Mission in a Welsh Context:

Patterns of Nonconformist Mission in Wales

and the Challenge of Contextualisation

in the Twenty First Century

Thesis submitted in accordance with the

requirements of the University of Chester

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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July 2015

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Abstract

This thesis considers aspects of contextualisation in the mission of local churches in twenty-first century Wales. Welsh Nonconformity rose rapidly to a dominant position in Welsh society and culture in the nineteenth century, but has subsequently declined equally rapidly. By the beginning of the twenty-first century its total demise is predicted. The research examines the contextual factors in this decline, and their relevance for possible recovery.

Contextualisation is an essential part of missiology, in calibrating appropriate mission to the distinctives of a particular nation or locality. Wales is shown to be a distinctive context for mission, both nationally and regionally, in relation to specific aspects: religious, geographic, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, social and political. Contextual studies have been done for other mission contexts, but not for Wales. This research seeks to address this lack.

The thesis first outlines the development of the main approaches in global mission, their underlying assumptions, and their outworking in the mission of local churches in the West. The approaches have been identified as Evangelistic, Lausanne, *Missio Dei,* Liberal and Emergent. Drawing on hundreds of questionnaire responses and extensive interviews with Nonconformist leaders, the research examines how the different approaches to mission have been expressed in Wales, and how each approach adjusted to each aspect of context.

The growth trends of the different approaches, patterns of church and mission, and adjustments to Welsh contexts in the first decade of the twenty-first century, or not, are then examined. The resulting analysis enables good practice to be identified, and approaches for effective mission suggested for the coming decades.

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Chapter Four: Contemporary Approaches to Local Church Mission in Wales

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1   The Significance and Uniqueness of the Thesis

It is now recognised that contextualisation, by which approaches to mission are adjusted to local features and distinctives, is an essential part of missiology. Studies on church planting and local church mission have been undertaken for Western and Developing World contexts, but the same has not been applied to Wales. This research will seek to address this lack.[1]

The research was done under the auspices of *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan,[2]* to research trends, prospects and best practice for local church mission in Wales. It is therefore an exercise in applied theology, and the conclusions drawn will be used to influence the development of churches and their mission in Wales in the twenty-first century. Welsh Nonconformity has played a central role in Welsh religion, history, and culture for three hundred years. The reasons for its growth, influence and decline have been seen as important indicators for its future prospects.[3] A study of Welsh contexts will be seen to be essential, facilitating effective mission, and even ensuring Nonconformity's survival in many areas of Wales.

1.2   The Ethical Implications of the Waleswide / Cymrugyfan Connection

The ethical provisions adopted during the research are outlined in Appendix 1). *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan* is a voluntary and cooperative network of leaders in Wales, seeking to give encouragement, support, training to Church leaders, and seeks to help their mission in any way possible. Its support for this research was entirely on this basis, and the research will be used to support the work of *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan*. The researcher received no financial support, direction or interference from *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan*. He serves the network as its voluntary chairman, never as an employee. *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan* made its data base,

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[1] Priest and DeGeorge have identified 1492 PhD theses on a missions theme, internationally, written between 2002 and 2011. R. J. Priest and R. DeGeorge, "Doctoral Dissertations on Mission: Ten-Year Update, 2002-2011," *IBMR* 37 (4 2013): 195-197. In private correspondence DeGeorge said, "Unfortunately, I can not say that I have come across any research of the regional nature of which you are seeking, otherwise I would have included it as such studies are extremely valuable in a study such as this as you can well imagine." Email received 07.10.2013.
[2] www.waleswide.org / www.cymrugyfan.org
[3] R. Pope, *The Flight from the Chapels: The Challenge to Faith in the New Millennium* (Cardiff: Wales Synod of the United Reformed Church, 2000), 3-4.

administrative expertise and good name available, to be used as a non-threatening basis through which approaches to leaders could be made. The administrator of *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan* set up the online survey platform with Survey Monkey (page 147, footnote 1215), facilitated the collection, arrangement and presentation of data, but was at no point involved with their interpretation. There was, therefore, no conflicts of interest involved between the researcher and the organisation, merely a desire for mutual help.

Wales is a small country, and leaders, though in their hundreds, are known to each other, especially in particular regions or those ministering in Welsh. Identifiers, representing individual contributors, with a number, region, denomination and language (see page159, footnote 1255), could lead to the identification of some contributors, on a curiosity level or more seriously. It is intended, therefore, in future general publication, for these identifiers to be omitted.

1.3   The Scope and Delimitations of the Research

This research considers the present condition of Nonconformity in Wales, the nature and effectiveness of its mission, and how it seeks to relate to its particular context or contexts. The aspect of contextualisation being considered relates to the methodology of mission, and not theology *per se,* except where this impacts on the methodology. Historical references and patterns will be considered on the same basis.

The sections of Welsh Nonconformity included in the study are those which have held to historic orthodoxy in their confessions of faith. These include the three historic Welsh denominations,[4] the older denominations originating in England or elsewhere,[5] and the relatively recent Pentecostal, Charismatic, Evangelical, Independent and Emergent groups and networks.[6] Roman Catholic, Anglican and

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[4] The Presbyterian Church of Wales [http://www.ebcpcw.org.uk/], the Baptist Union of Wales [http://www.buw.org.uk/index.php?lang=en], and the Union of Welsh Independents [http://www.annibynwyr.org/aboutus/index.html] trace their origins to within Wales.
[5] The Methodist Church [http://www.methodistwales.org.uk/content/], the United Reformed Church [http://urcwales.org.uk/], The Baptist Union of Great Britain [http://www.baptist.org.uk/Groups/223119/South_Wales.aspx], the Salvation Army [http://www.baptist.org.uk/Groups/223119/South_Wales.aspx], and the Society of Friends [http://www.quaker.org.uk/] originated in England.
[6] Most of the newer groups introduced in the twentieth century had links with English networks and denominations, but often began though a proliferation of independent churches and missions originated in Welsh localities. These origins will be outlined in Chapter Three

Orthodox congregations were not included in order to give the work a manageable scale, though patterns and lessons will be applicable to them. Non-Trinitarian groups were not included for the same reason.[7]

1.4   The Researcher's Background

I approach the study as an evangelical Christian, born into Anglicanism in England, and having lived in England for my first twenty-eight years, before moving to ministry in Wales. I, therefore, come to the research with theological preferences, but also an upbringing that gives a denominational and cultural detachment from Welsh Nonconformity. In addition to this, for twenty years I have worked with Nonconformist leaders in Wales, and learned to read, write and speak Welsh. I have been the chairperson of *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan*,[8] a church planting and strengthening network, for ten years. In this capacity, I have worked with leaders in Wales from all nonconformist denominations and networks, or none, in all the regions of Wales. I am, therefore, an interested party, not an independent observer. However, as an insider and an outsider, my personal involvement gives a measure of action research, in which action, reflection, theory and practice can interact, with the participation of other colleagues, to suggest new approaches.[9]

This wide and long-standing contact with leaders has benefitted the research by not only encouraging their cooperation, but also by drawing on the years of first hand experience of the contexts and the issues involved. Bernard speaks of the need for immersion in the particular setting being studied, as a means to see and encounter the realities experienced by the participants. For Bernard, the process involves, "immersing yourself in a culture … so you can intellectualize what you've seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly."[10] It is hoped that my immersion has given such exposure and perspective. However, I remain, in part, an enquirer from outside, especially in Welsh language contexts.

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[7] To extend the research beyond Nonconformist churches would have greatly increased the number of leaders and churches, and interviews. An adjusted form of the questionnaire was offered to Anglican clergy, but only two responded.

[8] www.waleswide.org / www.cymrygyfan.org

[9] J. Swinton and H. Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research* (London: SCM, 2006), 255.

[10] H. R. Bernard, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (London: Sage, 2000), 319.

1.5   Methodology

A study in missiology, especially when considering the nature of particular contexts, will inevitably consider multiple aspects of national life, and, therefore, will be multidisciplinary in nature.[11] According to Elliston, missiology is a form of social research that has, "multidisciplinary perspectives because of the complexities of the subject matter".[12] Therefore, an integrated approach has been adopted to different spheres of learning, which is broad in its considerations, rather than finely focussed and narrow in its sphere.

This breadth of interdisciplinary study is also reflected in the methodologies of research used. Elliston describe the unique difficulties encountered:

> "As an academic discipline missiology does not have a unique or distinctive methodology. However, it does embrace components common to other academic disciplines around a theological core."[13]

Priest and DeGeorge describes missiology as an interdisciplinary discipline, with, "porous boundaries", drawing on the strengths of the cognate disciplines.[14]

The variety of disciplines means that different research perspectives will complement each other.[15] An ethnographic approach will be central, as Welshness assumes a distinct identity, myths of shared origin, and its own culture, society and language. When considering the nature of assumed Welshness, parallels with Social Identity Theory will be evident.[16] In the same way, aspects of phenomenology

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[11] E. Wan, "Rethinking Missiological Research Methodology: Exploring a New Direction," 3.1.1.1 [cited 11.05.2011]. Online: http://www.learningace.com/doc/1232797/fc22c179d3f40046b7377a21a22062da/rethinking-missiological-research-methodology.

[12] E. J. Elliston, *Introduction to Missiological Research Design* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2011), 1, 7, 113.

[13] Elliston, *Missiological Research*, 1-2.

[14] Priest and DeGeorge, "Dissertations," 195. Priest and DeGeorge give these disciplines as anthropology, education, sociology, history, theology, linguistics, comparative religion and philosophy of religion.

[15] Elliston, *Missiological Research*, 71; R. M. Montgomery, "Two Resources Needed for Missiological Theory Leading to a Three-Step Approach in Producing Missiological Theory," 1-16. [cited 28.03.13]. Online: http://www.asmweb.org/assets/6_ASM_Paper_2012_Area_3_Bib_Theol_Theoret%20Montgomery.pdf.

[16] M. J. Hornsey, "Social Identity Theory and Self-categorization Theory: A Historical Review," *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2 (1 2008): 204-222. This perspective, based on the earlier work of Tajfel and Turner, saw an individual's self concept as derived from perceived membership of their social group. Tajfel, H., and J. Turner. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." Pages 33–47 in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations.* Edited by W. G. Austin and S. Worchel. Monterey: Brooks and Cole, 1979.

will have a place in understanding symbols, myth, institutions and customs.[17] Insider-Outsider theories are reflected in how people support a common cause, with an in-group bias towards those with insider status, and against those seen as outsiders.[18] Thus, a variety of perspectives, grounded in their own data, will suggest patterns that are the domain of various approaches of classification, modelling and understanding.[19] Two models are used specifically to identity patterns of Welshness. Balsom's geographical model[20] gives spacial demarcation, and Douglas's work, on the structure of Cultural Theory,[21] provides a social model of "Grid and Group" that will be adapted to show the boundaries of communities and the mores that keep them in place. Both demonstrate different and contrasting aspects of Welshness, in distinct, but graded, contexts.

Hiebert speaks of missiology's focus on that which is macrodemographic and quantitative, or ethnographic and descriptive.[22] This study, as a piece of social research, will include Quantitative and Qualitative methods to explore these aspects. Qualitative and Quantitative methodologies used to be viewed as separate paradigms for observation, because of their different epistemological assumptions.[23] However, the perspectives gained are increasingly seen as complementary.[24] Such a mixed model methodology will be used, enabling a process of triangulation to confirm findings and conclusions.[25] The approach advanced is exploratory, rather than testing a particular thesis. It seeks to identify a distinct Welshness, and explores how mission may adjust effectively to it.

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[17] D. Gilliland, "Phenomenology as Mission Method," *MIR* 7 (1979): 451-459; Bryman, *Methods*, 16.
[18] A Lindbeck and D. Snower, "The Insider-Outsider Theory: A Survey," n.p. [cited 24.09.2013]. Online: http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/2860/1/dp534.pdf.
[19] A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (3rd; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6-12.
[20] Page 85-87.
[21] Page 282-284.
[22] P. G. Hiebert, *The Gospel in Human Contexts* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009), 160-165.
[23] P. Bazeley, "Issues in Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches to Research," in *Applying Qualitative Methods to Marketing Management Research* (ed. R. Buber, J Gadner, and L. Richards; London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 141-146.
[24] J. W. Creswell and V. L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 1-22; J. Brannen, "Mixing Methods: The Entry of Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches into the Research Process," *IJSRM* 8 (3 2005): 173-178; R. B. Johnson, A. J. Onwuegbuzie, and L. A. Turner, "Towards a Definition of Mixed Methods Research," *JMMR* 1 (2007): 112-123. Cited 24.04.2013. Online: http://www.coe.unt.edu/sites/default/files/24/59/Johnson,%20Burke%20Mixed%20Methods%20Research.pdf.
[25] The term "triangulation" is derived from navigation practices in which a correct position is determined through trigonometric triangulation of a number bearings. In this context, the validity of a theory is validated by where different data intersects. Bazeley, "Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative," in Buber, Gadner, and Richards, *Applying Qualitative Methods*, 145-147; Creswell and Plano Clark, *Mixed Methods*, 62; Creswell, *Research Design*, 217.

Quantitative research methods were used to collect and analyse church growth or decline statistics, as well as particular methods and approaches in mission. Qualitative methods were used to gather the reflections of leaders on trends, and their perceived causes. Qualitative research is particularly appropriate in considering context as it has a descriptive nature which can focus on language, culture and society.[26] Through data recording, presentation and interpretation, it can give a fuller picture than quantitative statistics alone would be able to do.[27] Denzin has likened the Qualitative process to that of a quilt-maker, assembling a montage of images that reflects multiple pieces and elements.[28] It is a situated activity, locating the observer within the context being studied. The idea of a quilt, and the need to be located within the context, are very appropriate for a study of the complexities that contexts in Wales represent.

The responses to the qualitative questions, in the questionnaire and in the subsequent interviews, often took the form of narrative describing the respondent's history and situation. The use of such narrative in social research has gained increasing acceptance in recent years, allowing the individual's personal story to be heard.[29] In relating individual mission responses to aspects of Welsh context, the narrative element has been related in their own words, before comment, analysis and implications are considered.

Those interviewed, following the questionnaire, were chosen for the following reasons:
o   To reflect, where possible, the different approaches to mission in different regions and language groups. Some of the empty boxes reflect an unavailability for interview, and some the fact that a particular approach was not identified in a region. The only Welsh language Lausanne leader contributed by email rather than interview.
o   To broadly reflect the proportions of those responding to the questionnaire.

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[26] Elliston, *Missiological Research*, 74-75.
[27] Bryman, *Methods*, 16-20.
[28] N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 1994), 4. It was Denzin who introduced the concept of "triangulation" for such a multi-perspective approach, that displays "multiple, refracted realities". Denzin and Lincoln, *Qualitative*, 6.
[29] J. Elliott, *Using Narrative in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (London: SAGE, 2005), 5-16.

- To explore further the contributions of those who had provided particularly insightful or unusual observations in the questionnaire.
- To enlarge the sample of Emergent leaders by approaching those who had not completed the questionnaire.
- To give particular attention to approaches that may not have responded to the questionnaire, notably Liberal leaders, because of Waleswide / Cymrugyfan's evangelical bias.

	SE	SW	Valleys	Mid	NW	NE	English	Welsh	Bilingual
E1	2	5	3	5	5	3	16	6	1
E2	2	6	4	1		1	13		1
Lausanne	4	3	1		1	1	10		
Missio Dei	1	3				4	7	1	
Liberal	4	3	3	3	5	4	9	13	
Emergent	3	1	1				5		

Chart to show the Regional and Language Spread of Interviwees

Interviewees were seen individually, and standard procedure for obtaining unbiased interview responses was used.[30] The narratives transcribed from the questionnaires and interviews have been considered together, and coded by theme.[31] The research was grounded in the data, and conclusions were drawn from it, being exploratory, inductive, and interpretive.[32] This approach, known as Grounded Theory, leads to a greater appreciation of the data, thus enriching the concepts that emerge.[33] Denzin's order of data collection, analysis by coding, comparison, and construction into a theory, and then further refining, was followed.[34]

It would be unrealistic to expect personal comment and description, and even numerical data, to the questionnaire and interviews to be free of subjectivity or inaccuracy, when recollections are being recorded for a ten year period. Paas says that, within a missiological framework, such "hard" sociological data should be

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[30] The interviews, using a structured questionnaire with open-ended questions (Appendix 3), lasted for approximately 30 minutes. Questions were asked in as ethically neutral a way as possible, with no answers suggested or responses disagreed with. Wengraf's partial SQUIN (Single QUestion aimed at Inducing Narrative) methodology was adopted. Fontana and Frey, "The Interview," in Denzin and Lincoln, *Qualitative Research*, 701-703; Bryman, *Methods*, 231-238.

[31] T. Wengraff, *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods* (London: Sage, 2001), 111-117; J. W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (London: Sage, 2003), 190-194; Elliston, *Missiological Research*, 146-149.

[32] Creswell, *Research Design*, 108-116, 179-208.

[33] B. G. Glaser and A. L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (New York: Aldine, 1967), 1-6, 21-25; Bryman, *Methods*, 541-549; Elliston, *Missiological Research*, 150-153.

[34] Denzin and Lincoln, *Qualitative*, 510-20.

handled with restraint, and not taken at face value.[35] The subjectivity encountered in the responses of those questioned will also be found in the one framing and asking the questions.[36] In this role the researcher is a participant as well as an observer.[37] Every effort was made to minimise any bias resulting, and to identify it as it occurred.[38] Some interviews, or parts of interviews, were answered in Welsh. The tapes of these sessions were transcribed and translated by the researcher. Inevitably, some meaning and emphasis is lost in translation.

Where possible, references are to original sources or academic comment on them. However, mission in Wales is an activity, for the most part, pursued by practitioners, not by scholars. As a result, many of the references are from literature of a more popularist and practical nature, there being a limited amount of a scholarly nature, especially in the Welsh language.[39] Together, both types of literature will convey and describe the rich tapestry of perspectives that make up Welshness.

Trends in missiology will be outlined, before their history and expression in Wales is considered. Six distinctive aspects of Welsh contexts will be described, and their interface with the outworking of the mission of local churches reflected on. To do this, the questionnaire will give a macro-perspective, and interviews will give examples of how the over-all trends work out from a micro-perspective. This multi-layered, mixed-methodology approach will allow those who are involved in mission in Wales to give their own stories and perspectives, alongside the theoreticians who comment on the situation from a distance.

In the popular press, Welsh Nonconformity, and its mission in contemporary Wales, is in serious, if not terminal, decline.[40] This thesis is a study in contextualisation,

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[35] S. Paas, "The Use of Social Data in the Evangelization of Europe: Methodological Issues," *IBMR* 37 (1 2013): n.p. Cited 27.03.13. Online: http://www.internationalbulletin.org/system/files/2013-01-009-paas.html.

[36] Elliston, *Missiological Research*, xxiii, 59.

[37] Creswell, *Research Design*, 185-186.

[38] Elliston, *Missiological Research*, 77-82.

[39] This is especially true of the historical references. For example, the writings of Gwynfor Evans are those of a nationalist politician with a definite political agenda and perspective. His writings are included because they reflect the populraist nature of a constructivist approach to Welshness. Evans, G. *Land of My Fathers*. Talybont: Y Lolfa, 1996; Evans, G. *The Fight for Welsh Freedom*. Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2002; Evans, G. *Welsh Nation Builders*. Llandysul: Gomer, 1988.

[40] McManus, J. "Religion May Become Extinct in Nine Nations, Study Says." No pages. Cited 28.03.2011. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-12799801; Shipton, M. "Future bleak for Welsh chapels, says academic." No pages. Cited 29.08.2012. Online: http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2008/08/23/future-bleak-for-welsh-chapels-says-academic-91466-21590079/; Pigott, R. "Times of change for Methodist Church in Wales." No pages.

considering aspects of mission and Welshness, and how they relate to each other. A lack of rigour in considering contextual issues will be shown to account, in part, for Nonconformity's evident decline and ineffectiveness. From a British viewpoint, Wales may be seen as merely a sub-set within Britain and a British identity, with the result that church and mission are approached in a common, British, way. If, however, it can be demonstrated that Wales has a distinct and separate context and identity for mission, then the nature of that mission will have to be calibrated accordingly.

Cited 29.08.2012. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-19392050.; Fielding, S. "Welsh chapels: race against time to record their fate." No pages. Cited 29.08.2012. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-12908166; Waters, D. "Churches and chapels in Wales facing uncertain future." No pages. Cited 29.08.2012. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-12547195; n/a. "Census 2011: One Third in Wales have no Religion." No pages. Cited 11.12.2012. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-20678136; Hopkins, G. "Is Wales Becoming Faith's Barren Land." *The Tablet* (21.09.2013): 8–9.

Chapter Two: Patterns in Contextual Missiology

This chapter will consider the development of contextualisation as part of missiological thinking, and its application to Western culture. This will provide a basis for considering approaches to contextualised mission in Wales. The development of missiology, in particular the varying approaches to contextualisation, will be traced from the beginning of the modern missionary movement to the present.

2.1   The Rise of World Missions

By its very nature, Christian mission involves the conveying of a message and its influence from those holding such belief and practice to a receptor culture.[41] From its inception, the Christian faith was perceived in this way, following a recorded command from its founder for his followers to be, "my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth"[42] [Acts 1:8]. Through its mission, the Church seeks to influence the world around it, at a local and a global level.

The beginning of what has come to be known as the Modern Protestant Missionary Movement is usually traced to the decision of William Carey to plan and lead a mission to Serampore in India in 1793.[43] Over the next one hundred years, an increasing number of Christian missionaries travelled to live, and often die, in what were regarded as heathen lands.[44] They went with the message of salvation through faith in Jesus Christ, but also responded to the social needs of their adopted lands through health care, literacy work, education and agricultural improvement. These activities were developed alongside preaching, Bible translation and church planting, which were considered the priority of mission.[45]

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[41] The term 'mission' was used in the theological sense of the Father sending the Son [1 John 4:14], but its first use to describe the church's missionary activity was by the early Jesuits to describe the Pope's missions to evangelise non-Catholics in the sixteenth century. [S. B. Bevans and R. P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2009), 173-174].

[42] All biblical quotations from an English text will be from 'The Holy Bible, New International Version, © 1973, by International Bible Society.

[43] D. J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2009), 280; P. Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 41-42.

[44] A. Anderson, "Signs and Blunders: Pentecostal Mission Issues at 'Home and Abroad' in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Asian Mission* 2:2 (2000): 193-194.

[45] J. R. W. Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World* (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 2008), 25-26.

The birth and rapid growth of Christian mission to foreign lands was closely tied to the contemporaneous spread of European thought and colonisation.[46] The West considered itself the civilised and civilising force, and the missionaries often went where armies and traders had gone before, even with colonial protection.[47] Mission compounds were built and protected as a bridgehead of European Faith, language and culture, which were considered superior to what had pertained previously.[48] The faith was dressed in colonial attire and converts were, to some extent, westernised and detached from their own people and culture.

> "In general terms the indigenous cultures were misunderstood, caricatured and humiliated, and the churches born as a result became subcultures alienated from the living traditions of the peoples. To 'civilise' was seen as an indispensible part of evangelisation."[49]

By the first quarter of the twentieth century, perspectives had begun to change on the validity of such missionary activity. For Allen, it was too closely linked to European colonialism,[50] and much of the humanitarian work was seen, by indigenous leaders, as a form of cultural imperialism. This was increasingly the case as independence movements began to emerge whereby the colonies sought to free themselves from their European governors, or as they would often perceive them, their tyrants, exploiters and cultural spoilers.[51] In these cases, the gospel would be resisted because it was perceived as a threat to the fabric and cohesion of society.[52]

The missionary enterprise had been a European mission to what were regarded as being heathen lands. It would be a further fifty years or more before the West, especially Europe, was seen to be no less heathen.[53]

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[46] T. M. Elton, 'Corps of Discovery: A Twenty-First-Century Contextual Missiology for the Denominational Church in the United States,' in *The Missional Church in Context* (ed. C. V. Gelder; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 138; T. Chester, *Good News to the Poor: Sharing the Gospel through Social Involvement* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity, 2004), 152, 153.

[47] J. A. Kirk, *What is Mission?* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1999), 80-81; Bosch, *Transforming*, 302-313.

[48] D. A. McGavran, *The Bridges of God* (New York: Friendship, 1955), 42-47.

[49] Kirk, *Mission*, 81.

[50] R. Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (London: World Dominion, 1960), 18-42; Anderson, "Signs and Blunders," 193, 200.

[51] Bosch, *Transforming*, 302-313; Chester, *Good News,* 152-153; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 214-216, 231; J. M. Hull, *Mission-Shaped Church: A Theological Response* (London: SCM, 2006), 29; D. J. Hall, *The End of Christendom and the Future of Christianity* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 1995), 28, 35; Jenkins, *Global*, 42, 42, 48, 51, 162, 165; R. Langmead, 'Mission and Contextualisation,' *Journal of Tribal Studies* II (1 1998): 46.

[52] B. J. Nicholls, *Contextualisation: A Theology of Gospel and Culture* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity, 1979), 9, 10; J. E. L. Newbigin, *Foolishness to the Greeks* (London: SPCK, 1986), 2.

[53] C. Van Gelder, *The Essence of the Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 33, 34.

The twentieth century also saw changes in the nature of missionary endeavour, not only because of cultural and political changes in the receptor nations, but also because of significant theological changes in the churches of the sending nations.[54] The rise of theological Liberalism in the West led to an increasing shift from an Evangelistic approach to mission[55] to one more concerned with the temporal welfare of people beyond European or North American borders.[56] Inevitable tensions resulted over such emphases and goals, which reflected differences in the theory of missiology.[57] These differences will now be considered.

2.2 Approaches to Contextualisation

The challenge for the missionary was to adjust faith and practice to a new culture. This was made all the more difficult by the early missionaries' lack of awareness of their own cultural baggage, in that they were not culturally neutral themselves.[58] They were unaware of their own ethnocentrism.[59] The first missionary initiatives of the modern era were for the most part denominational and tended to export patterns of liturgy, leadership and even architecture to the receptor nations.[60] It would take a generation or more for leadership to be in national hands and even longer for expatriate patterns to be replaced.[61] For the missionaries, and their emerging churches, there had been an ongoing and inevitable tension between the need to adapt to their situation and the call to be a pilgrim people with a prophetic voice, speaking to the people and into their culture.[62]

The term "contextualisation" was first used by Coe and Sapsezian in relation to the Theological Education Fund, of the World Council of Churches, in 1972.[63] However,

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[54] D. A. McGavran, "My Pilgrimage in Mission," *IBMR* 10 (April 1986): 53, 54.

[55] This term is explained on page 12 as 'involves the meaningful communication of a core belief that produces local contextually adjusted churches. These then reflect and affect the changing culture, but also reflect, proclaim and defend the unchanging truth'.

[56] Bosch, *Transforming*, 395; Hull, *Response*, 28.

[57] Hull, *Response*, 28.

[58] Kirk, *Mission*, 78-80; J. E. L. Newbigin, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society* (London: SPCK, 1989), 141, 144.

[59] Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 8; Bosch, *Transforming*, 294.

[60] R. Allen, *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* (London: Lutterworth, 1968), 164-168.

[61] W. E. Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Layman's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932), 10-27.

[62] D. L. Whiteman, "Contextualisation: The Theory, the Gap, the Challenge," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (1997): 3, 6.

[63] Bosch, *Transforming*, 420; Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 21; S. B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1977), 21; J. Hesselgrave and E. Rommen, *Contextualization: Meanings, Methods and Models* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 29.

the concept of adjusting Christian faith and practice to the receptor culture had been through a variety of terminology and emphases in the preceding century: indigenisation, inculturation, incarnation … but the meanings were similar.[64] Kirk describes an initial phase of "accommodation" in which the core elements of the Faith were adjusted to the new culture by adopting terms, customs, images and concepts of God within that culture.[65] This, however, was but a first step in a policy of presenting what was seen as an unchanging and unchangeable message in a way that was adjusted to the different images and thought forms of others.[66]

"Contextualisation", however, was initially used to describe a step beyond indigenisation.[67] It was suggested that mission and the gospel should be shaped entirely by the immediate context, in a dialectical process between the message and the culture. In its early expression, the word represented a radical development from previous approaches, and closely linked to a parallel term, "inculturation".[68] For the first time, social, political and humanitarian movements were central to the Church's mission in different cultures, shaping the very nature of its message.[69] The Christian gospel was to be defined by the prevailing needs of a particular culture as biblical texts were in dialogue with that culture. New insights and relevant meaning were found by interpreting the Scripture in the light of different cultures, thus re-defining the nature of orthodoxy as well as that of orthopraxy.[70] Such a contextualisation of theology produced an epistemological break with previous theologies, giving grounds for theologies that were black, feminist, liberationist, African, Asian or Welsh, as part of an incarnational process or hermeneutical "circulation".[71] By the 1980s, the trends for the inculturation of local theologies had become an accepted approach.[72] Context

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[64] Langmead, 'Mission,' 48, 49; Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 142; M. L. Branson, 'Ecclesiology and Leadership for the Missional Church,' in *The Missional Church in Context* (ed. C. Van Gelder; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 118; Whiteman, "Contextualisation,' 2.

[65] Kirk, *Mission*, 89; Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 20-23; T. J. Keller, *Center Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012), 91.

[66] Kirk, *Mission*, 89-90; Newbigin, *Foolishness*, 2.

[67] Keller, *Center*, 91.

[68] Bosch, *Transforming*, 421; Whiteman, 'Contextualisation,' 2.

[69] Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 20-23.

[70] Bosch, *Transforming*, 182, 294.

[71] O. E. Costas, *Liberating News: A Theology of Contextual Evangelization* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 8-10; Bevans, *Models*, 8; Van Gelder, "Missiology," in Van Gelder, *Context*, 39-40; W. Evans, *An Outline of the History of Welsh Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1900) would be a very early search for such a regional distinctive.

[72] Bosch, *Transforming*, 452-455; Hull, *Response*, 22-27.

had been added to scripture and tradition as the *loci theologici,*[73] and as a theological imperative.[74]

Not all approaches, however, are as radical in their redefinitions. Some argue for the terms and concepts of indigenisation or inculturation to be retained as a fluid process.[75] Bevans and Schroeder speak of the "constants" in theology that have to be contextualised, "not as simply the propagation of ready-made doctrine but as the constant discovery of the gospel's 'infinite translatability' and missionary intention".[76] Mission was to retain a theological core of orthodoxy in belief and a prophetic orthopraxy in the pursuit of justice, peace, sustainability of the environment and reconciliation.[77] It was to be "bold in prophetic witness and speech, humble in attentive dialogue"[78] so that the Church was continually "reinventing' itself" in its mission.[79]

Others saw such an emphasis as merely a process of humanisation, "the salvation of history and the world rather than of the church",[80] with evangelism marginalised.[81] Nicholls describes it as "existential contextualisation", where text and context are relative and truth is found dialectically, in contrast to a "dogmatic contextualisation" where biblical theology and dogma are interpreted in a new situation. Those contending for the latter saw trends and dangers of syncretism, leading to reductionism, in the former.[82] Hesselgrave and Rommen redefined contextualisation as discovering "the *legitimate implications* of the Gospel in a given situation", limited by "a proper exegesis of the text" [italics theirs].[83] They see a process of "decontextualisation" as of primary importance. In this, regardless of the contextual perspectives of the reader, the text of Scripture is allowed to speak from within its own context, thus free from interpretational biases as far as possible.[84] Nicholls, somewhat differently, sees three contexts in tension: "the encultured gospel of the Bible", that of the messenger, and that of the recipient. The tension is dynamic, under

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[73] Bevans, *Models*, 1-3.
[74] Bevans, *Models*, 1, 2, 7, 12.
[75] Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 21; Hesselgrave and Rommen, *Contextualisation*, 33; S. Gaze, *Mission-Shaped and Rural* (London: Church House, 2007), 27-32.
[76] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 2.
[77] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 385-95.
[78] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 4.
[79] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 31.
[80] Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 22.
[81] J. E. L. Newbigin, *The Open Secret* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 149.
[82] Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 26-31; Hesselgrave and Rommen, *Contextualisation*, 150-151; Newbigin, *Foolishness*, 7.
[83] Hesselgrave and Rommen, *Contextualisation*, 149.
[84] Hesselgrave and Rommen, *Contextualisation*, 34.

the influence of the Holy Spirit, who is always a "cross-cultural missionary" in a work that is "supernatural and supra-cultural."[85]

Various ways have been suggested for categorising these different approaches to contextualisation, but most relate to countries where the main religion is not Christianity.[86] Hesselgrave and Rommen, however, suggest a continuum, appropriate for the Western Church, from "Liberal Dialogical", to "Neoliberal Dialetical", to "Neo-orthodox Dialectical" to "Orthodox Didactic".[87] Although there are blurred edges between the categories, this scheme of a spectrum from radical Liberalism to Biblicist orthodoxy, with variations between, better reflects the variety of approaches in a European, post-Christian, context. The expressions of Nonconformist mission in Wales reflect these categories, except for the "Neoliberal Dialetical", referring to liberation theology, of which there is no significant expression. Their continuum will be adopted in this research, with the first two categories merged, to give: Liberal [radical Liberalism], *Missio Dei* [Neo-orthodox Dialectical], and Evangelistic [Orthodox Didactic].

These three approaches were evident in the questionnaire responses. However, the questionnaire responses also suggested a more complex pattern, with differences within the Evangelical approach, described as E1 and E2 (page 163), and other approaches that combined two or more of the three main paradigms. Lausanne is an Evangelistic approach, but incorporates elements of *Missio Dei,* and the Emergent approach adopts elements of all approaches (page 43-47). The six categories adopted in this research reflect these differences.

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[85] Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 66-68.
[86] Bevans, *Models*, 23-110, Bosch, *Transforming*, 420-35.
[87] Hesselgrave and Rommen, *Contextualisation*, 151-157. Sally Gaze works this principle out in a British Rural context. Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 8-14.

2.3   The Evangelistic Approach to Contextualisation

The motivation for missionary activity up to the end of the nineteenth century was essentially evangelistic, with social concern and action a necessary consequence. Mission and the evangelism of the individual were regarded as broadly synonymous terms.[88] The Modern Missionary Movement was in part inspired by the Evangelical awakenings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which were motivated by a desire to see the salvation of individuals.[89]

With the rise of theological Liberalism in the twentieth century, and its growth to a place of dominance in the main Protestant denominations, the primacy of evangelism was first questioned and then largely replaced by a "social gospel" in many circles.[90] Such developments, however, did not end the efforts in mission that were centred on the Great Commission of Matthew 28:19-20, to make and teach new disciples in all nations. Johnstone speaks of waves of Evangelical missions between 1865 and 1966, through non-denominational missionary agencies.[91] By 1966, the number of missionaries sent out by Evangelical agencies exceeded those from the more Liberal ecumenical bodies by three to two, and by 1988, 88% of American missionaries were Evangelical.[92] Such missions emphasised evangelisation, church planting and the indigenisation of leadership.

One example of the Evangelistic approach to mission is the work of Donald A. McGavran (1897-1990), who was Professor of Mission, Church Growth and South Asian Studies at Fuller Theological Seminary, California.[93] He was himself a missionary in India from 1923 to 1961, initially subscribing to the Liberal Theological view that mission was "philanthropy, education, medicine, famine relief, evangelism and world friendship", but later, he rejected it in favour of an emphasis on church growth and the multiplication of churches.[94]

> "As my convictions about mission and church growth were being molded in the 1930s and '40s they ran headlong into the thrust that mission is doing many good things in addition to evangelism. … I could not accept this way of thinking about missions. These good deeds must, of course, be done, and Christians will

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[88] Stott, *Mission*, 25-28; A. Johnston, *The Battle for World Evangelism* (Wheaton: Tyndale House, 1978), 10-18, 176-177, 310-314.
[89] P. Johnstone, *The Church is Bigger than You Think* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 1998), 170-172.
[90] Bosch, *Transforming*, 32; Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 134.
[91] Johnstone, *Bigger*, 98-102.
[92] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 261, 262.
[93] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 261.
[94] McGavran, 'Pilgrimage,' 54'

do them. I myself was doing many of them. But they must never replace the essential task of mission, discipling the peoples of earth."[95]

He considered that the making of disciples was the priority in mission and, as a result, he embarked on research as to what caused rapid church growth, or hindered it.[96] He studied what he called "peoples movements", where communities came to faith together.[97] He observed that, "men like to become Christians without crossing racial, linguistic or class barriers".[98] This insight led McGavran to develop a theory of culturally aware mission practices, including the homogeneous church growth principle, where "unbelievers understand the gospel better when expounded by their own kind of people".[99] He sought to understand how to reach non-Christian people, how to make them disciples, how to plant churches, and what form of evangelism worked best in different cultures, because, "It is God's will that his church grow, that his lost children be found".[100] This led to the founding of the Church Growth Movement that shaped Evangelical missions, and local church outreach strategies, for decades to come.[101]

He called for mono-ethnic churches, in contrast to those valuing the multi-ethnic nature of the Christian Church, both internationally and locally. His views were criticised as being racist,[102] and he was described as a "generic conservative with a preference for numbers, slogans, and church planting".[103] Gibbs later warned that ethnically based mission or churches could be self-centred and impoverished, and for Kirk they would be culturally chauvinistic and a denial of the gospel.[104] This issue, of the legitimacy of mission that is exclusive to a particular language or people group, will have a clear bearing on Welsh language mission in Wales.

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[95] McGavran, 'Pilgrimage,' 54.
[96] D. A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 123-142; Hunter III, "Legacy," 158.
[97] McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 163-180; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 261.
[98] Hunter III, 'Legacy,' 160; McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 235-259.
[99] McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 167, 198-215; Hunter III, 'Legacy,' 160; Kirk, *Mission,* 221.
[100] Hunter III, 'Legacy,' 159.
[101] Hunter III, 'Legacy,' 160; J. D. Payne, *Missional House Churches* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), 68-70; Ollerton, 'Current,' 24-25.
[102] Hull, *Response*, 13, 16; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 262. McGavran taught the importance of the '*homogeneous principle*' which he said showed that people come to faith most easily through their own culture and language. Churches, therefore, need to be planted for single cultures and language groups, and not as multi-racial and multi-lingual communities.
[103] Hunter III, 'Legacy,' 159.
[104] Kirk, *Mission*, 222-223.

In response, McGavran said that the most vigorous opposition of his day came from those whose labours had resulted in little or no growth, concluding, "The Lord of the harvest does want to know whether his laborers are bringing in one sheaf every ten minutes or every ten years."[105] He was also outspoken against the ecumenical initiatives in mission by the World Council of Churches, especially prior to the Uppsala Assembly in 1968:

> "The World Council of Churches and all its member denominations would be turning away from mission as Christianization to mission as humanization. Instead of seeking to disciple *panta ta ethne,* winning them to Christian faith, and multiplying churches among them, the effort would be to spread brotherhood, peace, and justice among all people regardless of what religion or ideology they espoused."[106]

In McGavran's mind, "the World Council of Churches had really betrayed the 2 billion and was heading in a direction not biblically justified."[107] His comments may have been somewhat acerbic, but his primary concern was whether or not current actions would produce healthy growing churches for the future.[108]

One of those who worked with McGavran at the School of World Mission, and became his successor, was C. Peter Wagner. Wagner, beginning his research under McGavran, looked at church growth in South American Pentecostalism, and at what he later termed, "The New Apostolic Churches". These, he said, represented a significant development in world mission,[109] which, though diverse in nature, were "the fastest growing segment of Christianity".[110] In 2002, it was claimed that these networks had a hundred million adherents worldwide,[111] and Wagner spoke of individual churches with tens of thousands of members,[112] contrasting their success with the "suicide of Liberal Protestantism".[113] These churches were orthodox in their theology and Charismatic in their praxis. Aubrey calls into question some of Wagner's statistics, but confirmed that the reality of non-western church growth in these sectors was well documented.[114]

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[105] McGavran, 'Pilgrimage,' 57.

[106] McGavran, 'Pilgrimage,' 54.

[107] McGavran, 'Pilgrimage,' 54.

[108] McGavran, 'Pilgrimage,' 58.

[109] C. P. Wagner, ed., *The New Apostolic Churches* (Ventura, Cal.: Gospel Light, 1998), 13-25.

[110] C. P. Wagner, *Churchquake!* (Ventura, Cal.: Gospel Light, 1999), 5-6.

[111] R. Aubrey, 'Apostles Today' (PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2002), 221.

[112] Wagner, *Churchquake*, 47-49.

[113] Wagner, *Churchquake*, 21. Wagner was referring to the decline in the membership of the main Protestant denominations that had adopted a Liberal theology and praxis.

[114] Aubrey, 'Apostles Today,' 221-223; Johnstone, *Bigger*, 109-116; F. Yang, 'Chinese Conversion to Evangelical Christianity: The Importance of Social and Cultural Contexts,' *socrel* 59 (3 1998): 237-238.

The Evangelistic approach sees Christ's coming into the world as a mission of reconciliation between God's holiness and justice and mankind in a sinful and alienated condition.[115] Evangelical and Pentecostal expressions of mission reflect this priority, the latter with a heightened eschatological urgency.[116] The evangelistic imperative is such a priority that social action cannot be put on a par with it. Instead, evangelism and church planting are the focus and emphasis, with social involvement a necessary consequence.[117] DeYoung and Gilbert contend that Christians and churches are subjects and heralds of the kingdom of God, not agents, in that it is God who extends his kingdom, not human projects and initiatives.[118] They, with others, see the Early Church's preaching about the Kingdom of God as evangelistic in nature, and would take this as a template to follow.[119] Chapter Four will show how the Evangelistic approach has been represented in Wales throughout the twentieth century, and how effectively it has adjusted to Welsh contexts in the twenty-first century.

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[115] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 325-327; Keller, *Center*, 37; D. Morphew, *Breakthrough: Discovering the Kingdom* (Cape Town: Vineyard International, 1991), 99-102, 149-156; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 272, 284; M. Driscoll and G. Breshears, *Vintage Church* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2008), 233-234.

[116] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 327-30.

[117] Keller, *Center*, 43.

[118] K. DeYoung and G. Gilbert, *What is the Mission of the Church?* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2011), 139, 197, 205-208.

[119] T. Chester and S. Timmis, *Total Church: A Radical Reshaping Around Gospel and Community* (Leicester: IVP, 2007), 88-89. Acts 8:12,19:8,20:25,28:23,31.

2.4 The Liberal Approach to Contextualisation

The Enlightenment was a movement from the eighteenth century which emphasized reason as the primary source for meaning and authority. It gave rise to a modernist epistemology that emphasised reason in the search for unified truth, and absolutism through linear thinking.[120] By the end of the nineteenth century, it had produced an optimism and hope in the progress of mankind[121] which directly challenged the Church's theistic worldview, and progressively undermined its authority.[122] A secular culture resulted, and theological Liberalism responded by accommodating to it.[123] In the twentieth century, theological Liberalism grew to a place of dominance in the main Protestant denominations.

The missiology of theological Liberalism was a "social gospel",[124] with an anti-supernaturalism that made salvation in this world its primary focus. It committed the Church to being the conscience of the world in its rise to human improvement.[125] Evangelism was regarded as a primitive and discriminatory activity belonging to the past, and the primacy of evangelism in an Evangelistic sense was first questioned and then displaced.[126] Pope summarized theological Liberalism as follows,

> 'These main protagonists of a social interpretation of the gospel all held firm to the image of Christ as the perfect man who revealed the supreme, divine, moral principles of his life and teaching to a higher degree than any before or since, and thus deserved the title 'Lord'. It was Jesus the teacher of righteousness and not Jesus the saviour from sin that was central to their message; thus moral instruction became the means to both social and individual salvation, and implicitly, more important than worship *per se*".[127]

Earlier missiologists had defined salvation as a deliverance from this world, *salus e mundo,* but the Liberal approach abandoned this teaching almost entirely and presented salvation as centred on saving this world in the here and now, *salus mundi.*

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[120] L. D. Pettegrew, "Evangelicalism, Paradigms, and the Emerging Church," *Master's Seminary Journal* 17/2 (Fall 2006):164.

[121] C. Greene and M. Robinson, *Metavista: Bible, Church and Mission in an Age of Imagination* (Milton Keynes: Authentic, 2008), 171-173.

[122] Pettegrew, 'Paradigms,' 164.

[123] D. J. Bosch, *Believing in the Future* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1995), 5-13; R. Pope, *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906 - 1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), 160.

[124] R. Pope, "From New Theology to Social Gospel," *WJRH* 2 (2007): 87; Chester, *Good News*, 72-73; Bosch, *Transforming*, 283-284.

[125] Bosch, *Transforming*, 32; R Pope, *Seeking God's Kingdom: The Nonconformist Social Gospel in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 90.

[126] Bosch, *Transforming*, 32; Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 134.

[127] Pope, *Kingdom*, 90.

It attempted to present Christianity, through a non-propositional hermeneutic, responding to its immediate context,[128] in a highly contextualised form of missiology.

It had a profound effect on the sending churches, denominations, and their missionary societies and thus affected missionary practice. This influence is seen in the work of W. Ernest Hocking, who chaired a lay commission to critique the missionary activity of his day. The commission produced an influential report, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Layman's Inquiry after One Hundred Years.*[129] They spoke as representatives of the sending churches, questioning the nature of missionary enterprise and the validity of such activity in the light of changes in theology and the world situation.[130] They regarded all the great world religions as common "major manifestations of the religious spirit",[131] and secularism as a threat to religious insight.[132] Theirs was an unambiguous statement of theological reductionism in which Christian truth was little more than Christian humanism, with little of its teaching not also seen in the other faiths.[133]

> "In respect to its theology and ethics, Christianity has many doctrines in common with other religions, yet no other religion has the same group of doctrines… what is true belongs, in its nature, to the human mind everywhere".[134]

The essential nature of mission was to be reduced to expressions of humanitarianism.[135]

Ritschl and Harnack were two of the influential Liberal theologians of the new approach that had spread to such influential laymen. They showed the way into a new world without what they saw as the supernaturalism or mythology of previous primitivism.[136] Harnack [1851-1930] saw theological dogmatism as the result of Hellenistic and Roman influence on the Early Church, and called for what he saw as a return to the simplicity of Jesus' religion.[137] Like Ritschl, Harnack emphasised the practical outcomes of faith rather than what he saw as mere theory. In this context

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[128] M. Camroux, 'Why Did the United Reformed Church Fail,' *JURCHS* 8 (January 2008): 37-38; Pope, *Kingdom*, 94, 126,
[129] Hocking, *Re-Thinking*, ix-xi.
[130] Hocking, *Re-Thinking*, 4, 18-19.
[131] Hocking, *Re-Thinking*, 6.
[132] Hocking, *Re-Thinking*, 29-32, 58.
[133] Hocking, *Re-Thinking*, 37, 49-51, 58,
[134] Hocking, *Re-Thinking*, 49.
[135] Hocking, *Re-Thinking*, 60-70.
[136] A. Harnack and W. Hermann, *Essays on the Social Gospel* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1907), 5-6; Pope, *Kingdom*, 5-11, 36, 104, 124-125; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 174; Jenkins, *Global*, 10; Bosch, *Transforming*, 395.
[137] Harnack and Hermann, *Social*, 31-38; 58-65; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 161.

he wrote his *Essays on the Social Gospel* in 1907, portraying Jesus as the ideal humanist who taught the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man and the importance of the human soul, concluding, "The kingdom of God must be built upon the foundation, not of institutions, but of individuals in whom God dwells and who are glad to live for their fellow men."[138]

The emphases of Liberalism changed as the century progressed, but the general position was to see the Kingdom of God as God's superintendence of the world and human progress in it.[139] It was no longer a question of eschatology, but of ethical behaviour in history.[140] The world, not the Church, was seen as God's primary locus of activity and intention.[141] An emphasis on human development legitimised the sometimes violent political engagement of liberation theology,[142] with issues of justice, peace and liberation paramount, and evangelism minimised.[143] For Newbigin, this was a fundamental weakness of Liberalism because it did away with conversion to start the Christian life.[144] Instead of being viewed as Saviour, Jesus was portrayed merely as a great human teacher and example.[145] For Bosch, it was "the kingdom of God, but without the King … the ideal moral order couched in categories of Western civilisation and culture". [146]

Theological Liberalism's approach to mission became dominant in the main Nonconformist denominations in Wales early in the twentieth century. Its strength and influence on mission in Wales at the start of the twenty-first century will be considered in Chapter Four.

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[138] Harnack and Hermann, *Social*, 16.

[139] Pope, *Kingdom*, 5, 22, 28-9, 36, 95, 125, 157; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 14-15, 154-160, 176-179, 183, 220-225, 246-249.

[140] Pope, *Kingdom*, 22, Keller, *Center*, 92-93.

[141] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 260, 262-4.

[142] Bosch, *Transforming*, 438-440, 485-486; McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," in McDermott, *Evangelical Theology*, 7. Not all proponents of Liberation Theology were Liberal in their approach to mission [G. Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation* (New York: Orbis, 1988)], but the Liberal emphasis in the WCC legitimized the more radical emphasis.

[143] Nicholls, *Contextualisation,* 22; C. J. H. Wright, *The Mission of God* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity, 2006), 63; Pope, *Kingdom*, 157.

[144] P. Weston, ed., *Lesslie Newbigin, Missionary Theologian: a Reader* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 138; Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 134.

[145] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 275.

[146] Bosch, *Transforming*, 32, 395.

2.5 The *Missio Dei* Approach to Contextualisation

This approach to missiology is normally associated with the name of Lesslie Newbigin. Because his contribution to missiology was so much shaped by his ecumenical aspirations and role, his biography will be given in some detail. He was born in Newcastle upon Tyne, in 1909, and, after education at a Quaker school and Cambridge, he was ordained by the Church of Scotland as a missionary of the Madras Mission.[147] He went to India in 1936, but by 1947 the churches he served were part of a new ecumenical "Church of South India" in which he, though a Presbyterian, was appointed as one of the first bishops.[148]

Newbigin became a committed Christian through the Student Christian Movement and a Quaker camp in South Wales in 1929.[149] During theological training at Cambridge, his understanding of faith was "profoundly changed" by his extended study of Paul's letter to the Romans.

> "I began the study as a typical liberal. I ended it with a strong conviction about 'the finished work of Christ', about the centrality and objectivity of the atonement accomplished on Calvary … At the end of the exercise I was much more of an evangelical than a liberal".[150]

This theological transition shaped Newbigin's future ministry and thinking.[151] Throughout his life and writings, he stressed the importance of evangelism and the Holy Spirit's work in conversion within the mission of God. He wrote against the Liberalism that left out the message and miracles of the Kingdom, and which "weakened the church's witness".[152] However, his thinking was also eclectic, being shaped by Barth, from the neo-Reformed school, as well as the Liberal theologians of an earlier period.[153] Though he had an Evangelical leaning, he also questioned the authority of the Bible and saw doctrine and truth as fluid, and needing contextual revision.[154] His own history had shaped his theology and thinking, as he freely acknowledged.[155] For this reason, he spoke of the tensions between Liberals and

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[147] Weston, *Newbigin*, 1-5.
[148] Weston, *Newbigin*, 5-7.
[149] Weston, *Newbigin*, 2, 3.
[150] Weston, *Newbigin*, 5.
[151] Keller, *Center*, 251-252.
[152] Newbigin, *Secret*, 132-140, 146, 156; Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 135, 162.
[153] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 241; Weston, *Newbigin*, 12, 20, 169; J. Tzu-Kao Chai, 'A Contextual Missiology for the Southern Baptist Church in Taiwan: Reviewing the Past and Envisioning the future,' in *The Missional Church in Context* (ed. C. Van Gelder; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 237; Wright, *Mission*, 62, 63.
[154] Newbigin, *Secret*, 173-180; Weston, *Newbigin,* 213-215.
[155] Newbigin, *Secret*, 94.

Evangelicals as a "deep and tragic split" and a "destructive conflict".[156]   As a distinguished and energetic leader of world ecumenism, he strove to unify what he regarded as two wings of the worldwide Church. His ecumenical credentials, as a Quaker-educated, Scottish Presbyterian minister, who had become a bishop, were unique. This, with experience of ecumenical union and mission in India, meant that Newbigin was strategically placed to help in the wider ecumenical project.[157]

On his retirement in 1974, he returned to the UK, where his career took a remarkable turn. In 1983, he wrote a small book, *The Other Side of 1984,*[158] which became an unexpected best seller. It led to the founding of the "Gospel and Our Culture" network, a series of fifteen books, and one hundred and sixty other writings on evangelising a post-Christian Western Culture. It was his challenge to the churches of the West, to contextualise to their changing culture, which was his abiding legacy and influence. He died in 1998.[159]

Newbigin contended for a three-fold Trinitarian mission, the *Missio Dei* approach.[160] God was at work in his world, so mission had to engage in the secular spheres of justice, poverty and environment, in Jesus' name.[161] God's reign, he said, was over all people, and so social action was an essential part of God's mission, not merely a by-product.[162]   Evangelism was to be at the centre of mission,[163] but social involvement, with ethical overtones, was also an essential element.[164]   God's salvation had three spheres of political, cultural and spiritual engagement with his world.[165]   The importance of the Holy Spirit's work was a theme throughout his writings, though mission was not just the Holy Spirit's work.[166]

The Willingen Conference (1952), that Newbigin helped to organise, gave this view of mission, the *Missio Dei,* a new prominence. Mission was no longer simply to flow out of the Church's Christology, emphasising Jesus' Great Commission (Matthew 28:19-

[156] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 24, 38.
[157] Weston, *Newbigin*, 9-11.
[158] Weston, *Newbigin*, 189-197.
[159] Weston, *Newbigin*, 11-13
[160] Newbigin, *Secret*, 20-31; Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 118-120; Weston, *Newbigin*, 81-3; Keller, *Center*, 251-252.
[161] Newbigin, *Secret*, 10, 18.
[162] Newbigin, *Secret*, 32.
[163] Newbigin, *Secret*, 136, 146.
[164] Newbigin, *Secret*, 102, 103, 152.
[165] Newbigin, *Secret*, 111.
[166] Newbigin, *Secret*, 156; Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 116, 117; Weston, *Newbigin*, 144.

20), but from an awareness that the three persons of the Trinity were integrally involved in mission in all of God's world.[167] According to Van Gelder, this change represented "a Copernican revolution within the discipline of missiology",[168] and the official report of Willingen asserted that, "The age of missions is at an end; the age of mission has begun".[169] Newbigin, with this perspective in mind, distinguished between the proclamation of the gospel in missions and the wider mission.[170] The local church was to be "the hermeneutic of the gospel" as it lived out all aspects of God's mission,[171] and as a worshipping community it was to be an attraction to the world around it, being in fact "God's embassy".[172]

The new foundation that Newbigin laid for contemporary mission was developed and clarified comprehensively by David Bosch. In 1991, he published *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in the Theology of Mission*.[173] This is widely regarded as his *magnum opus* and has been extensively praised.[174] In it, he explored in a comprehensive way the paradigm shift begun at Willingen and expounded by Newbigin. Bosch did not cover all the themes that were raised thoroughly,[175] nor did he agree with Newbigin on all points,[176] yet the main themes were highlighted and developed. Like Newbigin, he saw the need for an ecumenical approach to mission and actually described his thesis, in part, as an "Emerging Ecumenical Missionary Paradigm".[177] He saw mission in a similar Trinitarian framework, giving it wider redemptive scope in the world as a comprehensive salvation.[178]

For Bosch, the change from a Jewish to a Greek context in the Early Church was a paradigm shift to be repeated in reaching every culture. The process did not produce a "homogeneous new theology" but a change of paradigm that was to have "a significant effect on the understanding of mission".[179] Only in this way could Lessing's

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[167] Keller, *Center*, 251-253.
[168] Van Gelder, 'Missiology,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 20.
[169] G. M. Simpson, 'A Reformation is a Terrible Thing to Waste: A Promising Theology for an Emerging Mission Church,' in *The Missional Church in Context* (ed. C. Van Gelder; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 76.
[170] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 121.
[171] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 221; Weston, *Newbigin*, 142-4, 152-4, 229-236; Keller, *Center*, 252.
[172] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 184; Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 87.
[173] Livingston, 'Bosch,' 28.
[174] Kirk, *Mission*, 1.
[175] Notably issues of violence, the environment and partnership: see Kirk, *Mission*, 2, 143-204.
[176] For examples see Bosch, *Transforming*, 222, 267-269.
[177] Bosch, *Transforming*, 368.
[178] Bosch, *Transforming*, 390, 399-408, 493,
[179] Bosch, *Transforming*, 190.

"Ugly Ditch" between the biblical and contemporary situations be bridged.[180] Though he wanted and intended to bridge the "ugly ditch"; he also agreed with Newbigin that to seek absolute patterns in New Testament missiology was not only unhelpful but also impossible:

> "The profound dissimilarities between then and now imply that it will not do to appeal in a direct manner to the words of the biblical authors and apply what they said on a one-to-one basis for our situation. We should, rather, with creative but responsible freedom, prolong the logic of the ministry of Jesus and the early church in an imaginative and creative way in our time and context".[181]

For Bosch, as with Newbigin before him, *Missio Dei* represented the mission of God as mediating a comprehensive salvation, including the mission of the Church, but wider than it, which was best understood in terms of the Kingdom of God.[182] In this, he went farther than the Liberal theological approach which saw the Kingdom merely as an idealised moral order, to seeing the Kingdom within the creative eschatological tension of the "already but not yet".[183] In other words, Jesus had begun God's reign and would finalise it apocalyptically. God is seen to be redeeming creation now, in preparation for a final redemption and a renewed earth, not merely redeeming individuals out of a fallen world.

The Church has a central part to play in this mission of God. It was not to inaugurate God's reign, and certainly not to hinder it, but to bear witness to its reality. The Church was to participate in what God was doing in the society of its day rather than focus on individual salvation, as in the trends of Pietism.[184] The mission was God's mission, in all of its scope, not the Church's.

> "In the new image mission is not primarily an activity of the church, but an attribute of God. God is a missionary God … Mission is thereby seen as a movement from God to the world; the church is viewed as an instrument for that mission. There is a church because there is a mission, not vice versa".[185]

The Church, not the state, was to be the vehicle of this mission, being involved in mission as part of its very nature.[186] Mission, as the extending rule of God, was viewed as being greater than the Church. For too long, according to Bosch, "missionary work" had been the Church's "department of foreign affairs".[187] Where

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[180] Bosch, *Transforming*, 182, 270.
[181] Bosch, *Transforming*, 181.
[182] Bosch, *Transforming*, 399.
[183] Bosch, *Transforming*, 32.
[184] Bosch, *Transforming*, 84, 90, 98, 253.
[185] Bosch, *Transforming*, 390.
[186] Bosch, *Transforming*, 257, 372.
[187] Bosch, *Transforming*, 489-496.

Bosch went further than Newbigin was to suggest that mission, as an expression of God's wider work in the world, was separate from evangelism.[188] Evangelism was to consist of "alerting people to the reign of God" not "recruitment to religion".[189] In this, Bosch was being at his most "imaginative and creative".[190] Evangelism was seen as the announcing of God's rule rather than any sense of offering any reconciliation with him.[191]

Newbigin and Bosch were seeking to contextualise theology. Indeed, for Newbigin this was not a problem as his view of biblical authority was that it was something unfixed and of necessity contextual:

> "The Bible itself represents the experiences of one particular culture or complex of cultures … How, then, can it be absolutized, given an authority over the products of other cultures?"[192]

In the same way, Bosch in his description of salvation as a "modern paradigm" said a return to the classical interpretation of mission was not possible. Instead, he had a clear commitment to a salvation inaugurated by Jesus and worked out in the light of current needs. In a general way the practice of Jesus, "provided us with a model to emulate".[193]

In Wales, the *Missio Dei* approach was adopted by churches looking for a holistic approach to mission, responding to the spiritual, social and physical needs of people. Its expression, together with its influence on churches with a Lausanne and Emergent approach to local church mission, which will be considered in Chapter Four.

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[188] Bosch, *Transforming*, 409-420; Bosch, *Future*, 29, 30, 35; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 400, note 8.
[189] DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 18, 233; Bosch, *Future*, 33, 58.
[190] Bosch, *Transforming*, 181.
[191] DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 22.
[192] Newbigin, *Secret*, 173.
[193] Bosch, *Transforming*, 399.

2. 6.   The Effect of Missionary Theory on Local Church Mission in the West

The three main approaches to contextualised missiology have had a significant influence on the Church in the West as well as on the traditional spheres of missionary work. This section will consider their development in, and influence on, the wider Church. This will serve as a background for their influence on the churches in Wales, and their mission, which will be considered in Chapter Four.

2.6.1   The Wider influences of the Evangelistic Missiology

Newbigin affirmed the centrality of proclamation in Christian mission,[194] and Bosch saw evangelism as one of mission's "essential dimensions".[195]   Some holding the Evangelistic approach, however, objected to ideas of social action having parity with, or priority over, evangelism in the Church's mission. They saw this as a down-playing of the Gospel's primacy.[196] They emphasized an indigenisation approach to contextualisation, in which an unaltered message was expressed in ways appropriate for the particular context.[197] According to Keller, mission involves a three-fold approach of "entering", "challenging", and "appealing", so that the message can be adjusted to culture, without being subsumed by it.[198] Evangelism and the proclaimed gospel are to be kept central to all the Church's activities, with no areas of Church ministry in any way separate from them.[199] The local church is seen as the focus of the kingdom of God, and central to mission.[200] Historically, churches and mission organisations holding this view of mission tended to be from the more fundamentalist wing of Evangelicalism, often Pietistic in emphasis and isolationist in practice.[201] Stott was somewhat scornful of such a position, calling it "extreme" and a "world-denying pessimism".[202]   However, he acknowledged that equating mission with evangelism

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[194] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 128-129, 152; Weston, *Newbigin*, 180-182, 214, 234-246; Kirk, *Mission*, 224-225; A. Hirsch, *The Forgotten Ways* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2006), 21-22.
[195] Bosch, *Transforming*, 10; Bosch, *Future*, 10.
[196] Chester, *Good News*, 59; DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 54-55; C. J. H. Wright, *The Mission of God's People* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 96.
[197] Keller, *Center*, 89-91.
[198] Keller, *Center*, 119-121.
[199] E. Towns and D. Porter, *Churches that Multiply* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill, 2003), 17, 107; DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 19-20, 26, 29, 59, 62, 89.
[200] Timmis, *Multiplying*, 29, 33.
[201] C. R. Padilla, "Integral Mission and its Historical Development," in *Justice, Mercy and Humility: Integral Mission and the Poor* (ed. T. Chester; Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2002), 61; D. Burnett, *God's Mission: Healing the Nations* (Bromley: MARC Europe, 1986), 137. Burnett talks of those who would see social action as a distraction from evangelism, but gives no examples of such a position.
[202] Stott, *Mission*, 25-28.

was the Church's traditional position since the start of the modern missionary movement in the eighteenth century.[203] Such an approach was held by a variety of Evangelical traditions in Wales at the start of the twenty-first century. The networks of Pentecostalism and New Calvinism will be considered, as illustrative of the Evangelistic emphasis.

Wagner began his research into church growth by looking at South American Pentecostalism. He documented its phenomenal growth in the twentieth century and sought to give some explanation for it.[204] His conclusion was that the growth was due to an openness to the Holy Spirit that other Christian groups neglected, and their relentless evangelism.[205] He also commented on the fact that though Pentecostalism was an indigenous movement among the poor and dispossessed, it was not actively engaged in social reform or protest, describing them as being on a "Social Strike".[206] Christians reached their neighbours with good news and churches were planted without missionary support or governance.[207] As a movement, unlike the ecumenical missionary movements of the Northern Hemisphere, it was conservative and Biblicist in its theology.[208]

What Wagner described in the 1970s has continued and increased as a world-wide phenomenon into the twenty first century.[209] In 1900, there were 3.7 million adherents of some form of Pentecostalism worldwide, 74.5 million in 1970, 449 million in 1999 and 614 million in 2010. The growth rate per annum is currently 2.42%, with a projected 797 million members by 2025.[210] It is currently the second largest group of Christians in the world, behind Roman Catholics at 1,155.6 million adherents.[211] This is in sharp contrast to the 0.14% growth rate for other Christian groups, with totals for 2010 of Anglicans at 86.7 million and other Protestants at 419.3 million. Pentecostals represented 6% of world Christians in 1970 and 30% in 2000, and are projected to be

[203] Stott, *Mission*, 25-26.
[204] C. P. Wagner, *Look Out! The Pentecostals are Coming* (London: Coverdale, 1974), 15-27, 53-63.
[205] Wagner, *Pentecostals*, 29-51.
[206] Wagner, *Pentecostals*, 137-148; W. J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM, 1976), 467-472; Jenkins, *Global*, 7.
[207] Wagner, *Pentecostals*, 41-63.
[208] Jenkins, *Global*, 8-9, 251.
[209] M. M. Poloma, 'The Spirit Bade Me Go: Pentecostalism and Global Religion,' n.p. [cited 29.07.2011]. Online:
http://www.logos.hu/LogosVLE/Pentecostals/The%20Spirit%20Bade%20Me%20Go.pdf.
[210] D. B. Barrett and T. M. Johnson, 'Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1999,' *IBMR* 23 (January 1999): 25; T. M. Johnson, D. B. Barrett, and P. F. Crossing, 'Christianity 2010: A View from the New Atlas of Global Christianity,' *IBMR* 34 (January 2010): 36.
[211] Jenkins, *Global*, 73-76, 88; Keller, *Center*, 93.

44% by 2025.[212] In Britain, the Assemblies of God, a Pentecostal denomination, once very much on the margins, is now one of the growing denominations, and has a larger membership than the United Reformed Church, one of the UK's historic but declining denominations.[213]

Poloma describes Pentecostalism as a "reticulate (or polycephalous) organisation, linked by a variety of personal, structural and ideological ties … likened to a cellular organism" with a mission that follows family and social ties, "thus carrying its message like reliable and comforting luggage".[214] Its flexibility, within any institutional forms, gives an opportunity for evangelism and church planting.[215] According to Poloma, its growth was not due to a desire for social justice but rather an eschatology that gave a sense of urgency to its evangelistic task.[216] This priority has shaped its praxis.

Pentecostalism's Evangelistic approach to mission, which was numerically the most successful, was called into question by theological Liberalism. Its emphasis on personal salvation was criticised for being narrow in its scope and too concerned with converts, forgiveness of sins, and getting to heaven.[217] Also, Bosch seemed to dismiss McGavran as of little weight, and ignored Wagner altogether, taking little notice of Pentecostal growth.[218] In the light of such growth this is surprising, and may reflect a limitation of Bosch's awareness at the time, through engaging largely with those committed to ecumenical initiatives. Pentecostalism will be seen to be a significant element in Nonconformity's resurgence in Wales.

Another section of the worldwide Church, with an Evangelistic approach, is what has come to be called the "New Calvinism". According to *Time* magazine, it is one of "10 Ideas Changing the World Right Now".[219] Stetzer described its adherents as the "Relevants", as distinct from the "Reconstructionists" and "Revisionists", in that they only change their style of presentation, not its content.[220]

> "Relevants are theologically conservative evangelicals who are not as interested in reshaping theology as much as updatings such things as worship styles,

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[212] Johnson, Barrett, and Crossing, 'Christianity 2010,' 36.
[213] Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 169; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 27.
[214] Poloma, 'Pentecostalism,' n.p.
[215] K. Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 257-258.
[216] Poloma, 'Pentecostalism,' n.p.
[217] Weston, *Newbigin,* 137; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 186, 234; R. Bell, *Love Wins* (London: Collins, 2011), 178; Van Gelder, *Essence*, 11, 129-130.
[218] Bosch, *Transforming*, 381-382, 398-399, 410-415, Hunter III, 'Legacy,' 159.
[219] D. VanBiema, 'The New Calvinism,' n.p. [cited 05.08.2011]. Online: http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1884779_1884782_1884760,00.html.
[220] M. Driscoll, 'A Pastoral Perspective on the Emergent Church,' *CTR* 3/2 (Spring 2006): 89-90.

preaching styles and church leadership structures. Their goal is to be more relevant; thus, appealing to post-modern people".[221]

They are confessional as well as emphasising mission, insisting that the Cross of Christ must be central and motivating for mission.[222] For DeYoung and Gilbert, relieving spiritual suffering is to be the priority, and the ultimate mission.[223] They point to mission patterns in the Acts of the Apostles, which they see as prioritising proclamation and church planting, with accompanying acts of mercy supportive of what was declared.[224] For Timmis and Chester, likewise, the Church must go back to its New Testament roots and be a "gospel-centred church".[225] For an Evangelistic emphasis, the only way to change society is through the transforming effect of the gospel and through planting churches.[226] Social action and works of compassion are seen as necessary and obligatory for the Church, but as a confirmation or consequence of the gospel and the Church's mission, and not an alternative to it, DeYoung and Gilbert refer to "faithful presence",[227] where acts of mercy are a direct consequence and reflection of mercy received.[228]

Planting churches is seen as central to a New Calvinism's model of mission, with the local church at the heart of God's purposes.[229] The *Acts 29 Network* would be representative:

> "…centered on the gospel and advancing the mission of Jesus through obediently planting church-planting churches. It is our desire to see this leading to millions of lives changed by the power of the Spirit for the glory of God … multiplying the gospel through church-planting as a means to make disciples of all nations".[230]

This echoes Newbigin's view of the local church as "the hermeneutic of the gospel", with the Church as the expression of God's coming reign.[231] Newbigin's emphasis on the importance of the local church in mission, what Chester and Timmis call a "*missio*

[221] Driscoll, 'Pastoral,' 89.

[222] DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 68; Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 52; Driscoll and Breshears, *Vintage*, 22-23, 217

[223] DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 27, 238.

[224] DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 49, 51-57, 62.

[225] S. Timmis and T. Chester, *Gospel-Centred Church* (New Malden: Good Book Company, 2002), 6.

[226] Wright, *Mission*, 319; Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 83-88; Driscoll and Breshears, *Vintage*, 217-219, 237-238.

[227] DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 21, 219, 223.

[228] Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 68-82.

[229] Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 45, 58, 61-63; D. Devenish, *Fathering Leaders, Motivating Mission* (Milton Keynes: Authentic, 2011), 158-166; T. Virgo, *Restoration in the Church* (Eastbourne: Kingsway, 1985), 96-105; T. Virgo, *No Well-Worn Paths* (Eastbourne: Kingsway, 2001), 263-273.

[230] S. Thomas, 'What is Acts 29 About,' n.p. [cited 08.08.2011]. Online: http://www.acts29network.org/about/.

[231] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 221; Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 48, 53, 56.

ecclesia",[232] is in contrast to Bosch's later emphasis. He saw an emphasis on the Church, and especially church planting, as the Church ceasing "to point to God or to the future; instead, it was pointing to itself".[233] This reflects a divergence, after Newbigin, within the *Missio Dei* approach.

The evident effectiveness of a "Gospel Centred" approach is impressive.[234] However, it would be reasonable to ponder whether the growth is from within the remnants of American and European Christendom, as much as from non-Christian communities.[235] The adjustments made could be merely a question of presentation and style.[236] Growth, that results from attracting lapsed and nominal believers to an expression of church that offers a longed for certainty, authority and vibrancy, is different from effectively reaching a non-Christian society. Chambers makes a distinction between "autogenous growth" (growth accruing from the recruitment of members' children)' and "allogenous growth" (growth accruing from the recruitment of non-members or their children). Time will tell whether New Calvinism's approach will be effective in the latter as well as the former. An increasingly secularized Western culture[237] may not respond to evangelism if the good works of social action, which come from it, are not at least also prominent.[238] Even some within this sector of the Church have their doubts:[239]

> "But postmodernity is also stirring a conversation in the church on how we think about faith and even how we do mission. As a consequence there is a growing movement away from the propositional theology that has been an integral part of the evangelistic message of most Western mission organizations involved in church planting and evangelism".[240]

Chapter Four will seek to demonstrate whether this is the case in Wales, where, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, church planting has been largely at the initiative of the New Calvinists.

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[232] Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 102-103.
[233] Bosch, *Transforming*, 332.
[234] S. Murray, *Church After Christendom* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004), 164.
[235] The nature, decline and implications of Christendom and Post-Christendom will considered later [pages 38-39, 76-77] as part of Wales's religious context.
[236] T. Keller, "The Missional Church," n.p. [cited 10.08.2011]. Online: http://www.redeemer2.com/resources/papers/missional.pdf.
[237] A summary of secularization, and the development of post-modernity, is given on pages 43-44 and 73-77.
[238] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 21, 44; S. Croft, *Transforming Communities* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2002), 173; D. Morgan, *The Span of the Cross: Christian Religion and Society in Wales 1914–2000* (2nd; 1999; repr., Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 278; D. Morgan, *Wales and the Word: Historical Perspectives on Religion and Welsh Identity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 120; Wright, *Mission*, 317.
[239] Keller, 'Missional,' 1.
[240] T & C. Sine, 'Integral Mission in Context,' in *Justice, Mercy and Humility: Integral Mission and the Poor* (ed. T. Chester; Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2002), 74.

2.6.2   The Wider influence of the Liberal Missiology

Theological Liberalism had great hopes of beneficial consequences for all people through the expected evolutionary progress and development of mankind.   It was a theology shaped by its time, and sharing its optimism.[241]   The political and economic hopes of a new era were not realized, however, as two World Wars and an economic recession took their toll. The major Nonconformist denominations, that embraced Liberal Theology, were similarly disappointed, and suffered decline throughout the twentieth century. Church attendance and closures accelerated, despite involvement in social action and concern,[242] for which beneficial results were sparse.[243] Theological Liberalism seemed to have no means of delivering its vision, when confidence in the promised utopia, the Church, and its leaders, began to ebb away.[244] In trying to identify the Gospel with a contemporary worldview, it was guilty of a reductionism that removed much of the core of Gospel teaching,[245] and the development of Christian character and discipleship.[246]

Subsequent assessment on the effect of Liberal Theology on the Church in the West has been critical. Camoux described Liberal Theology as a "theological dead-end", shipwrecked in an increasingly secular world.[247]   In it, social action and involvement had been separated from, and had even replaced, evangelism.[248] The central vocation of the Church had not been to convert people to the Faith, and so evangelism tended to be discounted.[249] The growth of theological Liberalism relied on the strength of Christian presence produced by previous generations, but, according to Newbigin, had no means or momentum for its own growth, "or the spiritual resources to sustain it".[250] Greene and Robinson have argued that its ecumenical project struggled for the same reason.[251] Hirsch called it a "parasitical ideology" because it,

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[241] Pope, *Kingdom*, 128, 161.
[242] Jenkins, *Global*, 10; Pope, *Kingdom*, 31, 151-153.
[243] Pope, *Kingdom*, 95-96.
[244] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 192-193, 207, 226-249.
[245] Camroux, 'URC,' 32-33; D. Morgan, *The Span of the Cross: Christian Religion and Society in Wales 1914–2000* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 1-3; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 261-262; Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 26-32; Morgan, *Span*, 39.
[246] Chester, *Good News*, 171; Wright, *Mission*, 281-286; Kirk, *Mission*, 15-16; Stott, *Mission*, 133-150.
[247] Camroux, 'URC,' 43; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 174.
[248] Chester, *Good News*, 64; Hull, *Response*, 1-5; Kirk, *Mission*, 24.
[249] Pope, *Kingdom*, 151-152; M. Camroux, 'URC,' 32-35; Morgan, *Span*, 172-173; Hall, *Christendom*, 23-24.
[250] Weston, *Newbigin*, 175.
[251] Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 229.

"rarely creates new forms of church or extends Christianity in any significant way, but rather exists and 'feeds off' what the more orthodox missional movements started. Theological liberalism always comes later in the history of a movement, and it is normally associated with its decline."[252]

The outworking of these trends, and their consequences in Wales, will be evidenced in the chapters that follow.

2.6.3 The Wider influence of the *Missio Dei* Missiology

Newbigin believed that the Church needed to rethink completely its strategy in a post-Christendom context. The new context was not merely secular, but pagan. Europe was not a society which had no gods, but a society which had false gods. This was a constant theme in his work.[253]

"The result is not, as we once imagined, a secular society. It is a pagan society, and its paganism, having been born out of the rejection of Christianity, is far more resistant to the gospel than the pre-Christianity with which cross-cultural missions have been familiar. Here, surely, is the most challenging missionary frontier of our time".[254]

The post-Christendom context describes a situation where the dominance of a Christian worldview has given way to that of secular materialism.[255] A once dominant imperial Church in Europe had now lost its hold on the levers of cultural and political power.[256] The Church in the West now had a peripheral voice, despite denominational attempts to regain influence.[257] Newbigin's response to this was to call the Church to challenge the plausibility structure that secular materialism was assuming as fact,[258] and "reclaim the high ground of public truth".[259] In this the secularization process was to be seen as giving an equal opportunity for the Church to influence and shape society with Christian values, rather than as marking the end of religion.[260] He claimed that this presented an opportunity for credible mission, a Trinitarian mission, not merely the rational arguments of an Enlightenment approach.[261] The Triune God, by the Holy Spirit, was sending the Church into the world to play an active role in his

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[252] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 262.
[253] J. E. L. Newbigin, 'The Gospel in a Culture of False Gods,' n.p. [cited 19.07.2011]. Online: http://old.shipoffools.com/Cargo/Features98/Newbigin/NewbiginInterview.html.
[254] Newbigin, *Foolishness*, 20; Keller, *Center*, 253-254.
[255] Weston, *Newbigin*, 116.
[256] Hall, *Christendom*, 1, 11.
[257] Hall, *Christendom*, 7; Van Gelder, *Essence*, 7.
[258] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 9, 53, 64, 65, 99; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 178, 179, 210, 211.
[259] Newbigin, *Pluralist, 232-233;* T. Yates, 'Lesslie Newbigin's Missionary Encounter with the Enlightenment,' *IBMR* 34 (January 2010): 42-45.
[260] Newbigin, *Pluralist, 215-221*.
[261] Yates, 'Enlightenment,' 42-45.

mission to all creation.[262] The local church was to share God's heart for justice, the suffering, and the protection of his creation[263] by being a missionary people with a mission that is "holistic" in nature, related to all of life.[264] For the *Missio Dei* approach, such mission is not only the inevitable expression of the local church, but is also seen as the key to its survival.

Hull argued that Bosch's analysis had not been taken far enough,[265] in that evangelism, which merely rescued people from this world through the Church,[266] was problematic, and even suspect in a pluralist society.[267] The Church was not to be engaged in "narrow evangelism", where it was merely recruiting new members to religion or offering a privatised salvation.[268] It had to seek converts for its Kingdom purpose, not just more converts.[269] Murray, likewise, saw the Church as "not an end in itself, because the church is an agent of God's kingdom",[270] but for Timmis, this is a false distinction.[271] He saw the kingdom as expressed through the Church, as God's chosen people, and not separate from it.[272] He asserted that the "community life of God's people is central to mission", and even quotes Newbigin for support, whose work was foundational for Bosch and Murray.[273] The differences reflect the close, complex and interwoven nature of the arguments, which, nevertheless, can have substantially different outcomes, not least in the outcomes for Welsh Nonconformity.

In working out a *Missio Dei* approach in local church mission, some churches, have adopted a strategy of "Community Transformation" in which the churches concentrate on cooperating with and initiating community programmes.[274] In this way bridges are built, prejudices are allayed, and as relationships and confidence grow enquiries about faith arise and receive a response.   Duncan, in explaining community

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[262] Van Gelder, *Context*, 7.
[263] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 3.
[264] Van Gelder, *Essence*, 128
[265] Hull, *Response*, 1-23.
[266] Van Gelder, *Essence*, 11, 97, 129-130; Bosch, *Transforming*, 390.
[267] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 163; Weston, *Newbigin*, 146.
[268] Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 186, 234; DeYoung and Gilbert, *Mission*, 18, 22.
[269] Bosch, *Future*, 33, 34; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 186, 234; Weston, *Newbigin*, 137.
[270] S. Murray, *Church Planting* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 31-32.
[271] Timmis, *Multiplying*, 31-32.
[272] Timmis, *Multiplying*, 32-33.
[273] Timmis, *Multiplying*, 34-35.
[274] McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," in McDermott, *Evangelical Theology*, 7; S & P. Cruz, 'Integral Mission and the Practitioner's Perspective,' in *Justice, Mercy and Humility: Integral Mission and the Poor* (ed. T. Chester; Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2002), 96-97; M. Duncan, *Kingdom Come: The Local Church as a Catalyst for Social Change* (Oxford: Monarch, 2007), 322-323; M. Holmes, 'Transition for Transformation' (MA in Missional Leadership, University of Wales, 2010), 12-21; Croft, *Transforming*, ix; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 220; Keller, *Center*, 195.

transformation, equated the kingdom of God with social action, meaning a "felt change in our communities and our world",[275] especially in contending for justice and righteousness.[276] In emphasizing the social nature of the kingdom of God, evangelism by proclamation is not prioritized, "notching up converts" is derogated, and the nature of repentance and conversion is regarded in social terms.[277] This is an approach which is also embraced by some Emerging churches.[278] Instead, by social action, the Church becomes a part of its community. By working for justice and peace, the Church seeks to be an agent of the Kingdom in God's wider world. To what extent this has developed the Church internally or numerically is not recorded in detail in the literature available.[279] Keller contended that the approach was often marked by "an under-appreciation" of the local church.[280] Chapter Four will consider the question in contemporary Wales.

2.6.4 Further Approaches that Result from the Merging of Categories

2.6.4.1 The *Lausanne* Movement

Since the rise of Theological Liberalism, and its Social Gospel, Evangelicals took a separate and opposing path,[281] Newbigin referred to a "running battle" between the two groups.[282] Despite their nineteenth century heritage, Evangelicals regarded social action and involvement with suspicion.[283] The Evangelical position began to change in the 1960s with the Wheaton declaration which led to the founding of the Lausanne movement in 1974.[284] This movement contends for an integral mission, where the

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[275] Duncan, *Kingdom Come*, 21.

[276] Duncan, *Kingdom Come*, 18-19, 179, 189, 195.

[277] Duncan, *Kingdom Come*, 21, 30, 72, 76-77, 200, 212, 324.

[278] E. Gibbs and R. K. Bolger, *Emerging Churches* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 67-68. The concept of "community transformation" has, subsequently, been adopted by other approaches to mission, including those with an Evangelistic approach [C. R. Padilla, "An Ecclesiology for Integral Mission," in *The Local Church, Agent of Transformation: An Ecclesiology for Integral Mission* (ed. T. Yamamori and C. R. Padilla; Buenos Aires: Kairos, 2004), 19-49; Keller, *Center*, 198-199], where proclamation is the agent of transformation, together with social action.

[279] Duncan, *Kingdom Come*, 175.

[280] Keller, *Center*, 199.

[281] Newbigin, *Secret*, 10-11; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 260; McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," in McDermott, *Evangelical Theology*, 6.

[282] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 131.

[283] Chester, *Good News*, 59; Burnett, *Healing*, 136. During the nineteenth century the 'Clapham Sect' and other groups of Evangelicals had been involved in public action for prison reform, health care, anti-slavery movements and other ethical issues.

[284] Padilla, "Historical," in Chester, *Integral*, 42-45; McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," in McDermott, *Evangelical Theology*, 1, 6-8.

various elements are included together. It is expressed in the Lausanne Covenant which states:

> "We affirm that God is both the Creator and Judge of all men. We therefore should share his concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society and for the liberation of men from every kind of oppression. … Although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor political liberation salvation".[285]

John Stott, a prominent Evangelical Anglican, was one of the prime-movers for Lausanne.[286] He had previously been active in the gatherings of the World Council of Churches, looking for ecumenical agreement. He spoke of the conflict with Liberals and of his desire for reconciliation and synthesis, and some of his formulations and achievements, as with Newbigin, reflect an attempt at accommodation.[287]

The Lausanne Covenant makes a clear distinction between social action and evangelism, though at this stage, in 1974, the term "mission" was not used of either activity. However, Stott, in his subsequent writings, described the two elements, of the "great commandment" and the "great commission", as mission's dual aspects.[288] The movement's slogan, "The whole church taking the whole gospel to the whole world" represented a seed change for Evangelicals in the twentieth century.[289] It led to the development of the "Micah Network" for integral mission in 2001, where social action was a separate "partner" with evangelism in holistic mission.[290] Wright speaks of mission going beyond evangelism, and not merely "whisking individuals off up to heaven".[291]

The Lausanne covenant thus speaks of the Church extending God's Kingdom, of its eschatological fulfilment, and of its influence in the world:

> "He has been calling out from the world a people for himself, and sending his people back into the world to be his servants and his witnesses, for the extension of his kingdom, the building up of Christ's body, and the glory of his name … When people receive Christ they are born again into his kingdom and must seek not only to exhibit but also to spread its righteousness in the midst of an unrighteous world."[292]

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[285] Lausanne, "The Lausanne Covenant," n.p. [cited 5th August, 2011]. Online: http://www.lausanne.org/covenant. ; Padilla, 'Historical,' in Chester, *Integral*, 46.
[286] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 261; Burnett, *Healing*, 136.
[287] Stott, *Mission*, 12, 17, 20, 32; McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," in McDermott, *Evangelical Theology*, 2, 6-8.
[288] Stott, *Mission*, 43-54; Johnston, *World Evangelism*, 10-11, 176-177, 195, 301-303.
[289] Wright, *Mission*, 322.
[290] Chester, *Good News*, 62-65; Stott, *Mission*, 43-44.
[291] Wright, *People*, 73
[292] Lausanne, 'Covenant,' sec.1.

The Lausanne understanding of mission is more restricted than *Missio Dei,*[293] in that Christ's reign is only to be expressed where Christ is confessed as Lord. Salvation through the Church will have benefits for the wider world, but political liberation was not salvation.[294] Lausanne would not separate the mission of God from the gospel or from the Church, as the *Missio Dei* school were tending to do.[295]

The Lausanne approach, however, shows the unmistakeable influence of *Missio Dei* thinking. It is part of an emphasis in which Trinitarian mission has become the Church's "royal charter".[296] Bosch traced the development of the thinking from Barth, through Willingen and Newbigin, to it being "embraced by virtually all Christian persuasions".[297] Its influence and popularity has been strengthened among Evangelicals by the work of N.T. Wright and C.J.H. Wright,[298] building on the implications of Newbigin's work.[299] Both contend that proclamation needs the "social capital" of social action.[300] In a pluralistic, secular, post-Christendom society, evangelism "divorced from radical and wholehearted social responsibility will fail and will deserve to fail".[301] They have been likened to two blades of a pair of scissors.[302] Chester, in explaining the "Micah Challenge" and network, defines "integral mission" as "proclamation and demonstration".[303] Robinson goes so far as to state that the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century had limited impact until the social activists, such as the Clapham Sect, became influential.[304]

In Lausanne, the relationship between evangelism and social action is understood in a different way from from other Evangelistic approaches. Stott distinguished between those who see social action as a "means", or a "manifestation", or as a "partner" to evangelism.[305] He and the Lausanne Movement favoured the latter, where the two elements are independent yet operate together. For social action to be merely a

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[293] Chester, *Good News*, 79; Wright, *People*, 43, 48.
[294] Lausanne, 'Covenant,' sec5.
[295] D Birdsall and L. Brown, eds., *The Cape Town Commitment: A Confession of Faith and a Call to Action* (Bodmin: Didasko, 2011), 27-29; Chester, *Good News*, 74.
[296] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 290; McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," in McDermott, *Evangelical Theology*, 2.
[297] Bosch, *Transforming*, 390.
[298] Wright, *Surprised*, 201-244, 277-283.
[299] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 131-140; Newbigin, *Secret*, 103; Weston, *Newbigin*, 95, 99, 157.
[300] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 21, 44; Croft, *Transforming*, 173; Timmis and Chester, *Gospel-Centred*, 24-25; Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 74, 76; Wright, *Mission*, 287-288.
[301] Morgan, *Span*, 278.
[302] Wright, *Mission*, 316.
[303] Chester, *Good News*, 60-61.
[304] M. Robinson and D. Smith, *Invading Secular Space* (Oxford: Monarch, 2003), 73, 66-70.
[305] Stott, *Mission*, 41-45.

means, where it is done as a bait to gain an audience, he, with others, saw as manipulative and hypocritical.[306] For social action to be a "manifestation" means that it is part of the good news for people and done, in part, to commend what is preached. Such a view argues that the gospel should be central in all the local church does, including acts of compassion and justice.[307] Lausanne thinking later developed to see the elements of social action and evangelism as equal and inseparable, speaking of a fusion between the two.*[308]* The validity, implications and outworking of these assertions, and of such a fusion, for mission in contemporary Wales will be evident, in Chapter Four.

2.6.4.2   The Emerging Church Movement

The Emerging Church movement,[309] or conversation as it is sometimes called, is one of the Western Church's responses to secularism and the changed epistemological landscape of post-modernity.[310] With the rise of philosophical pluralism, modernism's search for universal truth was perceived as untenable and the new paradigm of post-modernity emerged. For Van Gelder postmodernity represents a cultural change of air, and a total rejection of the foundational assumptions on which modernity was based.[311] Modernism was a worldview that expected rational answers that provided a concept of predictable truth, whereas post-modernism represents a change to relative and pluralist assumptions, questioning the validity of one meta-narrative. These changes have been progressive,[312] as the new perspectives have infiltrated Western thought.[313] Greene argues that much of Modernism is still evident in contemporary thinking. Carson refers to an "ultra-modernism", rather than something essentially distinct from its predecessor, and Kirk outlines an emerging "supra-modernism". However, they all agree that the Church is in a changed epistemological

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[306] Stott, *Mission*, 41; Burnett, *Healing*, 137-138; Wright, *People*, 73.

[307] Keller, *Center*, 146-148; *Tearfund's* 'Discovery Course' for local churches in the United Kingdom seeks to help churches be a transforming influence in their community based on the experiences of churches involved in 'integral mission' in developing nations. http://www.communitymission.org.uk/ [cited 16.03.2011]

[308] Burnett, *Healing*, 138; R. Padilla, *Mission Between the Times: Essays on the Kingdom* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 1-25; Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 34.

[309] The terms "Emerging" and "Emergent" are used synonymously in this study. Attempts to distinguish their use have have been undermined by the lack of definition within the movement. In Wales no difference was evident in their use.

[310] D. Kimball, *The Emerging Church: Vintage Christianity for New Generations* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), 14; Pettegrew, 'Paradigms,' 165-7.

[311] Elton, 'Corps,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 149.

[312] Bosch, *Transforming*, 349; Van Gelder, 'Missiology,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 27; Elton, 'Corps,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 149-150; Van Gelder, *Essence*, 184.

[313] Elton, 'Corps,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 150-4.

context.[314] Knowledge in post-modernity is seen as anti-foundational, contextual and affected by emotions, aesthetics and heritage.[315] It has no over-arching truth claims or meta-narrative.[316] Therefore, for Emergent leaders a "missional ecclesiology in a post-modern context needs to reflect the organic nature of the emerging context".[317]

The members and leaders of Emergent churches came mostly from churches with an Evangelistic emphasis. They adopted the *Missio Dei* agenda of social engagement, and, in some cases tended to the universalism and inclusivity of theological Liberalism.[318] As such, it was an amalgam of the three approaches, in which the aspirations and values of Liberal Theology had not been lost completely.[319]

To define the movement is notoriously difficult because it lacks a centre, leader, or agreed theology.[320] It is essentially a varied and uncoordinated response to the post-modern context, and thus claims post-modern credentials.[321] Gibbs and Bolger attempted a definition as, "Emerging churches are communities that practice the way of Jesus within post-modern cultures",[322] for which they highlight nine practices:

> "Emerging churches (1) identify with the life of Jesus, (2) transform the secular realm, and (3) live highly communal lives. Because of these three activities, they (4) welcome the stranger, (5) serve with generosity, (6) participate as producers, (7) create as created beings, (8) lead as a body, and (9) take part in spiritual activities."[323]

Both the definition and the explanation demonstrate the difficulty of describing such an amorphous grouping. Many of the qualities in the explanation would be equally true of the pre-emergent churches that the Emergents left, and many involved in the "conversation" would not demonstrate all the qualities.[324] Nevertheless, the definition gives some impression of the form of response to the complexities of post-modernity. Brian McLaren, one of the best known and most articulate advocates of the Emerging Conversation, embraces this complexity by describing himself as:

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[314] Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 5; D. Carson, *Becoming Conversant with the Emerging Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 16; Kirk, *Mission*, 88.
[315] Carson, *Conversant*, 27.
[316] R. Pope, 'Emerging Church: Congregation or Aberration,' *IJSCC* 7.2 (2008): 31.
[317] Elton, 'Corps,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 154.
[318] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 123, 132-134, 152, 222; B. D. McLaren, *A Generous Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 105, 119; Bell, *Love Wins*, 63-94.
[319] McLaren, *Generous*, 145-160.
[320] K. DeYoung and T. Kluck, *Why We're Not Emergent* (Chicago: Moody, 2008), 19.
[321] DeYoung and Kluck, *Emergent*, 17; Driscoll, 'Pastoral,' 97.
[322] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 44.
[323] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 45.
[324] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 73.

"a missional + evangelical + post/protestant +liberal/conservative + mystic/poet + biblical + charismatic/contemplative + fundamentalist/Calvinist + Anabaptist/anglican + Methodist + catholic + green + incarnational + depressed-yet-hopeful + emergent + unfinished CHRISTIAN".[325]

He has been described as the "probably most articulate speaker of the emerging movement", and is certainly regarded as a core figure, elder statesman, and by *Time* magazine as one of the "25 Most Influential Evangelicals in America".[326]   His description of himself suggests the key responses of the movement to post-modernity. Firstly, he breaks down the traditional Christian sectarian loyalties of the modern era, preferring a pluralist blend. Secondly, he blurs theological categories to be inclusive of divergent opinions. Emergent thinkers have tended to avoid sharp definitions of Christian conversion, and any sense of exclusivity,[327] preferring inclusivity.[328] Thirdly, he reflects the influence of *Missio Dei* thinking in his categories of mission.[329] Emergent leaders freely acknowledge their indebtedness to Newbigin, Bosch and N. T. Wright.[330]

This genuine attempt at contextualisation within a new paradigm, however, was also a reaction to the expression of the Church that emergent leaders had left, which was often a rigid form of American Fundamentalism.[331] The movement has thus been criticised for being white and middle-class, and a fad, with its roots in 1960s counter-culture.[332] Kimball, himself an early leader of the movement, acknowledged that it was a reaction to American mega-churches, programme-driven congregations, and Christian sub-cultures that did not engage with contemporary society.[333] Carson suggests that the movement over-states modernity in order to justify its theological and ecclesiological preferences.[334] It certainly emphasised its distinct form, presentation and style.[335] These set it apart from traditional churches, but the

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[325] McLaren, *Generous*, title page.

[326] Carson, *Conversant*, 28; Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 283-5; n/a, "The 25 Most Influential Evangelicals In Americaria: Brian McLaren," n.p. [cited 25.07.11]. Online: http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1993235_1993243_1993300,00.html. ; Driscoll, "Navigating," n.p.

[327] Bevans, *Models*, 81-88.

[328] Carson, *Conversant*, 83, 134, 135; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 104, 105; Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 123, 132-134, 220; McLaren, *Generous*, 213; Bell, *Love Wins*, 97, 98, 107, 109.

[329] McLaren, *Generous*, 100, 115-125.

[330] McLaren, *Generous*, 17, 115, 118, 288, 303; Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 26, 48-54, 59, 303-311; Carson, *Conversant*, 33, 34; Pope, "Emerging Church," 42.

[331] Carson, *Conversant*, 85.

[332] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 11, 41, 198.

[333] Kimball, *Emerging*, 15, 44, 68, 81; Driscoll, 'Pastoral,' 87-93.

[334] Carson, *Conversant*, 59-64.

[335] Kimball, *Emerging*, 133-178.

distinctive features were inevitably time-limited. Some who started in the movement would now distance themselves from it.[336]

Despite these reservations and the movement's amorphous nature, the emerging Church was an attempt to bring Christianity's message to an emerging secular culture with which the traditional churches were losing contact.[337] In this sense, it was a mission-shaped response.[338] It raised expectations of a new reformation in Western Christianity, but, despite proliferation on the internet, early momentum has been difficult to sustain.[339] Murray contends that what Gibbs and Bolger were describing was essentially an American phenomenon, arising as a reaction to a specific American Church culture, and that any influence was now concluded in Britain.[340] There were signs that the Emerging Church's liberalising trends were having the same effects in terms of decline as theological Liberalism had.[341] The eclectic nature of the theological discussions, the doctrinal drift, and inherent inclusiveness, and even universalism of some,[342] had meant that in many circles the movement has assumed a neo-orthodox, even a neo-Liberal stance.[343] Inevitably, this led to a slowing of momentum and an increase in theoretical controversy. Conversations within the Emerging Church movement diverged, and the movement has diminished, as some had predicted.[344] Kimball feels the discussion moved to a more insular examination of theology rather than emergent's original outward looking focus:

> "When the whole emerging church discussion began, it was primarily about evangelism and mission to emerging generations, that's why I got into it, and it was fun and a thrill to be part of. After a while, some within it began focusing more on theology and even some core issues of theology—which is needed as theology is very important, but the whole central focus of evangelism to emerging generations was lost, in my opinion."[345]

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[336] M. Driscoll, "Navigating the Emerging Church Highway," n.p. [cited 25.07.2011]. Online: http://www.equip.org/PDF/JAE450.pdf .

[337] Pettegrew, 'Paradigms,' 163.

[338] Driscoll, 'Pastoral,' 88.

[339] A. Smith, 'The End of the Emergent Movement,' n.p. [cited 25.07.2011]. Online: http://www.relevantmagazine.com/god/church/features/21181-the-end-of-emergent%3E; Driscoll, 'Pastoral,' 93.

[340] From notes of a private conversation at the Church Planting Consultation, BMS World Mission Centre, Birmingham, on 16th – 17th March, 2011. Stuart Murray-Williams' words were, 'The emerging church phase is over. The emphasis now is on missional church, on purpose not form'.

[341] Driscoll, 'Pastoral,' 93; Driscoll, 'Navigating,' 8-9.

[342] Universalism is the belief that ultimately all people will be accepted by God eternally. Controversy was generated when the doctrine was suggested, and implicitly commended, by Bell in 2011. Bell, *Love Wins*, 63-94; McLaren, *Generous*, 105.

[343] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 123, 132-134, 152, 222, 235; McLaren, *Generous*, 17, 105, 119, 213; Carson, *Conversant*, 83; Driscoll, 'Navigating,' n.p.; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 234; DeYoung and Kluck, *Emergent*, 74; Pope, "Emerging Church," 37-40.

[344] Driscoll, 'Pastoral,' 93.

[345] Dan Kimball in Smith, "End," n.p.

Similarly, Murray's cautionary note is salutary: "Some emerging churches avoid evangelism altogether. And yet … Without evangelism there will be no church after Christendom, nor any way of sustaining other dimensions of mission".[346] The truth of this statement in Wales, at the start of the twentieth century, will be considered in Chapter Four.

2.6.4.3   The Missional Church Emphasis

The Emerging Church movement, applying a *Missio Dei* approach to a changing post-Christendom context,[347] described itself as "missional". The term was first used in the 1990s by the *Gospel and our Culture Network*, and notably by Guder.[348] Since then, the term "missional", or "mission-shaped", has been used widely by the different approaches to contextualised mission.[349] It involves a deliberate reflection on adjustment to the prevailing cultural context in order, not only to adapt to it, but also to challenge it.[350] The exact meaning has varied according to the perspective of the one using it, and, as such, it is more an emphasis than a movement.[351] Van Gelder and Zscheile describe its use by different theological emphases, but the common denominator is an attempt to address the challenges of the Western philosophical milieu through a Church that is contrasted with it, yet responds holistically to it.[352]

Missiology and ecclesiology had been largely separate disciplines prior to Newbigin, but, in Missional Church, they are intentionally brought together.[353] The Emerging Church lacked a clear ecclesiology, but a missional emphasis seeks to do mission through the local church, where possible, and not detached from it. In Missional Church, the local church is to be a "missionary congregation" with a Trinitarian mission seeking justice, mercy and care for the environment, as well as the spiritual good of

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[346] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 163.
[347] Van Gelder, 'Missiology,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 13, 27; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 63, 81, 82; Tzu-Kao Chai, 'Contextual,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 236-43; Keller, *Center*, 257-258.
[348] D. L. Guder, ed., *Missional Church: A Vision for the Sending of the Church in North America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 1-17; McLaren, *Generous*, 115; Keller, *Center*, 251, 255.
[349] Keller, "Missional," n.p.; Hull, *Response*, 1-4; McLaren, *Generous*, 115-125; C Van Gelder and D Zscheile J., *The Missional Church in Perspective: Mapping Trends and Shaping the Conversation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), xiii-xiv. The term "mission" [footnote 1.] has also morphed from its original use, being used for a local church's purpose or mission-statement.
[350] Keller, *Center*, 257.
[351] Keller, *Center*, 251; Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 1.
[352] Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 86-87.
[353] Van Gelder, *Essence*, 25-44; Robinson and Smith, *Space*, 15, 109; Keller, *Center*, 258.

people.[354] The emphasis has also adopted some of the distinctives of Pentecostalism, such as a clear expectation of the work of the Holy Spirit and of the importance of apostolic ministry.[355] Missional churches thus emphasise the Holy Spirit's work in and through the local church, a return to Newbigin's "hermeneutic of the gospel" rather than in an undefined way in the world generally.[356] The Holy Spirit is seen to work through the local church's social engagement.[357]

Hirsch goes further to define what he describes as the "Missional DNA" (MDNA) of a church inspired by the "apostolic genius" of leaders.[358] Here, missiology is clearly rooted in ecclesiology in that the whole Church is to be engaged in the whole mission.[359] Keller explains "missional" as incorporating previously diverse emphases in ecclesiology, notably, "evangelistic … incarnational … contextual … reciprocal and communal".[360] He sees it as an expression appropriate for the secular, post-Christian West, in which the Church breaks out of its "cultural captivity", to be a distinct community that is sent to bless its neighbours.[361] A missional perspective and understanding of *Missio Dei* is to be inculcated into Church and leadership through ongoing training and leadership to foster an incarnational lifestyle for mission.[362]

Such "missional churches" are both historic churches transitioning to a missional orientation, as well as new churches on new foundations.[363] Those transitioning existing churches to a missional approach have been described as "Liminals" or "Reconstructionists" and the new churches as "Emergents" or "Revisionists",[364] but for Robinson the two need to converge as one movement to reshape the Church. He contends that the missional nature of the Church, that is inherent in the early Emerging Church conversations, needs to become a general emphasis for all churches.[365] The extent to which this has occurred, in each of the approaches to mission, will be identified and considered in Chapter Four.

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[354] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 129, 130; Van Gelder, *Essence*, 25, 37.
[355] Van Gelder, *Essence*, 42, 86, 112, 142-146; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 152-163, 271.
[356] Van Gelder, 'Missiology,' in Van Gelder, *Context*, 26-27; Keller, 'Missional,' 3.
[357] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 221; Van Gelder, *Essence*, 139, 144, 139, 153.
[358] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 18, 76-78, 207, 210, 273.
[359] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 63, 81, 82.
[360] Keller, *Center*, 256-258.
[361] Keller, *Center*, 259-261.
[362] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 119, 133.
[363] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 99-105, 135-164.
[364] Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 180-182; E. Stetzer, 'First-Person: Understanding the Emerging Church,' n.p. [cited 25.07.2011]. Online: http://www.sbcbaptistpress.org/bpnews.asp?ID=22406.
[365] McLaren, *Generous*, 115-125; Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 71, 167.

2.7   Reflection on Chapter Two

This chapter has traced the development of approaches to contextualisation and their effect on mission in the developing nations. Three emphases have been identified, Evangelistic, Liberal and *Missio Dei*, which have influenced the mission of the churches in the West. The three approaches have merged in different ways in the Lausanne Movement and the Emerging Church, and a missional element is evident in all approaches. In each approach the Church has been seeking to contextualise its message and mission.

These approaches, and those derived from combinations of them, will be considered in the development of the mission of churches in Wales. Their effectiveness in communicating their message and in influencing or changing their community, will then be considered, to identify patterns of local church growth and decline. From this the nature of the missional challenge for Welsh Nonconformity in the twenty first century will be drawn.

Newbigin, a central figure in the development of missiology, saw the need to relate Christianity to a pagan Western culture, so that Christian influence was once again formative in the market place. To do this he took the lessons of missionary engagement that he had used in India and applied them to "the most challenging missionary frontier of our time".[366] Wales in the twenty-first century is certainly on this missionary frontier, and, therefore, appropriate contextualisation will be one important factor for effectiveness in mission.

The legacy of Christendom and a once dominant Protestant Nonconformity still cast a long shadow in Wales, and the secular nature of society represents a resistant mission field. The next chapter will consider the context, or contexts, of the nation of Wales historically and in this millennium in particular. The various approaches to local church mission can then be traced and considered in relation to the Church's mission in Wales.

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[366] Newbigin, *Foolishness*, 20.

Chapter Three: Aspects of Welsh Identity and Context

> "**In Context**
> … There was a context
> in which I lived; unseen forces
> acted upon me, or made their adjustments
> in turn. There was a larger pattern
> we worked at: they on a big
> loom, I with a small needle,
>   drawing the thread
> through my mind, colouring it
> with my own thought."[367]

This chapter will consider the varied aspects of Welsh identity and the distinctives associated with the Welsh context or contexts. This will provide a backdrop for considering how the various approaches to contextualisation in mission have been, and are being, applied in Nonconformist churches in Wales. Wales is distinguished from the other nations of the United Kingdom through political devolution, spoken language and accents, loyalties on the sports field, and by a boundary line on the map. In terms of contextualisation, however, such distinctives could be merely superficial, and not represent a distinctive context, from the rest of the United Kingdom, for missional engagement. This chapter will explore the apparent characteristics of Welsh people, society, history, culture and space to demonstrate the existence of distinctive Welsh contexts.

3.1   The Markers and Categories of Contexts

As considered in the previous chapter, contextualised mission seeks to adjust its method and message to the particular characteristics of a specific culture. Morgan asserts that, for the Welsh context, such a process is essential:

> "The Christian Gospel is incarnational or it is nothing. There is no gospel that does not manifest itself in a specific context, in a time and in a place. The divine does not by-pass the flesh therefore questions of history, culture and identity are inevitable and theologically valid".[368]

However, the nature of Welsh contexts, whether described in terms of identity, nationality or ethnicity, is a complex matter that needs to be deconstructed.[369] Wales, according to Day, "has been under construction for so long it begins to seem like a

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[367] R. S. Thomas, *Collected Poems 1945 - 1990* (London: Phoenix, 1993), 329. Ronald Stuart Thomas (1913 – 2000) was a Cardiff-born poet and Anglican priest who was a major English language poet of the 20th century. This and subsequent extracts are set out as Thomas published them.
[368] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 120.
[369] G. Day, *Making Sense of Wales, A Sociological Perspective* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), 27.

chronic condition",[370] and for Rees is, "a broth … thousands of years in the brewing".[371] The context of Wales is not static, but evolving, changing and varied.

Institutions, social patterns, language and religion are, according to Chambers, "filtered through the prism of social interaction". [372] For those looking at Wales from the outside a stereotypical caricature may be formed of sheep, rugby posts, pit winding gear, and ladies wearing tall black hats. Such images do not convey the struggles caused by both industrial and rural deprivation.[373] Such images are also, be they coal mines or chapels, indicators of a declining or, in some cases, an extinct tradition. They comprise a Welshness as viewed from outside Wales, which is becoming endangered inside.[374] As such, they may generate a mythology that appeals to tourists, but have little to do with reality.

As identifiers, these stereotypes are somewhat different from the everyday minutiae that make up "banal nationalism".[375] This is the Welshness featured in Welsh recipes, cultural events such as *eisteddfodau*, museums, arts and media.[376] Williams described these as "symbolic border guards" that identify people as belonging, or not, to Wales' specific collectivity.[377] They represent a diminishing inventory of customs and cultural styles that are a narrow definition of Welshness. They form an identity that helps to distinguish Wales from the "other", the non-Welsh, particularly the English.[378] A notorious entry in the index of the 1880 edition of the Encyclopaedia

[370] Day, *Making Sense*, 27.
[371] J. Rees, *Bred of Heaven* (London: Profile, 2011), 8.
[372] P. Chambers, *Religion, Secularization and Social Change in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), 2.
[373] R. Pope, introduction to *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c.1700-2000* (ed. R. Pope; Cardiff: Unity of Wales Press, 2001), 2; K. O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: A History of Modern Wales* (Oxford: Oxforn University Press, 1981), 82-84.
[374] B. Roberts, "Welsh Identity in a Former Mining Valley: Social images and Imagined Communities," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 120.
[375] A. Thompson and G. Day, "Situating Welshness: 'Local' Experience and National Identity," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 30-31; C. Williams, "Passports to Wales? Race, Nation and Identity," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 79-82; B. Dicks and J. Loon, "Territoriality and Heritage in South Wales: Space, Time and Imagined Communities," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 214-215.
[376] H. Mackay, ed., *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 269,270. '*eisteddfoddau*' is the plural form of '*eisteddfod*' which is a festival of Welsh literature, music and dance dating from the 12th century but revived in the 19th. They can be local or national and are usually conducted through the medium of the Welsh language.
[377] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 82.
[378] D. Evans, "How Far Across the Border do I have to Be, to be Considered Welsh?: National Identification at a Regional Level," *Contemporary Wales* 20 (2007): 133-135; G. A. Williams, *When*

Britannica had directed it readers, "For Wales see England".[379] This reflected an official government policy to subsume Wales as an English region,[380] referred to in the Act of Union of 1535 as the "Dominion of Wales".[381] Creating markers in order to maintain a distinction from England and Englishness will be seen to be no small part of Welsh identity and context.

These markers suggest differences, and yet do not produce a prototypical Welshness. The diversity they represent has been described as, "a singular noun but a plural experience".[382] It has been likened, by Carter, to a circle, the centre of which is nowhere but the circumference everywhere.[383] There are a variety of narratives, perspectives and social patterns that make up contemporary Wales, and many of the differences are more significant than the few features that can be said to be held in common.[384] Wales is divided between north and south, urban and rural, by language, culture and by degrees of Britishness.[385] These differences can bring discord more than unity, and definitions of context and identity in one region can exclude and alienate people in another.[386] Nicky Wire of the *Manic Street Preachers* has said, "Wales is a much more complex and divided place than some people think. It isn't this glowing ember of close-knit communities. There's animosity there too."[387] This study of Welsh contexts will seek to identify elements of diversity as well as commonality.

The tension between a common identity and differences within it are reflected in the National Assembly of Wales, established in 1998. On the one hand, the institution has given a visible entity that was not present before devolution.[388] On the other hand,

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was Wales? (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 304; N. Griffiths, "Wales: England's Oldest Colony," *New Statesman* (23.04. 2007): n.p. Cited 05.12.12. Online:
http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2007/04/welsh-language-wales-england.
[379] H. Carter, *Against the Odds: The Survival of Welsh Identity* (Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs, 2010), 50; A. Elias, "Political Representation," in *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (ed. H. Mackay; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 233.
[380] Pope, introduction to Pope, *Identity*, 2; R. T. Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales* (ed. R. Page; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 2.
[381] Elias, "Political," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 233; R. S. Thomas, *Cymru or Wales?* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1992), 6.
[382] Day, *Making Sense*, 26.
[383] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 127, 139.
[384] H. Mackay, "Rugby - an Introduction to Contemporary Wales," in *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (ed. H. Mackay; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 6, 11.
[385] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 85.
[386] R. M. Jones, "Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh," *J BRIT STUD* 31 (4 1992): 338.
[387] Quoted in Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 6.
[388] R. Williams, "The Churches of Wales and the Future of Wales," *Cymmrodorion* 8 (2012): 158-159.

it reflects the full variety of often contrasting elements in Wales in the twenty first century. Rhodri Morgan, the then First Minister of the National Assembly, when inaugurating the first *Wales Identity Day* in 2005, spoke of divergent views of Welshness in Wales, and of "a rich and vibrant tapestry, which when taken together captures the essence of Wales and what it means to be Welsh."[389] His statement reflects inherent differences and tensions as well as assuming an underlying unity.

It used to be assumed that there was a homogeneous entity called Wales. To twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis, Wales was a nation before God, in a particular place, and with its own language.[390] Christianity, whether Celtic or Nonconformist, had been seen as one of Wales' distinguishing features, but by the twenty first century this is no longer the case.[391] As Carter says, the people of Wales were no longer, "chapel going, hymn-singing, 'Bible black' and politically radical".[392] Such identitifiers are increasingly anachronistic. The Welsh economy, politics, and culture in the twenty-first century bear little resemblance to that which pertained at the beginning of the twentieth century. A Welsh hegemony has fragmented into post-modern pluralism.[393]

Far from being a fixed historical entity, Williams saw the Welsh as reinventing themselves on a regular basis, in response to perceived threats, and usually in response to English aggression. For Gwyn Williams, "Wales is an artefact the Welsh produce. If they want to."[394] Wales is thus seen as a process, a construct, an "Imagined Community", to use the graphic terminology of Anderson.[395] Anderson demonstrated how communities share a common understanding of their identity and connectedness. The nation is an imagined political community because most members are unknown to each other, and yet imagine themselves as an entity. They perceive themselves as comrades, despite the actual inequality and exploitation that

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[389] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 108.
[390] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales* (London: Penguin, 2004), 233-236, 253.
[391] R. T. Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation* (ed. R. Pope; trans. S. P. Jones; Cardiff: University of Wales, 2004), 1, 4.
[392] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 57.
[393] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 332.
[394] Williams, When was Wales, 304.
[395] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6; Thompson and Day, "Local," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 34; Dicks and Loon, "Heritage," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 209-210; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 57.

may occur.[396] Wales is imagined through a wide variety of lived experiences in this way.[397]

The Welsh word '*cynefin',* meaning 'habitat' or 'place',[398] has been used by Snowden, in the sphere of management modelling, to demonstrate the evolution of complex unpredictable systems.[399] He sees in the word a variety of pasts: geographic, cultural, religious and tribal, for which awareness is only partial, yet which shape the individual and collective experience.[400] He asserts that having explored the relationship between experience and "the prevailing operative context" it is possible to break down the situation into constituent parts and suggest appropriate actions.[401]

On the same principle, in order to consider missiological approaches to contexts in Wales, it will be necessary to identify the elements present in the evolving system that is Wales. According to Thompson, these strands make up "a complex web of institutional and cultural practices".[402] Storrar speaks of linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, political and social categories.[403] Day suggests that slightly different aspects: "identity, political change, the fate of class, gender and ethnicity, the disappearance of community … can be profitably studied in isolation".[404] Summerton considers language, culture, religion, history, historical myths, genetic stock, and territorial claims.[405] For this study into Welsh context six of the categories mentioned will be considered: religion, geography, ethnicity, language and culture, social patterns and political aspiration. These aspects together, in various kaleidoscopic arrangements, make up the contexts of Wales. An understanding of their local

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[396] Anderson, *Imagined*, 6, 7.

[397] R. Fevre and A. Thompson, "Social Theory and Welsh Identities," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 12.

[398] Evans, H. M. and W. O. Thomas, eds. *Y Geiriadur Mawr.* Llandysul: Gomer, 1980.

[399] D. J. Snowden and M. E. Boone, "A Leader's Framework for Decision Making," 4. [cited 08.11.2012]. Online: http://www.mpiweb.org/CMS/uploadedFiles/Article%20for%20Marketing%20-%20Mary%20Boone.pdf.

[400] L-J. O'Neill, "Faith and Decision-making in the Bush Presidency," *E:CO* 6 (1/2 2004): 149-150. Cited 08.11.2012. Online: http://emergentpublications.com/eco/ECO_other/Issue_6_1-2_20_FM.pdf?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1.

[401] O'Neill, "Decision," 149; Snowden and Boone, "Decision," 4.

[402] A. Thompson, "Conclusion: Nation, Identity and Social Theory," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 248.

[403] W. Storrar, "Vertigo or Imago? Nations in the Divine Economy," *Themelios* 21 (3 1996): 5.

[404] Day, *Making Sense*, vi.

[405] N. Summerton, "Identity Crisis?: The Nation-state, Nationality, Regionalism, Language and Religion," *Themelios* 21 (3 1996): 16.

combination and expression will be necessary for an effective missiological calibration for a particular community.

3.2 The Religious Context of Wales

"The Chapel

A little aside from the main road,
becalmed in a last-century greyness,
there is the chapel, ugly, without the appeal
to the tourist to stop his car
and visit it. The traffic goes by,
and the river goes by, and quick shadows
of clouds, too, and the chapel settles
a little deeper into the grass.

But here once on an evening like this,
in the darkness that was about
his hearers, a preacher caught fire
and burned steadily before them
with a strange light, so that they saw
the splendour of the barren mountains
about them and sang their amens
fiercely, narrow but saved
in a way that men are not now." [406]

As introduced in the previous section, contextualised mission seeks to adjust to the situation in contemporary Wales in its various aspects. Anderson sees religion as a key marker of identity; therefore, given that Christian mission has a primarily religious motive, the religious aspect of the contexts of Wales will be considered first.[407] This section will consider the origins, growth, decline and legacy of Welsh Nonconformity, and consider the post-Christendom realities that shape mission in Wales in the twenty first century.

3.2.1 The Origins of Christian Wales

For centuries, the Welsh were regarded, and regarded themselves, as a Christian people.[408] The roots of this have been traced back to Roman times when the records of the first Christians in Wales can be found.[409] When, however, the pagan Anglo-Saxons migrated from northern Europe, and came to dominate in England, the Christian tradition survived only in the western extremities.[410] The areas under Roman occupation in Wales were not over-run by invaders as the Romans

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[406] Thomas, *Poems 1945-1990,* 276.

[407] Anderson, *Imagined*, 12-23.

[408] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 211-213; D. D. Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Wales," *Religion State and Society* 27 (3/4 1999): 327; G. Williams, *The Welsh and their Religion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 14; E. W. James, "The New Birth of a People: Welsh Language and Identity and the Welsh Methodists," in *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c.1700-2000* (ed. R. Pope; Cardiff: Unity of Wales Press, 2001), 15-16; J. Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin, 1994), 72-77; D. Llewelyn, *Sacred Place, Chosen People* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 49-50; Jones, *Faith*, 1, 4; Williams, *Religion*, 14; Williams, "Churches," 152; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 12.

[409] G. Davies, *A Light in the Land: Christianity in Wales 200 - 2000* (Bridgend: Bryntirion, 2002), 13; D. Hughes, *Castrating Culture* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001), 85-87.

[410] James, "New Birth," in Pope, *Identity*, 14; Davies, *History*, 77; Williams, *Religion*, 15.

withdrew. South-east Wales remained Roman in culture, and a cradle of the Celtic Church, which then spread to revitalize Europe.[411]

This movement, known as the "Age of the Saints",[412] has been seen as largely independent of Rome and the later Christian activity in England, centred on Canterbury.[413] It gave the Welsh a Christian identity in contradistinction to the heathen Saxon to the east.[414] Such distinctions may not have been as absolute as the myths they created, but they did have an early influence on identity just at the time when the Welsh were beginning to see themselves as a distinct people, nation and culture.[415] In this way, Christianity became established as a central aspect of Welsh national identity.[416]

By the Synod of Whitby, in 664, a process to incorporate the Welsh Church into the See of Canterbury had begun and, gradually, the Church within Wales became part of the European Church and Christendom.[417] From this time, and for the next thousand years, Christianity in Wales shared an ecclesiastical structure, routine and spirituality that was common to most of Christian Europe.[418] The Reformation in England did not change these cultural and social patterns greatly in Wales, the Welsh retaining a preference for the older patterns of a somewhat syncretistic Catholicism.[419] It was not until the early seventeenth century that independent churches of gathered believers, on the Nonconformist model, were established in Wales.[420] It was a further generation later, under the Act of Uniformity and its

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[411] Davies, *History*, 72.

[412] Davies, *Light*, 16-21.

[413] G. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 5-9; Davies, *History*, 72, 77-78.

[414] G. M. Trevelyn quoted in Evans, *Fathers*, 108; Gerald of Wales, *Journey & Description*, 111; James, "New Birth," in Pope, *Identity*, 15; T. Cahill, *How the Irish Saved Civilisation: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 126-136, 151-158.

[415] W. T. Pennar-Davies, "The Fire in the Thatch," in *Anatomy of Wales* (ed. R. B. Jones; Peterston-super-Ely: Gwerin, 1972), 106-107; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 107, 211; R. Pope, "Wales and the World: A Journey through the Nonconformist Mind," *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 8 (January 2008): 8.

[416] James, "New Birth," in Pope, *Identity*, 15; Williams, *Religion*, 31-33, 40.

[417] Williams, *Religion*, 16.

[418] G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962), 461-520; Davies, *Light*, 37-40; P. Morgan, *Wales: An Illustrated History* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), 107-117; Williams, *Religion*, 117.

[419] G. Williams, *Renewal and Reformation Wales: 1415-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 279-283; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 3-4, 6; Davies, *Light*, 43-45; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 91; Williams, *Religion*, 37, 43.

[420] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 10-12, 18-19, 21.

consequences in 1662, that the emergence of Welsh Nonconformity took distinct forms. [421]

A key factor in the emergence of Welsh Nonconformity, and later Welsh identity, was the translation of the New Testament into Welsh by William Salesbury in 1551, and of the whole Bible by William Morgan in 1588.[422] Morgan's translation and publication was authorized by Elizabeth I as a means to make the Welsh Protestants, and so loyal to the English government.[423] What was intended as a step along the way to an English-speaking culture and identity did more than anything else to preserve the Welsh language, culture and identity.[424] Indeed, it is unlikely that there would be a Welsh context, distinct from the rest of the United Kingdom, at all, if it were not for Bishop William Morgan's Bible.[425]

3.2.2 The Origins of Welsh Nonconformity

Opinions vary on the growth and strength of the early Nonconformist movement.[426] Some individual churches covered a whole county, with small groups meeting in local villages each week and travelling to meet with other groups less frequently.[427] Churches were small, even when gathered from a wide area, and were linked to similar movements in England.[428] They represented a small minority of a local population, somewhat select, exclusivist, and financially prosperous, with their leaders austere and serious.[429] They lived in the midst of a monoglot, rural people who preferred a mixture of myth, superstition and familiar Catholic seasonal patterns.[430]

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[421] E. M. White, *The Welsh Bible* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007), 12, 34; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 52-53.
[422] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, 338-360; Davies, *Light*, 49-53; Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 48; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 8.
[423] White, *Welsh Bible*, 12, 34, 154; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 52; Williams, *Religion*, 227.
[424] A. Price, "Wales, the First and Final Colony," 3. [cited 24.04,2012]. Online: http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2009/11/16/wales-the-first-and-final-colony-91466-25181558/.
[425] Williams, *Religion*, 225-229.
[426] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 7-8; E. Evans, *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1985), 15; B. G. Evans, *Diwygwyr Cymru* (Caernarfon: Yr Awdwr, 1900), 194-208; W. Williams, *Welsh Calvinistic Methodism* (Bridgend: Bryntirion, 1998), 42-48;. Jones, *Congregationalism*, 34-36, 73, 108-109.
[427] R. T. Jones, "Trefniadaeth Ryngeglwysig yr Annibynwyr," *Cofiadur* 21 (Mawrth 1951): 16-30; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 60-78.
[428] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 26-27, 34-36; E. M. White, "The People Called "Methodists"," *JWRH* 1 (2001): 12.
[429] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 100.
[430] P. Chambers, "Out of Taste, Out of Time: The Future of Nonconformist Religion in Wales in the Twenty-First Century," *Contemporary Wales* (2008): 86; Chambers, *Religion*, 2; John Penry, the first

A little over a hundred years after the publication of William Morgan's Bible, Griffith Jones, the Rector of Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire, started "Circulating Schools" to teach the peasantry of Wales to read.[431] His schools used this Bible as a text book from which to read, memorize and learn, producing a literate, popular culture which would be an outstanding feature of Wales in the nineteenth century.[432] According to Thomas, this gave a residual biblical memory to the Welsh.[433] Griffith Jones' motives were evangelistic, but the consequences were also educational, cultural and social, reaching all parts of Wales. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Welsh were a Welsh-speaking and literate people, with their own, largely Nonconformist, Welsh literature.[434]

The movement's strength in all parts of Wales was largely the result of the impact of the Welsh Methodist revival. What started as a renewal movement within the Anglican Church spread through the itinerant preaching of dedicated, charismatic leaders.[435] Those who came to personal faith in Christ through their preaching joined together in small local groups called *seiadau*,[436] for discipleship, accountability and pastoral care.[437] By the nineteenth century, these *seiadau* could be found in most villages and communities in Wales,[438] and became the building blocks of an emerging theocratic society, which developed into a fixed and ubiquitous form. They produced a new social order within two generations.[439] Welsh Calvinistic Methodism was a creative driving force in the spread of a populist and dynamic Christianity.[440] Recent critiques have seen its pragmatism as a child of

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'Nonconformist martyr' painted a bleak picture of neglect and superstition in his appeals to the authorities of his day. Jones, *Congregationalism*, 12.

[431] Davies, *History*, 306-307; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 102.

[432] Evans, *Builders*, 174.

[433] M. W. Thomas, *In the Shadow of the Pulpit: Literature and Nonconformist Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 228-232, 258.

[434] Pope, introduction to Pope, *Identity*, 4; Davies, *History*, 306-307; D. Williams, *A History of Modern Wales* (London: John Murray, 1977), 143-148; Williams, *Religion*, 51-54, 138-172.

[435] E. M. White, *Praidd Bach y Bugail Mawr* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1995), 42-73; Williams, *Religion*, 56-58.

[436] *"seiadau"* is the Welsh plural form of *"seiat"*, meaning 'society', following its earlier use in 'religious societies' to describe small groups that met for prayer, Bible study and fellowship within the Church of England at the start of the eighteenth century. See J. Woodward, *An Account of the Religious Societies in the City of London, &., and their Endeavours for Reformation of Manners* (London: Downing, J., 1712); Williams, *Religion*, 58.

[437] White, *Praidd*, 147-172; G. Tudur, *Howell Harris: From Conversion to Separation 1735 - 1750* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 63-81; E. Evans, *Bread of Heaven: The Life and Work of William Williams, Pantycelyn* (Bridgend: Bryntirion, 2010), 253-261; E. Humphreys, *The Taliesin Tradition* (Bridgend: Seren, 1989), 91-103.

[438] Davies, *History*, 309, 313-314.

[439] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 100.

[440] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 3.

modernity,[441] or a reaction to the rationalism of the age,[442] whereas for those involved it was the result of a revival,[443] an "outpouring of the Blessed Spirit".[444]

Some contend that the Methodist movement came out of Nonconformist chapels as much as from the Parish Church, as the support of certain Nonconformist ministers was crucial for the movement's early spread and success.[445] However, this growth and the liveliness of Methodist worship and witness eventually became a threat to the more formal and ordered Nonconformist chapels and leaders.[446] The sheer scale of Methodist growth and influence, however, could not be resisted. More and more Nonconformist churches, preachers and leaders became "methodised"[447] so that gradually, churches either became as evangelistic and enthusiastic as the Methodists, or they retreated into formalism or the rationalism of Unitarianism.[448]

3.2.3 The Growth of Nonconformist Wales

Welsh was the language medium of all these activities, to the extent that Harris could speak of his "Welsh speaking God".[449] Methodism became the religion of the rural Welsh-speaking poor, and as relations with the Anglican Church became strained, the latter was perceived more and more as English in character and to some extent alien, *yr Hen Estrones*.[450] This was further exacerbated by the anglicization of the gentry-class in Wales.[451] From the time of the Act of Union, it

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[441] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 105.

[442] Davies, *History*, 337,338.

[443] B. S. Schlenther and E. M. White, *Calendar of Trevecka Letters* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2003), 206.

[444] Evans, *Rowland*, 243; J. M. Jones and W. Morgan, *The Calvinistic Methodist Fathers of Wales* (trans. J. Aaron; Abertawe: Lewis Evans, 1895; repr., Carlisle: Banner of Truth Trust, 2008), 288.

[445] James, "New Birth," in Pope, *Identity*, 18; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 110-116; Williams, *Methodism*, 23; White, "Methodists," 9.

[446] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 117-118.

[447] D. D. Morgan, *Christmas Evans a'r Ymneilltuaeth Newydd* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1991), 21-34, 159-163; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 2, 17; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 110, 114-117; Williams, *Religion*, 59-60.

[448] Davies, *History*, 337; D. Williams, ed., *Who Speaks for Wales?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 151; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 105-107.

[449] 'I was much here too for yᵉ old Brittons not to swallow yᵉ English Pride & Language & despise their own that God is a Welchman & can talk Welch & has sᵈ to many in Welch Thy sins are forgiven thee'. Howell Harris Diary 24.5.1770, quoted in White, "Methodists," 16; Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 50; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 9.

[450] 'The old Stranger', conveying a sense of alienation and longstanding threat. B. Davies, "The Welsh Gentry, 1750-1850," in *Hunaniaeth Gymreig: Welsh Identity* (ed. T. G. Williams; Llandybie: Rhiwfawr Writers' Group, 2004), 27; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 2; P. Morgan, "From Long Knives to Blue Books," in *Welsh Society and Nationhood* (ed. R. R. Davies et al.; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1984), 210.

[451] I. C. Peate, "Society in Wales," in *Anatomy of Wales* (ed. R. B. Jones; Peterston-super-Ely: Gwerin, 1972), 51.

was required that those involved in the political, legal and urban life of Wales be English in language, loyalty and culture.[452]   In order to be acceptable to the government in London, the ruling classes in Wales had gladly accepted these pre-conditions, seeing them as representing a civilizing process.[453]   The Parish Church, often with a cleric who was unable to speak Welsh, and the dioceses with monoglot and absentee English bishops, was seen as part of the English elite, an impression that has taken centuries to dispel.[454] As a result, the common people, Welsh-speaking in language and culture, increasingly turned to Nonconformity as their spiritual home.[455]

By the nineteenth century this popular movement with nationally known preachers was to sweep all before it.[456]   Wales was entering the upheavals of the Industrial Revolution, socially and economically, and Nonconformist Evangelicalism was becoming its dominant religious feature.[457] A series of religious revivals had added thousands to a rapidly growing and multiplying Nonconformity.[458] This popular and populist movement was affecting all strata and areas of society, and, for Morgan, was "the single most potent religious force in the land".[459]   The Baptist preacher, Christmas Evans, could claim,

> "Perhaps there has never been such a nation as the Welsh who have been won over so widely to the hearing of the gospel. Meeting houses have been erected in each corner of the land and the majority of the common people, nearly all of them, crowd in to listen … There is virtually no other nation, whose members have, in such numbers, professed the gospel so widely, in both south Wales and the north". [460]

According to Humphries, the number of conversions to Welsh Nonconformity was producing a renewed people and thus a new nation.[461]   By the time of the 1851 census, there were 2,813 chapels in Wales, with one completed every eight days in the first half of the century.[462]   Estimates vary as to what proportion of the

[452] Davies, *History*, 235-236.
[453] Evans, *Fathers*, 161; Davies, "Gentry," in Williams, *Identity*, 27; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 2.
[454] Williams, *Conquest*, 296-298; Williams, *Reformation*, 307-313; Morgan, *Span*, 35, 36, 192; Davies, "Gentry," in Williams, *Identity*, 28; Williams, *Religion*, 50.
[455] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 2.
[456] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 149.
[457] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 2.
[458] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 26, 30, 115; Davies, *History*, 359-360; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 87, 88; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 156-157, 185; Jones, *Faith*, 38, 78.
[459] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 17.
[460] Quoted in Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 29; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 9.
[461] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 96.
[462] Davies, *History*, 359.

1,163,139 population were Nonconformists:[463] Pope suggests 52% attended a place of worship of whom 75% were Nonconformists, Chambers suggests 50% attending worship, and Llewellyn 75%.[464] The different conclusions from the same statistics arise from the fact that the returns for the census were seen as exaggerated; they did not include those who normally attended places of worship, but were absent on the day; and some people were counted twice when the services of the day were aggregated.[465] Thomas comments that at no point, even at Nonconformity's height, did the majority of people in Wales attend chapel. The image of a "pious, chapel-going people" was for him a cultural, social, and political myth, "a mythomoteur, a dynamic, generative concept of identity".[466]

No doubt the picture was exaggerated by the chapels, for promotional and political reasons, but, nevertheless, the scale of attendance, adherence and influence was out of all proportion to what could have been predicted two generations earlier.[467] By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Nonconformists had 535,000 members, as well an estimated 950,000 adherents who were not members, and half a million children in the Sunday Schools.[468] Pope suggested that the proportion of members, adherents and sympathizers in Welsh society, meant that an evangelistic outlook appeared unnecessary.[469] The chapels were socially and politically active with an array of activities.[470] In a little over a century, Welsh society had undergone a series of radical changes through industrialization, but it also had the image of Nonconformity forcibly stamped on its social, cultural and political life, and on its psyche.[471] For example, the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act of 1881 was the first Parliamentary legislation, since the Act of Union in 1534, which related solely to Wales, and so acknowledged its distinct existence. Its implementation demonstrated Nonconformity's political and social strength.[472]

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[463] This was the only census to record denominational allegiance and attendance at individual places of worship.
[464] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 33, 115; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 10; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 88; Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 49.
[465] Davies, *History*, 423-427; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 4.
[466] Thomas, *Shadow*, 8-9; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 15.
[467] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 1.
[468] Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 328; Jones, *Faith*, 10, 11, 35; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 14.
[469] Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 13.
[470] Thomas, *Shadow*, 38; D. Adamson, "The Intellectual and the National Movement in Wales," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 55.
[471] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 2; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 91.
[472] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 111, 114; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 259; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 1-2.

It is these changes that gave rise to ideas of a "Nonconformist nation",[473] a religion-dominated people where to be Welsh and to be Nonconformist were considered synonymous by many.[474] This identification myth, even if it was largely a myth, has left an indelible impression on the Welsh psyche to this day, both positive and negative.[475] The presence of thousands of chapels, whether vibrant, moribund, closing, closed or converted to another use, are a daily reminder in all parts of Wales of a once dominant influence on Welsh society.

Nonconformist religion, initially through its travelling preachers, united the various regions of Wales.[476] In the absence of political institutions, power and symbols, it gave a substitute identity.[477] The chapel people saw a parallel with the Jews of the Old Testament, so that Wales was seen as a "spiritual Israel", a people God had especially chosen.[478] Both were small, primarily pastoral, nations that were struggling to survive, and the parallel gave a sense of identity and common history, so that Israel, "could be taken as a surrogate and through it an identity forged".[479] For Jones, this demonstrated that, "a people deprived of their own government, law, administration and indigenous leadership will frequently feed on the fantasies with religion".[480] However, for Carter, religion was not only, "the solace of a conquered people", it also gave the Welsh people their own particularity.[481] Its nemesis followed very quickly in the following century, but that such a stereotype exists in the contemporary mind is clear evidence of its influence on national identity.

3.2.4 The Decline of Nonconformity in Wales

That Welsh Nonconformity's apotheosis occurred so suddenly is as surprising as its rapid rise. The twentieth century began confidently and within four years

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[473] Thomas, *Shadow*, 8; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 17, 29; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 15, 96.
[474] Chambers, *Religion*, 1; Morgan, *Span*, 23; Morgan, "Long Knives," in Davies et al., *Welsh Society*, 213.
[475] Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 49.
[476] Morgan, *Christmas Evans*, 159; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 29.
[477] R. Pope, "The Consistency of Faith: Calvinism in Early Twentieth Century Welsh Nonconformity," *WJRH* 4 (2009): 58.
[478] Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 8, 36, 37, 94-104; White, "Methodists," 11; Williams, *Religion*, 15.
[479] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 57.
[480] B. Jones, *Anatomy of Wales* (Peterston-super-Ely: Gwerin, 1972), 106.
[481] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 57.

the prospects looked brighter still.[482] The religious revival of 1904 and 1905 was an international event, and predictions, and subsequent claims, spoke of 100,000 additions to the churches.[483] By the end of February 1905, the total stood at 83,936, and it was clearly rising.[484] However, there are a number of problems with accepting the figures at face value. The returns were not verified;[485] as the numbers involved made the normal rules for admission to membership difficult to apply;[486] and it is not possible to know how many of the converts were church members already.[487] There was what Jones called "an unhealthy obsession with numbers of converts during the revival", which would inevitably inflate the figures.[488] Attendances on Sundays were said to be back to pre-revival levels by 1907.[489] J. Vynwy Morgan, a contemporary critic of the revival, spoke of 20,000 departures from the chapels by 1906[490] and, "not only is the percentage of lapses depressingly large and still in progress, but the general aftermath is unusually depressing".[491]

This scepticism overstated the revival's short-comings in order to dismiss its emphases. However, the undoubted impact on large numbers of people certainly did not prevent the decline in subsequent decades. According to Morgan, the seeds of decline had already been sown, and the revival did not prevent it. Welsh Nonconformity would appear strong outwardly, but "the corrosive effect of agnosticism, and incipient atheism and general secularization" were undermining its foundations.[492] The number of people in membership continued to increase until the

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[482] Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 328; Williams, *Religion*, 64-66; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 6; N. A. Davies, "Caeredin 1910-2010: Cymhellion a Gobeithion," *Diwinyddiaeth* LXII (2011): 4-5.

[483] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 196. The *Western Mail* published statistics during the revival of the number of 'conversions' in different localities from November 8th to December 31st 1904, January 1st to 31st, and February 1st to 28th 1905, quoted in Phillips, D. M., *Evan Roberts, the Great Welsh Revivalist and his Work,* (London, Marshall Brothers, 1923), 455-462. The Nonconformist membership returns between 1903 and 1905 showed an increase of 76,325: J. Williams, *Digest of Welsh Statistics: vol. 2* (Pontypool: The Welsh Office, 1985), 272-328. These figures did not include those added to Anglican, Wesleyan and other smaller groups.

[484] Phillips, *Roberts*, 455-462.

[485] Jones, *Faith*, 362.

[486] E. Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (Port Talbot: Evangelical Movement of Wales, 1969), 183.

[487] Jones, R. T., *Faith,* 362. Conversion to the Christian faith in Welsh Nonconformity at this time was demonstrated by becoming a church member. The Welsh word for converts, "*ymwelwyr*", means "someone who has returned".

[488] Jones, R. T., *Faith,* 362.

[489] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 218-219; Jones, R. T., *Faith, 348, 362-363,* 369; R. Pope, "Dadfythu 'Diwygiad Evan Roberts'," *Traethodydd* 159 (2004): 144.

[490] J. V. Morgan, *The Welsh Religious Revival* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1909), 248.

[491] Morgan, *Religious Revival*, 250.

[492] Morgan, *Span*, 16; R. Pope, "Evan Roberts in Theological Context," *Trafodion Anrhydeddus Gymdeithas y Cymrodorion* 11 (2005): 145-152.

1930s,[493] but the numbers attending fell and the non-member "adherents" had all but disappeared.[494] Between the end of the Second World War and 1970 the number attending chapels had halved.[495] Nonconformist values that had shaped generations had lost their hold on the people's loyalty and imagination. Chapel culture, and its hold on national life, had ended in all but a few rural areas, so that, as Morgan observes, "by 1979 nonconformist Wales was dying a lingering death".[496]

By the end of the twentieth century, Nonconformity had been abandoned by the Welsh people,[497] and was entering its death throes.[498] This loss had been regretted even by those who did not attend chapels, because it represented the end of an era, and the loss of something distinctly Welsh. Davies expresses this with evident nostalgia,

> "The Welsh did not revolt against Christianity; rather did they slip from its grasp, and empty chapels were a cause of sadness and regret even to those who never darkened their doors".[499]

Congregations became predominantly middle-aged or elderly.[500] By 2011, the media was speaking of a deteriorating crisis and an approaching end,[501] with decline more rapid than elsewhere in Britain.[502] The change represented a significant change in

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[493] Williams, *Statistics*, 272-328; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 194, 217; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 17.

[494] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 223; Jones, *Faith*, 365; Williams, *Religion*, 68.

[495] Davies, *History*, 642; Morgan, *Span*, 172.

[496] Morgan, *Span*, 253.

[497] Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 27; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 224; Chambers, *Religion*, 1.

[498] Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 337. The decline statistics for the Presbyterian Church of Wales, formerly the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, show the dramatic decline:

Year	Members	Ministers
1905	171,000	895
1924	189,000	948
1950	160,000	775
1982	80,000	467 [1973]
2001	40,000	114 [1998]
2006	32,000	74
2011	28,000	42

Williams, *Statistics*, 294-295; Eglwys Bresbyteriaid Cymru, *Gweithrediadau y Cymanfa Gyfredinol* (Caernafon: Wasg y Bwythin, 2007, 2012).

[499] Davies, *History*, 642.

[500] Morgan, *Span*, 265; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 94; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 261; R. Pope, "Ymneilltuaeth Ddoe, Heddiw ac Yfory," *Cristion* 97 (Tachwedd / Rhagfyr 1999): 7.

[501] n/a, 'Religion may become extinct in nine nations, study say' http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-12799801 accessed 28.03.2011.

n/a, 'Future bleak for Welsh chapels, says academic ' http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2008/08/23/future-bleak-for-welsh-chapels-says-academic-91466-2159 accessed 29.08.2012.

n/a, 'Welsh chapels: race against time to record their fate' http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-12908166 accesssed29.08.2012

n/a, 'Welsh chapels disappearing at rate of one a week' http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2011/03/30/welsh-chapels-disappearing-at-rate-of-one-a-week-91466-28426606/#ixzz2CCVkoQl0.

[502] Chambers, "Out of Taste," 89, 90, 94.

identity, loyalty and social practice, and, for Morgan, it represented a failure of Christian Welshness,[503] with the end of a distinctly Welsh expression of Christianity imminent.[504] Chambers expected to see further decline, with only 2% of the chapels open after thirty years that were active at the start of the millennium. There was, he said, "an inevitable feeling that things are coming to an end",[505] with Nonconformist ministers an "endangered species".[506] As the title of Chambers' article asserts, Welsh Nonconformity was, "Out of Taste and Out of Time".[507]

3.2.5   Nonconformist Renewal

For Thomas, the revival of religion in 1904 and 1905 was "the last dramatic gesture of a once hegemonic Nonconformist culture on the threshold of dwindling to a residual state".[508] As pre-rational assumptions disappeared, it was "the Ghost Dance of Welsh Nonconformity",[509] the "swansong of the old religious tradition of Wales … the compulsive flush of death".[510] This was a reality for most of the main Nonconformist denominations.[511] However, for the Evangelical and Pentecostal missions that emerged after the revival, and the Evangelical and Charismatic churches of later generations, it represented a breath of fresh air and the possibility for a significant break from the traditional and increasingly Liberal Nonconformity of the older denominations.

During and after the revival, tensions developed between the leaders of the traditional chapels and the "Children of the Revival", with meetings being curbed,[512] evangelism abandoned,[513] and members expelled.[514] There was a "problem of wineskins"[515]

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503 Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 224, 226.
504 Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 230; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 33.
505 Chambers, "Out of Taste," 87.
506 Chambers, "Out of Taste," 94, 95; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 260, 289; Williams, *Religion*, 71.
507 Chambers, "Out of Taste," 86.
508 Thomas, *Shadow*, 118.
509 Thomas, *Shadow*, 42.
510 J. G. Jones, "Ebychiad Mawr Olaf Anghydffurfiaeth yng Nghymru," *Cymmrodorion* 11 (2005): 134.
511 R. Pope, *Codi Muriau Dinas Duw: Anghydffurfiaeth ac Anghydffurfwyr Cymru'r Ugeinfed Ganrif* (Bangor: Prifysgol Cymru, 2005), 14.
512 B. P. Jones, *The King's Champions* (Cwmbran: Christian Literature, 1986), 91.
513 B. P. Jones, *Voices from the Welsh Revival* (Bridgend: Bryntirion, 1995), 267.
514 R. Perkins, *East Carmarthenshire's Mission Hall Saints* (Bridgend: Cylchgrawn Efengylaidd, 1997), 6-7; Evans, *Revival*, 197; D. R. J. Ollerton, *The Revival's Children* (2nd edition; Cefncribwr: n.p., 2000), 10, 28.
515 Evans, *Revival*, 196.

where the rigidity of the chapels would not, or could not, yield to the new wine, because it represented a challenge to the existing order and authorities.[516]

Many converts, particularly in South Wales, withdrew from their denominational churches and met together in homes and barns, before constructing corrugated iron "Tabernacles", as early as 1907.[517] Evans suggests that most of the initial losses from the chapels were to newly formed "Gospel" or "Mission Halls".[518] Thus, losses to the chapels were not all losses to the Christian community. Indeed, this represented a remarkable church-planting movement.[519] Others left the chapels because they wanted more "freedom, spirituality and certainty".[520] The theological Liberalism of many ministers and denominational leaders was alien to the converts. As one convert put it, "Those who have been born in the fire cannot live in the smoke".[521]

Some of the "Children of the Revival"[522] desired more than evangelical doctrine and sought the freedom to actively evangelise.   The revival movement had been somewhat anti-clerical,[523] informal,[524] with a high emphasis on the work and power of the Holy Spirit, and desires were strong to preserve these features. They were hoping for "a return to apostolic Christianity in all its pristine beauty and power".[525] They started to set up Pentecostal Missions either out of or alongside the Gospel Halls.[526] The link between the revival and the early Pentecostal movement was more inspirational than one of direct causation, though, according to Bartleman, one of Pentecostalism's first leaders, it had been "rocked in the cradle of little Wales".[527] Pope sees Pentecostalism as "the most enduring effect of the revival",[528] and Jones sees the revival as the "starting point of an immense spiritual movement".[529] To them,

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[516] Jones, *Voices*, 268.
[517] B. P. Jones, *How Lovely Are Thy Dwellings* (Newport: Wellspring, 1999), 14; Jones, *Faith*, 486; Pope, "Dadfythu," 146.
[518] Evans, *Revival*, 186.
[519] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 231-234; Perkins, *Mission Hall*, 9; R. B. Jones, *Rent Heavens* (Porth: Bible Institute Bookroom, 1931), 93.
[520] Jones, *Dwellings*, 13; Pope, "Dadfythu," 145.
[521] Ollerton, *Children*, 8; In order to counter the theological trends in some chapels, and the lack of teaching for the converts, preaching festivals and conventions were organised for teaching and promoting personal holiness, following the pattern of the influential Llandrindod Convention which began in 1903, "for the deepening of the spiritual life". Jones, *Champions*, 79.
[522] Ollerton, *Children*, ii.
[523] Morgan, *Religious Revival*, 256; Pope, "Dadfythu," 148; Jones, "Ebychiad," 126-128.
[524] Jones, *Voices*, 160.
[525] Evans, *Revival*, 195.
[526] Jones, *Faith*, 334, 348.
[527] Bartleman, in W. Reinhardt, "A Year of Rejoicing," *ERT* 31 (2 2007): 122.
[528] R. Pope, "Demythologising the Evan Roberts Revival, 1904-1905," *JEH* 57 (3 2006): 530; Jones, "Ebychiad Mawr," 142.
[529] Jones, R. T., *Faith,* 349.

the worldwide Pentecostal movement, with its millions of members, was a direct outcome.[530]

Because the Evangelical and Pentecostal churches in Wales often comprised small congregations, they were disregarded by the Nonconformist denominations, which, for the first half of the twentieth century, were much larger in terms of the number of churches and members.[531] However, as decline in the larger denominations set in, some Evangelical and Pentecostal churches began to strengthen and plant new churches.[532] This was accelerated when numbers of evangelically minded churches, leaders, and members seceded from the denominations in the 1960s over the Ecumenical Movement or the Charismatic Movement.[533] By the end of the century, these churches were the largest Nonconformist churches in Wales, and growing, especially in the towns and cities.[534] This was part of what Bebbington calls "The Evangelical Resurgence in the Later Twentieth Century".[535] The scale and pace of their growth, together with their nature, emphases and approach to mission, will be described in the following chapters.

3.2.6 The Reasons for the Decline of Welsh Nonconformity

The reasons given for the demise of historic Welsh Nonconformity have been many.[536] Some saw the decline as the result of changes in Nonconformity itself. Tudur traces the change during the nineteenth century from small family based groups, meeting in homes and converted barns, to highly organised and professionalised denominations.[537] He shows how the building of chapels produced a respectability

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[530] Jones, *Faith*, 337-345; Pope, *Muriau*, 26,
[531] Davies, *Light*, 106; Jones, *Dwellings*, 22-30; Ollerton, *Children*, 10-20.
[532] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 225-228; Davies, *Light*, 115-116.
[533] N. Gibbard, *The First Fifty Years: The History of the Evangelical Movement of Wales, 1948-1998* (Bridgend: Bryntirion, 2002), 81-98; J. Brencher, *Martyn Lloyd-Jones (1899-1981) and Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002), 205-209; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 229-248; Davies, *Light*, 110-114; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 272-274.
[534] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 235-239; Brencher, *Martyn Lloyd-Jones*, 200-209. The most recent statistical analysis for Wales is the 1995 Welsh Churches Survey which records the relative youth and growth of these churches. J. Gallacher, *Challenge to Change* (Swindon: BFBS, 1995), n.p., chapter 3, 5.
[535] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 249-270.
[536] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 192, 199-201, 352.
[537] A. Tudur, "O'r Sect i'r Enwad: Datblygiad Enwadau Ymneilltuol Cymru, 1840 – 1870" (PhD, Prifysgol Cymru, 1992), 177-197; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 80-81, 151.

that replaced the enthusiasm and relational closeness of the earlier methodised *Annibynwyr* churches.[538]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the more formal and routinized chapels reflected a passing Victorian culture.[539] This led to a popular dis-ease with the chapels in the twentieth century as "a time-travel capsule into the recent past."[540] A professionalized clergy led to a culture of ministerial dependency and, what Chambers called, "ministerial myopia" when society was changing rapidly to a different social order.[541] Denominational in-fighting was also an offence to many.[542] This led to a perceived irrelevance among the wider population, and an ill-preparedness to face the future within the chapels. The chapels were seen as captive to a Welsh way of life that was considered antiquated and even hypocritical.[543]

Others have linked the decline to the wholesale adoption of Liberal theological views within the main Nonconformist denominations.[544] Darwinism and biblical criticism had undermined confidence in Nonconformity's biblical culture, so many theologians of the day had relinquished it in favour of a social gospel.[545] This was thought to be more flexible and responsive to the rising socialism of the time,[546] but in adopting it, the place of personal conversion was marginalised.[547] It led to a Church life that did not emphasise evangelism and extension, and without new people joining the Church there was inevitable decline.[548]

The drift away from the chapels may also be explained by varied changes in society.[549] These changes included the increased anglicisation of many parts of Wales as people moved in from England for work, or considered Englishness advantageous.[550] Changes in the availability of leisure time, and interests such as

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[538] Tudur, "Sect i'r Enwad," 75-91, 183-197. The *Annibynwyr* are the Welsh Independent / Congregational churches; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 94.
[539] Chambers, *Religion*, 73, 90; Pope, *Muriau*, 10.
[540] Chambers, *Religion*, 73.
[541] Chambers, *Religion*, 98; Jones, *Faith*, 371.
[542] Jones, *Faith*, 41-59.
[543] Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 337; Williams, *Religion*, 65-68.
[544] Morgan, *Span*, 16, 20; Davies, *History*, 505; Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 332-336; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 91; Jones, *Faith*, 220-223, 252, 416; Pope, *Muriau*, 40-45; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 15-17.
[545] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 193, 195-7, 219, 237-241; Jones, *Faith*, 192, 198, 209-216, 403-411.
[546] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 5, 13-16; Pope, *Muriau*, 8.
[547] Thomas, *Shadow*, 297.
[548] Chambers, *Religion*, 90, 211; Pope, *Muriau*, 8, 43.
[549] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 241.
[550] Morgan, *Span*, 16; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 17-22; Chambers, *Religion*, 201.

rugby, were also considered influential as a new and alternative form of recreation to chapel involvement. [551]   It has also been suggested that there may have been an intellectual reaction to the emotion-charged revivals of previous decades.[552]   In addition to this, the change in political loyalties through the rise of socialism, which became an alternative creed and cause to live for, drew many in a new direction away from the family's chapel.[553] James Griffiths, an early leader in Welsh Labourism, contended that the religious revival of 1904, "For a year or two transformed life in the valleys, then it seemed to fade out, leaving behind a void which was later filled by another kind of revival", by which he meant socialism.[554]   To others, there was also a reaction to the carnage of the First World War. Welsh Nonconformity had been seen to have encouraged thousands of their sons to volunteer to their death. In this, Christianity had also appeared to be part of the Imperial cause.[555]

However, it was the perceived narrowness of Nonconformity's Puritanism, with a social agenda emphasizing teetotalism and sabbatarianism,[556] which led many to turn away.[557] The era of Welsh Nonconformity came to be seen as an unfortunate interregnum that interrupted Wales' happy, cultured and liberal past.[558]   As Pritchard somewhat hyperbolically says,

> "Before Methodism spread its puritanic gloom over Wales, and identified itself almost with the Welsh character, mirth and minstrelry, dance and song … were the order of the day".[559]

Novelists and writers, especially from among the Anglo-Welsh, reacted to "the smothering embrace of Welsh Nonconformity".[560] Thomas quotes a variety of authors in a litany of contempt:

> "the dark chapels, squat as toads, raised their faces stonily … grim fortresses of an oppressive theocracy … Pompous, bully preachers; lying, lustful, avaricious, hypocritical deacons; morally constipated chapel members; chapel stooges of

[551] Davies, *History*, 644; Morgan, *Span*, 16; Jones, *Faith*, 70; Pope, *Muriau*, 9; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 18.

[552] Morgan, *Religious Revival*, 232-239; Pope, *Kingdom*, 2; Jones, "Ebychiad," 106; Pope, "Dadfythu," 145; White, *Welsh Bible*, 128..

[553] Pope, *Kingdom*, 4-5, 28-31, 32-55; Morgan, *Span*, 20, 38-39; Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 331; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 135-137; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 15, 17.

[554] Jones, "Ebychiad Mawr," 139, 142; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 1.

[555] Davies, *History*, 504; Morgan, *Span*, 20; Thomas, *Shadow*, 111; D. D. Morgan, "Christ and the War," *JWRH* 5 (1997): 83-90; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 163, 167; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 220-221; Jones, "Ebychiad," 143; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 157-161, 170; Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 15-16.

[556] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 354.

[557] W. Griffith, *The Welsh* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1968), 16, 110, 137, 156, 182; Thomas, *Shadow*, 19; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 17, 35.

[558] Thomas, *Shadow*, 223.

[559] Quoted in Thomas, *Shadow*, 51.

[560] Thomas, *Shadow*, 188; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 258-267.

industrial robber barons … no nation has come nearer to being a theocracy, a people in vassalage to its preachers …".[561]

Morgan quotes a raft of similar opinions,

"We are as Welsh Nonconformity has made us. Not until the last chapel is a cowhouse and the last black-coated worker of abomination [the minister] is hanged shall we ever set forth on our march to the light … Chapels are the signs of our poverty and perfidity" … The preacher is "the hangman of our liberties and the enemy of God … Wales would be brighter and more Christian-like if every chapel were burned to the ground and a public house raised on the ashes thereof".[562]

Saunders Lewis, a son of the manse and a founder of *Plaid Cymru*, spoke of the "black barbarism of … Nonconformity".[563] These statements reflect somewhat extreme views that utterly reject the social, moral, and doctrinal values and achievements of the Welsh Nonconformist era, but, nevertheless, they do reflect an underlying shift in public opinion. They show how different the opinion-shapers of popular thought viewed Wales less than a century after Nonconformity's hey-day. The popular mindset had changed and the prospects for Christian mission had changed with it. This negative legacy is still a major factor in contextualised mission is Wales in the twenty first century.

The number of people describing themselves as "Christian" in Wales in the 2001 and 2011 censuses fell from 72% to 57.6% of the population.[564] However, despite the substantial fall, the percentages were much higher than actual church membership and attendance would suggest, and reflect a "believing without belonging".[565] The 2007 *Tearfund* survey gives a more telling and bleak picture.[566] The respondents were divided into three main categories: "churchgoers", "non-churched' and "de-churched". These represent those who go (however occasionally), those who have never gone, and those who used to go but no longer do so.[567] 20% responded as

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[561] Thomas, *Shadow*, 19, 30, 115.
[562] Morgan, *Span*, 167-168.
[563] Quoted in D. G. Williams, "Welsh Modernism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modernisms* (ed. P. Brooker et al.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3.
[564] Welsh Government, "2001 Census of Population: First results on Religion," n.p. [cited 14.11.2012]. Online: http://wales.gov.uk/topics/statistics/headlines/pop-2007/hdw200302132/?lang=en; ONS, "2011 Census: KS209EW Religion, local authorities in England and Wales," n.p. [cited 12.12.2012]. Online: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-286262.
[565] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 9-38; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 159.
[566] *Tearfund*, "Church Going in the UK," 11. [cited 11.02.2011]. Online: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/03_04_07_tearfundchurch.pdf.
[567] The categories were given as follows:
- Had they been to church in the past - "de-churched"
- Had they never attended church, apart from weddings, baptisms or funerals - "nonchurched"

churchgoers, 28% as non-churched, but 51% as de-churched. The latter reflects Wales' disenchantment with religion and the percentage of de-churched is significantly higher than the other nations of the United Kingdom.[568] More than half of those polled in Wales said that they used to have links with places of worship but no longer did so. Nearly three-quarters said that they were closed to the possibility of attendance in the future. Mission in Wales in the twenty first century is mission in a post-Christian, even anti-Christian, context, a sphere described by missiologists as Post-Christendom.

3.2.7 The Changing Religious Context

These trends of decline in Wales in the twentieth century, and their causes, reflect similar trends across Western Europe and North America. They were in part due to the philosophical and cultural changes in Western society, including Wales, arising from the Enlightenment.[569] This has been followed in the second half of the twentieth century by post-modernity and philosophical pluralism which represent a yet further challenge to a Christian worldview. These general trends will be considered in order to understand how secularisation and post-Christendom have affected and taken expression in Wales.

Welsh Nonconformity was also being impacted by the contemporary trends of a growing secularisation of thought,[570] which Morgan called, "the corrosive effect of

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- Were they fairly/very likely to go to church in the future - "open" to attending
- Were they unlikely/not at all likely to go to church in the future - "closed" to attending in future).

[568]

	England	Scotland	Wales	NI
Churchgoer	%	%	%	%
Regular	14	18	12	45
Fringe	3	5	2	2
Occasional	7	5	6	7
De-churched				
Open	5	5	5	6
Closed	26	34	46	16
Non-churched				
Open	1	0.5	1	2
Closed	33	26	26	20
Other religions	7	3	2	0.4
Unassigned	2	3	1	1

[569] Page 27.
[570] Morgan quotes a letter of Lloyd George to his fiancée in 1886 "I trust that you received due amusement and entertainment in the preaching meetings. Who won the buckle? Who raved most deliriously about the agonies of the wicked's doom and about the bliss of every true Calvinist's predestination? I hope you have sunk no deeper in the mire of the *Cyffes Fydd* & other prim orthodoxies". Morgan, *Span*, 16.

agnosticism, and incipient atheism".[571] Enlightenment ideas led inevitably to a process of secularisation, as religion became something belonging to the private sphere only.[572] Originally the term "secularisation" referred to the transfer of property from Church to State, but later came to mean the move away from a Christian set of ethics, worldview and intellectual hegemony.[573] Chambers defines this as a process "whereby religion ceases to be a significant part of the common life of members of a society", and Robinson as "the removal of the sacred from any influence in this world".[574] It involves the Church returning to social insignificance from the place of decision making, or the "public square", as Neuhaus termed it.[575] Secularisation theory is one of Sociology's main explanations, following Weber, for understanding modernity, and religion's decline.[576] The effect has been the marginalisation of religion, with consumerism and individualism dominating western culture.[577]

The trends of secularisation have been significant for the churches in Wales, and decline trends testify to the enormity of the challenge, and the relative failure of the churches in the struggle.[578] This has been, in part, because traditional Nonconformity sought to hold on to some of the assumptions and privileges that a passing Christendom had offered.

For over a thousand years, a Christianised society had existed in Europe where the citizens regarded themselves as essentially, or nominally, Christian.[579] The connection between Church and State, which began with Emperor Constantine and a Christian Roman empire,[580] was heightened in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the westward spread of Islam.[581] Western Europe became Christianized in contrast

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[571] Morgan, *Span*, 16.

[572] Bosch, *Future*, 15; Chambers, *Religion*, 23.

[573] Chambers, *Religion*, 20-21.

[574] Chambers, *Religion*, 21; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 211.

[575] R. J. Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), vii, 80-81; Chambers, *Religion*, 20-25; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 211.

[576] Chambers, *Religion*, 22-25. To some this process of secularisation will inevitably spread from Europe to other parts of the world, whereas others see Europe as something of a special case because of its Christendom past. Those who propound a form of scientism see the process as inevitable, others point to the rise of spiritualism, fundamentalism and superstition in Europe to say that it is only the Christian story that is being rejected. Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 153-158; Bosch, *Future*, 24.

[577] Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 161; Chambers, *Religion*, 24.

[578] Chester, *Good News*, 153; Jones, *Faith*, 2.

[579] Bosch, *Future*, 28; Chester, *Good News*, 152-153; S. Murray, *Post-Christendom* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004), 54.

[580] Murray, *Post*, 23-46.

[581] MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 255-261; S. P. Huntingdon, *The Clash of Civilizations* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 159.

to, and as a defence against, those who posed a threat from the east. For Newbigin, this was rooted in ghettoism, where Christian Europe had turned in on itself and did not reach out beyond its borders to its Islamic neighbours.[582]

In this Christianized Europe, the Church was connected to political power and used its position and privilege to further its mission within society.[583] The consequences for the Church were profound and widespread. Firstly, Christendom had a direct effect on the nature of ministry as the office of pastor and teacher completely eclipsed that of apostle and evangelist.[584] Evangelism in this situation was diminished in importance because people became part of the Church, passively, from their Christening at birth.[585] Secondly, when church attendance was weakening, there was a reliance on, what Hull calls, "the deuteronomic cycle" where the peaks and troughs of Church vitality were predictable.[586] Thirdly, evangelism, where it occurred, was what Hirsch calls "outreach and grab" or "outreach and amuse", being a centripetal movement into church buildings and community.[587] This was an attractional and extractional model rather than a missional and outreach model.[588] Murray explains why such approaches have become increasingly ineffective and obsolete even where aspects of Christendom thinking linger on.[589] For Hirsch, the expectations betrayed an incipient dualism, in that the faith was expressed within the church's buildings, rather than in the wider community.[590] Fourthly, such a model helped shape the Church's structure, tradition and conservativism. Christianity became part of a social order, and a bastion for preserving the status quo.[591] Fifthly, the Bible was

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[582] Newbigin, *Secret*, 4.
[583] Chester, *Good News*, 152; Keller, "Missional," 1.
[584] Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 235; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 43, 169; S. Murray, "Christendom and Post-Christendom," Part 3:E. [cited 27.07.2011]. Online: http://missionalchurchnetwork.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/christendom-murray.pdf.
[585] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 231 276; Robinson and Smith, *Space*, 44-48; Murray, *Post*, 87, 176.
[586] Hull, *Response*, 22.
[587] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 34, 60, 65, 129-130, 220, 276.
[588] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 21-22; Murray, "Christendom," Part 3:C; Keller, "Missional". In the United States, and to a lesser extent in the UK, a 'market strategy' was adopted, where commercial methods were used to gather a lapsed nation. Newbigin, *Pluralist*, 226; Chester, *Good News*, 152; Bosch, *Future*, 28; Hall, *Christendom*, 48; Robinson and Smith, *Space*, 24-25; Murray, *Post*, 12; N. Shawchuck et al., *Marketing for Congregations: Choosing to Serve People More Effectively* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992), 25-53.
[589] Murray, *Post*, 3, 9; Keller, *Center*, 256-257.
[590] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 238.
[591] Hall, *Christendom*, 7; Chester, *Good News*, 157-158; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 58, 61; Murray, *Post*, 24, 35-42, 76-77; S. Murray, "Christendom," n.p.. In the Established Church the privileges of tithes, Sabbath, bishops, status and even a dominance in education and media were too relied on to be relinquished willingly.

marginalised because what it taught was regarded as too revolutionary, and could lead to a challenging of the established order.[592]

The same trends affected Wales, as the dynamic of a methodised Nonconformity, with its primitive Biblicism, hardened into clerical institutions.[593] The main Nonconformist denominations assumed the role of a quasi-established Church in the Nonconformist nation. Most denominations were paedo-baptist in practice which meant that a large proportion of the community became nominally attached to the chapels from birth. They also trained their leaders for pastoral not evangelistic ministry.[594] Secondly, in Wales, the "deuteronomic cycle" took the form of seasons of revival, and a reliance on the next one.[595] A largely nominal, yet churched population, were brought to personal faith and commitment in intense seasons of preaching and challenge.[596] Thirdly, the Church's mission became centralised on the chapel building, and, according to Brinley Jones, with an emphasis on the next world, not this one.[597] This meant that mission involved encouraging people to go to chapel, rather than a mission by the people into their community. Fourthly, although the practice of being an Established Church was an official arrangement in England, it became equally assumed by Welsh Nonconformity.[598] This was strengthened by a political alignment with the Liberal party which was seen as helping bring the party to power, but also as giving the Nonconformity a measure of political influence.[599] Lastly, the drift away from Nonconformity's original Biblicism meant that the form and mission of the churches tended to be shaped by their traditions as well as political pragmatism.[600] Maintaining these patterns and preferences in a monolithic and uniform tradition, that was seen as distinctly Welsh and so to be preserved and defended, produced a disconnect with the surrounding society and made Nonconformity vulnerable in a changing world.

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[592] Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 97; Murray, *Post*, 134.

[593] Chester, *Good News*, 155; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 51; Murray, "Christendom," part2:B.

[594] Tudur, "Sect i'r Enwad," 75-91, 322-335.

[595] Williams, *Religion*, 61. Revivals may have assumed a Christendom context, with a large pool of nominal church members and adherents, and a population with a general awareness of Christian belief and obligation. This would explain the absence of revivals, on a national scale, in an increasingly secularized Wales, following 1904.

[596] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 156-158; Robinson and Smith, *Space*, 18; Keller, *Center*, 57-59.

[597] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 49-50.

[598] White, *Welsh Bible*, 147. The call to dis-establish the Anglican Church in Wales, which united all the Nonconformist denominations in the second half of the nineteenth century, was contesting the assumption of it being the Established Church, when Nonconformist churches had significantly more members.

[599] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 159-161; Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 55; Jones, *Faith*, 375-381; Williams, *Religion*, 64; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 46; G Charmley, "Nonconformity and Liberalism: The Ministerial Careers of Josiah Towyn Jones (1858-1925)," *The Welsh History Review / Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru* (December 2012): 246-247.

[600] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 222-223, 227-228.

Enlightenment thinking, and the resultant process of secularization, undermined Christendom's assumptions, and, for MacCulloch, the First World War sounded its death knell.[601] For Morgan, the war represented "an immense break with the past". [602] No longer was the Church operating in a society that accepted a Christian worldview.[603] As a result, according to Hall, the Church in the West was suffering from what he called "future shock", in that the Church was struggling to adjust to its strange new world.[604] Equally, according to Hirsch, the missiological tools from the Christendom toolbox were inadequate.[605] In a post-Christendom context, the Christendom models, methods and privileges were not transferable. If Christendom assumptions were not abandoned, current trends of decline could only continue.[606]

3.2.8 The Implications for Mission of the Religious Contexts

For these reasons, the missional challenge in twenty-first century Wales will need to be viewed through a post-Christendom lens. Christendom is a phenomenon of the past, and there can be no reconstruction of "Humpty-Dumpty", as Hall so forcefully says.[607] The Church must "disestablish itself" and relinquish all claims to status.[608] Karl Barth saw the issue clearly over fifty years ago and called for a deliberate detaching from institutional models and mindset even where their structures still survived.[609] Certainly, Christendom confused what it means to be a Christian and, in the light of many deeds done in the name of Christendom, many have questioned how Christian Christendom was.[610] The quotations from the Anglo-Welsh authors, and the *Tearfund* research, demonstrate that this is particularly true in Wales. Until negative perceptions of Nonconformity pass from the public mind, the religious context will have a negative legacy. In a pre-Christendom society, Christianity was fresh news, proclaimed as an alternative religious and social option. In a post-Christendom society, Christianity can all too easily be seen as passé, irrelevant and old fashioned, with little to offer.[611] It is seen as having been tried and found wanting,

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[601] MacCulloch, *History*, 915-918.
[602] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 177.
[603] Keller, *Center*, 181-182.
[604] Hall, *Christendom*, 8.
[605] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 17.
[606] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 24, 39-45.
[607] Hall, *Christendom*, 40; Pope, *Muriau*, 32; Keller, *Center*, 197.
[608] Hall, *Christendom*, 42-43; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 164.
[609] Karl Barth, *Letter to a Pastor in the German Democratic Republic,* in Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 245.
[610] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 7, 64, 83-87; Keller, "Missional," 1.
[611] Timmis, *Multiplying*, 123.

and those looking for answers to contemporary questions require new answers. Evangelism in a post-Christendom context needs to overcome such hurdles.[612]

However, for the Church to be free of Christendom "toxins" is seen by leaders of missional churches as a huge advantage and a missional opportunity,[613] leading Chambers to point the way to a positive future in Wales. As the churches accept a minority position, where the "*corpus Christi*" is not confused with the "*corpus christianum*", it can rediscover its real nature and role.[614] Chambers suggests that high levels of religious pluralism do not necessarily lead to lower levels of church attendance or religious belief. He sees the decline of institutional religion as creating an opportunity for the continuance and growth of mission orientated churches.[615] As a sociologist, he sees hopeful prospects for the churches in Wales, as long as they counter the atomization of secularism by being communities involved in serving their communities.[616] Likewise, Morgan suggests that a community of faith, which lives out its faith by care and compassion, will retain its appeal.[617] Such a local church might be small, vulnerable and operating on society's margins, but from such a position the members could function as, what Murray calls, "servants, witnesses and prophets".[618] The Church would be standing in the market place of ideas as a genuinely prophetic community, addressing a culture it no longer possessed.[619] However, aspirations such as Newbigin's "claiming the high ground of public truth", or Hull's desire to convert the culture, would need to guard against superiority and aspirations to re-impose a cultural Christendom.[620] What is certain is that there will be no return to a Christendom of the medieval variety, or as Kelly explained:

> "Our strategy must not be for survival but for rebirth … The Church of the future will arise not where the pillars of our certainties are grounded, but where the seeds of an ancient gospel reroot".[621]

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[612] Murray, "Christendom," Part 3:E; Pope, "Ymneilltuaeth Rhan 1," 9.
[613] Hall, *Christendom*, 153; Chester, *Good News*, 154, 156; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 172-173; Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 7, 169.
[614] Chambers, *Religion*, 23.
[615] Chambers, *Religion*, 38.
[616] Chambers, *Religion*, 87, 95-96.
[617] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 13.
[618] Murray, *Post*, 20.
[619] Hall, *Christendom*, 51, 57; Murray, "Christendom," Part 2:D; Murray, *Post*, xiii.
[620] Newbigin, *Pluralist, 232-233;* Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 186, 209-214; Robinson and Smith, *Space*, 59-62; Hull, *Response*, 12; Williams, "Churches," 160; Pope, *Muriau*, 71.
[621] G. Kelly, *Get a Grip on the Future without Losing Your Hold on the Past* (London: Monarch, 1999), 252, in R. J. Sudworth, *The Outside-In Church: Researching opportunities for CMS in the Welsh Context* (London: Church Missionary Society, 2003), 7.

Mission from the Church to the society around it will be cross-cultural, in that it will no longer be one where sympathy to a Christian perspective can be assumed.[622] Churches in Wales in the twenty first century will need to work through the death of Christendom in their own ecclesiology and missiology, or die with it.

According to Williams, the link between Welshness and Christianity has been broken. For the first time since the sixth or seventh centuries, when the Welsh became a separate people, being a Christian is not essential to being Welsh for most Welsh people.[623] Distinctly Welsh forms of Christianity, and the religious values that go with them, "are being more and more abandoned as a lingering but painfully inexorable process. The fire now burns on Cambria's altars only as a smoky and fitful flame, flickering hesitantly amid fast cooling embers."[624]

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[622] Murray, *Post*, 8.
[623] Williams, *Religion*, 69.
[624] Williams, *Religion*, 72.

3.3   The Geographic Context of Wales

> "**Boundaries**
>
> Where does the town end
> And the country begin?
>
> Where is the high-water mark
> Between the grey tide and the green?
>
> We walk an invisible margin remembering glory …"[625]

Welshness, and any consideration of Welsh context or contexts, will refer in part to the land, the territory, the region within fixed borders that makes up the spatial aspect of Wales. For Smith, an awareness or experience of Wales is inseparable from a sense of place. He sees this element of Welshness as having prominence over symbols, language and tradition, as "territory forged by a complex historical process that is not yet worked out".[626] The geomorphology and geology of the land of Wales has affected the history, society, politics, economy and identity of Wales and the Welsh.[627] This section will consider the influence of the land on context, and what possible bearing this has on mission.

3.3.1 The Land and Welsh Identity

Those who were born within the boundaries of Wales, or are descended from those who were, would normally consider themselves to be Welsh.[628] It is being born in the land, not living in it, that creates Welshness. Some living within its boundaries at any one time would not consider themselves to be Welsh, and may even resent such a label.[629] Thus, for Carter, ethnicity is primarily a spatial concept, and for

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[625] R. S. Thomas, *Collected Later Poems: 1988 - 2000* (Tarset: Bloodaxe, 2004), 258.

[626] D. Smith, *Wales! Wales?* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 2, Summerton, "Identity Crisis," 16.

[627] P. Morgan, *Background to Wales: A Course of Studies in Modern Welsh Life* (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, 1968), 86.

[628] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 71; Thompson and Day, "Local," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 36; 'As expected, the most important factor associated with Welsh identity was country of birth. People born in Wales were far more likely to describe their national identity as Welsh (87 per cent) compared with those born in England (15 per cent), in other UK countries (17 per cent) or outside the UK (13 per cent).' ONS, "Focus on Wales: Its people, Focus on Wales: Its people," n.p. [cited 05.12.2012]. Online: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/social-trends-rd/focus-on-wales--its-people/focus-on-wales--its-people/index.html.

[629] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 14.

Fowler, Welshness is a "situational phenomena".[630] Smith contends that, as a pre-requisite, any expression of national identity involves a political community of some sort within a definite social space, "a fairly well demarcated and bounded territory, with which the members identify and to which they feel they belong".[631]

Unlike Scotland or Ireland, this boundary in Wales is not made up entirely of sea or mountain range. The "Welsh peninsula" to the west of England has not been regarded as fully national because its geography left it open to domination and incursion from the east.[632] The valleys of the Severn, Dee and Wye rivers flowing east provide valley routes, for culture as well as intruders, into the centre of the central massif which dominates the land area.[633]

However, remoteness from the centre of English power helped preserve a separate language, culture and identity.[634] Nevertheless, it was a man-made construction that probably secured a distinct identity for the Welsh. Offa, king of Wessex, built a dyke, a palisaded wall of earth and upright wood, to defend against raids from the west in the eighth century.[635] In so doing, he penned off diverse Celtic tribes and helped unite these remnants of the old Brythonic tribal stock into a distinct people. These were then, "expected, even obliged, to maintain and defend the heritage of Britain against almost insuperable odds".[636] For Humphreys, the dyke, "served to transform our mountainous peninsular into a cultural fortress that became both a crucible of myth and a cauldron of rebirth".[637] Because of the separation it produced, the Welsh beyond the wall developed an identity of exclusion by knowing who they were "by knowing who you are not".[638] The label, "Welsh" is from the Saxon, "Wealh", meaning "foreigner", whereas the word the Welsh used to describe themselves was "Cymro", meaning "comrade".[639] The contrasting etymology well illustrates the psychological influence of Offa's

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[630] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 30; C. Fowler, "A Durable Concept: Anthony Smith's Concept of 'National Identity' and the case of Wales," n.p. [cited 24.04.2012]. Online: http://www.psa.ac.uk/cps/2002/fowler.pdf.

[631] A. D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), 9.

[632] Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 86.

[633] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 48.

[634] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 54.

[635] Davies, *History*, 64-66, 80; Evans, *Fathers*, 125.

[636] P. H. Ballard and D. H. Jones, *A Symposium on Christian and Welsh National Identity.* 15.

[637] E. Humphreys, *Conversations and Reflections* (ed. M. W. Thomas; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), 12.

[638] Thompson and Day, "Local," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 39.

[639] P. B. Ellis, *Wales - A Nation Again* (Letchworth: Garden City, 1968), 15; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 12; Thomas, *Cymru or Wales*, 6.

dyke.[640] This border, and the land it separates, thus created a sense of national place which was reinforced, according to Anderson, by maps, population censuses, and collective institutions.[641] Together, they contributed to the building of an imagined nation and identity.

The border, however, has not always been fixed in the same place. From the time of Henry VIII, and the Act of Union of 1536 that assimilated Wales into England, the boundary was slightly to the east of Offa's dyke. [642]   Monmouthshire was left in an uncertain position, being in the Oxford judicial circuit, leading to the nomenclature "Wales and Monmouthshire".[643] This continued until the local government changes of 1974 when it was finally fixed firmly within Wales.

Offa built his dyke on the land of the kingdom of Powys and so its building cut off Brythonic-speaking peoples living in what is now Shropshire and Herefordshire.[644] Welsh poets and mythology look back to a time before the coming of the Saxons when all the land to the east was part of Wales.[645] A sense of lost lands by a people living on the margins, with perceived injustices, produced a mythology that can still shape perceptions hundreds of years later. Williams can speak of a people who having been displaced, "have for a millennium and a half lived in them [the two Western peninsulas of Britain] as a Welsh people, are now nothing but a naked people under an acid rain".[646]

3.3.2 The Patchwork of Regions

Perrin describes the different regions of Wales as the "anvil upon which the Welsh nation has been forged and fashioned." [647] The central massif not only separated the various Celtic tribes,[648] but also resulted in poor communication between Wales' regions. This led to a lack of national unity, but was also the ideal refuge for guerrilla-fighters defending the land.[649] It has been said that "English stamina

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[640] Humphreys, *Conversations*, 12.
[641] Anderson, *Imagined*, 164-185.
[642] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 53, Morgan, *Wales: An Illustrated History*, 184.
[643] The Ordinance Survey identified Monmouthshire as an English county until the 1960s. Carter, *Against the Odds*, 53.
[644] Morgan, *Wales: An Illustrated History*, 184.
[645] Humphreys, *Conversations*, 142.
[646] Williams, When was Wales, 305.
[647] M. Perrin, *From Shore to Shore* (Bridgend: Bryntirion, 2000), 17.
[648] Griffith, *Welsh*, 12; J. Brake and C. Jones, *World Cultures: Wales* (London: Hodder, 2004), 7.
[649] Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 86.

simply failed beyond about 600 feet", which led to incomplete invasions and the need for repeated conquests.[650]

For the most part, the climate is wet, the soils poor, the terrain difficult, and what good land there is, is on the margins and rarely extensive.[651] The people existed by adapting to a largely poor upland environment. The geography shaped social practice so that the Welsh could be depicted by Day as a "marginal people in a marginal land, clinging on heroically against enormous odds – both natural and man-made".[652] Until the nineteenth century, Wales had few towns, and is, to this day, a nation of villages and small towns, a "community of communities",[653] with no towns with large agricultural regions or basins in which prosperity could be built.[654] What the land did have, however, was a number of lucrative regions with all the resources needed for coal and steel production. These fired the Industrial Revolution and brought mass immigration from the other parts of the British Isles.[655]

This mosaic of regions is now home to just over three million people,[656] a large proportion of whom live in villages or small towns. Geomorphological features still separate areas and communities, making travel protracted and circuitous. Economic developments divided the rural from the industrial, in stark contrast, not least by the languages spoken.[657] Geographical factors have shaped Welsh culture, society and the communities that Christian mission seeks to engage with.[658]

The lie of the land, however, is very varied and there have been various attempts to describe it. Bowen's description of Wales as "*Le Pays de Galles*", is at pains to demonstrate the multiple, distinct regions within one entity.[659] Day speaks of Wales as an "amalgam of differences" which are at the same time, "sharply contrasting yet

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[650] Price, "Colony," n.p.; R. Davies, "Wales: A Culture Preserved," n.p. [cited 24.04.2012]. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/middle_ages/culture_preserved_01.shtml.

[651] Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 86; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 48.

[652] Day, *Making Sense*, 16.

[653] G. Day, "Place and Belonging," in *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (ed. H. Mackay; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 43; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 8.

[654] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 49. Such as the rich agricultural basins of Paris or London.

[655] D Hughes, *Culture*, 168.

[656] ONS, "2011 Census: KS202EW National identity, local authorities in England and Wales," n.p. [cited 12.12.2012]. Online: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-286262 .

[657] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 27-28.

[658] Day, *Making Sense*, 96.

[659] E. G. Bowen, "Le Payes de Galles," *T I BRIT GEOGR* 26 (1959): 1-6.

interconnected and shared".[660] However, these descriptions do not give a model for classification and analysis.

3.3.3 Balsom's Classification

Balsom suggested "The Three-Wales Model" in 1985.[661] He divided Wales broadly into three categories that reflected a transition from "*Y Fro Gymraeg*" (i.e. a Welsh-speaking rural culture); to "Welsh Wales" (i.e. the English-speaking Anglo-Welsh of former industrial areas); to "British Wales" (i.e. the areas adjacent to or shaped by their English / British-ness). They reflect a spectrum where Welshness merged into Britishness, and this has been reflected in party-political voting.[662] The categories reveal a "fractured and fragmented" Wales.[663]

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Map deleted for copyright reasons.
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Balsom's 1985 Map, showing the "Three-Wales Model"[664]

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[660] Day, *Making Sense*, 38, 39.

[661] D. Balsom, "The Three-Wales Model," in *The National Question Again* (ed. J. Osmond; Llandysul: Gomer, 1985), 1-17.

[662] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 28. 'Y Fro Gymraeg' would be the heartland of the nationalist *Plaid Cymru /* Party of Wales, 'Welsh Wales' dominated by the Welsh Labour Party, and 'British Wales' with representation by the Conservative or Liberal parties.

[663] P. Cloke and P. Milbourne, "Deprivation and Lifestyle in Rural Wales," *J RURAL STUD* 8 (1992): 367, quoted in Roberts, "Mining," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 112.

[664] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 29. The numbers identify the Parliamentary Constituencies of 1983.

Balsom's classification, though written in and for the 1980s, is still quoted by Day and Roberts, and his map of Wales' areas used for illustration.[665] The large areas of Wales covered by each category, however, make no provision for local patterns and exceptions, and the lines drawn suggest a sudden not a gradual transition.[666] It is also likely that, in the more cosmopolitan mixture of the major cities, people from each of Balsom's categories would co-exist in very close proximity.[667] Also, with the industrial decline in "Welsh Wales", the strong support for socialism and political radicalism has been squeezed by the growth of Welsh nationalism and the dominant Englishness of "British Wales".[668]

Balsom's classification is based largely on cultural and political factors, whereas Cooke suggests a model reflecting economic patterns. Cooke distinguishes between the service areas around Cardiff, the urbanised post industrial centres, and the "leisure reserves" of north and west Wales, with an agricultural region in between.[669] Both Cooke and Balsom may be useful for illustrative purposes but are not specific enough to explain a particular community in any one of the categories. In the same way, Snicker's linguistic and cultural analysis can deal only in generalities. He questions the historically based assumptions of Balsom, asserting that categories of fixed territorial identities are increasingly invalid in a Wales where language, education and culture are in flux. He sees Welsh identity as reactive to the liberalism of multiculturalism, and reflected in generational differences.[670]

The categorization that has the greatest regional differentiation is that of the Welsh Assembly Government's "Spatial Plan" which separates Wales into six regions with contrasting characteristics. These are the North-East, North-West, Central, South East, Swansea Bay and the Western Valleys, and Pembrokeshire.[671] The report says that the borders between regions are transitional, but that the regions reflect different

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[665] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 28-30; Roberts, "Mining," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 112; The Open University, "Learning Space," n.p. [cited 06.12.2012]. Online: http://openlearn.open.ac.uk/mod/oucontent/view.php?id=402770&section=2.1.2 .

[666] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 31.

[667] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 31; Day, *Making Sense*, 243.

[668] Roberts, "Mining," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 112; Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 30.

[669] P. Cooke, "The Regional Divisions of Labour," in *Crisis of Economy and Ideology* (ed. G. Williams; Bangor: B.S.A. Sociology of Wales Study Group, 1983). Quoted in Day, *Making Sense*, 94.

[670] J. Snicker, "Strategies of Autonomist Agencies in Wales," *Regional and Federal Studies* 8 (1 1998): 140-142, 153; Griffiths, "Colony," n.p.

[671] Welsh Assembly Government, *People, Places, Futures: the Wales Spatial Plan* (Cardiff: WAG, 2004), 38-58.

"social geographies".[672] The patchwork that makes up Wales, however, will require further sub-division into much smaller units. For instance, Pembrokeshire is divided into predominantly Welsh and English-speaking areas, and industrial Swansea is different in context from the post-industrial areas surrounding it, in the same way that cosmopolitan Cardiff differs enormously from the valleys just beyond its northern suburbs. Nevertheless, Balsom's, Cooke's, Snicker's, and the Assembly's analyses will provide geographical categories that will facilitate the identification of a particular community's context. They provide criteria for differentiating local distinctives.

3.3.4 Rural and Industrial Wales

Rural and industrial landscapes lie side by side in Wales, yet images of Welshness, variations of identity, and types of community tend to belong to one or the other.[673] They reflect two images of Wales,[674] though aspects of both are often found in each, in specific local communities. Pictures of rural communities, of sheep, mountains and small tranquil villages have endured as images of Wales.[675] They were never fully supplanted by those of the new industrial areas, though another image was constructed, of "short dark men singing hymns in the shadow of slag heaps".[676] The Welsh became an industrial people,[677] and yet the rural image remained, "a more authentic, deeper rooted, idea of Wales and Welshness".[678] However, the gulf widened between the urban and rural aspects of Welshness with increasingly little in common, except for "the fact of not being English".[679] The rural environment still dominated the surface area of Wales, but, increasingly, underlying depopulation, deprivation and demographic change reflected rural communities in crisis.[680]

In the early days of industrialisation, in both north and south Wales, the rural social patterns of a "Nonconformist Nation" were established in the expanding urban

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[672] Welsh Assembly Government, *Spatial*, 33; Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 31.
[673] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 42.
[674] Williams, When was Wales, 181, 182.
[675] Griffith, *Welsh*, 151; P. Gruffudd, "Prospects of Wales: Contested Geographical Imaginations," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 150-151.
[676] Day, *Making Sense*, 12, 14.
[677] Day, *Making Sense*, 31.
[678] Day, *Making Sense*, 16; Gruffudd, "Prospects," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 150.
[679] Day, *Making Sense*, 35, 37. The ethnic, social, cultural and political aspects of this differentiation will be considered in subsequent sections.
[680] N. Evans, "Class," in *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (ed. H. Mackay; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 153; Day, *Making Sense*, 35, 170. The issues of depopulation and demographic change will be considered in later sections of this chapter.

communities.[681] As the population migrated, they transplanted "many elements of an existing rural culture, planting the seeds of continuity with older Welsh traditions".[682] Nonconformity and its resultant culture were successfully established in industrial areas and were responsible for much social cohesion, at least initially.[683] Three quarters of the population of Wales lived on a third of the land, so images of the industrial Valleys became dominant.[684] Industrialisation developed widely throughout the nineteenth century, but the rapid expansion of coal extraction in Glamorgan drew the rural population on an unprecedented scale.[685] The dramatic and exploitative transformation from a rural to an industrial environment was what Cordell called the "Rape of the Fair Country".[686] By 1911, 63% of the people in Wales lived in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, with the rest scattered across the other eleven counties. Merionethshire had a population density of 69 per square mile compared to the 1,383 of Glamorgan.[687]

The heyday of Welsh industrialisation, however, passed, and the decline of extraction industries was almost as rapid as their expansion had been.[688] In the twentieth century, images of urban solidarity, as well as rural harmony, were replaced by decline, unemployment and deprivation.[689] A third of manufacturing jobs were lost between 1979 and 1983, leaving a largely low-paid service economy.[690] Wales was in danger of becoming a reservoir of cheap labour, whose previous spheres of employment were exhausted and whose prospects were menial.[691] This has led to a loss of individual self-confidence and an undermining of community identity.[692] Nicky Wire, of the *Manic Street Preachers*, who grew up in the former industrial Valleys described them as "morbidly angry".[693] The former industrialized areas of South Wales and Flintshire had lost their industrial prosperity but not their distinctive identity. Even when most mines had closed in 1991, Neil Kinnock, as Member of Parliament

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[681] Jones, *Faith*, 413-414; Chambers, *Religion*, 97.
[682] Day, *Making Sense*, 30.
[683] Jones, *Faith*, 63.
[684] Day, *Making Sense*, 141; Smith, *Wales*, 5;
[685] Smith, *Wales*, 15-17; Jones, *Faith*, 5-6; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 60, 125-127.
[686] A. Cordell, *Rape of the Fair Country* (Abergavenny: Gollancz, 1959), 1; Day, *Making Sense*, 30.
[687] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 345.
[688] Day, *Making Sense*, 29.
[689] P. Ballard, "Poverty and Change: The Churches' Response in South Wales, 1966-2000," *ET* 116 (2 2004): 43-44.
[690] Day, *Making Sense*, 184; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 91.
[691] Day, *Making Sense*, 90.
[692] Day, *Making Sense*, 28; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 66.
[693] C. Sullivan, "Wales," *Guardian* (15.02.2008). Cited 24.11.2011. Online:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2008/feb/15/popandrock4

for Islwyn and leader of the Labour party, could still draw on this aspect of his Welsh identity, even though his constituency was in crisis:

> "I've always felt Welsh . . . particularly in the sense of the kind of community from which I came that gave you a confidence and an identity and I think it's important to have roots. There were several pits until very recently right down the valley, one was the colliery in which my father worked for twenty-seven years".[694]

The mental icons of an imagined community, defined by the geomorphology and geology of its geography, remained. However, the distinctive factors that created it had largely disappeared, and been replaced by less auspicious ones that were not affirmed.

3.3.5 *Gwladgawch* and *Brogarwch*

The variety and multiplicity of regions and communities in Wales, and their separation from each other, has led to a strong awareness of, and loyalty to, place.[695] Throughout the centuries, Welsh loyalties have been local, and the importance of the commote[696] has remained significant into the twenty first century.[697] Individuals are defined by their place, and often the first question asked is, "Where are you from?", so that their home or locality is a greater signifier than their surname.[698] This is, in part, an ancestral awareness, linked to kin, but is also linked to history and legend, the familiarity of landscape.[699] Humphreys illustrates the emotion involved when he writes, "A Welshman feels the struggles of his forefathers have sanctified every field, and the genius of his people has transformed every mountain into hallowed ground."[700] Llewellyn relates how, "the importance of place is an anthropological constant" in that, in traditional societies, individuals are defined by their belonging to that place. In industrialized societies, this loyalty is weakened but Llewellyn sees Wales' rural and somewhat conservative society as allowing the sense of place to survive.[701]

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[694] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 341. Quoting a BBC Labour Party Political Broadcast, October 1991.
[695] Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 15.
[696] A commote was a division of land in Medieval Wales from the Welsh, '*cwmwd'* meaning province or region. Evans, H. M. and W. O. Thomas, eds. *Y Geiriadur Mawr: The Complete Welsh-English English-Welsh Dictionary.* Llandysul: Gomer, 1980.
[697] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 52; Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 6.
[698] This would be in part due to the Welsh use of patronyms until the nineteenth century, where children took their father's forename as a surnames, hence the number of names such as Jones [John], Davies [David], Evans [Evan] etc.
[699] Humphreys, *Conversations*, 5.
[700] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 188.
[701] Llewelyn, *Sacred*, x, 15.

The Welsh national anthem does not refer to the British monarch but to the *gwlad,* the land.[702] The Welsh people have a love and loyalty to this national land, *gwladgarwch,* but, more particularly, to the particular locality of their upbringing, *brogarwch*. *Gwladgarwch* is evident in international relations or rugby matches, but it is a development, a composite, in which people feel they belong to a national community, based on their local loyalties.[703] It is a "local production of national identity"[704] and the local loyalty has always been more important than that of nation.[705] "*Bro*" is described as an "evocative word",[706] meaning a person's "place", "section of valley", village, landscape, district or region.[707] This localism shapes how individuals view and experience their national identity through ordinary social relations and experiences.[708] Berry describes the perspective as the "agrarian mind".[709] It is the basis of the Welsh *hiraeth*, or longing for home, expressed by those living away.[710]

3.3.6   The Implications for Mission of the Geographical Contexts

That Wales is a mosaic of different localities, economies, environments and regions means that the features of one geographical context cannot be said to be true of all. The variety will call for a localism in approaches to mission. The loyalty to *bro* and local context will mean that local expressions of Church will need to reflect their locality and be incorporated in it. They may be understandable only from within.[711] Small missional communities that are embedded in the community may be more effective than larger churches that gather from a number of localities. The early Nonconformist practice of county churches made up of small groups scattered in different communities may be contextually appropriate once again in the twenty-first century.[712]

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[702] '*Gwlad, gwlad, pleidiol wyf i'm gwlad…*' meaning 'Land! [or nation], Land!, Loyal I am to my land …'.
[703] Thompson and Day, "Local," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 29.
[704] Thompson and Day, "Local," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 28.
[705] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 52.
[706] Humphreys, *Conversations*, 13.
[707] Griffith, *Welsh*, 181; Humphreys, *Conversations*, 1; Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 37; Llewelyn, *Sacred*, x.
[708] Thompson and Day, "Local," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 28; Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 27.
[709] W. Berry, *Citizenship Papers* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2004), 116, quoted in Keller, *Center*, 170.
[710] Griffiths, "Colony," n.p.
[711] Day, *Making Sense*, 147.
[712] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 7-10, 13, 22-23.

The social and economic realities in post-industrial communities, of unemployment, deprivation, and outward migration, will also need careful and proactive calibration in any effective missiology that is genuinely incarnational. Patterns of leadership, organisation, activity and even literacy, that can be assumed elsewhere, will need appropriate calibration.

"Suburban religion" of the larger towns and cities may be considered the "dominant mode of religious expression in many parts of Wales",[713] but the formation of larger churches, with multiple facilities and programmes, may not be appropriate, nor possible, in smaller rural and post-industrial communities. Equally, patterns of church and mission familiar to, and favoured by those moving into such communities, may not be appropriate or effective either. A way of life which retains "residual elements of Nonconformism and parochialism" may be resistant to the unfamiliar.[714] Day suggests the reasons for such conservativism:

> "A people occupying a peripheral and pressured environment within which the society they had managed to construct, over a long period of time, was built primarily for defence and security, and so highly resistant to change".[715]

The local *cynefin,* meaning "habitat" or "place",[716] will need to be considered carefully and contextualised mission will need to adjust to it. In Wales, "geography and identity are inextricably tied up with each other".[717]

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[713] Chambers, *Religion*, 227.
[714] Day, *Making Sense*, 183.
[715] Day, *Making Sense*, 147.
[716] Evans, H. M. and W. O. Thomas, eds. *Y Geiriadur Mawr.* Llandysul: Gomer, 1980.
[717] K. Cameron, introduction to *National Identity* (ed. K. Cameron; Exeter: Intellect, 1999), 1.

3.4   The Ethnic Context of Wales

"Reservoirs[718]

There are places in Wales I don't go:
Reservoirs that are the subconscious
Of a people, troubled far down
With gravestones, chapels, villages even;
The serenity of their expression
Revolts me, it is a pose
For strangers, a watercolour's appeal
To the mass, instead of the poem's
Harsher conditions …

Where can I go, then, from the smell
Of decay, from the putrefying of a dead
Nation? I have walked the shore
For an hour and seen the English
Scavenging among the remains
Of our culture, covering the sand
Like the tide and, with the roughness
Of the tide, elbowing our language
Into the grave that we have dug for it."

Whether or not a people have an actual or an imagined distinctiveness, the perception of it will affect them and any missional approaches to their context. This section will consider claims to a distinctive Welsh ethnicity, and the influence of immigration and emigration on it.   From this the implications of an assumed ethnicity can be assessed in relation to mission in Welsh contexts.

3.4.1   Aspects of Ethnicity

The term 'ethnic', from the Greek word for 'nation', *ἐθνη*, was adopted by sociologists in its French form, *ethnie,* to convey a sense of kinship, shared culture and solidarity.[719] It involves a sense of "us" as opposed to "them", usually being expressed in a shared name, homeland, culture, solidarity, or myths and memories of origin and history.[720] Ideas of ethnicity have been expressed variously,[721] but they tend to emphasize two main categories. A "primordialist" interpretation seeks to trace the literal descent of a people from pre-historic times, and an "instrumentalist" or "social constructionist" position looks at a people's constructed ethnicity.[722] These are not mutually exclusive, but do reflect the poles of opinion.

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[718] Thomas, *Poems 1945-1990*, 194.

[719] J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith, introduction to *Ethnicity* (ed. J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith; Oxford: OUP, 1996), 3-5; A. Thompson, "Nation, Identity and Social Theory," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 249.

[720] Hutchinson and Smith, introduction to Hutchinson and Smith, *Ethnicity*, 7.

[721] S. Betts and C. Williams, "Gender and 'race'," in *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (ed. H. Mackay; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 93.

[722] Day, *Making Sense*, 74; Hutchinson and Smith, introduction to Hutchinson and Smith, *Ethnicity*, 8-9, 33-34; C. Geertz, "Primordial Ties," in *Ethnicity* (ed. J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith; Oxford: OUP, 1996), 40-45; J Eller and R. Coughlan, "The Poverty of Primordialism," in *Ethnicity* (ed. J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith; Oxford: OUP, 1996), 45-51; J. Fishman, "Ethnicity as Being, Doing, and Knowing," in *Ethnicity* (ed. J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith; Oxford: OUP, 1996), 63-69; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 69-76; Hughes, *Culture*, 12, 32-36.

Ethnicity is also a spatial concept in that it describes the historical location of a particular people, with their own culture within a particular place.[723]

3.4.2 Wales' Celtic Past

Early history and myth claimed that the Welsh were part of a Celtic or Brythonic people who originated in central Europe, or even southern Hindustan.[724] Cato the Elder, 234-149 BC, identified the Celts as delighting in both fighting well and speaking well, more than anything else.[725] *Giraldus Cambrensis*, in the twelfth century, speaks of the Welsh people's distinctive respect for fighting prowess, family, hospitality, egalitarianism, and love of singing.[726] Davies suggests that some of the Celtic features, notably language, Druid rituals, and respect for women, may have come from the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Wales.[727] However, whether Celtic or not, the perceived distinctives of Welsh people, including "Celtic melancholy" or "Celtic fire",[728] are markers said to derive from Welsh forebears.[729] For Sykes, Wales is "entangled in our own origin myths", in which it is important to be separate and different from the English,[730] the similarities, for Richards, being but a Saxon veneer.[731]

This view of Welsh distinctiveness was, in no small part, based on the record of the sixth century historian Gildas. He claimed that various Celtic tribes had occupied the whole of Britain, throughout the Roman occupation, until the movement of Anglo-Saxon peoples from Northern Europe into England.[732] He described this movement of people as on such a scale that the Celts were pushed west and north, losing all territory apart from the "Celtic fringe" of the British Isles,

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[723] A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 14-15; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 18, 30; D. Davies, *Speaking the Invisible* (Felinfach: All Wales Network Committee for Arts Therapies Professions, 2002), 31. Cited 11.09.2012. Online: http://www.wales.nhs.uk/sites3/documents/415/Speaking-the-Invisible.pdf.

[724] B. Sykes, *Blood of the Isles* (London: Corgi, 2007), 263-265; Day, *Making Sense*, 20; Davies, *History*, 45; J. Rhys and D. Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), xxiv, 34; G. Borrow, *Wild Wales* (1862; repr., London: Collins, 1955), 595.

[725] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 47; Day, *Making Sense*, 20.

[726] Gerald of Wales, *Journey & Description*, 233-236; G. Evans, *Fighting for Wales* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 1991), 51

[727] Davies, *History*, 20-22.

[728] Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 11.

[729] Davies, *History*, 23-24; Williams, *When was Wales*, 10; Griffiths, "Colony," n.p.

[730] Sykes, *Isles*, 39, 52, 67.

[731] J. W. Richards, *Xenophobe's Guide to the Welsh* (London: Oval, 2008), 18.

[732] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 44.

notably Ireland, Cornwall, Wales, Scotland, and Northern England.[733] A confederacy of the last three was known as the "Old North", Brythonic-speaking tribes sharing aspects of a common culture.[734] Some of the early poets of Wales, spoke Brythonic and came from southern Scotland.[735] The alliances of the Old North were broken up in the eighth century and Wales was cast adrift to survive on its own in the face of the expanding and dominant Anglo-Saxons to the east. The Welsh word for the English remains *Saeson* [i.e. Saxon] to this day.[736]

According to Gildas, this Anglo-Saxon conquest was by force of large numbers, and took the form of ethnic cleansing.[737] Down the centuries this view was reinforced by Bede, Lhuyd and others.[738] The Brythonic peoples, who in Wales became the Welsh, were driven west to the marginal and unproductive lands of the mountainous western peninsular. The building of Offa's dyke penned these tribes in, and, with a separate language and culture, they preserved a largely separate ethnicity until the inward migration of recent centuries.[739] This view of history asserted a racial distinction between the Welsh and their neighbours. It was reinforced by a distinct language and culture, and justified a sense of grievance for the "lost lands" to the east as well as many perceived threats from that source, to liberty, culture, prosperity and even survival.[740] The Welsh *ethnie* was thus perceived as an embattled and exploited people of ancient, primordial descent.

Such a view of history held force until the 1960s when its basic assumptions were questioned. As a result, it was concluded that the size of the Anglo-Saxon movement of peoples into Britain was on a much smaller scale, and the "extermination theory" was refuted.[741] Instead, an "elite replacement model" suggested that the coming and spread of the Anglo-Saxon peoples was akin to the

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[733] Sykes, *Isles*, 40-42, 270.

[734] Davies, *History*, 54-62.

[735] Western Scotland and Ireland spoke a different form of the Celtic languages, related to modern Gaelic, and so represented a somewhat different culture and people group.

[736] Evans, H. M. and W. O. Thomas, eds. *Y Geiriadur Mawr.* Llandysul: Gomer, 1980.

[737] Gildas, "De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae," section III. [cited 08.04.2013]. Online: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/gildas-full.asp.; Hughes, *Culture*, 191; Sykes, *Isles*, 305.

[738] Davies, *History*, 49; Sykes, *Isles*, 56.

[739] Sykes, *Isles*, 270; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 44.

[740] Davies, *History*, 62-66; D. E. Evans, "Iaith a Hunaniaeth," *Traethodydd* 158 (2003): 143; R. J. W. Evans, "Ieithoedd dan Orthrwm Ymerodraeth," *Traethodydd* 154 (1999): 91-92; Griffiths, "Colony," n.p.

[741] S. Oppenheimer, "Myths of British Ancestry," n.p. [cited 04.09.2012]. Online: http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/mythsofbritishancestry/; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 44.

Norman conquest of the eleventh century.[742] Here, a dominant class gradually took over the levers of power, bringing some of its language and culture, but largely integrating with the existing peoples of what became England.[743] If the original inhabitants diminished it was because the dominant class had the best food and prospects for survival and multiplication, in an "apartheid structure".[744] This view suggested that the Welsh people were the same stock as their neighbours, and so, according to Davies, enhanced an awareness of a shared Britishness.[745] A distinct Welsh ethnicity, in terms of identity, culture and society, on this basis was entirely a social construction. The Welsh were Welsh because they "invented themselves", to use William's stark phrase.[746] They could choose a Welsh, English or British identity, and their awareness and culture would be shaped accordingly.

The revisionist view was politically popular from a British centralist perspective as it largely undermined a primordalist view of a distinct Welsh ethnicity. However, this view has also come in for serious questioning.[747] It fails to explain the almost total absence of elements of Welsh/ Brythonic in the English language, or the end of Brythonic settlements and artifacts from the conquest period onwards.[748] The main rebuttal, however, has occurred as a result of recent research into the human genome. Markers on the male Y chromosome are passed down though each male generation without alteration and therefore show the regional origins of particular peoples.[749] Studies by Thomas, *et al*, have shown a clear genetic distinction between the settled populations of England and Wales.[750] They show patterns of population replacement with a gradual transition along the border with England.[751]

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[742] M. G. Thomas, P. H Stumpf, and H. Härke, "Evidence for an Apartheid-like Social Structure in Early Anglo-Saxon England," *P ROY SOC LOND B BIO* 273 (2006): 2651. Cited 11.09.2012. Online: http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1635457/; M. E. Weale et al., "Y Chromosome Evidence for Anglo-Saxon Mass Migration," *MOL BIOL EVOL* 19 (7 2002): 1009. Cited 11.09.2012. Online: http://mbe.oxfordjournals.org/content/19/7/1008.long.; Sykes, *Isles*, 69-70.
[743] Sykes, *Isles*, 87.
[744] Thomas, Stumpf, and Härke, "Apartheid-like," 2654-2655; G. Vince, "Apartheid' slashed Celtic genes in early England," n.p. [cited 24.04.2012]. Online: http://www.newscientist.com/article/dn9575-apartheid-slashed-celtic-genes-in-early-england.html.
[745] Davies, *History*, 56, 68.
[746] Williams, *When was Wales*, 2.
[747] Sykes, *Isles*, 337.
[748] Sykes, *Isles*, 308; Weale et al., "Y Chromosome Evidence," 1008.
[749] Weale et al., "Y Chromosome Evidence," 1009, 1012, 1018; E. Llewelyn, "Hanes Cynnar y Cymry: Y Cromosomau yn Ailysgrifennu Hanes Cynnar y Cymry," *Y Faner Newydd* (Gaeaf 2012): 34-37.
[750] Thomas, Stumpf, and Härke, "Apartheid-like," 2651, 2654-2655; Weale et al., "Y Chromosome Evidence," 1019.
[751] C. Capelli et al., "A Y Chromosome Census of the British Isles," *CURR BIOL* 13 (11 2003): 979, 983. Cited 11.09.2012. Online:

The Welsh, according to Weale *et al*, are more closely related to the Basque peoples of Northern Spain than their English neighbours.[752] It is suggested that this reflects the pre-historic migration of peoples living on the western European seaboard, and subsequent trading contacts, not a merging with people from the east.[753] This evidence supports the earlier primordial view of Welsh ethnicity, with its implicit support for a distinct Welsh people, culture and context.[754] The different tribes in the different regions of Wales gave variety within a general homogeneity.[755] Since the Celtic migrations, however, further immigration and emigration have made the picture less clear, blurring the genetic distinction.

3.4.3   The Effects of Immigration and Emigration

The conquest of lowland Wales by the Normans and Edward I, and its annexation by Henry VIII, facilitated the migration of the non-Welsh into the more accessible and profitable parts of Wales. The coming of the Romans, the establishing of Norman lordships in the South and along the border, the settlement of Flemish people in southern Pembrokeshire, and the establishment of urban and rural "Englishries" around Edward's castles, introduced a diversity of peoples into Wales.[756] It meant that the productive lands of the south, and the first towns in Wales, were English in character and language, as well as being the centres of power and legislation. The Welsh were considered as "foreigners" in such towns.[757] This produced "Welshries", or areas of Welsh loyalty, language and culture, and centuries of struggle against the "other", not just over the border, but now within.

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http://www.freewebs.com/flanneryclandna/PDFPAPERS/YCAPELLI2003.pdf; Weale et al., "Y Chromosome Evidence," 1018.

[752] Weale et al., "Y Chromosome Evidence," 1009; D. Devine, "Our Celtic Roots lie in Spain and Portugal," *Western Mail* (05.05.2008). Cited 09.01.2013. Online: http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2008/05/05/our-celtic-roots-lie-in-spain-and-portugal-91466-20863971/ .

[753] Sykes, *Isles*, 81, 282, 330-334; Vince, "Apartheid," n.p.; J. F. Wilson et al., "Genetic Evidence for Different Male and Female Roles During Cultural Transitions in the British Isles," *P NATL ACAD SCI USA* 98 (9 2001): 5079-5080. Cited 21.12.2012. Online: http://www.pnas.org/content/98/9/5078.full?sid=528c82cf-95ab-46ff-8203-ffb47cff570e#xref-ref-51-1.

[754] n/a, "English and Welsh are Races Apart," n.p. [cited 11.09.2012]. Online: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/2076470.stm.

[755] Williams, *When was Wales*, 5, 28-29; P. Smethurst, "Towards a Contextualised Welsh Church" (MA, University of Gloucestershire, 2007), 13.

[756] Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *People*, 27-28; Sykes, *Isles*, 264-275; Price, "Colony," n.p.; Thomas, *Cymru or Wales*, 8.

[757] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 69, 71-72.

When industrialization began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the needed labour pool was initially drawn from the rural areas, where living standards and income were even lower than in the squalor of the emerging extraction towns producing coal and slate.[758]   However, by the second half of the nineteenth century, labour was being drawn into Wales, mostly from England and Ireland. The population grew from just over half a million at the beginning of the nineteenth century to 2.5 million in 1911. By 1891, one in seven of the population had moved from England, with 121,653 into Glamorgan alone.[759] By the 2011 census, 27% of residents in Wales had been born elsewhere, but this movement was to rural not industrial areas. Cheaper housing, coastal views, a slower lifestyle for retirement, or a perceived safety from terrorism, had had a strong appeal.[760] More than a fifth of the population had been born in England. In the rural areas, the proportions of those from across the border were higher: Anglesey 29%, Gwynedd 33%, Denbigh 36%, Ceredigion 37%, Conwy 40%, and Powys 45%.[761] Immigration, especially to rural areas, has been seen by the resident population as a threat to traditional cultures, language and stability.[762] The indigenous population thus sought to build social barriers against the ideas of "English affluence, arrogance and insensitivity".[763] The terms "invasion", "flood", "swamping", "disease" and "white flight" / "settlers" have been used, the latter drawing a parallel with the European elites who governed their colonies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[764] That both populations were ethnically white, as distinct from the "visible minorities", made the needs of the indigenous population invisible and silent, and, according to Davies, resulted in psychological marginalization, invisibility and even damage.[765] People, from the urban centres of England, were looking for a better

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[758] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 61; Hughes, *Culture*, 97; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 7.

[759] Hughes, *Culture*, 98; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 5.

[760] P. Cloke, M. Goodwin, and P. Milbourne, "There's so many strangers in the village now," *Contemporary Wales* 8 (1995): 51-4, 63-69.

[761] ONS, "2011 Census: KS204EW Country of birth, local authorities in England and Wales," n.p. [cited 12.12.2012]. Online: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-286262.

[762] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 351-352; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 76-77, 85; R. Fevre, J. Borland, and D. Denney, "Nation, Community and Conflict: Housing Policy and Immigration in North Wales," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 130-131; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 76-85; D. Griffiths, "The Political Consequences of Migration into Wales," *Contemporary Wales* 5 (1992): 67-79; D. Denney, "The Social Construction of Nationalism," *Contemporary Wales* 4 (1991): 157-158.

[763] Day, *Making Sense*, 179.

[764] Humphries, *Freedom Fighters* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 147; Evans, "Class," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 139; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 78; Fevre, Borland, and Denney, "Nation, Community and Conflict," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 143; Day, *Making Sense*, 227.

[765] Davies, *Invisible*, 31.

environment for life, and "converting rural areas into middle-class enclaves".[766] The trend has been referred to as "rural retreating",[767] or in the case of the elderly as "geriatric infill", the coast becoming "Costa Geriatrica".[768] House prices rose as a result, beyond what was affordable for young local families. This was exacerbated by the purchasing of property as holiday homes, which led to the arson campaign of the 1970s.[769] These, with other grievances, led to a rise in nationalism in Wales.[770]

The high proportion of the population born outside Wales was also enhanced by the number of those leaving Wales for work or personal reasons.[771] In 2011, 506,619 people born in Wales were living in England.[772] The effect of "a million people swirling back and forth across the Welsh border" since the 1980s has caused the population of Wales to be in flux once again.[773] In the time of the inter-war depression, Wales was the only part of the United Kingdom where the population actually fell. 440,000 people left, out of a population of two and a half million, resulting in a loss of self-confidence and demographic decay in those left behind.[774] A grave in Trealow read, "not dead but gone to Slough".[775] Day speaks of a tragic-comedy in which "so many brought up here want to get out and so many not brought up here want to get in".[776] Ellis points to a failure of economic policy that forced a million Welshmen in a century to leave "a ravaged nation" behind them.[777] Roberts suggests that the economic and demographic factors produced a fractured and fragmented Wales which undermined any ethnic commonality.[778] Ethnic hostility to "incomers" has been the result.[779]

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[766] Day, *Making Sense*, 175; Cloke, Goodwin, and Milbourne, "Strangers," 47-66.
[767] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 76.77.
[768] G. Day, "A Million on the Move," *Contemporary Wales* 3 (1989): 149, 150.
[769] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 86; Fevre, Borland, and Denney, "Nation, Community and Conflict," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 131.
[770] Fevre, Borland, and Denney, "Nation, Community and Conflict," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 132; C. A. Davies, "Nationalism and the Welsh Language," in *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (ed. H. Mackay; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 179-182.
[771] Day, "Million," 137-145; Jones, "Beyond Identity," 351; G. Ioan, "Waking the Dragon within: empowering local language communities," 109. [cited 24.04.2012]. Online: http://iaith.eu/uploads/waking_the_dragon_within.pdf; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 222, 230-231.
[772] ONS, "2011 Country of Birth," n.p.
[773] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 351.
[774] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 347-348; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 66.
[775] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 66.
[776] Day, *Making Sense*, 183.
[777] Ellis, *Wales*, 8.
[778] Roberts, "Mining," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 112.
[779] Day, *Making Sense*, 173-174; Fevre, Borland, and Denney, "Nation, Community and Conflict," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 129-133.

3.4.4 Welsh Identity and Ethnicity

If the first question asked when meeting Welsh people relates to where in Wales they originate, the second would ask to whom they were related, genealogy being a common interest.[780] This, in part, derives from the law code of Hywel Dda, the tenth century law-maker and king of Deheubarth in south-west Wales, who required families to know their lineage for nine generations, for compensation in cases of murder.[781] A Welsh person's lineage proved his belonging to a distinct tribe, and was encouraged by perceived connections to a wider family of Celtic peoples. "Celticism" is a popularist attempt to identify the Welsh with the peoples of Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland, as opposed to the English.[782]

It made the *ethnie* central to personal, family and national identity, and has been used for cultural and political reasons. Welshness, as a marker of identity, led to calls for St David's Day to be a national holiday, and was used as an argument in favour of political devolution in 1997.[783] The controversy over a Welsh tick-box, prior to the 2001 Census, also demonstrated a desire in many to declare their distinctiveness.[784] This emphasis on ethnic difference could be perceived as a form of racism, or alternatively an understandable response to cultural imperialism and anglicization through respectability.[785] The differences in perspective reflect the contrast between those who hold to a distinct Welsh *ethnie* and those who hold to a comprehensive Britishness.[786]

In 2009 Anderson recorded specific attitudes to Britishness in the population of Wales in response to the Moreno identity scale.[787] 17.9% saw themselves as Welsh not British, 20.2% Welsh more than British, 39% equally Welsh and British, 8.3% more

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[780] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 52. The Laws of Hywel, influential in Wales from the tenth to the sixteenth century, required that a murderer compensate all branches of a family from the previous nine generations, thus making a knowledge of ancestry a social requirement. D. Jenkins, *Cyfraith Hywel* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1970), 22.

[781] Jenkins, *Hywel*, 22.

[782] Davies, *History*, 387.

[783] Day, *Making Sense*, 20; Sykes, *Isles*, 70. In the Victorian era national dress, musical instruments and customs were identified, collected and promoted, in a movement led by Lady Llanover and others of a Welsh upper-middle class. Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 14.

[784] Humphries, *Fighters*, 192.

[785] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 13; Humphreys, *Conversations*, 145; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 79; Day, *Making Sense*, 61, 149, 248.

[786] Smethurst, "Contextualised," 15.

[787] R. Anderson, *National Identity and Independence Attitudes: Minority Nationalism in England and Wales* (Oxford: CRESS, 2009), in Carter, *Against the Odds*, 105.

British than Welsh, and 14.6% British not Welsh. These results, however, do not show regional variations. The 2011 Census recorded the respondent's view of their own identity, where more than one marker could be selected.[788] For Wales as a whole 57.5% described themselves as "Welsh" only, 7.1% as "Welsh" and "British", 16.9% as "British" only, 11.2% as "English" only, and 1.5% as "English" and "British". However, regional variations showed considerable differences and reflect different factors:

- o In the border county of Powys the scale of cross-border migration (44.7% born in England),[789] and the strength of Britishness, are seen in the responses. 28.8% of the population described themselves as British in some way, whereas less than half of the population describe themselves as Welsh.[790]

- o In Anglesey, part of the heartland area of the Welsh language (57.2% Welsh-speaking),[791] the effect of inward migration to the coastal and tourist areas is evident (28.8% born in England).[792] The proportion speaking Welsh is broadly equivalent to those who identified themselves as Welsh in some way. If the two are the same section of the population, then English and British is again largely the identity of the 30% of the population born outside of Wales.[793]

- o In the county of Rhondda Cynon Taff, at the head of one of the post-industrial valleys of south Wales, the awareness of Welsh identity is the highest of any region at 73.3% of the population, even though only 12% claim to speak Welsh.[794] This identity of Welshness is based on location, not language, and the absence of inward migration from England is evident.[795]

Such measures of identity, however, do not necessarily support a primordialist or a constructionist ethnic root to a person's sense of identity, but they do show degrees of "otherness" from their English neighbours.[796] The genetic research by Thomas, Weale *et al.*, does demonstrate an element of primordialist *ethnie,* especially in one

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[788] ONS, "2011 Census: National identity (detailed), unitary authorities in Wales," n.p. [cited 04.04.13]. Online: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/search/index.html?newquery=QS214EW.

[789] ONS, "2011 Country of Birth," n.p.

[790] ONS, "2011 Census Identity," n.p. Powys ("English": 22.5%; "English & British": 2.6; "British": 21%; "Welsh & British": 5.2%; "Welsh": 43.3; other national identities 5.4%).

[791] ONS, "2011 Census: KS207WA Welsh language skills, unitary authorities in Wales," n.p. [cited 17.12.2012]. Online: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-286262.

[792] ONS, "2011 Country of Birth," n.p.; ONS, "2011 Census Identity," n.p. Anglesey ("English": 16%; "English & British": 2.1; "British": 17.5%; "Welsh & British": 4.7%; "Welsh": 54.7; other 5%).

[793] ONS, "2011 Country of Birth," n.p.

[794] ONS, "2011 Welsh," n.p.

[795] ONS, "2011 Census Identity," n.p. Rhondda Cynon Taff ("English": 4.2%; "English & British": 0.6; "British": 10.4%; "Welsh & British": 8.1%; "Welsh": 73.3; other 3.4%).

[796] Denney, "Social Construction," 151-152.

of the sample areas in central Anglesey, where the indigenous population was Welsh-speaking and had been less affected by inward migration.[797] In other areas, such as Merthyr Tydfil, the *ethnie* of Welshness was a construction, despite large-scale inward migration during the massive population growth of the industrial era. It was a perceived or imagined identity, but strong nonetheless.

This section, on the ethnic factors affecting the context of Wales, has demonstrated the variety of expressions of a Welsh *ethnie.* Whether a product of genealogy or location, being the *Cymry*,[798] the comrades, as opposed to being English or British, forms a significant distinctive of identity and context. Echoes of Giraldus and Gildas still resonate in the mythology and subconscious assumptions of twenty-first century Welsh people. Missiological approaches that are not responsive to the Welsh people's perceptions of their own distinctiveness will fail to be effectively incarnational.

3.4.5   The Implications for Mission of the Ethnic Contexts

The extent to which Welsh ethnicity, as part of Welsh identity, is historically based or imagined, will matter little in terms of any missional response to it.[799] Day may assert that, "we are all mongrels and hybrids, whose identities can be interpreted in a variety of ways", but any claim to a distinct *ethnie*, by an individual or a community, is none the less influential.[800] Celtic identity may be merely a perception, but the sense of "other" will shape attitudes to perceived Englishness in ecclesiology and mission. Inherited or learned traits of Welshness, be they a preference to fight, sing or express emotion, will need to be respected and responded to. Welsh solutions, patterns, culture and even Welsh-born leaders will be necessary in areas of Wales where the distinctly Welsh *ethnie* is evident, whether primordial or constructed.

The degree to which a local population see themselves as ethnically distinct will need to be calibrated in any contextualised mission. The effectiveness of current approaches to mission, in this regard, will be considered in the later chapters, together with lessons that might be learned.

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[797] Denney, "Social Construction," 151-152.

[798] Ellis, *Wales*, 15; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 12; Thomas, *Cymru or Wales*, 6.

[799] Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 16.

[800] Day, *Making Sense*, 242.

3.5   The Linguistic and Cultural Context of Wales

"**The Old Language**
England, what have you done to make the speech
My fathers used a stranger at my lips,
An offence to the ear, a shackle on the tongue
That would fit new thoughts to an abiding tune?
Answer me now. … When spring wakens the hearts
Of the young children to sing, what song shall be theirs?"[801]

3.5.1   The Strength of the Language

The consequence of Offa's dyke was to define a geographical entity, and to give a boundary to the Celtic peoples who were located, for the most part, behind it. However, the most significant difference that the boundary marked was that of language. The Brythonic language that had predominated in northern and western England developed into Welsh around the eighth century, and those who spoke it were eventually located exclusively in the land area now known as Wales.[802] The other areas with Brythonic languages akin to Welsh (Cornwall, southern Scotland and the north of England) gradually succumbed to the English language and regional forms of Englishness.[803]

The distinct language in Wales, with a largely monoglot population, gave particular expression to the sense of "other" from the English.[804] It was "the truest badge of Welsh identity",[805] and differentiated Wales from all its neighbours.[806] For this reason, the language became the key marker of context and identity for Wales and the Welsh for the thousand years prior to the twentieth century.[807] It was a national bulwark.[808] It also isolated the Welsh socially, culturally and politically until commerce, invasion and immigration produced English-speaking areas and influence. Despite these influences, for centuries the language was a significant influence on the people's character, their consistent characteristic, and formative

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[801] A. Thwaite, ed., *R. S. Thomas* (London: Everyman, 1996), 18.
[802] Davies, *History*, 69.
[803] Griffith, *Welsh*, 53.
[804] Evans, "Across the Border," 133-135; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 73.
[805] Day, *Making Sense*, 22.
[806] Chambers, *Religion*, 1; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 58.
[807] Day, *Making Sense*, 22-23, 221; Davies, *Invisible*, 31-32; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 24; Anderson, *Imagined*, 431-434; Cameron, introduction to Cameron, *Identity*, 5; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 17-21.
[808] R. T. Jones, *The Desire of Nations* (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, 1974), 135.

in their history.[809] For the sociologist Day, at the start of the twenty-first century, it was still, "'the only obvious remaining symbol of Welsh difference and identity", though spoken by only a fifth of the population,[810] and, similarly, for Williams this significance was increasing, not decreasing, despite its minority status as a language in Wales.[811]

The historical continuity of the Welsh language makes it one of the oldest spoken languages in Europe.[812] After the Act of Union with England in 1536, Wales had no distinct administrative, legal or governmental identity, and so the language became the primary marker.[813] This is in contrast to Scottish and Irish Gaelic that declined when those nations retained some elements of governance, and it explains why the English State sought to eliminate Welsh, and the separate identity it sustained.[814]

In the Acts of Union, of 1536 and 1543, Wales was incorporated into England, making its people subjects of the English Crown. The Union was an official attempt to enforce uniformity within the realm, including the extirpation of the language.[815] It debarred Welsh speakers from public office and provided all judicial and administrative functions in English only.[816] It was followed by a desire in England that the "British language may be quite extinct and may be English'd out of Wales",[817] and gave rise to further legislative policies to introduce English as the language of Wales.[818] The English were beginning "a history of the oppression of minority languages" that was to be a feature of its imperial ambitions.[819]

In 1847 a government report into education in Wales, known as *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* (*The Treachery of the Blue Books*), claimed that schools in Wales were inadequate, largely because of the continuing influence of the Welsh language and

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[809] Evans, *Fighting*, 127; Evans, *Fathers*, 16.
[810] Day, *Making Sense*, 215.
[811] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 87.
[812] Day, *Making Sense*, 22; Jones, *Desire*, 73, 90.
[813] Davies, *Invisible*, 32; Evans, *Builders*, 30.
[814] G. E. Jones, *Modern Wales: A Concise History* (2nd; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 329.
[815] Hughes, *Culture*, 53; Davies, *Invisible*, 32.
[816] Jones, *Modern Wales*, 329.
[817] M. Parker, *Neighbours from Hell? English Attitudes to the Welsh* (Talybont: Lolfa, 2007), 50.
[818] P. B. Ellis, *The Celtic Revolution: A Study in Anti-Imperialism* (Talybont: Lolfa, 2000), 80; Jones, *Faith*, 384; Morgan, "Long Knives," in Davies et al., *Welsh Society*, 204.
[819] Ioan, "Dragon," 112.

Nonconformist Sunday schools.[820] The language, according to the commissioners who wrote the report, was "a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects."[821] None of the commissioners were Welsh speakers, and their findings were based largely on second-hand reports from Anglican clergymen.[822] A furore resulted, but a lasting impression was made that Welsh was a primitive and backward language, and that self-improvement required the wholesale adoption of English.[823] Parents increasingly spoke English to their children in order to help them to "get on".[824] Welsh was banned from the school system and those caught speaking it had to wear the "Welsh Not",[825] and the person wearing it at the end of the school day was thrashed.[826] Matthew Arnold, writing in the Times on 8th September, 1866, said,

> "The Welsh language is the curse of Wales. Its prevalence, and the ignorance of English have excluded, and even now exclude, the Welsh people from the civilisation of their neighbours … The sooner all Welsh specialists disappear from the face of the Earth, the better".[827]

The collective memory of these events, among Welsh-speaking communities, has left a legacy of bitterness to the present day. The attacks on the language influenced the Welsh psyche by undermining the confidence of the Welsh speakers, and by creating a siege mentality.[828] Dr Dilys Davies, a senior psychologist advising the Welsh Assembly Government, explains the psychological effect of English colonialism on cultural and national identity, and calls for special health provision to respond to it.[829] She contends that the structure of a shared language, through which thoughts and feelings are expressed, shapes an individual's and a community's psyche and

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[820] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 117; Evans, *Fighting*, 14; Morgan, "Long Knives," in Davies et al., *Welsh Society*, 199.

[821] Jones, *Desire*, 145; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 10-11; J. Aaron, "Women in Search of a Welsh Identity," *Scottish Affairs* 18 (Winter 1997): 1.

[822] Davies, "Nationalism," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 165.

[823] Davies, *Invisible*, 34; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 169. 170 Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, xvii; Hughes, *Culture*, 23.

[824] J. Glyn, "I ba raddau y mae gwead 'psyche' hunaniaethol y Cymry yn brawf o'u 'coloneiddiad'?" (MA, Prifysgol Cymru Aberystwyth, 2006), 27; Davies, *Invisible*, 34; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 61; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 245.

[825] A piece of cord or rope, with a knot, to be hung from the kneck of the child.

[826] Price, "Colony," n.p.; B. Rogers, *The Man Who Went into the West: The Life of R. S. Thomas* (London: Aurum, 2006), 159-160; Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, xxxi; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 183.

[827] Quoted in J. Aitchison and H. Carter, "The Regeneration of the Welsh Language," *Contemporary Wales* 11 (1998): 170; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 61; Ioan, "Dragon," 110.

[828] S. T. Jobbins, *The Phenomenon of Welshness* (Llanrwst: Carreg Gwalch, 2011), 23; R. M. Jones, "Language in God's Economy: A Welsh and International Perspective," *Themelios* 21 (3 1996): 14; Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 27.

[829] Davies, *Invisible*, 37-42.

identity. The values of a social context reach to the centre of the individual's psyche through language, giving form and meaning to experience. "Cultural autism" results when this language and its distinct shaping are unnamed or ignored;[830] and, according to Davies, Welsh speakers become "invisible" because they are white and indistinguishable superficially from their English neighbours.[831]

3.5.2 The Decline of the Language

Despite English opposition to the language, and the immigration of English speakers, the number of Welsh speakers in Wales continued to grow in the nineteenth century. It reached a peak of 977,366 in 1911, which was about half the population.[832] From 1911 to 1971, however, each decennial census has shown a decline in every age group.[833] The reasons for the decline are complex, but inward migration, parental aspirations for the perceived advantages of speaking English, and the economic and social influence of the British state were powerful factors.[834] At the beginning of the twentieth century, the areas where the language was spoken had diminished to three corridors running north to south, the eastern section becoming entirely English-speaking, whereas the west was mostly Welsh.[835] By the end of the century, this had broken down further into a patchwork of small language areas.[836] The areas of *Bro Gymraeg*, where community life was conducted in Welsh, were shrinking rapidly.[837] By the time of the 2011 census, Welsh had become a minority language in all but Anglesey and Gwynedd.[838] The total number of Welsh speakers continued to fall until 2001 when there was a rise to 20.8%, from 18.7% in 1991. Hopes were raised of a continued increase, but the 2011 census showed a fall back to 19.7%.[839] Welsh was becoming the language of the elderly.[840]

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[830] Davies, *Invisible*, 28.
[831] Davies, *Invisible*, 31.
[832] H. M. Jones, *A Statistical Overview of the Welsh Language* (Cardiff: Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg, 2012), 10. The first census in Wales was held in 1801, but there was no specific question about the Welsh Language until the 1891 and following Censuses; Day, *Making Sense*, 215.
[833] Jones, *Statistical Overview*, 11.
[834] Davies, "Nationalism," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 165; Jobbins, *Welshness*, 199; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 243.
[835] Jones, *Faith*, 13; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 241.
[836] Day, *Making Sense*, 215.
[837] Day, *Making Sense*, 215-217; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 89, 95.
[838] ONS, "2011 Welsh," n.p.; V. Roderick, "Census 2011: Number of Welsh speakers falling," n.p. [cited 11.12.2012]. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-20677528.
[839] ONS, "2011 Welsh," n.p.
[840] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 365-367.

Morgan attributed a slowing of these trends to the cultural and linguistic work of the *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*, a national youth movement that grew steadily through the twentieth century.[841] In 1971, a relative increase in children aged 10-14 years began to show the influence of the growth of Welsh medium education.[842] This was accentuated by the children of English-speaking homes attending Welsh Medium schools.[843] Projections of an upward trend can be drawn, provided that those leaving Welsh Medium education continue to speak Welsh in adulthood.[844] If this is the case, the number of Welsh speakers in all age groups will increase to the proportion of those speaking Welsh during school age. This trend is supported by the equal status given to Welsh by law in a bi-lingual society, which has "normalized" the language as a means of communication.[845] It has also been strengthened by a vibrant Welsh language media.[846] The language is vulnerable, but no longer threatened and inevitably declining, and Carter even refers to "the Welsh language renaissance".[847] In terms of mission context, the linguistic makeup of Wales is expected, therefore, to change over the first half of the twenty-first century.[848]

3.5.3   The Welsh Cultural Tradition and the Language

Language is more than a means of communication; it is also a cultural medium.[849] As part of a nation's identity, it takes the role of a label or marker of that culture.[850] It shapes the rituals, social relations and values of the society framed by it.[851] Because of this, the language and culture of a people are inseparable.

The earliest extant Welsh literature are the sixth century poems of Taliesin and Aneirin, written in Strathclyde in the Brythonic "Old North", about local kings and incidents occurring in what is now North Yorkshire.[852] They reflect a widespread and developed oral and written culture that had developed from the Latin of Romanized

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[841] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 252-253.
[842] Jones, *Statistical Overview*, 11; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 360.
[843] Evans, *Fight*, 163; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 95-97.
[844] F. G. H. Wells, "Addysg Gymraeg," *Traethodydd* 155 (2000): 93-96.
[845] Day, *Making Sense*, 22; R. M. Jones, "Cymraeg Byw' Heddiw," *Y Traethodydd* 155 (2000): 8-12.
[846] Day, *Making Sense*, 217; Aitchison and Carter, "Regeneration," 177-178
[847] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 97.
[848] Jones, *Statistical Overview*, 11-14.
[849] D. Marks, "Great Little Trains?: The Role of Heritage Railways in North Wales in the Denial of Welsh Identity, Culture and Working-Class History," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 199; Keller, *Center*, 94.
[850] Cameron, *Identity*, 2.
[851] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 17.
[852] Davies, *History*, 46, 51-52.

Britain. This culture was seen to flower in the Middle Ages,[853] and, for Humphreys, a poetic tradition has continued from the time of Taliesin, which effectively created and sustained a Welsh identity and sense of nationhood.[854] Williams argues that the language alone was the only continuous influence, but to separate the two would be impossible.[855] In fact, Humphreys contends that the poets saved the language in the Tudor period, identifying it as "a cauldron of rebirth".[856]

The translation of the Bible into Welsh, and the Circulating Schools of Griffith Jones, made the common people of Wales literate and educated, at least in a biblical world-view.[857] Nonconformity is reputed by some to have saved the language from inevitable extinction as a result of this provision.[858] Howel Harris, the Methodist leader had defended the language and its use:[859]

> "declrd my self yᵉ Servᵗ of yᵉ Welch & was cuttᵍ to such as are ashamed of their Language & Country ... I was much here too for yᵉ old Brittons not to swallow yᵉ English Pride & Language & despise their own that God is a Welchman & can talk Welch & has sᵈ to many in Welch Thy sins are forgiven thee".[860]

Some contemporary Welsh speakers see Victorian Nonconformity as having become too Anglophile, turning to English out of intellectual elitism, and establishing English language churches in Wales.[861] The trend was marginal, however, and was merely a response to the demographic changes in industrialised areas.[862] Nonconformist publishing of verse, hymns and theology in Welsh became a staple diet.[863] Language and faith were joined together, and the people became "Bible black",[864] while the singing of hymns, which built on the previous choral traditions, became a national pastime.[865]

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[853] Jones, *Desire*, 73-90.
[854] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 21-46.
[855] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, 28.
[856] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 46.
[857] White, *Welsh Bible*, 53-71.
[858] Jobbins, *Welshness*, 36; James, "New Birth," in Pope, *Identity*, 28-29.
[859] James, "New Birth," in Pope, *Identity*, 27; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 9.
[860] Howell Harris' Diary 21.11.1769 & 24.5.1770, quoted in White, "Methodists," 16. "I declared myself the servant of the Welsh and was cutting to such as were ashamed of their language and country … I was much here too for the old Britons not to swallow the English pride and language and despise their own, that God is a Welshman, and can talk Welsh, and has said in Welsh to many, 'Your sins are forgiven you'."
[861] Jobbins, *Welshness*, 39-40.
[862] A. J. Edwards, *Thomas Thomas of Pontypool: Radical Puritan* (Caerleon: APECS, 2009), 77-78.
[863] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 58, 95.
[864] Jones, *Faith*, 3.
[865] Evans, "Class," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 128; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 98; White, *Welsh Bible*, 126-127.

The place of song and choral singing, mentioned by Giraldus, still gives a popular expression to this poetic tradition.[866] Nicky Wire, of the *Manic Street Preachers*, in explaining the rise of Welsh singing groups claimed, "But one thing about our domain of south Wales is that everybody can sing. That's our national identity … the emphasis on singing is almost like a trade here".[867] The poetic and choral tradition had enjoyed a renaissance in the nineteenth century through the reinvention of the *eisteddfod*, a cultural festival held locally, regionally and nationally.[868] These became "a showcase for Welshness", and, through their competitions, "a one-nation Olympic games of the mind".[869] For Welsh language communities, they represented something of the "national soul".[870] However, for areas where the Welsh language was not spoken they were archaic and irrelevant, "a vapid cultural nationalism".[871] To the latter, Welsh-speaking Nonconformity seemed to represent Victorian, or even rural, traditions.

The decline of Nonconformist influence was exacerbated by its failure to grasp opportunities for the funding of education, which the Anglican Church accepted.[872] Education had been developed widely through Methodist teachers and schools, but the 1847 Government report into education in Wales claimed that schools in Wales were inadequate, largely because of the continuing influence of the Welsh language and Nonconformist Sunday schools.[873] The Nonconformist denominations sought to establish day schools, but decided to forego State funding, which made their efforts financially unsustainable. The Anglican Church accepted funding for its schools, with the result that education provision passed into secular and Anglican hands.[874] This provision was in the English language, with punishments for those speaking Welsh, so decline of the Welsh language, and Nonconformity's influence in education, was inevitable.

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[866] Griffith, *Welsh*, 118-119, 128; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 64; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 19.

[867] N. Wire, "Wales - Nicky Wire reflects on the musical tradition of his home country," n.p. [cited 24.11.2011]. Online: http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2008/feb/15/popandrock4.

[868] Jones, *Desire*, 153; Day, *Making Sense*, 21, Griffith, *Welsh*, 143; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 97.

[869] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 128, 132, 142; Griffith, *Welsh*, 154.

[870] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 177.

[871] Smith, *Wales*, 38; Day, *Making Sense*, 21-22; Evans, *Fighting*, 22.

[872] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 209-210; D. E. Davies, *Christian Schools: Christianity and Education in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Wales, and its Relevance for Today* (Bridgend: Evangelical Library of Wales, 1978), 10-17.

[873] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 170-171; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 117; Evans, *Fighting*, 14; Morgan, "Long Knives," in Davies et al., *Welsh Society*, 199.

[874] Davies, *History*, 389-392; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 209-210.

Therefore, as secularization and urbanisation developed in Wales, the language was in danger of dying with its Nonconformist protector.[875] Trends which established Welsh as an increasingly urban language avoided this fate.[876] Welsh language film, television, theatre, live rugby commentary, and Welsh medium education, have redefined the image and given the language new prospects.[877] This "Cool Cymru" represents a new Welsh culture: sophisticated, secular, post-Christian, and professional.[878] It is centred on Cardiff and the Assembly, with its political, social and economic resurgence, and represents new hopes of "an emergent culture and identity that is young, literate and ironic".[879] In a bi-lingual society, Welsh-speaking professionals found unprecedented opportunities, a success that has led to envy and resentment in some non-Welsh speakers.[880]

Poetry also helped form a culture by and for the *gwerin,* the common folk of Wales.[881] It fed a variety of myths, mingled with history, which inspired a struggle for survival, especially in what was a nation in a marginal condition.[882] In the absence of political power, the poetic myths gave identity and a hope of future independence.[883]

This history and poetic tradition motivated political nationalists to the same hope in the twentieth century.[884] For them, the survival of the language, and the culture it nurtures, was essential to the future of Wales as an entity,[885] as "if the language goes, Wales as such would cease to be".[886] One of the founders of *Plaid Cymru*, Saunders Lewis, in an influential speech, *Tynged yr Iaith* (Fate of the Language) in 1962, argued that protecting and preserving culture was more important than achieving political autonomy because the latter depended on the former.[887] Lewis's call for direct action

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[875] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 115-116, 119; Day, *Making Sense*, 66, 67.
[876] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 76; Williams, "Churches," 153.
[877] Day, *Making Sense*, 25.
[878] S. Blandford, "Cultural Representation," in *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (ed. H. Mackay; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 290-291; James, "New Birth," in Pope, *Identity*, 30; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 28-29; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 142.
[879] Day, *Making Sense*, 25.
[880] Ioan, "Dragon," 111.
[881] Griffith, *Welsh*, 142.
[882] Anderson, *Imagined*, 141; Evans, *Fathers*, 448; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 3. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* gave much of the myth a basis with stories of former heroic British kings.
[883] Evans, *Builders*, 30; Cameron, introduction to Cameron, *Identity*, 4; Jones, *Desire*, 86, 88; Humphreys, *Conversations*, x.
[884] Jones, *Desire*, 201; Davies, *Invisible*, 5; Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 51.
[885] Evans, "Iaith," 147-148.
[886] Day, *Making Sense*, 23.
[887] S. Lewis, "Tynged yr Iaith," n.p. [cited 20.01.2013]. Online: http://quixoticquisling.com/testun/saunders-lewis-fate-of-the-language.html. ; Fowler, "Durable Concept," n.p.; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 382.

to preserve the language and the culture led to the founding of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Welsh Language Society) whose direct action has done much to influence the National Assembly's Welsh language policy.[888] Llewellyn spoke of Welshness dying with the language as "population recomposition" by English inward migration reduced Welsh areas: "every time a home in *Y Fro Gymraeg* goes to a foreigner we die, every time a young Welshman leaves *Y Fro Gymraeg* we die … our Country, Wales, has ceased to be".[889] The language issue had produced a "fortress Wales" mindset and a call for "ethnic cleansing" in which Welsh homes were to be returned to Welsh speakers.[890] For Jobbins, promoting the language and culture was the only moral purpose.[891] The morality of such issues is a matter of debate, but that they impinge on approaches to Welsh language contexts is self-evident.

3.5.4   The Language as a Marker or Cause of Division.

For many living in Wales, their sense of identity was a cultural matter, shaped by language, religion, customs and images.[892] Language, not the land or even the people living in it, was, for many, the primary source of identity.[893] The implication of this was that the Welsh language was "the possession of the whole nation",[894] including those who could not speak it, but prized it none the less.[895] Lord Elis-Thomas claimed that, "the Welsh language is the common property of all Welsh people, whether they speak the language or not".[896] For Jones, those who dislike Welsh were on their way to becoming Englishman, part of an undifferentiated British people.[897] The language was asserted and defended as the one marker of Welshness, from which other symbols were derived, based on the assumption that Welsh identity "cannot be sustained by rugby, choirs and laverbread".[898] However, as the number of Welsh

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[888] Williams, *When was Wales*, 291-292; Jones, "Beyond Identity," 351; National Library of Wales, "Tynged yr Iaith, The Welsh Language Society, Broadcasting in Welsh, The Welsh Language Act," n.p. [cited 20.01.2013]. Online: http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Iaith/TyngedIaith/index-e.htm; Aitchison and Carter, "Regeneration," 167, 171; Denney, "Social Construction," 155-156; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 383.

[889] Quoted in Day, *Making Sense*, 213.

[890] Day, *Making Sense*, 214; Denney, "Social Construction," 155.

[891] Jobbins, *Welshness*, 212, 217. The question of collective rights, as well as individual rights, is at the heart of whether this is a moral issue. Injustices done to indigenous peoples, in this case the Welsh, has led to a call for their collective rights. Hughes, *Culture*, 112-136.

[892] Day, *Making Sense*, 212.

[893] Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 17-20.

[894] Jones, *Desire*, 201.

[895] Davies, "Nationalism," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 167; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 94.

[896] The Welsh Language Board's Annual Report and Accounts 1994-5, quoted in Day, *Making Sense*, 22.

[897] J. R. Jones, *Gwaedd yng Nghymru* (Llansawel: Cyhoeddiadau Modern Cymreig Cyf, 1970), 22-23.

[898] Evans, *Fighting*, 135.

speakers declined, this apparently central locator of identity began to be challenged and rejected.[899]

In most parts of Wales, the identification of language as the core marker of identity became unsustainable. As communities became wholly English-speaking, the language became a divisive issue, making those who did not speak Welsh feel like second class citizens, or not really Welsh at all.[900] In the post-industrial south Wales valleys, the population reacted and opposed the language and the nationalist movement.[901] They felt excluded from the rural culture of north and west Wales, and the *Eisteddfod*, and even if they regretted their lack, the issue drove a wedge of exclusion through Welsh culture, society and identity.[902] Those speaking Welsh, with better job opportunities because of bilingualism, were suspected of a form of cultural elitism.[903] Some English language media, and many of the anglicised population, objected to bi-lingual government forms and an imposed, and artificially revived, Welshness. They also portrayed *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* as "The Welsh Taliban".[904] A Western Mail article in February, 1968, declared the need for Wales to be English-speaking, insisting that identity was not dependant on the language.[905] The language, as a marker, had become a symbol of division rather than national identity, a challenge to the genuineness of the Welshness of non-Welsh speakers, not a symbol of it.

A Welsh identity, the "Anglo-Welsh", developed which was not dependent on the language.[906] In the 2011 Census, as seen previously in the case of Rhondda Cynon Taff, Welshness was identified by location, not by language. In the Labour Force Survey of 2001, the South Wales Valleys recorded the highest level of Welsh identity of all the regions of Wales, but based on place of birth and rugby loyalty, not

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[899] Davies, *History*, 499.
[900] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 139.
[901] Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 15; Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, 76.
[902] Day, *Making Sense*, 22-24; M. Shipton, "Welsh Identity Unites and Divides," n.p. [cited 02.04.2012]. Online: http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2010/05/24/welsh-identity-unites-and-divides-91466-26505744/.
[903] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 87; Aitchison and Carter, "Regeneration," 175, 181.
[904] R. Lewis, "The Tyranny of the Welsh Taliban," n.p. [cited 27.11.2012]. Online: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2238472/Tyranny-Welsh-Taliban-Children-told-loo-ask-English-Architects-shunned-plans-arent-Welsh-ROGER-LEWIS-nutty-Welsh-Language-Society.html?ITO=1490&ns_mchannel=rss&ns_campaign=1490.
[905] Jones, *Gwaedd*, 24.
[906] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 65; Roberts, "Mining," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 122.

language and traditional culture.[907] The Anglo-Welsh culture had its own authors, writing in the English medium,[908] and portrayed Wales in the imagery of industry, rock bands and rugby. This form of Welshness was expressed in the stereotypes of "low" not "high" culture, of accents, flags, anthems, and the social warmth of "Gavin and Stacey"; a "banal", everyday Welshness to distinguish from the English "other".[909] Welshness, from this perspective, has been described as "an attitude of mind – sometimes psychopathic, often generous, usually friendly, and always passionate".[910]

These images are what Anderson saw as the ingredients of an "imagined community", a hegemonic invention of a people's collectivity.[911] The people of Wales imagine their community differently, so that there are many different cultures, not just one. A commonality may be evoked by Catatonia's declaration, "Every day when I wake up. I thank the Lord I'm Welsh",[912] or by the unity engendered by a Welsh victory on the rugby field, but otherwise the issues are multi-dimensional, and there is "no common Welsh experience".[913]

This section, on the linguistic and cultural factors that shape the contexts of Wales, has demonstrated that the icons and images of culture, be they language, sport, music or literature, are present to different degrees in the various regional expressions of Welshness. In many ways the local context, as well as the culture, will be defined by them. Understanding, respecting and responding to them will be integral to contextualised mission.

3.5.5 The Implications for Mission of the Linguistic and Cultural Contexts

This variety means that there is no one Welsh context that mission has to respond to, but many. Contextualisation will be a complex and varied process. An approach to mission in one area may be appropriate or alien, depending on the

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[907] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 106.

[908] G. Jones, *The Dragon has Two Tongues* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1968), 39-48; Williams, "Welsh Modernism," in Brooker et al., *Modernisms*, 1-15.

[909] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 26, 64; Blandford, "Cultural," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 270, 290, 295; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 82; Thompson, "Conclusion," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 247.

[910] Richards, *Guide*, 86.

[911] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 82.

[912] R. Edwards, "Everyday, When I Wake up, I Thank the Lord I'm Welsh"; Reading the Markers of Welsh Identity in the 1990s Pop Music," *Contemporary Wales* 19 (2007): 142-160; J. King, *Wales* (London: Lonely Planet, 2001), 38.

[913] Davies, *History*, 500.

context. In predominantly Welsh-speaking areas, English languages churches will be viewed as a further form of colonisation.[914] A bi-lingual approach, such as adopted in the Anglican Church in Wales, may not be acceptable to either language community.[915]

Mission that adopts McGavren and Wagner's "homogeneous principle", where separate language communities are reached and churches are established without crossing ethnic boundaries, might be unacceptable and perceived as racist.[916] In contrast, theological arguments for all Christians in an area to worship together, and thereby in one language, may send a message to the community that "language is not as important as the gospel, therefore we do not work in Welsh".[917] Such an approach might also create the impression that people abandon their own communities and language when they become Christians. In such a scenario, theology becomes more important than the language, and is therefore exiled from the language community.[918] Jones suggests that Welsh-speaking Christians move from their social roots in this way because of an "old imperial mould" producing "an inferiority complex regarding identity".[919] In contrast, Chambers speaks of a "cultural lag" that results in Welsh languages churches choosing not to adjust to changes in their own culture and community.[920] He speaks of congregations of elderly women worshiping in large and crumbling buildings, using Welsh language worship forms unchanged since the nineteenth century. Such chapels are caught in a time-warp, in a culture that has changed fundamentally. Rowan Williams commented pointedly that "Welsh has reinvented itself, but Welsh-speaking Christianity largely has not".[921] What is clear is that appropriate contextualisation must occur in relation to the Welsh language and to Wales' varied cultures, and the necessary compromises made. Niebuhr identified five adjustments to Western culture, which indicate the degree of involvement in the culture and the extent to which the culture shapes the mission. The outworking of the differences will be reflected in the different adjustments to culture considered in Chapter Four.

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[914] Jones, *Faith*, 390-395.
[915] Jones, *Faith*, 40.
[916] Chambers, *Religion*, 71; J. Stott, *Explaining the Gospel in Today's World* (London: Scripture Union, 1978), 4-7, 28-29.
[917] Jones, "Language," 13.
[918] Jones, "Language," 14.
[919] Jones, "Language," 14.
[920] Chambers, *Religion*, 70-71.
[921] Williams, "Churches," 154.

3.6   The Social Context of Wales

> "**He lives here**
>   and a pulpit grew up under my feet
>   And I climbed into it and
>   It was a cage
>   of the mine-shaft down down down
>   to preach to the lost souls
>   of the coal-face reminding
>   how green is the childhood
>   of a glib people taunting
>   them with the abandonment
>   of the national for the class struggle."[922]

3.6.1   Welsh Social Patterns

The influence of the physical geography of Wales was that communities were small and often isolated. Welsh communities developed in a scattered and intimate way, where migration was limited and extended families became the matrix of the community. *Brogarwch* took priority over *gwladgarwch,* in that a person's locality meant even more to them than their nationality, and Wales has been described as a, "community of communities" as a result.[923]

The limited Welsh aristocracy had become anglicized in language, culture and their support for the Episcopal Church. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, they held the economic levers of land, minerals, and the means of production, which had not been taken over by English entrepreneurs.[924] Under them was a mass of rural labouring people, without a middle class, and with a culture determined by language and its resulting isolation from the influence of external forces, not least anglicization.[925] The non-stratified nature of Welsh society had also been influenced, over centuries, by the practice of partible inheritance, or gavelkind. After death an estate was divided evenly between male heirs, in contrast to the English system where the eldest son received the whole. Estates were constantly dividing, thus largely preventing dynastic families from ruling large areas, and inevitably leading to a history of sibling strife.[926] A multiplicity of family rivalries made a national entity harder to govern, but also harder to

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[922] R. S. Thomas, *What is a Welshman?* (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, 1974), 1.

[923] Day, *Making Sense*, 19.

[924] P. Morgan, "Keeping the Legends Alive," in *Wales: the Imagined Nation* (ed. T. Curtis; Bridgend: Poetry Wales, 1986), 35; Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 51; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 9-10.

[925] Day, *Making Sense*, 22-23; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 17.

[926] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 52.

conquer, as no one leader represented the whole.[927] These factors produced distinct social patterns in relation to family, community and social structure.

3.6.2 The *Gwerin*

Rural isolation, and the insular nature of the industrial valleys, separated from each other by hill ranges, produced familiarity and cohesion within communities.[928] For Williams, "Wales is a small country where everyone seems to know everyone else and interests are often parochial, hermetic and suffocating".[929] The people were the *gwerin,* the Welsh folk, living off the land by their labour, the "heart and soul of the Welsh nation who cultivated a respectable and genial commonality".[930] The Welsh word, *gwerin,* means "a mass", and refers to a supposed homogeneous body of people.[931] Social life centred on the *aelwyd*, the hearth, where socialization, education and organization were grounded.[932] *Teulu ni,* our family, was the basis of identity, loyalty, and genealogical roots.[933] The society provided its people with values and stability. Jones describes these family-focussed values:

> "Kindness, good deeds, thrift, hospitality, generosity towards the poor, and diligence - all these had a place of honour in the pattern. Family life was to he respected and although unchastity among young unmarried folk was tolerated, and while the illegitimate child was usually treated with great kindness, adultery was considered inexcusable. Mothers were given unprecedented respect and children were increasingly treated with tenderness."[934]

A strong sense of kinship and localism inevitably produced an awareness of local belonging and inter-dependence.[935] Descriptions of a "Welsh character", describing communal values of friendliness, sharing and helping, were derived from the nature of these communities.[936] Such communalism had a "venerable place among Welsh values",[937] being the result of history as much as any

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[927] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 222.
[928] Day, *Making Sense*, 17.
[929] Williams, *When was Wales*, 247.
[930] Williams, *When was Wales*, 237-238.
[931] Morgan, "Legends," in Curtis, *Imagined*, 35; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 78.
[932] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 36-37; Aitchison and Carter, "Regeneration," 179.
[933] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 52.
[934] Jones, *Faith*, 62.
[935] Fowler, "Durable Concept," n.p.; T. G. [Cefnfab] Williams, "Llwynrhydowen," in *Hunaniaeth Gymreig / Welsh Identity* (ed. T. G. Williams; Llandybie: Rhiwfawr Writers Group, 2004), 31; Denney, "Social Construction," 161-163.
[936] Roberts, "Mining," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 120-121.
[937] Evans, *Fighting*, 67.

ethnic or cultural essence.[938] In addition to cooperation within the extended family, from medieval times, farmers and neighbours provided an agricultural mutual aid, known as *cymhortha (*from the verb "to help"). [939] This system of goodwill and co-operation facilitated community development and survival. In the same spirit, the provision of hospitality for strangers was expected.[940] This communalism and mutualism produced a society in which every member was important. Ioan's interview respondent reflects the perspective: "Everybody turns out for funerals around here. At first I thought it must be someone important, then I realised that everyone in the village was important".[941]

This image of an egalitarian society was further developed during the Nonconformist era, from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. The *Gwerin* then came to be portrayed as a Welsh-speaking, literate, egalitarian, politically radical, chapel going folk.[942] In their chapels all were equal before God, with farm labourers sharing the deacons' pew with their employer.[943] The people became literate in their chapels, so that during the nineteenth century it could be claimed that the Welsh were more religious, moral and educated than the English working class.[944] They were educated through a flood of books and magazines, both theological and dealing with current affairs,[945] so that the Welsh became "cultivated, educated, often self-educated, responsible, self-disciplined, respectable but on the whole genially poor".[946] Initially, this poverty did not lead to discontent or revolt, because of a perceived lack of concern with material things.[947] However, Nonconformity's protest against the Anglican establishment was the nursery of political radicalism and socialism in Wales.[948] The *gwerin* was the basic form of

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[938] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, 25.
[939] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 52; H. Wood, "Harvest Customs in Wales," n.p. [cited 11.03.2013]. Online: http://www.applewarrior.com/celticwell/ejournal/lughnasa/wales.htm.
[940] Gerald of Wales, *Journey & Description*, 236; Griffith, *Welsh*, 178; Rees, *Bred*, 99; T. G. [Cefnfab] Williams, "Urdd Gobaith Cymru," in *Hunaniaeth Gymreig: Welsh Identity* (ed. T. G. Williams; Llandybie: Rhiwfawr Writers' Group, 2004), 76.
[941] Ioan, "Dragon," 111.
[942] Day, *Making Sense*, 244; Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 36; Morgan, "Legends," in Curtis, *Imagined*, 35; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 115-116; Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 48; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 14, 18.
[943] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 51.
[944] W. P. Griffith, "Preaching Second to No Other under the Sun: Edward Matthews, the Nonconformist Pulpit and Welsh Identity during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c.1700-2000* (ed. R. Pope; Cardiff: Unity of Wales Press, 2001), 65.
[945] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 64; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 21.
[946] Williams, *When was Wales*, 237-238.
[947] Day, *Making Sense*, 19; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 2-4.
[948] Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 48; Morgan, "Long Knives," in Davies et al., *Welsh Society*, 199. 210; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 1-3, 9.

polity, expressing democratic and even republican ideas in the *gweriniaeth*, the rule of the *gwerin*.[949] The political link with Liberalism, and influence on it, resulted.[950]

3.6.3 The Welsh Socialist Tradition

These essentially rural patterns were not lost when industrialisation drew the workforce from the fields to the furnaces and coal-face.[951] Day points out that both regions were a "quasi-agrarian mosaic of small settlements and open country".[952] A labouring poor existed on the margins of starvation, and the communitarian impulse seen in both spheres was an essential aspect of Welshness.[953] Initially, both societies were Welsh in language and culture.[954] In the industrial valleys, the egalitarian society was on a much larger scale, and developed into "religious socialism",[955] but was no less communal and mutual.[956] The mining communities were extracting both coal and slate in dangerous conditions, and survived by mutual self-reliance.[957] Labourism, the social structure produced by a monopolistic political loyalty, had a strong solidarity and social consensus, which eventually became somewhat exclusive and paternalistic, even parochially conservative.[958]

The idea of the *Gwerin* did not involve a system based on class, as in English society.[959] Class divisions were less marked than in England, with little evidence of a middle class until it developed in the larger towns in the late nineteenth century.[960] Many of the owners of land and capital lived outside Wales.[961] Among the working poor, socialist principles gathered popularity, initially within the chapels and later distinct from them. The Chartist movements, of the nineteenth century, led to conflict with, not submission to, employers, and, by the beginning of the twentieth century an increasingly radical working class emerged.[962] Loyalty to the Liberal Welsh politics of

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[949] Williams, *When was Wales*, 238 Aitchison and Carter, "Regeneration," 170-171.
[950] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 102; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 26.
[951] Chambers, *Religion*, 97-99
[952] Day, *Making Sense*, 109.
[953] Day, *Making Sense*, 19.
[954] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 16; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 27.
[955] Thomas, *Shadow*, 170-171.
[956] Day, *Making Sense*, 16, 102; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 240.
[957] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 41.
[958] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 3-5; Day, *Making Sense*, 34.
[959] Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 35-36; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 115-116.
[960] D. Adamson, "The New Working Class and Political Change in Wales," *Contemporary Wales* 2 (1988): 8, 14-25; Griffiths, "Colony," n.p.; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 70, 129.
[961] Evans, "Class," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 135, 139.
[962] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 59; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 1-2.

Lloyd George began to give way to the socialism of Keir Hardie, when Hardie became the MP for Merthyr Tydfil in 1900.[963] This socialism was English-speaking, British or Internationalist in sympathy, and increasingly secular.[964] As Edwards' graphic imagery puts it, "Bevan saw a safer future for Wales wrapped in the red flag, rather than trusted to an unproven Welsh dragon".[965] Indeed, in the Spanish Civil War, the miners of Wales made up the largest regional group of the International Brigade.[966]

For the next hundred years of industrial uncertainty, there was a wholesale loyalty to the Labour Party in the Welsh coalfields.[967] A proletarian solidarity emerged, that took precedence over previous images from Welsh-speaking rural Wales, and became British and cosmopolitan in its loyalty to socialism.[968] In political terms, Wales became "Labour-Land",[969] with socialism in its DNA and across its social strata.[970] In British politics the "Welsh effect" was recognised in which Wales, in electoral outcomes, could be expected to vote solidly Labour.[971] Labour became the "party of the gwerin",[972] but a gweriniaeth less defined than its Nonconformist precursor. It was more of an attitude than a social pattern, "part of our make-up and something we carry around with us".[973]

By the middle of the twentieth century, Welsh society was divided into chapel people and pub people.[974] However, by the end of the century, the chapels and the mines were closing rapidly, and the post-industrial valleys were losing their cohesiveness.[975] Mutuality in the mines and their unions, with organised welfare provision, dissipated as the economic *raison d'être* of the communities faded.[976] Economic and social

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[963] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 63.
[964] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 61; A. Edwards, "Labour Traditions," in *Understanding Contemporary Wales* (ed. H. Mackay; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 204; Evans, *Fighting*, 138; Rogers, *Thomas*, 162; Evans, *Fathers*, 426; Evans, *Fight*, 129, 140, 148; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 213; Day, *Making Sense*, 99.
[965] Edwards, "Labour," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 206.
[966] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 222; Jones, "Beyond Identity," 341.
[967] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 6-7, 241; Day, *Making Sense*, 104, 131-133.
[968] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 80; Hughes, *Culture*, 26-28, 42, 101-102; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 16.
[969] Edwards, "Labour," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 214; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 142.
[970] Edwards, "Labour," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 227.
[971] D Griffiths, "Migration," 66.
[972] Edwards, "Labour," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 207.
[973] Evans, "Class," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 131, 154.
[974] Evans, "Class," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 135
[975] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 41.
[976] Day, *Making Sense*, 118; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 349-350.

decline resulted, what Rees called the "excrescences of social pathology".[977] The declining primary industries were replaced by secondary manufacturing and an expanding service sector, providing comparatively low wage levels. With many of the new industries in more anglicized areas, at the mouths of the valleys, the Labourism of the valleys diminished as a signifier of identity.[978] Social crises multiplied in family life, education, and law and order. Drug abuse, social exclusion and hopelessness produced a social underclass in the post-industrial areas.[979] Such a legacy of industrial decline was in marked contrast to the rising prosperity of the coastal cities. These extremes marked the end of any semblance of an egalitarian, classless Welsh society, the *gwerin*. The widening social differences also led to a decline in loyalty to the Labour party, and what Adamson calls, "the Trinity of work, family and community socialization in the values of Labourism".[980] Labour's hegemony had been eroded.

3.6.4 The Validity of *Gwerin* as a Social Feature

The notion of a Welsh *gwerin* was also diluted by inward migration,[981] and by the rise of professional strata in Welsh society, not least the Welsh-speaking "Cool Cymru".[982] The growth of Cardiff, as a cosmopolitan and sophisticated city, further eroded any idea of an egalitarian society, when compared with post-industrial areas.[983] The patterns in Cardiff reflected the influence of international culture, marketing and pluralism, which further eroded a distinct Welsh identity.[984] These social changes in Wales would be common to many English rural, urban and post-industrial regions.[985]

However, questions regarding the existence of a homogeneous *gwerin,* as a distinctive feature of society in Wales, relate to its existence generally, and not just in contemporary society. For Adamson, there was little evidence for its existence in the nineteenth century, and it had certainly disappeared in the twentieth.[986] The idea that

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[977] G. Rees, "The Politics of Regional Development Strategy: The Programme for the Valleys," in *Nationality and Planning in Scotland and Wales* (ed. R Macdonald and H. Thomas; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), 99.
[978] Adamson, "New Working Class," 15-17; Roberts, "Mining," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 116.
[979] Day, *Making Sense*, 136.
[980] Adamson, "New Working Class," 16-20.
[981] Day, *Making Sense*, 183; Smethurst, "Contextualised," 13.
[982] Day, *Making Sense*, 25.
[983] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 120.
[984] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 136; Adamson, "New Working Class," 17; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 245-246.
[985] Day, *Making Sense*, 183; Williams, "Churches," 158.
[986] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 66.

the people of Wales were largely of one homogeneous social form was untenable. The concept of the *gwerin* represented a fixed and static ethnic absolutism that was essentialist and exclusive, ignoring many fundamental differences of context, origin and aspiration.[987] It had been a historic myth, a merely imagined reality, portraying a heroic people rising from their disadvantages.[988]

Nonconformity had used it in its struggle with Anglican clergy, tithes and privileges in the nineteenth century.[989] However, the evident middle class aspirations of Nonconformity in the late nineteenth century, especially among those admitted into leadership, would tend to contradict the notion of a classless chapel-going *gwerin*. Victorian chapels often reflected bourgeois respectability, architecture and aspirations.[990] In the twentieth century, nationalists had identified the existence of the *gwerin* as grounds for a separate state.[991] Socialism had presented it as one of their icons of communal life and identity.[992] For all, it had also been a convenient variant in attempts to distinguish the Welsh from their English neighbours. This is evident in Williams' assertion that Welsh genial humility is in contrast to English competitiveness, snobbishness, and "side".[993] Such a notion would be impossible to prove or quantify. The same would be true of the reverse, where such images were used to denigrate Wales and its people.[994]

3.6.5   Rugby as a Social Unifier

It has been argued that Welsh communal egalitarianism is more evident in the nation's national sport, notably Rugby Union, which for Morgan is, "the new opium of the people".[995] As in the myth of a *gwerin,* rugby in the twentieth century has been seen as transcending other social divisions, and as being culture not class based. Mackay contends that rugby embodies the essential characteristics that the people of Wales share, notably, "egalitarianism, meritocracy,

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[987] Day, *Making Sense*, 99.
[988] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 58-59.
[989] Day, *Making Sense*, 66-67, 141; Morgan, "Legends," in Curtis, *Imagined*, 35; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 102.
[990] Evans, "Class," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 135; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 183-184.
[991] Day, *Making Sense*, 99; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 78; Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 58-59; Adamson, "New Working Class," 7; Denney, "Social Construction," 163.
[992] Roberts, "Mining," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 121.
[993] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 78; Denney, "Social Construction," 162-163.
[994] Day, *Making Sense*, 19.
[995] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 73, 133, 349.

patriarchy and classlessness",[996] where "The myth, in which there is some truth, is that rugby in Wales is something of a democracy, where the doctor scrums alongside the miner."[997] Smith shows the importance of rugby to the culture of the South Wales valleys, during and after their industrial and socialist heydays.[998] In both North and South Wales, Rugby has become the new social symbol, or identifier, of Welshness, and is one of the few, if not the only, social phenomena that unites all the people of Wales.[999] The international players who embody the values are aware of the iconic significance, as Gavin Henson maintained, "Everyone who plays for Wales is aware of the symbolism the game represents for a small nation fighting against the odds".[1000] The Millennium Stadium has become a significant icon, in a capital city that has itself become a symbol of a new Welshness.[1001]

This social unifier unites by excluding a perceived common enemy. A national ambition, which has echoed down the centuries, found expression in the Stereophonics' song of 1999, "as long as we beat the English, we don't care".[1002] A potent mixture of social history was used by Phil Bennett in a pre-match team talk before leading Wales out against England in 1977:

> "They've taken our coal, our water, our steel. They buy our homes and live in them for a fortnight every year. What have they given us? Absolutely nothing. We've been exploited, raped, controlled and punished by the English – and that's who you are playing this afternoon".[1003]

Clearly, communalism does not always extend to those living across the border.[1004] Rugby, as the national sport, has acted as a social unifier because it gives a realistic annual opportunity to beat and humiliate their larger, dominant, and more prosperous neighbour, decisively and regularly.[1005] As Richards asserts, "Rugby gives the Welsh their pride back. Rugby gives them revenge."[1006] Rogers and Rockwood, in explaining the importance of Cardiff City Football Club to Welsh identity, suggest the desire to beat the English puts soccer above rugby, as "Rugby fans only get to show they hate the English once a year at the Six Nations tournament, but Cardiff play an English

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[996] Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 3.
[997] Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 12.
[998] Smith, *Wales*, 35.
[999] Davies, *History*, 664; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 9; Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 14, 303.
[1000] Gavin Henson, quoted in Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 14.
[1001] G. Rogers and J. Rookwood, "Cardiff City Football Club as a Vehicle to Promote Welsh National Identity," *Sports* 1 (1 2007): 57; Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 8, 15.
[1002] Stereophonics, quoted in Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 15.
[1003] Phil Bennett, quoted in Rees, *Bred*, 151.
[1004] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 80-81.
[1005] Rogers and Rookwood, "Cardiff City," 59.
[1006] J Richards, *Guide*, 41.

team every week. Twice a month we can go invade the English".[1007] For Sam Hamman, a former chairman of the club, it was a deliberate policy, and a way to establish Welsh identity and pride.[1008] Adamson again points to a social communalism in Wales, and said that at the end of the twentieth century it was expressed in its simplest form through support for Welsh teams.[1009]

Social patterns in Wales have taken various forms, and have morphed in different eras. As a comprehensive pattern of Welsh society, in all parts and from ages past, the *gwerin* myth of social and cultural homogeneity is impossible to sustain. Equally, in the light of cross-border hostility, it is difficult to contend that the Welsh are always an empathetic and tolerant people.[1010] However, there is a significant tradition of commonality and mutuality in the social imaging of the Welsh. It has been challenged by the individualism of post-modern and pluralist worldviews. However, a social pattern and tradition, of commonality, mutuality, and communitarianism, can be identified in its mutating forms.

3.6.6 The Implications for Mission of the Social Contexts

Howell and Baber suggested that part of the essence of Welshness was, "contempt for social pretentiousness, personal warmth and exuberance, sociability, love of music and near obsession with rugby".[1011] To whatever extent these current traditions are a legacy of *cymhortha, gwerin,* or socialism in Wales, and to what degree they influence a particular community, will need to be evaluated. However, contextualised mission in Wales must be responsive to them and to current changes, if it is to avoid appearing alien to the community it seeks to serve.[1012]

In communities that reflect post-Christendom realities, active social engagement will be necessary.[1013] Chambers' assertion, that "suburban religion" is the most common mode of religious expression in Wales, would

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[1007] Rogers and Rookwood, "Cardiff City," 60.
[1008] Rogers and Rookwood, "Cardiff City," 61.
[1009] Adamson, "New Working Class," 23.
[1010] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 80.
[1011] D. W. Howell and C. Baber, "Wales," in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950, Vol 1: Regions and Communities* (ed. F. M. L. Thompson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 354.
[1012] Chambers, *Religion*, 8.
[1013] Morgan, *Span*, 278; Williams, "Churches," 157.

seem to require this.[1014] Approaches to mission that are essentially centripetal, not centrifugal, are likely to show diminishing returns. Churches that rely on autogenous, as opposed to allogenous increase, will be hindered by their truncated networks.[1015] Mission, according to Chambers' research into churches in the Swansea area, will need to retain its evangelical message,[1016] yet, unless social networks are also utilized in mission, a ghetto sub-culture with an inevitable disconnect from the surrounding society will result.[1017] The success of Anglican parishes, that have already a natural link to their community, would seem to confirm this.[1018]

The necessary adjustments to a particular local context will be in relation to language, and the extent to which it is not only spoken, but also, in areas shaped by Labourism, whether it is welcome at all.[1019] In other communities the influences of anglicization, and the resulting fragmentation, even atomization, of communities, will be an influential social issue.[1020] The importance of a particular sport will also show regional variations.

These aspects of social identity, which according to Day have taken on a new urgency, will need to be considered, responded to, and allowed to shape a missional response.[1021] Expressing, and adjusting to, Welsh communalism and social mutuality will be an integral part of contextualisation for mission. How churches and their agencies participate in the distinct social milieus that make up Wales will have a significant bearing on effectiveness. Chapter Four will seek to identify how current mission in Wales has made this adjustment.

[1014] Chambers, *Religion*, 227.
[1015] Chambers, *Religion*, 213-215.
[1016] Chambers, *Religion*, 211.
[1017] Chambers, *Religion*, 195, 210, 217, 221, 224.
[1018] Chambers, *Religion*, 67.
[1019] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 90.
[1020] Chambers, *Religion*, 8, 212.
[1021] Day, *Making Sense*, 240.

3.7 The Political Context of Wales

"Welsh History

We were a people taut for war; the hills
Were no harder, the thin grass
Clothed them more warmly than the coarse
Shirts our small bones.
We fought, and were always in retreat,
Like snow thawing upon the slopes
Of Mynydd Mawr; and yet the stranger
Never found our ultimate stand
In the thick woods, declaiming verse
To the sharp prompting of the harp.

Our kings died, or were slain
By the old treachery at the ford …
We were a people bred on legends,
Warming our hands at the red past.
The great were ashamed of our loose rags …
We were a people, and are so yet.
When we have finished quarrelling for crumbs
Under the table, or gnawing the bones
Of a dead culture, we will arise
And greet each other in a new dawn."[990]

3.7.1 Welsh Political Aspirations

The geographical distinction produced by Offa's dyke,[1023] the otherness of language and culture, and the consequent awareness of a distinct *ethnie,* has for centuries produced a longing in Welsh people for political independence and freedom from English control. Wales had its boundaries and its social space, but it also aspired to be a distinct political entity, an independent nation.[1024] According to Morgan, "a sense of nationality is as old as the Welsh themselves".[1025]

Nations, according to Storrar, are "authentic, if ambiguous, human cultural institutions" that develop historically.[1026] According to Anderson, a nation is an "imagined political community", that is sovereign and yet inherently limited.[1027] As such, a nation represents a particular self-consciousness, by a particular people, and the notion is of relatively modern appearance.[1028] The modern nation-state arose as a result of the French Revolution, in the eighteenth century, and developed in reaction to colonialism.[1029] Nations share a common territory, economy, history, tradition, and culture, and the people enjoy equality, rights, and mutual loyalty.[1030] To these, sometimes subjective qualities, Mill, Shafer and Samuel add the need for an

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[1022] Thomas, *Poems 1945-1990*, 36.
[1023] Davies, *History*, 80; Humphreys, *Conversations*, 12; Ellis, *Wales*, 26.
[1024] Fowler, "Durable Concept," n.p.; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 47.
[1025] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 90.
[1026] Storrar, "Vertigo," 4.
[1027] Anderson, *Imagined*, 5-7.
[1028] Anderson, *Imagined*, 5.
[1029] C. B. Samuel, "Building a Nation," *Transformation* 16 (4 1999): 141.
[1030] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 49; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 6; P. H. Ballard and D. H. Jones, *A Symposium on Christian and Welsh National Identity.* 74; Jones, *Desire*, 18.

independent, representative, self-governing state, recognised by other nations.[1031] It is this aspect that has made the idea of a Welsh nation problematic, given its political subservience to England.[1032] The establishing of the National Assembly for Wales in 1998 was a step towards autonomy, but a full Welsh national identity is still an aspiration, with its long-term survival not assured.[1033]

The awareness of a Welsh identity, as a people, culture and geographical entity, arose in the fifth century when the Romano-Christian Welsh were distinguished from the heathen Saxons.[1034] A local ruler, Cunedda, has been described as "the father of the Welsh nation".[1035] The identity of Wales as a separate identity, however, was very soon challenged as the English sought to incorporate the Welsh as a part of their identity. Gerald of Wales (1146-1223), of Norman and Welsh descent, described how the Welsh were, "passionately devoted to their freedom and to the defence of their country: for these they fight", and that "The English are striving for power, the Welsh for freedom … The English, I say, want to drive the Welsh out of the island and to capture it for themselves".[1036] He also quoted an individual, known as "the old man of Pencader", who said, famously:

> "I do not think that on the Day of Direst Judgement any race other than the Welsh, or any other language, will give answer to the Supreme Judge of all for this small corner of the earth".[1037]

This supposed prophecy, of a continuing Welsh identity and location, became a basis and inspiration for much medieval Welsh poetry, struggle and defiance in the face of a strengthening English threat. For Carter, theirs was "a history of struggle".[1038]

There were brief periods of relative independence, if not security, in which leaders sought to lay the foundations of nationhood. The two parliaments of Owain Glyndŵr, in the Machynlleth area in 1404 and 1406, had followed the institutions of various rulers who governed some or most of Wales.[1039] It provided a point in history, or mythology, that later generations could look back to as a symbol

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[1031] John Stuart Mill, quoted in Jones, *Desire*, 100; Samuel, "Building," 141; B. C. Shafer, *Faces of Nationalism* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 17-20, quoted in Jones, *Desire*, 26-27.
[1032] Chambers, *Religion*, 1.
[1033] Hughes, *Culture*, 31; Storrar, "Vertigo," 4; Jones, *Desire*, 41; Fowler, "Durable Concept," 1.
[1034] Davies, *History*, 71, 78.
[1035] Evans, *Builders*, 11.
[1036] Gerald of Wales, *Journey & Description*, 233, 274.
[1037] Gerald of Wales, *Journey & Description*, 274.
[1038] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 264.
[1039] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 54; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 6; Davies, *History*, 145-154;

of lost freedom.[1040] However, it was the death of Llewellyn, the last Prince of Wales, in 1282, that aroused what Ellis called "a hereditary hatred of English rule in Wales".[1041]

Llewellyn's defeat was at the hand of Edward I, who, in the Statutes of Rhuddlan, initiated a policy of annexation, and a series of laws to make Englishmen of the Welsh.[1042] He worked on the assumption that the Welsh were second rate citizens, the "Wealh", foreigners in their own country,[1043] and banned them from the new English castled towns.[1044] There was an awful finality to these impositions, in which according to contemporary comment, "all Wales was cast to the ground", and after which the poets asked, "Is it the end of the world?"[1045]

Some thought that the prophet's hope had been realized when Henry Tudor, of Anglesey descent, won on Bosworth Field, to end the Wars of the Roses. Although Welshmen did well in Court for a season, it was not to last.[1046] Henry Tudor's son, Henry VIII, completed what Edward had begun in the Act of Union of 1535 and 1542.[1047] The legislation was particularly prohibitive of the Welsh language.[1048]

> (the) "dominion of Wales shall stand and continue for ever from henceforth incorporated united and annexed to and with his realm of England … minding and intending to reduce them to the perfect order notice knowledge of the laws of this realm and utterly to extirpate all and singular the sinister customs and usages differing … And also from henceforth no person or persons that use Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manner office or fees within this Realm of England and Wales or other King's dominions upon pain of forfeiting the same office or fees".[1049]

The Act sought the total elimination of Welsh laws, way of life, customs and language, and thus to destroy the Welsh identity.[1050] In the words of Humphreys, "Henry VIII was always a demanding lover. Too often his tender embrace could end in a kiss of death".[1051] The Act of Incorporation had a profound impact on the Welsh

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[1040] Jones, *Desire*, 70, 74-75; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 12; Humphries, *Fighters*, 142.
[1041] Ellis, *Wales*, 38.
[1042] Evans, *Fathers*, 239, 294-295, 305-306; Evans, *Fighting*, 68; Sykes, *Isles*, 274-275; Smethurst, "Contextualised," 11.
[1043] Ellis, *Wales*, 15; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 12.
[1044] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 33; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 69, 71-72.
[1045] Davies, "Preserved," n.p.
[1046] Evans, *Fathers*, 316; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 3.
[1047] Hechter, *Colonialism*, 110.
[1048] Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 47; Hughes, *Culture*, 53.
[1049] J. Raithby, ed., *Statutes at Large of England and of Great Britain* (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1811), 243-245, 407-408.
[1050] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 50.
[1051] Humphreys, *Conversations*, 110.

psyche and confidence, through an implied inferiority of language, society and character, in what Evans calls, "a chronic inferiority complex regarding this one thing, his Welshness".[1052] From the time of the Act of Union, the official policy of the State for "the dominion of Wales" was one of absorption.[1053] Despite these best efforts, however, Welsh identity, culture and language were not swallowed by England.[1054]

These historical events illustrate how Welsh political identity has developed in reaction to a dominant occupying power.[1055] This has produced a "siege mentality", and meant that national identity and politics have tended to emphasize differences with England.[1056] The political struggle has been undertaken from a reactive or defensive position, in contrast to an English mindset of assumed superiority.[1057] It is in this political scenario that Nonconformity gave a disadvantaged and disenfranchised *gwerin* a platform for democratic expression.[1058]

In contrast, however, the English policies of absorption also led many in Wales to an acceptance of Britishness, despite it being an extension of English identity.[1059] The desire to be anglicized, in order to succeed, resulted.[1060] Identification with Britishness was expressed as loyalty to monarch and empire, even to enlisting to fight and die in times of war.[1061] This divide reflects the internal differences in Wales in relation to identity, collective psychology and perceived ethnicity.[1062] As Williams explains,

> "Welshness and Britishness do not coalesce in quite the same way as Englishness and Britishness … The national question in Wales is more significantly influenced by the threat of an *external* concern, centralist rule, and the xenophobia is most acutely directed towards the English."[1063]

[1052] Evans, *Fighting*, 184.
[1053] Elias, "Political," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 233; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 139; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 3; R. Griffiths, "Wales," in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (ed. F. Heal, I. W. Archer, and P. Kewes; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1-3.
[1054] Jones, *Faith*, 384; Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 49.
[1055] Day, *Making Sense*, 232; Humphreys, *Taliesin*, vii; Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 6; Thompson, "Nation," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 236.
[1056] Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 15.
[1057] Davies, *Invisible*, 31; Rogers, *Thomas*, 12.
[1058] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 102, 174.
[1059] Pope, introduction to Pope, *Identity*, 9; Hughes, *Culture*, 42; Evans, *Fighting*, 27.
[1060] Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 13; Hechter, *Colonialism*, 109, 111.
[1061] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, xxx; Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 11; Day, *Making Sense*, 244.
[1062] Smith, *Wales*, 8; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 69.
[1063] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 70, 86.

3.7.2 Wales, England's First Colony

The events of Edward I's conquest of Wales, and Henry VIII's settlement, are central to all histories of the period. What has not been considered as fully is the impact on the people of Wales themselves, or the abiding legacy of English sovereignty. More recent studies, notably by Hecter and Glyn,[1064] have emphasized the place of Wales as England's first colony, and the first step in the expanding of its empire.[1065] These studies demonstrate the political, cultural, economic and psychological effects of these developments.[1066]

Wales was certainly regarded as having been conquered, so that when people objected to monoglot English clergy being appointed to Welsh parishes, the reply was, "Wales is a conquered country, it is proper to introduce the English language".[1067] For Price,

> "Even today Edward's I's ring of iron stands as a potent reminder of our colonial past. The Normans' castle building programme in Wales remains the most concerted effort at the pacification of an occupied country in European history."[1068]

As has been explained previously, the Welsh were being "othered",[1069] made to be strangers, *Wealhas*, in land they saw as their own, losing their distinctiveness, language, culture, and separate identity.[1070] The process left a sense of oppression and injustice, and a longing for freedom.[1071] The English colonialist was perceived by the Welsh as domineering, assertive, and arrogant,[1072] whereas, for the English, they were simply seeking to consolidate an arrangement that prevented strife and led to their prosperity.[1073]

The process of colonisation was initially by military might, but subsequently the movement of people further facilitated the process. The movement of people

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[1064] Hechter, *Colonialism*, 47-78; Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 5-16.
[1065] Davies, *History*, 225; Smethurst, "Contextualised," 15; Evans, *Fight*, 99; Betts and Williams, "Gender," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 97; Hughes, *Culture*, 9; Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 20; Price, "Colony," n.p.; Jobbins, *Welshness*, 24; Griffiths, "Colony," n.p.
[1066] Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 5; Price, "Colony," 2; Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, xxx.
[1067] Evans, *Fathers*, 341.
[1068] Price, "Colony," 2.
[1069] Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 16.
[1070] "*Dieithryn i'w wlad ei hunan;- pwy oedd, Pwy yw ni ŵyr weithian; Colli'r Iaith fu colli rhan, colli'r cof, colli'r cyfan*", Glyn, "Coloneiddiad,"31.
[1071] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, xxx; Smethurst, "Contextualised," 15.
[1072] Day, *Making Sense*, 221, 226; Jones, "Language," 14-15; Parker, *Neighbours*, 142; Griffiths, "Colony," n.p.; Thomas, *Cymru or Wales*, 22.
[1073] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, xxxi.

to "Englishries", in Edward I's new castled towns and larger areas of settlement in Gower and Pembrokeshire, displaced the indigenous people with planter settlements, both Flemish as well as English.[1074] These trends were for strategic rather than economic reasons, with a loyal Wales being a buffer against aggression from the west, although a supply of beef and wool was also welcome.[1075] With no national border to restrict the movement of peoples, immigration and emigration to and from Wales were inevitable, but the movement of peoples into Wales at the end of the nineteenth century, in the industrial era, was on an unprecedented scale. This was then followed in the twentieth century by immigration for retirement and recreation, with over 20% of people living in Wales at the 2011 census being from England.[1076] This made the Welsh-speaking heartland feel threatened, and led to the talk of "white settlers", annexation and displacement.[1077] The parallel with European colonial settlement in Africa was seen by Day as "indecent" because there no comparison in terms of deprivation.[1078] However, the fact that the parallel was made at all shows the colonial parallel had some validity.

The case for colonialist patterns of economic exploitation has been made in a less emotive way. Hechter's theories of internal colonisation and diffusionism used Wales as a specific example.[1079] Hechter argued that Wales was an internal colony of England, exploited for the latter's benefit as a form if industrialized imperialism. Using Marxist theories of deliberate under-development, he said Wales had been annexed, and held in a backward state, as a pool of cheap labour and resources.[1080] Wales was thus serving its dominant neighbour, and being held back in the process, in a colonial relationship.[1081] For Day, the reality of this arrangement was tantamount to "institutional racism".[1082] By diffusionism,[1083] Day saw a modernization process

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[1074] Price, "Colony," 2; Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *People*, 27-28; Sykes, *Isles*, 264-275.
[1075] Price, "Colony," 4.
[1076] ONS, "2011 Country of Birth," n.p.
[1077] Jones, *Desire*, 94; Davies, "Nationalism," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 180; Evans, "Class," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 139; Day, *Making Sense*, 227; Fevre, Borland, and Denney, "Nation, Community and Conflict," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 143; Humphries, *Fighters*, 147; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 76-78.
[1078] G. Day, "Underdeveloped Wales," *Planet* 45/46, (1978), quoted by Glyn, "Coloneiddiad,"10.
[1079] Hechter, *Colonialism*, 127-161.
[1080] Hechter, *Colonialism*, 6-8; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 79; Fevre and Thompson, "Theory," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 7; Day, *Making Sense*, 65, 68; Price, "Colony," 5.
[1081] Hechter, *Colonialism*, 133; Day, *Making Sense*, 60; Griffith, "Preaching," in Pope, *Identity*, 63.
[1082] Day, *Making Sense*, 61.
[1083] Hechter, *Colonialism*, 39.

in which Wales was homogenized to conform to England socially and culturally because of economic dependence.[1084] Regional differences were being slowly eliminated, to conform to dominant social norms.

Day uses the analysis to describe the situation as an "invasion" on "communities of the oppressed".[1085] However, Hechter's analysis has been criticized for its conception of class, its assumption of a one-way exploitative relationship, and because it ignores the lack of cultural homogeneity in Wales.[1086] In post-industrial Wales, however, there is some evidence to support Hechter's thesis: the scale of benefit dependency; an economic policy dependent on England; a poor region in a rich country; and even rail and road links built to serve England's travel to Ireland, not for Wales's internal development.[1087]

Hechter's views have found greater support in the diffusion effect on Welsh language and culture.[1088] Evidence for cultural imperialism against the language, and its associated culture, has already been outlined.   The homogenization, which Day spoke of, was further illustrated in the effect of British television, which Jones saw, in 1973, as transforming many Welshmen, gradually, into Englishmen.[1089] Lord also pointed to colonisation in Art.[1090] However, for Smith, the whole colonisation theory has been over-stated and represents "a historical fantasy blended with a socio-cultural myth". For him, cultures are never static, but inevitably changing.[1091] As with other aspects of colonisation theory, it is perhaps the perception, myth and imagined reality that has the ongoing influence.

For some, the colonising process ended with the Act of Union, when Wales became part of England, and ceased to have any real political significance. Its subsequent condition was a form of post-colonialism.[1092] However, for others, the process of decolonisation began with Devolution and the establishing of the

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[1084] Day, *Making Sense*, 58, 68.
[1085] Day, *Making Sense*, 65, 117.
[1086] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 79.
[1087] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 226; Day, *Making Sense*, 66; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 329.
[1088] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 79; Fevre and Thompson, "Theory," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 7; Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 9.
[1089] Day, *Making Sense*, 58, Jones, *Desire*, 17.
[1090] Llewelyn, *Sacred*, 12.
[1091] Smith, *Wales*, 7.
[1092] Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 20.

National Assembly in 1998.[1093] Parker's reference to a comment by an African journalist, that the "colonial mentality is more firmly entrenched in your country than in any other I have been to", may suggest the beginning of a process.[1094] However, the loss of empire, and England being only a small part of a European community, has led Williams to comment, "New insights are forming beyond the old perspectives of England as the conqueror, the coloniser, the exploiter, and even the big neighbour".[1095] Understanding the extent of a sense of past oppression in a particular community will be essential for missional adjustment to it in the twenty-first century.

3.7.3 The Emotional Legacy of English Influence

References have been made to the Welsh feeling like strangers, or second-class citizens, in their own country. The English were perceived as arrogant, patronizing and superior, regarding the Welsh as quaint and rustic.[1096] There had even been reports in the nineteenth century that the Welsh were "Africanoid" and "inferior" as a race.[1097] Regardless of the truth of the stereotypes, it was inevitable that some of the opprobrium would rub-off on the national psyche.[1098]

Dr Dilys Davies, a Welsh psychiatrist who conducted extensive research on the Welsh psyche, described the effect of cultural colonisation.[1099] She spoke of the psychological effects of colonial domination for both the dominator and dominated.[1100] Bohota speaks of a "decolonisation of the mind", a process of reversing signs of colonisation in mental attitudes.[1101] Many have enumerated the features in Welsh people attributed to post-colonialism,[1102] including a sense of inferiority,[1103] a lack of

[1093] Blandford, "Cultural," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 296; Price, "Colony," 1; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 88.
[1094] Parker, *Neighbours*, 142.
[1095] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, 24.
[1096] Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 16; Davies, *History*, 66.
[1097] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 33; Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 18; Jones, *Desire*, 103, 107.
[1098] Williams, *When was Wales*, 89, 92.
[1099] See page 104; Davies, *Invisible*, 42.
[1100] Davies, *Invisible*, 33.
[1101] K. Bohata, *Postcolonialism Revisited* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 1-2.
[1102] Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 28-29; Aaron, "Women," 5; Borrow, *Wild*, 294.
[1103] Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 25; Davies, *Invisible*, 38; Jones, *Desire*, 160-161; Morgan, "Long Knives," in Davies et al., *Welsh Society*, 209; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 20-22; Thomas, *Cymru or Wales*, 10, 20-21.

entrepreneurship,[1104] servility,[1105] self-deprecation,[1106] passivity,[1107] and low confidence.[1108] Gwyn Williams called the Welsh a schizophrenic people, and Rees said that they had "a bi-polar relationship with optimism'".[1109] Price saw the Englishness of much of Wales as a result of conformism and establishmentarianism, as a result of English colonialist pressure:

> "This is a typical survival tactic for a conquered people where direct challenges to authority are to be avoided at all cost. Instead we learn to be evasive, complaining to each other about someone else instead of tackling the person directly. This is how we earned our reputation of being devious and two-faced. We had to be."[1110]

Equally, Williams sees a reaction to English colonialism in the proletarian solidarity of the mining communities.[1111] Both are a response to a felt colonialism, reflecting differences in collective psychology.[1112]

3.7.4 The Roots of Welsh Nationalism

The collective memory of English conquest and assimilation has shaped ideas of Welsh nationhood.[1113] Welsh nationalism is not only rooted in these myths and tradition, but its agenda has also influenced the writing of history.[1114] According to Day, past events have a greater potency in Wales than present realities,[1115] and for R. S. Thomas, the poet, "… You cannot live in the present, At least not in Wales …".[1116] The writings of Gwynfor Evans, the first *Plaid Cymru* Member of Parliament, well illustrate a desire to use history for political ends, as well as seeing political aspiration as arising directly from those historical events.[1117] For him, "Nationalism almost always involves a reanimation of interest in

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[1104] Parker, *Neighbours*, 38; Davies, *Invisible*, 38; Richards, *Guide*, 26, 29; Ioan, "Dragon," 112.
[1105] Thomas, *Cymru or Wales*, 10; Davies, *History*, 418.
[1106] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, 9;
[1107] Davies, *Invisible*, 38.
[1108] Evans, *Builders*, 263; Ioan, "Dragon," 111.
[1109] Williams, *When was Wales*, 113; Rees, *Bred*, 151.
[1110] Price, "Colony," 9; Glyn, "Coloneiddiad," 25;
[1111] Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 79.
[1112] Smith, *Wales*, 8.
[1113] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 49; Jones, *Desire*, 69.
[1114] K. Gramich, "Narrating the Nation: Telling Stories of Wales," *North American Journal of Welsh Studies* 6 (1 2011): 1-17; Jones, *Desire*, 69; Smethurst, "Contextualised," 9; Morgan, "Long Knives," in Davies et al., *Welsh Society*, 202, 203, 214; Evans, "Iaith," 146; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 72.
[1115] Day, *Making Sense*, 258.
[1116] Thomas, *Poems 1945-1990*, 37.
[1117] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 407.

national history, which in turn deepens the sense of belonging and of roots in community".[1118]

The efforts of Edward I and Henry VIII became high water marks of the English threat, but other events have also added to a legacy of mistrust and suspicion. Welsh myths of having lost their English lands were not a real source of grievance, but threats to their remaining lands and freedoms were. Politically, Wales might be *gwehilion o boblach,* (dregs of humanity) on a remote peninsular,[1119] but it was the liberty of this land and people that Llewellyn, Glyndwr and the princes had defended.[1120] Welsh nationalism has seen itself in a direct line from such heroes, with similar oppression giving rise to a modern movement.

Political nationalism in Wales, developing largely in the twentieth century, was a reaction to internationalist socialism as well as British rule.[1121] The catalysts that turned an idea into a movement were the building of a military bombing school at Penyberth on the Llŷn Peninsula in 1936,[1122] and the drowning of the Tryweryn Valley in 1963.[1123] In these flashpoints in Welsh-speaking areas, the military base was built, before being destroyed by arson, and the valley was flooded to provide water for Liverpool. In both cases, objections were widespread, but largely ignored, and so triggered a wider movement. For Humphries, the Tryweryn event was tantamount to state-sponsored ethnic cleansing, and an exhibition of Welsh political servitude. The removal of an entirely Welsh language community "became symbolic of the cultural death-throes of a nation engulfed by a process of suppression, assimilation and exploitation".[1124] The Nationalist Party, *Plaid Cymru,* and *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* came to prominence as a result. Other events were then clustered around them in folk memory to prove a point. The *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision (The Treachery of the Blue Books)* controversy over the education reports of 1847;[1125] the clearing of Welsh language farms and community from *Mynydd Epynt*

[1118] Evans, *Fighting*, 142.
[1119] Evans, *Fathers*, 143.
[1120] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 23.
[1121] Anderson, *Imagined*, 5.
[1122] Gruffudd, "Prospects," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 160; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 14.
[1123] E. Thomas, *Capel Celyn: Deng Mlynedd o Chwalu 1955-1965* (Llandybïe: Cyhoeddiadau Barddas a Chyngor Gwynedd, 1997), 6-14; Pope, "Nonconformist Mind," 14; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 24, 93; Aitchison and Carter, "Regeneration," 175; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 381; W. Thomas, *Hands Off Wales: Nationhood and Militancy* (Llandysul: Gomer, 2013), 1-45.
[1124] Humphries, *Fighters*, 4, 13, 162.
[1125] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 62; Morgan, "Long Knives," in Davies et al., *Welsh Society*, 199.

(the Epynt Ranges) for military training in the 1940s;[1126] and the injustice of Dick Penderyn, Wales's first working class martyr, whose cry "*O Arglwydd, dyma gamwedd"* (O Lord, it is a crime) were still echoing a century and half later.[1127] They each took their place in a catalogue of perceived injustices and oppression.

3.7.5 The Development of Welsh Nationalism

Jones has suggested that nationalism develops through three phases, from an intellectual conceptual interest, to pioneers calling for it in a popular form, to the stage when it becomes a popular movement. For Wales, the first two occurred in the nineteenth century, whereas the third grew slowly through the twentieth century.[1128]

Aspirations for Welsh independence had been stifled by the various acts of incorporation,[1129] but, in the nineteenth century, a succession of Liberal governments, elected on a wave of Nonconformist support, put forward ideas of limited Welsh autonomy. The *Cymru Fydd* movement (*Wales will be!*) was founded in 1886 by Welshmen resident in London. Through the influence of Tom Ellis, MP for Merionethshire, a united strategy and structure emerged, but it faltered when South Wales Liberals withdrew support in 1896.[1130] Initially, the Welsh Labour party also accommodated demands for home rule, but as International Socialism increased in influence, and the south Wales valleys became less Welsh in language and culture, their policies were reversed.[1131] At the same time, however, that same rapidly growing industrial strength gave Wales a sense of pride and achievement, which, according to Morgan, gave a new confident identity. He attributes the "rebirth of a nation", primarily, to these factors, rather than to national culture or struggle.[1132]

[1126] H. Hughes, *Mae'n Ddiwedd Byd yma: Mynydd Epynt a'r Troed Allan yn 1940* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1997), 10-18; Gruffudd, "Prospects," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 161-162; A. Thomas, "An Epynt Shepherd," in *Hunaniaeth Gymreig / Welsh Identity* (ed. T. G. Williams; Llandybie: Rhiwfawr Writers Group, 2004), 63-66.
[1127] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 127.
[1128] Jobbins, *Welshness*, 126.
[1129] Evans, *Fighting*, 9-10.
[1130] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 56-57; Fowler, "Durable Concept," 2; Davies, *History*, 455; Williams, *When was Wales*, 229; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 32, 43-44, 95, 113-118.
[1131] Evans, *Fathers*, 426; Evans, *Fight*, 129, 140, 148; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 144, 153.
[1132] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 90.

*Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (*The National Party of Wales*)* was formed in 1925. Initially, preserving the Welsh language was the main aim, and Dominion Status, on a par with other parts of the British Empire was the preferred status.[1133] It was a party led by intellectuals that, as Morgan asserts, was "willing to be placated and to let its call for home rule be killed by kindness."[1134] By the mid-century, "Welsh nationalism seemed to be as dead as the druids".[1135] Support grew from a very small base in Welsh-speaking areas through the first half of the twentieth century, but it was the controversy over Tryweryn that produced a surge in support, and a first MP, in the 1960s. In the same period, the party changed in emphasis from its early cultural or romantic nationalism,[1136] to a more pragmatic, economic nationalism, which could achieve support in the non-Welsh-speaking industrial valleys.[1137]

By 2012 *Plaid Cymru* had one of the four Welsh seats in the European Parliament, three of the forty Welsh seats in the Westminster Parliament in 2015, and 206 of the 1264 local authority seats.[1138] In the 2011 National Assembly election, *Plaid Cymru* polled 19% of the popular vote.[1139] Morgan saw Welsh life as being re-invigorated by nationalism, and its place in national identity increasing.[1140] However, this political nationalism was only one aspect of a wider cultural nationalism.

3.7.6 Civic Nationalism

Since the devolution settlement, and the establishing of a National Assembly in 1998, a new civic nationalism has grown, bringing its own self-confidence.[1141] For Snicker, this was autonomism, rather than nationalism, but, for Curtace, the National Assembly might actually be "succouring nationalism".[1142] Ironically, the

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[1133] Fowler, "Durable Concept," 4; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 204-207, 386-387.

[1134] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 415; R. M. Jones, "Gororau'r Iaith," *Traethodydd* 160 (2005): 38-39.

[1135] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 376.

[1136] Jones, *Faith*, 41; Griffith, *Welsh*, 174-175; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 415.

[1137] Storrar, "Vertigo," 5; Day, *Making Sense*, 220; Adamson, "New Working Class," 19-21; Desforges and Jones, "Production," 30; Denney, "Social Construction," 161-164.

[1138] K. Edkins, "Local Council Political Compositions," n.p. [cited 08.03.2013]. Online: http://www.gwydir.demon.co.uk/uklocalgov/makeup.htm.

[1139] National Assembly for Wales, "National Assembly for Wales Elections (Constituency) 2011 - Thursday, 5 May 2011," n.p. [cited 08.03.2013]. Online: http://www.senedd.assemblywales.org/mgElectionResults.aspx?ID=3.

[1140] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 408-409, 413-418.

[1141] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, 186; Day, *Making Sense*, 219, 253, 255; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 87-88; Williams, "Welsh Modernism," in Brooker et al., *Modernisms*, 3.

[1142] J. Curtace, "Is Devolution Succouring Nationalism," *Contemporary Wales* 14 (2001): 81-82.

process represented a Cymricization through politics and education, by a British Conservative and Unionist Party.[1143] It was, in part, a response to a perceived "democratic deficit", that, for Williams, was to "pull Wales out of the British way of thinking", and led to policies deliberately different to England.[1144] The lack of civil institutions had been seen as a significant lack in Welsh nationhood, but, through the twentieth century, they were established in Wales in increasing number.[1145] They developed on an incremental basis from about 1870, based on the social and economic changes taking place at the time.[1146] They include the National Library,[1147] the National Museum,[1148] the Welsh universities, following Aberystwyth in 1893,[1149] the national anthem,[1150] the BBC's Welsh region,[1151] Cardiff being made the national capital, by London, in 1955,[1152] the Welsh Office in 1964,[1153] S4C in 1982,[1154] the Welsh Medium Education and the Language Act,[1155] and the National Assembly building itself.[1156]

These institutions, along with sporting, musical and artistic icons,[1157] and new law-making powers,[1158] represent a distinct national context that is decidedly distinct from England. The progress has been incremental but rapid. A new and confident Wales has emerged, that Carter describes as a "rising and revived Welshness".[1159]

This section, on the political aspirations that shape the contexts of Wales, has shown the roots of Welsh political aspiration, and traced a gradual but continuous

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[1143] Snicker, "Strategies," 140-153.
[1144] Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, 237, 309; Williams, "Passports," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 88.
[1145] R. Davies, "Banal Britishness and Reconstituted Welshness: The Politics of National Identities in Wales," *Contemporary Wales* 18 (2006): 106-121; Anderson, *Imagined*, 178-185; Davies, *History*, 398; Williams, *Who Speaks for Wales*, 191-192; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 92-93, 416.
[1146] Fowler, "Durable Concept," 2.
[1147] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 57; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 98; Jones, "Beyond Identity," 353.
[1148] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 353; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 121; Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 60, 62.
[1149] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 57; Jones, "Beyond Identity," 353.
[1150] Davies, *History*, 417.
[1151] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 355; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 121; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 378.
[1152] H. Thomas, "Spatial Restructuring in the Capital: Struggles to Shape Cardiff's Built Environment," in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (ed. R. Fevre and A. Thompson; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 172.
[1153] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 353; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 98; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 334, 358-359.
[1154] Jones, "Beyond Identity," 355; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 93, 121.
[1155] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 95, 97.
[1156] Adamson, "Intellectual," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 88; Desforges and Jones, "Production," 27-28.
[1157] Davies, "National Identities," 106-121; Carter, *Against the Odds*, 100, 121; 372-373.
[1158] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 143.
[1159] Carter, *Against the Odds*, 145.

development of political, economic and cultural nationalism since the end of the nineteenth century. These developments have, however, not been the aspiration of every Welsh person. The vote to establish the National Assembly in 1997 was only won by the narrowest of margins, the Internationalist connections of Labourism opposed nationalism, and the areas of Wales with a high British identity look to the United Kingdom for their political identity.[1160] Wales's loyalty to the Labour Party, as described in the previous section, being especially strong in the areas where the population was highest, has been the dominant political identity of Wales during the twentieth century. Nevertheless, as has also been traced, the rise in the popular vote in favour of nationalism, and the proliferation of national institutions, demonstrates a changing and increasingly confident nationally-minded context. Whether, or not, this leads to full political independence in the future, the degree of sympathy for nationalist aspiration in an area will be a significant factor in understanding the context.

3.7.7   The Implications for Mission of the Political Context

Christian involvement in political activism, as an expression of mission is contested in an increasingly secular and post-Christendom culture.[1161] The Church's prophetic voice may be more and more from the margins in British and Welsh Wales.   However, Welsh nationalism was founded by people of Christian conviction, and leaders of *Plaid Cymru,* and *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* in the twenty-first century, have been Christians or people very sympathetic to Christian convictions.[1162] As with other aspects of the Welsh contexts, political activism in mission will depend on context. What is certain, however, is that whether nationalist or socialist, as Morgan asserts, "The Welsh are, and have long been, an intensely political nation".[1163]

Balsom's division of Wales sociologically, into y Fro Gymraeg, Welsh Wales and British Wales, is reflected in the political map of Wales.[1164] *Plaid Cymru*'s support

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[1160] Elias, "Political," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 232-244.

[1161] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 164, 170.

[1162] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 204-207; Williams, "Churches," 151; P. H. Ballard and D. H. Jones, *A Symposium on Christian and Welsh National Identity.* 96; M. Machreth, "Ethnicity in the Mission of God," n.p. [cited 08.03.2013]. Online: http://www.lausanne.org/en/video/1337-ethnicity-in-the-mission-of-god-paper-1-menna-machreth.html; Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, "Menna Machreth to become new Chair of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg," n.p. [cited 08.03.2013]. Online: http://archif.cymdeithas.org/2008/10/21/menna_machreth_to_become_new_chair_of_cymdeithas_yr_iaith_gymraeg.html.

[1163] Morgan, *Rebirth*, 26.

[1164] Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 28-31; 215-239.

is strongest in *y Fro Gymraeg*, the Labour Party in Welsh Wales, and the Conservative Party in British Wales.[1165] In the North and West Englishness and Britishness is more likely to be seen as "the chief author of evil",[1166] whereas in the East the population would be sympathetic to Britishness. Christian mission will need to be responsive to these realities. Englishness in mission, in terms of the language used, leadership, programmes and culture, will have to be introduced sensitively, if at all, in *y Fro Gymraeg* and Welsh Wales, lest the approaches used, and the people, are perceived as a further expression of colonialism.

Equally, those involved in mission who are from, and living in, Welsh language communities, whose Welshess has been diluted by inward migration, will need to avoid anti-Englishness. This according to Dafydd Iwan, former President of *Plaid Cymru*, "becomes blatant racism".[1167] In the pastoral ministry of the churches, the call of Dr Dilys Davies to be sensitive to the Welsh psyche, in understanding people and their reactions or preferences, especially regarding language, will be vital.[1168] If as Fevre *et al* suggest, nationalism in Wales, in all its expressions, is closely connected to the community and communities of Wales, then respect for nation, nationality and its communities will be essential.[1169]

[1165] Elias, "Political," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 232-244.
[1166] Griffith, *Welsh*, 172.
[1167] Rees, *Bred*, 112.
[1168] Davies, *Invisible*, 42.
[1169] Fevre, Borland, and Denney, "Nation, Community and Conflict," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 133.

3.8   Reflection on Chapter Three

This chapter has outlined six aspects in which distinctives in Welsh identity and context can be traced. These, however, are not apparent consistently across all the regions of Wales, but, in fact, can be expressed in wholly opposite forms. Whether Wales was ever a homogenous whole is a matter of debate and myth, but certainly since English influence increased through conquest, culture, inward migration and language, to different degrees, the local expression of Welshness can change abruptly between adjacent communities. In fact, as Mackay suggests, support for Welsh Rugby may be the only common-denominator among Welsh people.[1170]

This is not to say, however, that Welsh distinctives do not exist, but that they exist to different degrees, in a variety of expressions, and with different degrees of importance to a particular community. Understanding a particular region or locality will involve a critique of the varying kaleidoscope of these factors.

In relation to the mission of Nonconformist churches in Wales, the religious factors will be the most formative and pressing. The legacy of the past is an ever-present issue, presenting an opportunity with some, and a hindrance to others. Geographical factors emphasize the importance of localism and tailor-made mission. Issues of ethnicity, whether inherited or imagined, raise the importance of racial sensitivity in determining the appropriate expression of mission. The challenges of language and culture will call for wholly different approaches in different parts of Wales. The social patterns will vary enormously between rural, post-industrial and cosmopolitan urban areas. The political map will call for an awareness of aspiration, which will be expressed in wholly different ways, loyalties and hopes. Each local context for mission will need to calibrate the nature of Welshness in each of these categories, and calculate an appropriate response and missional expression.

Chapter Four will enquire into how Welsh Nonconformity, at the start of the third millennium, is expressing mission in different communities in Wales.   The effectiveness of this will be considered not only in terms of how the community becomes part of the churches, but also how the churches have become connected to their communities, and whether there is a correlation between the two. It will then, in

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[1170] Mackay, "Rugby," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 2-4.

Chapter Five, be possible to examine each of the six aspects of Welsh context, to consider the main challenges and opportunities they present for future mission.

Chapter Four: Contemporary Approaches to Local Church Mission in Wales

This chapter will consider the nature of the mission of Welsh Nonconformity at the start of the third millennium. It will consider the objectives and outcomes in Wales of the different theological approaches to mission as set out in Chapter Two. It will seek to show their effects on the churches as well as on the communities they serve. Local church mission in Wales will need to produce numerical church growth, in the present and the future, if it is to be engaged in on-going mission. For some churches, such growth will be a primary objective, but for all, an increasing number of churches, leaders and members will be needed to instigate, resource and extend their mission. This chapter, therefore, will begin with an overview of the strength of Welsh Nonconformity in the first decade of the twenty-first century, where it is growing numerically, declining, and where its survival is uncertain.

This overview will be followed by a consideration of how the different missiological approaches adjusted to the different aspects of Welsh contexts, described in Chapter Three. This will seek to identify the nature of their mission and possible reasons for their impact. This will take into account regional differences, the influence of tradition, and the specific characteristics of local communities in Wales. The effectiveness of mission will be considered, not only in terms of how the particular community became incorporated into the churches, but also how the churches have connected to their communities, and whether there is a correlation between the two. It will then be possible, in Chapter Five, to consider the main challenges and opportunities the aspects of context present for future mission.

4.1   Welsh Nonconformity at the Start of the Twenty-first Century

The downward numerical trends for Welsh Nonconformity have been outlined in the previous chapter. Goodhew speaks of a "dominant narrative of decline" and an "eschatology of decline" across Britain, with churches demoralized by buildings that are too large for their current use.[1171] In Wales, these developments were evidently at a more developed and depressing stage, especially where the historic denominations were concerned. Jones expressed some optimism in an unspecified

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[1171] D. Goodhew, "Church Growth in Britain, 1980 to the Present Day," in *Church Growth in Britain: 1980 to the Present* (ed. D. Goodhew; Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 3, 19; J. Wolffe and B. Jackson, "Anglican Resurgence: The Church of England in London," in *Church Growth in Britain: 1980 to the Present* (ed. D. Goodhew; Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 27.

future remnant, saying that one should not be too discouraged, reminding his readers that his Presbyterian denomination had faced many crises through the centuries.[1172] However, his graphs, depicting relentless decline, give little grounds for such confidence.[1173] The media have highlighted the decline,[1174] along with scholars in the fields of theology and sociology who speak of an end being in sight.[1175] Those involved in ministry in Wales, especially in the historic denominations, speak of an imminent "*anialwch ysbrydol*",[1176] a spiritual wilderness, and of disappearing denominations.[1177] The land that was known as the Nonconformist Nation has now been described as "faith's barren lands",[1178] and as having "given up on God".[1179]

4.1.1   Growth and Decline Statistics and Trends

Such a picture is difficult to gainsay, especially among the historic denominations. In the Presbyterian Church of Wales, historically the largest Nonconformist denomination, 1169 churches in 1982 had decreased to 885 in 1995, and to 680 in 2010.[1180] In 2011, Brierley predicted 630 churches by 2015, but by January 2014, the number had already fallen to 599.[1181] 220 ministers, in 1982, had become 62 in 2010. Membership declined from 37,000 to 22,504 (-40%) over the same period.[1182] By January 2014, there were 51 ministers, with a large proportion approaching retirement. In September 2013, the Moderator of the denomination bemoaned the

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[1172] J. G. Jones, *Her y Ffydd: Ddoe, Heddiw ac Yfory* (Caernarfon: Henaduriaeth Dwyrain Morgannwg, 2006), 328-31.

[1173] Jones, *Her y Fydd*, 339-341.

[1174] Shipton, "Future bleak," n.p.; Pigott, "Times of change," n.p.; Fielding, "Welsh chapels," n.p.; Waters, "Churches and chapels," n.p.

[1175] Morgan, *Span*, 16, 20, 25-26, 37, 39, 46, 78, 253, 265, 277; Chambers, *Religion*, 1, 17, 72-73, 167-168, 201; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 87, 90-95; Murray, *Post*, 6.

[1176] M. Ll. Davies, "Eglwys y Dyfodol," *Traethodydd* 160 (2005): 230.

[1177] S. Bell, "Eglwys y Dyfodol," *Traethodydd* 160 (2005): 234, 239.

[1178] Hopkins, "Barren Land," 8.

[1179] M. Easton, "The Unbearable Sadness of the Welsh Valleys," n.p. [cited 25.06.2013]. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-23028078.

[1180] P. Brierley and B. Evans, *Yr Argoelion yng Nghymru: Adroddiad o Gyfrifiad yr Eglwysi, 1982* (London: Marc Europe, 1982), 32-33; P. Brierley, *UK Church Statistics 2005-2015* (Tonbridge: ADBC, 2011), 10.1.

[1181] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 10.1; Presbyterian Church of Wales, *Gofalaethau - Pastorates 2014*. 1-14.

[1182] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 10.1; Presbyterian Church of Wales, *Gofalaethau - Pastorates 2014*. 14.

fact that 50% of the churches were without pastoral oversight, a condition that has been shown to accelerate decline.[1183]

> "Over half the churches within our denomination are without pastoral oversight, and most of our full-time ministers will reach retirement age during the next ten years. There are many churches with 10 or fewer members, resulting in an actual congregation of two or three, many of them sad and lifeless, overcome by the thought that they will be the last generation of worshippers in their area".[1184]

The ageing demographic of the traditional denominations will lead to a rapidly accelerating decline in the next decade, as the last generation passes away.[1185] This will be exacerbated by the fact that many members rarely attend worship services, merely paying their membership fees to preserve a connection with the family's chapel, an icon of rural Welshness. The progressive reduction of those attending will draw the local church below the critical mass for its survival.[1186]

The Union of Welsh Independents, *yr Annibynwyr*, showed the same trends. 746 churches in 1982 had become 421 by 2012 (-44%), and 210 ministers had reduced to 76 (-64%), with a predicted decline to 382 churches with 54 ministers in 2015.[1187] Methodist churches[1188] had declined similarly with 553 churches and 100 ministers in 1982, to 208 churches (-62%) and 58 ministers (-42%) in 2010, with membership falling from 17,600 to 9,025.[1189] The United Reformed churches were 163 in number in 1982, but down to 110 in 2010 (-33%), with membership down by 53%, between 1995 and 2010, to 2,696.[1190]

The Baptist Churches in Wales presented a more mixed picture. On the surface, a 20% decline in the number of congregations between 1995 and 2007 suggests the same pattern.[1191] However, there are two Baptist Unions in Wales. The Baptist

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[1183] D. J. Gregory, *Human and Material Resources in the Presbyterian Church of Wales: A Social Survey and Analysis* (Cardiff: Open University in Wales, 1999), 24, 40; Chambers, *Religion*, 207; Gallacher, *Challenge*, n.p. Figure 25.

[1184] T. Lewis, "Trefor's Challenge to Transform Tomorrow," *The Treasury* (September, 2013): 1.

[1185] D. J. Gregory, *A Social Survey of the Presbyterian Church of Wales: The Churches* (Cardiff: Open University in Wales, 1997), 20-22; Gallacher, *Challenge*, TableA2 & 3 in Appendix 1. The average age of adults, recorded in these tables, for the main denominations in 1995 was 60+ years. By 2015, with no change in trends or significant additions in the 20 years, it will be 80+.

[1186] Gregory, *Social Survey*, 19; Gregory, *Human and Material Resources*, 20, 45-46, 137; S. Bruce, "Religion in Rural Wales: Four Restudies," *Contemporary Wales* 23 (2010): 299.

[1187] Brierley and Evans, *Yr Argoelion yng Nghymru*, 36-37; Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 10.2.

[1188] Known as Wesleyan Methodists in Wales, to distinguish them from the Calvinistic Methodists, now the Presbyterian Church of Wales.

[1189] Brierley and Evans, *Yr Argoelion yng Nghymru*, 38-39; Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 6.1.

[1190] Gallacher, *Challenge*, n.p.; Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 10.1.

[1191] J. M. Evans, *Churchgoing in Wales: Comparisons between 2007 and 1995*. 4.

Union of Wales (BUW)[1192] used to be a Welsh language union, but now there is also an English language Association alongside the Welsh language equivalent. More or less separate from the BUW,[1193] there are also English language churches that belong to the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland (BUGBI). These are either part of the South Wales Baptist Association (SWBA), or associations located in England.[1194] The two Unions, together, had 833 churches with 311 ministers in 1982, which had reduced to 515 BUW churches and 177 BUGBI churches in 1995. By 2010, the numbers had reduced further to 429 BUW churches (-17%) with 108 ministers, and 116 BUGBI churches (-35%) with 61 ministers. The proportion of ministers to churches, especially in the English language churches, was much higher than in the other denominations mentioned, reflecting a slower rate of decline, and, in some cases, clear evidence of growth. Welsh language churches, in contrast, experienced the same shrinkage and shortage of ministers as the other Welsh language denominational churches.[1195]

The English language Baptist churches have been affected by trends coming from outside of Wales, notably the growth of Independent Evangelical churches, Pentecostal churches, and those influenced or started as a result of the Charismatic Movement. The Independent Evangelical churches were responsible for the founding of new churches linked to various Evangelical networks.[1196] The Associating Evangelical Churches of Wales (AECW)[1197] had 56 churches in 1995, with 4,964 in attendance.[1198] In 2012, there were 57 churches, with 54 ministers and 2,893 members.[1199] Attendance was a higher figure than membership in the Evangelical churches, and the high proportion of ministers to churches may explain the absence of the decline trends seen in the older denominations. However, Chambers observed some evidence of ageing and declining congregations, and suggested that many may be but a generation behind the historic denominational churches.[1200] Other networks, based across the border in England, had a smaller number of Evangelical churches in Wales, but reflected the same patterns. The

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[1192] http://www.buw.org.uk/
[1193] Some churches hold a dual membership of both unions, and there are plans to join the two unions in Wales in the future.
[1194] http://www.baptist.org.uk/Groups/220625/South_Wales.aspx
[1195] This will be demonstrated in the findings of the *Waleswide/Cymrugyfan* Survey or 2012, to be considered below.
[1196] These developments will be outlined when introducing churches with an Evangelistic missiology.
[1197] http://www.aecw.org.uk/
[1198] Gallacher, *Challenge*, n.p.
[1199] n/a, *AECW Handbook & Directory 2011-2012* (Newport: AECW, 2012), 5-16.
[1200] Chambers, *Religion*, 9, 16, 56.

Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches (FIEC) had grown from 3 churches in 1995 to 25 in 2010, and the Evangelical Fellowship of Congregational Churches from 3 churches to 7.[1201] According to Brierley, there were a further 44 independent churches in 1995, that had increased to 48 by 2010.[1202] These developments in Welsh Nonconformity began, initially, in the early twentieth century, when groups left the denominational chapels following the revival of 1904/5. A second wave of secessions occurred in the second half of the century as a result of resistance to ecumenical trends, followed by a small number of new church plants in the twenty-first century.[1203]

The Independent Evangelical growth trends are paralleled by the growth of Pentecostalism in Wales, which also began subsequent to the religious revival of 1904. According to Brierley, the Apostolic Church had 19 churches in Wales in 1995, 37 in 2005, and 38 in 2010.[1204] The Assemblies of God had 73 churches in 1995 and 66 in 2010, although attendance had grown from 4,194 to 6,700 in the same period.[1205] The Elim Pentecostal Church had 29 churches in 1995 and 36 in 2010, although attendance had declined from 2,729 to 2,650 in the same period.[1206] Brierley gives a total for Pentecostal churches of 163 churches, 248 ministers, and 13, 507 members in 2010.[1207] It is perhaps a significant indicator of trends that the number of Pentecostal ministers exceeds the combined total for the historic Nonconformist denominations of the Presbyterian, *Annibynwyr*, Methodist and URC churches.

Concurrent with the second phase of the growth of Evangelical churches, the Charismatic movement in England began to influence and to start churches in Wales. From the 1980s, churches were begun on something of a franchise basis, by the Pioneer, New Frontiers, Ichthus, Ground Level, Ministries Without Borders, Multiply, Salt and Light, Covenant Ministries and Vineyard networks.[1208] Together

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[1201] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 5.2, 5.3.
[1202] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 5.5.
[1203] The secessions were explained in Chapter Two, and the planting initiatives will be outlined when introducing churches with an Evangelistic missiology.
[1204] Gallacher, *Challenge*, n.p.; Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 9.1. Brieley's figures for 2010 are questionable, because the Church's handbook for 2009 listed 20 churches in Wales, with 29 ministers. H. Boateng, *The Apostolic Church: Staff and Key Contacts Directory* (London: Apostolic Church, 2009), 8-26.
[1205] Gallacher, *Challenge*, n.p.; Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 9.1.4.
[1206] Gallacher, *Challenge*, n.p.; Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 9.1.6.
[1207] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 9.1.1.
[1208] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 7.1-4.

with other smaller groups and new churches, Brierley gives a total of 57 churches within these networks in 2010, with 85 leaders and 4,885 members.[1209] None of these networks, however, have any representation in Welsh language churches or communities. Their apparent Englishness, and the strong connections with their centres in England, would be considered alien in such communities. Other churches, of an Ethnic or African Pentecostal nature, have been started in a similar way, from outside Wales, totalling 18 churches, 30 ministers and 1,722 members in 2010, largely in urban areas.[1210]

The growth of the number of newer churches is a significant trend, which in many parts of Wales represents a renewal of a decaying Nonconformity. In comparison to the number of Nonconformist buildings scattered across Wales, they still represent a minority, but when the number of leaders, demographics,[1211] new congregations, and innovative expressions of mission are considered, they represent the growth edge of Welsh Nonconformity. This chapter will seek to show whether their approaches to mission, and any adjustments to the distinctives of Welsh contexts, account for their growing presence and influence.

In 1995, the authors of the latest comprehensive survey of Welsh churches spoke of a day when the number of new growing churches would exceed those closing:

> "The third trend is of a new generation of churches, from a variety of backgrounds and traditions, being planted since 1960. The numbers are small but the rate is increasing. … As all of these trends are operating simultaneously, of interest is at what point the impact of decline will be overtaken by the impact of growth."[1212]

It had not happened then, nor is it generally evident a decade into the twenty-first century. However, the growth trends described above suggest that the confidence expressed then is still valid, and that, after the fifteen intervening years, the evidence for effective and growing churches is clearer.

[1209] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 7.1.1.
[1210] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 9.2.4-9.3.4, 11.2.1-6.
[1211] Gallacher, *Challenge*, appendix, A2 & A3.
[1212] Gallacher, *Challenge*, chapter six.

4.1.2　　　The *Waleswide* Survey of 2012

In 2011 and 2012, the writer conducted research on behalf of *Waleswide/
Cymrugyfan*[1213] in the form of a structured self-completion questionnaire. It sought to
ascertain the nature and effectiveness of Nonconformist mission in Wales in the first
decade of the twenty first century.[1214] Nonconformist leaders from the *Waleswide*
database, with the cooperation of most denominational and network leaders, were
contacted by email, or by letter if no email address was available. The approach of
the survey was exploratory, rather than seeking to test a specific thesis. It sought to
ascertain the strength, growth and mission of Welsh Nonconformity in the first
decade of the new millennium.

4.1.2.1　　　The Structure of the Survey

The questionnaire was trialled with Nonconformist leaders on the island of Anglesey
before being revised and made available to all online.[1215] The format (Appendix 2)
comprised quantitative and qualitative elements. Respondents were asked to give
the name, location, language and denomination of their church or churches, before
giving quantitative information on membership and attendance between the years
2000 and 2010. This was followed by tick boxes to record how the churches had
sought to communicate their message and connect with their communities. Data
was then sought concerning the number of people added to the churches in the
period, and how those additions came about, again using tick boxes. Two qualitative
questions then followed on the contextual appropriateness of the approaches used,
and the nature of the Welshness to which they were seeking to relate.

From the responses received it is possible to quantify the current strength of the
different churches at the end of the first decade of the new millennium, their growth
or decline trends, and how they have sought to conduct their mission to their
surrounding community. The quantitative data on attendance, membership,

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[1213] *Waleswide/Cymrugyfan* is a church planting and strengthening organisation that works with all
denominations and networks of churches across Wales. www.waleswide.org www.cymrugyfan.org
[1214] The research was conducted by the present writer, who at the time was registering with University
of Wales, Trinity Saint David. Ethical clearance for the research was obtained and accepted by the
University of Chester when the research was transferred in 2012.
[1215] The questionnaire was made available using SurveyMonkey, an online survey platform, for twelve
months, ending in September 2012. https://www.surveymonkey.com/ After the responses had been
recorded, all information was removed from the site, stored securely and anonymised.

additions, forms of outreach and community connection, give insight into the effectiveness of Nonconformist mission in its various forms.

4.1.2.2 The Scope and Participants of the Survey

According to Brierley, there were 2769 Nonconformist places of worship in 2010,[1216] as compared with 3265 in 1995.[1217] With the cooperation of most of the denominational leaders, the Evangelical Alliance of Wales, and the Evangelical Movement of Wales, 588 Nonconformist ministers were identified, 386 responded to the questionnaire, and 283 did so fully. Thirty-two of the respondents responded in Welsh.[1218] The findings of the survey thus reflect the circumstances and views of approximately half of those ministering in Wales in the first decade of the twenty-first century, and represent the spectrum of Nonconformist denominations. (Chart 1)
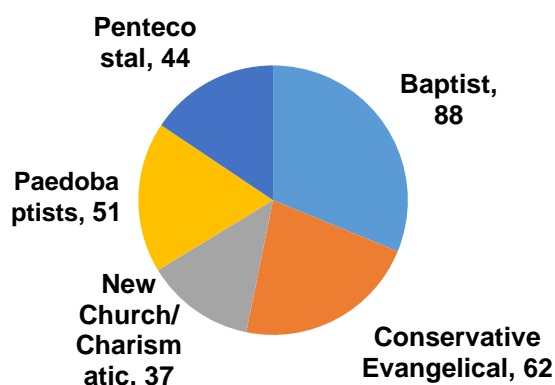

Chart 1.   The proportions and numbers of leaders from different denominations completing the 2012 *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan* Survey

The proportion representing the new networks and denominations, together with English-speaking Baptists, reflects the shift in growth and strength from the historic Paedobaptist denominations (Presbyterian, *Annibynwyr*, Methodist and URC) where the number of candidates for the ministry has seen a significant decline.

4.1.2.3 The Limitations and Subjectivity of the Responses

The questionnaire requested information that might be seen as reflecting the relative success or otherwise of an individual leader's ministry. Therefore, it is probable that those with a sense of progress or achievement would be more likely to complete the

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[1216] Brierley, *Statistics 2005-2015*, 1.2.5-6, 1.3.1.

[1217] Gallacher, *Challenge*, n.p.

[1218] Where questionnaires were completed in Welsh, or interview questions answered in Welsh, the researcher did his own translation of the material into English.

questionnaire, whereas leaders of declining churches might be less inclined to respond. The possibility of a resulting imbalance, or over-optimism, in the figures will be reflected in the conclusions drawn. The survey was also being conducted in the name of an organisation with an Evangelical profile. Two minsters communicated their unwillingness to contribute because of this, and others may not have responded for the same reason. The responses, therefore, may reflect a theological bias. Both of these factors would suggest that decline in the historic denominations, and the number of leaders leading declining congregations, is greater than the figures recorded.

In approaching ministers with pastoral charge of a church or churches, the responses do not include the hundreds of churches without ministerial oversight. The unit of analysis was the individual minister, not the local church. In the case of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, this meant that half their churches were not approached.[1219] Also, most churches in the historic denominations, especially those that are Welsh-speaking, tend to share a minister, and, as a result, knowledge of individual congregations may have been less detailed.

Information recorded of a statistical nature, such as for attendance or additions over the ten year period, will, inevitably, have been affected by any change of minister, and any inaccuracy in memory or records. For instance, additions to a church from the early part of the decade would be definite if people were still attending at the end of the decade, whereas more recent additions might reflect an assumed permanence of attendance. This may explain why the number of additions from outside the churches for the one year of 2010, which came to a total of 798, was proportionately more than was recorded for the whole decade, namely 3151.

However, when these qualifications and limitations are taken into account, the information received from the questionnaire represents the fullest enquiry into the condition and mission of Nonconformist churches since that completed in 1995. It gives a broad-based and numerically robust set of data with which to consider the nature and effectiveness of Nonconformist mission at the start of the twenty-first century.

[1219] Presbyterian Church of Wales, *Gofalaethau - Pastorates 2014.* 1-14; Lewis, "Tomorrow," 1.

4.1.2.4　　　The Growth and Decline Patterns

The attendance figures for 2010, compared to those of 2000, for the churches of the leaders responding, show that up to half these churches have grown. This is a markedly different trend from that described previously, and may reflect the reluctance to respond in the cases of non-growth.

Those churches which are growing are divided between those with marginal growth, and those which evidenced growth over the decade as well as in the single year of 2010. The criterion adopted is of at least five additions over the decade and two in the single year, the '5:2' churches, which gives some measure of any sustained effectiveness, at least in numerical terms (Chart 2).[1220]
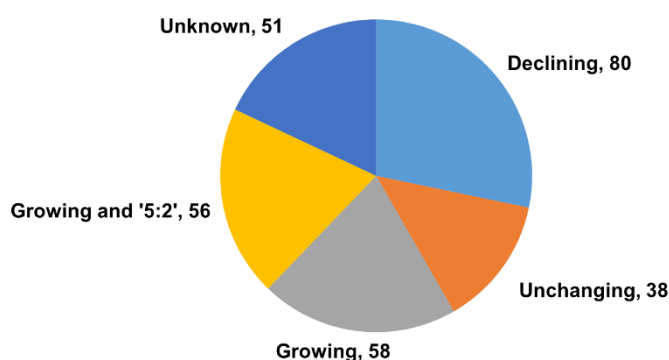

Chart 2.   The Proportions and numbers of Churches Declining, Unchanged, Growing, or Growing '5:2'

The additions recorded during the decade and the single year are divided between those who had professed faith in Christ from within a church community, the *internal converts*, and *external converts* who have been added from outside a church community.[1221] The data shows more growth from outside the churches than from within, which is an encouraging feature for hopes of future survival. However, the proportion being added to Welsh churches is small, especially those coming from outside the church community. New additions to the worshipping community in Welsh-language churches, for the most part, are internal, in that they were already members of the churches, but previously non-attending. The additions to bi-lingual

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[1220] The threshold was set low because so few churches were seeing any additions, and even fewer were experiencing growth greater than 5:2. The two figures were used to show additions over a period, rather than sudden bursts. Such additions, however, do not indicate growth overall, as some 5:2 churches lost more members through departures or death than their additions through people coming to faith and joining the church.

[1221] Chambers, *Religion*, 213.

churches are small for the 10% of respondents who identified themselves as such, a fact which will be considered further in considering the appropriateness of such an approach for contextualised mission (Chart 3).
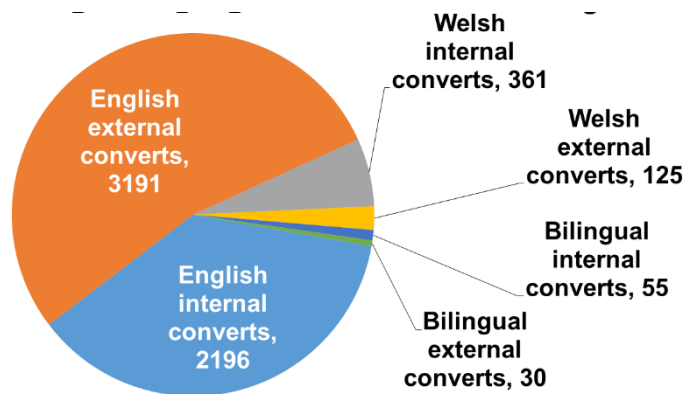

Chart 3. The proportion and number of additions from within and without the churches, according to the languages used.

The additions, for the decade and the single year, show an uneven distribution when compared to the proportion of leaders from different denominations completing the survey (Chart 4). The historic Paedobaptist denominations show lower growth, reflecting the number of Welsh-language churches that attract additions from among their nominal membership. The Charismatic and Pentecostal churches recorded additions proportionately more for the number of churches represented. The nature of their mission, and the extent to which it adapted to the distinctives of the Welsh contexts, will be a significant pointer to the existence, and significance for mission, of those contexts.
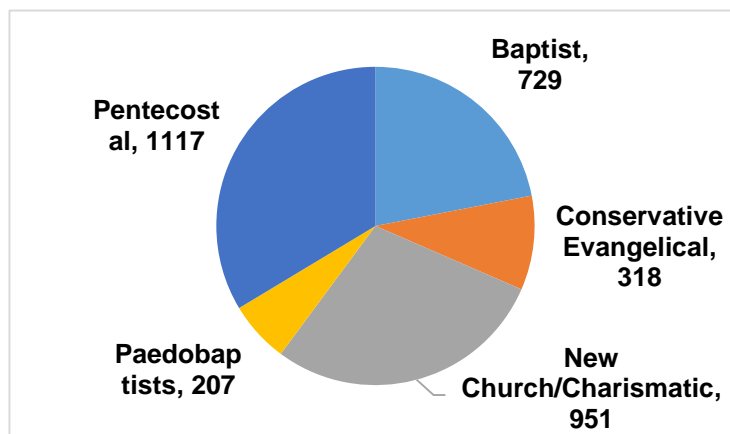

Chart 4. The proportions and number of additions in relation to denominational connection.

With 25% of the population of Wales living in the Cardiff and Newport areas, 24% in the Valleys, 22% in Swansea and the South-West, 7% in Mid-Wales, 12% in the North-East and 10% in the North-West, the majority of the growth described has occurred in South Wales. However, the churches that are growing according to the 5:2 criterion, were found equally (40% of the churches) in urban, Valleys, or small town contexts. In contrast, only 20% of churches in rural areas met the criteria (Chart 5).

However, this consistency was not found when considering the proportion of 5:2 churches in different regions (Chart 6). The research will consider whether these variations are due to variations in context, and the churches' adjustments to them.
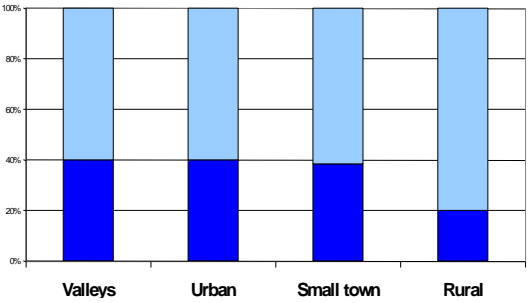

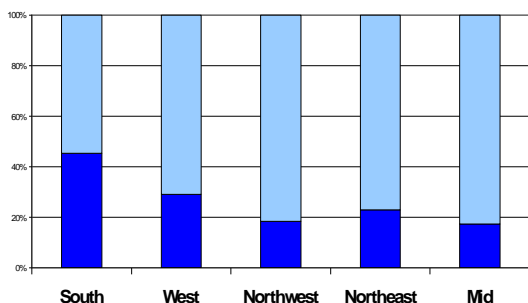**Chart 5.   The proportion of all churches responding as 5:2, according to location.**

Chart 6.   The proportion of churches responding as 5:2, according to area.

4.1.2.5   How the Churches Communicated their Message

The *Waleswide/Cymrugyfan* research recorded how churches sought to communicate their message. Various options were given, with an opportunity for the leader to record any other methods used. For analysis purposes, the options were grouped into four categories: communication through church services of some kind,[1222] through relationships and informal gatherings,[1223] through direct evangelism in the community,[1224] and through work with youth and children[1225] (Chart 7).
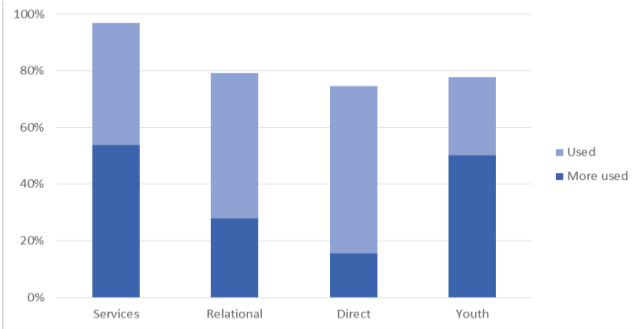

Chart 7.   The proportion of churches using one or more elements of each group of methods for communicating their message.

The responses show a continuing reliance on attractional, or invitational, methods, where a church building, and the services held in it, play a prominent role. Mission

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[1222] In the graphs and charts these are identified as SERVICES and includes Sunday preaching and Guest Services.

[1223] Identified as RELATIONAL and includes Christianity Explored, Alpha and outreach meals.

[1224] Identified as DIRECT and includes home visitation, literature distribution, street contact and preaching or sketch board.

[1225] Identified as YOUTH and includes school assemblies, holiday clubs and youth outreach.

focussed on a church's building reflects an orientation that worked well in a Christendom context, but has been seen to be increasingly ineffective in a post-Christendom or secular context. That this emphasis was still seen as effective in some parts of Wales would suggest regional variations in degrees of secularization. A significant number of churches regard preaching services in the church building as their primary approach to mission. These will be seen to be, predominantly, churches with a traditional evangelistic approach[1226] through which people are invited to come to hear the church's message. It will be seen that such an approach has greater traction in rural and Welsh language areas, where chapel-going still has a place in community life, be it on Sundays, funerals or other social gatherings.
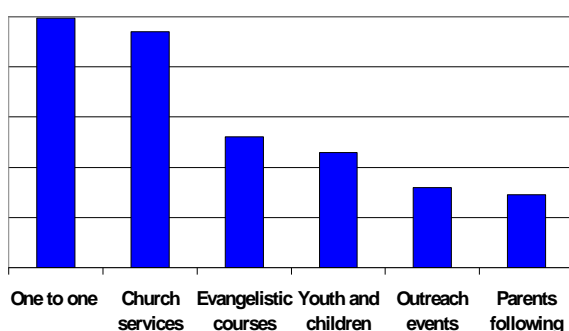

Chart 8. The methods used when individuals came to faith in Christ.

In the responses that recorded how people actually came to faith during the decade (Chart 8), it is not only the influence of church services that is evident, but also the greater proportion of people who came through personal relationships, evangelistic courses and events.[1227] This shows some adjustment to the post-Christendom context. If, as revealed in the *Tearfund* 2007 research, 72% of the population of Wales are closed to further church involvement, whether they are de-churched or un-churched, these trends in mission are inevitable, and will increasingly become the norm.

4.1.2.6   The Churches' Connections to their Communities

The leaders responding to the survey recorded the ways that the churches under their care were connected to their communities. Again, various options were given, together with an "other" category for recording any other approaches (Appendix 2). For analysis purposes, the options are again grouped into categories: those that

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[1226] Identified as E1 churches, see page 163-168.

[1227] "Parents Following" records the number of adults who joined a church after their children had been involved in clubs or Sunday Schools.

were related to the church's existing provision for its own members,[1228] the provision of a café open to the community,[1229] those that were related to the needs of families,[1230] the particular needs in the community,[1231] youth provision,[1232] or some kind of learning provision[1233] (Chart 9). Respondents were asked to record activities that had been used over the decade, and the two activities that were used the most.
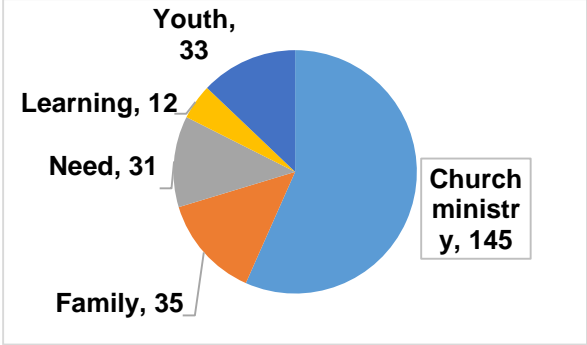

Chart 9. How the churches were connecting to their community.
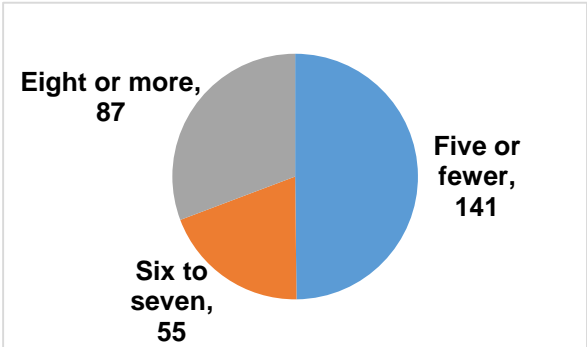

Chart 10. The number of the churches' connections to their community.

These groups of activities represent the mission of local churches as they interface with their communities. The fact that half the community connections were initially organised for the church communities themselves, and that half the churches had five or fewer connections, demonstrates that the churches' mission is focussed, at least initially, on its own people (Chart 10). The patterns reflect an inward looking, centripetal, mission, rather than an outward, centrifugal and missional orientation. This is exacerbated by the fact that churches without ministerial oversight, which might be even less well organised for such activities, are not included in this data.

[1228] Identified as CHURCH RELATED and includes activities for children, youth and the elderly, counselling and any use of the building.

[1229] Identified as CAFE RELATED.

[1230] Identified as FAMILY RELATED and includes nursery provision, parenting courses, and marriage care.

[1231] Identified as NEED RELATED and includes debt counselling, *Foodbank*, Street Pastors and help for the unemployed or prisoners.

[1232] Identified as YOUTH RELATED and includes after-school clubs, school assemblies, sports training or teams.

[1233] Identified as LEARNING RELATED and includes IT training, Literacy training, Welsh learning, and cultural activities.

The *Waleswide/Cymrugyfan* 2012 Survey also shows some correlation between the churches with more than seven links to their community, and those which are growing by the 5:2 criterion (Chart 11). The missiological approach of these churches, and the extent to which their approach adjusted to the nature of their community's particular Welshness, will give helpful pointers to effective mission in Wales in the twenty-first century.
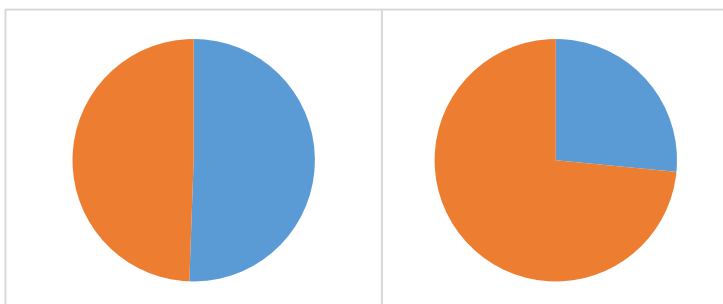

Chart 11. The proportion and numberof 5:2 churches [blue area] with >8 connection [left] and with <8 connections [right]

4.1.2.7   Regional Variations in Expressions of Mission

How local churches expressed their mission varied in the different regions of Wales. The fact that the majority of the population is located in the cities and Valleys of the South means that most churches were located in these areas, and, therefore, that most local church mission is expressed there. When, however, the percentage use of approaches to mission is considered for each area, underlying trends are evident which are not distorted by the number of churches (Charts 12-15).[1234]

Chart 12. The % of churches using one or more activities in the Services category to promote their message, in the various regions.

Chart 13. The % of churches using one or more activities in the Relational category to promote their message, in the various regions.

[1234] As explained above, each category includes a number of different activities. These graphs show proportionally how many individual activities were used within each category.
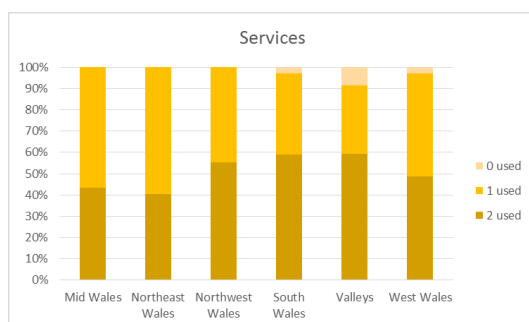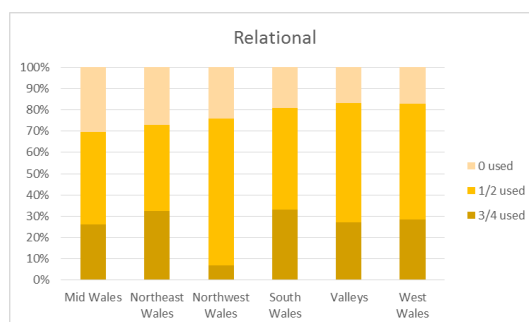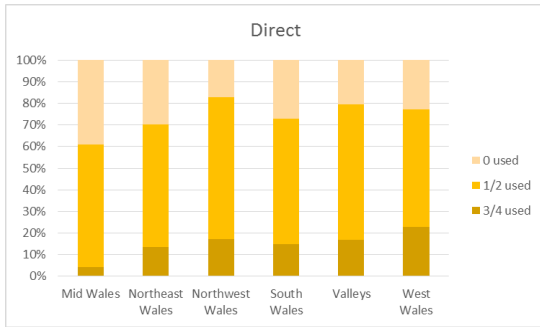
Chart 14. The % of churches using one or more activity in the Direct category to promote their message, in the various regions.
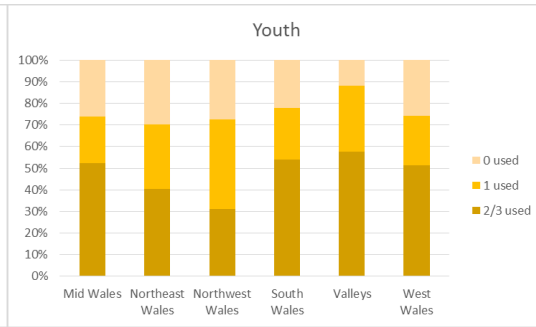
Chart 15. The % of churches using one or more activity in the Youth category to promote their message, in the various regions.

The North West region, where the Welsh language and traditional patterns of Welsh Nonconformity remained strongest, use fewer forms of Relational evangelism, and slightly more from the Direct activities group. The use of Services remains high, and because churches in the region have an older age profile, fewer forms of Youth outreach are used. In the South and Valleys, by contrast, all approaches are used, with slightly less reliance on Services and Direct activities. This latter trend may be explained by the greater community and social action involvement in the South and Valleys when compared with the North West region.

Chart 16. The % of churches using one or more Church Related activities to connect to their communities, in the various regions.

Chart 17. The % of churches using one or more Café Related activities to connect to their communities, in the various regions.

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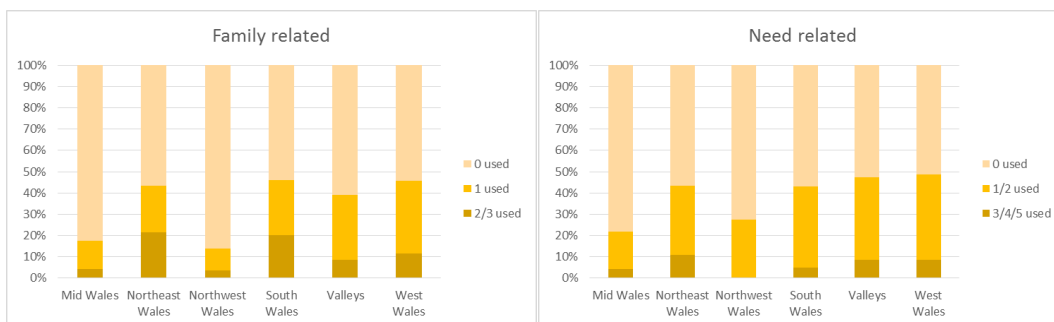
Chart 18. The % of churches using one or more Family Related activities to connect to their communities, in the various regions.

Chart 19. The % of churches using one or more Need Related activities to connect to their communities, in the various regions.
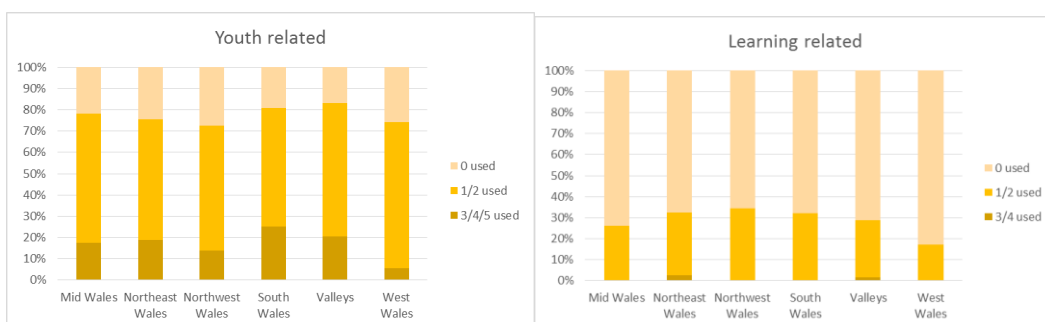
Chart 20. The % of churches using one or more Youth Related activities to connect to their communities, in the various regions.
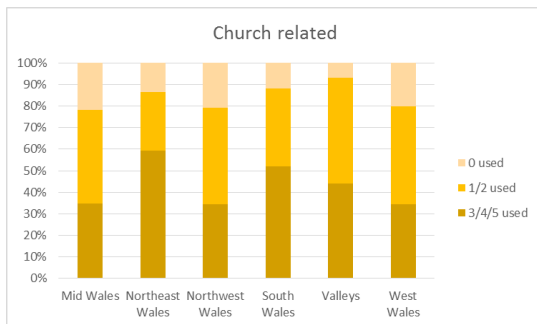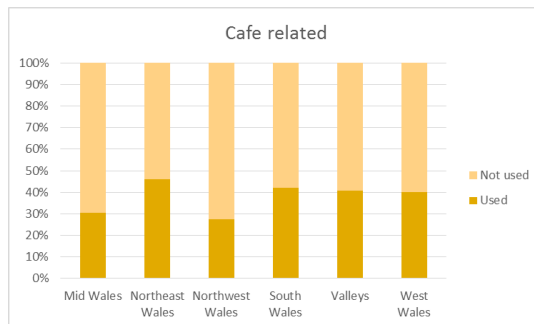

Chart 21. The % of churches using one or more Learning Related activities to connect to their communities, in the various regions.

The connections that churches have with their communities, for social action (Charts 16-21), show lower levels of involvement in Mid-Wales and the North West.[1235] In these communities, traditional forms of church and mission, linked to the Welsh language, remain stronger. This is especially true in relation to Church, Café, Family and Need Related mission activities, and less so for Youth and Learning activities where patterns are more consistent. These variations will be seen to be significant when the responses of leaders, from each approach to mission, are considered.

4.1.2.8   Subsequent interviews: format and purpose.

The questionnaire data was supplemented by 80 follow-up interviews with a cross-section of the questionnaire respondents to enlarge on their initial contributions. The persons selected for interview reflect the spectrum of leaders regionally, linguistically, theologically and in terms of approaches to mission. Responses were gathered in statistical, descriptive and narrative forms. In this way, the research was

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[1235] Churches may have organised activities, e.g. for families, within the church, which were not used to connect to the wider community. In which case, these activities are not reflected in these charts.

triangulated, using a variety of research methods and sources, to give as accurate a picture as possible, and to minimise the limitations, inaccuracies and bias of any one methodological approach.

As with the questionnaire, the interviews used qualitative and quantitative approaches, in a semi-structured interview format (Appendix 3). Because most of those being interviewed were known personally to the interviewer, particular care was given to avoid suggestion, direction or bias from intruding into the way the questions, and supplementary questions, were asked. The fact that the interviewer and interviewees were not strangers, however, did aid free, open and unguarded contribution of information in a non-threatening and friendly manner.[1236] The purpose of the interview had been explained by letter, and written ethical permission was obtained during the interview. Written notes were taken of the responses given,[1237] but permission was also obtained for the interview to be digitally recorded. It was stressed that the information given was confidential, and that it would only be used for the purpose of the research, and anonymised when being quoted.

[1236] Frequently, familiarity with the interviewer meant that interviewees diverged into matters not connected to the question, but which the contributor thought would, nevertheless, be of interest to the interviewer. These elements were not transcribed from the recordings of the interview as they were not relevant to the research.

[1237] The earlier pilot interviews were not audio-recorded, and for two interviews the recording was either not made or incoherent. In these cases the notes taken at the time were used instead. Each of the eighty interviews, together with travel and transcription, took at least three hours.

4.2   Patterns of Nonconformist Mission in Wales

This section will now consider how the six approaches to mission described their adjustment to the six aspects of Welsh context. A narrative approach will be used, in which their views and methods, often in their own words, will be presented as the units of analysis.[1238] This will show, not only how adjustments were made, but also whether such adjustments enhanced the effectiveness of mission.

4.2.1   The Evangelistic Approach to Local Church Mission

Chapter Two showed how the Evangelistic[1239] approach to mission saw the proclamation of its message, and the effects of that message, as central to the Church's mission. This is, primarily, a "heraldic" approach to mission,[1240] with other aspects intentionally, or unintentionally, consequential. Social or political action may be an outcome of such mission, and may support its purpose, but would not be regarded as mission *per se.*[1241] It has been shown that this approach to mission was the motivation for the earliest European missionary endeavours. Health, literacy and community improvement projects followed, but were seen as secondary and supportive of the main task.[1242]

4.2.1.1   The Origins of the Tradition

In Wales, the same priorities drove early expressions of local church mission. The efforts of Puritan, Nonconformist and later Methodist churches were primarily evangelistic in nature.[1243] Literacy work done through Griffith Jones' Circulating Schools was intended as a way to enable people to read the Bible and so come to, and grow in, personal faith.[1244] Nonconformist denominations in the nineteenth

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[1238] Elliott, *Narrative in Social Research*, 17-58.
[1239] In the analysis that follows, the various approaches will be referred to as Evangelistic, or Lausanne, or *Missio Dei* … leaders or churches or approaches, rather than repeatedly using the cumbersome phrase "leaders with an Evangelistic (or other) approach to mission" etc. The identification is purely descriptive, within the confines of this research, and does not mean that the label is one that the church or leader uses themselves in any public sense.
[1240] Keller, *Center*, 37.
[1241] Johnston, *World Evangelism*, 10-18, 176-177, 310-314.
[1242] See pages 13-14.
[1243] Tudur, *Harris*, 38-62; Williams, *Methodism*, 62-73; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 110-131; T. M. Bassett, *The Welsh Baptists* (Swansea: Ilston House, 1977), 13-33, 100-107; A. H. Williams, *Welsh Wesleyan Methodism 1800 - 1858* (Bangor: Llyfra'r Methodistiaid, 1935), 85-192.
[1244] F. A. Cavenagh, *The Life and Work of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1930), 5-31.

century did not prioritize their response to the material needs of the general population, except through political agitation over issues such as Chartism, temperance, education, Parish Church tithes and Sabbath laws.[1245]

Chapter Two showed how political and social agitation was taken up as a central focus of theological Liberalism, and became the central message of a Social Gospel.[1246] The elements of Nonconformity that retained Evangelical convictions tended to react against these trends and retreat into Pietism, so that their mission was solely evangelistic, and actually avoided social engagement.[1247] Chambers sees this trend as a significant hindrance to the success of the Evangelistic approach in Wales.

> "However, the continued health of Evangelicalism was conditional on retaining meaningful linkages with the general population and the collective move away from a focus on social issues to an emphasis on separation did nothing to help their cause".[1248]

Following the religious revival of 1904/5, and the formation of Evangelical and Pentecostal mission halls separate from the main Nonconformist denominations, this trend was accentuated.

4.2.1.2 The Emphasis of Evangelistic Churches

Sectarianism, partisanship and suspicion have been a feature of Welsh Nonconformist life since the competitiveness which became part of the rapid growth and prolific chapel building of the nineteenth century. The make-up of Welsh nonconformity is complex, tribal, regional and divided in practice by language, church tradition and theology.[1249]

[1245] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 159-197.
[1246] See pages 24-25, 37-38.
[1247] D. O. Moberg, *The Great Reversal: Evangelism and Social Concern* (New York: Holman, 1977), 28-42; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 211-228; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 242; D. Boucher, *Taking Our Place: Church in the Community* (Cardiff: Gweini: Facevalues, 2003), 10, 16-19; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 93.
[1248] Chambers, "Out of Taste," 92.
[1249] Tensions have arisen from different language traditions, the acceptance of English cultural and style, theological presuppositions, and historical denominational loyalties, regardless of whether these factors currently have a strong influence.

The Evangelical churches, especially those with a Calvinistic emphasis, tend to align themselves with the Evangelical Movement of Wales (EMW).[1250] The EMW became an umbrella group for churches and leaders who withdrew from what they regarded as doctrinally compromised denominations in the 1960s. Individual churches and leaders linked to the EMW may also be part of other groupings, such as the Associating Churches of Wales (AECW), the Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches (FIEC), or the Evangelical Fellowship of Congregational Churches (EFCC), whilst other Evangelical churches remain non-aligned.[1251] Those with origins in the early and late twentieth century have been joined by new congregations, particularly in South Wales, in the twenty-first century as a result of church planting networks and the initiative of individuals.[1252] These Evangelical churches are, for the most part, Calvinistic in theology,[1253] traditionally Nonconformist in ecclesiology, and with a reliance on revival, not pragmatism, for future survival.[1254] According to one leader, this represents, "a nostalgia to recover what was",[1255] and where "the periods of power in the past constituted the pattern for the future".[1256]

The EMW called for churches and leaders to secede from the historic denominations. The leaders that chose to remain, sought the renewal of their

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[1250] Brencher, *Lloyd-Jones*, 133; Gibbard, *First Fifty Years*, 28-63; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 272-274; J. E. Davies and J. G. Owen, "A Word to Readers," *The Evangelical Magazine of Wales* (Spring 1955): 1-2.

[1251] The EMW became more separatist after its main leader, Dr Martyn Lloyd-Jones, called all evangelical churches and ministers out of the historic denominations (Brencher, *Lloyd-Jones*, 116-141).

[1252] http://www.grace-llandeilo.org.uk/; n/a, "Plants," n.p. [cited 15.04.2014]. Online: http://www.valleycommandos.com/plants/ ; http://reformissionwales.com/ ; S. Levy, "Making the Gospel Known in Wales," *Together: The Magazine of FIEC* (Autumn 2012): 6-7; J. Stephen, "Introducing Valley Commandos," *Evangelical Magazine of Wales* (Sept/Oct 2013): 20-21.

[1253] Gibbard, *Fifty*, 130, 153; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 272-274.

[1254] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 272-274; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 175-176; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 175-176; I. H. Murray, *The Puritan Hope: A Study in Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1971), 107-128.

[1255] 06NEEE. Footnote references for all questionnaire and interview respondents have been anonymised, being given a number and letters to record their region, sector and the languages used. Regions include NW (North West), NE (North East), SW (South West), SE (South East), M (Mid Wales), and V (Valleys).
Sectors include A (*Annibynwyr* / Welsh Independent), B (Baptist), E (Evangelical), O (Methodist, URC, Church of the Nazarene, Salvation Army), N (New Church / Charismatic), P (Pentecostal), R (Presbyterian), U (Ethnic).
Languages include E (English), C (Welsh), and Bi (Bi-lingual). Churches using minority ethnic languages alongside English were included in the English figures.

[1256] I. M. Randall, "Lloyd-Jones and Revival," in *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd Jones: The Life and Legacy of 'The Doctor'* (ed. A. Atherstone and D. C. Jones; Nottingham: Apollos, 2011), 96.

churches from within the historic structures.[1257] Evangelical leaders remaining in Welsh language churches tended to make informal connections with each other, but English language churches and leaders looked for associations more widely.[1258] This was especially true within English-speaking Baptist churches, where the majority of leaders were Evangelical in orientation.[1259] The Evangelical Alliance (EA) was formed in England in 1846,[1260] and EA Wales serves as an umbrella organisation in Wales. Evangelical leaders and churches in the historic denominations, together with most Pentecostal, and Charismatic churches are encouraged to become members.[1261] Churches linked to EA Wales tend to be Arminian in theology, pragmatic in praxis and socially engaged in their mission.

The New Churches[1262] are those which were formed as a result of the Charismatic Movement, or because of their abandoning the traditional forms of church and ministry, in an attempt to be contemporary and relevant. The actual number of such churches is notoriously difficult to calculate.[1263] They tend to have their own associations, whether denominational or network, linked to similar churches across the UK.[1264]

Many Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, which are members of EA Wales, are also part of New Wine Cymru. This network is decidedly Charismatic in emphasis, giving a high importance to the miraculous, healing and prophecy in the mission of the local church. This network has grown rapidly in the twenty-first century, with local leaders' gatherings and training, and a national conference which was filled to its capacity of 600 leaders in May 2014. They also emphasize revival, but do so with

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[1257] D. C. Jones, "Lloyd-Jones and Wales," in *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd Jones: The Life and Legacy of 'The Doctor'* (ed. A. Atherstone and D. C. Jones; Nottingham: Apollos, 2011), 79.
[1258] Welsh-speaking leaders got round this enforced separation by refusing to align their ministerial fraternals formally to the EMW, thus allowing ongoing contact. Numbers of Evangelical Welsh-speaking ministers were so small as to make this arrangement essential.
[1259] Of the 88 Baptist Churches, or groups of churches, that completed the *Waleswide* Survey, over 90% were identified as Evangelical.
[1260] I. Randall and D. Hilborn, "Evangelical Alliance History," n.p. [cited 22.05.2014]. Online: http://www.eauk.org/connect/about-us/upload/The-Evangelical-Alliance_-A-brief-history.pdf; Wolffe, *Expansion of Evangelicalism*, 232-235.
[1261] Randall and Hilborn, "E A History," n.p.; Randall, "Revival," in Atherstone and Jones, *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd Jones*, 89.
[1262] A. Scotland, "Evangelicalism and the Charismatic Movement (UK)," in *The Futures of Evangelicalism* (ed. C. Bartholomew, R. Parry, and A. West; Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 2003), 278.
[1263] Goodhew, "Church Growth," in Goodhew, *Growth*, 12; D. Goodhew, "From the Margins to the Mainstream: New Churches in York," in *Church Growth in Britain: 1980 to the Present* (ed. D. Goodhew; Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 182-191.
[1264] These include the networks of Pioneer, New Frontiers, Ichthus, Ground Level, Ministries Without Borders, Multiply, Salt and Light, Covenant Ministries, or Vineyard.

a present not merely a future expectation. They teach and expect an immediacy of the miraculous signs of the kingdom of God, through the working of the Holy Spirit.[1265]

These strands of Evangelical, denominational, and Pentecostal / Charismatic Christianity, often operate quite separately, with a degree of mutual distrust. Their theological orientation, whether Calvinistic or Arminian, is reflected in their alignment to EMW or EA Wales. However, this alignment also reflects their position in the spectrum of Evangelistic approach to mission, from proclamation only (E1), to social action as a means to proclamation (E2), to social action as a parallel aspect of the gospel's good news. This latter category is the approach of the Lausanne movement, and, though a movement within Evangelicalism, it will be considered later in this chapter because it represents a combination of two different missiological approaches.[1266]

4.2.1.3 Evangelistic Approaches to Mission

The questionnaire and interview responses of leaders with an Evangelistic approach to local church mission will now be considered. The leaders' general comments on the nature of the various contexts, that the churches were adjusting to, will be included in this first sub-section. These aspects were, largely, a constant for all the different approaches to mission, and, therefore, will not be restated at length when considering subsequent approaches, unless the respondents add additional insights.

Churches and leaders who practiced the heraldic approach to mission (E1) emphasized the priority of preaching the gospel, either orally or by literature. They did not give priority to social action, often associating it with the Social Gospel of

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[1265] Morphew, *Breakthrough*, 149-187; J Wimber, *Power Evangelism: Signs and Wonders Today* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), 28-60; B. Johnson, *When Heaven Invades Earth* (Shippensburg: Destiny Image, 2003), 57-77.

[1266] In order to identify their primary approach to mission, leaders were asked to choose one of the following options. A and B were to indicate an Evangelistic approach to mission, with or without some social action, C as Lausanne, D as *Missio Dei*, E as Emergent, and F as reflecting a Liberal approach to local church mission:

A.   Churches should stick to making the gospel known, and not get involved in social action.
B.   Social action is supportive evidence, or a result, of the gospel message.
C.   God wants social action as well as the gospel message.
D.   Social action is as important as the gospel message, and separate from it.
E.   Do social action, and people will see the message.
F.   The church should commit to social action as its primary message.

theological Liberalism.[1267] One leader expressed the essence of this approach:

> "We believe that broadly the biblically-mandated and time-honoured means of preaching, personal conversation, pastoral visitation, together with the consistent godly living of the membership, backed by prayer, are most likely to be honoured by the Sovereign Lord in a day of spiritual famine."[1268]

Their proclamation would normally be centred on the church building, usually in a Sunday service. Such methods reflect an attractional approach to mission, where people are invited to hear a message, and to respond to it personally.[1269] Such preaching might be supplemented by services or preaching in the open-air, street conversations of an evangelistic nature, or systematic home visitation, but without social action.[1270]

The E1 approach often reflects underlying Calvinistic theological assumptions, where mission is driven by a conservativism based on biblical precedence, rather than activism or pragmatism:

> "It is also fair to say that our strong Calvinistic convictions lead us to believe that evangelism must begin in the prayer meeting, as regeneration is the work of God alone, and without it no one will repent and believe. Every conversion is a miracle … We rejoice when we see conversions but we do not get anxious when a year or two goes by without a conversion, neither do we change our basic approach."[1271]

One leader saw all the evangelistic missions of the previous century as ineffective, being "the quick fix of unbiblical novelties".[1272] This view may reflect the reliance on revival described earlier. Another leader expressed a reluctance to be involved in community engagement in order to distinguish the present church from its theologically Liberal past.[1273] This E1 approach continued practices that had been effective for generations, expecting that this would still be the case: "preaching the Old Time Gospel Message with none of the modern methods!"[1274] The tried and tested methods were "the pattern set down in Scripture, and that, as such, it is effective in every cultural context."[1275]

Such approaches to mission in E1 churches in Wales were strongly influenced by the teaching and example of Dr Martyn Lloyd-Jones, a former Harley Street medical

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[1267] Moberg, *Great Reversal*, 20-22; Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 52, 59; 26 NEEE.
[1268] 177NEEE.
[1269] 114SENE, 221SEEE, 312NWEE.
[1270] 111SWBC, 80SWEE.
[1271] 104SWEE.
[1272] 169VEE.
[1273] 113VEE.
[1274] 250NPE.
[1275] 130VEE.

consultant who became a minister in Port Talbot before moving to Westminster Chapel in London. Whilst in Port Talbot,[1276] and later in Westminster,[1277] he phased out the church's social programmes, concentrating on evangelistic preaching. He taught that it was the responsibility of the local church to save souls, for which religious revivals were a vital factor and need.[1278] In these, and other aspects, his thinking was of "foundational importance to what was eventually to become the Evangelical Movement of Wales",[1279] and widely formative for the missiological direction of E1 churches.

Such patterns, however, could become unimaginative, and even discouraging for the members of the church. One church "always found it difficult to visit new people in their homes", and found personal invitations a difficult thing to get people to do.[1280] As a result, some E1 leaders had begun to make adjustments within this approach, seeking to make church services more accessible, but maintaining a mission approach that was attractional in nature. Community contact was a preparation for church attendance:

> "We are currently going through a period of change… The first stage of this change is to adapt our morning services so that they are more accessible to unchurched people and our own members/attenders have the confidence to invite people along. Alongside this we are looking to equip our members/ attenders to share their faith in their workplaces etc. because we are recognising that today to get the gospel out, we need to get out with the gospel."[1281]

In some cases, as above, there was a transition developing from mission centred on a Direct approach [home visitation, street contact and preaching, literature distribution and sketch board] to a more Relational one [courses such as *Alpha* or *Christianity Explored*, or a social event or meal with a speaker].[1282] As the nature of the community changed in one town, the earlier practice had led to a conscious readjustment:

> "We have attempted to adapt from a distant evangelism and 'cold contact' evangelism to relationship evangelism, because of the fact that 'cold contact' could work in a small town, because despite the fact that they might not have

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[1276] Jones, "Lloyd-Jones and Wales," in Atherstone and Jones, *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd Jones*, 64; B. Bailie, "Lloyd-Jones and the Demise of Preaching," in *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd Jones: The Life and Legacy of 'The Doctor'* (ed. A. Atherstone and D. C. Jones; Nottingham: Apollos, 2011), 168.
[1277] J. Coffey, "Lloyd-Jones and the Protestant Past," in *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd Jones: The Life and Legacy of 'The Doctor'* (ed. A. Atherstone and D. C. Jones; Nottingham: Apollos, 2011), 322-323.
[1278] Randall, "Revival," in Atherstone and Jones, *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd Jones*, 91-113.
[1279] Jones, "Lloyd-Jones in Wales," in Atherstone and Jones, *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd Jones*, 73; Pope, *Kingdom*, 126-129.
[1280] 97NEBE
[1281] 126SWEE.
[1282] 275SEEE.

known you in previous years [name of church] would've been a known church in the community, but now we aren't 'automatically' known or recognised, which means that we have no credibility, and they have no reason to trust us or listen to us. Therefore, our work is based on building relationships with people, and making sure that we let the people of [name of town] come to know us and trust us, giving us a chance to explain and give credibility to the gospel and the church."[1283]

Another leader spoke of the widening gap between his church and those in the community, so that the church arranged swimming and fun-day events, likening the building of confidence to that of a football team that progressed people from having no interest, to sending their children, to watching, and then coaching and eventually running the club. The local church had to take the un-churched on a similar journey. They had found that attendance through responding to invitations from members had significantly diminished, whether for a normal Sunday or a special event.[1284]

In some cases, the Direct approach to evangelistic mission had taken the form of a special mission to an area, lasting for a week or more. In 2013, the EMW organised four local church missions in different parts of Wales, with evangelistic newspapers that were distributed door-to-door, and various events to which people were invited. Missions of this kind were also conducted by individual churches and groups of churches, both Evangelical and Pentecostal.[1285] Such missions were common and effective in the Christendom era, where many people had some church association, however tenuous. They had sought to reach a nominally Christian population which was open to the possibility of an increased commitment and regular church attendance. The 2007 *Tearfund* research would suggest that such approaches would be less effective in the Post-Christendom Wales of the twenty-first century.

However, secularising trends did not seem to apply in all Welsh contexts. In some Welsh language areas, connections between chapel and community are still remarkably strong. In fact, the chapel is still seen as a cornerstone of the community. For one such church, there was no dis-connect, as the community still came to services in significant numbers.[1286] For them, it was the substance of the preaching, within its building, which was important for mission:

"To reach this traditional situation we are seeking to ensure faithful preaching of the word on the Sundays in each part of the pastorate … There is nothing

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[1283] 252SWBBi. This respondent describes Direct methods as "cold calling".
[1284] 01VEE.
[1285] D. Norbury, "What is Mission-Wales," n.p. [cited 22.05.2014]. Online: http://www.emw.org.uk/evangelism/mission-wales/; M. Harry, "Love Wales: Past Missions," n.p. [cited 22.05.2014]. Online: http://www.lovewales.org/2012-missions, 193SEPE, 131SWBE, 18SWNE
[1286] 25NERC.

particularly Welsh about this, but we are seeking to protect the Evangelical testimony through the medium of Welsh for a Welsh rural community … As Christianity has been such an integral part of Welsh cultural identity we seek to protect Faith's distinctiveness and uniqueness…"[1287]

When asked how the community would hear this message, the answer was unequivocally attractional:

"They would need to come inside the Chapel, so there is the need to maintain those services. We have a permanence, in the sense of 10 o'clock and 6 o'clock Sunday evening, and people would be aware that there is a service going on in Chapel."[1288]

The continuing relevance of such an approach in a traditional Welsh community shows that secularism and post-Christendom realities have not yet affected all communities to the same extent. What has been effective for generations still has some relevance in some situations.

The second grouping of churches with an Evangelistic approach to mission (E2) emphasized the proclamation of the gospel message, but were also intentionally engaged in social action. This social involvement was to be a support or bridge for the message, and to give a visual illustration of grace, which was thereby seen as well as heard:[1289]

"… we have attempted to create opportunities to engage relationally with un-churched people who generally mistrust the church and are resistant to the gospel.   In the light of this we have tried to communicate the gospel not only in word but through our actions e.g. community projects, kind deeds including debt advice and *Foodbank* services and furniture recycling etc."[1290]

For these churches, the social action is done to support its message, and is not separate from it. One leader described the church's policy as, "We just look at community needs and position our evangelism around this opportunity."[1291] Some activities, such as *Foodbank*, night shelters for the homeless, unemployment clubs, or *Street Pastors*, might not have a verbal communication in them, but, nevertheless, the hope and reason for doing the activity was to commend a message that might be heard on another occasion, or the activity itself might provoke a question.[1292] E2 churches emphasized the importance of building relationships at a personal level as the essential precursor to hearing the message being offered.[1293]

[1287] 25NERC(Trans). The contribution was given in Welsh, and translated here (Trans).
[1288] 25NERC.
[1289] Chambers, "Out of Taste," 92-95. 288SWPE., 259NEPE
[1290] 18SWNE.
[1291] 91VPE.
[1292] 151SWPE, 157SWPE.
[1293] 161SEPE, 162SEPE, 200VNE.

> "Everyone has come through relationships. …The clubs, social events, even Sunday Services, are not an end in themselves but lay foundations for relationships and friendships which must be experienced in everyday life to convince people you are genuine."[1294]

With the rise of *Food Bank*,[1295] an Evangelical organisation, this involvement has attracted the attention of the national media. The motives for the activity have been questioned, but the scale of involvement is not questioned:

> "There are increasing signs that evangelical Christian groups are using social action to detoxify their brand, weaving their charitable work into the fabric of people's lives. As the welfare state retreats, faith groups are increasingly supplying volunteers, local knowledge, and sometimes money to the places left behind… Church projects in Wales include street pastors, debt counselling, help for young offenders and ex-offenders, fitness classes, job clubs, and help for fathers and their children, as well as *Foodbanks* and projects to supply food for schoolchildren in the holidays when they don't get school meals."[1296]

Despite the relative differences between E1 and E2 churches, they both make their message the priority. They both seek to do mission in their communities as the way to propagate their message. Churches described as E1 and E2 form a spectrum from those who resist any social engagement to those where mission always includes social action, with varying shades in between. There were E1 churches which were clearly opposed to social involvement, but others were merely continuing traditional chapel practices that had no place for it in a local church's mission. There were other E1 churches which provided nurseries, marriage care, care for the elderly, hospital and prison visiting, children and youth clubs, but saw these as relating to pastoral care or as a church activity, rather than mission. Mission to such churches is solely related to heraldic evangelism, and quite separate from social involvement. The questionnaire, therefore, showed E1 churches doing some of these activities, though E2 churches did them intentionally for mission. Both emphasize the importance of the local church, which, as a credible community, is the main apologetic for the message.[1297]

[1294] 159VEE.

[1295] Trussell Trust, "UK Food Banks," n.p. [cited 21.06.2014]. Online: http://www.trusselltrust.org/foodbank-projects.

[1296] Brown, A. "How Evangelical Christians are using Social Action to Revivify Church Brand." *The Gaurdian* (18.04.2014): . Cited 04.06.2014. Online: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/18/evangelical-christians-social-action-revivify-church-brand.

[1297] Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 61-64.

4.2.1.4   The Evangelistic Means of Communication

The *Waleswide* 2012 Survey asked leaders to confirm how their church or churches sought to communicate their message through identifying the methods used, and the two "most used". They were also asked through what means people had actually come to faith and been added to the church. When grouped into the categories explained earlier, there were small yet significant differences between E1 and E2.[1298]
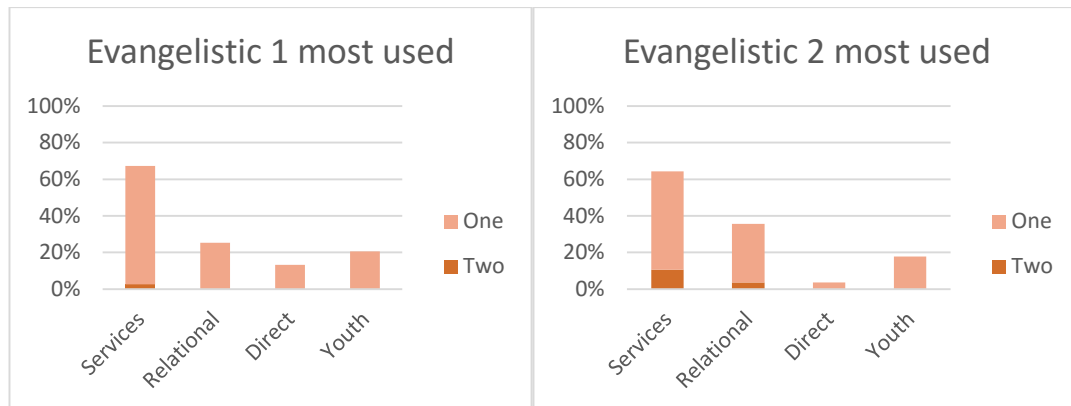
Chart 22. The evangelism methods, and how many from each category were "most used" by E1 churches.

Chart 23. The evangelism methods, and how many from each category were "most used" by E2 churches.

Both approaches used church services to convey their message as one of their "most used" activities, but E2 churches tended to use both Sunday services and guest services more.[1299] E1 churches made greater use of Direct approaches to mission, whereas E2 had a greater use of Relational approaches, sometimes with two methods in the group used.

When asked by what means people had actually come to faith (Charts 24-25), the picture was more varied, but the patterns were the same. E1 churches saw the greatest number of people coming to faith through preaching, their priority approach. E2 churches, however, saw the greatest number coming through relational contact, and more people coming through all the other categories.

[1298] It was decided not to include some options in the categories: 'local mission' because it might duplicate items already included; 'care home services' as they might be conducted primarily for members; and 'website' and 'discussion groups' which might not actually be used to convey the church's message.

[1299] The questionnaire asked respondents to identify, from the activities they had used, the two that were "most used". The darker shading shows the proportion of churches that identified two activities as "most used" from within the same category.
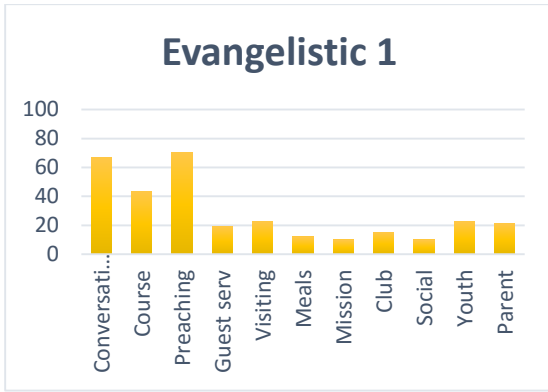
Chart 24. The percentage of E1 churches that saw people came to faith in Christ through the various means.
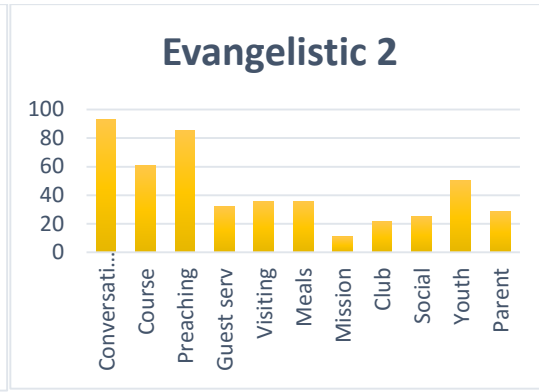
Chart 25. The percentage of E2 churches that saw people came to faith in Christ through the various means.

It is noteworthy that even in the areas emphasized by E1 churches, such as preaching, visitation, and mission weeks, fewer churches saw people added through these means than in E2 church mission of the same type. Less than 10% of E1 or E2 churches saw people added through mission weeks. These patterns would suggest that E1 churches were persisting with less effective approaches, and that E2's extra connections with the community made the evangelistic methods they adopted more effective.
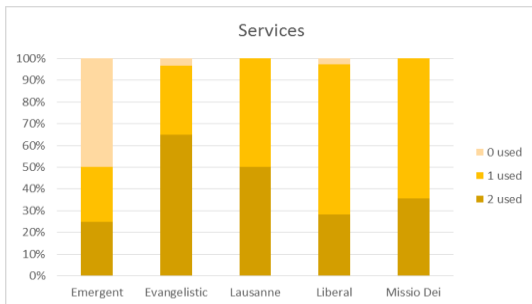
Chart 26. The % of churches using the Services methods to promote their message.
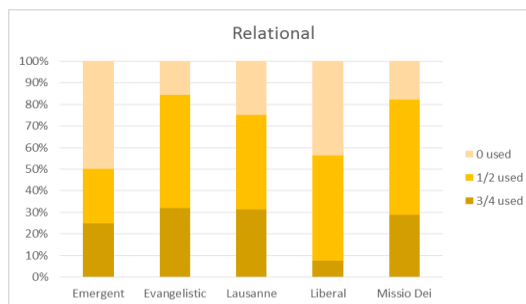
Chart 27. The % of churches using the Relational methods to promote their message.
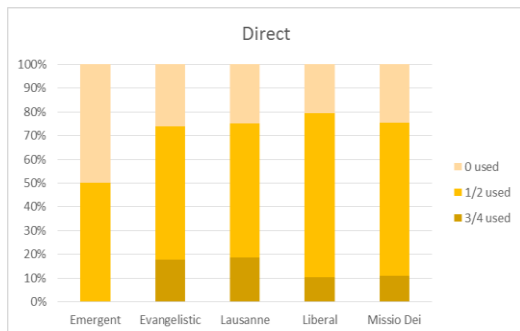
Chart 28. The % of churches using the Direct methods to promote their message.
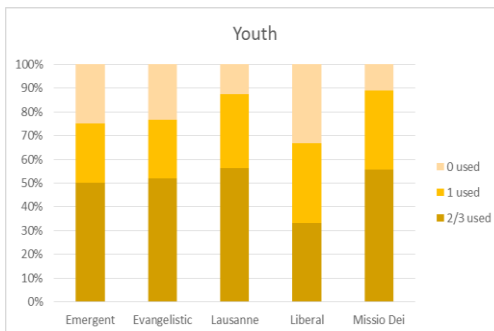
Chart 29. The % of churches using the Youth methods to promote their message.

When compared to the other approaches to mission, the Evangelistic approaches showed a marginally higher use of Services and Relational activities than other approaches (Charts 26 & 27), whereas the use of Direct and Youth approaches was not dissimilar (Charts 28 & 29).

As will be explained later, the use by traditional chapels, which were mostly Liberal in approach, of a Direct approach to mission tended to describe pastoral visitation of homes and hospitals by its minister.[1300] This would be different from an Evangelistic approach, which involved members visiting homes specifically to communicate their message. The use of Youth methods was relatively consistent in all approaches.
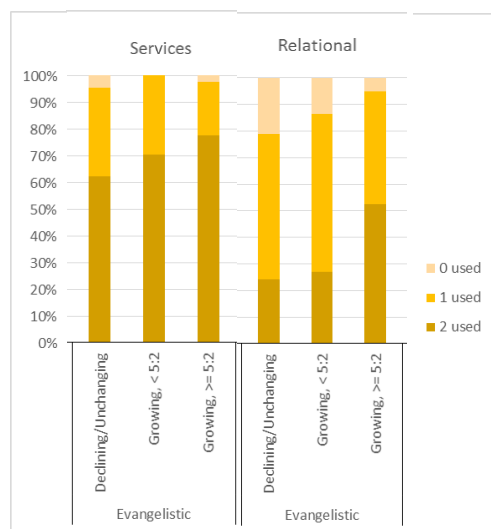
Chart 30. Evangelistic churches use of Services and Relational methods in relation to growth patterns.

When considering the use of Services and Relational methods by Evangelistic churches, it was the 5:2 churches which made the greatest use of them (Chart 30). This greater use is one explanation for why certain churches grew more. The differences were marginal, but, with other factors yet to be considered, they begin to explain why the mission of some Evangelistic churches was more effective, in terms of numerical additions, than others. Churches with E1 and E2 approaches to the mission of the local church made up over half of the churches responding, and had a proportionately greater number of 5:2 churches than other approaches (Charts 31 & 32). This is but one measure of the effectiveness of the mission of the local church, but in terms of the future survival of Welsh Nonconformity it is not insignificant. If any of the other approaches are more effective in gaining additions to the churches, or of evident benefit to their communities in the future, these proportions could change significantly.

[1300] Page 224, 257.
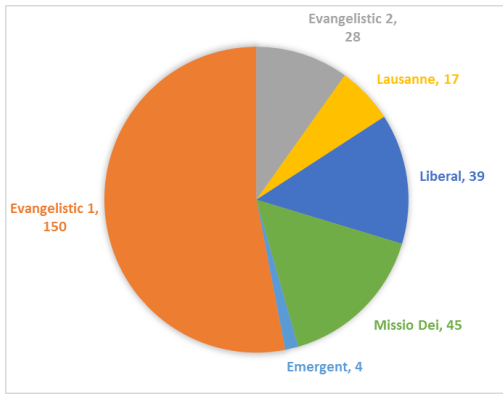
Chart 31. The number and proportion of all churches according to approaches to mission.
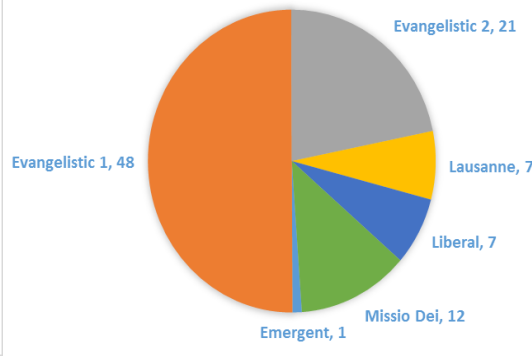
Chart 32. The number and proportion of 5:2 churches according to approaches to mission.

However, what is also a significant pointer to effective mission, is the difference between E1 and E2 churches, and their influence on their communities. The percentage of 5:2 churches was lower in E1 than E2. E1 churches relied on traditional methods of mission, whereas E2 churches had more connections with communities, and were connected more intentionally. Also, where traditional approaches were strongest, in North West and Mid Wales (Chart 33), the regional proportion of 5:2 churches was lower.
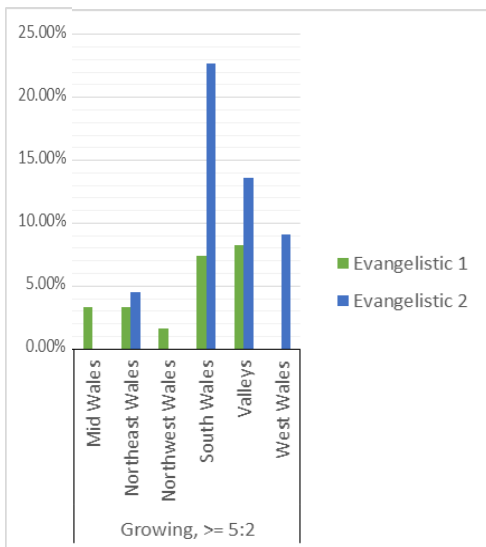
Chart 33. The % of 5:2 churches in E1 and E2 churches in different regions

Charts 34 and 35 show clearly the greater intentionality of E2 churches, particularly when some connections were, primarily, for church members.
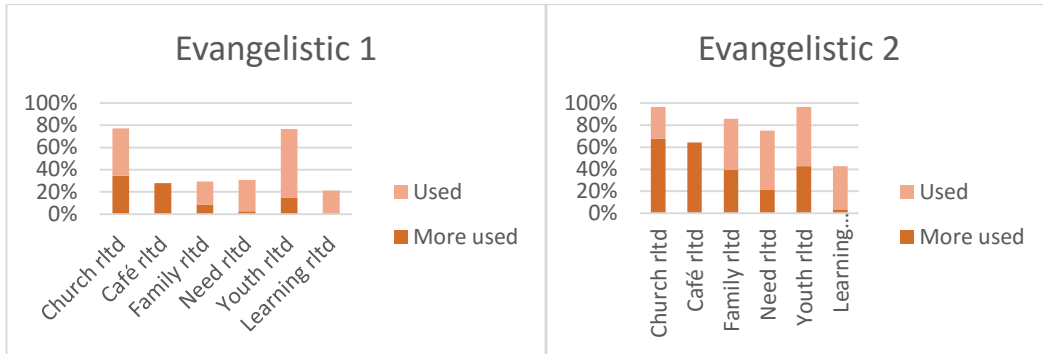
Chart 34. The degree and nature of E1 connections to community

Chart 35. The degree and nature of E2 connections to community

The charts comparing how Evangelistic churches were connected to their communities (Charts 36 to 41) suggest a low level of engagement compared to other approaches. This, however, reflects the large number of E1 churches which did not have extensive connections, beyond church services and youth and children's work.
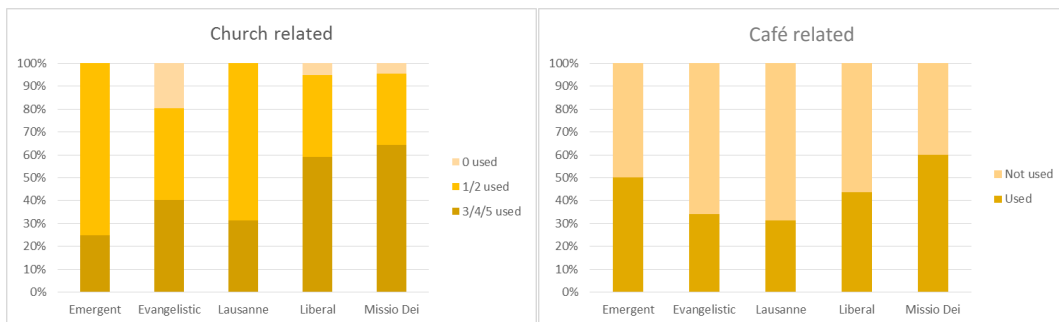
Chart 36. The degree and extent of Church Related to connect to their communities.

Chart 37. The degree and extent of Café Related to connect to their communities.
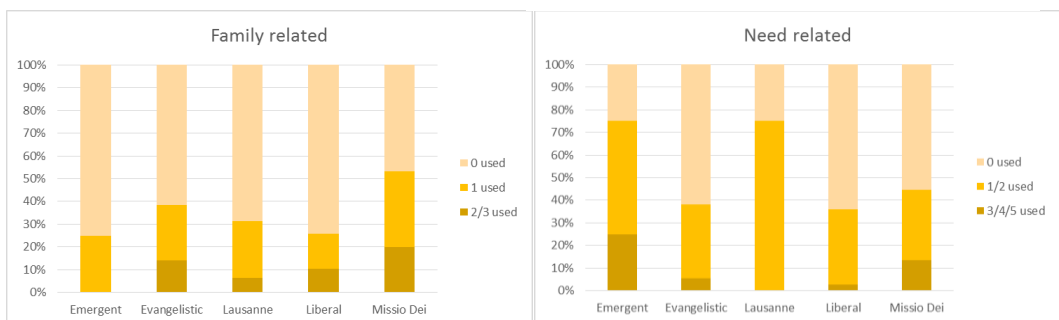
Chart 38. The degree and extent of Family Related to connect to their communities.

Chart 39. The degree and extent of Need Related to connect to their communities.

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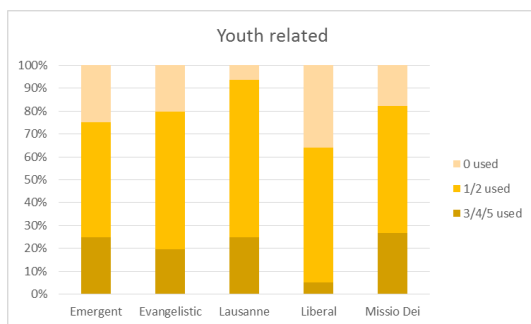
Chart 40. The degree and extent of Youth Related to connect to their communities.
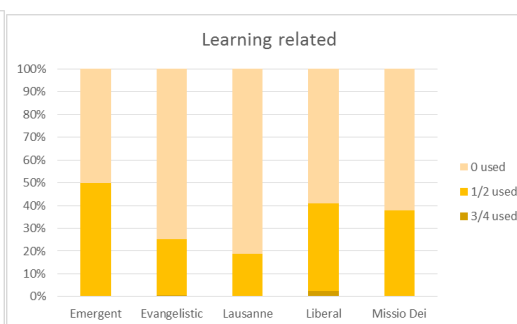
Chart 41. The degree and extent of Learning Related to connect to their communities.

Chart 36 shows that some Evangelistic churches did not see their building as part of a mission to serve the community through social action. This is in contrast to the 100% of such churches that saw their building as a means to communicate their message (Chart 26). Charts 37 and 39 reflect the same decision of many E1 churches not to engage in social action. Charts 38 and 40 reflect the pastoral emphases in E1 churches in work among children and youth, to which children in the community were welcome. Chart 41 shows a measure of disinclination to be involved in Learning Related mission. This will be considered further when contrasting it with the much greater emphasis of a Liberal approach to mission.

Within both E1 and E2 churches, there were Charismatic and Pentecostal churches, often linked to *New Wine Cymru* network, which emphasizes the place of the supernatural and miraculous in mission. This emphasis claims that the miraculous, be it a healing, a vocal word of prophecy, special wisdom or knowledge, would gain the attention of the hearer and give credibility to the message being spoken. The Pentecostal missions, mentioned above, give such a specific emphasis.[1301] Leaders were clear in this expectation:

> "Praying directly for needs then sharing the Gospel when prayer is answered. Welsh people in the valley communities soon start talking when things are happening!"[1302]

E2 churches, with the same emphasis and expectation of miraculous elements, would see such incidents as parallel and complementing social action. Both aspects would be seen as giving credibility to their message. The survey did not collect data to support the effectiveness, or otherwise, of this aspect of the mission of

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[1301] M. Harry, "Love Wales 2012 Summer Missions Report," n.p. [cited 24.06.2014]. Online: http://www.lovewales.org/2012-missions.
[1302] 86VPE.

Evangelistic churches, though anecdotal evidence was given in the questionnaire and the interview responses.[1303] There was, however, no widespread evidence of this emphasis leading to growth in the churches, or widespread influence on communities, in the responses that were given. The emphasis was not a part of church life or mission in traditional Nonconformist churches, but was evident in some growing Charismatic churches. The implications for mission of this approach will be considered in Chapter Five.

4.2.1.5   Adjustment to the Aspects of Context

4.2.1.5.1   The Religious Aspects of Welsh Context

Contextualisation by churches with an Evangelistic approach to mission meant adjusting their presentation and connection to those outside the churches, but did not involve any adjustments to the message itself. In relation to the Religious context, when asked on the *Waleswide* 2012 Survey about the nature of Welshness in their part of Wales and their adjustment to it, their responses fell into four categories.[1304]

Firstly, there were those who saw little current evidence of a distinct Welsh religious tradition, because decline of the chapels had occurred to such an extent that the majority of the population were oblivious to it. Regionally, such responses were in the urban and anglicised areas of south Wales, or in the east, close to the English border. What had been a common experience, had become merely a memory:

> "Many older people in the community have had some contact with the work and life of the church at some point in the past … That context has changed and many of the young people we meet have little knowledge of real Christianity and see the church as irrelevant to them."[1305]

As a consequence, leaders in these areas, or who perceive their areas in this way, see no distinctiveness in the religious context of mission.

Secondly, there were those who recognised the negative legacy of Welsh

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[1303] 60SWNE, 18SWNE.

[1304] The questions were:

Q.10 In what ways would you see your approaches to evangelism and community engagement as being particularly appropriate to your specific context in Wales?

Q.11 In what ways would you say your context is distinctly Welsh? [As different from Gloucester for example].

[1305] 152VEE.

Nonconformity, so that they felt mission had to be distanced from it.[1306] One church held events, deliberately, on a day other than Sunday, to mark a complete distinction from past traditions.[1307] However, memories, of what was regarded as an oppressive, boring and out-of-date chapel culture, could still be handed down to succeeding generations, and therefore remained a hindrance to generations which had themselves never attended chapel on a regular basis:

> "I believe these folk have rejected what they have experienced as Church... not Christ. The younger generations have little or no knowledge of Jesus and only the imbibed opinion of their elders that Church is boring."[1308]

The practice of adults sending their children to Sunday School still survived in certain places, but this sent an equally negative message to the younger generations:

> "It paints a very morbid picture of Christianity… incredibly legalistic, and incredibly moralistic, and incredibly boring place to go… If you want your children moral send them to Sunday school, but, 'Why don't you go Mam?' 'Well, I've done my time in church, now, it's your turn."[1309]

The chapels had an association with the past, and so were perceived as looking back not forward. This was seen as "living off yesterday's manna, and it is so stale now that you're actually getting sick from it."[1310] The chapel buildings, and the graves around them, were sending powerful messages of decline and deadness.

However, the chapel tradition was not just hindering mission in the wider community. It was seen as an active influence, hindering mission among those still attending a place of worship.[1311] This was, in part, due to the age of the remaining members, and the different needs and interests of the younger target audience. One Mid-Wales denominational leader described the issues:

> "We have a small elderly membership … (name of place) is a holiday resort with a skewed elderly population and the church/chapel-goers among them are at the top end of that! … We have a population to whom religion is a part of their culture ... We are trying to use the open door that it offers, but get rid of the cultural trappings that go along with it."[1312]

This description shows the challenges faced in transitioning approaches to mission in a traditional Welsh chapel context. However, the awareness shown of the opportunities as well as the difficulties, and the desire to innovate, is not always

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[1306] 105MPE, 13NWBE, 291SENE, 01VEE, 19SWBE.
[1307] 96SEBE.
[1308] 31SWBBi.
[1309] 38VEE.
[1310] 11NWPE.
[1311] 19SWBE.
[1312] 87MRE.

evident in such circles.[1313] A pervasive attitude has been described as "the distrust of anything 'new'."[1314] One church which was working deliberately counter to the Welsh chapel tradition had not only transformed its building, but also did much of its mission outside of its walls:

> "We meet outside church and engage in village activities in places such as the pub, football pitch, curry house, school, and partake in established village events, including pub quizzes. Tried to create a 'safe place' and offer Christianity rather than 'Churchianity'. We aim to meet people where they are rather than insist they come here."[1315]

For some, the negative chapel legacy was an issue of theology as well as tradition. The chapels engendered a culture of respectability and self righteousness, which, to leaders of Evangelical convictions, could create a barrier to their message of God's free acceptance by grace through faith: "People have a 'religious' default setting, so struggle with grace."[1316] In Welsh-speaking chapels, the charge was, "The Chapel used to uphold the culture and not the gospel."[1317] Now that secular bodies were shaping the cultural agenda, the chapels had lost even this role within society, and were left bereft of any strongly held gospel tradition.

Thirdly, there were those who saw the religious heritage of Welsh Nonconformity as still relevant to sections of the community, mostly the elderly. They saw this chapel legacy as an opportunity, not a hindrance, as many in their community were accepting of the church, without committing to it. Having some family still in the chapel was a link for mission, as "Everyone had a mum, dad or grandparent that went to church."[1318] Others saw clear opportunities for mission to the older generation through organising events responding to the national love of hymns with their associated tunes. They would also send preachers to local chapels to reach those still attending.[1319] One leader spoke of "a residual respectability about 'chapel-going' which means that over a third of our evening attenders are unbelievers".[1320] For them, an attractional approach, that used the chapel building, was still an opportunity for mission.

> "In a fairly traditional community, traditional methods work better than one might expect. People coming to church often expect and appreciate a building

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[1313] 117SWEE, 252SWBBi,
[1314] 195VBE.
[1315] 43VBE.
[1316] 92VEE.
[1317] 40MAC.
[1318] 34SWPE.
[1319] 168NEEE, 129SEBE.
[1320] 113VEE.

that looks and feels like a church… There are tribal familial ties to traditional denominations that would be unusual in England, but are quite pervasive here. That's a problem, but as denominational chapels are closing, we (as an independent church) can perhaps fill a void without people feeling they're betraying their roots."[1321]

Some churches saw the different opportunities in successive generations, and consequently tailored their mission accordingly. [1322]

"We sometimes work positively off the heritage of 'chapel culture', i.e. targeting those who have a respect for 'church life'. With other things we work to make a distinctive break with the appearance of 'chapel life and culture', i.e. targeting those who see 'Chapel Life' as a metaphor for hypocrisy."[1323]

These observations illustrate the lingering, and even pervasive, legacy of Welsh Nonconformity in some areas, where a lingering respect for God, chapel and ministers remained.[1324] The pattern was not uniform, but graded to different degrees in different areas. However, the diminishing influence on younger generations was testified to in all areas. For these, a different approach was needed. For them, one-to-one evangelism outside the church building, and outside of church meetings, was essential, which was "not pre-evangelism, nor general community involvement. It is deliberate, intentional, regular gospel conversations that take place in homes, shops and even a mosque".[1325]

Fourthly, there were those who saw the historic patterns of Welsh Nonconformity, in terms of loyalty to a chapel culture, preaching and even membership, as still influential in the whole community. These responses reflected the surviving legacy of Wales as a Nonconformist nation. They were expressed most strongly in Welsh-speaking rural areas. Here, where stable communities maintained patterns of work and culture, the chapel was still accepted as an integral part of the community alongside agriculture, *eisteddfod*au, choirs and village organisations, such as *Merched y Wawr:*[1326]

"There is a suspicion of anything new and 'foreign' in nature - even contemporary worship - seeing things 'new' things as 'temporary' - fashion can be made without it. An attachment to the society '*Pethe*' - a home, a chapel, learning and culture are much safer in this thinking."[1327]

The same pattern was also evident in towns in English-speaking areas, where

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[1321] 99VEE.
[1322] 24MEE.
[1323] 125SWEE.
[1324] 159VEE
[1325] 99VEE.
[1326] The Welsh Women's Institute.
[1327] 25NERC(Trans).

Welsh-speaking chapels served as gathering points for Welsh-speaking families and individuals who had moved into the area. Smaller chapels in the anglicised villages found it difficult to make provision for children and youth, so families tended to gravitate to a larger centre in the towns, where Welsh-speaking schools were also situated.[1328]

These four attitudes to the strength of Welsh Nonconformity's religious legacy tended to be regional. In the cities and closer to the English border, with high levels of anglicisation of language and culture, the influence was least. In the post-industrial Valleys, the negative legacy was strongest, whereas in rural areas the influence was still strong, albeit mostly in the older generations. In some stable Welsh language communities, the legacy was still perceived as a positive one in the wider community as well as the church.[1329] Mission, in these different contexts, has to adjust accordingly.

The Evangelistic approaches to mission showed an awareness of this lack of uniformity, and those involved adjusted their mission to their immediate context. Those who minimised the religious legacy were in highly anglicised or secularised communities. Those who sought to take advantage of the chapel legacy saw it as a passing opportunity in the older generations. Those who saw the chapels' ongoing acceptance in their community, however, may have been belated exceptions. The general decline of chapels and membership would not encourage such confidence in the present or the future. However, whatever the response to the religious context, those with an Evangelistic approach were deliberate and intentional in their adjustment to context because of their over-arching belief in the importance and relevance of the message they were seeking to herald.

4.2.1.5.2　　The Geographic Aspects of Welsh Context

As in the case of religious context, the influence of the geographical factors on context varied from region to region. The topographical division of Wales into valleys, coastal plains and upland had shaped the patchwork nature of its communities. This had produced a profound localism, with deep loyalty to a

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[1328] 74NERC, 112SWBC, 190NWRC.
[1329] Bruce, "Religion in Rural Wales," 236-237.

community's valley, village or *milltir sgwar.* This has had an inevitable influence on how Evangelistic churches did their local church mission.

In the communities bordering England, east of the Cambrian hills, and in the highly anglicised cities and coastal areas of South Wales, the proximity to England made many communities indistinguishable from communities across the border.[1330] The contextualisation of churches in these areas reflected these realities. One leader referred to the historic uncertainty of identity in the former county of Monmouthshire as a cause of a lack of a distinctive Welshness and an influence on their approach to mission:

> "I don't think our approaches to outreach are any different to any English area. At various times most of our area has been in England, but now in Wales due to boundary changes. We have a great Church tradition and heritage but it is not particularly Welsh."[1331]

In fact, something of an indifference to Welshness was expressed in response to the questionnaire. A border localism would seem to be set against any sense of national identity[1332]:

> "As a border county this (i.e. Welshness) is not a particular issue. People's prime concern is very local identity rather than national identity."[1333]

Models and approaches to mission that are current and effective across the border, would be considered for use without question. The only exception to this pattern was a leader in the Newport area who spoke of a "growing awareness of belonging to Wales as distinct from old Monmouthshire!"[1334] However, he was a Welsh-speaker, with children in Welsh schools, who had attracted eighteen people to the church who were Welsh speakers, including Welsh language teachers. With this distinct influence, not dissimilar to the Welsh language churches in English-speaking areas considered above, this church became an island of Welshness, using Welsh hymns, tunes and pulpit illustrations, and so connecting with a distinctive section of the community.

In marked contrast to these areas, the post-industrial Valleys, though situated adjacent to the most anglicised areas, had a distinct geographical identity because of their topography. The steep valley sides had produced linear settlements, in rows of adjacent villages. These represent a distinct identity in the post-industrial valleys,

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[1330] Evans, "Across the Border," 123-143.
[1331] 226SEBE.
[1332] 321MPE.
[1333] 123SEBE.
[1334] 227SEEE.

"Valleys Welsh".[1335]

> "Many people here would see themselves as a 'valley person'. Their identity would be wrapped up in this, and to be a valley person is to be Welsh. The Welsh language is not widely spoken, and this valley identity seems to have taken its place."[1336]

The Evangelistic churches sought to respond to this, by identifying with their particular community within the valley, and by working with the strong social networks that existed. Leaders spoke of the breakdown of this social cohesion after the closure of the mines, and because people had to travel farther down the valley to find work. However, the tradition, and an expectation of it, still remained.[1337] The church's mission was adjusted to it:[1338]

> "Friendship. Servanthood to locality through contacts, knowing needs. Close community & social consciousness… Church as local people involved with people in the community. Identity with families. Church integrated and involved and known"[1339]

In this way, mission demonstrated an engagement with the distinct localisms, resulting from social and economic factors, in the community that the churches were a part of. Each unique context called for a specific mission approach[1340]:

> "This sense of Valley community is important, and it's important to people in the valleys. That's where we try to do community things, support and helping and encouraging … We are there to help people. We use the minibus to help people to move from one street to the other. Its interaction with people really. That's where I see the Welshness of the community…" [1341]

The distinctive nature of Valley communities also called for indigenous leaders, living in the community, understanding and identifying with it.[1342] The specific localism needed a specific response, each village being a distinct community that viewed itself as different and distinct from others, however close.

The Evangelistic approach to mission, however, also had a distinctive approach, in that they saw their response as needing a spiritual dimension. The "valley psyche" was said to have had a limiting and debilitating influence on the people, which was spiritual in nature, and not merely social.[1343] Prayer and the nature of their message, they said, was their response to this.

[1335] 103VBE, 51VBE.
[1336] 136VEE.
[1337] 51VBE.
[1338] 159VEE.
[1339] 98VBE.
[1340] 53VNE.
[1341] 51VBE.
[1342] 199VNE.
[1343] 235VBE.

Rural communities and churches, isolated by mountains and poor lines of communication, retained their own local traditions and distinct Welsh identity. These conditions, in terms of the effects of isolation, were true in rural Denbighshire and Gwynedd. Leaders in rural Wales described their communities and their response:

> "In this community, being a family, and an extended family, is important. There is an identity, a historical identity, that is quite profound in the sense that this is Wales, this is where we belong. It is an ethnicity link to land, that is true of our situation here in a farming community."[1344]

In some cases, this connection to the land went back hundreds of years.[1345] As a result, church tradition and expressions of mission, had long pedigrees, and change was a prolonged process. The localism provided a detailed knowledge of people, families, and loyalties in the community, so mission could not be "hit and run".[1346]

The geographical rootedness seen in these rural situations represented the essence of a particular localism that had been reproduced in various forms where internal migration has taken people to Valley or urban situations. Here, loyalty to place, together with a certain insularity, found new expression.[1347] In rural Pembrokeshire, "Little England beyond Wales", the county identity was paramount. Those from the county said they were (sic) "Pembrokeshire", and any Welsh element was secondary to their identification with the county.

> "People are Pembrokeshire, their identity is very much in the county. Perhaps in Pembrokeshire you wouldn't use the idea of Welshness in quite the same way. … A Pembrokeshire mindset is expressed in the Pembrokeshire phrases, and their ways and manners, and also a very parochial way of looking at life with nothing happening outside of Haverfordwest."[1348]

Inevitably, this influenced approaches to mission:

> "People in Pembrokeshire talk a great deal about the County, and there is a tremendous localism in Pembrokeshire among the long established population. You subconsciously adjust to that. If you were preaching and using illustrations, it's often easier to use illustrations from the other side of the world than from Cardiff, because for the people they have a concept of the other side of the world, and the local, but of the in-between, very little".[1349]

A similar pattern was evident in the urban, and once industrialised, areas of Carmarthenshire.

> "Llanelli is terribly parochial and 'one eyed' to the degree that I often think being Llanelli is more important than an overall Welsh identity. In this, it is the

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[1344] 25NERC.
[1345] 16NWAC, 25NERC.
[1346] 263NENE.
[1347] 50SENE.
[1348] 80SWEE.
[1349] 79SWEE.

Town with the little village mentality." [1350]

 "Saucepans, Turks whatever you call them. People from Llanelli call them Saucepans. People from outside, Turks. But it has a lot to do with the Scarlets, a lot to do with pride and identifying Llanelli as its own location, as it stands on its own."[1351]

The second comment highlighted a pride in the localism, recognised from within and without, with the local rugby team being an icon of the distinctive identity. This leader went on to say that the church adjusted to this reality, whereas its response to general Welshness was overt, with sermons merely tweaked to reflect it. The distinct local identity meant that programmes and evangelistic courses that worked elsewhere were less effective in Llanelli. Instead, local conversational involvement was seen as fruitful. One leader, in a very deprived part of the town, said that mission had to be deeply incarnational: "the community's question is not so much 'is it true?'. What they want to know is 'does it work?' - and more specifically 'does it work HERE?'"[1352] These responses to the local characteristics of the people show the awareness of those with an Evangelistic approach to mission. Concern to communicate the message made appropriate connection with the people a high priority.

Another leader in Llanelli spoke of a reluctance among the people to travel beyond the locality: "to cross the Loughor is like going to Canada, crossing the Severn Bridge!"[1353] For them, mission in Llanelli sought to encourage a widening from what was colloquial and small, encouraging a sense of ambition and self-belief:

"The robbery of poverty, which robs you of confidence, adventure, hope and ambition … which is to do with Welsh village stump mentality. It is a rootedness and an identity with Wales in my village. It's like a tree that can only stretch so far with its roots in, it isn't going any further."[1354]

Their mission in the town, including a café with an art gallery, was done with a sense of excellence in order to cultivate a sense of civic pride. This adjustment to the needs of the locality showed the desire of those with an E2 approach to mission to respond to the particular needs of the people in order to build the bridges over which

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[1350] 125SWEE. The name of the town is given in this case because the following narrative would reveal its identity, and the large number of churches in the town means that the respondent could not be identified.
[1351] 32SWBC. The name "Saucepan", or the Welsh "*Sosban*", is derived from a traditional Welsh folk song that has become the theme-song of the town's rugby club, the "Scarlets". The association derives originally from the town's former tin plating industry, which used to tin-plate steel saucepans and other kitchen utensils. The origin of the name "Turks" is uncertain, but may reflect former maritime connections.
[1352] 31SWBBi.
[1353] 60SWNE.
[1354] 60SWNE.

their message may cross.

4.2.1.5.3   The Ethnic Aspects of Welsh Context

A Welsh ethnicity, whether perceived or inherited, was derived directly from a sense of place, and of being the people of that place. Where family descent had been connected with a particular locality for hundreds of years, the sense of distinct ethnicity was considered to be more than merely imagined.[1355]

> "There is a difference in the blood, in the constitution of the people. They're Celtic not Saxon. They have a different way of responding to things."[1356]

This awareness of difference had been intensified as well as diluted by inward migration. For the original inhabitants, the in-comers had heightened their sense of difference, whereas in the population as a whole, the original distinctives of the Welsh *ethnie* had been diminished. In rural communities, the original inhabitants and the in-comers would often remain substantially separate communities. In Welsh language areas, the two communities could exist side by side, but would rarely integrate. As a result, there was a suspicion of, and resistance to, Englishness, similar to that expressed in the post-industrial Valleys, described below. The mission of the local church would be largely limited to, and shaped by, one or other of these communities.

Where immigration had been high in an area for generations, as in Wales's larger towns and cities, approaches adopted from outside Wales, or leaders moving into Wales, would raise few objections. This was particularly true in the New and Charismatic churches, where patterns of mission, and even church affiliations, were of English origin. Such leaders often saw no difference in the local people from other parts of the United Kingdom.[1357]

As with geography, these perceptions were in areas in the east that were most open to inward migration, and in coastal areas of the north and west, where English professionals had chosen to live and work from home, or to retire. [1358] Leaders from areas of high inward migration saw little evidence of Welsh ethnic distinctiveness:

[1355] 16NWAC, 25NERC.
[1356] 06NEEE.
[1357] 105MPE, 170SERE, 174SEBE, 181SEBE, 118SWEE, 185VEE, 196NEEE, 221SEEE, 226SEBE, 230SEEE, 129SEBE, 250NEPE, 314SEPE, 321MPE.
[1358] 109MNE.

> "We are a bit of an English enclave in a city close to the border so do not have a Welsh distinctive. Many of the present congregation moved into Wales with work e.g. relocation of government offices. But we do have a Welsh name."[1359]

> "I would consider influences on my town are local or global. I don't think I would say it was distinctively Welsh. I think in terms of participating in local events or looking at reaching people who have moved in from other parts of the country. 'Welsh' probably equals Welsh Language to me, and we're not a Welsh language church".[1360]

Equating "Welsh" with language implied little awareness of any other basis for Welsh identity or distinctiveness. Other leaders spoke in the same way, highlighting international influences within the church, not Welsh ones:[1361]

> "I don't think it is distinctly Welsh. We are English speaking and have no translation into either Welsh or Urdu! We live and reflect the ethnic mix of our wider community."[1362]

In Bangor, a university and hospital town with many international students and professionals, churches tried to respond to many nationalities.[1363] In Cardiff, the ethnic diversity, in terms of the church's mission, was decidedly varied:

> "We have an Eritrean congregation, South African congregation and youth congregation, which we believe reflects the modern day make-up of the City. … We are thinking of starting a Welsh-speaking congregation."[1364]

Clearly, mission in such contexts was being directed to a very cosmopolitan society.[1365]

Consideration has been given earlier to the particular community and identity issues in the post-industrial Valleys, where inward migration has been negligible for half a century. Here, as in isolated rural communities, mission tailored to the community and indigenous leadership were seen as helpful, and imported approaches as alien:

> "The valley community is quite diverse - Alpha has not been particularly helpful though we have run two courses - Nicky Gumble is not very 'Valley Friendly' though the elderly quite like him. 'Table Talk' has been more useful starting at a level much further back in people's understanding... "[1366]

The emotional legacies of decline, neglect and a perceived inferiority were also factors affecting mission to the deprived communities. There was what has been

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[1359] 236SEEE.
[1360] 88SERE.
[1361] 89VPE.
[1362] 194SEEE.
[1363] 186NWEE.
[1364] 56SEPE.
[1365] 213NWNE.
[1366] 120VBE. Table Talk is an introductory evangelistic discussion course. http://www.table-talk.org/

described as a "painful pessimism" where "the whole world is against us".[1367] Outward migration was seen as the only way to employment and self-improvement, and there was a pessimism that inward investment would be either short-term or unlikely. Unemployment was generational, so an 'us-and-them' attitude existed, especially against the English.

> "We despise the English because we're defeated men and women, we were colonised. We do what the English tell us to do. They control your future. We don't hold our own future in our hands, in a way our future is dictated to us … We just don't have the people who know anything other than the benefit culture, pessimism, depression, lurching from one crisis to the next and feeling this is a vicious circle that will never be broken."[1368]

This was described as a form of racism.

> "Hating the English. Rugby. Drinking, hard drinking. Hating the English is the primary, I hate the F***ing English is something that is terribly true… There is a real fear of outsiders, ignorance essentially. It borders on racialism, dangerous racism. It is not just anti-English it is people from ethnic backgrounds, Polish people. There is a real antagonism to people not from across the road…"[1369]

In Llanelli, people defined themselves in milder terms, as not being English: "It's not particularly anti-English but it is clearly proud that it is not English. It's a classic case of 'little brother' syndrome."[1370] However, the xenophobic hostility was encountered by those moving into Welsh-speaking rural areas, and one leader from southern Africa drew a striking comparison: "They feel threatened ... and are protective, similar to Afrikaners."[1371]

However, when those from within the indigenous communities were describing these issue they saw things very differently:

> "There is also an issue of English people coming in being seen as more aggressive, wanting their own way, pushing the Welsh around a bit! The Welsh by nature are more accommodating, don't want to offend."[1372]

> "We don't like to brag … we are quite self-effacing in that sense. We don't like egos… Probably arrogance is seen as something not to be tolerated in the community. Arrogance is English. … Even in our language we use the passive tense more so than an assertive tense. We are very suspicious of those who are aggressively positive."[1373]

Those who contrast the indigenous *ethnie* with the in-comers, see the Welsh as

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[1367] 38VEE.
[1368] 38VEE.
[1369] 38VEE.
[1370] 125SWEE.
[1371] 11NWPE.
[1372] 252SWBBi.
[1373] 25NERC.

humble, and as having an inferiority complex:

> "… the opposite of the English public schoolboy Anglican. Everything I associate with that, you know, very confident, a bit brash, and arrogant sometimes. I'm not saying they all are. Welsh people tend to be the opposite… a reaction against the kind of inferior inferiority complex, and not wanting to be like those English people. We are quite proud of being different from that kind."[1374]

The implication for mission in these communities was that methods and personnel needed to be indigenous. This issue will be considered further in Chapter Five. Where a church's mission was being organised, planned and delivered by non-Welsh people, great care was needed to respect local sensitivities. A leader in West Wales, originally from England, gave a blunt critique of the local people. They were described as emotional, friendly only on the surface, expressing willingness but not delivering, shy, quiet and withdrawn, and lacking commitment and perseverance. One might wonder whether a personality clash had been caused by the leader, who spoke of people having a real battle to get over hurt, and a tendency "to withdraw and go inside rather than take revenge."[1375] A clash of expectations, temperaments and even ethnicity was clearly evident. In this case, mission was struggling to adjust to local characteristics. The various tensions described illustrate how an awareness of ethnic differences could help or hinder Evangelistic mission. Chapter Five will consider this issue, and the appropriateness, or not, of single *ethnie* or mono-lingual churches.

4.2.1.5.4   The Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of Welsh Context

The regional variations seen in the geographical and ethnic factors were clearly paralleled in the linguistic and cultural characteristics. Historically, it had been the Welsh language that had been a bulwark in preserving and nurturing most ethnic and cultural distinctives. The Evangelistic approach to mission had responded to Welsh language and culture in a spectrum of ways, from active support to conscious avoidance. However, in terms of Niebuhr's categories, in his *Christ and Culture*, the Evangelistic approach would be either above contemporary culture or detached from it.[1376]

[1374] 26NEEE.

[1375] 102SWBE. An acrimonious departure of this leader from the church and area occurred two years after the completion of the questionnaire.

[1376] Niebuhr, *Culture*, 45-229; Keller, *Center*, 194-217.

Firstly, there were the monoglot Welsh-language churches which sought to do mission solely within Welsh-speaking communities, or to serve Welsh speakers in English language areas. Of the forty-six leaders of Welsh language churches who responded to the questionnaire or interviews, twelve had an Evangelistic approach to mission. Seven of these were within a historic denomination, and five were in independent Evangelical churches. The Evangelical Movement of Wales had encouraged the forming of new Welsh-speaking churches, separate from those that were English-speaking, in Cardiff, Bangor, Aberystwyth and Carmarthen. The issue of mono-lingual churches will be considered in Chapter Five, but a principle criticism will be mentioned here:

> "Too great an emphasis is placed on the language by many Welsh language churches, that they disregard their commission to reach out to all people."[1377]

The concern was that the Evangelistic message was being directed to Welsh speakers only, in areas where English speakers also lived. Such a charge, however, was not wholly accurate, as some churches provided simultaneous translation into English,[1378] and some held occasional English or bi-lingual services[1379] or events for English speakers who were learning Welsh.[1380] One respondent addressed the criticism directly:

> "What we have been offering to the community - Sunday services, Bible study, Sunday school has been primarily Welsh yet we do now offer bi-lingual services and are open to change. The language should not be a hindrance but a help to the work which is to reach people for Christ."[1381]

Their Evangelistic mission, however, was, inevitably, to the Welsh-speaking community. This was expressed through involvement in Welsh language community events, such as choirs,[1382] charities,[1383] and of work with students,[1384] schools,[1385] or Welsh learners.[1386] In all cases, but one,[1387] Welsh language churches had retained the traditional chapel model, which was essentially attractional, with little deliberate mission into their community. A notable exception to this pattern was their evangelistic activity at the National Eisteddfod. This involved a tent on the main field, with members seeking connections with people through refreshments, literature and

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[1377] 251SEBE.
[1378] 14SEEC, 67NWEC, 317SWBC.
[1379] 252SWBBi, 39MEC, 111SWBC, 112SWBC, 317SWBC.
[1380] 14SEEC, 67NWEC, 74NERC.
[1381] 111SWBC.
[1382] 25NERC.
[1383] 40MAC.
[1384] 67NWEC, 40MAC.
[1385] 32SWBC, 25NERC.
[1386] 317SWBC.
[1387] 175NWRC.

events with a speaker.[1388] They were also involved in the *Gorlan*, a collaborative outreach on Maes B,[1389] providing a 24 hour food tent with shelter, support and counsel available for those requesting it. This mission, because of linguistic rules in the Eisteddfod, was conducted entirely through the medium of Welsh.

Secondly, there were bi-lingual churches which sought to reach and serve the two language communities. Some of these churches were English-speaking, yet sought to reach and serve the Welsh language community by running special events or services for Welsh speakers or Welsh learners. In these churches, there was a recognition that Welsh speakers often lacked confidence in speaking English, or had a strong preference for speaking and hearing Welsh.[1390] Consequently, the welcome, worship, prayers, and sometimes the sermon would be bi-lingual.[1391] In other churches, the morning service would be in English and the evening in Welsh, with simultaneous translation.[1392] In other churches, there was a monthly, or irregular, Welsh service.[1393] Children's work might have more Welsh-language elements because most children in Welsh language areas would be in Welsh medium schools.[1394] Publicity and events would also be in both languages.[1395]

> "… we have sought to be bilingual in all our activities… In mission with individuals we seek to use their heart language as much as is possible - this would include, where possible, the use of literature in the heart language. … Finally, in recognition of the very large number of people locally who are Welsh Learners, we have begun a weekly Conversation Group for Welsh Learners."[1396]

In one rural town in a Welsh language area, a separate church was started because an existing Evangelical church did not hold any services or mission through the medium of Welsh.[1397] The newer church did services in English on Sunday morning, and Welsh, with simultaneous translation, in the evening. They arranged all other events and connections to the community bilingually.

[1388] "Gorlan" is the Welsh word meaning "sheepfold". http://www.ygorlan.com/index_en.html
[1389] The separate field and social area for the younger generations attending the Eisteddfod.
[1390] 92VEE, 96SEBE.
[1391] 224NWEE,
[1392] 189MEBi, 252SWBBi.
[1393] 95SWBE, 92VEEE.
[1394] 57SWBBi, 31SWBBi, 180NWEE.
[1395] 180NWEE.
[1396] 31SWBBi.
[1397] 63MPE.

Thirdly, there were churches which acknowledged the Welsh language, nominally. They would include Welsh in their services,[1398] with Welsh hymns, and in their events, with Welsh text in their publicity.[1399] This was described as an attempt to incorporate a Welsh flavour into church life and mission:

> "Our churches are part of traditional village life. We use the language in some of our services. Our approach to evangelism and worship is distinctly 'Welsh' in ethos."[1400]

English language churches in Welsh-language areas were seeking to use the language as a bridge to attract the majority population outside their walls.[1401] They retained English as the church's language, either out of a conviction that they had been led to do so;[1402] or because "English is not a bar to hearing the gospel;"[1403] or because "… we would function with no adverse results if 'Welsh' recognition disappeared."[1404] It was recognised, however, that:

> "The language of the local clubs and chapels is Welsh. To be Welsh-speaking in this area is a considerable advantage particularly in relation to involvement in the community."[1405]

In terms of contextual mission, such a policy would seem to be impeding mission to a community where most people live through the medium of Welsh. It might be that the majority population feel somewhat excluded by the church's language policy, in the same way that English speakers in one area were said to be excluded by a Welsh-only provision. This question will be developed further in Chapter Five.

In two churches, in predominantly English language areas, Welsh language connections were found to be a fruitful sphere for mission. They found that a high percentage of the community spoke some Welsh, or were learning, or had children in Welsh medium education.[1406] Running Welsh classes, a Welsh Learners Carol Service each year, a St David's event "with culture, cawl and the gospel"[1407] had become an annual community event.

Fourthly, there were churches that avoided the Welsh language, seeing it as either irrelevant or unhelpful. These views were expressed almost exclusively in anglicised

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[1398] 241SWEE, 192MPE.
[1399] 177NEEE, 263NENE.
[1400] 206SWRE.
[1401] 93NWEE, 180NWEE.
[1402] 312NWEE.
[1403] 180NWEE.
[1404] 191VE.
[1405] 312NWEE
[1406] 95SWBE.
[1407] 316MEE.

border areas and cities, or in the post-industrial Valleys. In the Valleys, a hostility to the English to the east was matched by an equal animosity to the Welsh language to the west. The feeling that Welsh-speakers saw them as in some ways less Welsh had engendered a hatred of the language.[1408] The Valleys spoke "English and bad language! There are a few Welsh speakers but they are few and far between."[1409] Another Valleys leader saw the Welsh language as merely "a conduit for language/culture", preferring a more relevant and contemporary image.[1410] Elsewhere, Welsh was seen as divisive,[1411] "a problem",[1412] a "hot potato",[1413] or simply irrelevant to the area.[1414] In such communities, appearing to promote a particular form of Welshness associated with the language, or the language itself, would be a hindrance to mission, in the same way that its absence would be farther west.

Except in areas like those just described, cultural features, festivals and icons were seen as opportunities for mission. Events linked to St David's Day,[1415] *Santes Dwynwen*,[1416] rugby games,[1417] or choral singing,[1418] especially hymn singing,[1419] were found to be good opportunities to connect with the wider community. Mission was felt to be more effective when it was "distinctly 'Welsh' in ethos."[1420]

However, one E1 Welsh language church, in a predominantly Welsh-speaking area, took an opposite view. They concluded that aligning the church with cultural activities was seen as diluting or distracting from the main focus of their mission.

> "We have drawn a boundary between culture and Christianity, and we are maintaining that. For instance, in the newsletter we don't announce cultural events, we only announce Christian events… Live Christianity is not culture. Although we are full members of our community and will get involved culturally, but it is not our motivation … Traditionally maintaining the Welsh culture means maintaining the Welsh Chapel and the Welsh tradition, and Christ gets lost in it because it's just cultural."[1421]

[1408] 38VEE.

[1409] 43VBE.

[1410] 91VPE.

[1411] 63MPE, 73NENE, 195VBE.

[1412] 97NEBE.

[1413] 124MPE.

[1414] 177NEBE.

[1415] 92VEE, 95SWBE, 103VBE, 129SEBE, 244SWBE, 252SWBBi, 271SWRE, 285SERE, 316MEE.

[1416] 92VEE. Santes Dwynwen is the Welsh equivalent of Saint Valentine, celebrated on 25th January.

[1417] 05SEBE, 200VCE, 244SWBE.

[1418] 184VBE, 178SEEE, 182SWBE, 63MPE, 266SEBE. Machreth, "Gwlad y Gân," *Cristion* (Tach/Rhag 2014): 187.

[1419] 157SWPE.

[1420] 206SWRE.

[1421] 25NERC.

Mission in Wales has to be sensitive to the prevailing cultural and language patterns of the particular community. The same attitudes and approach that would be helpful in one area would be counter-productive and alienating in another. English and Englishness would be seen as progressive and contemporary to some, or alien and threatening to others. The Welsh language and its associated culture would be seen as archaic or alienating to some, and patriotic and inclusive to others.

Evangelistic churches showed sensitivity to language and culture in a nuanced response to the prevailing mores and preferences of their local communities. The exception would be the adoption of English as the language of church and mission in Welsh language areas. The ethics, practicalities and effectiveness of this, and mono-linguistic Welsh churches in areas with English speakers, will be considered in Chapter Five.

4.2.1.5.5   The Social Aspects of Welsh Context

The influence of Wales' topography on social patterns has already been considered. Wales, as a "land of villages",[1422] has small linear communities in the Valleys, isolated rural settlements, and even village identities within urban areas. These small communities define social patterns, and have led to a tradition of close-knit, mutually supportive social networks, inter-connected by extended families.

> "In our community everyone knows everyone else! We have close knit communities who, through long tradition, support each other and this is vital to our communication with those in need."[1423]

In these communities, everyone is said to know everyone else, and the integration of outsiders can be a generational process. The interconnectedness is an opportunity for a church's mission to be an active part of the community, but the exclusivity can be a hindrance.

> "I think the local context is that there are tighter family groups making it difficult for someone outside to 'break in'. … The focus is on the immediate family and therefore, they are not readily outward looking."[1424]

The weakening of these communities, because of outward migration for work or inward migration of people without relational or family connections, has reduced

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[1422] A phrase used by James Griffiths M.P. in a debate in the House of Commons. "Wales is a land of villages and valleys. Every Welshman has three circles round his life. He belongs to a village, a village is situated in a valley, and the valley is near a town—"*Y pentre, y cwm, y dre*'". J. Griffiths, "Wales (Depopulation and Unemployment). Hansard. Westminster. 14.04.1961," n.p. [cited 11.06 2014]. Online: http://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=1961-04-14a.655.6.

[1423] 309SEBE

[1424] 151SWPE.

these patterns, but they continue to be influential. This lessening of social cohesion in the Valleys has been described earlier, but its continuing influence is clear:

> "Village community … is so pretty personal. … People are quite ready to converse & family life though not as strong as it was, in our community is not bad … Also, village community so Church is fairly known & therefore trusted. … Village/valley communities although not as were, the people are still personable/ engaging/talkative/nosey which is still useful for the Church to utilise."[1425]

This response identifies the opportunity for mission in such communities. It is in these situations, especially in areas of social need, that the local church has found a servant role, which the community, in some cases, has come to expect:

> "Through the commitment to serve in our coffee shop, we have been able to engage with the community and discover issues that arise, offer ourselves as a bridge to develop friendships … (everyone seems to know each other's business). The community, on the whole, likes this kind of neighbourhood. It is a challenge therefore to ensure the church engages in this kind of community ... The village population seem to require this type of knowledge and understanding from us."[1426]

Some of the communities of greatest need were the most generous when churches made collections for *Foodbank*, because the food was going to help local people.

> "We can go onto an estate like the (place) and will probably collect three times the amount of money that we would from the more wealthy areas in the town. They will give you their last pound. The expression that someone would give you the shirt off your back. That would describe a lot of (place) people. "[1427]

Clearly, churches that are not involved in such social opportunities will have difficulty connecting to their communities. The patterns found in the community had also found their way back into the church, so that there was less of a cultural barrier between the two:

> "We want to be relaxed, informal - come as you are church. We try to create the same 'lets have a cuppa' welcome you would get in a Valleys house - all sitting round - round tables etc.   Children are allowed to be children and not constrained etc. It's pretty noisy at times..."[1428]

Other respondents identified the extended family patterns as a significant opportunity in rural areas:

> "We have worked mainly through family lines as these are very close in a strong Welsh environment. The farming community and family lines make it a close-knit community."[1429]

Here, the relationships and the social life of the church were influential in the wider community. Once people joined the church community, they tended to stay, and

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[1425] 133VPE.
[1426] 90VNE.
[1427] 52VBE.
[1428] 70VNE.
[1429] 93NWEE.

their extended family were also drawn in.[1430] However, others saw aspects of family links as a hindrance that were difficult to penetrate.[1431] This was particularly the case in rural communities where family links through farming were stronger.[1432]

> "But this can also be difficult in evangelizing in the villages as people can be closed off to anybody new!"[1433]

In these situations, "proving yourself" was essential, and building stable and long-term relationships was the only way to gain a hearing.[1434]

It is in relation to the distinctive social patterns within Wales that Evangelistic churches have faced significant challenges. The effect of Pietism on the mission of E1 churches in particular, has, as Chambers observed, "done nothing to help their cause".[1435] In communities where mutual help was part of the culture, a policy of separation, and a reliance on invitations to services and events within the church building, had isolated churches from the sphere of their mission. In some Valleys contexts, to be detached as a church was decidedly counter-cultural. The very rapid decline of Nonconformity in the post-industrial Valleys may be a consequence of this. One church that had changed from E1 to E2 expressed the dilemma:

> "The history of churches like (name), has tended to react against the social gospel and ended up throwing the baby out with the bathwater. So even now, in the last few years, we have really seen the importance of mercy ministries and social involvement in the church, as a valid thing for the church to do. It's not evangelism, but it is important to do."[1436]

The *Waleswide* survey demonstrated that E2 churches, that are active in the community, are the ones seeing their church's mission led to new members. In the Valleys, in line with the average across Wales, 46% of 5:2 churches had seven or more connections to their communities. *Foodbank*, CAP debt projects, night shelters and community provision of nurseries, after-school clubs, parenting courses as well as support for families in crisis, were going with the grain of society and not against it. One church in the Merthyr Valley was involved in a night shelter for the homeless, *Christians Against Poverty* (CAP) debt counselling, a drop-in centre, toddlers groups, *Foodbank*, and working with *Barnados* in adoption and fostering support. The church had grown from a core group of twenty people to a morning congregation of more than 120 between 2005 and 2014.[1437]

[1430] 242SWNE.
[1431] 151SWPE.
[1432] 304MBE.
[1433] 242SWNE.
[1434] 76MPE.
[1435] Chambers, "Out of Taste," 92.
[1436] 26NEEE.
[1437] 53VNE.

The traditional structures of Nonconformist chapels, where mission was centripetal not centrifugal, was not well geared for a mission of social care. Therefore, in traditional rural areas, and especially in Welsh language areas, churches that were evangelistic in intent were generally declining because of isolation from their communities. E2 churches were consequentially rare in these situations. Of the 29 churches in rural areas, with an Evangelistic approach to mission, only three were E2, of which two were growing 5:2.

Adjusting to the particular social patterns of Welsh contexts would seem to be not only essential for the future, but also a possible explanation of the decline of the recent past. This is especially the case for churches with patterns of mission from a Christendom era, which have not responded to changing religious and social patterns.

4.2.1.5.6 The Political Aspects of Welsh Context

The first decade of the twenty-first century was a time when Welsh institutions increased in number and influence. The National Assembly for Wales received additional powers, Welsh nationalists governed in a coalition, and Wales, as one of the Home Nations, became an accepted reality. In the questionnaire responses of churches with an Evangelistic approach to mission, however, there was little awareness of, and few references to, the political aspects of context. Therefore, in the subsequent interviews, a specific question was included: "Are church members active in politics, and does the church encourage it?" This was explained in terms of a range from lobbying on political, moral or social issues, to involvement in local politics, to active participation in national politics. Of the twenty-nine leaders of Evangelistic churches, ten had no involvement at any level, thirteen were involved in lobbying, ten in local politics, and only four in national politics.[1438] Two churches were involved at all levels,[1439] and three at two of the levels.[1440] One church had a member standing as an independent local councillor,[1441] and only the two churches involved at all levels were actively encouraging people to be involved in politics. Such voices were unusual and exceptional.

[1438] 80SWNE, 40MAC, 60SWNE, 61SEBE.
[1439] 80SWNE, 61SEBE.
[1440] 60SWNE, 03SENE, 79SWEE.
[1441] 03SENE.

"Yes they are active in politics, (name) is a member who works for Care and has applied to become a County Councillor, and is applying to be an MEP. We are teaching our teenagers and young adults to engage in the political process. I am encouraging our twenty-somethings to become local councillors."[1442]

	Evangelistic	Lausanne	*Missio Dei*	Liberal	Emergent
Not involved	34%	0%	0%	15%	0%
National	14%	0%	25%	30%	17%
Local	34%	100%	75%	55%	67%
Lobbying	45%	50%	62%	45%	50%
All aspects	7%	0%	25%	10%	0%

Chart 42. The Percentage of Churches Involved in Politics for each Approach to Mission[1443]

This comparatively low level of involvement in politics may have been, in part, a legacy of Pietist traditions, or it may have been a result of a low confidence that political action would produce the kind of change in society they were looking for. In the Valleys general disinterest in politics reflected a disappointment, or disillusion, with the Socialism that had been so dominant a generation earlier.

"I don't think people have got any conviction that Socialism, or the Red, is ever going to achieve anything for us. Our champion was essentially the reason why the Tories and Margaret Thatcher got into power again. With Labour, if they had got anybody in at the helm apart from Neil, they may have had a chance, but our champion was unelectable in the eyes of the vast majority of the UK. He was this thick sounding Valley boy, too red, even his hair was red. As the last representative of Valleys socialism he achieved nothing."[1444]

Of those interviewed, some spoke of the legacy of Welsh history,[1445] "industrial abuse",[1446] English oppression,[1447] and an "underdog mentality",[1448] but were not politically active in response. Two English churches in mid-Wales spoke of grievance against the Welsh Assembly Government, and Welsh language education, but had made no political response either.[1449] Some Welsh speakers saw it as their duty to work for "their rights, their kids' education, university education and general recognition", but did so through direct action, not the political process.[1450]

"We are an oppressed people, but because we are proud…also quite stoic.

[1442] 60SWNE.
[1443] The only six interviews were done with leaders who had a Lausanne or an Emergent approach to mission, which may explain the 0% readings.
[1444] 38VEE.
[1445] 112SWBC, 60SWNE.
[1446] 112SWBC, 31SWBBi.
[1447] 112SWBC, 25NERC, 57SWBBi.
[1448] 112SWBC, 20SWNE, 39MEC.
[1449] 24MEE.
[1450] 112SWBC, 32SWBC.

> This is the hand we have been dealt with, we will struggle with this. I think politically you have seen it takes a long time for Welsh people to say, 'we want change now'.' No, no, no, we will carry on with this'. … I think that comes out from knowing that the large imperial force is next door, and knowing that we will still have to battle against it, that they'll still be there, they won't leave us."[1451]

Other leaders of Welsh language churches had members with strong political views, but were not involved in politics as a church, nor encouraged support for one political party.[1452] Only one church was openly aligned to one party, saying, "Oh very much so. *Plaid Cymru*. We have been known as a *Plaid Cymru* church in the past!"[1453]

This alignment with nationalist politics, and the activism in relation to issues of the Welsh language, may have more to do with the individuals and churches being Welsh-speaking than their Evangelistic approach to mission. Certainly, in the interviews, there was no sense given that these activities were in any way an opportunity for Evangelistic endeavour.

Involvement in local or national politics, with few exceptions, involved praying for elected officials, or lobbying on Christian and ethical issues, where it was felt that a Christian viewpoint needed to be registered or defended. With such levels of political engagement, most of the churches with an Evangelistic approach to mission did not see the political context of Wales as a sphere for active involvement, or something to adjust to significantly as an expression of their mission.

[1451] 25NERC.
[1452] 39MEC.
[1453] 40MAC.

4.2.1.6 Reflections on Evangelistic Adjustments to Context

Churches and leaders with an Evangelistic approach to mission had the proclamation of their message as their primary purpose for mission. Social action was, essentially, a consequence or a means to that end.

> "I understand the mission of the church is evangelism. That social works are not the mission of the church, but nonetheless we are as Christians called to love our neighbours as ourselves, and to serve others. That is what we are as Christians."[1454]

Adjustments to the six aspects of context in Wales, therefore, were necessary in order to make the proclamation effective. Changing the practice of mission in response to the Religious Context was a necessary response to the end of Christendom and nominal Christianity in Wales. Adjustments to the Geographical Context were a recognition of Welsh localism, and the need for Evangelistic mission in each of the small communities. Adjustments to the Ethnic Context involved a sensitivity to Welsh identity, and the degree of receptivity in communities to aspects of Englishness or Britishness. Adjustments to language and culture involved the use of the best medium of communication that would aid the reception of the message. The adjustments to the Social Context were an attempt, in the case of E2, to model the message, to give it credibility, and to provide a connection with the intended hearers. The lack of such a connection in E1 churches was seen to hinder their achieving the desired outcomes of their mission. The adjustments to the political aspect of context were limited, and not seen as a priority for their proclamation-centred mission.

[1454] 24 MEE.

4.2.2   The Lausanne Approach to Local Church Mission

As described earlier, the Lausanne approach to mission saw social action as part of the mission of the local church, on a par with proclamation.[1455] The Lausanne Covenant states that evangelism is central to the church's mission, but that there is also a requirement "to take the whole gospel to the whole world".[1456] By "the whole gospel" the Lausanne movement means a response to human needs in the areas of justice, ecology and compassion, as well as personal salvation.[1457]

4.2.2.1   Origins of the Tradition

The Lausanne approach to mission is evident in a number of Evangelical churches in Wales, distinct from those described as E1 or E2. The approach could have been identified as E3, were it not so strongly influenced by the *Missio Dei* School of missiological thought.[1458] As an approach to mission, it is much closer to Evangelistic than *Missio Dei,* but has responded to, and accommodated, some of the emphases of the latter approach. However, in a Lausanne approach to mission, the mission of God was expressed through the Church, and not through all human activity in society, as would tend to be the case in a *Missio Dei* approach.[1459] It did, however, represent what Price calls a revival of social action, following the failure of Evangelical churches in Wales to be involved socially after the revival of 1904.[1460] It represents a conscious refutation of Pietism's isolationism. Professor Bobi Jones regarded Pietism as a heresy, "separating the Lord from his creation", and denying Christ's lordship over all.[1461] Man, he maintained, was made to rule and delight in all of creation, whereas Evangelicals had withdrawn into passivity, reacting to the emphasis of Theological Liberalism, and so "giving the field to the Social Gospel".[1462] Instead, Jones called for Christians in Wales to be socially and

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[1455] Birdsall and Brown, *Cape Town Commitment*, 29; Johnston, *World Evangelism*, 10-11, 176-177, 195, 301-303, 372-4.
[1456] Lausanne, 'Covenant,' sec.6.
[1457] Birdsall and Brown, *Cape Town Commitment*, 27-29.
[1458] Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 34.
[1459] Lausanne, 'Covenant,' sec 5; Johnston, *World Evangelism*, 282; K. J. Vanhoozer, "Evangelicalism and the Church: The Company of the Gospel," in *The Futures of Evangelicalism* (ed. C. Bartholomew, R. Parry, and A. West; Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 2003), 73-93; C. J. H. Wright, "Future Trends in Mission," in *The Futures of Evangelicalism* (ed. C. Bartholomew, R. Parry, and A. West; Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 2003), 152; Chester, *Good News*, 74.
[1460] R. G. R. Price, "How Can Organisations with a Christian Ethos Use the Social Enterprise Model in Delivering Significant and Community Benefits?" (MSc Thesis, University of Mid Glamorgan, 2008), 11, 24.
[1461] R. M. Jones, *Crist a Chenedlaetholdeb* (Bridgend: Brintirion, 1998), 24-26, 30, 64.
[1462] Jones, *Crist a Chenedlaetholdeb*, 30, 41, 116-117.

politically active, abandoning Pietism, as they had already, he claimed, by exercising their right to vote.[1463] For Parry, Lausanne was a watershed for Evangelicals, and the social ethics of the Covenant was "now accepted as central by the evangelical mainstream".[1464]

The predominance of E1 churches in Wales would suggest, however, that this realisation has not yet fully dawned, and certainly not in terms of a local church's priorities for mission in Wales. Wright spoke of those that he still encountered, who "seem determined to turn the mission clock back to the first half of the twentieth century when evangelicals lost touch with their historical roots and embraced a view of mission as entirely or primarily evangelistic."[1465] The issue, of whether the mission of a local church should be "entirely or primarily evangelistic", represents something of a fault-line among evangelicals in Wales. For Wright, and for churches with a Lausanne approach in Wales, the mission of the local church is to be integrated and holistic.

4.2.2.2 The Emphasis of Lausanne Churches

Churches in Wales identified as having a Lausanne approach were those which believed in mission that was equally evangelistic and socially engaged. They were churches where the theory of Lausanne had affected their practice. As with E2 churches in Wales, those with a Lausanne approach were linked to EA rather than EMW. EA Wales is publicly supportive of a holistic approach to mission.[1466] Two of the partner organisations of EA Wales, *Gweini*[1467] and *Tearfund,*[1468] promote and support such mission. *Gweini,* founded in 1999, as the public name for the Council of Christian Community Work in Wales, seeks to coordinate and support individuals and churches involved in the Christian voluntary sector. It represents and reflects their activities to the Welsh and UK governments.[1469] The areas covered are

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[1463] Jones, *Crist a Chenedlaetholdeb*, 25-26, 56.

[1464] R. Parry, "Evangelicalism and Ethics," in *The Futures of Evangelicalism* (ed. C. Bartholomew, R. Parry, and A. West; Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 2003), 165.

[1465] Wright, "Future Trends in Mission," in Bartholomew, Parry, and West, *Futures*, 162.

[1466] n/a, *Good News for the Poor?: A Snapshot of the Beliefs and Habits of Evangelical Christians in the UK* (London: Evangelical Alliance, 2015), 22-24.

[1467] www.gweini.org *Gweini* is a Welsh word meaning 'to serve'.

[1468] www.tearfund.org

[1469] J. M. Evans, ed., *Faith in Wales: Counting for Communities* (Cardiff: Evengelical Alliance, 2008), 10-40; P. Chambers, "Economic Factors in Church Growth and Decline in South and South West Wales," in *Church Growth in Britain: 1980 to the Present* (ed. D. Goodhew; Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 227-228.

extensive: art, culture, sport, health, media, equality, education, economy, environment, social justice, youth and children, marriage, immigration and the elderly.[1470] In 2003, Dan Boucher, who was then the EA Assembly Liaison Officer, wrote a report for *Gweini* to help churches find their place in voluntary sector activity, approach the Welsh assembly Government for funding, and link to others in the same sphere of activity.[1471] Boucher spoke of "decades of tragic withdrawal" from socio-political engagement by Evangelical churches as a result of Pietist assumptions.[1472] He called for a "Local Positive" approach in which local churches engaged to meet the social needs of their area, and not merely to have a negative posture of protest on matters of social and political concern.[1473] Boucher argued that recent Government encouragement of faith groups in the Voluntary Sector gave a new opportunity for action, as the Welfare State struggles to deliver the community care that it has committed to provide.[1474] Through the EA, the work of *Gweini* has gained a high profile among churches in Wales, and with government agencies.[1475]

Tearfund is an organisation that initially raised funds and initiated programmes to address poverty outside of the UK. However, having seen churches transform communities through generosity and social programmes in developing countries, the "Discovery Course" was introduced to Wales in 2011 to help churches engage locally with the needs of their own communities.[1476] The course helped churches, and their leaders, to identify the mission opportunities in their area, for the good of the wider community rather than merely as part of the churches' evangelism. It is, perhaps, indicative of the dominance of E1 approaches to mission in Wales, that only three churches, and all near the border with England, had used the Discovery Course in the following three years.[1477]

Churches with a Lausanne approach to local church mission were identified by email responses, at interview, or from their questionnaire responses where no other

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[1470] J. Richards, "Voluntary Sector Work Groups," n.p. [cited 14.08.2014]. Online: www.gweini.org.uk/aboutus/#Together.
[1471] Boucher, *Taking Our Place*, 2-4.
[1472] Boucher, *Taking Our Place*, 3, 10, 16-18.
[1473] Boucher, *Taking Our Place*, 3, 12-14.
[1474] Boucher, *Taking Our Place*, 19-21.
[1475] Morgan, *Span, 2011*, 3; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 93-95; Chambers, *Religion*, 210-224.
[1476] H. Meredith, "Tearfund's Discovery Course Launches in Wales," n.p. [cited 14.08.2014]. Online: www.tearfund.org/en/about_you/what_your_church_can_do/around_the_uk/wales. www.tearfund.org/en/about_you/resources/for_churches/engage_with_your_community/discovery/ http://www.communitymission.org.uk/ [cited 16.03.2011]
[1477] Information supplied, in an email, by Hywel Meredith, Director, *Tearfund* Wales, on 14.08.2014.

confirmation was received.[1478] Charts 31 and 32[1479] show that only seventeen churches could be identified as having a Lausanne approach to local church mission. Of these, 41% were in the 5:2 category, which was a higher proportion than E1 churches (32%), but less than E2 churches (75%). Half of the churches with a Lausanne approach were some of the largest congregations in Wales' cities and large towns, with Sunday attendances between 200 and 1,000. This may, in part, explain the number which were 5:2, as it is less of a challenge for a church in the hundreds to see five added in a decade and two in a single year, than for a church of a much smaller size. Also, the larger size of church may indicate that a church has to have a certain strength and scale to be able to engage in social projects in addition to other church activities.

4.2.2.3   The Lausanne Approach to Mission

In terms of activities, the mission of Lausanne churches looked similar to E2 churches, with some significant variations outlined below. In terms of connections to community, Lausanne churches were also involved in *Foodbank*, debt relief (CAP), night-shelter, café and drop-in centres, community youth work and other services to the community. The difference from E2 engagement was that they were willing to provide services to the community for largely altruistic reasons, with only an indirect link to church meetings or to evangelistic programmes. It was hoped that involvement with one might lead to interest in the other. These included asylum support (including teaching English as a foreign language, domestic classes for Muslim women[1480]), a centre for the elderly,[1481] dementia care[1482] and community youth clubs.[1483] Two churches were working, at the request of the local police, to draw youngsters off the streets where they were causing disruption.[1484] Another Lausanne church said that their initiatives were a direct result of conversations with *Tearfund* representatives who had introduced them to people "who are passionate about Jesus, poverty and justice, and *Tearfund*!"[1485] As a result, the church had changed its approach, and agreed to run a day-centre for the elderly:

[1478] Leaders were asked to choose from six options, described earlier. Option C identified a Lausanne approach to local church mission: "God wants social action as well as the gospel message".
[1479] Page 172.
[1480] 30SEEE.
[1481] 64SWNE, 30SEEE.
[1482] 08NEOE, 64SWNE.
[1483] 108VNE, 84SENE
[1484] 66NWNE, 108VNE
[1485] 30SEEE.

> "… the council approached to see we would take over [name] Street Centre, which is over half a mile away, senior citizens lunches Monday to Friday, so we entered into a contract with them for three years. …we serve 20 people every day having a lunch who don't have anything to do with church really."[1486]

The church leader's analysis clearly reflected a Lausanne approach: "I see mission and evangelism as two concentric circles. I see evangelism at the centre, and mission as something wider that links to the central theme."[1487] Such a distinction between "mission" and "evangelism" is illustrative of a Lausanne approach. Social action was part of the church's mission, for its own sake, the two elements being independent, and yet operating together.[1488]

There was an underlying conviction, in Lausanne churches, that people needed to see the benefits brought by the churches in their community. Only then would evangelism have any relevance:

> "They matter to God. I think that's where I would start. I think the communication is through what we do, more than what we say. So that as a church we would endeavour to find ways to put flesh on that, through all the programs that we are involved in … it is more an organic thing." [1489]

For one Lausanne leader, this had meant a fundamental change in how he viewed the ministry of the local church:

> "I think we have been seeking to shift from the focus of trying to get people into "church" and moving towards trying to take Christ to the community. These are still early days for this shift in focus. We need to see an incarnational church where Christ is manifest in the community. Church will then shape around it rather than the other way round."[1490]

Lausanne churches looked similar to other evangelical churches, but their understanding of the nature of their mission had changed their orientation as churches, and their effect on their communities. This trend is implied in the fact that Lausanne churches had a lower proportion of Church Related activities as the "most used" means of connecting to their communities (Chart 43).

[1486] 30SEEE.
[1487] 30SEEE.
[1488] Keller, *Center*, 146-148.
[1489] 64SWNE
[1490] 124MPE.

Church related most
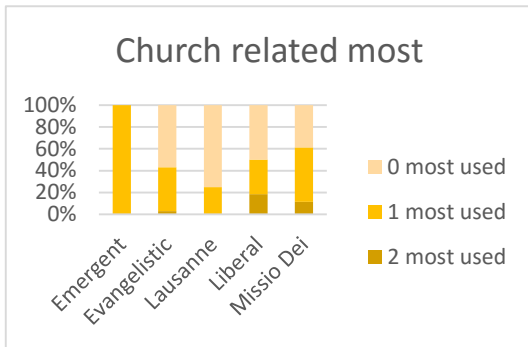
Chart 43. The comparative use of the Church Related activities as "most used" to connect to community by the different approaches to mission.

This would reflect their intention to engage with society for society's sake, rather than as a means to draw society into the sphere of the church. This is further evidenced in the number of Lausanne churches doing Need and Youth related ministry (Chart 44), and especially in the churches that "most used" those connections (Chart 45).
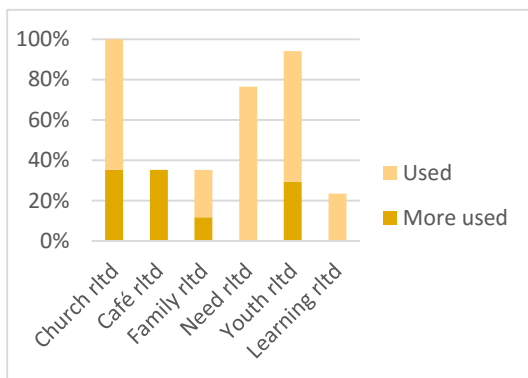
Chart 44. How Lausanne churches connected to their communities, and used several approaches in a group.
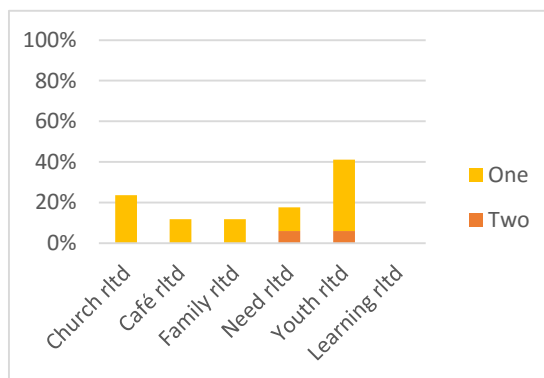
Chart 45. How Lausanne churches connected most, and whether these "most used" came from the same

These churches did little Learning related connection to their communities, and no Lausanne church used the approach as "most used". This would suggest that, as Lausanne churches surveyed the needs of their communities, learning related needs were not seen as a high priority.[1491]

The charts 36-41, showing how the different approaches to mission connected to their communities overall, not in the "most used" category, show the same patterns.[1492] Lausanne churches, compared to the other approaches, focussed more of their mission on families, the young and the needy, in preference to activities

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[1491] The Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFAL) courses mentioned earlier would be an exception to this trend, and may reflect the church's urban setting.
[1492] Pages 171-172.

based around the church building, a café, or learning, where the felt needs of the community were less evident.

4.2.2.4   The Lausanne Means of Communication

When Lausanne churches were asked how they sought to communicate their message to their community (Chart 46), the responses showed that all groups of evangelistic means were used, and some approaches from the groups were used more than once. The variety of methods used was also shown in how people had responded to the message, leading them to join the church (Chart 47).
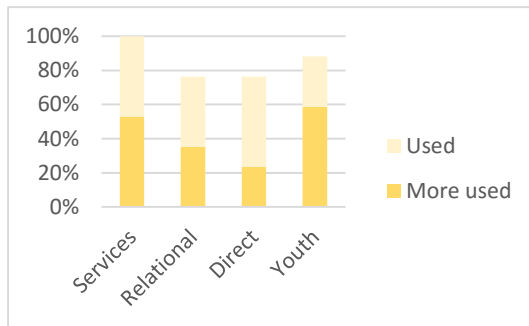
Chart 46. How Lausanne churches sought to communicate their message, showing the % use of each group, and multiple approaches in a group.
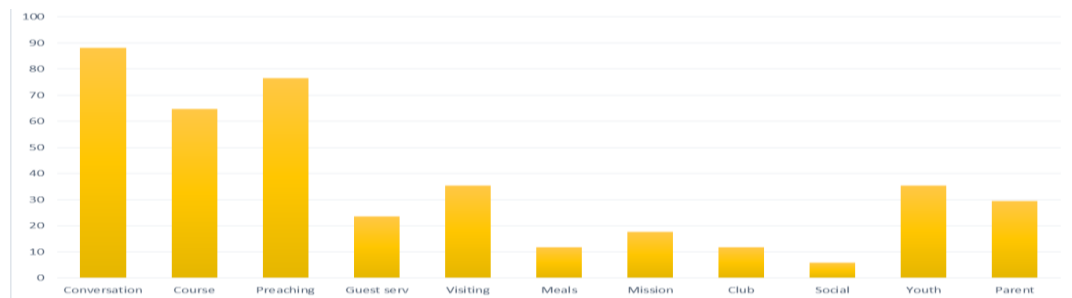
Chart 47. How people came to faith, and were added to the church, in Lausanne churches.

However, when asked which approaches were used most (Chart 48), the Direct methods were less evident. Their use of Direct methods was less than other approaches to mission, except for the Emergent churches which did not use them at all (Chart 49).
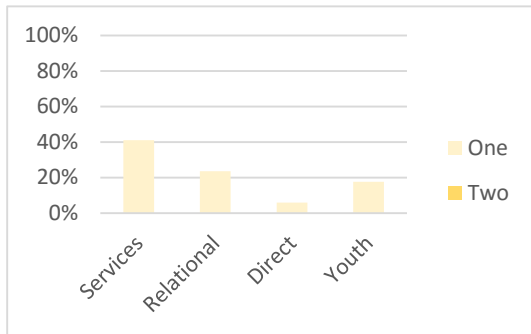
Chart 48. How Lausanne churches identified the approaches they used most, and whether these "most used" come from the same group.
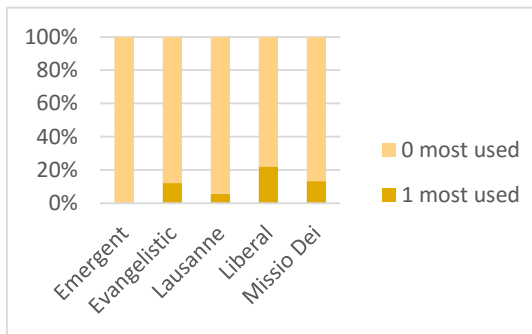
Chart 49. The comparative use of Direct methods of communication by the approaches to mission.

The number of Lausanne churches that had church services as one of the "most used" methods for communicating its message was lower than in Evangelistic churches (Chart 50), with only a third of these being 5:2 churches. This may be evidence that an intentional use of church services, in an attractional way, still has effectiveness in evangelism, or it may merely be a feature of larger churches, where the 5:2 criteria was easier to reach, or where a crowd attracts a crowd.
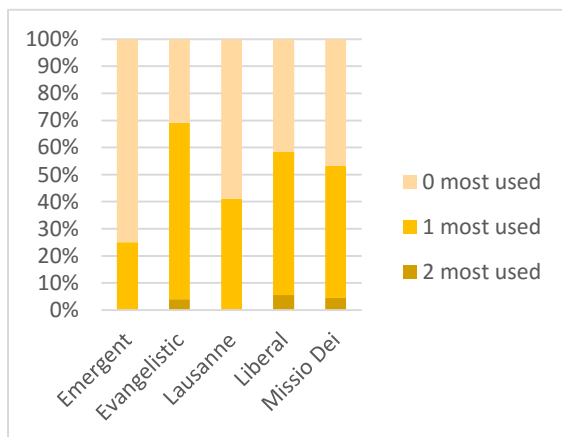
Chart 50. The comparative use of Church Services as a main evangelistic method by the different approaches to mission.

The relatively low use of church services, and particularly the significantly low use of Direct means of evangelism, reflected the Lausanne emphasis on being part of the community, not a body that enters for evangelism and then withdraws. The proportion of 5:2 churches, within those with a Lausanne approach, may also reflect a consequence of using a significant proportion of the church's resources for humanitarian mission rather than evangelism. For Evangelistic churches, communicating the message was the absolute priority in mission. Having a double emphasis would seem to affect the church's growth patterns, and could, eventually, affect the availability of people and resources to perform the mission, in that growth produces the needed resources for mission.

4.2.2.5 Adjustment to the Aspects of Context

As stated earlier, comments from leaders illustrating the particular distinctives of the Welsh contexts will not be repeated at length in considering the following five approaches, unless their observations add to, or change, the picture. Brief illustrations will be given to show similar perspectives.

4.2.2.5.1 The Religious Aspects of Welsh Context

The Lausanne approach to mission has been shown to involve a reorientation of the local church in relation to its ministry and mission. This change was a challenging task in traditional, and especially Welsh language, areas.[1493] One Welsh language minister spoke of the ministry and mission of his predecessor as being entirely pastoral, centred on church members and reaching out to, and through, their families. The current minister saw that effective mission, in the present and future, would have to be "outreach outside the church. This is the greatest challenge for my ministry in the future".[1494] Such transitions, however, could only be in areas of Wales where there were churches capable of such a change

The situation in Wales, described by Lausanne leaders, was similar to the Evangelistic churches, but without a perception of positive opportunities.[1495]

> "At the moment, it barely registers. There are certain aspects of it that are still evident, like funerals and some people want to be married in Chapel. With the older generations it is generally a minus, but with the younger it tends to be ambivalence. There are areas where there is an antagonism, but generally there is nothing for them to hate."[1496]

Lausanne churches saw no future for the traditional Welsh Nonconformist patterns of chapel life at all. Because they tended to be larger, and situated in urban settings, where the traditional mores of Welsh society were less evident, the churches sought to be contemporary, and had already seen significant change in their ecclesiology. One urban church leader commented on the regressive influence of the traditions they had moved away from:

> "…it can affect us spiritually in that we are always looking back. I think it affects us in terms of proactive leadership, so, I think you don't seem to get the same confidence in the gospel, and in God who can do the impossible and

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[1493] 124MPE.
[1494] 110NWBC(Trans).
[1495] 30SEEE, 70VNE.
[1496] 66NWNE.

change situations… Negatively I would describe it as inoculation against the gospel".[1497]

One leader saw some benefit in remembering and learning from times when churches in Wales were experiencing revival,[1498] and another had toyed with an extra service "that is predominantly hymns and more traditional that people who are in their 60 plusses" as a form of evangelism.[1499] There was also some awareness that in more traditional Welsh rural communities a sensitivity would need to be shown to traditional expectations.[1500] However, no confidence was expressed in the traditional Nonconformist model of chapel, but rather "our primary concern is to try to be church within the community and that is to get our people acting as Christians in a missional sense".[1501]

Others expressed the same need for a fundamental change of mission strategy:

> "The message is the kingdom in the community … We bring the kingdom wherever we go. Holiness is living Christ. The gospel is more than being converted and going to heaven, it's about justice and care... with the chapels detached and protecting their tradition. Only those that adapt will survive.[1502]

Mission within Lausanne churches called for a fundamental change. Engagement with the community would begin a social transformation that would breed hope.

4.2.2.5.2 The Geographic Aspects of Welsh Context

Lausanne churches tended to be located in larger towns and cities, mostly in South Wales. Six were in the Valleys, six in Cardiff, and one each in Swansea, Bridgend, Llanelli and Haverfordwest. Four were in North Wales coastal towns, one in Wrexham, and one in Mid Wales. None were in villages, and only in Mid Wales was there a Lausanne church that was in a predominantly rural area. One church was Welsh-speaking. Therefore, their geographical spread was limited, and the type of communities served was almost exclusively urban or semi-urban.

However, Lausanne churches had the same awareness of the variety of local distinctives across Wales:

> "… a town that is more like a village. It's a community that is made up of

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[1497] 30SEEE.
[1498] 30SEEE, 21SWEE.
[1499] 02SEBE.
[1500] 05SEBE.
[1501] 02SEBE.
[1502] 08NENE.

various groups, almost tribal in their identity as (place) people or (place) people, and yet they are all passionately Welsh, identified with this community but they have a village mentality".[1503]

The Lausanne churches, with the strongest sense of loyalty to locality, were in the South Wales Valleys. Leaders in the Valleys communities had the same high sense of localism described by the Evangelistic church leaders.[1504] One leader described the context graphically:

"I am a man of the Rhondda before I'm a man of Wales, almost. It is that Valleys feeling, some of the things that happen in the Rhondda you wouldn't see in some of the bigger cities for sure. Sometimes that colloquialism is almost profound. I betray my village of Treherbert by playing rugby for Treorchy, a mile down the road!... When it's Treorchy against Pontypridd I'd be fully behind Treorchy. When it's Pontypridd against Cardiff then I'll be behind Pontypridd! When it's Wales against England, it's Wales."[1505]

This church ran *Foodbank*, a café, CAP and other community initiatives to serve its immediate constituency.

The larger urban and semi-urban communities, that had seen higher levels of inward and outward migration, had a less evident loyalty to place. However, an awareness of a village mentality still remained. One city church spoke of attitudes to locality in a pejorative way: "It's something to do with feeling slightly marginalised, feeling that there is a rootedness, a history, about where you come from... I think there can be a small-mindedness, parochialism …".[1506] This church had worked extensively with the local authority to support the marginalised and mentally challenged, as a direct response to the local conditions they observed.

A city centre church, with a large student and immigrant population in its adjacent community, was challenged by the fact that the majority of those attending drove in from the suburbs. The leader commented that the church building was in its locality for a reason, and, after consulting with EA, defined its own "square mile" for mission purposes. They got involved in *Foodbank*, a provision for the homeless, a Day Centre for the elderly, two English classes catering for up to 80 Muslim background people, a sewing and cooking class for Muslim women, community fun days, regeneration days of garden weeding or car-washing, and an international's work for 70 to 80 students of different nationalities. This was done for holistic reasons, aware that it was bridge-building to a community when, previously, the only contact was

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[1503] 17SWPE.
[1504] 108VNE.
[1505] 70VNE.
[1506] 64SWNE.

"that we parked our cars outside their houses which was very annoying too. It was a very negative association".[1507] The church had created its own local identity, and served the community within it.

Lausanne churches, though mostly within urban communities, still recognised a measure of localism present in their communities: "There is an affinity with the milltir sgwar, your own patch, a love towards the place where you grow up, but your primary identity is Welsh".[1508] This was a feature of Welsh contexts that Lausanne churches seemed to have capitalized on, in that it gave a defined area, a particular people, and set of needs to respond to.[1509]

4.2.2.5.3   The Ethnic Aspects of Welsh Context

Lausanne is an international movement that encourages cooperation between churches in different nations, and celebrates national diversity. For Lausanne churches, the presence of different cultures, languages, traditions and approaches to mission, in the Church and the local church, is desirable, and is seen as a particular feature and strength of the Christian Church.[1510] This may, in part, explain why Lausanne churches tended to be located in larger towns, and along the border with England, where there was greater population diversity and movement.[1511]

> "It's not just that they speak English, a sizeable proportion of the people are English. I have never led a church in Wales, I've only led a church in Cardiff. I do believe that Cardiff, and especially parts of Cardiff, is unique. I think that (place name) is essentially English."[1512]

This comment, by a leader born in a West Wales valley, showed that parts of the urban areas of Wales were cosmopolitan to such an extent, that they could be considered so English as to be not a part of Wales at all.

This Lausanne leader, along with others, made reference to Welsh ethnic distinctives in other parts of Wales, in contrast to their own,[1513] even recognising the different ethnic origins of people in other parts of Wales: "There is a Welsh psyche, it's something to do with being Celtic, something to do with feeling slightly

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[1507] 30SEEE.
[1508] 66NWNE.
[1509] 101SWBE.
[1510] This will be considered in the next section on language and culture, it having a particular relevance to Welsh language churches.
[1511] 84SENE.
[1512] 02SEBE.
[1513] 66NWNE, 64SWNE, 05SEBE, 02SEBE, 30SEEE.

marginalised… "[1514] However, leaders spoke of the different nationalities in their churches and the communities they were seeking to reach and serve:

> "…many people speak various overseas languages as speak Welsh in our church, showing its diversity... outside the church our city is supposedly a city of refuge for refugees, and there are many various languages spoken on the streets".[1515]

The classes for Muslim women, described earlier, illustrate this ethnic diversity and one church's missional response to it.[1516] However, those on the Welsh / English border, said that there was no one single ethnic identity: "We are in some senses a bit like borderland country we not sure fully of our identity".[1517] Therefore, the mission of the churches in such areas made little application to a Welsh ethnicity.

In the Valleys, where recent inward migration had been limited and where people of a different ethnicity were less than 1% of the population, there was a degree of homogeneity. This generated a loyalty to a sense of tribe, but also an ongoing hostility to those who were different:

> "Approximately 0.5 % of the population are from an ethnic minority which is far lower than Wales as a whole – however, racial harassment particularly from the youngsters and targeting local shopkeepers and takeaway staff is occasionally a problem."[1518]

> "At times there can be something that's a bit racist, I think it's softening slowly but it's there".[1519]

The leaders of Lausanne churches sought to identify with, be a part of, and represent that distinct Valleys identity.[1520] In the Valleys, they tended to serve the majority, not the minorities.

4.2.2.5.4 The Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of Welsh Context

In terms of Niebuhr's categories, in his *Christ and Culture*, the Lausanne approach to culture would tend to be either in tension or involved with it.[1521] Leaders described the same regional patterns, reflecting attitudes to Welsh language and culture, as the Evangelistic leaders had done. They saw the mosaic of attitudes about the

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[1514] 64SWNE.
[1515] 21SWEE.
[1516] Page 209.
[1517] 124MPE.
[1518] 120VBE.
[1519] 70VNE,
[1520] 120VBE.
[1521] Niebuhr, *Culture*, 45-229; Keller, *Center*, 194-217.

Welsh language, and its associated culture, change progressively from the Welsh heartlands of the north and west to the anglicised east and south.

A Lausanne church in Gwynedd was Welsh-speaking only, and its minister active in promoting and defending the Welsh language.[1522] This leader contended that people needed to hear and respond to Christian truth in their heart language:

> "The best way to reach and evangelize Welsh speakers is through Welsh churches. I have non-Christian friends who would never listen to the message of the gospel in English because they associate the English language as a foreign language..."[1523]

The church's mission, therefore, was to a specific language group, and contextualised to this language and its non-English culture. This position on language, however, was exceptional in Lausanne churches. As stated earlier, Lausanne, as an international movement, sees the church as a place of racial integration and acceptance, not exclusion. Lindsay Brown, the International Director of the Lausanne Movement, is a Welshman from Merthyr Tydfil, in the anglicised South Wales Valleys. When speaking at the Evangelical Movement of Wales English Conference in August 2012, he stated a Lausanne position, provoking some controversy among Welsh speakers. He spoke of his pride in his Welsh roots and identity, but said that mono-ethnic and mono-cultural churches lost the "compulsive attractiveness" seen in the New Testament Church. These transcended ethnic divisions, rather than tempering and weakening their witness through limiting themselves to a single *ethnie*.[1524] These contrasting attitudes will be considered in Chapter Five.

A more common approach by Lausanne churches would be to do parts of services, publicity, and small group activity through the medium of Welsh, whilst making English the predominant language of the church.[1525] Traditional Welsh hymns and tunes would be incorporated within worship,[1526] but there would be no plans to establish a Welsh language church, or to encourage Welsh speakers to attend one. One church had ample resources to do so:

> "We have over 100 welsh speakers, including 20 welsh-speaking teachers. Children go to a Welsh School.   First language Welsh speakers want to invite

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[1522] Arguments in favour and against Welsh language churches will be considered in chapter five.
[1523] (Trans). In an email 26.06.2014 in response to my question to him on single-language churches.
[1524] Transcription of a recording, supplied by the EMW Office, of the Wednesday Seminar, 'Darkest Day or Dramatic Dawn', of the English Conference of the Evangelical Movement of Wales, Aberystwyth, August 2012.
[1525] 21SWEE, 248NWBE
[1526] 21SWEE, 248NWBE.

non Church English-speaking work colleagues and neighbours to something accessible in English We sing some traditional welsh hymns and tunes we support Christian outreach to Welsh schools".[1527]

Another church was keen to identify itself as bilingual, and for people to have a Welsh church experience when they attended:

"We are a bilingual church in a region where 70% of the population are Welsh-speaking. We project hymns bilingually and sing them bilingually. We include some classic Welsh hymns and sing them mainly in Welsh. We have a Welsh language home group. We encourage church members to attend Welsh classes (held in our building by the University). Our website is bilingual. Our administrator is bilingual and answers the phone with Welsh first. Our aim is that you will always know you have been to church in Wales".[1528]

This approach to mission was seeking to help people, who had moved into Wales from other places, to incorporate into Wales and Welshness. It was less orientated to building a bridge to reach and serve Welsh speakers in the community. Welsh-speaking Christians were to be part of English-speaking congregations that served communities multi-lingually and multi-culturally.

In South Wales there was some use of traditional culture, such as choral singing,[1529] to connect with the community.[1530]

"We were also accommodating to the choirs that are in the town and a large part if the community … The main Welshness about the area is the great emphasis on the choirs and the town council".[1531]

However, Welsh culture in their areas was more associated with rugby,[1532] in that people "might never have been to a game, but they are a rugby fan".[1533] Other modern expressions of Welshness, such as the National Assembly and contemporary Welsh music, were also valued.[1534] The traditional icons of Welshness, such as language and *eisteddfodau*, had become dated and passé: "The *Eisteddfod* which was a bit sad and not exciting… Culture has changed, the Cool Cymru movement… The Welsh government, and having that identity, has helped".[1535] Instead of identifying with the Welsh language and traditional culture, this church ran a café for parents and children, from Welsh and English schools.

Lausanne churches, therefore, adjusted to the Welsh language and cultural

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[1527] 30SEEE.
[1528] 248NWBE.
[1529] 70VNE, 101SWBE, 17SWPE.
[1530] 101SWBE, 70VNE.
[1531] 101SWBE.
[1532] 64SWNE.
[1533] 17SWPE.
[1534] 84SENE
[1535] 64SWNE

traditions as appropriate to their context. However, their largely urban and English language contexts, with the exception of the one Welsh language church, meant that a multi-cultural approach, using English as the *Lingua Franca,* predominated.

4.2.2.5.5   The Social Aspects of Welsh Context

The picture of social patterns in Wales described by leaders of Lausanne churches was no different from that already given,[1536] and, like E2 churches, they sought to be actively involved in their communities. Where Lausanne churches differed, however, was that they were willing to be involved whether or not there was an obvious evangelistic opportunity for their message.

In several cases, they actually surveyed the community to identify the priority needs, or joined with what was already happening, or approached the local council to ask what was needed.[1537] As a result the local authorities, and the police, came back to the churches looking for partnership.[1538]

> "We have built on activities that are already taking place in the community, for example, schools and youth work, ladies craft club. (Place) has a very strong community feel and so we built other activities around community, for example opening a community cafe. There is also a strong emphasis on family so we organised an annual family fun night".[1539]

The variety of activities provided in the community by Lausanne churches is very extensive: debt counselling and hosting a Credit Union, *FoodBank,* litter picking with *Keep Wales Tidy, Street Pastors,* bus ministry to youths on the streets at night, community football teams organised with the Police, school governor involvement, youth clubs, marriage and parenting courses, night shelters for the homeless, classes for English, Welsh, fitness, cooking, sewing, quilting, and guitar playing, community car-washing and gardening, Day Centre for the elderly, after-school clubs, dementia care, and employing a community worker.[1540] The Lausanne conviction that churches be involved in the communities around them, for the benefit of those communities, had led to practical results. The success of these activities was measured in the positive changes in society: the declining youth violence in the streets, improving results in schools, raising morale in the community, and providing

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[1536] 120VBE, 108VNE, 17SWPE.
[1537] 17SWPE, 70VNE.
[1538] 108VNE, 120VBE, 30SEEE, 66NWNE, 64SWNE, 17SWPE.
[1539] 101SWBE.
[1540] 120VBE, 108VNE, 122SEEE, 21SWEE, 248NWBE, 248NWBE, 30SEEE, 70VNE, 66NWNE, 64SWNE, 84SENE, 17SWPE.

employment.[1541] Gains for the church itself were a hoped for consequence, but not a condition.

The sacrifices made by the churches to provide these services did not come without tensions. An inner-city church caring for addicts and the homeless had members concerned when the building was also used for their children's activities.[1542] Elsewhere, church members had moved to live in deprived areas intentionally, in order to serve,[1543] and the care was given, especially in Valley communities, knowing that they were helping those who were not always helping themselves:

> "There has been a clear exploitation of the benefits system, I know lots of people who should never be on benefits… Poorer me … and playing the system… People thought it was their entitlement when the mines closed, as if people owed me one."[1544]

The motivation for this was compassion not evangelism: "They matter to God. I think that's where I would start. I think the communication is through what we do, more than what we say."[1545] The starting point was said to be Jesus's command to give a cup of water in his name, and that they would help people because they, and God, loved them. If this did not lead to interest in their message or church, or even a rejection of both, "we would still stay with them".[1546]

One church invested heavily in a coffee shop and art gallery in the town centre, away from the church building, in order to demonstrate the love of God through the way that they lived. There reasons for doing so demonstrated their motivation for mission:"[1547]

> "Why would you open a shop here, this shop should be in Cardiff not in (Place)? I want to say why not (Place), this is what this community needs… We have to raise aspiration in the community, we can turn our town around. This can be the best place to live, not a place to live. This could be a great place."[1548]

This illustrates the Lausanne desire to be active in response to human need for its own sake, as well as for the spiritual needs of the community.

[1541] 108VNE, 66NWNE, 64SWNE, 17SWPE.
[1542] 21 SWEE.
[1543] 84 SENE.
[1544] 70 VNE.
[1545] 64 SWNE.
[1546] 84 SENE.
[1547] 17 SWPE.
[1548] 17 SWPE.

4.2.2.5.6 The Political Aspects of Welsh Context

The Lausanne declaration encouraged churches to take an active role in issues of justice, ecology and compassion as part of God's mission to God's world. Such an engagement inevitably involved engagement in the political sphere. The responses recorded by the different approaches to mission demonstrate this involvement by Lausanne churches, at a local if not a national level (Chart 42).[1549]

The 100% engagement with local government reflected the high level of cooperation in social projects between such churches and local authorities. Not only did these churches seek to alleviate need, but also to "teach a pride in our community and nationhood",[1550] and "to raise aspiration in the community".[1551]

As with Evangelistic leaders, there was a strong conviction that Welsh people feel a sense of grievance and disillusionment following their perceived exploitation industrially[1552] and politically:

> "I think Wales, Welsh people, still feel they are an oppressed nation, with a sense of inferiority. It manifests itself in either, an extreme pessimism and sense of hopelessness, or strident sort of, more belligerent, assertion of your Welshness. I think that's the root of it. I think there is a sense of inferiority and marginalisation."[1553]

Labourism was seen to have failed to remedy the situation,[1554] but one leader saw current government policy as an opportunity for the churches to bring real change:

> "David Cameron says austerity is here to stay, we have to do more with less, then I think it's an opportunity for church to embed itself more in providing some of the services that are currently statutory services.[1555]

This leader spoke of the opportunity being an ongoing challenge to the church to be increasingly involved, and to diversify in their activities, "in an incarnational way". This would involve continuing change for the church, to be less of a "professional attraction" and "more earthling community … and that to give rise to all sorts of new ways of being and doing church".[1556] The church was already running a community café, dementia care and *Foodbank*.

[1549] Page 196. Only ten interviews were done with leaders with a Lausanne approach to mission, which may explain the 0% readings at the national level.
[1550] 279VNE.
[1551] 17SWPE.
[1552] 120VBE, 70VNE, 84SENE.
[1553] 30SEEE.
[1554] 70VNE.
[1555] 64SWNE.
[1556] 64SWNE

This kind of transition was also exemplified in the church with the town centre café and art gallery. They approached Community and County Councillors asking them to identify the needs the church could respond to. This led to the establishing of childcare and nursery facilities, with resulting employment, within their Ward. From the confidence that this built, a request for a shop in the town was taken seriously by the authorities. A three storey shop was refurbished by the church, at a cost of £250,000 to the Council, in which the café and gallery are situated.

Another significant engagement within the political sphere was the action of members of the Welsh language Lausanne church in the defence of the Welsh language. Members of this church had been active in the work of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* / Welsh Language Society, formed in 1962 and modelled on the civil rights movement in the United States.[1557] They sought to defend and promote the use of the language in Wales, using non-violent direct action and civil disobedience to protest and petition for equal rights for the language. They argued that these rights, like those gained by other minorities of race, colour, or disabilities, had to be contended for. The "minority pleads its cause and tries to convince the majority that it is a fair one".[1558] For Machreth, a member of one of the Lausanne churches, such activities were her Christian duty:

> "After becoming a Christian, I didn't stop protesting, but gradually I came to understand how my campaigning couldn't be a self-centred or self-righteous act. Christ has redeemed me on the Cross, but He doesn't want to stop there – he wants His justice to go throughout the world. …my identity in Christ reinforced the identity God has given me on Earth, as part of a group of people. God has redeemed me in my Welshness".[1559]

She claimed that the Society had been shaped by these Christian principles, in its non-violent approach,[1560] an approach that meant:

> "…no fist violence, no verbal violence, and no heart violence. It is emphasized to all members that we should not act out of reactionary feelings and should avoid contempt towards individuals within the authorities. Instead, the non-violent principle urges members to act out of a desire for change, a desire for justice in a reasoned and calculated manner. As Christians within the movement, we must act out of love at all times and must remember to love all the people we're involved with".[1561]

[1557] M. Machreth, "Menna Machreth calls for equal rights for the Welsh language," n.p. [cited 29.08.2014]. Online: http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/menna-machreth-calls-equal-rights-2124678.
[1558] Machreth, "Ethnicity," n.p.
[1559] Machreth, "Ethnicity," n.p.
[1560] Machreth, "Ethnicity," n.p.
[1561] Machreth, "Ethnicity," n.p.

Unlike Evangelistic churches, which did not see evangelistic opportunities in political engagement, Machreth had come to faith through contact with Christians engaged in the same political activity, and saw her involvement as part of her testimony as a Christian. When speaking at the Lausanne Conference in Cape Town in 2010, she said;

> "I have a great opportunity to share the gospel when they ask me why I campaign for the Welsh language. Before speaking at an event or going into a meeting with politicians, I pray for wisdom, strength and to be a witness to Him and God has been faithful and has blessed me in these situations as a campaigner."[1562]

This example illustrates a fundamental difference between an Evangelistic and a Lausanne approach to mission, in relation to political engagement. A Lausanne approach saw contending for justice and individual rights as part of its mission, and part of the church's message of good news. Christians had not only been involved in political activity, but had sought to shape how that activity was conducted.

4.2.2.6   Reflections on Lausanne Adjustments to Context

Though the activities of Lausanne churches were outwardly similar to Evangelistic churches in their evangelism, and similar to E2 churches in their involvement in community, their response to each aspect of Welsh context has shown a significant extra motivation. Their conviction that the mission of God, through the local church, included aspects of justice, ecology and compassion, as well as proclamation, had led to a variety of social projects, done for the benefit of those who received them, albeit hoping for an indirect evangelistic connection. As a result, each church had engaged with local authorities, and no doubt enhanced the reputation of the churches in their communities. In terms of the wider remit of mission, these churches were doing mission, albeit in a limited way, that was bringing a measure of community transformation.

However, the urban context of Lausanne churches, and their larger size, raised a question as to whether such an approach to mission was feasible in smaller, rural situations. Also, the proportion of Lausanne churches that were 5:2 raised the possibility that the energy and resources put into mission, which was not directly evangelistic, was diverting these churches, at least in part, from a primary purpose. This issue will be considered further in the following chapter.

[1562] Machreth, "Ethnicity," n.p.

4.2.3   The *Missio Dei* Approach to Local Church Mission in Wales

4.2.3.1 Origins of the Tradition

The *Missio Dei* approach to mission is an ecumenical paradigm, in which the local church cooperates with the mission of God within its wider community.[1563] Like the Lausanne and Emergent approach, it is strongly influenced by the work of Newbigin and Bosch, which gave a Trinitarian framework for participation in God's varied work in his world. As such, the *Missio Dei* is concerned with a broad range of issues and needs, being addressed through a variety of agencies, not merely the work of the local church.[1564] The local church is part of its community, and not considered to be 'other', or distinct, from it.

Missio Dei churches spoke of their ecumenical connections for mission and of partnerships with other churches, "cross-church activity",[1565] where mission "is always in conjunction with Churches Together, as we have good ecumenical links".[1566] The *Missio Dei* approach involved cooperation with churches from a variety of theological traditions, as well as secular authorities. Disappointment was expressed that some Evangelistic churches were unwilling to partner with them because of their ecumenical cooperation and social engagement.[1567] The *Missio Dei* emphasis was on the wide scope of its mission, rather than a narrow message.

Churches with a *Missio Dei* approach to mission in Wales were identified by email responses, at interview, or from their questionnaire responses where no other confirmation was received.[1568] Charts 31 and 32[1569] show that forty five churches could be identified as having a *Missio Dei* understanding of local church mission. Of these, 27% were in the 5:2 category, which was a lower proportion than the Evangelistic and Lausanne churches.[1570]

[1563] Bosch, *Transforming*, 368.
[1564] Bosch, *Transforming*, 390, 399-408, 493,
[1565] 72NENE;
[1566] 138SWBE.
[1567] 72NENE.
[1568] Leaders were asked to choose from six options, described earlier (page 163). Option D identified a *Missio Dei* approach to local church mission: "Social action is as important as the gospel message, and separate from it".
[1569] Page 172.
[1570] 75% of E2, 41% of Lausanne, and 32% of E1 churches were '5:2 churches'.

4.2.3.2   The Emphasis of *Missio Dei* Churches

The 45 *Missio Dei* churches consisted of 36 churches from the historic denominations, and nine newer churches. The traditional churches had accepted the ecumenical *Missio Dei* commitments of their denominations, or at least their leaders had, which meant an acceptance, in principle, of the need for such mission. However, active involvement in the mission was not always evident.

> "Most people in my church would not see the need to engage with the community. They expect people to come to church (not for us go to the people) and for those who do come to adapt to our way of church life … It's a case if looking back to past glories and trying to re-capture them, rather than of finding appropriate ways now of being church. The chapel matters more than the kingdom".[1571]

Others spoke of an initial reluctance to be involved in such a change, followed by limited progress to becoming outward looking.[1572] It was, largely, the newer churches, together with some Charismatic Baptist churches that had moved away from traditional patterns,[1573] which had got involved practically in such mission to their communities.[1574] These were churches which, separating mission and evangelism, were prioritising social action. Unlike Lausanne churches, they sought to provide services without any underlying evangelistic connection. One church commented on its absence:

> "Whereas the church is very active in "outreach" ministries - both regular activities with the young and caring ministries such as *Foodbank* and CAP - actual 'evangelistic endeavours' seem to be lacking".[1575]

Another church saw their change in mission approach to be a deliberate turning away from evangelistic programmes and activity.[1576]

[1571] 139SWBE.
[1572] 258SEBE.
[1573] 82SWBE, 116SWBE, 107SWBE, 46SEBE, 247SWBE.
[1574] The footnote references that follow in this section show the proportion that were B (Baptist), N (New Church), E (Evangelical) or P (Pentecostal).
[1575] 145SEBE.
[1576] 229SWNE.

4.2.3.3   The *Missio Dei* Approach to Mission

It was their engagement with their community, simply for the good of the community, which distinguished *Missio Dei* churches from E2 and Lausanne churches. The latter expected or hoped for a direct link with their evangelistic efforts. *Missio Dei* churches made consistent reference to their community involvement for its own sake, without reference to evangelism.[1577] They expressed a desire to meet the needs of their community over the long-term,[1578] so that the church became "just very much part of the community, and that's the message really".[1579] The churches had researched the needs of their communities and responded to meet the identified needs.[1580] They provided services such as a community coffee shop, pre-school nursery, meeting point for the elderly, adult education classes, *Foodbank*, Street and School pastors, feeding the roofless, support for families with addiction problems, and furniture recycling.[1581] One church chose to be involved in a pregnancy advice service, because their town was said to have the highest rate of teenage pregnancy in Europe, and in *Street Pastors* because the town was "key in the night economy".[1582] These activities, consistent with a *Missio Dei* approach, were seen as representing kingdom activity,[1583] in contrast to activities that were evangelistic or church centred:

> "We are trying to learn and engage in being a kingdom influence / witness in our day-to-day lives. It's a struggle to change from activity / programme based evangelism but we believe it to be a vital element".[1584]

The motivation for such mission was not the enlargement of the local church, or the spiritual needs of the individual, but a desire to express and reflect God's mission of unconditional love for their community:[1585]

> "We do *Foodbank* and communicate the love of God … (it) carries the message to show how much God loves them … by us being out there. In *Foodbank* and furniture we are very upfront about why we do what we do, because of God's love … We don't do these things to get people into church, that's not why we do it. … God tells us to. Jesus told us to give a cup of water if someone is thirsty, so we do".[1586]

[1577] 258SEBE, 116SWBE, 07NEOE, 282SENE, 81SWNE, 107SWBE, 176SWNE, 36NEEE, 254SWPE, 46SEBE, 81SWNE.
[1578] 176SWNE, 36NEEE.
[1579] 36NEEE.
[1580] 07NEOE.
[1581] 282SENE, 72NENE, 81SWNE, 166VBE, 81SWNE.
[1582] 72NENE.
[1583] 229SWNE.
[1584] 229SWNE.
[1585] 247SWBE.
[1586] 81SWNE.

Missio Dei churches, providing such services, had "good relationships with the police, town Council and job centre, social services" and schools.[1587] One church had been invited into a partnership with a local supermarket, receiving thousands of pounds in funding to provide fun days for the community.[1588] Two churches arranged all the local community activities, because of a lack of facilities or initiative from elsewhere.[1589] One of them also funded the initiatives:

> "We donate significant monies to community activities, e.g. Infant/Junior School in the Village, Playgroup, Village Hall. We support our local [Place] Festival Week and Carnival. We have run 'Party in the Park', an after-school celebration on our Football pitch, and focussed on local children, all funded totally by the Church … and we believe we are respected for that".[1590]

These initiatives were done for purely altruistic reasons, and not intended for the direct, or indirect, benefit of the church. Another church focussed on care for the elderly, particularly through luncheon clubs, because of the age demographic of the area. They were also leading a night-shelter project outside their area, again without any specific evangelistic expectation: "We wait to see what comes out of it … We need to be light. … it has not been intentional, but rather waiting to see what comes out of it."[1591]

The traditional *Missio Dei* churches reflected an ecclesiology that was centred on a building and served by a minister as leader. This Nonconformist chapel tradition had shaped the mission approaches of the 36 denominational churches.[1592] It was reflected in the extent to which Church Related connections to community were utilised by *Missio Dei* churches, when compared to other approaches (Chart 43).[1593] Their reliance on Church Related activities was higher, overall, than Evangelistic and Lausanne churches. This again reflected the fact that a *Missio Dei* approach, in theory, may not always effect actual practice.

[1587] 81SWNE.
[1588] 36NEEE.
[1589] 254SWPE.
[1590] 107SWBE.
[1591] 58SWEE.
[1592] 24 of the 45*Missio Dei* churches had a founding date before 1900, 9 between 1900 and 1960, 11 between 1960 and 2000, and 1 post-2001.
[1593] Page 204.

This traditional pattern was also seen in the high use of youth, family and café activities for connection to community, where such connections would often be based in church buildings (Chart 51).[1594] When the "most used" connections were compared (Chart 52), it was evident that only church related activities had significant emphasis.
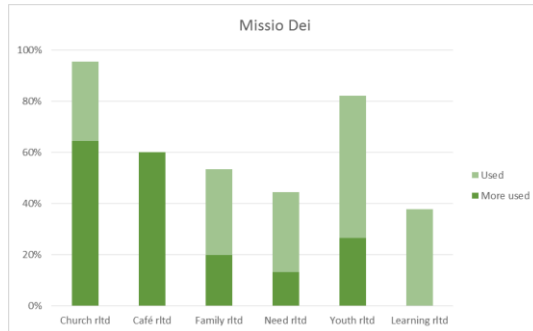
Chart 51. How *Missio Dei* churches connected to their communities, and used several approaches in a group.
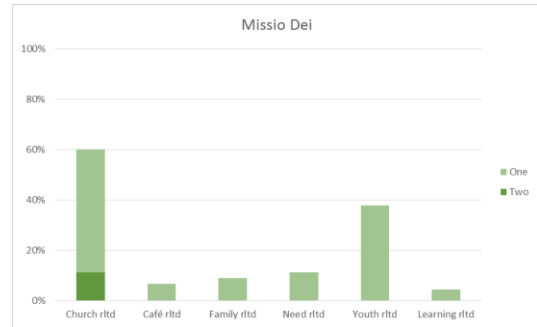
Chart 52. How *Missio Dei* churches connected most, and whether these "most used" came from the same group.

The charts, which compare *Missio Dei* churches' connections to their communities with other approaches (Charts 36 to 41),[1595] show the comparatively high use of church, youth and café related activities. This traditional mission pattern of a majority of *Missio Dei* churches, centred on a church building, had been broadened by the activities of the newer churches and Charismatic Baptist churches. Without their broader involvement, *Missio Dei* church engagement in Need and Family activities would have been minimal.

[1594] 07NEOE, 282SENE, 10NWRC, 36NEEE.
[1595] Pages 171-172.

4.2.3.4   The *Missio Dei* Means of Communication

The influence of the traditional Nonconformist chapel culture was further reflected in how *Missio Dei* churches communicated their message (Charts 53 & 54). The charts show a high use of Relational and Direct approaches to evangelism. However, traditional denominational churches, with a paid minister, relied heavily on this person for contact with the community, including home and hospital visitation.
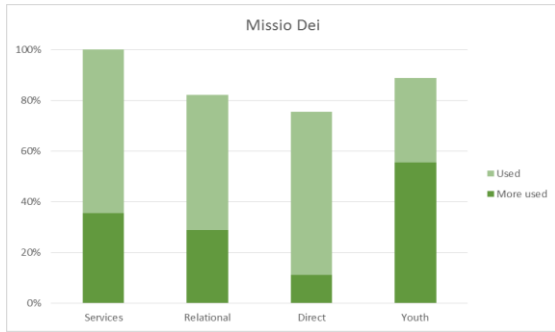
Chart 53. How *Missio Dei* churches sought to communicate their message, showing the % use of each group, and multiple approaches in a group.
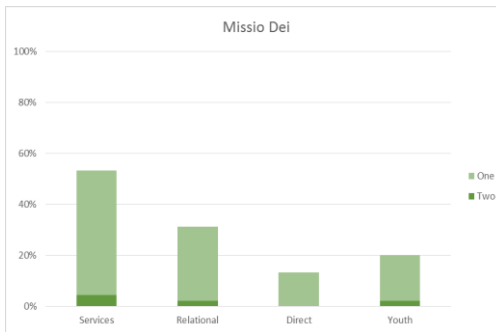
Chart 54. How *Missio Dei* churches identified the approaches they used most, and whether these "most used" come from the same group.

This would explain why these churches had a high use of Relational and Direct approaches in general terms (Chart 53), but less so in "most used" (Chart 54), and even less using two approaches within a group. Church members did not tend to add to the minister's pastoral or evangelistic contacts with the community. One-man, or one-woman, ministry was still the dominant pattern in denominational churches, and particularly so in Welsh-speaking areas.

The pattern is seen most clearly in the two charts that follow. When *Missio Dei* churches recorded the means whereby people had come to faith, and had been added to the church (Chart 55), the church based activities of preaching, clubs and
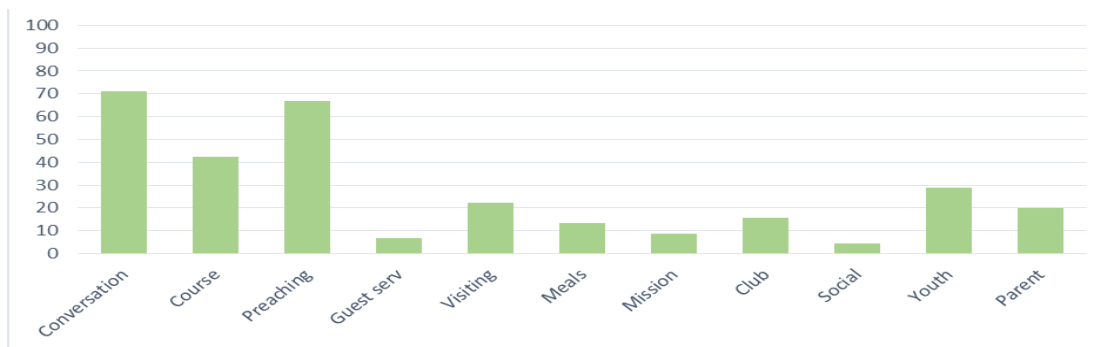
Chart 55. How people came to faith, and were added to the church, in *Missio Dei* churches.

youth activities, together with the minister's role in conversation and visiting were dominant.

When the use of church services was analysed for *Missio Dei* churches (Chart 56), there was a clear correlation between a reliance on Services to communicate the message, in one or more way, and whether a church was declining or growing. Such a reliance was a distinctive of declining *Missio Dei* churches.
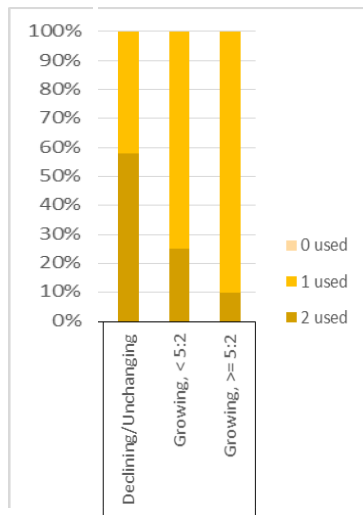
Chart 56. *Missio Dei* churches' use of Services to communicate their message, in relation to growth patterns.

These patterns show the contrasting expressions of mission among *Missio Dei* churches. Those in Welsh-speaking communities were well integrated, accepted and influential. Those relying on traditional church services and ministry in English-speaking communities, despite agreeing with a *Missio Dei* approach to mission in principle, were not active in practice, and were declining. Those with an Evangelical or Charismatic tradition, whilst seeing their mission through social action as distinct from their evangelism, were mostly active, influential and growing.[1596]

[1596] Of the 10 *Missio Dei* churches that used Services and were growing 5:2, 5 were New or Evangelical (282SENE, 291SENE, 81SWNE, 176SWNE, 36NEEE), 4 were Baptist (148SEBE, 116SWBE, ,46SEBE, 174SEBE), and one was Welsh language Presbyterian (10NWRC).

4.2.3.5   Adjustment to the Aspects of Context

4.2.3.5.1   The Religious Aspects of Welsh Context

The leaders of *Missio Dei* churches did not describe the Welsh religious context differently from other approaches, but they did see it from different perspectives. Leaders from newer churches were not confined by traditional patterns,[1597] but those from a traditional denominational background had expressed the frustrations described earlier. For them, a desire to be active in community-changing mission had led to a very negative assessment of the chapel context and its prospects.[1598]

> "Already we can see ageing congregations, which, if things don't change dramatically, will just die off. The Chapel culture will have disappeared…".[1599]

For this leader, the problem was a current issue, whereas for others it was also a historical legacy that persisted in folk memory:

> "… I do believe that, in Wales (certainly in the Valleys), there is still a hangover from the 1904 Revival. Many of the churches that grew out of that became embittered and embattled, to the extent that those which still exist now appear to be dinosaurs. I suspect that successful churches in Wales will probably be those that start again with more modern buildings and a more modern mind-set. Unfortunately our church has neither of those things and therefore is suffering the inevitable decline".[1600]

For another leader, the problem was a direct result of an ageing demographic in the churches, which had led to them becoming detached from their communities, having "lost their right to be in a position of leadership in their community… They probably became too old to do anything about it by then".[1601] There were still requests for funerals and weddings from families with historic links to a chapel, but unlike Welsh-speaking communities, there were few other connections.[1602]

The frustration and hopelessness expressed showed that there was little confidence in the inherited forms. A change in ecclesiology, and mission approach, was seen as an important part of the answer:

> "Welsh people have a negative impression of Church and overcoming these negative stereotypes, of who we are, is our greatest challenge".[1603]

[1597] 36NEEE.
[1598] 81SWNE.
[1599] 72NENE.
[1600] 141SWBE.
[1601] 10NWRC.
[1602] 07NEOE.
[1603] 291SENE.

The changes required for effective mission, which the less traditional churches had begun to implement, were seen as structural and theological. The structural changes involved a wholesale abandonment of traditional models of mission in favour of something relevant, contemporary and engaging.[1604] This involved changes in the mission as well as forms of services: "… by consistently demonstrating the love of Christ in action, and to have services which are actually more appealing than an hour of unnecessary dental surgery".[1605] One urban church, which described its context as a "leafy" town with a mixed middle class and wealthy population, targeted its resources to families, with services that were "consciously 'seeker friendly' and very contemporary".[1606] Initial contact with people was usually through the church's award-winning website, which ensured that it came high on searches for churches in the area. The minister, who had moved to Wales from England, commented on the challenges in Welsh urban centres, where religious tradition and memory were still strong, saying, "it is as if they have been inoculated against hearing the Gospel. I am convinced that if we had done the same things in another place as we have in (place), we would have seen much more fruit."[1607] Other leaders spoke of using methods and material "from other parts of the English-speaking world, moving more and more from Welsh roots of spiritual heritage",[1608] and another of how such changes had led to a softening of attitudes and a greater openness locally.[1609] The less traditional *Missio Dei* churches were pragmatists, and not tied to Welsh traditions or approaches.

The theological changes involved a rejection of the Evangelical convictions and practices of certain E1 churches. Leaders described the hindrance to mission in their area, as they saw it.[1610]

> "It is thick with Calvinism, which is a kind of spiritual insurance policy that does not bless the Church… The chapels are dying on their feet because that Calvinism doesn't work in a world of mass media … It's a club mentality, and it comes out of Calvinism, and a particular kind of Calvinism… the kind of fatalism".[1611]

These churches were Arminian in theology and pragmatist in their practice. They were engaging with their communities despite resistance, or a refusal to cooperate,

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[1604] 116SWBE.
[1605] 116SWBE.
[1606] 46SEBE.
[1607] 46SEBE.
[1608] 282SENE.
[1609] 291SENE.
[1610] 72NENE.
[1611] 82SWBE.

from other churches. Their pragmatic and activist approach to mission emphasized human initiative and responsibility. They were seeking to cooperate, at a human level, with God's mission in their community, beyond the confines of Evangelistic mission and without the underlying evangelistic motivation of Lausanne mission.

4.2.3.5.2   The Geographic Aspects of Welsh Context

Unlike Lausanne churches, *Missio Dei* churches were situated in all regions of Wales, in rural and urban contexts, and in both language communities. They made the same kind of observations on the degrees of Welsh identity in their communities, or lack of it.[1612] They had the same understanding of Welsh localism, and, as a result, the churches' mission was limited to its immediate constituency. This localism was often defined against another adjacent community:

> "Perhaps "Welshness" is less important in our context than "(place)ness" … one of my first observations is that (place) is fiercely protective of the town, and does not align itself with (adjacent urban area)…Therefore, the challenge in appealing to the community is to undertake community activity that is specific to (place), or more generally to the (adjacent area)".[1613]

This church identified with a local pride of place and targeted its community work within that defined sphere, rather than trying to enlarge it. Another church on the edge of an estate with its own identity, that had changed from being council owned to private ownership, engaged exclusively with that community:

> "… my limited understanding of their approach to evangelism and community engagement is that there is a strong connection with their very local community, who they feel called to serve and evangelise to. They do not cast their nets wide. … It is to this context that the church feels called to serve, which is in the majority a white, English-speaking environment".[1614]

The church, that was sponsored by the supermarket to provide community fun days, saw its community as "a very large village, so everybody knows everybody", and suggested that the "small town feel" might be the essential feature of the area's Welshness.[1615] As a result, its extensive activities were focussed on this one community.

The *Missio Dei* approach to mission was to serve communities for their own good, at the point of their need. Therefore, it was perhaps inevitable that this approach

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[1612] 174SEBE, 107SWBE.
[1613] 46SEBE.
[1614] 119SEOE.
[1615] 36NEEE.

emphasized its engagement with a specific local area. Needs in a wider area, or adjacent community, would be different, so *Missio Dei* churches tended to engage, exclusively, with their own immediate context.

4.2.3.5.3   The Ethnic Aspects of Welsh Context

Missio Dei churches sought to do mission to serve their whole community at the point of perceived need. As a result, when asked about the Welshness of people, they were quick to comment on the diversity of their surrounding population. A church in a border town spoke of the "split between English and Welsh who live here",[1616] and a leader in Pembrokeshire spoke of "Little England beyond Wales", commenting that,

> "… it most certainly isn't! It's quite a 'mongrel' community with a long military / dockyard history that means it is not traditionally Welsh [until it comes to rugby], but very distinctive in its own right, having more to do with southern Ireland, Cornwall and Brittany, than Cardiff, Treorchy or Aberystwyth".[1617]

A leader in Cardiff spoke of the community's cosmopolitan make-up, with people from many parts of Wales, but also other parts of the world.[1618] Others spoke of a variety of nationalities in their churches and communities,[1619] of "nine or ten nations represented on a Sunday",[1620] of groups from Nigeria,[1621] and in Wrexham of more Polish than Welsh speakers.[1622] The multi-ethnicity was less pronounced along the coast in the North, but there the incomers were described as "plastic Scousers",[1623] meaning that Welsh people from different parts of Wales had been merged into the dominant neighbouring culture of Merseyside, from where inward migration had been extensive.

So strong was the awareness of bi-ethnicity, or multi-ethnicity, that exclusive attitudes to Welshness prompted concerns about racism.[1624]

> "(Town) is a very mixed community - 7,000 residents and a lot of English immigration along with the indigenous community. … We don't believe in "distinctly Welsh" or "distinctly English", such ideas lead easily to tribalism and

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[1616] 148SEBE.
[1617] 247SWBE.
[1618] 282SENE.
[1619] 145SEBE.
[1620] 58SWEE.
[1621] 181SEBE.
[1622] 72NENE.
[1623] 36NEEE.
[1624] 82SWBE, 72NENE.

racism. We are all mongrels".[1625]

Missio Dei leaders were very aware of the ethnic diversity of their communities, and some commented on the adverse effect that this had had on the local population. The leader, who was aware of Merseyside influence, spoke of being "in a cul-de-sac... not very professional … just make-do sort of thing".[1626] Others put the Welsh *ethnie* in sharper focus, speaking of a sense of inferiority, dourness, reserve and pessimism, "as if everyone else is better than they themselves. Either this or they blame the English for all their troubles".[1627]

> "I find the Welsh people to be a very reserved lot on the whole. You hear so much about the *hwyl* in the *diwygiad* (excitement in the revival), but it's very much not Welsh, they are reserved… It is very much a multicultural society here, Welsh and English and Indian. It wasn't like that when I came 12 years but there has been a quiet influx of other languages…"[1628]

Here, the Welsh reserved trait is directly attributed to the relatively recent inward migration of other ethnicities. The effect of this is seen most clearly among Welsh-speaking communities in areas that are predominantly English-speaking. Here, one Welsh church leader spoke of "native Welsh" that had become a minority, and of "immigrants from the rest of Wales".[1629] Consequently, the Welsh language *Missio Dei* churches conducted their mission to the Welsh-speaking population only, in a way that was particular to its language and minority mindset: "We are aware of who we are and where we've come from, and what we stand for. … Any mission would need that sympathy".[1630]

This last comment would suggest that the indigenous Welsh were more aware of their distinct *ethnie* than recent arrivals who saw themselves as belonging to a mixed community. *Missio Dei* churches tended to express the perspective of the latter, not the former. In urban communities, and those with a population in flux, such an approach would be inclusive and generous. However, among static populations, and communities feeling under threat, such an approach might alienate and align the church with the incomers. The appropriateness of single *ethnie* churches will be considered in Chapter Five. However, generally, *Missio Dei* churches were inclusive of all, ecumenical, and accommodating, minimizing differences between peoples.

[1625] 82SWBE.
[1626] 36NEEE.
[1627] 82SWBE. The reference to religious revival is probably to 1904.
[1628] 10NWRC.
[1629] 74NERC.
[1630] 74NERC.

4.2.3.5.4 The Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of Welsh Context

In terms of Niebuhr's categories, in his *Christ and Culture*, the *Missio Dei* approach to contemporary culture would be to be immersed and involved in it.[1631] *Missio Dei* leaders described the linguistic and cultural patchwork of Wales as other approaches had. In anglicised areas, where the Welsh language was neither spoken nor valued, their mission was shaped accordingly. They spoke of rugby as the primary Welsh identifier in these areas.[1632] However, none spoke of using cultural connections for mission, beyond a church celebration of St David's Day.[1633] When one leader from England spoke of learning Welsh, she was told by her members that it was "totally un-necessary".[1634] In some urban communities, the diversity of languages, spoken of earlier, made the Welsh language, and its associated culture, a minority interest.[1635]

In areas where Welsh was a valued language in the community, they spoke of using Welsh hymns,[1636] bilingual projection,[1637] and even "phonetic Welsh at weddings and funerals for committal, welcome and blessing".[1638] Welsh culture, associated with the language, such as male voice choirs, were mentioned, but were said to be used merely to "entertain the visitors", rather than for mission.[1639] Other churches took a more positive stance on the Welsh language, and saw the language as an opportunity to serve their community. They were aware of this significant part of their community that they were not connected to, and so sought to build bridges to serve them in some way.

> "Welsh is very prominent… We've got local born-and-bred people who can't speak Welsh, and others who are fluent, first language. Welsh is spoken widely, and children are taught in school, the young people speak Welsh… There are people out there who won't speak to you in English unless they have to, and there are one or two who find it really difficult to speak to you in English".[1640]

[1631] Niebuhr, *Culture*, 45-229; Keller, *Center*, 194-217.
[1632] 107SWBE, 103VBE, 254SWPE, 36NEEE, 72NENE.
[1633] 103VBE.
[1634] 119SEOE.
[1635] 72NENE.
[1636] 138SWBE.
[1637] 72NENE.
[1638] 07NEOE.
[1639] 201NERE.
[1640] 81SWNE.

Such churches not only held occasional Welsh services,[1641] and used Welsh in their children's events,[1642] but also hosted a Welsh-medium preschool, did special events for a Welsh medium Junior School, and spoke of Welsh classes for learners.[1643] These activities represented the clearest examples of *Missio Dei* churches adjusting their mission to language and culture, simply for the benefit of the recipients.

The same provisions were made in Welsh language communities, as described earlier, with support for Welsh schools, Welsh learners, and Welsh language organizations such as *Merched y Wawr,* literary clubs, *Eisteddfodau,*[1644] and doing a *Plygain* event[1645] in conjunction with the local *Menter Iaith,*[1646] Involvement in these activities arose from an awareness of the need to "look after and treasure" their language, a cause that had always been a part of their "mission mindset".[1647] This mission seemed to have no evangelistic interface at any point.[1648]

However, this mission was to their own community, for the community's benefit, and the focus on one language community was somewhat contrary to the aspiration to serve the whole community at their point of need. The Welsh churches saw the Welsh communities as their mission field, but because the Welsh speakers appeared unwilling to do mission with and for English speakers, they were not as ecumenical in their mission as a *Missio Dei* approach would normally seek to be.

For some leaders, the Welsh language was seen as a hindrance, and "Welsh speakers to be ignorant, because they exclude English speakers".[1649] In the following example, the reactions expressed demonstrate a decided hostility to Welsh and its associated culture:

> "With the language comes the identity and the culture. They impose Welsh on the schools. I question the ethics of imposing a foreign language on English children that are coming down to study. Nobody dare breathe that because they will be seen as anti-Welsh … The non-Welsh speakers are Welsh but a bit different. They're not regarded with full colours. … Their life is more insular. Their life is round the *Eisteddfod…* Their life is around the family and nobody

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[1641] 107SWBE.
[1642] 81SWNE.
[1643] 145SEBE.
[1644] 10NWRC.
[1645] A Welsh New Year celebration.
[1646] 74NERC. A government supported organisation for promoting and supporting the Welsh language.
[1647] 74NERC.
[1648] 10NWRC, 273SEAC.
[1649] 141SWBE.

else gets in..."[1650]

These comments suggest a community divided by language and culture. Even Welsh speakers admitted that, "The English speaker would see the Welshness as a closed shop really".[1651] Such a context is the opposite of a mixed diverse cosmopolitan urban community, for which *Missio Dei's* inclusive ecumenism was well suited.

4.2.3.5.5   The Social Aspects of Welsh Context

The *Missio Dei* churches' adjustment to the social aspects of Welsh contexts arose directly from the geographical and ethnic factors. Wales's geography, of isolated rural and Valley communities, had produced a nation of villages and small towns, a "community of communities".[1652] It has been shown that *Missio Dei* churches did mission in these local communities, for the good of the communities, along with all those in the community who were willing to work with them, whether churches or secular bodies.[1653]

In describing these communities, *Missio Dei* leaders made repeated references to "community", "family", and "belonging".[1654] As stated previously, the sense of strong community cohesion had been diminished by low local employment and outward migration, but *Missio Dei* churches desired to renew and enhance it.[1655] The variety of projects run by churches demonstrates the extent to which *Missio Dei* churches adjusted their mission to the particular social aspects of context. One leader encapsulated these adjustments:

> "We have a very defined catchment area of two estates on our doorstep, one of social housing, one of mature social housing. There is a high degree of need in both. … We seek to listen to needs and make every contact a positive and relevant opportunity for God to be at work… The only way it is distinctly Welsh is in the level of need".[1656]

The church was working within a particular area, listening to what the needs were, and responding to those needs in practical ways, with others in the community. This represented the key elements of the approach of *Missio Dei*. In some of the poorer

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[1650] 82SWBE.
[1651] 10NWRC.
[1652] Griffiths, "Hansard 14.04.1961," n.p.; Day, "Place," in Mackay, *Understanding*, 43; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 8.
[1653] Ballard, "Poverty and Change," 44-47.
[1654] 116SWBE, 74NERC, 258SEBE, 138SWBE, 10NWRC.
[1655] 258SEBE, 74NERC.
[1656] 269SEBE.

communities, the churches and agencies to work with were very limited, but broad cooperation was practiced where possible:

> "Everybody knows everybody, and there are so few organisations that we have to partner with all organisations. We are the only church so we partner with the school, we partner with the council. It's just that everybody knows everybody. When you know ten community leaders you know everybody".[1657]

The churches were often providing services that the State were no longer able or willing to staff or fund:

> "There is an ongoing need for youth work provision as some of the council run youth clubs have stopped … We are aware of the need to provide for all age-groups and also provide a meeting and activities for the older generation. Local groups are also looking for hall space to rent at a reasonable rate, in light of council rental rates rising".[1658]

The scale of such need points to a potential weakness of the *Missio Dei* approach. To sustain such provision, for the long term, would require a strong and growing local church to resource it financially and in terms of labour. With nearly 75% of *Missio Dei* churches either declining or growing only marginally, the long-term feasibility of such a social engagement must be in question. Mission separated from evangelism may be unsustainable.

4.2.3.5.6   The Political Aspects of Welsh Context

Leaders of churches with a *Missio Dei* approach to mission were aware of the political history and challenges in Wales, but viewed them variously. Observations on the negative psychological legacy of Wales's political and economic past were made widely.*[1659]* For some *Missio Dei* leaders, especially in Welsh language churches, this was a living issue, with church members supportive of nationalist politics:

> "Their political awareness is very high, but their political involvement might be low…the *gorthrwm*[1660]… a feeling of being hard-done (to) by the English, having to be on the defensive and having to make our point over and over and over again".[1661]

For leaders in more anglicised areas, there was considerably less sympathy:

> "Welsh people are aggrieved. Offa's Dyke might be there, but it didn't do much good. There's a Welsh desire for independence. I meet nationalists

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[1657] 36NEEE.
[1658] 103VBE.
[1659] 07NEOE, 10NWRC, 82SWBE, 291SENE.
[1660] A Welsh word used to convey a sense of oppression.
[1661] 74NERC.

occasionally, and have it pushed in my face."[1662]

The sense of grievance and oppression, it was suggested, was due to a "crazy mixed up historic understanding of facts",[1663] which had led to a high level of prejudice, particularly against the English: "They see themselves as second class to England. Not necessarily to English people, it's not real, it's a perceived thing".[1664]

Such contrasting attitudes meant that there was no consistent *Missio Dei* approach to political issues. However, when involvement with the various political processes and bodies was considered, there was a high level of political engagement at all levels (Chart 42).[1665]

Concern for, and engagement with, the social and economic needs of their community had led to the highest level of lobbying of all the approaches to mission.

> "We have a number of folk who are regularly in contact with their MP, and the way that some of the laws are changing in this country. We have had teaching on social justice and as part of that we do encourage folk to engage on political matters to local MPs, the Welsh Assembly, and the Assembly Government".[1666]

This awareness and involvement had led to an engagement in the political process, beyond that seen in the other approaches. Churches worked with their local council and social services on community projects.[1667] Sometimes the links were very close indeed: "We know all the local councillors, they are part of the church and come into the cafe to have their meetings here".[1668] Another church had a local councillor in the church, which, he being chair of the County Council, meant that the church hosted the Civic Service. Another church had a local councillor and a parliamentary candidate within the congregation,[1669] and another had the local member of the National Assembly as a church member.[1670]

This level of political encouragement, involvement and cooperation was part of the local church's mission to the community, not its evangelism. It represented a deliberate and active involvement in local and national politics in Wales, but without any consistent loyalty to one political party. Church members were elected officials

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[1662] 07NEOE.
[1663] 81SWNE.
[1664] 81SWNE.
[1665] Page 196.
[1666] 72NENE.
[1667] 81SWNE.
[1668] 36NEEE.
[1669] 58SWEE.
[1670] 307NEPE.

of both *Plaid Cymru* and the Conservative party, which represented the polar opposites of Welsh politics.

4.2.3.6   **Reflections on *Missio Dei* Adjustments to Context**

Local churches in Wales, with a *Missio Dei* approach to mission, accepted the view that God was doing the work of his kingdom in all aspects of society, and the churches had to participate, with all the other parties involved. The scope of this mission was wide and the needs considerable. Though agreeing with the mission, many traditional churches were unable to participate actively, because their structures and resources would not permit it. Newer churches, not tied to historic patterns of church and ministry, were more active in a wider range of mission activities. Some churches were still involved in evangelism at some level, though resources were spread between mission and evangelism, and mission was the highest priority.

The absence of numerical growth in many of the churches, and their ageing demographic, called into question whether mission of such a scope and variety was realistic and sustainable in the long term. The ecumenical scope of the mission, serving all the language groups of the community, also ran contrary to the exclusivity of some single-language churches and mission. Despite these reservations, however, it was clear that *Missio Dei* churches sought to do mission in response to all kinds of needs, and according to their resources, as their highest priority.

4.2.4   The Liberal Approach to Local Church Mission in Wales

4.2.4.1   Origins of the Tradition

The Liberal approach to mission has been described earlier as a response to the changing intellectual and social climate in the decades leading up to, and following, the start of the twentieth century. The social aspects of Christianity were emphasized, minimizing or denying expectations of personal salvation,[1671] whilst embracing many of the aspirations and principles of the emerging Socialism of the day.[1672] The approach treated traditional Nonconformist doctrine lightly, or ignored it altogether, and was an example in Wales of a contextualising of theology itself, and not merely its medium.[1673]

The leaders of the main denominations in Wales enthusiastically embraced the Liberal approach to theology and mission.[1674] Such views were all but obligatory for those in senior denominational positions,[1675] so that "theological liberalism had grown into being a kind of multifarious orthodoxy".[1676] The teaching of the theological colleges shaped future ministry,[1677] and the beliefs of the churches followed. Not all Nonconformists in Wales adopted the new theology,[1678] but those who held to the former Evangelical traditions were few, especially among ministers.

4.2.4.2   The Emphasis of Liberal Churches

The Liberal approach to mission understood the kingdom of God as being extended through political and social action. Jones' critique outlines the assumptions made:

> "To it, theology was a kind of philosophy, faith was a kind of reasoning, the Church was a kind of society, a miracle was a kind of natural uniformity, a prophet was a kind of genius, the Bible was a kind of literature, the Incarnation

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[1671] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 237-239; Pope, *Kingdom*, 90, 156, 161; Jones, *Faith*, 226-227; Chester, *Good News*, 64; Hull, *Response*, 1-5; Kirk, *Mission*, 24; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 193, 195-7, 219, 237-241; Jones, *Faith*, 192, 198, 209-216, 403-411; Thomas, *Shadow*, 297; Camroux, 'URC,' 32-33; Morgan, *Span*, 1-3; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 261-262; Nicholls, *Contextualisation*, 26-32; Morgan, *Span*, 39, 148-156.
[1672] Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 5, 13-16; Pope, *Muriau*, 8; Pope, "New Theology," 87, 100-103; Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 332-333. These trends were similar to those of the American social gospel, which was looking for political action, if not socialism. Jones, *Faith*, 375-378, 403-411; Pope, *Kingdom*, 104.
[1673] Pope, "New Theology," 88; Pope, *Kingdom*, 10, 18-20, 94, 126, 162.
[1674] Pope, *Muriau*, 39-44; Jones, *Faith*, 194-197; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 14-15, 40-45.
[1675] Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 335.
[1676] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 240.
[1677] Pope, *Muriau*, 40; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 239.
[1678] Jones, *Faith*, 416.

was a kind of evolution, the Atonement was a kind of martyrdom, and Jesus Christ's teaching was a fairly common set of principles".[1679]

Social and political reforms were said to reflect evolutionary and economic progress in the world at large,[1680] so that "much true religion existed outside the church".[1681] Those advocating a Liberal approach saw hope and progress in society, at least until the First World War, and warned that people were leaving the chapels because they were not involved in the social debate.

The leaders of denominations and churches, therefore, began to speak out on social and political issues, rather than on personal faith and evangelism. They assumed that their large congregations would be maintained by the new emphasis.[1682] However, despite or because of their social gospel, which became the norm for the chapels, decline continued to accelerate.[1683] Plowright articulated the dilemma in "The Misgivings of a Modernist", when he expressed the hope that the new theology was "something that would fill the churches and gain the sympathy of modern man", but by 1931 "all those hopes are sped and dead".[1684] The earlier confidence was shaken by the economic woes of the 1930s[1685] and its expectations were then seen as a forlorn hope, "dashed to pieces on the rocks of two world wars".[1686]

Liberal theology had so emphasized secular progress, that there was, what Pope called, "a loss of the sacred".[1687] If the mission of the local church was concerned exclusively with secular issues, then life could be lived without chapel attendance: "Once secularism took hold, and once the chapels started telling their own people to find God in the world, then the need for the holy was lost. Plain chapels had no other appeal".[1688] Most commentators, since Liberalism's era of popularity, have, to some extent, linked the change in the Church's message and mission to its subsequent

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[1679] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 239.
[1680] Pope, *Kingdom*, 128.
[1681] Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 18, 23.
[1682] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 262. This preoccupation is seen clearly in the ministry of Tom Nefyn in South Wales. His popularist preaching against social evils led to a huge following, despite his declared lack of personal faith and denial of central doctrines. He was removed from the ministry, but subsequently reinstated, confirming that a social emphasis, without any Evangelistic elements, was acceptable. Morgan, *Span, 2011*, 122-128.
[1683] Pope, *Kingdom*, 31; Ballard, "Poverty and Change," 44.
[1684] B. Plowright, "The Misgivings of a Modernist," *The Congregational Quarterly* (1931): 291; quoted in Camroux, "URC," 38.
[1685] Pope, *Kingdom*, 164.
[1686] Parry, "Ethics," in Bartholomew, Parry, and West, *Futures*, 177.
[1687] Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 25.
[1688] Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 32.

decline,[1689] so that "Liberal Christianity did not fill the churches, it helped to empty them".[1690] The absence of an evangelistic element in the churches mission meant that a passing generation was not being replaced.[1691]

Enthusiasm for the Liberal approach diminished once the first generation of Welsh Liberal theologians passed away, but its influence and legacy remained.[1692] Decline continued, and occurred most rapidly where the Liberal legacy was strongest.[1693] Morgan, reviewing Welsh Nonconformity over the twentieth century, spoke of it "running into the sand", with attempts to organise a united Church failing. His comments on the legacy of Welsh Liberal ministry and mission, and those who still contended for its emphasis,[1694] were uncompromising:

> "Some of the key proponents of the aborted venture [to unite the denominations] have since channelled their energies into doctrinal matters through the Welsh language website *Cristnogaeth 21,* in which a reductionist theology, reminiscent of the 1960s, is once more in vogue …Such a programme will itself run into the sand, but it is indicative of the frustrations of a disillusioned generation of ministers who, at the close of their ministry, have witnessed massive and disheartening decline".[1695]

This was particularly true in the Welsh language sections of the historic denominations, where the Liberal approach, epitomised in *Cristnogaeth 21,*[1696] had survived the longest. Welsh-speaking preachers were leaving a spiritual wilderness behind them. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the legacy of the Liberal approach to mission was threatening the very existence of the denominations that had adopted and advocated it:

> "Since we do not want to merge with each other I expect denominationalism as such is bound to weaken with some denominations close to extinction. I would assume that the smallest denominations, and the least structured, will suffer most. As a result of this, probably, the disappearance of Christian places of worship in many areas will be evident, leaving a spiritual desert in parts of Wales".[1697]

[1689] Morgan, *Span*, 16, 20; Davies, *History*, 505; Morgan, "Christianity and National Identity," 332-336; Chambers, "Out of Taste," 91; Jones, *Faith*, 220-223, 252, 416; Pope, *Muriau*, 8, 40-45; Morgan, *Rebirth*, 15-17; Chambers, *Religion*, 90, 211; Pope, *Kingdom*, 151.

[1690] M. Watts, *Why Did the English Stop Going to Church?* (London: Dr Williams Trust, 1995), 11; quoted in Camroux, "URC," 32.

[1691] Pope, *Kingdom*, 151-152; M. Camroux, 'URC,' 32-35; Morgan, *Span*, 172-173; Hall, *Christendom*, 23-24.

[1692] Pope, *Kingdom*, 166.

[1693] Morgan, *Span, 2011*, xi.

[1694] R. H. T. Edwards, "Eglwys y Dyfodol: Gobaith Cyfuno Ffydd a Rhesum," *Traethodydd* CLXIII (686 2008): 143-156.

[1695] Morgan, *Span, 2011*, xiv.

[1696] *Cristnogaeth 21* is a Welsh language website, with associated conferences, on which theologically radical and liberal perspectives are discussed. http://www.cristnogaeth21.org/

[1697] (Trans). Davies, "Eglwys," 230.

Churches with a Liberal approach to mission in Wales were identified by email responses, at interview, or from their questionnaire responses where no other confirmation was received.[1698] Charts 31 and 32[1699] show that 39 churches could be identified as having a Liberal understanding of local church mission. Of these, 18% were in the 5:2 category, which was a lower proportion than all other approaches.[1700] It is significant that none of the seven 5:2 Liberal churches had actually grown in numbers, despite their additions over the decade. They had seen new people attending, but these additions had been outstripped by losses. Of the thirty-nine Liberal churches, six had recorded some growth, but this was by the growth of church families, or existing believers joining the church, or through church amalgamations.

4.2.4.3   The Liberal Approach to Mission

Churches, with a Liberal approach to mission, saw social action as expressing the essential message and mission of the Church. The activity itself was the message, not a promoter of it, or partner with it. Little or no place was given to a message of personal salvation, beyond a general emphasis on the love of God, demonstrated by the social action. As a result, responses to the questionnaire on how the local church's message was communicated included: **"**no direct outreach programmes",[1701] "no methods of evangelising as such",[1702] and "very little evangelistic or community outreach outside of children and youth work".[1703] The mission of the church was practical serving, not proclamation: "We see our primary mission as acting as channels of God's love to the world. It is not our purpose to bring people into Church on Sunday. As in Mark 10.45, we to have come to serve, not to be served".[1704]

The absence of evangelism was, in part, due to the traditional nature of Liberal churches. The majority had retained the outward forms and ministry patterns of

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[1698] Leaders were asked to choose from six options, described earlier. Option F identified a Liberal approach to local church mission: "The church should commit to social action as its primary message".
[1699] Page 172.
[1700] 75% of E2, 41% of Lausanne, 32% of E1, 27% of *Missio Dei*, and 25% of Emergent were '5:2 churches'.
[1701] 222NWRC.
[1702] 204NWAC(Trans).
[1703] 318SWRE.
[1704] 35NERE.

nineteenth century Welsh Nonconformity. This had a number of aspects. Firstly, any outreach generally was through an invitation to church services, sometimes via a church website.[1705] Mission was also seen in terms of changes to the services, such as through video presentation,[1706] or other contemporary media: **"**Our evangelism has changed little. We have modern hymn books, modern video and DVD bible studies, but I would like to introduce power point in the services".[1707] These changes reflect a centripetal not centrifugal mission. Likewise, the high use of Services in the churches' connections to their communities, and especially how they "most" connected (Chart 57), shows a building centred approach. The responses also show fewer connections being "most used", suggesting that most connections were used occasionally, and not regularly (Chart 58).
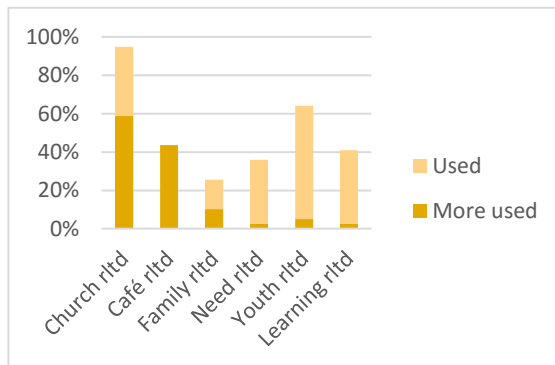
Chart 57. How Liberal churches connected to their communities, and used several approaches in a group.
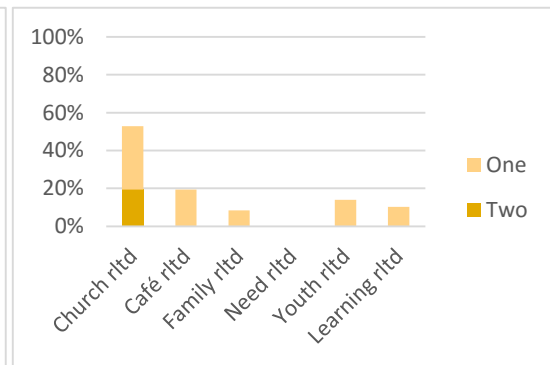
Chart 58. How Liberal churches connected most, and whether these "most used" came from the same

Secondly, as with some *Missio Dei* churches that were traditional in form, the role of the paid minister was central to mission outside the church's walls, notably through visitation, weddings and funerals:

> "Yesterday is the mother of today in our evangelising. The burden falls on the minister's shoulders. Having the attitude that he is employed, and should earn his pay".[1708]

> "Attraction to the church through rites of passage services".[1709]

Where there was no minister, the mission of the church was seen as limited thereby:

> "The church has not had the benefit of a church minister and so has merely just ticked over and maintained regular Sunday worship, maintenance of buildings, token mission by way of a weekly Coffee shop and mutual support for the church members. There has been no evangelism because we had no

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[1705] 156SEAC.
[1706] 301NWAC.
[1707] 45VRE.
[1708] 140SWBC(Trans).
[1709] 54VOE.

expertise within the church to carry it out".[1710]

This ageing demographic of the churches also affected the ability of others to do mission: "Unfortunately, the people are elderly and just enjoy being together whether it be on a Sunday morning or a coffee morning/afternoon tea to raise money for charities".[1711] As a result, some saw very little community engagement.[1712]

The charts, which compare Liberal churches' connections to their communities with other approaches (Charts 36 to 41),[1713] show the comparatively high use of church, youth and café related activities. This traditional mission pattern, as with the majority of *Missio Dei* churches, was centred on a church building. Consequently, there was a lower involvement in Need and Family activities. The lower use of Youth activities would reflect the ageing demographic. The cafés involved the church building being opened at specific times as a drop-in centre, largely as a meeting-point for the elderly, although one church did run a separate café in its village.[1714]

The greater use of Learning activities, than all other approaches to mission, especially in the use of more than one activity, reflected the fact that more than half of the Liberal churches were Welsh-speaking, with cultural meetings and language classes as a part of church life, reflecting the close link between language and culture. This use of Learning Related connections was seen most clearly in the "most used" responses (Chart 59).
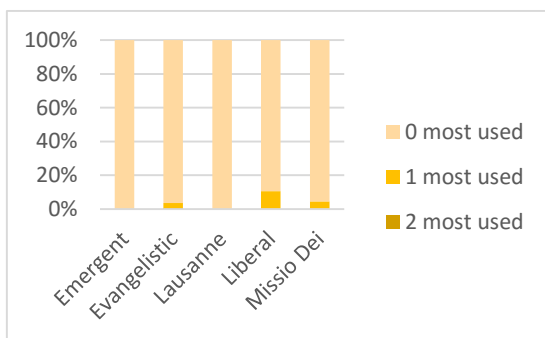
Chart 59. Comparisons of Learning Related as the "most used" connection to communities.

Thirdly, mission in the community followed familiar and traditional patterns. Churches connected through seasonal services for the community, such as Sankey

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[1710] 77MOE.
[1711] 323NWOC.
[1712] 163MBE.
[1713] Pages 171-172.
[1714] 202NERC.

Evenings[1715] and harvest services, which were still considered a part of Welsh chapel and village life:[1716] "We do not evangelise to the extent we are going door to door, but through joint denominational services at appropriate times of the year".[1717]

Fourthly, in the Welsh-language churches, the ministers usually had several churches under their care, and their mission was to Welsh speakers only. The Welsh community in the surrounding society was often not easy to identify and approach, except through family and friendship links, or through advertising seasonal services:

> "Being a Welsh church in a region like [town] is a bit of a challenge … We have tried to reach out through giving out invitation cards to services like Christmas or Harvest to the local Welsh schools. Distributing information leaflets about the church in a new housing estate".[1718]

Practical mission, which sought to meet particular needs in the community, was rare.

[1715] English language community hymn singing similar to a Welsh language *Cymanfa Ganu*.
[1716] 163MBE.
[1717] 315SWBC(Trans).
[1718] 49SEAC(Trans).

4.2.4.4   The Liberal Means of Communication

As has been explained earlier, the Liberal approach to mission was more concerned with social action and political issues than a proclaimed message. The message that was declared was communicated in and through church activities in a church building. This was reflected in the use of the various approaches to communicating their message (Chart 60): preaching, Sunday School and ministerial visitation. The relatively low use of a second approach within each category (Chart 61) underlines that the single use was often the work of the paid minister. The very low use of "Relational" approaches shows the reliance on church services, with less use of activities outside the church building.
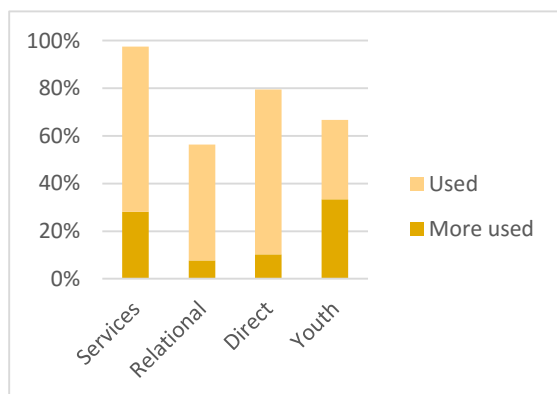
Chart 60. How Liberal churches sought to communicate their message, showing the % use of each group, and multiple approaches in a group.
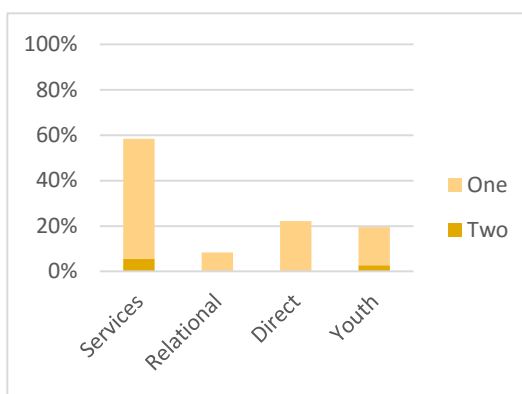
Chart 61. How Liberal churches identified the approaches they used most, and whether these "most used" came from the same group.

Growth, where it did occur, was largely by additions to the families of members. The Presbyterian Church of Wales, with a strong Liberal emphasis in its ministry and mission, stated in its reports that few had joined their churches either by transfer or by conversion.[1719] The responses, showing how people came to faith (Chart 62), also reflected the influence of the work of the minister, and the emphasis on activities in the church building. Additions, resulting from parents following their children to church, made a significant impact. Unlike other approaches, the use of evangelistic missions, guest services, meals and courses was low. In fact, responses in all categories, when compared to the other approaches to mission, were lower (Chart 63). Liberal churches saw fewer additions.

[1719] Presbyterian Church of Wales, *Review of Ministry and Mission: For Mission Programme 3*. 51. Of the 39 Liberal churches, 12 were Presbyterian, 10 Baptist, 9 Annibynwyr, and 8 Methodist.
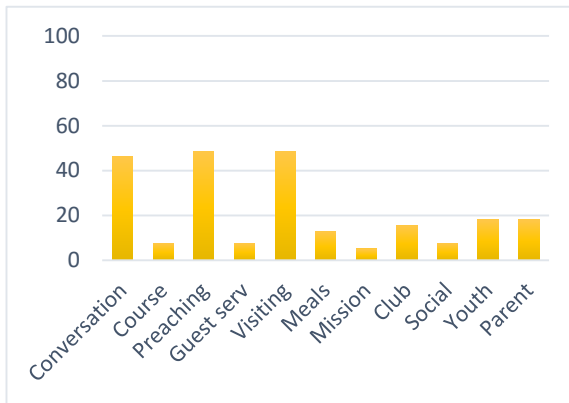
Chart 62. How people came to faith, and were added to the church, in Liberal churches.
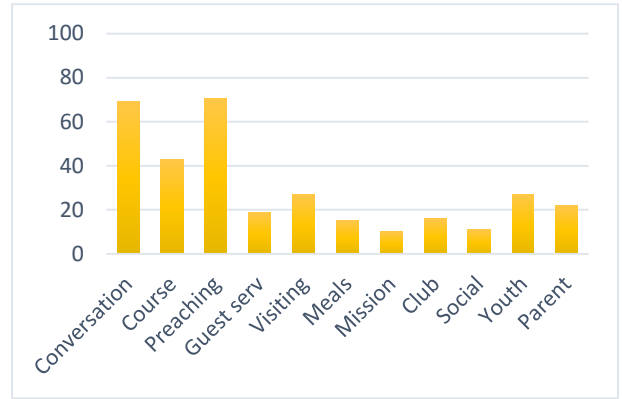
Chart 63. How people came to faith, and were added to the church, in all churches.

The influence of pastoral visiting by the minister was the exception in this picture. Liberal churches used this Direct method to communicate their message more than other approaches (Chart 64 and 65), and outsiders became church attenders through it (Chart 62).
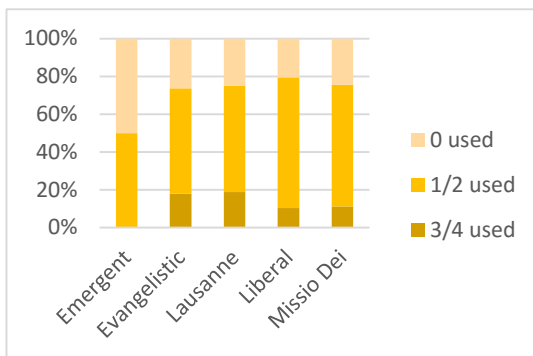
Chart 64. The degree of the use of Direct means to communicate the message.
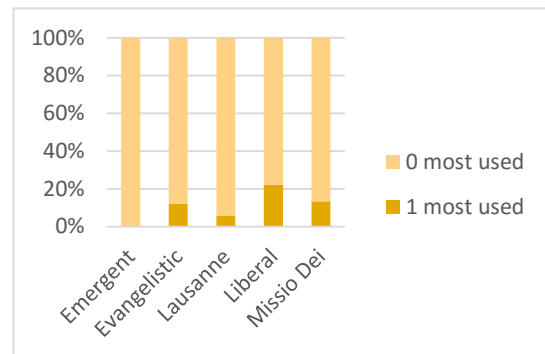
Chart 65. The degree of the use of Direct means to communicate the message was "most used".

Liberal churches did not see canvassing for new members as part of their mission, however. Therefore, home visitation would not involve door-to-door evangelistic visitation by members or the minister. The traditional role of the minister in pastoral visitation of the sick, the house-bound, and after births or funerals attracted people to church, especially in rural areas. The great majority of Liberal churches were in rural or small town situations where community relations remained strong, and where the chapel, and its minister, still had a perceived relevance.[1720]

[1720] Of the 39 Liberal churches, 19 were in rural areas, 13 in small towns, 3 in the Valleys, and 4 in urban situations.

Despite this sphere of success, however, the mission activities of Liberal churches were limited in their effectiveness. There was an awareness that the absence of outward-looking mission was threatening the very future of the churches.

> "There will be changes, but as far as the Welsh churches are concerned, if it isn't a change in the way that we reach out, our responsibility is to reach out, then we are going to grow weaker and weaker".[1721]

Some had considered developing connections with their communities, but the intention had not got beyond discussion: "I have made an effort to make the church aware of the importance of being a focus in the community. And this has been a very positive development".[1722] The inability to get beyond discussion showed how inward-looking the churches had become. For others the extent of decline had gone too far to be remedied. They were aware of other growing churches, but were either unwilling, or unable, to follow their example.[1723] The need for change was expressed by other leaders, and some saw a possible future if mission to the community could be embraced:

> "I don't know if there is another generation …that will sit down, come to the meeting, and listen to the sermon, and be very faithful. … It's a good thing and a bit of a challenge. To stay in the tradition is easy, but to break free of the tradition is a step into the unknown…. It will be different, and the changes start now. We must initiate and take risk. As ministers we won't succeed when we don't take risks".[1724]

However, conservatism and traditionalism were shaping the mission of most Liberal churches. It was reflected in their growth patterns, as well as their engagement in mission. An emphasis on engaging with social trends from the pulpit had affected attitudes to politics and theology, but not led to a practical mission addressing needs outside the chapel walls, in most cases. The Liberal expression of mission was coming to an end as the research was being conducted. Ministers were leaving their ministry or reaching retirement age, with little prospect of a successor in most cases, as ageing congregations declined towards closure.[1725]

[1721] 49SEAC.

[1722] 94NWBC(Trans).

[1723] 35NERE.

[1724] 33SWAC.

[1725] The leaders of the following Liberal churches, who completed interviews and/or the Questionnaire, had either retired, or were due to retire, or had left the ministry for other reasons by 2014: 68 NWRC, 202NERC, 49SEAC, 285SERE, 301NWAC, 04NWAC, 94NWBC, 295NWAC, 35NERE, 55VOE, 54VOE, 102SWBE, 308SWBC, 29SERC, 83SWBC.

4.2.4.5   Adjustment to the Aspects of Context

4.2.4.5.1   The Religious Aspects of Welsh Context

The Liberal approach to mission, with its Social Gospel, was an innovative and *avant garde* response to the post-war situation in Wales, at the start of the twentieth century. Socialism was in its ascendancy, industrial decline was threatening, and communities were in economic crisis. It sought to bring a good news that was practical, and more relevant to current needs, than the Church's traditional message. Chapels were valued as an accepted part of Welsh national life, but when the new message failed to produce either a renewal of the chapels, or an effective answer to the social problems being addressed, decline was unabated.

A number of factors, relating to the religious context of Wales, give some explanation for the disappointing outcomes. Firstly, Liberal churches assumed that there would be an ongoing connection, and loyalty, between the local communities and the chapel. Affection may have remained, but loyalty did not:

> "I've spoken to a few who don't have any connection with the church and they would find its closure unacceptable. It is part of their psyche, and is important to them, whether they realise it or not. It is part of their Welshness".[1726]

People might view the religious legacy positively, but for many it was merely a "hand-me-down" that permeated families, leaving a sense of association, that was otherwise "quite irrelevant to the people outside at the moment".[1727] This connection and loyalty was more evident in rural areas, where communities were relatively stable. However, in urban areas, where secularisation had been relentless, the chapels were left isolated and apparently irrelevant. In such communities the legacy of the chapels was a negative one, and remaining loyal to traditional patterns did not prove helpful:

> "It's hard to find much positive to say about it I'm afraid, because against all that I've just said, it was iconoclastic against the visual and the poetic in the artistic. And it was very moralistic and judgemental, that may be unfair but it is the legacy of it".[1728]

Society around the churches had changed, and chapel traditions on alcohol, Sunday observance and dress-codes had exacerbated the situation.[1729] As a result, there

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[1726] 68NWRC.
[1727] 45VRE.
[1728] 75NEOE.
[1729] 37NEOE.

was a lingering memory of chapel loyalty, but no meaningful connection: "you still have a lot of people who know which Chapel they don't go to".[1730]

Secondly, this conservatism produced an aversion to change, when the society around the chapel was changing exponentially:

> "…a little reluctant to accept change or do change. So I have to be very careful how I if I want to make changes. … I think there is this big idea of tradition, staying as we've always done it. That is the impression that I've picked up….I think that some of the churches, probably this one included, I don't see how it will still be here quite honestly, because we have an older congregation. … I just can't see it continuing".[1731]

Both the preservation of typical Welsh chapel forms, as well as a reluctance to modernise, were seen as typically Welsh.[1732] Their influence in society was mainly one of a nostalgia.[1733] This was particularly evident in Welsh language churches where "yesterday is the mother of today in our evangelising".[1734] The core problem was described as the Chapel culture (*Capeliaeth*), with "more respect for the building than for Christ", in a world where "Sunday is for sport, not God".[1735]

Liberal churches had held on to traditional forms of Welsh chapel as an expression of mission, believing that it would be an effective way to connect with Welsh people. Society had changed around them, however, with the result that the chapels were left in a backwater, largely unconnected to contemporary society.

> "They have not moved on you know. In Chapel, in church life, there is something very old-fashioned. … if someone who died 100 years ago came back today the only place you'll (recognise) is the Welsh Chapel".[1736]

As a result, younger generations were seen to have "given up on the influence. It is part of their grandfather's generation, not theirs",[1737] so that youth and the employed generations had largely broken free from chapel obligations.[1738]

Thirdly, the resulting isolation of the chapels meant that there was an inability to communicate the church's message. The Liberal message, of how God's love could

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[1730] 62MOE.
[1731] 35NERE.
[1732] 55VOE, 318SWRE.
[1733] 55VOE.
[1734] 140SWBC(Trans).
[1735] 140SWBC(Trans).
[1736] 33SWAC.
[1737] 65SEBC.
[1738] 41MRC.

change the human condition, was heard only within chapel walls.[1739] When asked how people would hear this message, leaders were aware of a fundamental disconnect. The only way people would hear the message was:

> "By coming. They wouldn't otherwise. It sounds very negative, the only way they would hear our message is through seeing what we try to do with community work. It is (church) that takes care of Christian aid collection outside Tesco every year. That doesn't seem very innovative does it?"[1740]

Fourthly, despite the radical change to a social agenda in the churches' message, mission remained building centred, and centripetal not centrifugal.[1741] This traditionalism within the churches' mission was seen in their responses when asked about mission:

> "Adhering to the style of traditional pastor and flock. Pastoring constantly, constantly. There is an opportunity for everyone to enjoy privileges of church ... if they choose. The services are entirely in Welsh. Adhering to the Nonconformist tradition".[1742]

Without changes that would take mission into the community, the prospects were not hopeful. One leader, with two chapels on the point of closure, saw the issues clearly, albeit too late to reverse the inevitable. He hoped the buildings would become a community garden, and the church re-form under lay leadership.[1743] Another saw the need for intentional mission outside the church's walls, but saw the needed changes as beyond them because "They don't persecute us, they ignore… In the next 10 years there will be a lot of funerals and the next five years a lot of ministers are retiring".[1744] The liberal approach to mission had not only failed to transform the wider society, but its inability to attract new, younger, members was leading to its own demise.[1745]

> "They (the members) have lost a lot in terms of the decline of the church… There will be no church. There will be no church".[1746]

As a commentary on a particular approach to church, theology, and mission, these comments are stark and announce the end of an era. Liberal churches had wedded their mission to a Christendom model of mission, where people needed to come,

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[1739] 35NERE. "I can't say that there are many that have been brought into Christianity, but a lot of people have been brought to think about the concept of love that Jesus talked about. Perhaps that's enough because when they asked Jesus he didn't say anything about himself, just to love God and love your neighbour. So perhaps that is enough, I don't know".
[1740] 49SEAC.
[1741] 301NWAC(Trans).
[1742] 295NWAC(Trans).
[1743] 75NEOE.
[1744] 04NWAC.
[1745] 78SWAC.
[1746] 83SWBC.

rather the church needed to go. The Liberal churches had neither a mission nor a message that would inspire people to want to be part of their church. Moving away from Welsh Nonconformity's theological heritage, and its proclamation in evangelism, meant that the disappearing generation was not being replaced in the churches.

4.2.4.5.2   The Geographic Aspects of Welsh Context

Leaders of churches with a Liberal approach to mission were aware of the special impact of Offa's Dyke,[1747] of the distinctive needs and identity of the South Wales Valleys,[1748] and the importance to individuals of their identity being linked to locality.[1749] Loyalty to village or valley was again seen as stronger than to a national identity.[1750]

> "In the area there is a greater loyalty to locality than to the national. … we tend to be more parochial (*plwyfol*), more concerned with our *millitir sgwar*. It is seen in the church which was established in 1827. People think about (church) only. They only think about their patch".[1751]

The tradition of Nonconformist chapel, that the Liberal approach to mission relied on, had been ubiquitous in Wales. As a result, the local chapel served a particular denominational constituency within a defined local area. Its boundaries were set by the next chapel, which served an adjacent community. As a result, chapels had their own version of localism, reflecting that fashioned by geomorphological and social features. By the end of the twentieth century, this localism had been weakened by declining membership, but ageing members would still retain their membership, and return to the family chapel for worship, if such a journey was physically possible. For such commuting members, living in one place but worshiping in another, mission to the chapel's hinterland was difficult, if not impossible.

In Welsh language rural communities, there was a shared awareness and natural adjustment to the local distinctives, and preferences, of the context. Their responses in mission were mainly linguistic and cultural, but the localism did also shape the mission, by "following specific Welsh traditions that specifically apply to the local community. Working within the 'comfort zone' of different groups within the pastorate

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[1747] 71NERE, 55VOE.
[1748] 54VOE, 55VOE, 45VRE.
[1749] 45VRE.
[1750] 77MOE.
[1751] 69NWAC.

is important".[1752] The community, and especially the chapels, had an ageing demographic, so this was reflected in the form of mission,[1753] which was often as traditional as the chapels.[1754]

These patterns were less evident in or near urban areas. One Welsh church near Cardiff deliberately met a demand for a rural atmosphere among Welsh speakers, who travelled out from the city.[1755] Another provided a church community in the city, treating Welsh speakers as a village community within the city:

> "In one way you could look upon the Welsh chapels in a place like (place) as people in a village… They come to meet one another on weeknights, and afternoons, and on Sundays to worship, and that is their social context for many of them. And obviously their meeting in various ways with their neighbours all over [place], but in one sense that is their village".[1756]

Another influence of localism was a felt need to maintain a chapel within its community. Because of the strong identity with a local community or location, the amalgamation of chapels in a central location did not satisfy local desires. One church with a Liberal approach to mission actually reopened a chapel in order to satisfy the needs of that community.[1757] Such a policy would seem appropriate to context, assuming people and resources permitted it, as opposed to the building of large churches and centres designed to serve large rural areas. This issue will be explored further in Chapter Five.

4.2.4.5.3   The Ethnic Aspects of Welsh Context

Liberal Churches, in maintaining a traditional Nonconformist expression of church and mission, related most naturally to rural or Welsh language communities.[1758] The approach was less suitable in areas that had seen significant inward migration from England, and its traditional approach heightened awareness of the difference between traditional Welsh and contemporary English societies. To Liberal leaders, especially those from Welsh language churches, the two communities represented

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[1752] 68NWRC(Trans).
[1753] 287SWBE.
[1754] 163MBE.
[1755] 156SEAC.
[1756] 29SERC.
[1757] 237NWAC(Trans).
[1758] One leader spoke of "The area psyche is that people by the mountains are so protective they are wary and wary of everyone. … My husband's family has been here 500 years, they are one of the oldest families in the place, and they are very shy people". 16 NWAC.

distinct and separate *ethnies*. A Welsh-speaking minister described the difference, and their apparent separation from each other:

> "If you ask people in the street are you Welsh, yes! But I don't know what is meant by it. They would not watch S4C. It would be the Anglo-American culture, they are in Wales, brought up in a Welsh community, I don't know these people, and I don't mix with them, our worlds don't meet".[1759]

The perceived differences between these two groups had certain implications for the mission according to Liberal leaders. Liberal mission, especially in rural areas, focussed predominantly on the Welsh *ethnie,* whilst evidently resenting the new residents to the area. They spoke of differences of psyche as well as linguistic and cultural differences. The Welsh were seen as more reticent, afraid to take the lead in case they offended someone else, "Nobody wants to take the lead, and no one wants to be seen as *Ceffyl Blaen* (the leading horse), as it were. … Are they more subservient? Stuck in a rut".[1760] A feeling of being the "underdog", even in their own church, resulted.[1761] The English in-comers were seen as more confident and assertive, even "cheeky",[1762] and as taking over in the community.[1763]

> "We try to connect to those of the original community and the incomers. It is the in-comer, the person who is ready to move on, is the activist. Some feel that they are taking over…".[1764]

In English-speaking areas, the influx of English members into churches was producing internal tension. The new-comers from England were not only assuming the leadership of the church and mission, but also deterring the original members from doing so. It was the English members who volunteered suggestions and initiatives, thus shaping the expression of mission. The Welsh people were described as more reticent in discussion, and tending to defer decisions which they would make outside the meeting. As a result, the "Welsh see the English as like a bull-at-a-gate, the others say, 'These Welsh never get on with it'".[1765] This leader spoke of resentment as the chapel community was being spoilt, and that the family chapel was being taken over. Churches and their mission, that had become English in leadership and style, would be seen as alien by the local community, and thus

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[1759] 49SEAC.
[1760] 16NWAC.
[1761] 75NEOE.
[1762] 41MRC.
[1763] 04NWAC, 140SWBC, 29SERC, 41MRC, 78SWAC.
[1764] 37NEOE.
[1765] 37NEOE.

isolated from it. One leader wished that the Welsh would show more "backbone", and bemoaned a lack of self-belief.[1766]

The change was exacerbated by the de-population of traditionally Welsh areas, and the inward migration of those retiring to country and coastal areas.[1767] The two communities were seen as living separately. It was felt that the new arrivals were not identifying with, or respecting, the existing way of life.[1768] As the Liberal churches were predominantly within the Welsh communities, which were diminishing in number and influence, the implications for mission were considerable. One leader described the situation and challenge graphically:

> "Unfortunately there are two communities, there are so many incomers now that form their own community which doesn't have much to do with the local Welsh. As you find, especially in local Wales, the English are more aggressive in their attitudes and more confident and take over the institutions, the village hall for example has been taken over…"[1769]

This Liberal leader implied a fortress mentality, where the Welsh community was threatened by the incomers. The church, and its mission, were also being demoralised and lacking in initiative. A lack of desire and ability to serve the wider community in mission followed inevitably.

In the South Wales Valleys, where an English-speaking Welsh identity was equally strong, migration in previous generations had been assimilated successfully. This Welshness, drawn from industrial suffering and comradery,[1770] had united around an identity that was "more sport orientated, almost a Welsh tribe instinct."[1771] In these areas Liberal churches and mission, which preserved the traditional form, were disappearing rapidly.

The churches with a Liberal approach to mission, therefore, had only related to one *ethnie* in an era when Wales was experiencing rapid inward migration, and where few areas could be described as mono-ethnic. At the same time, the Welsh *ethnie* itself was morphing under the influence of secularism, electronic media, and multi-nationalism, so that the Liberal approach to mission, even in its target group, was increasingly ineffective.

[1766] 04NWAC.
[1767] 268NWAC, 78SWAC.
[1768] 140SWBC(Trans).
[1769] 78SWAC.
[1770] 54VRE.
[1771] 71NERE.

4.2.4.5.4 The Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of Welsh Context

In terms of Niebuhr's categories, in his *Christ and Culture*, the Liberal approach to contemporary culture would be to be immersed in it.[1772] The close connection between Liberal churches and traditional Welsh identity was expressed in a shared Welsh Language and culture. Although the Liberal "social gospel" was initially concerned with political and social-need issues, it was as a defender of the Welsh language, and its associated culture, that their mission was focussed at the beginning of the twenty-first century. With both the language and its attendant culture under threat from an encroaching Englishness, "there is a tendency to say that we have got to hold what we have."[1773] This means an active support for the Welsh language and its traditions, in order to preserve the language, in the face of relentless decline and a pervasive anglicisation or American culture:

> "It's always been a struggle, and it's much more of a struggle in recent years. They are in a state of panic really when they realise this reality of the situation. They don't like it at all". [1774]

Mission to these communities involves the provision of Welsh-only worship,[1775] advocacy of simultaneous translation in meetings,[1776] support for Welsh schools[1777] and Welsh learning,[1778] the promotion of Eisteddfodau,[1779] choirs,[1780] a drama society,[1781] Welsh services in care homes,[1782] and the promotion of Welsh culture and history through classes and discussion groups.[1783] These activities support and defend Welsh language and culture, as "all serve to plant seeds in lives that can then grow".[1784] The comparatively high use of the Learning group of community connections by Liberal churches, described earlier, is reflected in some of these activities.

In Welsh language areas and churches, the link with Welsh culture was regarded as

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[1772] Niebuhr, *Culture*, 45-229; Keller, *Center*, 194-217.
[1773] 41MRC.
[1774] 83SWBC.
[1775] 156SEAC, 237NWAC, 297NEOC.
[1776] 04NWAC, 287SWBC.
[1777] 27SERC, 29SERC.
[1778] 202NERC.
[1779] 49SEAC, 140SWBC, 27SERC, 33SWAC, 69NWAC, 83SWBC.
[1780] 27SERC, 78SWAC.
[1781] 29SERC.
[1782] 202NERC.
[1783] 49SEAC, 27SERC, 29SERC, 69NWAC, 78SWAC.
[1784] 27SERC.

automatic: "They would say if you don't speak Welsh you're not Welsh. If you are Welsh you've got to speak Welsh". [1785] One church in an overwhelmingly Welsh community justified its traditions:

> "If you walk down the street you would be unlikely to hear much English spoken … They are proud of that background, which goes back centuries to Welsh folklore. … so there is a strong tradition of Welsh language and culture. There are social meetings that are fully Welsh, a historic society, through the medium of Welsh".[1786]

Another Welsh church, in a pre-dominantly English-speaking area, had deliberately changed from bi-lingual services to Welsh-only, rather than to English-only, in order to reach the local Welsh community. To do so had been "a bit of a challenge … and to keep at it took real effort at times",[1787] because such a step was contrary to community trends. However, with the rise in Welsh-medium education, and Welsh people moving into the area, the step was taken out of a sense of responsibility for the language and culture:

> "This is important to the church, because it is very conscious of its responsibility to secure the Welsh language heritage as well as the Welsh heritage in the town … What has developed is that the community the church serves is the church community. It is not being insular in that sense but is seeing itself as serving this community that wants to live its life through the medium of Welsh, and especially worship through the medium of Welsh … The language, the culture, everything involved with that culture, the Chapel being at the hub of it".[1788]

In such communities, whether in Welsh or English-language areas, the language was the key to contextualisation.[1789] Such an approach, however, deliberately excluded the participation of English speakers, and mission to them: "the vast majority of members would not countenance English in the life of the church. Therefore if somebody is not Welsh-speaking it would be difficult for them to fit".[1790]

In English-speaking rural areas, and even the South Wales Valleys, the traditional Welsh culture lingered in an English form. Previous chapel traditions, such as preaching and hymn-singing festivals (*Cymanfa Ganu*) has been lost, but there was a connection through cultural mission, even if it was "like living in half a century earlier … there is this love for the traditions of Wales, even though it's not in terms of the language".[1791] In Wrexham, where the census returns show Welsh to be the fifth

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[1785] 83SWBC.
[1786] 68NWRC.
[1787] 49SEAC(Trans).
[1788] 49SEAC.
[1789] 16NWAC(Trans).
[1790] 41MRC.
[1791] 35NERE.

most common language, behind European and Persian languages,[1792] one English language church did cultural mission through the medium of art, by involvement in an art gallery in the town centre. This was somewhat contrary to previous Nonconformist attitudes, which were "iconoclastic against the visual and the poetic in the artistic":

> "Wales more than other nations gives priority to the poet and the artist and understands that better than other cultures and nations… there is a significant music and growing cultural and artistic renaissance that we are seeking to connect with and be a part of".[1793]

The mission by Liberal churches, through promoting and defending Welsh language and culture, were for the perceived benefit of society, rather than an attempt to increase congregations. In one city church, this had clearly been an unexpected consequence,[1794] as the chapel became a focal point of the wider Welsh-speaking community. Elsewhere, however, the churches were tending to decline with the language and traditional culture. At the same time, there was little or no impact in communities where English immigration, or Englishness was strong. Welsh churches, since the days of William Morgan, had been the defenders, and a reservoir or refuge for the Welsh language. However, at the start of the twenty-first century the defence and promotion of the language was increasingly in secular hands, and the chapels marginalised. As a result, churches with a Liberal approach to mission, active in the spheres of language and culture, were declining more rapidly than the causes they were seeking to defend.

4.2.4.5.5   The Social Aspects of Welsh Context

The leaders of Liberal churches spoke of the value of the sense of community in local Welsh society,[1795] not least in the Valley ex-mining communities.[1796] In Welsh language churches, there was a strong sense of Welsh language community, as those communities used the chapel as a focal point for social and family activity.[1797]

[1792] 75NEOE.
[1793] 75NEOE.
[1794] 27SERC.
[1795] 285SERE, 68NWRC.
[1796] 45VRE.
[1797] 83SWBC, 04NWAC. "I would describe (place) as the most Welsh place in Wales. … It is the most Welsh part, and natural, y Werin bobl, it's natural, people feel at home here, yn y Gymraeg. I really enjoyed the town here, it's a very homely town. You can't walk down the street, people go to the town and have anyone is lonely they should just go for a walk and they would come back feeling much better. It's a homely place."

This was seen as particularly important in urban areas, where it was adding to the churches' influence.[1798]

> "In (town) the Welsh language chapels are still important to the Welsh Community. They are still influential, with community life in them. In other parts of Wales where they have declined they tend to be ignored. Their influence is greater in the city".[1799]

There were, however, some Welsh language rural communities where interaction between chapel and community would still be a daily experience, where family and work relationships were interwoven,[1800] like "one big family",[1801] with an extensive awareness of people and their family connections over generations.[1802]

This connection with community was weaker in English language areas, except for the drop-in centres and cafés provided for the community, especially the elderly.[1803] These centres were open to all, "an accepting, relaxed non-judgmental environment which reflects the attitude of Christ".[1804] Liberal churches were at pains not to discriminate, though it was acknowledged that the inclusiveness had led to "an issue of nominalism" arising from "a cultural understanding of chapel life".[1805]

These community connections centred on the use of their buildings, often by local organisations using them. Connections in the community would be through the work of the minister, doing funerals, home and hospital visitation, and running activities for children. Some churches contributed to a local *Foodbank*, or similar ecumenical initiative, but few were actively involved in other need-orientated mission. This was seen most clearly in the "most used" connections to their communities (Chart 66), which showed what approaches would be used regularly, rather than occasionally.

[1798] 27SERC, 49SEAC, 65SEBC.
[1799] 27SERC.
[1800] 49SEAC. "In (town) we were aware of that community more than here, people belonged. There was some sense of not just belonging to a community, but looking after that community, and seeing the world through the eyes of that community. Community but locality as well".
[1801] 83SWBC.
[1802] 78SWAC.
[1803] 285SERE.
[1804] 285SERE.
[1805] 318SWRE.
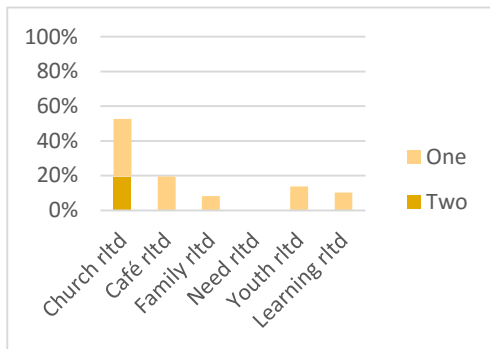
Chart 66. How Liberal churches connected most, and whether these "most used" came from the same group.

The Liberal approach to mission arose at a time in Wales when Christendom's legacy, where people went to chapel and were expected to do so, was still strong. The mission was to gather people to teach them how to be good neighbours, rather than show them, or organise them to be so. The age profile of Liberal churches would now make activity in the community a challenge, but their centripetal approach to mission meant that such activities were not developed as was the case with other approaches to mission. This lack of connection, when church attendance is declining, is a factor in the recorded decline of Liberal churches.

4.2.4.5.6 The Political Aspects of Welsh Context

In the nineteenth century Welsh Nonconformity had given the *gwerin* of Wales a democratic voice within the chapel community, and a collective voice to Government, when no Welsh political structures existed. The Liberal churches developed and defended this tradition, and their "social gospel" had a political agenda. Churches encouraged their members to be active in political process at local and national level:

> "The church had been an important in a civic sense, with mayors in the church, they were very powerful people. You had this element among the *Annibynwyr* to be involved in politics, more than with any other denomination".[1806]

Liberal churches spoke of activism among their members, and of the presence of elected officials in the congregation, including the family of the First Minister of the National Assembly of Wales.[1807] MPs, AMs, and local councillors were members of the churches,[1808] although some said that that there were fewer than in previous years.[1809]

[1806] 49SEAC.
[1807] 49SEAC.
[1808] 04NWAC, 55VOE, 78SWAC, 83SWBC.
[1809] 37NEOE, 55VOE.

Leaders said that they did not advocate a particular party from the pulpit, and that their church encouraged political action, not party politics,[1810] however, some churches said that their members were known for their political flavour.[1811] Political activism among members was strongest in Welsh language churches, where support for *Plaid Cymru* predominated. An awareness of Wales' loss of freedom, prosperity and representation under English rule was expressed repeatedly.[1812]

> "The castle reminds us of oppression, but we've got it now! It led to an uncertainty, lack of self-belief. Always kept down, slow to take responsibility … It reminds you of yesterday, and that is still there".[1813]

However, the presence of the National Assembly of Wales was said to be giving new confidence.[1814]

Churches in the South Wales Valleys, however, expressed their support for the Labour Party, which was rooted in a similar sense of grievance for perceived exploitation by England, this time in the industrial sphere.[1815] They spoke of repeated acts of exploitation which had cultivated a very strong victim mentality.[1816]

> "There is a feeling that we have been robbed by the English. This is true in the industrial valleys, they came in and took the profit … The amount of hatred that there still is, and it is hatred, for Maggie. She was, because she closed the mines. She is not liked. At the cinema when Churchill came on they used to boo him, because he sent the troops into Tonypandy. They've got long memories…"[1817]

However, political support for Labour in the Valleys was not as strong as in previous generations.[1818] One leader spoke of a huge sense of disillusion, especially in younger generations, stemming from the mine closures and the failure of trade unions to stop it.[1819]

[1810] 41MRC, 29SERC, 33SWAC, 65SEBC, 7SWAC.

[1811] 78 SWAC, 41MRC. "I would say that 90% of members are inclined to vote for one particular party. All the elders would vote for one particular party. Because of the connection of that party with Welsh".

[1812] 55VOE, 29SERC, 65SEBC, 71NERE, 78SWAC, 29SERC.

[1813] 04NWAC.

[1814] 65SEBC, 33SWAC, 55VRE, 29SERC, 27SERC, 71NERE. An anti-Cardiff feeling was expressed in North East Wales, but this was a result of a sense of remoteness, not opposition to Welsh institutions per se. 37NEOE, 71NERE.

[1815] 55VOE, 54VOE, 71NERE.

[1816] 55VOE.

[1817] 54VOE.

[1818] 45VRE. "(town) was very Labour, and there was a joke that if there was a donkey up pre-election the donkey would get in if it was Labour".

[1819] 55VOE, 71NERE.

In English-speaking areas Liberal churches were much weaker, and were not as active politically. One church near the English border actively discouraged involvement because their last minister, 25 years previously, had been elected as a town councillor and mayor, but the responsibilities conflicted with his ministerial responsibilities, resulting in serious illness. "Our church members think he was struck down because he was doing too much… Local politics in our church are not good bedfellows because of that episode".[1820] Another leader expressed the view that political oppression in Wales has affected church leadership generally, in that low confidence was affecting the supply of leaders, and their ability to lead, or even share their faith.[1821]

Despite these reservations, the Liberal approach to mission emphasized political involvement, and encouraged involvement at all levels of politics. They had the highest level of involvement at national level of all the approaches to mission, reflecting their involvement and engagement with the governments in Westminster and Cardiff (Chart 42).[1822]

Political action at a local level involved representation and lobbying by members, together with supporting "Christian Aid, *Foodbank*, work for refugees…",[1823] "Campaigning on social issues, poverty, equality",[1824] "towards the world, to justice and to world peace, and that is part of our mission".[1825] In Welsh language churches it also involved support for *Cymdeithas yr Iaith*,[1826] and in direct action against holiday cottages in Welsh areas, painting them with black paint. Ironically, the cottages were owned by fellow members of the same chapel. The event divided church members as well as the village.[1827]

If political activism was declining in Liberal churches, it was because Liberal churches were ageing, declining and closing. The benefits of their political activity for those outside the churches might have been great and lasting, but it did not sustain the numerical strength of the churches, whose decline meant that the mission, and its benefits, faded.

[1820] 77MOE.
[1821] 29SERC.
[1822] Page 196.
[1823] 27SERC.
[1824] 29SERC.
[1825] 33SWAC.
[1826] 33SWAC.
[1827] 83SWBC.

4.2.4.6 Reflections on Liberal Adjustments to Context

The Liberal approach to mission, being closely aligned to traditional Welsh culture, often in its rural form, was sometimes successful, but within a narrowing sphere. Its social and political message, and its defence of Welshness, reflected the aspirations and priorities of its ageing ministers and members. The desire to serve local geographical and linguistic communities, and to provide pastoral care to them through well trained ministers, was not sufficient to ensure an on-going influence, legacy or future. The loyalty to tradition might not have been open to negotiation: "I am a traditional missioner … God is a Welshman!", [1828] and such sentiments might be applauded within the chapel, but they were increasingly meaningless in the wider community. This approach to mission relied on the religious context of a Christianised Wales, where people came to chapel without being sought. A failure to adjust to the changing religious context in Wales meant that their mission would, inevitably, be short-lived, for them and for those that they sought to serve.

Despite evidence of good adjustments to localism, pastoral effectiveness in rural areas, strong support for language and culture, and good connections to political causes, the Liberal approach to mission was tied to a model of church that was "out of taste and out of time".[1829] The social gospel may have said the right things, but did not get directly involved with individual needs. Its message did not produce new Christians to continue its mission.

[1828] 121NERC(Trans).
[1829] Chambers, "Out of Taste," 86.

4.2.5   The Emergent Approach to Local Church Mission

4.2.5.1   Origins of the Tradition

The Emergent approach to mission was something of a hybrid of other approaches, seeking to incorporate what was thought best in each tradition. It sought to avoid the kind of polarisation that had occurred between the Evangelistic and Liberal approaches, seeking rather to be inclusive, and affirming of each tradition.[1830] As with the *Missio Dei* approach, the Emergent leaders and churches drew heavily on the thinking of Lesslie Newbigin, and the "Gospel and Our Culture" network,[1831] which started in the United Kingdom but flowered in the North America, where Emergent churches first developed.

By the first decade of the twenty-first century, leaders and churches in Wales were adopting an Emergent approach to mission. At the start of the decade, covered by the *Waleswide* Questionnaire, the new movement was viewed positively, as pointing to a hopeful way forward for declining congregations.[1832] In 2005, Gibbs and Bolger wrote their comprehensive review of the Emerging Church movement, with three examples from Wales: Linden fellowship in Swansea,[1833] New Duffryn Community Church, Newport,[1834] and Zac's Place, Swansea.[1835] These were seen as encouraging and ground-breaking examples of the new trends. In the preface to the second edition of his review of Christianity in the twentieth century, Morgan also mentions Zac's Place, Solace (a gathering in a Cardiff Nightclub), "and similar endeavours".[1836]

These examples were all in urban, English-speaking areas of South Wales, but hopes were raised that they represented a new beginning that could be replicated in other areas, contexts and cultures within Wales.

[1830] McLaren, *Generous*, 145-149.
[1831] Weston, *Newbigin*, 7.
[1832] Sudworth, *Outside-In*, 7-11; Pope, "Emerging Church," 6-7.
[1833] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 107, 121-122, 232, 280.
[1834] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 53, 310-311.
[1835] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 309.
[1836] Morgan, *Span, 2011*, xv.

4.2.5.2   The Emphasis of Emergent Churches

Churches with an Emergent approach to mission were identified by email responses, at interview, or from their questionnaire responses where no other confirmation was received.[1837] The Emergent approach to mission emphasized the importance of the Good News being tangible and seen, and not merely cognitive and proclaimed verbally. Charts 31 and 32[1838] show that only four churches could be identified as having an Emergent understanding of local church mission, and one of these was in the 5:2 category. These responses were supplemented by other churches mentioned in print, and others who did not complete the questionnaire, but were willing to be interviewed. The following comments on this approach, therefore, are based on a very small sample.

The sample was small, in part, because, by the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Emergent movement had faltered, and not increased in number. It was unclear which, "similar endeavours" Morgan had in mind, but their numbers were small, and those mentioned were struggling or no longer functioning. One Emergent church had been held up as an example of growth and effective mission, with references to the church having "gained many"[1839] and "the congregation had trebled".[1840] However, during the interview with its leader, it was acknowledged that of the 120 attending, only 12 lived in the immediate community. Others had joined from outside the area, what was outwardly a successful church.[1841] The leader said that community connections had given contact and produced good will, but, "I can't say that people are flocking in through the door to come on a Sunday, but their resistance to us as a church is hugely different … It is an ongoing thing".[1842]

The limited number of Emergent churches in Wales was the result of a number of factors. Firstly, the fact that these churches incorporated elements of all other approaches, meant that the edges were blurred between them and other

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[1837] Leaders were asked to choose from six options, described earlier (page 163). Option E identified an Emergent approach to local church mission: "Do social action, and people will see the message".
[1838] Page 172.
[1839] Price, "Social Enterprise," 48.
[1840] Chambers, "Economic Factors," in Goodhew, *Growth*, 231.
[1841] Another study spoke of this church's numerical growth and of attendance doubling and increasing by over 300%, but it also spoke of transfers from other churches or Christians who moved into the area. There was no evidence of such growth at the time of interview. The study also spoke of significant losses of members, an unhappy trend that has continued subsequently. Holmes, "Transformation," 16, 24, 43, 69.
[1842] 42SEPE.

approaches. This was particularly the case with *Missio Dei* churches, as both approaches were ecumenical in nature and strongly influenced by Newbigin's work. A difference between these two approaches was that Emergent churches had more Evangelistic elements in their mission, but presented them in a visual not vocal way. They also affirmed the Liberal emphasis of the Social Gospel.[1843] This mixing of approaches meant that some churches identified among other approaches would be very close to an Emergent approach. One of the churches mentioned earlier by Gibbs and Bolger, in interview, actually identified themselves as Lausanne/Evangelical in approach, even though many of their mission approaches were Emergent.[1844]

Secondly, the Emergent churches struggled in Wales' contexts, and did not grow or multiply as predicted. New Duffryn Community Church continued as a Church in Wales partnership on a needy council estate in Newport, known as "The Lab".[1845] Zac's Place, known as "A Church for Ragamuffins"[1846] has developed as a centre supporting the homeless and most vulnerable in society, and Solace closed down. Its members were re-formed as a missional community in a Cardiff arts centre.[1847] The church that was supporting Solace described the challenges faced:

> "Solace was a pub church, being quite edgy, it finished about 18 months ago. … They had some massive problems in how it was operating. He was finding it very difficult to create community in a city centre where the people were mobile and not there for very long. Everyone was trying to build community with a passing trade that changed each Sunday. It hit some problems."[1848]

[1843] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 152; One of the main leaders of the Emergent Church movement in Britain, Dave Tomlinson, who described himself as a "post-evangelical": D. Tomlinson, "Post Evangelical," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://www.davetomlinson.co.uk/post-evangelical/; P. Ll. Jones, "Adolygiad Re-enchanting Christianity," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://www.cristnogaeth21.org/?p=139. In May 2011 he spoke at the annual conference of Cristnogaeth21, a Welsh language organisation promoting a Liberal approach to mission: Christnogaeth21, "Cynhadledd 2012," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://www.cristnogaeth21.org/phpBB3/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=103&p=491&hilit=Tomlinson&sid=26bd7a1e69c0ecc75ecb8a1835957a12#p491 .
[1844] 64SWNE; Gibbs and Bolger, 35.
[1845] J. Henley, "The Lab," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://www.freshexpressions.org.uk/stories/lab; The Lab, "Partnerships," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://thelabnewport.org/about/partnerships/.; CMS, "Finding what God is doing and joining in: Interview with James Henley," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://pioneer.cms-uk.org/2013/06/12/finding-what-god-is-doing-and-joining-in-interview-with-james-henley/.
[1846] S. Stillman, "Zac's Place History," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://www.zacsplace.org/zacs-place-3/zacs-place-history/.
[1847] J. Karran, "Llan," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://llan-community.org.uk/; J. Karran, "The Gate Faith Community," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://www.freshexpressions.org.uk/stories/thegatecardiff.
[1848] 61SEBE.

Some of these problems were circumstantial and relational, but some were contextual.

Thirdly, the Emergent movement, and its expression of mission, morphed into missional initiatives that were programmes and expressions of existing churches.[1849] The *Fresh Expressions* movement operates mostly within existing Anglican and Nonconformist denominations,[1850] and the Methodist Church listed *Messy Church,[1851]* cafés, youth events and missional cells as their Welsh expressions.[1852] As explained previously, the term "missional" had been adopted by existing churches from all the different approaches to mission.[1853] The demise of the Emergent approach may have been a result of own success, in that others had taken over their approaches, to the potential benefit of all.[1854] Its emphasis on small missional communities, embedded within areas of need, is a case in point, and this will be considered further in Chapter Five.

4.2.5.3 The Emergent Approach to Mission

Churches with an Emergent approach to mission sought to establish communities of Christians within the society they were seeking to reach. Theirs was a non-institutional model, demonstrating good news by serving. It avoided rigid definitions on church structure, doctrine and discipleship, seeking to be flexible and adaptive to a particular context in post-modern and post-Christendom Wales.[1855] It looked for what God was doing in the place being served: "I don't take God into somewhere,

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[1849] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 33, 120, 125.

[1850] G. Lings, "A History of Fresh Expressions and Church Planting in the Church of England," in *Church Growth in Britain: 1980 to the Present* (ed. D. Goodhew; Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 173-178.

[1851] *Messy Church* describes itself as a "Fresh Expression" of church, "meaning that it is Church in its own right. It is not intended as a bridge into traditional church". L. Cox, "Messy Church: Messy Explosion," *Croeso* (Harvest 2014): 5. However, the practice in Wales, and elsewhere, was that these activities represented a mission initiative of an existing church. C. Watkins and B. Shepherd, "The Challenge of 'Fresh Expressions' to Ecclesiology," *EP* (2014): 109-110.

[1852] Methodist Church, "Fresh Expressions," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: www.methodist.org.uk/downloads/stats-Fresh-Expressions-Analysis-0910.ppt.

[1853] Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 71; P. Francis, "Communitas," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://www.glenwoodchurch.org/Communitas; Rhiwbina Baptist Church, "Missional community at RBC," n.p. [cited 23.10.2014]. Online: http://www.rbc.ac/Groups/214732/Rhiwbina_Baptist_Church/Community/Missional_Communities/Missional_Communities.aspx;

[1854] One example of another approach affirming the Emergent contribution is found in the Liberal network *Cristnogaeth21*'s conference in 2010, where the Emergent approach was highlighted, and one of its leaders contributed. T. Ifan, "Neges Misol Mai 2010," n.p. [cited 14.06.2012]. Online: http://www.cristnogaeth21.org/?p=104#more-'.

[1855] Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 235; Murray, *After*, 78, 80, 86; Sudworth, *Outside-In*, 7; Duncan, *Kingdom Come*, 76-77.

but find him where he is and join him",[1856] or "Rather than sucking things into serving the church, our focus is to be out and about being church".[1857] Emerging Churches looked for a transformation of the society around them, through being part of that society and serving it.[1858]

The members of Emergent churches sought to be embedded within their local community, in its activities, relationships and needs. Mission had to be "incarnational",[1859] where there was a long-term commitment to be in, and part of, the local community: "To do that we have to be here and model it".[1860] This approach to mission involved serving the community for its overall good. One church drew inspiration and models from the Celtic churches in Wales, emphasizing small cells of followers, acting as a community for the wider community:

> "The *llans* were missional communities, contextual missional communities, where the Saints would go into an area where the Saints would create a worshipping community, a lay community living within this area. This secular and sacred were intertwined in life. … We are acting as Jesus's apprentices in this public space, and the idea is that as we live it out there that people will be joined to Jesus by our life".[1861]

The impact of service on the community was understood as a way to demonstrate the kingdom of God through practical expressions of the love of God.[1862]

> "Much of our work has a Kingdom emphasis rather than Church focus (both missional and incarnational). Demonstrating hope through action amongst people who feel hopeless".[1863]

This expression of love was to be unconditional and inclusive, and in no way dependant on whether someone came to the church or believed what the church believed.[1864] God was said to love people exactly as they are, and people were on a journey towards him,[1865] and it was "not for me to look and say that you are not far enough on your journey… I feel very uncomfortable about making judgement calls

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[1856] The words of Dave Sutton, leader of New Duffryn Community Church, quoted in Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 53.

[1857] The words of Chris Matthews of Linden Church, Swansea, quoted in Gibbs and Bolger, *Emerging*, 107.

[1858] Duncan, *Kingdom Come*, 21, 189, 322-323; Price, "Social Enterprise," 33, 46.

[1859] 44VNE, 324SENE, 42SEPE.

[1860] 44VNE.

[1861] 324SENE. The Welsh word '*llan*' (plural *llanau*) is associated with Celtic Christianity. It originally referred to an enclosed piece of land, but later evolved to mean the area surrounding a Celtic church building. It usually had some connection to a Celtic saint, and the combination of the word *llan* and the saint's name accounts for hundreds of place-names in Wales.

[1862] Holmes, "Transformation," 3, 9, 44.

[1863] 44VNE.

[1864] 44VNE, 42SEPE, 59SWNE.

[1865] 42SEPE, 324SENE.

about other people".[1866] The underlying motivation was the betterment of people, not merely saving their souls.

> "The message is that God loves people, and we can't say we love God and not love people. Everybody can change. Everybody can change … What we do in the building does reflect the message, the message of inclusion, of empowerment of people, of loving people and wanting people to live their best life. You know, personally, I see that in Jesus, he wanted people to live their best life that they could".[1867]

This emphasis is seen in the community connections of Emergent churches. The charts, which compare Emergent churches' overall connections to their communities (Charts 36 to 41),[1868] show the comparatively low use of multiple Church related activities, with Café, Need, Youth and Learning approaches comparatively high.

However, when compared to "most used responses" (Chart 67), Café, Family and Learning approaches did not register, suggesting that their use was very occasional. On the other hand, the use of Need and Youth in "most used" were higher than all other approaches. Emergent churches used Church activities, but their primary mission was to youth and children, and social needs, in their community.
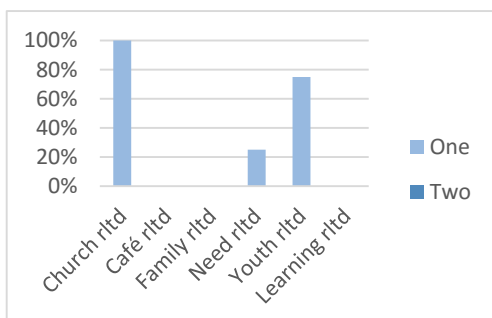
Chart 67. Emergent churches "most used" connections to community.

Emergent churches were involved in the community, for the sake of the community, in ways that were people, not church tradition, centred. This involved significant challenges for these churches. For new churches, which began with this orientation, the initial challenges involved being accepted in the community they wished to serve. However, for existing churches, which had transitioned to an Emergent model, the initial challenges related to the expectations of existing members.[1869]

[1866] 324SENE.
[1867] 42SEPE.
[1868] Pages 171-172.
[1869] 42SEPE.

> "I think we have been seeking to shift from the focus of trying to get people into "church" and moving towards trying to take Christ to the community. These are still early days for this shift in focus".[1870]

For some churches, this involved the loss of existing members in a painful transition.[1871]

The Emergent mission, however, was not about the Church, but transforming the wider community.[1872] The ethos was "to love God and people and to play their part in making the world a better place … a prosperous and safe place in which to live", being a church in the world, constantly interacting with people.[1873]

4.2.5.4 The Emergent Means of Communication

As has been explained earlier, the role of friendship and community involvement were seen as an important part of mission.[1874] However, the questionnaire responses show that this was for the sake of community connection, and not evangelism.

> "As we cast our vision, we realised that God was changing our focus away from event orientated evangelism to process orientated service".[1875]

Emergent churches made little use of Relational or Direct approaches to communicating their message (Chart 68), especially the "most used" which showed regular, not occasional use (Chart 69).

[1870] 124MPE.
[1871] 42SEPE; Price, "Social Enterprise," 48; Holmes, "Transformation," 69.
[1872] Holmes, "Transformation," 8-11; Price, "Social Enterprise," 49, 53.
[1873] Price, "Social Enterprise," 46.
[1874] 124MPE.
[1875] Holmes, "Transformation," 73.
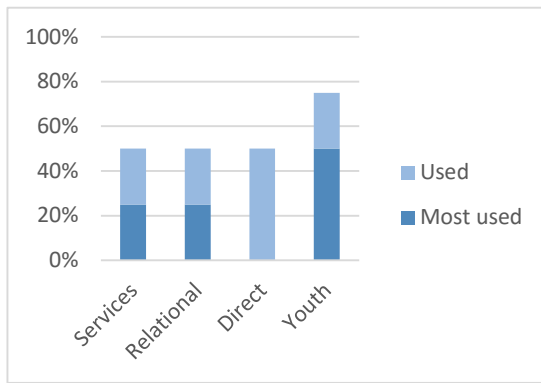
Chart 68. How Emergent churches sought to communicate their message, showing the % use of each group, and multiple approaches in a group.
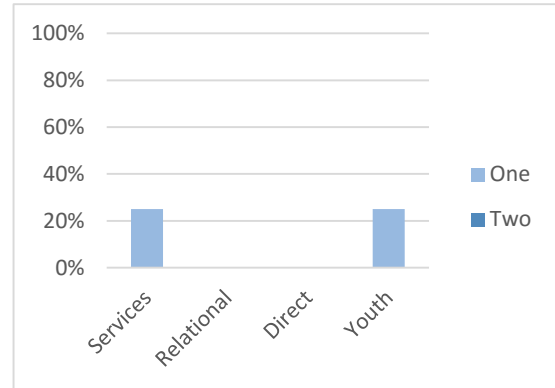
Chart 69. How Emergent churches identified the approaches they used most, and whether these "most used" came from the same group.

They did use "Services", but but at the lowest rate of all the approaches in both the overall use (Chart 70) and of the methods "most used" (Chart 71).
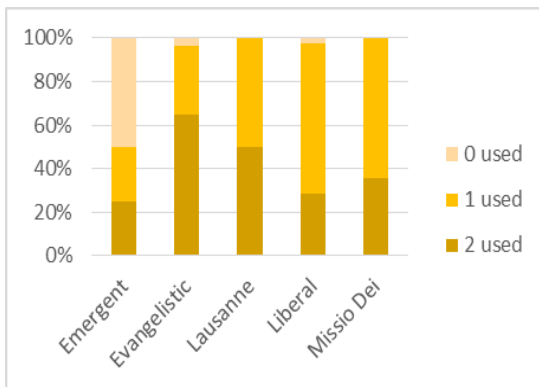
Chart 70. The % of churches using the Services methods to promote their message.
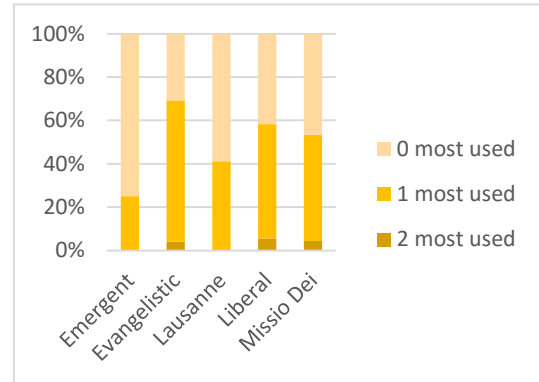
Chart 71. The % of churches using the Services methods as "most used" to promote their message.

When asked about the particular means of communicating the message, these churches seemed to focus on the impact of the actual activity, without necessarily any deliberate communication of a verbal message. One leader, when asked about evangelistic activity, replied, "Drama, debate (most used), art & craft".[1876] The place of debate, where various views were shared and considered, was central to another church's "Spirituality Café", held monthly, as an opportunity for "spiritual seekers", from an eclectic background, to share about their spiritual journey. This was followed by discussion where, "We have all sorts there, but everyone feels safe, and there's no pressure". The venues used were to be non-religious, such as a pub, or ideally, "a pub that is owned and run by the community… The church taking over

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[1876] 320VBE.

bowling alleys, cafes, clubs".[1877] The message was communicated by deeds, as a way of helping individuals change, not as evangelism aimed at adding them to the local church:

> "Throughout the transitional process we encouraged the congregation to see the community not as a potential place for church growth but as a place where we are called to enter with listening love".[1878]

When asked how people had come to faith, and been added to the church, Emergent churches still showed some reliance on church activities, however (Chart 72). Evangelistic conversations and courses, and church services, were effective, at least with some. The importance of work with youth and children followed the same patterns as other approaches, but the use of "Mission" was notable. Emergent churches had a different understanding of the word "mission" than its use by other approaches. For Emergent churches it was the community service described earlier, not a week-long evangelistic enterprise organised by Evangelistic churches.
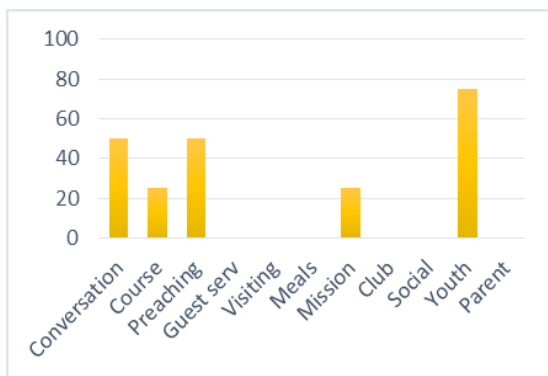
Chart 72. Through what means people were added to Emergent churches.

For Emergent churches mission involved serving the community in practical ways, in order to transform the community into a better place to live, something that was not only seen as possible, "but is our very reason to exist".[1879]

[1877] 324SENE.
[1878] Holmes, "Transformation," 77.
[1879] Holmes, "Transformation," 8.

4.2.5.5   Adjustment to the aspects of context

The small number of Emergent churches means that the material available to assess their adjustments to context is limited. However, the responses do suggest some principles and pointers. One Emergent leader described the issues as contextual, not circumstantial:

> "There is a movement, there is a groundswell of something that is happening in Britain through the Emerging Church and the missional communities, and in Wales we seem to be missing out somehow … ".[1880]

It was felt that the Welsh context was not responsive to such new movements. Possible reasons for this will now be considered.

4.2.5.5.1   The Religious Aspects of Welsh Context

Though Emergent congregations seemed effective in other parts of the United Kingdom, and beyond, resistance was encountered in Wales. This was variously accounted for by the negative legacy of the chapel tradition,[1881] a resistance to change and new ideas, and loyalty to accepted forms:[1882]

> "There is something almost rooted in Welshness, a stubbornness, a refusal to want to change, or move on, maybe it's to do with the language, as of Welsh people almost feel they are letting themselves down if they admit that how they have always done things isn't working".[1883]

Others spoke of a failure from the time of the Reformation to reform structure and ministry, with the same forms being maintained ever since. The models were no longer working, and, therefore, should be abandoned: "When the horse is dead, dismount".[1884] Another foresaw only small missional communities existing in the future, with only a few traditional churches left, "pockets of resistance, fortress outpost is of the old ways… Island fortresses in a sea of people who don't care".[1885] It was for this reason that Emergent leaders rejected all traditional forms as doomed and ineffective. The Welsh people were not opposed to Jesus *per se*, but to the religious system that represented him.[1886]

[1880] 324SENE.
[1881] 44VNE.
[1882] 44VNE.
[1883] 324SENE.
[1884] Holmes, "Transformation," 44, quoting B. D. McLaren, *The Church on the Other Side* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), 24.
[1885] 324SENE.
[1886] 44VNE, 42SEPE

> "In this village over 80% on the census said that they were Christians. I think that is staggering. 80%, so people are not against God, people are against the institutional church and what it has become".[1887]

Emergent leaders expected the era of Nonconformist chapels and traditions to come to an imminent end, and so were preparing new, flexible structures, that would give a contemporary representation and relevance of the Christian faith: "I don't feel disheartened that the church will die out…. I think it will be hard to define how this thing will look".[1888] It was acknowledged that the hope of people responding to God's love, through seeing love expressed, gave no guarantee of future attendance: "Whether or not that means that they come here on Sunday, I don't know if that's what will happen. It may well happen, but I think the influence of the love of God to pervade this village, that is my vision".[1889]

The problem for Emergent churches was that the people of Wales were not yet ready for the change. Emergent churches had struggled to multiply, and their dream of community transformation remained a dream. The legacy and memory of chapel tradition meant that Welsh communities was not ready for the new approach.

4.2.5.5.2 The Geographic Aspects of Welsh Context

Emergent churches in Wales were working in some of the most deprived housing communities in the cities and post-industrial Valleys. The work was focussed on the small communities they were serving, and the embedded nature of their mission showed a high level of adjustment to place, locality and community boundaries.

> "We had a conversation with a girl in her 30s who had never been to Cardiff. People feel very strongly Welsh, but they feel very strongly (place). If you ask people where they from they just say (place), as opposed to (adjacent place). It is very kind of tribal".[1890]

They did not attempt to work across wide areas. The small cellular nature of all but one of the churches meant that they could be easily multiplied to serve other local communities.[1891] Their service in communities was adjusted to that community, and its history, as they sought to be contextual.[1892]

[1887] 42SEPE.
[1888] 44VNE.
[1889] 42SEPE.
[1890] 44VNE.
[1891] 324SENE.
[1892] 324SENE.

4.2.5.5.3   The Ethnic Aspects of Welsh Context

The Emergent churches that responded to the Survey and the interviews were in South Wales in areas that had seen periods of significant inward migration. Therefore, no mention was made of a primordial Welshness, but there was an awareness of a Welsh *ethnie* derived from history. A sense of historical rootedness lay behind the identification with Celtic models of spirituality and community:

> "We have drawn a lot of inspiration from the ancient ways, the old path, and that has to be contextual, historically contextual so we draw on the stories of what has happened in Wales. That is important. We are the people that God is put in Wales in the 21st century, so the continuation is important".[1893]

Similarly, the Emergent churches serving communities in the post-industrial Valleys were also aware of an identity based on industrial history and its legacy.[1894] One church set out to respond in its mission to the negative legacy of mine closures, poverty and unemployment. They sought to create an awareness of what was good in their community through looking at their potential instead of the need. They ran a family fun day every year, with a photographic competition of places in the area: "It is just a way of showing that they live in a really beautiful place. Don't keep knocking it".[1895] The sense of local community in the Valleys was something that small Emergent churches could become a part of, thus identifying with the local expression of Welshness: "People feel very strongly Welsh … It is very kind of tribal … There is a sense of being the underdog".[1896] These observations were no different from those of other approaches to mission, but the Emergent churches' willingness to embed within a community meant that their identification with those communities was very high.

4.2.5.5.4   The Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of Welsh Context

In terms of Niebuhr's categories, in his *Christ and Culture*, the Emergent approach to contemporary culture would be to be involved and transforming.[1897] All the Emergent churches were in South Wales English languages areas. A small Welsh-speaking community in North Wales survived only briefly, closing before the *Waleswide* Survey was conducted. The radical and non-traditional forms of Emergent churches were viewed with suspicion in communities that still valued the

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[1893] 324SENE.
[1894] 44VNE.
[1895] 44VNE.
[1896] 44VNE.
[1897] Niebuhr, *Culture*, 45-229; Keller, *Center*, 194-217.

Welsh chapel tradition as part of its inherited culture, even if they no longer attended. As seen earlier, Emergent churches were regarded as alien, as English, or as a threatening change.[1898]

Emergent leaders reflected some of the hostility to the Welsh language expressed in the Valleys. They were embedded in communities that were proud of their own Welshness and traditions, but these cultural traditions were not shaped by language.

> "I think the language is a huge issue to be honest with you. I think the language becomes the idol that they serve, quite often… the guy who is credited with starting the Sunday school movement … a quote from him, the only reason he teaches in Welsh is because it makes it easier for people to learn the gospel, to understand the gospel, he said if it wasn't for that he wouldn't bother, because it's not important. I think we've lost that attitude, it's become the language, the culture, has become all-important".[1899]

For others there was indifference to Welsh language and culture,[1900] the culture of Valley communities was expressed though rugby and its attendant culture: "There's a big sporting element in the village, rugby is a very Welsh thing. … Another Welsh thing, the community pub, for this village anyway is played a huge part".[1901] Emergent churches were part of such communities, except for one, which was meeting in an art gallery, and connected with an urban artistic culture. Adjustments to language and culture, therefore, were within these small urban communities, and reflected their preferences. The attitudes to Welsh language and culture, described above, would create significant resistance outside urban and anglicised areas. Emergent churches struggled with the linguistic and cultural aspects of Welsh contexts, issues which they had not found to be a problem in other nations in the UK.

4.2.5.5.5   The Social Aspects of Welsh Context

Being located within needy communities, Emergent churches were very conscious of their social context, especially those in the post-industrial Valleys.[1902] They commented on the "community feel" of such areas, and sought to adjust to it.[1903]

> "…even though we live on a day when communities tend to be fragmented and there are family breakdowns, here there is a real identity of family and

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[1898] 324SENE.
[1899] 324SENE. The reference is to Griffith Jones, and the Circulating Schools, but no evidence was offered regarding his indifference to the Welsh language.
[1900] 42SEPE.
[1901] 42SENE.
[1902] 44VNE.
[1903] 44VNE.

identity of community. You might call it tribal, but there is still that feel here. …
People already have a very strong set of relationships.[1904]

The Emergent churches connected to the patterns of these relationships by seeking to "step into the community and immerse ourselves as much as we can into the community by getting involved in things that are already happening. By attempting to do things that continue that community feel".[1905] By living within the communities, they were accessing existing interrelated networks. They were seeking to model a different lifestyle: "you don't have to go and get smashed every weekend, there is another way of loving each other".[1906] The areas of involvement were described as "maintaining the graveyard (the neglect of which was identified as distressing to local residents)",[1907] food distribution,[1908] home refurbishment,[1909] craft club,[1910] furniture recycling, a gym for health and fitness, IT, needlework and language courses, and a youth worker working as a rugby coach for the local team.[1911]

There can be no doubt that such a range of social provision, from a small number of local communities, is impressive. Operating from within communities, as part of the community, in a small and flexible cell, meant that adjustment to urban and Valley contexts was effective. Whether such groups would be sustainable in the long term, or how such a model would apply to more prosperous, rural, or traditional Welsh language communities is an open question, as the number of such churches decline rather than spread.

4.2.5.5.6   The Political Aspects of Welsh Context

One of the Emergent churches that closed had been involved in protests against sweatshops, modern day slavery and people trafficking. They organised city-centre stunts, including a protest outside Primark, and a mock slave auction outside a library.[1912] Another leader, in the Valleys, had been a Labour Party activist, but an attempt to impose a candidate locally led to him to change to non-political action.[1913]

[1904] 44VNE.
[1905] 44VNE.
[1906] 44VNE.
[1907] 320VBE.
[1908] 324SENE.
[1909] 42SENE.
[1910] 320VBE.
[1911] 42SENE; Price, "Social Enterprise," 48-51.
[1912] 324SENE.
[1913] 44VNE.

Another leader had offered to stand as a candidate for the local council, but was resisted because of not being a Labour Party member.[1914]

Compared to other approaches to mission, Emergent churches were most involved at the local level, campaigning for the needs of their community (Chart 42).[1915] Whether such political action, however, was in any way an adjustment to the distinctives of the Welsh political context, is questionable. Churches in other distinct national contexts, especially in areas of social deprivation, could well be politically active in exactly the same way. The absence of political aspirations linked to language, culture and national independence, in their communities, meant that there was less of a distinctly Welsh political context to adjust to.

[1914] 42SENE.
[1915] Page 196.

4.2.4.6   Reflections on the Emergent Adjustments to Context

By being embedded in local communities, the Emergent churches demonstrated a high level of contextualisation to the localism, identity, and social needs of their communities. Their approach to mission demonstrated a high level of commitment to the transformation of those communities. However, the pattern of mission seemed to run contrary to the religious context of Wales, even in its most anglicised and secular areas. Even where their community action led to an acceptance within the local community, the covert nature of their message meant that few were added to their number from those communities. Mission without an urgent message, once again, did not replenish the church doing the mission.

As a result, the churches did not multiply or spread, and the hopes of a movement to transform the church / mission landscape at the start of the millennium had been all but exhausted by the end of the decade. Tensions within the churches, the departures of those who were uneasy with the approach, and the vulnerability of such small groups because of size, also played their part. Wales was not ready, or was not good ground for the seed of an Emergent approach to mission.

4.3   Reflections on Chapter Four

Wales has distinct aspects of context, which together give a variety of unique contexts. This has been demonstrated in Chapter Three. How the various approaches to mission adjusted to these aspects of context has been described in this chapter. Each approach had its own definition and objectives for its mission, and therefore success, or failure, would be understood differently. The extent to which the different approaches to mission achieved their own objectives, and the degree to which their adjustments to Welsh contexts contributed to this, have also been described.

The Religious aspect of context is the most influential. The legacy of Christendom, with its attractional, building centred, form of mission, has been seen to be a hindrance to effective mission. A secularized society, with a less than positive collective memory of Welsh Nonconformity, is no longer drawn into places of worship, and is increasingly less likely to be so. This traditional centripetal model of mission has struggled to engage with the other aspects of Welsh context also. It had, progressively, become identified with a largely rural and traditional *ethnie*, with its distinct cultural traditions. Even here, Nonconformist churches have become isolated from their surrounding communities. They have continued to engage with Welsh political institutions, but through protest, rather than constructive cooperation and dialogue. Traditional churches that remain, using these patterns of mission, are ageing, and declining rapidly. It is this approach to mission, that Chambers described as "terminally unfashionable in contemporary Wales".[1916]

On the other hand, churches that have become missional and centrifugal in their mission, working actively within a local community and adjusting to its particular *ethnie,* have fared better. In some cases, they have grown significantly, both numerically and in their scope of mission. These churches have been sensitive to language and culture, have surveyed the needs of their community, and have engaged with local secular agencies. Not all churches, or missiological approaches, excelled in all aspects, but effectiveness in mission is sufficiently evident to identify appropriate practice.

[1916] Chambers, "Out of Taste," 92.

As suggested earlier, maintaining the numerical strength of a church is an important element in its ability to do mission.[1917] In responding to the religious context, and its increasing secularization, some approaches have marginalized or minimized any emphasis on message, or the need for an individual's response to it. As a result, in some approaches, few have responded and been added to the church doing the mission. Therefore, the church's message, and how it is conveyed to unchurched peoples, are important factors in mission for each of the approaches. An Evangelistic approach to mission sought, primarily, to communicate its message so that unchurched people came to faith and were added to the church. As a result, more people had joined these churches, and their mission. For other approaches this priority was less evident or oblique, and a lack of growth was a consequence. The overall decline of Liberal, Emergent and *Missio Dei* churches would suggest that post-Christian Welsh contexts necessitated a more explicit communication in mission. The wider benefits of mission for the community were being lost because of the diminishing and ageing human resources of most of these churches.

Connecting to the local community gave social capital, or not, to a church's message. For E1 churches, social action was, at best, a consequence of mission, whereas for a Liberal approach, it was the central message, expressing God's general benevolence. The other approaches viewed social action as a means, a partner, a main element, or an embodiment of their message, in a spectrum between E1 and Liberal. Whether or not a local church built such social capital with its community seemed to be integral to the effectiveness of the mission, whatever the approach. E1 churches seemed to be less effective than E2 churches, because of a lack of social engagement. Of all the approaches, E2 churches saw most people added because their consistent message gained a hearing because of consistent service. Lausanne churches also grew significantly because of the social capital of activities done for their own sake, but, nevertheless, giving credibility. Churches with a *Missio Dei* or Emergent approach did not link their message to their social action, and grew less as a consequence. Liberal churches prioritized only the activity, and were declining in every case.

As explained earlier, some of a local church's recorded connections to their community were organised, initially and in some cases primarily, for their own members and attendees. Up to five activities (for children, youth, elderly, counselling

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[1917] Murray, *After*, 163. See page 45.

and the use of their building) were identified in this category. Therefore, churches that had more than five connections, and in particular those with seven or more connections, demonstrated a greater intentional connectivity with their communities, for the community's benefit. When the proportion of each approach to mission that were found to be growing (5:2 churches: Chart 73) and the proportion that had more than five or seven connections (>5, >7 churches: Chart 74) is compared, a correlation is evident.[1918]
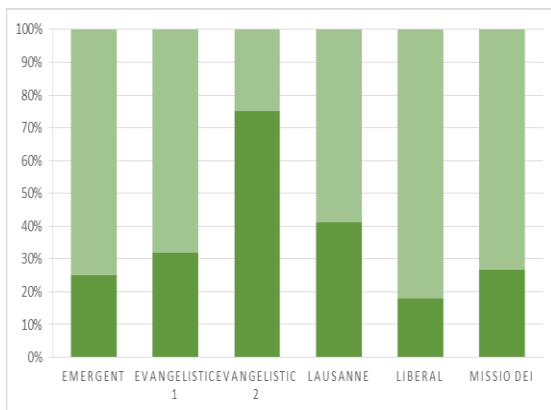
Chart 73. The proportion of 5:2 churches in each approach to mission. (The dark shade being 5:2)
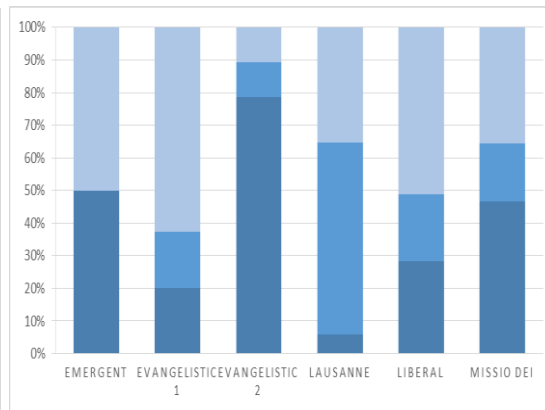
Chart 74. The proportion of churches with >5 and >7 connections to their community. (The darkest shade being >7, the mid-shade >5, and the light shade <5.

In both spheres, E2 churches had the most connections to their communities, and had a greater proportion of churches growing 5:2. E1 churches' growth reflected their connectivity to community. Lausanne churches had a high proportion of >5, but the number 5:2 were significantly less than E2. The connectivity to community among *Missio Dei*, Emergent and Liberal churches did not lead to commensurate growth numerically. The charts demonstrate the need for mission that makes the communication of message a priority, if that mission is to be viable in the long term.

These growth and decline patterns, however, were not simply the result of social engagement. There was a complex interaction of the several contextual factors. In reviewing these multiple factors, various expressions of mission were identified, in the different approaches, which showed the positive effect of a right adjustment to a particular aspect of context. These can be summarized as follows:

[1918] The contrast in Emergent churches reflects the very small sample. Two churches had more than seven connection (50%0, and one was 5:2 (25%).

- The change from an attractional approach in mission, to a missional approach, thus responding to a post-Christendom and secularized religious context in Wales.

- The recognition of the importance of localism in Wales, and the need for mission to be embedded within a particular community.

- The sensitive response to a community's understanding of its own *ethnie,* whether imagined or actual, and then tailoring mission to reflect it.

- The willingness to do mission in a way that respects differing attitudes to the Welsh language, and to the various roots of Welsh culture. The challenging issue of Welsh language churches is a major part of this adjustment.

- Doing mission in Welsh cultures, where there was an underlying socialist or *gwerin* tradition, made engagement with, and care for, the local community obligatory.

- A willingness to engage with political processes, at various levels, in order to be a voice of prophetic protest within the community, or an agent of change along with other agencies. Protest without engagement would be mission by megaphone, and of limited effectiveness.

These adjustments to the various aspects of Welsh contexts will now be considered in Chapter Five. This will take the consideration of mission in Welsh contexts beyond merely identifying contexts and how the approaches to mission have responded to them. It will suggest how local churches will need to adjust to contexts in Wales in the future, if Welsh Nonconformity is to survive at all.

Chapter Five: The Challenges for Welsh Nonconformity

This chapter will consider the prospects for Welsh Nonconformity in the second decade of the twenty-first century. It will consider the lessons to be drawn from the adjustments made to the differing contexts, described in Chapter Four, by the various approaches to mission.

5.1   Calibrating the Character of a Local Context

The wide variety of Welsh contexts, described in the six aspects, reveal a contrasting and complex patchwork of patterns. Identifying the appropriate approach for mission in a particular place will be no less complex. A local church, or churches, in a specific community will need to read their context, from an apparent plethora of variables. The Balsom analysis of British Wales, Welsh Wales and *y Fro Gymraeg,* gives broad geographical categories, which also reflect political and ethnic identities. They do not, however, provide a model for local evaluation, particularly in the religious, cultural and social aspects, with which a local church's mission must engage. The Grid/Group Cultural Theory, pioneered by anthropologist Mary Douglas, can help to meet this lack.

Douglas's model provides a two dimensional analytical grid to distinguish societal patterns (Chart 75). It identifies and contrasts the amount of social control, by which individuals are constrained.[1919] Four distinct patterns in the perceived nature of society are suggested, each being self-distinguished in contrast to the others:[1920] The horizontal Group axis, from left to right, shows the degree of incorporation into a bounded society, reflecting the increasing structure of a particular society from individualism to inter-dependence. The vertical Grid axis, from bottom to top, shows the degree of regulation, or hierarchical structure, of a society, from egalitarianism to stratification.

[1919] M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1973), 77-88; M. Douglas, "Introduction to Grid/Group Analysis," in *Essays in the Sociology of Perception* (ed. M. Douglas; London: Routledge, 2003), 1-3; M. Douglas, "A History of Grid and Group Cultural Theory," 1-14. [cited 21.07.2013]. Online:
http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/semiotics/cyber/douglas1.pdf; C. Sun-Ki, L. Ming, and K. Min-Sun, "Cultural Comparisons of Beliefs and Values: Applying the Grid-Group Approach to the World Values Survey," *J Beliefs Values* 1 (2 2009): 196-202.
[1920] Douglas, "Grid/Group," in Douglas, *Sociology of Perception*, 6; Douglas, "Grid and Group," 8; Sun-Ki, Ming, and Min-Sun, "Cultural Comparisons," 196.

Chart 75. Douglas's analytical grid.
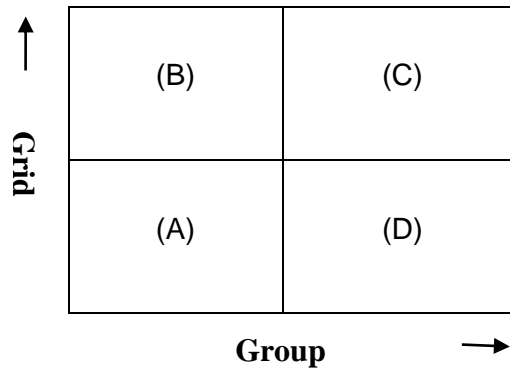
Box (A), described by Douglas as "Individualist", represents a society which is weak in Grid and Group controls. It is a society ordered by competition and merit. Social controls are weak, mobility is high, and the individual is primarily concerned with private benefit.[1921] Box (B), the "Isolate", or sphere of "atomized subordination",[1922] represents a society that ascribes closely the way a person may behave. It may be structured by commercial or professional commitments, but has little group identity or membership.[1923] Box (C), the "Positional", or sphere of "ascribed hierarchy",[1924] represents a society that is strong on Grid and Group, where roles, behaviour, culture and order are strong and ascribed. Social pressures are influential, the group is strongly bounded, and loyalty is rewarded.[1925] Box (D), the "Enclave", or sphere of "factionalism", represents a society that is also strongly bounded, but with little ranking or social control among its members. According to Douglas, it is a society of egalitarian dissidents, with strong collective bonds, which supports group boundaries and declares "all outsiders to be evil".[1926]

The patterns described by Douglas, can be used as a model for analysing the diverse patterns of social contexts in Wales. Along with Balsom's classifications, they can be used to better understand social and cultural patterns, and so calibrate the mission of local churches in their particular community. They help to identify the underlying patterns, attitudes and assumptions of communities, and so may show some of the connections between ethnicity, culture, language, place, politics, social patterns, and even religious expression in a community.

[1921] Douglas, "History of Grid and Group," 6; Douglas, "Grid/Group," in Douglas, *Sociology of Perception*, 4.
[1922] Douglas, "Grid/Group," in Douglas, *Sociology of Perception*, 1.
[1923] Douglas, "Grid/Group," in Douglas, *Sociology of Perception*, 4.
[1924] Douglas, "Grid/Group," in Douglas, *Sociology of Perception*, 4.
[1925] Douglas, "History of Grid and Group," 4; Douglas, "Grid/Group," in Douglas, *Sociology of Perception*, 4.
[1926] Douglas, "History of Grid and Group," 5.

The largely anglicised areas of East Wales, which have experienced high levels of inward migration, equate to Douglas's (A) category. They are made up of diverse communities, with a diluted sense of Welsh identity, culture, and language. They have mixed ethnicity, mostly nuclear families, and a lower level of mutual social awareness and responsibility. Mission within such communities will need to adjust to such social atomisation. Mission will not be able to connect to a dominant culture, language, or identity, but, instead, connect to its community through interest groups or particular felt-needs. The interests might be based on sport, education or entertainment, and the needs might be for food, parenting training or financial advice, but would be organised for individuals rather than for a collective body. The mission would not be able to tap into a shared culture or language as a core strategy for its mission, or access strong extended family or community networks.

The urbanised cities and larger towns equate to the (B) category. Here there is the same level of individualism as (A), with a mixture of ethnicities and cultures, but in a structured and layered society where wealth, professional status, and patterns of recreation have produced stratified distinctions. Mission in such communities will have some local networks to work with, but most connections will be through friendship groups, both social, professional, cultural and linguistic. For example, the larger urban centres have large numbers of ethnic minorities, including Welsh speakers, who are often concentrated in particular areas, and gather in clubs, pubs and activities that operate, in whole or in part, through the medium of a particular language.[1927] Mission to these groups, and notably Welsh speakers, will need to connect with these networks.

The communities in Wales where around half of the local population, or more, are Welsh in ethnicity, culture and language represent the (C) category. Here traditional patterns of community life are shaped by the language and its associated culture, even if it is not spoken by the majority. Community identity and cohesion are shaped by it, and members of the community are expected to live supportive of it. Community activities reflect these patterns. Mission in such communities will need to be equally supportive, and the church seen as integral to that community and culture. The extended community and family networks will give opportunities for mission.

[1927] In the 2011 Census 19.1% of the population of Canton in Cardiff were Welsh speakers, compared to an average for the city of 11.1%. ONS, "2011 Welsh," n.p.

The post-industrial Valley communities represent the (D) category. Here a strong collective identity, politically, socially, ethnically and geographically, is profoundly egalitarian. It has produced an "enclave" mind-set, which is strongly bounded and suspicious of outsiders, including those who are Welsh-speaking, and especially if they are perceived to be English. Mission in these communities will need to be conducted from within, to a significant extent by people, and leaders, from that community or valley. If not, the period for gaining acceptance might be long. Although community cohesiveness may be declining in Valley communities, mission will gain social capital and acceptance by its response to general poverty and deprivation, and not by any shared common culture, especially one based on language.

Douglas's model provides a framework for how the six aspects of Welsh context inter-relate. It shows how regional differences, in each aspect of context, vary according to an overall pattern. For example, in category C, traditional religious patterns are stronger, communities are geographically separated from England, a primordial Welsh *ethnie* is assumed, and language, culture and political nationalism are dominant. In contrast, category A reflects the opposite features, with the least evidence of unique Welsh social patterns. Douglas's model, therefore, shows that societal patterns are shaped by the interaction of the other aspects. They take a very different form in the post-industrial Valleys, category D, where Welsh language and traditional culture are weak, but where a perceived Welsh *ethnie* and Socialism are strong. The urban communities of Category B represent a composite of the other strands interwoven.

Sun-Ki, *et al*, show that the United Kingdom as a whole, compared to other nations, is well within an (A) classification.[1928] However, this analysis of Welsh contexts has demonstrated that there are wide variations, not only within the UK, but also within Wales itself. Douglas's model, therefore, assists the process of contextual identification and analysis for the purpose of mission. Mission in Wales needs to be a mission tailored to the particular characteristics of a locality.

Gaze speaks of the need for "incarnational mission", where involvement is rooted in the particular community.[1929] For this to be possible, she calls for contextual "listening"

[1928] Sun-Ki, Ming, and Min-Sun, "Cultural Comparisons," 202.
[1929] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 8-10.

in order to respond to the "interweaving of many factors",[1930] and for a "double listening", which involves:

> "… listening to our own church tradition as well as the missionary context. This is important because of the human tendency to assume that the tradition of one's own church is simply the proper way to do things".[1931]

Whether effective mission is seen, primarily, in terms of the local church's influence on its community, or its evangelistic efforts that could secure its own survival and growth, the ability to contextualise will be critical. Robinson puts the issue clearly:

> "… the answer to the question of the decline of the church does not lie in a particular programme or model of the church.   Instead we have to learn how to do mission – in our cultural context – deeply contextualized and profoundly local…   the willingness to connect with and to serve at a deep level the communities in which they are located".[1932]

This chapter will examine each of the six aspects of Welsh context, to identify the main opportunities for future mission and the issues which may be hindering effectiveness. In the previous chapters, challenging issues have been highlighted concerning the expression of effective mission in Wales. These include the need for churches in individual communities, single *ethnie* or language churches, cultural accommodation, social engagement, and political activism as an aspect of mission. These issues will now be considered in turn. For the local church to adjust to its context will require change, in the form of church as well as in the nature of its mission.

5.2   Religious: Tradition and Contemporary Responses to Secularism

The Welsh religious context at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in the views of scholars (Chapter Three) and local church leaders (Chapter Four), is unambiguous. Wales is no longer a land of Nonconformists, and the churches do not have the strength, influence, or status that they once had. Welsh Nonconformity has indeed lost its place in Neuhaus's "public square", and Weber's secularisation theory of religious decline[1933] would seem to have been largely vindicated. Religion

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[1930] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 15-17, 49.

[1931] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 24.

[1932] Robinson was referring to the growth of different church groups in Wales: "In a recent interview with a church leader in Wales, I learnt that most of the historic churches in Wales are still declining but that a few congregations in their midst were seeing good growth. One or two of the smaller historic denominations are beginning to turn the corner and that some of the newer and independent churches are seeing remarkable growth". M. Robinson, "Post Christian and Post Secular Europe," n.p. [cited 03.04.2011]. Online: http://www.eurochurch.net/news/articles/post-christian-and-post-secular-europe.php.

[1933] Pages 73-4.

is increasingly marginalized in a consumerist and individualistic culture.[1934] According to Chambers and Thompson, "pervasive secularization has bitten deeper and harder in Wales".[1935] Descriptions of local indifference, scepticism, and even hostility, confirmed the existence of a chasm between traditional Welsh chapel culture and contemporary Wales. The traditional chapels were existing like private clubs, often without even a notice board to invite or inform potential visitors.[1936] If visitors did enter, they would experience esoteric and inaccessible worship from a former age, possibly in an unfamiliar language.[1937] The religious realities of Welsh society had changed, and the chapels had not changed with them.[1938]

Welsh Nonconformity has been shaped by Christendom realities, in which a nominal Christian society was connected to its churches by rites of passage, at birth, marriage and death.[1939] The mission of the churches had been largely centripetal or attractional in nature, relying on invitation, obligation, and family loyalties to draw the wider community into its activities. A reluctance, or inability, to adjust to these changed religious realities has led to the near-collapse of the historic Nonconformist denominations.

5.2.1   The Challenges for the Churches

If Welsh Nonconformity is to survive the present, and flourish in the future, it has to change in its ecclesiology as well as its mission. The resistance to change in traditional churches, recorded in Chapter Four, demonstrates some of the difficulties encountered in transitioning from a Christendom to a Post-Christendom approach.[1940] Transitioning takes time, great patience, good leadership, and some pain for all concerned.[1941] Change management is described as difficult, and time for such change is running out:

> "If things don't happen soon, in 3 to 5 years, churches like this will close which is what I'm trying to get people here to see. The tipping point is not very far away in one direction or the other".[1942]

[1934] Davies, "Eglwys," 225; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 161; Chambers, *Religion*, 24.
[1935] P. Chambers and A. Thompson, "Coming to Terms with the Past: Religion and Identity in Wales," *Social Compass* 53 (3 2005): 338.
[1936] Bruce, "Religion in Rural Wales," 233.
[1937] Davies, "Eglwys," 231-233.
[1938] 51VBE.
[1939] Pages 36-38; and, for example, Murray, *Post*, 87, 176.
[1940] Pages 246, 269.
[1941] Murray, *After*, 49;
[1942] 62SEBE.

In communities where traditional social patterns retain strong links to chapels, notably those which are Welsh-speaking, the disconnect is less evident, though growing. Elsewhere, closure has already occurred, is imminent, or has actually been called for.[1943] If local churches are not seen as contemporary and relevant, they will be viewed as a relic of a bygone age. Change is the price to pay for survival:

> "What we have now is a vibrant church that works with the community, and works with real people. We don't want to be sat down watching black-and-white movies forever, and we don't want church to be that way either, so we have moved on, to a generation that has moved on."[1944]

5.2.1.1 Missional Approaches to Church

The term "missional", to describe local church mission, was first used in the 1990s by the *Gospel and our Culture Network*, and notably by Guder.[1945] Since then, the term has been adopted widely to describe holistic mission, where church, evangelism, apostolic ministry and signs, and social action are variously combined.[1946] The local church is to be Newbigin's "hermeneutic of the gospel", doing mission as its primary *raison d'être.* The six approaches to mission use the term, but do so differently, reflecting their particular emphases. What is affirmed by all, is that the post-Christendom era calls for an outward, not inward, expression of mission.

The relatively higher growth in E2 and Lausanne churches demonstrated the brighter prospects for the church's mission when it was centrifugal, outreaching, evangelistic, and serving its wider community. The achievements of such approaches are in contrast to other approaches, where mission is more traditional and attractional.

5.2.1.2.   Evangelism as a Component of Mission

E2 and Lausanne churches prioritized evangelism as part of, or parallel with, their community connections. Evangelism was the priority activity, or at least equal in priority, to social action, in the growing churches that were most active in their

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[1943] Davies, "Eglwys," 230.
[1944] 43VBE.
[1945] Page 50.
[1946] Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 86-87; Van Gelder, *Essence*, 25-44, 86, 112, 142-146; Robinson and Smith, *Space*, 15, 109; Keller, *Center*, 258; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 152-163, 271.

communities. Evangelism, by adding new people to the local church and its mission, has also been seen to be essential to the on-going viability of that mission.[1947]

Churches with a lower priority and intentionality in evangelism, such as in Liberal, *Missio Dei* and Emergent churches, did not grow at the same rate, if at all. Emergent churches, with their unconventional approach to church, seemed to suffer the same rejection as the traditional chapels. Their subtle, or oblique, approach to evangelism was seen to be a factor in their lack of growth and, in some cases, in their eventual demise.

Some leaders and churches were seeking to evangelise those still in existing chapels, as a distinct mission field:

> "…I get opportunities to preach in local chapels, as do others in the church, and we occasionally do things to try and reach out to that kind of person. We are planning a Songs of Praise as lots of chapels around here still have their Sankey evenings, like a Songs of Praise, where we would be targeting particularly those from the Welsh Chapel culture."[1948]

This, however, was a rapidly diminishing target for mission.[1949]

Others, leading traditional churches, sought to engage in mission through new activities, in existing chapel buildings, run alongside the old. These might be new groups, "*ecclesiola in ecclesia*",[1950] such as *Messy Church* or alternative services, groups and communities.[1951] In these approaches, some of the familiar religious icons of hymnology, buildings, and local connections could be retained, thus avoiding local suspicion. The same sensitivity is expressed in evangelistic courses such as Question / *Cwestiwn*,[1952] in which Welsh symbols, associations and cultural icons are highlighted deliberately. In these ways, evangelism can be sensitive to Welsh religious traditions, loyalties, sentiment and awareness, where their lack would lead to a perceived Englishness:

> "One thing I have learnt … The ethos of a Welsh church is different. … They have an affinity with what they would call a Welsh church. This is not an

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[1947] Pages 48, 233, and Bell, "Eglwys," 235-238.

[1948] 24MEE.

[1949] 31SWBBi, 47VBE.

[1950] D. M. Lloyd-Jones, *The Puritans: Their Origins and Successors* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1987), 129-148. "Eccesiola in ecclesia" was the practice of establishing a church within a church, so that the new expression had a base as the old order passed away.

[1951] Cray, *Mission-Shaped*, 43-48.

[1952] J. Vaughan-Davies, "Question/Cwestiwn," n.p. [cited 18.12.2014]. Online: http://vimeo.com/44079779. The course is described as "a bilingual project in Welsh and English, the first Welsh language resource of its kind, and it aims to help people connect their life experiences with the God of the Bible".

English church! There are plenty of English churches, but I think we have to a large extent been able to relate to this area with its new demands with our Welshness. They would say, 'lovely hymns, I can't stand these choruses'!"[1953]

However, most of the population of Wales are either un-churched or de-churched, and so not responsive to church-based activities and programmes. Mission for the un-churched has to involve more than church style, symbols or preaching sermons, if it is to gain a hearing or have a beneficial effect on its community.

5.2.1.3   Social Action as a Component of Mission

The various approaches to mission have their own understanding of how successful mission might be described, and its effects quantified. In the spectrum from E1 to Liberal, there is a transition from emphasizing additions to the church, with social impact as secondary, to social impact as primary, with church additions secondary. However, the growth of E2 and Lausanne churches demonstrates quite conclusively the importance of mission in word and deed, and not just in word or deed only.

E2 and Lausanne churches also have the greater scale and variety of social action programmes. The lower priority given to proclamation in *Missio Dei*, Liberal and Emergent churches did not lead to a higher involvement and commitment to community involvement. On the contrary, the churches most involved in *Foodbank*, CAP, night shelters, furniture re-cycling and programmes in cooperation with local authorities were the E2 and Lausanne churches. The Evangelistic motivation seems to give a greater incentive to provide these services to the community. A possible reason for this is that the priority of proclamation makes the churches outward looking, whereas churches without that priority did not have the same incentive for change and departure from centripetal Christendom models of church and mission. Even Emergent churches, where community connections were the highest priority, could become insular without the priority of proclamation.

The lack of community connection and service in E1 churches arose from a desire not to deflect time and resources from proclamation. However, this lack of engagement resulted in activities intended as outreach, whether preaching or work with children, youth and the elderly, being provided largely for the church's own

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[1953] 57SWBBi. Translations into Welsh of contemporary English songs and choruses have been rejected by churches that prefer to sing familiar hymns in a Minor key. This response was related to the writer by a Welsh language minister on the Llŷn Peninsular, in North Wales.

constituency. If proclamation is equated with preaching within the confines of a church building, it would, inevitably, be preaching to the already converted. As a result, such proclamation had few new hearers. They lacked the social capital, as well as the relationships, to gain a wider hearing. A secular, post-Christendom, and largely post-Christian Wales did not have the loyalty, or sense of obligation, to attend places of worship. According to the 2007 *Tearfund* survey, half the population considered themselves de-churched, unwilling to return. If the churches do not build bridges to their communities, the population appears unlikely to reconsider Christian commitment or an openness to a Christian message. However, as governments cut-back on social provision, the opportunities for churches to connect with and affect their communities, present open opportunities for mission:

> "In the Welsh valleys the church are (sic) being given an opportunity to meet the needs that nobody else is reaching. Our extremity is God's opportunity and a platform to meet the needs that people are crying out for. Certainly the local council see the relevance. In our valley it is the church that is doing the one *Foodbank*."[1954]

The future of Nonconformist mission in Wales will need to mix proclamation with provision for community need.

5.2.1.4 The Miraculous as a Component of Mission

The global growth of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches has been described in Chapter Two.[1955] Their approach to mission gives a high priority to the supernatural, and miraculous signs, as a means of validating their message. McClymond describes how this approach is rooted in an attempt to rediscover New Testament approaches and success in mission:

> "The *charismatic* tradition of mission was conspicuous during the church's first two centuries and has been revived during the last 150 years in the global evangelical missionary movement and among Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians. A key idea is that the verbal presentation of the good news should be accompanied by tangible signs of God's presence and power".[1956]

During the 1980s, Wimber had used the term "power evangelism" to describe the combination of proclamation evangelism with supernatural demonstration.[1957] This tradition has been maintained, and promoted, by the *New Wine Cymru* (NWC) network, which emphasises the importance of the miraculous in the life and mission

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[1954] 38VEE.
[1955] Pages 33-34.
[1956] McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," in McDermott, *Evangelical Theology*, 5.
[1957] Wimber, *Power Evangelism*, 44-60; H. Kwiyani, "Multicultural Church Planting: African Pneumatology in Western Context," in *Created and Led by the Spirit: Planting Missional Congregations* (ed. M. Dreier; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 151-162.

of the local church, as a way of gaining a hearing for the church's message. The *Waleswide* Survey of 2012 did not have a specific question on this approach to mission, but some responses to the questionnaire and interviews did reference the miraculous, at least anecdotally.[1958]

This aspect of mission seeks to reconnect with the miraculous elements in the New Testament Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in order to see similar evangelistic outcomes.[1959] One of the main leaders of NWC has published on the subject,[1960] and the network's conferences repeatedly emphasize the importance, and the possibility, of such mission. NWC conferences, and their "Kingdom Intensive" training courses, seek to equip leaders and their churches in the practice of the miraculous.[1961] Pentecostal leaders, many of whom are part of NWC, would also hold such views, at least in theory, and many would seek to actively practice them.[1962] NWC, in its "Healing Menu", encourages a number of practices designed to take the miraculous work of the Holy Spirit out of a church context and into the community:

> "The Healing and Evangelism Menu has been designed with the un-churched in mind. The aim is for local churches to provide a variety of opportunities for people to receive prayer for healing and discover Jesus in a natural, non-threatening and down-to-earth manner".[1963]

The menu includes "Healing Cafés",[1964] "Prayer on the Streets",[1965] and "Treasure Hunting".[1966] The NWC website provides podcast testimonies of healing, some resulting in people finding faith for the first time. A main leader of NWC spoke of many people coming to faith because of being healed, and of hundreds of healings

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[1958] 86VPE, 72NENE, 81SWNE, 66NWNE, 60SWNE.

[1959] Verses from the New Testament, such as Mark 16:17,20, John 5:20, Acts 2:43, 5:12, 8:6, Rom.15:19, and 1Cor.12:10, are seen as giving grounds for a current expectation. McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," in McDermott, *Evangelical Theology*, 5.

[1960] B. Collins, *Jesus' Gospel Jesus' Way* (Croydon: Chilfrome, 2014).

[1961] B. Collins, "Kingdom Intensive," n.p. [cited 23.12.2014]. Online: http://newwinecymru.co.uk/event/kingdom-intensive-3/.

[1962] Harry, "2012 Summer Missions," n.p.

[1963] n/a, "New Wine Cymru Healing: Healing Menu," n.p. [cited 23.12.2014]. Online: http://newwinecymru.co.uk/healing-campaign/.

[1964] n/a, "Healing Café," n.p. [cited 23.12.2014]. Online: http://newwinecymru.co.uk/healing-campaign/healing-cafes/. A Healing Café is described as a relaxed coffee shop experience where individuals share a few healing stories and pray around tables.

[1965] n/a, "Healing on the Streets," n.p. [cited 23.12.2014]. Online: http://newwinecymru.co.uk/healing-campaign/healing-streets/. "Healing on the Streets" is a movement originating outside the New Wine Network that reaches "lost and hurting on the streets of your town or city… We simply invite people to sit on chairs so we can pray for them. … Over time we build relationships, creating stepping-stones for people to come to Jesus'. http://healingonthestreets.com/

[1966] n/a, "Treasure Hunting," n.p. [cited 23.12.2014]. Online: http://newwinecymru.co.uk/healing-campaign/treasure-hunting/. Treasure Hunting is described as, "a form of prophetic evangelism. Typically a team will meet together and ask the Holy Spirit to lead them to pray for and bless those who are out and about that day".

occurring across Wales in 2014.[1967] The NWC network, of more than 600 Pentecostal and Charismatic church leaders,[1968] would certainly call into question Bruce's comment that the Charismatic Movement fades, the farther one moves away from the south-east of England.[1969] The anecdotal reports of additions to the Christian faith were not on a sufficient scale to show a widespread growth in local churches. However, this approach to mission has developed on a scale, with connections into many communities in Wales, to be considered as a serious approach, not only to enhance the Christian message, but also as a response to community needs.

5.2.1.5   Church Planting as a Component of Mission

Liberal churches have maintained the traditional Nonconformist expression of church and mission. Together with *Missio Dei* churches, they had been active in ecumenical initiatives to amalgamate churches and denominations, in order to stem the rate of decline. Bosch, one of the primary shapers of a *Missio Dei* approach, had written against the planting of new churches. He maintained that, with the end of Christendom, church planting would be the Church pointing to itself, as an expression of denominational expansionism. The Church, according to Bosch, needed to point, instead, to God, and what he was doing in the world generally, both now and in the future.[1970] Green suggests that church planting was not an emphasis in the Acts of the Apostles, but contends that new churches were an inevitable consequence of evangelistic proclamation, which was the central purpose.[1971] Certainly, new churches were the result of the Apostle Paul's journeys, and formed the basis from which further mission could take place. Green is clear that proclamation led to new churches, which led to societal change, rather than the reverse, as Bosch appears to argue.

Emergent churches had attempted to start afresh, but encountered difficulties and suspicion as they sought to develop new, non-traditional, expressions of local

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[1967] This information was given in an email dated 11.12.2014, and in a subsequent face to face meeting at the Village Urban Resort in Cardiff on 16.12.2014. Similar information was repeated in the NWC Christmas Newsletter 2014: J. Richards, "New Wine Cymru Christmas News December 2014," n.p. [cited 23.12.2014]. Online: http://us6.campaign-archive2.com/?u=c7fad9fbe28db87236e4715db&id=7ec639ae7f&e=eb6acc3a0c.

[1968] Richards, "News December 2014," n.p.

[1969] Bruce, "Religion in Rural Wales," 232.

[1970] Bosch, *Transforming*, 332.

[1971] C. Green, *The Message of the Church* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity, 2013), 131, 278, 284-288.

church in Wales. Although the traditional model of Nonconformist Chapel was disappearing rapidly from whole communities, it had left a negative legacy, with an underlying prejudice to the new as well as the old. If the Emergent approach is a right one for Wales, it has arrived somewhat before its time. The traditional form, and its negative associations in the Welsh *psyche,* may need to pass from society's memory before another form can take its place. However, the possibility has also been suggested that the relative failure of the Emergent approach is also the result of its oblique approach to evangelism.[1972] This is supported by the fact new Evangelistic churches, planted at the same time, have survived, and even grown.

These Evangelistic church plants, in English language areas, such as in Merthyr Tydfil,[1973] Porthcawl,[1974] Cowbridge,[1975] Pontypridd,[1976] Pontypool,[1977] Gowerton,[1978] and Tonypandy[1979] have seen significant progress. Other church plants in areas where the Welsh language is stronger, in Cross Hands,[1980] Llandeilo,[1981] Pwllheli,[1982] Denbigh,[1983] and Criccieth,[1984] have made slower progress, and Welsh language plants have struggled. Three Welsh-language church plants were active during the period covered by the *Waleswide* Survey. The plant in Cwmyglo, near Caernarfon, closed as core members moved from the area, having failed to attract additions. Chwilog has remained a small group, and Swansea has struggled, reaching only students and young professionals. Welsh-language communities have not been receptive to new models of church or mission. The only progress is with the younger generations, who have less loyalty to family chapels, and are more open to the contemporary and unstructured approach of the new churches. They are, however, viewed with suspicion by the older Welsh-speaking generations. The new churches that have made progress in Welsh-language and traditional communities are re-plants into chapel buildings that were in danger of closing. Those in Tongwynlais,[1985]

[1972] Pages 273-274, 287.
[1973] http://hopemerthyr.org.uk/
[1974] http://gccporthcawl.org/
[1975] https://www.facebook.com/pages/Vale-Church-Cowbridge/220528771305409
[1976] http://www.h4p.org.uk/
[1977] http://www.hillcitychurch.org/
[1978] http://www.oasisgowerton.com/
[1979] http://hopechurchrhondda.org.uk/
[1980] http://www.valleycommandos.com/crosshands-church-plant/
[1981] http://www.grace-llandeilo.org.uk/
[1982] This church plant closed in 2014.
[1983] http://www.gracechurchdenbigh.org/
[1984] http://cricciethfamilychurch.org.uk/site/, https://www.facebook.com/goleudy The church plant in Criccieth split because of doctrinal differences.
[1985] http://www.ainonbaptistchurch.co.uk/

Waunarlwydd,[1986] Penybryn,[1987] and Machynlleth[1988] retain elements of traditional Welsh chapel, including the Welsh language where it is appropriate. Such re-newed congregations are contemporary in approach, and missional in their approach to local church life and mission, but retain a deliberate Welshness.

Church planting has been described by Wagner as "the most effective form of evangelism under heaven",[1989] and if there are to be Nonconformist churches in parts of Wales that have, or will become church-less, there may not be another option. Timmis and Chester contend that new church plants encourage higher levels of participation and inclusion than traditional churches, preventing routinisation:

> "church planting creates a simplicity that prevents a maintenance mentality-there are no expensive buildings to maintain or complex programmes to run… the priesthood of all believers finds fullest expression when nobody's contribution gets lost in the crowd."[1990]

For them, a loving community is the basis of the Church's witness, and its best apologetic, with further church communities planted as the on-going outcome.[1991] For Van Gelder and Zscheile, church planting is a necessary missional activity, which is not burdened by the challenges associated with changing the in-grained patterns of an established church.[1992]

In England, the Archbishop's Council on Mission and Public Affairs pointed to a renewed interest in church planting, following a decade of experimentation, in the 1990s, and other "quick fix solutions" to the Church's decline. The church planting option is seen as more costly, but necessary, if the Church is "to grow and develop in non-church cultures and places".[1993] In Wales, however, the re-planting of churches, in areas where Nonconformist churches have all but died out, has not been the subject of much written research or reflection.[1994] This work is, in part, seeking to lay a foundation for this process. Most books on church planting relate to urban situations, and often to contexts outside the United Kingdom. As a result, they

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[1986] http://gomerabertawe.com/lleoliadau/
[1987] http://capelpenybryn.com/cy/
[1988] https://machynllethcommunitychurch.wordpress.com/
[1989] C. P. Wagner, *Church Planting for Greater Harvest* (Glendale: Regal, 1991), 5.
[1990] Timmis and Chester, *Gospel-Centred*, 90.
[1991] Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 54-55, 64-66, 83-86.
[1992] Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 161-163.
[1993] Cray, *Mission-Shaped*, 26.
[1994] The present writer's work is the only recent contribution: Ollerton, D. R. J. *Waleswide: The Prospects for Viable Churches*. Cardiff: Author, 2004.

do not grapple with the particular contextual challenges in Wales, especially rural Wales.[1995]

5.2.2   Reflections on Adjustments to the Religious Context

If there is to be a Nonconformist presence in most areas of Wales by the middle of the twenty-first century, new churches with a new expression of church and mission will be necessary, and inevitable. Churches will need to be orientated to holistic mission, as their *raison d'être,* and not see mission as merely an activity for their own survival. They will need to be missional in their orientation, and not merely attractional. In this endeavour, churches will need to be seen as contemporary, relevant, and part of the community, not remote from it.

Leaders, from contrasting approaches to mission, commented that churches in their area, that will remain in the future, will be contemporary and Pentecostal, in contrast to the traditional Welsh chapel model, which will be extinct:

> "I've got to be honest, the present generation of the Chapel has not done any favours… the generation that was before me was just a facade. It (the future) will be dominated by Pentecostal churches, English language, and with all the dead chapels dead and closed".[1996]

It was felt that these would represent "a much more true picture of authentic Gospel Christianity".[1997] Even those who did not share the theological convictions of these churches, or their style of church and mission, recognised the reality:

> "I think that some of the churches, probably this one included, I don't see how it will still be here, quite honestly… I just can't see it continuing… There is one church in [place] that might still be here, (name of church), they are not Pentecostal but they are heading that way. New church, guitars, drums, and

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[1995] Literature considering church planting within the United Kingdom include: Murray, S. *Church Planting: Laying Foundations*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998; Robinson, M. *Planting Mission Shaped Churches Today*. Oxford: Monarch, 2006; Robinson, M., and D. Spriggs. *Church Planting: The Training Manual*. Oxford: Lynx, 1995; Ellis, R., and R. Mitchell. *Radical Church Planting*. Cambridge: Crossway, 1992; Forster, R. T. *Models of Church Planting*. London: Ichthus Media Services, 1997; Beynon, G. *Planting for the Gospel: A Hands-on Guide to Church Planting*. Fearn: Christian Focus, 2011; Timmis, S., ed. *Multiplying Churches: Reaching Today's Communities through Church Planting*. Tain: Christian Focus, 2000.
Church planting literature written for a non-UK context includes: Malphurs, A. *Planting Growing Churches for the 21st Century*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992; Stetzer, E. *Planting New Churches in a Postmodern Age*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2003; Stetzer, E. *Planting Missional Churches*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2006; Wagner, C. P. *Church Planting for Greater Harvest*. Glendale: Regal, 1991; Steffen, T. A. *Passing the Baton: Church Planting that Empowers*. La Habra, CA: Center for Organisation & Ministry, 1997; Towns, E., and D. Porter. *Churches that Multiply: A Study on Church Planting*. Kansas City: Beacon Hill, 2003; Jones, P. *Church Zero*. Colorado Springs: David C. Cook, 2013.
[1996] 32SWBC.
[1997] 38VEE.

very energetic. They brought in a youth pastor. I can see that that will still be going…".[1998]

There was, also, an awareness that, though the Nonconformist chapel culture is no longer relevant, and a contemporary approach is needed, the religious expression will need to be Welsh, not English.[1999] This represents a tension between the old, for which some loyalty remains,[2000] and the new, which will be more meaningful to contemporary Wales.[2001] It is a challenge that is especially Welsh, and one which will need a different response in particular parts of Wales, as Douglas's Grid and Group analysis suggests. In spheres of ascribed hierarchy, such as Welsh language communities, traditional patterns will be expected, whereas in atomized societies they will be a hindrance.

[1998] 35NERE.
[1999] 57SWBBi.
[2000] Pope, "Ddyfodol," 60-61.
[2001] Pope, "Ddyfodol," 58-59.

5.3 Geographical: Localism and the Response of Mission to Place

The geographical contexts in Wales have been shown to have promoted a profound sense of localism, with a loyalty to a community's *milltir sgwar* or *bro. Brogarwch* (love of local) has been seen to be even stronger than *gwladgarwch* (love of nation).[2002] Localism has also been identified in urban areas, where adjacent communities are perceived as distinct villages.[2003] Such localism has been seen to affect people's experience, perspective, and their leadership:

> "The mid Wales Welsh psyche, those born and raised here, I think it's as if they haven't tasted the real world. They have been so isolated. I remember when I first came here I met farmers who would never ever been out of Wales, and some of them not out of mid Wales. I think they are blinkered, and can't understand the big world out there".[2004]

In the Valleys, this has helped to produce Douglas's "Enclave", or sphere of "factionalism", a society that is strongly bounded, that perceives "all outsiders to be evil".[2005]

5.3.1 The Challenge of Localism

Mission that is effective in other areas of Britain, or beyond, may not be as suited to Wales, and especially rural areas. Archbishop Rowan Williams' uneasiness about applying urban programmes to rural contexts will be particularly appropriate in Wales:

> "It will not do in our mission to assume that evangelism and the routine of worship in the countryside can or should be a straight transfer from urban, let alone suburban, patterns; some of the malaise and frustration that are felt in rural churches have to do with this, as well as with expectations that are brought in from elsewhere".[2006]

This statement is doubly pertinent, not only in respect to localism in rural and urban areas, but also because of how alien approaches, from across borders, will be received. Where "Suburban religion"[2007] does exist in Wales' cities, the patterns of larger churches, with multiple facilities and programmes, will be neither appropriate,

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[2002] Pages 177-182 and, for example,: Griffith, *Welsh*, 181; Humphreys, *Conversations*, 1; Morgan, *Background to Wales*, 37; Llewelyn, *Sacred*, x; Thompson and Day, "Local," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 28-29; Peate, "Society," in Jones, *Anatomy*, 52.
[2003] Chambers, *Religion*, 42.
[2004] 23MPE.
[2005] Douglas, "Grid and Group," 5.
[2006] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, x.
[2007] Chambers, *Religion*, 227.

possible, nor welcome in smaller communities. The local *cynefin* will need to be considered carefully, and contextualised mission will need to be adjusted to it.

The multiplicity of local identities and communities, with declining churches, rural depopulation, and diminishing social cohesion, is an increasing challenge for mission in Wales. The historic patterns of Welsh Nonconformity are increasingly unsustainable, and any urban models of church and mission are difficult to introduce or sustain more widely. The enormity of the challenge of Wales' relatively small, geographically distinct, communities was evident in the questionnaire and interview responses, in which several approaches were suggested.

5.3.1.1 A Policy of Centralisation

Firstly, there were ministers who saw no future for Nonconformist churches in small rural communities. Such an assessment could arise from pessimism or pragmatism. Ministers of Liberal churches, who had only ever seen the chapels dwindling and closing, were honestly pessimistic. Likewise, traditional *Missio Dei* leaders hoped for better things, but felt hampered by inflexible structures. In the same way, Emergent leaders expressed resignation about the difficulties faced by missional communities, at least in the short to medium term.

Some churches, and leaders, were pragmatic and positive about the problems, adopting a different approach. If ministry and mission were unsustainable in small rural or Valley communities, then regional centres should serve a wider area.[2008] One mid-Wales church, which had tried, largely unsuccessfully, to plant daughter churches in smaller communities, demolished its 300-seater building in 2014, to build a new £3 million cathedral-type structure. The new "flagship" building is to be a community resource for the locality, with nursery, gym, café, conferencing facilities and auditoria to seat 600 and 300.[2009] The vision is to draw people to a regional centre, in the same way that hospitals, super-markets and schools increasingly draw people from a wider area. The expectation is for the church, with multiple facilities and programmes, to gather people in the same way. Resources would be in the central location, and programmes organised there, rather than in each community.

[2008] 23MPE; n/a, "New Life Llandrindod Wells Mission and Vision," n.p. [cited 22.01.2015]. Online: http://www.newlifellandrindod.org.uk/Groups/209052/Mission_and_Vision.aspx.
[2009] n/a, "Our Building Project," n.p. [cited 22.01.2015]. Online: http://www.hopenewtown.org/newbuild.

Such a policy, however, does not calibrate to local communities or *brogarwch*, and would tend to draw only those with an existing desire to be part of Christian community, and willing to travel the distances involved. Such an approach would not be equipped to provide local ministry or mission, apart from the local witness and service of individual commuting Christians. It is difficult to see how mission could serve and transform smaller communities on such a model. People would travel to receive services, be they *Foodbank*, Gym, nursery or counselling, but the building of relationships, pastoral care or systematic evangelism and mission would be problematic. It may also be that only people who have moved into the area would be willing to travel, with the indigenous Welsh population seeing commuting as an alien idea. In which case, mission to scattered communities would remain ineffective.

5.3.1.2   A Policy of Multiplication

Secondly, there were leaders who want mission to be present and effective locally, in the smaller towns and villages. Mission, to them, must reflect, be part of, and be incorporated into, the local community.[2010]   Particular contexts may be understandable only from within,[2011] so small missional communities, which are embedded in the community, will be more effective than larger churches that gather from many localities.[2012] These churches and leaders resource regional branch congregations, or local Christian communities, as part of one church structure. They are few in number, but are active in different part of Wales.[2013]

This pattern of local mission has a long pedigree in rural Wales. The early Nonconformist practice of county-wide churches, made up of small groups scattered in different communities within a county area, had one main centre, but many local expressions. In the seventeenth century, "County Churches" had local expressions

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[2010] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, xvii-xvii, 58.
[2011] Day, *Making Sense*, 147.
[2012] Timmis and Chester, *Gospel-Centred*, 88; C. A. Schwartz, *Natural Church Development: A Practical Guide to a New Approach* (Moggerhanger: British Church Growth Association, 1996), 46-48; Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 8-9.
[2013] 92VEE; 03SENE; 52VBE; 161SEPE; 53VNE; 38VEE; 30SEEE; 46SEBE; n/a, "Sussex Street Christian Centre, Rhyl: Llanelwy Christian Centre St Asaph," n.p. [cited 22.01.2015]. Online: http://www.christiancentre.info/llanelwy_church.html.;

across the counties of Brecon,[2014] Ceredigion,[2015] Carmarthenshire,[2016] Merioneth,[2017] Anglesey,[2018] and West Glamorgan.[2019] The structure of early Calvinistic Methodism, with its *seiadau*, had the same local expression.[2020] Such historic patterns may be contextually appropriate, once again, in twenty-first century Wales.[2021] Larger churches, instead of seeking to draw people into their churches from a wide area, could resource small groups in different area. The benefits of a large centre, with programmes such as youth work, counselling or *Foodbank*, could then be spread widely. The many local gatherings would also have the benefit of being part of the vision, care and leadership of the central body.[2022]

Breen speaks of smaller groups that "orbit round larger churches".[2023] For one leader, such groups were essential to make the mission of the church relevant and accessible to people's lives, and not just a service provided:

> "One of the challenges that we have had to deal with on a Sunday morning is to break away from the Chapel way of doing things. … I personally believe that the church, if it's going to be viable an area like this, has to be personal. My vision would be to see in every street in the (area) a place where there was a house of peace. I don't think that for the community we're reaching at the moment, an hour on a Sunday, or an hour and a half in midweek, is enough. It needs for Jesus to be modelled 24/7 … They need to hear it but we also need to see, and that will only happen when we become a lot more incarnational in our groups."[2024]

In other parts of the UK, and beyond, churches operate multi-site congregations, which are expressions of one central church. They may be made up of a cluster of people, or of hundreds, as expressions of the regional church.[2025] Modern technology, using DVD recordings or live-streaming, mean that the separate congregations can

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[2014] Jones, *Congregationalism*, 72-3; Richards T., "Henry Maurice, Piwritan ac Annibynnwr," *Cofiadur* 5/6 (1928): 15-67; I. Davies, "Dyddiau Cynnar Annibyniaeth yn Mrycheiniog a Maesyfed," *Cofiadur* 16 (1946): 3-64.
[2015] T. E. Davies, "Philip Pugh a'i Ragflaenwyr yng Nghanolbarth Sir Aberteifi," *Cofiadur* 14 (1937): 3-15; T. E. Thomas, "Philip Pugh a'i lafur yn y Cilgwyn," *Cofiadur* 14 (1937): 16-36.
[2016] G. H. Jenkins, "Apostl Sir Gaerfyrddin: Stephen Hughes c. 1622-1688," *Cofiadur* 54 (1989): 3-23.
[2017] D. R. J. Ollerton, *Ministry on the Move* (Cardiff: NEWID Books, 2008), 21-22.
[2018] Morgan, *Christmas Evans*, 57-58, 67-72; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 8, 22-23.
[2019] B. R. White, "John Miles and the Structure of the Calvinistic Baptist Mission to South Wales 1649-1660," in *Welsh Baptist Studies* (ed. M. John; Llandysul: Gomer, 1976), 35-76; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 8-10.
[2020] Jones, *Her y Fydd*, 9.
[2021] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 7-10, 13, 22-23.
[2022] Jones, "Trefniadaeth," 3-63.
[2023] M. Breen, *Leading Missional Communities: Rediscovering the Power of Living on Mission Together* (Pawleys Island: 3DM, 2013), 10.
[2024] 31SWBBi.
[2025] D. R. J. Ollerton, *Waleswide: The Prospects for Viable Churches* (Cardiff: Author, 2004), 22-26; D. Smith, "Kingsgate Community Church: How it All Began," n.p. [cited 22.01.2015]. Online: http://kingsgateuk.com/Groups/154040/KingsGate_Community_Church/Peterborough/New_to_Kings Gate/About_Us/About_Us.aspx.

receive the same quality of teaching and vision, and feel a part of a larger whole, even though separated by distance. With the wider distribution of super-fast broadband, such technology could be used in scattered rural and Valley communities in Wales, to provide teaching and connection centrally, with mission, community engagement, and pastoral care expressed locally.

5.3.1.3   A Policy of Multiplying of Independent Cells

A third alternative, is the multiplying of independent cell or house churches, sometimes in the form of small church plants. The former would meet in homes, whereas the latter would meet weekly in a public venue, in a form more akin to traditional church patterns. Various approaches to cell and house churches have been popularised in Britain, and internationally, in the late-twentieth and twenty-first century.[2026] These movements represent a significant shift away from traditional congregational structures:

> "… these groups were to become *the actual primary experience of church* rather than just being a program of the church. Each of these groups is a church in its own right. This is a big shift."[2027]

The cells are mostly independent, being a church in and of themselves, or in a loose relational network with other cell or house churches.[2028] There was, however, little or no evidence, as with the small Emergent churches, that such cells multiplied successfully in Wales in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

5.3.2   Starting and Resourcing Small Local Churches

Chapter Four, from the responses of leaders of both new and traditional

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[2026] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 46; R. W. Neighbour, *Where Do We Go From Here?* (Houston: Touch, 1990); W. A. Beckham, *The Second Reformation: Reshaping the Church for the 21st Century* (Houston: Touch, 1997); M. Green, ed., *Churches Without Walls* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004); J. D. Payne, *Missional House Churches* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007); H Astin, *Body and Cell: Making the Transition to Cell Church* (Crowborough: Monarch, 1998); T Chester and S. Timmis, *Total Church: A Radical Reshaping Around Gospel and Community* (Leicester: IVP, 2007); W. Simson, *Houses the Change the World* (Carlisle: Authentic, 2002); M. Dreier, ed., *Created and Led by the Spirit: Planting Missional Congregations* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013); M. Breen, *Leading Missional Communities: Rediscovering the Power of Living on Mission Together* (Pawleys Island: 3DM, 2013).

[2027] Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 46.

[2028] Kreitzer, *Good News for All People*, 277; Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 88-90; A. Vun, "Breaking the Barriers," in *Churches Without Walls* (ed. M. Green; Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004), 115-116; Payne, *House*, 38-47, 63, 77, 141-148, 181-183; Hirsch, *Forgotten*, 46; M. Parsons, "Connections Church, Machen: Who We Are," n.p. [cited 26.01.2012]. Online: http://www.connectionschurch.co.uk/who-we-are/.

churches, showed the need for a new and relevant expression of church that would be effective locally. The need for a fresh start was seen as compelling and urgent:

> "There will be different shapes, the same principles in the same truths, but I can see in some of the smaller villages a house group, small groups, and a presence in certain places looking very different to what the church would look like in the middle of (town). I see a more fluid approach, retaining all the doctrine, but tailored to where they are situated. We are a bit influenced by how we've always done it, and too frightened to explore what would work in my community."[2029]

The establishing of small cells or churches in areas where churches have closed or are closing, could be attempted by gathering the remnants of churches that are closing; by Christians who had been commuting to church outside their area forming church in their locality; or by larger churches relocating members into a needy area.[2030] This might be the result of individual, church or denominational initiative, as the result of strategic planning, or the concerned response of a few, "a *bubble up* strategy, which means average Christians get a burden to begin a new church".[2031]

Some leaders and churches hold the conviction that "churches plant churches",[2032] whereas others hope to see church communities develop more organically. For others, the renewal of existing chapel communities, or re-planting in a closing building, would be more appropriate. Such an approach would give an ongoing link within the locality and its history, and so be more easily accepted in traditional communities.[2033] Whatever the approach, however, these attempts to renew or re-establish Christian communities in local communities will be seeking to do mission from within the community, rather than from without.

The support, training, and oversight of smaller congregations, and their leaders, is a vital factor in their survival and growth. Where local Christian communities are expressions or one larger regional church, support and training would be provided by the parent church. Other church plants would look to the denomination, network or church which planted them. Churches, or cells, formed by individuals, without wider connections or accountability, have been very vulnerable in times of loss, trial or

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[2029] 18SWNE.
[2030] Ollerton, *Waleswide*, 13-15.
[2031] Towns and Porter, *Churches that Multiply*, 7.
[2032] Towns and Porter, *Churches that Multiply*, 26.
[2033] Humphreys, *Taliesin*, 9.

internal conflict.[2034] Some Charismatic churches and cells are overseen by what are describes as apostolic teams.[2035] Such teams have a relational, and often informal, connection with local leaders and churches, as distinct from traditional denominational allegiances. Their ministry is across churches, rather than confined to one church or locality.[2036]

5.3.3 Reflections on Adjustments to the Geographical Contexts

The presence of a strong sense of localism, in all areas of Wales, suggests that mission, as well as church, needs to be local. Establishing large church centres, that draw Christians out of their local communities for worship, will mean that to benefit from mission also requires travel. For that reason, such an approach would seem to be against the grain of Welsh geographical contexts. A leader of a church adopting such a policy expressed frustration with leaders and members who came from the local area, saying that people from England were more proactive and enthusiastic.[2037] This may reflect ethnic factors, which will be considered in the following section, but it may also demonstrate a reluctance in people with strong local loyalties, to travel, and to be part of such a model.

Wales, being a land of villages, will need local mission. Initiatives to renew, replant, gather, or relocate Christians in a specific local community seem to be the only way for mission to be indigenous and geared to that locality. There are

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[2034] Independent church plants have failed for these reasons in a number of Welsh towns, including Llandovery, Pwllyglo, Ogmore Vale, Carmarthen, Newcastle Emlyn, Builth Wells, Bala, Dolgellau, and Welshpool.

[2035] The importance of apostolic networks has been asserted widely among Charismatic and Pentecostal churches. Literature on the subject from a UK perspective includes: D. Devenish, *Fathering Leaders, Motivating Mission: Restoring the Role of the Apostle in Today's Church* (Milton Keynes: Authentic, 2011); D. R. J. Ollerton, *Ministry on the Move* (Cardiff: NEWID Books, 2008); D. R. J. Ollerton, "Apostolic Ministry in the Lives of Howell Harris, D. P. Williams, and Bryn Jones" (MTh, University of Bangor, 2010); P. Lyne, *First Apostles, Last Apostles* (Tonbridge: Sovereign World, 1999); B. Coombs, *Apostles Today* (Tonbridge: Sovereign World, 1996); D. Matthew, ed., *Apostles Today* (Bradford: Harvestime, 1988); B. Jones, *The Radical Church: Restoring the Apostolic Edge* (Shippensburg: Destiny Image, 1999). Literature from outside the UK includes: T. A. Steffen, *Passing the Baton: Church Planting that Empowers* (La Habra, CA: Center for Organisation & Ministry, 1997); D. Cannistraci, *Apostles and the Emerging Apostolic Movement* (Vetura: Renew, 1996); C. P. Wagner, ed., *The New Apostolic Churches* (Ventura, Cal.: Gospel Light, 1998); C. P. Wagner, *Apostles and Prophets: the Foundation of the Church* (Ventura: Regal, 2000); C. P. Wagner, *Churchquake!* (Ventura, Cal.: Gospel Light, 1999); C. P. Wagner, *Apostles Today* (Ventura: Regal, 2006).

[2036] Van Gelder, *Essence*, 169-172. Waleswide / Cymrugyfan is a supportive network that works relationally in Wales.

[2037] 23MPE

few other options available for rural areas, or for smaller communities within a locality or strata of urban society.[2038] If separate communities in Wales are to benefit from Christian mission, that mission will need to be local, and calibrated to the particular needs and characteristics of that locality.[2039]

[2038] Cray, *Mission-Shaped*, x.
[2039] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 8-9; A. Smith, *God-Shaped Mission: Theological and Practical Perspectives from the Rural Church* (Norwich: Canterbury, 2008), x.

5.4   Ethnic: Communities, Churches and Leaders

A diversity of ethnic identity has been identified among people living in Wales, and in the different regions of Wales. Balsom's classification of British Wales, Welsh Wales, and *y Fro Gymraeg* reflects different identities as well as regions. The contrasting identities make up a shared national awareness, but they are markedly different, even conflicting, in their understanding of Welshness. Those who see themselves as a part of a British set, would be regarded as a threat in communities valuing an inherited genetic Welshness, and the subject of derision in Valley areas. Effective mission will need to calibrate differently to such contrasting identities.

In urban, cosmopolitan communities, minority ethnic communities also require a sensitive approach to mission for their particular *ethnie*.[2040] However, whether mission calibrated for a specific *ethnie* should also be the responsibility of a separate church, made up of that *ethnie,* is a matter of debate. In Cardiff, mono-ethnic churches have been formed for people from Arabic, Chinese, Korean and West African backgrounds.[2041] However, other churches would encourage integration, not separate development, and see the multi-national nature of the local church as one of their strengths and achievements in the midst of racial tension and suspicion. The same diversity of opinion also exists in relation to mono-ethnic churches for Welsh-background Christians, which also represent a mission to distinct *ethnie*, by leaders from that *ethnie*.

5.4.1 The Challenges of Ethnic Identity

These different responses to the various ethnic identities in Wales reveal the challenges that ethnic factors present to mission. A desire for multi-ethnicity to be modelled in the local church is in contrast to those who recognise separate communities, and call for mono-ethnic churches and mission.

5.4.1.1   A Policy of Distinction

Some churches, notably those for immigrant communities in cities, or Welsh-language churches in *y Fro Gymraeg,* were mono-ethnic in their ministry and

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[2040] Murray, *Church After Christendom*, 89, 118-119.
[2041] n/a, "The Net: Looking for a Church," n.p. [cited 03.02.2015]. Online: http://www.thenetcardiff.org.uk/church-focus/find-a-church-2/net-cardiff-church-list.

mission. They were adopting, whether intentionally or not, the approach of Donald A. McGavran to mission. McGavran's "Homogeneous Unit Principle" maintained that people come to faith most easily through their own culture and language, without crossing racial, linguistic, class or cultural barriers. Churches, therefore, need to be planted for single cultures and language groups, and not as multi-racial and multi-lingual communities.[2042] This mono-ethnic approach was motivated by pragmatism, and as a way to be effective in serving and reaching a particular *ethnie.*[2043]

Some Welsh communities form a distinct or parallel community to people who have moved from England into their area, and some Welsh churches have located themselves within their ethnic group, to reach and serve that group exclusively. They make little or no provision for people from an English *ethnie* or background. The parallel communities exist in the same area, but with little over-lap. The communities, separated by family ties, language, culture and loyalties, are suspicious of the other, and even hostile.[2044] Controversy arises because this exclusivity in ministry and mission, which, in practical terms, is separating Christians, churches, and their mission, from one-another. Mono-ethnic ministry and mission appears to be reinforcing the division within the wider community, rather than confronting or removing it.

Kreitzer supports McGavran, and sees an enduring mandate to plant ethnic-based churches. He denied that the church was to be "an agent of assimilation" into an imposed lingua franca or identity, and instead maintained that ethnic distinctions were God-given and should be preserved.[2045] He emphasized the importance of "ethnic Solidarity (ESOL)",[2046] by which people prefer to remain in close social and civic relationship, and so prefer to profess Christ together as an ethno-social group. Therefore, according to Kreitzer, in communities with a high ethno-social consciousness, "conglomerate churches" do not grow rapidly, but, instead, form yet another separate community from those around them.[2047] Similar arguments, that

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[2042] Pages 20-22, and especially McGavran, *Bridges*, 10, 76-79, 101; McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 85-87, 289-290; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 261; Kirk, *Mission*, 221; E. Gibbs, *I Believe in Church Growth* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981), 115-130.
[2043] Terlecki and Fung, "Mono-ethnic," 11.
[2044] Day, *Making Sense*, 247-249; Fevre, Borland, and Denney, "Nation, Community and Conflict," in Fevre and Thompson, *Nation*, 143.
[2045] M. R. Kreitzer, *Good News for All People: Towards a Biblical Theology of Ethnicity and Mission* (Birmingham: Birmingham Theological Seminary, 2004), 16, 275-276, 293.
[2046] Kreitzer, *Good News for All People*, 21, 30-31, 279-285.
[2047] Kreitzer, *Good News for All People*, 32. Kreizer attributes the term "conglomerate churches" to McGavran, but enlarges on their effectiveness, which is greater in cities.

ethnic distinctions are God-given and should be reflected in the Church, have been made by Welsh-language church leaders and scholars.[2048] Kreitzer contended that ESOL is particularly important when considering church planting,[2049] an issue of critical importance in *y Fro Gymraeg*. For a new church to make an effective initial connection with a community was critical for its survival.

The Church of England report into church planting and Fresh Expressions of church, quoting McGavran, suggested that, although the Christian gospel breaks down barriers between God and people, God's creation is diverse, including its peoples. "The incarnation principle points to the planting of churches that are culture-specific for those being reached,"[2050] and "some aspects of theology point to a culture-specific social expression of the gospel".[2051] The report called for bridges, reconciliation and interdependence, whilst at the same time seeking gradual cultural diversity. According to the report, two cultures meeting did not necessarily produce a healthy heterogeneous mixture, but one group dominating the other. "The culture of those with the educational and economic power tends to come out on top. An attempt at diversity becomes dominance."[2052] The application for mission in Wales, given their dominant English neighbour, is immediately evident. From the argument for distinction, there is a need for mutual respect, but separate mission.

5.4.1.2 A Policy of Integration

Another approach to the issue, however, calls for integration, not separation. Malcom regarded Christian communities as "*in principle* always multicultural communities" (italics his)[2053] and Kreitzer lists a number of missiologists, including Bosch who stood against apartheid in South Africa, who agree that, in Christ, barriers of race, class and nation have been abolished. Therefore, breaking down ethnic barriers is said to be an essential aspect of the gospel,[2054] and that to defend mono-ethnic churches would be denying catholicity in a Church that is "irreducibly

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[2048] Jones, *Faith*, 86-88, 94, 206-207; Jones, *Crist a Chenedlaetholdeb*, 9-10, 30, 37, 46; Davies, "Nationhood and Language," 9-15.
[2049] Kreitzer, *Good News for All People*, 5, 297.
[2050] Cray, *Mission-Shaped*, 108.
[2051] Cray, *Mission-Shaped*, 109.
[2052] Cray, *Mission-Shaped*, 108-109.
[2053] L. Malcolm, "Raised for Our Justification: Christ's Spirit for Us and for All," in *Created and Led by the Spirit: Planting Missional Congregations* (ed. M. Dreier; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 64-66.
[2054] Kreitzer, *Good News for All People*, 34-35.

multicultural".[2055] Malcolm saw integration as an inevitable consequence of the Spirit's work, whilst, at the same time, including an acceptance of difference and particularity, a unity in diversity. Such inclusivity is seen as all the more important in a post-modern age, where pluralism and difference are no longer threatening:

> "While other institutions are desegregating, with diversified schools and workplaces, multicultural congregations will make more sense to the next generation than monocultural ones do".[2056]

For Wilmshurst, mono-ethnic congregations were little more than a cultural comfort zone, despite what may be perceived as a greater cultural authenticity, leading to some evidence of growth. He contended that such churches do not reflect the "Scriptural norm", because believers were associating on superficial factors, not their unity in Christ: "Ultimately, it makes no more sense in biblical terms to have a 'black church' or a 'white church' than it does to have a 'rich church' or a 'poor church'".[2057] Instead, a multi-ethnic church would benefit from the challenge of other cultures. They would challenge ingrained prejudice and preferences in the light of Scripture, with the result that "a multi-ethnic church is likely to conform more closely to Scriptural models that one where this challenge does not occur".[2058] A mono-ethnic congregation "implies a subliminal message that 'we will accept you warmly, wherever you come from, as long as you become like us'."[2059] Wilmshurst saw a place for mono-ethnic or mono-language groups, meeting as small groups within a church, but all joining for plenary gatherings. Alternatively, mono-ethnic churches might exist for a limited period, while people adjust to alien cultural practices, but only as "a 'half-way house', with the ultimate target being to meet as part of a united, multi-ethnic fellowship". When commenting on McGavran's approach, he contended that the issue of cultural isolation and arrogance was more important than any apparent numerical gains.[2060]

For those seeking multi-ethnic churches and mission, a mono-ethnic approach was "promoting racist ethnocentric Christian communities",[2061] and akin to apartheid.[2062] It was, potentially, "bad news", causing Christians to "live a self-centred,

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[2055] Vanhoozer, "Evangelicalism and the Church," in Bartholomew, Parry, and West, *Futures*, 82-84.
[2056] Malcolm, "Raised for Our Justification," in Dreier, *Missional Congregations*, 173-174.
[2057] S. Wilmshurst, *The Church as a Multi-Ethnic Community* (Bridgend: Affinity, 2008), n.p.
[2058] Wilmshurst, *Multi-Ethnic*, n.p.
[2059] Wilmshurst, *Multi-Ethnic*, n.p.
[2060] Wilmshurst, *Multi-Ethnic*, n.p.
[2061] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 261-262.
[2062] Hull, *Response*, 14.

impoverished life", if it was not overthrowing racial, cultural and class barriers.[2063]
For Terlecki mono-ethnic churches limited the Church's influence, failing to break
down walls of separation, which the gospel was meant to remove.[2064] Padilla
contended for the same obligation for the local church:

> "The apostles … regarded Christian community across cultural barriers not as
> an optional blessing to be enjoyed whenever circumstances were favourable
> to it or as an addendum that could be omitted if it were deemed necessary to
> do so, in order to make the gospel more palatable, but rather as essential to
> Christian commitment".[2065]

For Kirk, mono-ethnic churches and mission were totally unacceptable, because, in
the light of the New Testament, "ethnically separate churches would have been
perceived as a denial of the Gospel".[2066] Like Wilmshurst, such an approach could
be defended in the short term, only if it would lead to a multi-ethnic and multi-racial
church. Ethnically, culturally or linguistically conscious churches can "aid
unacceptable ethnic and cultural chauvinism or perpetuate barriers already in
existence in society".[2067] Inherent within the Christian gospel was a process of
reconciliation, which would actively promote the removal of ethnic divisions,
prejudice and hostility by integration and emphasize a new shared Christian, not
ethnic, identity.

Kirk and Wilmshurst's contentions, however, have to assume that mono-ethnic
churches in Wales are not working as partners, and cooperating with churches of a
different *ethnie* wherever possible. This, in fact, has been far from the case, with
churches connecting, and even planting, across ethnic lines. The Evangelical
Church in Bangor was a bi-lingual church, with language groups meeting separately
and together, that decided to become two mono-ethnic churches.[2068] In a similar
way, a number of English language churches in South Wales were started by Welsh
language churches to serve the English-speaking immigrants at the time of industrial
expansion.[2069] Churches, serving different ethnic communities, working together on
projects such as *Foodbank*, CAP, or night-shelter, send messages of unity and
cohesion, rather than the contrary.[2070] Such mission expresses unity between
churches and Christians, whilst at the same time respecting differences in ethnic

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[2063] Gibbs, *Church Growth*, 128.
[2064] C Terlecki and W Fung, "Are Mono-Ethnic Churches a Good Thing," *IDEA: The Magazine of the Evangelical Alliance* (March/April 2014): 11.
[2065] Padilla, *Mission Between the Times*, 167-168.
[2066] Kirk, *Mission*, 223.
[2067] Kirk, *Mission*, 223.
[2068] Gibbard, *First Fifty Years*, 84-85.
[2069] Williams, *Methodism*, 227-229; Jones, *Faith*, 395-396.
[2070] n/a, "Caernarfon Foodbank," n.p. [cited 03.02.2015]. Online: http://caernarfon.foodbank.org.uk/.

identity. For McGavran, working within a distinct ethnicity was a bridge that enabled mission to take place, in and by people of that *ethnie*.[2071] In areas of Wales, such as *y Fro Gymraeg*, to work multi-ethnically would generate resistance and limit a mission's effectiveness. In fact, cooperative mission by churches serving Welsh and English communities could model a community cohesion that minimises suspicion and enmity. Forcing communities together, or insisting that one has to conform to the patterns or language of another, would tend to exacerbate negative positions. If the Church in a town or region is seen to be one in its mission, but focussing on different spheres, the charge of acting contrary to the gospel, or neglecting its essential elements, is difficult to sustain.

5.4.2   The Implications for leadership

The ability, and acceptability, of leadership is essential to any mission.[2072] In areas of Wales where there is a strong Welsh identity, whether in the post-industrial Valleys or *y Fro Gymraeg*, those doing or leading mission will be seen as an insider or an outsider, depending on their own background:

> "It takes a bit of time for people from outside to be trusted, especially with the gospel message. They would want to know who is he related to, does he have any links to (place)..."[2073]

Suspicion and even resistance can be generated by those doing the mission. Equally, in areas with a heterogeneous population, whether in urban or in a border community, working exclusively, to the exclusion of some in the community, would appear equally alien. The context has an important bearing on how mission is done and led, and how leaders are trained.

In the traditional model of leadership and mission in Wales, from the mid-nineteenth century, ministry and mission were led by ordained ministers. They would have received a formal training in theology, but may not have had their roots in the community they served.[2074] Their status as a minister, and their superior educational qualifications, gave them acceptance in the communities they moved to, and from, in the course of their professional career. Not only has the decline of Nonconformity made such a model of ministry unsustainable financially, but such a model of

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[2071] McGavran, *Bridges*, 10, 24.
[2072] Bell, "Eglwys," 240-241.
[2073] 25NERC.
[2074] Griffith, "Preaching," in Pope, *Identity*, 72; Bassett, *Baptists*, 191-200; Jones, *Congregationalism*, 199.

ministry or mission is no longer meaningful, except in traditional communities where old patterns still linger. In post-Christian Wales, those leading and doing mission will need to gain acceptance and credibility in the communities they serve. In the Valleys, mission conducted by local people, and led by leaders from those communities, avoids the stigma of Englishness, or resistance to historic patterns of minister-centred mission. In *y Fro Gymraeg* local leaders avoid the resistance to fears of domination by incomers from England. Mission, however well-intended, that is conducted in a way that is perceived as being English, or "pushy", "arrogant" or "a take-over", will be resisted.[2075] Where a church's mission is being organised, planned and delivered by non-Welsh people, great care will be needed to respect local sensitivities. A church planted in a Welsh area, by a church close to the English border, closed because of these issues:

> "…for them their lives were interconnected, wired in with Chapel, that they were never going to become part of a new church in (place). And of course the people who pioneered the meeting were English people as well…".[2076]

The leader of the planting church put the issue starkly:

> "There is some Welshness where people are strongly defensive, and thinking that anything that is live evangelism or mission, they feel is hostile to Welshness and even an intrusion into their way of life… I feel that the English are not as threatened by evangelism as the Welsh are. It's almost as if somehow, like the invasions of the past, when you come to them with something that is like the gospel, they feel threatened and close in, and that gets deeper the farther west you go from here, definitely."[2077]

Methods of mission, originating in England and, in this case, from further afield, were seen as threatening. Both leaders and methods, which were from outside of Wales, encountered a similar resistance.

Outside major towns and cities, leadership of ministry and mission will increasingly be done by lay-leaders,[2078] or part-time leaders.[2079] The absence of individuals who

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[2075] 39MEC.

[2076] 23MPE.

[2077] 23MPE.

[2078] Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 120; Davies, "Eglwys," 224, 229; E. Richards, "A Oes Unrhyw Ddyfodol i Werthoedd Presbyteriaeth," *Diwinyddiaeth* LXIII (2012): 58-72; L. Anderson, "New Churches for a New Millenium: The Holy Spirit Does It Again," in *Created and Led by the Spirit: Planting Missional Congregations* (ed. M. Dreier; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 77.

[2079] M. L. Russell, *The Missional Entrepreneur: Principles and Practices for Business as Mission* (Birmingham: New Hope, 2010), 91-106; Anderson, "New Churches," in Dreier, *Missional Congregations*, 77; Payne, *House*, 106-107; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 110, 210; These have been referred to "Tent-makers" and "Third-agers". The former a reference to the Apostle Paul supporting himself as a tent-maker in order to continue his ministry (Acts 18:3), and the latter to mature people taking early retirement, or their children's independence, as an opportunity to give years to ministry. Wright, "Future Trends in Mission," in Bartholomew, Parry, and West, *Futures*, 158-159.

are paid full-time, so having time to do activities on behalf of the members, will have to be replaced by teams of local people. The benefits of such a change, in terms of mission being done on a peer level by neighbours, is self-evident. Clericalism did not engender a corporate ownership of the mission of the church.[2080]

The training of leaders and churches for mission will need to be contextualised to the local situation, and be provided locally. Part-time or lay leaders will not have the liberty, time, or the resources, to go away to a place of training.

In the questionnaire and interview response of leaders, repeated reference was made to a reticence, shyness, and lack of confidence, commitment and perseverance among Welsh people, compared to those who had moved into the church and wider community from England.[2081] One leader described the issue bluntly:

> "…small-mindedness, defensiveness, lack of ambition, very easily satisfied with what they've got …to be honest I can't see how we could ever have a leadership team of just Welsh people. Any life in our church, any strong ambition to win people, to get out there, comes from the English." [2082].

Another spoke of a lack of ambition, and a lack of urgency to change things:

> "I think Wales has a 'that will do attitude' … what they have they always want, rather than expressions of something greater. … We don't look for anything grander, anything better. Because people are stuck with change… My hardest people to motivate are the Welsh-speaking, it seems."[2083]

The same phenomenon was described in the Valleys, where generations of decline and a "siege mentality" had produced a generation which felt they had nothing to offer, despite being no less gifted: "…I think you can't underestimate what happened with the close of the pits… We're rubbish. There is absolutely no aspiration at all."[2084] This is inherent within Douglas's category of an "Enclave" mind-set. One leader expressed the reality in typical humour: "Murphy's Law says that if anything will go wrong it will. Jones's law says that Murphy was an optimist."[2085] The lack of confidence has also been seen as a reason to invite people for leadership, and not merely to ask for volunteers:

> "It's quite odd really, very low self-worth. You very rarely get someone to volunteer for something, but if you ask someone, wow! … It is as if they grow 10 feet tall- he thinks I am good enough to be asked. They have such low self-

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[2080] McGavran, *Bridges*, 138-139; Newbigin, *Foolishness*, 141-142.
[2081] Pages 185, 249, 310. 51VBE, 52VBE, 67NWEC
[2082] 23MPE.
[2083] 34SWPE.
[2084] 52VBE.
[2085] 67NWEC.

worth, so if you ask someone you are dealing with a different person. It's incredible the difference it can make".[2086]

Clearly, training of leaders that affirms and builds a confidence to lead is important, alongside theoretical and applied theology. Training programmes, or approaches to mission, that work in other nations may fail to develop missional leaders in Wales. A greater level of affirmation, encouragement and team support will be needed if there is a sense of inertia, hopelessness, or lack of entrepreneurial drive. This may be attributed to different causes, whether years of church decline or a consequence of colonisation, but Dr Dilys Davies's call for extra provision in public health may have its equivalent in mission training.[2087]

5.4.3   Reflections on Adjustments to the Ethnic Context

Welsh identities of British, Welsh, Welsh-British, or having descended from Celtic ancestors have been seen to call for varying approaches, not only to the nature of mission, but also who does it, and how it is done. Wales is a nation of contrasting and even conflicting ethnic groups, and where the distinctions in adjacent communities are marked, they may not be best served by a heterogeneous approach in multi-ethnic communities, but by a homogeneous approach in mono-ethnic communities. This would better serve the mission of the church, as long as unity between churches and leaders was expressed, as well as their diversity.

Breen speaks of the need to be missional to particular sectors and cultures.[2088] Though the Lausanne Movement favoured multi-ethnic to mono-ethnic churches, they did recognise the importance of churches contextualising for their mission:

> "… the barriers to the acceptance of the gospel are often more sociological than theological; people reject the gospel not because they think it is false but because it strikes them as alien. They imagine that in order to become Christians they must renounce their own culture, lose their own identity, and betray their own people. Therefore, in order to reach them, not only should the evangelist be able to identify with them, and they with the evangelist; not only must the gospel be contextualized in such a way that it communicates with them; but the church into which they are invited must itself belong to their culture sufficiently for them to feel at home in it".[2089]

[2086] 52VBE.
[2087] Pages 102-103.
[2088] Breen, *Leading MCs*, 80.
[2089] Stott, *The Homogeneous Unit*, 5.

The issues raised, and the ensuing controversies, show how one aspect of global missiology is pertinent to mission in twenty-first century Wales. The five approaches to mission overseas had their equivalents in Wales, all of which give pointers on effective mission in relation to ethnic aspects of context.

5.5   Language and Culture: Welsh and Bilingual Churches

The Welsh language has created, and sustained, its own distinct culture.[2090] The relentless decline of the Welsh language has been described: from a time when Wales was a land of monoglot Welsh speakers; to three language corridors from East to West, with Welsh-speakers dominant in the West; to the present patchwork with small remnant areas of majority-Welsh speakers.[2091] At the same time, Welsh medium education is seeing a rapid rise in all parts of Wales, so the Welsh language demographic, which was dominated by the older generations, is now showing signs of a burgeoning younger profile. This Welsh language renaissance, if the younger generations continue to use the language, will have a profound effect on the mission context, which is continually changing.

Currently, the language is both a marker of unity and of division, with insistence on its place in society in some areas and resistance in others. Expressions of culture largely follow this divide. Mission will need to calibrate to such realities.

5.5.1   The Challenges of Welsh Language and Culture

The case for and against mono-ethnic churches has been considered in the previous section. Issues of language and culture are an aspect of ethnicity, and the various adjustments to language and culture in mission mirror the polarities of the previous section. The Welsh language has been the principle identifier of and influence on Welsh culture historically, and remains so in areas where the language is still spoken by a significant proportion of the population. In Welsh language areas, the appropriateness of Welsh language churches is a major issue for mission. In urban, Valleys and Border areas, it is the challenge of identifying the Anglo-Welsh culture, and calibrating mission to it.

5.5.1.1   Welsh Language Churches

Welsh language churches grew up, or have been more recently planted, in Welsh language communities. These may be rural communities, or a stratum of society in towns or cities. They seek to work entirely through the medium of the Welsh

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[2090] Jones, *Desire*, 88.
[2091] See pages 103-104. Jones, *Faith*, 13.

language in their ministry and mission. Welsh is not merely used in mission, but is the preferred medium for worship and relationships, for people who think, live and pray through the medium of Welsh:

> "The most important and the most intimate thing in someone's life is their relationship with Jesus. Therefore, it is natural for a Welsh-speaker to want that relationship to be in their heart language".[2092]

Some churches provide simultaneous translation into English for visitors, or non-Welsh-speaking partners, or the family of members.[2093] Some also hold occasional English or bi-lingual services, or look for an English congregation to provide for English-speakers.[2094] Services and courses for Welsh learners are also held, which are intended as a gateway into the main church activities, but held separately from them.[2095]

Mission in Welsh language churches might be done, also, for the benefit of English speakers, in the case of *Foodbank*, CAP or *Street Pastors*,[2096] but the primary focus of mission, and especially evangelism, is to the Welsh-speaking community:

> "The best way to reach and evangelise Welsh-speakers is through Welsh-language churches. I have non-Christian friends who would never listen to the message of the gospel in English because they associate the English language as a foreign language, so if the gospel came to them in English they would see it as a foreign idea. If the gospel is presented to them in Welsh it is much more likely for them to listen because it came to them through a medium that they are open to". [2097]

Concern was expressed about English churches doing mission in Welsh language communities, because such activity posed a direct threat to the language:

> "We have had a lot of problems recently with a non-Welsh church wanting to start children's work in villages in our area, where all the children speak Welsh. The effect of this is that local Welsh people, who do not know Jesus, see the Christian faith as an anglicising medium and an attack on Welsh… They must earn the right to speak about Jesus in Welsh communities, and the way to do this is through learning the language. The language is important, but the success of the gospel is more important, and this is why people need to hear the gospel in their heart language". [2098]

[2092] (Trans). In an email dated 26.06.14 from the leader of 110 NWBC.
[2093] 04NWAC, 287SWBC, 14SEEC, 67NWEC, 317SWBC.
[2094] 252SWBC, 39MEC, 111SWBC, 112SWBC, 317SWBC, 40MAC "I think sometimes the ideal situation would be that we had an English congregation as well, because a good number have one member who speak Welsh."
[2095] 14SEEC, 67NWEC, 74NERC, 31SWBBi, 316MEE, 145SEBE.
[2096] 110NWBC, 49SEAC, 65SEBC, 74NERC.
[2097] (Trans). In an email dated 26.06.14 from the leader of 110NWBC.
[2098] (Trans). In an email dated 24.10.14 from the leader of 110NWBC.

The leader was not saying that he would prefer no mission, than mission in English, but that if mission was to be effective, and not cause a negative reaction to the Christian message, it had to be in Welsh, the heart language of the people. These issues, of alienation in Welsh language areas, reflect some of Douglas's descriptions, of "Enclave", or sphere of "factionalism", with group boundaries and seeing "all outsiders to be evil".[2099] In terms of Douglas's categories, features of category D occur in category C when reacting to a perceived external threat. Though at opposite ends of Wales, Welsh-language areas and the Valley communities share features, despite their polarised attitudes to the language.[2100]

As with reactions to mono-ethnic churches, the existence of Welsh-language churches provokes an equal and opposite response. Mention has been made of the comments by the International Director of the Lausanne Movement in favour of multi-ethic and multi-linguistic churches.[2101] He conceded that there might be a case for single-language churches, but as an exception, presumably where it was the only language in a community. He contended that the New Testament Church was trans-cultural and cut across language divides:

> "…when people see there are churches that reach out across ethnic divides, it has a compulsive attractiveness which was there radically in the New Testament. If we emphasise mono-ethnic or mono-cultural churches, sometimes they have to exist for linguistic reasons of course, but if we emphasise that at the expense of the Church of Christ transcending ethnic divisions then our gospel witness will be tempered and weakened, as it has been in some parts of the world in the last twenty years".[2102]

The elders of an English medium church, that was doing mission in a Welsh-language area, put the case even stronger in a policy document drawn up for their discussions:

> "…the planting of separate English speaking and Welsh speaking churches in Wales is contrary to God's stated will in the New Testament, and that the uniting of Welsh speakers and English speakers in local churches is a

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[2099] Pages 294-7. Smalley's compilation of a hierarchy of languages, in which the most desired are placed above the least, puts Welsh near the bottom, in the category of an "Enclave Language", enveloped by more dominant languages and not typically learned by speakers of other languages. English, by contrast, is a symbol of dominance and colonisation. W. A. Smalley, "Missionary Language Learning in a World Hierarchy of Languages," *Missiology: An International Review* XXII (4 1994): 482-486.
[2100] Sudworth, *Outside-In*, 12.
[2101] Page 212.
[2102] Transcribed from a recording, supplied to me by the EMW Office, of the Wednesday Seminar, 'Darkest Day or Dramatic Dawn', of the English Conference of the Evangelical Movement of Wales, Aberystwyth, August 2012.

significant aspect of our witness to the power of the gospel to transform and unite people under the headship of Christ".[2103]

The paper conceded that, in Welsh language areas, there would be more Welsh-speakers in a church, but the solution was to be based on the ability to communicate, not for cultural or historical reasons. For the English minority to be able to understand and communicate, this would suggest the use of English as a common medium.

> "Central to the demonstration of the power of God in the gospel is that this very diverse company of people are joined together into loving local churches: local churches that, in the language of the creed, are 'catholic': i.e. open to all believers".[2104]

The issue of what language was to be used in evangelism was to be determined by the language of the hearers, but once people had joined the church, they would speak the common language: "So we have to combine the insistence of having one church for English and Welsh (and Polish!) speakers with a strategy of reaching out to people in whatever language it is easiest to reach them in".[2105]

The policy document then stated the over-riding principle: "all decisions in the life of the local church must be driven by the gospel".[2106] It is this question that the polarised views on Welsh-language churches hinges on. If mission is hindered by English being the medium used, whether within the church, or in the wider community, then that mission becomes ineffective, or even nullified. If the very nature of the Church is to be "missional",[2107] then that would seem to decide whether mono-lingual churches were not merely permissible, but essential. The fear that mono-lingual churches would be self-centred and impoverished, or Kirk's contention that they would be culturally chauvinistic and a denial of the gospel,[2108] are difficult to sustain if using a common language actually hinders mission. The effect and legacy of a dominant English language and culture on its neighbour

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[2103] 24MEE. The quotation is from a paper, "The Bible's Teaching on Language in the Life of the Church: A Paper to Provide a Basis for Discussion by the Elders". It was written by the pastor and discussed by the elders, to clarify the church's position. In order to maintain the anonymity of the minister and the church, the paper is not included in the bibliography.

[2104] 24MEE. In an email with the leader, dated 28.01.2014, he clarified and confirmed the position: "…the existence of separate Welsh and English speaking churches (with a virtually identical theological position) proclaims to the watching world that the gospel isn't powerful enough to bring English and Welsh speakers together in one church. The church should not just be aping the culture of the world around us, we need to be truly counter-cultural. Welsh-speaking and English-speaking Christians are one in Christ and we need each other, we should not be splitting into separate churches".

[2105] 24MEE. Elders' Paper.

[2106] 24MEE. Elders' Paper.

[2107] Van Gelder and Zscheile, *Perspective*, 71, 167.

[2108] Kirk, *Mission*, 222-223.

appears to make heterogeneous churches an actual hindrance, not an advert for the gospel. Hill came to the same conclusion:

> "…many Welsh people found (and find) it too difficult to function comfortably in English… This pattern may appear to English people living in monoglot areas to be a contradiction of *the* unity of the Church. But to Welsh people it was the answer of common sense…" [2109]

5.5.1.2   Bilingualism

Bilingualism was a policy adopted by the Anglican Church in Wales, as a response to two language communities in its parishes. Anglicanism had been viewed as an alien, English body, with English-speaking clergy in Welsh-speaking parishes, and suffered as a result in the heyday of Welsh Nonconformity.[2110] It later sought to respond better to context by a policy of bilingualism, in which both languages were used equally in its liturgy.[2111] A similar policy has been adopted by many Nonconformist churches, especially those in bi-lingual communities.[2112]

> "On Sunday morning we have a bilingual service, and that's exactly what it is. Obviously the sermon is in English, and we also have Bible study and prayer meeting which is bilingual... Parents with their children in Welsh school, it suits them to come to a bilingual service… We have taken on board the fact that we have to use both languages."[2113]

Two churches, one Welsh and one English, had shared activities, and explained their policy: "We have actively sought not only to use both languages but to encourage an attitude where both languages are not simply 'allowed' but positively affirmed".[2114] In a magazine interview, about how to reach families in a bilingual context where half a family speak Welsh and half the family don't, a leader commented:

> "If we want to reach such families we must stop thinking in terms of ministry and mission being either in Welsh or English. To me the key is an incarnational understanding of the Gospel and mission. Where we serve a bilingual community it seems to me that this must be done bilingually".[2115]

The practice involves more than mere tokenism, as prayers, songs, literature, publicity and websites, if not preaching, use both languages.[2116] In bilingual

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[2109] P. Hill, "Beyond the Celtic Fringe: Christians and Nationalism in Wales," *Third Way* (April 1978): 8.

[2110] See also Jones, *Faith*, 40; Morgan, *Span, 2011*, 35-36, 192-193; Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 115-116.

[2111] Chambers and Thompson, "Coming to Terms," 343.

[2112] Gregory, *Social Survey*, 16, 30-32; Gregory, *Human and Material Resources*, 27-32, 93-97.

[2113] 57SWBBi.

[2114] (Trans). P. Smethurst, "Blerwytirhwng," *Cristion* (Gorff/Awst 2014): 8.

[2115] (Trans). Smethurst, "Blerwytirhwng," 9.

[2116] 224NWEE, 180NWEE.

communities, the policy is appreciated because it acknowledges the preferences and traditions of a Welsh-speaking minority, it is helpful for those learning Welsh, and it enables homes where only one partner speaks Welsh, or where the children are in Welsh medium education, to worship together. It enabled everyone to worship, and "people of both tongues can encounter God in their heart language".[2117]

Classes and services for Welsh learners form an essential part of a bilingual approach:

> "…in recognition of the very large number of people locally who are Welsh Learners, we have begun a weekly Conversation Group for Welsh Learners … Each term we end with a 'Service for Welsh Learners' which is overtly evangelistic in its nature."[2118]

Most bilingual churches were English-speaking churches incorporating Welsh, but some Welsh churches were including English in their services, though less successfully:

> "Because of the bilingual nature of the community we have provided simultaneous translation in our services. We usually do bilingual services, but they are not often very successful. Therefore, the simultaneous translation means that those who are learning, or pairs where only one can come speak Welsh, can come. The learners meetings, especially, bring some in who would not normally come". [2119]

Other churches express bilingualism through Welsh-language groups formed within an English church, on midweek or Sunday evenings. This might be viewed as a temporary arrangement, until the Welsh group is strong enough to exist as a separate church.[2120] However, in other churches there is no intention to separate. In this more common approach, the large number of Welsh-speakers, who choose to worship in English medium churches, is a source of tension. The Welsh-speakers wish to live and worship in Welsh, but have not found a Welsh church with the right style, theology, resources or family provision. It is also a source of disappointment for those remaining, and struggling, in smaller, and less well-resourced Welsh churches.[2121]

[2117] (Trans). Smethurst, "Blerwytirhwng," 8.
[2118] 31SWBBi.
[2119] 67NWEC(Trans).
[2120] P. Hallam, "Yr Eglwys mewn Cymru Amlieithog," *Y Cylchgrawn Efengylaidd* (Gwanwyn, 2013): 13; Hughes, *Culture*, 75-77; Gibbard, *First Fifty Years*, 84-85.
[2121] Hallam, "Amlieithog," 12; Jones, *Crist a Chenedlaetholdeb*, 37, 121.

In Welsh language areas, bilingualism is viewed as a compromise, threatening the place of Welsh in society. Bilingual conversations, activities and public speaking inevitably revert to English as the common-denominator. The English language gains ascendancy, as when a leader said, "I'll say this in English because its important".[2122] This acknowledged, that some English speakers might miss the point in Welsh, failed to recognise that some Welsh speakers often lack confidence in speaking and understanding English, or have a strong preference for speaking and hearing Welsh only.[2123] Nevertheless, a bilingual policy, in Welsh language areas, would be considered preferable to the churches that used English as the church's only language.[2124] An all-English policy, in a community where most people live through the medium of Welsh, would seem to be impeding mission and making it more difficult for people to hear their message. One English church described the challenge and the frustrations experienced in a Welsh area:

> "There is a greater resistance among the Welsh population than among the incomers. As a church we know more incomers. The local people have their networks... The incomers are more open to being befriended, and the indigenous population are suspicious… There are people who would rather go to Chapel and get nothing, than come to an English service… The sad thing is that the believers are separated by language… they could come, and if we were able to pull in those Welsh speakers who are real believers, and reach Welsh people…" (a greater impact could be achieved).[2125]

From this English church leader's perspective, the non-involvement of Welsh-speakers in their church blunted their ability to reach the Welsh community. It is, however, questionable, in the light of the comments above, that such mission from an English-language base, would be successful, even if the "Welsh speakers who are real believers" could be persuaded to join them.

In predominantly English-speaking towns, cities, Valleys and Border regions, however, bilingualism is seen as an unwelcome imposition, a waste of time, paper, and resources, in the same way that Welsh Government bilingual forms, signs and publicity are not appreciated by all. However, even in Border areas, churches chose to reach out to the minority Welsh-speakers, and even made this a distinctive of the church's mission.[2126]

> "In virtually all parts of Wales there is a Welsh speaking community of some size and churches need to make an effort to reach them – we have had Welsh medium outreach events. If there were sufficient people in the church who

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[2122] n/a, "Yr Eglwys a'r iaith Gymraeg," *Y Faner Newydd* (Gaeaf 2012): 40.
[2123] 92VEE, 96SEBE.
[2124] 312NWEE, 180NWEE.
[2125] 22NWEE.
[2126] 227SEEE.

were Welsh speaking, we would run a Welsh medium home group … Other churches have had bilingual singing (projecting the words in English and Welsh)".[2127]

If the demographic of Welsh-speakers changes, due to Welsh-medium education in all areas, such an approach will become essential and inevitable.

5.5.2 Welsh Cultural Mission

Adjustments to Welsh culture, both traditional and popular, for the sake of mission, was generally less evident and deliberate than adjustments to language. Only the Liberal approach saw the promotion of Welsh culture as a central part of its mission, through their high involvement in the cultural activities of the Learning category of mission. This included active involvement in *Eisteddfodau*, [2128] literary clubs,[2129] the *Urdd*,[2130] and *Merched y Wawr*.[2131] They served their communities, particularly the Welsh language communities, by being a focal point for Welsh literary, poetic, historical and community interests.[2132] There is little evidence that this led to the growth of the churches, as the churches in question were mostly declining. They did, however, provide a service, together with the involvement of their members in other community activities, for the good of their communities. These activities were provided, for the most part, to the older sections of the community. In reaching younger generations in Welsh communities a different culture was needed:

> "I have noticed that the younger generation, they have no Chapel background, and basically even though we speak Welsh they are heavily infected, affected, by English culture. And I am willing to say, no, you just got to go for it. The *Cymanfa Ganu* will bring in the old, and American burger night will bring in the young…"[2133]

Clearly, the nature of Welsh culture is changing, at least initially and in part, with the generations.

Other churches made connections, with both traditional and popular Welsh culture, as a bridge between the church and its community, especially for evangelism. These activities, described earlier, included events for St David's Day,[2134] *Santes*

[2127] 24MEE.
[2128] 07NEME, 10NWRC, 25NERC, 29SERC, 27SERC, 13SWAC, 25NERE, 27NEME, 41MRC, 49SEAC, 68NWRC, 78SWAC, 83SWBC, 140SWBC, 100MBE, 25NERC.
[2129] 39MEC, 10NWRC, 29SERC, 62MME, 68NWRC, 74NERC.
[2130] 29SERC, 27SERC, 13SWAC, 33SWAC, 49SEAC, 204NWAC, 25NERC, 140NWAC, 297NEOC.
[2131] 69NWAC, 10NWRC, 41MRC, 297NEMC.
[2132] Pope, *Flight from the Chapels*, 11.
[2133] 32SWBC.
[2134] 92VEE, 95SWBE, 103VBE, 129SEBE, 244SWBE, 252SWBC, 271SWRE, 285SERE, 316MEE.

Dwynwen,[2135] rugby games,[2136] and choral or hymn singing.[2137] Evangelism was felt to be more effective when it was "distinctly 'Welsh' in ethos."[2138] Some of these activities in English-speaking areas reflect the ongoing cultural influence of the Welsh language, even though the language itself may have faded away. A leader in an English-speaking area of rural Mid Wales spoke of their *Cymanfa Ganu*, but singing from "Sankeys",[2139] and of an English language *Eisteddfod.*[2140] There was a recognition that in both language areas, a Welsh culture was still influential, even when the language had been lost:

> "The ethos of a Welsh church is different. They are not English. They may speak English but they are still Welsh. It must be something to do with tradition, culture and background. A lot of people even though they don't speak Welsh, and wish they could speak Welsh, their mother and father didn't pass it down…"[2141]

5.5.3   Reflections on Adjustments to Linguistic and Cultural Contexts

Welsh linguistic and cultural distinctives appeared in a spectrum from communities where the language, and its derived culture, were strong and defended; to those where the language had been largely lost but the cultural traditions remained; to anglicised areas where only traces of Welsh language influence remained. Interspersed within these, are micro-communities of Welshness and Englishness that live somewhat detached from the surrounding population. Where churches were located within a particular micro-community, its mission to the wider community would be impeded.

Chambers speaks of a general lag between churches in Wales, compared to those in England, and that "this gap increases with the distance from the border".[2142] This progression westwards reflects the greater strength of Welsh language and culture, which is more resistant to anglicization. The cultural lag in the local church suggests that Welsh society is being anglicized faster than the churches. The effect of this, especially in the case of the Liberal churches, is decline, despite an active cultural mission.

[2135] 92VEE. Santes Dwynwen is the Welsh Saint Valentine, celebrated on 25th January.
[2136] 05SEBE, 200VCE, 244SWBE.
[2137] 184VBE, 178SEEE, 182SWBE, 63MPE, 266SEBE, 157SWPE, 52VBE.
[2138] 206SWRE.
[2139] An English-language hymnbook.
[2140] 100MBE.
[2141] 57SWBBi.
[2142] Chambers, *Religion*, 70-71.

The controversy over the legitimacy of Welsh language churches showed those, for and against, justifying their perspective from biblical precedent. Those opposed to single language churches emphasized the multi-ethnic nature of the church, actively reconciling differences between God and people, and between people. Churches, however, may be involved in a mission against racism, hostility and community tension, without joining in a conglomerate that belongs naturally to either community.

Those in favour of single language churches saw the division of languages, and distinct ethnicities, as God-given, and therefore to be defended.[2143]

> "The enforcement of uniformity discredits the uniqueness of each individual created in the image and likeness of God. Whereas Babel attempted to enforce uniformity, the preaching of the disciples on the day of Pentecost resulted in a unity in which personal particularities and community identities were not lost but respected-they heard the good news in their own languages".[2144]

If linguistic and cultural trends in Wales continue in the direction of bilingualism and anglicisation, then mission, even in the areas retaining some strength in the Welsh language, will need to follow those trends. If a resurgent Welsh language in schools, media and government leads to a reversal in societal trends, then mission will need to calibrate to that. At the start of the twenty-first century a mixture of English language churches reflecting a popular Welsh culture, English language churches for a traditional culture, bilingual churches, and mono-lingual churches will be needed for effective mission.

[2143] J. E. Davies, "Nationhood and Language," *Evangelical Magazine of Wales* (1987): 9,11; Jones, *Crist a Chenedlaetholdeb*, 46; Jones, *Gwaedd*, 7-21.
[2144] World Council of Churches, "Together Towards Life: Mission and Evangelism in Changing Landscapes," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (03.2014): 36. Cited 22.10.2014. Online: http://www.internationalbulletin.org/system/files/2014-02-e01-churches.pdf.

5.6 Social: Community, Connection and Social Capital

In describing Welsh contexts, in *y Fro Gymraeg*, English-speaking rural, Valley areas, or small towns, a common distinctive of communalism and mutuality was observed. Traditions of an egalitarian society, had found expression in the idea of the Nonconformist *Gwerin*, and then in Labourism, as political loyalties replaced chapel allegiance.[2145] By the twenty-first century, following inward migration and the spread of an individualized, atomised culture, such broad-brush generalisations could not be sustained as a ubiquitous national characteristic.[2146] However, to varying degrees, and with different expressions, Wales' small local communities still evidence many close-knit, mutually supportive social networks, interconnected by extended families. They are a feature of Wales's social landscape, and mission must adjust to their varying patterns.

The degree of a church's involvement in its community, through relationships, social care and service, will determine whether it is part of its community, or stands apart from it. A local community, in which mutual support and solidarity is the norm, will feel remote from a church that is not an active contributor to that community. To have an attractional, or centripetal, approach to mission, which appears to pull people out of the surrounding society into the church's separate community, will tend to alienate non-attenders. A missional, or centrifugal approach, will bring the church to where people are, and make its religious activities more accessible. Contributing to a community's life and needs are key factors in whether, or not, a local church is adjusting to its social context, and this will affect how its message is received.

5.6.1 The Challenges of the Social Patterns

Chapter Four described how the different approaches to mission had engaged with the social context of Wales, and lessons to be learned from each approach are also suggested.[2147] These lessons are central to a contextualised mission in Wales, and need to be a significant part of the Church's future strategy. Rather than repeating

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[2145] Page 117-119.
[2146] Price, "Social Enterprise," 13.
[2147] The adjustments, by the different approaches to mission, to Wales's social contexts were described in Chapter Four under each approach, and related to the Church's mission on page 303 above.

the lessons in this chapter, they will be referred to, and the underlying issues will be considered.

5.6.1.1.　　The Importance of Social Capital

The work of a local church, meeting the felt needs of its community, is to be part of "social capital" of that community, and contributing to it.[2148] For Gaze, "social capital describes the level of reciprocal relationships and trustworthy networks which exist within a particular locality or community".[2149] The churches' contribution to it will give credibility and receptivity to the church's message.[2150] The good news needs to be seen as well as heard:

> "If the purpose of the church is to proclaim and demonstrate the reconciling love of God then the nature of the church is to create the kind of community in which outrageous grace is lived out. People ought to be able to see the values of grace acted out in the kind of community that is created by the gospel."[2151]

Chambers speaks of the role of the churches in community cohesion, and in care for the needy, during the Miners' Strike in 1984-5, and sees further opportunities for the churches as cut-backs reduce government spending in needy areas.[2152] Russell-Jones outlines ten activities currently undertaken by local churches, often in partnership with local authorities, which are "changing the face of Wales".[2153] They include work with asylum seekers, *Foodbank*, *Street Pastors*, homes for the homeless, CAP, night shelters, parenting courses, work with refugees, provisions for Welsh-speaking families, and action on human-trafficking.

The struggles of many E1 churches, despite much earnest effort and praying, would suggest that the needed connections with their communities, and confidence about them in their communities, were lacking. The changes that have occurred, in a post-

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[2148] Price, "Social Enterprise," 6, 27-29; Chambers, "Economic Factors," in Goodhew, *Growth*, 223-223; R. Burgess, "African Pentecostal Growth: The Redeemed Church of God in Britain," in *Church Growth in Britain: 1980 to the Present* (ed. D. Goodhew; Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 131; Croft, *Transforming*, 173; Keller, *Justice*, 118; Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 21-22, 44-46; Grieve et al., *Faith*, 7-8.
[2149] Gaze, *Mission-Shaped*, 21.
[2150] Morgan, *Span*, 278.
[2151] Robinson, *Planting*, 94.
[2152] Chambers, "Economic Factors," in Goodhew, *Growth*, 225-226. See also Price, "Social Enterprise," 14-18. The Cardiff Council Cabinet Member for Corporate Services and Performance spoke of a £48m budget shortfall for 2015/16, and the need for the Council to deliver services differently, working with communities and partners. He spoke of a partnership with a church in Cardiff, in which the church was a "shining example of an organisation that has stepped up and made a difference in their community" in "If You Have a Group of People with a Heart to Serve, Just Go for It," *Capital News* (02.2015): 2-3.
[2153] G. Russell-Jones, *Power of 10* (Cardiff: Gweini, 2013), 7-41.

Christendom era, mean that the once-proven approaches of mission by proclamation and invitation alone, no longer have traction. Helping to build social capital demonstrates a level of relevance and connection that builds confidence and relationships. Without this, the message of the church does not appear to connect with the felt needs of the community it is seeking to reach.[2154]

5.6.1.2   The Importance of Social Involvement

The legacy of Pietism, seen in E1 churches, leads to a withdrawal of the Church from what Neuhaus called the "public square".[2155] The Church reflects a dualism, in which its life is separate from the world around it. Such a separation, whereby Christians are taken "out of this world",[2156] means that the churches are detached from society's networks and needs. For Newbigin, these "truncated networks" were at the heart of the Western Church's failure.[2157] In contrast, there has been a call for the Church to be "incarnational",[2158] whereby it is directly engaged with the world's suffering and need, rather than standing apart from it. If it stands apart, the Church's mission must be to draw people into its world by attraction. If it is "incarnational", it is entering the sphere of need in an act of compassion and rescue. However, the different approaches to mission would interpret missional "incarnation" differently, as Niebuhr's categories have demonstrated. For *Missio Dei*, Liberal and Emergent approaches, the distinctions between society and the local church are minimized, if not abolished, so that the lines of distinction are blurred deliberately. However, for Evangelistic and Lausanne churches, the world around them is seen, rather, as a mission-field that a church must enter to serve, transform and win.[2159] In both cases, barriers and social distinctions are removed for the purpose of mission. Boucher sees this demonstrated in a church's use of its building:

> "In the years gone by churches were used primarily on Sundays and perhaps for a mid-week meeting.   Those churches that today are exploiting the new funding opportunities in the development of their buildings have deliberately set themselves up as community centres. Instead of just being open on Sundays these buildings are open every day of the week and see a large throughput of people who ordinarily would not darken the door of a church.

[2154] Jones, *Crist a Chenedlaetholdeb*, 119.
[2155] Neuhaus, *Public Square*, 80-81; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 211; Boucher, *Taking Our Place*, 3-11.
[2156] The phrase is from John 17:15, where Jesus seemed to teach the opposite of a Pietistic emphasis, that Christians are to stay as part of society, but protected in it.
[2157] Newbigin, *Secret*, 215. See also Chambers, *Religion*, 204-217.
[2158] Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, 120. The term is used of Christ's coming into the world as a man, and draws the parallel whereby the Church, is to go into the world to be part of a salvic and redemptive process.
[2159] Keller, *Justice*, 117-119; Greene and Robinson, *Metavista*, 203, 219-222.

> This will help to significantly break down the barriers between those people and the church".[2160]

The gulf that pietism constructed is to be crossed. Timmis and Chester contrasts the atmosphere of the betting shop and the church, describing how the one is alien to those who frequent the other, and suggesting that both need to be familiar with the other's space.[2161] Hospitality, and families extending to include their neighbours, is suggested as a missional key.[2162] The local church is to be in the community, so the community is encouraged to come and be part of the church, "belonging before they believe".[2163]

Mention has been made of the work of ministers, as pastors of their communities, particularly in Welsh-medium Liberal churches.[2164] Their involvement in their communities, similar to that of a parish priest, has led to significant influence, and some additions to churches as a result. Such community-inclusive approaches have also built links into local schools and youth clubs, and with families, with a similar effect:

> "We do not intentionally reach out / campaign to evangelise as such, but over the last ten years that I have been here as minister, I have seen a consistent flood of parents re-connecting with the church as they move to the village and start to raise a family. There is a good number of them presently, with their children / young people in the Sunday service. I have seen parents re-connecting with the church again after years away, and others returning from the world." [2165]

Opportunities, especially in stable Welsh-language communities, still exist for traditional patterns of community connection.

5.6.1.3.   Compassion as a Bait or an Instinct

For Evangelistic approaches, there would remain a desire to rescue people from a sinful world, and incorporate them into the local church. The local church engages with its community in order to effect this rescue:

> "God the Father sends his Son into the world to save a people… God the Son sends God the Spirit to aide those saved people as they are sent into a lost

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[2160] Boucher, *Taking Our Place*, 24.
[2161] Timmis and Chester, *Gospel-Centred*, 24-25
[2162] Chester and Timmis, *Total*, 37-48; Timmis and Chester, *Gospel-Centred*, 70.
[2163] Murray, *Church after Christendom*, 10-11; Timmis and Chester, *Gospel-Centred*, 85-86.
[2164] Pages 243-244.
[2165] 10NWRC(Trans).

world to preach the gospel. Our contexts might be different but our story is still the same. God has sent us into the world to win the world for himself".[2166]

Such a mission, of community engagement and service, could be perceived as having an ulterior motive, a hidden agenda different from the one initially presented. In the same way, Brown identifies an attempt by Evangelical churches to use "social action to detoxify their brand".[2167] Using social action as a bait to draw people towards Christian profession may not be obvious, or up-front, when initial needs are being met.[2168] When Evangelistic mission is seen in this light, it implies a measure of subterfuge and deception. The mission approaches, from Lausanne to Emergent, do social action for altruistic reasons, albeit with a hope that those benefiting will consider the Christian message as a consequence. Boucher speaks of those who "love them until they ask why".[2169] Social action is, in these approaches, not a means to an end.

The impression that compassion is being used as bait, however, could be merely a matter of emphasis. The recipient of a service would soon suspect insincerity, if the service, be it *Foodbank* or shelter, was simply a cover. Those involved in CAP are up-front and explicit about who they are and why they are willing to help.[2170] In practice, the margins between similar approaches were not distinct, and, whether the inner motivation is evangelistic or altruistic, few Christians, of whatever approach, would resist those wanting to know more. If some social action was done for cynical reasons, no trace of it was evident in the questionnaire or interview responses. Churches of all approaches would see compassion to the poor and needy as part of their responsibility, whether or not they would see it as part of their mission. Most E1 churches did acts of mercy for the needy as part of their pastoral ministry, or compassionate giving, perhaps hoping for a religious response, but they did not see such activity as part of their mission, alongside or in any way replacing evangelism.

[2166] "In It To Win It," n.p. [cited 18.02.2015]. Online: http://www.christchurchnewport.org/series/in-it-to-win-it/ .

[2167] Brown, "Social Action," n.p.

[2168] Russell, *Missional Entrepreneur*, 183-189.

[2169] Boucher, *Taking Our Place*, 79.

[2170] J. Kirkby, *Nevertheless: The Incredible Story of One Man's Mission to Change Thousands of Lives* (Bradford: CAP, 2009), 189-201.

5.6.2 Reflections on Adjustments to Social Contexts

Priorities for mission ranged from emphasizing the churches' responsibility to proclaim peace with God, to providing peace on earth. Some calibrated their mission to their social context more than others. The communal, mutual, and egalitarian traits of Welsh societies mean that a church's mission needs to be relationally connected and engaged. Churches that stood apart from their communities, apart from evangelistic raids into the world to rescue, or snatch converts, were declining as Christendom faded.

Financial pressures on the Welfare State's social care provisions give increasing opportunities for what has come to be known as the voluntary or "Third Sector".[2171] Partnerships with local authorities enable churches to model good-news, as well as proclaim it. In so doing, churches participate in the communalism and mutuality of the Welsh social context. Social Action would seem to be obligatory, not merely optional, in the mission of the churches in the twenty-first century.[2172] This action will need to happen in normal life, as well as in programmes, and as part of the community, not merely done for it. One church's description epitomises this balance:

> "A lot of the things that we do as a church are relational. They are not programs, they just happen quite naturally. We have relational bridge building, so we naturally make friends, and get involved with them in different things like sport, going to the pub, we get involved with people that way. But also we put on events to serve the community such as holiday club youth centre, a youth activity. We do things for the community: Mums and toddlers, Teddy Bears Picnics, village fairs. I'm a governor of the school, take lessons and run after-school clubs. We are all involved in things like that. We have lots of little irons in the fire, which are mainly relational, but hopefully the gospel will flow through them."[2173]

[2171] Boucher, *Taking Our Place*, 22-24.

[2172] D. D. Morgan, "Pwy Fydd yma 'mhen Deng Mlynedd?: Duw a'r Degawd Newydd," *Cristion* (Ionawr / Chwefror 2010): 7.

[2173] 43VBE.

5.7.   Politics: Local Church involvement in Political Issues and Causes

Political allegiances in Wales were described as broadly following Balsom's regional categories.[2174] British Wales, where Welsh and British identities would overlap, would tend to show support for the Liberal or Conservative parties. Post-industrial Welsh Wales would be strongly Labour, but the party's monopoly was fading due to increasing disillusion.[2175] *Y Fro Gymraeg* is the heartland of the nationalist *Plaid Cymru* / The Party of Wales, though its popularity is also growing in Welsh Wales.

Wales's political landscape has changed since the founding of a number of Welsh national institutions in the early twentieth century, and especially since the National Assembly for Wales was established in 1998. The new governance of Wales, with accessible regional policies, is giving new opportunities to churches to be involved in their communities. Contextual mission will need to respond to these changing realities, and responses may vary from a call for a pietistic non-involvement and separation, to a full identification and partnership with political bodies.[2176]

5.7.1   The Challenges of the Political Sphere

5.7.1.1 Regional Differences in Political Involvement.

Leaders of the different approaches to mission were aware of the political realities in different parts of Wales, and responded to them in varying ways. For churches in *y Fro Gymraeg,* issues of nationalism, and the active promotion of the Welsh language, were the dominant political issues. Churches, and their members, were involved through political protest and direct action, which was potentially divisive between churches serving the two language communities. English-speaking churches and leaders in these areas, who largely seek to relate to people of English descent and background, would not always find themselves in sympathy with the issues raised. Mission, by both groups, will call for respect for the grievances and

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[2174] Page 137.

[2175] 17SWCE, 38VEE, 55VOE.

[2176] The grounds for such caution would be based on such Bible verses as 2 Corinthians 6:14-17, "Do not be yoked together with unbelievers. For what do righteousness and wickedness have in common? Or what fellowship can light have with darkness? What harmony is there between Christ and Belial? What does a believer have in common with an unbeliever? What agreement is there between the temple of God and idols? For we are the temple of the living God. As God has said: "I will live with them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they will be my people." "Therefore come out from them and be separate, says the Lord. Touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you."

aspirations of both communities. However, following the establishing of the National Assembly, political sympathies are increasingly national, if not nationalistic. Churches, which wish to serve and reach all of their community, will need to be sympathetic and sensitive to such trends. Churches which appear to be promoting English or British political loyalties will alienate the majority of the local population.[2177]

For churches in Welsh Wales, Labourism is not the homogenous force it once was, though most Councils, and the National Assembly, are Labour-led. However, churches which support government initiatives on poverty, human-trafficking, the homeless, after-school clubs or street disorder and litter, have been appreciated at all levels of government.[2178] They have also received local and national government help, including funding, for their programmes. Opportunities for partnership, as well as members standing for elected positions, have increased opportunities for mission within the political sphere.

Churches in British Wales, where cross-border loyalties are strong, will encounter hostility to nationalism and the National Assembly, and will therefore have to work closely with local, not national, government. Major political issues are of a local, not a socialist or nationalist nature. One church leader stood, and was elected, as an independent County Councillor in Powys, and acts as the cabinet member for Adult Social Services. In controversies over care in the community he was the spokesman to the national media. In this way a clear and practical demonstration of mission, through political engagement, was demonstrated nationally.[2179]

Leaders spoke of the opportunities presented by ideas of the Big Society and government cut-backs, and such mission will require some engagement with the

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[2177] This might involve the use of the Union Jack in publicity or on display. The British Flag, which carries no representation of Wales, is unwelcome among nationalist communities. "Jac yr Undeb ar drwydded: 'Angen ailystyried'," n.p. [cited 25.02.2015]. Online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymrufyw/30627625.

[2178] n/a, Highfields Church, "Go for It," 2-3; Chambers and Thompson, "Coming to Terms," 346-350; Evans, "Faith in Wales," n.p.

[2179] D. J. Mayor, "Powys County Council is an Independent Group / Non Political Group coalition," n.p. [cited 23.02.2015]. Online: http://www.powys.gov.uk/nc/en/elections/find-out-who-my-councillor-is/?membs%5Bform%5D=list_form&membs%5Baction%5D=view&membs%5Bview%5D=electoraldiv&membs%5BcontactId%5D=136.

political processes.[2180] The nature of that engagement will be contextualised according to region and political loyalties.

5.7.1.2 Political Lobbying and Protest

Churches from all approaches to mission were involved in lobbying and protest, and encouraged their members to participate in such action. Involvement was on an individual basis, and, apart from two churches that were openly supportive of *Plaid Cymru*,[2181] churches were decidedly apolitical in terms of support for a particular party. Political involvement was described as "small p",[2182] relating to "issues"[2183] and not party-politics. This included letters or visits to members of the local Council, National Assembly or Westminster Parliament,[2184] demonstration and protest,[2185] and signing petitions.[2186] Such actions were on issues such as human trafficking,[2187] homelessness,[2188] refugees,[2189] justice,[2190] poverty,[2191] world peace,[2192] marriage legislation,[2193] and the Welsh language.[2194] For Welsh-speaking Lausanne, Liberal and some *Missio Dei* churches, the promotion or defence of the Welsh language was considered part of their mission as a church. For Machreth, the opportunity to use the language is a matter of human rights, freedom and justice, akin to other civil rights issues that needed to be fought for.[2195] She spoke of the need for direct action by Christians through protest, and how this was needed as an end in itself, and not just a means to evangelism:

> "We can't just ignore who we are. We can't ignore the issues that have hurt us. Christians have wisdom from God and are well equipped to deal with such an inflammable issue as identity. On the other hand it's disappointing when

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[2180] 64SWCE, 42SEPE, 47VBE.

[2181] 40MAC, 41MRC, 57SWBBi.

[2182] 03SENE, 78SWAC.

[2183] 79SWEE.

[2184] 04NWAC, 33SWAC, 36NEEE, 46SEBE, 47VBE, 61SEBE, 72NECE, 74NERC, 80SWEE, 82SWBE.

[2185] 44VBE, 59SWNE, 324SENE, 110NWBC.

[2186] 10NWRC, 30SEEE, 39MEC, 43VBE, 46SEBE, 47VBE, 54VOE, 62MOE, 63MPE, 64SWNE. Christian organisations such as the Christian Institute (http://www.christian.org.uk/), Christian Concern (http://www.christianconcern.com/), and Christian Aid (http://www.christianaid.org.uk/) suggested issues that churches should respond to by petitions or contacting politicians.

[2187] 03SEBE, 29SERC.

[2188] 29SERC.

[2189] 27SERC.

[2190] 33SWAC, 45VRE, 74NERC.

[2191] 40MAC, 74NERC.

[2192] 33SWAC, 40MAC.

[2193] 30SEEE, 31SWBBi, 34SWCE, 44VBE.

[2194] 33SWAC.

[2195] Machreth, "Equal rights for the Welsh language," n.p.

> evangelical Christians see the language as just a means to reach people for conversion rather than an essential part of their identity in Christ".[2196]

The gathering of public opinion has become a valued part of policy making at all levels of government, so the lobbying activities described are welcome, and opportunities for doing so in person, or via the internet, are readily available. However, churches that are in partnership with local and Assembly politicians will have built relationships that will aid their submissions. Protestations against government policies, by churches which do not engage with government agencies practically, might be less effective because they are perceived as being solely negative in tone.

5.7.1.3.   Partnership with Local and National Government

A number of church partnerships with local and national government have been described earlier, in which funding, expertise and cooperation were made available to churches for day centres,[2197] sports facilities,[2198] an art gallery,[2199] and the care of the elderly[2200] or mentally challenged.[2201] One church leader describes how his church "received over £600,000 of grants from the Welsh Assembly and local government for revenue and capital funding for community projects".[2202] The resulting centre provides facilities for sport, exercise and training, drama, conferences, computer and IT courses, an advice centre, and other community facilities.[2203] Such partnerships take advantage of current favourable attitudes to the voluntary sector, and lend a measure of credibility and accountability to the services the churches provide.[2204] No evidence was found of unfavourable or restrictive conditions being applied to facilities and projects being funded from public funds.

Gweini, the Council for the Christian Voluntary Sector in Wales, has a policy director who also acts as the National Assembly Liaison Officer for EA Wales. Through this role, E2 and Lausanne churches have an official channel and voice to all levels of

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[2196] Machreth, "Ethnicity," n.p.
[2197] 30SEEE.
[2198] 42SEPE.
[2199] 17SWPE.
[2200] 23MPE.
[2201] 64SWEE.
[2202] Holmes, "Transformation," 55.
[2203] Holmes, "Transformation," 41.
[2204] Lazarus, "Evangelicalism and Politics," in Bartholomew, Parry, and West, *Futures*, 338.

government in Wales.[2205] *Gweini* provide advice on Local Authority Compacts, County Voluntary Councils, Communities First legislation and advice on fund applications from government agencies.[2206] *Gweini*'s work and support reflects the increasing attempt by E2 and Lausanne churches to adjust to the changing political climate in Wales.

5.7.2   Reflections on Adjustments to the Political Contexts

The more limited sphere of the political context for mission in Wales, demonstrates, all the more clearly, the outworking of the different approaches. Pietism, which sees Christ's kingdom as expressed among Christian people, is in sharp contrast to Liberalism's Social Gospel where Christ's kingdom is to be found in the world generally. In the spectrum of views, political engagement will be seen as either a compromise or a duty. However, the greatest impact was among churches where words and deeds are involved together. Some of these deeds were political action. In the works of Stott:

> "Some cases of need cannot be relieved at all without political action (the harsh treatment of slaves could be ameliorated, but not slavery itself; it had to be abolished.) To go on relieving other needs, though necessary may condone the situation which causes the. … It is always good to feed the hungry; it is better to eradicate the causes of hunger. So if we truly love our neighbours, and want to serve them, our service may oblige us to take political action on their behalf".[2207]

How engagement with the political context is expressed has also changed, as political structures in Wales have evolved. The National Assembly for Wales has given increasing opportunity to local churches to contribute, and be funded, within the voluntary sector. Churches that have responded to the opportunities have made significant contributions to their communities, and created opportunities for the community to come closer to the churches, and hear the churches' message. Churches that contributed solely to the political context through protest, or lobbying for policies consistent with their convictions, may have limited their influence as a result.

[2205] J. Stewart, "Representation and Networking," n.p. [cited 25.02.2015]. Online: http://www.gweini.org.uk/en/component/content/article/48-local/253-gweini-people-jim-stewart-representation-and-networking.

[2206] Gweini, "Briefing Papers," n.p. [cited 25.02.2015]. Online: http://www.gweini.org.uk/en/briefing-papers/briefing-papers.

[2207] J. R. W. Stott, *Issues Facing Christians Today* (Basingstoke: Marshalls, 1984), 12

A consequence of the political changes in Wales is seen in how churches have sought to reorder their networks on an all-Wales basis. New Wine Cymru has separated from the English New Wine movement, and seeks to serve all of Wales, but not beyond Wales. Churches from the two Baptist denominations in Wales, BUW and BUGBI, are in talks to form one union, to link all Baptist churches in all of Wales. BUGBI churches in the north have been linked with churches in Lancashire and Cheshire, and in the south have been in an association linked to England.[2208] The same trends for reorganisation are beginning with the Elim[2209] and Assemblies of God[2210] Pentecostal churches, where churches in the north and south of Wales had little contact, but were linked to the West Midlands and beyond. These trends further reflect an awareness of an all-Wales identity, and the need for mission to be coordinated and expressed within Wales, and into a specifically Welsh context.

Mission in the political sphere will differ in the different social environments described by Douglas. Activism in defence of the language or Welsh communities will be very different from what is be appropriate in post-industrial areas of extreme deprivation, or in English-speaking border towns. In urban areas, all the activities may be appropriate in adjacent wards. The political context shows the need for churches to adapt to the changing conditions around them. It also shows the need to engage with the forces that change society, rather than passively accepting them. This calls for missional churches, which get involved in society to bring political and social change, alongside or as a bridge for spiritual salvation.

[2208] Baptist Union, "Pray for the UK Baptist Family," n.p. [cited 25.02.2015]. Online: http://www.bmsworldmission.org/news-blogs/blogs/pray-the-uk-baptist-family-5-12-may-2013.

[2209] Elim Pentecostal Church, "Elim Wales Churches," n.p. [cited 25.02.2015]. Online: http://www.elimwales.org.uk/elim-church-wales; Chambers and Thompson, "Coming to Terms," 348.

[2210] Assemblies of God, "Welsh Area: Stronger Together," n.p. [cited 25.02.2015]. Online: http://www.aog.org.uk/index.php?option=com_eventbooking&view=category&id=15&Itemid=155.

5.8   Reflections on Chapter Five

The adjustments, challenges and reflections described in each of the foregoing sections, point to how mission might be most effective in the second decade of the twenty-first century, and beyond. They will be drawn together in the conclusion that follows this chapter, to give a condensed summary of how mission might best adjust to the different aspects of Welsh context in contemporary Wales.

The chapter has also shown how different approaches to mission have struggled, and at times succeeded, in adjusting to Wales' distinct contexts. The successes, albeit limited, have involved significant change in the nature of Church and its mission. The inherited traditions and patterns of Welsh Nonconformity have become increasingly toxic and dysfunctional in modern Wales. To do more of the same, is unlikely to produce different results. The last remnants of Christendom are fading as secularism strengthens its hold in post-Christian Wales.

Nearly three-quarters of the population, according to the 2007 *Tearfund* Survey, consider themselves "un-churched" or "de-churched".[2211] Such people are unlikely to be reached by mission that is attractional and centripetal. The negative legacy of Welsh Nonconformity's traditional formalism and stereotype calls for a transformation in how people perceive church. Only then will they respond to its message. In the future, the churches and their mission will need to be seen as contemporary, accessible, relevant, and contributing to society's felt needs. This relevance will be practical, but also spiritual and evangelistic. If its gospel does not transform people personally, and add them to the church community, it is unlikely that the people resources will be adequate to perpetuate the mission, however beneficial, in the medium to long term.

Adjusting to the aspects of context, will also need to be responsive to the differences in societal patterns in different parts of Wales. Douglas's Grid/Group Cultural model helps in this process. In all aspects of context, whether the particular community is individualistic, isolated in strata, an ascribed sphere of hierarchy, or an enclave of factionalism, will affect how the mission connects to its society, how it is expressed, and who is best placed to lead and provide it.

[2211] Page 73-74.

6.   Conclusions

This thesis has demonstrated the distinct and varied aspects of Welsh contexts, as a unique sphere for mission. The distinctives are expressed differently from region to region, like a patchwork, but common characteristics have been identified. The six different approaches to mission, operating in Wales in the first decade of the twenty first century, have been seen to be effective to different degrees, and their effectiveness has been seen to be, in part, a result of how they adjusted to their contexts. Lessons have been drawn that suggest effective practice for the future, which may assist the resurgence of Welsh Nonconformity, rather than its inevitable extinction.

The approach of the research has been mixed in terms of methodology, and multidisciplinary in relation to spheres of learning. The structure of the thesis, being a consideration of the effective interaction between aspects of context and approaches to mission, adopts a logical, sequential approach in order to draw conclusions and project future trends. This reflects the perspectives of the literature referred to and the data collected, which, however subjective, convey the respondents', and the researcher's, reasoned views. The leaders who supplied the data were not asked to describe their own background and worldview, therefore the research was not able to give or comment on their perspectives, be they African, feminist, or defined by a particular philosophy or political conviction. However, the respondents were exclusively Christian, predominantly white, and mostly male, reflecting the reality of Welsh church leadership, not the preferences of the researcher. As a white, male Christian myself, my background, described earlier, will have coloured the research, and the conclusions need to be weighed in the light of it.

No previous study has attempted to demonstrate how different approaches to mission have effectively adjusted to Welsh contexts, and the conclusions drawn in Chapter Five will be a guide and reference for mission in Wales for the coming decades. Patterns of church, that are currently hindering mission, need to change, especially in how churches calibrate their mission to their context.

- o   The traditional patterns, for church and mission, of Welsh Nonconformity have become so fixed and inflexible, that they hang over the future as a hindrance and source of irrelevance. Secularism and post-Christendom realities have changed the religious landscape in Wales to the extent that

churches relying on in-pull and centripetal mission are in terminal decline. Local churches in the twenty-first century will have to shed the traditions and formalism of the nineteenth century. Churches that are relational, not formal, in their life, contemporary in their style, and centrifugal in their mission are the churches that are growing both numerically and in their influence.

o   As a "land of villages", Wales needs churches and mission that are local, and embedded in their community. To seek to draw people into adjacent or distant communities would seem to be adopting alien patterns, from outside of Wales, which are counter-cultural to Wales's sense of *cynefin.*

o   The Welsh are no longer a homogeneous *ethnie*. However, in local communities, especially those with few incomers or where they live separately from the indigenous population, mission will need to respect an assumed Welshness. Mono-ethnic groups and mission may be expressed through a multi-ethic church community, or separate churches which cooperate to reach and serve different people groups. However, churches, in areas with separate ethnic communities, which operate a policy of non-differentiation will limit those attending, and those reached, to the few in the community who desire such integration. Mission must respect ethnic distinctives whilst modelling ethnic respect and cooperation.

o   The same distinctions will, inevitably, operate in communities separated by language. To insist, that a vulnerable language-group conforms to the dominant language-group, will only cause alienation, and dysfunctional mission. Church community, worship and mission must go with the linguistic grain of the wider community, and not appear to threaten it.

o   Communities that are communal and egalitarian in ethos will expect the churches to be a participating part of their community life. To stand apart, seeking to draw people out of the wider community into a church community, must be counter-cultural. The churches must seek to be at the heart of their communities, even if, in terms of values and beliefs, they do not fully conform. Serving other people practically and compassionately, whether as a result from, a bridge for, or a central part of the church's mission, is indispensable.

o   Wales is a nation, which now has political institutions, programmes, and policies that are accessible to individuals and churches. For mission to be effective, resourced, and even legal, it must connect and cooperate with political institutions at local and Assembly level. This political context is evolving rapidly, and the Church's mission must evolve with it.

If these adjustments are made, as Chambers says, decline is not inevitable.[2212] Indeed, he says that there are hopeful prospects, where churches are seeking to be contemporary and missional.[2213] But such a future is not inevitable. It will not be secured by looking back to better days, but by giving much more attention to the future, in terms of trends in Wales that are determining the contemporary context.[2214] The report, commissioned by the Church Missionary Society, researching the gap between churches and the culture in South Wales, speaks of a strategy of rebirth, not survival. For this, the churches must be less concerned with preserving the past, than sowing seeds into the soil of Wales today, concerned for the future.[2215]

An essential element of such change is to calibrate the mission appropriately to the particular locality and context. The nature of mission must not be merely a copy from another situation where a particular approach was deemed effective. This is particularly true with new churches or church plants, which do not have the benefit of long-standing loyalties or connections in the community.

> "It is geared to need, spiritual and practical, rather than to a model that works somewhere and therefore has to work where we are… There are not many manuals on how to reach areas like the Welsh valleys. It has to be ourselves taking the temperature and, before God, assessing how we can meet those needs case-by-case… It is being empathetic to what's going on around you."[2216]

For McKinley, the challenge is also to "understand the particular idols of his community and then bring the good news to bear on them."[2217] Such a prophetic approach to mission involves confronting the non-Christian elements in a society, in order to show a better way. However, whether going with the grain of a community, by meeting felt needs, or going against it, by confronting harmful patterns, the local church has to be deeply rooted among the people it is serving. The World Council of Churches "Affirmation on Mission and Evangelism" (2013) makes the same point:

> "The gospel takes root in different contexts through engagement with specific cultural, political, and religious realities. Respect for people and their cultural and symbolic life-worlds are necessary if the gospel is to take root in those different realities".[2218]

[2212] Chambers, *Religion*, 8-9.
[2213] Chambers, "Out of Taste," 95-96.
[2214] Chambers, *Religion*, 88-90, 98.
[2215] R. J. Sudworth, *The Outside-In Church: Researching opportunities for CMS in the Welsh Context* (London: Church Missionary Society, 2003), 7.
[2216] 38 SEEE.
[2217] M. McKinley, "10 Questions with Mike McKinley," *Credo* (2014): 9.
[2218] World Council of Churches, "Together Towards Life: Mission," 35.

Responding to the particularities of a locality in Wales, and adopting an appropriate mission approach, will be essential if Nonconformity in Wales is to flourish again. Its mission, in word and deed, will involve change from previous patterns and flexibility, as local contexts in Wales continue to evolve. Wales may never again be a Nonconformist nation, mono-lingual or mono-ethnic, but it will continue to value local identity and community, and may become increasingly nationalistic, Welsh-speaking and distinct from its English neighbour.

Local churches will prosper in such new opportunities if they calibrate their mission to their particular context, and live out their message, credibly. Jesus Christ, they believe, came into this world, walked where the people walked, and sacrificed himself to reconcile, redeem and restore. Nonconformist churches in twenty-first century Wales will need to proclaim the truth of what he achieved, identify with those he came for, and serve in order to see all the possible benefits secured.

Appendices

Appendix 1. The Ethical Provions for the Research

Appendix 2. The 2010 Waleswide / Cymrugyfan Leaders' Questionnaire.

Appendix 3. The 2011-2014 Leaders' Interview Questions.

Appendix 4. Responses to the Questionnaire and Interviews.
Categorized extracts of responses to the Questionnaire and Interviews are included on the attached CD-ROM for reference purposes.

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Appendix 1. The Ethical Provions for the Research

Full ethical approval was obtained for the research. This included the following elements:

- o Potential risks to participants were considered and guarded against. Approaches were made sensitively, conscious that recording evident failure could be discouraging. The participants were reminded of their freedom to stop at any time. Full signed and informed consent for interviews was obtained.

- o Access to data from the questionnaire respondents was restricted to the researcher and the Administrator of *Waleswide / Cymrugyfan,* who assisted in the collection and presentation of data. Only the researcher had access to the data collected from the interviewees.

- o Confidentiality and anonymity was protected at all times. Identifiers were used to seek to preserve anonymity. However, Wales is a small country, and those with a wide knowledge of leaders in a given area could deduce the individuals referred to. In any general publication, these identifiers will be removed.

- o The interviews, using a structured questionnaire with open-ended questions, lasted for approximately 30 minutes. Questions were asked in as ethically neutral a way as possible, with no answers suggested or responses disagreed with. Wengraf's partial SQUIN (Single QUestion aimed at Inducing Narrative) methodology was adopted. Validity, reliability, authenticity and transparency in data collection was ensued at all times. The interviews will be recorded using a SONY IC recorder. The digital recording was transferred to the interviewer's PC and transferred to a secure detached storage unit.

- o Most of the people being interviewed are known personally by the researcher through twenty years work with church leaders across Wales with *Menter Eglwysi* and *Waleswide/Cymrugyfan*. A good level of trust already existed, which enabled the leaders to respond willingly and honestly about their efforts and progress in mission.

- o Permission was obtained from the trustees and leadership of Waleswide/Cymrugyfan to make use of their database of leaders and addresses. They also expressed their support for the research project to represent the main contribution of its chairman for the duration of the research. Permission, support and encouragement for the research was also received from the main denominational leaders: Baptist, Presbyterian, Independent, Pentecostal, Apostolic and Evangelical.

*wales*wide
planting and strengthening churches
plannu and chrsyfhau eglwysi
*cymru*gyfan

A Survey of Mission and Evangelism

in 21st Century Welsh Nonconformity

1. **Church name:** _____ **Postcode** _____ [If there are a number of congregations in one pastorate or church please consider them as one unit and state the number of churches or groups.]

2. **Denomination / Affiliation** [if any]: _____

3. **Year of founding** [if known]: _____

4. **Name** [the person completing this form]:_____
   Role in the church: _____ **Contact Phone** _____

5. **What was the membership and regular Sunday morning attendance** [or the main regular meeting] **in 2000 and in 2010?**

	2000	2010
Membership		
Attendance		

6. **What is the wider context of the church? [circle one or more on each line]**
   Language: mostly Welsh / bi-lingual / mostly English
   Situation: rural / small town / urban / suburban / valleys / city

7. **In order to communicate your church's message what activities do you use?**
   Please tick those used regularly, and circle the two most used.

1. Xianity Explored ☐	7. Street contact ☐	13. Website ☐
2. Alpha ☐	8. Outreach meals ☐	14. Care home services ☐
3. Discussion grps ☐	9. Local mission ☐	15. Holiday clubs ☐
4. Sun. preaching ☐	10. Literature distribution ☐	16. Youth outreach ☐
5. Guest services ☐	11. School assemblies ☐	17. Sketch board ☐
6. Visitation ☐	12. Social event + speaker ☐	18. Other: _____

8. **How has your church engaged with its wider community?**
   Please tick those used regularly, and circle the two most used.

1. Nursery ☐	9. Marriage care ☐	17. ditto for children ☐
2. Parent crses ☐	10. Schools work ☐	18. ditto for elderly ☐
3. Counselling ☐	11. With unemployed ☐	19. IT training ☐
4. Debt counsel ☐	12. Sports training ☐	20. Literacy training ☐
5. 'Food-bank' ☐	13. Sports teams ☐	21. Welsh learning ☐
6. Afterschl club ☐	14. Hospital visiting ☐	22. Street Pastors ☐
7. Coffee centre ☐	15. Prison visiting ☐	23. Cultural activity ☐
8. Use of blding ☐	16. Activities for youth ☐	24. Other: _____

9a. **How many people from within your church community became committed Christians and now belong to a church, yours or another?**
   Please be as specific as possible and follow a number with a '?' if it is a 'guesstimate'.
   2001 to 2010 ☐   **in 2010** ☐

9b. **How many people from outside the church community became committed Christians and now belong to your church?** [Put a '?' for a 'guesstimate' as before]
   2001 to 2010 ☐   **in 2010** ☐

10. **Through what 'means' did they come to faith in Christ?** [Tick one or more]

1. Personal conversation ☐	7. A local mission ☐
2. Evangelism course e.g. Alpha ☐	8. Children's club ☐
3. Response to Sunday preaching ☐	9. Social event with speaker ☐
4. Guest services ☐	10. Youth outreach ☐
5. Pastoral visiting ☐	11. Parents follow child to church ☐
6. Outreach meals ☐	12. Other : _____

11. In what ways would you see your approaches to evangelism and community engagement as being particularly appropriate to your specific context in Wales?

1.

2.

3.

12. In what ways would you say your context is distinctly Welsh?
[As different from Gloucester for example]

1.

2.

3.

**Please return to : Waleswide/Cymrugyfan PO Box 4287, Cardiff CF14 8GS
or to davidollerton@waleswide.org**

Appendix 3. The 2011-2014 Leaders' Interview Questions.

A Survey of Mission and Evangelism in 21ˢᵗ Century Welsh Nonconformity

Interview Questions

Church name: _____Date _____

Name :_____Role in the church: _____

1. The immediate context of the church

    1. How would you describe the local context of the church:

        i. In general

        ii. Social patterns?

        iii. The economic circumstances?

        iv. The languages used and their influence?

    2. What proportion of the church lives in the immediate community?

    3. Do the church membership reflect the social and language patterns of the wider community?

2. The Church's message

    1. How would you summarise the church's primary message?

    2. How has the communication of this message been made appropriate to your distinct context?

    3. How do those outside your church tend to hear your message?

    4. Does your context require a particular approach to mission / evangelism because of its 'Welshness'?

3. The church's involvement in its community

    1. How have the church's links to the community grown?

    2. How has involvement in the community been adjusted to your distinct context?

    3. Is the church's involvement due to individual or corporate initiative?

    4. Are church members active in politics, and does the church encourage it?

    5. How is the community involvement intentionally evangelistic?

4. Your understanding of local 'Welshness'.

    1. What are the main features of 'Welshness' in your community?

    2. Is there a 'Welsh psyche', and how would you describe and account for it?

    3. How do you describe the current influence of Wales' former chapel culture?

    4. What do you think the local church will look like in 2025 in your area?

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