

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-49957-6 — A New History of the Church in Wales  
Edited by Norman Doe  
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‘This carefully co-ordinated book is a masterly appraisal in terms of history, religion, law and culture of the foundation of the Church in Wales in 1920, and its identity and mission since. The focus is on Wales, yet the underlying engagement with how Christians and society relate has a universal relevance.’

*Robert Ombres OP, Blackfriars Hall,  
University of Oxford*

‘The pre-eminent ecclesiastical jurist Norman Doe is uniquely placed to confect this collection of essays to mark the centenary of a non-established Anglican presence in Wales. Drawing on a rich array of scholars, practitioners and clergy, the volume explores and celebrates the manner in which the Church in Wales self-identifies as a national church, and inter-relates with Welsh culture, society, politics, education and government. It is required reading for historians, ecclesiologists and sociologists, both within and beyond the Anglican Communion.’

*Professor Mark Hill QC, Centre for Law and  
Religion, Cardiff University*

‘In a series of sweeping studies over more than three decades, Norman Doe has brought to brilliant light and life the extraordinary riches of law and religion first in his native Wales, then in the United Kingdom, then in all of Europe, and finally in all of global Christendom. In this learned but accessible volume, Doe returns to his Welsh Anglican roots and leads a score of distinguished scholars and churchmen in a close study of the history, law, theology, liturgy, music, iconography, culture, education, charity work and ecumenical efforts of the Church in Wales. This is not a cheery tourist brochure, and some of the contributors pull no punches when confronting some grimmer parts of this fascinating story. But insider Welsh Anglicans and distant outsiders alike will find much to savour, ponder and admire in these arresting pages.’

*John Witte, Robert W. Woodruff Professor  
of Law, Emory University*

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## A NEW HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN WALES

This book marks the centenary of the Church in Wales, following the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales in 1920. Part I provides a historical overview: from the Age of the Saints to Victorian times; the disestablishment campaign; Christianity in Wales since 1920; and broad issues faced over the century. Part II explores the constitution, bishops and archbishops, clergy and laity. Part III examines doctrine, liturgy, rites of passage and relations with other faith communities. Part IV deals with the Church and culture, education, the Welsh language and social responsibility. Part V discusses the changing images of the Church and its future. Around themes of continuity and change, the book questions assumptions about the Church, including its distinctive theology and Welshness, ecumenical commitment, approach to innovation and response to challenges posed by the State and wider world in an increasingly pluralist and secularised Welsh society over the century.

NORMAN DOE is Professor at Cardiff University Law School. He studied at Cardiff University, the University of Cambridge and the University of Oxford, and is a barrister. His degrees include a PhD (Cambridge), DCL (Lambeth) and LLD (Cambridge). His books include *Fundamental Authority in Late Medieval English Law* (Cambridge, 1990), *Canon Law in the Anglican Communion* (1998), *Religion and Law in the United Kingdom* (with Mark Hill and Russell Sandberg, 2011), *Christian Law: Contemporary Principles* (Cambridge, 2013), *The Legal Architecture of English Cathedrals* (2017) and *Comparative Religious Law: Judaism, Christianity, Islam* (Cambridge, 2018). A visiting professor at Paris University since 1999, he was a visiting fellow at Trinity College, Oxford (2011), visiting scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (2015), and visiting fellow at Jesus College, Oxford (2018), and acted as a consultant on canon law to the Anglican Communion, served on the Lambeth Commission (2003–4), and is Chancellor of the Diocese of Bangor. He directs the Cardiff LLM in canon law.

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A NEW HISTORY OF THE  
CHURCH IN WALES

Governance and Ministry, Theology and Society

Edited by  
NORMAN DOE  
*Cardiff University*



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- 12 The reconstruction in 1998 of the cloisters at St David's Cathedral with its visitor centre, education suite and refectory, in continuity with the ancient monastic complex.
- 13 Dr Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Wales before his appointment as the 104th Archbishop of Canterbury in 2002.
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- 15 Presenting the Church in Wales' *Review* to Governing Body in 2012, Lord Richard Harries of Pentregarth, former bishop of Oxford, chair, Professor Charles Handy, formerly at the London Business School, and Professor Patricia Peattie, former

Chair of the Standing Committee of the Scottish Episcopal Church, with the Archbishop of Wales, Barry Morgan.

- 16 June Osborne is consecrated as the 72nd Bishop of Llandaff, the first woman to hold the office, at Brecon Cathedral, 15 July 2017, pictured with Joanna Penberthy, the first woman to be consecrated as a bishop (St David's) in the Church in Wales, amongst others.

*The colour plate section can be found between pp. 202 and 203.*

## CONTRIBUTORS

ROGER LEE BROWN retired as vicar of Welshpool in 2007 and is well known as an authority on the ecclesiastical history of Wales, having written numerous books, monographs and articles on this subject. His books include *The Letters of Edward Copleston* (2003), *In Pursuit of a Welsh Episcopate* (2005) and *In Places Where They Sit: A Social History of the Church Pew in Wales* (2016). A fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, he holds the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Wales.

GREGORY KENNETH CAMERON has been Bishop of St Asaph in the Church in Wales since 2009. Ordained in the Church in Wales in 1983, Cameron has degrees in jurisprudence, theology and religious studies, and canon law, and has served in parish and educational ministries. He was Deputy Secretary General of the Anglican Communion between 2004 and 2009, during which time he guided the doctrinal and ecumenical work of the Communion. He was made a Doctor of Divinity (*honoris causa*) by the Episcopal Divinity School, Massachusetts, in 2007 for services to the Anglican Communion, and awarded the Cross of St Augustine by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 2009. In the Church in Wales he has held the educational portfolio, and now holds the Faith, Order and Unity portfolio, which includes Liturgy, on behalf of the Bench of Bishops. He is Co-Chair of the Anglican–Oriental Orthodox International Commission and dialogue, Chair of the Commission of the Covenanted Churches for Wales and a member of the Church in Wales Standing Liturgical Advisory Commission.

JOHN DAVIES is Bishop of Swansea and Brecon and also the 13th Archbishop of Wales. Born in Newport, he studied law at the University of Southampton prior to training for ordained ministry at St Michael's College, Llandaff, and worked, in private practice, as a solicitor specialising in criminal law. In 1995 he was admitted to the degree of

Master of Laws (LLM) in canon law. After serving in parishes in the Diocese of Monmouth, he moved to the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon where he served as Dean of Brecon Cathedral. He retains a personal interest in matters of social justice and the duty of the Church to speak out on such matters, where necessary demanding change. The rehabilitation of offenders and the treatment of prisoners are aspects of social justice about which he feels particularly strongly. The Church's duty to speak out must, he believes, be firmly grounded in the call of the prophets and in Christ's demand that all should have life, and have it in abundance.

NORMAN DOE, from the Rhondda, is Chancellor of Bangor Diocese and a Professor at Cardiff Law School where he set up the LLM in Canon Law (1991) and the Centre for Law and Religion (1998). A barrister, he studied at Cardiff, Cambridge and Oxford Universities. A visiting professor at Paris University since 1999 and founding member of the Colloquium of Anglican and Roman Catholic Canon Lawyers (1999) and of the Christian Law Panel (which works with the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches), he was President of the European Consortium for Church and State Research (2010). His books are mainly on law and religion. A consultant on canon law to the Anglican Primates, he served on the Lambeth Commission (2003–4) and has been a visiting fellow/scholar at Trinity (2011), Corpus Christi (2015) and Jesus (2018) Colleges, Oxford. His recent books include *Comparative Religious Law: Judaism, Christianity, Islam* (2018).

ARTHUR EDWARDS has been a priest in the Church in Wales for more than fifty years. He is an MPhil. London University, and Cardiff University awarded him a PhD in 2016. He trained for the ministry at St Michael's College, Llandaff, and was ordained in the Diocese of Monmouth in 1968, where he became a canon of the Cathedral in 1991. His publications include *Archbishop Green* (1986), *The Seven Bishops* (1996) and *Thomas Thomas of Pontypool: Radical Puritan* (2009).

JEFFREY GAINER is a native of Blaenllechau in the Rhondda. He was educated at Bablake School, Coventry, and Jesus College, Oxford, where he studied history before ordination training at Wycliffe Hall. After being made deacon in 1977, he served at Baglan and thereafter at Cwmbach and Tonyrefail in the Diocese of Llandaff. He taught New Testament Greek at St Michael's College, Llandaff, before becoming the incumbent of Meidrim and Merthyr in the Diocese of St David's in 1992. He became

a cursal canon of St David's Cathedral in 2011. He has studied canon law at Cardiff University and Welsh at Aberystwyth University.

AINSLEY GRIFFITHS read mathematics and began his career as a mathematics teacher at a Roman Catholic sixth form college. Following discernment of his priestly vocation, he trained at Ripon College Cuddesdon, near Oxford. His entire ministry has been in the Church in Wales, serving as a cathedral minor canon, parish priest, university chaplain and Continuing Ministerial Development officer. Currently provincial Director of Faith, Order and Unity, he has day-to-day oversight of the Church in Wales' doctrine and its liturgy, as well as its commitments within the Anglican Communion and its relationships with other faith communities, Christian and non-Christian alike. His academic interests revolve around the themes of his doctoral research, namely theological perspectives on 'gift'.

RHIANNON JOHNSON grew up in Cardiff, studied at St Anne's College, Oxford, as an undergraduate, and holds the degree of Bachelor of Divinity and a doctorate from Cardiff University. Trained at St Michael's College, Llandaff, she was ordained deacon in 1997 and priest in 1998. After a curacy in the Diocese of Llandaff, she was chaplain at Trinity College, Carmarthen (1999–2000), in the Diocese of St David's, where she now serves in parochial ministry. She is also a canon of St David's Cathedral and the Diocesan Director of Ministry and Training.

BARRY MORGAN was brought up in the south Wales mining village of Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen, read history at University College London, theology at Selwyn College, Cambridge, and later studied for his doctorate at University College Bangor, where he was chaplain and lecturer in the Faculty of Theology for seven years, having previously been chaplain of St Michael's College, Llandaff, and lecturer in theology at University College Cardiff. He has spent his whole ministry in the Church in Wales, serving as incumbent and archdeacon and at one stage chairing its Doctrinal Commission. Elected bishop of Bangor in 1993, Llandaff in 1999 and Archbishop in 2003, he retired in 2017. He continues as Pro Chancellor of the University of Wales, is a fellow of several Welsh universities, and holds honorary doctorates in literature and divinity respectively from two of them.

D. DENSIL MORGAN is Emeritus Professor of Theology at the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David, at Lampeter. Previously he was Professor of Theology at Bangor University and Warden of Coleg

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ENID R. MORGAN, MA (Oxon), BD, MA (Wales), first lay woman editor of *Y Llan*, 1970–7, and the editor of interdenominational magazine *Cristion*, 1984–7. She was ordained deacon in 1984, priested in 1996, and became cleric in charge of Llanfihangel y Creuddyn, Llanafan, Gwnnws and Ysbyty Ystwyth (Diocese of St David's), 1987–93. She was the director of the provincial Board of Mission, 1993–2000, vicar of Llangynwyd with Maesteg (Diocese of Llandâf) 2000–5 and former chair of MAECymru, Chair of the Friends of the National Library of Wales, and Chair of Cristnogaeth21.

JOANNA PENBERTHY was elected on 2 November 2016 as the 129th successor of Saint David, being the first woman to be consecrated Bishop in Wales. Joanna read classics and modern history at Newnham College, Cambridge, and then trained for the ministry at St John's College, Nottingham, and at Cranmer Hall, Durham. Joanna was made deaconess in 1984 and deacon in 1988 and was ordained priest in January 1997 in the first ordinations of woman as priests in Wales. She has just completed a PhD in the theology of science at the University of Nottingham.

WILLIAM PRICE was an open scholar in history at Keble College, Oxford. He taught for twenty-seven years in St David's University College, Lampeter, and he was a residentiary canon of St David's Cathedral for eight years. He has published a two-volume history of St David's University College and has published widely on the history of the Church in Wales since 1920. He was formerly advisor on archives to the Church in Wales. In 2018 he was awarded an honorary doctorate in divinity by the University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter's successor institution. He is also an honorary canon of St Paul's Cathedral, St Helena, in the South Atlantic Ocean. He now lives in Shropshire and is Chairman of the Shropshire Historic Churches Trust.

PETER SEDGWICK studied history at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, followed by a year at Keble College, Oxford. He then returned to Cambridge where he took a second degree in theology while training for ordination. He has a PhD (Durham) in theology and moral philosophy. He lectured in modern theology and ethics at the University of Birmingham from 1979 to 1982, and was course director at the University of Hull for the MA in Theology and Society from 1988 to 1994. In 1994–5 he was vice principal of Westcott House, Cambridge, and was principal of St Michael's College, Llandaff, 2004–14. He was a member of the Doctrinal Commission of the Church in Wales from 2009, and chair from 2013 to 2016. He has been a member of the Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission since 2011. He is a provincial canon of the Church in Wales and has written widely on ethics and on Anglicanism.

MARY STALLARD, a priest who serves as the Archdeacon of Bangor, broadcasts, writes and presents a range of religious programmes for the BBC on Radio Cymru, Radio Wales and Radio 4. The daughter of a Church of England priest and a chemistry teacher, Stallard was born and educated in Birmingham. She studied theology at Selwyn College, Cambridge, and was a secondary school teacher before training for ordination. Stallard and her partner Revd Andrew Sully were the first ordained stipendiary clergy couple in the Church in Wales, and both are keen advocates of inclusion in the Church and in wider society.

ROSALIND WILLIAMS is the Director of Education and Lifelong Learning for the Diocese of St Asaph. She is a graduate of the University of Wales, has worked in a variety of roles in business, law and education, and is a member of the Ecclesiastical Law Society. She sits on the Welsh Government's 21st Century Schools Programme Board representing church schools and contributed to the development of the School Standards and Organisation (Wales) Act in 2013, working with the bill team to ensure that the rights and responsibilities of schools with a religious character were enhanced and preserved. Williams has worked with church schools since 2006 and is a passionate proponent of the role they play in the educational landscape of England and Wales. She has developed a comprehensive knowledge of the law and Christian distinctiveness of church schools and works to ensure their development and success. She is also a local councillor serving on St Asaph City Council.

ROWAN WILLIAMS grew up in Swansea and studied theology at Christ's College, Cambridge, before pursuing research in Russian religious thought at Christ Church and Wadham College, Oxford. He taught at the College of the Resurrection, Mirfield, then returned to Cambridge for nine years of academic and parochial work. In 1986, he became Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and in 1992 moved back to Wales as Bishop of Monmouth. From 1999 to 2002, he was also Archbishop of Wales and, from 2002 to 2012, Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1990 he was elected as a Fellow of the British Academy, and as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature in 2003 and of the Learned Society of Wales in 2010. Since 2013, when he was made a life peer, becoming Lord Williams of Oystermouth, he has been Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge. His recent books include *Being Human* (2018) and *Christ the Heart of Creation* (2018).

CHARLOTTE WRIGHT grew up on a farm near Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire. She studied music at Magdalen College, Oxford, before completing her graduate diploma in law, and the Legal Practice Course at the College of Law in London. After a training contract with Barlow Lyde and Gilbert LLP in London, she qualified as a solicitor and worked in the firm's Professional Negligence and Financial Disputes department. Wright moved to Cardiff with her husband in 2015; having taking a year out after having their first child, Wright works as a solicitor specialising in professional negligence. She studied the LLM in canon law at Cardiff University, graduating in 2016, and has published an article on the English canon law relating to suicide victims in the *Ecclesiastical Law Journal*. Wright is currently working towards a doctorate at Cardiff University on the governance of music in Anglican churches, cathedrals and college chapels in England and Wales.



## FOREWORD

THE RT REVD ANDREW JOHN, BISHOP OF BANGOR  
THE RT REVD JUNE OSBORNE, BISHOP OF LLANDAFF

‘The story of the Church in Wales might be seen as a story of battles won and wars lost.’ So says Rowan Williams in this immensely readable and insightful book celebrating the centenary of the Church of which he first became archbishop. He is right that there have been dramas, triumphs and casualties. Tribute is paid to vivid leaders who have broken new ground and been ‘Godsends’ to this small but truly independent Anglican province. A remarkable fidelity in the worship, Christian ministry and outreach of parish churches has seen the Church in Wales become the largest Christian denomination in Wales with a joyful story to tell, taking us far beyond the contests which led to disestablishment in 1920.

Here it is acknowledged that Wales has been an intensely religious nation. For century after century, Christianity was the religion of the people, the majority of whom through a sense of obligation and duty would have attended worship at least once on a Sunday. Welsh Anglicanism was always an embedded part of that Christian identity – and the continuity of faith from the ‘Age of the Saints’ in the sixth century through to Diocesan Conferences and the Governing Body of the twenty-first century is told with clarity and affection.

There is also clear mapping of the social and ecclesial changes which have been shaping both that Christian identity and the diverse expressions of church life through the century we are celebrating. Wales is also the region in the British Isles where religion has declined the most. We are reminded that the Church which introduced a Constitution to order its life in 1920 in key ways does not resemble the Church in Wales we know today. The latter is more inclusive and compassionate and knows better its need to proclaim the Gospel afresh to each generation, in a way that future generations can access and to which they can authentically respond.

There are things to regret and lament – and the book is not shy in discussing these. Relationships with other communities of faith have often been marked by scepticism, even malign distrust and cynicism.

We have allowed the deeply bilingual nature of the Church in Wales to be misrepresented. Attitudes towards women and minority groups in society have not always matched up to the radical call for equality in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A Church born from coercive origins needs to learn from the constant temptation to demonise or denigrate others and to strive to be a truly prophetic religion, healing a broken world.

Yet the pages of this book are also filled with heartening examples of things which make us proud and grateful to God for his mercy and grace poured out upon his people, the Body of Christ, within the Anglican tradition in Wales. For example, there are progressive rites of passage. With its new burial service came a more pastorally sympathetic approach to those who were unbaptised or had committed suicide, something the Church of England only introduced forty years later. Whilst other parts of the Anglican Communion continue to wrestle with the issues of same-sex relationships, some paralysed into an uncomfortable impasse, the Governing Body of the Church in Wales has concluded that it is pastorally unsustainable for the Church to make no formal provision for those in same-gender relationships. And which other Anglican province has women making up one-half of its Bench of Bishops?

Also, here you will find a good dose of realism about the challenges which lie ahead. Drawing plentifully on what has gone before, the future agenda is also seen in terms of both continuity and change. An appraisal of the Constitution to fulfil more effectively the mission and witness of the modern Church in Wales is overdue. Addressing with confidence the nature of Anglicanism will help us incorporate our disagreements into our life. We put evangelism at the heart of our ministry for the good of a society which is tempted to believe that faith is irrelevant or untrustworthy. As isolation and loneliness increase and mental anxiety, especially amongst the young, becomes a new epidemic, we will renew our commitment to the local church being in every way for the local community it serves. In the Rhondda Valleys, in Haverfordwest, in Wrexham, in the Llŷn Peninsula or in Builth Wells, the Church in Wales serves the people of Wales.

And so this volume stimulates us to ask ourselves: in celebrating the centenary of the modern Church in Wales, what will a properly catholic, reformed, mission-oriented, and thoroughly Welsh Christian community look like in its second century? It has been an exciting and joyful journey so far, and the best is yet to come.

## EDITORIAL PREFACE

This book has been prompted by three factors. First, there is the opportunity to reimagine the lasting impact on Wales of the momentous events immediately leading up to the foundation of the Church in Wales in 1920. The enactment by Parliament of the Welsh Church Act 1914, which led to disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales in 1920, occurred in the most extraordinary and controversial political circumstances. Promoted by the Liberal government, and the subject of a protracted and publicly criticised royal commission, it was opposed by the establishment, including the House of Lords, which in 1909–10 also initially rejected David Lloyd George’s ‘people’s budget’, and was the first statute enacted under the Parliament Act 1911, itself of immense constitutional significance in enabling the House of Commons to present a bill for royal assent without the Lords’ consent – and all this on the eve of the First World War. Intriguingly, the day of disestablishment was the same as that on which Owain Glyndŵr’s ‘Pennal Letter’ to Charles V of France in 1406 proposed independence for the Welsh Church from Canterbury – the last day of March.

Secondly, there is the topicality today of the issues at the heart of the debate as it developed for fifty years prior to disestablishment, and in the persistence of similar issues since. It was the Welsh who agitated for disestablishment. Nonconformists represented the majority religion. They refused to pay tithes to the English Church. There was a belief that the minority and alien Church of England had an anglicising effect on Welsh life – on the heels of the 1847 report on education portraying the Welsh as backward, barbaric and bone idle. The Liberal Party supported the Nonconformists, inheriting from its Whig roots sympathy for their causes. It had a Nonconformist following and advocated religious freedom and equality, and separation of State and religion – and Gladstone’s Liberal government had disestablished the Church of Ireland and dissolved its union with the English Church in 1869. In contrast, the ‘throne and altar’ Conservative Party defended

establishment – and its unionism opposed Wales-only law on religion. As the nineteenth century closed, the English Church in Wales no longer had power to monopolise education, control university life or impose church rates on all resident in its parishes. Moreover, while the call of English Nonconformists to disestablish the Church in England waned there, it waxed in Wales, especially so after legislation about denominational education (1902–5) and the great Welsh Revival (1904–5) which increased dramatically numbers of Nonconformists in Wales. Similar issues persisted after 1920 and still persist today. As we shall see, the Church in Wales continued and continues to grapple with its role in the national life of Wales, its position *vis-à-vis* other faith communities, its institutional separation from the State, and its need to co-operate with the State over, for example, its secular equality legislation.

Thirdly, there is the appetite of the Church in Wales to reflect in scholarly and practical ways on its work and legacy over the past hundred years and look forward in light of this wisdom. One theme which emerges in this book is the slow numerical decline in the membership of the institutional Church in Wales, the pressures placed on it by its custodianship of much of the built heritage of Wales, its need to engage with the effects since 1998 of devolution, and the expanding jurisdiction of the National Assembly for Wales and of the Welsh government in areas such as the ecclesiastical exemption, church schools, the safeguarding of children and vulnerable adults, and equality and diversity in all areas of its life. The centenary, therefore, provides a good opportunity for the Church in Wales, as an institution and as a community of those faithful Christians who associate with it – together with its ecumenical partners and wider society – to evaluate its work and contribution to Welsh life as simply one religious organisation among many in a pluralistic Wales – that is to say, to reimagine itself as a church for the future.

I have enjoyed the support of a great many people in the process of editing this book. First, the contributors, each of whom took up the invitation to write without demur but with an enthusiasm and good will undaunted by the demanding *grille thématique* and the tight and relentless timescale. It was a great privilege and pleasure to work with such a distinguished, energetic and experienced team, and I thank each one of them for their industry, flexibility and patience in responding to queries, requests for further research, and suggestions for fine-tuning. Secondly, the staff at the provincial offices of the Church in Wales. Work on chapters required consultation of a host of primary and archival materials. The contributors and I are extremely grateful to John

## EDITORIAL PREFACE

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