The Eighteenth Century Welsh Awakening

With Its Relationships

To The Contemporary English Evangelical Revival

by

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1956
PLACES THAT WERE CONNECTED WITH THE AWAKENING IN WALES IN THE 18th CENTURY:

1. Anglesey.
2. Caernarvon.
3. Denbigh.
4. Flint.
5. Merioneth.
7. Cardigan.
8. Radnor.
10. Carmarthen.
I

HELEN

Fy Annwyl Briod
Am ei serch
a'i choesfrogaeth
"The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage."

Psalm 16:6

"One of the most discreditable and discourteous things in life is contempt for that which we once loved."

Adam C. Welch.
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(The broken line indicates my route through the country of the revivalists)

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The map and illustrations have been made available through the courtesy of the National Library of Wales.
It may have been pretentious on my part to undertake this study. As a grandson of Welsh immigrants to America, I began it with no more to commend me than an enthusiasm for "the land of my fathers." I have learned not to despise enthusiasm, and in the following pages my aim has been to wed it to all that is reliable in objective inquiry.

As I lay down my pen, I am aware of the many disadvantages which confront the non-Welsh born student of this period. The most notable is a lack of feeling for the subject, a feeling which in all probability is as natural to the native Welshman as the air he breathes.

It follows, therefore, that this thesis has many weaknesses which a longer period within Wales, and more particularly within the life stream of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, might have removed.

What I confidently believe is that my original enthusiasm has been expanded. I realise full well that the more I think I know about Welsh Methodism the less I really know. It is precisely at this point that my enthusiasm has been quickened, and I look forward eagerly to future inquiry into this important and fascinating period of history.

I desire here to record my grateful appreciation to those who have generously assisted me in the preparation of this thesis.
I am heavily indebted to the Rev. Gomer M. Roberts, M.A., of Pontyrhydyfen, Glamorgan. Mr Roberts, who is editor of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Journal, has shared with me his authoritative knowledge of Welsh Methodism. Through companionship with him, I was able to penetrate behind the veil of facts and capture something of the vitality of the movement. Mr Roberts placed at my disposal more than five hundred of his typewritten transcriptions of unpublished Trevecka Letters. This enabled me to accomplish far more in the four months I spent in Aberystwyth than would otherwise have been possible.

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I am especially indebted to my dear wife, Helen. Her willing sacrifices and loving encouragement, throughout this period of study, which was marred by ill-health and misfortune in our family, were sources of incalculable strength.

R.W.F.

Edinburgh, Scotland.
1 March, 1956.
(Cwyl Dowi)
INTRODUCTION

"I am in great haste, but I would not slip this opportunity of sending this few lines to confirm my love to you and yours."¹ How typical this was of Howell Harris, lay preacher and Welsh reformer! He was always in great haste. His self-imposed itineraries were not intended to spare him from physical exhaustion. Harris's Itinerary Between 1735-1773 illustrates this: "I open M. H. Jones's Itinerary of Howell Harris, almost at random," Dr R. T. Jenkins wrote, "and I find that between October 10, 1740 and March 31, 1741, Harris slept only three nights at home."²

Harris's letters, too, reveal his staggering pace. In November, 1742, he returned to Wales after spending four months in charge of the Tabernacle in London, while George Whitefield was in Scotland. A winter's rest might have been justified. Instead we read, in a letter to "A Minister in Scotland" (probably the Rev. W. McCulloch of Cambuslang):

"I generally ride every Day from 8 to 15 Welsh miles & discourse 2, 3, 4, and 5 times, else I could not see them all in many Months, there being 8 or 9 Counties which I believed I am call'd to visit."³

By 1747 Harris was going round the scattered Whitefieldian Societies in England, as well as his original fields of labour

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in Wales. Of the period between 22 January and 23 February, 1747, he wrote:

"I travailed abt. 600 miles and have visited part of 5 Counties in Wales & have been throu' ye west of England throu' Bristol Bath Exeter Plymouth Dock & Cornwall & came home att 2 in ye morng last Sunday aftr travaileg last week abt 250 miles."1

Though always in great haste, he found time to keep a Diary and write thousands of letters. His stamina was astounding. Had he learned the virtue of brevity his accomplishments would not be quite so startling, but neither his Diaries nor his letters are marked for their conciseness. To travel such distances, in arduous conditions, and to write at such length, meant that he had to 'steal' time. In fact, he denied his body its natural requirement of rest and sleep. It is little wonder that, seven years after beginning his ministry, he wrote, "I feel I am decaying in my Body."2

He could have spared himself much physical distress by concentrating on his travels and preaching and by letting his Diaries and Correspondence go to the four winds. But this, fortunately for the later student, was not his nature. He was record-conscious.

The records which he left behind include almost 300

2. Ibid., Letter 561, unpublished.
Diaries and almost 3,000 Letters, together with miscellaneous papers, collectively known as "The Travacka Manuscripts". (Travacka, a village in Breconshire, was the home of Howell Harris.) A moderate estimate places the number of words in these Manuscripts at 16,000,000. Today, they form the nucleus of the Calvinistic Methodist Connexional Archives, and are deposited in the National Library of Wales, at Aberystwyth.

The Diaries cover the years 1735-1773. They contain page after page of meditation, prayer, and introspection, as well as pertinent historical fact. They are written in a small, faint handwriting, and "bear the mark of greatest haste and disjointed thinking". They were formed by "stitching together, under a brown paper cover, some 30 or more sheets folded in halves, which measure either 6" x 7" or 4" x 7". Harris's handwriting, marked by excessive abbreviations and contractions, is exceedingly difficult to decipher. On one occasion John Wesley wrote to him, "When you write, have Patience. For some times you write so hastily that I can't read it." This partly explains why the Diaries have never been fully transcribed. Extracts from them have been printed in the Historical Journal of the Calvinistic Methodist (Presbyterian) Church of Wales, and in several books, notably

1. Travacka MSS. Supplement, No. 1, second series, p.409
3. Ibid., p.6.
A page of diary 162: recording the resolutions and points under discussion at an association held in 1750.

Howell Harris’s handwriting.
Calvinistic Methodist Holy Orders by D. E. Jenkins, and Howel Harris yn Llundain by John Thickens. Apart from the first twenty-one Diary notebooks, which were written in Latin, and which have been transcribed and translated\(^1\), the Diaries are in English.

While the partial transcriptions are praiseworthy, anything short of a total transcription will fail to satisfy the inquisitive historian. Until all the Diaries have been transcribed, the story of Welsh Methodism will be incomplete. It is easier to talk about this work than to do it. I suspect that a young man of thirty might find the remainder of his active life too short to transcribe these Diaries. Is it any wonder, then, that my use of them in preparing this thesis, has been restricted to those extracts which have been published?

It is most desirable that the Calvinistic Methodist church of Wales should engage an historian for this task. If and when this work is done, a new field will be open to the historian and the Christian psychologist. I wish I could think that in my lifetime I should see the Welsh equivalent of Sidney G. Dimond's study of Wesleyanism — *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival*.

The chief source of this thesis is that part of the "Trevecka Manuscripts" known as the "Trevecka Letters". In a

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1. The transcription of the Latin Diaries was in the main the work of Dr D. E. Jenkins. See *Trevecka MSS. Supplement*, No. 1, first series, p. 5.
sense, the purpose of this thesis is better served by the Letters than by the Diaries. (Let it be said, however, that my more frequent use of the Letters was determined by necessity, in the first instance.) The Diaries are the utterances of one man, but the Letters illumine a wider field.

The Trevecca Letters are not all originals. Many are holographs, but others are drafts by Harris, and still others are copies in the handwriting of Harris, James Ingram (Harris's personal 'secretary'), and others.

Among Harris's correspondents were English Methodists like John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, Thomas Adams, John Gennick, and dozens of lesser-known figures of English Methodism, a number of whom claimed Harris as their spiritual father. The Letters are also notable for the exchange of correspondence between Harris and the Moravian Brethren. There is a large collection of letters between Harris and his Welsh co-labourers, which help to offset the silence that would otherwise encase them. (Harris was the sole Welsh revivalist in the eighteenth century who left behind a collection of papers of such a varied historical interest.) The value of the 'major' correspondence — between Harris and the Wesleys, Whitefield, etc., — cannot be denied, but neither does it detract from the importance of those letters between the 'unknown converts' and their acknowledged spiritual father. In reading the Trevecca Letters, listed in the bibliography, I had a feeling of privilege and
awe. Through them I stepped into the centre of the greatest evangelical movement the modern world has known.

The value of the Trevecka collection has only recently been appreciated. In 1751 Harris 'retired' from an itinerant ministry and gathered together a community of followers in his home at Trevecka. This community, 'The Trevecka Family', flourished during Harris's lifetime. After Harris's death in 1773, the Family steadily diminished, and in 1847 the last member died. Five years before his death, the then small remnant of the Family gave the buildings of the Trevecka community to the Presbytery of Breconshire, which in turn presented them to the South Wales Association.¹ (The Association is comparable to the Synod in Scottish and American Presbyterianism. The rise of the Association is discussed in chapter four. The 'Trevecka Family' is discussed in chapter seven.)

The Calvinistic Methodist Connexion set up a theological college in Trevecka, and the collection of manuscripts remained there, uncared for, for the next fifty years. They were delved into by individuals in search of specific information, but as there was no index to the collection, such work was limited. This neglect of the manuscripts resulted in the drifting of Diary-notebooks, Letters, and papers from Trevecka to private

libraries. It is, for example, significant that the Trevecka Letters which Luke Tyorman used in compiling his exhaustive "Lives" of John Wesley and George Whitefield, are among those missing in the present collection.

As an examiner of theological students, Sir O. H. Edwards visited the theological college at Trevecka, and recognised the importance of these manuscripts, which were at the time kept in wooden cupboards. He suggested to the Connexion that they be repaired, and then placed in a fireproof safe. This was in 1893. These suggestions were followed, and at the same time (1894) Evan E. Morgan of Brecon indexed the contents of the Manuscripts.

The Morgan index encouraged fresh inquiries into the awakening. In 1895, J. M. Jones and W. Morgan published the first of their two-volume history, Y Tadau Methodistaidd, (The Methodist Fathers). This work was biographical in character. It bears the marks of original research, and obviously the authors had access to the Trevecka Manuscripts and to Morgan's index. Y Tadau Methodistaidd contains almost sixty letters which have been copied and translated from the originals.

Some of the statements in Y Tadau Methodistaidd prompted Beriah G. Evans to reply to them in his Diwyrwyr Cymru, (Reformers of Wales), in 1900. Evans wrote with precontentions,

and emphasised the priority of the Congregationalists and Baptists in the awakening. This work began a long and heated sectarian dispute.

Out of the controversy, caused by Evans's *Diwygyr Cymru*, grew a spirit of objective research. The need for submitting the Trevecka Manuscripts to a scientific inquiry was at last seen.

The first step was taken in 1909, when the North Wales Association passed a resolution requesting the South Wales Association to consider the desirability of publishing the "Trevecka Manuscripts". The South Wales Association, to which the Manuscripts belong, concurred. A committee of twelve, approved by the General Assembly, began to transcribe the Latin Diaries (21 books) in 1910. When this arduous labour was completed, the committee "came to the decision as to the manner in which the Journals and Letters should be issued and recommended to the General Assembly that publication should take the form of a periodical, in which other matters of Connexional and historical interest should also be published."¹

In March, 1916, the first number of the *Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Hanes Eglwys Methodistiaid Calfinaidd Cymru*, (The Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales) was published. This *Journal* continues to flourish. It is published quarterly.

Since 1916 numerous extracts from the Diaries have appeared in the _Historical Journal_. Sixteen separate "Supplements" to the _Journal_ have been issued under the title, _Trovecka Supplement_. Three of the Supplements were devoted entirely to the printing of M. H. Jones's chronological arrangement of the _Itinerary of Howell Harris - 1735 to 1773_. The remainder of the Supplements have been given mainly to the printing of almost 400 of the _Trovecka_ Letters. When it is remembered that there are almost 3,000 Letters, this number does not appear large. Nonetheless, it must be pointed out that the work involved in transcribing and editing the Letters is arduous, and has been entirely a 'Labour of love' on the part of a few interested students, who have carried out their pastoral responsibilities at the same time.

The present editor of the _Historical Journal_, the Rev. Gomer M. Roberts, M.A., has secured a grant from the Pilgrim Trust that will enable the Society to publish a large number of the _Trovecka_ Letters. Mr Roberts expects that the first volume of Letters will be available in 1956.

In his book, _The Trovecka Letters_ (published in 1932), Dr H. H. Jones wrote: "Welsh Calvinistic Methodism...written by the Rev. W. Williams of Swansea in 1871...is, so far, the only History of Welsh Methodism written in English."¹ Williams's book is a useful volume which the author described

¹. Jones, M. H., _op. cit._, p.35.
as the fruit of his personal search through John Hughes's three-volume History, _Methodistiaeth Gymru_ (The Methodism of Wales). Williams stated that he assimilated facts from Hughes's History and wrote them down in his own way.

It is hoped that this thesis, drawing not only on printed sources, but on over a thousand of the Trevecka Letters, about seven hundred of which are unpublished, may help towards the English reader's appreciation of the eighteenth century Welsh awakening.

A few words explaining the purpose of chapter one, and defining new terms which will be met in the first chapters, may be permitted.

Chapter one, "Religion in Wales before the Methodist Awakening", is an attempt to trace the progress of religion in Wales between the Reformation and the birth of Methodism (1735). I can make no claim to an exhaustive treatment of this broad subject, but my meagre sketch may, I trust, be suggestive. I have availed myself largely of the researches of Professor David Williams.

The term "Welsh Methodism" justly calls for a brief explanation at this point, as do the terms "Calvinistic Methodism", "Private Society", and "The Association".

1. The origin of the use of the term 'Methodist' in connection with the 18th Century evangelical revival in England and Wales, and the rise of "The Private Society", are discussed in chapter 2. Chapter 4 is devoted to a treatment of "The Association". In several instances it has been necessary to use these terms before they are discussed in the chapters intimated. Thus, these brief definitions are intended to help the reader understand those terms when he first meets them.
Today, the term "Methodist", or "Methodism", is universally associated with the name of John Wesley. In the case of "Welsh Methodism", however, this association is incorrect. Welsh Methodism originated quite independently of English Methodism. The "two" Methodisms grew side by side. After 1739 they began to commingle, but even then their relationship was that of two sisters and not that of mother and daughter.  

The Welsh revivalists, from the outset, were Calvinistic in doctrine. Following the rift between John Wesley and George Whitefield (1741) over the doctrine of free grace, the Calvinistic element in English Methodism, led by Whitefield, divided from the Wesleyan Methodists. The centre of the Calvinistic Methodist ministry in England was at the Tabernacle, a wooden edifice built by Whitefield and his followers in London. In January, 1743, the first joint Association of the Welsh and English Calvinistic Methodists took place. The strength of Calvinistic Methodism diminished in England towards the end of the eighteen century, but, in Wales, Calvinistic Methodism became a recognised denomination in the nineteenth century, and to this day is numerically the strongest Christian body in Wales. The Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales is also known as the Presbyterian Church of Wales.

Where the term "Welsh Methodism" appears by itself in this

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1. Jenkins, R. T., Hanes Cymru yn y Ddaunawfed Ganrif, p.73.
thesis it denotes "Calvinistic Methodism".

The "Private Society" and "The Association" have to do with the organisation of Welsh Methodism in its early years. The Private Society was created by the grouping together of converts for their mutual spiritual nurture. As the number of converts increased, and the number of Private Societies grew, the Association was created to integrate the over-all work of the revival. The Association became the highest "judicial body" of Welsh Methodism. It can be said to have corresponded roughly to Wesley's Conferences.

Last one should think this thesis is dominated by Howell Harris, permit me to make this one last explanation. Apart from the fact that Harris was the only Welsh reformer who left a collection of papers, the life of Howell Harris was the point of junction between Welsh and English Methodism. Harris, the roving evangelist, dominated the Welsh scene between 1735 and 1750, and through him the contacts between the "two" Methodisms were established. Harris's co-workers in Wales, Daniel Rowland, William Williams of Pantycelyn, and Howell Davies, were never on the same intimate terms with the English Methodists as was Harris. Between 1739-1750, for example, John and Charles Wesley between them visited Wales thirty-three times. Between 1750, the year of Harris's retirement from the Welsh Association, and 1762, the year of Harris's reconciliation with the Welsh Methodists, the Wesleys visited Wales only eight times. Howell Harris was the pivot of the
relationship between Welsh and English Methodism.

The study of the eighteenth century Welsh awakening with its relationships to the contemporary English evangelical revival is also a study of the life of Howell Harris.
CHAPTER ONE

A Sketch: Religion in Wales
Before the Methodist Awakening

The eighteenth century Welsh Methodist awakening was no isolated movement. It ought rather to be considered as the culmination of earlier awakenings. To trace the history of these earlier awakenings, fostered by Churchmen and Nonconformists alike, will help us to understand the state of Christianity in Wales before the advent of Methodism in the eighteenth century.

It has been said that in Wales, "it was a case of the Reformation tarrying". Notable apathy characterised the people's acceptance of the new ecclesiastical policy introduced by Henry VIII and Edward VI. One of the first real advances of Protestantism in Wales came in 1546. In that year, the first book was printed in Welsh. It was the work of John Price, of Erccon, and included translations of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. Immediately after, there appeared a collection of proverbs in Welsh, edited by William Salesbury. Salesbury, a native of Llansannan, had been converted to Protestantism while a student at Oxford. In his book, he urged

1. Understandably, this sketch will be suggestive only. The purpose of this first chapter is only to hint at the religious situation in Wales before Methodism. See Introduction, page 21.
2. Lewis, H. Elvet, Nonconformity in Wales, p. 2.
3. For the story of the dissolution of the Monasteries see A History of Modern Wales by Prof. David Williams, p. 48 ff.
5. Ibid., p. 60.
the people of Wales to petition the King for a translation of
the Bible into Welsh. In 1551, he issued a Welsh translation
of the Gospels and the Epistles.

Roman Catholicism was re-introduced to Wales under Mary,
but again the change of ecclesiastical policy was met by the
Welsh people with indifference. Only a few advanced Welsh
Protestants went into exile during the Marian persecution, and
only three in Wales were martyred. 1

Elizabeth's accession in 1558 restored the Royal supremacy
in religious affairs. Again, the transition was peaceful in
Wales. Richard Davies, one of the few who went into exile during
Mary's reign, returned to Wales. Davies, a native of the Conway
valley, was made Bishop of St. Asaph upon his return, and soon
after became Bishop of St. David's.

The first decade of Elizabeth's reign was characterised by
toleration. Very few of the lower clergy were deprived of
their livings, and only a small number of Welsh Roman Catholics
chose to go into exile. These were given passports to Flanders.
Among them was Morris Clynnog, who had been made Bishop of Bangor
before Mary's death, and Griffith Roberts, who had been made
Archdeacon of Anglesey.

The decay in the religious life of the people is shown by
the lack of resistance to the changes in religious policy

1. The three were: Bishop Ferrar, in Carmarthenshire; Rawlins
   White, in Cardiff; William Nicol, at Haverfordwest.
between Henry VIII and Elizabeth. It became apparent that before Christianity in Wales would revive, the Bible must be translated into Welsh, and in 1563 an Act was passed by Parliament authorising the translation of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Supervision of the work was entrusted to the bishops of the four Welsh dioceses - St. David's, Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph - and to the Bishop of Hereford. Failing to have the Bible translated and one copy placed in each church by 1 March, 1567, the bishops were to be subjected to a fine of forty pounds each.

The condition of religion in Wales at the time of this Act (1563) is indicated by its preamble:

"Her Majesty's most loving and obedient subjects, inhabiting within her Highness's dominion and country of Wales, being in no small part of this realm, are entirely destitute of God's Holy Word, and do remain in the like, or rather more darkness and ignorance, than they were in the time of Papistry."

To begin the work of translation, William Salesbury went to Abergwili where he and the Bishop of St. David's, Richard Davies, collaborated. Salesbury had a peculiar literary style, which had marred his earlier translations, but the two were successful in translating the Book of Common Prayer in 1567. This was followed by the New Testament. However, the two men, who were good Hebrew scholars, differed over the translation of the Old Testament, and their subsequent separation halted this work. Wales had to wait another twenty years for an edition of the

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whole Bible in the vernacular.

While the Anglican scholars were engaged in this literary awakening, the exiled Welsh Roman Catholics were planning a reconquest of their native land, both by military force and literary propaganda. Morris Clynog and Griffith Roberts had moved to Milan, where, as early as 1561, Clynog had advocated the overthrow of Elizabeth by foreign invasion. In Milan, these two Welsh Catholics entered the service of Carlo Borromeo, Cardinal-Archbishop of Milan, who was "the central figure of the Counter Reformation". In 1567, the Catholic exiles entered into literary competition with the Welsh Anglicans. In that year Clynog published a Welsh grammar, and in 1568 a "...brief digest of the Roman Catholic faith", which was written in Welsh and designed for distribution in Wales. A Roman Catholic seminary was established at Douai in 1568 to train priests for the reconversion of England and Wales.

A succession of Roman Catholic plots against Elizabeth hardened the government into intolerance at the beginning of the second decade of her reign. The first Roman Catholic martyr in Wales was Richard White, a schoolmaster in Flintshire, who was executed as a traitor at Wrexham in October 1584.

The state of Protestantism did not improve in Wales. The Reformation, which as a spiritual force had disrupted the

1. Williams, David, op. cit., p. 68. Borromeo was later known as St. Charles. He died in 1584.
2. Ibid., p. 68.
Continent, had little response in Wales. Distressed by the spiritual poverty of Wales, a new voice, quite distinct from Elizabethan Protestantism, was heard in the Welsh valleys in 1587. In the spring of that year, John Penry, who was born in Breconshire and educated at Cambridge, published a Treatise in which he painted a dark picture of the state of religion in Wales. He condemned the ignorance, idolatry, and superstitious beliefs of the people, but his main attack was on the 'dumb' Anglican clergy who could not preach in Welsh, or could not preach at all. He laid the blame for the spiritual destitution of the country upon ineffective and non-resident clergymen.

Penry was arrested shortly after his Treatise was published, and he was arraigned before the Court of High Commission, over which John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, presided. Pronounced a heretic, Penry was imprisoned for a month and then released. In 1588, he published an Exhortation in which his earlier arguments were repeated, and to which he appended an urgent plea for the translation of the Bible into Welsh.

In that same year the first translation of the whole Bible in Welsh at last appeared. It was the work of William Morgan, vicar of Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant. Morgan, who was educated at Cambridge, was probably assisted in the work of translation "by Dr David Powell of Ruabon, by Richard Vaughan who later became the Bishop of Bangor, and by Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth,
who had been his fellow student at Cambridge."

Morgan later became Bishop of Llandaff, and in 1601 was translated to the bishopric of St. Asaph. He died in 1604.

William Morgan's translation, which was free from the peculiar style of Salusbury, was revised in 1620 by Richard Parry, who had succeeded Morgan in the see of St. Asaph, and by Dr John Davies of Hallwyd, "the greatest Welsh scholar of the day". Ten years later, Y Beibl Bach, (the little Bible) was published for general distribution. Previous to "Y Beibl Bach", the editions of the Welsh Bible were limited to Church use only.

In 1588, the year in which the first Welsh Bible appeared, the threat of foreign invasion was lessened by the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Archbishop Whitgift could then freely concentrate upon the growing number of Protestant reformers, known as Puritans, who advocated a rigid simplicity in the services of the church, and who were strict in their doctrinal interpretations as well as in their moral practice. To them, the Elizabethan settlement in religious affairs had not moved far enough away from Roman Catholicism. Though there was still hardly a trace of Puritanism in Wales, the Breconshire-born

1. Williams, David, op.cit., p.76.
2. Ibid.
3. The expense of publishing the popular edition of the Welsh Bible in 1630 was met by Thomas Middleton and Rowland Heylin. Both men lived in London. Middleton was from a Denbighshire family, Heylin was from Montgomeryshire.
reformer,¹ John Penry, suffered and died for this cause. He was said to have been associated with the issue of a series of attacks on the bishops, known as the "Martin Marprelate Tracts".² To escape persecution he fled to Scotland in 1588, and remained there for three years. In September 1592, he appeared in London and associated himself with a group of Separatists. The following March he was arrested and committed to prison. He was charged with inciting to rebellion and insurrection, and on trumped up charges was found guilty of treason. He was executed on 29 May, 1593, at the age of thirty years.

In its failure to revive religion in Wales in the sixteenth century, the Church of England lost a golden opportunity. The 'idle ministers' of Anglicanism - the non-resident clergy, the clergy who could not preach at all, and the clergy who could only preach in English - were too firmly entrenched in Wales. If the Established Church had made use of its own distinguished Welsh scholars, there is no doubt that the religious history of Wales would be different. By 1588 the Church had had the Creed, the Prayer Book, and the whole Bible. Later, in 1621, Edmund Prys³, who aided Morgan in translating the Bible, and who was himself a poet of considerable merit, issued a book of Metrical

¹. The most remarkable Welsh reformer of the 18th century, Howell Harris, was also a native of Breconshire.
². It has never been proved that Penry was the author of the Marprelate Tracts. See The Marprelate Tracts 1588, 1589 (London, 1911) by Wm. Pierce.
³. Prof. Williams suggests that the purity of Morgan's translation of the Bible was largely due to Prys.
Psalms. But Anglicanism, introduced to Wales from England in alien guise, failed to utilise these gifts of the distinguished sons of Wales. That was the tragedy of the era. The Reformation spirit tarried.

Puritanism, like Anglicanism, was introduced to Wales from England. It was slow in penetrating beyond the Welsh border counties. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud (who was previously Bishop of St. David's), re-issued an order for the reading of the Book of Sports in 1633, a great stir was caused in England, but in Wales this command, although hostile to Puritans, created little disturbance.

Laud also revived the Court of High Commission, and to it was summoned in 1635 William Wroth, an aged rector of Llanvaches, Monmouthshire, who preached a simple evangelical creed and was also openly sympathetic to Puritanism in nearby Bristol. With him appeared William Erbery, vicar of St. Mary's in Cardiff, and his curate Walter Cradock. Cradock's licence to preach was revoked. He went to North Wales where for the next two years he preached in Wrexham. It is probable that during this time Vavasor Powell and Morgan Llwyd, two Nonconformist leaders in Wales of whom we shall hear more, came under Cradock's influence and were converted.

In the meanwhile, the proceedings against Wroth and Erbery dragged along for three years. In 1638 Erbery resigned his living, and Wroth submitted to the court.
In the following year Henry Jessey, pastor of the Independent church at Southwark, was sent by the English Puritans to Llanvaches where the first 'gathered' church was established in Wales. Insofar as the Llanvaches band gathered for mutual spiritual edification, and not to separate from the established church - for there is no evidence that Wroth, who headed the Llanvaches group, was deposed of his living - it resembled the 'Private Societies' of Howell Harris, which we shall discuss in chapter two, part 2.

William Wroth died in the spring of 1642, and in August of the same year the Civil War began. Though Puritanism was beginning to take root in the more anglicised Welsh border counties, it had little foothold elsewhere. Wales was overwhelmingly Royalist, and Welsh Puritans were compelled to flee for safety, first to Bristol and then to London.

Following Cromwell's triumph, royalist clergy were expelled from their livings. As there were not enough Puritans in Wales to fill the vacancies, a scheme was devised by Parliament in 1645 which provided for an itinerant ministry. A sum of three hundred pounds, confiscated from the revenues of the Church, was to be divided equally each year among three Puritan itinerants, Walter Cradock, Richard Symonds, and Henry Walter. In 1646 those men began their tours of South Wales. Two years later three other men, Morgan Llwyd, Vavasor Powell and Ambrose Mostyn, were sent to North Wales. Those itinerants met with
little success, and the scheme was dropped in a few years' time.

One of the most eloquent preachers of the day was Rhys Prichard, who was born at Llandeilo in 1579. He became Chancellor of the diocese of St. David's, and held the plural living of Llandovery and Llawhaden. Though Prichard upheld episcopacy, and himself held two livings, he had an evangelical temperament, and denounced immorality. Early in the century, Lewis Bayly, a native of Carmarthenshire who became Bishop of the diocese of Bangor in 1616, wrote a devotional book entitled "The Practice of Piety". This book, which greatly influenced John Bunyan, left a profound impression upon Rhys Prichard. Recognising the delight his Welsh parishioners took in singing carols, Prichard wrote many popular verses, many of which were versified extracts from "The Practice of Piety". After Prichard's death these popular verses were collected by Stephen Hughes, a Puritan minister, and published in 1681 under the title "Canwyll y Cymru" (The Welshmen's Candle). Prichard was a representative of that body of opinion within the Church which abhorred the immorality of the time, but strove to bring about reform from within. His verse, though of little poetic value, enjoyed wide popularity, and enhanced the moral and religious appeal of Puritanism.

At first, Puritans in Wales were Independents. In 1649, however, the first Baptist congregation was established at Ilston, near Swansea. John Miles, who had been baptised by immersion in London, was the founder. Soon, other Baptist churches were formed under Miles's supervision. Philip Henry, the father of the famed Biblical student, Matthew Henry, succeeded in establishing Presbyterianism in an anglicised part of Flintshire. Philip Henry, Professor Williams has said, was "the most saintly of all the Welsh puritan leaders".¹

Morgan Llwyd and Vavasor Powell, who believed that the Second Coming was imminent, and looked forward to the Fifth Monarchy, or to a reign of peace and goodwill in their time, became assailants of Cromwell after he expelled the Long Parliament in 1653 and assumed the position of Lord Protector. In 1655, Powell violently attacked Cromwell in a published work, although he was opposed in this by Walter Cradock, under whom he had been converted.

Morgan Llwyd, who like Powell had been influenced by Cradock at an earlier period, came under the sway of the mystical writings of Jacob Boehme. This influence is seen in one of his most notable books, Llyfr y Tri Aderwn (The Book of the Three Birds), which was published in 1653.²

In the same year Llwyd heard of George Fox, whose doctrine

¹ Williams, David, op. cit., p. 117, 118.
² See Evans, E. Lewis, Morgan Llwyd, (Liverpool, Hugh Evans, 1930).
of the Inner Light resembled his own. Llwyd sent one of his friends to meet Fox, and the Welsh envoy returned to his native country as a coverted Quaker, the first in Wales. In 1657 Fox toured parts of Wales and was successful in the English parts of Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire, and Pembrokeshire, where Quakers became numerous. Later, a large group of Quakers flourished in Merioneth.

In 1660, Charles II returned. Wales, which continued throughout Cromwell's Protectorate to be strongly Royalist, welcomed the Restoration. The Puritan minority soon felt the full force of persecution, the Quakers especially being singled out for intense suffering.

Many Quakers, who were fortunate enough to escape prison, fled to America, where they settled in Pennsylvania. Today, one sees the unmistakable signs of these seventeenth century exiles in and around Philadelphia. Streets, villages, and colleges bear the names of familiar places in Wales, particularly names associated with Merioneth. While these names are seldom recognisable in speech, they are easily identified in print.

Morgan Llwyd, who never became a Quaker, but whose mystical teachings and tolerant spirit encouraged Quakerism in Wales, died in the year before Charles' accession. In the same year died Walter Cradock.

John Miles escaped Restoration persecution by emigrating with most of his congregation to America. There he and his
Baptist flock founded the town of Swanzey, Massachusetts.

Vavasor Powell was less fortunate. He spent most of the last decade of his life in prison, having been incarcerated thirteen times before his death on 27 October, 1670. During his confinement, he wrote his best known work, "The Bird In the Cage, Chirping".

Though only a small minority of the population of Wales, numbering less than five per cent in 1676, Welsh Puritans suffered intensely and bravely attempting to awaken their country from its spiritual slumber. The Toleration Act of 1689 relieved them of the burden of suffering, and the dissenters were granted freedom to worship without molestation. In Wales the number of Nonconformists remained small for a long time, yet they exercised an influence upon the development of the nation "entirely disproportionate to their numbers. This was due to a moral earnestness... In time the dissenters came to comprise the majority of the people of Wales."¹

We must now turn our attention to three schemes which were intended to foster education in Wales.

The first of these was begun by Thomas Gouge, an ejected Puritan clergyman in London. Around 1672 Gouge became concerned at the deplorable state of religion and morals in Wales and began to establish schools there. Two years later he founded a Welsh Trust, and in addition he received the support of two future bishops, Tillotson and Stillingfleet. Two moderate Puritans,

¹ Williams, David, op. cit., p.126.
Stephen Hughes and Charles Edwards, also co-operated with Gouge. Edwards, a scholar at Jesus College, Oxford, had been an itinerant preacher in Wales. Hughes, who was struggling to provide Wales with devotional literature, had been collecting Rhys Prichard's verses and printing them in instalments.

The main aim of the Gouge venture was to establish schools, though the Trust gave aid in publishing and distributing literature in Welsh. The climax of the venture came in 1670, when a new edition of the Welsh Bible was printed. About a thousand copies were distributed free of charge.

Little is known about the number of schools that were established by the Trust, or about the length of each course of study. Tillotson did estimate, however, that "between 1,600 and 2,000 children were taught each year."¹ The teaching was conducted in English, a fact which may partially account for the failure of the schools to survive. The Welsh Trust was dissolved at about the time of Thomas Gouge's death in 1681.

In 1699 the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded by Dr Thomas Bray. Bray, who was born on the English border, east of Welshpool, and educated at Oswestry Grammar School, received help in his venture from four laymen. One of these was Sir Humphrey Mackworth, who had mining interests in Wales. Shortly after the founding of the S.P.C.K., Sir John Philipps, of Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire, was invited to join the group.

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¹ Williams, David, op. cit., p.123.
Philipps, an enormously rich man, who was also a Member of Parliament, became a liberal patron of the S.P.C.K. He was an energetic reformer who was associated with Dr Woodward's societies in London—societies devoted to the deepening of spiritual life, chiefly among Anglicans, in London at the turn of the century.

From the beginning, then, the S.P.C.K. had close affiliations with Wales; its activity there was quite remarkable, particularly during the first decades of the eighteenth century. A purely Anglican movement, (in this it differed from the Gouge scheme, which was supported by moderate Puritans and Anglicans) it distributed Bibles, devotional books and tracts, in both English and Welsh, at nominal charges or often at no charge whatsoever.

In addition to publishing and distributing literature, the S.P.C.K. established charity schools in which children were catechised and taught to read the Bible. Despite the fact that the language of the school was also the language of the hearth, (Welsh was not suppressed) the schools failed. It has been suggested that the failure was partly due to the fact that the movement was "directed from England", and that "it arose from no spontaneous desire on the part of the people themselves." 2

1. Dr Woodward's societies are mentioned at greater length in chapter 2, part 2.
2. Williams, David, op. cit., p.142.
By 1731, when Griffith Jones, vicar of Llanddowror, decided to establish new schools in his parish, the S.P.C.K. charity schools were rapidly declining in number and effectiveness.

The initiator of this third pioneering movement in education in Wales, Griffith Jones, was a remarkable man whose name will be remembered as long as the Welsh nation exists. Born in 1683, Jones's life was spent within the Established Church, though he was frequently accused of being a Methodist. In 1714, the year in which Whitefield and Harris were born, Jones was cited before the Bishop's court at Carmarthen for his uncommon zeal and evangelical enthusiasm. He was successfully defended by Sir John Philipps. Two years later Philipps secured the living of Llanddowror for Griffith Jones, a living he remained in until his death 45 years later. In 1720, the relationship between Jones and Sir John Philipps was strengthened when the latter's sister, Margaret, became Mrs Griffith Jones.

In 1731, Jones appealed to the S.P.C.K. for a quantity of small Bibles, which he intended to use to teach children and adults in his parish to read. Five or six years later he extended his plan of teaching Welsh people to read in their own language to other parishes. His method was simple. He

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1. Three books, written in English, relating to Griffith Jones's educational enterprise are of special merit: Jones, M.H., The Charity School Movement; Kelly, Thomas, Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, Pioneer in Adult Education; Cavenagh, F. A., The Life and Work of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror.
engaged school masters, preferably Anglicans, though often he took Nonconformists to make up the number needed, and, after instructing them, he sent them out as itinerants. Schools, which were usually conducted for three or four months in the winter, were generally housed in parish vestries. When the incumbent did not favour the scheme, and the vestry was therefore not available to the teacher, a room was hired in the hamlet or village.

The purpose of Griffith Jones's schools was as simple as the methods: to promote piety by teaching pupils to learn the catechism and to read the Bible. There was no attempt in the curriculum to teach writing, arithmetic or manual arts. In addition to the simple curriculum, Jones insisted that the schools must be free, and that they should be conducted in Welsh.

During Jones's educational pursuits, he came into contact with Madam Bridget Bevan of Laugharne, the well-to-do daughter of John Vaughan of Derllys, who was a pioneer in the earlier charity school movement sponsored by the S.P.C.K. Madam Bevan annually contributed large sums to Jones's education programme. She helped him to collect money from other sources as well; and Jones annually issued to his patrons a report of the progress of the work, which was entitled "Welch Piety". After Griffith Jones's death in 1761, Madam Bevan continued the movement. In 1763, under her direction, 279 schools were convened, the largest number for any single year. Following Madam Bevan's death in
1779 the entire scheme passed out of existence. During Jones's lifetime, he estimated that more than 150,000 pupils attended the schools. This figure would be considerably increased if the number of pupils between 1761-1779 were available.

The Methodist awakening, which began in Wales in 1735, coincided with the period of Griffith Jones's circulating schools. The young Methodist revivalists frequently turned to Jones as an elder counsellor. He often upbraided the excessive enthusiasm of the Methodists, but Howell Harris in particular, turned to him for advice at every turn of his remarkable career. The relation of Griffith Jones to Welsh Methodism, and the role his circulating schools played in strengthening the revival, might well be the subject of a special research.
CHAPTER TWO

Beginnings of an Epoch

Part 1

The predominant characteristic of theology in England at the time when Methodism arose was its rationalism. Less than one hundred years had passed since the apparent uniformity of English ecclesiastical life had been broken into sects and schisms by the enthusiasm which accompanied the Civil War. At the Restoration secretaries had been ridiculed and suppressed. Brownists and Anabaptists, Huggeletonians and Fifth Monarchy Men—those were looked upon with contempt by the staid Puritan and the Royalist Anglican of 1700. An age of rationalism made little differentiation between the 'leveller' and the saint among enthusiasts. John Dryden, in "Absalom and Achitophel", put it this way:

"A numerous Host of dreaming saints succeed;  
Of true old enthusiastic breed;  
'Gainst form and order they their power employ,  
Nothing to build and all things to destroy."

Able divines within the Church of England were enrapt by Bacon's principles of inductive philosophy. Locke's treatment of the rational character of religion in his "Letters on

1. Dryden had strong prejudices against the priesthood of religion, though "Absalom and Achitophel", and more especially his great satire, "Religio Laici", were in defence of the Anglican position. See Proceedings Wesley Historical Society, Vol. XVIII, p. 40, for the attitude of the Anglicans towards enthusiasm at the beginning of the 18th century.
Toleration", and his treatise on "The Reasonableness of Christianity", were "peculiarly fatal to all those systems of belief which elevated unreasoning emotions into supreme criteria in religion."\(^1\)

Anglican preaching was cold and colourless. It was designed to cultivate the docilities of life. "Sobriety and good sense were the qualities most valued in the pulpit, and enthusiasm and extravagance were those most dreaded."\(^2\) Sermons became moral essays. It was believed that the individual could be made good and happy through moral progress. The motives that were appealed to by the Church were purely rationalistic.

Voltaire, one of the most astute observers of English manners, compared English preaching with preaching in his native France:

"Discourses aiming at the pathetic and accompanied with violent gestures would excite laughter in an English congregation. For as they are fond of inflated language and the most impassioned eloquence on the stage, so in the pulpit they affect the most unornamented simplicity. A sermon in France is a long declamation, scrupulously divided into three parts and delivered with enthusiasm. In England a sermon is a solid but sometimes dry dissertation which a man reads to the people without gesture and without any particular exaltation of the voice."\(^3\)

Perhaps the reaction of the Church against enthusiasm was not without justification. It may have been that hostility was not engendered against enthusiasm as such, but that it

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 531.
\(^3\) Ibid., quoted on pp. 531, 532. From Voltaire, Essay on Epic Poetry.
arose from an awareness that, in the past, political and social revolutionaries had been nursed in the cradle of religious enthusiasm. In any event, within fifteen years from the date of Voltaire's observation of English preaching, England and Wales were engulfed by the Methodist revival. Extemporaneous preaching revived. The century which began with a distaste for all forms of enthusiasm later became marked by tremendous phenomena of enthusiasm. Had the Church of England possessed an elastic organisation which could have found room for its enthusiastic members, it is doubtful whether the evangelical revival - the Methodism of England and Wales - would ever have resulted in a schism.

Methodism in England originated at Oxford in 1731 when Charles Wesley, with two or three fellow-students, began regularly to attend the Sacrament of Holy Communion in the Church of England. "The regularity of their behaviour led a young collegian to call them Methodists; and 'as the name', says (John) Wesley, 'was now and quaint, it clung to them immediately, and from that time, all that had any connections with them were thus distinguished.'"

At the time John Wesley was serving as his father's curate at Epworth and at Wroote. A little later he joined the small band at Oxford, and in deference to his age, his previous

1. See footnote number 1, p.47.
training, and his natural ability, he was recognised as the leader. Subsequent to 1729 many more names were added to the growing group of Oxford Methodists, among whom was George Whitefield.

The activity of the Oxford Methodists was many-sided. Some "conversed with young students, and endeavoured to rescue them from evil company, and to encourage them in sober and studious life. Others undertook the instruction and relief of impoverished families; others the charge of some particular school, and others of the parish workhouse. Some or other of them went daily to the Castle, and to the city prison, reading in the chapel to as many of the prisoners as would attend... In all this the world saw nought but oddity and folly, and called these hardworking and godly students 'Bible bigots', and 'Bible moths'...."¹

The Oxford Methodists "had one, and only one, rule of judgement with regard to all their tempers, words, and actions - namely, the oracles of God, and were one and all determined to be Bible Christians... They were tenacious, not only of all the doctrines of the Church of England, but of all her discipline, to the minutest points, and were scrupulously strict in observing the rubrics and canons... Many of their proceedings were ecclesiastically irregular, though religiously right..."²

¹ Tyerman, L., op. cit., p. 70.
² Ibid., p. 74
It was their irregular proceedings which soon brought upon the Oxford Methodists the scornful ridicule of their enemies, who disparagingly used the term 'Methodist' to denote the religious enthusiast. This indiscriminate use of the word was carried into Wales where the 'Methodist' label was tacked, with contempt, on to all of the evangelicals who supported the awakening. These supporters were drawn, especially in the first years of the Welsh awakening, from among the ranks of Nonconformity as well as from the Established Church. A Methodist in Wales during the eighteenth century could also be an Anglican, or a Congregationalist, or a Baptist. The classifying of an interdenominational revival under one adjective, 'Methodist', indicates that the antagonists of the revival used the term to denote, not a particular brand of evangelical, but enthusiasm itself - an enthusiasm in religion which they thoroughly detested.

In Wales the evangelical awakening began in 1735. In that year the two principal pioneers of the Welsh movement were converted. They were Howell Harris, a layman who lived in the hamlet of Trevecka, near Talgarth, in Breconshire, and

1. Howell Harris in later life repudiated the term Methodist. He was an Anglican all his life, and in his latter years feared that Methodism was drifting from the status of a 'new spirit' to a 'new sect'. This he abhorred. In 'Trevecka Letter 2033' Harris wrote: "As to ye term Methodist tis well known twas given in a way of Reproach to Mr J. Wesley originally in Oxford." In his Diary, 17 May, 1765, Harris wrote: "I showed my Reasons against ye name Methodist & why I ever Renounced it..."
Daniel Rowland, a clergyman in the village of Llaneitho in Cardiganshire. Of the beginning of the Welsh revival, the historian Lecky wrote: "No people...from their excitable, and at the same time poetic, temperament, were more fitted for a religious revival than the Welsh, and their evangelists arose from among themselves at a time when the Methodist movement was yet unborn."¹

Harris and Rowland were unknown to one another at the time of their spiritual conversions. Yet, they began their evangelical ministry with identical motives: reform within the Church of England and evangelism throughout the country. Neither of them had any thought of altering the ecclesiastical, cultural, or economic complexion of Wales. They had no alliance with political doctrines. The Welsh Methodist movement was purely a religious one. In this, its aims and essence were identical with those of English Methodism. "To us, the two Methodisms have been different 'denominations' - in competition, sometimes unfriendly. To them - Wesley and Harris - Methodism was not a 'denomination' (or two), not even a 'movement' as our school text-books call it. What they would have called it I cannot tell; but a Welsh Dissenting contemporary of theirs, Edmund Jones of Pontypool, has a name for it, a telling and

¹ Lecky, W. E. H., op. cit., p.603. Historians differ as to the true source of English Methodism. Lecky dates it from the conversion of J. Wesley at Aldersgate Street Society, 24 May, 1738. C. G. Robertson concurs with Lecky, while Tyerman attributes it to Oxford in 1729.
illuminating name - 'the Methodist way'. Not a new sect (or sects), not a new doctrine, but a new way of believing and doing old things - a new spirit, a new approach.\(^1\)

The origin of Welsh Methodism is to be found in the conversions of its two pioneers, Harris and Howland, and its early seed plot lies in the activity of Harris between 1735 and his first meeting with the English revivalists in 1739.\(^2\) The life story of Harris, which is so intricately woven into the story of our thesis, lends itself to particularly fascinating reading. While a less discreet man than Daniel Howland, Harris, with his flaming enthusiasm, and his boundless energy, emerges as the symbol of the glory and the tragedy of the religious history of eighteenth century Wales.

The youngest child\(^3\) of Howell and Susannah Harris, Howell Harris was born in Trevecka-fach, near Talgarth in Breconshire, on 23 January, 1714. At the time of his conversion (he was twenty-one years of age), he began to keep a Diary in which he recorded the sins of his early life in the darkest hues. By this means he sought to heighten the effects which his conversion wrought upon his life. While this method of contrast may

2. This 'seed plot', or the incidents in the life of Harris between the time of his conversion and 1739, will be discussed in part 2 of this chapter.
3. Howell Harris's two eldest brothers, Joseph and Thomas, were extraordinary men. Joseph was an inventor, an author and an Assay Master of the Royal Mint. Thomas was a London tailor who became a "liberal benefactor to the poor." Interesting biographical sketches of the two appear in *The Trevecka Letters*, by M. H. Jones, pp. 44-51.
have had its value for the devout, it also has its temptation for the antagonist, who, with ease, could, in the case of Harris, grossly exaggerate the evils of his life by stringing together a number of isolated phrases from these confessions.

A few excerpts from Harris's Diary will suffice to show how he summarised his life in the years immediately preceding his conversion.¹

Of the period between 1728 and March, 1731, when he was a student at the Llwynllwyd Academy apparently studying for the Anglican priesthood, he wrote:

"Although the teaching at school was excellent, and the admonitions were of the best, I was, nevertheless most wicked according to my ability and chance. I neglected the keeping of the Sabbath and kept away from Church. After my father's death I gave up school and returned home to horrid farm work."²

"The year 1731: I now learn and do everything that Satan bids me...I took to studying again and kept school...Instead of teaching the boys I was drinking and hearing the gossip of the neighbourhood..."³

"The year 1732: Whilst my words were fair to other women, to mother they were most bitter...How often I have caused her tears... "When I attended Church my business there was to watch the girls. How irreverent I would be in attitude and gesture!...Vanity made me think of nothing but dress and personal appearance."⁴

"The year 1733: I now began to be anxious and to grieve somewhat for sin although I still continued in it...I grew

¹ The first Diaries were written in retrospect. Harris did not begin to write in his diary until 26 May, 1735, the day after his conversion.
² Jones, H. H., The Trevecka Letters, p.209, Quoted from Diary 1.
⁴ Ibid.
conscious of the wretchedness of such a life, yet daily I was in intrigues with men and women."

"The year 1734: I often felt I had no hope, being such a prey of the devil...I had no religion but one of form...to the religious I became religious, pleasant to the pliant, weighty to the grave, and merry to the light-hearted. I however grew conscious that I was doing wrong and prayed — Pity me, O God!"

On 30th March, 1735, Harris was first aroused to a serious appreciation of Christianity. The Vicar of Talgarth, the Rev. Pryce Davies, in answering the excuses given by some parishioners for not attending the Sacrament, said, in announcing Holy Communion for the next Sunday — which was Easter — "If you are not fit to come to the Lord's Table, you are not fit to live, you are not fit to die." These words so startled young Harris that he later wrote in his Diary, "I was convinced and resolved to leave my outward vanities." On his way home from the Church he immediately set about practising this resolution by reconciling himself to a neighbour with whom he had quarrelled.

The succeeding weeks were trying for Harris. The process of conversion had begun, but had not reached its

3. Trevecka, Harris's home, is one mile from Talgarth, and is in the parish of Talgarth.
4. Brief Account of the Life Of Howell Harris extracted from papers written by himself. (1791), p. 10. This "Autobiography" was edited by the Trustees of the 'Trevecka Family', and published 18 years after the death of Harris. The Introduction was written by Benjamin La Trobe, a Moravian, and a close friend of Howell Harris.
5. Ibid., p. 10.
culmination. During this interim, Harris chanced upon two books, one by Dryan Duppa, "Holy Rules and Helps to Devotion in prayer and practice", which was devoted partially to a study of the Commandments; and a second, "The Whole Duty of Man". In reading these, he subjected his life to a careful scrutiny, and was strengthened and encouraged to move towards a complete surrender to the new life in Christ.

On Whitunday, 25 May, 1735, Howell Harris was confirmed in this new life. He wrote, "I was convinced by the Holy Ghost, that Christ dyed for me, and that all my sins were laid on him; I was now acquitted at the bar of Justice, and in my conscience... At the Sacrament, by viewing my God on the cross, I was delivered..."¹ This intimate and personal experience of conversion, rooted in the drama of Holy Communion, turned Harris's life into an enthusiastic evangelical mission. He immediately began to exhort his neighbours, going from farm house to farm house in his own and in adjoining parishes.

At the same time, and unknown to Harris, the curate of Llangeitho in Cardiganshire, the Rev. Daniel Rowland, was converted. Daniel Rowland was born in 1713 at Pantybeudy in the parish of Nantgwnlle, in Cardiganshire, to Daniel and Janet Rowland. His father, the Rev. Daniel Rowland, who was incumbent both of Llangwnlle and Llangeitho, sent the younger of his two sons to

¹ Brief Account, op. cit., pp.13, 14.
be educated at Hereford Grammar School. Apparently young Daniel made rapid progress in his studies. At the early age of twenty he was ordained deacon in the Church of England. He received priest's orders in August, 1735. Tradition has it that about this time Rowland attended a service conducted by the Rev. Griffith Jones at Llanddewibrefi, a place between four and five miles from Llanretho. Rowland, whose "appearance at this time was very vain, full of conceit and levity," had been persuaded by friends to go to listen to Griffith Jones. Rowland's arrogant appearance caused Jones, in the course of the service, to offer an earnest prayer for the haughty young clergyman. The prayer visibly affected Rowland, who returned home devoid of his former conceit.

Rowland had previously enjoyed entering into athletic games after the routine of conducting Sunday morning services was finished. This practice stopped. His preaching assumed a new authority. His congregation, it was said, was terrorized by his emphasis upon sin, the law, and the wrath of God.

1. There is no extant collection of Daniel Rowland's papers. The Rev. John Owen, one of Rowland's biographers, stated that the following explanation was given him by Nathaniel Rowland, the son of D. Rowland: "Soon after the death of Rowlands, Lady Huntington, who had long been acquainted with him, requested that every information respecting him should be collected and sent to her, as she intended to write his life. This request was complied with; but before she made use of the materials she was removed to another and happier world. There was no inquiry made for those documents for some years; and when it was made, they could not be found." A Memoir of Daniel Rowland, p. 45


3. According to J. Owen, Celyiad Adfywiad Grefydd, (1812), this incident happened in an open air service in a church yard, of Llanddewi Brefi, probably.
The same tradition tells us that a neighbouring Independent minister, the Rev. Philip Pugh, advised Howland to "preach the gospel to the people - apply the balm that is in Gilead to their wounded spirits, and show their need of faith in the crucified Redeemer... If you go on preaching the law after this fashion, you will kill half the population, for you thunder those awful curses in such a terrible manner that it is impossible for any man to stand before you." ¹

The conversions of Harris and Rowland are the true beginning of Welsh Methodism - an awakening which ought probably to be considered the chief force in the making of modern Wales.

¹ Williams, W., A Sketch of Welsh Presbyterianism, pp. 29, 30.
The Welsh Revivalists

HOWELL HARRIS.

DANIEL ROWLANDS.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

Howell Davies
Part 2

The Welsh Awakening was of indigenous growth. There are striking similarities between the rise of Welsh and that of English Methodism, though between 1735 and 1739 there were no relationships; it was not until 1739 that direct contacts were established between Howell Harris and the English revivalists. Harris began the relationships between the two movements, and Harris remained the point of junction between them.

In the incidents in the life of Howell Harris from the time of his conversion to his first visit to London in the spring of 1739, we discover the seed plot from which Welsh Methodism sprang.

Immediately after his conversion, Harris began to exhort in public and private. He was not ordained, and of necessity had to resort to open-air preaching and to exhorting in private homes. He was Methodism's first lay preacher as well as Methodism's first open-air preacher. The irregularity of his procedure aroused hostility from the outset. Of the manner in which he spent the summer of 1735, he wrote: "I continued to go on exhorting the poor people, and they flocked to hear me every Sunday evening. I feared nothing, though my life was in danger from threats."1

In deference to the wish of his brother, Joseph, Howell

matriculated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, on 25 November, 1735. However, the new spiritual forces at work in Howell's life drew him, like a magnet, to his native county, where he resumed his evangelical ministry before the end of November. Joseph Harris attempted to curb his younger brother's enthusiasm, but he met with no success. After his return from Oxford, Howell wrote to Joseph: "I sincerely wish you wd read more Divinity..."1 Joseph replied: "I have no time at present to follow your advice in reading Divinity books. If I read the Tes. and go once a week to hear it expounded by those whose immediate business it is, and mind my Own proper calling the rest of the time, I hope that will be Sufficient for me..."2 How Joseph wished his younger brother would apply this procedure to his own life!

While Joseph's antipathy to Howell's enthusiasm was firm, it was neither excessive nor unkind. Outside his own family, Howell Harris did not meet sympathetic criticism. His critics were uncompromising in their pungent analysis of his militant evangelism. The first crucial barrier placed in his path was Vicar Pryce Davies's acid censure of Harris's enthusiasm. Horrified by the young evangelist's unsanctioned methods of

1. Trovecka Letter 55, printed in Trevecka MSS. Supplement, No. 2 - first series - p.64.
2. Trevecka Letter 59, ibid., p.68
preaching, Davies wrote Harris a scathing letter in February, 1736.

"When first I was informed that you took upon you to instruct your neighbours at Trevocka on a particular occasion - I mean, of the nature of the Sacrament - and enforce their Duty by reading a chapter of that excellent book, 'The Whole Duty of Man', I thought it proceeded from a pious and charitable disposition. But since you are advanced so far as to have your public lectures from house to house, and even within the limits of the Church, it is time to let you know the sin and penalty you incur by so doing. The office you have freely undertaken belongs not to the laity any farther than privately in their own families."¹

Davies demanded that Harris cease his irregular methods, and threatened to report him to the diocese if he did not. He concluded that such a report "will prove an immovable obstruction to your ever getting into Holy Orders; for your own continuance in it will give me, as well as others, just reason to conclude that your intellectuels are not sound."²

Harris turned a deaf ear to the uncompromising Davies, and continued his evangelicism, thoroughly convinced that its original intention - to reform the Church of England, and to arouse the country to a decision for Christ - was worth the price of any lesser failure.

On 22 May, 1736, Howell Harris wrote to his brother, Joseph, to inform him of his doubts of ever being ordained:

"The Fraternity are apprehensive of my singular Piety... I never gave offence to any of 'em in publick or in Priv. Notwithstanding, if some poor ignorant sick Person sends for me

². Ibid., p.70.
& I go & read a little there abt Universal Charity, Sobriety etc. Their onvy must show itself att hearg ye poor People speakng well of me etc. for my Charity, Piety etc. They call me a Dissentr...I have been Inform'd there is a clergy-man in Caernarwensh, one Mr Gr. J ---, a great man...If I cd be introduc'd to him it must be thro' ye Dissenters for yo Clergy hate him for his singulr Piety & Charity to ye Dissenters...I intend to wait upon Mr Jones Vicar of Comyoe who is ye only one of ye same way of thinkng & I am told he corresonds with Mr Gr. Jones."

Harris's first consultation with Griffith Jones, in June 1736, resulted the following month in his first application for ordination. This application was rejected by Bishop Claggett of St. David's. In a letter to Jones, Harris complained of the Bishop's prejudice.

"As soon as he saw my Name in yo Top of my testimone he had not the Patience to see who sign'd it but with an offended Look gave me a severe check for wt. I had done & strict orders for yo future to betake myself to my studies, to obey my Superiors & as he had such a Set of very good Clergy there was no need of such Proceedings, that I must entirely desist etc."  

Again Harris turned a deaf ear to the admonitions of the antagonistic clergy of the Established Church. With vigorous determination he wrote, "My Desires are general witht any Limits..."  

Having been refused ordination, Harris opened a school in Trevecka in September 1736. He gave up this school in November, and took up a new position in the Talgarth school.

2. In all, it appears that Harris made four applications for ordination: July, 1736; February, 1739; August, 1739; but it has been impossible to fix the date of the fourth.
3. Trevecka Letter 80, printed in Trevecka M33. Supplement, No. 3 - first series, p. 94.
4. Ibid., p. 95.
During 1737 he was also engaged as an assistant to Griffith Jones, and aided in the organisation of the Welsh Circulating Schools.

During this period as a schoolmaster and an assistant to Griffith Jones, Howell Harris developed as a revivalist. His itineraries led him further and further from home. His first invitation to go outside his home county came in May, 1737, when he went to Skreen, in Radnorshire, to exhort in the home of Mr Williams, who later became his father-in-law.

Harris's first distinguished and influential convert was Marmaduke Gwynne, squire of Garth, in the upper part of Breconshire. It is said that Gwynne attended one of Harris's earliest meetings with the intention of reading the Riot Act, but instead was converted. Gwynne became a valuable and faithful ally of Harris and the Methodists. His daughter, Sarah Gwynne, was later married to Charles Wesley. Gwynne wrote the following letter to Howell Harris on 28 January, 1738, in which he showed his disapproval of the Bishop's refusal to ordain Harris.

"Mr Harris.

"I was inform'd that you was expected at Keventy Gwyn (?) this night, and I hope you will not be gone away before the Bearer who I have order'd to wait on you when this Letter

2. May it be that this was the first indirect relationship between Welsh and English Methodism? - i.e. Harris, the revivalist, preparing the way for C. Wesley, the suitor!
comes there. If he is so fortunate as to find you there, I desire to see you here, having some Welsh Books to dispose of, which I believe you will be able to distribute with much greater benefit than I can. I sincerely wish you success in your pious endeavours, and if our Bishop had the same opinion as I have of your Talents, you'd soon be admitted into ye orders of Deacon & Priest, and have a large Flock to oversee, being well satisfied you'd discharge so weighty a Trust as becomes a faithful Shepherd.

I am,
Sr.
Your Humble Servt. & friend,
Mrduke Gwynne.

While Harris was a master at Talgarth one of his early converts, Howell Davies, came to the school so as to be near his spiritual adviser. Davies, it is said, was a native of Monmouthshire. He aided Harris in the work of evangelism while he was in Talgarth, but at Harris's suggestion soon went to Llanddowror, where he was further educated by Griffith Jones. In 1739, Davies was ordained deacon and made curate to Griffith Jones at Llanddowror and Llandello Abercynwy. In June, 1741, he became settled at Llysyfran, in Pembrokeshire. His ministry centred in Pembrokeshire, where he was known as the "Apostle of Methodism".

As the influence of Harris's evangelism increased, the problem of what to do with the converts presented itself. In the autumn of 1736 Harris began to gather his converts together in 'Bands' or 'Private Societies', hence preserving the fruits of his labours. This innovation, which became the cornerstone

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of the organisation of Welsh Methodism, had been at play, almost unconsciously, in the mind of Harris since his own conversion.

The first stage in the development of the Private Societies arose from Harris's avowed need for Christian fellowship almost immediately after his conversion. Through personal experience, Harris was aware that "vital religion, by its very nature, must create and sustain a social relationship."\(^1\) This awareness may be seen in an anonymous letter which Harris sent to his Vicar, Pryce Davies, on 16 August, 1735. "I have ye Pleasure of finding Some who are willing to Joyn me in a Strict Observation of our Duty and have for some time sincerely Endeavour'd to Practice Those excellent Doctrines we Have from you..."\(^2\) In this simple relationship of a few like-minded Christians we discover the embryo of Welsh Methodism.

The second stage in the development of the Private Society is to be seen in the meetings of Howell Harris's converts in the homes of Mrs Parry in Talyllyn, and Mrs Phillips in Llanfihangel, in April and May, 1736. These meetings, which were devoted to instruction and fellowship, apparently ceased after Mrs Parry's death in 1739.

The third stage came in the autumn of 1736. Harris's first application for ordination had been rejected, and he was

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teaching in a school at Trevecka. "On the back of a Letter dated September 29, 1736, Howell Harris has a note, almost illegible, in which he says that many of his converts had petitioned him to be allowed to form themselves into Societies or Bands."

By October, 1736, Harris had taken the initiative and had begun to establish Private Societies. This decision to gather converts into Private Societies was essential if Harris's evangelicalism was to be preserved. The Private Societies became the heart of the revival. At the same time, their emergence, as we shall constantly be reminded throughout this thesis, became the fomenter of protracted strife.

One ingenious way in which Harris extended his evangelistic work, and began to establish Private Societies, is especially worth noting. Towards the end of 1736, after he had dismissed classes in the Trevecka school, Harris followed a singing teacher into the rural areas, often walking four and five miles on each journey. "When he had done teaching them to sing", Harris wrote, "I would give them a word of exhortation, and thereby many were brought under convictions, and many religious societies were by these means formed."

By the end of 1736,

1. Jones, H. H., op. cit., p.221
2. Brief Account, op. cit., p.21

The singing teacher was John Games, precentor of music at Talgarth Parish church. It was of interest to me, while visiting the Talgarth church, to read these words, "Games fecit", at the bottom of the plaque erected to the memory of Howell Harris. Was the singing teacher, or a near relative, the craftsman? I am told there are several descendants of John Games living in Talgarth, and that Games is not an uncommon surname in the village.
Wernos, near Llyswen, Home of Howel Harris's First Methodist Society 1787.
Harris's itineraries had led him as far as the Builth neighbourhood in the northern part of Breconshire.

During the first half of 1737 there were few, if any, new Societies established. Rather, Harris concentrated upon the next phase in the development of the Private Societies - that of settling the existing Societies on a more permanent basis. The first settled, permanent Society was established at Wernos, in the parish of Llandefalle, early in 1737. It became the centre for converts in the Erwood and Crickadam districts, and is known today as the mother society of Welsh Methodism.

How did Howell Harris come upon the idea of grouping together his converts into Private Societies? We read this explanation in The Brief Account of the Life of Howell Harris:

"I (Harris) began in imitation of the Societies which Dr Woodward gave an account of, in a little Treatise he wrote on that head, there being as yet no other Societies of the kind in England or Wales. The English Methodists not being as yet heard of."

The Societies of Dr Josiah Woodward existed about the year 1700, and were an accepted part of the Established Church in London. Membership in Woodward's Societies was chiefly drawn from Church of England communicants. The origin of these Societies may be traced to the continental Societies of James Spenor (1635-1705) and Francke of Halle. Dr Horneck introduced

1. Brief Account, op.cit., p.21
the idea of Sponer's Collegia Pietatis to England in 1678.

The book by Woodward, to which Harris referred, was "The Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London"¹, and was first published by the S.P.C.K. in 1697. Subsequent and enlarged editions appeared in 1701 and 1712. By 1715 these Societies had lost much of their influence and their membership had greatly diminished.² Their decline has been at least partially attributed to the suspicion of their Jacobite prejudices.³

Neither the Diaries nor the Trevecka Letters corroborate the quotation from the Brief Account, which suggests that Harris first had the idea of grouping his converts into Societies from Dr Woodward. The first Letter in the Trevecka collection to mention Woodward's book is from David Williams of Pullypant, dated February 7, 1739. He wrote to Harris: "The Society in Cardiff presents Love and serv(ice), and makes you a present of two Woodards..."⁴ Harris wrote then in his Diary that he knew nothing of Woodward when he began his Societies.

It has already been said that Harris had begun to establish Private Societies by October 8, 1736. In a letter, written

1. See Religious Societies, 'Woodward's Account'; "Introduction by D. E. Jenkins" (Liverpool, 1935)
2. Piette, op.cit., pp.187,188. Piette wrote that before the end of William's reign there were at least 100 Societies in London and Westminster. Also see John Wesley and the Religious Societies by John S. Simon.
on that date to Griffith Jones, Harris said: "Private Societies begin to be found."¹ Dr M. H. Jones concluded that "this sentence being without introduction or explanation in the letter, undoubtedly represents the outcome of a discussion which Harris had with Griffith Jones at Llanddowror, on August the 29th, 1736. It seems a natural inference, therefore, that Howell Harris should have learnt from Griffith Jones what to do with his converts."²

The proportions of the Awakening were quickening. In August, 1737, Howell Harris first met Daniel Rowland at Devynnock, in Breconshire. By this time Harris, of the two, had accumulated more evangelistic experience. There is nothing to indicate that Rowland had ventured much beyond his own parish before the time of this consultation. The important thing, however, was that this meeting marked the beginning of a united evangelical movement in Wales. The two men combined forces to advance the one thing they mutually consented to - the evangelical message of the gospel of Christ.

Daniel Rowland and Howell Harris experienced their conversions simultaneously, though they were unknown to one another until two years afterwards. Howell Davies was converted under the ministry of Harris, and was associated with Harris's school at Talgarth in 1737. One more name - that of William Williams - completes the "Big Four" of the Welsh Awakening.

2. Jones, M. H. op. cit., p. 217
Williams was the poet of Welsh Methodism, though he did not begin to publish hymns until 1744. His incomparable gift of sacred song has won him immortal fame among Welshmen in every continent. He is better known today by the name of his home, "Pantycelyn", than by his proper name.

William Williams was born at Cefncoed, in the Parish of Llanfair-ar-y-bryn, in Carmarthenshire, in 1717. His father was a devout Independent who sent him to the Dissenting Academy at Llwynllwyd, near Talgarth, where he studied for the medical profession. While in the Academy he heard reports of Howell Harris's ministry, and at some time during his stay there he heard Harris preach in the churchyard at Talgarth, and was converted. He left his medical studies and devoted himself to the ministry of the Established Church, in which he was ordained Deacon by Bishop Claggart of St Davids, on August 3, 1740. His first appointment was as curate to the Rev. Theophilus Evans at Llanwrtyd, and at the two parishes of Llanfihangel Abergwesyn and Llanddewi Abergwesyn.

Theophilus Evans was an able man; but, unfortunately for Williams, he was devoid of sympathy for the enthusiasm of the Methodists. The estrangement between Evans and Williams grew, and in the Association of Methodists, held at Watford in April, 1743, it was decided that Williams should leave Theophilus Evans and become an assistant to Daniel Rowland. This bold and unauthorised interference of the Methodist Association in
the order of the Established Church probably lost Williams the slim chance he had of being ordained a priest. ¹

The growing enthusiasm which accompanied the awakening attracted the attention of several Nonconformist ministers who befriended Harris and Rowland, and invited them to their pulpits. Harris, as an unordained itinerant, welcomed these overtures and willingly received their support. In its first aspects, the awakening was a form of militant evangelism which joined together evangelical Anglicans and evangelical Nonconformists. Harris's preaching had won converts from the Established Church and the Nonconformist Chapel, as well as from the ranks of those previously not affiliated with either Church or Chapel. The converts were grouped together in the Private Societies or spiritual nurseries, as the Societies have been called. There they were instructed in the spiritual life. The increasing number of converts, and the swell of enthusiasm, led the friendly Dissenting ministers to believe that the natural home of such a movement was in their Chapels. "They

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¹ The name of 'Pantycelyn' has been affectionately accepted as a sort of pen name which the Welsh people today immediately associate with William Williams, though he never used it as a pseudonym. I am tempted to say, as a hyphenated Welsh-American, that the name of William Williams (or Pantycelyn) is today better known among Welsh exiles than any other name associated with the 18th century Awakening. He wrote more than 800 hymns. The best known of his English hymns are "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah", and "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness". In 1777 Williams issued a book, "Drws y Society Profiad", which has been regarded as a standard work in the Welsh language on the conduct of the Church Fellowship meetings. See Y Per Ganiedydd (1949), by Gomer M. Roberts.
hoped to reap a rich harvest from the seeds so effectively sown by the Methodists."

Among the early Nonconformist ministers who supported the awakening were Edmund Jones, a Congregationalist from Pontypool; Miles Harris, a Baptist, also from Pontypool; Lewis Rees, a Congregationalist in Llanbrynmair; David Williams, a Presbyterian from Pwllypant; Henry Davies, the Congregationalist, of Blaengwrach; and William Herbert, the Baptist minister at Troagood, Breconshire.

Through an invitation from Lewis Rees, Howell Harris, in the spring of 1738, made his first journey into North Wales (Montgomeryshire). Edmund Jones and David Williams opened the way for Harris to go to Glamorgan. His first visit there apparently met with encouraging success, but his proposed second visit in May and June, 1739, had to be cancelled due to Harris's ill health. On July 14, 1739, David Williams wrote to Harris:

"I hope you recover and get strength continually. You are very much expected in these parts, and I hope you have growing inclinations to come. There are still visible good effects of the late visit you made us...The curate, who called the other night at our house, is for promoting it all he can; though he may act a little behind the curtains, being now about to receive priest's orders. He is the friendliest of all the clergy hereabout...I may tell you that you need not be so shy of conversing with Dissenters in these parts as in

2. Edmund Jones, David Williams and Henry Davies will appear frequently in a later chapter.
some other places...prejudice is falling off more and more here."¹

Fourteen days later, Henry Davies, minister of a Dissenting church at Blaengwrach, in the vale of Neath, reiterated David Williams's sentiments.

"The clergy are divided one against another in our parts...I find there is much reformation in many since you have been this way, which calls loudly upon you to come again as soon as possible."²

In a postscript, Davies added:

"I desire you to procure Mr Griffith Jones's letters from Mr Rowlands, and if you can, prevail with him to come to these parts...Give my love and service to him."

While the united front of Welsh Methodism was gaining momentum, the strife, which, as we saw, had been in the existence of the Private Societies, was about to become marked. The Nonconformist supporters of the Awakening wanted to lead it away from the Church of England. In a letter to Harris, William Herbert, in a clever manner, suggested what he would do were he in Harris's position.

"I need not repeat to you how I rejoice at ye Work of ye Lord prospering so well in yr Hand...Yet, wt I am going to write is of great Weight wth me...I shall put myself in yr Place & deal wth myself accordingly. "Have I been labouring & toiling Night & Day to reduce & reclaim those yt were like Sheep going astray?...Are they not become willing to Separate from ye profane World?

"Now, how do I serve these? Do not I in effect tell them to continue where they were before...have not I been labouring hard to cure many Scabby Sheep of ye Rot, & when I

2. Trevecka Letter 118, Ibid., p.54.

Henry Davies became a faithful friend of Harris and the Methodists, and remained so long after the other Dissenters rebelled against Harris's insistence upon keeping the Methodist movement within the Church of England.
made em almost well, did I not turn em to a field full of scabby ones wch made em as rot & scabby as ever? Shd not I turn em rather to some Enclosure by emselves, or to such as were sound & Healthy?..."1

Harris was a loyal Anglican, as was Rowland. They willingly received the support of Nonconformity, and, as evangelists they were eager to lead all men to salvation. But it must be remembered, they considered themselves first as revivalists, and as such their foremost determination was to revive their own spiritually destitute church. Their persistent refusal, as William Herbert put it, to turn the converts "to some Enclosure by emselves, or to such as were sound & healthy" ultimately turned the friendship of the Nonconformists into open antagonism.

The determination of the Methodist fathers to keep the Private Societies from either (a) joining the existing body of Nonconformity, or (b) establishing a new and separate sect, is no indication that the movement was a Church of England movement. The status of the Private Societies was one of anomaly. Though Harris and Rowland, by the sheer strength of their personalities, prevented an official separation, the Societies were altogether outside the Church of England even during their lifetime. Yet it would be completely unfair to say that Harris longed for anything less than an acceptance by the Church of its evangelical disciples. The seeds of schism

were present in his activity, but not in his motives.

As early as 1738 he began to plan for the supervision of the Societies. Though a passionate enthusiast, Harris recognised the need for order, and, indeed, his unusual gifts for organisation, blended with zeal, brought into one personality the characteristics most needed in any evangelist. In planning for the ordering of the conduct of the Private Societies, three steps occurred to him in 1738, and though they were not fully implemented for several years it is important to note: (a) that Harris conceived them prior to his visit to the English Societies; and (b) that he anticipated the basis of supervision which was later enforced by the Welsh Methodist Association. (This policy will be discussed in the chapter dealing with the Association.) In brief, Harris's plans were:

1. Rules. Harris scribbled on the back of a letter, dated April 6, 1738, this note: "Write to-day, Deo Volente, Ye Rules of yo Societies..."

There is no extant copy of any Rules which date before 1740, but the above obviously suggests that Harris was engaged in drafting a set of Rules as early as April, 1738. Apparently he wrote these Rules in Welsh, for we read in the following letter this request:

"I cannot understand the articles of ye Society which I had from you; if you will be pleas'd to write them in English for us we shall be much behoulding to you..."

This letter is dated 15 August, 1738, and was sent to Harris by Phillip Prosser.

2. Register of Members. A list of the members of the Llangynidr Society, endorsed "1739", is extant. The male and female members of the Society are listed in separate columns. Harris planned the methodical registering of all members of the Societies. It will be seen in our discussion of the Association how this plan was expanded, and how, after 1743, the register of members included an appraisal of the

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2. Trevecka MSS., Letter 120.
iii. Test Questions. Membership in the Societies was restricted to those who could conscientiously testify to having been "saved". Though the Private Society meetings afforded time for Bible reading, hymn singing (which was a new innovation, hitherto practised only by a few Dissenters), prayer, and exhortation, the chief function of the Society meetings was to test one another's spiritual experience. Two sample test questions used in 1738 are extant:

1. "How shall we appear and be known as wholly surrendered people to God's will?"
2. "What are the marks of a true child of God?"

With a well-nigh incredible efficiency, Howell Harris directed the awakening, organised the converts into settled Private Societies, and planned for the control of that organisation in the brief three and a half years which elapsed between the time of his conversion and his first introduction to English Methodism in 1739.

As 1738 ended, he wrote, "The cry and condition of the Country seems yet...to call me on this way...though to satisfy conscience I would be glad to be under the laying of hand if I was to go about afterwards..." Harris was never to be ordained, but this did not deter him from answering the cry of his native Wales, and, in the years after 1739, the beckoning of the general religious revival in England as well.

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1. Trovecka MSS., 'Miscellaneous Papers', No. 69.
CHAPTER THREE

Early Relationships

On December 20, 1738, George Whitefield wrote to Howell Harris.

"My Dear Brother, - Though I am unknown to you in person, yet I have long been united to you in spirit, and have been rejoiced to hear how the good pleasure of the Lord hath prospered in your hands. Go on, my dear brother, go on; be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might; and the Spirit of Christ and of Glory shall rest upon you most effectually; which has opened and is still opening doors before you, preaching the everlasting Gospel. There have been and will be many adversaries; yet be not afraid. He that sent you will assist, comfort, and protect you, and make you more than conqueror through His great love. I am a living monument of this truth; for the divine strength has been often magnified in my weakness; I have tasted that the Lord is gracious; I have felt His power; and from mine own experience can say that in doing or suffering the will of Jesus Christ there is great reward. Blessed be His holy name, there seems to be a great outpouring of the Spirit in London; and we walk in the comfort of the Holy Ghost and are edified. You see, my dear brother, the freedom I have taken in writing to you; if you would favour me with a line or two by way of answer you would really rejoice both me and many others; why should we not tell one another what God has done for our souls? My dear brother, I love you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and wish you may be the spiritual father of thousands, and shine as the sun in the firmament in the kingdom of our heavenly Father. My hearty love to Mr Jones. Oh, how shall I joy to meet you at the judgement-seat of Christ. How could you honour me, if you could send a line to your affectionate, though unworthy brother in Christ."

"George Whitefield."¹

Immediately prior to the receipt of this letter, Harris had been passing through spiritual doldrums. The clergy and the mob had increased their hostility. In January 1739, he wrote: "I was at this time greatly distressed in respect to

¹ Hughes, H. J., Life of Howell Harris, pp.62,63.
my itinerary way of preaching."\(^1\) His despair, in light of
his suffering and persecution, is understandable. Whitofield's
letter, which came to Harris's hands on 7 January, 1739, en-
couraged him when he badly needed encouragement. On 8 January
he wrote the following reply to Whitefield:

"Glamorgan, Jan. 8th, 1739.

"Dear Brother, - I was most agreeably surprised last night
by a letter from you. The character you bear, the spirit that
is seen and felt in your work, and the close union of my soul
to yours will not allow me to use any apology in my return to
you. Though this is the first time of our correspondence, yet
I can assure you I am no stranger to you. When I first heard
of you, and your labours, and success, my soul was united to
you, and engaged to send addresses to heaven on your behalf.
When I read your diary I had some uncommon influence of the
divine presence shining on my poor soul almost continually, and
my soul was in an uncommon manner drawn out on your account;
but I little thought our good Lord and Master intended I should
ever see your handwriting. I hope we shall be taught more and
more to admire the wonderful goodness of God in his acts of free
grace. Surely no person is under the obligation to advance
the glory of free grace as this poor prodigal. But alas, how
little sense of all his wonderful blessing is in my soul! Pray
for me that my heart may be drawn out more in love and praise
to Him.

"Oh, how ravishing it is to hear of such demonstrations
of the divine love and favour to London. And to make your joy
greater still, I have some good news to send you from Wales.
There is a great revival in Cardiganshire, through one Mr T.
Howland, a church minister, who has been much owned and blessed
in Carmarthenshire also. We have also sweet prospect in Brecon-
shire, and part of Monmouthshire. And the revival prospers in
this county where I am now. There is also here a very useful
young dissenting minister, who is a man of great charity.
There is another of the same character in Montgomeryshire.
Some shining beams of the gospel appear there. There are two
or three young curates in Glamorganshire who are well-wishers
to the cause of God; and we have an exceedingly sweet and
valuable clergyman in Breconshire. But enemies are many and
powerful; I therefore beseech you and your friends would pray that
God would stand up for His cause against all His enemies.

"I hint this in general, as I could not testify my love
any way more agreeable to your soul than to let you know how

\(^1\) Brief Account, op. cit., p.26.
the interest of our goods prosper in these parts. Oh that I had more love in my soul, more humble zeal, and spiritual boldness. Surely I should blush to think the name of such an ignorant, negligent, unprofitable servant should reach your ears. I fear by reason of the relics of self, and pride, which I find still alive. I rejoice, on the other hand, and bless God that he inclined you to write to me, and especially for making your letter so savoury and reviving to my fainting soul. Oh that we could do more for so kind and loving a Master, - that His very enemies by seeing our Christian love, behaviour and fruitfulness, may be brought to think well of the ways of the Redeemer, and to glorify Him. I am in a great hurry, as I am called away to discourse very soon; but I could not miss this opportunity of obliging you; and were you to come to Wales I trust it would not be labour in vain. I hope the faithful account I have given you will excite you to send again to him that would be sincerely yours in Christ, whilst - "Howell Harris."1

In the part of the second paragraph which we have underlined, we read the first account of the development of the Welsh awakening. It is, of course, suggestive rather than exhaustive. There is no mention, for example, of the Private Societies. What Harris did do, was (1) to mention the activity of Daniel Rowland to Whitefield; and (2) to stress the undenominational nature of the early years of Welsh Methodism.

In March 1739, George Whitefield and his companion William Seward visited South Wales for the first time. Church pulpits were denied Whitefield, but through the influence of Seward, he was permitted, on 8 March, to preach in the town hall in Cardiff. It was there that Whitefield first

1. Hughes, H. J., op. cit., pp.63,64,65. This letter and that from Whitefield to Harris (20 Dec., 1733) are among those missing from today's collection of Trevecka Letters.
met Harris. He wrote in his Journal: "After I came from the Seat, I was much refreshed with the Sight of my dear Brother Howel Harris; whom, though I knew not in Person, I have long since loved in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, and have often felt my Soul drawn out in Prayer on his behalf."\(^1\)

Of Harris and the extent to which Methodism had developed in Wales, Whitefield observed:

"A burning and shining light has been in those parts; a barrier against Prophaneness and Immorality, and an indefatigable Promoter of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. About three or four years God has inclined him to go about doing good. He is now about Twenty five years of Age. Twice he has applied (being every Way qualified) for holy orders; but was refused, under a false Pretence, that he was not of Age, though he was then Twenty two years and six months. About a Month ago he offered himself again, but was put off. Upon this, he was, and is still resolved to go on in his Work; and indefatigable Zeal has he shown in his Master’s Service. For these three years (as he told me from his own Mouth) he had discoursed almost twice every day for three or four Hours together; not authoritatively, as a Minister; but as a private Person, exhorting his Christian brethren. He has been, I think, in seven Counties, and has made it his Business to go to Wakes, etc., to turn People from such lying Vanities. Many Alehouse people, Fiddlers, Harpers, etc. (Demetrius like) sadly cry out against him for spoiling their Business. He has been made the Subject of Numbers of Sermons, has been threatened with publick Prosecutions, and had Constables sent to apprehend him. But God has blessed him with inflexible courage; - Instantaneous Strength has been communicated to him from above; and he still continues to go on from conquering to conquer. He is of a most Catholic Spirit, loves all that loves our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore, he is Stiled by Bigots, a Dissenter. He is contemned by all that are Lovers of Pleasure more than Lovers of God; but God has greatly blessed his pious Endeavours. Many call, and own him as their spiritual Father, and, I believe would lay down their Lives for his Sake. He discourses generally in a Field; but at other Times in a House, from a Wall, a Table, or anything else. He has established near thirty Societies in

\(^1\) Whitefield’s Journal, (edit., 1740), for 7 and 8 March, 1739. This 1740 edition of the Journal is rare. A copy is in the closed stacks of the Library, New College, Edinburgh.
South Wales, and still his Sphere of Action is enlarged daily. He is full of Faith, and the Holy Ghost.

"When I first saw him, my Heart was knit closely to him. I wanted to catch some of his Fire, and gave him the right Hand of Fellowship with my whole Heart."

"A divine and strong sympathy seemed to be between us, and I was resolved to promote His Interest with all my Might. Accordingly we took an Account of the several Societies, and agreed on such Measures as seemed most conduasive to promote the common Interest of our Lord. Blessed be God, there seems to be a noble Spirit gone out into Wales; and I believe, o'er long, there will be more visible Fruits of it."

Whitefield showed a genuine interest in the methods which Harris had employed in his evangelicalism. Whitefield himself, less than a month before this visit to Wales, had begun to preach in the open air at Kingswood, near Bristol.  

In the last paragraph of the above letter, this significant phrase should be noted: "we," (Whitefield and Harris) "took an account of the several Societies, and agreed on such measures as seemed most conduasive to promote the common Interest of our Lord." In this we discover the first firm evidence that the "two" Methodisms, English and Welsh, were beginning to commingle.

On 10 March, William Seward sent this letter to Daniel Abbott.

"We met our Dr Br. Howel Harris & a Clergyman & 2 Dissenting Ministers at Cardiff who took sweet Counsell wth us all ye time

1. _Journal_, op cit., for 8 March, 1739.
2. Whitefield began to preach in the open air on 12 February, 1739. John Wesley followed Whitefield's example on 2 April, 1739. Wesley said, when he began, "I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields; having been all my life, till very lately, so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin if it had not been done in a church." (Tyerman, _Life of J. Wesley_, vol. I, p.233.)
we wr thr for ye futherance of ye Gosp.: in Wales, wr indeed
it flourishes much more than in England & I believe in late
Years has never been so wholly corrupted as England is...Mr
Howell Harris has been a means under God of raising abt 30
religious Societys who all pray extempore & from wt we can
see of thm are filld wth yo Sp.: ...Mr Howell Harris, has
been often openly assaulted like our Blessed Mr (Whitfield)
& like him has hitherto been preservd...he is now wth us at
Dristol & possibly if God permit, yo may be blessed wth seeing
him Face to Face at London. he discurses for he does not
call it preaching because he is not in Orders, tho he has offord
himself twice to the Bishop & was rejected...he has a settled
hoarseness upon him notwithstanding wch he dayly goes on
exhorting himself so as to make 1500 or 2000 hear..."1

In April, Whitefield paid his second visit to Wales, and
with Howell Harris he toured Monmouthshire. Harris joined
Whitefield on his return to London. The Gloucester Journal
reported this journey in its issue of 24 April, 1739.

"On the 9th inst., the Rev. Mr Whitefield came to this
city, (the place of his nativity) from Wales; having preached
in Usk street; in Pontypool Church and field; in Abergavenny,
from a place built on purpose, against a gentleman's wall,
in Caerleon field, from a pulpit built for the famous Mr
Howell Harris, who came with him hither and goes with him to
London. He was attended from Usk to Pontypool, and from
thence to Abergavenny, and to Caerleon, by sixty or seventy
horse, so great was the love of the people to his person and
to his doctrine of the new birth, etc."2

On 25 April, 1739, Howell Harris entered London for the
first time. Like so many first experiences, this visit to
London left an indelible impression upon Harris. He was
introduced to James Hutton and Count Zinzendorf, two leading
figures in London Moravian circles, and to Lady Huntingdon
and Charles Wesley.3

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3. John Wesley was in Bristol at this time. He and Harris
first met in Bristol on 19 June, 1739.
The focal point of London Moravianism and Methodism was, at the time of Harris's first visit, the Fetter Lane Society. This Society had been founded in the home of James Hutton, in May 1738, and had since moved to Fetter Lane. Harris was deeply impressed by the Moravian piety. As early as December 1736, he had written in his Diary:

"Reading of Professor Frank, I was disposed to God's glory and thought of how poor people could hear me. Then it came to me as a solution to sell all I have, and if I should marry, - I am resolved to build an Alms House and School House and employ as many as I could have followers."2

Harris's personal contact with the Moravians at Fetter Lane in 1739 had the effect of strengthening an already deep-seated partiality. This later caused Harris difficulty with his Welsh Methodist co-workers, who were never on intimate terms with the Moravians, or for that matter, with the English Methodists. Harris's ultimate withdrawal from the Welsh Methodist movement gave him a chance to fulfil the dream of establishing a community along the lines of Franke's Pietistic Institution at Halle. The withdrawal of Harris from Methodism, and his building of a religious-industrial community at Travecka, will be discussed in later chapters.

This first visit of Harris to London coincided with a critical period in the growth of English Methodism. A group

1. The Fetter Lane Society had a Moravian constitution, but its membership was primarily Anglican until 21 July, 1740, when John Wesley, and his supporters, withdrew. Hence, Fetter Lane Society became strictly Unitas Fratrum.
of members within the Fetter Lane Society, led by a man named Shaw, was advocating that laymen should be appointed to administer the Sacraments.\footnote{Jones, M. H., \textit{op. cit.}, p.230.} Shaw's schismatic influence spread to other Societies, and in June 1739 he was expelled from the Fetter Lane Society.

Lay preaching was not practised among English Methodists at this time, and the question of adopting it was just beginning to occupy the minds of the English leaders in May 1739. The Moravian members of Fetter Lane favoured lay preaching. Charles Wesley wrote, "A dispute arose about lay preaching. Many, particularly Bray and Fish, were zealous for it. Mr Whitefield and I declared against it."

In view of the wholehearted support George Whitefield lent to Howell Harris, a lay preacher (though he had applied for ordination), it is difficult to understand his unalterable\footnote{Jones, M. H., \textit{op. cit.}, p.230.} to lay preaching. He may have feared that, in giving way to those who favoured lay preaching, he would be making a first concession to the schismatic demands of Shaw and his followers. Or it may be - and this is pure speculation - that Whitefield and Charles Wesley opposed lay preaching because it was especially favoured by the Moravians. There was at this time a strong underlying friction between Moravians and Methodists in Fetter Lane, and
before long open dissension was to break out between the two parties.

In any case, John Wesley had a more lenient attitude toward lay preaching than either his brother Charles or George Whitefield. In June 1739 he sanctioned the preaching of John Connick, a layman, to colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol. A little later he encouraged Thomas Maxfield to follow Connick. By 25 June Whitefield slightly modified his opposition to lay preaching. He wrote to Wesley:

"I suspend my judgement of Brother Watkins' and Connick's behaviour till I am better acquainted with the circumstances of their preaching. I think there is a great difference between them and Howell Harris. He has offered himself thrice for holy orders; thus therefore and our friends in Cambridge I shall encourage; others I cannot countenance in acting in so public a manner."

At the end of six weeks in London, Harris returned to his labours in Wales in early June. During his absence he had entrusted the guidance of his societies to two Dissenting ministers, James Roberts, a Baptist, and Edmund Jones, a Congregationalist, and to one Anglican layman, Thomas James. Upon his return, Harris again assumed the reins of the movement, and began to ponder over what he had seen and heard in London.

References to English Methodist terms, like 'bands', 'leaders' and 'stewards', as well as rules of admission and expulsion, begin to appear in his Diary.

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Harris wasted no time in resuming his itinerant mission. On 14 June he was in Longtown, in Herefordshire; on the 15th in Abergavenny; and on 16 June he was in Pontypool. In Pontypool he was ordered to stop preaching, and summoned to appear before the Monmouth Assizes when they were held in August. Harris posted bond, and proceeded to Bristol.

In Bristol, he visited a society of Welshmen, which he had probably founded, and exhorted them for two hours.
"Thence to hear Mr John Wesley, whom I had heard much talk of, and loved much what I have heard of him; but had some prejudice against him, because he did not hold Perseverance of the Saints, and the doctrine of election, etc."¹

That night Wesley preached from Isaiah xlv, 22. Harris was tremendously inspired, and afterwards wrote: "I was for some time unaffected till at last I was much drawn to exercise faith on his calling All ye Ends of the world to look to Jesus that they be healed. I was filled with Love to him & such Joy after looking to Jesus that I could hardly contain myself."²

After the service Harris, with John Cennick, who had been placed in the Kingswood school by the London Methodists, went to John Wesley's lodgings. This was Harris's first face-to-face meeting with John Wesley. The two were drawn to one another, and a friendship of cordiality and long standing was established. Wesley had encouraged Cennick, a laymen, to

¹ Brief Account, op. cit., p.39.  
² Bathafarn, Vol. 9, p.32.
preach, despite the disapproval of his brother Charles and of
George Whitefield. The conversation between Harris and
Wesley on this occasion included the question of lay preaching,
and Wesley appeared convinced that his decision had been sound.
Harris concluded his account of the meeting by writing that
Wesley "was vastly enlarged in Prayer for Mr Griffith Jones,
for Wales and poor me. My soul was so knit to him that I
did not know how to Part with him."  

Following the brief and hurried visit to John Wesley in
Bristol, Harris returned to South Wales. He arranged that
his itinerary for the remainder of the summer should take him
into six counties, and that he would be in Monmouth for his
trial which was fixed for 10 August. He had engaged no
defence, and went to the trial expecting the worst. Unknown
to Harris, friends had gathered in Monmouth to testify in his
favour. Instead, the proceedings were dropped, and the case
dismissed. This outcome was regarded as Providential. Harris
wrote: "After this I was more satisfied than ever that my
mission was from God, especially as I had so often applied for
holy orders, and was rejected, for no other reason than my
preaching as a layman."  

Harris's friends shared in his joy. Whitefield, who by
this time was in America, wrote from Philadelphia:
"I congratulate you on your success at Monmouth. By

divine permission I hope in about a twelve-month to make a second use of your field pulpits. Our principles agree as face answers to face in water. Since I saw you God has been pleased to enlighten me more in that comfortable doctrine of election. The people of Wales are much upon my heart. I long to hear how the Gospel flourishes among you."

In October 1739, John Wesley made the first of his forty-six visits to Wales. His first observations are worth noting.

"I have seen no part of England so pleasant for 60 or 70 miles together, as those parts of Wales I have been in. And most of the inhabitants are indeed ripe for the Gospel: I mean (if the expression appear strange) they are earnestly desirous of being instructed in it: and as utterly ignorant of it they are as any Creek or Cherokee Indians. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ. Many of them can say both the Lord's Prayer and the Belief; nay, and some, all the Catechism; but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (9 in 10 of those with whom I have conversed) either of Gospel salvation, or of that faith whereby alone we can be saved, than Chiecali or Temor Chachi. Now, what spirit is he of who had rather those poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge, than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harris, or an itinerant Preacher?"

This is a startling commentary on the state of Christianity in Wales. The Church may have succeeded, in some cases, in dispelling intellectual doubts by "rote" methods of instruction, but the will and heart of the nation were starving. Evangelism is in essence an appeal to the unified personality of the individual - the mind, the will, the heart - and conversion is not conversion until the whole man turns to receive God in Jesus Christ.

The contentions between the Methodists and the Moravians

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1. Quoted in Hughes, H. J., op. cit., p.100.

Entrance for Oct. 20, 1739.
in Fetter Lane Society were intensified during the autumn of 1739, and by 1740 matters were going from bad to worse. Charles Wesley had become unpopular with the Moravians because of his abhorrence of dreams, visions, and the doctrine of stillness, all condoned by Count Zinzendorf and James Hutton. Before his expulsion from Fetter Lane, Shaw had defended the irregular interruption of society meetings by 'inspired Christians', who claimed to have received direct supernatural revelations.

This was repellent to Charles Wesley. In the autumn of 1739, John Wesley intervened in the wranglings, and after discussions with the Moravians he drafted a list of the differences between Methodism and Moravianism.

The situation continued to worsen in 1740. The theological language of the Moravians smacked of Patripassianism to the Methodists. Personal differences arose between Wesley and two Moravian ministers, James Hutton and Philip Volther. This is not the place to follow these disputes, but it is important for us to note that in them Howell Harris played the role of peacemaker. Though his attempts to reconcile the estranged parties in Fetter Lane were unsuccessful, he managed to keep the regard of both sides.

On 14 March, 1740, James Hutton wrote a reckless letter to Count Zinzendorf, in which he unjustly abused John and Charles Wesley. At the same time he had this to say about Harris:
"In Wales, some thousands are stirred up. They are an exceedingly simple and honest people, but they are taught the Calvinistic scheme. However, the young man, Howell Harris, who has been the great instrument in this work, is very teachable and humble, and loves the Brethren."¹

On the other hand, Charles Wesley was able, in May 1740, to declare that Harris had proved to be "A son of thunder and consolation. O what a flame was kindled! No man speaks in my hearing as this man speaketh."²

On 16 July, the Moravians excluded John Wesley from the Fetter Lane pulpit, though they did not expel him from membership in the Society itself. Four days later, Wesley went to a 'lovefeast' at Potter Lane, and at the conclusion of the service he read a brief statement concerning the errors into which he thought the Moravians had slipped, and announced his departure from the Society. "The day following, the seceding society, numbering about twenty five men and fifty women, met for the first time, at the Foundery, instead of at Fetter Lane; and so the Methodist society was founded on July 23, 1740."³

Disputing did not end with the establishment of the society at the Foundery. 1740 was anything but a peaceful year in the history of English Methodism. The second dispute, which arose within the ranks of the Methodists themselves, was over the doctrine of election, and has often been reviewed. Our interest lies in the effect upon the Welsh awakening, and

in the relationship of the Welsh awakening, chiefly through Howell Harris, (though other Welshmen were concerned), with the theological dispute.

It will be remembered that the Welsh revivalists were Calvinists from the outset. As early as 9 May, 1740, Edmund Jones cautioned Harris to be wary of John Wesley's theology. Jones wrote:

"Last Wednesday I received a letter in which the writer informs me that he had heard from Bristol which was that Mr Wesley had said somewhere (as that since his being in Wales) that he had half convinced or at least staggered Mr Howell Harris. I desire that my friends in Wales would not be over-fond of this Man. For I have some suspicion that he is not right."1

The champion of the doctrine of predestination in England, George Whitefield, had left for his second journey to America on 10 August, 1739. Whitefield's London converts were as concerned as Edmund Jones about Wesley's opposition to Calvinism. Harris received a letter from Mrs J. Godwin in March 1740, urging him to go to London.

"Indeed if you could spare time I think it very necessary, that if possible some stop might be put, at least in some, that may otherwise fall in with the prevailing errors of those our Methodists against predestination, & for perfection. Tho perhaps you would not have so affectionate a reception with them as formerly: for I hear their zeal for these opinions cools their love to the memory of their friend Mr Whit...."2

Whitefield's mantle, as the defender of the doctrine of predestination, fell upon Harris while the former was busy

1. Trevecka Letter 243, printed Trevecka MSS. Supplement, No. 9, first series.
2. Trevecka Letter 227, Ibid., No. 8, first series.
establishing his orphanage in Georgia. On 16 July, 1740, Harris intervened in the controversy, and wrote to Wesley.

"There were such reports of your holding no faith without a full & constant assurance, & no state of salvation (sic) without being fully & wholly set at liberty in ye fullest sense (of) perfection; and that I have been carried away by ye same theme that many of ye little ones were afraid to come near me... (missing) I left in London, you turned a Bro. out of ye Society, charged all beware of him .... because he held Election. My dr. Bro. - cannot you see in a more cool spirit, what was at ye Bottom of this? Do not you Act with ye same stiff, unbroken, uncharitable spirit which you do, and ought to condemn in others? I assure you, by ye little conversation I have had with that Person, I found all ye fruits of ye love of Him, & all Room to hope that ye Saviour is in him: ... if you Exclude him out of ye Society, & from ye fraternity of ye Methodists, you must exclude Bro. Whit-d, Bro. Seward & myself..."¹

William Seward, who had been Whitefield's travelling companion in Wales and America, disputed with Charles Wesley at Bristol, in October 1740. He crossed into South Wales and joined in Harris's itineraries. While preaching at Cusop, near Hay² Seward was struck by a stone flung by one of the crowd. He died on 22 October at the age of 30 years: he was the first Methodist martyr.

Immediately before Seward's death, Harris had written to John Cennick. In this letter he disclosed the seriousness of the Methodist dispute.

"Dear Brother, - Brother Seward tells me of his dividing with Brother Charles; he seems clear in his conviction that God would have him do so. I have been long waiting to see if brother John and Charles should receive further light, or

¹. Trevecka Letter 260 - Printed in Trevecka MSS. Supplement No. 9, 1st series.
². Trevecka is 8 miles south west of Hay.
be silent and not oppose election and perseverance; but, finding no hope thereof, I begin to be stageward about them what to do. I plainly see that we preach two gospels. My dear brother, deal faithfully with Brother John and Charles; if you will, you may read this letter to them."\(^1\)

And, Harris added this postscript to the letter to Cennick: "We are free in Wales from the hellish infection; but some are tainted when they come to Bristol."\(^2\)

On 10 October, Harris wrote a second letter to John Wesley in defence of the doctrine of election. "Preaching distinguishing love brings glory to God," wrote Harris, and "...if... electing love is not preached to the soul, it is robbed of its good. The Spirit enlightens the soul to know the Father, and shows him how He has loved him before the foundation of the world, choosing him for no other reason but because it so pleased Him."\(^3\)

George Whitefield returned to England in March 1741. Just before he touched land, John Cennick, with about fifty members of the Kingswood Society, withdrew from the society at Kingswood. This was the first open Methodist schism. Cennick had been appointed headmaster of the Kingswood school by John Wesley, and was the first lay preacher to be encouraged by him. Cennick's withdrawal, which was a shock to Wesley, left the Kingswood society weak. Wesley never forgave Cennick,

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2. Ibid.
and twenty years later wrote, "I visited the classes at Kingswood. Here only there is no increase; and yet where was there such a prospect till that weak man, John Connick, confounded the poor people with his strange doctrines?"¹

Connick's withdrawal, coming on the eve of Whitfield's return to England, heightened the difference between Wesley and Whitfield. Wesley went to see the returned traveller a few days after his arrival. An immediate rift ensued. Wesley wrote: "There were now two sorts of Methodists: those for particular, and those for general redemption."²

Like Seward before him, Connick, after his separation from Wesley, joined Howell Harris. The two went to Wiltshire in June 1741, and were met by a hostile mob. In a letter to John Lewis, Connick wrote that the mob,

"...brought a low Bell, or a large Bell, to fright away Birds from Corn, also a Horn, two Guns, & a Fire-Engine; and while I was preaching they began to fire over the People's Heads & to play the Engine upon Brother Harris & me till we were wet through, as was a few who stood close round us... After a time they again came back as Brother Harris was exhorting the Brethren to steadfastness, & began to shoot over our Heads again, & to play the Engine upon us as before: and because they were so eager in this work, some with Buckets took up the muddy water & threw it on us 'til we were like Men in the Pillory; one threw an Egg, & struck Brother Harris on the lip, so that it bled; another came on one side of my Head, but hurt me not."³

The subsequent story is told in a second letter to John Lewis, dated 8 July. To it, Connick added this postscript:

3. Weekly History, No. 14 (1741)
"P. S. 'Tis certain that those who oppos'd us at Swinden were so greatly inconsc'd against us, that a few Days ago they dressed up two Images one to represent Brother Harris, the other me, and burnt them, at which time (which was very remarkable) one who play'd the Engine upon us, & was the most bitter against us, was taken with a Bleeding (I believe) at the Nose, which cannot be stay'd by any means. He has been thus several Days & Nights so that there is very small hopes he ever will recover. No weapon that is formed against Thee shall prosper."

In the light of the persecution which Methodism suffered, the internal wranglings appear even more distressing. Certainly the doctrinal controversy within Methodism harmed the effective witness of the awakening in England, and engendered personal antagonism among the revivalists which was not easily healed. In the autumn of 1740 Harris had an unpleasant encounter with Charles Wesley, which led the following June to an open breach which did not heal for several weeks. Harris revealed the cause of his dissension with Charles Wesley to Robert Jones, of Fonmon Castle, in Glamorganshire. Robert Jones was a close friend of John Wesley. After his visit to Robert Jones, Harris writes this in his Diary: "Yo Lord help'd me to say ye Truth on every subject & so bad joy in comp. out - sd. how I went abt. at first ye Truth abt. Yo Wosleys - yo good & bad..." "The 'bad' concerning the Wesleys was presumably their attitude towards

2. John Wesley was always warmly welcome at Fonmon Castle. A. H. Williams, in his book *Welsh Wesleyan Methodism*, has compiled this list of references to Fonmon Castle from J. Wesley's Journal: 11, 504,532; 111. 29,77,96,133, 134,195,253,318,383; iv. 80,282.
election and Christian perfection, and what Harris regarded as Charles Wesley's hypocritical behaviour during his visit to South Wales in the previous November, pretending to Harris's face that he was almost a Calvinist himself, and then preaching undiluted Arminianism when his back was turned...

In a letter to an anonymous person, dated 1 July 1741, Harris told why he mistrusted Charles Wesley.

"I divided with Mr Wesley last Sunday on account of their errors..."2

Harris, at great length, enumerated those errors. He continued:

"Wn Mr C (Mr C. - Charles Wesley) had been in Wales, and come to Bristol he sd Publickly to all and so sent to London yt he and I parted in perfect union, where as we parted in a Division; for wn he came over he sent word to me, to desire me to come to Cardiff immediately, and ye Sunday before I went att ye Sacramt I found great Love to Him, and so went in Sweet Love, and witht any prejudice, and wn I met him as soon as we were alone, he told me, 'Bro. How. I now believe Election as strong as you; & did they know at Cardiff how strong I believe they wd no more receive me than they do you.' Then all that remain'd on my mind to hinder a perfect Union was taken away and I went with him to ye Society att Cardiff where while he was preachg down Self Righteousness, a gent-man there mov'd him to Preach against me (I then found that was the intent he had been sent for into Wales) & my doctrine..."3

The two parted after the service, Wesley "going on board for Bristol and I went to Expound at ye Society, & while I was discourag he came in Suddenly upon us (ye wind & tide not serving) I then gave him the Book, & he went immediately to discourse on sinless perfection....Then my eyes were opened and as soon as he had done, I told him I cd not agree with him...til now my eyes were with held...Such all ye Time I was at London I thought they held, and so I Joyn'd with you, and learn'd their Terms and Expressions...no more than a General

3. Ibid.
Good will towd all, & yt X dy'd for all, in such a manner as to set all mens Damnation on their own Heads...I Joyn'd to use ye wds in London tho' they wd not come up to me in Election yet Mr C owned it to be in private..."1

This letter continued on and on. Harris explained that his innocent use of some of Wesley's expressions in Wales had caused many to suspect him of holding to the doctrine of sinless perfection. To eradicate this misunderstanding, Harris said he wrote to Daniel Howland. Howland advised Harris to have the letter (No. 349) printed. Harris sent a copy to Charles Wesley and to the printer in London, but neither was delivered, for an unknown reason. Harris pursued the matter no farther.

The printer for the Calvinistic Methodist societies was John Lewis, a native of Radnorshire, in Wales, who had his printing shop in Bartholomew Close, London. Between September 1740 and March 1741 Lewis, quite on his own, printed a weekly newspaper, "The Christian Amusement". It was designed to bring about a reconciliation of the two factions within Methodism.

When Wesley and Whitefield separated, Lewis abandoned "The Christian Amusement", and began publication of "The Weekly History." This became the organ of Calvinistic Methodism. While it ably fostered the cause, Lewis saw to it that the publication did so in an affirmative way. He was an extremely tolerant man. This is apparent in his writings. One of his letters to Harris will show the catholicity of his spirit.

1. Trevecka MSS., Letter 349, Book 5. This lengthy quotation is but a brief fraction of a long letter. If printed, it would make a sizeable pamphlet. Harris's writings are characterised by verbosity.
"May the Lord look on the dear Wesleys", he wrote, "who I really
believe are Israelites indeed, only, as you hinted some time ago,
mistaken in Judgement."¹

The banner on the first copy of the four-page "Weekly
History" reads:

"The Weekly History:
"or An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars relating
"to the present Progress of the Gospel.
"By the encouragement of the Rev. Mr Whitefield.
"Price one Penny."²

It was John Wesley's sermon at Bristol on "Free Grace",
(which was printed, and to which was annexed Charles Wesley's
"Hymn on Universal Redemption") which began the Calvinian con-
troversy. (This is not intended to lay the sole blame for the
dispute at Wesley's doorstep. The fire was smouldering, Wesley's
sermon provided the explosion.) In the fourth issue of "The
Weekly History", this advertisement appeared:

"Lately Published (and may be had of the Printer of this
Paper)
"A Letter to the Rev. Mr John Wesley: In Answer to his
"Sermon, entituled, Free Grace. --- By George Whitefield,
"A.B. late of Pembroko College, Oxford. --- 'But when
"Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face,
"because he was to be blamed!' Gal. ii, II. Price 6d.³

The Methodist leaders at the Tabernacle had recommended the
reading of Luther's Commentary on Galatians, and, in aid of
sales, this advertisement appeared in "The Weekly History":

¹. Travecka Letter 235 printed Travecka MSS. Supplement,
   No. 9, first series.
². The Weekly History, No. 1, April 11, 1741.
³. Ibid., No. 4.
"A Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians" by Luther - 12s. - Bk. may be bought on the installments; at 6d or Is a week, till they have the whole completed."

The Wesleyan Methodists frowned on Luther's Commentary. John Lewis received this letter from Samuel Mason, a member of the Tabernacle:

"Wth in ye week Mr J.W. has absolutely forbid all his admirers to read it (Luther's Commentary): representing it as a Book full of abominable errors & unfit to be read by a Xian..."

In July 1741 George Whitefield sent for Howell Harris to come to London. The new wooden meeting-house of the Whitefieldian Society in Moorfields - The Tabernacle - had been erected, and Whitefield desired Harris's aid in gathering together the society. (By the time Whitefield returned to England in March he found his congregations had dropped from 2,000 to two or three hundred.) Harris went immediately to London where he remained for three months. Whitefield had little inclination to organisational work, and on 25 July he went to Scotland, leaving Harris in charge of the newly-built Tabernacle.

The brunt of evangelical work as well as of administration fell upon Harris. We have already learned that his energy was tireless, and undoubtedly he threw himself wholeheartedly into this new venture. John Lewis was most anxious to consult with Harris, but he found it impossible to arrange an appointment.

1. The Weekly History, No. 19 (The underlining is mine).
He wrote to Harris on 17 August and gave him this excellent advice:

"You have been often asked to come to Breakfast with me, and you have promis'd more than once that you would come next Week. I should be glad to see that next Week. As you have promis'd to come one Day, be pleas'd to set a Day, and I'll take care to remind you of it when the Time comes. Set it down in your Pocket-book as Mr Gennick us'd to do, and then you'll promise nobody else at the same time. I give you these Instructions because I can never ask you at any time but you have promis'd some-body before: so that if you take a right Method, I shall have some Room to hope that you'll keep your promise to me as well as to other People." 1

While Whitefield was in Scotland he met with phenomenal success. His gifts as a preacher far outstripped his ability as an organiser. In Scotland he met Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, and other Seceders, who, the year before, had been deposed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.2 During his absence, Harris strove for a reconciliation within Methodism. His role as peacemaker on this occasion was more successful than during Methodism's dispute with the Moravians.

By burying his personal grievance against Charles Wesley Harris, by the time he returned to Wales in October, had succeeded in reducing the differences between Whitefield and the Wesleys. He wrote to that effect to Whitefield:

"Dear Brother Whitefield, - I believe that jealousies will not be entirely eradicated until correspondence with those that indulge a party spirit, and are not like little children, ceases...Opposers would be glad to influence you. They were

2. See Appendix A.
in hopes to set brother Cennick and myself by the ears, but the Lord disappointed them.

"Now as to brother Wesley; the Lord gave me on a certain day such earnestness to pray for him, and such faith to believe that he would be led into all truth, that all prejudices were removed, and I could speak to him in love; but still had no thoughts of so doing until he invited me to him, and then I opened my heart to him, and told him how the Lord taught me every truth, - that I had no freewill until six years and a half ago. He allowed everything, and said that we, through grace, shall not fall away. I saw room to hope that the Lord would bring us together in the truth. As to freewill he utterly denied it. He does really mean what he says. He did so openly in Charles' Square. 'God', said he, 'is willing to save you all, if you will. What I mean by saying if you will is, not if you have a faint wish to go to heaven, but, if you will submit to Christ in all His offices for salvation, - if you are willing He should save you from sin as well as hell, else you cannot be saved.'

"Brother Charles Wesley came to town last Saturday night, and we providently not; he owned he had no freewill until four years ago, - that it was God who chose him first, and not he God, and that he is kept faithful by the faithfulness of God. He spoke tenderly of you, and seemed to be quite loving and teachable."

Upon receipt of the above, Whitefield wrote directly to John Wesley.

"Aberdeen, Oct. 10, 1741

"Reverend and dear Brother,

"This morning I received a letter from brother Harris, telling me how he had conversed with you and your dear brother. May God remove all obstacles that now prevent our union! Though I hold particular election, yet I offer Jesus freely to every individual soul. You may carry sanctification to what degrees you will, only I cannot agree with you that the in-being of sin is to be destroyed in this life. In about three weeks I hope to be at Bristol. May all disputings cease, and each of us talk of nothing but Jesus and Him crucified! This is my resolution.

"I am, without dissimulation,

"Ever yours,

"G. Whitefield.""

2. Ibid., p. 185.
By 10 October, Harris was on his way back to Wales. Five days later John Wesley received a message from Harris urging a meeting of the two at New Passage. This is Wesley's record of that meeting:

"I accordingly set out at noon, but being obliged to wait at the waterside, did not reach Will-Creek (the place he had appointed for our meeting) till an hour or two after night. But this was soon enough; for he had not been there; nor could we hear anything of him. So we went back to Mather, and thence in the morning to Lamsarton, a village of 2 miles off, where we heard Mr Daniel Rowlands was to be, and whom accordingly we found there. Evil surmisings presently vanished away, and our hearts were knit together in love. We rode together to Machan, (five miles beyond Newport) which we reached about twelve o'clock. In an hour after, H. Harris came, and many of his friends from distant parts. We had no dispute of any kind, but the spirit of peace and love was in the midst of us. At three we went to Church. There was a vast congregation, though at only a few hours' warning. After prayers, I preached on those words in the Second Lesson: 'The life which I now live, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me'. Mr Rowlands then preached in Welsh, on Mt. xxviii.8.

"We rode afterwards to St. Bride's, in the "oors; where Mr Rowlands preached again. Here we were met by Mr Humphreys and Thomas Bissicks of Kingswood. About eleven a few of us retired...But T. Bissicks immediately introduced the dispute, and others seconded him. This H. Harris and Mr Rowlands strongly withstood; but finding it profited nothing, Mr Rowlands soon withdrew. H. Harris kept them at bay till about one o'clock in the morning, I then left them and Captain T. together; about three they left off just where they began.

"Sat. 17. Going to a neighbouring house, I found Mr Humphreys and T. Bissicks tearing open the sore with all their might. On my coming in, all was hushed...there followed a lame piece of work; but although the accusations brought were easily answered, yet I found they left a soreness on many spirits. When H. Harris heard of what had passed, he hastened to stand in the gap once more, and with tears besought them all 'to follow after the things that make for peace': and God blessed the healing words which he spoke; so that we parted much in love...."

Harris's efforts towards reconciliation paved the way for

the resumption of personal friendship between Whitefield and Wesley in the spring of 1742. At this time "each pursued his own separate course; but their hearts were one. Their creeds were different; but not their aims."¹

Tyerman wrote that "it was through the timely interposition of Howell Harris, that the friendship between Wesley and Whitefield was resumed."² He added, "towards this warmhearted Welshman Wesley cherished the most sincere affection."

Though Harris's motives in reconciling Whitefield and Wesley were charitable, they were not completely sanctioned by all members of the Tabernacle. In the first paragraph of Harris's letter to Whitefield in October, (page 95), Harris referred to "opposers (who) would be glad to influence you."

This opposition is summed up in this letter from Mary Ravens, a member of the Tabernacle, to Howell Harris.

"Indeed, I think you have been too hasty in declaring a union with Mr Wesley before you have had a meeting with Mr Whitefield and ye rest of the brethren as was proposed. Indeed you have grieved the souls of Mr Cennick Mr (?) and Mr Whitefield will be grieved likewise. for it is clear Mr Wesleys still retain their errors for Mr Charles preaches universal redemption and insists upon the inbeing of Sin being taken away as Strong as ever...I fear Mr Wesleys outward Sweet behaviour has won you..."³

Mary Ravens' concern over the grief of Mr Whitefield might have been spared had she known that, seven days before she wrote to Harris, Whitefield himself had corresponded with

². Ibid., p.375.
³. Trevecka MSS., Letter 396.
John Wesley, and had expressed his desire for reunion.

Another letter which informed Harris of suspicion of the motives of the Wesleys came to him from Elizabeth Paul. It is significant that Elizabeth Paul, who lived in London, was one of Harris’s converts, and referred to him as her spiritual "father". The relationship between Harris and English Methodism was not only on the plane of organisation. Harris, the exhorter, played an important role in the evangelicalism in England. Elizabeth Paul wrote on 10 December, 1741:

"Pray Sr rite me word weather is Like to be a union between Mr Wesleys and you for it dont seem to be so heare for Mr Charles continualy is Preaching against election and for bids his Society no to hear Mr Whitfield saying that he Set up Preaching at the Tabernacle in opposition to them..."

Perhaps it is not fitting to conclude a chapter filled with controversy and discord with an account of a wedding. And, again, it might be asked: What place does a marriage notice have in a thesis which is concerned with the relationship between Welsh and English Methodism? But there is more to these relationships than one might suppose. It has been pointed out that the daughter of one of Harris’s converts became Mrs Charles Wesley. On 14 November, 1741, George Whitefield claimed for himself a Welsh bride. The story of Whitfield’s marriage to Mrs Elizabeth James of Abergavenny has been hardly mentioned by any of his biographers. Tyerman

Mrs James, a widow about ten years older than Whitfield, was Miss Elizabeth Gwynne before her first marriage. She was from the same family as Sarah Gwynne (Mrs Charles Wesley).

It is known that Howell Harris had a fond attachment for her. He denotes her with the symbol of a cross (+) in his Diaries. A few excerpts from the Diary transcriptions will suffice to show Harris's feelings towards Mrs James.

"Jan. 25, 1740 ... at 12 tord Llanynidr with Mrs James. I told my life before and after my conversion but I know not my end + did the same. Engaging fellowship with +.

"April 28, 1740 ... Lord let me know Thy mind in this between me and + if I am not to have her then let it not go on...

"April 30, 1740 ... I see + fitted for me (as I am now a public person) in every respect having enough and no more of the world.

"Sep. 10, 1740 ... Sweet conversations with Br. Seward... Another thing happened amazingly Providentially. Br. Seward (not knowing that I spoke anything to +) asked her for the Orphan House to Bro. Whit -- and + asked me at Usk if Bro. Seward had told me anything abt her & I said he had not via I (not knowing anything that he had discoursed to her on this head) went in simplicity as a Bro. to tell him the whole between me and + & how it had been carried on. Then he told me of what had happened. I then saw what a Providence was here - then saw it a trial on me & I felt my heart made upright resigning her up to my Brother...now resolved to be friendless as to creatures. gave her up (seains God's love to her finding her a better friend than poor me.)

"Sep. 13, 1740 ... It seems to me she is called of Thee & fitted by Thee for Bro. Whit -- and the Orphan House...

"July 23, 1741 ... I wrote a letter to + on yielding her up to Bro. Whit -- ..."
One cannot but wonder whether Whitefield married Mrs James out of love, or with the intention of securing a matron for the Orphanage in Georgia.

Whitefield and Mrs James were to have been married on 11 November 1741 (this is the date Tyerman assigned to the wedding), but the Diary transcriptions indicate that when the wedding party arrived at the Church of Llantilio Pertholey, near Abergavenny, the vicar refused to perform the ceremony. The reason is not stated. The marriage actually took place on 14 November at St. Martin's Church, Caerphilly. Ironically enough, Howell Harris gave the bride away! One writer of the history of Methodism in Monmouthshire has said that Mrs James was not in love with Whitefield, and that "she wept bitterly when leaving Harris before the wedding and behaved coldly to Whitefield..."1

Five days after Whitefield and Mrs James were married, Howell Harris wrote to Miss Ann Williams: "I am persuaded (unless convinced yet to the contrary) that you are mine - that our Lord intends to bring us together to help each other under our various Burthens..."2

Though Harris and Miss Williams were not married until May 1744, Harris, as early as 26 April 1743, recorded in his Diary that "Bro. Whitefield is against our union."3

By the autumn of 1740 it was apparent to the leaders of Welsh Methodism that a scheme would have to be devised to consolidate the awakening. To achieve this, Harris and Rowland met in September 1740. The outcome of this consultation was the Conference held at Glyn, Devynock, in Breconshire, on 2 October 1740, the purpose of which was to promote understanding among Anglican and Nonconformist clergy and the lay preachers who had openly allied themselves with Methodism. In his Diary, Harris described the Conference thus:

"There met about 8 ordained ministers of all Denominations and about so many, or more, laymen teachers. I told them of the first motives in me to it was in hearing of associates in Scotland and America, etc., to meet to unite, to love and strengthen each other's hand...Then we proposed Rules for the Society - that we should open our whole heart to each other. I was much helped to deliver my charge to them of Christ's little lambs, they promising to see the Welsh School and the Societies, and to promote universal love, to sale of books, and about uniting in all good...I had much strength, to explain my meaning about perfection and the two assurances...Had inward satisfaction seeing the Lord had united us together and brought things so well about..."

Unfortunately, the purpose of uniting all Methodist sympathisers failed. The Conference achieved the exact opposite. The Anglicans were opposed to admitting the Methodists.

1. Quoted from the Diary, Jones, M. H., op. cit., p.263.
2. See Appendix A.
3. Here Harris called the Devynock Conference a 'Society'. In the early stages of organisation, Harris and Rowland had no fixed name for their meetings of Methodists above the level of Private Societies. The term 'Association' was accepted in 1743. We have called the Devynock meeting a 'Conference', and shall call the subsequent meetings 'Associations'.
to communion, and the Dissenters, who had first supported the
revival, were dissatisfied with the determination of Harris and
Rowland to keep the awakening within the Established Church.
After the Devynock Conference, their friendliness turned into
avowed antagonism.

David Williams, a Presbyterian minister at Pwllypant, who
had been among the first of the Dissenters to invite Harris to
Glamorgan, wrote to him in December 1740. Williams's letter
is one of the most penetrating criticisms of the tendency of
Methodist enthusiasm toward introspection and subjectivity.

"It surprises that one who formerly made it his business
to expose Biggotry, should himself be a great example of it...
"It is assuming too much to bring all, ministers & people,
to yr Test, otherwise they are Carnal, they are ignorant of the
work of Grace in the Soul, you must expose them. Is this Xian
meekness? ...Are we to Limit the manner of ye Actings of ye H
Spirit to any particular scheme of ours?"

Williams then opposed Harris's insistence that membership
in Private Societies be restricted to those who were conscious
of an experience of salvation. "Must we", he asked, "pronounce
a sentence of Damnation upon those that are not absolutely
assured they are in Xt." The letter continues:

"If I come not to yr Test, and pass under yr Examination
you Threaten to expose me as a Carnal man, an unqualified
Minister, for this is ye sum of ye last Conference - But who
art Thou 0 man to Judge another man's servant to his own Master
he stands or falls?"

1. Trowecka Letter 303, printed in Trowecka MSS., Supplement,
   No. 1 - second series - p.11.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Edmund Jones's antagonism took a different form - a form neither as able nor as objective as that which David Williams pursued. During Harris's absences in London, Jones's close contacts with the Methodist societies, as an overseer, afforded him a valuable acquaintance with the inner workings of Methodism, and with the sentiments of the people. This advantage reacted against Methodism when Jones became hostile to the position of Harris and Rowland. Jones succeeded in wooing many Methodists into Nonconformity, and, planted among others a strong desire to separate themselves from the Church of England.

This desire was stimulated by Harris's insistence that Anglican-Methodist converts should commune within their respective Parish churches. He even, on occasion, advised Nonconformist-Methodist converts to do likewise, but he was not adamant on this point. His attitude to the relation of the Methodists to the Established Church and Nonconformity was expressed in a letter to Thomas Price, when he wrote, "I believe we are called not to leave Church or meeting, but to abide each where he was before, to endeavour to reform the Rest..."

The Dissenters were not satisfied. They wanted the entire Methodist movement either (1) to join with existing Nonconformity, or (2) to form a new sect. Harris and Rowland were determined to prevent either step, for to them Methodism was not a separate church, nor the seed of a now denomination, but a non-denominational awakening.

Jones's case for separation was strengthened in the eyes of the members of Private Societies and the Methodist exhorters by the fact that many of the parish clergy were of dubious character. They objected to receiving the Sacrament from priests whom they knew to be profane, drunken, and often immoral. Edmund Jones spared no energy in pricking the scruples of the Methodists, and caused them to look to Nonconformity, in order to secure freer Sacramental privileges.

Many of the exhorters agitated for separation on a less commendable basis. They saw that Nonconformist ministers, with no greater ability than they possessed, were privileged to administer the Sacraments. With a longing for the same right, they clamoured for separation from the Established church, hoping ordination would follow.

The position of the members of the Private Societies and the exhorters is not difficult to appreciate. They had been ushered into the new life of Christianity by Methodists, and they could see no reason why they should not be nurtured in that faith by the same spiritually minded men.

Harris's position, on the other hand, was one of high churchmanship, inconsistent as this may appear. He had been converted while partaking of the Lord's Supper, and he argued that the efficacy of the Sacrament depended upon the faith of the communicant, and not upon the character of the officiating clergyman. He wrote, "The Ordinance I believe the Lord does
and will bless to us, but as to their Preaching and Conversation, the more we'll grow in experimental Knowledge of Christ, the less useful they will be to us..."¹

In April 1742, Edmund Jones succeeded in drawing the entire society at Devynock into Nonconformity. Harris, who had been chiefly responsible for the founding of the Devynock society, was disturbed, and, in a letter to George Whitefield, told him what had occurred.

"...there being a Society gone all over to the Dissenters from the Church...that had been all gathered by means of Bro. Rowlands and me, and having gone secretly without mentioning a word to either of us, Showing also a very bad Spirit, using all means to draw over to the Dissenters calling us false Teachers railing against the Church...

"I have not found one own'd to call any among them but Mr Edmund Jones, and now he also suffers himself to be led for some time past by a party Spirit, Setting up Separate Congregations, and either directly or indirectly drawing our friends to him contrary to his former Principles, and he also when we had a Society of ministers of every Sect near 2 years ago in order to promote Love...he was the first that opposed. There is a vast Deal of party Love in the Tenderness we have from most Dissenters, when all things come to Light, tis clear we are Tools to Strengthen their various parties - when any Societies are gathered together now of all Parties they go among them to draw 'em over to them..."²

Harris went in person to the society at Devynock in an attempt to bring about a reconsideration of their decision, but he met with no success. "I offered to Speak my thoughts when I was publickly interrupted by a Baptist, and he was immediately Seconded by others, ...telling me I was against Church Discipline..."³

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2. Ibid., Letter 546, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 562, unpublished.
Harris sent a mild reprimand to Edmund Jones:

"As to the manner of effecting it, you know it was such as gave us a just cause of offence: as you did not send to Mr Griffith Jones, Mr Rowlands, or myself, that we might have weighed, reason calmly, and spend sometime in prayer together about it; as it was the first step of this kind in Wales, and as most of the people had been called through our ministry. I know, if you will put yourself in our place, that you will see it was not quite right, any more than it would be for me if I was to come and take your people secretly from you, though they sent for me."

This did not deter Edmund Jones. He continued to stir up dissension. After the Methodist Association came into existence, one of the main contentions among the members - the exhorters particularly - sprang from the question of Sacramental privileges, the very note Edmund Jones successfully sounded in his anti-Methodist drive.

The Methodist breach with Nonconformity intensified the dilemma of Methodism. Between Nonconformist antagonism and Anglican hostility, Methodism's anomaly was precarious. We must now turn our attention to the forms which the Anglican hostility assumed.

On the back of a letter, Harris jotted down the names of thirteen ministers and exhorters with whom he was in correspondence at the time of the Davynock Conference. Appended to this list are the names of three Anglican vicars: Pryce Davies of Talgarth, J. Tinsley of Llandinam, and David Lloyd of Llandefalle. These men Harris considered to be Methodism's race.

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most bitter opponents.

Pryce Davies's first opposition to Harris, in 1735, has been mentioned. It may be that Bishop Claggett's repeated refusal to ordain Howell Harris was in part at least the result of Davies's personal disapproval of Harris.

On 26 December 1742, Davies again rebuked the Methodists by refusing to give Communion to Harris or any other Methodist in his parish. This ban, linked to the aforementioned agitation for separation from the Church of England, added to the mounting restlessness within Methodism. Had Harris desired to found a new sect, he could well have seized Davies's edict and used it as a lever to turn the widening cleavage between Methodism and the Established Church into complete separation. Instead, he urged the Methodists in the parish of Talgarth to go elsewhere for the Sacrament.

A second Anglican opponent of Methodism was David Lloyd, vicar of Llandefalle, who proved to be a formidable opponent in the field of Church polity. In April 1741, he addressed the following questions to Harris, and thereby began a prolonged controversy between the two men.

1. "Is a Commission or Mission Necessary for preaching ye Word of God, and for administering ye Sacraments or is it not?"

1. Pryce Davies's refusal to give the Sacrament to the Methodists came just before the Watford Association of 5 and 6 Jan., 1743. Harris was determined to avoid any drastic step until this Association had convened. Whitefield was expected to be present, and Harris counted heavily on him to prevent a separation.
2. "Who have Authority to give this Commission in ye ordinary Way?"

3. "Was ever a Commission given in an Extraordinary Way, without ye power of working Miracles?"

4. "Was ever a false teacher yt did not pretend to More than Ordinary holiness?"

5. "Can any Man live without sinning while in this world?"

6. "What is schism?"

7. "Who is the father of lies?"

8. "Whose children are liers."

These questions reached Harris on the eve of a proposed itinerary through Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire. He hurriedly wrote to Lloyd to explain the pressure of his work, and said he would answer the queries at a later date.

The Vicar of Llandefalle interpreted Harris's answer as an evasion of the subject, and publicly made capital of what he considered a personal triumph. The following month he sent an abusive letter to Harris, and warned him against the heresy to which Lloyd said he had succumbed. He wrote:

"Good God, is this the way to reform? This is not the first time our Church has been aspersed with this kind of slander...I can't conceive what need there is of your going about. Is it to preach and teach our Articles and Homilies? Pray sir, what Article is it consistent with to maintain the possibility of absolute unsinning perfection, and of wholly subduing the corruption of nature in this life? By what authority do you go about to do these things? Is it human or divine? No man taketh this honour unto himself. Irregular notions lead to confusion. God is a God of order, not

of confusion."¹

In June 1741, Harris wrote a lengthy reply to Lloyd's letter, which he called an answer to "your loving epistle to me."² This reply, which Harris probably intended for publication, contained about forty pages of manuscript, but for some reason it was not delivered to Lloyd until a year and a half later. Upon receiving it, Lloyd answered:

"There is not an answer to one Query, nor promise of an answer, altho all the Queries might have been answered easily in lesse time than was taken to write ye letter, it was not much trouble to put, yea or no to every Query. The pamphlet is a heap of ye most unchristian slander upon ye Church of England & its ministry: The Sermon is about ye Holy Ghost; wt is this to my Queries?"³

After several exchanges of correspondence, the acid controversy was concluded in June 1743.

An unexpected opposition which stemmed from Llanddowror was directed against the Methodists in 1741. The venerable Griffith Jones, who had encouraged the Methodist revival in its first years, was soured by Methodism's excessive enthusiasm. The stress of the Methodists upon introspection had a tendency to induce an unhealthy habit of mind which was repellent to many pious and devoted Welsh Anglicans and Nonconformists. William Morris of Holyhead, commenting on the preaching of Charles Wesley in Anglesey, said: "Either he was demented or we are. He was like a man preaching the Gospel to a group of

¹ Hughes, H. J., op. cit., p.160 ff. for the Harris-Lloyd controversy.
² Troweka MSS., Letter 331.
³ Ibid.
parans without faith and without knowledge."¹

Griffith Jones hinted the same thing when he wrote on 19 May 1741:

"Several of our Methodists & some of their chiefs plainly discover themselves very defective in common sense, common Manners, & veracity or common honesty: & indulge a very arrogant, proud, railing & slandering Temper, such has been their behaviour towards everybody, who in the gentlest Manner have talked with them abt. their very gross Absurdities, wh can never pass for Religion with any but the grossly ignorant."²

Griffith Jones's curate, Howell Davies, was a Methodist, and obviously his restlessness caused Jones some anxiety. He wrote:

"I officiate myself here to Day (Llanddowror). Howell went to Llysyfran. He is so unsettled in his Mind, that I can't depend upon any of his promises: the last he talks with, has him. I am sorry I can't fix him to his studies. I see he will continue as ignorant & disorderly as any of the crowd, when he parts with me. 'Tis the cry of the Crowd, that he will be governed by, which grieves me very much for his own sake."³

One of the young Methodist exhorters, Herbert Jenkins, wrote to Harris on 25 June 1741, to tell him of his experience with Griffith Jones.

"Wednesday ye 17th I came by Landowror & there I was cast down I was Wounded & toss'd so yt I did not, nor now do not know wt to do, Mr (Griffith) Jones took me to a Room by myself & there began at me, for my going about, without being sent after a Lawfull Manner, & bade me Consider ye evil of it in 3 things, 1st yt it was contrary to ye whole Scope of yo Scripture; 2d yt it was Contrary to ye Example of all Churches in all ages... 3d ye evil Consequences yt was to be drawn...
"But all the while I did not Speak Nothing, nor Indeed cd not very well, for I did Tremble & Quake & knew not wt to do.

³. Ibid., p.54.
"...Now there is Signs of more persecution than ever, Mr Jones of Lanbadock had a letter from Mr Griffith Jones to Discourage ye Methodists & So poor Man he did as he was Drunk in his Pulpit expose ye Societies & all ye Methodists...I ask'd Mr (Griffith) Jones wt to do to ye little Societies, Desire them Says he to learn my Catechism & so to Examine it one to ye other & Pray & Sing Psalms & no more - yt Indeed is good, But ye little Lambs are Hungry they will Say Head Knowledge is good, but an Experiential Knowledge of Jesus X in ye Heart is Better..."

To Harris, who revered Griffith Jones, this hostility was grievous. In his Diary, in which his initial description of Jones is worthy of note, Harris listed some points which Jones levelled against the Methodists.

"The old saint, Mr Griffith Jones, is led away to be against us by carnal ministers. (1) How, when it was in his power set, he was against Mr Rowlands coming to Llanlluan Chapel, where was likely to be gathered many lambs, because it would be stirring up envy and uneasiness in congregations about there, and because it would be on a week-day he must come there, and they should lose their work; (2) blaming Br. Rowlands for calling ministers carnal ministers; (3) that David, etc., did not offer to God what cost them nothing, and that we must study, etc., and so the young Methodists should not exhort...

During a visit by Harris to Griffith Jones in November 1741, they exchanged their differing opinions on methods of evangelism, but parted, according to Harris, with an agreement to differ. Yet, on 11 December Harris wrote that Griffith Jones "has been forbidden to keep company with me by Madam Bevan. They expect my fall, thinking me spiritually proud, and saying I called Mr Griffith Jones carnal, etc."  

In an undated letter written by Jones to Madam Bevan, we

2. Jenkins, D.R., op.cit., pp.43,44.  
3. Ibid., p.46.
read:

"I am quite well, & never more alive than to day, & all last Night, tho' I talked a great deal & with high Spirits with H. Harris, but I think it shall be the last Time: for he is obstinately erroneous & conceited."

As the Itinerary of Howell Harris lists only one visit to Llanddowror in 1741, and that in November, it is more than likely that Jones's letter to Madam Bevan was written after Harris's departure, which was described by himself as one marked with "great love and friendship."

On the surface at least, Griffith Jones's disagreement with the Methodists became less acute in later months, and he seems to have been more amiable. In any case, Harris repeatedly sought the advice of Griffith Jones, and carefully reported to him in later months on the progress of the Association.

The peril of physical persecution was also an important factor which contributed to the determination of the Methodist fathers to organise the movement. One instance will suffice to show how the wrath of angry mobs was directed against the revivalists.

In January 1741, Howell Harris journeyed to North Wales. As he approached Bala², in Merioneth, he was met by the parish

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2. Bala became, in the 19th century, the mecca of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism. Today, a handsome Theological College overlooks the Green in Bala where Harris almost lost his life.

It was at an Association in Bala, in 1811, that the Rev. Thomas Charles officiated at the ordination of eight men. This was the first occasion on which the Association took it.
priest who warned him not to preach in the town. Harris ignored the warning and upon entering Bala, began to preach. An angry mob, "...who had been preparing themselves for the work by excessive drinking (it was supposed that the Minister had given them the drink)" attacked him and beat him virulently, "until", as Harris wrote, "one swore they should beat me no more for fear of being prosecuted for killing me."¹

After recovering from his injuries, he went to Caernarvonshire. On his first Sunday there, he attended services in an Anglican church and heard the Chancellor, John Owen, warn the people against him. In describing the Chancellor's tirade, Harris wrote that it was "a sermon as I thought could never come into the heart of man to conceive, or any mouth to utter."²

The examples of hostility and unrest, which we have chosen from among many, will serve to indicate how enforced circumstances compelled the Welsh Methodist fathers to organise against external and internal perils. These perils, in brief, may be enumerated thus:

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it upon itself to ordain, and it brought about the final and complete separation of Welsh Methodism from the Established church.

I was privileged to attend my first Association in Bala in Nov., 1955, at which time the bi-centenary of the birth of Thomas Charles was commemorated. Strangely enough, eight young men were ordained in this Association - the same number ordained by the Association in 1811.

2. Ibid., p.53.
**External peril**

1. Antagonism of Nonconformity.
2. Hostility of Anglicanism.
3. Physical persecution by the mob.

**Internal peril**

1. Agitation and unrest stemming from a desire to separate from the Established church.

As the fathers prepared for a meeting of Methodists, to be held at Dygoedydd in Carmarthenshire on 8 January 1742, a second internal peril arose: who was to be the leader? Personal favouritism encouraged some Methodists to promote Rowland, while others supported Harris.

Harris realised that neither he nor Rowland, nor any other Welsh leader, could command a sufficiently large majority of the exhorters to assure the strength of leadership that was essential to the success of the Dygoedydd Association. Rather than risk a repetition of the failure at Devynock, Harris turned his eyes to England. If a Welshman could not muster a sizeable majority perhaps a neutral Englishman could, and so he invited George Whitefield to the Dygoedydd Association.

Whitefield was unable to be present, but he did send a letter which proved to be a successful guide for the deliberations of the Association. The letter, which need not be quoted here in full, urged the Methodist exhorters and clergy to work together in harmony. He was pessimistic about the chance of Methodism remaining for long within the Established church, but counselled them "...not to go out till you are cast out, and
when cast out...be not afraid to preach in the fields."

The Dygroedydd Association, which may be called the first Welsh Association, was a success. The extent to which Whitefield's letter influenced it may be seen in a letter which Harris wrote to Whitefield on 14 January.

"Last week we met together 3 minstr and some exhorters that go about Publickly and others that are call'd less Publick following their ordinary calling too - we did Read ye Letter and every one agreed with yr thoughts we had much Union, sweetness, concord...we agreed that the People shd communicate in their Parish Churches...we agreed to meet again on Thursday Feb 11 near Llandovery and I hope you'll be inclin'd to send us another Letter by that time...& I wish you cd make some guess (by) then when you cd come among us we hope our dr Lord will send you among us we are all like little Children not knowing what to do..."2

Our attention is called to two references in the above. First, the February meeting at Llwynberllan took place on the twelfth (and not the eleventh), and on that occasion a set of rules for the order and conduct of the Private Societies was adopted. They were ordered to be printed by Felix Farley at Bristol.3 Secondly, we should note that Harris's wish that Whitefield would personally attend the Association was not fulfilled for another twelve months.4 During that year,

1. Jenkins, D. E., op.cit., p.53. Dr Jenkins has printed the letter in full.
3. I was invited by Mr Evan Jones, Plas Gwyn, Pontrug, near Caernarvon, to browse through his private library which includes several rare Welsh Books. Among Mr Jones's collection is a copy of the first Welsh Dictionary, printed by Felix Farley of Bristol, in 1743.
4. Four subsequent Associations were held in 1742: at Glanyrafondu on 10 March; Blaenyglyn on 23 April; Travecka on 10 June; and, at Watford on 4 July. The business conducted at each appears to have been a continuation of that begun at Dygroedydd. Whitefield's letter provided the guide throughout.
however, many important things happened to which we must now turn.

The state of the revival at the beginning of 1742 was summed up by Harris in a letter written to John Cennick on 4 February.

"The work goes sweetly on here in 6 or 7 Counties... We have four ordained Clergymen, that go about, having also settled Churches, Curacies; there are four more...not called so directly to join with us in going about, but harmonise in Principles...I believe there are 2 other Clergymen that are in Mr Wesley's notions...A month ago we had a Society of Ministers, and Exhorters, & we meet again next Thursday... Some are call'd, and gifted...to go about altogether, many others only likely to go to the Societies to water and exhort in a more private Manner, and follow their ordinary callings; Most receive the Sacrament in the Church; and hear Sermons anywhere they may be benefited; others that can't have it in their Parish Churches monthly, or that they may have Scruples that can't be removed, have their liberty of Communicating with the Dissenters; but not so as to adhere to any party so as to leave their Brethren of the Church, or of any other Sect... There seems to be a fresh awakening again especially thro' Bro. Rowlands, & Bro. Jenkins (both clergymen). There is a Door opening to them in some places in North Wales...Br. Jenkins has thoughts of going there the beginning of March; and as the Prejudice of the People is so great against us, and so much Veneration for the Gown; We thought it best if they could get a Gown between them when they go to such Places, it may be a means to win the poor begotten Creatures and I think we ought to go as far as we can to win them...

Harris was always the vigorous evangelist and seized every opportunity, within bounds, to spread the gospel. This is seen above in his attitude towards the use of a gown, and again in a second letter to Cennick when he wrote of his ambition to publish Christian literature, in the form of tracts, for

distribution among sailors and soldiers.

"It has been much on my Heart to attempt doing somewhat for the poor soldiers ye Seamen. The ignorant about the Streets, etc. If ye Societies would join to make a little fund, each to subscribe 3d or 5d more or less as he shall be disposed and able, toward printing some little Pieces of 1d or 1d Peny Value Monthly on practical points...about our Misery without Christ, the New Birth, Faith...to be carefully given to ye Soldiers...to every Ship...and to be left behind in Publick Houses..."¹

To accomplish this plan Harris turned to the societies in Bristol, where he also solicited, and received, the co-operation of Wesley. To Whitefield he wrote, "We are about joining here the both Societies if we can make a little fund towards printing some little practical things suited to ye Sailors & Soldiers and the unawakened Ignorant..."² Is not a modern ring of ecumenicity - co-operating with 'rival' societies in Bristol - to be heard in this enlarged scope of evangelicalism?

It is significant that no reference to Harris's scheme to promote the printing and distribution of tracts has been found in printed sources. In this act, we see an unusual, and little known, side of Harris's evangelicalism. The influence of Harris upon English Methodism was not confined to 'high level' contacts. He also exerted his evangelical spirit upon the rank and file of English men and women, and this he did in two ways: (1) by direct contact, for Harris himself participated in personal and mass evangelism in England, and also promoted the distribution

¹ Trevecka MSS., Letter 602, unpublished.
² Ibid., Letter 607, unpublished.
of printed tracts; (11) by the introduction of almost a dozen Welsh exhorters to the evangelical ministry in England. As this second point will be discussed in succeeding chapters, it will be sufficient for us now merely to say that, particularly after 1743, Welsh Methodism significantly aided the spread of the Gospel in England.

One of the exhorters whom Harris introduced to English Methodism was Francis Pugh. In July 1742, Pugh wrote to Harris about his suspicions of the Wesleys.

"I was at ye foundery last night but I think I never had so much rom of Suspect ye truth of Mr Charles Wesley...he gave an exhortation & called ye Proestinarians falls (false) Deluders telling his followers or his hearers more properly call'd if they wd go to hear Any others he Shd have no hopes of Ever Seeing them in glory..."

In the same month Daniel Abbot, one of the English Calvinistic Methodists, wrote to Harris pressing him to go to London, and assuring him of hospitality in his home. On 29 August, Harris arrived in London - his fourth visit. He was once again put in charge of the Tabernacle while Whitefield hurried off to Scotland. On this visit to Scotland, Whitefield was rebuffed by the Erskines and the other Seceders. Harris, in a letter to Daniel Rowland, informed him that the "poor dr Erskines have kept a fast to Pray agt ye work there sayg tis of ye Devil & that Bro. Whitef----d is a Wolf in Sheep's cloathg."

Harris, who had been disturbed by Francis Pugh's report

2. Ibid., Letter 584, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 644, unpublished.
of the Wesleyan Methodist attitude, investigated the matter for himself. He was not as alarmed as Pugh, and was able to write to Whitfield:

"I believe things are not so bad, as to Bro. Wesleys, as you heard, tho' their Bigotry may lead them farther...but Let us bear with them & receive no Accusation, for indeed they hazard their Lives for Christ, and are hated of the Devil."¹

A practice known as 'Letter Day' had been inaugurated in the Tabernacle. On this day, which normally was observed once a month, letters were read from the exhorters outside London. While in London, Harris wrote to Daniel Rowland and Howell Davies² encouraging them to send an account of their experiences so that the society at the Tabernacle could share in them.

Many of the letters read at the Tabernacle's Letter Day were printed in The Weekly History. In this way they were widely circulated, and aided in the promotion of interest in the missionary enterprise. Unfortunately, John Lewis was encountering financial difficulties, and in November 1742 he disbanded The Weekly History. Previously he had written to Harris, "I lose my customers more and more every week; they are so prejudiced against the Doctrines."³ In addition to this boycott, subscribers to the paper were lax in their payment, which added to Lewis's anxiety. When publication was

2. Ibid., Letters 695 and 697, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 235.
discontinued a temporary halt was brought to the distribution of the correspondence between exhorters and the Tabernacle society. This loss was lamented by the scattered Methodists, and after its demise the real value of *The Weekly History* became apparent. In a short time, John Lewis resumed publication of a weekly paper, *The Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, which was similar in most respects to *The Weekly History*. As the paper was, in the main, devoted to the printing of letters sent to the Tabernacle to be read on 'Letter Day', its title was most appropriate. It continued to be printed until 1745.

While in London, Harris wrote to Thomas James, one of the prominent Welsh exhorters. In addition to giving an insight into the composition of the membership of the Tabernacle, which included "Churchmen, Presbyterians, Quakers, Papists, Jews, Arians and Arminians," we can gather from the letter some valuable information regarding Whitefield's relation to the Church of England.

"Bro. Whitefield now before he went to Scotland waited on ye Archbishop of Canterbury who promised to do him anything that he could, and on ye Bishop of London who likewise behav'd extraordinary kind to him and a Bishop from Ireland sent to him, that he would ordain on his Recommendation some to abide in Ireland. The Bishop of Gloucester sent for Him to dine with him when He was there, and now He is wonderfully received among the Nobility of Scotland."

Harris fondly cherished the hope that Whitefield would

2. Ibid.
be made a bishop, and, indeed, it would seem that Whitefield expected this distinction. In his Diary, Harris wrote that Whitefield had confided to him this expectation - "he said of the various promises set on his heart - about going to the King and to be made a Bishop."\(^1\)

Harris visualised, once Whitefield became a bishop, bright prospects for the future of Methodism, and he renewed his hope that the rite of ordination, denied him previously, would be forthcoming.

The prospect of Whitefield's bishopric, and of his own ordination, may have had a considerable influence upon Harris's persistent opposition to the clamour of the Methodist exhorters for complete separation from the Established Church.

That clamour had temporarily subsided after the Association at Dygoodydd, but by the autumn of 1742 it was again vociferous. The plain matter of the fact was that there was no Welsh leader sufficiently strong to unify the dissenting elements within the movement.

Before Harris left for London in August, he wrote to Whitefield to say that he had visited most of the societies in South Wales, but that there was little else he could do to prevent the disgruntled exhorters from leading Methodism into the ranks of Nonconformity, unless Whitefield himself personally intervened. He wrote, "...it has been set upon me that you

are you Person that should be used to help them....\footnote{1} At the same time he invited Whitefield to Wales. A month later, Harris's invitation became an urgent plea: "With tears I now write for poor sinful Wales. O! Come and help us! I beg and intreat for ye Lord's sake. Perhaps your congregation will be small, yet, O do not leave us."\footnote{2}

This plea to Whitefield was prompted by word from Wales that the breach was imminent. In early October Harris wrote to Herbert Jenkins:

"What you mentioned about ye Brethren's Determination to form themselves to a New Sect, came as a great shock to me... I humbly think in a Matter of such Moment there could be no Danger in staying one Month or two longer in that time I trust our Lord will send Bro. Whitefield down... Tis Bro. Whitefield's thoughts... not to leave ye Church of England."\footnote{3}

Harris's mounting anxiety was somewhat relieved by two letters he received from Whitefield, in which he suggested his approval of the union between the Welsh and English branches of Calvinistic Methodism.

From Cambuslang: "By his Grace alone I am what I am; & if he is pleased to honour me so far, I should be glad to help the Brethren in Wales. It may be worth while to enquire (now Matters are brought to a Crisis) whether or not it may be proper to form ourselves into a more close Body, & yet not separate from the Church of England."\footnote{4}

From Glasgow: "My dear Brother, Wales is upon my Heart. I think to meet all the Brethren there together --- As the Awakening seems in some Measure to be over, & there are so many living Stones, it may be time to think of putting them together..."\footnote{5}

\footnotesize{1. Trevecka MSS., Letter 592, unpublished.  
2. Ibid., Letter 638, unpublished.  
3. Ibid., Letter 674, unpublished.  
4. Weekly History, No. 79.  
5. Ibid., No. 80.}
In late October Harris received this call to Wales from Daniel Rowland:

"...Don't you hear all the Brethren in Wales crying out loudly, Help! Help! Help! Thou bold Champion, where art thou? What! In London now, in the Day of Battle! What? Has not London Champions enough to fight for her? Where are the great Wesleys, Cennick, etc. Must poor Wales afford an Assistant to England? Oh poor Wales!"

This was a critical period for Welsh Methodism, but Harris felt confident that all would be well if he could prevent any separation within the movement until Whitefield personally presided over the Association.

The important Association was convened at Watford, near Caerphilly in Glamorgan, on 6 January 1743. It was the first united Association of the Welsh and English branches of Calvinistic Methodism. The following were present: George Whitefield, Daniel Rowland, J. Powell, William Williams, Howell Harris, Joseph Humphries, and John Cennick. The one notable absentee was Howell Davies.

The policy established at Dygoodydd, Llwynyberllan, and the several other Associations which occurred in 1742 was based

2. Most writers have erroneously called this Association "the first Association". It was the first joint Association of the two branches of Calvinistic Methodism - English and Welsh - but, as we have shown, the Welsh Methodists met in their first Association at Dygoodydd in Jan., 1742. (If the failure at Devynock is to be reckoned, the first Welsh Association met in Oct., 1740). See Appendix B.
3. Trevecka MSS., T-2945. (Records of the Associations. This is a small note book, written in longhand, and indexed T-2945. It is a part of the Trevecka MSS. Collection on deposit at the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth).
on the letter which Whitefield sent. This policy was also pursued at Watford. The success of this Association rested, not in subjects discussed or innovations adopted, but in the presence of Whitefield himself. He was elected the moderator. "His personality", wrote Dr D. E. Jenkins, "was strong enough, and his tact perfect enough, to keep things moving along the lines of accord rather than discord. It may be that some of the contrary ones among the humbler brethren were not sufficiently conversant with English to dispute. It is certain that the eloquence of Whitefield kept them fully employed in grasping his points, expressed, as they were, in a foreign tongue."

Official minutes were taken at Watford for the first time. Extracts from these minutes, as well as from the Records of a few of the subsequent Associations, will bring into focus the nature and scope of the Association.

On the first page of the minutes taken at Watford, Harris has written:

"The brethren in Wales did meet above 2 years — once a month and once in two months in 1740 — before the date of this book, and examined many of the exhorters, and searched to know the place of each; but no outward settled agreement was formed

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2. As the business considered by these early Associations was fluid — continuing from one Association to the next, — we, in an attempt to report the flow of business relevant to the whole of the organisation of Welsh Methodism, rather than report on individual Associations as such, have assembled and arranged facts from the Records in 'running order'. Footnote references will correlate quotations with particular Associations.
till the date of this book, when Mr Whitefield was sent for, and it seemed to be the will of the Lord, by the united light of all brethren, after freely waiting on the Lord, and debating the whole matter, that superintendents and private exhorters should be the order among the lay teachers, and Bro. Harris should inspect them all, and the ordained ministers go about as far as they can, and the superintendents have each a district, and the private exhorters inspect one or two Societies, and follow their ordinary calling, whilst some few seemed to be intended by their gifts, and being under a blessing, etc., to be as helpers to their superintendents in a more general manner. But all here settled and altered against we did only, as it were, to wait on the Lord for further light, to know how He would have us to be."

The Meetings of the Association were arranged as follows:

1. The General Association would meet once every six months. This General Association included Welsh and English ministers and exhorters.

2. The Quarterly Association. The Welsh and English ministers and exhorters were to meet separately once each quarter.

3. The Monthly or Bi-monthly Associations. The private exhorters were to meet their overseer once a month, and submit to him reports of the societies under their care.

The members of the Association were graded in this way:

1. The general care of the entire work was committed to the ordained ministers.

2. Under the ordained ministers were 'General Visitors',


I was in Edinburgh for a year before I had access to the original Trevecka MSS. During that year I gathered notes from printed sources. While in Aberystwyth, I compared many of my 'Edinburgh notes' with original sources. Where I have found them to be correct, as above, I have chosen to use them rather than lose time in unnecessary transcription. It will be noticed that where I quote directly from the MSS. - and this throughout the thesis - I have not altered the original orthography.

2. Trevecka MSS., T-2945. From minutes of General Association at Glanyrafonddu, Carm., 1 March 1743.

3. Ibid.
or 'Public Exhorters'. Six public exhorters were appointed: three for England - John Connick, Thomas Adams and Joseph Humphrey; and three for Wales - Howell Harris, James Beaumont and Herbert Jenkins. The work of these six men was considered to be full time.

3. Private exhorters were appointed to look after one or two societies. They were required to submit reports on the societies under their care, and on the spiritual state of the members of each society.

The societies were arranged in geographical zones and it was agreed that a monthly Association should be held in each zone. The zones, with their respective moderators, were:

- Radnorshire
- Montgomeryshire
- Cardiganshire
- Carmarthenshire
- Pembrokeshire
- Glamorgan
- Monmouthshire

Under each moderator, who was ordained, was a superintendent. The moderator was supposed to attend the monthly Associations, and receive the reports of the private exhorters, but when he was unable to be present the superintendent acted as moderator.

After the individual private exhorters submitted their reports to the monthly Association, the collective reports were submitted to the Quarterly Association under the title "Accounts of the Societies."

The private exhorters were required, in their reports, to

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1. Trevecka MSS., T-2945. From minutes of Quarterly Association held at Watford, 6 and 7 April.
2. Ibid.
list the names of each member of the society, "and divide them into Married Men, Married Women, Single Men & Single Women."¹

This is a sample of a report² sent to a monthly meeting by Thomas Bowen, private exhorter at the Builth society:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Builth Society.&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Private Exhorter, Tho. Bowen&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Their Names</td>
<td>Their State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tho. James</td>
<td>Full testimony abiding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tho. Bowen</td>
<td>In great liberty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evan Evans</td>
<td>Had a Testy. but weak in grace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Williams</td>
<td>Justifd &amp; Comg out of yo furnace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah James</td>
<td>Full Testy but in great Bondage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elis. Bowen</td>
<td>Ditto - but somewhat Deserted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elinor Jones</td>
<td>Begins to recover her backslidg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process was completed when the above report was copied, together with other reports, by Thomas James, superintendent of that particular zone, and submitted as an "Account of the Societies" to the quarterly Association.

Before concluding this discussion of the Association, we can indicate the nature of the business which was discussed in the meetings by observing what resolutions were passed.

At Watford, on 5 and 6 January 1743, the Association³,

"Agreed that the Brethren who had scruples about receiving the Sacrament in the Church on account of the ungodliness of the Ministers and Receivers, and with the Dissenters on account of their luke-warmness should continue to receive in the Church, till the Lord should open a plain door for leaving her communion."

At Watford, 6 and 7 April 1743, the Association⁴,

1. Trevecka MSS., T-2945. From minutes of Quarterly Association held at Watford, 6 and 7 April.
2. Ibid., From minutes of Association held at Trevecka, 29 June.
4. Trevecka MSS., T-2945.
"Agreed that the Rev. Mr Williams shd leave his Curacies & be an assistant to the Rev. Mr Rowlands."

"Agreed that Bro. Howell Harris shd be Superintendent over Wales and go to England when Called", and "that Bro. Herbert Jenkins shd. be an assistant to Mr Harris & likewise to the English Brethren."

Harris was officially given a post which he had held by virtue of his untiring aggressiveness since the conception of the movement.

Following the General Association at Watford in January George Whitefield returned to London, but he went back again to preside over the April meeting. Both Daniel Rowland and Howell Harris kept Whitefield informed of the progress of the monthly and quarterly Associations in Wales.

In a letter to his close friend John Syms, following the General Association held at Watford in April, Whitefield summed up his own relationship to the Association, as well as that of Harris, when he wrote, "...I am chosen, if in England, to be always moderator... Dear Brother Harris, in my absence, is to be moderator."

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CHAPTER FIVE

Lower Level Relationships

A temporary peace settled upon Welsh Methodism in the months following the Watford Association in January 1743. It has been said that "it was not the peace of satisfaction, but that of resignation"¹, and as such, it was not of long duration.

The first protests raised against the arrangements made by the Association were lodged by John Richard, an exhorter from Glamorgan who later became a superintendent. At the Association which met at Trevecka on 29 June 1743², he presented his first objection to the circumscription which the system of zones placed upon the itinerant travels of private exhorters and superintendents.

His second protest was against the division of the membership of the societies by marital status, and the further sub-division which called for separation of the sexes. This idea had been introduced into Welsh Methodism by Howell Harris, who had been impressed by the idea of 'bands' when he saw how they were organised and conducted in London. In September 1742, the membership of the society at the Tabernacle, estimated by Harris at twelve hundred³, was divided into

2. Trevecka MSS., T-2945. (Records of the Associations).
bands. In Wales, where the total strength of a virile society probably did not exceed forty members, Richard thought the idea of bands was not only unnecessary, but unworkable.

Richard's complaint appears quite tenable. In London, where the large membership of the Tabernacle almost demanded some division of the membership, there was also a strong opposition to the scheme of bands. In December 1743, Francis Pugh wrote to Harris, "There is a great opposition agst...dividing ye Classes separating ye Single from ye Married &c. you know there was a stir before but never as much as now..." 2

Yet the young Association could not afford to tolerate insubordination, and Richard was temporarily deposed from his duties. In a letter to Whitefield, Harris wrote that as John Richard "does not Submitt to our Determination...we had it our Duty privately to warn the Brethren not to call him to their houses to preach..." 3 At a date later in the summer of 1743, however, Richard confessed his 'errors', and was re-admitted to the Association. Though his complaints were not formally

1. The origin of this practice stemmed from the 'choir' organisation of the Moravians. When I first attended a 'Seiat' (Class Meeting) in a Calvinistic Methodist Chapel in Aberystwyth, my attention was drawn to the remnant of this practice. The men were seated on one side of the vestry, the women on the other side. This, however, was not surprising to me, as the same lingering Moravian custom has been carried by the Welsh to America. In both my home church, and the church I served as minister, the sexes are separated (through custom, and nothing else) in the mid-week class and prayer meetings.

2. Trevecka MSS., Letter 1058, unpublished.

3. Ibid., Letter 919, unpublished.
submitted to the Association until June, a letter from Harris to Thomas Bowen, on 7 April 1743\(^1\) indicates that Richard was creating restlessness among the exhorters at an earlier date. His return to the Association came after letters had been sent to him by Whitefield and Harris\(^2\), which would seem to indicate that the Methodist leaders hold Richard's ability in regard, and were anxious to retain him within their Association if at all possible.

The name of John Richard again comes to light, though in a different connection, in the records of the Association for 1744. Richard Tibbott, one of the Methodist superintendents, found it increasingly difficult to devote the necessary time to his Methodist duties without, at the same time, incurring a financial loss he could ill afford from the neglect of his ordinary work. He presented his problem to the monthly Association which met at Nantmel on 19 October 1744\(^3\), where it was decided that Tibbott should go to John Richard to learn the trade of book binding. Richard and Tibbott were together for a while, but later we find that Tibbott went to North Wales where he became one of the pioneers of Methodism.

Another exhortor, Morgan John Lewis, who had been, prior to the Watford Association of January 1743, one of the most vociferous advocates of separation from the Church of England,

\(^1\) Travecka MSS., Letter 052, unpublished.
\(^2\) Ibid., Letter 019, unpublished.
\(^3\) Ibid., T-2945.
revived this complaint at the Quarterly Association at Glanyrafonddu, on 15 October 1743. Among those present at this Association were Harris, Rowland, Davies, and Williams. In opposing Morgan John Lewis, these fathers of Welsh Methodism took this stand, which we have abridged from the Association records:

1. Societies were not churches, but cells of the Established Church.

2. Exhorters were not ministers or clergymen authorised to dispense the Sacraments, nor to preach, but merely to exhort.

3. Methodism was not a sect, but people within the Church called to reform the Church. They would either be heard or turned out.

This position was formally included in a resolution which was adopted by the Association held at Watford in April 1744.

The agitators for separation were not satisfied. In the same letter to Whitefield, in which Harris told of John Richard's persistent disregard for the opinion of the Association, he also wrote that Edmund Jones had founded an Independent society at Trovocka, and that two of the Methodists had gone over to it.

The storm again gathered. The exhorters were pressed, and not unwillingly in some cases, by members of societies,

1. Trovecka MSS., T-2945.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Letter 919.
particularly in Monmouthshire and Glamorgan, to force the issue of separation from the National Church. Five exhorters stated their case in a letter addressed to the Association which convened at Caio, in April 1745. The letter is long, but, insofar as it is a statement which represented a growing opinion within Methodism, we feel that its importance is too great to ignore.

"To the dear Brethren in general, and the Ministers in particular, assembled at Caio, greeting.

...Our consciences are so constrained by the Word of God, that we cannot go on thus contrary to the order of God... It is most unlikely that any body of people ever remained in this fashion for all time. We have been expecting to get your views on this matter for nearly two years, and we do not see any indication that you have deliberated on this question as it deserves; but we fear that too many of the prejudices of your upbringing cling to you. We are of the opinion that you are too much attached to the Established Church. We think that if you received ordination in the Church of England, as also you expect, that would not suffice to set at rest numerous brethren and sisters in the country; because what they require is a number of men to minister the Word and ordinances to them regularly; to undertake their oversight as shepherds over flocks; or remain as we are, and to this we cannot think of consenting...It pains us to hear that you cannot grant us liberty to exhort because we are not ordained, and that, as far as we can see, you do not care whether we shall be ordained or not. If your sympathy fails us, we feel that we must turn our eyes to some other direction...We confess we are the (fruit of) your labours; we are, however, compelled to break through every obstacle...We beg that the brethren may not regard us as having relapsed into lukewarmness, because we thus convey our thoughts to you...we could leave you quietly, and so be ordained, and have congregations under our own supervision...we are willing to labour together with you, as we have up to the present, and to be governed by you as hitherto, but 'in the Lord'....

"Ewlws Ilan, March 30, 1745"

The official reply to this letter has been lost. The Association, however, did not budge from its former position, and accordingly decided against the request of the disgruntled exhorters. To Harris was assigned the herculean task of visiting the restless societies in Monmouthshire and Glamorgan, and explaining to them the position of the Association. With a remarkable degree of success, Harris succeeded in persuading these societies to accept an opinion which was completely opposite to their own.

At least one exhorter was not convinced. John Miles of Monmouthshire wrote to Harris to tell him that he could not reconcile the action of the Association with his conscience. "I think", Miles wrote, "every Body is bound to do according to the best light which he has, till he receives a better...we have no Liberty to impose our Dictates on others so as to blind them to obey..."^1

That Miles was the only exhorter who immediately left the Methodists does not mean that all the others were satisfied. Morgan John Lewis did continue within the framework of the Association until 1751, but at that time he was Independently ordained by the Society at New Inn, in Monmouthshire, thus severing his official tie with Methodism.

One complete society, that at Groeswen, in the parish of

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of Eglwys Ilan, disregarded the edict of the Association, and arranged to have communion administered in the meeting house\(^1\), thereby disassociating itself from Methodism. In 1745, by Independent ordination, the Groeswen society provided a minister for itself.

At the time of the withdrawal of the Groeswen society, Harris favoured the administering of the Sacrament in homes, or in meeting houses, providing the Sacrament was administered by an ordained Anglican-Methodist clergyman. In this, he was supported by Whitefield.\(^2\) It was the clergy among the Welsh Methodists - Rowland, Davies and Williams - who were opposed to this practice in 1744 and 1745, and who refused to countenance the action taken by the society at Groeswen. Six or seven years later, when the relationship between Harris and the Methodists had snapped, Harris opposed the administering of the Sacrament outside the Church, and the Methodists - Rowland, Davies and Williams - favoured Harris's earlier position. Still later, Rowland and Davies themselves were administering the Sacrament in meeting houses built for the Methodists in Llangetho, Woodstock and Capel Newydd, in Pembrokeshire. It is said that Morgan John Lewis was ordained in 1751 upon the advice of no lesser figure than

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1. It was at Groeswen, in 1742, that the first Methodist meeting house was built.
2. Trevecka MSS., Lotter 877, unpublished.
Daniel Rowland. At about the time of Lewis's ordination, Harris was denouncing Howell Davies's practice of giving the Sacrament at a newly built Methodist meeting house at Woodstock.

The element of persecution continued to dog the Methodists. Early in March 1743, Morgan Hughes, one of the exhorters in Cardigan, was imprisoned. Harris went to Cardigan to inquire about the incident, and while there he discovered a plot for the arrest of Daniel Rowland. He wrote to Rowland, told him of Morgan Hughes's imprisonment, and added how he had visited in the home of "a Relation of ye undr Sheriff of this County & he told me there was a Writt Lodg'd in his hands agt you for a Riot." (Rowland, of course, was a native of Cardiganshire). Harris suggested to Rowland that legal advice be sought to protect the Methodists from molestation. He himself wrote to his influential friend, Marmaduke Owynne, and asked for advice.

In September 1743, Harris received a letter from Griff Evan Lewis and Griff. Evans, both of the parish of Llangwnadl in Caernarvonshire. They wrote that the Chancellor of the diocese of Bangor, John Owen, had preached in their parish church. We shall let the letter speak for itself.

2. Ibid., Letter 816, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 817, unpublished.
"...soon after he (John Owen) served us with a process out of the Bishops Court, to wch I the sd Griff Evan Lewis made no appearance partly because I appeared there last year (being served for exhorting in the public Societies) and was so beaten yn (then) with stones &c, that I narrowly escaped my life. It is evidently known yt he bids men to beat all yt frequents ye Societies to the last breath only not to quite kill ye...and on the acct of my not appearing I was excommunicated upon wch acct people are afraid to employ me with work for I have but my Labour...to maintain my poor numerous Family wch are my Wife and 7 children...pray be pleased to take the matter into Consideration...to show you a way (by acquainting the Bishop or Archbishop of the matter or some means or other) to restore us to our former liberty..."

To meet these acts of persecution, the Association resorted, in some cases, to legal aid. This aid was paid for by the collection of pennies and sixpence from members of the scattered societies. The contributions were placed in a fund to engage legal help in lawsuits, and to assist needy Methodists who suffered directly from persecution.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, a well-to-do landowner in Denbighshire and Morioneth, imposed a penalty of eighty pounds upon some of his tenants "for hearing & receiving two of our Brethren"2, Harris wrote. This harsh action, Harris told John Edwards, "has quite ruined some...leaving not as much as a Pillow under the poor Infants...these we are Endeavouring to assist to keep them from Starving and we are gathering all we can as we think it our duty."3

1. Trevecka MSS., Letter 990, unpublished.
2. Ibid., Letter 1762, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 1763, unpublished.
He added that the Methodists were appealing to the courts, "and the success of this will at once declare... whether field Preaching is to be continued..."\(^1\)

At the time of Harris's withdrawal from the Methodists,\(^2\) he was in charge of the fund that had been collected. He wrote in 1750, "I have had orders from their Associatn to bring in ye acct of ye Money collected to ye Law Suit & to pay them in 3 week's time..."\(^3\) On 14 August 1750, he wrote a brief business letter\(^4\) to Rowland, in which he gave an account of the money, and turned over the balance to him.

Harris was never slow to contact influential Methodists in time of distress. We have noted where he approached Marmaduke Gwynne with regard to the pending arrest of Daniel Rowland in 1743. The following year, the threat of a French invasion brought new perils to the Methodists. During the first months of 1744 Harris was in London where panic almost broke out as rumours of invasion grew. To Harris, the issues were as much religious as political, for he saw in the French aggressiveness an attempt "to set the Pretender's son on the Throne of Engl'd & consequently not only to take away all Toleration & Liberty of Protestantism but re-esta-

lish Popery again..."\(^5\)

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2. This will be discussed in the succeeding two chapters.
5. Ibid., Letter 1118, unpublished.
That Londoners expected invasion to be imminent is to be seen in a letter which Harris wrote to Miss Ann Williams, of Skreen, in Radnorshire, whom he married a few months later.

"I think I write with the nearest Views of Eternity now, for accordg to human Probability I am not likely to see ye face of my dearest Friends in Wales any more."¹

Methodist patriotism cannot be doubted. Harris sent an account of the dangers to Whitefield, in which he told that "Br. John (Wealey) is very loyal at hart he prayed in Publick most hartily for ye King &c & write to all his friends to be loyal..."² Nevertheless, the Methodists were suspected of disloyalty, and a new wave of persecution broke out. An example of this is cited by Harris in a letter to James Beaumont, written on 10 February 1744.

"...this afternoon I saw an Acct of the most Barbourous Persecution that I have ever known yet, on Shrove Tuesday a great Multitude consistg of 1000s came to Wednesbury not far from Birmingham. & broke down the Houses of the Methodists broke open their boxes Chests &c & carried away their House- hold stuff...they abus'd the Woemen with all Barbarity & Imodesty...they tyed a Pope abot a Boy's Neck & afterwards hold him up by his Ears while others pelted him &c stripping them of their wearing apparel while Parents & Children wander'd thus naked abot the Fields..."³

Further organised waves of persecution swept down upon the Methodists in the form of 'Press Gangs'. Howell Harris's young 'secretary', James Ingram, who copied many of the Trevecka Letters, and to whom goes the blame for most of the

¹. Trovecka MSS., Letter 1129, unpublished.
². Ibid., Letter 1130, unpublished.
³. Ibid., Letter 1118, unpublished.
horrible spelling, was a victim of a press gang on 4 May 1744.¹ Harris sought his release on the grounds that Ingram had been a "faithfull sober & Diligt servt for above a year past."² He appealed to Marmaduke Gwynne for protection against the unwarrented action of the press gangs, and urged him to attend Ingram's trial, stating that "it may have some Influence on ye Justices if you cd possibly be there in person to see that some Justice be done..."³

After a confinement in prison for several weeks, Ingram was released. The grounds for his release were given as his failure to meet the minimum height requirement for military service,⁴ and not because of any sudden sympathy on the part of the authorities towards the Methodists.

Ingram was not the only Methodist who was victimised. Harris himself was threatened, and several other Welsh Methodists were pressed into the army. Richard Tibbott and John Richard appealed to the Association for permission to take out preachers' licences,⁵ believing that in this way their Methodist ministry would be safeguarded. The Association refused the request, realising that their acquiescence would force the unwanted separation from the Church of England.

2. Ibid., Letter 1173, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 1172, unpublished.
5. Ibid., T-2945.
Instead, Harris brought the seriousness of the threat of the press gangs to the attention of Selina, Lady Huntingdon, who was one of the most notable persons of the religious revival, and James Erskine, a member of Parliament from Scotland. Erskine was sympathetic to the Methodists, and a close friend of Howell Harris. He presented the matter to the Earl of Stair, Commander in chief of the Tories in England. Two of the impressed Welsh Methodists, David Jones and Roger Williams, subsequently wrote to Harris to tell him that they had been informed that they were to be discharged through the intervention of the Earl of Stair.

It is of passing interest to read in Erskine's letter to Harris, this sentence: "...Among other things for wch I am beholden to you, I most heartily thank you for the Acquaintance of the Countess of Huntingdon...I can assure you she has great Kindness & Regard for you..." To some extent this indicates the contacts which the Welsh reformer made outside his native country. This point will be further developed a little later.

Throughout this time of unrest and persecution, the evangelistic fervour of the movement seemed to gain new momentum. It may be that the increasing enthusiasm of the

2. Ibid., Letters 1309 and 1310, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 1186, unpublished.
revivalists, and, in turn, the enthusiasm of a growing number of converts, prompted those unsympathetic to the movement to increase their persecution. The enthusiasm, which the opponents of Methodism scorned, was, to the revivalists, the glory of the movement. With exaltation, Harris wrote to Whitefield to describe a service he attended at Llangeitho.

"...I saw, felt and heard such things as I cant send on Paper any Idea of. The Power that continues with Him (Daniel Rowland) is uncommon. Such crying out and Heart Breaking Groans, Silent Weeping and Holy Joy, and shouts of Rejoicing I never saw...Tis very common when he preaches for Scores to fall down by the Power of the Word...and lie on the ground...Some lye there for Hours...Some praising and admiring Jesus...others wanting words to utter..." 1

This, and similar letters, describes the frenzy to which congregations were aroused. According to many letters written in 1743 and 1744, crowds numbering in the thousands attended Methodist evangelical meetings. The persistent re-occurrence of such startling figures creates some apprehension as to their accuracy. It is, of course, impossible to check the arithmetic of the statisticians, but might it not be that it was subject to an extravagant enthusiasm, as was the arithmetician himself? The following figures were gleaned from letters written in 1743:

March - Pembrokeshire - a congregation of 8,000 2
April - at Neath - a congregation of 3,000 3
April - at Swansea - a congregation of 4,000 4

3. Ibid., p.50.
4. Ibid., p.52.
April - at unnamed places in Glamorganshire - congregations of 8,000; 10,000; 12,000 and 13,000.

July - in Pembrokeshire, Howell Davies spoke to between 8,000 and 10,000 in a single meeting. 2

Fifty-eight years later the first population census was taken in England and Wales. Though it is readily acknowledged that in that span of time (1743-1801) many changes were wrought in population figures, there does not, however, appear to be any notable incident during that time which would suggest an appreciable decrease in the population. If anything, we would be tempted to suggest there was an increase in population in both Glamorgan and Pembrokeshire during the period between 1743 and 1801.

In 1801, the population of Glamorgan was listed as 71,525, 3 while that of Pembrokeshire was 56,280 4. The population of Neath was recorded as 8,320 5, and Swansea numbered 7,385 persons. 6 The largest place in Pembrokeshire was Kemess, with a total population of 10,930. 7 The population of Haverfordwest was 2,880. 8

Nothing can be proved by these figures, it is true.

It does seem, however, that the reported strength of Methodist

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2. Ibid., Letter 938, unpublished.
4. Ibid., p.492.
5. Ibid., p.482.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p.492.
8. Ibid.
meetings may have been over estimated. As no more than speculation can come from a discussion of population and relative attendances at Methodist meetings, we will leave the subject almost as quickly as we took it up, for we must temporarily leave the Methodist labours in Wales, and bring into focus the work of the Welsh exhorters among the Calvinistic Methodists in England. Before we make this transition, however, attention must be called to an observation of Welsh Methodism, made in October 1743 by John Ombold, who later became a Moravian bishop. His "few thoughts...(while) walking thro' Wales" were sent to Harris, and provide us with a critical commentary of the movement.

"1. There seems to be in some Places too few of the same sort of Teachers, by whom the Souls were first stir'd up, I mean those in Communion with the National Church; by which means the People are induced to join themselves with the Dissenters, who have indeed a more Evangelical Doctrine than is to be found in the common Preaching of the Church of England, (tho' I think they are too much fix'd in a Spirit of Mourning, in Doubts & Fears, & speak more of striving than Having.) But allowing them their due Praise, & Christian esteem; yet taking them in the gross as a Sect, I doubt they are not so compleat, that the Awaken'd Souls ought simply to come to their Standard, but rather they & we ought to press on together to something better, & so to be spiritually united.

"II. Almost everywhere, I think the Preachers are forc'd to do all & answer every Purpose with Souls, in their Public Sermons; being too few, not having Leisure, Opportunity &c, to apply to them in private such Advice &

Discipline as would be proper...these Inconveniences often happen.

"1. Tender hearted upright poor People take the Reproofs & Terrors to themselves...and so become discourag'd; while the Hypocrites, to whom such words were due, put them off from them & are untouch'd.

"2. Many, by such large Casuistical Treating of things, got a Form of Knowledge in the Head, especially the acute reasoning People of this Country, which fatally hides from them & covers the emptiness & Deadness of their Hearts; (& by the way, the eagerness about theological Niceties, & the measuring all Grace & Improvement by the Readiness & skill in speaking of divine things upon Several Occasions, is an Evil that wants to be remedied in Wales.)

"3. By hearing Severity so quickly & constantly added after Mildness in all public Discourses, the People are generally very apt to confound the Law & the Gospel in their own Ideas & Apprehensions, & more yet in their Spirit & Temper; & this Bondage of Mind, & secret Resting on their own works in some View or other, is equally plain & painful to see in very many of them."1

What Gambold did was to give Harris, and the Methodists, an outsider's opinion and, an opinion, we should add, of some merit. He has pointed out that there were too few Anglican-Methodists carrying on the work of exhorting.

The danger to the movement was that Methodist converts would be drawn to the Nonconformists, who were employing evangelical jargon to attract them, but who were really not able to offer a vital home to Methodism. The lack of sufficient numbers of Anglican-Methodist exhorters created an overworked staff which could not properly attend to the pastoral needs of the converts of the movement. This contributed to the drift of converts to Nonconformity. In these sections, Gambold

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stressed that the weakness of Methodism rested in its limited supply of exhorters. His penetrating criticism of the Methodist practice of equating the measure of a man's faith with his testimony in the societies, went to the heart of the most undesirable inherent quality of the movement.

We must now leave the Welsh Association. When we again return to it, we will find it was confronted with new and even more harassing problems.

When George Whitefield left England and returned to America in August 1744, he was heavily in debt. This debt proved to be a source of considerable anxiety to him and to his friends. Before he embarked, he wrote to Harris:

"I leave my house in Your hands...If possible my dr Man sell it for me & pay the money to Brother Symes - He has the writings & knows to whom he must pay the money again..."

John Symes was Whitefield's personal companion and secretary who had been instructed to look after the financial affairs of the Tabernacle, as well as Whitefield's personal affairs. Among Symes's duties was that of keeping the accounts involved in the printing and sale of Whitefield's writings. Many of the books and pamphlets which Whitefield wrote were pushed into Wales to increase their distribution. In June 1744, Symes acknowledged from Howell Harris the receipt of £6.10 in payment for previously received...

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publications. In the same letter, Syma informed Harris that he had sent to him "200 of Mr Whitefdes Answer to the Revd Mr Church Prebendary of St Pauls", and "43 Volumes of 23 Sermons wth prayers Bound - a new Edition Corrected & revis'd by Mr Wh'd". The charge for this new shipment amounted to £7.17.6.

Harris wrote back to Syma and complained that too many English books were being sent to Wales.

"...ye Country is so Clogg'd with Books every where & especially as they are so large & ye people so poor & so Welchy for ye general that I question above half of ye whole that is come..."2

Syma was, obviously, an agreeable man, and appreciated Harris's predicament. He replied that he was "sorry You should have so much Trouble with the Books &c - what I sent of the Pamphlets was according to Mr Whitefield's order - However, be pleased not to give your self much further concern abt their sale...if you please let them yt are unsold be lodged in proper hands that people may know where to have them & that I think is enough - I cannot bear the thoughts of your taking them abt with you to peddle them off..."3

It was not the case that Harris and the Welsh Methodists disapproved of printed literature, but rather that they were reluctant to receive this latest shipment because the books

2. Ibid., Letter 1220, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 1227, unpublished.
were written in English. To meet the demand of the Welsh Methodists, literature had, of necessity to be printed in the vernacular. Four of Whitefield's earlier booklets had been translated into Welsh, and were published by Felix Farley, in Bristol, between 1739-1740. In 1751, a Welsh translation of John Wesley's pamphlet, "A Word to a Methodist", ("Gair i'r Methodist") was printed in Dublin. Wesley, who wrote this with the specific intention of having it translated into Welsh, urged the people to remain within the Established church.

We read in one of the Trevecka Letters that in 1743 the Welsh Methodists proposed to translate into Welsh "Mr Erskine's Law Death & Gospel life...". Two years later Harris wrote to tell James Erskine, the Scottish Parliamentarian, that the Welsh Methodists intended to translate a volume of sermons and a collection of poetry, "Gospel Sonnets", both of which were written by Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, two brothers in Scotland who had been deposed from the National Church.

James Erskine was a relative of the Scottish seceders, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, but after they turned against

4. Ibid., Letter 1295, unpublished.
George Whitfield he had little regard for them. Of Whitfield's Scottish mission, James Erskine wrote to Harris and said, "more was done by his ministry to cure people of their Biggotry in about 3 months than one would have thought could be done in 30 years." And, of his relatives, he added, "they err in some things, and are indeed Biggots." (Blood was not as thick as water in this instance!)

An interesting disclosure regarding the printing of Whitefield's books and pamphlets is found in Sym's correspondence with Harris. John Lewis had been the printer for the Calvinistic Methodist societies, but Sym asked Harris for money "to pay Mr Strachan ye Printer."

What happened to John Lewis? His case is an example of the truth of the old adage which cautions one, in business, not to depend upon friends for support. Lewis wrote to Harris to tell him how he was losing the patronage of the Methodists.

"...I have been over-careful to oblige some of the most eminent Children of God, and have been too anxious in expecting and Desiring Business from them to employ myself and mine Apprentice: But, instead of obliging them with all my anxious Care, I have continually disobliged them - the least forgetfulness, or Disappointment... or the least Fault, is accounted worse in me than the greatest Blunder in another - so that my dear Brother Connick seems as tho' I should do no more Work for him;...I was told that dear Mr Whitefield expressly said to Brother Wharton, that I should do nothing for him."  

2. Ibid.  
3. Ibid., Letter 1211, unpublished.  
Poor John Lewis! In October 1745 he wrote to tell Harris that he was giving up the publishing of his weekly paper. "...I have lost so much by them," he wrote, "that at present, I know not how I shall do to pay my Stationer..."\(^1\)

Harris expressed his concern over the proposed disbanding of Lewis's paper, and wrote to assure him that "the Brethren are willing to do all they can to Assist you..."\(^2\)

He explained to Lewis that in Wales "most of our Society's understand no English otherwise we might have taken a Good number, however I wou'd not have you wholly Give it up..." He then added this, "I wish our moravian Brethren wou'd furnish you with some accts..."\(^3\) This, it will be seen, had important significance.

Lewis did give up publishing the "Account of the Progress of the Gospel", but in a very short time afterwards he began to issue a new paper, "The Christian History".\(^4\) This continued to be printed until 1748.

The letters indicate that Harris and Lewis continued to be friends, though other Methodists refused to patronise

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2. Ibid., Letter 1368, unpublished.
3. Ibid.
4. In all, Lewis edited and published four weekly newspapers. The first, "The Christian Amusement", was an independent venture. Following the rift between Wesley and Whitefield (1741) he began to issue "The Weekly History", of which 84 numbers were printed. From the end of 1742 to the autumn of 1745, he published "An Account of the Progress of the Gospel". This was followed by "The Christian History", which was discontinued in 1748.
the printer. One clash between the two in June 1747, is referred to in a letter which Lewis sent to Harris on 2 June:

"...Tho' your hot words did at first harden me...yet when I came from you...I was much humbled...I do hope you'll find an Alteration the next time you try me. As you did not like yo small (b) at Brother, I wish you had alter'd it when you read the proof. "However for the future I will venture to promise... that if ever you mark a Fault whe I either carelessly neglect, or obstinately refuse to mend, you shall have (as poor as I am) the whole Impression for nothing."2

In Letter 053, in which Lewis complained about the loss of his customers, he wrote, "My Daughter actually belongs to the Moravian Brethren and she is a very orderly Child - My dear Wife also closely adheres to them..."3 Harris wrote to George Whitefield on 8 November 1745, "You have heard of Bro. Sims & Bro. John Lewis & his wife & Sister Clifford & Raven's Joyning the moravians..."4 Thus we see that the two "Johns", Syms and Lewis, left the formal membership of the Calvinistic Methodist society at the Tabernacle to become members of the Moravian society.

That Syms joined the Moravians before Lewis is indicated in an earlier letter from Harris to Whitefield, when he wrote,

1. It will be well to remember this example of Harris's short temper over a comparatively small thing. In the next chapter we shall attempt to show that Harris, between 1747-1750, was on the verge of a nervous and physical breakdown. His erratic actions during these years must be examined in light of this.
3. Ibid., Letter 853, unpublished.
4. Ibid., Letter 1372, unpublished.
"Bro. Sims came to Bro. Cennick & I in London & told us he cd not have rest in his own mind witht. Joyning to ye Moravians...he was persuaded...so I cd not oppose him - & so he is gone."¹

At the time of Sym's departure, Whitefield had been away from the Tabernacle for almost six months. The Tabernacle had been entrusted to the care of trustees, but this arrangement was not popular. Whitefield, months before he departed, had received an anonymous letter, in which he was warned to expect the worst if the society at the Tabernacle was entrusted to the care of unpopular preachers. A copy of this letter was sent to Harris by John Lewis. It reads:

"Mr Cennick is gone, and you are going; and then we shall have, we know not who, to be our Teacher: Brother Cennick we like very well, and Shou'd be glad to have him constantly. If you do not take care that we Shall have somebody to be with us constantly that we know, and can edify by, you may assure yourself that many in the Society will throw up their Tickets."²

One of the exhorters who preached in the Tabernacle during the early months of Whitefield's absence was Joseph Humphreys, but of him we read, "...he does not take our Fancy, few come to hear him..."³ The dissension within the Tabernacle helped to pave the way for a large exodus to the

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¹ Trevecka MSS., Letter 1279, unpublished.
² Ibid., Letter 053, unpublished (an enclosure).
³ Ibid.
Moravians. Early in 1745, (Whitefield left England in August 1744), Harris wrote to tell Whitefield that "...the Moravians have some added & I believe many will go from the Tabernacle there - I fear they have not as much power here as they once had..."

With the departure of Sym's, the Tabernacle lost its financial secretary, but a little later T. Boddington was appointed to the position. Sym's, however, being a close personal friend of Whitefield, intended to keep his promise to him by continuing to look after the finances involved in the sale of Whitefield's books and pamphlets. In this he was opposed by Elisabeth Wood, a member of the Tabernacle and George Whitefield's trusted servant, whom we have discovered to be extremely meddlesome, and who was at the bottom of more than a few disputes in the Tabernacle between 1744 and 1749.

Sym's notified Harris that Elisabeth Wood schemed against him. According to him, Whitefield had sent a series of sermons to a Mr Richardson with instructions that after Richardson had read them, he was to give them to Sym's who would arrange to have them printed. Mrs Wood encountered Richardson before Sym's got to him, and the two, Sym's said, were determined to keep the sermons from him. This angered

2. Ibid., Letter 1674, unpublished.
Syms, who subsequently notified Harris of his decision to resign as custodian of Whitefield's publications. To Harris, Syms expressed his amazement that conditions in the Tabernacle had deteriorated to such an extent "as to let a Weak enthusiastick Woman bear such sway in all their Affairs & that they have no better discerning of Spirits..."¹

Mrs Wood's obvious sway in the Tabernacle was a source of consternation to many. John Jones², a Welsh exhorter whom Harris had introduced to English evangelicalism, complained that Mrs Wood was especially critical of his preaching. At first, he apparently ignored her, but later, when he left the Tabernacle to join the Wesleyan Methodists, he cited her as one of the main reasons for his departure. He wrote to Harris to tell him that Mrs Wood's "...speaking so so then & frequently in a taunting manner contradicting my Message before, made me conclude it was not right to preach there any longer...I cannot labour in this Branch of yo work, till she lays down, yt wch she says (in a letter to Mrs Dutton) she received of ye Lord Viz to watch wt Spirits goes out with every minister..."³

From this we gather that Mrs Wood believed herself to possess some prophetic power, and hence arose the considerable

2. See Appendix C.
Influence she exerted. Howell Harris seemed to have been awed by women who claimed Montanist powers, (he was later swayed by one himself), and though he promised John Jones that he would censure Mrs Wood, his reprimand was very slight, and then only added in a postscript.

In a letter to Jones, Harris expressed sadness that he was leaving the Calvinistic Methodists - "...I wish you had not changed yr Lodges" (lodgings), he wrote. Jones had originally made it clear to Harris that his respect of him was not diminished. "I believe", he wrote, "we don't differ a great deal, if any. I love you more & more." As in the case of Syms and John Lewis, Harris remained friendly with Jones even after he had departed from the Tabernacle. Jones became a useful exhorter among the Wesleyans, and is referred to frequently in Wesley's Journal.

Further disputes in the Tabernacle, during Whitefield's absence, arose from the same source - Mrs Wood! James Ingram, the young Welsh exhorter who served Harris as a copyist, had been introduced to English Methodism, like John Jones, by Howell Harris. While in London in February 1747, Ingram was taken ill, and was cared for in the home of James Cox, a member of the Tabernacle. Mrs Wood called to see

2. Ibid., Letter 1611, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 15729, unpublished.
4. Ibid., Letter 15600, unpublished.
Ingram, and while in Cox's home indicated to Cox her contention that there was an evil spirit in the household, supposedly responsible for Ingram's sickness. Cox wrote to Howell Harris to complain about Mrs Wood, who later had involved John Edwards, one of the trustees of the Tabernacle, in the dispute. In the letter to Harris, Cox told of "sad Commotions & Shakings," and predicted that the "trouble were but the beginning of sorrow which will not soon be removed..." This prediction proved to have considerable foundation!

The years of disputing in England imposed a heavy strain upon Harris, who was continually called upon to act as mediator. The English exhorters, and the rank and file of Calvinistic Methodist converts in England, turned to Harris more and more with their harassing problems. During Whitefield's absence, Harris was general overseer of the work in both England and Wales. In Wales, Harris was experiencing his own snarling difficulties at this time (as we shall see in the next chapter), but he did not shrink from the added duties placed upon him by the constant wrangling which was plaguing Calvinistic Methodism in England. To assist the limited number of English exhorters, Harris introduced into the stream of English evangelicalism a number of exhorters from Wales.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. We have seen examples of two such exhorters in John Jones and James Ingram. Among others were Francis Pugh, James Beaumont, Herbert Jenkins and James Rolly. We shall meet each in the following pages.
Their relationship to the movement in England, together with Harris’s own direct relationship, aided the spread of the gospel in England, and enhanced the growth of Calvinistic Methodism there. We may refer to these relationships as “lower level relationships”, that is the contacts between Harris and exhorters from Wales with English exhorters, and the influence exerted by Harris and the exhorters from Wales upon the ordinary rank and file of English men and women. The ordinary people were, after all, the reason for the existence of the evangelical movement. We believe this influence was the chief contribution of Welsh Methodism to its counterpart in England. This "lower level" relationship has been ignored by historians. To us, its importance stems from the very essence of evangelicalism: the leading of men to Christ. The fact that so many persons in England acknowledged Harris, and the exhorters from Wales, to be their ‘spiritual fathers’ is one standard by which we can measure the importance of the contribution of the Welsh revivalists to the English movement. The fact of its great importance does not detract from Whitefield’s contribution to the organisation of Welsh Methodism, but neither is it outweighed by the latter. Strangely enough, Whitefield, the eloquent

1. The term "lower level" relationship is not intended to refer to the quarrelsome spirit which existed at this time. We have coined it to provide a contrast to our previous use of "high level" relationships, or the relationships between the revivalists themselves, mainly in the sphere of organisation.
preacher, made his greatest contribution to Welsh Methodism in the realm of organisation. Harris, a lesser preacher, but a more skilled organiser, contributed his most important gifts to English Methodism, not in organisation, but in personal and mass evangelism.

Francis Pugh was one of the first Welsh exhorters to serve in Whitefield's Tabernacle. When Harris was in Wales, Pugh, like the other exhorters from Wales who were in England, kept Harris informed of the English work. Pugh, whom Whitefield appointed before he left for America, was "chaplain" to the sick members of the Tabernacle.1 In one letter to Harris, Pugh wrote:

"...about a week ago I wt to a Papist that was call'd undr you wh last in London he told me a very sweet exper-iene...& many more I have found that was call'd by you."2

It was this letter which prompted the exploration into the "lower level relationships", and that inquiry has not been in vain. We have seen examples of this in the relationships between Harris, on the one hand, and Syms, John Lewis and John Cox, on the other hand. We shall meet in the succeeding pages innumerable instances, which will not be labelled "lower level relationship", (take note!), but which, we trust, will support our claim to the great importance

2. Ibid., Letter 1859, unpublished.
of these relationships.

Thomas Price, a Welsh exhorter in Glamorgan, had frequently disputed with Harris. He complained to Whitefield of Harris's autocratic disposition after the Association held in Watford in January 1743; his was the first signature on the letter sent to the Caio Association in 1745.

In 1744 Price went to Bristol, where he found the condition of the society in a state of chaos. He wrote to Harris:

"Necessity obliges me at present to write to you as having last night come home from Bristol where things lye at present in a sad posture. The minister present is Mr Godwin...those that were most offended at you are now most desireous of you to come."1

Harris attempted to straighten out the trouble in Bristol, which had grown out of Godwin's disputes with Herbert Jenkins and Thomas Adams, and Godwin's partiality to Wesleyanism. In a few months time Godwin broke with the Calvinistic Methodists, and in a letter to John Edwards, one of the trustees of the Tabernacle, told of his departure, "I am in Heart persuaded (that) Mr Westley's are Ministers eminently own'd of God; preach they Universal Redemption, indeed I believe it right..."2

The exodus from English Calvinistic Methodism to "rival"

2. Ibid., Letter 1485, unpublished.
movements - Moravianism and Wesleyanism - imposed serious restrictions upon the care of English societies outside London. Thomas Adams found it difficult to find a sufficient number of public exhorters to itinerate through the English counties. He wrote an urgent letter to Harris, pleading with him to come to London, and, explaining that the dire shortage of exhorters made it impossible to serve the scattered societies properly.

"...I pray you will come to London as soon as possible, br Humphris refuseth to come, & by a letter I had from Hampton I finde there has been nobody there since I Left; them. I have many in Vitations into Essex. If Br Beaumont or Ingran could come soon I could go for a few days, but above all fail not to come yr self as soon as possible..."

The situation was made more crucial in December 1745, when John Cennick left the Tabernacle to join the Moravians. Cennick was one of the prominent Methodists around whom the work of the Tabernacle revolved during Whitefield's absence. He was also instrumental in establishing many of the Calvinistic Methodist societies in Wiltshire, which had been his chief sphere of labour. His withdrawal from the Methodists both created a sizeable gap, and caused a new turmoil.

Cennick's letters for some time before 4 December when he announced his intention to join the Moravians at a

Quarterly Association at London\textsuperscript{1}, indicate his leaning toward the "blood and wounds" theology of Zinzendorf, the Moravian. A number of Connick's sympathisers in the Tabernacle left with him. The exhorters and members within the society turned to Harris, and upon him was now shifted the brunt of the English Methodist work. Harris later wrote to tell Whitefield of Connick's action, and said, "If I wd not take it (the leadership) ye Doors wd bo Shut. I had... to do wt I cd to keep ye Place open till you shd come...\textsuperscript{2}

In the same letter, Harris told how he was aided in the work in England by "Brother Adams & Jenkins & Edwards...& Bro. Relly from near Cary in Pembrokeshire..."\textsuperscript{3} Thus we see, that after Connick's withdrawal, the London Tabernacle, which was a society of English Methodists, was predominantly staffed by Welsh exhorters. James Relly, one of the exhorters from Wales whom Harris mentioned to Whitefield, was an interesting figure to whom we shall refer again in greater detail.

Though the problem of keeping open the doors of the Tabernacle was solved when Harris assumed the leadership, the size of this difficulty diminishes when we view the repercussions which resulted from Connick's departure. It

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1.] Travecka MSS., T-2946, p.9, (Records of Associations).
  \item[2.] Ibid., Letter 1516, unpublished.
  \item[3.] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
has been stated that Cennick was responsible for establishing many of the societies in Wiltshire, and when he left for the Moravians, the Association gave him permission to take with him several of these societies. We cannot ascertain why this was done, unless it was in deference to Cennick's personal labour in Wiltshire. In any case, the societies were not consulted, and an immediate cry of opposition was heard from Wiltshire. Some of the societies there desired to continue within the framework of Calvinistic Methodism, and sought the itinerant ministry of the Methodist exhorters. In an attempt to solve the issue amiably, the Association instructed Harris to write to the Moravians in an attempt to clarify the respective bounds of Methodist and Moravian labours. The heat of the actual cause of controversy was tepid in comparison with the reply James Hutton, a Moravian minister, sent to the Association in response to Harris's letter.

"In answer to your Letter wher'in you ask'd whether we haveins any thing against your preaching in Wilts you not being willing to break into our labours we say that we cannot at all consent to any one going there that belonro to your assen. your business wd bo chiefly to confound poor Souls as you Do where-ever you come as well by preaching strange doctrine as by Spreading Scandalous lies, when in your letters you say you believe us to bo Children of God and look upon us as Dr. friends of yo bride Chamber and yet some of you have given ye blackest charitur of us you well could and represented us as very dangerous Erroneous and wicked people of wch we have had a clear prov but very lately...as for Wilts you know very well that in that Asson. where Mr Cennick Left you, you Judged it wrong & Determined that it was not Fare for any of you to go into Wilts, you have acknowledg
it wrong even in your letter and ask'd pardon because one of you had been there without our leave and you promised to Do so no more. Should therefore any one of you have gone there before you rece'd this, or go after you have received it, you act contrary to all honesty - it is for ye Sake of Mr Howel Harris that we answer you at all - for him we have a regard and can remember him in love, but with ye rest of you of whom we have knowledge we cannot possibly have any kind of fellowship at all - for they are vainly puff'd up bitter enemies of Christ, his blood and attonement with some of you blaspheome and talk of in a very wicked manner, to say, therefore that we believed such to be fellow labourers in ye vineyard of Christ wd be desinulation in us..."1

By 16 November 1746 - eleven months after the Cannick affair - Harris received a reply from Whitefield concerning the rupture. What else could Whitefield do or say, but write, "I was glad to find that the Tabernacle was given up to your care"?2

It was shortly after Cannick left the Tabernacle that Lady Huntingdon began to take an active interest in the society at the Tabernacle. Just prior to the Cannick incident, Charles Wesley had been on the defensive against some charges which had been hurled against his character. Lady Huntingdon, who had been frequenting the Foundery was, according to Harris, "somewt staggerd"3 by the charges against Wesley, and the threat of his excommunication from the Church of England, (neither the charges nor the threat of excommunication matured). In a letter to Whitefield, Harris

1. Trovecka MSS., Letter 1437 (A copy; this is not Hutton's original letter).
wrote, "...I dont know if she receive the sacrament with
them ever since..."1 This was as far as we can ascertain,
an unknown rift between Lady Huntingdon and Charles Wesley.
It obviously was not of long duration, for throughout later
years Lady Huntingdon showed Charles Wesley, and his wife,
a great amount of personal attention. It has already been
stated that Lady Huntingdon had a high regard for Howell
Harris. She and James Erskine interceded for him on behalf
of Welsh exhorters who were victims of press gangs in 1744.
And, now, when Harris shouldered the responsibility of
mending the fences within the Tabernacle, it is of more than
passing interest to note that precisely then did Lady
Huntingdon display an interest in the Calvinistic Methodists.

References to Lady Huntingdon appear in several of
Harris's letters to Whitefield, and have been practically
ignored by English historians. In December 1747, Harris
wrote to Whitefield:

"The Countess of H----n is at Bath & her Chaplin yr old
Friend Mr Hutchins He ask'd very Affectionately aft'r you but
I fear they are Warpg towds Quarkerm (Quakerism) & Mr Law..."2

This again is a new slant on Lady Huntingdon, and should
provide an excellent lead to any new research into her life.
The close relationship between Howell Harris and Lady Hunting-
don had a profound influence upon the life of George Whitefield.

2. Ibid., Letter 1745, unpublished.
It was Harris who brought about the introduction of the two, following Whitefield's return to England in August 1744. The result of that introduction will be seen a little later.

The Records of the Associations reveal that an Association of special significance was convened at Bristol on 22 January 1747. At this time, John Wesley met with the Calvinistic Methodists, and he and Harris agreed about important questions regarding the respective spheres of labour of the "two" Methodisms. With regard to Wales, Wesley agreed not to plant any of his societies in places where Calvinistic Methodist societies already existed. This, in effect, meant that "Welsh Wales" was to be the vineyard of the Calvinistic branch of Methodism, and largely explains why Wesleyanism did not gain a strong foothold in Wales during the eighteenth century. In Wales, Calvinistic Methodism had sprung from native soil, and undoubtedly the success of its evangelicalism is to be correlated with the fact that it was disseminated in the native language.

Doctrinal differences were wisely set aside, and Harris and Wesley assured one another that wherever possible they would strengthen one another's hands. Between 1747 and 1749, Harris attended several of Wesley's Conferences and

2. Ibid., p. 21.
this tolerant policy of the 'two' Methodisms solidified their relationships in Wales, at least. When Wesley divided England into six circuits, and appointed itineraries for his lay preachers, he added Wales as a seventh circuit, and "...the name of Howell Harris appears in Myles' chronological List of Preachers as one who helped the English organisation between 1747 and 1750."¹ We shall shortly see evidence of Harris's connection with Wesleyanism in his account of a journey through Cornwall.

Harris sought organic union between the two branches of Methodism, and between Methodism and Moravianism. Of this there is no doubt. After the Bristol Association (January, 1747), Harris wrote to Thomas Adams:

"...we had some Conference with Bros. Westleys & they are coming near'er the truth lett us have Patience & in time we'll come near(e)r and near(e)r..."²

And, to Charles Wesley, Harris expressed his same strong sentiment for re-union:

"...my Soul longs...for Union among all our Sav(iou)rs friends & in ordr there so that all hindrances shd as much as possible be removd that wn Br. Whitefd comes over some farther steps may be taken in ye mean time let us pray..."³

Harris's attempts to unify the evangelical movement were not generally approved by the English Calvinistic Methodists, who abhorred the Wesleyans, nor by his coadjutors in Wales,

². Trevecka MSS., Letter 1668, unpublished.
³. Ibid., Letter 1657, unpublished.
who looked upon the Moravians with odium. The opposition of the Welsh Methodists will be discussed in the next chapter.

The English opposition to the "Arminian heresy" grew keenly vocal after the 1747 agreement between Harris and Wesley. There can be no doubt that at that time the agreement was reached by the two most important figures in the Methodist movement in England and Wales. Whitefield was more than three thousand miles away. In an exchange of letters between J. Stevens and Thomas Adams, we find that both are unalterably opposed to the union. It was to Adams, as one of the leaders of the Tabernacle, that Harris previously confided his deep seated hope that union would be realised, but he did not share Harris's desire. Stevens wrote to Adams on 10 August 1747, disclosing a hitherto unknown (or ignored) fact. He said,

"Dr Mr Whitefield has given Br harris full Power to Joyn the Mr Weslys if he Please & adds Perhaps a younion may not be so well till I come. What voice this is we know not... you know his (Harris) catholick heart But if he will be absolute & force younion, we are Froke to peaces & Ruined... but tis a great secret mention it to no one, nor betray me to Br harris..."

It was against this type of opposition within Calvinistic Methodism, that Harris, as the leader, had to contend. He was wise enough not to force union, but at the same time his longings were being frustrated, and in the turn of events he

became so disillusioned that finally, as we shall later
discover, he renounced the name "Methodist".

Let us, however, recall a few instances which illustrate
the bitterness of English Calvinistic Methodists towards the
Wesleyans. At about the time of the Bristol Association,
trouble was breaking out between the Calvinists and Arminians
in Plymouth. Andrew Kinsman, a leader of the Calvinist
faction, wrote in December 1746, to tell James Rell how
Herbert Jenkins, a Calvinistic itinerant, had been prevented
from preaching in Plymouth by the Wesleyans, who insisted
that one of their lay preachers, a Mr Trembath, should preach
instead. 1 James Rell 2 went to Plymouth, but he met the
same hostility which had been noted out to Herbert Jenkins.
Rell reported the trouble to Thomas Adams, who at the time
was arranging the itineraries of the exhorters from the
Tabernacle. Adams, who we have indicated was opposed to
Harris's plan to unite Methodism, sent this reply to Rell:

"...I was not much surpriz'd to hear of Mr Trymbaths
behaviour to you & Er Jonkins, because its what I Expected
& tould the people from the first, & I am glad the mask is
falen off, for now we so plainly (know) what Mr Wesleys
friendship is and Shall know the beter how to act. Since
Mr Jones has Joind them he has been sent to Chatham in
Kent to a Little Society there who have comitd them selves
to our care in the Lord, yet Ha (Jonag) would have Preach'd
there but our Friends refused him..." 3

2. See Appendix D for John Rell.
When word arrived in Bristol that Harris and Wesley had not, and had agreed to cooperate, both factions in Plymouth were more enraged than ever. On 1 February 1747, Kinsman wrote to Harris:

"...the Lord strengthens me...to convince the people of the wide difference between Arminianism (or popery) and those Glorious Doctrines we have read...I have told hoping every day to hear of my Dr Harris's coming to take the Burden and boldly withstanding those Enemies of Jesus...But alas! contrary to my hopes...I find that my Dr Harris intends to join us or at least reconcile us to those who is much like the same as Joining Christ with Antichrist together...with many others...I am determined (not rashly but deliberately)...that not one of Mr Wesley's preachers ever preach in this House anymore till we see the face of George Whitefield..."

This letter apparently prompted Harris to proceed directly to Plymouth. In a draft of the letter in which he sent a report to Wesley of the Plymouth situation, we read:

"I am sorry I can't send you good News from here. Such Confusion and Insurmountable obstinacy I think I have not met in genl anywhere & yet each side think themselves most low & humble but can't bear each other..."

On 23 February - just one month after the Association which was held in Bristol - Harris wrote to William Richard, a Welsh exhorter:

1. Kinsman, one of the Whitefieldian exhorters, gave the site for the Tabernacle which was built at Plymouth. In 1763 he was ordained as its pastor. His opposition to Wesley decreased after his own ordination. In August 1773, Wesley wrote that he preached in "Mr Kinsman's preaching house". See Journal, Standard edition, Vol. V, p.523.
3. Ibid., Letter 1614, unpublished.
"...Since I saw you att ye associatin I travaile abt 600 miles & have visited part of 5 Counties in Wales & have been thro' ye West of England thro' Bristol Bath Exeter Plymouth Dock & Cornwall & came home 2 in ye morng last Sunday after travailg last week abt 250 miles."¹

It is likely that Harris's record of his journey through Cornwall was in connection with his newly established relationship with Wesley, and the Wesleyan circuits.² The contents of this letter would also lend support to our contention that Harris, who was always in haste, neglected his own physical well-being to the detriment of his health. This utter defiance of the rudimentary laws of health contributed to his nervous and physical exhaustion, which will be extremely important for us to remember when we enter upon the discussions in chapter six.

At Portsmouth there was a division similar to the one at Plymouth Dock. Godwin, whom we have met in connection with a dispute at Bristol, and who subsequently joined the Wesleyans, had quarrelled with J. Burton, a Calvinistic Methodist at Portsmouth. The first letter which indicates the animosity which resulted from this quarrel was sent by Burton to Howell Harris, requesting him to come to Portsmouth. He wrote:

"We have a most hearty desire...that you would call to see us...you yourself being the first Minister that I ever Broke my mind to...and since that though some years ago -  

has had great comfort by your Minstrey..."¹

Harris was able to exert an influence upon Burton and Godwin, and by toning down their personal differences he succeeded in averting the bitter wrangling which had split the society at Plymouth Dook.² To us, examining this dispute in retrospect, more important than the amiable solution to the dispute was the acknowledgment of J. Burton that Howell Harris had been the instrument of his conversion. Further examples of this lower level relationship are also frequently to be found in the exchange of correspondence between English societies and Harris. This is illustrated in a communication Harris received from the Society at Chatham,

"Wee, the Society at Chatham, beg leave to Inform you by this, how very Glad & thankful wee Should be, to see You at Chatham. You are (as one highly ownd & favourd) very dear to us..."³

It has been noted that the itinerant ministry of English Calvinistic Methodism was curtailed because of a shortage of exhorters. To the Tabernacle, from scattered English societies, came many requests for itinerant preachers. At first glance, this acute shortage appears serious, for it was preventing the extension of the Gospel. But a further

¹. Trevecka MSS., Letter 1604, unpublished.
². Ibid., Letter 1666, unpublished.
³. Ibid., Letter 1882, unpublished.
light is thrown on the seriousness of the situation when we read from Mary Biggs's letter from the Inworth Society to Joseph Smitherman, a member of the Tabernacle:

"...our Enemies tantalize over us saying where's your parsons, yr priests have all forsaken you now, & now you'll be glad of ours &c...our friends grow Deadhearted & say Surely if yo ministers had any love to our souls they would have visited us before now, ye Seldomer they come ye fewer thor will be to go to hear, & if they Don't come no more it will be a great Stumblingblock indeed, a great many will think twas all Delusion..." I

That not only the spread of the Gospel was retarded by the lack of a sufficient number of exhorters, but that the nurturing of new converts was endangered by this shortage of lay preachers is made apparent by Mary Biggs's correspondence. In this letter our attention is called to a real danger in evangelism - a danger so obvious that we might have overlooked its significance had we not run across this letter from Mary Biggs. Young converts in the faith need the companionship of like minded Christians, and need, in face of external antagonism, the encouragement and guidance of more mature Christians. Harris, from the time of his own conversion, realised that the Bible never speaks of a solitary religion. The plea from Inworth is an example of the truth of this.

The society at Inworth was small, and after Whitefield's return it appears that he more or less ignored it. Towards

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the end of 1748, Mary Biggs wrote directly to Harris to ask his help:

"...oh yt the Lord would put it into the hearts of our Welch Eren. to visit us; Dr Sir our little Flock confess they Desire to be under yr Caro Still; for we have no hopes under god in any one but you & yo Welch Eren..."¹

Twice in the following year, in April, and again during the last week in December, and the first days of January 1750 Howell Harris visited the Inworth society, as well as some of the neighbouring societies.²

It has already been stated that the Countess of Huntingdon took an interest in the work of the Calvinistic Methodists. The high regard in which she held Howell Harris was seen in a letter to him by James Erskine, Member of Parliament. At times of severe persecution, from press gangs and from wealthy landowners, we have noted how Harris freely turned to Lady Huntingdon for assistance. These relationships between Harris and Lady Huntingdon, which have been garnered from the unpublished Trevecka Letters, are comparatively unknown. In chapter seven we shall see further contacts between the two.

For the present, we must attempt to show how Harris's

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¹. Trevecka MSS., Letter 1037, unpublished.
². Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment II.
contacts with Lady Huntingdon influenced George Whitefield.

In May 1740, the Countess, with her daughters, Lady Anne and Lady Frances Hastings, were escorted from Bristol by Howell Harris, Howell Davies, Daniel Howland, and Griffith Jones, on a fifteen day itinerary through South Wales.¹

The Itinerary was in the nature of an evangelical preaching mission, and was joined by other Methodists as it proceeded.

At this time Harris complained of severe illness. He wrote to Thomas James to say, "...Yesterday I discoursed 3 times...My Bodily Pains have robbed me of my Sleep this 3 Nights..."² But, the evangelical mission was more important to Harris than his health. He continued with the cortege, and afterwards accompanied Lady Huntingdon back to London.³

Harris was in London on 30 June, when George Whitefield, after a sojourn of four years, arrived back from America. Almost immediately upon Whitefield's return, Harris arranged an introductory meeting between him and Lady Huntingdon. Whitefield went to her home at Chelsea, and "this, to Whitefield, was the beginning of a new career."⁴

Whitefield expressed disappointment with the state of affairs among the Calvinistic Methodists. At an Association held in London on 20 July 1748, he told the exhorters that

¹ Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, Vol. I, p.64
² Trovecka MSS., Letter 1792, unpublished.
⁴ Tyerman, L., Life of George Whitefield, Vol. II, p.188.
"...he had seen so much confusion...that, he was resolved not to labour with any who did not shew a teachable mind and willingness to submit."¹ The following April, Whitefield relinquished his leadership of the Calvinistic Methodists. It is impossible to determine from given historical data whether this decision was prompted by a dissatisfaction with some of the exhortors, or whether it was prompted by new personal ambitions. We suspect the latter to be the true reason.

Whitefield's withdrawal transferred the official leadership of the Calvinistic Methodists to Harris, a leadership he had hitherto exerted by his direction of English Calvinistic Methodism during Whitefield's absence. The Association held in London, April 1749, agreed:

"That Mr Harris will take the oversight of ye Tabernacle & other English Societies & preachers and that Mr Whitefield will do all he can to strengthen his & their Hands."²

Whitefield's official relationship with the Calvinistic Methodists thus at an end, he entered into a new sphere of labour with the Countess of Huntingdon. The Countess "entertained the idea, that both she and Whitefield might be more usefully employed, than by directly associating themselves with the Calvinistic Methodists, and by using their

¹. Tyerman, L., Life of George Whitefield, Vol. II, p.188.
². Trovecka MSS., 2941, p.67.
time, talents, and influence in the multiplication of such societies. Instead of creating new sects out of the Church of England, was it not possible to reform and amend the Church of England itself? And was not the raising up of evangelical and converted ministers the most likely way to bring about such a reformation? Put the pulpits right and the pew would certainly improve.\(^1\)

Her founding of a college at Trevecka will be discussed in chapter seven.

Harris was now the official leader of the Calvinistic Methodists, but his leadership was of a short tenure. During the stormy years in England, when Harris tried to repair breaches within Calvinistic Methodism, and sought the union of the divided evangelical family, he himself was becoming more objectionable to his fellow labourers in Wales. As early as May 1746, John Lewis wrote to Harris to tell him "that you yourself have been suspected of leaning towards the Moravians, because you insist upon the Virtue & efficacy of our Saviour's Blood..."\(^2\)

Though Harris was not a Moravian, his opponents charged him with heresy. To these charges, as well as others of a more serious nature, we must now turn our attention.

CHAPTER SIX

The Separation

Early in 1743, Harris experienced what he believed to be a direct revelation from God. He was never a discreet man, and his claim was followed by extravagant statements which seemed to some to imply that God the Father had suffered and died. Increasingly wont to emphasise, in essence at least, the "blood and wounds theology" of the Moravian Zinzendorf, Harris became associated with Moravianism in the popular mind. If Harris's unguarded statements were not enough to establish his association with Moravianism, further support was given to this popular belief by the company he kept. Although Harris was never a Moravian himself, some of his closest friends were members of this sect. By a man's expressions, however, and by his friendships, he, more often than not, is known, and the rumour that Harris was a Moravian spread throughout Wales and England, particularly between 1746 and 1749. From Inworth, Thomas Wood wrote to the Tabernacle in May 1747, saying, "I hear Br Harris is

2. Harris's partiality towards the Moravians was never eradicated. Examples of his unguarded statements, and of his relations with the Moravians, even after his reconciliation to the Methodists in 1762, will be seen in chapter 7.
gone to ye moravians but cant Tell if it be true or no...

The other Welsh revivalists had neither a partiality towards Moravianism, nor close contact with Moravian leaders. If anything, the relationship between Rowland, Davies and Williams, on the one hand, and Moravianism, on the other hand, pinched. This is more readily understood when we observe that the centre of Moravian activity in Wales was at Haverfordwast, in Pembrokeshire. This county was the sphere of Howell Davies's Methodist labour. He, as well as Rowland and Williams, looked on the Moravian ministry in Pembrokeshire as an encroachment upon Methodism, and a sense of rivalry developed. To these Methodists, Moravianism was odious, and Harris's persistent friendliness with the Brethren was a betrayal of loyalty and responsibility.

Harris was more concerned with distinguishing error from truth, and felt he could embrace the latter without being subject to the former's infection. To Rowland, it was a clear-cut issue. In a letter to Herbert Jenkins, Harris spoke out against what he thought was Moravian error when he wrote, "...their antinomian Error I must Detest..." But, in the same letter he assured Jenkins that his "Suspicion of my heart being not Right towd ye moravians is groundless..."

2. Ibid., Letter 1042.
3. Ibid.
That Harris was partial towards the Brethren, there can be no doubt. That he strove for an organic union of Moravianism and Methodism, is a fact. To Rowland, his partiality, his energetic attempts to wed the diverse members of the evangelical family, his unguarded statements, and his friendships with many of the Brethren, belied his disapproval of Moravian errors. Let it be said that the suspicion was not without justification.

John Lewis, after hearing a sermon by John Gambold, the Moravian Bishop, wrote to Harris:

"...my heart, being over power'd with Joy by what came from the Lord by the mouth of Mr Gambold this morning, comparing it with what I have heard by you in the Tabernacle... Both your Doctrine is so much alike, as tho' you had both consulted to say the same things; and yet I don't think that you ever conferr'd together about it."¹

If, to John Lewis, there was such a striking similarity between the preaching of Harris and Gambold, there is little room to wonder why Harris was suspected of being a Moravian.

The Association considered Harris's alleged heresy for the first time in July 1745. Daniel Rowland was absent², which perhaps partially accounts for the temporary settlement of the issue in Harris's favour. On 16 July, he wrote to Charles Wesley:

"Last Week, we had a meeting of ministers and others who assist in the work...The breach that was likely to be

². *Brief Account*, op.cit., p.166.
made is, I trust, effectually stopped, the brethren that were for disputing being satisfied...\footnote{1}

The controversy was not stopped, however. With growing bitterness, it was re-opened in 1746. Rowland condemned Harris for his continued friendship with Moravians, and blamed him for the Moravian tendencies of James Beaumont,\footnote{2} one of Harris's friends, and a Methodist exhorter. After this meeting of the Association,\footnote{3} Harris wrote in his Diary, "...I see I am ready to lose my place and authority..."\footnote{4}

He also recorded this account of the dispute with Rowland:

"I said I preached in London agt yo Moravians in publick and private agt their Pride, Errors & Selfishness...& have not changed this 9 or 10 years...When he charged me Moravianism because I mentioned of ye Blood of Christ and worshipped that man & used ye term Lamb etc. I declared I had ye Light of ye Glory of Christ's Person before I knew there was a Moravian, that I have had nothing from them but from ye Lord...He was so stiff...that none but God can prevent a Preach...

"Some (of the brethren) owned they were Jealous of me that I was leaning to Antinomians & Moravians...Bro. Rowd laboured to declare me a changling, self-contradicting & a Lyar & Antinomian...

"He (Rowland) & many more declared 1, Art. my Preaching ye Blood of Christ as what they could not receive. 2, that God did not suffer. 3, Art. preaching a Mystery that it must be explained. I declared I had this from God and not from man..."\footnote{5}

And significantly, he concluded this entry by writing, "I slept none att all night or ye morning."\footnote{6}

2. The Association referred to met at Trovecka on 26 June, 1746.  
4. Ibid.  
5. Ibid.  
6. Ibid.}
Harris defended himself on the grounds of intuition. In an Association at Neath his opponents cited intuition as the cause of his doctrinal heresies, and charged him with neglect of Bible study. Harris retorted that he had always taught his converts the importance of Bible reading, although he did admit that his itinerant ministry lessened his own time for Bible study. He denied harbouring any heretical doctrines and when he was again accused of being, in fact, a Moravian, he replied "...with some spirit that he wished he were one of them, for he honoured them highly 'because they know X!'"

In October a proposal was placed before the Association to relieve Harris of his moderatorship, an interim position he held during Whitefield's absence in America. A reconciliation was reached, and the proposal was not approved. Afterwards Harris wrote, "I declared I was free to deliver up my Place...but could not put myself under his (Rowland's) authority to be sent here or there as he saw fit."

In a letter to Whitefield, Harris explained the disputes raging within English Methodism at this time (1746), and then told of his own personal difficulties.

"...the Devil attempted to bring in his Antinomian Poison to Wales but tho' I opposed it wherever I found it, yet because I, led to preach of ye mystery of our Savr His

3. Ibid., Quoted from the Diary.
The dilemma in which Harris found himself was chiefly his own making. He would not publicly condemn his friend, James Beaumont, who was openly veering towards the Moravians, and he refused to sever his friendship with avowed Brethren like John Cennick. This obstinacy fortified the charge of Moravians laid on Harris's doorstep by Howland. Harris did privately reprimand Beaumont, but in public he rallied to his defence. In November 1745, he wrote:

"...tis evidt beyond all Contradictions yt a Contentious Spirit have attended yr Ministry for a Considerable time, & several Unintelligible Expressions Usd which Prov'd a Means of Confusion Indeed among ye Lambs..."

Beaumont did not alter his way, however, and by the following month one of the societies under his care was divided into factions. When he heard of this, Harris sent a second note to Beaumont, on 20 December.

"Today I was stabd thro & thro in hearing what a Separatn has been made att Llwynhitch - 0 when shall Divisions cease! ...are you determined to break my heart! ...if you can so easily separate from me, I feel tis not so easy on my Side - wn I was led...to explain some unguarded expressions & defend some Truths that my Brother did...I studyd all ye time to strengthen my dr Brother's Hand...ye cause & beging of this was not in me..."

2. Ibid., Letter 1561, unpublished.
3. Ibid., Letter 1594, unpublished.
The only clue which suggests the reason for Harris's continued defence of Beaumont, and his own persistent partiality towards the Moravians, is his rejection of Rowland's insistence that if a Methodist embraced that which he regarded as healthy in Moravianism he must be infected by it. By completely turning his back on the Brethren, Harris would have violated his lasting belief in the grounds for union between them and the Methodists; and, his condemnation of the Moravians per se would undoubtedly have created a rift in Methodism. Though it is apparent, as we look in retrospect, that the seeds of separation were latent in Harris's obstinacy, he himself believed that the issues involved would be reconciled. If he renounced Beaumont, on the other hand, the immediate result would have been open division as Beaumont had a considerable following, particularly in Radnorshire. Harris was told that "...if Beaumont is turn'd out, Many of ye Exhorters will follow him, being sure of this County (Radnorshire) Society's."¹ As long as Harris thought, however, that there was a chance of settling the issue without rupture he was neither going to endanger his plan for union between the Moravians and the Methodists, nor force a rift in Methodism by repudiating James Beaumont.

Again, let it be said that what Harris apparently did

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¹. Trevecka MSS., Letter 1836, unpublished.
not realise, and why we cannot imagine, was that the Methodists were determined to denude official Methodism of any regard for Moravianism. To them, Moravianism in its totality was heretical, and no Methodist had any business to woo them, however fine a distinction he maintained between error and truth. There was no half-way measure for Rowland, Davies or Williams; it was clearly a case of all black and all white, without any gray.

To add to Rowland's consternation, Harris invited John Cennick to Wales. It was bad enough for Harris, in the eyes of the Methodists, to defend a Methodist exhorter with Moravian tendencies, but, John Cennick was an out and out Moravian. The intimacy of Harris's invitation was hardly the expression of one who could for long expect to avoid the consequence of Rowland's charges. Harris wrote,

"...Come my Dearest Johny can't you come down next week I shall be at home to Receive you with open Arms..."

Cennick did go to Wales, and to the chagrin of Rowland, and more especially Howell Davies, he succeeded in enhancing the Moravian position in Pembrokeshire.

Harris's indiscretion could no longer be ignored by Rowland, who, in 1750, issued a pamphlet in the form of a

dialogue. Harris was represented as "Erroneous" and Rowland himself was "Orthodox Methodist". Into "Erroneous's" lines were injected the Antinomian and Patripassian heresies. At one point "Erroneous" was represented as saying, "I aver that God suffered and died."  

Dr R. T. Jenkins has succinctly summed up the charge of Harris's Moravianism thus:

"When we remember...the close resemblance between Harris's teachings about 'the dying God' and those of Zinzendorf, and again recollect the repeated efforts made by Harris to promote a union of Moravians and Methodists, we can hardly disregard the probability that Harrisianism and Moravianism became, in men's minds, interchangeable terms. And over and above this we must allow for the unguarded remarks which Harris (never an over-discreet man) dropped, in moments of discouragement with Methodism or of impulsive admiration for the Brethren."  

Two other charges intensified the dispute between Harris and the Methodists, and must be considered as complementary to the Moravian charge. Taken collectively these resulted in Harris's withdrawal from Methodism.  

One of the two charges had to do with Harris's arbitrariness. It does not seem unfair to call Harris a capricious man. He obviously thought himself to be of

1. Tradition has it that this pamphlet was first issued in 1749, and re-issued in 1750. This has been questioned by Gomar M. Roberts. See C.H.M., Historical Journal, Vol. XXXVIII, p.18.  
considerable importance, and this egoism found expression in autocratic leadership. His arbitrariness led him to quarrel with his Methodist coadjutors, and contributed to his ultimate alienation from the Association.

The more serious charge, however, was one that concerned Harris's relation with Madam Griffith, wife of William Griffith, squire of Cefn Amwlch, in Llyn (Caernarvonshire). They met in 1748, and for almost four years Harris was under her sway. The first letter in the Trevecka collection from Harris to Madam Griffith is dated 20 October, 1748. In it Harris wrote, "...let us stir up ye Gist of God within us & hide not our Light undr a Bushel but offer our selves to ye great Mastr Buildr..."¹

This expression seemed to typify Harris's view of his own importance in religious movements, and the legitimate aid he expected to receive from Madam Griffith in advancing the evangelical cause. His own wife, the former Miss Ann Williams of Skreen, whom he married in 1744, for reasons probably of health was not able to travel about the country with him. In Madam Griffith he found a woman of ability and education, who laid claim to certain Montanist powers, and who promised to help him further his religious ambitions.

Harris's relation with Madam Griffith involved him in

¹ Trevecka MSS., Letter 1826, unpublished.
a precarious enigma. It was one of the causes of the disruption, and temporarily resulted in his estrangement from his wife.

The late Evan E. Morgan, who was responsible for the first cataloguing of the Trovecka Manuscripts, and, who, judging from his extant letters to M. H. Jones between 1906 and 1926, obviously had an adroit acquaintance with the contents of the Diaries, wrote, "...I look upon the relationship as one that goes by the name of 'spiritual affinity'."

And he added, "...this... was objectionable to his wife..." 1

It therefore may be said that at least these three factors contributed to the disruption within Welsh Methodism:

1. Harris's partiality towards the Moravians.
2. Harris's arbitrariness.
3. Harris's relationships with Madam Griffith.

The disruption occurred at an Association held at Llanidloos on 9 May, 1760. 2 Harris withdrew from the Methodist Association, and its leadership passed to Daniel Rowland. The three charges, however, continued to harass Harris.

The separation of the Methodist leaders drove a wedge straight through the ranks of Welsh Methodism. Exhorters and society members sided with their favourite leaders, and two parties, known as "Rowlandists" and "Harris's people",

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1. C.M. Archives, 12, 032a. A letter in the collection of Morgan's correspondence with M. H. Jones.
2. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 2, p.38.
resulted. The Rowlandists' met at Erwood on 4 July, 1750\textsuperscript{1}, to take over the organisation of the existing Methodist Association. To this party the clergy clung, and from it stemmed a direct line which in 1811 resulted in the ordination of Methodist lay preachers, and hence, a separation from the Church of England. Thus there was formed the Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales.

Without Harris's organising ability, the existing Methodist Association found an increasing lethargy fall upon its labours. It should be said, too, that the bitter feelings which were aroused by the disruption, and which permeated the entire Methodist organisation, retarded the effective dissemination of religious enthusiasm. A new spirit of religious awakening did not break out among the Welsh Methodists for twelve years.

Harris, immediately following the disruption, began to organise his followers into a 'rival' Association which first convened at St Nicholas, in Glamorgan, on 26 July, 1750.\textsuperscript{2} One clergyman, the Rev. Peter Williams, was present, but "he declined to be enrolled as a member of the new system."\textsuperscript{3}

Peter Williams was one of the chief leaders in the later period of eighteenth century Welsh Methodism. He

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\textsuperscript{1} Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 2, p.39. \\
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{3} Hughes, R. J., \textit{op.cit.}, p.365.
\end{flushleft}
was only twelve years of age when Harris and Rowland began
their evangelical ministry in 1735. A native of Llansadynin,
Carmarthenshire, Peter Williams attended the Carmarthen Grammar
School. It must be said that he is a notable example of
the effect of George Whitefield's preaching in Welsh Wales,
for in 1743, while at the Grammar School, he was converted
under the preaching of Whitefield. He was ordained deacon
in the Church of England in 1745, and served as curato in
Eglwys Gymyn, Swansea, Llangrannog, and Llandysillogorgo.
Like William Williams of Pantycelyn, Peter Williams was
refused ordination on the grounds of his Methodist enthu-
siasm. He joined the Methodists in 1747, and became an
itinerant preacher. Again like William Williams, his
valuable contribution to the awakening was in his poetic
and literary gifts. In 1758 he issued one of his early
works, "Blodau i Blant" (Flowers for Children). This was
followed by a number of hymns, tracts, and elegies. In 1770
he issued an edition of the Welsh Bible with notes. His
exposition, especially on St. John 1.1, aroused misgivings in
the minds of many of the Methodist leaders. He was accused
of Sabellianism, or the identifying of God the Son with God
the Father.

Twenty years later, Williams issued a 'pocket edition'
of the Bible with John Canno's marginal references. This
was printed at Trevecka. The situation of 1770 was
aggravated by this later edition, and Williams was excommunicated from the Association in 1791. He died in August 1796, at the age of 73 years.¹

We must now return to the re-organisation of the revival after the disruption. By August 1750, both parties - the Rowlandists and the Harrisians - had been organised. It will be remembered that when the Methodists were persecuted a fund had been established to aid the victims. The Rowlandists demanded that Harris should turn over the account to them, which he did. Appended to a letter to Rowland, Harris wrote:

"My dr Bro. Rowlds where are you gone wt Spirits are come abt you... (?) are you fightg & agt. whom? O come up come up & return - if you think me Viler than you tis right you shd & I have therefor ye right (to call?) Grace Grace...is dr Bro Danl among them that agn (will) Crucify him - come lay aside thy Prejudice..."

This note, however, was not sent until many months later.

No reconciliation was forthcoming. George Whitefield, whom Harris had held in high regard, if not complete awe, turned against him, and sided with Rowland. In October 1750, Whitefield wrote to Thomas Bowen, a Harrisian exhorter in charge of the society at Builth.

"I am sorry to hear of the rupture in Wales, & especially that the house in Builth is denied to those that are in

¹. See Roberts, Gomer M., Dywyd a Gwaith Peter Williams, (Cardiff, 1943).
connection with Mr. Howland... As I find I am a Trustee, and that the Brethren aforesaid contributed towards building the house, and as I am persuaded they preach the Gospel... I must beg you as Superintendent for Mr. Harris, to let Mr. Philips & the other Brethren have the free use of it when they come to preach in your Town...

In the light of Harris's previous devotion and service to him, Whitefield's casual expression of sorrow over the separation is unimpassioned. By the following March the Tabernacle was closed to Harris's preaching. It has been suggested by Evan E. Morgan that a law suit arose over the difference between Whitefield and the Harrisians in the Builth society, but we have been unable to locate any evidence to support this suggestion.

The opposition to Harris's confidant and travelling companion, Madam Griffith, increased after the disruption. Towards the end of 1750, Harris wrote to his wife to condemn the attitude she and others had taken:

"...wd you see all things as they really are you would see ye Greatness of yr Sin in rising agt Him & His Work & in judging of things carnal & aftr ye flesh & in yo same Light that wd make you humble yr selves before Him you wd see His Loving Heart still forgiving you all..."

The strain of more than fifteen years of exhaustive itinerating, the anxiety caused by the disruption, the alienation of his wife and his former supporters collectively

2. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 2, p.7.
contributed to Harris's decline in health. The late Dr M. H. Jones wrote:

"From the middle of 1751 to the middle of 1752, it can almost be felt that Howell Harris was desperate by the way he rushed from county to county to whip up his old converts and staunchest friends to the Councils, as he called his new Associations."¹

To John Sparks, one of the Pembrokeshire exhorters, Harris wrote, "I have no party but am alone as I first went out only a few that know and love his flesh and wounds & Blood hang on me..."² Sparks cast his lot with Harris, and at a Harrisian Association which met at Neath in April 1751, he was appointed second in command.

The success of this new organisation was not satisfactory to Harris, however, and by October 1751 his irritableness and his autocracy caused him to quarrel with several of his most faithful supporters. On 5 October he wrote to James Relly, who had acknowledged Harris to be his spiritual father:

"...are you sure ye Reasons of your separatn from one you once had some sight of & fellowship wth are really sound & good?...I...do declare you have been tempted & have believed a Dreadfull Lye of me & of Md Gr-".³

During the same week he sent a harsh letter to Thomas Bowen, who, at Builth, had stood by him in the controversy. Harris's impending breakdown was being indicated by his

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1. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 2, p.4.
almost frenzical letters. The sheer desperateness of his condition at that time can be judged by a letter he sent to exhorter William Powell.

"Where are you? What are you doing, cant you determine who shall Rule, ye Savr or Self...I write to you from the Lord's Head Quartrs in ye Field of Battle, come & take your Place o let not ye Enemy Triumph...Md Gr. Joyns with me to call you to ye Field..." 1

In October 17510 Harris met his supporters in an Association held at Trevecka. The rounds of his exhorters had been fixed, and Harris had arranged for himself a journey to North Wales. In his view, this tour meant his death as it had been rumoured that William Griffith threatened to murder him if he went near Cefn Amwloc. Before departing, he wrote once again to his wife to defend his contacts with Madam Griffith, and he also prepared his will.

"As I am going now for sevl. days to such Places that I can Expect nothg but Death I find it on my Heart once for all to speak to you...& as going before God declare that you & all that oppose in ye Mattr of Md Gr. - being with me & of my Doctrine & Conduct these last 2 years that you are fightg agt God & must be humbled before Him if ever He forgives you...

"Be reconciled to Md Gr. - & take her to yr inmost Soul She is & ever continued to be before ye Ld yr best friend."2

In his "Last Will & Testimony", Harris settled his affairs in this manner:

"...My two Cows Pig Geese &c I give to my Wife Anne Harris & ye black Horse provided she pays 2£ to James Ingram

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of Llyswen...

"I also leave ye Guardianship Tuition & Education & entire Govornmt in every Respect whatsoever of my only Child & Daughter Elizabeth Harris to ye Sole Management Custody & Care of ye sd Thos Wm..."¹

Harris was not killed, but his arrangements for the future of his daughter, Elizabeth, in the event of his death are significant. The estrangement between Harris and his wife was so serious that he ignored her in planning for their daughter's guardianship. In view of this, we can hardly agree with H. J. Hughes, Harris's biographer, when he wrote that Harris "...was a tender and affectionate husband..."² and that the Harris-Williams marriage "was unmarred by any domestic discomfort."³

The first six months of 1752 saw the rapid disintegration of the Harristan Association. Harris's illness made him quarrelsome, and his exhorters, one after the other, took leave of him. On 31 May, 1752, Madam Griffith died. The following month Harris retired to his home at Trevecka, where, desperately ill, he renounced the name "Methodist". In July the last Harristan Association met at Trevecka. Expecting to die, Harris told his remaining followers, "I came here to take my leave of you - you should also hear your last sermon...I am going home from you all."⁴

³. Ibid., p.426.
⁴. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalmond 2, p.51.
Harris retired to Trevecka a sick man, though he did not die as he expected. The years 1753-1755 were almost entirely spent in semi-seclusion, although not in complete inactivity. This enforced rest proved beneficial to his overworked body and his strained mind. He became less an itinerant revivalist, and, in the closing decades of his life, he entered upon a new phase of Christian enterprise.
CHAPTER SEVEN

The Last Years

The relationships between Welsh and English Methodism which began in 1739 continued, in the main, until 1743 as 'high level' relationships. Through Howell Harris personal contacts were established between the English and Welsh revivalists, and these allowed an exchange of ideas which notably influenced the organisation of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales and England.

In England, Harris aided in the initial organisation of the Tabernacle. In Wales, Whitefield, as an outsider, prevented the Welsh movement from crumbling under the stress of internal disorder by assuming the moderatorship of the first united Association of Welsh and English Calvinistic Methodists. This union, which was achieved in January 1743, was the culmination of the high-level relationships.

We have seen that, from 1744 until about the end of 1749, Harris and other Welsh exhorters had a decisive influence upon the course of English evangelicalism. This period, we have suggested, was one dominated by 'lower-level' relationships, although it should be remembered that relationships were never maintained wholly at one level.

Prior to the disruption within Welsh Methodism in 1750
we have been continually reminded that the relationships
between Welsh and English Methodism were chiefly made through
Harris. After Harris's separation from Rowland, he no longer
spoke or acted for official Methodism. The new relationships
between Harris, the individual, and the English Methodists
and Moravians were no less significant for that reason, but
this fact should not be permitted to escape us as we let the
story of the post-separation years unravel itself.

His own attempts to organise his followers into a 'rival'
Association failed, and Harris, an ill man, denounced the
name 'Methodist', and retired to Trevecka in 1752. This
retirement afforded him a badly needed rest, and during a
three-year period of almost complete seclusion he developed
afresh.

In order to understand this new Howell Harris, and his
unusual activity in the last period of his life, we must
recall his earlier interest in the Moravian community at
Halle, Germany. In 1736 the idea of establishing a
communal settlement entered Harris's mind, but during the
years of his tireless Methodist activity it lay dormant.
Following the disruption, he revived the idea, and was
supported by Madam Griffith, who advanced him a grant of
several hundred pounds which enabled him in April 1752 to

2. See p.78.
begin to build a dormitory on the site of his old home, which was pulled down. Although Madam Griffith died the following month,¹ Harris continued with the scheme alone.

By the end of 1752, the first arrivals came to live in this Harrisian settlement, and a new, romantic chapter in Welsh history opened. The numbers steadily increased during the ensuing years, and the activity of the 'Family', as the settlement was called, correspondingly expanded. In January 1756, two years after the first persons arrived to take up residence in this communal settlement, Harris wrote:

"...there being here above 100 eatg & sleep(in)g daily under my Roof out of which there are 10 families & above 30 children. They are employed & maintaing by me & come here of their own Choice... (?) to stay here freely wiht any Constraint chosg. a hard Life for ye Sake of ye Gospoll which they hear - here are 10 or 12 families besides that come all them like that sev'l Scores of Miles on ye same acct. & are settld in Farms here rentg in all here to ye Value of 300£ per ann. - I have been confind here near 4 years by Decay of Body... Conscience to thos souls that put themselves undr my Care & have been enabld to preach here all that time twice every day with(ou)t intemissn. & often 3 times others assisting me, there is here every day a Sermon 3 times continually."

The whole experiment was one in which the life of piotism was integrated with the labour of the workaday world.

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¹ In March 1752 Mrs Harris was reconciled to her husband and to Madam Griffith. The next month, Mrs Harris accompanied Madam Griffith to London, where the latter died on 31 May. From one or two references in the Letters, we suspect her death was caused by consumption. Madam Griffith's husband, William, died on 11 February 1752. One son, Jacky, survived.

² Trevecka MSS., Letter 2142, unpublished.
At the centre of the experiment in Trovecka, where the Family gathered to be near him, was Harris, their spiritual mentor, who supervised their spiritual devotions and, either directly or indirectly, arranged their daily work.

All who entered the Family pooled their financial resources in a common fund. The members were then given respective duties to perform, and the monies earned thereby were likewise deposited in this common fund.

Farming was the largest single industry. Harris, in the letter above, attested to renting farms to the amount of £300 per annum by 1756. The Family later acquired several farms, and it was estimated that the total acreage belonging to the Family was about 750.\(^1\) Live stock and truck gardens provided the Family with its food. A 'fish pond' was later constructed, whereby a regular supply of fresh fish was available.\(^2\)

The expansion of the Family's agricultural and industrial pursuits may be quickly appreciated from these excerpts from Harris's diary:

"1753: Members 60. Farming, Picking Wool, Carding Flax, Knitting stockings."

"1754: Wool Spinning, Flannel, Dyed Cloth. Profits £118."

\(^1\) C.M. Archives, 12,056.

\(^2\) The indentation caused by the artificially constructed fish pond may still be seen to the south of the present buildings in Trovecka.
"1755: Farming, Sheep for wool, Hedging, Building, Clogmaking, Spoon and Ladle Carvers, Turners and Wheelwrights; Spinning, carding, weaving, worsted, cotton and woollen goods.
"1757: Enlarged Workshop, Currier, Barker, Bookbinding.
"1758: All the above occupations maintained.
"1759: Books printed at Trevecka.
"1765: Cheese making from sheep's milk.
"1768: Bookbinding."

Harris's monastical enterprise² (and it may well be called that), though it afforded him several years of semi-retirement which benefited his overstrained body and mind, was not looked upon with favour by the Methodists. In March 1755, Charles Wesley wrote a poem desiring Harris to resume his itinerant labours. "If thou art Harris still", he urged, "awake, arise, Renew the fight, re-labour up the skies."³

But Harris was not to be drawn out, or at least not until he was convinced that his Family was firmly established. He had been hurt by the disruption, and though the visits of the Wesleys, Marmaduke Gwynne, and Moravian friends to Trevecka helped to heal those bruises he was not ready to return to his former itinerant ministry. He wrote to tell Charles Wesley that he believed Welsh Methodism was drifting away from the Church of England.

"...I really think ye most ye Work goes to be a Sect

2. See Appendix B for side-lights of the Trevecka Family.
3. Roberts, G. T., Howell Harris, p.75.
or Party or out of ye Church let it be in whatever shape it
will ye Enemy has carryd his Point & ye Blessig is no longer..."1

Harris, who knew himself to be "...ye first of many that
went out to ye Fields..."2, resented the aspersions cast upon
him by the Welsh Methodists. Though he had withdrawn to
Trovecka, the news that Whitefield frequently passed by to
visit Howell Davies in Pembrokeshire did not escape him.3
That the man he so diligently served could ignore him, while
the Wesley brothers and Moravians like Peter Bohler and John
Hyberg visited him, must have contributed to his resentment
against the Calvinistic Methodists. Undoubtedly, the
Madam Griffith affair had forced the cleavage, but he never
ceased to believe that "...the Lord sent to assist me ye
Dearest Spirit & most faithfull to Jesus Christ I ever saw -
Madam Griffith..."4

Madam Griffith’s son, Jacky, attended the Doulton School
near London after the death of his parents. On 18 August,
1754, Harris wrote to a friend in London, John Burnill, to
ask him to call on Jacky, to deliver an enclosed letter, and
to "...invite him to Town to hear ye Brethren..."5

It may be noticed that Harris’s confidence in Burnill

2. Ibid.
3. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 3, pp. 6 and 21.
Harris’s Diary.
Indicates that not all the Whitefieldian Methodists shared their former leader's disregard for the retired Harris. In fact, word came to Harris in 1755 that a Mr Minion of Plymouth had died and left him a small legacy. In a letter to Minion's nephew, and administrator of the will, Harris spoke of his regard for the deceased, and made arrangements to have the legacy sent to Trevecka. This instance again underscores the contention that Harris's impact upon the rank and file of English Methodists was considerable.

By 1756 the Family at Trevecka was established, and Harris's attention was called to the army and militia by his brother, Joseph, and by a friend of Joseph's, Josiah Tucker, a native of Carmarthenshire who was Dean of Gloucester. As a patriotic gesture, Harris offered to equip ten men at his own expense, but this was rejected by the government. However, he did arrange in May for five members of the Family to join the army. Those five served under General Wolfe at Quebec. Only one returned to Trevecka.

The regard which Josiah Tucker had for Howell Harris is noteworthy. Following a visit to Harris, he wrote this

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2. Ibid., Letter 2142, unpublished.
3. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 3, p. 7.
5. Ibid.
exceptional letter:

"From the Conversation We had at Parting, after ye Civil Entertainment at your House, I was induced to hope Mr Harris wod. have paid a Visit to Bristol much about the time of our Fair. The Bishop of Worcester wod. have been glad to have seen You before his Departure from ye Wells; A Pleasure he must now be deprived of...I had also another very particular Motive to wish for your Coming: And that was, to Desire your Assistance & Direction in drawing up some Proposals for Implying ye French Neutrals now in England. This is a Task lately set me by Mr Nugent, whc I shod. have executed much more to my own Satisfaction, cod. I have recurred to such a Person as Yourself to be helped out of Difficulties..."1

One hardly would have expected the Dean of Gloucester - or, for that matter, any Dean - to have written Harris a letter even partially approaching the sentiments expressed above in say 1737 or 1747. The 'new' Harris was maturing and mellowing during these enforced years of semi-retirement. The greatness of his stature, from which his failures do not detract, seemed to have increased in the eyes of his contemporaries after he ceased to itinerate.2

To encourage Tucker In his government work, Harris assured him of his support. "I...confess", he wrote, "my real wishes for all success to your Endeavours to promote the National reformation (of) Industry and every branch of publick good..."3

In August 1759 Harris heard again from Tucker, who had been in Breconshire attempting with little success to organise

2. See Appendix P.
a county militia. Some of the Calvinistic Methodists offered him "...Civil Words & Compliments but no real Assistance."¹ "In short", he wrote, "my Eyes are wholly turned on You and your People: For You alone seem sensible of ye Blessings We enjoy under ye present happy Establishment..."²

Convinced that the war with France was a holy war, in the defence of Protestantism, Harris accepted an officer's commission in the Breconshire militia. He had, however, a pre-arranged agreement with the authorities that he would be permitted to preach while in uniform. In February 1760, Harris and twenty-four men from the Trevecka Family were inducted into military service.³

The life of the Family had been settled, and Harris could leave Trevecka with a sense of confidence that the work there would continue under the leadership of his four chief assistants, Evan Roberts, James Pritchard, Evan Moses and Hannah Bowen.

For almost three years Harris was in the militia, though for a lengthy period in 1761 he was encamped at Brecon, and was thus enabled to spend much time in Trevecka.⁴

The Harrisan correspondence during these three years

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2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.15.
reveals an aggressive attempt to bring about a union between the Methodists and the Moravians. The seeds of reconciliation between the Welsh Methodists and Harris also were maturing during this period. In short, the old evangelical passion was again gripping Harris. That passion was overtly manifested in the evangelism of the soldier-revivalist. Let us look at one instance of his preaching in uniform before we consider the subjects of union and reconciliation.

This story is told of Harris at Yarmouth in 1760:

"In 1760 Howell Harris a gentleman of eminent piety in the Principality, who had for some years preached Methodism, made an offer to the government to raise men for the defence of the nation, which was accepted. It so happened that the regiment in which he was Captain, was sent to Yarmouth. On his arrival he enquired what had been done to introduce Methodism and was informed of the ill treatment which Oliviers had received. Harris adopted the following device to obtain a hearing. He employed the town crier to give notice that at a particular hour a Methodist would preach in the Market Place. At the time named a savage mob assembled, armed with bludgeons and brickbats, who swore that if the preacher appeared, he should never leave the town alive. Harris, who was then exercising his man at a short distance, after dismissing them, mingled with the crowd and enquired the reason for such an assemblage. He was told that a Methodist preacher had been expected, and that it was well that he had not come as he would certainly have been killed. Harris told them that by their leave he would address them himself, and a table having been procured, he mounted upon it, attired as he was in regimentals, and so astonished his hearers by the novelty of the exhibition and so softened them by his eloquence, that he was allowed to finish his discourse without molestation...."

The remarkable success of Harris's preaching at Yarmouth is further attested to in several Trevecka Letters.

On 28 September, 1760, he wrote to Hannah Bowen, the matron of the women and children in the Family:

"...were you all to see ye Crowds that hear every night, ye House quite crowded & ye better Sort seem to attend with a Blessing going away affected & amazed. Some of ye most Considerable in ye Towns Gentlemen & Ladies & all hear with Attention tho' tis a thing that never was known in this place...Field & House Preaching was never permitted here tho' attempted by sev'l. - This Honor was reserv'd for us..."1

The fact that his preaching was approved by the higher social classes in Yarmouth was of considerable satisfaction to Harris. A further cause of joy while at Yarmouth was his promotion to the rank of Captain. To contrast the tenor of the following letter, written to Hannah Bowen on 11 November, 1760, with letters written to some of the exhorters ten years previously will reveal the change in the man's spirit. Undoubtedly the decade of retirement was beneficial.

"I told you in my Last I am made Capt'n. Lieutenant. witht. my as much as askg. for it & you may direct to me to Capt'n. Harris or H. Harris Esq'r. Capt. Lt in ye Brecon Shire Militia att Yarmouth...

"...Tis Surprising ye freedom I have here to speak ye Truth & ye Crowds that attend every night & abundance of Gentlemen & Ladies...Here has been seed sown that will not be lost. Yesterday when I with ye rest of our officers attended ye Mayor ye Common Council & Aldermen Membr. of Parliament & ye Great of this Town & County in Proclaiming his most Gracious Majesty King George the Third. I had a most near access to our Sav'r in my spirit to carry our dr new King to Him..."2

Harris's prediction that the seeds of the Gospel which

2. Ibid., Letter 2310, unpublished.
he planted in Yarmouth would not be lost was made on a sound basis. In January 1761, John Wesley visited the place and afterwards made this entry in his Journal.

"Tues. 20. I inquired concerning Yarmouth, a large and populous town, and as eminent both for wickedness and ignorance, as even any sea-port in England. Some had endeavoured to call them to repentance; but it was at the hazard of their lives. What could be done more? Why, last summer God sent thither the regiment in which Howell Harris was an officer. He preached every night, none daring to oppose him; and hereby a good seed was sown. Many were stirred up to seek God; and some of them now earnestly invited me to come over." ¹

It is said that there is still a chapel at Yarmouth which has the name of Howell Harris inscribed upon a tablet set in the wall of the sanctuary. ²

Harris and the militia men from Trevecca were discharged in November 1762.³ The following year brought about a reconciliation between Harris and the Rowlandists.

Actually, the first sign of reconciliation came in September 1759, when Harris met Rowland, William Williams, and Peter Williams at Treycastle. An itinerary was arranged for Harris in October 1759, which he followed for about one week through parts of Carmarthenshire. He wrote, "...discoursed among ye Welsh Methodists after 7 years separation." ⁴ However, the impending call to military service prevented Harris from

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3. Ibid., p.19.
4. Ibid., p.11.
further negotiating at that time.

On 19 May, 1762, while he was still in the militia, the Welsh Methodists sent this letter to Harris:

"Dear Sir,

We understand by E. Moses that you intend to resign your present Commission and (God willing) once more to fill up your Place among us, which we sensibly acknowledge has been long vacant. We have follow'd you with our Prayers thro' your various Tours, and are satisfied you generally appear'd double arm'd to the furtherance of the Gospel; Glory be to free sovereign Ornoes, and we unanimously (sic) conclude that your inclination to visit our several Counties again is the voice of Heaven, and we doubt not but all Animosities will and must subside and a spirit of Love take Place.

"William Williams
"Dan Rowland
"Peter Williams
"Wm. Richard
"David Williams
"John Harry". 1

The way was then prepared before his discharge for Harris's return to Methodism. On 10 February, 1763, he wrote, "Today I received a Letter from Evan Moses about meeting Mr Rowland att Trecastle next Wednesday..." 2 Five days later Harris and Rowland met. A spirit of concord was manifested and Harris preached at an Association held on the 16th. He was also given leave to itinerate.

Less than a fortnight after this Association, Harris wrote to Lady Huntingdon:

"I am now on a weeks tour to endeavour to settle & regulate some societies of my old Labour in these Parts,

2. Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p.33.
Our Savr I believe uses sevl. instrumts. now to revive
His work in sevl parts of Wales & among them Mr P. Wms..."1

By the time Harris resumed even a curtailed itinerant
ministry in 1763 and 1764, a generation of children, who
had probably heard him preach at their parents' side, had
grown into youths of twenty and twenty-five years of age.
One such young man, Thomas Williams, hearing that Harris
was again itinerating, wrote to him.

"...there are many that are now grown to this maturity
upon the mention of yr name that wd express themselves to
this purpose: When I was a child I heard that man but know
hardly anything that he spoke but was he to come within a
days Jorny I wd go & hear him "2

A letter of this nature could not help but have an
encouraging influence upon Harris. He also must have
been helped by the fact that the years when he resumed his
public preachings were marked by a new wave of revival in
Wales. Since the time of the disruption, a spirit of
deadness had clung to the Methodist movement, but now a new
surge of the spirit of revival was sweeping down upon the
Methodist societies. The renewed enthusiasm of Daniel
Rowland was disapproved of by the Church of England, and he
was deprived of his living at Llangeitho in 1763. A
Methodist meeting chapel, however, had been erected there
the previous year, and after his deposal this furnished him

2. Ibid., Letter 2580, unpublished.
with his sole pulpit.

It was mentioned in the Introduction that the records of Harris are the sole original materials available to the student of early Welsh Methodism. The truth and tragedy of this are forcefully brought to our attention when trying to reconstruct the story of Welsh Methodism in the post-separation years. The Records of the Associations abruptly end in 1750, when Harris withdrew. There is no record of Association minutes again until 1778-1797, when they were kept by Daniel Rowland's son, Nathaniel.

It has been said that Harris was record conscious. This cannot be repeated often enough. When he was in the militia, for example, he wrote to Hannah Bowen, "...I need not tell thee to keep all ye Lettres I send you - all..."\(^1\) It is quite possible that Harris's egoism was responsible for his careful preservation of records. It was the opinion of the late Evan Morgan that Harris connected himself with Luther and Huss in religious movements, "...and that he held the opinion that posterity would like to know all about him..."\(^2\) Be that as it may, and certainly it cannot be denied that Harris wanted his manuscripts to be printed, the motives Harris had for the preservation of records do not diminish the value of the records for today's student. The tragedy,

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2. C.M. Archives, 12,025.
of course, lies in the absence of other manuscripts which, if available, could be used for corroboration.

If the Rowlandists had preserved records, we could easily determine the unanimity with which Harris was recalled to Methodism. We cannot help but feel that Harris's recall was occasioned more by the Association's need for his organisational skill than by a true affection for Harris himself. 1 Or, it may well have been a combination of the two reasons. In any case, Harris never fully returned to his former role. His old passion for itinerating faded quickly. His ecumenical spirit prevented a wary Calvinistic Methodist Association from wholeheartedly receiving him.

The records - Diaries and Letters, in printed and manuscript forms, - relating to this period of recall, and the immediate years which followed, reveal Harris's repeated reflection over the causes of separation. One cause, it will be remembered, was Harris's high regard for the Moravians. This regard had not diminished. To many Calvinistic Methodists, Harris's persistent regard for the Brethren must have been annoying. An example of his own indiscretion, which naturally would cause perturbation among the Methodists, occurred at Woodstock in Pembrokeshire in

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1765, when he said "that whilst the Methodists had been quarrelling about doctrine, the Brethren had advanced a thousand degrees before them into the heart of Jesus Christ, and there hid so deep that the Methodists could only see the flaps of their coats."¹

The Welsh Methodists also objected to Harris's friendliness with the Wesleys, and they had strong misgivings about the religious-industrial Family at Trevecka. William Williams of Pantycelyn, with whom Harris was first reconciled, (even before the official recall²), wrote with considerable doubt about the Harrisian enterprise at Trevecka:

"Pam y ciliaisi i ryw ogof,
Castell a ddyfeisiodd dyn,
Ac anghofiaist y ddiadell,
A argyhoeddaiist ti dy hun?"³

If only the Methodist records were available to show how the Methodists really felt towards Harris's return to the Association! As it is, we can only surmise that there were raised strong feelings of opposition to Harris's return to unlimited power. This assumption is augmented when we remember that after the disruption, Harris's tie with the Church of England was strengthened, while on the other hand,

¹ Jenkins, R. T., The Moravian Brethren in North Wales, p.37.
² Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 3, p.8.
³ Marwnad Fr Coffadwriaeth am Mr Howell Harris, verse 16. Freely translated: "Why did you withdraw into a cave - a castle of man's invention - and forget the flock which you yourself converted?" See Appendix C.
the Welsh Methodists were drifting farther from the Establishment.

At one of the first Associations which Harris attended after his recall he said:

"I opened that I cant joyn them till I am satisfied they are in ye Church of England, and if they dont joyn in their Parochial Communion & worship they are a New Sect & when Mr Rowland and a few others dye they must have dissenting ministers over them all..."1

In August 1764, after an Association at Abermeurig, Harris wrote:

"Over 14 years separated. 14 years ago I was pushd out by Mr Rowld & arrayed to him wore all ye Preachers... Now 1, they call themselves Methodists 2, they leave ye Church 3, they have no discipline. 4, they objected to my visiting Mr Wesley etc..."2

A year later, Harris mused over his scheme to reunite the Methodists and Moravians, and wrote:

"I was convinced I should tell ye Association that I cannot come among them as I go among ye Moravians - Wesley - Dissenters, if they would object to it, I cannot come among them in my old Place as I do not see among them ye same spirit as they set out in, they have left ye Church to form a new Sect, Mr Rowld. att ye Head of it & call it Methodist, & to have fallen from ye Life of Faith & to have no need of Discipline & general Union & to judge me for abiding in ye Church a bigot."3

It is apparent from these Diary extracts that Harris's reunion with the Methodists was not one of enthusiasm. He continued to co-operate with them until his death, but he

1. C.M. Historical Journal, Vol. XXXII, pp.41,42.
2. Ibid., p.71.
3. Ibid., p.73.
did not resume an active role within the Association. He perceived the trend of Methodism toward Nonconformity, and his prophecy that a new sect would be born after the deaths of Rowland and some of the others, came true.

Toward the union of the Methodists and Moravians Harris expended his energy in the last decade of his life. This, more than Welsh Methodism, received his wholehearted support, and it brought him into close contact with Lady Huntingdon, who shared his desire to mend the broken bonds of evangelicalism.

To understand Harris's attempts to reconcile the Methodists and Moravians, we must return to the years of his service in the militia. Among the unpublished Trevecka Letters has been discovered one which sheds new light on the Moravian attitude towards the union. It was written from Bedford by Francis Okely¹ to Howell Harris on 29 August, 1760. Okely, who graduated from Cambridge in 1739, and was ordained deacon in the following year by a Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, wrote to tell Harris of a synod he had attended at Herrnhag, Germany in 1746.

"At last I set Pen to Paper in Pursuance of the kind invitation you gave me when here at Bedford. As far as I can learn the Testimony you bore at Bedford met with Acceptance among the awakened utrius Partis, and Respect in general.

1. See Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XLII, p. 77, for a biographical sketch of Okely. There is no mention in the D.N.B. article of Okely's visit to Herrnhag as described to Harris in this letter.
Tho' you may be sure there will always be some to object, and
scan the whole life of so extraordinary a Preacher as you are.
I lately wrote at large to Mr. Chas. Wesley, and told him I
had seen and spoke with you, as also the Substance of our
Discourse together, as far as I thought might prove any way
serviceable to set a Design on Foot, which we both have at
Heart. I remember I told you that when I was at Herrnhaag
in Germany the 2nd Time, Ao. 1746&7, the Count proposed a
Conference of us English Brn. 'with Design to find out the
first Aim and Intention of our Savr. by the Awakening in
England, going under the name of Methodism; how and in what
Respects this Aim and Intention has been deviated from & in
what Manner it might be best restored again.' The principal
Persons who were then present at that Conference, were Mr.
Gambold & Ingham, & as I was also of the Number, and appointed
to take down the Minutes of the Conference for the Count's
after Inspection; I happened to have the rough Draught of it
by me. As I have lately perused them in View to what passed
between us, & find there are a few Hints to our Purpose, I
shall venture to transcribe them for your Perusal, and as an
Encouragement to you to promote the Work of the Healer of the
Preach. Doubtless you will make no further Use of them than
to inform yourself how we thought and wished at that Time;
because I have no Authority from the Brn. to make them public.
There were at that Time abt. 60 English Brn. and Sissors in
Germany; but the 1st Conf. consisted, mostly of such Brn.
as had been from the Beginning actual Instruments of the Work.
The 2d consisted of all the English Brn., As the 3d also did.
In the 1st Conf. there is a Minute to this Effect, 'It was a
false Step, that a Misunderstanding and Disunion between the
Brn. and the Methodists began so early. It would have been
well had the Brn. looked over the Mistakes, Defects, and
Shallownesses of the Methodists, and cherished the more that
which was good among them' - 'The Methodists seem to have
been a Charge committed to the Brn's Care; but they have
been too much overlooked and slighted, a Charge the Methodists
have agst. them to this Day' - 'Is it not then the Savr's Will
to do all in our Power to remove these Objections out of the
Way? It appears by all Accounts not to be so far gone as to
become incapable of being redressed'.

"If you should ask me, what came out of these Conf's? All I can say is, that I transcribed them fair for the
Count's Perusal, and he took an Opportunity of making some
general remarks upon them, but I never heard any more of it...
"...Had we all...real Grace...we should then be as like
one another as we were to Him & Like would love, consort &
unite with like."1

The importance of this letter speaks for itself. Certainly it may be seen from it that the English Brethren were not adverse to negotiating with the Methodists in regard to organic union. Apparently Count Zinzendorf did not care to pursue the subject too far, and the plans died a natural death.

Harris, however, took up the spirit of the letter, and strove to remove the obstacles to union. It must be said that his efforts never succeeded, but let us recount some of the steps in that unsuccessful labour.

At the time he received Okely's letter, Harris was estranged from Whitefield, but he was on good terms with the Wesleys, and through them he worked. This is a bit of irony, for here was the one time leader of Welsh and English Calvinistic Methodism now at work to bring about a union of evangelicals through co-operation with the 'rival' party. The Calvinistic Methodists would have no part in the scheme, and so it was to the Arminian branch of Methodism that Harris turned for aid.

Harris explained the agreeable attitude of Wesley in a letter to the German Moravian Bishop, Johannes de Watteville, on 9 October, 1760.

"...Within this month I was at a Conference that Mr. Wesleys had with their Preachers & to my agreeable surprise aftr. Mr Jn Wesley had mentioned to his Bro. & me in Private wt cd be done tward cng near(s)r ye Brethren &c he mentioned it openly to all his Preachers & on a Previous Step tward
farther Conference wth ye Chiefs of yr Church if it wd be agreeable first for him & his Bro to see Mr Gambold & Mr. Heyburg, if he cd. come & all ye Preachers consulted to it & they agreed...I am perswaded his Hart is right in this mattr..."1

In a similar letter to Nyberg, written on the same day, Harris expressed his hope "...that all...shd be one..."2

Harris's preoccupation in the militia prevented any notable expansion of the plan for union until 1764. In that year Lady Huntingdon visited Travecka, and fixed her mind upon establishing a college there. While aiding her with the plan for the college, Harris also interested her in his scheme for the union of the Moravians and Methodists. For several years following 1764, the Huntingdon-Harris correspondence reveals a close affinity of purpose and desire in two schemes - education and church union.

In March 1764, Lady Huntingdon sent this letter to Harris:

"I cannot thank you enough for your kind care of my little bit of the vineyard...I thank you also for the distant hope of seeing you some time in the summer...I have had respect to what you say about a heart-union among the several ministers. I hope to have few of them here tomorrow morning on the subject. Mr Wesley seems more hearty on that point than ever I have known him, and before he goes I hope to obtain a commission from him to declare his willingness for a general union..."3

2. Ibid., Letter 2300, unpublished.
3. Morgan, Edward, Life of Howell Harris, p.236. The original letter is missing from the present Travecka collection.
Wesley’s favourable attitude may in part be explained by the groundwork which Harris had laid. The prospect of Lady Huntingdon’s aid encouraged Harris, who wrote in reply:

"...ye Hopes you gave me of our Saviour using ye Ladyship...to forwrd union among His Labours revived my heart...all that love Him shd love one another & be as He & His father is one." 1

Discussions were intermittently carried on over the next four years, but Harris was unsuccessful in arousing in others the same passion he possessed. However, if the Methodist-Moravian union failed, the Methodists were able to meet together in August 1766 and agree to co-operate among themselves. This was a significant step insofar as it again united Harris and Whitefield. In twelve months Wesley, Whitefield and Harris were again together, when an agreement was reached to preach in one another’s pulpits. 2 For Harris, who had previously been invited to Wesleyan Chapels, this meant that he once again would be welcome in the Whitefieldian societies.

Whether the solidifying of the Methodists discouraged continued negotiations with the Moravians, we cannot tell, but it was not long after the second meeting of Wesley, Whitefield and Harris that John Nyberg, the Moravian minister at Havorfordwest, wrote to Harris to complain about Wesley.

2. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 3, pp.32 and 34.
"We have had a great deal of preaching in Pembrokeshire of late, & our old friend, John Wesley could not help throwing a fling at old harmless Gambold. I wish he would let us alone & preach Christ crucified."

The chance of official union faded, but Harris's own warm regard for the Moravians did not diminish. In October 1768 James Hutton wrote to him:

"I do not know if you remember that our Brethren almost 27 years ago formed a particular society for the furtherance of the Gospel among the heathen...we have now...renewed this society...By our Rules we can receive Honary (sic) members & correspondent members not of our Church who will be invited to correspond with us...As your Heart is not constrained by any other Party but the Party of Jesus Christ...you have been thought of for an honary & correspondent member..."2

Harris subscribed to the society annually a sum of £5.5.0, a contribution continued after his death by the Trevecka Family.

Though Harris's attempt to foster union proved unsuccessful, the reverse was true of his efforts in behalf of Lady Huntingdon's project - the establishment of a college at Trevecka.

In 1764, when Lady Huntingdon decided to establish a college, she solicited and received aid from Harris. He secured the property known as Trevecka Isaf from his brother Thomas, and an old building, which was standing on the site, was reconstructed by the artisans from the Harrisian community.

2. Ibid., Letter 2655.
4. See Appendix 8.
It is little known that the labour involved in the erection of the Huntingdon college was supplied by the Family. Lady Huntingdon confessed to Harris that "I find none so ready and willing to hold up my poor weak hands as yourself. Thousand, thousand heart-felt thanks for the prayers at Trovecka..."\(^1\)

And later she wrote, "I shall be glad to have the exact account of all the expenses as they go on. I shall remit money for supplying - ..."\(^2\)

Another practical exchange of services between the Family and the Huntingdon college was the offer to Lady Huntingdon of Hannah Bowen as housekeeper. This was accepted, and Hannah Bowen, the matron of the women and children in the Family, was 'loaned' to the staff of the college.\(^3\)

Lady Huntingdon also confided in Harris when engaging an academic staff. During 1765 and 1766 she was in correspondence with Francis Okely, whom she was considering for the post of college tutor. On 27 December, 1765, she wrote to Harris, enclosing a letter from Okely, and said, "I referred him to you for all matters of further instruction which he wanted..."\(^4\)

Okely, in a letter to Harris, wrote, "I am advised by

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4. Ibid., Letter 2616, unpublished.
hor Ladyship to request further information... and settle all Preliminaries with you, & let her know the result..."¹ One of the questions Okely raised was "...will the Tutor's House be furnished?"²

For unstated reasons Harris apparently objected to Okely's appointment. Lady Huntingdon wrote to Harris and said, "...I am quite of your mind about Mr Oakly..."³, and instead, she engaged a Welshman whom she identified only as "Mr Williams"! In describing Williams, she wrote, "...a Welshman who has served with great credit in a large boarding school - he teaches writing arithmetic Latin & the Greek testament."⁴ In another letter to Harris she added, "...he was awakened by you & can teach the Grammar in Welsh in addition."⁵

From Madeley, Lady Huntingdon chose the Rev. John Fletcher and a friend, J. Easterbrook, to complete the teaching staff. Fletcher, a Wesleyan apologist, was the first principal.

The building in readiness, and the staff engaged, the college was opened in August 1760. Whitefield preached the

¹ Trevecka MSS., Letter 2953, unpublished.
² Ibid.
³ Morgan, Edward, op. cit., p. 237. The original letter is missing from the present Trevecka collection.
⁴ Trevecka MSS., Letter 2642, unpublished.
⁵ Ibid., Letter 2645, unpublished.
inaugural sermon, and Lady Huntingdon dedicated the college
"...to the training of a ministry spiritually and wholly
given up to the Lord..."  

The Family and the college exchanged multiple services.
Harris, for example, addressed the students on one or two
days every week, and the students, in turn, went to the
Family to conduct devotional services.

In August 1769, the first anniversary of the college was
observed by a large preaching meeting conducted in Welsh and
English.

The following month, however, the first unpleasantness
arose when Mr Williams, the tutor, was dismissed and Hannah
Bowen left, after the two were charged with impropriety. That the charges, in Harris's eyes at least, were not well
founded is suggested by the fact that the following June,
Williams was invited to preach to the Family at Trevecka.

Easterbrook soon left the faculty, and he was succeeded
by Joseph Benson. In 1770 the old doctrinal controversy
broke out. Harris, who was never an extreme Calvinist, was
accused by some students of error, as were Fletcher and
Benson. Wesley entered the dispute, and wrote to Lady

2. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 3, p. 41.
3. Ibid., p. 44.

for Benson, Fletcher, and the controversy at the college.
Huntingdon - "A bitter letter...", Harris called it, though his own sentiments were closer to Wesley's than to hers at the time.

Fletcher and Benson were dismissed in 1770, and though Lady Huntingdon, on occasion, visited Harris and the Trevocka Family, their relationships after the controversy of 1770 were considerably lessened.

Lady Huntingdon's college continued at Trevocka until after her death. The trustees, in 1792, removed it to Cheshunt, a place about fourteen miles from London.

In 1770, Mrs Harris died. Harris sincerely mourned her death, writing, "...though many trials, my wife has been the best to me." His own health failing, he was confined more or less to Trevocka for the next three years. On 21 July, 1773, his chequered career ended. He was buried, with the remains of his wife, near the altar of the Talgarth church where he was converted thirty eight years earlier while receiving the Holy Sacrament of Communion.

The death of Howell Harris, the most remarkable Welshman of the eighteenth century, brought an end to an epoch.

Daniel Rowland lived until 1790, and William Williams until 1791. Following their deaths, as Harris had predicted, Welsh Methodism developed into a new denomination.  

1. Mrs Harris died on 9 March, in her 58th year.
2. The final separation from the Church of England took place in 1811, when, in an Association at Bala, the Methodists for the first time administered ordination to eight men.
APPENDIX A

Deciding Upon A Name

At Devynock Harris referred to the "associates" in Scotland and America. It is probable that this term was first brought to his attention by George Whitefield. Whitefield had spent considerable time in America, and was familiar with the contemporary revival in New England, which was spurred on by Jonathan Edwards.

In 1739 Whitefield came into contact with Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, and Ralph Erskine of Dunfermline. The Erskines, who were ultra orthodox Calvinists, were deposed from the Church of Scotland, not over the issue of Calvinism, but of patronage. With six other ministers, the Erskines formed themselves into the "Associate Presbytery."

Through Whitefield, the Welsh revivalists got to know of the Erskines. Some of their writings were translated into Welsh and circulated in Wales after 1744.

Neither Harris nor Rowland had decided upon a name for the meeting of Methodists at Devynock, nor for the meeting at Dygoeddydd. It is quite likely that the name "associate" appealed to them, and by January 1743 the term "Association" was adopted as the official designation of the first united meeting of Welsh and English Calvinistic Methodists.

The word is still in use among Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in Wales and is applied to the body which corresponds to the "Synod" in Scottish and American Presbyterianism. It appears as "Saswyn" in its Welsh form.
APPENDIX B

"The Great Association"

In an elegy written about Daniel Rowland after his death in 1790, Williams of Pantycelyn referred to the existence of the Association during the preceding fifty years. He also spoke of what he called "The Great Association", or the Association which met at Watford in January 1743. Thus, Pantycelyn acknowledged the existence of the Welsh Association for fifty years, i.e., 1740-1790, but at the same time, he carefully reserved praise for "The Great Association" at which Whitefield presided, and which marked the union of Welsh and English Calvinistic Methodism.

This is that part of the elegy which refers to Whitefield, his relationship to the Association, and the welding together of the two segments of Calvinistic Methodism.

"Dyna'r pryd daeth Whitefield enwog,
    Ar adenydd dwyfol ras;
    'Lawr i Gymru i gael profi
    Y newydd win yn ddwyfol flas;
Dyna'r pryd yr hyfryd aeiwyd
    0 fewn ffwrnes fawr y nef,
    Sais a Chymro mewn athrawiaeth
    Loyw, ddisglaer, gadarn, gref.

"Dyna'r pryd, boed cof am dano,
    Ganwyd yr Assosiasiwn fawr;
    Ag sydd er's hanner cant flwydda
    Yn cadw i fynu hyd yn awr;
    Yn gwneyd undeb athrawiaethau,
    Ac yn clymu cwlwm crwn,
    Nas gall rhagfarn na drwgdybiau
    Fyth i ddattod dim o hwn."1

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There are numerous references to John Jones in the Standard Edition of John Wesley's Journal.


Vol. III, p. 273, a footnote tells us that John Jones was "...a man of considerable learning, deep piety, and ministerial ability...At Wesley's request he was ordained in 1763 by Erasmus, a Greek bishop...He left the Methodists, was ordained by the Bishop of London, and presented to the living at Harwich, which he held until his death."

Vol. III, p. 302: Jones is mentioned as one of the preachers who attended Wesley's Fourth Conference on 15 June, 1747.

There are other references to Jones, and in Vol. VI, p. 416, he is referred to as "an old and affectionate friend" of John Wesley.

John Jones obviously played an important role in Wesleyanism after his departure from Calvinistic Methodism. What is surprising is that no reference indicates the early relation between Jones and Howell Harris.
APPENDIX D

An Indirect Influence

Through Howell Harris an indirect influence was exerted upon the religious scene in America. The beginning of this unexpected tie is to be found in Jeffreston, in the English part of Pembrokeshire, where James and John Relly lived. The Relly brothers came under the influence of Methodism, and James Relly was one of the exhorters from Wales whom Harris introduced to English evangelicalism. While in England, Relly contributed considerably to the work of the Calvinistic Methodists, but at the same time, he developed independent characteristics which estranged him from some of the Methodists. It is impossible to ascertain, in the earliest period (1746), precisely what those characteristics were, but in a letter to Harris, written on 24 May, 1746, he spoke of his "irregularities", but, assuming that Harris knew all about them, he did not elaborate.

"I have had a Desire this Long time to write You, but had not Liberty being perswaded in my mind that you was not free unto me which I confess you might have a great cause to be from many Irregularities seen in me..."

It is supposed that Relly continued to work with the Methodists until late 1750, or early 1751, when he established his own congregation in London. In October 1751, Harris wrote to ask if he was certain of his reasons for separation.

What is of immediate interest, though, is Relly's own admission, in November 1749, that Howell Harris was his spiritual father. He wrote to Harris:

"Tho we have ten thousant Instructers in Christ, we have not many fathers: Yet Such a one have I found You, and Such a one must I acknowledge you, in time and In Eternity..."

There is not a word to mention Howell Harris's influence upon James Relly in the National Dictionary of Biography. There, George Whitefield is credited with having influenced Relly. Yet, it would seem from the contents of Trevecka Letter 1463, that Whitefield learned of Relly for the first time.

3. Ibid., Letter 1901, unpublished.
time through Howell Harris. In any case, the above letter, number 1901, shows that he himself owed his spiritual nurture to Harris, and not to Whitefield.

If this relationship between Harris and Rally be correct, our intention to show an indirect tie between Harris and America is simple. After Rally founded his separate congregation in London, he met one John Murray, who became his disciple. In September 1770, John Murray landed in Good-Luck, New Jersey. There he began to preach, and founded a new church in the new world called the Universalist Church. It is said that Murray's "universalism was a protest against the doctrine of endless punishment", which arose from his own reaction to a life of trouble and sorrow.

In the Dictionary of National Biography, we read that Murray introduced many of James Rally's books to America, and we are told that there they still have a considerable circulation among the Universalists.

3. Ibid.
APPENDIX E

Trevecka Family Side-lights

The story of each trade, and the members of the Trevecka Family engaged in that trade, would, if followed through, make fascinating reading. It is impossible for us to tarry at length over the romanticism of the life of this settlement, unique in the history of Wales, but we cannot refrain from commenting on a few interesting side-lights. Behind such words as 'farming' and 'printing' and 'bookbinding', for example, lay tales of far reaching influence.

Little did the majority of the crowd which cheered Queen Elizabeth II on her visit to Brecon in the summer of 1955 know that Howell Harris was partly responsible for that royal visit, which was occasioned by the bi-centenary of the Breconshire Agricultural Society, the oldest such society in Wales. The Society was founded in 1755 upon the suggestion of Harris to a group of Breconshire Gentlemen that their Club should concentrate upon the development of agriculture and industry in the county.

Who would imagine that the Rev. David Lloyd, vicar of Llandyfalle, and a bitter assailant of Harris in 1741, would utilise the services of the Trevecka Family? He did. On 4 July, 1768, he sent some books to the Family with instructions that they were to be re-bound according to specifications. The barriers which the Rev. Pryce Davies put in Harris's path in the early years of the awakening will be remembered, but by 1763, Harris had arranged to have Davies administer a monthly Communion to the Family in the Talgarth Church. A special gallery was constructed so that the Family could sit together when they attended the Sunday services at the Parish Church.

While official Welsh Methodism was veering farther from Anglicanism in the post-separation years, Harris was strengthening his loyalty to and his link with the Established Church.

An interesting story lies behind the Family's printing press. It involves one of the most prominent American jurists, the late Charles Evans Hughes, and we now turn to it.

One of the members of the Trevecka Family was Hugh Hughes, who had gone to Trevecka from his native Caernarvonshire.

2. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 2, p. 19.
In 1773 he married Jane Owen, also a member of the Family. To them three children were born. The eldest, Nathan, later learned the trade of printing in Trevecka. He was married to Jane Evans, from the Vale of Clwyd, and to them was born a son, David Charles Hughes.1

In 1857 David Charles Hughes emigrated to the United States,2 and settled in Glens Falls, New York, and later at Sandy Hill, New York, now known as Hudson Falls. He entered the Baptist ministry, and was married to a young lady of pioneer American stock. To them was born Charles Evans Hughes, named after his father and his paternal grandmother.3 Charles Evans Hughes was an aspirant to the Presidency in 1916, but was defeated by Woodrow Wilson. He was later appointed to the Supreme Court, and rose to the position of Chief Justice.

The Welsh American newspaper, Y Drych, in its issue of October 1955, reported the visit of the late Justice Hughes's daughter, Mrs Waddell, to Wales during the preceding summer. It was said that Mrs Waddell visited her cousin, the Rev. Howell Harris Hughes of Liverpool. The Rev. Mr. Hughes, former principal of the Calvinistic Methodist Theological College at Aberystwyth, is the grandson of the Trevecka printer, Nathan Hughes, as was Charles Evans Hughes.

The original portrait of Howell Harris is believed to be in America in the possession of the Nathan Hughes family. We have been requested to inquire as to its whereabouts upon our return to the United States, and, if the present owners are not keen about retaining it, we may suggest that the National Library of Wales would welcome its deposit among the Calvinistic Methodist Archives.

We are tempted, while dwelling on some of the side-lights of the Trevecka Family, to speculate on the influence of the Family upon a similar scheme of communal living fostered by Robert Owen4 in the nineteenth century. As many of the members of the Family were from mid and north Wales,5 is it not possible that Robert Owen, though he was only two years old at the time of Harris's death in 1773, heard about the

5. C.M. Archives, 12,027.
Trevecka enterprise from friends and relatives in Montgomeryshire, his native county? Owen's ambitious scheme for the establishment of communal settlements at New Lanark, in England, and later at New Harmony, in America, are well known. The latter, located in Indiana and Illinois, on the banks of the Wabash River, involved a purchase of 20,000 acres.

It is impossible to settle the matter definitely; but at least the thought seems congruous. Of course, Harris's own conception of the idea arose from contacts with the Moravians, and the Trevecka Family was patterned after the Moravian scheme of dividing the members into bands or 'choirs'.

1. Itinerary of Howell Harris, Instalment 3, p. 33. In August 1766, Harris visited the Moravian settlement at Fulneck, in Yorkshire.
APPENDIX F

Harris's Varied Interests

To illustrate further the respect Harris received following his retirement to Treveckao, we submit these two unpublished letters.


"The very high reputation of you having artificers and labourers of every sort in the highest perfection, and your great readiness in recommending them...induces me, then a stranger, to beg your kind assistance about a Baylif, a person perfectly skilled in Husbandry...I want a person of real skill, knowledge and honesty, and from your general character, I can apply no where so properly as to you..."


"Being fully convinced of your zeal for our spiritual welfare makes me presume by ye recommendation of Mr Peake... to solicit your assistance in an affair of some importance to our civil and religious libertys...It is to beg ye favour of a line from you to some one of your most intilligent friends in Lleyn in Carnarvonshire admonishing each as are of a religious persuaison against voting at ye next Election for that County for Sr. John Wynne or his son:"

Mr Peake's accompanying endorsement of Jones follows:

"The writer of ye incloed Letter Mr. Rowl. Jones is I believe a well wisher to mankind...I am fully persuaded that his motive for interfering in the subject of this lettr just & upright, Sir Jn Wynne & his son represented ye County... but I have never heard of any service that they have done to either the Nation in general or to ye part of it in particular. I have great reason to hope that the young Gentlm. who now opposes them will adopt a very different Plan..."

In both cases, Letter 2630 and Letter 2638, we are
impressed by the fact that people at a considerable distance from Trevecka sought out Harris's aid. This indicates, to us, at least, that his reputation did not die when he withdrew from the itinerant ministry.

It is of interest, too, to note the divergent requests. The first is an appeal to the practical side of the communal enterprise at Trevecka. The second is a call for social action. Neither stem from particularly religious motives, though in both there is an appeal for integrity.
If Pantycelyn, a Calvinistic Methodist, wrote with misgivings about the Trevecka Family, it will be well for us to note what other evangelicals thought of the scheme.

In the Standard Edition of the Journal of John Wesley, Vol. V, page 25, under the date 19 August, 1765, we read:

"Howell Harris's house is one of the most elegant places which I have seen in Wales. The little chapel, and all things round about it, are finished in an uncommon taste; and the gardens, orchards, fish-ponds, and the mount adjoining, make the place a little paradise. He thanks God for these things, and looks through them. About six score people are now in the Family; all diligent, all constantly employed, all fearing God and working righteousness."

Henry Venn, one of Lady Huntingdon's ministers, visited Trevecka in 1767. His description of the place is quoted by A. H. New in The Cornet and the Cross, pages 194, 195.

"Howell Harris is the father of that settlement, and the founder...Upon the beginning of his confinement, first one and then another, whom the Lord had converted under his word, to the number of near a hundred, came and desired to live with him, and that they would work and get their bread. By this means near one hundred and twenty, men, women and children, from very distant parts of Wales, came and fixed their tents at Trevecka. We were there three days...Of all the people I ever saw, this society seems to be the most advanced in grace...My heart received a blessing from them and their pastor, which will abide with me."

The upper photograph on the page, similar to the photograph following page 199 in this thesis, is one depicting the buildings of the Trevecka Family. Under it is this caption:

"1. Trevecka College."

The lower photograph shows Trevecka Isaf, or Lady Huntingdon's college. Under it is this caption:

"2. The Trevecka Farmhouse, in which, at the opening of the College Wesley, Fletcher, and Whitefield Lodged."

In reading the captions one might easily suppose that the top picture is one of Lady Huntingdon's college, and the lower picture is a hear-by Lodge. This confusion is easily explained.

In 1842, five years before the last member of the Trevecka Family died, the remnant of the Family turned over the Family's property to the Presbytery of Breconshire. In turn, the Presbytery deeded the property to the South Wales Association of the Calvinistic Methodist Church. Subsequently, a Calvinistic Methodist Theological College was established in the old Family's building - on the site of the Harrisian community. This College is used at present by the Connexion as a preparatory school for ministerial students.

The Huntingdon College, shown in the lower picture, is about a quarter of a mile from the Family buildings, on the left hand side of the road when travelling from Trevecka to Talgarth. The Huntingdon College was removed from this site more than fifty years before the Calvinistic Methodist College was established in the buildings shown in the upper photograph.

The two Colleges were not contemporary, nor were they housed in the same building.
The old Huntingdon College still stands, though it is in a shocking state of disrepair. A family lives in the building, but visitors are not welcome! Indeed, it is doubtful whether many visitors would associate the dilapidated place with any historical significance.

In contrast, the old Family buildings, now owned by the Calvinistic Methodists, are in good repair, and are annually visited by hundreds of sightseers.

There is, however, a note of irony in the present status of the old Family buildings. Harris constructed them after his withdrawal from Methodism. Had there been no separation in 1750, it is doubtful whether Harris would have established the religious-industrial community. Thus, it will be seen that the Calvinistic Methodist College in Trevecka is a consequence, not of Harris's Methodism, but of his separation from the Methodist movement. This is a fact most people seem to forget.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

(I include a few brief notes to explain my use of the 'Calvinistic Methodist Connexional Archives', and more particularly that part of the 'Archives' known as 'The Trevecka MSS'. The C.M. Archives are on deposit at the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth).

I. 'The Calvinistic Methodist Connexional Archives.'
For an introduction to the general nature of this collection, see:

(an article by G. Tibbott and K. Monica Davies)

II. 'The Trevecka MSS'

1. The index, or 'Schedule', may be had at the main desk of the reader's room, N.L. of W. This 'Schedule' lists the complete contents of 'The Trevecka MSS', and is divided into two parts:

Part I. An Inventory of the Trevecka Letters.

Part II: An Inventory of the following manuscripts:

1. Letters not included in the foregoing Inventory.
2. Records of the Associations.
3. Accounts of Societies sent to Associations.
4. Letters written to Associations and Societies.
5. Military Manuscripts.
7. Thomas Roberts Manuscripts.
8. Miscellaneous Manuscripts.
10. Deeds and Documents.

III. The following references will afford a good description of 'The Trevecka MSS', and should be consulted before exploring the original documents:


   An article by E.O. Davies: "Howell Harris: The Diaries".


IV. The Diaries of Howell Harris. Permission to examine these must be obtained from the South Wales Association.

Extracts from the Diaries have appeared in print as follows:


3. Extracts from English Diaries, Calvinistic Methodist Historical Journal:

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4. *Pathafarn,* (The Journal of the Welsh (Wesleyan) Methodist Church)
   No. VI, p. 50, Transcribed by Tom Beynon
   No. IX, p. 32,  " "  "  "  "
   No. X, p. 19,  " "  "  "  "

   Transcribed by Tom Beynon.

V. The Trevecka Letters. These comprise the main source of this thesis. The date of a letter, its author or addressee, may be found by referring to the letter, by its number, in the Inventory.

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No. 7, Letters 191-215
No. 8, Letters 216-231
No. 9, Letters 232-260
No. 10, Letters 261-287

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No. 2, Letters 320-345
No. 3, Letters 346-356
No. 4, Letters 356a-378

2. Unpublished letters read in preparing this thesis.

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VI. Miscellaneous Manuscripts.

T-2945 Records of the Associations from Jan., 1743 - Aug., 1745.

T-2946 Records of the Associations from Sept., 1744 - Sept., 1749.

T-2947 - T-2998 inclusive, Loose leaf records of the Associations, 1743-1749.

T-2999 Nathaniel Rowland's Records of the Associations, 1778-1797.

T-3000 - T-3085 inclusive, Accounts of the Societies, 1743-1749.

12,021 - 12,113 inclusive, Letters from Evan E. Morgan to M. H. Jones between the years 1906-1926.

VII. Contemporary 18th century publications.

The four forms which John Lewis's weekly newspapers passed through are bound and on file in the National Library of Wales. This collection is rare, and its value is great. The papers cover the years between 1740-1748, and several Letters appear in them which
today are missing from the Trevecka collection.

1. The Christian Amusement
2. The Weekly History
3. Account of the Progress of the Gospel
4. The Christian History

The remaining material in our Bibliography may be divided into (1) printed articles, and (ii) printed books. This material is straightforward, and may be submitted without comment.
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Proceedings Wesley Historical Society
Vol. XVIII  p. 40   -  "Enthusiasm", by A.W. Harrison

Calvinistic Methodist Historical Journal
Vol. XVIII  p. 24   -  "The Place of the Bible In the Life of Wales," by D.D. Williams
Vol. XXII   p. 45   -  "The Bible In the Life of Wales" by D.D. Williams
Vol. XXIII  p. 79   -  "Beibl Cymraeg" by H.P. Roberts
Vol. III    p. 52   -  "Eighteenth Century Hymn Books" by M.H. Jones

London Quarterly Review
No. 152     p. 257  -  "Enthusiasm of the Methodist Revival" by L.J. Bunn

C.M. Historical Journal
Vol. XVI    p. 67   -  "Dechreuad y Diwygaid Methodistaidd yng Nghymru", by J. Price Williams
Vol. VI     p. 19   -  "Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, a'r Methodistiaid," by M.H. Jones
Vol. IX     p. 49   -  "Griffith Jones", a continued article from Vol. VI, by M.H. Jones
Vol. XX     p. 20   -  "Griffith Jones, Llanddowror," by Tom Beynon
Vol. XXXV   p. 53   -  "Griffith Jones' Opinion of the Methodists," by Gomer M. Roberts
Vol. I      p. 10   -  "Teithiau Howel Harris i Ogledd Cymru", by Richard Bennett
Vol. IV     p. 33   -  "Letters to Howell Harris at Bala College" by J.T. Alun Jones
Vol. IV     p. 135  -  "Howell Harris Schooling the Prophets" by M.H. Jones
Vol. XX     p. 3    -  "Howell Harris..." by Richard Morris
Vol. XX p. 8 - "Howell Harris, Trefecca ac Eglwys Talgarth", by Tom Beynon
Vol. XX p. 21 - "Howell Harris Pfl Trefnydd", by John Owen
Vol. XXIV p. 7 - "Bicentenary of Howell Harris' First Meeting with George Whitefield", (transcripts from Diaries, by D.E. Jenkins).
Vol. XXXII p. 33 - "Harris and Rowland Re-unite", (Extracts from Diaries, by Tom Beynon).

Proceedings W.H.S.
Vol. XVI p. 113 - "Attempts to re-establish union."

Transactions of the Cymrodorion
Session 1908-9 p. 188 - "Howell Harris, Citizen and Patriot", by M.H. Jones

Y Cofiadur
No. 12 - "Yr Annibynwyr Cymreig a Howell Harris", by R.T. Jenkins

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Vol. VII p. 4 - "Evan Roberts a 'Theulu' Trefecca", by Richard Bennett
Vol. IX p. 16 - "Teulu Trefecca", by M.H. Jones

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Vol. XV p. 39 - A Letter from Rev. Henry Venn to the niece of the Countess of Huntingdon, describing his visit to Trefecka in 1766.

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Vol. I p. 52 - "Daniel Rowland: Contemporary Description (1746-1835)", by J.H. Davies
Vol. II p. 13 - "Pregeth Daniel Rowland yn Llangeitho - 1782
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(A Bibliography compiled by M.H. Jones)
Vol. XIII p. 38 - Bibliography above continued
Vol. XX p. 80 - "Daniel Rowland - Y Pregethwr",
by H.A. Evans
Vol. XXIV p. 15 - "Llangeitho a Daniel Rowland",
by Tom Beynon

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in London, October 24, 1742"

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Pantycelyn Yn Athrofa'r Bala"
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Vol. XIX p. 2 - "Pantycelyn"
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