthy sympathetic involvement with the writings of the past; much else is part of the intellectual inheritance of seventeenth-century man. Then a great deal of Edwards's knowledge about man's character was gleaned not only from the Bible and contemporary devotional works but from personal observation. The years spent at Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant taught him much about the human soul, living out life in a time of political insecurity, in all its moods. And during the six 'very private' years that followed the Restoration, Edwards once again engrossed in his studies, was given time to meditate, to practise his craft as a writer, and to develop his style. This style cannot be divorced from Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. It gives the book its character, and brilliantly captures in a fascinating array of images, allusions and descriptions the whole essence of the Christian tradition.

None of Edwards's other works resemble Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant. It stands as the only original work created by his mature mind when healthy. Seventeenth century Welsh prose would have been much the poorer without it. Until now, Morgan Llwyd is the only writer of that period to have been widely acclaimed as a great author. Charles Edwards should certainly be

ranked with him. 'Astudiwn Charles Edwards', urges Saunders Lewis, 'y mae'n un o'r mwyaf o'n meistri'.[53]

Appendix A: The Editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant published between Edwards's death and the appearance of G.J. Williams's edition of 1936.

This essay has treated primarily of the three editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant that appeared during Charles Edwards's lifetime. Between 1722 and 1856 four other editions were issued; and in 1892, O.M. Edwards printed selections from "Hanes y ffydd ymmhlith y cymru" as the first booklet in a new series called Clasuron Cymru. This appendix will constitute of a brief survey of these editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.[1]

1) The fourth edition, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, sef Hanes y Ffydd Gristianogol, ai Rhinwedd, was printed at Shrewsbury, 'yn y Mwythig, gan John Rogers MDCCXXII'. For thirty chapters it represents a faithful copy of the contents of the 1677 edition; but Chapter 31, in which Edwards treats of the affinities of the Welsh and Hebrew languages, is omitted, as well as the succeeding appendices, "Cyfarwyddyd i ddarllen Cymraeg", "Agoriad ar ryw eiriau" and "Peth o Retoreg". Rogers probably thought it would have been only a waste of good paper to print the lengthy list of similar Welsh and Hebrew words and phrases with which Edwards furnishes his conviction. Yet he does not omit the paragraphs in the narrative which treat of this subject,[2] nor the sentence in "At y Darlleydd" where Edwards writes,

> ...cefais ganfod llawer o'r Gymraeg yn y Bibl Hebraeg, a thybiais na ddylwn i gelu hynny oddiwrth fy ngwlâd.[3]

Rogers, however, does see fit to with-hold the information.

There are a few other extra-textual omissions also. The

date at the end of "At y Darlleydd" is not given, and in several instances the year-date, often printed by Edwards in the margin, is left out: e.g. '<u>Oed y Byd</u> 3903' is not given on p.28, nor '3930' on p.29.[4] Rogers consistently fails to note the source of the numerous scriptural quotations in the book, a task which Edwards carried out unstintingly.[5]

In contrast, I noticed but one addition. On p.188 of his third edition of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant,</u> Edwards, describing the coming of 'Y <u>Fall Felen</u>' to Britian, comments in the margin:

<u>yn rhywle gelwir hi y Gall Felen.</u>

Rogers's comment reads: 'yn rhywle gelwir hi y Gall Felen, a'r Fâd Felen' (ed.1811, p.213).

One change is made probably because Rogers did not possess any Greek type: all Greek quotations given in 1677 - for instance, the paragraph from Theodoret on p.153, and John Chrysostom's portrait of Britain's intellectual advancement on pp. 155-6 - are rendered in Latin in the Shrewsbury edition (see p.173 and p.176).

Other minor changes include some spelling changes: e.g. <u>brannin</u> (1677, p.14) > <u>brenhin</u> (1722, p.21), dengis (17) > <u>dengys</u> (p.24), <u>gorthrummu</u> (262) > <u>gorthrymnu</u> (297); and a few changes in paragraphing - two things which are further developed by the nineteenth-century editions of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u>.

It is seen, then that the eighteenth-century purchaser of Edwards's book was given a fairly faithful copy of the 1677 edition.

2) The readers who bought the 1811 edition were not as fortunate. The fifth edition (though called 'Y pedwerydd argraphiad'), <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant; sef Hanes a Rhinwedd y Ffydd Gristienogol, o</u>

ddechreuad y byd hyd yn ddiweddar. Ynghyd â hanes am y Merthyron y rhai a ddewisasant gael eu llosgi yn hytrach na gwadu eu Ffydd, was printed by R. Jones in Dolgellau in 1811, carefully correct and revised, as Jones notes on the title-page. Again, in "At Dderbynwyr yr argraphiad hwn", he repeats that this valuable book ('[y] Llyfr gwerthfawr hwn') has been corrected of the various mistakes included in the old book ('yn yr hên Lyfr').[6]

Some were orthographical. (i) Edwards was found to be at fault because he failed to differentiate correctly between the use of u, y, i: thus mynegi (1677, p.1) becomes mynegu in the Dolgellau edition (p 13). Similarly diffin (301) > (am)ddiffyn (313), byddyn (20) > byddin (32) dengis (20) > dengys (32), culla (237) > cylla (261). These of course are only examples. But R. Jones did not do his job thoroughly, and there are plenty of examples of words that have not been corrected: cysglud (219), significantly, remains cysglud (244); so does chwdy (139/159).

(ii) Edwards had often used -eu and -au to denote the termination for the third person singular, imperfect tense of the verb, instead of -ai. Jones corrects the slip: cyfodeu (1677, p.68), for instance, is rendered cyfodai (1811, p.82), though metheu on the same page remains unrevised; ymgodeu (99) becomes ymgodai(115), haeddau (216) > haeddai (241) tycciau (247) > tyciai (269), aetheu (303) > aethai (315). But ufuddhae (98) remains in its old form in 1811 (p.114), as does mwynhae (229/253).

To remain with the verb - Edwards had favoured the termination -iff for the third person singular of the present tense of the verb, a form retained in 1811. A few incorrect forms of the third person, like

meidr (264), are revised (to medr, p.285 of the Dolgellau edition); cf. caniâda (1677, p.217) > caniatta (243), cyniwer (266) cyniwair (287).

Edwards often employs y instead of a as the relative pronoun, as many writers did before him.[7] Jones sometimes corrects the usage and for 'y gwledydd y henwyd' (1677, p.3) the 1811 edition reads 'y gwledydd a enwyd' (p.15). Similarly, the clause 'Y mae pôb pêth y wnelo, y ddywedo, y feddylio dynion' (216) becomes in 1811 'Y mae pob peth a wnelo, a ddywedo, ac a feddylio dynion'. However, at times, the original y is retained: e.g. 'y ddeorodd' (1677, p.215; 1811, p.241).

There are a few other minor changes in the text that deserve only a brief passing mention, but they all add to Jones's editorial crime in tampering with the original Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

a) Jones strives in places to raise Charles Edwards's Welsh a step or two up the social ladder: for cododd (1677, p.3) he substitues the inflated cyfododd (1811, p.15), whilst yn helaethach (18) becomes yn dra ehelaeth (30). The reflexive pronoun ef (2 and 18, for example) pushes out its chest to efe (1811, p.14 and p.30), and Cristnogion (e.g. p.68) are always Cristionogion. Glaw (151) is at all times gwlaw in Dolgellau (p.171).

b) Bordering on this intention is Jones's preoccupation with softening some of Edwards's hard consonants, making, for example, llescedd (1677, p.187) llesgedd (1811, p.211), and atcasrwydd (313) atgasrwydd (328).

c) Proper names are changed, but not according to any principle. Some Latin names in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant are made more familiar e.g. Tertullianus (1677, p.152) becomes Tertulian (1811, p.173) and Germania(155), Germany (176) - whilst in another chapter Edwards's Ninian (159) is reverted to Ninianus (178). Welsh forms are abandoned on one page,

Cwstenyn (154) making way for the English Constantine (175). Yet on the very next page Stephen is Cambrified Stephan.

d) The denoting of the change effected in certain consanants (and in the prepositions itself) by the nasal mutation that follows yn (in) is corrected in some places. Whereas Edwards writes in 1677 ymhob (113) and yn nheyrnasoedd (173). Though, in the first sentence of "Hanes y Ffydd" the reader encounters y 'mhob twice in the Dolgellau edition; and when it comes to revising the form ynghylch (1677, p.69) he can suggest nothing better than y'nghylch (1811, p.82).

e) In 1811, a Welsh word or form is preferred to adaptions from English made by Edwards. For instance, histôri (1677, p.227) is rendered hanes (1811, p.252) and the plural historiau (226), hanesion (252), though once ystori (2) gives way to the incorrect hanesyddiaeth (15). Sîre (157) becomes in 1811 Swydd (178) and justisiaid (195), ustusiaid (219).

Moreover, a few omissions are made from the text of "Hanes y Ffydd". Origen's Latin and the paragraph from Theodoret's Greek (1677, p.153) are lost to the 1811 reader, and so is John Chrysostom's original from pp. 176-7. There are a few word-changes too. The Lord in 1677 was described on p.162 as 'chwiliwr yr arennau'; by 1811 He is 'chwiliwr y calonnau' (183). And though Edwards observed that the corruption of the Welsh in the sixth century was due to the heresies of 'yr Ariaid a'r Morganiaid' (p.185), Jones prefers to think that the responsibility lay with 'yr Ariaid, ac eraill' (p.209). Careless reading is probably at the root of another mistake: Edwards states that 'Howel dda' ruled the whole of Wales ('Cymru oll', p.191); Jones has it that 'Howel'

ruled all Welshmen ('y Cymry oll', p.215). In "Siccrwydd y Ffydd" the Dolgellau editor tampers more often with the original. 'Megis y bu yn y greadigaeth (218) is reduced to 'megis y bu yng nghreadigaeth y byd' (243), and on the same page Jones fails to define the tool with which God manages His creation:

[1677] Aml ac amlwg yw gwaith rhagluniaeth Duw yn tynnu i lawr y cedyr, a'r beilchion ymmysc ei elynion; ac nid llai hynod gwaith ei drugaredd ef yn iselu ucheldrem dynion (p.218).

[1811] Aml ac amlwg yw gwaith Duw yn tynnu i lawr y cedyrn, a'r beilchion ym mysg ei elynion; ac nid llai hynod ei waith yn ei drugaredd, drwy yr ysgrythyrau, yn iselu ucheldrem dynion (243).

It is as if Jones is shy of Edwards's metaphors.

The corrections already noted show the Dolgellau editor as an unauthoritative schoolmaster, correcting some and leaving untouched other mistakes, to him elementary, made by a careless genius. Yet Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in 1811 lost much more than a few -iff's and incorrect verb-terminations. "Siccrwydd y Ffydd" and "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" were cut drastically by Jones.

There were ten cuts made from "Siccrwydd y Ffydd", and it is very difficult to establish the underlying principle for Jones's omissions, indeed to establish that he possessed one at all. Only two of the omissions contain any suggestion of a doctrine that might cause a non-Calvinist some embarrassment. i) The sentence left out of point 3 in the Dolgellau version of "Siccrwydd y Ffydd" reads:

> Torrir callestr ar glustog, a'r galon galed ar ymyscaroedd tyner Iesu Grist; fal y byddo'r edifeiriol fyw trwy ffydd Mâb Duw, yr hwn a'i carodd hwynt, ac a'i dodes ei hun drostynt hwy (1677, p.217: quotes Gal.2.20).

If it could be proved that Jones was an Anglican not partial to the Calvinistic doctrine of justification by faith, then that would be enough to explain his action. Indeed, there is sufficient testimony to show that the idea of an elect - 'etholedigion' - is anathema to him, for more than once in 1811 he substitutes for that word in Edwards's text a 'neutral' noun. Instead of etholedigion on p.97 of the third edition, the fifth edition has pobl (113). And whereas Edwards writes

y mae'r Arglwydd yn galw ei etholedigion, (260)

Jones's version reads,

y mae'r Arglwydd yn galw ar bechaduriaid (281)

- thus here he not only changes the word but the whole significance of the sentence.

ii) It is possible that Jones objected to the idea that Adam weakened his body in sin, for he omits a paragraph from point 14 which forwards this belief (1677, p.245). Yet the same idea is forwarded in other parts of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.[8] Did the Dolgellau editor, then, question the statement (relative to that concerning Adam) which reads 'nid anhebygol y peri'r Cyrph gogoneddus byth, am y byddant yn ddibechod', and for that reason it omit it? His usual practice in such cases is to leave out the offending sentence as he does, to note one instance, from p.249 of his edition. (The sentence left out in this case is a condemnation of 'proffesswyr diffrwyth' whose love for religion is obliterated by their lusts and wordly concerns - p.223 of the 1677 edition).

Such a habit can lead to nonsense. In one paragraph (point 11 of "Siccrwydd y Ffydd") because Jones saw fit to omit one single sentence and leave the opening phrase of the following sentence as it stood, the retained sentence makes no sense (1677, p.232; 1811, p.257).

There are twenty omissions, of varied significance, from "Rhinwedd y Ffydd". Some are examples given by Edwards to illustrate a point in question (e.g. 1677, p.286, pp. 356-7; sentences omitted from p.305 and pp. 366-7 respectively). One is an epigram Jones chooses to ignore (1677, p.263; 1811 omitted from p.284). Aother comprises of the two words 'holl gynneddfau' left out of the title of Chapter 25. Two whole pages (273-5) of text are omitted from Chapter 22, a passage in which Edwards treats of the inherent evil of man, and the external barriers and inner convictions which God sends to barricade against that wickedness. Jones, it appears, found it a great strain to recognize the depth and ugliness of human sin, and chose not to repeat Edwards's observations on the subject. For instance, to avoid repeating the skilful suggestion made on pp. 281-2 that man is attracted to wrong even when within reach of goodness, Jones leaves out of his text these sentences:

> cyfododd Judas oddiar ei swpper, er bod yno ymborth gyssurus, i gwplau'r brâd a roddasai Satan yn ei fwriad ef. Hoffach ydoedd gan y dynion cyntaf y ffrwyth gwaharddedig, na'r holl aeron eraill a dyfau ym Mharadwys, er daed, ac amled oeddent.

At least eight of the omissions from "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" were engineered to rid the section of its Calvinism. Again, 'etholedigaeth' is cast out. To note some instances. On p.297 of the 1677 edition of <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u>, having touched upon the Ransom Theory,[9] Edwards concludes,

> Os mynn [Crist] gael ei etholedigion rhaid iddo weithio yn rymus ynddynt, heb law'r pethau a ddioddefodd ef yn ofidus drostynt: a'u gwneuthur hwy yn <u>ewyllyscar yn nydd ei nerth</u>, os mynn <u>weled o lafur ei enaid</u>. Yr hyn y mae ef yn ei weithredu yn effeithiawl drwy ei yspryd yn y rhai galwedig, wrth ddechreu a chynyddu Sancteiddiad

ynddynt yma, a'i gwbl berffeithio ar ol hyn.

The omission of these two sentences from the 1811 edition means that the argument contained in the whole paragraph is robbed of its logical conclusion and its climax. In Chapter 23 the very heart of an argument is punctured by the editorial scissors. Five and a half pages are left out (pp. 291-6), in which Edwards argues that nothing can save the unregenerate, nor super-natural kindness nor human ability: the Christ alone, taking His own life into His hands, can effect a transformation in a sinful soul - 'Ac er mwyn hyn mawr jawn yw'r pethau a wnaeth yr Arglwydd Jesu dros ei etholedigion, ac y wnaiff ef ynddynt'(p.295). Jones even omits some of the words of Jesus Himself on this central question: Peter's words are wiped away (1 Peter, 1.1-4; 1677, p.349), and Christ's 'ni ddichon neb ddyfod attafi, oddieithr ir Tad ei dynnu ef' (John 6.44; p.280.)

Had Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant been a strictly Calvinistic book, its soul would have been rent out of it by such ruthless editing. The fact that Edwards carefully presented the complementary teaching that all sinners could supplicate for salvation in a way saved the book, too. Only this half of the soul-nourishing loaf is given to the 1811 reader.

As for Chapters 30 and 31, the cywyddau are faithfully copied and arranged neatly; but only a selection of the Hebrew and Chaldean words given by Edwards are reprinted, and only the first, general part of the introduction to that section is rendered. None of the three appendages printed in 1677 are reproduced.

The edition, then, is a very unsatisfactory one.

3) 'The Salop and Dolgelley editions [of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant] having been

long ago disposed of, and some Booksellers wishing to have a new Edition brought forward', Dr Peter Williams of Llanbedrog, according to his own testimony, was 'easily persúaded to undertake such a Work.'[10] The fruit of his labours, the sixth edition, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant; sef, Hanes a Rhinwedd y Ffydd Gristionogol, was published in 1822. It was printed, like the 1811 edition, by R. Jones of Dolgellau. The dedication, dated 'Sept. 1822', is addressed to 'Richard Edwards, Esq. of Nanhoron; Colonel of the Caernarvonshire Militia', who is told that this 'very useful little Book', though perhaps 'not strictly' to his taste, should 'prove acceptable to [his] tenantry and dependants.'[11]

It appears that in 1822 Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant was at the rationed mercy of a velvet-tongued Anglican Tory.

Williams was certainly no Calvinist. In his "Preface" he all but deems John Calvin to be a 'haughty' 'genius' of 'fluctuating' character who conjured up 'objectionable and danmatory tenets'. Then he proceeds to defend Charles Edwards from all accusations that his 'little Volume' contained 'Calvinistic Principles'. His defence reads:

> There may, indeed, be a few expressions and even a sentence now and then, but certainly not chapters, that appear to have that tendency. And, pray, what writer in those times - that is to say, from the days of Henry the VIII. to those of Queen Anne - who is totally free from such prejudicies?... But whatever may have been the peculiar principles of the Author of the following pages, it is very plain that they never had their origin in bigotry or enthusiasm.

And certainly the innocent reader of the 1822 edition would find it difficult to understand why such an accusation was ever made against the now 'moderate' Edwards. For Dr Peter Williams's edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-

ffuant stands purged of all the 'objectionable tenets' it contained in 1677. Nothing that could in any way be interpreted as a propagation of the doctrine of justification by faith is retained. For instance, the first two paragraphs on p.352 of the 1677 edition are left out. In one of them, Edwards describes in metaphor how God prepares his elect on earth - 'yma [yn] naddu'r meini bywiol iw gosod yn y deml brydferth fry'. It is only in the second paragraph that he refers to the elect by name. But both are omitted, as are two sentences which note the blamelessness of the 'chosen' - both quotations from Scripture - from the opening paragraph of Chapter 26. Like R. Jones, Williams leaves pp. 291-6 of the original out of his version of "Rhinwedd y Ffydd", as well as this statement on God's absolute authority as the sole selector of his elect:

> A phwy bynnag a ewyllysio ef [sef, Duw] eu harbed, efe a ddengis iddynt hwy eu gwaith, a'u hanwireddau, amlhâu o honynt: ac a egir eu clustiau hwy i dderbyn cerydd; ac a ddywed am droi o honynt oddiwrth anwiredd (p.299).

Williams goes further than his printer and exorcises the word 'etifeddion' from his text (see 1677, pp. 319-20). Even 'y grasol' are looked upon suspiciously, and are transformed to become merely 'y crefyddol' in one place (1677, p.338; 1822, p.442), 'y Duwiol' in another (342; 450).

To return to the Doctor's preface. 'HANES Y FFYDD', he writes, 'is certainly one of the most valuable Welsh Originals we have', its style 'good and often elegant, and the arrangement of the words clear and often judicious'. Flattery is hardly the sort of criticism Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant invites, especially misleading flattery. The rector of Llanbedrog at times finds that Edwards word arrangement is so much at fault that he undertakes to revise it; notice, for instance, the replacing of the subject of the verb in this example.

[1677] Ond digwyddodd ir ymerodr fod mewn Cyfyngder ef ai fyddyn o ran sychter (p.45).

[1822] Digwyddodd hefyd i'r ymmerawdwr, iddo ef a'i fyddin fod mewn cyfyngder o herwydd sychder mawr (81).

Edwards's common conjunction 'hefyd' is removed, 'ac, ym mhellach' employed in its stead (1677, p.237; 1822, p.341). The colloquial 'a hynny a brofiff cydwybod pob enaid' (277) is transformed to 'a hynny y mae pob Cydwybod yn ei brofi' (389). More than once, the rearrangement of words in a sentence slightly changes the meaning of that sentence - as in the following example in which Edwards's primary intention is to show the significance of the opening of the 'black list,' not to emphasize the dramatic incident itself, as Williams does:

[1677] Egin y gydwybod ei llyfr, a dengis ir enaid lechwes du...(299).

[1822] CYDWYBOD a egyr ei llyfr, ac a ddengys lechres du...(406).

Changing leads to 'chopping', an art that should not be practised by such an unsympathetic editor as Dr. Williams. Note, for example, the loss in 1822 of the lyricism inherent in this description of the benefit of grace:

[1677] Grâs a brydferthai flodau ieuenctid plant Duw, ac a bereiddiaid ffrwythau (sic) eu hoed (342)

[1822] Gras a brydferthai flodau Ieuengctid, ac a bereiddiai ffrwythau Henaint (447)

The Doctor also likes to add to the original, in his mind adding sophistication to Edwards's masterpiece. Sometimes he enacts the interpreter and in 1822 the 1677 'Helfetia' (p.7) is seen as 'Helvetia, neu Switzerland' (p.33). Similarly, 'y môr mawr' (p.8) is also 'ATLANTIC OCEAN' (p.35). 'Beda' (97) is 'Bede, neu Beda' (147). 'Fetius' (45), a mere earl in 1677, is by 1822 'Iarll goludog' (80). At other times Williams spends his excess energy on worthless words.

Edwards, writing of Rogers, one of the Marian martyrs, revers 'ei ffydd ef' (123); Williams notices 'ei ffydd ef, a'i wroldeb' (183). The plain 'glŵth' (224) becomes 'Glwth Goludog' (326) and another plain prophet is promoted to be a 'Prophwyd brenhinol' (223; 324). The Doctor is pleased sometimes to quote a verse in full when Edwards quotes only what is relevant to his point (see, e.g. 1677, p.1; 1822, p.25. Or 83, 242; 347.) Once he quotes in full a verse to which Edwards only refers. Thus:

[1677] er maint oedd mantais
ei elyn aeth [y llangc
grasol] a'r maes oddiarno,
Gen.39 a chadwodd ei onestrwydd
7. er colli ei wisc, ac ni
wnneth ddrwg yn erbyn
Duw da (340).

[1822] er maint oedd mantais
ei elyn aeth â'r maes
oddiarno, a chadwodd
ei onestrwydd, er colli
ei wisg, gan ddywedyd
wrthi, "Pa fodd y gallaf
wneuthur y mawrddrwg
hwn, a phechu yn erbyn
Duw?" (444)

Another task undertaken by Dr Williams was the correcting of the 'incorrect and barbarous' termination of some of the Tenses of Verbs,' 'especially in the ending of the Third Person Singular in the Future Tense of the Indicative Mood.'[12] The Doctor blinds his common reader with science. All he accomplishes, of course, is the changing of troiff (219), for example, to try (319), or diflenniff (223) > diflanna (324), gwasanaethiff (270) > gwasanaetha (385), etc. - a feat achieved by Jones eleven years previously!

There is one other major change, or omission, effected by the Llanbedrog editor. He himself explains:

> Our Compiler, like other Writers of those times, gave too much credit to fairy and legendary tales, quoting too indiscriminately from the Welsh and English Chronicles, and other Monkish Traditions of the sort. [13]

Or, again, in a note on p.124 of the 1822 edition, Williams writes:

> Mr. Ch. Edwards, the pious author of Hanes y Ffydd, had unfortunately too much credultiy, and has interwoven with much excellent matter too many abused stories.

Williams deals with them in a manner befitting a man in his position:

> All such quotations and credulous reliances have been either expunged, or stated in such a manner, as the Author himself, had he lived in these days, would have probably recorded them.[14]

Thus the reader of the 1822 edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant know nothing of the worders that happened in Christian history, imaginative or real, and their education is that much poorer. They are not told of the cross-mark seared (on the clothes of the masons who rebuilt the temple of Jerusalem) by a fire from heaven that was a sign of the Lord's ascendancy (p.77); nor of a cloud, half-blood, half-flame that appeared over England before the Danish invasions, signifying the Lord's anger (p.98). Many other brilliant descriptions are kept in the censor's drawer (e.g. 1677, pp. 98-9; 99-100; 151; 155). Not only does the Doctor omit monkish tales but Protestant ones also: his version of the chapter on "Cyctudd y Protestaniaid yn Lloegr yn amser y frenhines Mari" is greatly impoverished by the omission of the descriptions of how blessed were the deaths of, for instance, Hunter, Rawlins Wynne, Crondal and Haukes. It is obvious why they are not included. Foxe's accounts were too fanciful for the reasonable Williams, who preferred not to believe that the sun could shine on young William Hunter out of a black sky (1677, p.126), or that 'Haukes', encompassed in flames, could out of the great heat raise his arms in jubilation (p.127). "Hanes y ffydd ymmhlith y cymru" is likewise made kore sober: the blood that came as rain from the sky in Rivallo's reign is not mentioned (151), nor is the wonderful

story of Gildas's prophecy to the pregnant Nan (159).

The dramatic deaths of papist persecutors recorded at the end of the 'Marian' chapter are grudgingly retold in 1822, with this proviso:

> In this age of credulity and superstition, when the Nation had hardly emerged from Popery, it was the fashion to ascribe such events to the immediate visitations of Heaven. But it is a most rash, fallacious, and arrogant way of coming to a conclution, to pronounce, that the calamities of sinners are particular judgements of God.[15]

And although Dr Williams condemns the 'implicit credit' Edwards seems to have given 'the superstitous traditions about the Fairies', they are still mentioned in the book!

One other omission made by Williams should be mentioned. He left out Edwards's description, in Chapter 22, of the corruption that follows the lustful will's rebellion against the wise understanding - '[sut] mae pechod yn teyrnasu yn y corph marwol' (p. 265-7). Now, the second half of Chapter 25 which describes how grace in the soul makes itself seen 'yngweithrediadau'r corph oddiallan' - a passage that complements the omitted part in Edwards's argument - loses its significance.

Of the appendages to <u>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant</u>, Chapter 30 is included in 1822, with biographical notes on some of the poets and explanatory notes on some of the allusions contained in the <u>cywyddau.</u> Chapter 31, in which Edwards 'feebly attempted to prove, that the Hebrew is the mother of the Chaldee and Welsh Languages' (1822, p.520), is omitted. But the appendices included after that chapter are printed - though not without minor additions - for the first time since 1677.

Williams was also the first editor to try and identify Charles Edwards. He gleaned his information mostly from Gwallter Mechain

(Rev. Walter Davies), from an article written by him in the Cambro-Briton, Volume I, and a letter received from that 'most ingenious Welsh Scholar.'[16] The information is inaccurate in one instance. Davies wrote that Charles was a younger brother of Robert Edwards of Rhyd-y-croesau, who married Ann Kyffin, and Williams accepts this testimony. However, though he also prints a letter he received from John Edwards of Grest Ness on the same subject, he refrains from commenting on the fact that, according to this piece of information, 'Charles Edwards is said to be the son of Robert Edwards.'[17] Williams, following Moses Williams's catalogue, is also misled on the dates of the appearance of the first two editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

Another innovation is the printing of numerous notes added by Williams. They are intended to add the weight of 'English Authors' - infalliable to Williams - 'to the veracity of the original Compiler.'[18] Like the dedication and preface they are in English, in order to 'induce' the [note the crafty inter-marriage of races] 'Anglo-British Reader to improve his Welsh, and encourage also the Cambro-Saxon to improve his knowledge in English.'[19]

Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in 1822 was produced by a more knowledgable editor than either of the previous too, yet again one completely lacking in sympathy with the work as a literary whole. Some restraint is needed in criticizing the Llanbedrog rector, because his powers of afterthought, after all, did save modern Welsh literature from its greatest editorial calamity - it was once Dr Williams's intention - indeed, his 'wish', to reproduce Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant dressed in 'the mode of spelling adopted by Dr. W. Owen Pughe.'

4) The seventh edition, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant: sef Hanes y Ffydd Gristionogol a'i Rhinwedd, was printed by William Spurrell and published at Carmarthen in 1856. One of its subscribers was Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte! Its editor was the Rev. William Edmunds, a master at Lampeter Grammar School. In his own "Rhagymadrodd y Golygydd" he takes the previous editors of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant to task:

> Y mae llawer o wallau yn argraphiad y Mwythig, nid oes fawr o gamp ar un Dolgellau, ac mae copi Dr. Williams yn feius ar lawer cyfrif. Cadewir peth o'r Hanes allan yn argraphiad cyntaf Dolgellau, ond aeth Dr. Williams ym mhell tu hwnt iddo. Newidiodd y Doctor lawer ar frawddegau'r llyfr, a gadawodd aml ddarnau o hono allan. Nid teg oedd hyn; os Hanes y Ffydd, Hanes y Ffydd a dim llai na mwy ddylai fod.[20]

For all that Edmunds testifies that it was the 1822 edition that he took as the basis of his undertaking, and not the 1677 edition - 'ond gorfu arnom ddiwygio llawer o hono er ei gael yn ol at yr hen gopïau, ac o'r diwedd i'w osod o'r neilldu yn hollol.'[21] However, Edmunds did not begin again from scratch and his edition, especially the earlier chapters, contain many of the small appendages made by Williams. He explains, like Williams, that 'Helfetia' is also Switzerland (1856, p.39), that 'y môr mawr' is 'Atlantic Ocean' (p.41), and that Columbus came 'O Genoa' (p.9). Once, Edmunds prefers to follow the 1811 edition and not William's. At the beginning of Chapter 2, instead of the original

> Cyn seilio'r byd yr oedd yr Arglwydd
> Bendigedig yn rhagordeinio gwneuthur ei
> etholedigion yn fendigedig drwy Grist (1677, p.11).

in 1856 the reader is told that it was 'y rhai a fyddai yn ufudd i'r Efengyl' who were to be made blessed in Christ (p.43).

[This is not the beginning of another exercise in purging Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant of its Calvinism. Indeed, all the other references to 'etholedigion' and the descriptions of the process of election and salvation are retained by Edmunds (see, for example, 1856 ed., pp. 259, 314, 327), who, contrary to Dr Williams's denial, readily acknowledges that Charles Edwards's opinions were Calvinistic, and his leanings Puritans[22].]

When Edmunds stated his wish to reprint Hanes y Ffydd in toto, he did not mean that the original spelling and verb-forms were to remain unrevised:

> Nid ydys yn proffesu rhoddi copi cwbl lythyrennol. Er mwyn cyssoneb a chywirdeb, cymmerasom y Bibl Cymraeg fel safon ein horgraph, ond cadwasom briod-ddull yr Awdwr mewn rhai geiriau, megis, dwylo, bodlon, &c.[23]

As in 1811 and 1822, then, spelling is standardized: daiarol (1677, p.264) becomes daearol (1856, p.262), hoiwder (262)> hoywder (261), and the colloquial termination -iff is removed from all verbs. Moreover, Edmunds claims, 'Fe welir yn y llyfr grym fanylrwydd gyd âg acceniad a rhaniad geiriau'.[24] Edwards's ffiaiddglwyf (260) is reordered ffieidd-glwyf (259), ag (145) is presented as âg (163). Such revision, of course, is not an attempt to present Charles Edwards is more favourable light to the Welsh Victorians, but to make the book itself 'useful', utilitarian 'fel Text Book i ddysgu Cymreg'. Nor are the philologists forgotten:

> Pan newidiasom ryw ffurf a fyddai yn debyg o fod o ryw bwys neu ddyddoreb mewn ymchwiliadau gramadegol, gosodasom y gair fel y mae yn yr hen gopïau (Hen gop) i lawr ar waelod y ddalen.[25]

Edmunds also sees fit to add footnotes to Edwards's text, especially in the first, historical chapters of the book. Some are taken wholesale from Williams, but translated into Welsh, the others are original.

Both Chapters 30 and the introductory text to the lists in Chapter 31 are retained, but only a selection of the Hebrew phrases and words are printed - with the comment,

> Fe edrych y darllenydd dysgedig ar y
> llechres hon, fel cywreinrwydd diniweid.
> Yr oedd ein Hawdwr yn fawr ei eiddigedd
> dros gyssylltu'r Gymraeg â'r Hebraeg. [26]

Of the other appendages only "Peth o Retoreg" is omitted. And a five-page index is added.

On Edwards himself, Edmunds offers little light. The introduction begins, 'Ychydig iawn...wyddis am Charles Edwards', and Edmunds commiserates that so little honour is bestowed on God's servants on earth. But Edwards was also a servant of his country - and there follows a very Victorian paulgyric on the patriotism of 'plant bryniau a chymmydd Gwalia, sydd wedi ymsefydlu ac ymgyfoethogi yn Lloegr a gwledydd eraill'. 'Ac nid oes achos petruso', adds Edmunds, 'mai gwladgarwr o'r iawn ryw oedd Charles Edwards'.[27] Without any proof to support his statement, the Lampeter editor refuses to believe that Edwards was a clergyman, and is not sure whether he ever went to Oxford University.

The introduction to this edition is much more interesting than the edition itself.

5) O.M. Edwards chose, in his Hanes y Ffydd yng Nghymru (1892) to to include selections of Edwards's "At y Darlleydd" and all of his history of Wales bar Gildas's Epistle. 'Newidiais ychydig ar yr atalnodi, a

gadewais y cyfeiriadau allan', writes O.M. Edwards, 'Mewn popeth arall y mae'r llyfr lythyren am lythyren, hyd eithaf fy ngwybodaeth, fel yr ysgrifennodd Charles Edwards ef.'[28] The only question that can be raised about this little edition is How valuable was Charles Edwards's history taken out of its religious context to his audience at the turn of the century?

NOTES

Notes on Part 1: Charles Edwards and the Religious Condition of Wales in the Seventeenth Century.

1. G.J. Williams, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), pp. ix, viii Charles Edwards's father calls himself 'Roberte Edwards of Lledrode' in his will, made on 7 June 1650, a will that testifies he was a man of some means. Charles's share of his father's estate is not disclosed: he is named as one of the children already provided for. To explain 'Lledrode' - 'Dylid efallai egluro bod Rhyd-y-croesau...yn nhref ddegwm Lledrod ym mhen pellaf plwyf Llansilin ar yr ochr ddwyreiniol'.

2. An Afflicted Man's Testimony concerning his Troubles (London, 1691), p.1.

3. Alumni Oxonienses, Vol II (Early Series), 1891, p.447 (see Williams, op.cit., p.X).

4. Ivor James, "Charles Edwards a'i Amserau" in Y Traethodydd (1886) p.290; see also Williams, op.cit., p.xi.

5. Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig, ed R.T. Jenkins (London, 1953), p.544.

6. For Lloyd's position, see ibid; for the county, see A.H. Dodd, "Civil War in East Denbighshire" in Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions, Vol 3 (1954), especially pp. 47-8, 62.

7. Dodd, op.cit., p.61.

8. C.H. Firth, Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England (World's Classics ed.,) London, 1961 repr p.110.

9. ibid., pp. 135-7.

10. T. Richards, The Puritan Visitation of Jesus College Oxford and the Principalship of Dr. Michael Roberts (1648-1657) (London, 1924) p.6: the question asked every member of the University was, 'Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in this Visitation?'

11. Testimony, p.2.

12. Montague Burrows, The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford (1881), p.122: quoted by Richards, op.cit., p.11, n.4: and by Williams, op.cit., p.xiii.

13. Richards, op.cit., p.11.

14. Bywgraffiadur, pp. 637-8: Dodd, op.cit., p.76.

15. Richards, op.cit., p.12, is unduly harsh in his criticism of

Edwards, for he was only one of many young men who changed their minds at this juncture.

16. Testimony, p.2; Williams, op.cit., p.xiii.

17. James, art.cit., p.293.

18. Testimony, p.2.

19. ibid., p.6.

20. Williams, op.cit., p.xiv.

21. Testimony, p.6.

22. ibid., p.1.

23. If this experience had come to Edwards after the Visitors' inquiry, it would have been easier to understand his change of mind. But then perhaps the sincerity of Edwards's 'spiritual' troubles would have been questioned.

24. see An Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales (Cymdeithas Llên Cymru publ., Cardiff, 1908), p.26; Williams, op.cit., p.xiv

25. J. Gwynn Williams, "Wales and the Civil War", Wales Through the Ages, II (Llandybie, 1960), ed. A.J. Roderick, p.71.

26. John Penry, Three Treatises Concerning Wales (Cardiff, 1960), ed. David Williams, p.11.

27. ibid., p.11 and p.9.

28. ibid., p.5.

29. ibid., p.30 and p.32. Notice the (accidental) similarity between twometaphors used by Penry and Edwards to describe the produce of Rome. Penry, op.cit., p.32, notes that the 'obstinate idolators...(would) hold for good divinity whatsoever hath bin hatched in that sacrilegious nest (of Rome)'. Edwards, too, sees that 'dychymygion y Pâb' are but 'Babanod anelwig...ie cywion gorphenhaf y ddeorodd gwresogrwydd llwyddiant bydol, y ddaethant o'r cibau yn ddiweddar' - Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.215.

30. John Preston, A sermon...before...Commons, pp. 298-9 : quoted by C. Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (Mercury Books ed, London, 1962), p.270.

31. E. Gwynne Jones, Cymru a'r Hen Ffydd (Cardiff, 1951), p.64.

32. A.H. Dodd, "The Pattern of Politics in Stuart Wales" in

Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1948, p.24.

33. Parliament Explained to Wales (Cymdeithas Llên Cymru publ., Cardiff, 1907), p.30.

34. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.209: my italics.

35. John Penry, op.cit., Introduction by David Williams, p.xx.

36. Oliver Thomas, Car-wr y Cymry, ed. J. Ballinger (Cardiff, 1930), pp. 13, 15.

37. The statement was made in a sermon before Parliament, 21 July 1646, "Saints fullnesse of Joy". Quoted by T. Rees, History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, 2nd ed. (London, 1883), p. 68; and by R. Tudur Jones, Hanes Annibynwyr Cymru (Swansea, 1966), p.46.

38. V. Powell, Scripture Catechism (London, 1646), "Preface": quoted by T. Rees, op.cit., p.68.

39. The phrase is John Preston's: quoted by Hill, op.cit., p.270

40. see D. Mathew, Social Structure in Caroline England (Oxford, 1948), p.78.

41. J.F.H. New, Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of their Opposition 1558-1640 (London, 1964), p.35.

42. P.A. Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes (London, 1958), p.68: the bishop once stated in a sermon, 'From the Holy oil of (the sovereign's) annointing there daily droppeth upon this whole realm pure nard.'

43. W.K. Jordan, Development of Religious Toleration in England (London, 1932-40) Vol II, p.130; see also L.F. Solt, Saints in Arms (Stanford, 1959), p.27.

44. G. Davies in his article "Arminians V. Puritans in England ca. 1620-40", Huntington Library Bulletin, No.5 (April 1934), pp.160-1, writes: 'Malicious eyes noted that Whitgift was accompanied out of doors by a train of above sixty men, and that Laud went abroad with forty or fifty mounted attendants and ushers crying: "Roome, roome for my Lords Grace. Gentlemen be uncovered my Lords Grace is coming."

45. ibid., p.167.

46. ibid., p.172.

47. For these oppressive practices, see Jordan, op.cit., pp.157-69.

48. ibid., p.167.

49. David Rowlands, "Disce Mori neu Addysg i Farw", Rhagymadroddion 1547-1659, ed G.H. Hughes (Cardiff, 1951), p.132.

50. T. Richards, Cymru a'r Uchel Gomisiwn 1633-40 (Liverpool, 1930) p.38.

51. Bywgraffiadur, p.78; R.Tudur Jones, op.cit., p.37.

52. A.H. Dodd, History of Wrexham (Wrexham, 1957), p.51.

53. D. Gwenallt Jones, Ficer Prichard a Canrwyll y Cymru (Caernarvon (1948)), p.7; but see p.8 also.

54. Car-wr y Cymry, p.16.

55. Quoted from Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd II, p.252, by G.F. Nuttall, The Welsh Saints 1640-1660 (Cardiff, 1957), p.85, n.36.

56. see Car-wr y Cymry, pp. vii, xvii; Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (Cardiff, 1952), p.46.

57. J. Ballinger, The Bible in Wales (London, 1906), p.20.

58. Quoted in T. Rees, op.cit., p.68.

59. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.206.

60. Rhagymadroddion, p.132.

61. E.G. Gruffydd, "Religious Prose in Welsh from the beginning of the Reign of Elizabeth to the Restoration", Oxford D.Phil. Thesis, 1952.

62. W. Haller, Rise of Puritanism (Harper Torchbooks ed., New York, 1957), p.82; C. Hill, Century of Revolution (Edinburgh, 1961) p.88.

63. Haller, op.cit., p.230.

64. ibid., p.82.

65. Hill, op.cit., p.99.

66. see Bywgraffiadur, pp. 120, 562, 945-6.

67. H.R. MacAdoo, The Structure of Caroline Moral Theology (London, 1949), p.148.

68. R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London, 1926), p.197.

69. C. Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford,

(Oxford, 1965), p.293; Haller, op.cit., p.83.

70. New Op.cit., p.22; for detailed study, see C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (Mercury Books ed., London, 1965), Chapter 5.

71. Haller, op.cit., p.86.

72. Dodd, "The Landed Gentry after 1660 ", Wales Through the Ages, Vol II, p.62.

73. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.209.

74. loc.cit. For summary of the religious issues that contributed to the causes of the Thirty Years War, see, for instance, G.N. Clark, The Seventeenth Century, 2nd.ed. (Oxford, 1947) Chapter XIX.

75. For two modern views on consequences of The Act see T. Richards, History of the Puritan Movement (London, 1920), pp. 101-2 and R. Tudur Jones, op.cit., p.50.

76. R. Tudur Jones, ibid., loc.cit.

77. T. Richards, Religious Developments in Wales (1654-62) (London 1923), p.135: he quotes from Whitelocke's Memorials. (R.D.W.)

78. A. Griffith, Strena Vavasoriensis (London, 1654), p.5: quoted by Richards, op.cit., p.135.

79. see The Bible in Wales, pp. 30-1.

80. Edwards, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Oxford, 1677), p.212, observes, 'Byddai yn gymorth nid bychan (i Gymru), pe cyfodau ei blaenoriaid goleds neu ddau ynddi, i ddwyn gwyr jevaingc gobeithiol i fynu mewn dysceidiaeth a moesau da, tuag at eu cymhwyso gyda bendith y goruchaf i weinidogaeth efangylol a swyddogaeth wladwriaethol.'

81. see T. Richards, History of the Puritan Movement (London, 1920), pp. 159-61 (HPM); and RDW, p.10.

82. Testimony, p.6.

83. RDW, p.10.

84. ibid., p.11, Milwyn Griffiths in his article, Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales, XII (1962), p.10, notes that the nominal value of Edwards's living in 1664 was £18.12.0; but its common reputed value was £150. It appears that Edwards lived in good comfort.

85. Testimony, p.6.

86. Rhagymadroddion, pp. 144-5.

87. RDW, pp.140-1.

88. ibid., p.142: the words are Berry's. He was 'Major-General of Wales and the Border Counties'.

89. Rhagymadroddion, p.142.

90. T. Rees, op.cit., pp. 95-6.

91. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.201: observing that Dr Morgan had managed to translate the Bible at Llanrhaeadr, Edwards adds, half in jest, half in anger, 'Ond ni hwyrach fel y dywedodd Nathaniel, a ddichon da ddyfod o Nazareth? (St.John,1.46). Yr Amheua'r Gwyneddwr, a allai'r fath gymwynas iachusol ddeilliaw o'r gymdogaeth honno'.

92. T. Rees, op.cit., p.95.

93. Testimony, p.7.

94. RDW., p.96.

95. ibid., and Testimony, p.7.

96. Testimony, pp.7-8.

97. G.J. Williams, op.cit., XVII.

98. RDW, p.280; see also The Puritan Visitation of Jesus College... p.75.

99. RDW, p.280.

100. For Roberts and Mostyn see references to them in Thomas Richards's volumes

101. Milwyn Griffiths, art.cit., p.20.

102. ibid., p.21.

103. R. Tudur Jones, op.cit., p.67; RDW, Chapter X, passim.

104. Testimony, p.12; Edwards notes that he was 'observant of the Oath of Allegiance'.

105. RDW, p.436.

106. see Richards's list, RDW, p.438.

107. ibid., p.456.

108. ibid., pp.439-42, 458.

109. T. Richards, Wales Under the Indulgence (London, 1928), p.13.

110. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.209.

111. ibid., p.207.

112. Testimony, p.8.

113. ibid., loc.cit.

114. T. Richards, Wales Under the Penal Code (London, 1925), pp. 4-5.

115. ibid., pp.9-10.

116. Testimony, p.8.

117. Wales Under the Penal Code, p.xiii.

118. Testimony, p.8.

119. ibid., p.9.

120. ibid., loc.cit.

121. G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xxi.

122(a) Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran, ed. Charles Edwards (Oxford, 1671) "At y Darlleydd".

122(b) J. Jewel, Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr, tr. M. Kyffin (reimp., Bangor, 1908), p. (vi)

123. see Wales Under the Penal Code, Chapter XII.

124. ibid., p.135: Richards quotes Pepys's description of Henry Glenham, Bishop of St. Asaph.

125. ibid., p.133.

126. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.271.

127. ibid., pp. 213-14.

128. D. Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963), pp. 344 f.

129. see Wales Under the Penal Code, pp. 56-61, for account of non-conformist activity.

130. Wales under the Indulgence, pp. 115, 118-19.

131. L. Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence (,1911), Vol I, p.550; quoted by G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xxvii.

132. Wales Under the Indulgence, p.194.

133. Testimony, p.14.

134. see N. Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker (Cambridge, 1959) pp.72,79.

135. Testimony, p.15.

136. Wales Under the Indulgence, p.119; G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xxvii For Ellis, see Bywgraffiadur, p.199. (ff.)

137. For details see Wales Under the Indulgence, Chapter XII; and Hanes Annibynwyr Cymru, Chapter V.

138. Wales Under the Indulgence, p.229.

139. Bywgraffiadur, p.369: he lived 1622-88; see also G.J. Williams, "Stephen Hughes a'i gyfnod", Y Cofiadur, IV, pp. 5f.

140. Bywgraffiadur, pp. 265-6: he lived 1605?-81.

141. Testimony, p.9: there Edwards writes, 'I was induced to go to Oxford, and afterwards to London, where in the Year 1675....I was busie about the Printing of Welch Books.

142. see G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xxxi; and T. Parry, Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg Hyd 1900, 3rd ed. (Cardiff, 1953), p.199.

143. G.J. Williams, art.cit., p.30.

144. The Bible in Wales, p.35.

145. G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xliii, notes that there is no evidence to connect Edwards with this edition.

146. T. Parry op.cit., p.199, is one who suggest Edwards was one of the four who translated the work.

147. G. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason (Cambridge, 1950), p.80.

148. T. Rees, or.cit., p.199.

149. This is the date given under Edwards's Introduction.

150. G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xxxv.

151. ibid., xl; see also W.R. (William Rowlands), "Charles Edwards, Awdwr "Hanes y Ffydd", Yr Haul, 1857, pp. 215-17.

152. G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xliii.

153. A. Dent, Llwybr Hyfforddi'r Nefoedd, tr. Robert Llwyd, 2nd.ed. (London, 1682), p.430.

154. W.R., art.cit., p.217.

155. Bywgraffiadur, p.484.

156. Testimony, p.18.

157. ibid., pp. 12, 18.

158. If the suggestion made by G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xlv, that his wife was the 'Abbigall Edwards' buried at Oswestry, June 1686, is correct.

159. Testimony, p.10.

160. ibid., loc.cit.

161. ibid., p.13.

162. ibid., p.10: 'In searching Old Authors...'

163. ibid, loc.cit.

164. T. Richards, Piwritaniaeth a Pholitics (1689-1719), passim, discusses the effects of this and subsequent Acts of Indulgence.

165. For the history of the attempts made to establish such a Comprehension, see Sykes, op.cit., pp. 83-91.

166. Testimony, p.15.

167. A. Gordon, Freedom After Ejection (Manchester, 1917), p.88; quoted by G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xlvi.

168. Testimony, p.15.

169. A. Gordon, op.cit., pp. 257-8.

170. Testimony, p.15.

171. ibid., p.12.

172. ibid., p.22.

Notes on Part 2, Chapter I: The History of "Hanes y Ffydd"

1. 89 pages are numbered. On the ninetieth page Edwards gives the reader advice on how to overcome any difficulty that might arise from printing mistakes and faults in spacing.

2. Edwards's dates, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp. 27 and 33 resp.

3. ibid., p.61.

4. Printed in italics.

5. G.J. Williams (ed.), Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), p.lvi

6. e.g. Edwards only refers to Gen., 3.15 in both Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1667), p.8 (Ff.Dd.), and in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1671), p.12 (Y Ff. Dd.).

7. Ff.Dd. (1667), p.16.

8. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.25.

9. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.19.

10. Y Ff. Dd (1671), p.29.

11. ibid., p.33.

12. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.42.

13. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.62.

14. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.24.

15. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.38.

16. Ff. Dd. (1667), pp. 20-21.

17. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), pp. 33-4.

18. ibid., p.32: my italics

19. One further example: in Ff.Dd. (1667), p.16, Edwards writes, 'ymddangosodd Christ yn weledig dan yr hên destament.' In Y Ff.Dd. (1671), p.25, 'ymddangosodd Crist yn weledig dan yr hên destament, a chyflawnodd waith prynedigaeth yn nechreuad y newydd'.

20. Ff.Dd. (1667), p.62.

21. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.92.

22. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.29.

23. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.35.

24. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.28

25. Y Ff.Dd. (1671)

26. Edwards's dates.

27. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.26.

28. ibid., loc.cit.

29. Y Ff.Dd. (1671), p.104.

30. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.19.

31. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.96.

32. ibid., p.52: date in margin.

33. ibid., p.105 (misprinted as 165)

34. Williams, op.cit., p.lix.

35. Ff. Dd. (1667), pp. 34-5.

36. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.139.

37. ibid., p.92.

38. Printed by H. Hall at Oxford. The English title now reads: The Unfeigned Faith Containing a brief Historie of the Christian Religion and approof of its verity, and efficacie.

39. see infra, Part 2, Chapter VI and Part 3, Chapter I.

40. Williams, op.cit., p.lvii, states that everything in Y Ff.Dd. (1677) from p.299 to the end, excent for "Cyfarwyddyd i ddarllen Cymraeg", is newly added. But "Agoriad ar eiriau" and "Peth o Retoreg" were included in the 1671 edition.

41. Y F. Dd. (1677), "At y Darlleydd".

42. ibid., loc.cit.

43. ibid., loc.cit.

44. ibid., pp. 30-32.

45. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.27.

46. Y Ff. Dd. (1677), pp. 34-44.

47. ibid., p.33.

48. ibid., pp. 47-67.

49. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.20: 'Christnogion'; Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.31.

50. Y Ff. Dd. (1677), p.46.

51. ibid., pp. 69-70.

52. ibid., p. 75

53. ibid., pp. 81-96.

54. ibid., p.83.

55. ibid., pp. 110-12.

56. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.22.

57. Y Ff. Dd. (1677), p.23.

58. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.9; Y Ff. Dd. (1671), pp. 13-14.

59. Y Ff. Dd., p.13.

60. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.10; Y Ff. Dd. (1671), pp. 14-15.

61. Y Ff. Dd. (1677), p.14.

62. Ff. Dd. (1667), p. 21; Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.33.

63. Y Ff. Dd. (1677), p.70.

64. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.30; Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.46; 'eisteddle'.

65. Y Ff. Dd. (1677), p.100. See infra, section on attitude towards the Papacy.

66. Ff. Dd. (1667), p.46; Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.69.

67. Y Ff. Dd. (1677), p.124.

68. Y Ff. Dd. (1671), p.93.

69. ibid., p.94.

70. ibid., p.160.

71. Y F. Dd. (1677), p.151.

72. ibid., pp. 144-47

73. Except that of Lactantius.

74. Y Ff. Dd. (1677), p.29.

75. ibid., p.33.

76. ibid., p.37.

77. ibid., "At y Darlleydd".

78. ibid., loc.cit., Edwards quotes Jude, 1.3.

Notes on Chapter 2, pt. II: Charles Edwards and the Christian Philosophy of History.

1. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Oxford, 1677), p.1.
2. ibid., Title of Chapter.
3. ibid.: 'ystoriau cywyr'.
4. ibid., "At y Darlleydd".
5. ibid.: Edwards cites Zechariah, 1,4,6.
6. ibid.: Edwards notes that he was writing 'in gwladwyr'.
7. ibid., pp. 19-20.
8. ibid., pp. 34-44.
9. ibid., p.108.
10. The date is given in the margin, ibid., p.80.
11. ibid., p.83: 'pethau goreu'.
12. ibid., p.97: 'dychymedig ddefodau'.
13. ibid., p.110.
14. The date is given in the margin, ibid., p.112.
15. ibid., p.117.
16. ibid., p.118: 'gwir rasol ddysc'.
17. ibid., p.125.
18. ibid., p.148.
19. ibid., p.152.
20. ibid., p.153.
21. ibid., p.156: 'philosophyddio' is Edwards's verb.
22. ibid., pp. 162ff.
23. The date is given in the margin, ibid., p.189.
24. ibid., p.191: 'gŵr crefyddol'.

25. The date is given in the margin, ibid., p.194.

26. ibid., p.197.

27. loc.cit. 'dattododd lawer o'u rhwymmau'.

28. ibid., p.206.

29. ibid., p.209.

30. cf. comment by J. Skinner on the Book of Kings, quoted by R.L.P. Milburn, Early Christian Interpretations of History (London 1954), p.49.

31. C.A. Patrides, The Phoenix and the Ladder (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964), p.2.

32. R.G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (Oxford, 1946), p.47.

33. C.R. North, Old Testament Interpretation of History (London, 1946) p.154, also emphasizes the fact that the Bible describes not what God is, but what He has done.

34. H. Wheeler Robinson, The History of Israel (London, 2nd ed., 1960), p.

35. Jeremiah, 16,15, 17-18.

36. Patrides, op.cit., p.2.

37. C. Dawson, "St Augustine and his Age" in A Monument to St Augustine by various authors (London, 1930), p.45.

38. Collingwood, op.cit., pp. 46-7.

39. Judges, 2.14: the theory of punishment which Israel held is outlined in this chapter of Judges, verses 11-23.

40. Isaiah, 42-24.

41. Jeremiah, 51.7.

42. Wheeler Robinson, op.cit., p.226.

43. Ezekiel, 30. 22-26.

44. Patrides, op.cit., p.4.

45. Isaiah, 45.17.

46. H. Butterfield, Christianity and History (London, 1949), p.84.

47. Patrides, op.cit., p.5.

48. ibid., pp.5-6.

49. The English sub-title to Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Editions 1671 and 1677)

50. Charles Edwards, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (ed. 1677), pp. 11-12, insists, 'gwelwn ynteu bregetheu'r Efengyl er y Dydd cyntaf'.

51. Dawson, op.cit., pp. 45-6.

52. Milburn, op.cit., pp. 6-7.

54. The brief survey that follows is based on Patrides's The Phoenix and the Ladder.

55. editors, Lawler and Oulton, The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine (London, 1928), p.28.

56. Patrides, op.cit., p.12.

57. tr. G.A. Williamson, Eusebius: The History of the Church (Penguin, 1965), p.21.

58. De Civitate Dei, V.xi.

59. H. Baker, The Wars of Truth (New York, 1952), p.15.

60. This history was called Historia Sacra. It is interesting to note that the first nine chapters of Lib.I of Sulpicius Severus's work was translated into Welsh, sometime during the second half of the 16th century, and left in manuscript. See Thomas Jones, "Cyssegredic Historia Severws Swlpisiws" in The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, Vol.VIII, Part ii (May, 1936) pp.107-120.

61. For the text, see C. Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum (Oxford, 1896).

62. N.K. Chadwick, Studies in the History of the Early British Church (Cambridge, 1958), p.42, states that she believes the book to have been developed into its final form 'by the incorporating at different periods of a number of independent documents, most of them in composite character.'

63. Patrides, op.cit., pp. 22-4.

64. It is estimated that the work consists of one and a half million words.

65. T.D. Kendrick, British Antiquity (London, 1950), p.7.

66. Patrides, op.cit., p.31.

67. F. Smith Fussner, The Historical Revolution (London, 1962), p.5.

68. ibid., pp. 12ff.

69. Patrides, op.cit., pp.3?-7.

70. Baker, op.cit., p.17.

71. Machiavelli, Discourse on Titus Livius (ed. Modern Library, New York, 1940), I,vi.127; quoted by Smith Fussner, op.cit., p.13.

72. Smith Fussner, op.cit., p.176.

73. W. Raleigh, History of the World (London, 1614), II.xxi. 6.p.537; quoted by "Ralegh's Skepticism", Huntingdon Library Quarterly, April 1940, p.

74. C. Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford, 1965), p.182.

75. loc.cit.

76. Smith Fussner, op.cit., pp. 17-25.

77. Patrides, op.cit., p.48.

78. see W. Haller, "The Tragedy of God's Englishman" in Reason and the Imagination: Studies in the History of Ideas 1600-1800, ed. J.A. Mazzeo (New York, 1962).

79. According to Patrides, op.cit., p.48, Foxe claims that his work constitues a lively testimony of God's 'mighty workyng in the life of man'.

80. see below pp.

81. Smith Fussner, op.cit., p.209.

82. W.C. Abbot, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell (Harvard, 1937-47) III, 590; quoted by Hill, op.cit., pp.202-3. See also Baker, op.cit., p.18.

83. Institutes, I.xviii; cited by Baker, op.cit., p.15.

84. Baker, op.cit., p.22.

85. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), "At y Darlleydd": Edwards cites Hebrews, 6.12.

86. ibid., Song of Solomon, 1.8.

87. ibid., p.15.

88. ibid., p.18.

89. ibid., pp.102-3.

90. ibid., p.23.

91. ibid., p.98.

92. ibid., p.26.

93. In the second and third editions of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Edwards gives the gist of the part of Scripture cited in the first edition. See above, pp.

94. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1667), p.16.

95. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1671), p.24; Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.26.

96. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp. 26-7.

97. ibid., pp.13-14.

98. ibid., p.15.

99. ibid., e.g. p.70.

100. loc.cit.

101. ibid., pp. 71-2.

102. Isaiah, 8,6,7.

103. Wheeler Robinson, op.cit., p.113.

104. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.18.

105. For example, see Theophilus Evans, Drych y Prif Oesoedd (Shrewsbury 1716).

106. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp. 20-1.

107. ibid., p.23: date is given in the margin.

108. ibid., pp.22-3.

109. ibid., p.98.

110. Isaiah, 30.15.

111. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.109.

112. ibid., pp.20-21.

113. ibid., p.70.

114. ibid., p.76: Edwards's date.

115. ibid., p.77.

116. ibid., p.20.

117. ibid., p.107.

118. ibid., p.141.

119. ibid., p.80: date is given in the margin.

120. ibid., p.97.

121. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1667), p.28; Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1671), p.43

122. In the 1667 ed. this Pope is named Iwan.

123. G.J. Williams, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), p.lvii.

124. S. Lewis, Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher (Llandysul, 1945), p.61.

125. In the 1667 ed. he is called Fildebrandus, p.29.

126. The adjective was omitted in 1671. I quote from the 1667 edition.

127. Corrected to Sylvester in 1671.

128. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1667), p.29; Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1671), p.44

129. ibid., (1667), pp.29-30; (1671), pp.44-5; (1677), p.99.

130. ibid., (1667), p.30, 'drygioni'; (1671), p.45, 'drygioni'; but in (1677), p.100, 'beiau'. But 'cythrael ', (1667), p.29, gives way to 'drwg' in 1671, p.44.

131. G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.lvii, asks whether Edwards omitted the sharp, damnatory adjectives in order that the book could pass unhindered through the Anglican censor's office. How then could Dr Michall Roberts permit the publishing of criticism such as that quoted? To refrain from calling the Pope 'ofergoelus' for the sake of Anglican commendation and to condemn him openly as 'Anghrist' are two moves which do not belong to the same exercise.

132. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.103.

133. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1667), p.32: 'ac euod afiachus.'

134. ibid., (1667), p.32; (1671), p.49; (1677), p.103.

135. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.113.

136. ibid., p.133.

137. e.g. Glover, ibid., p.130; Philpott, p.131.

138. ibid., p.129.

139. ibid., p.134.

140. ibid., p.134:

141. ibid., p.135.

142. Wheeler Robinson, op.cit., p.222.

143. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), "At y Darlleydd"

144. ibid., (1667), p.55.

145. ibid., (1677), p.198: 'nid oedd nemawr a fedrai, ac a fynnai gyfieithu, a phregethu gair Duw yn gymraeg yn yr yspaid hwnw.'

146. North, op.cit., p.152.

147. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.152.

148. ibid., p.156.

149. ibid., p.157.

150. Jeremiah, 20.3.

151. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.208.

152. ibid., p.159.

153. ibid., p.160.

154. ibid., p.188.

155. loc.cit.

156. loc.cit.

157. ibid., p.195.

158. loc.cit.

159. ibid., p.208.

160. loc.cit: 'Americaniaid truenus'.

161. ibid., p.209.

162. loc.cit.

163. ibid., p.210.

Notes on Part 2, Chapter III: CHARLES EDWARDS'S SOURCES

1. R. Geraint Gruffydd, "Religious Prose in Welsh from the Beginning of the Reign of Elizabeth to the Restoration", Oxford D. Phil. Thesis 1952, p.v.

2. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), "At y Darlleydd", (Y.FF.DD.)

3. ibid., p.2.

4. S. Purchas his Pilgrimage, 4th.ed. (London, 1626), "To the Reader".

5. ibid., p.328.

6. Y Ff.Dd., p.2.

7. Pilgrimage, p.327 - Cappadocia; p.328-Galatia; p.329 - Pontus, Bithynia.

8. ibid., p.343: 'Here Noes Arke settled, and here must our ship hoyse sayle.'

9. ibid., p.225: Y Ff.Dd., p.3.

10. see Pilgrimage, p.326.

11. ibid., p.84.

12. Y Ff.Dd., p.2.

13. Pilgrimage, p.84.

14. Y Ff.Dd., p.3.

15. Pilgrimage, loc.cit.

16. ibid., p.91.

17. ibid., p.94.

18. Y Ff.Dd., p.4.

19. Pilgrimage, pp. 343-476.

20. ibid., pp.65-67.

21. ibid., p.461.

22. Y.Ff.Dd., p.5.

23. Pilgrimage, p.462.

24. Purchas's account is given, ibid., pp.477-618, "Of the East-Indies and of the Seas and Ilands about Asia, with their Religions".

25. ibid., p.485.

26. ibid., loc.cit.

27. ibid., p.483.

28. Edwards, Y Ff.Dd., p.5, names three of the islands, 'Japan, Javan, a'r Molucciaid'. Purchas describes Japan in Pilgrimage, pp. 586-602; Java, pp.609-611; the Moluccos, pp.604-609.

29. Purchas, ibid., p.725 offers several meanings of the name: 'Chytraeus saith it is derived of 'Αἰδω, splendeo, and ὀψ visus; of the sunnes burning presence.' Edwards follows suit - 'Αἰδω' 'ὀψ', see Y Ff.Dd., p.5. margin.

30. Pilgrimage, pp 144-45. Y Ff.Dd., p.5.

31. Pilgrimage, pp.648-49.

32. ibid., pp.791-967, are taken up with a study of the Americans.

33. Purchas, ibid., pp.887-8, states that 'the flaming Hill... goes down two hundred and fiftie braces or yards.' Edwards, counting in twenties, writes 'fod y twll... wedi deuddeg ugainllath o ddyfnder:' Y.Ff.Dd., p.9.

34. Pilgrimage, pp.880-881; Y.Ff.Dd., p.10.

35. As Edwards, Y.Ff.Dd., p.10, makes out.

36. Pilgrimage, p.943.

37. ibid., p.885.

38. Robert's translation was made in 1143

39. Pilgrimage, p.250.

40. ibid., loc.cit.

41. William Bedwell, Mahommedis Imposturae (London, 1615), "To the Reader" 'Of the names and number of these Chapters all Authors do not agree betweene themselves....'.

42. Du Ryer, The Alcoran of Mahomet, tr. A. Ross (London, 1649), "To the Christian Reader".

43. Y Ff.Dd., pp.81-96.

44. ibid., p.81.

45. ibid., loc.cit.

46. The Alcoran of Mahomet, p.397.

47. Y Ff.Dd., p.81.

48. The Alcoran of Mahomet, pp.397-8.

49. Y Ff.Dd., pp.81-2.

50. In the English translation it appears on p.406.

51. The Alcoran of Mahomet, p.400.

52. ibid., p.401.

53. Y Ff. Dd., p.83.

54. The Alcoran of Mahomet, p.403.

55. ibid., p.407.

56. Y Ff.Dd., p.83.

57. ibid., p.81.

58. Ieuan M. Williams, "Ysgolheictod Hanesyddol yr Unfed Ganrif ar Bymtheg", Llên Cymru II (1952-3), p.112.

60. Williams, art.cit., pp.112-14.

61. David Powel, Historie of Cambria (London, 1584), "To the Reader".

62. Williams, art.cit.,pp. 112-3.

63. Historie of Cambria, "To the Reader."

64. Williams, art.cit., p.216, states that Lluyd's history continued up to 1294. But Powel, Historie of Cambria, p.327, writes, 'Here endeth the Brytish copie. That which foloweth vnto the death of this Prince was collected by Humfrey Lhoyd Gentleman.'

65. Historie of Cambria, pp.376-401.

66. The date is given in Y Ff.Dd (1677), p.190, margin.

67. ibid., pp.190-98.

68. Historie of Cambria, "To the Reader."

69. Edwards, Y Ff.Dd., p.191, calls William 'Gwilym Goch' in the narrative; the more respectable 'William Rufus' is left in the margin of the page.

70. Historie of Cambria, p.154.

71. ibid., p.155.

72. Y.Ff.Dd., p;192.

73. Named in Historie of Cambria, p.154, margin.

74. ibid., p.155.

75. Y Ff.Dd., p.192.

76. In criticizing the way previous English historians favour one party and condemn another, Powel, op.cit., "To the Reader", observes, 'they pronounce of the fact according to their private affections, condemning oftentimes the innocent, and instifieng the wrong doers'.

77. Historie of Cambria, "To the Reader."

78. ibid., p.386.

79. Y Ff.Dd., p.196: 'meddyliau ofergoelus.'

80. Historie of Cambria, p.386.

81. ibid., p.388.

82. Y Ff.Dd., p.195.

83. ibid., loc.cit.

84. Historie of Cambria, p.33.

85. ibid., p.53.

86. ibid., p.227.

87. ibid., p.334.

88. ibid., pp.206-207.

89. ibid., p.207.

90. Y Ff.Dd., pp.192-3.

91. Historie of Cambria, p.222.

92. In the margin, ibid., p.253, 'H.LhoyD.'

93. ibid., p.254.

94. ibid., p.255.

95. e.g. Y Ff.Dd., p.150.

96. Cited by C.A. Patrides, "'The Bloody and Cruell Turke': The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace", Studies in the Renaissance, X, p.127.

97. S.C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose (New York, 1937), p.101.

98. Y Ff.Dd., p.109, 'achosion amlwg'.

99. ibid., p.110.

100. It was reprinted in 1610; and enlarged and brought up to date in 1621. Further editions appeared in 1631 and 1638,

101. Cat. No. 0.16.6.

102. R. Knolles, A Generall Historie of the Turks, 3rd ed. (London, 1621), pp.215-6.

103. Y Ff.Dd., p.103.

104. A Generall Historie of the Turks, pp.220-21; Y Ff.Dd., p.102.

105. Y Ff.Dd., p.149.

106. The story is not told in Knolles's book or Du Syer's.

107. S.C. Chew, op.cit., p.140.

108. See William Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London, 1963), p.54.

109. For instance, several Dutch martyrologies were printed during the sixteenth century; see Owen Chadwick, The Reformation (Penguin, 1964), p.175.

110. W . Haller, op.cit., p.65.

111. W. Haller, "John Foxe and the Puritan Revolution", The Seventeenth Century, [for] R.F. Jones (Stanford, reissued 1965), pp.209-224.

112. The work now, according to Haller, ibid., p.211, filled 1741 folio pages.

113. Foxe died in 1587,

114. The book was reissued, with a ditions, in 1596, 1620, 1632, 1641 and 1684.

115. see Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Cornell University Press, rep. 1958), pp.333-4.

116. W. Haller, art.cit., p.211.

117. W. Haller, op.cit., p.221.

118. Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford, 1965), p.159.

119. John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, 3rd.ed. (London, 1576), "Protestation to the Whole Church of England".

120. Quoted by W. Haller, art.cit., p.214.

121. W. Haller, op.cit., p.160.

122. infra.

123. Foxe relates the fact that the beast of the Acopalypse bore the number 666 with the rising of Mahommedism in 666 A.D. See W. Haller, op.cit., p.165. Edwards, Y Ff.Ddd., p.80 also notes the date, in the margin.

124. Y Ff.Dd., p.99., margin.

125. Acts and Monuments, p.523.

126. ibid., p.529.

127. ibid., p.524.

128. Y Ff.Dd., p.103; 'i oleuo Llogr' (sic)

129. W. Haller, art.cit., pp.218-219.

130. Quoted by W.Haller, ibid., p.209.

131. ibid., loc.cit.

132. Y Ff.Dd., p.214: 'Y Winllan efangylaidd y sydd dreftadaeth ein henafiaid.'

133. ibid., p.108.

134. ibid., p.197; 'wŷr i Owen Tudyr O Fôn.'

135. ibid., p.214.

136. ibid., p.104: 'i siccrhâu ei athrawieth ef.'

137. Acts and Monuments, pp.701-47; Y Ff.Dd., pp. 104-5.

138. Acts and Monuments, p.739.

139. Fose ibid., p.750, describes how Jerome was tied 'fast vnto a great blocke, and his feete in the stockes, his handes beyng also made fast upon them'. Edwards, Y Ff.Dd., p.105, merely notes, 'Carcharwyd

ef yn gaeth-filain'.

140. Acts and Monuments, p.753.

141. Y Ff.Dd., p.105.

142. ibid., pp.105-6.

143. Acts and Monuments, p.753.

144. Acts and Monuments, p.943; Y Ff.Dd ., p.112.

145. Acts and Monuments, p.1019; Y Ff.Dd., p.115.

146. Acts and Monuments, p.1071; Y Ff.Dd., p.116.

147. Y Ff.Dd., p.116.

148. ibid., p.119.

149. Acts and Monuments, pp.1168-72.

150. ibid., p.1170.

151. ibid., p.1172.

152. ibid., pp.1224-32; Y Ff.Ddd., p.120.

153. Acts and Monuments, pp.1284-91; Y Ff.Dd. p.120.

154. Acts and Monuments, pp.1346-63; Y Ff.Dd., loc.cit.

155. Acts and Monuments, pp 1413-20; Y Ff.Dd., pp.120-121.

156. Acts and Monuments, p.1444; Y Ff.Dd., p.121, 'gwraig rasol yn Scotland'.

157. W. Haller, op.cit., p.135.

158. Y Ff.Dd., p.112.

159. Acts and Monuments, p.919; Y Ff.Dd., p.112.

160. W. Haller, op.cit., p.16.

161. Y Ff.Dd., pp.122-39.

162. ibid., p.123.

163. He selects a good cross-section of those martyrs whose deaths are described by Foxe.

164. e.g. Y Ff.Dd., p.124 (Hooper); p.127 (Marsh); p.134.

165. ibid., p.129.

166. Acts and Monuments, p.1804.

167. Acts and Monuments, p.2001, Y Ff.Dd., p.131.

168. W. Haller, op.cit., pp.192-93.

169. Y Ff.Dd., pp.133-34.

170. Acts and Monuments, p.2090.

171. ibid., pp.1693-1705; Y Ff.Dd., p.125.

172. Again, Edwards's version, Y Ff.Dd., p.124, is more or less a direct translation of Foxe, Acts and Monuments, p.1665.

173. Acts and Monuments, pp.1676-1688; Y Ff.Dd., p.124.

174. Acts and Monuments, pp.1758-1769.

175. Y Ff.Dd., p.127; there he is described as 'gwr galluog yn yr scrythurau' who suffered 'er mwyn yr efengyl.'

176. Acts and Monuments, p.1769.

177. ibid., pp.1726-1729; Y Ff.Dd., p.126: 'cyfnewidiad rhyfeddol'.

178. Acts and Monuments, pp.2032-72; Y Ff.Dd., p.133.

179. Acts and Monuments, p.2032; Y Ff.Dd., loc.cit.

180. Acts and Monuments, pp.1870-77; Y Ff.Dd., p.129.

181. Foxe, op.cit., pp.2127-9 describes how the baby was 'baptized in his own blood'. Edwards prefers to say that it was baptized by fire. He also adds a point to the Foxian argument in this description: Foxe argues that in this spectacle 'the whole world may see the Herodian crueltie of this graceles generation of Catholicke tormentors'. Edwards op.cit., p.135 considers that the spectacle can be compared not only with Herod's treatment of the children of Bethlehem, 'ond hefyd [ag] ymddygiad Pharao at blant Israel.'

182. Acts and Monuments, pp.2137-8, 'Joane Wast'; Y Ff.Dd., p.135.

183. Acts and Monuments, pp.1663-74; Y Ff.Dd., pp.123-4.

184. Acts and Monuments, pp.1779-80; Y Ff.Dd., pp.127-8.

185. W. Haller, op.cit., p.120.

186. Acts and Monuments,7Th. ed. (London,1632), pp.39-137.

187. Acts and Monuments, p.54; Y Ff.Dd., p.32.

188. Acts and Monuments, p.56.

189. Y Ff.Dd., p.33.

190. Acts and Monuments, p.70f.

191. Y Ff.Dd., pp. 45-6.

192. Acts and Monuments, p.91; Y Ff.Dd., p.71: nes i ddryc-hin eilwaith yrru'r defaid ynghyd.'

193. Acts and Monuments, p.94; Y Ff.Dd., loc.cit.,

194. Acts and Monuments, p.95; Y Ff.Dd., loc.cit., Foxe states that he read of the virgins' sufferings in Vicentius's martyrology: their names are given, and the town where they died. Edwards does not bother with these details of the case.

195. Acts and Monuments, p.52; Y Ff.Dd., p.29.

196. Acts and Monuments, p.58; Y Ff.Dd., p.33.

197. Acts and Monuments, p.121.

198. Y Ff.Dd., p.73.

199. Acts and Monuments, p.116.

200. ibid., loc.cit., Y Ff.Dd., p.73.

201. Acts and Monuments, p.98.

202. Y Ff.Dd., p.71.

203. Acts and Monuments, p.96.

204. ibid., p.71.

205. Y Ff.Dd., p.46.

206. ibid., pp.74-6.

207. Acts and Monuments, p.110.

208. ibid., p.134; Y Ff.Dd., p.74.

209. Acts and Monuments, pp.126f; Y Ff.Dd., p.74.

210. Y Ff.Dd., p.80.

211. Acts and Monuments, p.149: 'In this yeere 598. Austin being sent from Gregory came into England'.

212. Acts and Monuments, p.154: river 'Swale'.

213. Y Ff.Dd., p.80.

214. Acts and Monuments, p.155.

215. Y Ff.Dd., p.97, margin.

216. ibid., p.102, margin.

217. ibid., p.97.

218. Acts and Monuments, p.166-7.

219. ibid., p.168.

220. ibid., loc.cit.

221. Foxe's description of the sign, ibid., pp.206-7, is not repeated in all its glory in Y Ff.Dd., pp.98-9.

...a cloud was scene throughout the land, which appeared the one halfe like blood, and the other halfe like fire, and changed after into sundry colours, and vanished at last in the morning.

...gwelwyd Cwmwl drwy'r deyrnas, ai hanner o dân, a'r hanner arall o waed;

222. Acts and Monuments, pp.184 f; Y Ff.Dd., p.98.

223. Acts and Monuments, pp. 211f; Y Ff.Dd., p.98.

224. Acts and Monuments, p.221; Y Ff.Dd., p.99.

225. Acts and Monuments, p.256.

226. These are all mentioned in Y Ff.Dd., p.100. Other wonders described are 'tri haul, a thair lleuad, a chroes gôch ar draws y ganol'. Foxe, op.cit., p.262, gives more detailed information: '..in Italy appeared three sunnes by the space of three houres in the West, and the yeere following appeared three moones, whereof the middle moone had a red crosse overthwarte the face.'

227. ibid., p.265.

228. Y Ff.Dd., p.100.

229. ibid., loc.cit.

230. Acts and Monuments, p.296: They were Roger of York and Richard of Canterbury, who quarrelled for the privilege of sitting next to a certain Cardinal Hugo at the Council of Westminster in 1164.

231. Edwards continually refers to 'Waldez' in Y Ff.Dd. The Waldenses was a group first organized by Peter Waldo in the twelfth century. In 1184 Pope Lucius III outlawed them; persecuted, they were dispersed throughout Provence, Dauphiné, Piedmont and parts of Germany and Spain.

232. Acts and Monuments, p.299; Y Ff.Dd., pp.100-101.

233. Acts and Monuments, p.301: 'Some as I said, went to Bohemia, many did flee into their provinces of France, some into Lombardy, others into other places...'

234. Acts and Monuments, p.299.

235. ibid., p.301.

236. Y Ff.Dd., pp.141-2.

237. "A brief note concerning the horrible Massacre in France, Anno 1572".

238. Acts and Monuments (1632), p.1032.

239. Continvation, pp.65-7, Orleans; pp.67-8, Lyons; pp.69-71 Toulouse; p.69, Rouan; pp.71-2, Bordeaux.

240. Acts and Monuments, p.1025.

241. Continvation, p.74.

242. ibid., pp.98-106; Y Ff.Dd., pp.143-4.

243. Continvation, pp.104-5.

244. ibid., p.106.

245. ibid., pp.79-81.

246. Y Ff.Dd., pp.140-1.

247. Bywgraffiadur, p.201.

248. For the history of the Morgan family see ibid., p.598 and references given there.

249. see David Watkins, "A Study of the Seventeenth Century Historiographical literature relating to Wales", Univ. of Wales M.A. Thesis, 1955, p.123.

250. Cambria Triumphans (London, 1661), "To the Gentle Reader...."

251. Cambria Triumphans, 2nd ed. (1810), p.22; quoted by Watkins, op.cit., p.131.

252. Cambria Triumphans (1661), pp.5,8-9.

253. ibid., p.4.

254. ibid., pp.190-1.

255. ibid., pp.8-9. All references from now on shall be to the 1661 ed.

256. Y Ff.Dd., p.150.

257. ibid., loc.cit.: 'yn dyfod oddiwrth gyffiniau y galon, o wraidd y genau.'

258. ibid., loc.cit.,: 'oddiar flaen y tafod.'

259. In the second edition of Y Ff.Dd., in 1671, p.93.

260. Cambria Triumphans, "To the Gentle Reader...."

261. ibid., pp.21-2.

262. Y Ff.Dd., p.151.

263. I take 'anianol', ibid, loc.cit., to mean 'philosophical'.

264. Cambria Triumphans, p.28.

265. ibid., p.131.

266. Thomas Fuller, The Church-History of Britain (London, 1655), p.2.

267. Y Ff.Dd., p.152.

268. ibid., loc.cit., Edwards states that the Gospel came early to Wales 'er pelled ydoedd hi oddiwrth Palestina'. Fuller, op.cit., p.2. argues his point fully. He writes, 'If it seems incredible to any, that this Island, furthest from the Sunne, should see Light with the first,...Let such consider...' (i) that Britain was far from the places of persecution, (ii) that commerce had brought Britain into close connexion with the Mediterranean countires; (iii) that God chose to place 'these Islands...under his immediate protection'; (iv) that God promised in Isaiah, 66, 19 'To Shew that neither height, nor depth, (no not of the Ocean it self) is able to separate any from the Love of God'; (v) and for the same purpose 'Christ employed Fishermen for the first Preachers of the

Gospell, as who, being acquainted with the Water, and mysteries of Sailing, would with more delight undertake long Sea-voyages into Foreign Countries.'

269. Cambria Triumphans, p.134.

270. The Church-History of Britain, p.9.

271. Cambria Triuphans, p.131. See Y Ff.Dd., p.153, margin: 'Oed Cri. 180'.

272. Cambria Triumphans, p.132.

273. The Church-History of Britain, p.12.

274. Cambria Triumphans, pp.129, 134; Y Ff.Dd., p.153.

275. cf. The Church-History of Britain, p.12: 'this Letter.... probably crept out of some Monks cell, some four hundred years since.'

276. Y Ff.Dd., p.153.

277. Cambria Triumphans, p.129; Y Ff.Dd., loc.cit.

278. Acts and Monuments (1632), pp.92-3.

279. Cambria Triumphans, p.174.

280. ibid., p.175.

281. ibid., p.179.

282. ibid., p.175.

283. ibid., p.178; Y Ff.Dd. p.74.

284. Cambria Triumphans, p.180; Y Ff.Dd., p.154.

285. Y Ff.Dd., p.157.

286. Cambria Triumphans, p.183.

287. ibid., p.78.

288. Y Ff.Dd., p.151. Fuller, op.cit., pp.1-2, noting that the ancient Britons once worshipped Diana, adds, 'This rendereth their Conceit not altogether unlikely, who will have LONDON so called from LLAN-DIAN, which signifieth in British the Temple of DIANA. It was James Howells (1596?-1666) who attempted to prove that 'Llundain' is derived from 'Llan Dian'. See T.E. Parry, 'Llythyrau Robert Vaughan Hengwrt" Univ. of Wales M.A. Thesis, 1960, p.142. John Lewis of Llynwene (d.1616), whose work

The History of Great-Britain remained in mss. until 1729, offers 'Llongborth' or 'Llongddinas', a hypothesis Vaughan refutes because it is not upheld by 'ancient historie.'

289. For a general review of the attitude towards Geoffrey in the seventeenth century, see Ernest Jones, Geoffrey of Monmouth 1640-1800 (Bekeley & Los Angeles, 1944).

290. see Drych y Prif Oesoedd (Shrewsbury, 1716) and S. Lewis "Drych y Prif Oesoedd", Efrydiau Catholig, VI, 1954, pp.37-47.

291. see Acton Griscom, The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth (London, 1929), p.534.

292. see ibid., pp.95-6. T.D. Kendrick, British Antiquity (London,1950), p.4., notes that it was written c.1135.

293. Griscom, op.cit., pp.551-72., lists them; see also Lewis Thorpe, The History of the Kings of Britain (Penguin, 1966), "Introduction", p.28.

294. Thomas Jones, Brut y Tywysogion (Cardiff, 1953), p.4.

295. Thorpe, op.cit., p.89: Historia Regum Britanniae, II,xvii. (Text as in Griscom, op.cit.) (HRB).

296. Kendrick, op.cit., p.7; Thorpe, op.cit., p.287.

297. Thorpe, op.cit., p.122: HRB,IV.xvi.

298. Thorpe, op.cit., p.9.

299. Kendrick, op.cit., p.5.

300. HRB, I.i.

301. Kendrick, loc.cit.

302. J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales (London, 1911), p.526.

303. Kendrick, op.cit., p.6.

304. J. Parry and Coldwell, "Geoffry of Monmouth", Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages ed. R.S. Loomis (Oxford, 1960), p.81.

305. ibid., pp.86-7.

306. Kendrick, op.cit., p.5.

307. Parry & Coldwell, art.cit., p.80.

308. ibid., pp.87-8; Kendrick, op.cit., p.7.

309. see R.S. Loomis, Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, pp. 370f.

310. ibid., pp.372f.

311. ibid., pp.218-250 and 430-442.

312. ibid., pp. 31f., 102f.

313. Kendrick, op.cit., p.12.

314. Parry & Coldwell, art.cit., p.87.

315. W. Wynne (ed.) Historie of Cambria (London, 1697), Introduction; quoted by A.O.H. Jarman, "Y Ddadl Ynghylch Sieffre o Fynwy", Llên Cymru, II, 1952-3, p.14.

316. Quoted by Kendrick, op.cit., p.84.

317. ibid., p.108.

318. ibid., p. 108.

319. For a recent study of Nennius, see R. Hanning, The Vision of History in Early Britain (New York and London, 1966) pp.91-121.

320. Kendrick, op.cit., p.86.

321. ibid., p. 90.

322. Quoted by Kendrick, op.cit., pp.86-7.

323. He called Polydŵre 'an infamous baggage-groome, ful fraught wt. envie and hatred', quoted, ibid., p.87.

324. D. Powel, Historie of Cambria (London, 1584), p.239.

325. see Kendrick, op.cit., pp.85-98.

326. Griscom, op.cit., pp.10f.

327. ibid., pp.556, 595-97.

328. Quoted by Jarman, art.cit., p.

329. Quoted by Jarman, ibid., p.14, from J.F. Rees, of Welsh Nationality and Welsh Historians (Cardiff, 1952), p.13.

330. see Y Ff.Dd. (1677), pp.162f.

331. see Kendrick, op.cit., pp.99-133.

332. G.H. Hughes (ed.) Rhagymadroddion 1547-1659 (Cardiff, 1951), p.120.

333. ibid., loc.cit.

334. Y Ff.Dd. p.160.

335. Thorpe, op.cit. p.187; HRB, VIII.ii.

336. HRB, VIII.ii.

337. ibid., VIII.vii

338. ibid., VIII,viii.

339. ibid., IV.i.

340. ibid., VIII.viii.

341. Y Ff.Dd., p.160.

342. tr. Hugh Williams, Chapter 25, p.61.

343. HRB, IX.1.

344. Y Ff.Dd., p.160.

345. HRB, VI,iii.

346. Y Ff.Dd., p.159.

347. HRB, VI.xv.

348. Y Ff.Dd., p.160.

349. St.Matthew, 12,25.

350. HRB, X,xiii.

351. Y Ff.Dd., p.187.

352. HRB, XI.ii.

353. ibid., loc.cit.

354. Y Ff.Dd., p.210. Edwards does mention the tale of Arthur's immortality ibid., p.196.

355. ibid., p.187. Edwards cites Matthew, 12,25.

356. ibid., loc.cit.

357. Kendrick, op.cit., p.89.

358. Y Ff.Dd., p.214.

359. Kendrick, op.cit., p.70, table.

360. HRB, III. i-x.

361. Y Ff.Dd., p.151.

362. supra.

363. HRB, II.xvi. see also H. Lewis, Brut Dingestow (Cardiff, 1942),p.31.

364. HRB, II.xvi.

365. Y Ff.Dd., p.151.

366. HRB., V.xvi.

367. Y.Ff.Dd., p.155.

368. HRB., V.vi: Thorpe's translation.

369. Y Ff.Dd., p.154.

370. HRB, V.vi.

371. Y Ff.Dd., p.154.

372. In Brut Dingestow, he is called 'Gueirid Adarweinidavc'.

373. e.g. Y Ff.Dd., p.157: Edwards writes, 'darfu ir Gwyddyl Phichtiaid ddyfod i Fôn, a churo'r Britaniaid mewn man a elwir Cerrig y Gwyddyl'. God is obviously angered. But Britain gains reprieve. The Picts are driven out by 'Caswathon Law-hir' (sic)

374. HRB, IV.xix.

375. Y.Ff.Dd., p.153.

376. HRB, IV,xix.

377. Y Ff.Dd., p.153: '[y] wreichionen efengylaidd'.

378. ibid., loc.cit.

379. ibid., p.152.

380. G.H. Hughes (ed.) Rhagymadroddion 1547-1659 (Cardiff, 1951), p.18.

381. Y Ff.Dd., p.24. For 'honourable alderman' see Rhagymadroddion,loc.cit.

382. Rhagymadroddion p.20.

383. ibid., p.24.

384. Y Ff.Dd., pp.155-6.

385. Rhagymadroddion, p.11.

386. S. Lewis, "Damcaniaeth Eglwysig Brotestannaidd", Efrydiau Catholig, Vol. II, p. 48.

387. ibid., pp. 41-2.

388. ibid., p. 44: Lewis quotes from Historie of Cambria, p. 253.

389. Rhagymadroddion p.18.

390. Y Ff.Dd., pp.152-3.

391. Glanmor Williams, "Cipdrem Arall ar y 'Ddamcaniaeth Eglwysig Brotestannaidd", Y Traethodydd, XVI (1949), p. 55. Cf. History, XXXVIII (1953), p. 219f

392. Y Ff.Dd., p.153.

393. S. Lewis, "Drych y Prif Oesoedd", Efrydiau Catholig, VI, 1954, p.47.

394. Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, I. 29. (HEGA). Translation by Leo Sherley-Price, A History of the English Church and People (Penguin rep.1964), p.85.

395. Hanning, op.cit., pp.79-80.

396. Rhagymadroddion, p.22.

397. Y Ff.Dd., p.189: here Edwards merely states that the Britons did not accept 'defodau Eglwys Rufain'.

398. HEGA, II. 2; tr. Sherley-Price, op.cit., p.100.

399. HEGA, loc.cit. tr. Sherley-Price, op.cit., p.101.

400. HEGA, loc.cit. tr. Sherley-Price, op.cit., p.102.

401. HRB, XI.xii; tr. Thorpe, op.cit., p.266.

402. HRB, XI.xiii.

403. ibid., loc.cit.

404. ibid., XII.i.

405. Y Ff.Dd., pp.188-9.

406. HEGA, III, 25.

407. Y Ff.Dd., p.189; 'y chweched oes'.

408. Rhagymadroddion p.23.

409. Y Ff.Dd., p.189.

410. HRB, XI. xiii: 'milia.&.sexaginta sex'; Rhagymadroddion, p.23.

411. Y Ff.Dd., p.189.

412. HEGA, I.17.

413. Y Ff.Dd., p.156.

414. HRB, VI,xiii,

415. Y Ff.Dd., p.157.

416. Hanning, op.cit., p.78.

417. HRB, VI.xiii.

418. Y Ff.Dd., p.157: Edwards cites Judges, 7,19-21.

419. S. Lewis, Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher (Llandysul, 1945), p.61.

420. Y Ff.Dd., pp.198-214.

421. T.Fuller, The Church-History of Britain (London, 1655), pp.208-12.

422. ibid., pp.213-23.

423. ibid., pp.243-252; quotation from p.243.

424. Y Ff.Dd., pp.198-9.

425. ibid., pp.199-201.

426. ibid., pp.201-4.

427. Fuller, op.cit., p.375.

428. Y Ff.Dd., pp.204-206.

429. ibid., p.205.

430. ibid., pp.205,206.

431. ibid., p.212.

432. ibid., p.210.

433. ibid., p.211.

434. ibid., loc.cit.

435. see section "End of the World", infra Part 2, Chapter V.

436. Y Ff.Dd., pp.211-212.

Notes to Part 2 Chapter IV: Siccrwydd y Ffydd.

1. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ed. 1667, p.63.
2. ibid., ed. 1671, p.161; see also, ed. 1677, p.217.
3. ibid., ed. 1667, p.85; ed. 1671, p.198; ed 1677, p.253.
4. Edwards cites Acts, 2. II
5. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ed. 1677, p.226: 'hen scrifennâdau'.
6. ibid., p.228.
7. ibid., p.249: 'y gwirionedd grasol'.
8. ibid., pp. 249-250.
9. ibid., p.250.
10. ibid., p.250., 'anghrefydd'.
11. ibid., pp. 250-251.
12. ibid., p.251.
13. ibid., At y Darlleydd.
14. The first edition of Origines Sacrae was published in London, 1662.
15. Origines Sacrae, Book II.
16. ibid., Book II, p.113.
17. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ed. 1677, p.16. All references will now be made to this edition.
18. Origines Sacrae, Book II, p.132.
19. ibid., Book II, p.133.
20. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pp. 16-17.
21. loc.cit.
22. ibid., p.241. Edwards cites, but does not quote fully, 1 Tim.I.17.
23. De Civitate Dei, X 12.
24. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.241.
25. see C.A. Patrides, Milton and the Christian Tradition (Oxford, 1966), pp. 29 ff. (MCT).

26. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.239.

27. ibid., p.240.

28. ibid., p.242.

29. ibid., p.236 (misprinted as 336)

30. ibid., p.241.

31. ibid., p.242.

32. ibid., p.240.

33. ibid., p.240.

34. ibid., p.239.

35. ibid., p.243, where Edwards cites John, 21, 17.

36. ibid., pp. 239-240.

37. MCT, pp. 51-52.

38. ibid., p.52. Patrides quotes from Robinson's Essayes, 2nd ed. (1638), pp. 31-32.

39. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.242.

40. ibid., p.244.

41. ibid., 'Cynhyrfwr'.

42. MCT, p.52. Patrides quotes from Perrott's The Consideration of Humane Condition (Oxford, 1600), p.1.

43. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.244.

44. ibid., p.244.

45. ibid., p.243.

46. ibid., p.216: 'y greawd doethineb Duw',

47. Psalm 8, 5.

48. MCT, p.65, n.3, where Patrides lists a number of authors who extol the Creation of man.

49. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, t.216.

50. MCT, p.66: Patrides quotes lines by Thomas Heywood, for whom man is 'this Microcosme'. From Heywood's The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels (1635), p.338. Patrides cites 'well over 120 references to this notion' in "The Microcosm of Man' in Notes and Queries, vii (1960), 54-56, and X (1963), 408-10

51. Quoted in MCT, p.66.

52. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.243.

53. Patrides, in MCT, p.66, 'we are assured by a writer of the 1620's, it was at the time "in all mens mouthes".' The writer is William Struther, Christian Observations (Edinburgh, 1629), p.177.

54. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.245.

55. ibid., p.246.

56. ibid., 'gwobr parhaus'.

57. e.g. Matthew V, 12: and again Paul stresses the same point in Heb, 11.6.

58. Origines Sacrae, Book III, p.361.

59. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.246.

60. ibid., p.238.

61. ibid., p.240.

62. Romans 1, 19.

63. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.246.

64. see MCT, p.69, n.2. Griffith Williams, to cite one example in The Best Religion (1636), p.305, says: 'the whole world is nothing else but an explication of God'.

65. Paradise Lost, VIII, 66-68.

66. Quoted in MCT, p.69.

67. 1 Corinth. 13, 9.

68. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.246. see also Wm Salesbury's Welsh New Testament, marginal variation to 1 Cor. XII, 12.

69. MCT, p.70.

70. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.238.

71. ibid., p.246; Edwards cites Rev., 3.18.

72. ibid., At y Darlleydd.

73. ibid., p.228.

74. ibid., p.228.

75. ibid., p.229.

76. ibid., p.241.

77. ibid., p.242.

78. ibid., p.216.

79. Quoted in MCT, p.56; from Calvin's Commentaries upon the Prophet Daniell, tr. Arthur Golding (1578), Fol.65.

80. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.216.

81. ibid., p.215.

82. loc.cit.

83. loc.cit.

84. Quoted in MCT, p.1: Barrell, The Spirituall Architecture (1624), p.12

85. ibid.,: Griffith Williams, The True Church (1629), p.123.

86. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant p.217.

87. Mark, 10.28, quoted by Edwards, Y Ff Dd, p.217.

88. Y FF.DD, p.217.

89. ibid., p.233: 'fal clustogau gwniedyddion'.

90. loc.cit.

91. ibid., p.216.

92. ibid., p.220.

93. ibid., p.224.

94. ibid., p.225.

95. ibid., pp. 225-26.

96. ibid., p.224: Edwards cites Psalm 9.16.

97. ibid., p.220.

98. ibid., p.226ff.

99. ibid., p.232.

100. ibid., pp. 218-19.

101. ibid., p.221ff.

102. ibid., p.234.

103. Origines Sacrae, Book II, Chapter IX; see R.T.MacAdoo, The Spirit of Anglicanism (London, 1965), p.184.

104. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.236, (misprinted as 336).

105. ibid., p.235: Edwards notes that miracles happen in every country in every age, but that the careless - 'y rhai ni welant uchelder yr Arglwydd na'i law' - do not notice them. He quotes Isaiah XXVI, 10 & 11. See also Thomas Aquinas, Summa Contra Gentiles, III.ci.

106. See MCT, pp. 89-90.

107. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.235.

108. ibid., p.236.

109. ibid., p.237.

110. ibid., p.246ff.

111. ibid., p.247.

112. ibid., pp. 248-49.

113. ibid., p.251.

Notes on Part 2, Chapter V: "Rhinwedd y Ffydd"

1. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ed. 1671, p.201.
2. ibid., p.201.
3. ibid., ed. 1677, pp.259-383.
4. ibid., pp.260-61.
5. ibid., pp.262-63.
6. ibid., pp.263-266.
7. ibid., p.283.
8. ibid., p.268.
9. ibid., p.272.
10. ibid., p.283.
11. ibid., p.284.
12. ibid., p.293.
13. ibid., pp.193-94. Edwards cites Jer.I.6.
14. ibid., p.294.
15. ibid., p.297.
16. ibid., p.297.
17. ibid., p.299.
18. ibid., p.302. Edwards cites 2 Sam. XXIV,10.
19. ibid., p.316.
20. ibid., pp.320-21.
21. ibid., p.323.
22. ibid. pp.326-34.
23. Saunders Lewis, "Arddull Charles Edwards", in Efrydiau Catholig (Vol.iv, 1949), p.51. He suggests that Chpts. 22 and 23 of Y.Ff.Dd. are studies in chaos. So too is Chpt.25 a study in order.

24. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.335.

25. ibid., p.338.

26. ibid., p.339.

27. ibid., p.341.

28. ibid., p.344.

29. ibid., p.352.

30. ibid., pp.364-65.

31. ibid., p.370.

32. ibid., p.377.

33. ibid., p.371.

34. ibid., p.380.

35. ibid., p.371.

36. ibid., "At y Darlleydd".

37. ibid., p.194.

38. Genesis, 2.

39. De Civitate Dei, XIV.I.

40. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.260.

41. ibid., loc.cit.

42. St Augustine, De Vicitate Dei, XII.23.

43. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.227.

44. It was in 1754 that Mer Difeinyddiaeth Iachus appeared. This was a correct translation of Fisher's book. But a Welsh version of The Marrow of Modern Divinity was published in 1651, called Madrvddyn y Difynyddiaeth Diweddaraf. See William Rowlands, Cambrian Bibliography (Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry) (Llanidloes, 1869), pp.439 and 155-8.

45. Edward Fisher, The Marrow of Modern Divinity (1645), p.10.

46. ibid., loc.cit.

47. St. Augustine, op.cit., XIII.14.

48. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.227.

49. ibid., loc.cit.

50. ibid., p.263.

51. T. Gouge, Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, tr. W.Jones, (London 1676), p.26.

52. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.314.

53. Psalm, 8.5.

54. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.381.

55. ibid., p.246.

56. ibid., p.342.

57. ibid., p.339.

58. ibid., p.247.

59. ibid., p.219.

60. ibid., p.267.

61. ibid., p.270.

62. St Augustine, Confessions, VII.16.

63. Romans, 1.25.

64. E. Bunny, Llyfr y Resolusion, tr. J. Davies, 2nd ed. (London, 1684) p.50.

65. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.381.

66. ibid., p.300.

67. Romans, 5.12.

68. John Beston, Sermons preached before his Maiestee; and upon other special occasions (London, 1630), p.28.

69. C.A. Patrides, Milton and the Christian Tradition (Oxford, 1966) p.108.

70. ibid., loc.cit.; Patrides quotes from Tertullian's De Anima, L11.

71. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.245.

72. ibid., p.277.

73. ibid., loc.cit.

74(1) ibid., p.311.

74(2) ibid., p.312.

75. ibid., p.245.

76. T. Tuke, The High-uuay to Heaven (London, 1609), pp.56-7: quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.103.

77. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.260.

78. Lewis Bayly, Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, tr. R. Vaughan (London, 1630) p.49.

79. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.381.

80. ibid., loc.cit.

81. ibid., loc.cit.

82. 2 Corinthians, 8.1: quoted in Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.263.

83. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.263.

84. Patriedes, op.cit., p.101.

85. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, p.55.

86. Romans, 3.9,12.

87. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.263.

88. ibid., p.265.

89. ibid., p.266.

90. ibid., loc.cit.

91. ibid., loc.cit., Edwards quotes 1 Corinthians, 15.33.

92. ibid., p.267.

93. ibid., loc.cit.

94. Romans, 3.15; Whately, The New Birth (1618), pp.7-8; Edwards, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.267.

95. Micah, 7.13: Whately, op.cit., loc.cit; Edwards, op.cit., loc.cit.

96. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.266.

97. Llyfr y Resolusion, p.104.

98. ibid., loc.cit.

99. Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, p.28.

100. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pp.280-1; Edwards quotes 2 Peter, 2.22.

101. ibid., p.281.

102. ibid., pp.281-2.

103. Llyfr y Resolusion, p.8.

104. ibid., p.10.

105. ibid., loc.cit.

106. ibid., pp.149ff.

107. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.176.

108. ibid., p.280.

109. Luke, 17,26-9.

110. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.281.

111. W. Haller, Rise of Puritanism (Harper Torthbooks, New York, 1957) pp 4-5

112. see Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig, ed. R.T. Jenkins (London, 1953). pp.631-2.

113. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.382; Edwards cites Luke, 16.19.23.

114. Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym, ed. T. Parry, 2nd ed. (Cardiff. 1963), p.363.

115. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant p.385.

116. ibid., p.383.

117. see title-page of Llyfr y Resolusion, both 1632 and 1684 editions.

118. Llyfr y Resolusion (1684), p.92.

119. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.385.

120. ibid., p.287.

121. ibid., p.289; Edwards cites John, 2.10.

122. ibid., p.288.

123. Calvin, Articles concerning Predestination, Library of Christian Classics (1953ff.), XXII. 179: quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.192.

124. J. Taylor, Deus justificatus (London, 1656), p.95: quoted by Patrides op.cit., p.194.

125. see De Civitate Dei, XIV II; 'God, foreknowing all things, could not but know that man would fall!

126. ibid., XII, 14; cf.XIV.15 '[man] being willingly dead in spirit'.

127. A. Dent, The Plaine-mans Path-way to Heaven, 25th. ed. (1640), pp.304-5: quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.194.

128. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.276. My italics.

129. Luther, De Servo Arbitrio (1525), tr Packer and Johnston (1957) pp.103ff quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.193.

130. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.276.

131. ibid., pp.273-4.

132. ibid., p.274.

133. Romans, 13. 1-4.

134. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.274: '[yr[Argae gyffredin sy'n cadw i mewn annoddyn pechaduriaeth rhag boddi, a llwyr ddifetha'r byd.'

135. Jeremiah, 5.22.

136. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.275.

137. Thomas Acquinas, Summa Theologica, II. cix.3. See also St Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XII.5. Acquinas is quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.216.

138. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, pp.146 ff.: "Myfyrdod am y rhwystrau sy'n attal pechadur oddiwrth ymarfer Duwioldeb".

139. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Chapter 23.

140. Llyfr y Resolusion, p.254; Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.290.

141. Zechariah, 7.12.

142. The title of Chapter 6 in Part II of Llyfr y Resolusion is, "Am dri rhwyst arall sydd yn lluddias i ddynion roi eu bryd ar edifarhau; a'r rhai hynny yw Diogi, a Diofalwch, a Chalon-galedwch"

143. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.283.

144. The title of Chapter 4 in Part II of Llyfr y Resolusion is, "Am y pedwerydd rhwystr, yr hwn yw gormodd hyderu ar drugaredd Duw."

145. ibid., pp.246f., where the things of this world are treated in detail.

146. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.286.

147. ibid., op.cit.,

148. ibid., p.293.

149. ibid., p.385.

150. Genesis, 3.15 was generally taken to be 'the first gospel".

151. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.11: 'wedi pechu o Adda ac Efa, ni adawodd Duw hwynt un diwrnod heb hanes achubwr i ddirymmu pechod a Satan; gan ragfynegu y Caffau hâd y wraig yssigo pen y sarph.'

152. De Civitate Dei, XIII. 23.

153. Fisher, op.cit., p.34.

154. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.296.

155. ibid., p.294.

156. ibid., p.276.

157. ibid., loc.cit.

158. ibid., p.290.

159. ibid;loc.cit.

160. Patrides, op.cit., p.139: the dogma, that the 'one' justifies the many has its roots in Romans, 5.19.

161. ibid., p.133; Patrides quotes Hebrews, 2.14.

162. Mark, 10.45. Cf. 1 Corinthians, 6.20 and 7.23, where St Paul tells the Christians at Corinth, 'Ye are brought with a price'. See Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London, 1958), pp.221-2.

163. Patrides, op.cit., p.133.

164. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.297.

165. ibid., p.368.

166. ibid., p.295.

167. Anselm, Cur Deus Homo? II.6; quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.135. Richardson, op.cit., pp.239-40, explains that 'mediaeval conceptions of God as a kind of feudal overlord who requires satisfaction for

his outraged honour have no place in a genuinely biblical theology'.

168. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.295.

169. ibid., loc.cit.

170. ibid., loc.cit.

171. ibid., loc.cit.

172. Patrides, op.cit., p.135; nevertheless it must not be forgotten that 'even after the Reformation, medieval notions of "merit" and "satisfaction" continued to distort the NT teaching' - see Richardson op.cit., p.239.

173. Patrides, op.cit., p.135; Richardson, op.cit., pp.221-2.

174. Titus, 2.14.

175. 2 Corinthians, 5.21.

176. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.295.

177. ibid., loc.cit. My italics.

178. ibid., p.299.

179. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, p.153.

180. Romans, 1.17,3.28. See Joachin Jeremias, The Central Message of the New Testament (London, 1965), pp.55-6.

181. Patrides, op.cit., p.188.

182. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, p.155.

183. Matthew, 22.14.

184. William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (New York, 1958),pp.193-4.

185. Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (New York,) 1964, p.44.

186. For John Hales's position, see Haller, op.cit., p.243.

187. For Goodwin's position, ibid., p.200.

188. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.260: Edwards believed that the elect were to practice 'glendid bucheddol'.

189. ibid., p.295, for example.

190. ibid., p.297.

191. ibid., loc.cit.

192. Job, 36. 9-10.

193. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.299.

194. Miller, op.cit., p.54.

195. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.314. My italics.

196. ibid., loc.cit.

197. ibid., pp.314-5.

198. Matthew, 11.28; cited by Edwards, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.315.

199. ibid., loc.cit.

200. Haller, op.cit., p.261.

201. Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, pp. 63ff. treats of this point

202. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.365.

203. ibid., loc.cit.

204. ibid., loc.cit.

205. Titus, 2.14.

206. Romans, 2. 14-15.

207. Fisher, op.cit., p.87.

208. ibid., p.89.

209. ibid., pp.77-81.

210. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, p.146.

211. Patrides, op.cit., p.199. Quotations from Paul are taken from Ephesians, 2.8, 1 Corinthians, 1.4; Romans, 5.15.

212. see De Civitate Dei, XIV,11.

213. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.251.

214. ibid., p.294.

215. J. Preston, The New Covenant or The Saints Portion, 2nd.ed. corrected, (London, 1629), p.334.

216. Miller, op.cit., pp.57-8.

217. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, p.155.

218. Llyfr y Resolusion, p.21.

219. The Position of John Preston...Concerning the Irresistiblenesse of Converting Grace (London, 1654), p.5.

220. L. Osiander, A Manuell...of Controversies, tr. Anon (1606), p.187; quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.190.

221. The Position of John Preston, p.17.

222. Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran (Oxford, 1671), p.240.

223. ibid., p.49.

224. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.371.

225. J. Bourne, The Anatomie of Conscience (1623), p.38; quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.203.

226. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.298.

227. ibid., p.317-8.

228. ibid., p.298.

229. ibid., pp.297-8.

230. ibid., p.298.

231. ibid., p.299.

232. J. Preston, Sermons, p.42.

233. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.299.

234. ibid., p.286; Edwards cites Proverbs. 23.34.

235. ibid., p.304.

236. Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, p.32.

237. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pp.302-3.

238. ibid., p.299.

239. The Position of John Preston, p.8 (misprinted 4).

240. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.315.

241. ibid., p.300.

242. ibid., p.299.

243. ibid., p.315; Edwards cites Isaiah, 55.2.

244. ibid., pp.315-6.

245. ibid., p.316.

246. P. Miller, op.cit., p.79; Acts, 9.3.18.

247. J. Jewel, Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr, tr. M.Kyffin (London, 1595), p.35b; Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran, p.74.

248. Ezekiel, 36.26; quoted by J. Preston, The New Covenant, p.387.

249. The New Covenant, pp.387-8.

250. Llyfr y Resolusion, p.159.

251. ibid., p.155.

252. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.318.

253. ibid., 320; see also Psalm 104.34.

254. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.322.

255. Llyfr y Resolusion, p.44.

256. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.322.

257. ibid.

258. ibid., pp.322-3; Edwards cites Samuel, 24.5.

259. Psalm 37.31.

260. The New Covenant, p.323.

261. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.394.

262. ibid., p.324.

263. ibid., p.326.

264. H.R. MacAdoo, The Structure of Caroline Moral Theology (London, 1949) (p.139)

265. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.327.

266. ibid., p.328.

267. ibid., p.329.

268. ibid., p.331.

269. cf. Saunders Lewis, "Arddull Charles Edwards", Efrydiau Catholig, Vol.IV (1949), p.51.

270. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pp.265-331.

271. ibid., p.266, 332. See Isaiah, 50,4.5. and Acts, 19.33.

272. ibid., loc.cit.

273. ibid., pp.267 and 334.

274. ibid., p.343.

275. ibid., pp.348-9.

276. ibid., p.365.

277. ibid., pp.217f.

278. ibid., p.308.

279. J. Jewel, Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr, tr. M.Kyffin (London,1595), p.[100b]; Charles Edwards (ed.), Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran (Oxford, 1671), p.201.

280. Llyfr y Resolusion, p.267.

281. Oliver Thomas, Carwr y Cymry [1631] (rep.Cardiff, 1930), p.14.

282. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, pp.493-4.

283. Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr, p [36b]; Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran, p.74

284. T. Gouge, Hyfforddiadau Christianogol, tr. Richard Jones (London, 1675-6), p.9.

285. quoted by Haller, op.cit., p.101, from Introduction to Alleine, Life and Death of...Jospeh Alleine, pp.1-4.

286. Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr, p.[60b]; Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran, p.122.

287. Oliver Thomas, op.cit., pp.15,23.

288. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, "At y Darlleydd": reprinted in G.H. Hughes (ed), Rhagymadroddion (1547-1659) (Cardiff, 1951), pp.118-21.

289. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.209.

290. T. Gouge, Principlau neu Bennau y Grefydd Ghristianogol, tr. William Jones (London, 1676), p.33.

291. See Valerie Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1961), p.279.

292. Henry Parker, A Discourse Concerning Puritans (1641), sub-title.

293. ibid., it was called, on the title page, 'A Tract necessary and usefull for these Times.'

294. ibid., p.10.

295. ibid., p.41.

296. C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (Mercury Books ed., London, 1966), p.19.

297. ibid., loc.cit. Hill quotes from R. Parr, Life of James Usher (1686), p.16.

298. Parker, op.cit., p.54.

299. ibid., pp.53,50.

300. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pp.366 f.

301. T. Gouge, op.cit., part of title.

302. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.366.

303. ibid., loc.cit.

304. Parker, op.cit., p.53.

305. see Hyfforddiadau Christianogol, p.2.

306. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.367.

307. Psalm, 1.2.

308. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, p.

309. Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, pp.63f., enlarges on this aspect of Christian abstinence.

310. Y Ffydd Ddi ffuant, p.373; cf. Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, p. :'dyfal-ochelyd holl achosion pechod.'

311. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.374.

312. ibid., loc.cit.

313. see Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, p.7.

314. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.371; Edwards cites Daniel, 1.8.12.

315. ibid., p.372.

316. ibid., loc.cit.

317. Llyfr y Resolusion, p.261.

318. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p; 372.

319. ibid., loc.cit.

320. ibid., p.371.

321. ibid., p.370.

322. Probably the Welsh Trust had several copies of the translations from Gouge unsold in 1684, and bound them with Llyfr y Resolusion.

323. Llyfr y Resolusion (1684), p.370.

324. ibid., p.371.

325. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pp.374-5.

326. ibid., p.375.

327. ibid., p.376.

328. ibid., p.374.

329. ibid., p.352.

330. The Position of John Preston, Doctor in Divinity, sometimes Mr of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge, and Preacher at Lincoln's Inn; Concerning the Irrestiblenesse of Converting Grace (1654), p.16.

331. ibid., p.17.

332. 1 Corinthians, 13.9; Phil., 3.11.12.

333. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.353: 'gweddillion candryll... a elwir gwendid y Sainct.'

334. ibid., loc.cit.

335. Romans, 7.

336. Galatians, 5.17.

337. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.354.

338. ibid., pp.354, 357.

339. ibid., p.360; Edwards cites 2 Cor., 4.6.

340. Patrides, op.cit., p.37 quotes these lines from Paradise Lost, VII. 154-9.

341. ibid., loc.cit.

342. ibid., pp.37-8.

343. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.350.

344. ibid., loc.cit.

345. ibid., p.346.

346. ibid., loc.cit.

347. ibid., p.352.

348. ibid., pp.350-1.

349. Paradise Lost, VII. 157, 159.

350. Y Ff.Dd., p.351.

351. ibid.,

352. ibid., p.377.

353. Patrides, op.cit., p.268, n.3, explains that 'the list of signs was normally compiled from the Johannine Apocalypse; Mark xiii... and its equivalent in Matt. xxiv-xxv; 2 Pet.iii; 2 Tim.iii; Luke xvii. 20-37, xxi. 25-36; and a number of the Parables.

354. Bullinger, Of the End of the World, tr. T. Potter (1580?), sig. H3v.; quoted by Patrides, ibid., loc.cit.

355. Matthew, 24.36; Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd, ed. T.E. Ellis (Bangor, 1899), (Vol i) p.9.

356. N. Byfield, The Rule of Faith (1626), pp. 513-15; quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.269.

357. Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd (Vol i,) p.9.

358. E. Lewis Evans, Morgan Llwyd: Ymchwil i Rai o'r Prif Ddylanwadau a fu arno (Liverpool, 1930), p.47.

359. Revelations, 13.18. see ibid; loc.cit.

360. Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd (Vol i), p.87.

361. Patrides, op.cit., p.268.

362. ibid., p.272.

363. Y Ff.Dd., p.364. See also Part 3, Chapter IV infra.

364. For Edwards, at the birth of Christ the age of the world was 3963: Y Ff.Dd., p.22. In England the date offered by Usher for the creation - 4004 A.D. was accepted by most people. See C.A. Patrides, "Renaissance Estimates of the Year of Creation", Huntington Quarterly Library, xxvi (1962-3), p.318.

365. Y Ff. Dd., pp. 363-4.

366. ibid., p.364.

367. ibid., p.361.

368. ibid., loc.cit., Edwards cites Hosea, 9.14.

369. ibid., loc.cit.

370. ibid., p.363.

371. ibid., p.364.

372. ibid., loc.cit.

373. ibid.,: 'udcorn dychrynllyd y Barnwr.'

374. William Perkins, A Golden Chaine (1591), sig. 55; quoted by Patrides, op.cit., p.274.

375. Y Ff. Dd., p.377.

376. 2 Peter, 3.7.

377. Psalm, 102.26.

378. Isaiah, 65.17.

379. Luke, 17.26.

380. Y Ff.Dd., p.364.

Notes on Part 2, Chapter VI, Note: The Significance of Chapter 30 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677)

1. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.390.

2. ibid., p.383.

3. G.J. Williams, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), p.lxiv. For Maurice, see Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig (London, 1953), pp.588-9.

4. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.390.

5. see section on Charles Edwards's "Sources", supra, pp.

6. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.390; see also Ifor Williams in Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill, ed. H. Lewis, T. Roberts and I. Williams, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1937), pp. lxx-lxxx.

7. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.388: the spelling and punctuation as found in Edwards's book.

8. ibid., loc.cit.

9. ibid., loc.cit. 'Swyddau gwlad sy heddyw gloff
Aswydd eglwys sydd o gloff.'
The proof-reader shows no care for the needs of cynghanedd in the second line of this couplet!

10. ibid., p.391:i) 'Car yn cyhuddo arall': ii) 'Nithied bawb... Fai ei gilidd'; iii) 'Goreu yw dal y gair du,/A niweidiol na'i wadu'.

11. ibid., p.393.

12. ibid., p.391; e.g. 'Arianoedd neu air ennyd
A wna'r gau yn wir i gyd'.

13. Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill, p.lxii.

14. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.392.

15. ibid., loc.cit.

16. ibid., p.389.

17. ibid., p.388: 'Pelican yn gyngan a gar
Fod o'i waed fwyd iw adar:
A'r un modd er ein mwyn
y bu farw mab y Forwyn.'

18. ibid., p.394.

19. ibid., p.293.

20. ibid., p.389.

21. ibid., p.271.

22. ibid., p.383.

Notes on Part 2, Chapter VII: Use of Images

1. Henry Lewis, "'Perlau Benthyg'. Trem ar Ryddiaith Yr Ail Ganrif ar Bymtheg", Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1930-31, p.45.

2. ibid., loc.cit.: 'crefydd ar ei sychaf'.

3. ibid., p.47: 'rhyw grefydd "cyllell a fforc"'.

4. T. Parry (tr. H. Idris Bell), A History of Welsh Literature (Oxford, 1955), p.245.

5. Saunders Lewis, "Llyfr y Resolusion", Ysgrifau Catholig, III, 1964, p.6.

6. Henry Lewis, art.cit., p.46.

7. ibid., p.48.

8. ibid., p.49.

9. ibid., p.52.

10. ibid., loc.cit.

11. ibid., p.60.

12. ibid., p.36: Dr Lewis quotes W.J. Gruffydd's statement, 'ni chyfyd llenyddiaeth ond o gryf gymhelliad bywyd mewnol anorchfygol yn mynnu torri allan a'i fynegi ei hunan'.

13. Saunders Lewis, art.cit., p.6.

14. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.206. (All references made to Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant in this section will be to the 1677 edition).

15. ibid., loc.cit.

16. ibid., sig. Ee 2.

17. Saunders Lewis, review on Efrydiau Athronyddol 1950, XIII, in Llên Cymru, Vol 1 (1950-1), p.188.

18. Henri Perri, Egluryn Ffraethineb, ed. G.J. Williams (Cardiff, 1930), pp. 3, 21, 26, 31.

19. B.L. Jones, "Testunau Rhethreg Cymraeg y Dadeni", University of Wales M.A. Thesis, 1961, p.149.

20. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, sig. E e 2.

21. ibid., p.225.

22. 1 Samuel, 15.33: cited by Edwards.

23. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p;225.

24. ibid., p.359.

25. ibid., p.298.

26. John, 16,8: he speaks of the 'world of sin'.

27. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, point 4 in "Peth o Retoreg": the page is not numbered.

28. My capitals.

29. cf. Genesis, 13. 13; 18.20. And for use of Sion, cf. for example Romans, 11.26; Rev. 14.1.

30. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.266.

31. ibid., p.262.

32. ibid., loc.cit.: Edwards cites Proverbs, 22.15.

33. 2 Kings, 2.23.

34. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.262.

35. ibid., p.266. In that passages Edwards cites 2 Peter, 2.14; Genesis, 39.7; Romans, 3.18; 1 Corinthians, 15.33; Genesis, 3.4.6. and James, 3.5.6.

36. ibid., loc.cit.

37. Peacham, The Garden of Eloquence (1593), p.13; quoted by B.L. Jones, op.cit., p.129. Peacham writes that this is one of the 'manifolde frutes' of 'Apt Metaphors'.

38. see W. Alun Mathias, "Llyfr Rhetoreg William Salesbury" in Llên Cymru, Vol I (1950-1), pp. 259-268 and Vol.II (1952-3), pp. 71-81.

39. Saunders Lewis, Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher (Llandysul, 1945), p.63.

40. cf. F.P. Wilson, Seventeenth century Prose (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p.69.

41. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.265.

42. Henry Lewis, art.cit., p.60; supra, p.3.

43. For a fuller argument, see R. Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, (Chicago, 1947), pp. 61-78.

44. see D. Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century 1600-1660 (Oxford, 1962), 2nd. ed. revised, p.132.

45. R. Berman, Henry King and the Seventeenth Century (London, 1964), p.62.

46. Buch., op.cit., p.328.

47. Basil Willey, The Seventeenth-Century Background (Penguin, 1962), p.45.

48. L.C. Martin (ed.) Religio Medici and Other Works (Oxford, 1964), p.210. From Christian Morals, Part I, Sect.XX.

49. Willey, op.cit., p.46.

50. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.267.

51. ibid., p.275.

52. ibid., p.271.

53. Religio Medici and Other Works, pp. 218-19. From Christian Morals Part II, Sect.1.

54. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.281.

55. ibid., p.318.

56. ibid., p.310.

57. see E.M. Simpson, Study of the Prose Works of John Donne (Oxford, 1948 2nd Ed.,), pp. 57-9.

58. ibid., pp. 63-4, where Mrs Simpson quotes this passage from Donne.

59. see Coleridge's remarks quoted by L.C. Martin (ed.), Abraham Cowley: Poetry and Prose (Oxford, 1949), p.xlv.

60. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.370.

61. ibid., p.285.

62. ibid., p.347.

63. ibid., p.309.

64. ibid., p.255.

65. ibid., p.223.

66. T.S. Eliot, Selected Essays 1917-1932 (London, 1932), p.274: 'unification of sensibility.'

67. R.F. Jones, "The Humanistic Defence of Learning in the Mid-Seventeenth Century", Reason and the Imagination, ed. J.A. Mazzeo (London & New York, 1962), p.87.

68. ibid., p.89.

69. Saunders Lewis, "Arddull Charles Edwards", Efrydiau Catholig, Vol.IV (1949), p.45.

70. ibid., p.46.

71. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.255.

72. Religio Medici and Other Works, p.211: from Christian Morals, I.xxii

73. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pp. 248-9.

74. ibid., p.369.

75. R. Tudur Jones, "Rhesymeg y Piwritaniaid", Efrydiau Athronyddol, Vol.XIII (1950), p.26. cf. Perry Miller, The New England Mind (New York, 1939) p.116ff.

76. see Tuve, op.cit., Chapter XII passim.

77. Some Ramists retain memoria: e.g. Talaeus, who wrote his rhetoric in 1567.

78. W.S. Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500-1700 (New York, 1961), p.249: he quotes from Gabriel Harvey's Rhetor, sigs.e4v-f1r.

79. Tuve, op.cit., p.340. cf. Miller, op.cit., p.128: '"Invention" is the part in which are arranged individual terms, the concepts, the arguments or the reasons with which discourses are constructed'. In '"disposition"....are contained the methods for putting arguments together.'

80. Tuve, op.cit., p.340.

81. ibid., p.341.

82. ibid., p.342.

83. ibid., p.344.

84. Miller, op.cit., p.124.

85. Tuve, op.cit., p.344.

86. M.McCanles, "Paradox in Donne" , Studies in the Renaissance, Vol.XIII, pp. 266ff.

87. ibid., p.273.

88. ibid., pp.273-4.

89. Thomas Parry (ed.), The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse (Oxford, 1962), p.39; cf. English translation with A. Conran (tr.), The Penguin Book of Welsh Verse (1967), p.118.

90. T. Parry, op.cit., pp. 146-7; Conran, op.cit., p.180-2.

91. T. Parry, op.cit., p.224; Conran, op.cit., p.198.

92. Tuve., op.cit., p.345.

93. ibid., p.352.

94. For a discussion of the value of this kind of criticism, see R. Welleck and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature (Penguin, rep.1966), p.180.

95. see McCanles, art.cit., pp. 274-5.

96. Egluryn Phraethineb, pp. 29-30.

97. B.L. Jones, op.cit., p.129.

98. see Tuve, op.cit., pp. 339-343.

99. R.F. Jones, art.cit., p.75.

100. Egluryn Phraethineb, p.29.

101. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, e.g., p.265.

102. ibid., pp. 266-7.

103. supra, p.

104. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.267: Edwards cites Proverbs, 30-15.

105. cf. Comment on Browne made by Francis Thompson, Works (London, 1913), iii, pp.166-7; quoted by George Williamson, Milton and Others (London, 1965), pp. 192-3.

106. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.293: Rev., 5.4,5.

107. ibid., p.294.

108. David is named in the sentence previous to the one quoted.

109. Ezekiel, 11.19.

110. Jeremiah, 23.29.

111. Isaiah, 48.4.

112. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.294.

113. W.T. Ong, Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue (Cambridge, Mass.,1958), p.286.

114. Zechariah, 7.12: see Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.290.

115. see Romans, 10.10.

116. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.270.

117. ibid., p.321.

118. ibid., p.217.

119. ibid., p.308.

120. Tuve, op.cit., p.356.

121. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.290.

122. ibid., p.31 .

123. ibid., p.290.

124. ibid., p.212: 'mewn hîr drueni a thywyllwch'.

125. ibid., p.211.

126. ibid., p.3 2.

127. ibid., p.309.

128. Garden of Eloquence, p.13; quoted by B.L. Jones, op.cit. p.129.

129. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.260.

130. ibid., p.285.

131. ibid., p.280.

132. ibid., p.281.

133. ibid., p.322: Edwards draws his metaphor on the pattern of Matthew, 14, 24, 32.

134. ibid., p.276: cf. Isaiah, 57.20.

135. Egluryn Phraethineb, p.29.

136. Tuve, op.cit., p.356.

137. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.335.

138. Garden of Eloquence, p.13; quoted by B.L. Jones, op.cit., p.129.

139. Eglurym Phraethineb, p.29.

140. Tuve, op.cit., p.370.

141. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.220.

142. ibid., pp. 316-7.

143. ibid., p.263.

144. ibid., p.287.

145. Garden of Eloquence, p.13; quoted by B.L. Jones, op.cit., p.129.

146. Eglurym Phraethineb, p.29.

147. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.215.

148. ibid., p.287.

149. ibid., p.281.

150. ibid., p.219.

151. ibid., p.348.

152. ibid., p.273.

153. ibid., p.237.

154. ibid., p.357.

155. ibid., pp. 357-8.

156. ibid., p.367.

157. ibid., p.233.

158. cf. the logical progression in the chapters (reflected in their titles) of Llyfr y Resolusion, say, from Ch.6. to Ch.10: "Ystyried beth yw naturiaeth pechod, a phechadur; er mwyn dangos nad yw Duw yn anghyfiawn, er ei fod cyn dosted ac y dywetpwyd yn y bennod o'r blaen"; "Angwhaneg o reswm i amddiffyn cyfiawnder barnedigaethau Duw, ac i ddangos ein haeddigaeth ninnau, a hynny wrth ystyried mawredd Duw, a'i ddoniau haelionus tu ag attom ni"; "Pa dyb a fydd cennym ni am y pethau hyn, wrth

farw, a pha fodd y cawn ni yr amser hwnnw glywed oddiwrthyt"; "Y poenau sydd wedi eu hordeinio am bechod yn ol y fuchedd hon"; "Am y gwobr a'r tal anrhydeddus a haelionus, a osodir o flaen pawb a wasanaetho Dduw yn gywir". (Titles taken from 1684 ed.).

159. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, pp. 334, 335 (ii & iii), 337, 338, 339.

160. ibid., pp. 371-2.

161. ibid., p.371.

162. ibid., loc.cit.

163. see Bush, op.cit., pp. 316-18.

164. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.336.

165. ibid., p.331.

166. ibid., pp. 294-5.

167. ibid., p.275.

168. ibid., p.270.

169. ibid., p.226.

170. ibid., p.222

171. ibid., p.213.

172. I have already treated of Edwards's attitude to the Copernican theory, in the section on "Rhinwedd y Ffydd", supra. He seems to disregard it totally. Even Donne, who died when Edwards was only three years old, acknowledged its existence (see E.M. Simpson op.cit., pp. 118ff.) So did Browne and Milton, who were contemporaries of Edwards. Joan Bennett, Sir Thomas Browne (Cambridge, 1962), p.186, notes that in Pseudodoxia, Book VI, Ch.5, Browne, having praised 'The wonderful contrivance of the relation between the earth and the sun', adds: 'Now whether we adhere unto the hypothesis of Copernicus, affirming the earth to move, and the Sun to stand still; or whether we hold, as some of late have concluded, from the spots in the Sun, which appear and disappear again; that besides the revolution it maketh with its Orbs, it hath also a dinetical motion, and rowls upon it own Poles, whether I say we affirm these or no, the illations before mentioned are not thereby infringed'. Milton, in Paradise Lost, Book VIII, lines 114-125, allows Raphael to state the theory.

173. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.304.

174. ibid., pp. 326-7.

175. ibid., p.330.

176. ibid., p.357.

177. ibid., p.227: Edwards cites Matthew, 4.3. where the tempter is said to have tried Christ, 'If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.'

178. ibid., p.372.

* G.J. Williams has already treated of Edwards's use of Language in the introduction to his edition of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), pp. lxxii-lxxvi.

Notes on Chapter 3, part I: The Hebraiscorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen and Chapter 31 of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

1. W. Rowlands, Cambrian Bibliography (Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry) (Llanidloes, 1863), p.206.

2. G.J. Williams, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), p.xxxiii.

3. Hebraiscorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen (London, [1676]), title-page.

4. ibid., p.3.

5. ibid., loc.cit.: the Hebrew is given above the first phrase on each page.

6. ibid., p.8.

7. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677 , p.41[illegible].

8. ibid., p.416.

9. Not for the first time (cf. e.g. 'Mre' instead of 'Moreh', Specimen, p.4) Edwards fails, or else refuses, to recognize the Hebrew proper-name.

10. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant.

11. ibid., p.407.

12. ibid., p.408.

13. ibid., p.409.

14. ibid., p.417.

15. ibid., p.395.

16. ibid., loc.cit.

17. ibid., p.414.

18. M.H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), p.91.

19. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.159.

20. G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xxxiii.

21. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.214.

22. see the section on Edwards's debt to Geoffrey of Monmouth, supra.

23. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.405.

24. Garfield H. Hughes, (ed.) Rhagymadroddion 1547-1659 (Cardiff, 1951), p.90.

25. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.394.

26. Hughes, op.cit., p.120: the description is Rowland Vaughan's, in Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb (London, 1630), "At y darllcydd."

27. Hughes, op.cit., p.90.

28. John Davies, Antiquae linguae Britannicae...et Linguae Latinae Dictionarium Duplex (London, 1632), "Ad Lectorem"; cf. Enderbie, Cambria Triumphans (London, 1661), "To the Gentle Reader...".

29. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.394: Edwards writes, 'Tybia'r dyscedig mai'r Hebraeg ydoedd yr vnig d afodiaith ym mhlith dynion o ddechreuad y byd hyd y cymyscedd yn Babel'. John Davies was undoubtedly in his mind when he wrote this.

30. cf. Williams, op.cit., p.xxxiv.

31. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.227.

32. ibid., p.228.

33. One famous and recent polyglot Bible in Jesus College Library was the Biblia Sacra Polyglotta (in six volumes) edited by Brianus Waltonus and published in London, 1657.

34. see De Witt T. Starnes, Renaissance Dictionaries (Austin, Texas, 1954) pp. 278 ff.

35. ibid., pp. 291 ff.

36. W. Robertson, The Second Gate or The Inner Door to the Holy Tongue (London, 1654), pp. 9-10.

37. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.395.

38. Robertson, op.cit., p.20.

39. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, p.396.

Notes to Part 3, Chapter II. Fatherly Instructions

1. Fatherly Instructions (London, 1686), pp. 182-202.

2. An Afflicted Man's Testimony concerning his Troubles (London, 1691), p.10.

3. But Edwards, Fatherly Instructions, p.155, does translate an extract from one of Macarius's Homilies, number XLV, in which the author urges the Christian to love Jesus before father, mother, etc.

4. see Testimony, pp. 9-10; and Chapter 3, part IV.

5. Ignatius lived from C.35 to C.107. He was the second bishop of Antioch.

6. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp.31-2.

7. Ussher was the first to distinguish the seven genuine letters Ignatius wrote on his journey. They were published in 1644 in Polycarpü & Ignatü Epistolae. But the problem of authorship was not finally settled until 1672 when Pearson published his Vindicae Ignatione.

8. Fatherly Instructions, p.1.

9. Johannes Quasten, Patrology (Utrecht and Brussels, 1956), Vol.I, pp. 72-3: 'It is characteristic of Ignatius to stress repeatedly that Christians are united with Christ only when they are one with their bishop through faith, obedience and particularly through participation in divine worship.'

10. Justin lived C.100 - C.165, and was converted to Christianity C.130.

11. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp. 34-44.

12. ibid., p.33.

13. Quasten, op.cit., p.201, states that the majority of scholars now believe that the second Apology, the "Defence to the State and Emperour" as Edwards, Fatherly Instructions, p.2, calls it, is an appendage to the first Apology, written to the Emperor Antoninus Pius himself.

14. see Fatherly Instructions, pp. 8-12.

15. Chapters 108-142. See Quasten, op.cit., pp.202-3.

16. Fatherly Instructions, p.12.

17. The volume of Justin's Opera printed in Paris 1615, a copy of which is lodged in Jesus College Library, Oxford, contains the

Cohortatio ad Graecos. Edwards, Fatherly Instructions, p.2, calls the book "Exhortation to the Gentiles."

18. see Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F.L. Cross, (London, 1957), p.757.

19. Tatian's Oratio at Graecos is included in the 1615 edition of Iustini Opera published in Paris. Edwards, Fatherly Instructions, p.14, calls the work "Speech to the Greeks".

20. Quasten, op.cit., p.254.

21. Fatherly Instructions, p.16.

22. ibid., p.18. Two well-known editions of Irenaeus's Adversus... Haereses were published in the 16th. century: the first, edited by Erasmus, at Basle in 1526; the second, by Feudarent, at Cologne, in 1596. A copy of the Cologne edition is lodged in Jesus College Library.

23. Quasten, op.cit., p.28.

24. Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica, 5,23,3; 24,11-17.

25. Fatherly Instructions, pp.18-19.

26. For an account of Theophilus's works see Quasten, op.cit., pp.236-42

27. The full title of the work is Contra Christianae Religionis Calumniatores, Ad Autolycius (libri tres). This work, too, is included in Iustini Opera (Paris, 1615).

28. Fatherly Instructions, p.19.

29. ibid., p.21: Athenagoras was another of the Greek Apologists of the second century.

30. Addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodius, The Latin title of the work, published in Iustini Opera (Paris, 1615) is Apologia pro Christiansis.

31. Fatherly Instructions, p.20.

32. ibid., p.25.

33. Quasten, op.cit., Vol.II, pp. 5 ff.

34. Fatherly Instructions, p.26: Edwards calls the work "Admonition to the Gentiles", translating Admonito ad Gentes, the title given in Clementis Alexandrini Opera Graece et Latine quae Extant (Lyons, 1616), a copy of which is lodged in the Library at Jesus College, Oxford.

35. see Quasten, op.cit., pp.5-37.

36. Fatherly Instructions, p.28.

37. In the 1616 edition of Clement's work it is called the Paedagogus.

38. see, for example, Fatherly Instructions, pp. 28-9.

39. ibid., p.33.

40. Tertullian, raised in Carthage, lived C.160 - C.220. Quasten, op.cit., p.243, calls him 'the most original thinker of the anti-Nicene period.'

41. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp. 47-65: "Diffynniad y ffydd yn erbyn y cenhedloedd gan Tertullianus henuriad o Carthago yn Affrica".

42. ibid., pp. 65-7:"...yscrifen yr vn athro at Scapula Rhaglaw Carthago ydoedd yn bwgwth creulondeb i'r Christianogion."

43. In De Patentia: see Edwards's translations of some passages in Fatherly Instructions, pp. 33-5. The titles of Tertullian's books are taken from his Opera (Basle, 1539), a copy of which Edwards saw in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford.

44. In Ad Martyres: see Fatherly Instructions, pp. 45-7.

45. In De Virginibus Uelandis and De Cultu Foeminarum; see Fatherly Instructions, pp. 47-9.

46. In Ad Scapulam; see Fatherly Instructions, p.51.

47. In De Idolatria; see Fatherly Instructions, pp. 58-60. And in De Corona Militis; see Fatherly Instructions, p.45. Extracts from Tertullian's doctrinal works appear in Edwards's anthology too. Selections of his writings on the incarnation from De Carne Christi and Adversus Praxeam appear in Fatherly Instructions, pp.35-6 and p.45; and part of his treatise on the resurrection of the body, De Resurrectione Carnis, in Fatherly Instrustions, pp.37-40.

48. Origen lived C.185 - C.254.

49. Fatherly Instructions, p.71.

50. ibid., p.83: On Isaiah.

51. ibid., p.112. The volume Origenis Contra Celsum libri VIII (Angustae Vindelicorum, 1605) is in Jesus College Library.

52. A formal debate between three friends, Octavius (a Christian lawyer) and Caecilius (a pagan) with Minucius Felix himself acting as an arbitrator. Two editions of Minucius's work appeared

within twenty years of each other: the first, Marcus Minucius Felix Octavius & Caecilii cypriani de idolarum vanitate, was published in Lutet in 1643; the other, a second edition of that book, in Oxford 1662. Edwards could have seen both.

53. Fatherly Instructions, p.116.

54. ibid., p.114.

55. Quasten treats of the debate, op.cit., pp. 155-163.

56. From Ad Euchratium, letter LXI in Cyprian's Opera (Paris, 1632), the edition of his works lodged in Jesus College Library; Fatherly Instructions, pp. 120-1.

57. Ad Fidum, letter LIX; Fatherly Instructions, p.120.

58. Ad Rogatianum, letter VII; Fatherly Instructions, pp.117-9.

59. De Lapsis; Fatherly Instructions, p.126.

60. De Opere et Eleemosynis; Fatherly Instructions, p.129.

61. There are two editions of the work in Jesus College Library: 1) Arnobii Disputationum Adverses Gentes (Hamburg, 1610) & 2) Arnobii Afri Adversus Gentes (Lyons, 1651). The title is often given as Adversus Nationes.

62. see Fatherly Instructions, pp. 130-33.

63. Lactantius lived C.240- C.320.

64. There are two editions of Lactantius's works in the Library at Jesus College: 1) L. Coelii Lactantii... opera (Basle, 1563) & 2) Lucii Coelii Lactantii...Opera (Oxford, 1684). The Oxford edition was probably too late for Edwards.

65. Fatherly Instructions., p.137.

66. ibid., pp. 138-43.

67. ibid., p.144.

68. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.

69. ibid., p.209.

70. Quasten, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 161ff., notes that scholars have long argued over the true authorship of the Homilies traditionally attributed to Macarius (born C.300).

71. Fatherly Instructions, p.147.

72. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp. 318-34: "Gras Duw yn medd.annu holl gynneddfau enaid, ac yn rheoli holl aelodau corph y gwir Gristion."

73. He lived C. 342 - 420.

74. Fatherly Instructions, p.160: From His Preface to the Book of Solomon There are three editions of Jerome's works in Jesus College Library: 1) Opera... Omnes quae extant (Basle, 1565); 2) Opera Divi Hieronymi (Antwerp, 1579) & Divi Hieronymi... Epistolae Selectae (Cologne, 1625).

75. Fatherly Instructions, pp. 161-2; from On Matthew 16.

76. ibid., pp. 158-60: from His Preface to the Pantateuch.

77. Augustine lived 354-430.

78. Fatherly Instructions, pp. 166-8.

79. ibid., p.169: from Letter CXIX. Edwards probably read the epistles in Book 2 of the seven-volume edition of Augustine's work published in Paris 1635-6.

80. De Doctrine Christiana (Cologne, C.1480) is lodged in Jesus College Library.

81. ibid., Bk.I; Fatherly Instructions, p.171.

82. Fatherly Instructions, p.175.

86. ibid., pp. 180-1.

87. ibid., p.1[illegible]1.

88. ibid., pp. 179-80.

89. ibid., pp. 85-6.

90. These words are taken from the title-page of Fatherly Instructions.

91. Testimony, pp. 10-11.

92. Fatherly Instructions p.28: from Admonition to the Greeks.

93. ibid., p.71: from Homily on Genesis 24.

94. ibid., p.138.

95. ibid., pp. 160-1.

96. ibid., p.169: Letter CXIX.

97. ~~ibid.~~, pp.1-2: from ~~Discourse~~ with Trypho.

98. From Defence to the Senate and Emperor; see Fatherly Instructions, pp.5-8.

99. Fatherly Instructions, p.92: from Homily on Romans.

100. ibid., p.154: from Homily XLIV.

101. ibid., p.2. (my italics); from Letter To Romans.

102. ibid., pp. 116-17.

103. This epithet belongs to Tertullian, Concerning Shows, selections of which are translated in Fatherly Instructions, pp. 53-6. (F.I.)

104. Cyprian, To Euchratius; F.I. pp. 130-31.

105. In his Schoolmaster; F.I. pp. 28-9.

106. In Against the Calumniators of the Christian Religion; F.I. p.19

107. e.g. Tertullian, Concerning veiling of Virgins, translated in F.I. pp. 47-9.

108. Clemens, Schoolmaster; F.I. p.29.

109. Theophilus of Antioch, Against the Calumniators of the Christian Religion; F.I. p.19.

110. e.g. Justin, Defence to the Senate and Emperor; F.I. p.8.

111. Tertullian, To Scapula; F.I. p.51.

112. Homily III; F.I. p.145.

113. Cyprian, Concerning the Unity of the Church Catholic; F.I. p.128.

114. F.I. p.121.

115. Homily on Matthew; F.I. p.86.

116. His Scromata; F.I., p.33.

117. F.I. p.67.

118. To Felix, Presbyter; F.I., pp. 122-3.

119. Gildas Minimus, p.31.

120. Concerning Martyrdom, F.I., p.58.

122. Concerning Flight in Persecution; F.I., pp. 69-70.

123. Homily on Luke; F.I., p.91.

124. To the Romans; F.I., pp. 2-3

125. His Octavius; F.I. p.116.

126. To Rogatian; F.I., p.118.

127. Letter To Demetrianus, F.I., p.129.

128. Macarius, Homily XXV; F.I., p.150.

129 Epistle LXXXIX: F.I., p.165.

130. Homily XXXV; F.I., p.153.

131. F.I., "To the Reader".

132. ibid., loc.cit.

133. ibid., loc cit.

134. For life and work see P.A. Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes (London, 1958).

135. Quoted from Andrewes's Sermons by H.R. MacAdoo, The Spirit of Anglicanism (London, 1965), p.318.

136. MacAdoo, op.cit., loc.cit: the words are Laud's.

137. ibid., p.317.

138. ibid., p.321.

139. ibid., p.320.

140. Quoted, ibid., p.339, from A Relation of the Conference between William Lawd...And Mr. Fisher the Jesuite (1639), a book described by D. Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century 1600-1660, 2nd.ed., revised (Oxford, 1962), p.607, as 'the famous statement of Laud's Anglican position.'

141. MacAdoo, op.cit., p.339.
142, Quoted, ibid., p.329.

143. My italics.

144. MacAdoo, op.cit., p.329.

145. ibid., p.339: MacAdoo quotes from the Preface to the Conference.

146. For Falkland (Lucius Cary) see Bush, op.cit., p.343, who calls him 'the example par excellence of the noble and philosophical cavalier, the moderate royalist and Anglican who saw faults on both sides'.

147. It is worthwhile and only fair to note that MacAdoo, op.cit., p.339, insists that there was in this criticism 'no innate sense of opposition.'

148. ibid., p.351.

149. ibid., p.345.

150. Religion of Protestants (1637), p.73: quoted by MacAdoo, op.cit., p.353.

151. MacAdoo, op.cit., p.373.

152. In Of Fundamentals: quoted by MacAdoo, op.cit., p.363.

153. Conference: quoted by MacAdoo, op.cit., p.318.

154. A Paraenesis: or Seasonable Exhortation: quoted by MacAdoo, op.cit p.363.

155. ibid., loc.cit.,

156. Reason, An Exposition of the Creed, "Dedication".

157. MacAdoo, op.cit., p.351.

158. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), "At y Darlleydd".

159. Fatherly Instructions, "To the Reader."

Notes on Part 3, Chapter III: The Nature of the Relationship between Charles Edwards (Gildas Minimus) and Gildas the Wise.

1. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1671), pp.105-130; Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp. 162-185. (Y Ff.Dd.)

2. For a description of the book and the appendix see previous chapter.

3. Y Ff.Dd. (1671), p.101; Y Ff.Dd. (1677), p.158.

4. Y Ff.Dd. (1671), p.104; Y Ff.Dd. (1677), p.161.

5. Y Ff.Dd. (1671), p.105, and Y Ff.Dd. (1677), p.162, Edwards calls the work "Ynghylch Adfyd Prydain."

6. J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales I (London, 1911), p.134.

7. ibid., p. 134.

8. A.W. Wade-Evans, Welsh Christian Origins (Oxford, 1934) p.291.

9. see ibid., p.289-312; and Wade-Evans, The Emergence of England and Wales, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 11f.

10. Y Ff.Dd. (1677), p.161. All references, unless otherwise stated, will be to this edition.

11. Chapters 28-36.

12. cf. Salvian's De gubernatione Dei. See R.W. Hanning, The Vision of History in Early Britain (New York and London, 1966), p.46.

13. 2 Chronicles, 15.2. Y Ff.Dd., p.172. From De Excidio Britanniae, Chap 41 (DEB): The edition of Gildas's work used is Hugh Williams (ed.), Gildae de Excidio Britanniae (London, 1899).

14. Hanning, op.cit., p.60.

15. Y Ff.Dd., p.163; 'Oes..dra phechadurus a du'. From DEB 1; Williams, op.cit., p.6, ll.15-17.

16. Y Ff.Dd., p.164. From DEB, 19; Williams, op.cit., p.44,ll. 1-10

17. DEB, loc.cit. Williams, op.cit., p.46, ll.7-8.

18. Y Ff.Dd., p.165. From DEB 20; Williams, op.cit., p.46, ll.26-7.

19. Y Ff.Dd., p.165. Abridged from DEB 21; Williams, op.cit.,

p.48, l.11 - p.50, l.13.

20. Hanning, op.cit., p.56. See DEB 21.

21. Y Ff.Dd., p.167. From DEB 25; Williams, op.cit., p.61, ll.4-6.

22. Y Ff.Dd., loc.cit. From DEB, loc.cit.; Williams, op.cit., pp.61-3

23. See Part 2 Chapter II supra.

24. Y Ff. Dd. p.208.

25. ibid., "At y Darlleydd": Edwards quotes Jude, 1.3.

26. Y Ff.Dd., p.161.

27. Lloyd, op.cit., Vol.1, p.98.

28. H.M. Chadwick, "Vortigern", Studies in Early British History, ed. N.K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 56-60.

29. Lloyd, op.cit., Vol.1. p.139.

30. Denys Hay, Polydore Vergil (Oxford, 1952), p.30.

31. ibid., loc.cit.

32. Thomas Habington, 1637.

33. Y Ff.Dd. (1671), p.105f; Y Ff.Dd. (1677), p.162f.

34. Hanning, op.cit., pp. 45, 192, notes that this was the 'appellation' 'by which Gildas's work was widely known in the Middle Ages.'

35. Y Ff.Dd. (1671), p.104; Y Ff.Dd. (1677), p.161.

36. DEB, 12; tr. Williams, op.cit., p.31.

37. Williams, op.cit., p.30.

38. Y Ff.Dd. (1677), p.164.

39. ibid., p.168.

40. DEB, 28

41. DEB,28: tr. Williams, op.cit., p.69.

42. DEB,29; Williams, op.cit., p.70.

43. Y Ff.Dd., p. 168.

44. DEB, 30; tr. Williams, op.cit.,

45. Y Ff. Dd., p.169.

46. DEB, 64; Williams, op.cit., p.156.

47. Y Ff. Dd., p.177.

48. ibid., p.169.

49. ibid., p.177.

50. supra Part 1.

51. DEB, 1; tr. Williams, op.cit., p.3.

52. DEB, loc.cit.

53. DEB 1, Williams, op.cit., p.8, ll. 10-14.

54. see Part 3, Chapter II.

55. An Afflicted Man's Testimony Concerning his Troubles (1691), p.10

56. Gildas Minimus, II (i.e. the separate pamphlet), p.1. (GM).

57. Testimony, p.9.

58. ibid., pp. 9-10.

59. Gildas Minimus, I (i.e. the sermon appended to Fatherly Instructions p.182.

60. Y Ff.Dd. (1677), pp. 376-383.

61. G.M.I, p.183.

62. ibid., p.184.

63. ibid., loc.cit.

64. ibid., p.201.

65. ibid., pp.185.

66. ibid., pp.187-8: Hosea, 14.3; Luke, 1.53.

67. ibid., p.185.

68. ibid., p.189.

69. ibid., p.188.

70. ibid., p.189.

71. ibid., p.191.

72. ibid., p.190.

73. ibid., p.185.

74. ibid., p.189.

75. ibid., p.195.

76. ibid., pp.195-6.

77. ibid., p.200; Edwards cites Psalm, 126.5.

78. ibid., p.196.

79. Y Ff.Dd., p.248.

80. G.M. I, pp. 200-201.

81a. ibid., p.188.

81b. G.M. I, pp. 1-2.

82. ibid., pp. 2-3.

83. ibid., p.6.

84. ibid., p.10.

85. ibid., p.2.

86. ibid., p.6.

87. ibid., p.10.

88. ibid., p.12.

89. ibid., p.13.

90. ibid., p.16: see James, 5.1.

91. ibid., p.17.

92. ibid., p.18.

93. ibid., loc.cit.

94. ibid., p.19.

95. ibid., p.20.

96. ibid., loc.cit.

97. ibid.

98. ibid., p.19.

99. ibid., p.25.

100. Genesis, 2.18.

101. The Institutes of the Christian Religion, 4.12.28; quoted by Ronald M. Frye, "The Teachings of Classical Puritanism on Conjugal Love", Studies in the Renaissance, II, p.150.

102. Testimony, p.9.

103. 1 Corinthians, 7.

104. O.Feltham, Resolves, 5th Ed. (1634), p.263; quoted by C.A. Patrides, Milton and the Christian Tradition (Oxford, 1966) p.166.

105. GM,II, p.25.

106. ibid., p.26.

107. ibid., p.27.

108. ibid., loc.cit.

109. ibid., p.29.

110. Y Ff.Dd., p.184.

Notes on Part 3, Chapter IV: Charles Edwards's Testimony

1. Testimony (1691), p.22: Charles Edwards gives his name at the end of the pamphlet and writes the date-line, 'London, July 1. 1691.'

2. G.J. Williams (ed.), Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), p.xlvii, states 'Y mae dau gopi ar glawr, y naill yn yr Amgueddfa Brydeinig, a'r llall yng nghasgliad Robert Jones, Rotherhithe, yn Llyfrgell Gyhoeddus Abertawe'. There is also a copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Catalogue no. Vet. A.3.f. 406(2)) bound with a copy of Fatherly Instructions.

3. ibid., p.xlviii.

4. Testimony, pp. 2,6,7,8-9.

5. ibid., p.11.

6. ibid., loc.cit.

7. ibid., p.13.

8. ibid., p.14.

9. ibid., p.15.

10. ibid., p.18.

11. ibid., p.22.

12. ibid., p.2.

13. Edwards, ibid., p.7, notes that the incident happened three years after he had been reinvested in Llanrhaeadr. This was in May 1657 - see T. Richards. Religious Developments in Wales (London, 1923), p.96, and The Puritan Visitation of Jesus College, Oxford. (London, 1924), p.75, n.5. Therefore, only two years had elapsed.

14. T. Richards, The Puritan Visitation, p.75.

15. Testimony, pp. 9-10.

16. ibid., p.18.

17. ibid., p.12.

18. ibid., p.15. See also A. Gordon, Freedom after Ejection (Manchester 1917), pp. 257-8.

19. see E. Lewis Evans, Morgan Llwyd; Ymchwil i Rai o'r Prif Ddylanwadau a fu arno (Liverpool, 1930), Ch.III; and for account of an extraordinary case late in seventeenth century, see Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (London,Mercury Books ed., 1962), pp. 323-36, "John Mason and the End of the World."

20. Testimony, p.14.

21. ibid., p.17.

22. ibid., p.16.

23. ibid., loc.cit.

24. ibid., p.17.

25. ibid., p.1.

26. ibid., p.18.

27. ibid., p.17.

28. ibid., pp. 21-2.

29. ibid., p.19.

30. ibid., p.17.

31. ibid., p.14.

Notes on Part 3, Chapter V: Edwards's Editorial Work.

1. Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran (Oxford, 1671), "At y Darlleydd".
2. ibid., loc.cit.: 'y ddau draethawd hyn.'
3. see Rhagymadroddion 1547-1659, ed. G.H. Hughes (Cardiff, 1951), p.10: 'I ba beth y gedwch ich llyfreu lwydo mewn coggleu...?'
4. Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran, loc.cit.
5. ibid.
6. ibid., title-page.
7. For the book's history, see J. Jewel, Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr, tr. M. Kyffin, 1595 (rep.Bangor, 1908; ed. W. Prichard Williams), pp i-xxii.
8. see ibid., (iii) - (xx)
9. ibid., xcvi.
10. Dadseiniad, "At y Darlleydd".
11. Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr (1595), (136); Dadseiniad Meibion y Daran, p.26. Deffynniad (1595), p.19; Dadseiniad., p.37.
12. Deffynniad...(1595), p.15; Dadseiniad..., p.29.
13. Rhagymadroddion, p.92.
14. Dadseiniad..., "At y Darlleydd".
15. A number of copies were sent to Vaughan late in 1629, but they were full of printing mistakes.
16. Lewis Bayly, Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, tr. R. Vaughan, 1630 (rep. Cardiff, 1930; ed J. Ballinger), p.vii.
17. Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb (1630), p.257; Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb (1675), p.295.
18. ibid., (1630), rr.223, 257; ibid., (1675), p.256, 295.
19. The letter is printed at the end of Hyfforddiadau Christianogol.
20. T. Gouge, Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct, tr. W. Jones (London, 1576), title of Chapter Two, p.8.
21. The title-page bears the date 1675. But as G.J. Williams, Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), p xxxi, the signs at the foot

of the pages show that this book was printed after Gair i Bechaduriaid, Gair i'r Sainct.

22. The translation was printed posthumously. Richard Jones died in 1673, Bywgraffiadur, p.475.

23. T. Gouge, Hyfforddiadau Christianogol, tr. R. Jones (London, 1675), p.20.

24. T. Gouge, Principlau neu Bennau y Grefydd Gristianogol (London, 1676), p.3.

25. The essay lacks a title-page of its own.

26. "Meddwdod, Aflendid, ofer-Dyngu, a Chelwydd", pp.1-5.

27. ibid., pp.5-9.

28a. ibid., pp.9-13.

28b. ibid., pp.13-16.

29. T. Gouge, The Principles of Christian Religion (London, 1679), "The Epistle to Parents and Governours of Families".

30. T. Gouge, Gwyddorion y Grefydd Gristianogol, tr.C. Edwards (London, 1679), "At y Darlleydd".

31. ibid., pp.128-9; The Principles of Christian Religion (1679), p.11

32. Rhagymadroddion, p.142.

33. Placed at the end of the volume that comprises both Vaughan's translation and Edwards's own Catechism.

34. J. Usher, Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl a Llwybraidd fodd, byrr or Athrawiaeth o honi, tr. R. Vaughan (London, 1658), p.5; Prifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl (London, 1682), p.7.

35. Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl, p.6; Prifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl, p.9.

36. e.g. In answer to the question 'Pa ddyled a gynhwysir yn y gorchymyn cyntaf?' Vaughan answers, Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl, p.17, 'Fod yn yr holl nerthoedd oddiffewn, a chynneddfau yr enaid ir gwir dragwyddol Dduw gael ei groesawu ac ef yn vnig.' Edwards rephrases the answer to read, Prifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl, p.21, 'Fod yn yr holl nerthoedd, a chynneddfau ofewn yr enaid ir gwir dragwyddol Dduw gael ei groesawu, ac ef yn vnig.'

37. Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl, p.17; Prifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl, p.21.

38. Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl, p.24; Prifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl, p.26.

39. Prifannau y Grefydd Gristionogawl, pp.32-36.

40. Edwards's name is not attached to the work, but it is most probably his work. If it were not his work, he would have named the author. See also G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.xxxix.

41. e.g. The Nature of God, The Fall of Man, Election etc.

42. Catechism (1682), pp. 17-18.

43 ibid., p.38.

44. e.g. Reference to Eccles, 5.10. on p.93 of Llwybr Hyfforddi'r Nefoedd (1682), not included in Dent's The Plaine-Mans Path-way to Heaven, 9th imp. (London, 1607), p.84.

45. Catechism (1682), "At y Darllennydd".

46. The Principles of Christian Religion (1679), p.111.

47. Y Ff.Dd. (1677), p.206.

48. Llwybr Hyfforddi'r Nefoedd (1682), "Dywygiwr y Preintwasg at y Darllennydd."

Notes on Part 4: CHARLES EDWARDS'S ACHIEVEMENT.

1. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), "At y Darlleydd".

2. ibid., loc.cit.,

3. Saunders Lewis, Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher (Llandysul, 1945), p.61. Emrys ap Iwan's exact words are that "Hanes y Ffydd" is nothing more 'na chasgliad o chwedlau' - see Detholiad o Erthyglau a Llythyrau Emrys ap Iwan II, ed. D. Myrddin Lloyd (Denbigh, 1939), p.29

4. Percy Enderbie, Cambria Triumphans (London, 1661), p.28.

5. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1671), p.93; Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.151

6. S. Lewis, "Hanes y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant", Baner ac Amserau Cymru, 6 December, 1950.

7. supra Part 2, Chapter II.

8. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1671), p.161; Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.215.

9. T. Fuller, The Church-History of Britain (London, 1655), Book VII, p.375. He used the phrase in another context.

10. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.257.

11. ibid., p.251.

12. ibid., p.248.

13. S. Lewis, "Arddull Charles Edwards", Efrydiau Catholig, Vol.IV, 1949, p.52.

14. S. Lewis, op.cit., p.63, describes "Rhinwedd y Ffydd" as 'y rhan olaf a phwysicaf' of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677).

15. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.383.

16. S. Lewis, "Hanes y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant", Baner ac Amserau Cymru, 6 December, 1950.

17. see ibid.

18. Arthur Dent, The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven (London, 1601), Dedication; quoted by Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Cornell University Press, rep. 1958), p.253.

19. L.B. Wright, op.cit., p.261.

20. E.A.B. Barnard, Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor (D.1613) and Thomas Bayly (D.1657) His Son (London 1930), p.109.

21. ed., G.H. Hughes, Rhagymadroddion 1547-1659 (Cardiff, 1951), p.3.

22. Glanmor Williams, Dadeni, Diwygiad a Diwylliant Cymru (Cardiff, 1964), pp.19-20.

23. See e.g. title-page of Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677): 'Preintiedig yn Rhydychen gan Hen:Hall, ac a werthir yn Nimbech, a Gwrecsam, a Llanfyllin, Abergavenni, Caer-Fyrddin, a threfydd eraill.'

24. Mary Clement, "The Campaign Against Illiteracy," Wales Through the Ages (Llandybie, 1960), Vol,II, p.86.

25. ibid., p.87.

26. ibid., loc.cit.

27. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.206.

28. ibid., p.207.

29. Lewis Bayly, Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb, tr. Rowland Vaughan (London, 1630), pp. 146 f.

30. Glanmor Williams, op.cit., p.18.

31. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.292.

32. ibid., p.314.

33. ibid., "At y Darlleydd."

34. ibid., pp.312-13.

35. Hugo Grotius, Gwirionedd y Grefydd Grist'nogol, tr. Edward Samuel (Shrewsbury, 1716), pp. 4-5.

36. ibid., Book I, Part VIII, p.28.

37. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.241.

38. Gwirionedd y Grefydd Grist'nogol, Book II, Part XXII, p.92.

39. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.222.

40. Timothy Bright (ed)., An Abridgement Of The Booke Of Acts And Monuments Of The Church (London, 1589), Dedication, describes Foxe's work as one 'that concerneth so manie'; quoted by L.B. Wright, op.cit., p.334.

41. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), "At y Darlleydd".

42. An Afflicted Man's Testimony Concerning His Troubles (1691), p.8.

43. A. Dent, Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd, tr. R. Llwyd, 2nd edition, edition by Charles Edwards (London, 1682): [illegible] part is left out from passage on p.447.

44. see especially Henry Hammond, Of Sinnes of Weaknesse, of Wilfulnesse (Oxford, 1645), p.2: 'all sinnes in the world...if they be retracted, with true repentance, shall certainly be forgiven.'

45. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), p.314.

46. Catechism yn cynwys pyngciau y grefydd Gristianogol yngeiriau ac ymadroddion yr Ysgrythur lan (London, 1682), pp.17-18.

47. ibid., p.19.

48. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp.349-50.

49. ibid., p.350.

50. ibid., "Peth o Retoreg".

51. Detholiad o Erthyglau a Llythyrau Emrys ap Iwan, p.27.

52. E.M.W. Tillyard, Elizabethan World Picture (Penguin, 1963), p.111.

53. C. Lewis, op.cit., p.64.

Notes on Appendix A

1. See also G.J. Williams (ed.), Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (Cardiff, 1936), pp. liv-lv.

2. E.g., the passage in the opening paragraph of "Hanes y ffydd ymhlith y Cymru", Chapter Sixteen.

3. My italics.

4. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant (1677), pp. 20, 21.

5. E.g. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ed. J. Rogers (Shrewsbury 1722), pp. 20, 21, 53, 255, 263, 297, 313.

6. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ed. R. Jones (Dolgellau, 1811), p.7.

7. See G.J. Williams, op.cit., p.lxxv.

8. See treatment of Edwards's belief concerning the effects of sin, see supra Part 2, Chapter V.

9. see loc.cit.

10. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ed. P. Williams (Dolgellau, 1822), p.xviii.

11. ibid., p.v.

12. ibid., p.xv.

13. ibid., xix.

14. ibid., loc.cit.

15. ibid., p.200.

16. ibid., pp.x, xi.

17. ibid., p.xiii.

18. ibid., p.xix.

19. ibid., loc.cit.

20. Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, ed. W. Edmunds (Carmarthen, 1856), p.vii.

21. ibid., p.viii.

22. ibid., p.ix.

23. ibid., p.x.

24. ibid., loc.cit.

25. ibid., loc.cit.

26. ibid., p.359.

27. ibid., p.v.

28. Hanes y Ffydd yng Nghymru, ed. O.M. Edwards (Llanuwchllyn, 1892) p.

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