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Religious Revivalism and Welsh Industrial Society: Aberdare in 1859.

Christopher B. Turner

The religious revival of 1859 has been hailed by denominational historians as the most powerful and effective awakening of all those which took place in Wales in the nineteenth century. One estimate of the increase in nonconformist membership as a result of the revival has produced a figure of 80,000¹. Yet most accounts would agree that the revival was irregular in its progress and some localities were more influenced than others. As one contemporary noted, "In some counties the work has been truly marvelous and glorious beyond all precedent. In others it has been confined to a very limited district, and has left the great body of the people untouched."² It would be reasonable to suggest therefore that local circumstances were important for the success of the revival. In order to understand the phenomenon it might be instructive to view more closely one industrial community which appeared to be particularly welcoming of the revival in 1859.

Although the revival began in earnest in 1859 there were stirrings in various parts of Wales in the preceding year. Much of this activity was prompted by events taking place in America. The awakening there had originated in New York State in 1857 and was associated, in its early stages, with the missionary work of Jeremiah Calrin Lanphier. The state was popularly called the "Burned-over district", a reference to the effects of the spiritual fires which had frequently engulfed the area in the early nineteenth century.³

Many thousands had joined the various American Churches and the revival swept through several States on the eastern seaboard and in the Mid-West. In 1857 a number of Welsh emigrés began writing home describing their revival experiences on the American frontier. For example, a number of letters were read extensively at the "society" meetings amongst the Calvinistic Methodists of Ebbw Vale where they caused a great deal of soul searching among those present. The growing desire to welcome a revival to this district was further heightened when news reached Penuel Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Ebbw Vale of a revival nearer to home in Cardiganshire. The faithful members immediately arranged a special meeting to precipitate family worship in the district.⁴

The Cardiganshire revival was mainly promoted by a native of the county, Humphrey Jones, who had seen the American awakening at first hand.⁵ It was widely believed that Jones, who was born at Tre'rddol had been refused admission as a minister to the South Wales Wesleyan district in 1854 and it was his great disappointment that made him decide to emigrate. He returned to Wales in 1858 anxious to spread the good news from the American frontier.⁶ Other Welsh preachers had been acquainted with the American revival and on their return to Wales in 1858 they attended many special meetings. By outlining in detail the American experience they hoped it would be possible to produce a viable format for a Welsh revival. This was to be achieved by arranging frequent prayer meetings,

followed by discussions on the form and content of the American awakening and also of previous Welsh revivals.⁷

Humphrey Jones exercised considerable influence on another Cardiganshire preacher, Dafydd Morgan and, in time, it was Morgan who did most to convey the revival message within Wales. But it was perhaps significant that none of the early protagonists in 1859 were established or renowned preachers. Indeed, local congregations were rather bewildered that such men could have filled chapels with eager hearers as their preaching in former times had been marked by a distinct lack of effective imagery and lifeless invective.⁸

The revival, however, had clearly brought the best out of such humble preachers. The *Merthyr Telegraph* reported with some detachment Dafydd Morgan preaching with obvious power and authority at Beaufort. It described his discourse in which: "He quotes many scriptural passages and generally dwells on the threats of the Almighty, the horrors of lost souls, and the fearful judgement of all men at the end of time. At the close of his discourse he entreated the sinners of his congregation to join the Church of Christ, stating that those who were members of any Christian sect would keep their seats and those who were on the road to the devil would be known by their leaving".⁹

The revival appeared to spread along well established lines in which the work of itinerant preachers was central. But the essential dynamism of conversion was more abstract and probably more closely tied to the place of the family unit within Welsh society. Revivalists remarked on the prudence of trying to convert the head of the household for they believed that once this was achieved the rest of the family would soon follow. Similarly, when one family showed signs of having been 'revived' others quickly conformed, many, no doubt in fear of the social reproach that would result if they insisted on remaining aloof. One religious magazine claimed that at the height of the revival in Cardiganshire, ". . . scarcely could there be found in it a family which was not a religious family, or a house, that was not a house of prayer".¹⁰ Another religious periodical boldly claimed that with but few exceptions, "All adult males in Cardiganshire have promised to set up family worship."¹¹

The year 1858 was also one of great activity for the temperance movement in Wales and, though the main thrust preceded the revival itself, the two movements were closely linked. A great deal of denominational temperance work had been precipitated by the American orator J. B. Gough. His impact in the valleys and coastal towns of South Wales was perpetuated and extended by preachers such as the Rev. Owen Jones of Dowlais who spread the message more effectively through the Welsh language.

Gough's oratory was simple but painfully direct. He depicted with incisiveness the dreadful scenes of want and degradation which resulted from intemperance.¹² A few months later the religious revival came to the industrial communities and at that time too it was widely reported that publicans were forced to close their premises through lack of trade and notorious drunkards became sober and respected members of the local community.¹³

From the various revival accounts it was evident that the valley community of Aberdare was particularly receptive to the revival of 1859. Naturally, the revival

there displayed a number of features, characteristic of a mass movement in which the principal protagonists were colliers, hauliers and iron-workers. This was hardly surprising for social and religious development in the valley had occurred along the lines specifically laid down by the expanding industrial community. As the population increased the community clamoured for an attendant expansion of religious, generally nonconformist, provision.

Prior to industrialisation in the late eighteenth century the only religious edifices in the district were the Unitarian Chapel of Trecynon and the Parish Church of St. John in Aberdare itself. In later decades, however, the growing population and expanding economy exerted a startling influence on religious provision. In 1801, the population of the Aberdare district was 2,758; by 1851 it was 18,744.¹⁴ In terms of chapel building a survey carried out in 1837 revealed that there were 12 nonconformist buildings specifically registered for public worship. In addition, there were known to be a score of meeting houses which had not been officially registered.¹⁵ In 1851 the Religious Census recorded 28 places of worship in the district and only 5 of these belonged to the Anglicans.¹⁶

It was a tribute to the early religious activists of Aberdare that during the first industrial phase a largely immigrant population was able to find adequate spiritual accommodation amidst the social confusion. The origin of this immigrant population must also have been a significant factor in the religious development of the valley. Thirty-six per cent of the total population in 1851 originated in the five counties which bordered Glamorgan. Only ten per cent of the total had been born outside Wales.¹⁷ Aberdare therefore, at least in the first half of the nineteenth century, was able to retain its basic Welshness.

Denominational expansion had followed a southerly route along the valley. Settlements inevitably sprang up around the iron works and collieries and it was natural that chapels serving the various denominations should be built, for convenience, near to the places of work.¹⁸ But as the iron industry declined and collieries became worked out communities found themselves on the move. Consequently, many chapels were left unsupported and by mid-century there was a distinct danger that denominations would exhaust their resources by building chapels on sites soon to be vacated by the local population. For example, in 1855 Heolyfelin Baptist Chapel, Trecynon was erected as a branch of the influential mother church Ramoth, Hirwaun. The existence of Heolyfelin was due in large measure to Thomas Joseph, a colliery proprietor and deacon of Ramoth. He had induced many Hirwaun colliers and members of Ramoth to continue to work for him when he removed to Trecynon to open a new colliery. As a result membership at Ramoth declined considerably and struggled to remain in existence.¹⁹ Similarly, many of David Davis's workmen followed him from Hirwaun to Blaengwawr where he immediately financed the erection of a Welsh Wesleyan Chapel in 1850 for their mutual benefit.²⁰ These were not isolated examples and the local entrepreneurs, many of local origin, played a major role in the religious as well as the industrial development of the valley.

In common with other parts of Wales Aberdare had witnessed a rather barren period of spiritual life in the 1850's. It was true that new chapels were being built and

there were distinct signs of a re-awakening among the Anglicans, under the evangelical vicar Rev. John Griffith, but many believed that it was the tone of religious life that caused the greatest concern. A local Independent minister, Rev. William Edwards, complained bitterly of the growing indifference to organised religion. He was particularly worried by the growing support given to the local Mormon congregations. He also criticised other preachers for their continual indulgence in doctrinal controversies.²¹

News and debate about the American awakening was quick to reach the district and revival preparations were hurriedly arranged. As early as 1858 a local preacher had published a pamphlet outlining the reasons for the success of the American revival and emphasising the need to repeat the same spiritual lessons in Wales.²² In the summer of 1858, at the same time as the stirrings in Cardiganshire, a number of special prayer meetings were held in various chapels and also in some collieries before the start of work.²³ The local associations, especially of the Calvinistic Methodists and Independents, urged ministers and chapel members to arrange prayer meetings and to prepare to welcome non-members to chapel services. Great attention was to be paid in making the "hearers" come to full membership by means of public testimony.²⁴

Contemporaneously, J. B. Gough was leading the temperance crusade in the valleys. He visited Aberdare in June 1858 and the impulsive response given to Gough's lectures indicated the readiness of the local community to stir a temperance revival. Gough addressed large crowds in the valley and local preachers translated his sentiments into Welsh whenever the need arose.²⁵ His addresses were accompanied by large processions in which crowds of recently converted abstainers moved from one public house to another haranguing those inside to give themselves up to God and forsake the evils of drink.²⁶

Despite this early impetus, however, the main revival did not arrive in the town until early in 1859. The Rev. William Edwards of Ebenezer, Trecynon noted, however, the earnest desire for revival:

"In my own congregation there had long been an anxious and prayerful desire for a Revival before it broke out In the course of my ministry I never witnessed such a decided determination not to give up prayer till the Lord had visited us from high In fact, there was a decided Revival in the Church some months before it broke out among the hearers".²⁷

Ebenezer was the centre of the Aberdare revival and such was the congregation's interest in the awakening that when news of the "fire" in Cardiganshire reached the town there was no delay in finding out what was required to emulate the joyous scenes which their rural brethren were experiencing. In February 1859 two members of Ebenezer were sent to Aberaeron to witness the events there. They returned with news of a great spiritual movement and the congregation of Ebenezer immediately set about organising prayer meetings every night of the week.²⁸ The Independent Association at Hirwaun in March 1859 dealt at great length with the most productive means of promoting the revival and in the subsequent months many converts were gained throughout the district.²⁹ At Ebenezer, "Something like a heavy shower fell upon us. The large congregation was bathed in tears. Many a hard sinner was melted

even to a bitter weeping for his sad condition.”³⁰ At one service fifty-six converts were made at this same chapel. Other Independent chapels, most of them satellites of Ebenezer, followed this example. At Saron, Aberaman, fifty new members were admitted every month for four consecutive months and two new chapels had to be built to accommodate the overflow.³¹ It was estimated that the Independent congregations of the Aberdare district had received 1,400 new members in six months.³² But the quickening of religious life was evident in the other denominations too and in the years 1859-61 at least 19 chapels were built or extensively enlarged to accommodate the increased membership.³³ Even the Church was influenced for, in April 1859, over two hundred people were presented for confirmation in the Parish. This substantial influx was due to the efforts of the Rev. John Griffith, but more particularly in this instance to the Rev. David Davies of St. John’s, the parish Church of the town.³⁴

There are several possible reasons for the intensity of the Aberdare revival. One of these was to be found in the nature of the society itself. Aberdare was a relatively new industrial community struggling to adapt to rapid industrialisation as coal replaced iron as the main industry. The harsh realities of mining were everywhere in evidence and fear of death or serious injury must have been an accepted fact of life for the collier.

There is evidence to support the contention that the whole of the South Wales coalfield was especially susceptible to underground disasters because of the combustible nature of the coal raised. Colliery explosions in the valley since 1845 had proved very costly. In 1845 twenty-eight men were killed at Powell’s Upper Pit and in 1849 a further forty-nine lost their lives at Lletty Shenkin.³⁵ The middle Duffryn Colliery claimed sixty-four lives in 1852 and a further twenty in 1858.³⁶ Local ministers, including the evangelical vicar, Rev. John Griffith, used such disasters as the lesson behind such texts as “The fall of the Tower that fell at Siloam”. His theme was that of death and destruction and the overriding need to seek God immediately. It was no surprise to find that many underground prayer meetings were held in order to thank God for the mercies of the week. Colliers were suddenly reminded that they had been spared while colleagues had been struck down.³⁷

There may also have been another contribution to the prevailing atmosphere of insecurity. Epidemics of contagious diseases had often generated a revivalistic response, as in 1832 and 1849, and in the early summer of 1859 the scaremongers were abroad in Aberdare. One newspaper reported that the dreaded Cholera had arrived and had claimed its first victims in the Greenhill district. A drought may have prompted its arrival for “. . . the fruit and vegetables of the harvest were of a nature so calculated to produce such disorders as typhoid and common dysentery and probably cholera itself.”³⁸ There was no evidence, however, of a major epidemic such as that of 1849 but the rumours must have appeared only too real to the community.

A contemporary newspaper had no doubt that the religious revival helped to alleviate the various social pressures which were mounting in the summer of 1859. The account refers to the neighbouring locality of Merthyr Tydfil but the conclusions can be applied equally to Aberdare:

“At night Merthyr retired to sleep, and distress and disease were forgotten in dreamland. In the morning Merthyr awoke to find itself enrolled among scenes of religious revivals. Men laughed and ridiculed, but even while they ridiculed doubts arose surprise at the rapidity with which the revival spread and the wonder at the astonishing hold it took on people. Early and late crowds may be seen journeying to their Chapels; and these resorts, once wrapped in gloom, quietness throughout the week now assume a bustling, energetic appearance.”³⁹

Yet, as an explanation for revivalism, social insecurity can only be a partial answer since such tensions were omnipresent. It does not explain why the revival appeared so relatively early in Aberdare nor why it was such an intense affair that lasted longer than most religious leaders could have expected.

The answer may lie in another of the threads which composed the fabric of this volatile community. The end of the Crimean War ushered in a particularly depressed period which culminated in a series of wage reductions in the iron works at Hirwaun and the collieries of Aberdare. The inevitable result was a strike by iron workers and colliers and by December 1857 virtually the whole district was at a standstill. During the early stages of the strike the colliers had been anxious to negotiate.⁴⁰ However, the owners, speaking with a common voice and supported by local M.P., H. A. Bruce, rested their case entirely on the depressed state of the market and refused to negotiate directly.⁴¹

The strike then entered a more serious phase which culminated in the distribution of threatening letters and warnings to non-strikers. These were thought to have been distributed by “Mr. Bool”, an allusion to the primitive form of unionism which had flourished twenty years earlier. The clandestine activities of the so-called “Scotch Cattle” ensured that men who refused to join strikes were deprived of the comfort of their homes which were damaged or destroyed by the marauding herds.⁴² Though there was no evidence that such acts of recrimination were actually perpetrated at the time the threats themselves must have had an unsettling effect on the community.

The decline of social harmony was further emphasised when a group of imported Staffordshire colliers were openly attacked. The Irish too were despised because they continued to work for the pitiful wages being offered. Ultimately, it was the influx of “foreign” workers that broke the strikers’ solidarity.⁴³ At the end of the seven week struggle the colliers were forced to accept a twenty per cent reduction rather than the original fifteen per cent. The additional five per cent was demanded by the employers to cover the losses incurred during the stoppage.⁴⁴

Throughout the dispute the religious denominations, almost with one voice, stressed the futility of strike action. They argued that trade unions tended to destroy the independence of the workers. It was the coal owners’ view that was consistently endorsed by the local newspaper *Y Gwron*, which was edited by the local Baptist leader, Rev. Thomas Price.⁴⁵ The strikers were clearly disillusioned by the open support given to the employers by Price and by the minister of the large Independent Chapel in the town, Siloa. This was the Rev. David Price who had himself been a collier at Glynneath in the 1830’s, but he too viewed strike action as futile and destructive of peaceful social relationships.⁴⁶

The strike created a crisis of allegiance for many congregations and ministers. In January 1858 the *Merthyr Telegraph* called on the local nonconformist ministers to

urge the men to return to work. It also warned against any interference on behalf of the strikers by deacons and elders for, "By doing so Dissent has lost able members; splits and divisions have followed, awakening notions of unbelief in the minds of doubters."⁴⁷

Local nonconformists must also have been alarmed by the anti-religious sentiments which were being voiced in the late stages of the strike. A letter signed by the "Bull" was indicative of the prevailing mood:

"Although some of the masters frown upon you I shall fight them to the Devil Attend every Committee Do not care for your religion—you shall have it again, if you don't, no matter, I will take care of you in both worlds."⁴⁸

At a meeting on Hirwaun common towards the end of the strike a dejected miner pleaded for a return to work. He proposed that "..... every pit meet by itself and appoint delegates to go to the masters and make the best arrangement they can. We have lost the battle. I would not ask the preachers to go for us—all they care for is their own living. They will demand their pay, even if our children's feet went through their shoes".⁴⁹ Price's part in the strike left a legacy of bitterness and he was the object of workmen's scorn for some time after the strike.⁵⁰

Aberdare in 1858 was a divided society and the rancour displayed by the working population towards coalowners and religious leaders alike must have been alarming. But it could not have escaped the industrialists, nor the nonconformist leadership of the town, that one way of nullifying, or at least moderating working class antipathy was by means of a religious revival. This probably explains the sudden appearance of underground prayer meetings in the early months of 1858, sometime before the Cardiganshire revival had been reported.⁵¹ One of the chief protagonists in these prayer meetings was the coalowner David Davis, Maesyffynnon, who employed several thousand men at his Blaengwawr and Aberaman pits. He personally arranged the meetings and attended them along with his workmen and managers.⁵² Davis was an active Wesleyan Methodist and he and other members of his family had financed the building of several Wesleyan chapels in the district.

It was mainly through his influence that Aberdare had become the centre of a Wesleyan circuit in 1856. Davis, however, was not a religious bigot and his prayer meetings were overtly undenominational. In a short time prayer meetings were also held in chapels throughout the valley, usually at the end of each shift. His interest in revivalism was also apparent when he chaired a local lecture on "Religious Revivals".⁵³

The Rev. David Price, Siloa, was convinced that the prayer meetings, and the religious revival which they were ultimately to herald, were an integrating force within this divided community. He believed that purposeful prayer was the best, perhaps the only means of bringing the two sides together again.⁵⁴

Part of the same integrating process was the great boost given to the temperance movement. Coalowners repeatedly urged their workmen to listen to the lectures of J. B. Gough and other, more local, temperance orators throughout the summer of 1858, and again in 1859. In July 1858 a temperance hall was erected in Aberdare at a cost of £2,000. The money had been raised at short notice by the efforts of the local temperance society which consisted largely of ministers of religion, local shopkeep-

ers and professional men. It was also generously supported by the M.P., H. A. Bruce, David Davis, and David Williams (Alaw Goch), another local coalowner.⁵⁵ The inculcation of the lower classes with temperance principles seemed universally attractive to employers and tradesmen presumably because it was in their economic interest to foster the virtue of sobriety as it might improve output and cause bad debts to be cleared. Publicans understandably contributed only scorn to the temperance society.⁵⁶

During the revival proper it became fashionable to pronounce total abstinence as outward evidence of inner purification and spiritual re-birth. Many lapsed church members attributed their initial backsliding to drink and on re-admission to membership they were strongly advised to adopt total abstinence as a safeguard to themselves and an example to others.⁵⁷

Equally, workmen and their families joined temperance societies and participated in emotional revival services simply for something to do. At the height of the depression which lasted into 1860 many Aberdare colliers were working, at best, a three day week.⁵⁸ The characteristic processions from pub to pub, especially under the demagogic leadership of Richard Rees (Cheapjack) brought zest and vitality to the movement. As many as 4,000 were reported to have joined in these processions.⁵⁹ Temperance societies also found it easier to recruit when money was short.

Both the revival and the associated temperance movement provided a framework for the coalowners and tradesmen of Aberdare to encourage the working classes to become more compliant. Religious leaders were worried not so much by religious indifference but by the active hostility of the lower classes towards their religious leadership as displayed in the strike of 1857/8. They saw the revival as a means of salving consciences and filling the chapels. Yet to see the encouragement of revival purely as a form of social control would be to ignore the extent and intensity of lay participation in the revival. A mass movement of this kind could not have sustained itself merely by manipulation. The revival offered ordinary people a means of expression. The opportunity for public profession of conversion, the uninhibited singing and the large processions all contributed to a reduction of formalism. Ministers lost control of services as ordinary members and hearers assumed responsibility for directing congregational responses.⁶⁰ The Rev. John Davies of Saron, Aberaman wrote that in his chapel, "Some of them (the congregation) are carried so far as to 'jump' I must say that, as it was a characteristic of the Old Welsh Revivals, I am very glad that I have seen such a genuine and a powerful specimen of it". He continued, ". . . . the young are noted for prayerful and missionary spirit. They do not dream that the work of conversion is to be left entirely to the pulpit. They go to their friends, relatives and neighbours and do all in their power to win them to the Saviour".⁶¹ Ministers and deacons continually expressed concern at the excesses of their congregations, especially as some chapels could not be cleared until the early hours of the morning.⁶²

The social problems which existed in Aberdare in 1859 contributed much to the power with which the revival grasped people's attentions. The community as a whole appeared ready for revival and all classes, for different reasons perhaps, were pleased to see its appearance and good effects. Yet beneath these transient social pressures lay

other more fundamental reasons for the success of a salvationist crusade at this time. The almost spontaneous lay participation could not have happened in a society ignorant of religious terminology and Biblical references. Most revival converts were described as “dychwelwyr” (returners) rather than those previously untouched by religious influence. The resort to revivalism seemed appropriate to a large part of the population of Aberdare because it was a traditional response. It was surely no coincidence that the revival in Aberdare began at Ebenezer, Trecynon, for this was the scene of an earlier visitation in 1829 when Aberdare came under the influence of its first large scale revival.⁶³ In 1859 the Rev. John Davies noted that at Ebenezer the tone of the early revival services was set by the older members. He expressed the wish that “. . . . these old pilgrims would make a collection of the hymns they use, as they sing verses I had never heard before, and truly they are heavenly ones It is the old people who are also old members, that break out generally in praises”.⁶⁴

It was no surprise either that the congregation of Ebenezer, in reacting to the first news of the revival in Cardiganshire, sent two of its members to Aberaeron to report on the wonderful scenes. But they were sent because they originally came from the area and had relatives still living there. The population of Aberdare was largely an immigrant Welsh population and as such religion and the Methodist legacy of revivalism were essential and credible elements of their past. Divorced from many of their rural traditions the call to religious worship and the sense of stability it offered remained attractive to these first generation of immigrants to the Welsh valleys. The social pressures caused by economic depression served to magnify the need for ordinary people to seek traditional forms of comfort. While social tension created the environment in which revivalism could flourish it did not cause it to happen.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. Venn. *The Revival in Wales* (1860) p4. The main revival histories are H. Hughes, *Hanes Diwygiadau Crefyddol Cymru* (1906), E. Parry, *Llawlyfr ar Hanes y Digwyddiadau Crefyddol yng Nghymru* (1898) and J. J. Morgan, *Hanes Dafydd Morgan a Diwygiad '59* (1906). There is a shortened English version of the last viz. *The '59 Revival in Wales* (1904).
2. J. Venn, op. cit., p1
3. See W. R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District—The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-50* (New York, 1950).
4. National Library of Wales (NLW), Calvinistic Methodist Archives, 14,703, Vol. II, f, 143; see also *Monthly Herald* Vol. I, 1858, p.97.
5. See E. Isaac, *Humphrey Jones a Diwygiad 1859* (1930), pp23-29 and *Y Fwyell*, November 1894, pp. 217-224.
6. J. J. Morgan, *Hanes Dafydd Morgan* op. cit., p.22.
7. Evan Davies, *Revivals in Wales* (1859) p.12.
8. N.L.W. Calvinistic Methodist Archives. 12,684, f.3.
9. *Merthyr Telegraph* (MT), 24 September 1859.
10. *The Revival*, 24 September 1859.
11. *Monthly Herald*, Vol VI, 1858 p.3.
12. His tour is reported in *Cambrian*, 28 May 1858 and 4 June 1858; see also *Aberystwyth Observer*, 21 August 1858.
13. *Cambrian*, 11 June 1858.
14. *U.K. Census*, 1801-51: Merthyr Tydfil Registration District.
15. See D. M. Richard, *A Descriptive and Historical Sketch of Aberdare, 1837-97* (1897), pp.15-23.
16. See I. G. Jones and D. Williams (Eds.), *The Religious Census of 1851: A Calendar of the Returns Relating to Wales* (1976), Vol. I, pp. 183-190.
17. *U.K. Census*, Enumerators Returns 1851: Merthyr Tydfil registration District.
18. See, for example, T. Rees and J. Thomas, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynnol Cymru* (1872), Vol. II, p.334.

19. Welsh Baptist Union, *Llawlyfr y Cyfarfodydd Blynyddol* (1915), p.42.
20. H. Jones, *Hanes Wesleyaeth Gymreig* (1911), Vol. IV, pp.1684-5.
21. *Yr Annibynnwyr*, January 1858, p.26.
22. D. Evans (Aberaman), *Y Diwygiad Crefyddol Mawr yn America, neu Fuddugoliaeth Duw a Fammon yn y Byd Newydd* (1858).
23. *Cambrian*, 9 July, 1858.
24. J. J. Morgan *Hanes Dafydd Morgan*, op. cit., p.259.
25. *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 11, 18 June 1858.
26. *M.T.*, 27 May 1858.
27. Quoted in Evan Davies, op. cit., p.82.
28. J. Treharne, *Hanes Eglwys Ebenezer, Aberdâr* (1898), p.35.
29. *Cambrian*, 22 May 1859.
30. Evan Davies, op. cit., p.82.
31. T. Rees and J. Thomas, op. cit., Vol. II, p.336.
32. J. J. Morgan, *The '59 Revival*, op. cit., p.99.
33. *Report, Evidence and Indexes of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Church and other Religious Bodies in Wales*, 1910 (XIX), extracted from pp.466-70.
34. *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* (CMG), 12 April 1859.
35. N.L.W. Ms. 2878B, 'History of Aberdare'.
36. *C.M.G.*, 6 March 1858.
37. *Ibid*, 9 July 1858.
38. *M.T.*, 30 July 1859.
39. *Ibid*, 3 September 1859.
40. J. H. Morris and L. J. Williams, *The South Wales Coal Industry, 1841-75*, (1958), p.253.
41. *C.M.G.*, 5 December 1857.
42. *Ibid*, 26 December 1857.
43. *Ibid*, 2 January 1858.
44. *Ibid*, 9 January 1858.
45. *Y Gwron*, 5 December 1857.
46. *Cambrian*, 11 December 1857.
47. *M.T.*, 9 January 1858.
48. *Ibid*, 16 January 1858.
49. *Ibid*, 23 January 1858.
50. *Ibid*, 6 March 1858.
51. *Cambrian*, 9 July 1858.
52. See *Y Fwyell*, April 1894 pp.37-8 and *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (1940), pp.1117-8.
53. *M.T.*, 21 April 1860.
54. D. Silyn Evans, *Bywgraffiad David Price, Siloa* (1898), p.43.
55. *Cambrian*, July 1858.
56. See *Star of Gwent*, 29 October 1859.
57. *Y Gwladgarwr*, 5 November 1859.
58. *C.M.G.*, 9 July 1859.
59. *M.T.*, 10 December 1859.
60. *Ibid*, 29 March 1860.
61. *Ibid*, 29 March 1860.
61. Evan Davies, op. cit., p.35.
62. See J. Venn, op. cit., p.10; *Revival*, 3 December 1859.
63. J. Treharne, op. cit., p.16.
64. Evan Davies, op. cit., p.35.