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Griffith Jones - Wales's First Evangelical?

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This dissertation is dedicated to my Husband Timothy whose patience, support and sacrifice has made this work possible. Also, to my children, Edward, Matilda and William, who cheered me on the whole way, love you all.

Introduction

In 1735 a 'restless and rebellious'¹ curate named Daniel Rowland heard the vicar of Llanddowror Griffith Jones preach. Jones had a reputation for gathering vast crowds, and upon seeing Rowland amongst the people exclaimed 'Oh for a word to reach your heart young man.'² This encounter transformed Rowland; he returned to his diocese and changed his preaching so dynamically that a contemporary described him as 'the greatest preacher in Europe'³ and latterly became recognised as 'one of the spiritual giants'⁴ of the eighteenth century. The same year schoolmaster Howel Harris went through a similar conversion experience, 'sealed by the spirit'⁵ under the teaching of Pryce Davies. Guided through a friendship with Griffith Jones, Harris decided to pursue a calling to 'father'⁶ those in need of salvation in 'poor Wales.'⁷ The spiritual awakening of these two men is considered to be both the birth of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales and, as D W Bebbington argued, primacy to the 'emergence [...] of evangelicalism.'⁸ Under the leadership of Daniel Rowland and Howel Harris, Calvinistic Methodism became Wales's largest denomination, yet the role Griffith Jones played in the lives of these men and the impact he had on religion and Evangelicalism in Wales is rarely considered.

Evangelicalism is a 'popular protestant movement [...] not equated to any single Christian denomination,'⁹ and despite an association with Protestantism an 'expression of Christianity arising from the Reformation,'¹⁰ Bebbington argued that Evangelicalism in the 'English-speaking world'¹¹ was a 'new phenomenon of the eighteenth century.'¹² His argument that Evangelicalism was a new expression of Christianity was based upon the identification of

¹Eifion Evans, *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales* (Edinburgh, 1985), p.33

² Evans, *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales*, p.33

³ Aaron. C. Seymour, *The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntington, vol.2* (London, 1839), p.118

⁴ J. C. Ryle, *The Christian leaders of the Last Century or England a hundred years ago* (London, 1891), p.181

⁵ Tom Beynon, *Howel Harris Reformer and Solider 1714-1773* (Caernarvon, 1958) p. 180

⁶ Tom Beynon, *Howel Harris's Visits to London* (Aberystwyth, 1960), p. 2

⁷ Beynon, *Howel Harris's Visits to London*, p.2

⁸ David W Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989) p. 20

⁹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* p.20

¹⁰ John Bowker, 'Protestantism' in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford, 2000), p.289

¹¹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.20

¹² Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.1

four 'special markers.'¹³ These were firstly Conversionism; an experience of God which causes conviction, repentance and a life changed. Secondly Activism; a product of Conversionism where the gospel is expressed through a 'life of virtue.'¹⁴ Thirdly, Biblicism; a zeal for the Bible, regarded as the inspired words of God. Fourthly Crucicentrism; a focus on the doctrine of atonement, and an emphasis on the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross.

Bebbington identified these 'quadrilateral of priorities'¹⁵ in the teaching and work of Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland, hence their assignment as the founding fathers of Evangelicalism, closely followed by men such as George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards and John and Charles Wesley in England a year later. In 2008 after re-assessing Bebbington's thesis David Ceri Jones used the historiography of Methodism to examine the origins of the eighteenth-century Evangelical Revival, and by association Evangelicalism. By using the English Calvinistic Methodists as a case study, with little consideration to their Welsh counterpart, he concluded that despite being able to identify a continuity to Evangelicalism, Bebbington's thesis was still valid as the 'first generation English evangelicals were innovators.'¹⁶ The likes of George Whitefield with his transatlantic connections linking communities of moderate Calvinists resulted in a different and new 'configuration.'¹⁷ Yet as Jones's focus was on English Evangelicals the question remains did Griffith Jones also display these traits that Jones identified: was he transatlantically connected, or an innovator?

This dissertation intends to explore the extent to which Griffith Jones should be called an Evangelical, and whether he can be attributed as one of the founding fathers of Evangelicalism. Chapter one will use the four markers provided by Bebbington, and the characteristics of an Evangelical identified by Jones as a framework to assess the life and work of Griffith Jones. This will be achieved by drawing from primary sources such as *Welsh Piety*, Jones's annual report to the benefactors of his circulation schools. The reports span over twenty years of Jones's working life, documenting the origins and yearly progress of his charity schools in Wales. They consist of letters to and from Jones, collated and published for the benefit of the school's benefactors, and to raise additional financial support. The

¹³ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.3

¹⁴ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.12

¹⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.3

¹⁶ David Ceri Jones, 'Calvinistic Methodism and the origins of Evangelicalism in England' in *The Emergence of Evangelicalism*, Michael A. G Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart eds. (Nottingham, 2008) p.127

¹⁷ Jones, *Calvinistic Methodism and the Origins of Evangelicalism in England*, p. 128

reports offer a glimpse into Jones theological beliefs and motivations and can therefore be used as evidence of both Bebbington's and David Ceri Jones's characteristic of an Evangelical. Additionally, we can learn more about Griffith Jones by examining the entries that relate specifically to him in Mary Clement's 1952 transcription of the minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) relating to Wales. They provide further evidence of his motivations, his work, but also his transatlantic interactions, all characteristics David Ceri Jones attributed to George Whitefield as a first generation Evangelical. Henry Phillips's sketch on the life of Griffith Jones written in 1762 the year after Jones death offers a brief account of Jones's life from someone who knew Jones and spent time with him. Phillips was converted by Howel Harris and went to work under Griffith Jones as a school master, his sketch is criticised as a work of 'undiluted praise.'¹⁸ Despite this it holds value for this dissertation in that Phillips's is arguably Jones's first biographer and because it will not be considered in isolation. In 1832 the letters of Griffith Jones to Madam Bevan, Jones's friend and benefactor were published. They are the most extensive collection of his own letters to date, valuable to this work as they offer a more personal insight into Jones's life and character in his own words, a good contrast to the more formalised publications such as *Welsh Piety*.

In 2008 Morgan examined the continuity of Evangelicalism in Wales. He argued that the 1762 Welsh Revival with its 'enigmatic preaching by the likes of Rowland created 'a new state of affairs'¹⁹ for Welsh Christianity, and that 'evangelicalism proper'²⁰ was well established by the 1770s. He Dismissed Griffith Jones as a 'prayer book Anglican'²¹ and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) of which Jones was a member as a 'solely Anglican body,'²² concluding that to consider the role of the SPCK in relation to Evangelicalism and viewing Jones as a proto evangelical was anachronistic. Chapter two will examine the relationship between Griffith Jones and the two men attributed to the emergence of Evangelicalism, Daniel Rowland and Howel Harris to determine whether there

¹⁸ Robert Jenkins 'Phillips, Henry' Dictionary of Welsh Biography Online (n.d)

¹⁹ Densil D Morgan, 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales, C. 1640-1850' in *The Emergence of Evangelicalism*, Michael A. G Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart eds. (Nottingham, 2008) p.102

²⁰ Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales, p. 100

²¹ Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales, p. 99

²² Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales, p. 96

was enough of a relationship between the men to argue against Morgan's suggestion Jones was achronistic to the emergence of Evangelicalism.²³

Harris was a prolific diarist and has been given much attention by historians. In 1965 Geoffrey F Nuttall wrote about Howel Harris as *The Last Enthusiast* in the context of his enthusiasm for the promotion of religion in Wales, and in 2002 Geraint Tudor examined Harris's life from conversion to separation from the Methodist movement. Both Nuttall and Tudor relied heavily on the work of Tom Beynon who transcribed large portions of Howel Harris's diaries. It will be these transcriptions, along with the diaries of George Whitefield who was in regular communication with Harris, that will be used to examine the relationship between Harris and Jones. These diaries also offer an insight into the interactions between Rowland and Jones and so will also be used when considering this relationship, as does Eifion Evans's biography *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales* which will also be used. The study of the relationship between these three men will enable an evaluation of Morgan's argument, and determine what impact Jones had on the emergence of Evangelicalism and establish whether Griffith Jones can be considered Wales's first evangelical thus, predating Beddington's assessment on the emergence of Evangelicalism.

²³ Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales, p. 100

Chapter One

Bebbington argued that for a person to be considered an Evangelical all four of his quadrilateral of priorities should be identifiable in their life,²⁴ four markers that when held together in unison brought into being a new expression of Christianity called Evangelicalism. Whereas by examining George Whitefield, Jones identified a different set of characteristics arguing it was innovation, and transatlantic connections which set them apart from former expressions of Christianity.²⁵ This chapter will hold Griffith Jones up to firstly Bebbington's characteristic of an Evangelical and then Jones's to evaluate whether Griffith Jones fits into their characterisations of an Evangelical.

Born at the end of the seventeenth century Griffith Jones worked as an Anglican minister for fifty years, half of those years predate Bebbington's dating of the emergence of Evangelicalism, yet the four markers of an Evangelical can be seen in Jones's life and work, the first being Conversionism. Conversionism is the belief that a person's life needs to be changed. Writing to his 'dearest friend'²⁶ and benefactor Mrs Bevan, Griffith Jones expounded that true conversion, where one is 'born anew,'²⁷ should be evidenced by the 'renewing or new modelling of our inward frame.'²⁸ This conviction was not reserved for behind closed doors in personal correspondence, he also took this message to the pulpit. There he preached on 'faith and repentance [...] and the absolute necessity of the new-birth.'²⁹ Jones's preaching drew huge crowds, possibly due to Jones's dynamic preaching style; where 'every word was like a fresh attack'³⁰ and the tears of the preacher caused his hearers also to weep.³¹ However, if Evangelicalism was, as Bebbington argued a new phenomenon,³² then the crowds could have equally been drawn to the novelty of a preacher teaching the Evangelical message of Conversionism.

²⁴ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.2

²⁵ Jones, *Calvinistic Methodism and the Origins of Evangelicalism in England*, p. 127

²⁶ Edward Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones, Late Rector of Llanddowror, Carmarthenshire, Founder of the Welsh Circulating Schools to Mrs Bevan* (London, 1832), p. 271

²⁷ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 110

²⁸ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 17

²⁹ Henry Phillips, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Reverend and Pious Mr Griffith Jones, Late Rector of Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire* (London, 1762), p.10

³⁰ Phillips, *Sketches of Griffith Jones*, p.9

³¹ Phillips, *Sketches of Griffith Jones*, p.9

³² Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.12

Conversionism is often tied up with other doctrines, such as Luther's justification by faith alone and conversion as a work of the Holy Spirit, again both publicly and privately Jones upheld these beliefs. Jones explained to Mrs Bevan privately how a person can be 'justified freely by grace'³³ and also how through conversion 'the tempers of men are new modelled and refined [...] this work is therefore called the renewing of the Holy Spirit.'³⁴ Publicly in his published explanation of the Christian faith he wrote that a person is 'convinced of their sin by the Holy Spirit.'³⁵ Conversionism is complex, not just in that it incorporates additional doctrines of faith but because it also raises the question, when exactly does a person come to faith? One of the doctrines of Anglicanism was that infant baptism was a sign of 'regeneration,'³⁶ yet Bebbington argued that Evangelicals believed that true conversion was the work of the Holy Spirit alone, not something achieved at the hands of man. In Jones's *Apostles Creed* the issue of infant baptism is omitted, presumably Jones felt this was not a key principle pertinent to the Christian faith. In 1750 the Bishop of Exeter accused Jones of having dissenting parents, presumed anabaptists, who do not uphold infant baptism, as 'he argues their principals in [...] many of his books.'³⁷ Jones was assured that there were only two states a man can be in, 'a state of sin'³⁸ or 'a state of grace'³⁹ and that 'most men live in a state of wrath and enmity'⁴⁰ with God. Jones seems to reject conversion as a gradual process, something Bebbington argued that early nineteenth-century Evangelical Anglicans had no issue with.⁴¹ His position is far more in line with Evangelicals outside the Anglican camp, such as C. H. Spurgeon who preached that infant baptism was the 'teaching of a spurious church, which has craftily invented a mechanical salvation to deceive ignorant, sensual, and grovelling minds.'⁴² Jones saw the youth of Wales as in a state of sin not

³³ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 110

³⁴ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 144

³⁵ Griffith Jones, *Christian Faith or the Apostles Creed Scripturally Explained by Questions and Answers* (London, 1762), p.62

³⁶ Anonymous, *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces and the whole cleargie, in the conuocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God* (London, 1571), p.17

³⁷ George Lavington, *A Letter to the Reverend George Whitfield Occasioned by his Remarks upon a Pamphlet Entitled The Enthusiast of Methodists and Papists Compared* (London 1750) p.10

³⁸ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 107

³⁹ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 107

⁴⁰ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 107

⁴¹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 8

⁴² Chapel Library 'Spurgeon Sermons Complete Set': Spurgeon's Gems Online (n.d)

regenerated by an infant baptism, and that 'the Christian education of youth is the greatest moment towards the Reformation of the world.'⁴³

Flowing from Conversionism is Activism, the gospel expressed through action. This is not charitable works motivated by a sense of Christian duty, but the idea that a person has a supernatural desire to serve God, and see others converted, often as a direct result of a person's own conversion. Jonathan Edwards writing about the religious revival in Massachusetts in 1734 noted that a surprising consequence of conversion was that people expressed both 'a longing desire [...] to do something to [God's] honour'⁴⁴ and an 'exceeding desire for the conversion of others.'⁴⁵ Whilst it cannot be argued explicitly that Jones's conversion motivated his actions, we can see evidence that not only did he consider a life of action to be supernaturally motivated, but also that he had an overriding desire to see souls converted.

Adamant that the clergy had a responsibility to 'live by faith as well as preach the doctrine of it'⁴⁶ Jones believed that the motivation to acts of charity came supernaturally from heaven, that 'heaven-born principal of charity or spirit of divine love is the epitome of true Christianity.'⁴⁷ Indeed it caused Jones the 'utmost grief'⁴⁸ when he considered how many people rested 'themselves in the mere profession of religious duties without the ruling influence of the power of the Spirit.'⁴⁹ From very early on Jones actively sought ways to serve God, the minutes of the SPCK reveal that Jones had initially felt an inclination to go on mission to Tranquebar.⁵⁰ However, in 1713 he resolved that he could not ignore the 'miserable blindness'⁵¹ of his own countrymen. Jones wrote of how God supernaturally 'seals his love upon your heart'⁵² filling ones 'soul with so large a measure of compassion

⁴³ Anonymous, *Welch Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Welch Charity Schools, From Michaelmas 1759 to Michaelmas 1760* (London, 1760), p. 11

⁴⁴ Jonathan Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising work of God in the conversion of many hundred souls in Northampton* (Boston, 1738 3rd Edition) p. 47

⁴⁵ Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative*, p. 48

⁴⁶ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 197

⁴⁷ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 13

⁴⁸ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 15

⁴⁹ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 14

⁵⁰ Mary Clement, *Correspondence and the Minutes of the SPCK relating to Wales 1699-1740* (Cardiff, 1952), p. 57

⁵¹ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p.57

⁵² Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 367

for his distressed creatures in the world'⁵³ that the 'influence of heaven inclines you thus to abound in the works of faith and labour of love.'⁵⁴ In 1715, Sir John Philipps noted that Jones had 'a spring of thirst in him for the salvation of souls'⁵⁵ To Jones his compassion for the poor souls of Wales was a supernatural work of God that enabled his 'labour of love';⁵⁶ his schools. In response to how 'deplorably ignorant [...] in things pertaining to salvation'⁵⁷ the people of Wales were, he resolved to teach both children and adults to read using religious texts in their native Welsh language.

What started out as one or two schools funded 'by a poor country congregation'⁵⁸ over twenty years the number rose to 3,185 schools with 150,212 scholars taught to read.⁵⁹ Unsurprisingly Jones is regarded as an educational reformer.⁶⁰ However, towards the end of his life Jones reminded his benefactors and readership of *Welsh Piety* that the:

'strongest and noblest motive of all to promote religion among the poor and ignorant is the servant gratitude we owe to our dear redeemer Jesus Christ,' and that for those who have received 'remission of their sins cannot but love him [...] and how can we better express this love than promoting the doctrines of his gospel, the advancement of kingdom and the salvation of lost souls'⁶¹

from Conversionism flows Activism.

Biblicism is not merely a reverence for the Bible but a belief that it is the word of God, and a source of salvation. Whilst this belief forms an essential part of Bebbington's quadrilateral it is not unique to Evangelicalism. The Protestant faith, born out of the Reformation looked to the Bible as a means of authority, by contrast Catholicism looked to the authority of the Church, as such Biblicism was as much evident in fifteenth century Wales, as it was one

⁵³ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 367

⁵⁴ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 367

⁵⁵ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p.336

⁵⁶ Anonymous, *Welsh Piety: A Succinct Account of the Rise and Progress of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools, From the Year 1737-1761* (London, 1761), p.iii

⁵⁷ Anonymous, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor Being an Account of the Rise, Method, and regress of the Welsh Charity Schools* (London, 1740), p.2.

⁵⁸. Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740), p.3

⁵⁹ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Welch Charity Schools* (London, 1760), p. 70

⁶⁰ Mary Clement 'Griffith Jones' Dictionary of Welsh Biography Online (n.d)

⁶¹Anonymous, *Welsh Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools, From Michaelmas 1757 to Michaelmas 1758* (London, 1758), p.18

hundred and fifty years later during Jones's lifetime. Jones described the Bible as having 'the Holy Ghost for its author, infallible truth for its subject matter and eternal life for its end.'⁶²

Whilst the 1860 publication of *Essays and Reviews* and the emergence of biblical criticism split the Evangelical camp in terms of the interpretation of scripture, Bebbington argued that the 'overriding aim of early Evangelicals was to bring home the message of the Bible and to encourage its devotional use.'⁶³ Jones lamented that the poor were so consumed by earthy affairs that their minds he feared were 'quite dull and stupid to the acts of devotion,'⁶⁴ fearing that the 'spirit of devotion seems to have forsaken the world.'⁶⁵

Lamenting privately is not, however, encouraging devotional use of the Bible, yet his diligence in continually seeking the publication and distribution of Welsh Bibles indicates a desire to see the Bible used devotionally. Writing in 1738 Jones thanked the SPCK for the nine hundred and forty bibles that had been procured but that 'many more thousands still be wanting.'⁶⁶ Jones sought Bibles not just for use in his schools but so that people could 'learn to read off one another at home.'⁶⁷ By enabled the poor to independently access scripture by teaching them to read their Bibles in their native tongue, and making scriptures accessible outside the church setting Jones was encouraging daily devotional use. He wanted to bring home the message of salvation, recognising that devotional use of the Bible would not only reform the poor but would be the 'likeliest means of reforming the nation.'⁶⁸

The belief in the centrality and cruciality of the cross in the work of salvation is Crucicentrism, Bebbington's final part of the quadrilateral. Alexander Raleigh, the independent preacher, wrote 'if men are Evangelical Christians at all amid many differing shades of opinion and varieties of sentiments, on this central theme they can say [...] God forbid we should glory, save in the cross of Lord Jesus Christ whereby the world is crucified unto us and we into the world.'⁶⁹ Many years prior to Raleigh Jones seemed just as adamant in his position on the centrality of the cross; he declared that 'nothing is plainer

⁶² Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 217

⁶³ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.14

⁶⁴ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 92

⁶⁵ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 304

⁶⁶ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740), p.5

⁶⁷ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740), p.5

⁶⁸ Anon, *Welch Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools* (London, 1758), p.14

⁶⁹ Alexander Raleigh, *Alexander Raleigh Records of his Life* (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 281

from the whole current of the holy scriptures [...] that all men are dead in trespasses and sin [...] and made spiritually alive through the death of Christ.⁷⁰ Jones believed that this sacrifice should cause man to 'rejoice in the hope of a pardon through the merits of a bleeding saviour, to bear cheerfully the shame and ignominy of Christ's cross [...] who spent his strength and laid down his life for the good of others.'⁷¹ The centrality of the cross in Jones's theology was also declared from the pulpit, preaching on following Christ he reminded his audience that 'Christ's purpose in his suffering [...] is to lead you to follow him.'⁷² By Raleigh's perspective at least Jones was an Evangelical, but also now by Bebbington's, as all four of his quadrilateral of priorities have been identified in the life and work of Griffith Jones, however, characterising traits of an evangelical or evangelicalism is not without its problems.

Coffey highlighted that Bebbington's characterisation of Evangelicalism was divisive amongst historians.⁷³ Whilst some attempted to identify Bebbington's characteristics in former expressions of Protestantism to argue for a continuity of Christianity and against his 'new phenomenon' theory, others like Noll were keen to point out the differences.⁷⁴ The result of which gave Evangelicalism an 'identity crisis.'⁷⁵ Moving away from Bebbington's characterisation to offer a balance and further depth to the character assessment of Griffith Jones, he will now be examined against the characteristics David Ceri Jones associated with Evangelicals. Jones argued Evangelicals were innovators with transatlantic connections who despite diversity of ideas, knowledge and spiritualities united to form a new religious configuration called Evangelicalism.⁷⁶ It is these parameters that Jones will be assessed against, beginning with his transatlantic connections.

Griffith Jones became a corresponding member of the SPCK in 1713, and would have been required to uphold their objective that 'owing to the gross ignorance of the principals of the Christian religion [...] to consult how we may be able by due and lawful methods promote

⁷⁰ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 32

⁷¹ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 50

⁷² David Jones, *Life and Times of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror* (London, 1920), p. 224

⁷³ John Coffey, 'Puritanism, Evangelicalism and the Evangelical Protestant Tradition' in *The Emergence of Evangelicalism*, Michael A. G Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart eds. (Nottingham, 2008) p.252

⁷⁴ Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism* (Nottingham, 2004) pp.48-52

⁷⁵ Coffey, 'Puritanism, Evangelicalism and the evangelical Protestant Tradition' p. 277

⁷⁶ Jones, 'Calvinistic Methodism and the origins of Evangelicalism' p.128

Christian Knowledge.⁷⁷ Dr Bray one of the SPCK's founding members already had it in his mind that the society should not be solely looking to promote Christian Knowledge at home but also 'in any part of her majesty's plantations abroad.'⁷⁸ So by the time Jones joined, the society was already transatlantic connected to places such as Boston and Virginia.⁷⁹ Whilst this made Griffith Jones transatlantically connected by association, this is not what Jones had intended when considering the transatlantic connections of an Evangelical, rather he was looking specifically at the network created through the 'international itinerant ministry'⁸⁰ of George Whitefield.

Whitefield met Jones in Bath in 1739, Jones talked to Whitefield about the 'obstructions he had met with in his ministry,'⁸¹ the conversation convinced Whitefield that he was a 'young soldier entering the field.'⁸² It was this meeting that resulted in Jones getting accused of putting a 'windmill'⁸³ on Whitefield's head and kindling a 'Welsh fire'⁸⁴ of Methodism within him. Whitefield certainly held Jones in high esteem, he wrote that among the dissenters and church ministers in Wales 'Mr Griffith shines in particular.'⁸⁵ Writing to a 'Mr H' in Wales whilst in Philadelphia in 1741, Whitefield talks of his 'letters to Mr Jones,'⁸⁶ a year later Whitefield wrote of how he intended to send 'Mr a Jones a letter of thanks' for assisting him financially. The associated notes for these letter attribute 'Rev Griffith Jones [...] whom Whitefield met in Bath,'⁸⁷ and by doing so they transatlantically connect Griffith Jones into Whitefield's international itinerant ministry, satisfying the transatlantic element of the characteristic of an Evangelical identified by Jones. However, Jones also specified that the early Evangelicals were innovators, thanks to their use of Evangelical magazines and newspapers to spread the news of revival and emerging Evangelical theology. These

⁷⁷ Edmund McClure *A Chapter in English Church History SPCK minutes and correspondence 1698-1704* (London, 1888) p.1

⁷⁸ Edmund McClure *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 1698-1898* (London, 1898) p. 22

⁷⁹ McClure, *Two hundred years* pp. 120-229

⁸⁰ Jones, 'Calvinistic Methodism and the origins of Evangelicalism' p.127

⁸¹ George Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals* (London, 1960) p.220

⁸² Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals*, p.220

⁸³ Lavington, *A Letter to the Reverend George Whitfield*, p.6

⁸⁴ Lavington, *A Letter to the Reverend George Whitfield*, p.6

⁸⁵ Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals*, p.231

⁸⁶ George Whitefield, *Letters of George Whitefield, for the Period 1734-1742* (London,1976), p.88

⁸⁷ Whitefield, *Letters of George Whitefield* p. 526

publications connected people at home and abroad, creating a 'transatlantic community of saints.'⁸⁸

A consequence of the religious revivals of the 1740s was a vast increase in the amount of printed matter, and the emergence of a 'new literary genre, the evangelical newspaper and magazine.'⁸⁹ Jones was no stranger to the power of the printed word, his *Welsh Piety* was in circulation at the same time as some of the early Evangelical periodicals, one of which was *The Christian's Amusement* which Durden argued set the 'pattern for religious periodicals,'⁹⁰ by using a collection of letters to report on the progress of the gospel.⁹¹ The format holds remarkable similarities to the format of Jones's *Welsh Piety* published the same year which composed of three letters to a friend and reported on the progress of the Welsh charity Schools. *Welsh Piety* however ran from 1738-1760; two years prior to *The Christian's Amusement*. Jones used the publication to confront the objections to his method of teaching, one of which being that teaching people to read in their native Welsh tongue would 'keep the natives in ignorance to the English.'⁹² Jones's response was clear, he was not 'at present concerned what becomes of the language [...] the thing to be cleared up is whether the chief and greatest end of all is the glory of God, the interest of religion and salvation of the poor Welsh people.'⁹³ Similarly we see that George Whitefield used *The Christian Amusement* to respond to John Wesley's sermon on Free Grace,⁹⁴ yet whilst there are similarities between the two publications, ultimately Jones was promoting his schools not Evangelical religion.

Whilst Griffith Jones could be considered innovative; in that he was a forerunner in recognising the value in using publishing material to raise support and spread news, the innovation attributed by Jones to first generation Evangelicals was due to the transatlantic nature of the readership which built a community of saints,⁹⁵ and without being able to fully

⁸⁸ Susan O'Brien 'A transatlantic Community of Saints; The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network' in *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986) p. 811

⁸⁹ Susan Durden, 'A study of the first Evangelical Magazines, 1740-1748' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), p. 255

⁹⁰ Durden, 'A study of the first Evangelical Magazines', 1740-1748', p. 257

⁹¹ Anonymous, *The Christian's Amusement Containing Letters Concerning the Progress of the Gospel Both at Home and Abroad* (London, 1740)

⁹² Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of Promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740) p. 30

⁹³ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of Promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740) p. 31

⁹⁴ Anon, *The Christian Amusement* (1740) p. 4

⁹⁵ O'Brien 'A transatlantic Community of Saints', p. 811

determine whether his *Welsh Piety* had an international readership, Griffith Jones appears to fall short of this element of Jones characterisation of an Evangelical. In this however he is not alone, the likes of Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland, whilst a part of Whitefield's international correspondences,⁹⁶ were not writing material with a transatlantic audience; Griffith Jones had discouraged Harris publishing his journals,⁹⁷ and Rowland kept his focus on preaching within Wales.⁹⁸ This seems to affirm Coffey's argument that characterising an Evangelical can be divisive, neither Harris, Rowland or Griffith Jones, fit entirely into Jones's Anglocentrically devised characteristics of an Evangelical, and by solely focusing on English Evangelicals, Jones contributed to the Evangelical 'identity crisis.'⁹⁹

In terms of characteristics of an Evangelical, Griffith Jones fulfils all Bebbington's markers, and most of David Ceri Jones's. The fact that he does not perfectly fit them all only highlights the difficulties faced when attempting to categorise the qualities of an Evangelical and reaffirms why this can be considered a divisive topic amongst historians. Morgan argued that to consider Jones as a Proto-Evangelical was achronistic.¹⁰⁰ But as chapter two will explore, Griffith Jones was not disconnected from the emergence of Evangelicalism in Wales and the founding fathers of Methodism; he was influential on both Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland, and despite his loyalty to Anglicanism he was instrumental to the emergence of Evangelicalism in Wales.

⁹⁶ Whitefield, *Letters of George Whitefield* Letters CLXI & CLXII pp.149-150

⁹⁷ Tom Beynon, *Howel Harris Visits to Pembrokeshire* (Aberystwyth, 1966), p.20

⁹⁸ Owen Jones, *Some of the Great Preachers of Wales* (London, 1885) p.40

⁹⁹ Coffey, 'Puritanism, Evangelicalism and the evangelical Protestant Tradition' p. 277

¹⁰⁰ Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales, p. 100

Chapter Two

When Morgan re-examined Bebbington's thesis and the continuity of Evangelicalism in Wales, he argued that the 1762 revival and the dynamic preaching of people like Daniel Rowland brought about 'a new state of affairs'¹⁰¹ for Welsh Christianity. His exclusion of Griffith Jones on the basis that he was a 'prayer book Anglican'¹⁰² enabled him to align Wales with Bebbington's dating on the emergence of Evangelicalism. He also argued that to regard Griffith Jones as a 'proto-Evangelical'¹⁰³ or a would be achronisitic. Whilst Jones has been examined in terms of the characteristics of an Evangelical in chapter one, this chapter's primary focus will be to examine the relationship between Jones and the emergence of Evangelicalism. Focusing on his circulating schools, his influence on the founding fathers of Evangelicalism Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland and considering the extent of his Anglicanism. By doing so demonstrating that Griffith Jones was not achronisitic to the emergence of Evangelicalism. Jones was amidst the movement, influential on the movement, and his Anglicanism does not disqualify him as an Evangelical.

Griffith Jones's circulating schools undoubtedly are held in high regards in terms of the educational history of Wales, but the schools arguably hold a place in the religious history of Wales also. Sir Thomas Phillips in his enquiry into the state of education in Wales wrote of Jones that 'few people have conferred greater benefit on their country than Wales derived from the labours of the good Vicar of Llanddowror.'¹⁰⁴ It should not be overlooked, however, that the school's primary objective were in line with those of the SPCK who established them, that being religious reform and the promotion of Christian knowledge in response to the 'decay of religion'¹⁰⁵ in the kingdom. Griffith Jones wrote of how it was a cause of great 'lamentation [...] that both clergy and laity are so much fallen away from the doctrines and life of Christ,'¹⁰⁶ and following their conversions both Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland became acutely aware of the state of religion. Harris spoke of the 'great slumber

¹⁰¹ Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales', p. 102

¹⁰² Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales', p. 99

¹⁰³ Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales', p. 100

¹⁰⁴ Sir Thomas Phillips, *Wales: The Language, Social Condition, Moral Character, and the Religious Options of the People* (London, 1849) p. 285

¹⁰⁵ McClure, *Two hundred years* p. 136

¹⁰⁶ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 57

over the land,'¹⁰⁷ that the clergy had 'no sense of their own danger nor any feeling sense of the love of Christ [...] their instructions delivered in such an unfeeling and indifferent manner, seemed to have no effect upon any of the hearers.'¹⁰⁸ Rowland described Wales as 'Golgotha, full of dead skulls'¹⁰⁹ he wrote that it was 'fearful to think we have thousands of miserable souls who are dead in sin, and dead in religious affections; who neither thirst nor long for the word of God'¹¹⁰. It was this thirst for the word of God that both the founding fathers of Methodism and Jones simultaneously addressed.

Jones recognised that the people of Wales could not thirst for the word of God, even in places where 'constant preaching is not wanting'¹¹¹ if they 'cannot read'¹¹² their Bibles or read catechisms in their native 'Welsh tongue.'¹¹³ As such Jones embarked upon reforming the nation¹¹⁴ through religious education, Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland sought religious reform through preaching. Harris made it his business 'to speak to all [who] came near of their danger,'¹¹⁵ he embarked on preaching the gospel to whoever would listen, Daniel Rowland, too began to preach with much more fervour. Whilst responding to the crisis of religion in different ways, Jones, Harris, and Rowland were united in a common purpose, to see souls saved. Jones wrote that the 'Christian instruction of young people and children [...] would be [...] the greatest charity to their souls.'¹¹⁶ The result of these men's labours was a religious and educational revival.

Jones's Welsh circulating schools were in their infancy in 1735 almost at exactly the same time Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland were converted, the dating of which Bebbington attributed to the emergence of Evangelicalism. The growth and the success of the schools appears to have run alongside the emergence of Evangelicalism via the Methodist movement in Wales. The exact date of Jones's first school is unknown, but in 1710 Sir John Philipps reported to the SPCK that a friend of his in Carmarthenshire had put down 'forty

¹⁰⁷ Howel Harris, *A Brief Account of the Life of Howel Harris esq* (Trevecka 1791), p. 19

¹⁰⁸ Harris, *A Brief Account of the life of Howel Harris*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁹ Jones, *Some of the Great Preachers of Wales*, p.36

¹¹⁰ Jones, *Some of the Great Preachers of Wales*, p.36

¹¹¹ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740), p.2

¹¹² Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740) p.2

¹¹³ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740), p.30

¹¹⁴ Anon, *Welch Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools* (London 1758), p.14

¹¹⁵ Harris, *A Brief Account of the life of Howel Harris*, p. 20.

¹¹⁶ Anon, *Welch Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools* (London, 1758), p.14

Guineas [...]to support a charity school in Llanddowror.¹¹⁷ It is likely this is the first school that Jones fostered, and used as his base for training subsequent school masters, and by 1737 Jones reported that thirty seven schools had been established.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile in 1740 Harris preached in Pembrokeshire to ‘many thousands,’¹¹⁹ as he spoke the crowds felt the ‘great power of the Spirit’¹²⁰ amongst them. The year prior to his exhorting there were only two hundred and sixty scholars in the county being educated in Jones’s schools,¹²¹ the year after nine hundred and thirteen scholars were taught.¹²² Thousands may have flocked to hear Harris, but they were also flocking into the schools, and it was similar for Rowland.

Harris first heard Daniel Rowland preach at Devynock church in 1735,¹²³ he recollected that ‘hearing the sermon and seeing the gifts given him, and the amazing power and authority with which he spoke, and the effects it had on people,’¹²⁴ made his ‘heart burn with love to God and him.’¹²⁵ By 1738, two years after Rowland preached there were one hundred and ten scholars being educated in the village of Devynock, double the amount for any other village in Brecknockshire at the time.¹²⁶ In Rowland’s own parish by 1737 there were already over a hundred scholars attending the school in Llanddewibref, just as crowds were flocking to hear Rowland and Harris speak, they were simultaneously flocking into Jones’s schools, with a thirst for religion and education. The people of Wales appeared to be awakening from their ‘great slumber’¹²⁷ with dramatic effects.

Christmas Evans described the effect of Rowland preaching as ‘wonderful; you could see nothing but smiles, and tears running down the faces of the people. Joyful exclamations were at the same time uttered by the vast assembly.’¹²⁸ Meanwhile in Jones’s schools there were similar outbreaks of joy, parents ‘weeping for joy to see the progress their poor

¹¹⁷ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, pp. 273-274

¹¹⁸ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or a Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools* (London, 1760) p.70

¹¹⁹ Beynon, *Howel Harris Visits to Pembrokeshire*, p.42

¹²⁰ Beynon, *Howel Harris Visits to Pembrokeshire*, p.42

¹²¹ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740), p.63

¹²² Anonymous, *Welsh Piety: Or a Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools from September 1741-September 1742* (London, 1742), p. 21

¹²³ Edward Morgan, *The Life and Times of Howel Harris esq. The First Itinerant preacher in Wales* (Hughes and Butler, 1852), p. 297

¹²⁴ Morgan, *The Life and Time of Howel Harris*, p.297

¹²⁵ Morgan, *The Life and Time of Howel Harris*, p.297

¹²⁶ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or the Needful Charity of promoting the Salvation of the Poor* (London, 1740), p.63

¹²⁷ Harris, *A Brief Account of the Life of Howel Harris*, p. 19

¹²⁸ Jones, *Great Preachers of Wales*, p.78

children had made in the Christian knowledge, some old people weeping for sorrow that they themselves had not been taught.’¹²⁹ The school masters also reported to Jones of the ‘great joy’¹³⁰ the people felt being able ‘to use their own words’¹³¹ in church services. The correlation between the growth of Jones’s schools and appeal of the Methodist teaching, cannot be ignored, they were in a symbiotic relationship. Arthur Johnes wrote that ‘the breaking out of Methodism was undoubtedly hastened by the exertions of two eminent divines’¹³² one being Griffith Jones. Similarly, just as Thomas Phillips when looking at education in the 16th century noted that ‘a revival in learning contributed [...] to bring about a reformation in religion,’¹³³ a similar scenario can be seen occurring in Wales two hundred years later. On the eve of the 1762 revival 150,000 scholars had been taught to read,¹³⁴ where Jones furrowed the Methodist sowed, and vice a versa. The correlation did not go unnoticed at the time either, Harris spoke of the people’s willingness to received instruction both in the churches and in the schools:

‘there appeared now a general reformation in several counties. Public divisions were laid aside, religion became a common subject of conversation and the places of worship were everywhere crowded. The Welch charity schools, by the exertions of the Rev G Jones, of Llanddowror began to spread; people in general expressed a willingness to receive instructions; and societies formed in many places.’¹³⁵

Jones cannot be achronisitic to the emergence of Evangelicalism as he was united to the fathers of Methodism through a shared recognition of the poor religious health of their countrymen, a common motive to see the gospel spread, and a means to bring about religious reform. Nor was the emergence of Methodism and the growth of the circulating schools just two entities running alongside each other simultaneously but independently from one another, because Griffith Jones was influential on, and interacting with both Daniel Rowland and Howel Harris.

¹²⁹ Anon, *Welch Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools*, (London, 1758), p.10

¹³⁰ Anon, *Welch Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools*, (London, 1758), p.10

¹³¹ Anon, *Welch Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools*, (London, 1758), p.4

¹³² Arthur, J Johnes, *On the Causes Which Have Produced Dissent from The Established Church in the Principality of Wales* (Llanidloes 1870), p.14

¹³³ Philipps, *Wales*, p. 247

¹³⁴ Anon, *Welch Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Welch Charity Schools* (London, 1760), p. 70

¹³⁵ Morgan, *The Life and Time of Howel Harris*, p.18

Not only was Griffith Jones pivotal in Daniel Rowland's conversion, he also set a precedent for Rowland in terms of itinerant preaching and preaching style. In 1735 Griffith Jones was preaching in a graveyard in Llanddewibrefi, as Rowland stood in the audience he was singled out by Jones because of his 'defiant and haughty mien'¹³⁶ Jones declared 'Oh for a word to reach your heart young man.'¹³⁷ This encounter left Rowland profoundly affected, he left feeling the weight of his own conversion determined to preach as often as he could. Jones had been involved in a 'widespread itinerant ministry'¹³⁸ for over twenty years. When Rowland first heard him preach in the graveyard at Llanddewibrefi¹³⁹ Jones was forty miles outside his own parish. It was also common for Jones to be invited to preach if travelling to inspect one of his schools.¹⁴⁰ Rowland too begun to preach outside of his parish, Hymnist and Methodist leader William Williams of Pantycelyn wrote in his elegy to Rowland that 'five Welsh counties heard the thunder'¹⁴¹ of his sermons. There were stylistic similarities too in their sermons, just as Jones could reduce his audience to tears, and often wept,¹⁴² Rowland's tears also 'fell profusely'¹⁴³ as he spoke. Writing to George Whitefield, Harris talked of the 'heart breaking groans, silent weeping, holy mourning, shouts of joy and rejoicing'¹⁴⁴ heard when Rowland preached. In 1778 the Baptist historian Joshua Thomas recollecting the preaching of Daniel Rowland wrote:

'I remember hearing him about 1735 in Carmarthenshire, there was a great crowd listening to him and I heard some of the non-conformists talking about the sermon. I remember some of their remarks "we never heard the like in the Church of England except Mr Griffith Jones."' ¹⁴⁵

Jones had paved the way for Daniel Rowland, for Harris though, he opened him up to a world outside of South Wales.

¹³⁶ Jones, *Great Preachers of Wales*, p.30

¹³⁷ Evans, *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales*, p.33

¹³⁸ D. C Jones, B. S Schlenker and E.M White, *The Elect Methodists, Calvinistic Methodism in England and Wales 1735-1811*, (Cardiff, 2016), p.5

¹³⁹ Jones, *Life and Times of Griffith Jones* p. 217

¹⁴⁰ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 196

¹⁴¹ Evans, *Daniel Rowland* p. 41

¹⁴² Philipps, *Sketches of Griffith Jones*, p.9

¹⁴³ Jones, *Great Preachers of Wales*, p.34

¹⁴⁴ Jones, *Great Preachers of Wales*, p.41

¹⁴⁵ Evans, *Daniel Rowland*, p.45

Whilst Rowland's relationship with Jones was more abstract, Howel Harris sought Jones out, and spent time with him, and though Jones was connected to key figures in the emerging Evangelical movement. Harris first met Jones in 1736, at the time he was seeking ordination, he hoped that Jones would be 'able to draw my character in its due light to the bishop'.¹⁴⁶ Jones however, Harris's now 'particular friend',¹⁴⁷ felt that Harris was too young to seek ordination, he advised instead to cease his itinerant preaching and set up a school in Trevecka. Harris was in awe of Jones declaring he would 'never take any new step without consulting'¹⁴⁸ him, in Harris's eyes Jones was his 'Master's steward',¹⁴⁹ yet, whilst he may have consulted Jones, and did indeed set up a school, when it came to his preaching, he acted against Jones's advice.

Writing to his brother Harris talked of the people that he became connected with thanks to his friendship with Jones, in the June of 1736 he wrote 'I have been introduced to Madam Bevan [...] ye lady of the town member; she gives herself entirely to doing good, distributes Welsh Bibles and has several charity schools of her own foundation.'¹⁵⁰ Mrs Bevan and Jones backed Harris application for ordination later that year, and when he was refused by the bishop the pair were 'very angry'¹⁵¹ with him, Madam Bevan; was not the only person Jones connected Harris to. When Harris was in London for the Wesleyan Conference in 1748 Harris recalled how he became acquainted with George Whitefield, the father of Evangelicalism in England, Rowland and Harris's English counterpart. He wrote that 'by means of Mr Gr Jones who was a member of a Society for Propagating the Gospel here in London, with who Mr Whitefield had acquaintance, he had heard of me, and when he returned to Georgia, he wrote to me.'¹⁵² Whitefield had become a corresponding member of the SPCK in October 1736¹⁵³ earlier that year; Philipps, whom Whitefield called a 'great encourager of the Oxford Methodists',¹⁵⁴ sent word to Whitefield that 'he would allow me £30 a year, if I would continue at university.'¹⁵⁵ Jones's network of people, thanks to his

¹⁴⁶ Tudur, *Howel Harris From Conversion to Separation*, p.28.

¹⁴⁷ Harris, *A Brief Account of the life of Howel Harris*, p. 23

¹⁴⁸ Geraint Tudur, *Howel Harris From Conversion to Separation* (Cardiff, 2000) p. 29

¹⁴⁹ Tudur, *Howel Harris From Conversion to Separation*, p. 29

¹⁵⁰ W. Moses Williams, *The Friends of Griffith Jones: A Study in Educational Philanthropy* (London 1939), p. 27

¹⁵¹ Beynon, *Howel Harris Visits to Pembrokeshire*, p.24

¹⁵² Beynon, *Howel Harris's Visits to London*, p.192

¹⁵³ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p.175

¹⁵⁴ Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals*, p.67

¹⁵⁵ Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals*, p.67

schools, his friendships with the gentry such as Philipps and Bevan, and his membership to the SPCK, was so much greater than Harris's. By taking Harris under his wing, by association Harris tapped into the same resource of people, as such Jones was instrumental in the connecting Harris to the emerging Evangelical network.

One of Morgan's objections to Jones being associated with Evangelicalism in Wales was that he was a 'prayer book Anglican';¹⁵⁶ the problem with that assessment is that firstly Methodism, and as such Evangelicalism emerged from the Anglican church so Harris and Rowland could equally be considered as such. Secondly, whilst Jones distanced himself from the Methodists on closer inspection arguably; this was not due to Anglicanism but a move to protect his schools; thirdly Anglicanism is not a negating factor to Evangelicalism. Daniel Rowland was ejected from his curacies in the July of 1763 after almost thirty years serving the parishioners, some accounts suggest he 'voluntarily'¹⁵⁷ removed himself, due to his son stepping into his position, and 'the bishop would hardly have promoted the son if he wished to get rid of the father,'¹⁵⁸ whilst others suggested there was 'political pressure'¹⁵⁹ on the bishops. When Harris heard that Rowland had been 'turned out'¹⁶⁰ Harris in a conversation with the Earl of Dartmouth voiced that 'the bishops are going to destroy the Church of England, by turning out so many thousands.'¹⁶¹ Despite his ejection, on his death bed in 1790 Rowland 'exhorted his son to stand by the church by all means "you will not perhaps, be repaid for doing so, yet still stand by it, yea, even until death."'¹⁶²

Thomas Charles, founder of the Calvinistic Methodist in Wales, wrote in the *Rules and Designs of the Welsh Methodists* that:

'we do not designedly separate, nor do we deem ourselves to be dissenters from the Established Church. In our doctrinal tenents, we fully agree with the Articles of the Church of England [...] inclination towards dissent has taken place of necessity rather than of choice. It is not out choice to form a schism, a sect, or a party.'¹⁶³

¹⁵⁶ Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales, p. 99

¹⁵⁷ William L Bevan, *Diocesan Histories: St David* (London 1888), p.218

¹⁵⁸ Bevan, *Diocesan Histories: St David*, p.218

¹⁵⁹ Evans, *Daniel Rowland*, p. 325

¹⁶⁰ Beynon, *Howel Harris Reformer and Solider 1714-1773*, p. 196

¹⁶¹ Beynon, *Howel Harris Reformer and Solider 1714-1773*, p. 200

¹⁶² Alfred G Edwards, *Facts and Figures About Church and Dissent in Wales* (Carmarthen 1888), p. 21

¹⁶³ Jones, *The Life and Times of Griffith Jones*, p. 274

There was a loyalty to the Established church from both Harris and Rowland, their actions, such as their itinerant preaching, though in opposition to the Established church were borne out the necessity to see the people of Wales awoken. Speaking in London, Harris 'laid before them scripture and the History of the Reformation, the reason of abiding in the Established Church, and calling of our assemblies societies not church [...] we don't go to destroy church or set up new ones.'¹⁶⁴ Even Whitefield wrote to the Bishop of Bangor to assure that the attendees of the societies were 'true friends'¹⁶⁵ to the Church of England, and that lately he had written 'dissuading them from separating from the church.'¹⁶⁶ Those attributed to the emergence of Evangelicalism, at least initially, saw it as a reformation of the established church, and aspired to prevent a separation or schism. Yet as the Methodist movement picked up momentum, despite a desire to stay within the confines of the Church, Griffith Jones distanced himself from Harris, Rowland and the movement.

Although it appeared Jones publicly separated himself from Methodist movement due to his dedication to the Anglican church, after all Jones certainly 'kept strictly within the pale of the church,'¹⁶⁷ arguably he separated to protect his 'labour of love;'¹⁶⁸ his schools. In 1741 Jones felt the need 'to convince all people'¹⁶⁹ that he was in no way in favour of the 'rude enthusiasm, which is so void of common civilities and moral conversation etc. that none who is acquainted with the spirit of the gospel can approve of.'¹⁷⁰ Initially his schools had been subject to 'great discouragement from [...]the clergy,'¹⁷¹ yet he could see no better 'methods for setting up a Welsh school than to have it published in several churches.'¹⁷² Jones needed the support of the clergy, if his association with the likes of Howel Harris who Jones had accused of 'infallibility, self-confidence and the unlawfulness of a layman preaching,'¹⁷³ threatened their support then it is little wonder he stepped away. Jones had also committed himself to the schools, on the death of his benefactor, brother-in-law,

¹⁶⁴ Beynon, *Howel Harris's Visits to London* p. 154

¹⁶⁵ George, Whitefield, *A Select Collection of Letters of the late Reverend George Whitfield* (London, 1772) p. 463

¹⁶⁶ Whitefield, *A Select Collection of Letters*, p.463

¹⁶⁷ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. xiv

¹⁶⁸ Anon, *Welch Piety: Or a Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools* (London, 1742), p. 7

¹⁶⁹ Evans, *Daniel Rowland*, p. 142

¹⁷⁰ Evans, *Daniel Rowland*, p. 142

¹⁷¹ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 154

¹⁷² Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 194

¹⁷³ Beynon, *Howel Harris's Visits to Pembrokeshire* p. 64

'guardian angel'¹⁷⁴ and dear friend Sir John Philipps. Looking back at what Philipps had achieved Jones wrote 'with regard to the encouragement and countenance he gave the cause [...] I am resolved by the grace of God to continue embarked in, as long as I live.'¹⁷⁵ Philipps's primary causes had been the Charity Schools, religious education was an original objective of the SPCK,¹⁷⁶ and Philipps, as one of the founding members was instrumental in directing the SPCK's attention towards Wales.¹⁷⁷ In response to Philipps's death, Jones committed himself to make sure Philipps lifelong work, and his own 'labour of love,'¹⁷⁸ the circulating schools continued. An association with the Methodists and the loss of an influential friend may have been enough for Jones to foresee the potential for a derailing of his work, forcing his hand towards a public separation from the emerging Methodist movement.

So, whilst the founding fathers of Evangelicalism Whitefield, Harris and Rowlands sought to prevent a rupture in the established church, attempted to remain loyal, regarding their actions as merely infusing 'new vigour'¹⁷⁹ into the established church their Anglicanism has not negated their association with the emergence of Evangelicalism. Yet Morgan uses Jones's Anglicanism to disassociate him from the movement. Jones too felt his actions were re-establishing 'true Christianity,'¹⁸⁰ and whilst his separation from the Methodist movement might have outwardly appeared to be the actions of a 'prayer book Anglican'¹⁸¹ it cannot be ignored that Evangelicalism was birthed from within the Anglican church, Jones was as much a 'prayer book' Anglican as any other key figures in the emergence of Evangelicalism were at the time. Jones had set a precedent with his preaching style and Itinerant speaking, he was influential, both directly and indirectly, to key figures in the emerging Evangelical movement, and his Anglicanism was consistent with others in the early stages of the movement. Morgan's position on Griffith Jones as achronistic allowed him to

¹⁷⁴ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 199

¹⁷⁵ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 200

¹⁷⁶ McClure, *A Chapter in English Church History*, p. 18. SPCK Minutes for 8th March 1698-9, Lord Guilford is to speak to the Archbishop so that a clause be provided in the Bill 'to have children taught to read' if employed.

¹⁷⁷ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p.255. SPCK Minutes for 18th October 1705, Phillips requests that the bishop of St David's write to the clergy 'to recommend the promotion of family prayer and charity schools to their parishioners.'

¹⁷⁸ Anon, *Welsh Piety: A Succinct Account of the Rise and Progress of the Circulating Welsh Charity Schools* (London, 1761), p.iii

¹⁷⁹ Johnes, *On the Causes Which Have Produced Dissent*, p.14

¹⁸⁰ Anon, *Welsh Piety: Or A Fatherly Account of the Circulating Welsh Charity Schools* (London, 1758), p.14

¹⁸¹ Morgan 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales, p. 99

align Wales with Bebbington's dating on the emergence of Evangelicalism, the decade beginning 1735, yet Jones is far from achronisitic, instead he should be considered one of the founding fathers, alongside Harris and Rowland.

Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the extent to which Griffith Jones should be called an Evangelical, and as such considered one of the founding fathers of Evangelicalism in Wales. To address this Jones was firstly held up against Bebbington's 'quadrilateral of priorities.'¹⁸² By examining Jones's personal correspondences, what he exhorted from the pulpit, his published works, and his charity schools all four of Bebbington's quadrilateral have been identified in the life and work of Jones thereby qualifying him, by Bebbington criteria, as an Evangelical. Secondly Griffith Jones was considered against the characteristics David Ceri Jones identified in the early English Evangelicals such as George Whitefield, namely their innovation and transatlantic connections. Whilst Jones as a corresponding member of the SPCK was transatlantically connected, and influential on Whitefield, he could not be considered innovative in the way David Ceri Jones intended. Yet no person will be able to fit perfectly into a fixed framework of characteristics, they will always have, as Alexander Raleigh commented, 'many differing shades of opinions and variety of sentiments.'¹⁸³ However this dissertation has shown Griffith Jones shared enough of the characteristics Bebbington attributed to the likes of Harris, and Rowlands, and David Ceri Jones to the likes of George Whitefield to be considered an Evangelical in his own right.

Morgan argued that to consider Griffith Jones an Evangelical would be achronisitic, rather it was the likes of Rowland with his dynamic preaching which brought about 'a new state of affairs'¹⁸⁴ for Welsh Christianity. However, this dissertation has presented evidence that it was Griffith Jones who set the precedent for the early Evangelical Rowland. Not only in the novelty of a dynamic preaching style, where preacher and audience were both moved emotionally by the Evangelical message of Conversionism, but also in his itinerant preaching. Calling Jones anachronistic to the emergence of Evangelicalism failed to acknowledge his

¹⁸² Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.3

¹⁸³ Raleigh, *Records of his Life*, p. 281

¹⁸⁴ Morgan, 'Continuity, Novelty and Evangelicalism in Wales', p. 102

connection to, and influence upon the founding fathers of Evangelicalism both in Wales and in England. Not only was Jones pivotal in Rowland's conversion, but as revealed in their diaries instrumental in Harris's and Whitefield's lives. Through Jones's friendships with Mrs Bevan and Sir John Philipps alongside his SPCK membership he connected the Welsh Evangelicals to their English counterparts. As for Jones's Anglicanism as a negating factor of Evangelicalism; Evangelicalism emerged from within the Anglican church, to disqualify Jones by default would also disqualify Harris, Rowland and Whitefield.

An examination of the correlation between the emergence of Griffith Jones's circulating schools alongside the emergence of Methodism, is another reason Jones cannot be achronisitic to the emergence of Evangelicalism. Jones was unified with Harris and Rowland through a shared acknowledgement of the state of religious health in Wales, a desire to see the gospel spread, and a means by which to achieve an awakening. It was the Evangelical characteristics in Jones that drove his charity schools. His recognition that people in Wales needed to have their lives changed through true conversion, and his 'heaven-borne'¹⁸⁵ acts of charity. His desire for people to have access to scriptures, identifying it as a source to their salvation, and his belief in the centrality of the work of the cross. The schools and the emerging Evangelicalism had a symbiotic relationship, entwined, edifying the country simultaneously. It cannot be overlooked that on the eve of the 1762 revival many thousand of Welsh people had been taught to read and were now able to participate in the religious practices of Wales. Bebbington's dating of the emergence of Evangelicalism to 1735 with the conversion or rebirth of Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland coincides with the birth of Jones's schools. Where Harris and Rowlands fathered a religious revival through preaching, Jones fathered a religious revival through education, and as such should be regarded as a founding father of Evangelicalism.

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¹⁸⁵ Morgan, *Letters of the Reverend Griffith Jones*, p. 13

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