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SMOKE, FIRE AND LIGHT

Baptists and the Revitalisation of Welsh Dissent

Basic to the revitalisation of evangelical religion in Wales in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the phenomenon of revivalism. This can be understood as an extraordinary work of the Holy Spirit, first of all awakening professing Christians from a state of torpor and lethargy and restoring their zeal and religious enthusiasm; secondly, a renewing of the church as a community of the faithful in its worship and mission; and thirdly, convicting non-Christians within the orbit of the churches of their need for reconciliation with God and thereafter providing them with a saving faith in Christ. Such revivalism could either be local or widespread, it could vary in depth and intensity, it could sometimes be accompanied by emotional excesses, but its main characteristic was its verve and ardour.

Awakenings of this type were not wholly unfamiliar in the Wales of the early eighteenth century. Even earlier, in 1648, in a sermon before Parliament the Puritan, Walter Cradock, had described an uncommon outpouring of the Spirit which had vivified Christian witness on the borders between Powys and Gwent. 'The Gospel', he said, 'is run over the Mountaines between Brecknockshire & Monmouthshire, as the fire in the thatch'.⁽¹⁾ The 1720s had seen a revival in the Abertillery area of Gwent, kindled 'in that neighbourhood by means of the popular preaching of Mr Enoch Francis and Mr Morgan Griffiths',⁽²⁾ two of the Welsh Baptist movement's most influential preachers. At the same time the thousands who from 1713 onwards flocked to hear Griffith Jones, curate of Laugharne and later rector of Llanddowror, bore all the marks of revivalist congregations,⁽³⁾ a full two decades prior to the usual date given for the beginning of the Evangelical Revival in Wales. So when the Great Awakening arrived, both Churchmen and Dissenters knew something not only of evangelical principles and spirituality, but also of the way in which revivals had served to disseminate them.

The pivotal year, however, in the renewal of the churches' life was 1735. It was then that Daniel Rowland, curate of Llangeitho in Cardiganshire, began preaching evangelical doctrines with startling success. Recently converted under the ministry of Griffith Jones and heeding the counsel of his neighbour, the Independent pastor, Philip Pugh, he had tempered his thunderings of God's law with the tenderness of His grace. A revival ensued the likes of which had never before been experienced in that district.⁽⁴⁾ Concurrently and completely unknown to Rowland, an Anglican schoolmaster from Talgarth in the adjoining county of Brecknock, Howel Harris was undergoing a similar conversion. Convicted of his sinfulness on Palm Sunday, 30th March 1735, he suffered an anguish of soul until the following Whitsun, when on partaking of the Lord's Supper he felt himself unburdened and forgiven through the merits of Christ. His spontaneous attempts at evangelisation were most profusely blessed, and the area around his Trefecca home became a scene of much revivalist excitement.⁽⁵⁾ This was only the beginning of a great work, and during the following years not only were men of the calibre of

William Williams of Pantycelyn (later to become curate of Llanwrtyd and master-hymnist of the Awakening in Wales), and Howel Davies ('The Apostle of Pembrokeshire'),(6) enlisted in the revivalist ranks, but also thousands of ordinary people throughout the principality received a new lease of spiritual life. It was the intensity of this awakening and its widespread influence which marked it off from what had gone before, and it occurred almost exclusively within the bounds of the Established Church.

That it should occur within Anglicanism is hardly surprising: in a total population of some 500,000 there were at most only 18,000 Dissenters - Independents, Presbyterians, Quakers and Baptists.(7) Everyone else was assumed to be a member of the Church of England. Of the 18,000 Dissenters only a fraction were Baptists, some 1500 or so concentrated mainly in mid-Wales where diverse evangelists such as Vavator Powell and Thomas Evans had spearheaded their campaigns in the mid-seventeenth century, and in that area of South Wales between Carmarthen and Abergavenny where John Miles had concentrated his labours between 1649 and 1655.(8) By 1735 there existed seventeen Baptist churches, Calvinist in creed and closed-communion in practice, throughout Wales, the largest at Llanwenarth having a complement of 100 members.(9) Their rather dispirited condition was a matter of constant disquiet at associational gatherings.(10) Although both the Baptists and the more numerous neighbouring Independents were holding their own at this time, the demise of the Quakers and Presbyterians afforded little comfort for Welsh Dissent as a whole. To exacerbate the problem, the most orthodox and (comparatively) zealous of the Baptist fellowships seemed impervious to the Evangelical Revival when it began. Apart from some early and partial co-operation which ground to a halt in about 1740,(11) evangelical Dissent and the revivalist movement developed side by side for some four decades with virtually no link between them. And the partner which stood to gain most, but which until the late 1770s and early 1780s suffered continual losses, was orthodox, evangelical, scriptural Dissent. Only after 1775 did the Evangelical Revival fracture the shell of separatist ecclesiology and dissenting suspicion.

Three reasons can be given for the Baptist movement in Wales standing aloof from the Revival for such a time. Firstly, its separatist suspicion of established religion was loath to recognise any outburst of spiritual life in the parish churches. The only attitude Baptists could take to Anglicanism, even revived Anglicanism, was to hold aloof. As Timothy Thomas, pastor of the Aberduar church, had told Griffith Jones in 1749: 'The Holy Spirit commands us to come out from amongst them, and *be separate*'.(12) William Herbert, minister of the fellowship meeting at Trosgoed near Talgarth, had implored his neighbour, Howel Harris, to 'Separate from ye prophane World'. The Establishment he disparaged as 'a publick house wch is open to all Commers... Don't the Scripture tell me that the Ch-- is like a *Garden inclosed, a Spring shut up, a fountain sealed* ... If so 'tis different from a Common field where every Noisesome Beast may come'. He urged the Anglican not to turn his converts out onto the common, 'to a field of scabby ones wch made em rot & scabby as ever'.(13) Such an attitude hardly encouraged Baptists to be open to the new movement of the Spirit.

Secondly, there was a fear of emotionalism. Even the most zealous of Baptist evangelists fought shy of being dubbed an enthusiast. When Benjamin Francis, for instance, spoke of his ecstasies in private devotion, his colleague, Joshua Thomas, questioned: 'My friend is no advocate of enthusiasm?' (14) Enoch Francis, a man whose success as an evangelist has already been noted, was described by the Pembrokeshire Moravians as being 'sober and reserved'. (15) Although William Williams, minister of the Baptist church at Cardigan, was revered for the depth of his piety, he nevertheless had no sympathy for revivalist excesses. 'The Gospel to which you have been called', he wrote in 1774, 'is ... most spiritual and reasonable'. It was not grace but carnality which

is excited and expanded and goes up in words, sounds, tears and agitations of the affections, which fills the mind with self-conceit, self-love, self-will, pride and contempt for others. (16)

The Welsh Baptist movement had drunk deeply by this time of the sobriety of Old Dissent.

Thirdly, there remained theological differences between the two movements. Howel Harris held to a doctrine of faith which included an immediate assurance of salvation. Although Daniel Rowland disagreed, (17) revivalist preaching in general engendered a direct faith in which assurance was automatic. For Calvinistic Dissenters, however, assurance was a thing apart from saving faith: it was to be striven for by spiritual introspection. 'We must test ourselves', insisted Enoch Francis, 'to see whether we are among Christ's real followers', an assurance which was to be attained by 'constantly and carefully looking at our own hearts'. (18) Joshua Thomas agreed: 'We must look carefully and with much application inwards to test the tendency of our souls ... That is the only way to be sure whether our calling is effective or not'. (19) The exuberance of revivalism was in stark contrast to such cautiousness and therefore for some four decades that exuberance was displayed outside the principality's Baptist churches.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the revivalist spirit gradually permeated Baptist churches. The first reason was that the new emphasis was a derivative of Puritanism, the tradition from which Dissent itself had sprung. (20) Dissenters had been busy throughout the pre-Revival period supplying the populace with Welsh translations of Puritan works. (21) Benjamin Meredith of Llanwenarth, for instance, issued his translation of Bunyan's *Good News for the Vilest of Men* in 1721, while John Harry of Blaenau Gwent translated William Alleine's millennialist *Some Discovery of the New Heavens and the New Earth* four years later. (22) Williams of Pantycelyn had been much influenced by Thomas Goodwin while Harris had read works by Morgan Llwyd and expressed his admiration for Vavasor Powell. (23) The example of Puritan itinerants such as Powell was especially potent for not only did it create severe tensions for revivalism within the parochial system but it also made it increasingly difficult for Dissenters, Baptists especially, to withstand its attraction.

Secondly, there were personal contacts between revival converts, or

'Methodists' as the converts of Harris and Rowland were being called, and Baptist church members. In fact, the 1750s saw a steady secession of Methodists to the Baptist camp. Henry Phillips from Carmarthenshire, converted by Howel Harris and a member at Griffith Jones' Llanddowror parish church, was baptized at Pen-y-garn, Gwent, in 1749:

Reading the New Testament, and particularly the second chapter of the Acts, he became acquainted with the true nature of a gospel church. This made him leave the Church of England... (24)

Daniel Thomas, another Carmarthenshire man, served as a schoolmaster in Gwent where he began exhorting with the Methodists. He was delegated to serve as a missionary to North Wales 'where the inhabitants were very hostile towards religion. He was beaten and injured, greatly abused and nearly lost his life among them'. He too was baptized at Pen-y-garn in 1753. (25) Another Methodist missionary to North Wales who became a Baptist was David Jones of Moleston, Pembrokeshire, the 'Bro. John' of contemporary Methodist records. After some ten years of itinerating he was baptized at Moleston in 1754 and proceeded to pastor the Baptist church at Wrexham. (26) There were others: James Drewett, also from Pembrokeshire, who was baptized at Pen-y-garn in 1752 and eventually became the minister of the Baptist church in Honiton, Devon. (27) Maurice Jones from Denbighshire was baptized and settled at Blaenau Gwent in 1774. 'Under his preaching', wrote Thomas Lewis, historian of the Monmouthshire Baptists, 'the church was revived and considerable numbers were added to its membership'. (28) The most successful ex-Methodist of them all, David Jones of Pontypool, 'began', according to Christmas Evans,

to preach among the Baptists in a passionate and rousing way at about the same time that Rowlands and Howel Harris were at their peak among the Methodists ... At this time there was much deadness throughout the Baptist churches. (29)

A third possible reason for the Welsh denomination's yielding to the new spirit had to do with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; it is the underside of the Older Dissent's suspicion of emotionalism. Between 1764 and 1770 there occurred a dispute over the validity of the imposition of hands after baptism. (30) While ostensibly centred upon whether the rite remained binding, the debate had more to do with the right reception of the Holy Spirit. 'We believe', stated the Llangloffan churchbook,

that laying on of hands (with prayer) upon baptized believers as such is an ordinance of Christ and ought to be submitted unto by all such persons that are admitted to partake of the Lord's Supper, and that the end of this ordinance is not for the extraordinary gifts of the spirit but for a farther reception of the holy spirit. (31)

For all the older men's distaste for enthusiasm, they had a keen interest in the doctrine of the Spirit. Although they thought of the Spirit more in terms of light than fire, (32) any religious development

which purported to give 'a farther reception of the holy spirit' was bound to attract them.

Fourthly, there was a strong link between the new revivalist itinerancies and the evangelism which Welsh Baptists had been involved in since the days of John Miles and his contemporaries. However much stress a man like Howel Harris laid upon formal ordination, the most important element in his ministry was the divine compulsion which he had received at his conversion.(33) Such a principle had long been accepted by the Baptists. Far from conferring the ability to preach, ordination, in the Dissenting tradition, signified that a man had already been endued with ministerial gifts which were now being acknowledged. The Evangelical Revival served to reinforce this Baptist, and radical Puritan,(34) emphasis.

The first pulsation of extraordinary spiritual activity within the Welsh Baptist churches was recorded in 1774. The previous decades had been characterised by constant complaints of lethargy and stagnation. 'The lives of many professors', the 1760 letter of the Welsh Association confessed, 'are too similar to those of the world'.(35) 'A lack of success in the means of grace' was noted in 1767,(36) while four years later 'the churches were complaining bitterly of deadness and fruitlessness'.(37) Then, quite unexpectedly, baptisms rocketed from 93 to 337. For the following three decades and more, the membership graph climbed steadily upwards. There arose an eagerness from within the churches to propagate the Christian message, and an uncommon willingness from without to accept it. 'This year', wrote Jonathan Francis, pastor at the Glamorganshire church of Pen-y-fai, 'God saw fit to pour out the spirit of revival on many of our members', and so intense had that outpouring been that 'many are smitten and convicted to such a degree that they cleave to the godly imploring of them what they must do to be saved'.(38) This was in 1785. 'Generally I had more testimonies of conversions under my ministry abroad than at home', declared Pen-y-garn's Morgan John Rhys in 1791: 'I preached often as I could in the dark places if I could find anywhere where no one had preached before'.(39) David Williams, lay member of the Croes-y-parc fellowship in the Vale of Glamorgan, was received with great enthusiasm at Ystrad, 'an exceedingly dark place', when he preached there in 1784,(40) while Llandyfaen in Carmarthenshire was singled out in 1787 as being ripe for the harvest.(41) 'Our commission', enthused the 1783 Association Letter, 'is to preach to all men going forth into the highways and hedges to proclaim the glad tidings of great joy, and that to all sinners'.(42) Ten years earlier such confidence would have been incongruous. Yet the success continued. 'We received much news', related the 1786 letter, 'which would cause the hearts of those who love Zion to rejoice. She is giving birth to many sons and daughters, and the hand of the Lord is with her servants prospering the Word uncommonly in many places both north and south'.(43)

By 1790 the spiritual decline had been arrested and the state of the Welsh churches had improved dramatically. This was true of all of the evangelical denominations, the pattern among the Independents being virtually identical to that of the Baptists.(44) Revivalism had driven wave upon wave of confirmed Anglicans into the Methodist 'societies' or

class-meetings, so precipitating a strain in the Established Church which was only relieved in 1811 with the formation of the Calvinistic Methodist Connexion. The phenomenon of revivalism manifested itself in surges. The first of these sharp increases in Baptist membership had taken place (as we have seen) in 1774. The second was in 1789 when 603 were baptized, compared with only 150 but a few years earlier. The third surge took place in 1795 when 822 new members were received into fellowship, and the fourth and most spectacular of all, in 1807 when 1368 converts were baptized.(45) 'The Baptist cause is very prosperous in Wales', wrote Joseph Harris, the Swansea pastor, in 1807, ' - there is a great revival in our church - may the Lord prosper the truth throughout the world'.(46)

Contemporary observers were duly impressed. Complaining of the apparently bleak stagnation of Baptist life in England, Benjamin Francis took solace in 1792 in its revival in the land of his birth: 'I often think there is little beside the form and name of religion, in general, in this kingdom', by contrast the cause in Wales 'flourishes, the nett increase there the last year was 353 but more in some former years. O that our eyes may behold the prosperity of Zion'.(47) In September 1795 William Richards, a Welshman ministering among the Baptists of King's Lynn, complained of the religious stagnation around him. Yet

The best news relates to the success of the gospel in the West of Wales where there have been amazing additions to the Baptist churches last year. Scores, if not hundreds, have been added to simple churches. Religion is very dead everywhere in England.(48)

Another expatriate, Morgan Jones from Hammersmith, bewailed the state of the churches in his adopted land. 'True religion or rather vital godliness seems to be at a very low ebb in this country', he informed a correspondent in March 1793. Yet his solace was that 'The Baptists of Wales have greatly increased of late'.(49) And this pattern was being repeated among both the Independents and the Methodists.(50) Excitement engendered, evangelism ensued, and church expansion occurred at an unprecedented rate, the thirty-five churches in South Wales in 1790 becoming eighty-one by 1815. If the statistics recorded annually in the Welsh Association Letters are to be believed, nearly 10,000 converts had been won to the movement during these years.

I have visited a great many of the Welsh churches and have a great deal to tell you respecting their present state [William Richards informed Dr Samuel Jones of Pennsylvania in March 1796]. Smoke and fire we have in abundance, but we have light too, at least a considerable and it seems increasing desire after light and divine knowledge. At no period do I think there were so many in Wales willing to follow the Lamb wherever he goeth. The Lord prosper these more and more.(51)

Two major consequences followed these decades of revival. Firstly, and perhaps inevitably, there was division. In both South Wales and the North reaction set in; in the south it took the form of Arminian

rationalism and in the north Sandemanianism. A minority of ministers, most of whom had connections with Dyfed and South-West Wales, became unhappy with the revivalist tendencies within the denomination. By 1798 the situation had become grave; a secession occurred involving some fifteen churches who formed themselves into a (shortlived) General Baptist Association. However, as some half of them had merely objected to the emotionalism of the revivalist converts rather than with evangelical theology as such, they soon found themselves at odds with those colleagues who had left because of their avowed unitarianism. By 1805 the majority had returned to the fold leaving the remaining handful of churches to join the South Wales Unitarian Society.(52) The North Wales schism was to be more permanent. John Richard Jones, leader of the denomination in Merionethshire, became so disillusioned with the awakening that he led his churches into a new connexion of Sandemanian Baptists, also in 1798.

The Welsh Baptists of former days [he reminisced in 1821], especially their *preachers*, were an infinitely superior people to anyone of their ilk among the present generation, especially their current popular peripatetic preachers. Around 50 years ago, the Baptists began to lose all semblance of sobriety and simplicity in their religion, and with wild and lunatic passion began to follow the despicable example of the Methodists...(53)

Jones' opinion, though, was only held by a minority. Most of the Baptist congregations in North Wales remained loyal to the older denomination which, in its turn, was undergoing a revivalist metamorphosis - following 'the despicable example of the Methodists' - under the influence of a new generation of popular preachers among whom Christmas Evans reigned supreme.(54)

The second consequence was infinitely more important. The new emphasis served to transform what had been a small, introspective, and highly marginal movement into a powerful weapon for religious and social change. By 1815 the Welsh Baptists, along with their Nonconformist brethren, both Independent and Methodist, were poised to transform the very texture of the nation's life. Even a quarter of a century earlier this would have been thought quite impossible. That change was wrought by revivalism. By providing a growing population with a vibrant faith, tenacious enough to withstand the rigours of the Industrial Revolution and sufficiently impressive to become the hallmark of the Welsh people throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, Nonconformity's place was secure. Indeed, the awakening of the mid-eighteenth century inaugurated a spiritual tradition which continued until the beginning of the twentieth century at least: the last nationwide religious revival in Wales occurred in 1904-5.(55)

NOTES

- 1 Walter Cradock, *Glad Tydings from Heaven*, 1648, p.50.
- 2 Edmund Jones, *A Geographical, Historical and Religious Account of the Parish of Aberystroth*, Trevecca 1779, p.99.
- 3 Gwyn Davies, *Griffith Jones, Llanddowror: Athro Cenedl*, Penybont ar Ogwr, 1984, pp.25-35.

- 4 Eifion Evans, *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales*, Edinburgh, 1985, pp.27-78.
- 5 Eifion Evans, *Howel Harris, Evangelist*, Cardiff, 1974, pp.1-19.
- 6 E. Gordon Rupp, *Oxford History of the Church: Religion in England, 1688-1791*, 1986, pp.454-61.
- 7 Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters, from the Reformation to the French Revolution*, Oxford, 1978, pp.270, 272-4.
- 8 T. M. Bassett, *The Welsh Baptists*, Swansea, 1977, ch.1; B. R. White, 'John Miles and the Structures of the Calvinistic Baptist Mission to South Wales, 1649-1660', *Welsh Baptist Studies*, ed. Mansel John, Cardiff, 1976, pp.35-79.
- 9 Llanwenarth churchbook, National Library of Wales Deposit MS 109, pp.4-22.
- 10 *Llythyr oddi wrth y Gymmanfa*, Caerfyrddin, 1760, p.4; idem, 1761, p.4.
- 11 See D. D. J. Morgan, 'The Development of the Baptist Movement in Wales between 1714 and 1815 with particular reference to the Evangelical Revival', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1986, pp.108-121.
- 12 *Greal y Bedyddwyr*, 1830, p.8.
- 13 *Journal of the Presbyterian Church of Wales Historical Society* (JPCWHS.) 1920; Trefecca letter 92, 1736.
- 14 Bristol Baptist College MS G.98.5, p.46; cf. G. F. Nuttall, 'Questions and Answers: an eighteenth century correspondence', BQ 27, 1977, pp.83-93.
- 15 'An account of the awakening in Pembrokeshire', in M. H. Jones, 'The Moravians and the Methodists', JPCWHS, 1918, p.5.
- 16 *Llythyr y Gymmanfa at yr Eglwysi*, Caerfyrddin, 1774, pp.3,4; for Williams' piety see David Jones, *Hanes y Bedyddwyr yn Neheubarth Cymru*, Caerfyrddin, 1839, pp.80-1.
- 17 Eifion Evans, *Daniel Rowland ...*, pp.111-7.
- 18 *Cyfrinach y Bedyddwyr*, 1830, p.19; Sermon preached at Rhydwylym, 1722.
- 19 Joshua Thomas, *Tystiolaeth y Credadun am ei hawl i'r Nefoedd*, Caerfyrddin, 1757, p.10; cf. Timothy Thomas, *Y Garreg Wen*, Caerfyrddin, 1757, p.35.
- 20 Cf. R. Tudur Jones, 'Dylanwad y Mudiad Methodistiaidd ar Ymneilltuaeth Cymru yn y Ddeunawfed Canrif', JPCWHS, 1962, pp.53-4 esp.; cf. John Walsh, 'Origins of the Evangelical Revival', in J. D. Walsh and G. V. Bennett, eds., *Essays in Modern English Church History*, 1966, pp.154-60 esp.
- 21 Geraint H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660-1730*, Cardiff, 1978, pp.50-2 etc.
- 22 John Bunyan, *Pechadur Jerusalem yn Gadwedig, neu Newydd da i'r Gwaelaf o Ddynion*, Henffordd, 1721; Ioan Harri, *Rhai Datguddiadau o'r Nefoedd Newydd ar Ddaear Newydd*, Caerfyrddin, 1725.
- 23 G. M. Roberts, *Y Pêr Ganiedydd*, 1, Aberystwyth, 1949, p.171; JPCWHS, 1940, p.417.
- 24 *Baptist Annual Register*, 1, p.128.
- 25 Joshua Thomas, *Hanes y Bedyddwyr*, Caerfyrddin, 1778, p.248.
- 26 G. M. Roberts ed., *Hanes Methodistiaeth Galfinaidd Cymru*, 1, Caernarfon, 1973, pp.271-2; A. N. Palmer, *A History of the Older Nonconformity of Wrexham*, Wrexham, 1888, pp.102-3.
- 27 Joshua Thomas, op.cit., p.248.
- 28 Thomas Lewis, 'A History of the Baptists in Gwent', National

- Library of Wales Deposit MS 1213, p.47.
- 29 Christmas Evans, 'Bywgraffiad Dafydd Jones', *Seren Gomer*, 1818, p.337.
- 30 Timothy Thomas, *Amylgiad Byr am Arddodiad Dwylaw, a'r Derbyniad o'r Ysbryd Glan*, Caerfyrddin, 1764; idem., *Golygiad Byr o'r hyn a wnaed yn hysbys yn ddiweddar yn erbyn Arddodiad Dwylaw*, Caerfyrddin, 1766; *Ymofyniad byr pa un ydyw ... arddodiad dwylaw ... yn ordinhad Crist*, Caerfyrddin, 1765; William Williams, *Eglurhad o Ddawn yr Ysbryd*, Caerfyrddin, 1770.
- 31 Llangloffan Churchbook, National Library of Wales Deposit MS 412, p.17.
- 32 R. Tudur Jones, 'Yr Hen Ymneilltuwyr', in G. M. Roberts, op.cit., p.39.
- 33 G. F. Nuttall, *Howel Harris, the Last Enthusiast*, Cardiff, 1965, p.13; Eifion Evans, *Howel Harris, Evangelist*, Cardiff, 1974, pp.11-19.
- 34 See Christopher Hill, 'Propagating the Gospel', in H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard, eds., *Historical Essays 1600-1750 presented to David Ogg*, 1963, pp.35-59.
- 35 *Llythyr, Oddiwrth y Gymmanfa*, Caerfyrddin, 1760, p.5; cf. 1763, p.4.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 1767, p.3.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 1771, p.4; cf. 1772, p.4.
- 38 John T. Griffith, *Hanes Eglwys Penyfai*, Caerfyrddin, 1916, p.26.
- 39 British Library Add.MS. 24388, Letter to John Rippon, 23rd November 1791.
- 40 Joshua Thomas, *Hanes y Bedyddwyr*, Pontypridd, 1885, pp.601.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p.607.
- 42 *Llythyr eyc.*, 1783, p.3.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 1786, p.7.
- 44 John Thomas, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru*, 5, Dolgellau, 1891, pp.458-60, 473-6; R. Tudur Jones, *Hanes Annibynwyr Cymru*, Abertawe, 1966, pp.143-68.
- 45 Statistics gleaned from the Annual Associational Letters.
- 46 British Library Add. MS . 25387, Letter to John Rippon, 14th January 1807.
- 47 National Library of Wales MS 1207, Letter to William Steadman, 4th September 1792.
- 48 McKesson Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Letter to Samuel Jones, 23rd March 1794.
- 49 *Ibid.*, Letter to Samuel Jones, 14th March 1793.
- 50 R. Tudur Jones, op.cit.; D. E. Jenkins, *Life of the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala*, 2, Denbigh, 1910.
- 51 McKesson Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Letter to Samuel Jones, 22nd March 1796.
- 52 See D. D. J. Morgan, op.cit., pp.305-12.
- 53 David Williams, *Cofiant J. R. Jones, Ramoth*, Caerfyrddin, 1913, p.824; letter to D. Williams, 23rd August 1821.
- 54 D. D. J. Morgan, op.cit., pp.305-12.
- 55 Cf. Christopher Ben Turner, 'Revivals and Popular Religion in Victorian and Edwardian Wales', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales; R. Tudur Jones, *Ffydd ac Argyfwng Cenedi: Hanes Crefydd yng Nghymru, 1890-1914*, 2, Abertawe, 1982, pp.122-226.