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The McLeanist (Scotch) and Campbellite Baptists of Wales.

Important Dates.

- 1730 John Glas (1695-1773) excluded for his doctrines from the Scotch National Church. Glasite Churches formed thereafter at Dundee, etc.
- 1736 Robert Sandeman (1723-1771) became elder of the Glasite Church Perth.
- 1760 Sandeman removed to London where he founded a Glasite Church.
- 1765 Robert Carmichael, Glasite Minister, Baptized in London by Dr. John Gill. A few months later Archibald McLean (1733-1812) a Glasite, Baptised by Carmichael. First Baptist Church at Edinburgh with Carmichael as Elder.
- 1768 McLean becomes Co-elder with Carmichael at Edinburgh. "Scotch" Baptist Churches established at Dundee, Montrose, and at many other places.
- 1786 William Jones baptized at Chester by McLean.
- 1789 J. R. Jones ordained pastor at Ramoth, North Wales.
- 1801 Origin of the McLeanist (Scotch) Baptists of Wales, Ramoth, Harlech, Criccieth and other Churches followed J. R. Jones.

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- 1809 Departure for America of Alexander Campbell (1788-1866).
- 1811 A. Campbell ordained Secession Minister.
- 1812 A. Campbell becomes a Baptist. Death of Archibald McLean.
- 1822 Death of J. R. Jones.
- 1827 A. Campbell leaves the Baptists.
- 1830 Ordination of David Lloyd, Grandfather of D. Lloyd George, as McLeanist Minister at Criccieth.
- 1836 Formation of first Campbellite Church in Great Britain at Nottingham.
- 1839 Death of David Lloyd, Criccieth.
- 1841 Criccieth and other McLeanist Baptist Churches in North Wales become Campbellite.
- 1846 Death of William Jones, London.
- 1847 A. Campbell visits Great Britain.
- 1853 Richard Lloyd, foster father of Lloyd George, ordained Elder at Criccieth.
- 1866 Death of A. Campbell.
- 1890 Dissolution of the last Sandemanian Church (at Danbury U. S. A.).
- 1894-1896 Movement for Union of Welsh McLeanist and Particular Baptist Churches. Ramoth and other McLeanist Churches joined the Particular Baptist Associations of their districts.
- 1917 Death of Richard Lloyd of Criccieth. Aged 83.

This article, written by special request of the Baptist Historical Society meeting in London, is the barest summary of materials collected by the Author dealing with the origin, progress and principles of the McLeanist and Campbellite Baptists, especially those of the Principality of Wales. A general knowledge, however fragmentary, of the two religious communities specially concerned (their History and Principles), is

indispensable for a proper understanding of the work which they have attempted and done in Wales.

Terminology.

For the sake of brevity and clearness the words "McLeanism" (including the adjective and substantive McLeanist) is used instead of "Scotch Baptist" since the latter term has now a different meaning from what it had in 1765 and many years afterwards, when the only Baptists in Scotland were those called in this sketch "McLeanists."

J. R. Jones, of Ramoth, the founder of Welsh McLeanism, does not seem to have adopted Welsh words corresponding to "Scotch Baptists" for the religious body which owed its origin to him. Indeed he had a great dislike, such as was later expressed by Alexander Campbell, of any names for his community except such as have Scripture sanction. Nevertheless his adherents have for many years in their official and other publications retained the name "Bedyddwyr Albanaidd" (equal to "Scotch Baptists") and this is done down to the present day. Similarly "Campbellism" (with the corresponding adjective and substantive "Campbellite") is used to designate the special principle taught by Alexander Campbell and professed by his followers who have called themselves "Disciples," "Christians," and members of "the Churches of Christ." The Christian brethren here concerned object strongly to such designations as are in this article applied to them; but these terms are used with the deepest respect by the present writer to avoid circumlocution and ambiguity. The name "Sandemanian Baptists" was rejected with disdain by McLean and by J. R. Jones because Jones said "The Scotch Baptists are not Sandemanian and the Sandemanians are not Baptists"; the latter however a

mere quibble, for we speak of "Arminian" and "Calvinistic Baptist," though neither Arminius nor Calvin was Baptist. Jones called his people "Reformed Baptists" ("Bedyddwyr Diwygiedig"), though the designation preferred by him to all others was "Christians," a term adopted later by A. Campbell for the community he founded. Since as will be pointed out later (see page 159) J. R. Jones and his Welsh followers differed in some of their views from their Scotch brethren, "McLeanist" is less suitable when applied to the people still called in Wales "Y Baptists or ('Y Batists') Bach" (The Small Baptists).

Affiliation of McLeanism and and Campbellism.

It may be safely said that without Glasism (The name in Scotland) or Sandemanianism (mostly used outside of Scotland) McLeanism would have been impossible. Without Scotch McLeanism the Scotch Baptists of Wales would never have existed as a separate community. And moreover apart from Scotch McLeanism there would have been no Campbellites, for the two Campbells, father and son, came under the strong influence of McLean and his co-adjutors before they emigrated from their native Scotland to the U.S.A.

Sandemanianism, What ?

The fundamental Principle underlying the theology and polity of the Glasites or Sandemanians is that the teaching of Jesus and His disciples and the practice of the Apostolic Churches are to be followed literally and in their detail by all professing Christians. The doctrines and usages introduced to the Church since its earliest, purest days are to be abandoned. "We must return," they said, "to the simple beliefs

and ways of New Testament Christians." It is on this principle that they practise the kiss of charity, the washing of feet, the love feast, the lot, etc. They made no allowance for oriental customs or modes of speech.

The principles for which the Sandemanian Churches stood may be grouped under the heads (I) Doctrinal, (II) Ecclesiastical).

I. *Doctrinal.* 1. It may be said in general that John Glas the founder and his son-in-law Robert Sandeman accepted the teaching of the Westminster Confession of Faith, including its Calvinism: but they rejected the idea of a Covenanted Church, *i.e.* That the State entered into a covenant with its citizens to regulate their religious opinions and mode of worship. They recognized no authority in religion except that of Jesus and His inspired Apostles, holding that civil powers have as such, no jurisdiction in spiritual matters. For teaching such views in a book (1728) Glas was deposed in 1730 from the ministry of the Scotch National Church.

2. Sandeman taught that justifying faith is an intellectual act pure and simple, differing from other acts of belief—in human beings, in statements of fact—only in the loftier character of the things believed—"Every one," Sandeman writes, "who understands this report" (that Christ died for Sinners) "to be true, or is persuaded that the event actually happened as testified by the Apostles, is justified." It was in his *Letters on James Hervey's Theron and Aspasio* (2 vol. 1757) that Sandeman first published this view of Faith as mere intellectual assent—unemotional and unvolitional. It had not been taught by Glas:—it is Sandeman's own original contribution to the theology of the Church founded indeed by his father-in-law but organised mainly by himself. Such faith was described by Christmas Evans, after his revolt from Welsh

McLeanism as "Naked Faith" (*ffydd noeth*), "alias loveless faith" (*ffydd digariad*). See Life by Morgan p. 27.

II. *Ecclesiastical.*

In addition to the above the Sandemanians held also:—

1. That every body of Christians which observes the communion is an Independent Church, having the right to manage its own affairs without any interference of any kind from without. Of Churches of the Independent order none have been so independent as the Sandemanians, for they would not tolerate Associations or Unions of any kind. Compare the Welsh McLeanists and Christmas Evans's remark about them that they were a "rope of sand."
2. That every Church consists of believers only, and has for its officers at least two rulers (if at all possible) who are responsible for the government of the Church and also for its teaching, and Deacons who serve tables, *i.e.* see to financial and other business affairs. A dead set was made against a one man ministry.
3. That the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, or as they term it, "The Breaking of Bread," has to be observed every Lord's day (see Acts xx. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 27), and must be regarded as the central and principal part of the service—that for the sake of which mainly the brethren came together. The brethren present were encouraged to exercise their gifts in prayer and mutual exhortation. A second service was held generally in the evening in which Elders and sometimes others took part.
4. Though not Baptists the Sandemanians were strict communionists and strongly objected to what they called "occasional" *i.e.* "mixed" communion. No one was allowed to unite with them in the Breaking of Bread, much less in Church fellowship unless it was known beforehand that alike in doctrine and in

practice they were in complete accord with what the Church professed. Members were forbidden even to eat or drink with persons who had been excluded from fellowship whatever the ground. 5. That no decision of any Church is valid unless fortified by an unanimous vote of the members. This was made to apply to the exclusion of members and to the reception of new ones. 6. That the entrance of new members be sealed by the Kiss of Charity, males kissing males, females, females (see Thes. v. 26.) But the fraternal kiss was not confined to occasions when new members were received. A friend of the writer's remembers being present at a meeting of the members of the Nottingham Scotch Baptist Church, when the Senior Elder (Mr. Bayley) was welcomed back after a long illness by showers of kisses from his male brethren. The present writer has observed, and even joined in, the fraternal kissing after the communion among the German Baptists who in this; and in so many other respects, have been largely influenced by the McLeanist Baptists of Scotland. 7. That the Love Feast of the early Church should be observed by the Churches of all times (See Acts ii. 46; Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16.) The Sandemanian and also the early McLeanist Churches held their Love Feast every Lord's day between the morning and evening service. Love feasts were kept by many of the early Baptists (see J. Jackson Goadby, page 301 f.), and are still common among German Baptists; many a time has the writer taken part in them speaking as well as eating and drinking. These Love feasts are no doubt the modern representatives of the *Agape* of the early Church. 8. The Sandemanians made large use of the lot as a means of ascertaining the divine will, referring for Scripture support to Josh. xi. 4; 1 John i. 7, and Acts i. 26; In her *Silas Marner*, George Eliot makes

the Church of which her hero was a leading member draw lots in order to discover whether or not Silas was guilty of the crime with which he was charged. She adds that a century before the time she wrote the sacred lot was commonly resorted to by religious men. The General Baptists and other religious bodies in Great Britain in the seventeenth century are known to have drawn lots in the election of Ministers and Deacons. As recently as 1826 a Congregational Church of Dublin elected their Minister by lot, the choice between two rival candidates being thus decided (see J. J. Goadby 299 ff.). 9. To the practices mentioned above there must be added that of *pedilavium* or the washing of the feet of one another in accordance with the example of the Master (see John xiii. 14f). This custom was observed by the Baptists and by other denominations in the 17th century (see Goadby p. 91 ff.), and it is still practised by the Roman Church on Maundy Thursday in cathedral and collegiate churches, see *Catholic Cycl.* XV., 557. 10. They adopted the principle of community of goods so far as to hold that every member ought to consider his own property subject to the claims of other members of the Church. 11. They abstained from blood and therefore never ate the flesh of animals strangled, because it retained some of the blood. According to Wall early British Baptists followed this rule, relying for scripture support on Genesis ix. 4, and Acts xv. 29. *History of Infant Baptism* II, ch. viii.

Though it was in Scotland that Sandemanianism flourished, scores of Churches having been established, other denominations having been also influenced by their beliefs, yet there were Churches of this order in England (Liverpool, London, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Whitehaven, etc.), and there were a few in Ireland and even in America. Michael Faraday was

an Elder of their London Church and often preached or exhorted. According to Leslie Stephen and W. Brailsford, William Godwin (1756-1836) father-in-law of Shelley, the poet, was in his early life a Sandemanian; so was also the American journalist and author, Edward Everett Hall. There does not now exist a single Sandemanian Church or congregation in any part of the world, the last of them—that at Danbury, U.S.A., founded by Sandeman himself in 1762, having been dissolved in June, 1890. "The Narrowness and exclusiveness of the Glasite Churches, their non-Missionary and unaggressive spirit, their indulgence in a selfish seclusion as Churches for the promotion of their own edification and comfort, their contempt of 'an educated Ministry,' and the tendency towards a loose and worldly way of life that became manifest among many of them in later years—all these tended to alienate the Christian people who otherwise might have been drawn to their communion" (see Ross, page 30f).

McLeanism in Scotland.

The Sandemanian Churches remained Paedo-Baptist to the end. Such of the members as adopted Baptist views joined the Scotch or Sandemanian Baptists. There were several off-shoots from the Glasite or Sandemanian Churches, Congregational, Baptist, etc. The first Baptist Church based on the principles adopted by McLean was formed at Edinburgh in 1765 by Robert Carmichael, formerly an Antiburgher but later a Glasite Minister. He adopted Baptist views as a result of his own study of the Scriptures (as McLean did) and proceeded to London to be baptized by Dr. John Gill. He became first elder or pastor of the Church founded by himself at Edinburgh, Archibald McLean (1733-1812) becoming

co-elder or co-pastor in 1768. McLean had been reared in the Scotch National Church, leaving it to join the Glasite community. Both he and Carmichael carried with them most of their Glasite or Sandemanian creed, departing from it chiefly on the subject of Baptism. Of the articles of Sandemanian faith summarised at p. 151, it may be said that every one of them formed part of the McLeanist creed with the following exceptions. 1. The McLeanists were strict Communion Baptists. The Glasites though strict communionists, were not Baptists. 2. The present writer knows of no evidence proving that the Scotch Baptists or McLeanist Churches made use of the sacred lot. 3. The McLeanists were much more puritanic in their opinions and ways and strongly objected to theatre going, miscellaneous dancing and other laxities tolerated and largely practised by the Sandemanians. An essay by McLean written for the purpose of showing that he and his fellow Scotch Baptists were not Sandemanians is published in Vol. I of his works as edited by William Jones (pp. 33-51); but it is significant that he dwells exclusively on the greater worldliness of the Sandemanians, their neglect of family worship and of the due observance of the Lord's Day, their fondness for showy and expensive dress, their inordinate love of amusements (the theatre, balls, etc.), and their lack of sobriety of conduct—all these arising ostensibly from a desire to avoid the appearance of Pharisaism, this latter being traced to the "Evangelical" doctrine of justifying faith.

Notwithstanding the carelessness of the Sandemanian as regards free living, they were the strictest of the strict in the enforcement of Church discipline, excluding all such as refused to toe the line with them in every detail of doctrine and Church usage. It is

striking and suggestive that McLean does not differentiate his people from the Sandemanians in matters of doctrine. On the contrary he writes at the close of this essay: "Notwithstanding all that I have advanced against that people . . . they still possess my esteem as having been the first in this country who have been honoured to contend for our Lord's confession concerning His kingdom, and to exhibit the primitive order, discipline, and (excepting Baptism) ordinances of His House." He adds that his aim in writing the essay was to dissociate his own Churches (the Scotch Baptists) from the worldly spirit prevailing among the Glasites (so McLean always calls them). In his controversy with Andrew Fuller on the subject of justifying faith McLean makes a gallant and able attempt to show that his own view of faith differed from that of Robert Sandeman, but that he failed in this attempt was shown by Andrew Fuller: see his *Strictures on Sandemanianism* especially Letters II and III. If there is a distinction between Sandeman's view of faith ("bare belief") and McLean's ("simple belief") it is purely a psychological not a doctrinal one. For his view of faith see McLean's *The Commission* (1786) pp 8off, and (for his latest revised statements) works Vol. I. pp. 74ff. McLeanism in Scotland may therefore be correctly described as "Baptist Sandemanianism" barring Baptism and the stricter views as regards amusements and so on. A writer in the *Christian Advocate and Scotch Baptist Repository* Vol. I. (1849) commenting on the article the Scotch Baptists found in an earlier part of the Volume (p. 128) writes as follows (p. 132): "No Sandemanian would desire a more clear or clearly expressed statement of primitive Christianity than you have laid down (except of course on the question of Baptism). It should be added, however, that the McLeanist Baptists

of Scotland, most of those in England, and a few in Wales, have been zealous supporters of the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. McLean himself preached a great sermon on behalf of the Society, strongly urging its claim upon the Scotch Baptist Churches. Andrew Fuller once wrote: "To no class of Christians is the Missionary Society more indebted than to the Scotch Baptists." J. R. Jones, the founder of Welsh McLeanism, showed no friendly feeling towards Foreign Missions nor towards the Sunday-School movement.

There are now no McLeanist Churches in Scotland, though there are Baptist Churches at Aberdeen (Academy Street), Edinburgh (Bristo Place), and Glasgow (North John Street), which retain something of the old plural Eldership. It is strange that the Scotch Baptists should have died out in Scotland and that they survive almost exclusively in Wales.

McLeanist Churches in England.

These once numbered nearly a dozen; most however have ceased to exist, though four Baptist Churches in Burnley and its district still cling to the name Scotch Baptist, Haggate being the original; while another survives at Beverley.

The McLeanist Baptists of Wales.

In doctrinal beliefs and also in their views of the Church—its constitution, officers and ordinances, Welsh McLeanists were in almost complete agreement with their brethren McLean, Braidwood, Inglis, &c., in Scotland. J. R. Jones of Ramoth, their founder, was a devoted student of the writings of McLean, a diligent correspondent with McLean, Braidwood, and other Scotch Baptist leaders, and during his earliest Scotch

Baptist days (from about 1796) he departed hardly a hair's breadth from the teaching of his Scotch master. But Jones became in later years much more exclusive than McLeans (more like the Sandemanians), and urged his people to refrain from even worshipping with the "Babylonian Baptists" as he termed the brethren he had left (see his letter to the McLeanist Church at Llanllyfni, D. Williams page 477.) Even at the present day the Scotch Baptists of the Principality refuse to fraternise with their brother Baptists to any great extent, far more so than the Welsh Campbellite Baptists to which the Prime Minister (D. Lloyd George), belongs. Moreover J. R. Jones held strong views on the personal reign of the Messiah on earth at the Millennium, and had with McLean such bitter correspondence on this and other questions (Fellowships with other Christians—Baptists, &c.), that McLean felt compelled to call a halt and to ask that the correspondence should cease, as indeed it did. The present writer has in his own possession original letters and copies of letters by J. R. Jones, many of them unpublished, written about this time, some of them exhibiting strong feeling. Jones was a man of impetuous, often ungovernable will, intensely conscientious, but, largely from lack of early training and of wide reading, intolerant to an extraordinary degree, quite unable to see an opponent's point of view.

The Rise of Welsh McLeanism.

Before proceeding to examine the steps by which Scotch Baptist views came to be adopted in North Wales, it is necessary to give a brief outline of the life of the founder and acknowledged leader of this Welsh movement till his death in 1822. John (afterwards John Richard) Jones was the son of a peasant farmer born October 15, 1765, in the parish of Llanuwchllyn,

some half dozen miles S.W. of Bala. His parents were godly Congregationalists, and, at an early age, he became a member and active worker of the local Congregational Church. He was a close reader of such books as came in his way, mostly Welsh, and took a deep interest in the theological questions agitating the Welsh Churches at the time. In 1788 he adopted Baptist views, and was baptized on the 7th of June in that year. He had already begun preaching. The year following his baptism he accepted an invitation to supply the pulpit of the Ramoth Baptist Church near Portmadoc, N. Wales, for eighteen months. He had now applied for admission into the Bristol Baptist College, but the Church persuaded him to abandon this intention and to settle permanently among them. He was accordingly ordained Nov. 4th, 1789, and continued to be pastor of this Church until his death in 1822. He soon became one of the most popular preachers of the Principality, and was almost as much in demand for association and other great denominational gatherings as Christmas Evans. He had a powerful musical voice, a commanding presence, a fluent but distinct and expressive delivery, and his sermons were carefully prepared in both matter and language. His preaching presented a striking contrast to that of other great Welsh preachers of his time. These—Baptists, Methodists, etc., were swayed by burning zeal, denounced the sins of the people with unmeasured vehemence, preached the awful consequences of sin here and especially hereafter. They caused a great awakening in the land, a stirring of dry bones: but such preaching was generally rugged and unsystematic and in language inelegant, if not sometimes uncouth. Jones was as earnest as any of his Welsh contemporaries: but he was at the same time more logical in his reasoning, more guarded in his

statements and more correct as well as elegant in his diction.

His Change of Views.

About 1795 Jones' religious opinions underwent a rather sudden change, and this effected a change in his style of preaching: his new conception of faith as an unemotional act having influenced deeply his pulpit utterances and manner. He was never after this the popular preacher which he had been. In a word he had imbibed the principles of the McLeanist Baptists. When and under what influences did he come to adopt these principles? The commonly accepted accounts of the change is that supplied by Jones himself in his Welsh autobiography published the year after his death in the *Seren Gomer* Vol. VI (1823) pp. 321-328. According to his own words his conversion to "Scotch" Baptist views took place about 1795 and was the result of reading the books of Archibald McLean and those of other contemporary Scotch Baptists. The natural inference is that Jones had no acquaintance with these new opinions or of the grounds on which they were defended except that gained about 1795 from the writings named. But there are strong reasons for concluding that Jones had misremembered or misread his own mental history.

Sandemanianism in Wales.

Even before Jones' birth there were Sandemanian Churches in Wales, offshoots from the Calvinistic Methodists. The leaders in this movement were John Popkin of Swansea, a wealthy preacher and an indefatigable writer of Welsh pamphlets and books, and David Jones of Cardigan, a very popular preacher. Both these men belonged to the Calvinistic body, but seceded on their adopting Sandemanian views. They

were the means of founding Sandemanian Churches at Swansea in 1760, at Carmarthen, at Llangadock, and at Llangyfelach, and there were bands of Sandemanians in other parts of South Wales.

A Congregational Church near Bridgend, Glamorganshire, was almost ruined about this time by a Sandemanian party (see Rees and Thomas, Vol. II., page 227f). John Popkin translated into Welsh the most important works of John Glas, and he published many pamphlets, articles, and books of his own dealing with faith and other subjects. He organised missions in many parts of Wales in order to propagatè his opinions, causing a goodly amount of concern among the Welsh denominations, the Welsh Methodist in particular. Books, pamphlets, and articles, poured forth from the Welsh presses attacking the Sandemanian heresies and warning the people of Wales against them. In his work of propagandism Popkin travelled as far north as Carnarvonshire, on the borders of which Jones' two homes were—that of his birth and that of his only pastorate. It is almost incredible that a man who in his early ministry travelled in every part of Wales, and who read widely the Welsh literature of the day, should be totally ignorant of the religious principles of John Glas and Robert Sandeman until, in 1795, he came to know the writings of the Scotch Baptists.

Jones's Friendship with Dr. William Richards and others.

More important however than the above is the fact that Jones of Ramoth and William Richards of Lynn (Norfolk) were bosom friends and regular correspondents until the death of the latter in 1818. The present writer has abundant evidence printed and M.S. that before 1786 Dr. William Richards (he had received the LL.D. from the Baptist College, now the

Brown University, Rhode Island, U.S.A.), had embraced the most characteristic views of the Scotch Baptists and was in correspondence with McLean as to the best means of inducing his own Baptist Church at Lynn to follow the practice of the above Scotch Churches. Though Richards was a Welshman reared in the Principality, he was educated at the Bristol Baptist College, and exercised his ministry in England alone, first at Pershore as co-pastor of Dr. J. Ash the English lexicographer, and then as sole pastor of the Baptist Church at Lynn. Richards and Jones had often met at the Welsh associations and other Baptist gatherings in Wales from 1790 onwards. Richards, like his co-pastor, Dr. J. Ash became a lexicographer, his Welsh-English dictionary being still the best known of its kind and the most used in the principality. He wrote also a History of Lynn in two 8vo vols. (1812) a work of recognised merit, far the fullest and most accurate record of this ancient Norfolk town. When in 1818 he died J. R. Jones in a letter (dated Feb. 1819) to the Rev. John Roberts, Bryndeunydd, writes as follows (I translate), "The tidings of the death of my loyal old friend and for over twenty-four years my respected correspondent, William Richard of Lynn . . . has had a most depressing effect on my mind. I have preserved about forty-four of his letters" (see D. Williams p. 669). These two men must have been intimate before 1795 and they could not have but met and exchanged thoughts and ideas long before that. The two facts mentioned—the spread of true Sandemanianism in Wales and his close friendship with Richards, and indeed with others having McLeanist leanings (see D. Williams page 654ff)—these considerations make it very probable that he was no stranger to McLean's doctrines before he began to read the works of the Scotch Baptist leaders. One may conjecture

that he was influenced in the first instance by the vigorous efforts of Welsh Sandemanians to disseminate their opinions in every part of the Principality. Soon after 1790 if not before, he met Richards already a convinced McLeanist, and heard from him more about John Glas, Robert Sandeman and especially of the Scotch Baptists. The next stage in his mental development took place, one may surmise, in 1795 when, through the kindness of a Baptist layman, Roberts of Rhosddu, Wrexham, he borrowed McLean's important and most characteristic work *Christ's Commission*. He was not long in obtaining other books by McLean, and soon entered into correspondence with the author himself. His first letter is dated Sept. 2nd, 1796 (from Ramoth), and appears in full in the *Memoirs* of Christmas Evans by David Rhys Stephen, pp. 42-46. In this letter Jones professes his acceptance of the outstanding doctrines of the Scotch Baptists, but asks for further light on the two points, plurality of Elders, and Washing of Feet. It is significant that in the very next month (Nov. 28th, 1796), the great Baptist preacher, Christmas Evans, wrote a letter to McLean in which he professes a fuller acceptance of McLean's distinct views than his friend and helper J. R. Jones. He mentions in particular the kiss of charity, the washing of one another's feet, the love feast (see Stephen pp 48-50). Both Evans and Jones apologize for their broken English, as well they might. Other leading Baptists in North Wales were turning to the Scotch Baptists for guidance, including Edmund Francis of Carnarvon, who translated into Welsh McLean's work on *The Commission* (about 1828). The question naturally arises, had these North Wales Baptists with Scotch Baptist sympathies, any intention of breaking away from the Particular Baptists and of forming a rival community? A negative answer may

be safely given to this question. 1. It cannot be said that Carmichael, McLean, Braidwood, Inglis, and their co-workers ever seceded from the Particular Baptists, for there were no such Baptists in the whole of Scotland in 1765 and for many years afterwards. 2. McLean and his Church were from the outset enthusiastic helpers of the Particular Baptist Foreign Missionary Society from the year of its origin in 1792. 3. For many years the Baptists of Scotland formed but one body now included in a Union of their own, this Union being included in the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. 4. There is nothing in the known letters of McLean to William Richards of Lynn, to J. R. Jones, or to Christmas Evans, which makes it probable that the Scotch Baptist leaders intended to form a denomination independent of the Baptist denomination of England, Wales, and America. On the contrary the natural inference to be drawn from a letter written by McLean to Jones after the separation had taken place is that the writer expected the North Wales Baptist Association, led by Christmas Evans and J. R. Jones to declare bodily for Scotch Baptist principles, with no thought of a secession of any kind. The present writer is convinced that had better feelings prevailed among the Baptist leaders of North Wales, J. R. Jones in particular, and had no other lordship than that of Christ been in question, there would have been no division, and the Churches would have continued to tolerate differences of view on the points at issue. It is true that Jones in his Autobiography (p. 326) says that in 1798 he had made up his mind to separate from the Particular Baptists: but this was written after the event, and Jones's memory was probably clouded by strong emotions. Feeling ran so high and controversies became so bitter and even personal that the annual gatherings of the North

Wales Baptist Association had to be suspended from 1797 to 1801.

Separation at Last.

It was finally agreed on both sides to hold a conference (not an association meeting) in the Ramoth Chapel so that the problems under discussion between J. R. Jones, Christmas Evans, and others, might be discussed. The exact date of this conference is disputed, but it probably took place in the summer of 1801. It was certainly later than February, 1801, as an extant letter from McLean to Jones proves, see David Davies, p. 48. And it was sometime before the end of that year when J. R. Jones published his *Crynodeb* (or Creed) for the guidance of those who had followed him. The attendance was large and representative. J. R. Jones expected a decisive triumph for his own party. But Christmas Evans had by this time receded from the Scotch Baptist position which for a while he held, and championed the cause of the Particular Baptists with rare ingenuity and extraordinary persuasiveness. Before any vote could be taken J. R. Jones seized the Bible and holding it in his hands vociferated in a clear loud voice these words (I translate) "In the name of the Lord I separate myself from the Babylonian Welsh Baptists and from their errors in doctrine and practice, in order that I may unite myself with my brethren in Scotland who have received the truth (see Stephen, p. 56, D. Williams, p. 376.).

Seceding Churches.

The following is a list of the Baptist Churches in North Wales which left the Particular Baptists in 1801 or soon after—the number of members is given in brackets:—Ramoth (30): Harlech (50): Dolgelley (27): Criccieth (15): Glynceiriog (33): see Spinther

James III. 376f. By 1836 the number had grown to 12 Churches with a total membership of 488 (see *Millennial Harbinger*, London, Vol. 2, p. 326). In 1917 the Churches still numbered a dozen, but by then the Ramoth Church, one of the Harlech Churches, and some other McLeanist Churches in North Wales had rejoined the Particular Baptist (see p. 169), while some additional McLeanist Churches had been founded. In 1822 Williams Scott of Edinburgh sent out an official circular to the Scotch Baptist Churches of Great Britain in which a list of Churches with the number of members is given. A complete copy of this circular appears in these *Transactions* Vol. VI pp. 251-255, communicated by the present writer. He specifies 17 Churches with a membership of 991, but says that there were a few other Churches besides those mentioned by him. It is strange but surely significant that this circular should be silent about the Scotch Baptists of Wales; the only explanation can be the breach between J. R. Jones on the one hand and McLean and his colleagues on the other (see above, page 159).

Attempts at the Re-union of "Scotch" and Particular Baptists in Wales.

From the time of the disastrous schism among the Baptists of North Wales in 1801 the desire for re-union has been from time to time expressed on both sides. The Dolgelley McLeanist Church with its pastor Joseph Richards returned to the old fold soon after the separation. In 1817 the Harlech McLeanist Church at the instigation of its pastor or presiding elder, Richard Morgan (between whom and J. R. Jones a very acrimonious dispute had arisen) ceased to belong to the Scotch Baptists: both these Churches however after some years rejoined their McLeanist brethren. Some of the leading Welsh McLeanists of

the early part of last century were, however, strongly in favour of healing the breach made in 1801, such as Morris Rowland, Harlech, John Davies of Glanymor, and William Roberts of Penrhyn. But about 1890 some of the younger leaders among the Welsh McLeanists resolved to take practical steps towards bringing about an amalgamation of the two branches of Baptists (not including the Campbellites) in North Wales. Among those may be mentioned the Revs. Samuel Pierce of Penrhyn; David Davies, Harlech; R. G. Roberts, now of Carnarvon; and Mr. E. D. Jones, M.A., Headmaster of the County School, Barmouth—all of them men of education, ability and high character. Two of them (Pierce and Roberts), had been allowed to study at the Llangollen (now Bangor) Baptist College with a view to work among their own Churches, Dr. Hugh Jones, being the president—one of the ablest, most successful and influential presidents that any Welsh Baptist College has had. It was, however, a new and as it proved a dangerous step on the part of the Welsh McLeanists to allow two of their ablest young men to prepare for the ministry among themselves in a Particular Baptist College. In the summer of 1886 a Singing Festival was held at Harlech, arranged jointly by the Particular and Scotch Baptist Churches of Merionethshire. This was the first fruit of the spirit of union that had arisen in the very county where J. R. Jones had lived and done his work. In 1893 a conference of representatives of both sides met and was numerously attended. An excellent feeling prevailed. The matter discussed was—The possibility and practicability of re-union. The following resolution was passed: "That we belonging to two sections of Baptists agree to co-operate in establishing new causes in places where our principles are not represented; and in the meantime that we urge

the Churches to adopt the principle of weekly communion." (The above is the writer's translation). A new Church was started in 1894 on these lines at Dyffryn near Barmouth, and it joined the Denbigh, Flint and Merionethshire Baptist Association—becoming thus Particular Baptist. In 1895 the Scotch and Particular Baptist Churches of Penrhyndeudraeth united, joining the same Particular Baptist Association. In 1896 Ramoth, the Jerusalem or Mecca of the Welsh McLeanists, sought admission into the above Association. This was followed speedily by a similar application from the McLeanist Church at Trawsfynydd and from one of those at Harlech. A rather sudden stop was however put to this movement by some of the Scotch Baptists who complained that they had been compromised. The desire for re-union soon died out to a large extent—at least on one side, and the twelve Baptist Churches of North Wales, with their twenty-one recognised preaching Elders go their way, have their monthly organ (*Yr Ymwelydd*, *The Visitor*), and seem content to exist as a denomination apart. Their leader is now Mr. J. D. Davies of Blaenau Festiniog, editor and proprietor of a widely circulated Welsh weekly paper (*Y Rhedegydd*), an excellent Welsh writer and preacher, and, as a man, deservedly admired and beloved. Until his death in 1919 his father-in-law, William Humphreys ("Elihu") had more influence in the body than any other person. He was a strong character, an incisive writer, and an original and powerful preacher. The literature produced by the Welsh McLeanists is meagre and unimportant.

Campbellism.

Though the purpose of this sketch is to record the rise and progress of Campbellism in Wales, it

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seems necessary to give a brief outline of the life of Alexander Campbell.

The Founder.

Alexander Campbell was born in the north of Ireland in 1788, the son of a Scotchman, the Rev. Thomas Campbell, Secession Presbyterian Minister. He was educated in Scotland, whither his parents had removed, first in schools and for one session (1808-9) at the Glasgow University. He emigrated to America in 1809, his father having preceded him. He was ordained a Secession Minister in 1811, became a Baptist in 1812, leaving the Baptists however in 1827 to found the religious body called after his name. At the time of his death in 1866 that religious body numbered over half a million members. Its present membership in America alone passes the two million.

The two Campbells, father (1763-1854) and son, had come under the influence of Scotch Baptist teaching before their emigration to America, indirectly through their contact with John Walker, M.A., of Dublin, and the Haldanes, and directly, for they must have met and heard McLean and some of his coadjutors, and it is certain that Alexander had been a close student of the writings of McLean. In the (London) *Millennial Harbinger* Vol. I, pp. 67-77, William Jones, the editor, states the case for the indebtedness to A. Campbell to McLean's influence. In the same Vol. p. 439, Campbell makes what the present writer regards as a lame reply.

Principles held in Common by McLeanists and Campbellites.

1. The Scriptures of the Old (and especially in the case of the Campbellites the New) Testaments, the sole authority in matters of doctrine and conduct.

2. The example and preaching of Christ and of his Apostles to be followed literally by all Christians.
3. In every Church there must be (if possible), at least two Elders who are to be responsible for the teaching and for the government of the Church.
4. Baptized believers are alone to partake of the Lord's Supper ("The breaking of the Loaf," as it is called by the Campbellites), or at most (see below, p. 174), no others are to be *invited to participate*.
5. This ordinance is to be observed every Lord's day and should be regarded as the essential and vital part of the service.
6. A collection is to be made during every communion service for the poor members, and to meet current expenses.
7. Justifying faith is an intellectual act.

Such close resemblances between McLeanism and Campbellism are surely not merely accidental.

Characteristic Features of Campbellism.

Alexander Campbell's mind was too strong and original to allow him to accept any man's teaching unchanged. In the following points his theological, or as he would say, his Christian system, departs from that of McLean:

1. McLean and his adherents held to the old doctrine of Original Sin as taught in the Westminster Confession of Faith; human nature is wholly corrupt. Campbell rejected this doctrine: see William Jones' *Primitive Christianity*², pp. 488ff.
2. The McLeanists were Calvinists; Campbell was much more of an Arminian. The former maintained that man's salvation is solely an act of God's sovereign love. Campbell on the other hand referred to Christ's invitation to all sinners, implying that man is a free agent and therefore not otherwise responsible to God.
3. The McLeanists thought that the influence of the Holy Spirit is needed in the hearing and reading of the

word of God. Campbell denied this, holding that the Divine Spirit had done His work in inspiring the written word which of itself is fitted to convince and convert. 4. The McLeanists believed in the lasting obligation of those parts of the laws of Moses which are ethical and spiritual. The Campbellites discard the law of Moses, arguing for the sufficiency of the teaching of Jesus Christ. 5. Entrance into the Kingdom of God is by the way of Baptism. No one can be regarded as a true Christian who has not been immersed, whatever his other qualifications. Alexander Campbell was charged by William Jones with teaching the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration: see his *Primitive Christianity*², (1837) pp. 496f.

Two Types of Campbellism in Great Britain and Ireland from 1875 to 1917.

The Campbellite Churches in England and Wales were formed by Scotch Baptists who had read William Jones' *Millennial Harbinger* (1835-6), and also the independent writings of A. Campbell. The first Campbellite Church to be formed on British soil was established in 1836 at Nottingham by James Wallis and thirteen other members who seceded from the Scotch Baptist Church in that town (now a city). Scotch Baptists in other places followed the example of James Wallis and his companions at Nottingham. It is still more strictly true that in Wales the earliest Campbellites had been McLeanists. Whole Churches in North Wales were transformed from McLeanists into Campbellite Churches, the Criccieth Church, of which the Premier is a member, being one of them. This fact has an important bearing upon the doctrine and practice of British Campbellism which developed on lines of its own, and was much more McLeanist than American Campbellism. Campbell did not visit

Great Britain after his settlement in U.S.A. until 1847, so that his personal influence was not so great in the evolution of Campbellism on the east of the Atlantic. British Campbellites were more conservative in their theology, stricter in their views of the communion, and more exclusive in general, than their American brethren. They had no paid settled pastors, no colleges for the education of their ministers. American Campbellites on the other hand founded colleges for the training of their teachers at an early period (Bethany College was established 1840). They have built large and expensive churches, engaged well paid ministers to preach to them and otherwise to lead them, and those ministers are often highly educated and take a wider and more liberal view of theological problems. In 1875 Mr. H. S. Earl, an American Campbellite evangelist, supported by the American Campbellite Foreign Missionary Society, held a series of well-attended religious services at Southampton, where a Church was afterwards formed. Early in 1878 Mr. M. D. Todd was sent to England by the same Society and was instrumental in establishing Churches at Chester, in London, and elsewhere. Mr. Timothy Coop, of Wigan and Southport, a leading British Campbellite, had for some years felt and pleaded that British Campbellism was too exclusive in its sympathies and too stereo-typed in its methods. He therefore warmly welcomed the American evangelists when they came to Great Britain and aided them with money and otherwise. In the spring of 1878 Mr. Coop paid a second visit to the U.S.A. and offered substantial financial help if the American Campbellites sent more evangelists to Great Britain. As a result the Rev. W. T. Moore, D.D., came to England, helped to start several new causes, became pastor of the West London Tabernacle Church, and

had erected for it a fine building. He started the *Christian Commonwealth* as the organ of the new Campbellite movement. A confederation of the British American Campbellite Churches was formed about 1880 under the name *The Christian Association*, these Churches resembling their American prototypes, less strict in their views of the communion, for *though they did not invite* the unbaptised to partake in the Breaking of the Loaf, they did not *debar* them if otherwise unobjectionable. There were therefore about 1880 two Campbellite communities or denominations in Great Britain, and the feeling between them was often none of the best. In August, 1917, however, at the 72nd Conference of the Churches of Christ in Great Britain, held at Leicester, a Union took place between these Churches and those belonging to the Christian Association. At the time of this fusion the latter Association embraced fifteen Churches with a membership of 1,341. The Churches of Christ numbered at the same time 198, the membership totalling 15,201. For fuller details see *The Churches of Christ Year Book*, 1917, pp. 59ff, and 170. One result of the union is that the (United) Churches of Christ in these Islands have established a College at Birmingham for the purpose of training their ministers and evangelists. William Robinson, B.Sc., was appointed principal of this College in 1919.

Campbellism in Wales.

Welsh Campbellism is more strictly an evolution of McLeanism than the Campbellism of any other part of the British Empire. (See above, p. 172.) No man was more honoured by Welsh McLeanists after the death of J. R. Jones than William Jones, next to McLean, the ablest and most prolific writer which the Scotch Baptists have produced. He was himself a

Welshman, a native of Denbighshire, though he belonged to McLeanist Churches in England (Chester, Liverpool, London). In the year 1824 a young American artist, of the name Peyton C. Wyeth, came to London for the sake of perfecting himself in his profession. He had been a member of Campbell's Church at Bethany, U.S.A., and was on terms of close friendship with Campbell. On arriving in London he soon found his way to the McLeanist Church, the principal elder and preacher of which was William Jones. Jones and Wyeth soon struck up a cordial friendship; through this young man Jones and Campbell got into correspondence and exchanged writings. It then occurred to Jones to start a periodical to which Campbell and other American reformers might be invited to contribute. Accordingly on the 2nd March, 1835, there appeared the first number of the *Millennial Harbinger* (called after a similar magazine conducted by Campbell in America), containing 48 cr. 8vo. pages, with contributions by the editor, by Campbell, and by many others. Sixteen monthly numbers appeared, and they are usually bound (as my own copies) in two volumes dated 1835 and 1836. In his many contributions to this periodical, Campbell strove to defend his own peculiar principles. This was done to so great an extent that the editor felt called upon to reply, as he did with vigour. It is a gross misrepresentation of the facts to say that by this time Jones had become virtually a Campbellite and would have joined the "Churches of Christ" had there not been personal reasons for his receding into his McLeanist position. No one who has read his able and outspoken contributions to the above two volumes and his *Primitive Christianity* can have the shadow of a shade of doubt that he was during this period as genuine a McLeanist as he had ever been.

Compare the equally groundless charge made against Christmas Evans that only disappointed ambition and personal pique kept him from joining the McLeanist movement with J. R. Jones in 1801. Owing to the confidence reposed in William Jones and the esteem in which he was held, the *Millennial Harbinger* was widely read and carefully studied by the Scotch Baptists of North Wales. The articles by Campbell (many of them from his American periodicals), created a powerful and very favourable impression. They soon became the topics of conversation and debate in homes and in church meetings. In 1841 the Criccieth Church, founded in 1796 as a Particular Baptist Church, changed into a McLeanist Church in 1830, became a Campbellite Church as it is to this day. The leading spirit in bringing about this change was William Jones (Chandler), afterwards of Portmadoc, an able preacher and organiser, and next perhaps to John Edwards (Meiriadoc), the ablest and most prolific writer among the Welsh Campbellites. Richard Lloyd, the uncle and foster-father of the Prime Minister, was chief elder and preacher of the Criccieth Church from 1859 to his death in 1917 at the age of 83. An account of his life and work by the present writer (who knew him well), appeared in the *Seren Gomer*, September, 1917, pp. 225-236. David Lloyd, father of Richard, was principal elder of the Church from 1830 till his death, at the age of 39 in 1839. But this church remained loyal to McLeanism until his death, though prior to 1839 the new ideas were being talked about, and some will have it that David Lloyd himself favoured them: but of that the only evidence obtained by the present writer is hearsay. Both David and Richard Lloyd were great preachers and yet greater men. Ten years later (*i.e.* in 1851), the Penmachno McLeanist Church followed the example of the sister Church of

Criccieth, going over bodily to the Campbellites. It has long ceased to exist. In 1845 a few of the members left the Scotch Baptist Church at Rhosllanerchrugog and formed a Campbellite Church which is now very prosperous. Four years later William Jones (Chandler) was instrumental in organising a Campbellite Church at Portmadoc, after a vigorous but unsuccessful attempt by this able man to capture for his party the local McLeanist Church. Other churches of this order were formed as follows: the dates when known being given in brackets:—Llanfaircaereinion (1849); Llanidloes (1855); Bangor (1851); Beaumaris; Harlech; Machynlleth; Maentwrog; Newtown; Ramoth; Trawsfynydd; Welshpool; Wrexham (1858): an earlier church formed here in 1839 soon died out). The only Campbellite Churches in North Wales in August 1919 were at Criccieth, Llanfaircaereinion, Rhosllanerchrugog, and Wrexham. The Camyr Alun (Foxlane) Church, which as a Christian Church goes back to 1809, is on the borders of Cheshire, and has been associated with the English and not with the Welsh Campbellite Churches. At the same date, August, 1919, there were eight Campbellite Churches in South Wales, most of them owing their existence and success to the advocacy, ability, energy, and high character of William Webley, a powerful preacher in both English and Welsh.

Campbellism among the Baptists in the 19th Century.

In the middle years of the last century some of the leading Welsh Baptist ministers, and a few laymen chiefly in North Wales, were strongly influenced by the teaching of Alexander Campbell as seen first of all in the *Millennial Harbinger* and then as studied in the independent works of Campbell himself. They did not, however, leave the denomination nor did they

accept the bulk of Campbell's teaching. In 1839 the Rev. John Williams (1806-1856), of Rhos, near Wrexham, issued a Welsh version of Campbell's treatise on the *Forgiveness of Sins*. Two years later he published a Welsh translation with many original emendations, of Campbell's English New Testament (baptize was rendered by immerse, etc). The doctrine of the first work (that baptism precedes forgiveness), was widely preached in Welsh Baptist pulpits for some years, and it was proclaimed even as late as 1917 in a sermon by the oldest living Welsh Baptist minister (one highly honoured) at the annual meeting of the Welsh Baptist Union. Another and more influential Welsh Baptist preacher of Campbellism was Robert Ellis (1812-1875), a very able Welsh bard, prose writer, author of a Welsh dictionary, of a commentary (in Welsh) on the New Testament, a strong personality and a preacher of note. He had been a pupil and became the biographer of John Williams of Rhos. He and two others started a Welsh monthly in 1846 called *Y Tyst Apostolaidd (The Apostolic Witness)* for the express purpose of ventilating these new views. In the five volumes of this periodical, in his memoirs of John Williams and of Ellis Evans, in his published lectures on Baptism and in other writings "Cynddelw" (to give him the bardic name by which he was best known), did much to spread in Wales, especially in the north, many of the peculiar tenets of A. Campbell, though he persistently denied that he was ever a Campbellite. Other prominent Welsh Baptists believed to be tainted with Campbellism were the Rev. William Roberts, LL.D. (Nefydd) of Blaenau (a former pupil of John Williams), and William Harris, of Mill Street, Aberdare. But this leaven of Campbellism never grew to an alarming extent in Wales, and it has long been practically a matter only of history.

Welsh McLeanists and Campbellites.

A conference between representatives of the above was held in July, 1919, the only result so far (1920) being that pulpit exchanges have been arranged in some places.

The Welsh Baptist Union and the Welsh Campbellites.

On the 20th June, 1918, four Welsh Baptist representatives appointed by the Welsh Union, met at Birmingham four brethren representing the British Churches of Christ. Since Welsh Baptists are strict in their communion views it had been felt on both sides that some *modus vivendi* between the two might be possible. Mr. William George, the Premier's brother, a man universally beloved and trusted, presided at the conference. The most fraternal feelings dominated the proceedings from beginning to end. No definite step, however, in the direction of Union was taken, but it was the conviction of all present that the object of the leading was largely attained in a better mutual understanding of the points about which they are agreed and disagreed: and some misunderstandings were removed. The Chairman consented to act as medium between both parties in whatever steps might in the future be deemed desirable or practicable in furtherance of the objects for which the meeting had been arranged: see report in the *Churches of Christ Year Book*, 1918, pp. 62f.

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Ellis, Roberts (Cynddelw). 1. Lives of Ellis Evans, D.D., and of John Williams (1871), both in Welsh. 2. Lectures on Baptism (in Welsh). 3. He wrote innumerable articles to Welsh periodicals including the translation of parts of Campbells *Christian System* (Seren Gomer) (1845-6), see p.

Evans, Christmas. 1. His valuable Diary in Welsh has been largely reproduced in the memoir mentioned first below. 2. Memoirs: (a) The Oldest and most original is that by his neighbour and friend, William Morgan, D.D., Holyhead (1839) (in Welsh). (b) That by David Rhys Stephen (1847), also a personal friend. (c) Dr. Owen Davies of Carnarvon has written (in Welsh) a memoir which precedes his valuable edition on the writings of Christmas Evans (3 8vo. vols. all in Welsh).

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[Wilson, Patrick]. *The origin and progress of the Scotch Baptist Churches from their rise in 1765 to 1834*.

Baptist Preachers in Middlesex, 1689.

Under the Toleration Act, preachers might register themselves and their places of worship at Quarter Sessions. In the Middlesex Sessions Book 466, Dr. A. D. Tyssen has found 33 entries for June, 1689, which he publishes in the Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society. They include "Joseph Masters, of Endfield, preacher there at Baker Street," where to-day there is a Congregational church; he belonged to Theobalds, and presently came to Joyners Hall. "George Barrett, of Redriff, preacher at Mile End Green," a branch of Keach's church. "Isaac Lambe, of the hamlet of Spitafields, in Pennington Street, Wapping, Stepney," the church that expelled Titus Oates. "Leonard Harrison of Lymus, preacher there" in Church lane; another of Keach's foundations. "A meeting house for the seven day men, in Peacock Court, in the parish of St. Mary, Whitechapel," vacated within three years for Mill Yard.