

The Progress of Ecclesiology and Ritualism in Wales

By NIGEL YATES

On 16 December 1841 Bishop Connop Thirlwall of St David's, using 'his newly acquired proficiency in the Welsh language', consecrated the new district church at Llangorwen, in the Cardiganshire parish of Llanbadarn Fawr, using Bishop Andrewes' service which had been translated into Welsh for the occasion.¹ What was particularly significant about this occasion was that, deep in one of the most rural and inaccessible dioceses of England and Wales, the new church should, within eight years of the preaching of Keble's assize sermon and the launch of *The Tracts for the Times*, be one which manifested only too clearly the teachings of the new breed of Anglican high churchmen. Llangorwen church, which has remained largely unaltered over the intervening 160 years, was hailed by them as

one of the most complete and successful imitations of ancient models that the present age has produced. The interior fittings are perfect, low open stalls of oak and chestnut (all free); a carved eagle and litany desk; a rood screen, an altar of Bath stone with an arcaded reredos behind it, and a table of prothesis.²

Pulpit and reading desk were low and unobtrusive, and the chancel was raised high above the level of the nave to emphasise the supremacy of the sacrament of Holy Communion over all other liturgical observances. Whilst those who had been responsible for this new district church, Matthew Davies Williams of Cwmcynfelin, near Aberystwyth, and his brother Isaac Williams, a member of the inner Tractarian circle at Oxford, might have hoped that it would be one of many in Wales, they were to be sadly disappointed. At the end of the nineteenth century the four Welsh dioceses were among those that had been least influenced by the Oxford Movement. The diocese that had been most influenced, to judge from the number of churches in which various liturgical innovations had been adopted, was Llandaff, but even here it was significantly below the national average. The other Welsh dioceses were almost at the bottom of the list, slightly ahead of the dioceses of Carlisle and Sodor and Man.³

Whilst the impact of the Oxford Movement in Wales may have been limited, it was certainly not a Tractarian-free area. The purpose of this article is to look in more detail at those parts of Wales which did experience some Tractarian activity between 1840 and 1875, in what might be seen as the first phase of the Oxford Movement's parochial impact. There are two main areas in which Tractarian activity can be detected. The first is in the programme of church building and restoration. The second is in liturgical innovation. Both of these have been objectively recorded. That does not mean of course that there were not Tractarian clergy and laity who have left very little evidence of their opinions, and who may have been very careful to ensure that these were not made available to public scrutiny at a time when anti-popery was such a strong feature of religious sentiment as much, if not more, in Wales than it was in England.⁴ Although the programme of church building and restoration pre-dated the Oxford Movement, a new dimension was injected into it by the establishment at both Oxford and Cambridge, and later in

other areas, of societies that advocated different models of liturgical arrangement, of the sort that had been adopted at Llangorwen, which were calculated to give architectural expression to Tractarian teaching. At the same time other, or in some cases the same, Tractarians were advocating greater ceremonial in Anglican services and a commitment to daily services in church and, at the very least, weekly celebrations of Holy Communion. These two offshoots from the Oxford Movement, though the relationship is more complicated than that,⁵ are generally known as ecclesiology and ritualism. They will be considered separately in this article.

ECCLESIOLOGY

There are three major sources for the study of the progress of ecclesiology in Wales. The first is the surviving church notes of Sir Stephen Glynne. Glynne (1807-74) succeeded his father in 1815 as the ninth baronet and owner of the Hawarden Castle estate in Flintshire. He was Member of Parliament for the Flint Boroughs from 1832 to 1837 and for Flintshire from 1837 to 1847. In 1845 he became Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire, and in 1837 his sister Catherine married the future Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone. It is, however, not for his limited role in public affairs that Glynne is remembered but for the detailed notes he made of his visits to churches throughout the British Isles, which are now preserved in 106 manuscript volumes at St Deiniol's Library, Hawarden. These cover a period of fifty years from 1824.⁶ In many cases, especially before 1850, Glynne does not mention the furnishings or liturgical arrangements of churches in any detail, but thereafter it is nearly always possible to tell from his descriptions whether or not churches had been restored, and how extensively. Glynne's notes on the churches he visited in Wales were published, having been transcribed and lightly edited by Archdeacon D. R. Thomas of Montgomery, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* between 1884 and 1902.⁷ The second source is Thomas himself, his detailed history of the individual parishes in the diocese of St Asaph, published in 1874, frequently including an extensive description of their churches.⁸ The third source is the surviving examples of churches built or refitted between 1840 and 1875 which have retained, wholly or substantially, unaltered furnishings and liturgical arrangements of this period. The cumulative evidence from these three sources, which admirably complement one another, suggest that the progress of ecclesiology in Wales was comparatively modest before the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It was not simply that churches were remaining unrestored but that where restorations took place, or where new churches were erected, they continued to be furnished and arranged liturgically in a pre-ecclesiological manner.

Date of visit	1841-51	1852-62	1863-73
Ruinous condition	4	2	4
Pews or crude benches	48	32	24
Open seats	5	13	19
Fully ecclesiological	-	-	4
Totals	57	47	51

Sir Stephen Glynne provides descriptions of 155 churches in Wales visited between 1841 and 1873 which include sufficient information to permit a moderately accurate reconstruction of the interior furnishings and liturgical arrangement. There is, however, both a geographical and a typological imbalance in the selection of these buildings. Glynne only visits ancient (i.e. pre-1800) parish churches and chapelries, including some that had been virtually rebuilt, but not any of the new district churches established in the nineteenth century. Most of his visits to churches in the diocese of Llandaff took place before 1850 and there are therefore far fewer detailed descriptions of the interiors of churches in this diocese than there are for the dioceses of Bangor, St Asaph and St David's. Bearing these limitations in mind, there is a clear trend in the evidence from Glynne's entries, as Table 1 shows. It is not until the 1860s that Glynne is finding churches restored in a fully ecclesiological manner. These were Llanbrynmair (Mont.), visited on 17 September 1863; Merthyr Cynog (Breckn.), visited on 25 April 1865; Christ College Chapel, Brecon, visited on 12 June 1869; and Angle (Pemb.), visited on 5 August 1871. At the three parish churches the chancels had been stalled and the naves fitted with open seats. At Merthyr Cynog the sanctuary had been 'laid with new tiles' and at Angle the windows had been filled with 'new coloured glass'. The altar had candlesticks. At Christ College Chapel Glynne noted that 'the altar is raised, and the sacrarium laid with new tiles. There is also a new reredos and stone pulpit and the choir is fitted with chairs for divine service'.⁹ Angle was one of only eight parish churches in the diocese of St David's to have a weekly communion service in 1874 (see Appendix 2). The main reason for Glynne finding no examples of ecclesiological interiors before the 1860s is that all the earliest examples of such interiors in Wales were confined to either completely new district churches or total rebuildings of ancient parish churches. In addition to the church at Llangorwen, described in the opening paragraph of this article, there were pre-1860 ecclesiological interiors in Wales at Pentrobin (Flints.) of 1843, paid for by Sir Stephen Glynne,¹⁰ Llangasty Talyllyn (Breckn.), begun in 1848 but still unfinished in 1856,¹¹ Sketty (Glam.) of 1849-50, Merthyr Mawr (Glam.) of 1849-51,¹² and Gwersyllt (Denb.) of 1850-1.¹³ Glynne was also responsible for the ecclesiological restoration of his own parish church at Hawarden (Flints.), begun in the mid-1850s but not completed until the mid-1870s.¹⁴

The main difference between Glynne's earlier descriptions of church interiors and his later ones is in the proportion of churches that were completely unrestored and in some cases in ruinous condition, and those that had seen some measure of restoration, which if not ecclesiological, had at least seen box pews replaced with open benches. Of the ten ruinous churches noted by Glynne, eight were so because they had been replaced by new buildings and were now only used for burials: Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog and Llanidan (Angl.); Aberdaron, Llandudno and Llangelynnin (Caern.); Llandanwg, Llangar and Llangelynnin (Mer.). The exceptions were the parish churches at Llanlleonfel (Breckn.), described in 1867 as 'a most deplorable object . . . being literally in a state of ruin, with roof full of holes, interior dismantled, windows unglazed, and long abandoned as unfit for divine service', and Upton (Pemb.), also 'disused for divine service, and much out of condition' in 1871.¹⁵ Only one church still in regular use was described by Glynne in similar manner and this was Llanddew (Breckn.), which he visited on 1 July 1865:

The state of the church is truly deplorable. The nave only is used for service, and partitioned off by a boarded division ... The south transept ... was formerly used as a school, which has now been given up for lack of funds The north transept is dilapidated,

and without pavement. The chancel, though dirty and neglected, is capable of being improved ... The nave is pewed ... Against the partition at the east of the nave is a shabby chest, used as the altar. . . The font is now in the chancel, and apparently never used.¹⁶

Although a number of churches were noted as being in poor repair these were in a clear minority of the buildings visited, even among those that had not undergone a major restoration. The worst cases noted by Glynne were at Llanaber (Mer.), described in 1841 as ‘very much out of repair, damp, and altogether neglected’; Penmachno (Caern.), ‘in an extremely bad state of dilapidation’ in 1850; Llanfair Caereinion (Mont.), where ‘the interior presents an extraordinary appearance of slovenliness’ in 1858; Llanarmon (Caern.), ‘the walls and floor damp, and the windows with broken glass’ in 1861; Llanellieu (Breckn.), ‘in a sad state of neglect’ in 1869; and Llancarfan (Glam.), which was noted in 1871 as being ‘untidy and neglected, though some faint symptoms of restoration occur in the chancel’.¹⁷ Glynne was also critical of churches with bare earth or clay floors such as those at Llangynydd (Llangennith) and Rhosili (Glam.) and Marloes (Pemb.); those in which altars had been placed lengthwise in the chancel with one of their short ends adjacent to the east wall, as at Llanfairpwllgwyngyll and Llantrisant (Angl.), Llanllyfni (Caern.), St George (Denb.) and Port Einon (Glam.); those with pulpits placed at the west end of the nave, as at Llanallgo (Angl.), or directly in front of the altar, as at St Thomas’, Haverfordwest, Lamphey and Walwyn’s Castle (Pemb.); and even the arrangements at Llanbeblig (Caern.) where ‘the pulpit, though not in the centre, has its back to the altar’.¹⁸

Glynne’s ecclesiological prejudices and sympathies were clear enough, but he was not a perfectionist and readily acknowledged the efforts that both clergy and laity were making to maintain their churches in good order, even if the improvements made fell short of the ecclesiological ideal. At St Ishmael’s (Pemb.) in 1856 he described the church as

creditably distinguished from its neighbours in having undergone a well intended though not quite satisfactory restoration, and being in a clean and tidy condition ... The interior is very neat but the pews, though regular, are far too high.¹⁹

Llanmerewig (Mont.) he found in 1858 to be

now altered and ornamented in a very questionable manner, though at some expense and with the best intentions ... nor is the interior satisfactory, though neat and well cared for. The pews remain, the pulpit very high and there is a west gallery.²⁰

Occasionally Glynne visited a church both before and after restoration and has left a record of the changes. When he visited West Walton (Pemb.) in 1851 he noted that the ‘church is now in a most forlorn state of dilapidation, but improvement is contemplated’. When he revisited in 1856 the church was ‘now in an excellent state, thoroughly restored and partially rebuilt. . . the seats low, open, and uniform’.²¹ In 1852 he noted that the church at Llanegryn (Mer.)

has lately been greatly improved by the munificence of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., and contrasts favourably with the neglected condition of its neighbours, and further restoration and improvement is intended. . . The gallery has disappeared and a new arrangement of the seats is contemplated. The altar is elegantly vested, and the sacrarium laid with encaustic tiles.²²



Plate 1a. Manordeifi Church, Pembroke, refitted 1847.
Thomas Lloyd.



Plate 1b. Llangwyfan Church, Denbigh, refitted 1859.
National Monuments Record for Wales.

The overall conclusion to be drawn from Glynne's notes is that, though there were some cases of outright neglect of church buildings in Wales between 1840 and 1875, the majority were maintained in good repair and many had been the object of extensive restoration. What, however, is quite clear is that most of these restorations manifested little if any ecclesiological influence, and those that did dated largely from the period after 1860.

Rural Deanery	Insufficiently described interiors	Unrestored interiors	Interiors with open seats	Ecclesiological interiors
St Asaph	4	6	1	3
Cedewain	1	6	6	2
Denbigh	6	6	2	4
Dyffryn Clwyd	9	4	2	2
Holywell	9	4	2	2
Llangollen	8	1	2	1
Llanrwst	11	3	1	1
Mold	7	4	1	6
Penllyn and Edeirnion	10	2	4	1
Pool and Caereinion	18	2	3	4
Wrexham	12	1	2	7
Totals	95	39	26	33

Glynne's observations were confirmed by Archdeacon Thomas. Table 2 analyses his description of each church in the diocese of St Asaph²³ and places them in one of four categories: insufficient information to determine the condition of the interior; unrestored; open seating; ecclesiological. It is unlikely, based on comparisons with Glynne's evidence for the same individual buildings or that from buildings which still preserve interiors earlier than the date of their description by Thomas, that any of his 'insufficiently described' interiors were ecclesiological, but they could have fallen into either the 'unrestored' or the 'open seating' category. Again the evidence is very clear. Of the 98 churches in the Welsh parishes of the diocese where the interiors can be reasonably reconstructed from Thomas's descriptions, 40% were wholly pre-ecclesiological, 34% were ecclesiological and 26% combined ecclesiological and pre-ecclesiological features. This was a significantly lower proportion of ecclesiological interiors than that noted for the 75 churches in the English archdeaconry of Lindisfarne (54%) in 1870.²⁴ Among the churches in the diocese that had not felt the impact of the ecclesiological movement nearly forty years after its beginnings was the new parish church at Newtown (Mont.), built in 1847 with box pews, galleries and a central three-decker pulpit. There was a similar central three-decker pulpit at St David's, Denbigh, built in 1840, and collegiate pewing at Llaneilian and St Mary's, Llanrwst (Denb.). Bistre (Flints.) had been built in 1842 with blocks of box pews against the side walls and open benches across the middle of the nave.²⁵ The limited progress of ecclesiology in the diocese is confirmed by comparing the entries in

Thomas with the descriptions by Glynne of 26 churches in the diocese, 25 of which he found unrestored and a further one (Ruabon, Denb.) having open seats. From the entries in Thomas it is clear that 17 out of 25 of Glynne's unrestored churches remained unrestored. Two had open seats instead of pews and Llanelian (Denb.) had been refitted in a collegiate but pre-ecclesiological manner as noted above. Five churches, including Ruabon, had been either restored or rebuilt in an ecclesiological manner. A partial restoration had also taken place at Aberhafesp (Mont.), where Glynne had noted that 'the internal arrangements are bad' in 1855:

on a certain Monday in November 1866, a sufficient number of hands were introduced by the Rector, the gallery was removed ... the pew doors removed, and the pews cut down to one uniform height; the pulpit, with its first and second story was lowered and removed ... and all was finished by Sunday.²⁶

Overall, however, the evidence provided by Thomas shows that the progress of ecclesiology, at least in the diocese of St Asaph, and almost certainly in the other Welsh dioceses for which comparative evidence is not so readily available, was extremely slow before the 1870s. Research for the *Buildings of Wales* volumes published to date, which excludes the whole of the diocese of Bangor, much of the pre-1920 diocese of St David's and part of the diocese of St Asaph, confirms that many churches in the diocese of Llandaff and in the remaining parts of the dioceses of St Asaph and St David's received either their first, or otherwise a subsequent, major restoration in the last quarter of the nineteenth, or the first decade of the twentieth, centuries.

The final piece of evidence, that from the surviving wholly or substantially unaltered church interiors of the period between 1840 and 1875, shows that a remarkably high proportion of these buildings, at least until 1860, were either not fully ecclesiological, or in some cases wholly pre-ecclesiological, in their liturgical arrangement. A similar pattern can be found in many parts of England - for example in Dorset, of thirty churches that retain wholly or largely complete furnishings of the 1840s and 1850s, only seven (23%) were fully ecclesiological — but in Wales the building or refitting of churches in a wholly or substantially pre-ecclesiological manner seems to have survived well into the 1860s and 1870s. Here the comparison should be with Scotland rather than with England, for there are some important examples of very traditionally arranged Scottish presbyterian churches — for example Kinneff (Aberdeenshire) of 1876 and Sleat (Highland) of 1876-7 — to compare with the similarly late examples of traditionally arranged Anglican buildings in Wales.²⁷ From the 1860s there were certainly a growing number of ecclesiological buildings in Wales — Abbey Cwmhir (Radn.) of 1866, Betws Penpont (Breckn.) of 1864, Beulah (Breckn.) of 1867, Bwlchycibau (Mont.) of 1862-4, Elerch (Card.) of 1868, Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd (Denb.) of 1863, Llandysilio (Mont.) of 1867-8 and St Augustine's, Penarth (Glam.) of 1865-6 are all good examples²⁸ — but they still had to compete with buildings of a much more traditional type, of which there are a number of important surviving examples.²⁹ The most conservative of these arrangements were those which still retained box pews and either two- or three-decker pulpits. The latest surviving examples of churches with both box pews and two- or three-decker pulpits are those at Llandygwning (Caern.) of 1840, Redberth (Pemb.) of 1841 and Nash (Pemb.) of 1842. However, box pews of a substantially later date survive at Llanigon (Breckn.) of 1856-7, Llangwyfan (Denb.) of 1859, Llandyfrydog (Angl.) of 1862 and Trawsfynydd (Merion.), visited by Sir Stephen Glynne on 17 June 1867:

this church has been lately restored, and the interior put into very decorous condition ... The new seats are low and uniform, but have doors, and the woodwork is mostly varnished.³⁰

There are late survivals of the two-decker pulpit and reading desk arrangement, but with the seating provided by open benches rather than box pews, at two Montgomeryshire churches, Llanfyllin, refitted in 1863-4, and Llanwyddelan, rebuilt in 1865. What is perhaps somewhat surprising about the very conservative restoration at Llanfyllin is that it was praised at the time by the sort of people who in England would have treated it with contempt, the editors of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, the principality's leading architectural and historical journal:

we are glad of the opportunity to mention that the church at Llanfyllin . . . has lately had its interior treated in a most judicious manner by Mr W. Scott of Liverpool, under the auspices of the Rector. New seats properly arranged, instead of pews; a chancel screened off, under high stone arches; windows framed in stone, and stained glass, have actually transformed this edifice from a barn into a satisfactory place of Christian worship. It is a striking example of what may be done, even in the most hopeless cases, when good sense and sufficient architectural skill are combined.³¹

When one considers that the seating was arranged in three blocks in the nave eschewing the central passageway that ecclesiologists regarded as *de rigueur*, that the chancel was not stalled, and that it was separated from the nave by what was then a highly unfashionable neo-Norman arcade, the account of its completion is 'a striking example' of the conservatism of ecclesiastical taste in Wales in the mid-1860s.

In both England and Wales there was a dramatic growth in the early nineteenth century in the type of church in which pulpits and reading desks were not placed together on one side of the nave but on opposite sides of the entrance to the chancel. Initially this arrangement was introduced into churches with box pews but increasingly into ones in which the seating was provided by open benches. Though examples of such buildings are now exceptionally rare in England, they are much more plentiful in Wales, the latest surviving example being that at Castelldwyrn (Carm.) of 1876. That such late examples of pre-ecclesiological arrangements were once even more common in Wales can be seen from Sir Stephen Glynne's description of Yrbeston (Pemb.), a church once thought to have been refitted with pulpit and reading desk on opposite sides of the entrance to the chancel in c.1840 and now derelict,³² but clearly actually restored shortly before Glynne's visit on 29 June 1867:

the church has been lately repaired, and has quite a new look; all the windows are modern, the nave is fitted with open benches of pine. The whole is neat and clean, but rather cold within, and the chancel walls are painted blue.³³

Another church in the same area, Eglwys Cymyn (Carm.), illustrated in conjunction with a restoration appeal in 1900, had a pulpit and reading desk placed on opposite sides of the chancel arch in 1870.³⁴ As well as the churches built in a deliberately archaic and pre-ecclesiological style after 1840, the prevailing conservatism of the established church in Wales can be seen in many restorations of medieval buildings. A particularly good example is Llandrinio (Mont.), restored in 1860 and again in 1891. The chancel has never been stalled for a surpliced choir, and

the west gallery, enlarged in 1829 and with its front embellished with benefaction boards, has been retained. The seating, which dates from 1860, is open, but the pulpit and reading desk are parts of a seventeenth-century three-decker arrangement, and the reredos is also made up from seventeenth-century woodwork. The remains of the former box pews have been used to line the lower parts of the walls and the altar rails date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.³⁵ It is an interesting coincidence that this was the church of which Archdeacon Thomas, who might have been tempted to re-order it in a more ecclesiological manner in his younger years, was the rector for the last twenty-four years of his life and ministry.

RITUALISM

In a recent study of the impact of the Oxford Movement in Wales the author, D. P. Freeman, concludes that

during the 1860s Ritualism flooded into parts of Wales, especially in the Anglicised areas. If Wales had been slow to take up the principles of the Oxford Movement during the 1830s then, by the 1860s, she had caught up, and the Ritualism in England ... was equally prevalent in large parts of Wales.³⁶

If ritualism is widely interpreted to include the most modest manifestations of ecclesiology and Tractarianism then it was true that more of this was apparent in some parts of Wales in the 1860s and 1870s than it had been in the 1840s and 1850s, but the increase was marginal. E. W. Bolney, vicar of Sketty (Glam.) 1865-1903, had Morning Prayer and Holy Communion on holy days, but this was little advance on the services on holy days held by the Tractarian incumbent of Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn (Card.) in 1845.³⁷ The sort of ritualism that was the subject of a royal commission set up in 1867 and parliamentary legislation introduced in 1874 was almost totally absent, though there were areas of England in which a similar paucity of ritualist churches existed. *The Tourist's Church Guide*,³⁸ the first edition of which was published in 1874, and which aimed at, though probably did not succeed in, including every Anglican church in the British Isles in which there was a weekly communion service (by that date a clear sign of Tractarian influence) contains entries for only 33 churches in Wales. At least four of these, the cathedrals at Bangor, Llandaff and St Asaph, and probably the church at Llandegfan (Angl.), were offering no more liturgically than might have been expected in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, but the other 29 appear to show some evidence of Tractarian influence: the provision of weekly, or at least occasional, communion services at an hour early enough to permit the communicants to receive fasting; holy communion on holy days; morning or evening prayer on every day of the week; and the use of Gregorian chant. Half the churches listed had weekly early celebrations and used Gregorian chant, two thirds had communion services on holy days, and virtually all had regular weekday services.³⁹ The number of advanced churches, which might qualify for the title ritualist, were very small, and all located within the south-eastern counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire: Llanmadoc in the former, Caldicot and Llanwenarth Ultra in the latter. There were protests in the local newspapers about processions with banners at Caldicot in 1864, and a general criticism of Bishop Ollivant of Llandaff 'for not doing more to oppose the growth of Ritualism' in his diocese.⁴⁰ There were, however, signs of committed Tractarianism, and possibly creeping ritualism, in the diocese of Bangor at Beaumaris (Angl.), Llanfairfechan and Pwllheli (Caern.), Barmouth, Dolgellau and Tywyn

(Mer.); in the diocese of Llandaff at Aberdare, Cardiff, Dowlais and Roath (Glam.), Llanfrechfa and Overmorrow (Mon.); in the diocese of St Asaph at Llangollen (Denb.), Hawarden (Flints.) and Welshpool (Mont.); and in the diocese of St David's at Llangasty Talylyn (Brekn.), Laugharne (Carm.), Reynoldston (Glam.) and Tenby (Pemb.). In the rest of this article we shall look at some of these parishes and the clergy associated with them. An interesting omission from the list is the pioneering Tractarian parish of Llangorwen (Card.). When the first incumbent, Lewis Gilbertson,⁴¹ resigned in 1852, the living was offered to G. A. Jones,⁴² later the well-known ritualist vicar of St Mary's, Cardiff, who declined it, probably on the grounds of his youth and inexperience, though he was certainly attracted by the offer:

Daily Service is offered and a prospect of Weekly Communion, a good Churchman as squire of the parish, and being the means of preventing the work which has been begun from falling off⁴³

It is interesting to speculate what the future of Llangorwen might have been had Jones accepted the invitation to succeed Gilbertson; as it was, the parish fossilised in 'a restrained Tractarian tradition'.⁴⁴ Whilst Llangorwen was an interesting omission from the *Tourist's Church Guide*, an equally interesting inclusion was the chapel of St David's College, Lampeter. The churchmanship of the first principal, Llewelyn Lewellin,⁴⁵ has been described as 'of an old-fashioned High Church nature, laying great stress on the Holy Communion',⁴⁶ but before 1879, when Bishop Basil Jones of St David's insisted on their being performed in full, the daily services in the chapel had been considerably shortened. There was initially a monthly celebration of Holy Communion but this had become weekly on Sundays at 8.30 a.m., with a monthly Sung Eucharist at 11 a.m., by 1885.⁴⁷ It seems likely that the use of Gregorian chant recorded in 1874 was an innovation made under the influence of W. H. Davey, vice-principal from 1872, who had been vice-principal of Cuddesdon, the Tractarian theological college near Oxford, between 1855 and 1864.⁴⁸

It might be suspected that Tractarianism, and especially ritualism, would have been imported into the Welsh church by clergy of English origins, but, though some Englishmen did indeed figure among the ranks of the leading Tractarian and ritualist clergy in Wales, a significant number were of Welsh birth and upbringing. The roots of Tractarian influence in Wales can be pinpointed very exactly to the diocese of Bangor, where the Hackney Phalanx bishop, Christopher Bethell,⁴⁹ approved of Tractarian teaching and was willing both to ordain and to appoint to benefices in his diocese men of strong Tractarian sympathies. A number of leading Welsh Tractarians and ritualists began their ecclesiastical careers in the diocese of Bangor during Bethell's episcopate. In addition to G. A. Jones, already mentioned, they included P. C. Ellis,⁵⁰ Evan Lewis⁵¹ and Morris Williams.⁵² All were born in Wales and matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford. Three other Welsh-born Tractarians, who did not have Bangor connections, were J. D. Davies,⁵³ R. W. Morgan⁵⁴ and John Williams.⁵⁵ Williams was also at Jesus College, Oxford, but Davies was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and Morgan at St David's College, Lampeter. G. A. Jones and J. D. Davies were both sons of clergymen, their respective fathers being rectors of Llangwm (Denb.) and Reynoldston (Glam.). R. W. Morgan was the nephew of John Williams, archdeacon of Cardigan and first warden of Llandovery College. Evan Lewis married the daughter of J. H. Cotton, dean of Bangor, who was also his rector at Llanllechid (Caern.). John Williams and Morris Williams were both prolific writers of hymns in Welsh and



Plate 2a. Llandwrog Church, Caernarvonshire, by Henry Kennedy, 1860.
National Monuments Record for Wales.



Plate 2b. Rhiw Church, Caernarvonshire, refitted 1860-1.
National Monuments Record for Wales.

prominent in the *eisteddfod* movement under their respective bardic names of *Ab Ithel* and *Nicander*. John Williams and R. W. Morgan, who had the bardic name *Môr Meirion*, were also dedicated, though not very scholarly, antiquarians, the former publishing *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry* in 1844 and translating the latter's *The British Kymry*, published in 1857, into Welsh in the following year. Morgan set out to prove that the Welsh nation could trace its descent from Noah, through his eldest son Japheth who

had seven sons, each of whom became the Protal Father of one of the seven Nations that made up the great Japhetic race, - viz. Chomr or Gomer the eldest, the Father of the Kymry, or Cimbri . . . The present little work confines itself to an Outline of the History of the Eldest of these Races — the Children of Gomer.⁵⁶

This 'outline' traced the descent from the children of Gomer through the British and Welsh princes to Henry Tudor and Queen Victoria. After he resigned the perpetual curacy of Tregynon (Mont.) in 1862, Morgan served a number of curacies in different parts of England. In 1874 he appears to have been consecrated by the autocephalous bishop Jules Ferrette under the title of Mar Pelagius I, Hierarch of Caerleon-on-Usk and first Patriarch of a restored Ancient British Church, though he continued to serve curacies in the Church of England.⁵⁷ John Williams, *Ab Ithel*, shared the same nationalistic outlook as R. W. Morgan, though with slightly fewer eccentricities. His biographer⁵⁸ regarded him as a model parish priest, strongly Tractarian in his theology though no ritualist.

Although his opinions were, to a certain extent, those of what is called High Church, he carefully refrained from the extravagancies of dress and vesture with which the formalists in the church have encrusted her worship.⁵⁹

He was one of the leaders of the campaign against the proposed union of the dioceses of Bangor and St Asaph and he issued a formal protest against the Gorham Judgement. During a period of temporary ill-health in 1852-3 he employed a curate at Llanymawddwy (Mer.) and served the church at Llangorwen (Card.), where the climate was healthier, during the vacancy following the resignation of Lewis Gilbertson and the refusal of G. A. Jones to accept the living. He extended the church at Nercwys (Flints.) in 1847⁶⁰ and rebuilt that at Llanymawddwy in 1855. There is, however, no doubt that his controversial involvement in Welsh historical and literary scholarship, and in the *eisteddfod* movement, made him many enemies and compromised his role as one of the leaders of the Tractarian party in Wales.

Whereas Tractarians like Lewis Gilbertson, R. W. Morgan, John Williams *Ab Ithel* and Morris Williams *Nicander* could not be categorised as ritualists, others, such as J. D. Davies, P. C. Ellis, G. A. Jones and Evan Lewis could be more legitimately placed in that category. Davies seems an unlikely candidate to have become, by the mid-1860s, the most advanced ritualist incumbent in Wales.⁶¹ He was born in the rectory at Oxwich, where his father was acting as curate to a non-resident rector, and spent almost the whole of his life within the confines of the Gower peninsula, his father becoming rector of Reynoldston in 1834. After graduating at Trinity College, Dublin, he was ordained to a curacy at Nicholaston in 1855 and in 1860 was presented to both the rectory of Llanmadoc and the curacy of the neighbouring parish of Cheriton, where the rector was non-resident. He succeeded to the rectory of Cheriton in 1867

and in the following year the two parishes were formally united to form a consolidated benefice, their combined populations being about five hundred. He held both parishes until his death in 1911. Like some of the other Welsh Tractarians, Davies was a committed antiquarian. He published four volumes of his *History of West Gower* between 1877 and 1894, and assembled the material for other volumes which shortage of funds prevented him from publishing. He rebuilt the rectory at Llanmadoc but remained unmarried, being looked after by a housekeeper and one maid. He restored the churches at both Cheriton and Llanmadoc and filled them with his own carved furniture: the altar table and rails, choir stalls (of which only the fronts now survive) and roof bosses at Cheriton; the altar with its painted panels of the four evangelists at Llanmadoc, in which the interior remains exactly as Davies reordered it.⁶² Davies began to collect subscriptions for the restoration of Llanmadoc church immediately after he was instituted to the rectory in 1860 and the work was carried out in 1865-6. At the reopening of the church in 1866 the service was intoned, the clergy wore coloured stoles and there were lighted candles on the altar. Vestments were introduced a few weeks later. What is surprising is that events at Llanmadoc should have caused relatively little public outcry. There was a brief correspondence in *The Cambrian*, which lasted for a couple of months in 1866,⁶³ but Davies's popularity with his parishioners made him a difficult man to attack. Towards the end of his career he was attracting average morning congregations of thirty at Llanmadoc and forty at Cheriton, with more than double those at the evening services, very creditable figures for two small rural parishes which also had nonconformist places of worship. When Davies came to the two parishes in 1860, Holy Communion was celebrated monthly at Cheriton and six times a year at Llanmadoc; by 1877 there were seventy celebrations a year at Llanmadoc and thirty at Cheriton; the fact that there was a weekly communion service at Llanmadoc, but not yet one at Cheriton, explains the former's inclusion in, and the latter's exclusion from, the *Tourist's Church Guide* in 1874.

We have a valuable description of Davies in the surviving diaries of Francis Kilvert. Kilvert, though not himself a ritualist, had many ritualist friends, including G. A. Jones, with whom he visited the monastery founded by J. L. Lyne (Father Ignatius) at Llanthony on 10 July 1872.⁶⁴ Slightly earlier in the same year (16 April) Kilvert was staying with some friends.

After breakfast we set out to drive to Llan Madoc ... Westhorp and Mrs Westhorp went into the bare unfinished ugly barrack of a Rectory while I minded Bob and the waggonette. Presently they came out with the Vicar, Mr Davies, who looked like a Roman priest, close shaven and shorn, dressed in seedy black, a long coat and broad shovel hat. He took us into the Churchyard, but let us find our own way into the Church which was beautifully finished and adorned but fitted up in the high ritualistic style. The Vicar said that when he came to the place the Church was meaner than the meanest hovel in the village ... The house [rectory] was thoroughly untidy and bachelorlike ... he seemed to me an uncommonly kind good fellow, a truly simple-minded, single-hearted man.⁶⁵

It would be interesting to speculate on how much influence Davies had on his own father, who held the neighbouring rectory of Reynoldston until his death in 1873. In the following year the *Tourist's Church Guide* recorded communion services at 8.30 a.m. on Sundays and holy days and the use of Gregorian chant (also used at Llanmadoc) at Reynoldston.

P. C. Ellis has been described as showing ‘much zeal in promoting daily services, and changes in the furnishing and ritual of churches. His uncompromising Anglo-Catholicism led him to refuse to cooperate in any way with Dissenters’.⁶⁶ As perpetual curate of Llanfaes and Penmon (Angl.) he had got involved in a dispute with his bishop, the high church Christopher Bethell of Bangor, which almost led to disciplinary action being taken against him in 1856. This had resulted from the organisation of a petition to the bishop requiring him to take action against those parishes in his diocese where ‘a single service only is celebrated each Lord’s Day, where your lordship might require two’. Bethell thought the petition was ‘insolent’ and ‘mischievous’, since it clearly implied that the bishop was being negligent in not enforcing his requirements in respect of Sunday services, and the evil had been compounded by one of Ellis’s supporters ‘inserting your so-called petition in the newspapers’. The bishop demanded that Ellis should

attend in the Chapter Room at Bangor, before the Chancellor of the Diocese and a few other clergymen of standing in the Diocese; and you shall then read and subscribe the recantation and apology which shall be drawn up for you.

Ellis informed Bethell that if he wished to proceed against him he would have to do so under the provisions of the Church Discipline Act and in the meantime managed to lobby some impressive clerical support within the diocese. After some further acrimonious correspondence, Bethell decided to back down and

determined to drop the suit altogether, unless I should receive some further provocation ... Whilst I do not, in the slightest degree, alter the opinion which I expressed of your behaviour, which I willingly ascribe to infirmities of judgement and temper, I freely and fully forgive you ... But I have entered into the explanation that you may not suppose that my change of conduct indicates any change of opinion.⁶⁷

This dispute is an interesting example of the way in which pre-Tractarian high churchmen, many of whom like Bethell were not unsympathetic to the doctrinal position of the Tractarians, were extremely discomfited by Tractarian enthusiasm and what they felt were ungenerous and unwarranted attacks on their own brand of very firm but less demonstrative high churchmanship. In fact Ellis never became an extreme Tractarian or ritualist. His practice at Llanfairfechan (Caern.), as recorded in 1874, seems very conservative for that date, comprising only an early celebration of Holy Communion on Sundays, Morning Prayer on weekdays and the use of unlighted candles on the altar.

G. A. Jones began his ecclesiastical career in a relatively modest way but ended up as a full-blown ritualist. After serving the curacy of two Anglesey parishes for six years, he was appointed to the Merionethshire vicarage of Llanegryn in 1857. In 1862 he revived the celebration of the church’s dedication festival which fell on 15 August, the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This included services in church (Mattins and Sermon at 10.30 a.m., Litany at 2 p.m., Vespers and Sermon at 7 p.m.) and a cricket match in the school field. Forty years later a clerical colleague recorded that ‘to the best of my recollection he used linen vestments, two lights, and had a plainsong *Missa Cantata*, with Gregorian tones for Mattins and Evensong’. Another friend, the vicar of Tywyn, confirmed ‘the use of special

eucharistic vestments and altar lights for the celebration of the Holy Communion', though they were not mentioned by his successor as vicar of Llanegryn, for whom his introduction of a surpliced choir, 'a rare thing in those days in a Welsh country church', appeared to mark the high point of his ritual innovations.⁶⁸ The fact that Llanegryn was not one of the churches in Wales listed in the *Tourist's Church Guide* in 1874 suggested that it did not have a weekly communion service two years after G. A. Jones had left the parish, though this did not necessarily imply that neither eucharistic vestments nor lighted candles were then in use, since Cheriton (Glam) which in 1877 had both, did not then have a weekly communion service.

As at Llanmadoc and Cheriton, there appears to have been no serious opposition to the innovations at Llanegryn, and in 1871 G. A. Jones was offered, at about the same time, the vicarages of Roath and St Mary's, Cardiff. He chose to accept the latter and moved there in 1872. A contemporary illustration of the church at that time shows a typical urban church interior of the early nineteenth century, with galleries across the north and south aisles, seven blocks of box pews in the nave and aisles, including one in the middle section of the nave, and the pulpit and reading desk placed centrally at the east end of the nave, with the altar behind them in a shallow apsidal sanctuary.⁶⁹ Whereas at Llanegryn the liturgical changes introduced by Jones were, it appears, either passively, or perhaps even enthusiastically (if his official memoir is to be believed), accepted, this was not the case in Cardiff. The changes in ritual there, and in neighbouring Roath, provoked much more vociferous opposition and led to the setting up of three places of worship in the city and its suburbs by the Free Church of England between 1875 and 1896.⁷⁰ Although Jones began a daily celebration of Holy Communion at St Mary's 'almost from the beginning of his incumbency', he faced considerable opposition from his vestry in his attempts to remove the central pulpit. Initially he attempted to placate the Evangelical views of some parishioners by retaining the use of the black gown for preaching and the Sunday evening prayer meeting. It took some years before Jones was able to re-order the interior in a manner that suited him and the type of service he wished to introduce. The central pulpit was eventually removed in 1879, the reading desk having been relocated in 1874, and the church subsequently re-ordered and redecorated, the work being completed in 1884. By that date a Sung Eucharist had been introduced on Sundays at 11 a.m.; vestments had been worn on at least one occasion in 1875, provoking a complaint from Bishop Ollivant of Llandaff, but were not worn at all celebrations of Holy Communion until some years later.⁷¹ G. A. Jones and his neighbour at Roath, F. W. Puller, were both members of the Society of the Holy Cross, the earliest of the major ritualist organisations, founded in 1855. The other Welsh incumbents who were members in the 1870s were Lewis Jones of Dowlais, Evan Lewis of Dolgellau and E. O. Williams of Pwllheli.⁷²

Evan Lewis was perhaps the most interesting of the Welsh ritualists, and in a sense the core link between the members of the Hackney Phalanx benefited in Wales, the nationalist wing of the Welsh church and the small coterie of ritualists among the Welsh clergy. He began his long ecclesiastical career as the protégé of Bishop Bethell and Dean Cotton of Bangor. He served as curate to Cotton, who was also rector of Llanllechid, and he married Cotton's daughter. His elder brother, David, who was vice-principal of Jesus College and curate to J. H. Newman at St Mary's, Oxford, followed Newman into the Roman Catholic Church in 1846. He published an important defence of the doctrine of apostolic succession in Welsh⁷³ and made the initial contribution to the beginnings of parochial Tractarianism in the diocese of Llandaff at

Aberdare; the tradition which he established there survived him and had developed into full-blown ritualism by the end of the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ At Llanllechid Lewis abandoned the singing of metrical versions of the canticles and introduced chanting.⁷⁵ At Dolgellau he introduced Gregorian chant, daily services and early celebrations of Holy Communion on Sundays and holy days. His Tractarian views and moderate ritualism — the altar candles at Dolgellau were not lighted in 1874 — were not a bar to his further preferment and he became chancellor of Bangor cathedral in 1872 and dean in 1884. Lewis Jones and E. O. Williams were equally moderate in the level of ritual which they introduced into their respective churches at Dowlais and Pwllheli, both concentrating on the provision of daily services and early celebrations of Holy Communion on Sundays and holy days. At Pwllheli there was also a regular weekday early celebration of Holy Communion on Thursdays in 1874.

The leadership of the Tractarian party in the Welsh church was very firmly in the hands of clergy who were born in Wales, mostly educated at Jesus College, Oxford, and who spent most, if not all, of their clerical careers in the Welsh dioceses. That at least was the case in the two Welsh dioceses in which Tractarianism and ritualism made their greatest impact, Bangor and Llandaff. In the dioceses of St Asaph and St David's, where the impact was less, the role of English clergy appointed to Welsh benefices as the principal agents of liturgical innovation was more marked, examples being J. N. Harrison at Laugharne (Carm.), George Huntington at Tenby (Pemb.) and J. E. Hill at Welshpool (Mont.). It is not without significance that all these parishes were in parts of Wales where English influences were already strong and the number of Welsh-speaking parishioners relatively few. Harrison was the son of William Harrison, vicar of the Hampshire parishes of Overton from 1796 and Fareham from 1811, and prebendary of Winchester cathedral from 1820 until his death in 1846. His son was educated at Worcester College, Oxford, of which he became a scholar in 1828 and fellow in 1832. In 1834 at the age of twenty-six he became vicar of Laugharne and held the living for fifty-eight years.⁷⁶ The fact that he was at Oxford when the first *Tracts for the Times* were published may have been significant for his adoption of Tractarian views. By 1874 there were both early and late celebrations of Holy Communion on Sundays, an early celebration on holy days, and daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer, at Laugharne and Gregorian chant had been introduced. By 1882 there was at least a monthly choral celebration of Holy Communion and processions on festivals. There was also some evidence that the high church services at Laugharne were beginning to influence neighbouring parishes in the rural deanery of Lower Carmarthen; churches which had been deficient in altar plate or linen in the 1860s had begun to remedy these defects by the 1870s; by the 1880s there were ruridecanal retreats with daily celebrations of Holy Communion.⁷⁷

Though the ritual innovations by Huntington at Tenby and Hill at Welshpool were no more advanced than those at Laugharne they created much more of a stir and led to the setting up of anti-ritualist places of worship. The difference in both cases was that, whereas Harrison had been incumbent of his church for many years and had gradually made changes in the services, the changes at both Tenby and Welshpool were associated with new incumbencies, though Hill had been curate to his predecessor, Archdeacon Clive, and at Tenby there had been some changes in the service pattern and a substantial increase in the number of communion services under Huntington's predecessor, Archdeacon Clarke. Huntington had been born near Hull and was a non-graduate who trained for the ministry at St Bees. He served curacies at Salford and



Plate 3. Llandyfrydog Church, Anglesey, refitted 1862.
National Monuments Record for Wales.

Wigan between 1848 and 1855, when he became a minor canon of Manchester cathedral, which had had a long tradition of high church worship.⁷⁸ From 1863 to 1866 he was also rector of St Stephen's, Salford. He resigned his minor canonry at Manchester on his appointment to Tenby in 1867, holding the rectory for 38 years. By 28 November 1867 the first public meeting had been held 'to consider what steps should be taken to put a stop to ritualistic practices' in the parish church, and subsequently 248 parishioners signed a memorial to Bishop Thirlwall of St David's complaining about the use of the surplice, instead of the black gown, for preaching, the omission of the exhortations in the communion service, the use of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, standing during parts of the service with his back to the people, and the introduction of choral services, harvest festival processions, offertories and the reading of the lessons from a lectern. Thirlwall, though he complained about Huntington in his private correspondence, publicly supported him on the grounds that none of the charges made against him could be construed as illegalities likely to be ruled against in an ecclesiastical court. Emboldened by the bishop's decision Huntington proceeded with his liturgical reforms. A surpliced choir was installed in the chancel in 1869, a monthly Sung Eucharist began in 1870 and weekday celebrations of Holy Communion in 1872. In 1874, though Gregorian chant was used in the services, the candles on the altar remained unlit, and vestments were not introduced until 1898.⁷⁹ Even so a group of Huntington's parishioners began arranging rival services of an Evangelical nature in the Tenby Assembly Rooms in 1869 and a place of worship was eventually established in Tenby by the Free Church of England in 1871, though it had ceased to exist by the end of the decade.⁸⁰

J. E. Hill was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, one of the colleges that produced the highest number of Tractarian and ritualist clergy,⁸¹ and served a two-year curacy at Ashburton (Devon) before moving to Welshpool, as one of Archdeacon Clive's curates, in 1850. He succeeded Clive as vicar of Welshpool in 1865 and remained there until 1887. Although he had made little impact as curate, his promotion enabled him to make his Tractarian position more clear. Archdeacon Clive had begun the restoration of the parish church and Hill determined to complete it, but on more ecclesiological lines. A scheme prepared by the architect, G. E. Street, for the reseating of the body of the church with open seats, to replace the box pews, was approved by the vestry by a small majority. When Hill proposed to remove the galleries as well, a poll was demanded and resulted in a majority for their retention. The restoration was completed in 1871; all the seats were free and the three-decker pulpit was replaced by a new pulpit and lectern; the total cost was £4,955, of which four-fifths was raised from voluntary subscriptions. The galleries, however, remained, the north gallery not being removed until the 1920s and the south gallery not until 1950. The campaign to retain the galleries had resulted in a determined anti-Hill lobby being formed among the parishioners, some of whom also complained about Hill's liturgical innovations: turning east before and after the sermon, moving from one side of the altar to the other to read the gospel, and hiding the manual acts at the consecration. In 1879 Hill's opponents set up a branch of the Reformed Episcopal Church in Welshpool, dedicated to St David, but it does not seem to have been very successful, and it closed in 1889. In 1882 St David's only had a congregation of 160, compared with 940 at the parish church and 374 at Christ Church, the other Anglican church in Welshpool.⁸² It is interesting to compare developments at Welshpool with those in the neighbouring churches of Montgomeryshire. A recent study of liturgical observance in the county in the late nineteenth century has shown that the majority of its parishes still had no more than monthly celebrations of Holy Communion in the 1890s. The new vicar of Betws Cedewain introduced coloured stoles

and a fortnightly communion service, once a month at 8.30 a.m. and once a month after Morning Prayer, shortly after his appointment in 1895, together with daily services (though not Holy Communion) in Holy Week and the three hour's devotion on Good Friday the following year. A weekly celebration of Holy Communion was introduced at Llanwddyn in 1900, but of the 65 communicants in the parish only three members of the congregation communicated with the vicar on a regular basis, one of them being the parish clerk.⁸³ Clearly the weekly communions and daily services, with which Anglicans in Welshpool had become familiar by 1874, were not being emulated by clergy in the surrounding countryside.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to be drawn from the evidence presented in this article are clear. The progress of both ecclesiology and ritualism in Wales between 1840 and 1875 was both slow and patchy. Though there were some early manifestations of ecclesiological design in Wales in the 1840s, as early as those in England, the main phase of the ecclesiological movement, which took place in many parts of England between the 1850s and the 1870s, was running about twenty years later in Wales, and one can point to known or surviving examples of pre-ecclesiological design dating from the 1860s and 1870s. In this respect the chronology of ecclesiastical fashion in Wales has much more in common with that of the established church in Scotland than with that of the established church in England, even though the former was presbyterian in organisation and broadly Calvinist in doctrine.⁸⁴ The slow progress of ecclesiology in Wales was related to the theological and liturgical conservatism of the Welsh church. This was partly the natural religious conservatism of much of the western half of the British Isles, to be seen in Ireland, the Isle of Man and the western highlands and islands of Scotland, though less so in Cornwall by the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ In Wales the religious conservatism of the established church may well have been strengthened by the traumatic events of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists decided that their future lay in nonconformity rather than remaining within the establishment. It was certainly not the case that Wales had fewer high churchmen than England among its clerical leadership. In the middle years of the nineteenth century the bishops and senior clergy of the dioceses of Bangor, Llandaff and St Asaph mostly fell within that category. But they were, like Bishop Bethell of Bangor, conservative high churchmen who were sympathetic to Tractarian theology but less so to liturgical change. The leading Welsh opponent of Tractarianism was Bishop Thirlwall of St David's, though the manifestations of early ritualism in his diocese were not that much fewer than in the other Welsh dioceses. Apart from the group of Tractarians associated with the diocese of Bangor during the episcopate of Christopher Bethell, the majority of Tractarian and early ritualist clergy and parishes were relatively isolated from one another, spread very thinly throughout Wales and had relatively little impact on the neighbouring parishes. In liturgical terms the Welsh church in the third quarter of the nineteenth century was a bastion of Anglican conservatism, a characteristic which it has, in general terms, maintained to the present day. It was the last of the Anglican churches in the British Isles to authorise officially liturgical changes that departed significantly from the services in the *Book of Common Prayer* or to approve the ordination of women to the priesthood. These late twentieth century manifestations of religious conservatism had a long historical pedigree.⁸⁶



Plate 4a. Llangorwen Church, Cardiganshire, by H.J. Underwood, 1841.
National Monuments Record for Wales.

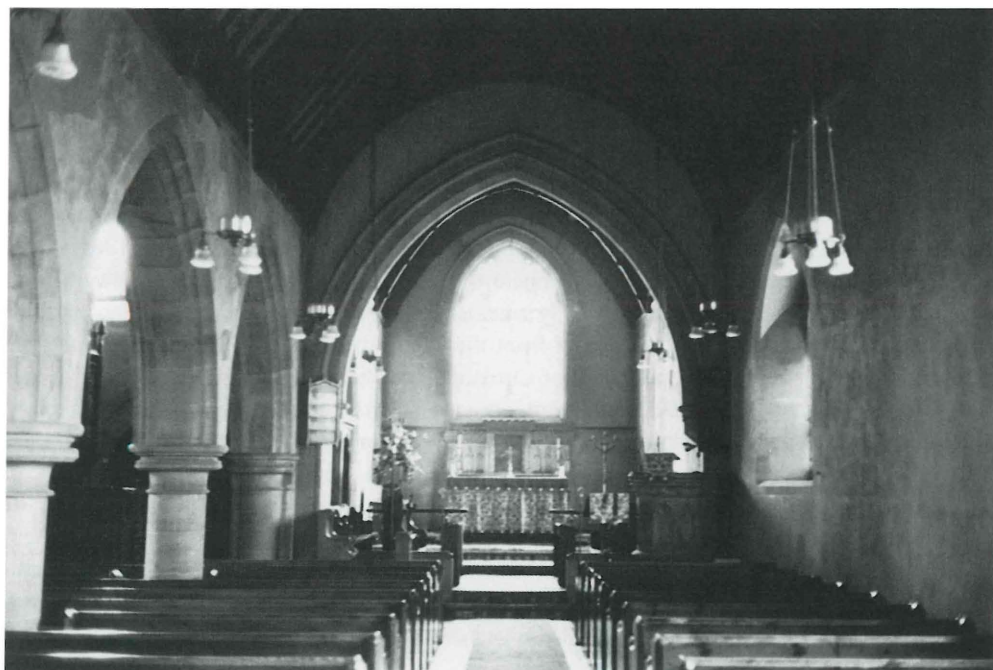


Plate 4b. Llandysilio Church, Montgomeryshire, by G.E. Street, 1866-8.
R.W. Soden.

APPENDIX 1: SURVIVING POST-1840 PRE-ECCLESIOLOGICAL LITURGICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN WALES

Anglesey

LLANDYFRYDOG (St Tyfrydog). Refitted 1862. Mix of large box pews and benches, also fitted with doors, in nave and low box pews, three deep, facing inwards in chancel; pulpit on S side of chancel arch, reading desk on N side and clerk's desk incorporated in chancel seating.

LLANFFINAN (St Finan). 1841. Altar table railed on three sides with pulpit on S and reading desk on N side, both with original candle-sconces; box pews and W gallery.

LLANFIGAEL (St Migaël). Refitted *c.*1840. Pulpit, reading desk and clerk's seat, lacking desk, in middle of N wall of nave; box pews in chancel and E part of nave, backless benches in W part; cupboard font with slate bowl on W wall of nave.

Brecknockshire

LLANEIGON (St Eigon). Refitted 1856-7. Pulpit and reading desk on opposite sides of chancel arch; low box pews in nave; long family pews in chancel; 18th-century altar table and rails; early 19th-century barrel organ.

Caernarvonshire

ABERDARON (New Church). 1841. Built to replace former parish church of St Hywyn but made chapel-of-ease when latter restored for use in 1860; open benches at W end of nave and box pews at E end; low reading desk on N side of entrance to chancel and taller pulpit on S side; shallow chancel retains original altar table, rail and sanctuary chairs; wooden font at W end of nave.

BETWS-Y-COED (St Michael). Refitted 1843. T-plan with pulpit and reading desk, made up from 17th /18th-century woodwork on S side of nave facing wide N transept; benches in nave and N transept, tiered for children at W end of nave; altar table and rails in chancel.

LLANDWROG (St Twrog). 1860 by Henry Kennedy for Lord Newborough. Cruciform interior with inward facing stalls lining walls of nave and both transepts; stone W gallery for organ and choir; pulpit and reading desk placed on opposite sides of entrance to chancel on W side of iron chancel screen; family seats on E side of screen but chancel otherwise empty apart from marble altar.

LLANDYGWNNING (St Iestyn). 1840 by John Welch. Green-grained box pews, pulpit and reading desk, placed together at E end of nave, and 'Gothick' altar rails.

LLANFROTHEN (St Brothen). Refitted 1844. Open benches in nave and stalls for children in chancel, some with railed backs; contemporary font-cover, lectern, poor box, and seat near S door for either parish clerk or schoolmaster; reused 17th-century pulpit and reading desk, placed together at E end of nave; sanctuary chairs and reredos formed out of 17th-century bedhead.

RHIW (St Aelrhiw). Refitted 1860-1. Cruciform T-plan interior with exceptionally shallow chancel; pulpit and reading desk at NE and SE angles of crossing with open benches facing them in nave and both transepts.

Cardiganshire

LLANGYNFELYN (St Cynfelyn). 1846. Shallow chancel with altar table and rails; open benches with poppy-heads in nave; tall pulpit approached by curved staircase on N side of entrance to chancel and reading desk on S side.

Carmarthenshire

CASTELLDWYRAN (St Teilo). Refitted 1876. Cruciform arrangement with shallow chancel and transepts; pulpit and reading desk in NE and SE angles of crossing with font placed between them; open benches in nave.

Denbighshire

LLANARMON DYFFRYN CEIRIOG (St Germain). 1846. Pulpit on N side of altar table with reading and clerk's desks on S side; box pews in nave with font incorporated in baptism pew at W end.

LLANGWYFAN (St Cwyfan). Refitted 1859. Low box pews in nave with trefoil-headed bench ends and pew for singers at W end; pulpit on N and reading desk on S side of entrance to chancel; 18th-century baluster font, probably of foreign origin, with cherubs at each corner and representations of Adam and Eve, Noah's Ark, Naaman bathing in the Jordan, and baptism of Christ.

TREVOR (Hall Chapel). Refitted 1841. Box pews along full length of N and S walls, with pulpit incorporated in E pew on N side; hat pegs.

Montgomeryshire

LEIGHTON (Holy Trinity). 1851-3 by W. H. Gee for former Liverpool banker, John Naylor, who bought estate in 1849; expensively tiled chancel empty apart from altar table; canopied pulpit at entrance to chancel but balancing reading desk has been removed; benches placed across whole of nave with no central passageway but aisles left empty and seats for family arranged as stalls at E end of nave facing chancel.

LLANFYLLIN (St Myllin). Refitted 1863-4. Interior retains 18th-century W gallery and altar table; three blocks of open benches in nave with neo-Norman pulpit and reading desk at E end of S block; chancel unstalled but separated from nave by neo-Norman arcade with neo-Norman rails closing off area in front of altar table.

LLANWYDDELAN (St Gwyddelan). 1865. Open benches in nave with pulpit and reading desk, placed together, at E end of N side; original organ, formerly opposite them on S side, removed to W end of nave; reused 17th-century altar table.

PONT LLOGEL (St Mary). 1854 by Benjamin Ferrey. Pulpit and reading desk on S side of altar table with organ on N side; open benches in nave; original stained glass in E lancets.

Pembrokeshire

MANORDEIFI (St David). Refitted 1847. Altar table with barley-sugar legs railed on three sides; cut-down pulpit and reading desk from former three-decker originally in middle of N wall of nave now placed on opposite sides of chancel arch; box pews include family ones with fireplaces at E end of nave and with screens to exclude draughts at W end.

NASH (St Mary). Refitted 1842. Box pews in nave with pulpit and reading desk, placed together, at E end; chancel has been refurnished.

REDBERTH (St Mary). 1841. 'Gothick' three-decker pulpit at E end of nave with box pews separated by wide central passageway originally filled with loose benches; chancel has been refurnished.

Radnorshire

LLANFIHANGEL NANT MELAN (St Michael). 1846 by Thomas Nicholson; altar table in shallow apsidal chancel with neo-Norman pulpit and reading desk flanking altar rails on opposite sides of chancel arch; open benches in nave.

APPENDIX 2: WELSH CHURCHES LISTED IN THE FIRST EDITION OF THE *TOURIST'S CHURCH GUIDE*, 1874, WITH DETAILS OF SERVICES AND RITUAL OBSERVANCES

(1) Diocese of Bangor

Anglesey:

Beaumaris

HC on Sundays after MP, holy days at 8.30, Thursdays at 8.15. MP daily. Gregorian chant.

Llandegfan

HC on Sundays after MP

Caernarvonshire:

Bangor Cathedral

HC on Sundays at 8 or 8.30 and on 1st Sunday of month after MP. MP and EP daily

Llanfairfechan

HC on Sundays at 8.30. MP daily. Unlighted candles

Pwllheli

HC on Sundays at 8 and on 1st Sunday of month at 9.30, holy days and Thursdays at 8.30. MP and EP daily

Merioneth:

Barmouth

HC on Sundays and holy days at 8. MP daily. Gregorian chant.

Dolgellau

HC on Sundays and holy days at 8.15 and on 2nd Sunday of month after MP. MP daily. Unlighted candles. Gregorian chant.

Llwyngwrl (Parish of Llangelynnin)
 HC on Sundays at 9, holy days after MP

Tywyn
 HC on Sundays alternately at 9 and 10, holy days at 9. MP and EP daily.
 Unlighted candles. Gregorian chant.

(2) Diocese of Llandaff

Glamorgan:

Aberdare

HC on Sundays and holy days at 8.30 and after MP, other weekdays at 8.50. MP and EP daily. Gregorian chant.

St Mary's, Cardiff

HC daily at 8 and on 1st Sunday of month after MP. MP and EP daily.
 Gregorian chant.

Dowlais

HC on Sundays at 8.30 and on 1st Sunday of month after MP, holy days at 8. MP and EP daily.

Llandaff Cathedral

HC on Sundays alternately at 8 and after MP, holy days at 8. MP daily.

Roath

HC on Sundays at 7.30 in parish church and at 8 in Christ Church chapel-of-ease, also on 1st Sunday of month after MP in parish church and on last Sunday of month after MP in Christ Church; holy days, Wednesdays and Fridays at 8 in Christ Church. MP daily in parish church. EP daily in either parish church or Christ Church. Gregorian chant in both churches.

Monmouthshire:

Caldicot

HC on Sundays at 8 and on 1st Sunday of month after MP, holy days at 8.30. MP and EP daily. Vestments. Unlighted candles. Gregorian chant.

Llanfrechfa

HC on Sundays at 8 except 1st Sunday of month after MP, holy days at 8. EP daily. Unlighted candles. Gregorian chant.

Llanwenarth Ultra

HC on Sundays at 8 except 1st Sunday of month after MP, holy days at 8. MP and EP daily. Vestments. Lighted Candles. Gregorian chant.

Overmonnow

HC on Sundays at 8 except 1st Sunday of month after MP. EP daily. Gregorian chant.

Tintern

HC on Sundays alternately at 8 and after MP. Unlighted candles.

(3) Diocese of St Asaph

Denbighshire:

Llangollen

HC on Sundays at 8 and after MP, holy days after MP. MP and EP daily.
Unlighted candles.

St Mark's, Wrexham

HC on Sundays after MP. MP and EP daily.

Flintshire:

Broughton

HC on Sundays at 8 except last Sunday of month after MP

Hawarden

HC on Sundays and holy days at 8. MP and EP daily. Unlighted candles.

St Asaph Cathedral

HC on Sundays alternately at 8 and after MP. MP and EP daily. Unlighted candles

Montgomeryshire:

Welshpool

HC on Sundays at 8 except 1st Sunday of month after MP. MP and EP daily. Unlighted candles.

(4) Diocese of St David's

Brecknockshire:

Llangasty Talyllyn

HC on Sundays and holy days at 8. MP and EP daily. Gregorian chant.

Cardiganshire:

St David's College, Lampeter

HC 'generally weekly'. MP and EP daily. Gregorian chant.

Carmarthenshire:

Laugharne

HC on Sundays at 8 and after MP, holy days at 8. MP and EP daily.
Gregorian chant.

Glamorgan:

Llanmadoc

HC on Sundays alternately at 8 and after MP. MP daily. Vestments.
Lighted candles. Gregorian chant.

Reynoldston

HC on Sundays at 8 except 1st Sunday of month after MP. MP and EP daily. Unlighted candles.

Pembrokeshire:

Angle

HC on Sundays and holy days after MP

Tenby

HC on Sundays at 8 and after MP, weekdays at 8 except Thursdays after MP. MP and EP daily. Unlighted candles. Gregorian chant.

Radnorshire:

Llansantffraid Cwmdeuddwr

HC on Sundays at 8.30 except 1st Sunday of month after MP, holy days at 8.30. MP daily.

DIOCESAN TOTALS								
Churches with:	Early HC every Sun	Daily HC	HC on holy days	Daily MP or EP	Unlighted Candles	Lighted Candles	Vestments	Gregorian Chant
Bangor	6	0	6	7	3	0	0	4
Llandaff*	5	2	8	9	3	1	2	7
St Asaph	2	0	2	5	4	0	0	0
St David's	4	1	6	6	1	1	1	6
All Welsh Dioceses	17	3	22	27	11	2	3	17

* The parish church and chapel-of-ease at Roath have been counted as one church

REFERENCES

1. O. W. Jones, *Isaac Williams and His Circle*, London 1971, 97.
2. *The Ecclesiologist* (1842), 45, quoted in *ibid.*, 96.
3. Statistics compiled from the *Ritualistic Clergy List* (London, 1903), reproduced in W. N. Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910* (Oxford, 1999), 280.
4. See especially E. R Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London, 1968), and J. Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860* (Oxford, 1991).
5. See Yates, *op. cit.*, 48-63.
6. A. G. Veysey, 'Sir Stephen Glynne, 1807-74' *Journal of Flintshire Historical Society*, xxx (1981-2), 151-70.
7. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th Series, i (1884), 81-104, 169-92, 249-71; ii (1885), 33-48, 120-31, 208-19; iii (1886), 55-69, 270-81; iv (1887), 274-89; v (1888), 122-37; xiv (1897), 45-57, 293-307; xvii (1900), 85-109, 169-88, 311-20; 6th Series, i (1901), 133-47, 245-78; ii (1902), 81-114. Thomas (1833-1916) was vicar of Cefn Meiriadog (Denb.) 1864-77 and Meifod (Mont.) 1877-92, rector of Llandrinio (Mont.) 1892-1916, Canon of St Asaph from 1881 and archdeacon of Montgomery from 1886; he was also editor of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1875-80 and 1884-8; see *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (London, 1959), 943.
8. D. R. Thomas, *A History of the Diocese of St Asaph* (London, 1874), 271-863.
9. *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, iv, 272-3, 278-9; v, 122-3; 6th Series, i, 143.
10. E. Hubbard, *Buildings of Wales: Clwyd* (Harmondsworth, 1986), 416-17.
11. R. Haslam, *Buildings of Wales: Powys* (Harmondsworth, 1979), 343-4, pl. 85.

12. J. Newman, *Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London, 1995), 431-2, 617-18, pl. 89 and 93.
13. Hubbard, *op. cit.*, 174.
14. *ibid.*, 366-8. D. P. Freeman, 'The Influence of the Oxford Movement on Welsh Anglicanism and Welsh Nonconformity in the 1840s and 1850s', Wales (Swansea) PhD 1999, 369-73, also notes ecclesiological churches of 1848 at Mellteyrn (Caern.) and Tremain (Card.), of 1850 at Tudweiliog (Caern.) and of 1852 at Llanrhystud (Card.). The church at Tremain has a particularly well-preserved early ecclesiological interior, with pulpit, lectern and low benches in the nave, clergy desk and stalls with poppy heads in the chancel and a sanctuary raised one step higher than the rest of the chancel, though without a separate platform for the altar. The stained glass and wrought iron candelabra are contemporary with the building.
15. *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, iv, 281-2; v, 126. There is an almost contemporary description of the ruinous church at Llanlleonfel, dated 6 August 1873, in *Kilvert's Diary*, ed. W. Plomer, 3 vols (London, 1938-40), ii, 362-3
16. *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, iii, 270-1. Glynne also noted parts of churches being used as schools at Llanbadrig (Angl.); Talachddu, Talgarth and Trallwng (Breckn.); Llanfechan and Pennant Melangell (Mont.); and Aberedw, Llananno and Llanbister (Radn.).
17. *ibid.*, 5th Series, ii, 42-4; iv, 280-1; xvii, 311, 319; 6th Series, i, 133, 257.
18. *ibid.*, 5th Series, xvii, 186.
19. *ibid.*, 5th Series, ii, 210.
20. *ibid.*, 5th Series, i, 92-3. These alterations were carried out by the antiquarian rector, John Parker, in the 1830s and 1840s and removed in 1892, see Haslam, *op. cit.*, 148.
21. *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, ii, 218-19.
22. *ibid.*, 6th Series, i, 136.
23. The English churches in the diocese, comprising those of all parishes in the rural deanery of Oswestry and Llanylblodwel in the rural deanery of Llangollen, have been omitted from Table 2.
24. W. N. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: the Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2000), 166, based on the evidence of F. R. Wilson, *An Architectural Survey of the Churches in the Archdeaconry of Lindisfarne*, Newcastle upon Tyne 1870.
25. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 342, 366, 384, 563, 605.
26. *ibid.*, p. 311; *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, i, 90.
27. See Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, xxii-xxiii.
28. See Haslam, *op. cit.*, 84, 125-6, 215, 282-3, 367; Hubbard, *op. cit.*, 187-8; Newman, *op. cit.*, 489-91.
29. See Appendix 1 for details.
30. *Arch. Camb.*, 6th Series, i, 141-2.
31. *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, x, 335.
32. Yates, *op. cit.*, xxvi, 122.
33. *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, xiv, 47.
34. *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, xvii, 322.
35. Haslam, *op. cit.*, 123-4.
36. Freeman, *op. cit.*, 418.
37. *ibid.*, 332-3, 357.

38. *Tourist's Church Guide*, ed. J. C. Waram, London 1874.
39. See Appendix 2 for details.
40. Freeman, *op. cit.*, 352-4.
41. Lewis Gilbertson (1815-96), C Sheringham (Glos.) 1837-41, V Llangorwen 1841-52 and Elerch (Card.) 1869-70, R Braunston (Warwicks.) 1870-93. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, 1840-72 and Vice-Principal 1855-72. See *D[ictionary of] W[elsh] B[iography]*, 277. For a brief account of Gilbertson's ministry at both Llangorwen and Elerch see *Yr Haul, Cyfres Newydd*, iv (1902), 149-53. For the wider impact of Tractarian teaching in this part of Wales see D. E. Evans, 'Mudiad Rhydychen yng Ngogledd Sir Aberteifi', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, iv (1954), 45-57.
42. Griffith Arthur Jones (1827-1906), C Trewalchmai w Heneglwys (Angl.) 1851-7, V Llanegryn (Mer.) 1857-72 and St Mary's (Cardiff, 1872-1903). See *DWB*, 464-5.
43. *Father Jones of Cardiff: A Memoir* (London, 1907), 9.
44. Jones, *op. cit.*, 109.
45. Llewelyn Lewellin (1798-1878), Principal of St David's College, Lampeter 1827-78, Vicar of Lampeter 1833-78, Precentor (later Dean) of St David's Cathedral 1840-78. See *DWB*, 543.
46. D. T. W. Price, *A History of St David's University College, Lampeter: Vol I to 1898* (Cardiff, 1977), 132.
47. *ibid.*, 50, 137, 151.
48. See W. O. Chadwick, *The Founding of Cuddesdon* (Oxford, 1954).
49. See C. Dewey, *The Passing of Barchester* (London, 1991), 136, 151, though Dewey incorrectly describes Bethell as bishop of Llandaff (twice) and omits his brief tenure of the see of Exeter in 1830.
50. Philip Constable Ellis (1822-1900), C Holyhead (Angl.) 1847-50, PC Llanfaes w Penmon (Angl.) 1850-62, R Llanfairfechan (Caern.) 1862-1900. See *DWB*, 210.
51. Evan Lewis (1818-1901), C Llanddeusant (Angl.) 1842-3, Llanfaes w Penmon (Angl.) 1843-5, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog (Angl.) 1845-6 and Llanllechid (Caern.) 1847-59, V Aberdare (Glam.) 1859-66, R Dolgellau (Mer.) 1866-84, RD Estimanner 1866 and Chancellor of Bangor Cathedral 1872, Dean of Bangor 1884-1901. See *DWB*, 551-2; *Dictionary of National Biography, Second Supplement*, ed. S. Lee (London, 1913, 70); and obituary in *Yr Haul, Cyfres Newydd*, iv (1902), 3-5.
52. Morris Williams (1809-74), C Bangor w Pentir (Caern.) 1840-5 and Llanllechid (Caern.) 1845-7, PC Amlwch w Llanwenllwyfo (Angl.) 1847-59, R Llanrhuddlad w Llanfflewlin and Llanrhwydrus (Angl.) 1859-74, RD Twrcelyn and Talebolion. See *DWB*, 1059-60.
53. John David Davies (1831-1911), C Nicholaston (Glam.) 1855-60 and Cheriton (Glam.) 1860-7, R Llanmadoc (Glam.) 1860-1911 w Cheriton from 1867. See *DWB*, 139.
54. Richard Williams Morgan (1815-89), C Mochdre (Mont.) 1842-53 and PC Tregynon (Mont.) 1853-62, when moved to England. See *DWB*, 650-1, and D. P. Freeman, 'The Revd Richard Williams Morgan of Tregynon and His Writings', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, lxxxviii (2000), 87-93.
55. John Williams (1811-62), C Llanfor (Mer.) 1835-43, PC Nercwys (Flints.) 1843-9, R Llanymawddwy (Mer.) 1849-62. Editor of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1846-53. See *DWB*, 1052-3.
56. R. W. Morgan, *The British Kymry* (Ruthin, 1857), 10.
57. P. F. Anson, *Bishops at Large* (London, 1964), 43-7.

58. James Kenward, *Ab Ithel: An Account of the Life and Writings of the Rev John Williams* (Tenby, 1871).
59. *ibid.*, 226.
60. Hubbard, *op. cit.*, 404.
61. By far the best accounts of Davies are those by F. G. Cowley in *Llanmadoc and Cheriton: Two North Gower Churches and their Parishes* (Llanmadoc and Cheriton PCC, 1993), 17-29, and 'Revd John Davies: Anglo-Catholic Pioneer, Wood-Carver and Local Antiquary', *Morgannwg*, xxxviii (1994), 9-41. Much of what follows is based on Cowley's researches.
62. Descriptions of Cheriton and Llanmadoc churches and Llanmadoc rectory in Newman, *op. cit.*, 321, 390
63. R T. Lucas, 'Llanmadoc and the Scarlet Woman', *Gower*, xxxiii (1982), 75-9.
64. *Kilvert's Diary*, ii, 235-7. This monastery was non-parochial and is therefore outside the remit of this article, especially as Lyne's impact on Welsh Anglicanism was negligible. There are detailed biographies by D. Attwater, *Father Ignatius of Llanthony* (London, 1931), and A. Calder-Marshall, *The Enthusiast* (London, 1962), and an account of his monastic experiment in P. F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister* (London, 1964), 51-69.
65. *Kilvert's Diary*, ii, 183-4.
66. *DWB*, 210. For correspondence between Ellis and dissenting ministers in Anglesey see *Yr Haul, Cyfres Newydd*, v (1903) 124-7, 159-61, 267-70, 323-7.
67. *ibid.*, 89-93 publishes the correspondence between Bethell and Ellis with a brief commentary.
68. *Father Jones of Cardiff*, 12-18. See also Freeman, 'Oxford Movement', 341, 345, 356. Freeman states that Jones had introduced a weekly communion service at Llanegryn and also lists the vestments given by the patron of the church, W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth. At a harvest festival communion service in 1869 Jones was assisted as deacon by Evan Lewis of Dolgellau and as sub-deacon by R Jones of Llanfihangel-y-Traethau. The church at Tywyn (Merion) had a cross and vases of flowers on the altar.
69. *Father Jones of Cardiff*, opposite 23. An almost identical arrangement, dating from 1841, survives at St Clement's, Toxteth, Liverpool, see Yates, *op. cit.*, 213
70. See R. D. Fenwick, 'The Free Church of England, otherwise called the Reformed Episcopal Church, c. 1845 to c. 1927', Wales (Lampeter) PhD 1995, 517, 520, 544-9.
71. *Father Jones of Cardiff*, 30-40, 45; photograph of completed re-ordering opposite 68 shows that a low pulpit, clergy desks and choir stalls had been installed at the east end of the nave and the box pews replaced by chairs; the galleries across the north and south aisles had been retained. Bishop Ollivant refers to the vestments incident in a letter cited by G. W. E. Russell, *Arthur Stanton: A Memoir* (London, 1917), 167.
72. Yates, *Anglican Ritualism*, 413.
73. E. Lewis, *Traethawd ar yr Olyniaeth Apostolaidd gan Offeiriad Cymreig* (London, 1851)
74. *A History of the Church in Wales*, ed. D. Walker (Penarth, 1976), 151. See also C. B. Turner, 'Ritualism, Railwaymen and the Poor: the Ministry of Canon J. D. Jenkins, Vicar of Aberdare, 1870-1876', *Politics and Society in Wales, 1840-1922: Essays in Honour of Ieuan Gwynedd Jones*, ed. G. H. Jenkins and J. B. Smith (Cardiff, 1988), 61-79
75. Freeman, 'Oxford Movement', 334.
76. J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis 1715-1886* (Oxford, 1888), 616, 618.

77. W. N. Yates, 'The Parochial Impact of the Oxford Movement in South-West Wales', *Carmarthenshire Studies*, ed. T. Barnes and W. N. Yates (Carmarthen, 1974), 231-2.
78. F. C. Mather, 'Georgian Worship Reconsidered: Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship 1714-1830', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxvi (1985), 270.
79. Yates, *op. cit.*, 234-8.
80. Fenwick, *op. cit.*, 567-80.
81. Yates, *Anglican Ritualism*, 74-5.
82. J. E. Davies, 'Three Welshpool Vicars: the Clergymen of a Victorian Town', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, lxxvi (1988), 114-20; see also Fenwick, *op. cit.*, 166, 169, 557-9, 579.
83. F. Knight, 'Anglican Worship in Late Nineteenth Century Wales: A Montgomeryshire Case Study', *Studies in Church History*, xxxv (1999), 408-9, 411.
84. For a further exploration of these comparisons in respect of early nineteenth century churches see W. N. Yates, 'Church Buildings of the Protestant Establishments in Wales and Scotland: Some Points of Comparison', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, ix (1992), 1-19.
85. See H. M. Brown, *The Catholic Revival in Cornish Anglicanism* (St Winnow, 1980), and *Unity and Variety: A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall*, ed. N. Orme (Exeter, 1991), 109-57.
86. I am most grateful to the Cambrian Archaeological Association, who grant-aided the visits to some of the churches mentioned in this article. For a full list of unaltered pre-1850 churches and chapels in Wales see Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, 221-7.