

Unit 1: 1900: the end of Victorian Religion?

The Victorian period and the Edwardian years which followed is sometimes characterised as the last great age of Christian faith in Britain. Certainly, during the nineteenth century the three strands of British Christianity with which we shall be concerned in this module - the Anglicans, the Catholics and the Free Churches - had all experienced major transitions, yet all three could be said to be in a relatively healthy position in 1900.

The Church of England



Canterbury Cathedral

The Church of England was still the established Church in England and Wales, but since 1870 no longer so in Ireland. During the previous seventy years it had moved from being the State Church, the only fully recognised form of religion in Britain, to the status of being one denomination, albeit the most powerful, among several. Furthermore, the special educational, social and political privileges which had previously been reserved for members of the Church of England had been ended, with Parliament, the municipal corporations, grammar schools and universities now open to all who were suitably qualified for admission. The years since 1828 had witnessed a formal end to discrimination on the grounds of religion, even if, in England at least, it often seemed more socially acceptable to be a member of the established Church than to belong to any of the alternatives.

Indeed, there remained several areas in which the Church of England continued to exert a particular influence, well into the twentieth century. One area was education. The 1870 Education Act had weakened the position of the Church of England by providing for the creation of nondenominational Board Schools, but the 1902 Education Act permitted rate support to be given to denominational schools, which in practice meant Anglican schools. The 1902 Education Act stirred intense opposition from Nonconformists, who objected strongly to Anglican and particularly to Anglo-Catholic indoctrination 'on the rates'. The non-payment of rates campaign that ensued, led by amongst others the London Baptist John Clifford, can be seen as one of the final defining moments of Victorian religion, when Christians opposed other Christians publicly and in the courts over a matter of religious principle. Within a few decades, the idea of Free Church parents going to court for non-payment of rates over the issue of their children receiving Anglican-influenced religious education in church schools would be wholly unthinkable. Anglican influence was not limited to church schools, however. It remained clearly discernible in higher education. Although religious tests for most degrees and appointments at Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College Dublin had been dispensed with by the 1870s, the ancient universities, with their numerous chaplains and deans, and prominent chapel buildings, remained intensely Anglican in ethos. It was not uncommon for a young man to go up to Oxford or Cambridge as a Congregationalist or a Methodist, and to emerge three years later as an Anglican. Indeed, Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1961-74 was brought up as a Congregationalist, but decided to become an Anglican priest whilst at Magdalene College Cambridge, his journey towards the Church of England having begun as a schoolboy at

Repton. Apart from in the Roman Catholic institutions, the chaplaincies in the new universities and colleges tended also to be strongly Anglican in tone.

There were other ways in which the Church of England continued to make its presence felt in society in the 1890s. One was in the continuing attempts to exact tithe payments from parishioners, irrespective of denomination. This was an anachronism, a curious throwback to the 'unreformed' world of the early 1830s. Tithes were the traditional 'tenth' of agricultural produce, which the faithful had been exhorted to give in support of religion since biblical times. Legislation in the 1830s had commuted the charge to a levy on agricultural rents, usually payable by the landlord in Ireland and by the tenant in England and Wales. In Ireland the payment of tithes survived disestablishment, but were subsequently paid to the state rather than to the Church, thus removing the religious objection. In England, and in Wales in particular, tithe payments continued to be a source of great bitterness, and they explain much about the hostility towards the Church that existed amongst Nonconformist Welsh farmers in the 1880s. Indeed, combined with agricultural depression and the rising nationalist movement, the religious conflict engendered by enforced tithe payments contributed to a lethal cocktail. This fed into the tensions which led to the eventual disestablishment of the Church of England in the four Welsh dioceses in 1914 (Morgan, *Span of the Cross*, pp. 30-7). Tithe legislation in 1891 attempted to address the problem by transferring the responsibility for paying tithe to the landlords, who were predominantly Anglican. But the landlords responded by raising rents, and thus tithes still imposed an indirect burden upon the Nonconformist tenantry. The problem continued until the Tithe Act of 1936 abolished the charge altogether. In Scotland, the way in which the established Church (Presbyterian, of course, not Anglican) was supported was a different one. In rural areas, finance was raised from 'teinds', levied like tithes on agricultural produce and rent. In some towns, there were also local taxes raised in support of the clergy. Both kinds of charge continued to be a bone of contention for those who were not Church members. Teinds were commuted for a fixed payment in 1925 (John Wolffe, *God in Greater Britain* (1994) pp.127-8). Thus the antagonism created by tithe lasted in some parts of the United Kingdom until well into the twentieth century.

In both worship and theology, the tone of Anglican Church life had changed markedly in the half century to 1890. The Anglo-Catholic movement which had now reached its 'Ritualist' phase had left its mark on the worship of many, though by no means all churches, and it was growing fast. By 1904, the number of churches that could be classed as Ritualist had expanded to over 2,000. By the first decade of the twentieth century, practices such as the eastward position, the use of lighted candles and the mixed chalice, which only a few years earlier had been regarded as 'extreme', had been adopted in over a fifth of the Anglican churches in England and Wales. (Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830-1910* (1999) pp.278-9). Meanwhile, the Evangelical wing of the Church was in one of its weaker phases, perhaps burned out by the excessive energies which it had displayed earlier in the century. It is also worth noting that despite being seen as an 'alien church' and apart from the stresses of the disestablishment campaign, by the beginning of the twentieth century the Anglican Church in Wales was gaining strength, prestige and influence (Glanmor Williams et.al, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603-1920* (2007), Part 4).

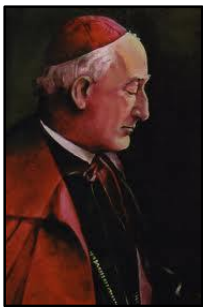
In terms of its numerical strength, Anglican fortunes at the beginning of the century are hard to evaluate. On the one hand, Anglican baptisms, confirmations and Easter communions were all increasing, and this is the basis of the claim that the Anglican Church had never done so well. But on the other hand, the proportion of marriages celebrated in Anglican churches was falling, and there is also evidence of a considerable drop in attendance at Sunday worship, particularly in urban areas. The Mudie-Smith survey of religious attendance in London in 1903, for example, revealed that Anglican worshippers in London had dropped by 139,000 in seventeen years - from 535,000 in 1886 to 396,000 in 1903. If this figure is an accurate reflection on the true state of affairs, then it reveals an unsustainably high degree of leakage. It also points to the existence of a trend which was to

become more clearly discernible in the twentieth century; the popularity of the Church of England as the place to mark special occasions, and the unpopularity of weekly Sunday worship.

As evolutionary theory and biblical criticism began to filter into the popular consciousness, they had some effect in puncturing simple biblical faith, perhaps reflected in the drop in Sunday churchgoing. Amongst Anglican and many Nonconformist clergy, however, recent intellectual developments were now accepted even by those who did not see themselves as members of the Broad Church. The shift was symbolised by the publication of a volume entitled *Lux Mundi* (Light of the World) edited by the Anglo-Catholic Charles Gore in 1889. Between 1897 and 1902 the Anglican Communion was led by Archbishop Frederick Temple. Nearly forty years earlier, Temple had attracted notoriety as a contributor to the highly controversial advocacy of biblical criticism, *Essays and Reviews* (1860). Temple's own contribution had been an anodyne discussion on 'the Education of the World', but his inclusion in the book created a storm. Although there had been fierce opposition to Temple's nomination as Bishop of Exeter in 1869, his elevation to Canterbury produced hardly a murmur. It was a measure of the extent to which the mood had changed within the Church, and critical thought had become much more widely accepted.

cf. Robbins, *England, Ireland, Scotland Wales*, pp. 35-9; Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, pp. 30-85; Morgan, *Span of the Cross*, pp. 23-30.

Roman Catholicism



If the fortunes of the Anglicans appeared to be on the up, those of Roman Catholics in the 1890s were even higher. They had been led by Cardinal Henry Edward Manning until 1892, and by Cardinal Herbert Vaughan from 1892 to 1903. Catholics had experienced an extraordinary century of change. Catholic Emancipation in 1829 had been followed by the tragedy of the Irish potato famine, in which a million people died of starvation. The famine had effectively displaced much of the Irish Catholic population, and although many went to America, many more flooded into the English cities and into Glasgow. The major routes were from Cork to London, from Dublin to Liverpool and from Ulster to Western Scotland. Although there had been a steady flow of Irish migrant workers since the 1820s, the famine years were the first time that the overwhelmingly Protestant complexion of these English and Scottish cities had been challenged. Large working-class Irish Catholic communities developed rapidly in these places, with their own schools, pubs and churches. The Catholic population of England had risen from about 100,000 in 1800 to well over half a million by 1850. By 1900, it was heading for two million.

The rapidly increasing Catholic population called for an urgent response from the Church. This came initially in 1850, with the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales. This was the introduction of twelve bishops with full territorial dioceses, under the authority of the Archbishop of Westminster. In Scotland, the hierarchy was restored in 1878. The restoration of the hierarchy in 1850 was at the time regarded as a controversial measure by many in England and Wales, an act of 'papal aggression', rather than an internal ecclesiastical reorganisation. It revealed

the extent to which Britain still perceived itself as a Protestant nation, and the setting up of the Catholic hierarchy triggered the last major outbreak of 'no popery' protest. Yet perhaps a more significant aspect of the incident was the speed with which the controversy died down. The decades after 1850 witnessed not only the almost total decline of aggressive anti-Catholicism, but also increasing government support for Catholic schools, and the provision of Catholic chaplains in the army, in workhouses and in prisons. The numbers of priests in England and Wales also increased rapidly from 826 in 1851 to 3,298 in 1901.

It was Manning, who became the second Archbishop of Westminster in 1865, and a cardinal in 1875, who showed particular dedication to making the English Church adapt to its huge Irish constituency. His priority was building schools, rather than grand churches, and he was also willing to identify himself, though with some reservations, with the cause of Irish home rule. As a former Anglican (he had converted in 1851) he had long been critical of the way in which the Church of England had allowed itself to be identified with the interests of the upper and middle classes. As the leader of the Catholics in England and Wales, his aim was to reclaim the English working classes for Catholic Christianity, and to retain the immigrant Irish in their traditional belief. He had no hesitations about being at the forefront of movements for social and political reform. He embraced the temperance campaign and he was willing to appear on the same platform as the Primitive Methodist Joseph Arch, the founder of the Agricultural Workers' Union. He was also strongly supportive of the Salvation Army, and took a key role in the dock strike of 1889. He denounced the pogroms against Russian Jews. The willingness of the convert cardinal to consort so openly with Protestants in the furtherance of social activism sent a shudder down the spine of many a traditional Catholic. But Manning was not deterred. His successful mediation in the dock strike won him a place beside Marx on the trade union banners in the world's first May Day procession. (Sheridan Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Church in England, 1780-1940' in Gilley & Sheils, *A History of Religion in Britain* (1994), pp.359-60). Manning had succeeded in winning a place in the heart of what only a few decades before had been an intensely Protestant nation. Huge numbers of working-class people, many of them not Catholics, turned out to line the route of his funeral procession in 1892.

Manning's social policies were not followed by successor, Cardinal Vaughan, who was from a traditional old Catholic gentry family on the English-Welsh border. Vaughan was strongly Tory in politics, and in this respect he had more in common with senior Anglicans, than with Catholics. The majority of Catholics, both clerical and lay, voted Liberal and then switched to Labour in the early years of the twentieth century. Vaughan was an excellent administrator and fund-raiser. His major achievements were obtaining permission for Roman Catholics to attend Oxford and Cambridge, and the construction of Westminster Cathedral, a building indicative of the self-confidence of the English Catholic community. Nor was this self-confidence limited to the heart of the metropolis. The 1890s also witnessed the building of some other ambitious Catholic churches, such as the Church of Our Lady and the English Martyrs in Hills Road Cambridge. The spire of this church was designed to be higher than the highest pinnacle of King's College chapel, a potent symbol in this most Anglican of towns. Despite the existence of wealthy donors who were able to fund major church building projects, Roman Catholicism remained an almost exclusively working-class Church with a strong infrastructure of community life, and a strong tradition of Mass attendance. In sharp contrast with Nonconformity and Anglicanism, Roman Catholicism not only refused to admit the relevance of science and biblical scholarship, but it was also essentially non-verbal in its popular piety. It was correspondingly less vulnerable to the impact of public loss of confidence in the authority of scripture.

Welsh Catholicism was also being rejuvenated during these years. Since the restoration of the hierarchy Wales had been part of the diocese of Shrewsbury, in 1895 gained a measure of autonomy through the appointment of its own vicar apostolic, namely Francis Edward Mostyn, the son of a Flintshire aristocratic and recusant family. By 1898 it had evolved into the two dioceses of Menevia in the south-west, with Mostyn having been made bishop, and Newport in the south-east.

Pope Benedict XV's apostolic letter *Cambria Celtica* of 1916 not only affirmed this arrangement but added a third diocese, that of Wrexham in North Wales, and made Wales into a full ecclesiastical province with Mostyn as its first archbishop (Trystan Owain Hughes, *Winds of Change: the Roman Catholic Church and Society in Wales 1916-62* (1999), pp. 7-11). Although Wales remained overwhelmingly Protestant in make-up and Nonconformist in tone, these developments showed not only that Rome was taking Welsh identity seriously, but that it saw the potential for the strengthening of its own witness ('the faith of the fathers') within the so called 'land of my fathers'.

cf. Robbins, *England, Ireland, Scotland Wales*, pp. 14-20, 29; Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, pp. 131-55; Morgan, *Span of the Cross*, pp. 5-9.

The Free Churches



Image Shiloh Chapel Lampeter

For the Free churches too, namely the Dissenters or Nonconformists, those who had dissented from or refused to conform to the discipline or practices of the established church of the land, the years around the turn of the century were a period of confidence. A short distance from the site of Our Lady and the English Martyrs in Cambridge, the Presbyterians were building St Columba's church, Downing Street, in the early English style (1891). This was followed by the splendidly-appointed Westminster College Cambridge which opened in 1899. The College opened with no debt outstanding, a tremendous feat for a Free Church institution. A great deal of money was spent on both projects, and Westminster College is noticeably richer in fixtures and fittings than most of the late-nineteenth century Anglican theological colleges, and has a much larger library. Here learned and godly ministers would be trained near the ancient university, in a building reminiscent of a stately home. Yet Westminster College also looked to the future. It boasted state-of-the-art technology, being one of the first buildings in Cambridge to have electric light. The same ethos was true of Mansfield College established in 1886, the Congregationalists' high powered intellectual centre in Oxford.

By the 1890s, much English Nonconformity had become solidly and almost self-consciously middle class. Wesleyan Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers - most of these denominations formed significant communities in the larger and some of the smaller towns, often related and inter-related though complex ties of business, marriage and friendship. They worshipped in increasingly elaborate chapels, and in theology there was often little to distinguish them from Evangelical Anglicanism. The grievances which had so troubled their parents and grandparents - compulsory church rate, exclusion from education and the burials question - had been addressed, although as the 1902 Education Act showed, the Anglican establishment was still capable of over-reaching itself, and forgetting that Britain was now a religiously plural, albeit still a mainly Christian nation. Thus Nonconformists needed to remain vigilant to protect their hard-won civil liberties. Nevertheless, any lingering sense of exclusion from the mainstream of society was perhaps more likely to be the product of Nonconformists' own deep-rooted psychology, than the result of actual discrimination. This in itself posed a dilemma. What did it mean to dissent, when it was no longer clear what one was dissenting from? As the logic of conscientious objection to Anglican Christianity began to decline, Nonconformists were faced with a stark choice. On the one

hand, they could go on as before, devoting themselves to preserving their particular tradition, its history, theology and ecclesiology, becoming the virtual curators of their religious heritage. On the other, they could abandon the disputes of the past, and turn their attention to different issues. A large proportion opted for this latter course, some throwing in their lot with the Anglicans, and some embracing ecumenism and church union. But many others abandoned organised religion altogether.

The Welsh experience was somewhat different. By the mid-nineteenth century Wales had become, in the words of Henry Richard MP, 'a nation of Nonconformists'. Even into the early twentieth century it retained, for the most part, the allegiance of the working class. The secession of the Calvinistic Methodist movement from the Church of England in Wales in 1811 (David Ceri Jones et al., *The Elect Methodists: Calvinistic Methodism in England and Wales, 1735-1811* (2012), pp. 213-38) meant that loyalty of the bulk of Welsh Protestants was no longer to the established church but to the 'four denominations' of Protestant Nonconformity: the Calvinistic Methodists, later to become the Presbyterian Church of Wales, the Independents (as the Congregationalists were called in Wales), the Baptists and the Wesleyan Methodists. Whereas the Calvinistic Methodists were still wary of being considered 'Dissenters' per se, by mid-century, with the progressive politicization of Nonconformity in Wales, even they saw that their natural home was not with Anglican Toryism but with more liberal policies of the Whigs and Liberals. The extension of the franchise in 1868 turned Wales into a Liberal stronghold, and during the closing decades of the century Nonconformity, or chapel culture, and Welshness were seen as being synonymous. Even in the industrialized areas of South Wales to say nothing of the quarrying districts of the north, working men and their families remained the mainstays of the chapels. Worship was participatory, egalitarian and practiced through the medium of the Welsh language and as such remained, as it were, of the people. Changes, however, were afoot: Anglicization, modernity and the critique of pietism that the Labour movement brought with it signalled that Welsh Nonconformity would soon be challenged in its heartlands. Not even the remarkable religious revival of 1904-5, led by the young miner Evan Roberts, would be able to stem the spiritual tide (Robert Pope, 'Demythologizing the Evan Roberts Revival', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (2006) and 'Evan Roberts in Theological Context', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (2005)). The over-politicization of Welsh Dissent which found a focus in the campaign to disestablish the four Welsh dioceses of Bangor, St Davids, St Asaph and Llandaf culminating in the passing of the Bill to disestablish and disendow the Anglican Church in Wales – and create the disestablished Church in Wales in 1920 – was overshadowed by the First World War which was declared in August 1914, days after the measure had been approved by parliament (Morgan, *Span of the Cross*, pp. 30-7). The bill's passing was a somewhat anachronistic success. Although it showed the popular and political strength of Nonconformity in Wales, by then the bulk of the people were moving on from internecine religious strife to a more secular and non-religious future.

In the 1890s and in the first few years of the twentieth century, English Nonconformity was enjoying its Indian summer. The Mudie-Smith inquiry into church attendance in London in 1903 concluded that 'In point of numbers, in strength of organisation, in new adventure, in spiritual tone and vigour, and in influence upon the public conduct and conscience - they [Nonconformists] lead the way'. Free Church membership continued to grow until 1906, and was particularly strong in the three years after 1902, as a consequence of the fighting spirit generated in hostility to the Balfour Education Act of that year. Increasing numbers on the membership rolls, the strength of Nonconformist-organised leisure activities, newspapers and close links with the Liberal party (who were returned to power in 1906) gave the Free Churches for a brief period a wider national constituency. Their influence was almost comparable with that of the national church. But it needs to be emphasized that their moment in the limelight was a brief one. By the end of the twentieth century's first decade, all the older Free Church bodies were experiencing rapid decline.

cf. Robbins, *England, Ireland, Scotland Wales*, pp. 5-10, 30-2, 77; Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, pp. 100-30; Morgan, *Span of the Cross*, pp. 15-23.

An interesting exception: The Salvation Army



Image of General Booth

The Salvation Army was a relatively new arrival on the late Victorian and Edwardian scene, spreading rapidly, and exerting a lasting influence, both as a Christian denomination and as a social work agency. Although properly understood as in origin a late-nineteenth rather than a twentieth-century denomination, the Salvation Army illustrates the interesting point that in the period covered by this module, it is the newer Christian denominations which exhibit the fastest patterns of growth. In the twentieth century, the British membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (the Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists, the Pentecostal Churches and the Jehovah's Witnesses have all risen steadily, whilst the membership of older denominations have all declined.

The Salvation Army in its early years was most emphatically not a middle-class organisation, and was far removed from the genteel world of traditional Nonconformity. The founder, William Booth, had been a minister in the Methodist New Connexion, but in 1861 the Connexion refused to sanction him as a travelling evangelist. He broke away and became a travelling evangelist anyway, founding the Christian Mission in the East End of London in 1865. By 1878 the Mission had developed into the Salvation Army. The Army sought to present itself in self-consciously proletarian terms dispensing with all 'churchy' language and associations. Rather than organs and surpliced choirs, it had brass bands and songster brigades. It adapted popular music borrowed from contemporary styles. It had no chapels, but citadels or barracks, designed to look like music halls. It used the flags, uniforms and language reminiscent of contemporary popular imperialism, and its journal was called *The War Cry*. It was an autocratic organisation, with Booth himself as the first General, and other members of his family in key positions. In one important respect, however, it departed from militaristic codes. From the beginning the Army gave equal status to women, who were eligible not simply to become soldiers, but to be officers, on equal terms with men. This was revolutionary for its time, and it reveals that in this respect, the Salvation Army was returning to the patterns of early Methodist revivalism, in which eighteenth-century women had also played a large part. Booth's wife Catherine played a central role in the Salvation Army, and was in many ways the brains behind the organisation. The Booths' daughter and grand-daughters were also active in what became a dynastic form of leadership which lasted well into the twentieth century.

Booth developed an intensely practical approach to social problems and he publicised his work in his book *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890) (Document 1). Booth was a great publicist, using every opportunity, even family occasions such as his children's weddings and his wife's funeral, to give glory to the Salvation Army. It would have been easy for late Victorian society to pour scorn on the bogus General, in his military tunic and top hat, but in fact he became a national institution. People were impressed by the Army's social work activities, which were firmly in place by the 1890s. They ran soup kitchens and hostels for the homeless, and Booth experimented with some quite radical ideas for getting the poor out of poverty. The Salvation Army's theology was firmly Arminian; God's love embraced everyone, and all could be saved. They were also strictly teetotal. Growth was phenomenal. In 1900, about twenty-five years after its foundation, it had a total membership approaching 100,000, with 4,000 full-time officers and workers and over 1,300 buildings and centres. Booth remained at the helm until his death in 1912, when his son, Bramwell

Booth, became the second General. In the twentieth century, the Salvation Army became a world-wide denomination, with members in almost every country.

In addition to the introductory material and the conclusion, the extracts from *In Darkest England* comprise the first two chapters of Part I, which seek to diagnose and describe the problems of contemporary England, and the first two chapters of Part II, which outline Booth's proposed solutions. Themes which emerge particularly strongly are Booth's departure from Victorian norms with his refusal to make a distinction between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor, and his 'shocking' comparisons between the state of 'darkest Africa' and 'darkest England'. Booth strongly opposed that strand of social Darwinism which believed that the weak should 'go to the wall'. He raised the theological question of why the churches were trying to save people from a future in hell, when they were living in hell already. Some of his practical proposals, for example the Missing Persons Bureau, are still associated with the work of the Salvation Army. Other plans, such as the waste collection and recycling scheme, were derided at the time but now seem far-sighted. Of his proposals for the three colonies, the city colony, the farm colony and the overseas colony, only the overseas colony was still-born. What is remarkable is how much of the blueprint outlined by Booth was put into action, even if not all of the projects have survived to the present day. Booth wrote the book partly to publicise and to raise funds for the Salvation Army. A donation form was included in every copy. He also wanted volunteers: 'I want men; and when I say men, I mean women also - men of experience, men of brains, men of heart, and men of God'.

Further Reading

- Clyde Binfield, 'Hebrews Hellenized? English Evangelical Nonconformity and Culture, 1840-1940' in Sheridan Gilley & W.J. Sheils (eds.) *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
- Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Church-goers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) useful for the whole module, for those with an interest in statistics.
- Sheridan Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Church in England, 1780-1940' in Sheridan Gilley & W.J. Sheils (eds.) *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
- Roy Hattersley, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and Their Salvation Army* (London: Brown, 1999).
- Trystan Owain Hughes, *Winds of Change: the Roman Catholic Church and Society in Wales 1916-62* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999).
- David Ceri Jones et al., *The Elect Methodists: Calvinistic Methodism in England and Wales, 1735-1811* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).
- Robert Pope, 'Evan Roberts in Theological Context', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (2005), 144-69.
- Robert Pope, 'Demythologizing the Evan Roberts Revival', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53/3 (2006), 515-34.
- Glanmor Williams et.al, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603-1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007).
- John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843 - 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).