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Joshua Thomas

Welsh Baptist Historian

1719-1797

AT TY-HEN, a small farm house in the parish of Caio, Carmarthenshire, on 22 February 1719, Joshua Thomas was born. Three boys and two girls were born to Thomas Morgan Thomas and his wife. All became Christians and the three boys all became preachers of the gospel. Joshua also became a devout man of prayer, a greatly beloved and diligent pastor, a writer and theologian of no mean order, and above all, an historian. In order to appreciate him in the last capacity (and the capacity in which, until recent research, he has survived) we must understand something of his upbringing, background and varied gifts.

He came of Calvinistic stock, his father being at first a Calvinist Methodist and then, twenty years later, becoming convinced about believer's baptism. Through the influence of Thomas Morgan Thomas the Baptists were first introduced to the largest parish in Wales—Caio.

Life was primitive for small farmers in the early eighteenth century, and it was amidst "honest thrift, skill in handicraft . . . a full day's work and a sound night's sleep"¹ that Joshua Thomas was brought up. Although religious life in Wales at that time was at a low ebb, the Thomas children received a spiritual education at home. Joshua and his brothers were taught the Catechism; at twelve years of age Zechariah (and probably Joshua) had read through the Old and New Testaments; they took notes of the sermons they heard and copied out the hymns they sung. They prayed aloud with their sisters. Welsh farm kitchens were the "theological college" of the local preachers. It was there that religious topics were discussed and visiting preachers entertained. The young Joshua Thomas would have had his first taste of Predestination and Election in the kitchen of Ty-hen.

The *Evangelical Magazine* for 1798 informs us, however, that Joshua left home at the age of twenty to live and work in Hereford. There he at first attended a Presbyterian meeting. Finding the preacher dull and his doctrine heavy, and coming into contact with an elderly woman who had previously been a member of the Baptist Church in Leominster, he decided to travel the thirteen miles each Sunday and worship there, in spite of the great "freeze-up" of

December 1739 that lasted well into 1740. Soon he was baptized and received into full membership in May 1740.

He attended not only the services for worship but the prayer meeting as well, engaging in prayer with some diffidence as his English was by no means fluent. This may have been one reason why later he compiled a *Book of Public Devotions* during his Leominster ministry—he probably found it easier to read his “long” prayer than pray an extempore one.

When twelve months’ membership had passed the members urged Joshua Thomas to “make trial of his ministerial gifts” and “with great reluctance he submitted.”² They approved of him, but he had many doubts and fears as to his own ability and call.

In September 1746 he was married to “a pious young woman”³ of Lampeter and the couple moved to Hay in Brecknockshire. There he began preaching again and was ordained in 1749. For the next six or seven years he continued preaching in and around Hay-on-Wye.

During this time the Baptist cause in Leominster suffered something of a decline. There had been no settled minister for five years and the membership was reduced to thirteen people. In 1753 they invited Joshua Thomas to preach and he did so, thus renewing former friendships. In 1754 he accepted a call to the pastorate and the membership soon steadily increased during his long ministry of forty-three years. He was obviously a pastor *par excellence*. His flock knew his time-table and knew when to expect him in their homes. But besides regular and systematic visitation he made the sick and troubled his primary concern. He talked with his people in their homes about regular attendance at the Lord’s Table, the unequal yoke or mixed marriages between Christians and unbelievers, growth in grace, the fear of death, and even the inoculation for small pox! It is safe to say that without such fidelity in pastoral work we might never have known of Joshua Thomas the historian. The *History of Leominster Baptist Church*, in two volumes, is little more than a collection of illustrations and anecdotes about the members of that church, yet each paragraph about a person also contains some illuminating information about the prevailing conditions of the time.

Besides his own monumental historical works, which have been much used as source material by later historians on both sides of the Atlantic, Joshua Thomas assisted others in compiling Baptist history. He helped Rippon with his *Baptist Register*. Dr. John Rippon, renowned pastor of Carter Lane Baptist Church, Southwark, London, began his *Annual Register* in 1790. Many obituary notices of Welsh “worthies” (Caleb Harris, Thomas Adams, etc.) were written by Thomas. He also helped Rippon with the history of the Welsh Association and a history of the Particular Baptist Churches in the Principality. Proof sheets passed between Thomas at Leominster and Rippon at the Drawing Office, Bank of England, London. Joshua Thomas’s corrections in the margins of the printed proof sheets

reveal the same care for correctness of detail as he exercised in all his written works.

On one proof sheet he added a personal note: "Dear Sir, You may depend upon my doing all in my power towards the History of the Bristol Academy."

In 1786 Thomas was requested to write a brief *History of the Baptist Church at Hook Norton*. It is, in the words of Dr. B. R. White of Regent's Park College, Oxford, "a fine example of the making of bricks without straw!"⁴ Thomas was as adept at this as any other.

At Regent's Park College, Oxford, there is a transcription re Isaac Marlow (6 February 1795) which refers to a *History of the Midland Association* written by Joshua Thomas.

Thomas's main historical works are a trilogy: the *Hanes*, as it is commonly called—*The History of the Baptist Churches in Wales*; the *History of the Welsh Association (1650-1790)*; and finally his *Ecclesiastical History of Wales*. He began gathering material for his *Hanes y Bedyddwyr* (History of the Baptists) as early as 1745, but it was not finished until 1778. The *History of the Welsh Association* was first published a sheet at a time as an extra to Rippon's *Register*, the first sheet in 1791, being finally completed in 1796.

Before studying in detail the trilogy, we must refer to the *History of Leominster and Olchon Baptist Churches*. These two works reveal Thomas's genius as "a new kind of historian, courteous, impartial, dogmatic on fundamentals of belief, but slow and hesitant on details."⁵ All his historical writings are characterized by many cross-references and frequent repetition for the sake of accuracy. Dr. Thomas Richards described his standards as "eminently judicial and scientific." He laboured assiduously to gather evidence from America regarding the beginning of the Baptists in Wales, and the debt was repaid in 1857 when G. H. Orchard of America paid a visit to Bristol Baptist College to look at the Joshua Thomas manuscripts deposited there by Timothy Thomas. A note dated 15 May 1857 in Orchard's handwriting reads: "With the kind permission of the Revd. J. Crisp, President of the Baptist College, this MS of the Welsh Baptist Churches, has been perused, and such extracts made as were deemed suitable, for a printed History to be published at Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A., by Graves and Co."

Believing with Carlyle that "the history of the world is but the biography of great men," and with Emerson also: "There is properly no history—only biography"—Thomas's *History of Leominster Baptist Church* is: "First, a general account of its Beginning and Progress, by way of Introduction. Secondly, more particular Hints of all the Members Deceased, as far as they could be obtained, authenticated, and judged useful for Posterity."⁶ He stated his method thus: "To list personalities in an Alphabetical Order on the top of the leaves in a waste blank Book. That being done I carried my Waste Book generally with me and went to one and another of the

aged Members to read my Catalogue of Names . . . (writing) to several Distant Persons, Descendants or friends of former Members . . . and accidentally obtained some of the Notes of Mr. Holder's (a former Pastor of Leominster Baptist Church) Sermons, writ with his own hand, wherein I found several Funeral Discourses, in which he gave some account of the Persons deceased: and at the same time I had a MS begun by Mr. Holder in 1718."⁷

Far from being a history only of interest to members of a local church Joshua Thomas has given us a manuscript that abounds in information about Baptist life and witness in the troublous days of the early seventeenth century. From 1660 to 1688 the Baptist Dissenters in Leominster and surrounding counties experienced twenty-eight years of severe "Trouble and Persecution,"⁸ yet they were instrumental in starting Baptist causes in nearby Ludlow and Broseley in Shropshire.

The first of the trilogy, the *History of the Welsh Baptist Association*, is statistical rather than biographical history. Covering the period 1650 to 1790 it was Thomas's intention to "shew the Times, and the Places where they met in Association in Wales, London, Bristol etc., with the names of many Ministers who preached at those annual Meetings, and several other incidental, but interesting Articles."⁹ He consulted the Baptist historian Crosby, the Presbyterian Neale, also Vavasor Powell's *Bird in a Cage* (which described the low state of religion in Wales in 1641), Bacchus's *History of New England* and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. The Minutes of the General Meeting held at Abergavenny, a meeting of five churches in 1652, were also examined.

As the biographical approach did not limit the *History of Leominster Baptist Church* to the descendants of the early members, neither does the statistical approach in the *History of the Welsh Baptist Association* limit the work to those who think that statistics never lie and always present an accurate and factual picture.

Beginning with the first Baptist Church in Wales, Ilston, near Swansea, he informs his readers that it was founded in 1649, "less than twenty after the Bible came among the common people in their own language."¹⁰ In 1652 a public dispute was held between the Baptists and the Anglicans in St. Mary's Church, Abergavenny, the chief speaker for the Baptists being the Rev. John Tombs, a former vicar of Leominster Priory who had turned Baptist. This was the first public profession of Baptist principles in Wales and Joshua Thomas studied all the relevant letters and reports of Messengers. Other matters discussed at Abergavenny were the singing of Psalms, the keeping of appointed feast days by Baptists, the duties of church officers, and the nature of church oversight. The officers listed were Pastors, Teachers, Helps and Elders. The qualifications for holding office were given, Scriptural proof texts being listed by Thomas against each one. Widows were given a special place, assisting the

deacons in the oversight of the poor, and Prophets were set aside for the edifying of the church as well as Pastors.

In 1656 the Association Meeting was held at Brecknock, and Joshua Thomas considered it an important one for it was agreed to publish a tract: *An Antidote against the times, a Watchword from Mount Sion (to prevent the ruin of souls), Admonitions to saints, and an Invitation to Backsliders*. The tract was printed in London and contained 55 pages.

Thus Thomas keeps us informed as to the statistical state of the Welsh churches, but at the same time supplies us with the rather more interesting information—the matters that came up for discussion in those days. In 1770 thirty-six queries were answered “judicially and Scripturally,”¹¹ and twenty-four the following year—all the latter being upon the subject of church discipline! This was also a memorable meeting of the Association for it was reported that sixteen families had emigrated to Pennsylvania, forming in America a regular Baptist church.

Scarcity of source material hindered Thomas from writing consecutive history for a few years, but after 1713 he is able once again to describe the state of the churches in the Association. 1721 was an encouraging year. The churches were experiencing “peace and prosperity” and “sinners had been converted.”¹² It was at that Association that Thomas was commissioned to translate into Welsh the Baptist Confession of Faith.

Discussion now gradually moved from the “lower” level of church discipline to the “higher” level of theology. In 1727 at Swansea “debates were started about the eternal filiation or generation of the Son of God,” but ministers were advised to preach the “plain clear gospel, and not puzzle the people with inexplicable mysteries.”¹³ Two years later the voice of unorthodoxy was raised by younger ministers and it was reported that Arminian doctrine was creeping in. It was thus suggested that a catechism be printed and also Cole’s *God’s Sovereignty* (the latter in English and Welsh). About this time some younger ministers also queried the prevalent practice of the laying on of hands at baptism and feelings waxed warm. The matter was raised again in 1764 but it was again discussed in a half-hearted manner. Timothy Thomas, Joshua’s son, was in favour of it and “drew up a few thoughts upon it” which he was urged to print. He received an anonymous reply to it.

Singing, too, was again discussed in 1775, and they certainly had something to sing about! Thomas’s statistics listed 333 baptisms during the past year. Two years later the managers of the Particular Baptist Fund in London allotted a sum of money for a mission to be held in North Wales, for here the Baptists were “unknown for their Principles and Practices.”¹⁴ Joshua Thomas was suggested as one of the missionaries.

In 1777 Joshua Thomas was urged to print *The History of the Baptists in Wales* in Welsh. Every church gave their whole-hearted

assent and most contributed financially towards the project.

Having begun his history with five churches, Thomas ends it with forty-eight. He added a list of places of meeting, and preachers who delivered association sermons. Finally a Ministerial List completed the book, page numbers being given beside the names so that the reader could turn up their brief biographies. 219 ministers were so listed. But what could have been a work that consisted of a mere collection of facts and figures was, in fact, an interesting, informative and inspiring piece of historical writing, throwing light upon the day and age of which he was writing. His insight into human nature, his interest in theology, and his passion for the slightest detail that would throw more light upon his subject, made for living history.

We have already seen that Joshua Thomas supplied details of the Welsh Association for Rippon's *Baptist Annual Register* of 1794. It is thus assumed that *The History of the Baptist Association in Wales* is the printed work of 1794. In actual fact the real *History of the Baptist Association in Wales* was four years earlier (1790), and in manuscript form is housed in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. The later work supplied to Dr. Rippon is vastly different in character. It is even more factual and statistical, the Welsh Baptist Churches now being divided into three Associations: South-East, South-West, and North. Each county is taken separately and details of every church given: when founded, number of members, ministers, helpers or candidates not ordained. One can only wonder at the thoroughness of the work, the duplication of the original manuscript, and the interesting observations that bring dead statistics to life.

Another of the great trilogy seems to be similarly duplicated. In 1784 Joshua Thomas wrote his *Materials for a History of the Baptist Churches in the Principality* (1630-1782). It contains 560 pages in manuscript form. But the library of Bristol Baptist College contains a manuscript composed of far larger page size, of 540 pages. In the early pages of the book, which is entitled in Thomas's own hand *The History of the Baptist Churches in Wales*, he refers to *The History of the Welsh Association* printed in the *Baptist Register* in 1794. This monumental work, therefore, *The History of the Baptist Churches in Wales*, must have been written after 1794. The *Materials* was written in 1784, ten years earlier. Since there is no preface or introduction in the larger work we have no means of knowing why it was written when ten years previously the same ground was covered by the *Materials*. The *Materials* in manuscript form he purposed "to commit to the care of my son Timothy. Should he at any time think it prudent, it may be deposited in the Museum at Bristol."¹⁵

Mr. B. G. Owens, Keeper of manuscripts and records at the National Library of Wales, believes the *Materials* to be an English translation of the first printed *History* in Welsh (1778). But the two works, although almost identical in title, are by no means identical in content. The *Materials* begins with the history of Olchon and

Capel-y-ffin, while the *History of the Baptist Churches in Wales* begins with Swansea. The latter may be looked upon as a revision of the former, and in 1885 a revised printed edition of the *History* was published in Welsh. All this is rather complicated, but it does serve to pinpoint the conscientious labours of Thomas the historian, in a biographical, statistical and ecclesiastical sense.

In the *Materials* and the *History* Thomas describes Baptist churches, their geographical location, their early formation, their ministers, and so on, drawing upon his usual sources as in his other works. He has obviously written some parts of the *Materials* with inadequate knowledge. For instance, twenty-nine pages are devoted to Olchon Baptist Church in the *Materials*, yet there is little similarity of treatment between this and the *History of Olchon Baptist Church* (24 pages) written in 1790. He was not a slavish copyist but did fresh research each time he wrote another historical work.

After Olchon Thomas turned his attention to Maes-y-berllan in Brecknockshire (a church with whom he had been in membership for a number of years), then to Radnorshire Churches (Thomas's history became the basis for John Jones' *History of the Baptists in Radnorshire*, published in London, 1895), then Montgomeryshire, followed by Denbighshire and Glamorganshire. Churches are neither listed in alphabetical or chronological order, nor are they always grouped within association or county spheres.

Both the *Materials* and the *History* are carefully and comprehensively indexed. One index covers personal names and the other an alphabetical list of the churches. At the end of the *Materials* there is an appendix of some twenty-four pages giving additions and corrections. No such appendix appears in the larger and later *History*, so we may assume that it was more correctly compiled.

The final monumental work of the trilogy is his *Ecclesiastical History of the Principality of Wales*, dated 1779 and in manuscript form comprising two volumes, the first having 121 pages and the second 470. As Mr. B. G. Owens points out: "The object of the *Ecclesiastical History* was a rough draft, and not intended for publication. It was a possible contribution to a major study on the subject."¹⁶

Thomas's scheme in this work was to give an account of Christianity "from the apostolic age to our time" since in similar histories of England the Principality was only referred to in a "partial" and imperfect way.¹⁷ After a brief Biblical review of early religion he begins with Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain about fifty years before the birth of Christ. From there he proceeds to Claudius Caesar of Acts 11:28, and quoting from several authorities of his time (Drs. Gill, Owen, Curtis, Fuller, etc.) proceeds to establish the coming of Christianity to Wales. His appeal to authorities in the ecclesiastical history field is abundant evidence of his wide reading and desire for accuracy in his work.

After setting the scene in this introductory way, Thomas deals

with each century of history separately. In the first century of Christianity, however, he cannot trace "the names of any British Ministers or other Christians who resided in this country (Wales), nor much said about them in the former part of the second century."¹⁸ Even so, he believes with several authorities that Paul preached in Britain, and probably in Wales, and so concludes that early ecclesiastical life in the Principality knew "Scripture Elders, Bishops, or Pastors, and Ministers of the gospel."¹⁹ Towards the end of the second century he believes there was "a very happy revival, and the gospel spread thro' the land, and the very king himself embraced it and helped much to further the good work."²⁰

Of the third century he can find very little account of religion in Britain, many historians leaving this age blank in their records. He is able, however, to describe one of two "remarkable occurrences" such as the death of King Lucius and the birth of Constantine the Great, who became the first Christian Emperor in the world.

The fourth century he described as "a century of much variety in Church and State,"²¹ and "a most dismal age"²² is how he describes the fifth century, for it was a time of great persecution of Christians. Similarly the sixth century was "another age that proved very fatal to our progenitors."²³ It is here, however, at the close of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh that he begins to find reasons for the terms "Wales" and "Welsh" being convenient terms. In a fairly long digression, which he admits to the reader is a digression, he explains the term "Cymru" and its variants.

The eighth century he finds is also scarcely written about by ecclesiastical historians, and he only devotes just over four pages to it himself. Centuries nine and ten are also acknowledged as a time when "our ancestors were forsaken more and more by Historians."²⁴ So with the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But none compared with the thirteenth century which Thomas terms "the midnight century."²⁵ It was a time of ignorance and distress. By contrast the following century was "a cock-crowing age."²⁶ The prevailing religious climate was one of "rank Popery, Popery in great plenty."²⁷ This was only exceeded in the fifteenth century, a shocking century for his dear Wales. The sixteenth century, however, turned out to be one of happy revolution. He can now write of Reformation, of Cromwell, of Protestant itinerant preachers who went all over Wales. Great names began to appear from among his own countrymen. Books and Bibles began to be printed in Wales, and by Act of Parliament it was decreed that the latter should be placed in every parish church in Wales by March 1567. His description of such Bibles is interesting and detailed: "Printed in handsome Quarto of 399 pages—in Black Letter, as it is called, disposed and divided, as to Books and chapters, with arguments and contents to each Book and each chapter, with explanations of difficult words in the Margins; but no reference to parallel passages."²⁸

The year of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588, was also "a remarkable year to Wales on the account of religion."²⁹ Although there seemed to be a lack of preachers, especially in North Wales, several influential books were printed by John Penry of Brecknockshire. Altogether Thomas lists fourteen books that were published between 1546 and 1594 (including the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, a Dictionary, a Defence of the Church of England) that greatly influenced the spiritual life of the Principality.

The seventeenth century Thomas calls "a century of great light, yet of great confusion."³⁰ Queen Elizabeth died at the beginning of the century and she had been "a valiant Queen regarding State affairs" and "opposed to Popery."³¹ But many Christians were still urging further reformations in matters of religion. There was much confusion concerning certain rites and ceremonies in worship, and in general the ordinary people in Wales still knew little or nothing of the Scriptures. Then in 1618 the *Book of Sports*, a declaration concerning recreation and sports on the Lord's Day, put a stop to the growth of Puritanism. Gradually, however, "our country wore a new face, having a new impression of the Bible."³² In 1630 the Bible was printed in an octavo edition in Welsh for the families of the country of Wales and not merely for the churches. The people were now able to read it for themselves at their own convenience. "The knowledge of God did increase visibly among our countrymen."³³

By mid-century the bishops in Wales were powerless, having little authority, and the clergy opposed to Parliament. Some of the clergy, from their preaching, were more Independent, Baptist, or Presbyterian than Established Church. The true non-conformists were worshipping and preaching in private houses rather than in church buildings. During the second half of the century, however, Dissenters grew rapidly, and in his description of the Baptists and their growth, Thomas draws largely upon his previous historical works. He traces their growth and development in every county of the Principality. Naturally it is this period that receives most attention and to which he devotes most pages. His source material is more prolific and the growth of nonconformity more rapid. After writing some 470 pages, however, Thomas concludes by saying that he will give "a few observations" on the state of the church, and religion, among all denominations, for the last eighty years. This he fails to do, and work closes without his normal and careful index of names, places and subjects.

The second volume of the *Ecclesiastical History of Wales* is most interesting for it is annotated by one who signed himself "W.R." He was obviously W. Richards of Lymm (1749-1818), a devout admirer of Joshua Thomas, and yet one of the few who seem to have been able to discover mistakes in Thomas's otherwise extremely accurate writing. One note by "W.R." is especially interesting. In volume 2 of the *Ecclesiastical History* Thomas writes a footnote: "See more

above, pp. 106, 140, 148." W. Richards adds: "This note proves the existence of another volume, i.e. the first." Obviously the manuscript of the first volume was lost for a time or mislaid. Fortunately it was rediscovered, but unfortunately the major work for which this *Ecclesiastical History* was a draft copy, was never compiled or published by Joshua Thomas.

As a man, preacher, man of prayer, pastor, writer, theologian, and historian, the words of Benjamin Francis's *Elegy* remain true—

"Long will Cambria thy great worth proclaim."

He died in 1797, putting "duty before inclination"⁸⁴ right to the end. Only a month before he died, although feeling far from well, he rode to Worcester for the opening of the new Baptist meeting house. He continued preaching three times a Sunday, complaining of pain and having a cough that would not respond to medicine. He died having borne pain with much fortitude and with many "savory expressions"⁸⁵ on his lips. His final words were: "I am almost come to the end of my journey. You (who) are still in the wilderness have a safe Guide. Trust in Him, and all will be well."⁸⁶ When he first began writing to Benjamin Francis he told his correspondent that he greatly feared death before becoming a Christian, but later could "look into the bottom of a grave with a pleasant look, and think of the heart of the earth with satisfaction."⁸⁷ The inscription on his tomb in Leominster Baptist graveyard gives some indication of the trials he and his wife endured. One side reads: "Ebenezer, John, Mary and Sarah, sons and daughters of the Rev. Joshua Thomas by Elizabeth his wife. All died young." On the other side is the inscription: "The Revd. Joshua Thomas, born 22nd of February 1719, having served Christ in the Ministry of the Gospel 43 years in this town, died 25th August 1797." The inscription does not do justice to the true greatness of the man, nor to his many gifts.

HISTORIES

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PERSONAL

Various Letters to Dr. John Rippon, Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford.

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THEOLOGICAL

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Angheruhedrwydd i Gredint Gwobrwyon, Aberystwyth.

Nodiadau ar Bregeth Mr. Abel Francis (1775)—Notes of a Calvinistic Baptist upon Mr. Abel Francis.

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NOTES

¹ L. T. Davies and A. Edwards: *Welsh Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London 1939), p. 19.

² Joshua Thomas: *History of the Welsh Association*, p. 93.

³ Joshua Thomas: *History of Leominster Baptist Church*, Vol. 2, note on frontispiece.

⁴ Personal letter to the author.

⁵ *Welsh Dictionary of Biography*, article on Joshua Thomas by Dr. THOMAS RICHARDS.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, title page.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Preface, pp. ix, x.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, Frontispiece.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, Preface, p. xi.

¹⁶ Personal letter to the author.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, Preface, p. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 272.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

³⁴ *The Evangelical Magazine* 1798, p. 97.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

³⁷ *Queries and Solutions*, p. 255.

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