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Discussion Paper 001



# **Religious Statistics in Great Britain: An Historical Introduction**

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# Religious Statistics in Great Britain:

## An Historical Introduction

**Clive D. Field**

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## **Scope**

This essay summarizes the development of religious statistics in Great Britain from the seventeenth century to the present day. In particular, it describes, in very broad and succinct terms, the contributions which have been made to the quantification of religion by the state, faith communities and other agencies. A few reflections on future needs and prospects are also offered. The review does not aspire to be comprehensive, in the sense of covering all the sources or all the collecting bodies. Neither does it attempt to discuss methodological and interpretative issues in any depth, nor to present the actual primary data (some of which will be found elsewhere on this website).

The text is designed to be used in conjunction with the database on this website, where additional bibliographical and methodological information will be found on the overwhelming majority of the individual sources which are mentioned here. For this reason, endnotes in each section have been kept to a minimum, both as regards number and length. To avoid encumbering the overview with excessive detail, a few topics calling for extended treatment, and which do not lend themselves to inclusion in the database, are dealt with in appendices.

It is naturally impossible to divorce the statistics of British religion from the ecclesiastical and faith context which gave rise to them. Although some key facts and dates are mentioned in passing, a full religious history of Britain is beyond the scope of this introduction. Some suggestions for background reading are made in Appendix 1, but it has not been possible to list there works on the history of particular Free Church denominations.

# **1. Statistics Collected by the State**

## **1.1 Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries**

It is often assumed that, in Britain, the state has played a very limited role in the collection of religious statistics, relative to most Western countries. While this is largely true in terms of the population census, it is far from being the case across the board. This mainly stems from the close links between Church and state which flowed from the sixteenth-century English and Scottish Reformations, and which still persist in diluted form today (there continue to be established churches in England and Scotland). The nascent Tudor Protestant state felt particularly insecure. It introduced uniformity legislation to enforce adherence to the Church of England, including compulsory attendance at the parish church, a provision which – amazingly – was on the statute books for almost the entire period between 1552 and 1969. The state was especially concerned about the perceived threat from Roman Catholics, whose allegiance was to an extra-national temporal power (the Papacy) and who were also often thought to be in league with England's foreign enemies (notably France and Spain), and about Protestant sectaries, from whom Nonconformity was to emerge.

It was these concerns which inspired the first attempts to gather ecclesiastical statistics, which were commissioned by Government and Parliament but executed through the machinery of the Church of England (as had been a population count in 1563). In the seventeenth century, there were two general religious censuses of England and Wales, in 1603 and 1676, the extant documents for which have recently become available in scholarly editions.<sup>1</sup> The former enquiry sought a return of communicants, recusants and non-communicants, the latter of conformists, papists and nonconformists. Both surveys suffered from an imprecise and inconsistent application of these categories, from non-response and from a degree of underestimation. There was also an earlier return of perceived nonconformists, in 1669.<sup>2</sup>

A heavily qualified freedom of religion was introduced for Trinitarian Protestant Nonconformists by the Toleration Act 1689, but Roman Catholics remained highly suspect, at least before the Roman Catholic Relief Act 1791. Indeed, there were no fewer than four occasions in the eighteenth century when the House of Lords called on the Anglican bishops to enumerate English and Welsh recusants, in 1705, 1706, 1767 and 1780. The 1767 investigation is the most detailed and complete and has recently been edited by Edward Worrall.<sup>3</sup> The situation in Ireland (then an integral part of Britain) was thought to be graver still, for here Catholics formed the overwhelming majority of the people, not the tiny minority they constituted in

England and Wales. Accordingly, in 1732-33 a census of Irish Protestant and Roman Catholic families was taken in connection with the returns to the Hearth-Money Office.<sup>4</sup> In 1764-66 the House of Lords ordered a fresh enumeration of Irish Protestants and Catholics, the returns to which were lost when the Public Record Office of Ireland was destroyed by fire in 1922 in the period of civil disturbance following the establishment of the Irish Free State (although some extracts from this enquiry do survive).

## 1.2 Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Tolerated they may have been, but Nonconformists were not immune from scrutiny. One manifestation of this was the requirement from 1689 to register their meeting-houses with the authorities in England and Wales (the obligation never extended to Scotland). Coincidentally, the process conferred certain legal and (in time) taxation advantages, as well as affording protection from prosecution or persecution, and so proved attractive even after it became permissive in 1855. Until the mid-nineteenth century licenses were issued by county and borough quarter sessions or episcopal and archidiaconal registries, but the Protestant Dissenters Act 1852 transferred the responsibility to the Registrar General, with whose successors it still resides. Certification extended to Roman Catholic and non-Christian in addition to Nonconformist places of worship.

Lists and tables of these registrations have been published, very occasionally as House of Commons Parliamentary Papers before the First World War (for instance, 1882, Vol. 50); or later, but only intermittently, in *The Official List, Part III* and *Marriage and Divorce Statistics*, buildings registered for the solemnization of marriages being separately identified. Data for selected years from 1972 are conveniently assembled in the various editions of *Religions in the UK*.<sup>5</sup>

Other indications of official preoccupation with the growth of religious pluralism were the 1812 listing of Dissenting chapels;<sup>6</sup> and the Home Office's 1829 return of places of worship in England and Wales which were not of the Church of England, and of the number of adherents connected with them. Apart from a somewhat inaccurate edition for Lancashire, this was never printed, and the central record went up in flames with the Palace of Westminster in 1834; however, the original local replies often survive in county record offices.

By this stage, there was recognition by Government and Parliament that they also needed to examine the other side of the coin, the condition and performance of the Church of England, whose failings were perceived as encouraging the spread of its rivals. A programme of ecclesiastical reform was therefore inaugurated. There were

particular anxieties about the extent of pluralism and non-residence of the clergy, the inadequate provision of Anglican church sittings in proportion to a rapidly expanding population, archaic parochial and diocesan boundaries, and the insufficiency and inequitable distribution of ecclesiastical revenues.

Commencing with Sir William Scott's Residence Act 1803, which demanded that the bishops furnish annual statements of the condition of benefices to the Privy Council, the nineteenth-century Parliamentary Papers are thus awash with all manner of accounts and reports on the plant, manpower, finances and worship of the Church of England, most of them founded on new empirical research. Although these are too numerous to mention them all individually, even in the database on this website, they may be traced through the various subject indexes to the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, the major series can be noted, commencing with the abstracts of clerical residence (from 1808) and the reports of the Commissioners for Building New Churches (from 1821). The statistics flowed especially freely from the 1830s onwards, when the Ecclesiastical Commission (subsequently, in 1856, incorporating the Church Building Commission of 1818) was set up following a Commission of Inquiry into Ecclesiastical Revenues (1832-35). The major annual reports thereafter comprised those of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty (from 1837), Tithe Commissioners (from 1837-38), Ecclesiastical Commissioners (from 1846), and Church Estates Commissioners (from 1852).

The Church Commissioners, formed in 1948 by the merger of the Ecclesiastical Commission and Queen Anne's Bounty, are still accountable to Parliament today, as well as to the General Synod of the Church of England, and are an important source of statistics on Anglican assets. Relevant information may also be found in the reports of Parliament's Ecclesiastical Committee, set up in the wake of the Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act 1919 to consider Church of England Measures proposed by what is now the Church's General Synod.

In the Victorian era Parliamentary data also extended to the Church in Wales, culminating in a Royal Commission on the Church of England in Wales which reported in 1910 and gathered a wealth of statistics on Welsh Anglicanism and Nonconformity in 1905 as a prelude to the eventual disestablishment of the Church in 1920.<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, Parliament received regular reports from the Church Temporalities (Wales) Commissioners (from 1914-16) and accounts from the Welsh Church Commission (from 1917-18).

Parliament's brief likewise extended to the Church of Scotland, as the established religion north of the border, and whose work was similarly quantified, including



through the Royal Commission on Religious Instruction of 1835-37, reporting in 1836-39.<sup>9</sup> This was appointed to validate the Church's request for Government grants to facilitate the creation of new parishes. It gathered written and oral evidence, which was especially detailed in its treatment of Edinburgh and Leith and Glasgow, from respondents in both the Church and other denominations. In the early 1870s the radical MP Duncan McLaren sought and received Parliamentary orders for the Registrar General to obtain details of Church of Scotland communicants and ministerial stipends.<sup>10</sup>

Governmental interest in religious statistics was by no means confined to the fortunes of institutional Christianity, in reflection of the all-pervasive influence of faith on nineteenth-century society. Education was one example of a major policy area which was inseparable from religion. Prior to the Education Act 1870, which marked the beginnings of a national system, elementary schooling was substantially in the hands of religious bodies, through their day and Sunday schools, and its availability was assessed by Government enquiries in 1818, 1833, 1851 and 1858.<sup>11</sup>

Thereafter, a mixed economy of board and voluntary schools operated, ensuring an important continuing role (and state funding) for what are now termed faith schools, which persists to this day. As recipients of public money, their provision and performance have been subject to routine monitoring by and reporting to the state since the late Victorian era, and a range of recurrent and non-recurrent statistics were issued, initially in the form of Parliamentary Papers and then as departmental publications of the English, Welsh and Scottish education offices. The Education Act 1944 provided for mandatory collective worship and religious instruction in state schools, and thus inaugurated further quantification and scrutiny, partly through the regime of school inspections and partly through periodic national surveys (such as of the supply and qualifications of religious education teachers, as occurred in Scotland in 1970 and England and Wales in 1977).

Vital statistics were another area where faith influenced the Government's agenda. Of the three rites of passage, religious data have only ever been gathered in connection with marriages, the number of civil and denominational ceremonies being recorded since the introduction of civil registration, in England and Wales from 1838 and in Scotland from 1855. The Scottish series has been published annually throughout, but for England and Wales only until the First World War and then mostly just for selected years thereafter (with a particularly long gap between 1934 and 1952). The data are perhaps least valuable as a guide to religious persuasion in the nineteenth century, given that it was not until after 1918 that most Nonconformists married in chapel and that a plurality of chapels were licensed to conduct weddings. The one Victorian statistician who relied heavily upon marriage figures to quantify the

religious landscape could only correct for this fact by additionally classifying as Dissenters all those who married in registry offices.<sup>12</sup>

By contrast, the population census has not routinely gathered religious statistics, with the marginal exception of information about the clergy from 1841 onwards (with varying degrees of disaggregation by denomination). Following a census of religious profession in Ireland in 1834, Government attempted to conduct a similar enquiry in connection with the 1851 census of Great Britain. This encountered stiff opposition, on the grounds of its perceived inquisitorial nature, and Government was forced to switch to an enumeration of churches, sittings and attendances, which – in the face of further resistance – it had to concede to be voluntary.

Despite a degree of non-response, and a tendency to overlook many of the smaller non-Anglican places of worship, the 1851 religious census remains one of the most important nineteenth-century statistical sources, especially when studied through the manuscript enumeration returns at The National Archives, the published analyses failing to distinguish properly between attendances at worship services and Sunday schools.<sup>13</sup> There is an extensive literature on the 1851 religious census, summarized in Clive Field's bibliographical guide,<sup>14</sup> as brought up to date in Appendix 2. There was also a separate educational census, which covered denominational day and Sunday schools. Both the religious and educational censuses were overseen by Horace Mann.

Additional controversy broke out when the headline results of the 1851 religious census were published, in England and Wales in 1853 and in Scotland in 1854. In particular, the count of sittings and attendances seemed to confirm the relative success of voluntaryism and the failures of state Churches, further fuelling the campaign for disestablishment. Polarized denominational positions blighted Government's attempts to include religion in later nineteenth-century censuses. Thus, for the 1861 census Government again proposed a census of religious profession, which was attractive to the Church of England and the Church of Scotland because it seemed likely to maximize their adherence. But it was resisted by the Nonconformists who felt that a count of churchgoers, as in 1851, would put them in the best light. In the end, Government had to abandon a religious census altogether in that year. For the 1871 census the proposal went to a division; the House of Commons voted against a religious question, the House of Lords reinstated it, and the House of Commons rejected it again. Attempts from various quarters to reopen the debate in connection with the 1881 and 1891 censuses were similarly abortive.<sup>15</sup>

Fortunately, Government had greater success in introducing a census of religious profession in Ireland from 1861 (and Northern Ireland from 1926), the question becoming optional from 1971. Attempts in 1912 and 1914 by the Anglican Sir Arthur

Griffith-Boscawen to legislate for a similar census in Wales and Monmouthshire were actually resisted by Government.<sup>16</sup>

Although not available for the entire British population at this time, statistics of religious profession were collected by Government for certain specialized groups, including the armed forces. Data for the Army have been gathered since 1860, for the Royal Navy from 1939 and for the Royal Air Force from 1963. The army return has mostly been annual, the naval one only ever quinquennial, while the Air Force has had a variable frequency. The Army statistics were printed in Parliamentary Papers before the First World War, and have been abstracted in various secondary works.<sup>17</sup> Twentieth-century data for all the services have rarely been published but may be obtained from the Ministry of Defence.

Censuses of the religious allegiance of prisoners in England and Wales were taken in the 1860s and 1906,<sup>18</sup> and annually from 1962. Some statistics have been included in the published reports of the Prison Department, but most have to be requested. Victorian Governments occasionally surveyed the religious affiliations of other groups, for instance the inmates of workhouses.<sup>19</sup> Seamen and mariners were similarly covered.<sup>20</sup> It is not known when hospitals started to record the religion of patients on admission, which they still do, but data have never been collated and disseminated.

Other nineteenth- and twentieth-century religious statistics were the incidental by-product of purely secular initiatives. One example is the circulation data for nineteenth-century religious newspapers and publications which are to be found in the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers for 1814-70 as an element of the returns to the Stamp Office. Another instance are details of religious charities gathered by the various Charity Commissions which have operated since 1817 (now the Charity Commission for England and Wales and the Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator). The Charity Commission has been running a series of initiatives with faith-based charities since 2003 and created a Faith and Social Cohesion Unit in 2008 which has carried out an important survey of mosques in England and Wales in the same year.<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that *Charity Statistics* and *Charity Trends*, which commence in 1977-78, are published by the Charities Aid Foundation and not Government, and that they are confined to the top 500 fundraising charities.

### **1.3 Recent Developments**

By the 1980s the range of routine religious data gathered by the state had broadly settled down to series on the solemnization of marriages, faith schools and the religious profession of the armed forces and prisoners, and – tangentially – to the statistics which the established churches were required to report to Parliament. In

addition, there was the occasional non-recurrent source, usually of the social survey variety, such as the 1970 poll of public attitudes to Sunday shopping and public house licensing hours, undertaken by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.<sup>22</sup> The resultant statistics were often repurposed for selective inclusion in general Government publications, such as the annuals *Britain: An Official Handbook* and *Social Trends*, where they were sometimes augmented by religious data from non-state agencies, particularly MARC Europe (and later Christian Research).

However, there was still little Government appetite for increasing the range of religious information, particularly as regards the decennial population census, and notwithstanding steadily increasing pressure from faith communities and academics to add a question on religion. The nearest the Government came to innovation in this area before the 1990s was in connection with trials for the 1981 and 1991 censuses in which the Office for Population Censuses and Surveys tested the feasibility of asking a supplementary question on religious adherence of those who gave their country of birth as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh or Sri Lanka in response to a primary question on racial and ethnic origin. In the end, both ethnicity and religion were omitted in 1981, for cost and public controversy reasons, although the ethnic group question was run on its own in 1991.

The 1990s witnessed the beginnings of a shift in Government's attitudes to religious data, especially after the election of a Labour administration in 1997 and the appointment of a Government Envoy to Faith Communities in 2001. This policy change was indisputably the consequence of a heightened recognition by the state of the increasingly multicultural and religiously pluralistic nature of British society, the negative aspects of which had become evident in British Muslim reactions to the Salman Rushdie affair (1988-89) and the First Gulf War (1990). The need started to be felt for better intelligence about the British religious landscape, and the decision was taken to include a voluntary question on religious profession in the 2001 census.

However, as Leslie Francis makes clear,<sup>23</sup> there continued to be much feet-dragging by Government about this initiative. Moreover, the utility of the enterprise was limited by the failure to adopt a standard question across the four home nations, including Government's refusal to differentiate within the English and Welsh Christian community, despite protestations from all the principal faiths. The wording employed in England and Wales was also of a somewhat leading nature, while the question's positioning (unlike in Scotland) clearly implied that it was viewed as merely supplementary to country of birth and ethnicity, rather than religion being important in its own right. Government failed to modify the wording for England and Wales in the census test of 2007, in anticipation of fielding religious profession again in 2011.

The after-effects of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 (in 2001) and 7/7 (in 2005), combined with Government's determination to tackle religious discrimination (through the Equality Act 2006 and the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006), have further increased Government interest in gathering religious data. The lead department in England was initially the Home Office and now Communities and Local Government. The biennial Citizenship Survey (inaugurated in 2001) is proving to be an invaluable recurrent source for religion, while important one-off investigations have also been commissioned.<sup>24</sup> What is now the Equality and Human Rights Commission has likewise sponsored relevant surveys, some among general samples and some among special groups, such as Muslim women in 2009 on their attitudes to work.

But perhaps the single most important serial source, because of its immense size (60,000 households each quarter), is the Labour Force Survey, which has asked about religion in Britain since 2002 (and before that in Northern Ireland). It is now being used to estimate the post-2001 growth in the Muslim community,<sup>25</sup> although – like the census – it does not disaggregate Christians by denomination. Paradoxically, a religion question has never been included in Government's General Household Survey (which started in 1971), but the incidence of marriage in church and the extent of religious reasons for total abstinence have featured on its schedules. Additionally, Government is demonstrating great interest in religion as social capital, from the perspectives of community cohesion and economic value, and it has been encouraging (and sometimes facilitating) the various regional studies which have been undertaken recently in this field (see Appendix 3).

The foregoing account has concentrated on central government. There is much less to report about local government collection of religious statistics. There have been occasional plebiscites on Sunday observance issues, notably on the Sunday opening of cinemas in England and Wales in 1932-39 and 1945-50 in connection with the local option arrangements introduced by the Sunday Entertainments Act 1932; and there were septennial referenda in Wales on the Sunday opening of public houses from 1961 to 1996. More recently, some councils have commissioned public attitude surveys touching on religion. Examples include Glasgow's poll on sectarianism in 2002 and Bristol's on Muslim demands for a Muslim school in 2004.

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## Notes to Section 1

- <sup>1</sup> *The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603*, eds Alan Dyer and David Michael Palliser, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005; *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition*, ed. Anne Whiteman with the assistance of Mary Clapinson, London: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- <sup>2</sup> *Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence*, ed. George Lyon Turner, 3 vol., London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1911-14.
- <sup>3</sup> *Returns of Papists, 1767*, ed. Edward Stanislaus Worrall, Catholic Record Society Occasional Publication Nos. 1-2, [London]: the Society, 1980-89. For a full analysis, see Jean-Alain Lesourd, *Sociologie du catholicisme anglais, 1767-1851*, Nancy: Publications Université Nancy II, 1981.
- <sup>4</sup> David Bindon, *An Abstract of the Number of Protestant and Popish Families in the Several Counties and Provinces of Ireland*, Dublin: printed by M. Rhames, 1736.
- <sup>5</sup> For instance, *Religions in the UK, 2007-2010*, ed. Paul Weller (Derby: Multi-Faith Centre, University of Derby, 2007).
- <sup>6</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1812, Vol. 10.
- <sup>7</sup> Especially Peter Cockton, *Subject Catalogue of the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1801-1900*, Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1988, Vol. 4, pp. 603-733.
- <sup>8</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1910, Vol. 14-19.
- <sup>9</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1837, Vol. 21; 1837-38, Vol. 32-33; 1839, Vol. 23-26.
- <sup>10</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1874, Vol. 51; 1875, Vol. 57.
- <sup>11</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1819, Vol. 9 and 1820, Vol. 12; 1835, Vol. 41-43; 1852-53, Vol. 90 and 1854, Vol. 59; 1861, Vol. 21, Parts 1-6.
- <sup>12</sup> Ernest George Ravenstein, *Denominational Statistics of England and Wales*, London: Edward Stanford, 1870. Cf. Ernest George Ravenstein, 'Statistics of Roman Catholicism in Great Britain', *Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 1, 1874, pp. 102-6.
- <sup>13</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1852-53, Vol. 89; 1854, Vol. 59.
- <sup>14</sup> Clive Douglas Field, 'The 1851 Religious Census of Great Britain: A Bibliographical Guide for Local and Regional Historians', *Local Historian*, Vol. 27, 1997, pp. 194-217 (later reissued as a pamphlet, Salisbury: British Association for Local History, 1999).
- <sup>15</sup> The arguments and counter-arguments can be studied in some detail in Michael Drake, 'The Census, 1801-1891', *Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data*, ed. Edward Anthony Wrigley, Cambridge: at the University Press, 1972, pp. 17-19; and Keith Snell and Paul Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 449-52.
- <sup>16</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1912-13, Vol. 5; 1914, Vol. 6.
- <sup>17</sup> Such as Harold John Hanham, 'Religion and Nationality in the Mid-Victorian Army', *War and Society: Historical Essays in Honour and Memory of J. R. Western, 1928-1971*, ed. Michael Foot, London: Elek, 1973, pp. 159-81.
- <sup>18</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1862, Vol. 45; 1864, Vol. 49; 1866, Vol. 58; 1867-68, Vol. 67; 1906, Vol. 99.
- <sup>19</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1854, Vol. 55; 1861, Vol. 55; 1876, Vol. 63.
- <sup>20</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1876, Vol. 45.
- <sup>21</sup> Lys Coleman, *Survey of Mosques in England and Wales*, Birmingham: BMG Research, 2009.
- <sup>22</sup> Michael Bradley and David Fenwick, *Public Attitudes to Liquor Licensing Laws in Great Britain*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974; Michael Bradley and David Fenwick, *Shopping Habits and Attitudes to Shop Hours in Great Britain*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975.
- <sup>23</sup> Leslie John Francis, 'Religion and Social Capital: The Flaw in the 2001 Census in England and Wales', *Public Faith? The State of Religious Belief and Practice in Britain*, ed. Paul Avis, London: SPCK, 2003, pp. 45-64.
- <sup>24</sup> Such as Paul Weller, Alice Feldman and Kingsley Purdam, *Religious Discrimination in England and Wales*, London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, 2001; and the Change

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Institute's fifteen reports on *Understanding Muslim Ethnic Communities*, London: Department of Communities and Local Government, 2009.

<sup>25</sup> For instance, in a ministerial statement to the House of Commons on 7 July 2009.

## 2. Statistics Collected by Faith Communities

### 2.1 Established Churches: Church of England

As we have seen in section 1.1, the Church of England first became involved in the collection of religious statistics on behalf of the state, in surveying Roman Catholicism and Protestant Nonconformity. But it also gathered its own data, for pastoral and administrative purposes. Initially this was done locally and regionally but eventually at a national level.

A very important, and still much neglected, source from 1706 (when William Wake introduced the practice into the Diocese of Lincoln) were the returns of diocesan clergy to questionnaires issued before an episcopal visitation (supposedly triennial, although in practice the frequency varied). By the 1760s the despatch of these queries to incumbents had become the norm, and by the turn of the century they increasingly had to be completed and sent to the bishop in advance of, rather than (as before) delivered at, the visitation itself. The latter development meant that, from the 1820s, when episcopal visitation charges began to be published, some rudimentary aggregation and analysis of the answers given by the clergy in particular dioceses began to appear in print. Charles Richard Sumner was a notable pioneer of this statistical profiling of a diocese in his charges when Bishop of Winchester (1827-69).

Otherwise, the original completed clergy questionnaires have often (but not always) survived in county and diocesan record offices. Sometimes, in cases where they have not, a manuscript abstract or *speculum* may have been compiled. Scholarly editions of some of both types of document are now available (see Appendix 4). The topics covered were quite wide-ranging, and from the returns it is possible to generate statistics about the clergy, services and other religious offices, and lay conformity. Religious practice was usually measured in terms of attendance at Holy Communion (especially at Easter), but from the 1820s dioceses started to note average church attendance, as well. Statistics were also gathered on Roman Catholicism and Nonconformity, although in the most populous parishes they could often be vague.

Clergy visitation returns continue to this day, but from the late 1850s (with the commencement of diocesan calendars) and the late 1860s (with the spread of diocesan assemblies), the importance of the visitation process has waned, and statistics have tended to be gathered from sources other than the clergy returns. However, there could be notable later exceptions.<sup>1</sup>



Diocesan coverage was occasionally supplemented by records maintained locally, typically as the result of the enthusiasm of individual incumbents. Some routinely maintained registers of communicants, others noted figures of religious practice in their diaries, and a few undertook special surveys. Eighteenth-century examples of such enquiries include the censuses of religious profession in Hertford in 1747, Stockport in 1754, and Woodbridge in 1770 and 1777;<sup>2</sup> and an examination of the state of the Church in part of the Diocese of Lincoln in 1799.<sup>3</sup>

From *circa* 1830, when the statistical movement took root in the country as a whole, many individual Anglican clergymen became involved in social or pastoral investigations, either through the various statistical societies which sprang up at this time or personal initiative. Particularly notable in this regard during the 1830s were the religious statistics of Wonston and Whickham gathered, respectively, by the Anglican clergymen Alexander Dallas and William Gould.<sup>4</sup> These revealed an understanding of the influence of demographics on religious practice.

However, Abraham Hume was by far the most prolific and accomplished Anglican advocate of ecclesiastical statistics and religious sociology during the first half of the Victorian era. From his base in a slum parish of Liverpool, he undertook sundry local surveys (including enumerations of religious profession and Anglican churchgoing in the newly-founded Diocese of Liverpool in 1881-82) and contributed to national statistical debates (especially on the 1851 religious census). His career and publications are described in Appendix 5.

The progressive development of a diocesan administrative, communications and publishing infrastructure during the third quarter of the nineteenth century made it possible for the Church of England to contemplate the collation of national statistics (over and above those reported by the Church Commissioners, noted in section 1.2). The first such series to appear was for confirmands (from 1872). In 1889 the Convocations of Canterbury and York recommended that there should be a systematic collection of information about parochial work and finance, and a form of enquiry was issued to all incumbents in 1891. From that year recurrent statistics on baptisms, Sunday scholars and Easter communicants became available, to be joined subsequently by many others, including electoral roll membership (from 1924) and usual Sunday attendance (from 1968). These returns were made annually until 1941 but were suspended during the Second World War, as was the data-gathering of many denominations. The process resumed with a much-reduced scope in 1947 and has continued ever since, albeit with varying frequency.

From 1920 the Church's Central Board of Finance was responsible for collecting and tabulating the parochial returns, with a consequently improved response rate, and in 1955 the Board created a permanent Statistical Unit which, since 2000, has been the

Research and Statistics Department of the Archbishops' Council. The name-change was no mere rebranding but followed a far-reaching reappraisal conducted by a Statistics Review Group chaired by the Bishop of Wakefield.<sup>5</sup> This urged a more mission-focused, simplified and systematic approach to collecting data, while optimizing the potential of information technology and sampling techniques. The most visible changes have been the introduction of a basket of churchgoing counts to sit alongside the somewhat discredited usual Sunday attendance figures, and the commissioning of a number of national opinion polls.

What is now *The Church of England Year Book*, which commenced in 1883, was for a long time the main vehicle for publishing key data, latterly (1978-82) in the form of a statistical supplement. This was then succeeded by *Church Statistics*, in print for 1983-2004/5 but now exclusively online. Three editions of *Facts and Figures about the Church of England* also appeared from the Church Information Office, in 1959, 1962 and 1965.

Especially during the past half-century the Church of England has complemented these serial data with a variety of non-recurrent surveys. The best-known example from the 1960s is probably the Paul Report,<sup>6</sup> based upon a survey of parishes and incumbents in 1962 and a synthesis of several local studies. Diocesan initiatives from the same decade included the Diocese of Southwark's Department of Religious Sociology, under the direction of Leslie Harman, and the Diocese of Blackburn's engagement of operational researchers from Lancaster University. In more recent times the Archbishops of Canterbury and York have jointly sponsored many important enquiries under the auspices of Archbishops' Commissions or the Archbishops' Council, such as of clergy in urban priority areas in 1985 (replicated in 1995), parochial church music in 1988, clergy and parishioners in five rural dioceses in 1988-89, clergy stipends in 2000, and clergy diversity in 2005.

Individual departments of the Church have conducted their own statistical research, for instance the Board of Education's enumeration of church contacts with children and young people in 1986-87 or the Board of Mission's study of rural Anglican churches in 2001. Two *ad hoc* committees have overseen audits of the ethnic minority presence in the Church in 1994 and 2000. Ginger-groups within the Church have funded investigations of the beliefs and attitudes of clergy and laity: the Church Society in 1984, the Protestant Reformation Society in 1996 and Cost of Conscience in 2001-02. Several dioceses carried out special surveys of their constituencies during the 1990s, among them Carlisle, Oxford and Rochester.

## 2.2 Established Churches: Wales and Scotland

The recurrent statistics of what is now the Church in Wales commenced at the same date, and cover similar measures, as for the Church of England, although separate series may only be reported from 1921, the point of disestablishment. The main one-off enquiries have been the Bangor Diocesan Survey of 1967 and the Archbishop's State of the Church Study of 1989 and 1991, both overseen by Christopher Harris, while a survey of the community use of church buildings took place in 2005. The Episcopal Church in Scotland, which is comparatively small, has published figures of membership since 1877 and communicants from 1883.

The established church north of the border is naturally the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland. It was this Church's Moderator of the General Assembly at the time, Alexander Webster, who organized, through the parish ministers, a census of population and religious profession (in terms of a classification into Protestants and Catholics) in Scotland in 1755.<sup>7</sup> It was the same network of parochial ministers who provided the local evidence for *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, directed by Sir John Sinclair in 1791-98, although the enterprise generated few numerical data on religion in the conventionally understood sense.<sup>8</sup>

The Church of Scotland's regular internal statistics-gathering began in earnest with the appointment of the Committee on Christian Life and Work in 1869 and the Committee to Complete the Statistics of Church Connection in 1875. From these flowed annual returns of Sunday scholars from 1876, members from 1881, baptisms from 1882, active communicants from 1885, deaths from 1888, and other membership losses from 1892. The *Church of Scotland Yearbook*, which commenced in 1886, became a principal vehicle for the publication of these data.

In addition, the Church of Scotland has undertaken important non-recurrent investigations with a quantitative focus, one of the earliest being its Commission on the Religious Condition of the People, which reported to the General Assembly in 1891-98. Examples in more recent times include: a survey of Sunday schools and Bible classes in 1958-59, a study of church membership in Falkirk in 1968, a review of economics and finance in the 1970s,<sup>9</sup> the lifestyle survey of 1984, ministry among young people in 2000, the contribution to social capital in 2001-02, stress in the ministry in 2002, and schoolchildren's attitudes to religion and the Church in 2008. The Church of Scotland's Board of National Mission was likewise the prime mover behind the 2002 Scottish church census, carried out by Christian Research.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.3 Free Churches: General

Although elements within the Free Church tradition have been suspicious of statistics, sometimes citing King David's sin in numbering the people of Israel as biblical foundation for their opposition,<sup>11</sup> the Nonconformist movement as a whole has not been averse to deploying quantitative data in its cause, when it has suited its purposes. During the eighteenth century the Old Dissent (Baptists, Independents, Presbyterians and Unitarians) saw value in demonstrating its numerical importance as a means of influencing Government to relax the legislative restrictions which still remained after the Toleration Act 1689. This was a principal motive behind the lists of Dissenting congregations in England and Wales drawn up by John Evans in 1715-29 (which also recorded hearers) and Josiah Thompson in 1772-73. They were later revised by David Bogue and James Bennett in 1812.<sup>12</sup>

From the late 1820s, by which time Nonconformity was expanding rapidly, more overt comparisons were already being drawn between the Free Churches and Church of England, with a view to proving the efficacy of the voluntary principle over religious establishment and to demonstrating anew the case for the easing of statutory constraints on Nonconformists. Thus, Benjamin Hanbury wrote a paper on the number of Dissenters in England and Wales in 1828 as part of the campaign for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.<sup>13</sup> The *Congregational Magazine* for 1824, 1826-27 and 1829-36 contained sundry articles listing Dissenting places of worship and ministers, one of the most substantive in 1829.<sup>14</sup> However, they were not exhaustive, with many Methodist meetings being missed. In 1834 the same publication carried an appendix with details of churches, communicants, hearers and Sunday schools for all denominations in 202 English towns and villages and on the island of Jersey,<sup>15</sup> while in 1838 it ran a series on the moral and ecclesiastical statistics of London, which recorded all places of worship and their sittings.<sup>16</sup>

The *Congregational Magazine* data were one of the principal sources for the three short articles on the statistics of Methodism, the Church of England and Dissent published by Simeon Woodhouse (a Methodist New Connexion minister) in 1839;<sup>17</sup> likewise for the tabulation of Dissent in *The Record*, 26 September 1839. In Wales the Nonconformist-backed Cambrian Educational Society organized a census of church and Sunday school attendance in 1847 which covered just under one half the population,<sup>18</sup> and in 1847-48 the Hertfordshire Union of Baptists and Independents arranged for returns in that county of places of worship, ministers, sittings, services and average attendances at services and Sunday schools.<sup>19</sup>

Publication of the results of the 1851 religious census in England and Wales further heightened Nonconformity's statistical consciousness, and led to bitter public feuding with the Church of England about the accuracy and interpretation of the results, not

least since ‘militant Dissent’ used them as an argument for disestablishment. A particularly influential Dissenting manifesto was *Voluntaryism in England and Wales*,<sup>20</sup> to which a robust Anglican response was *The Truth about Church Extension*.<sup>21</sup> More generally, Anglicans were not slow to attack the unreliability of any statistics which Nonconformists themselves put forward. Typical of the genre were *Statistics of Dissent in England and Wales*;<sup>22</sup> and *Nonconformist Chapels: What are They?*<sup>23</sup> Some of Abraham Hume’s publications also ventured into this territory (Appendix 5).

However, the findings of the 1851 religious census also underlined the scale of the evangelistic task facing the nation as a whole, leading to a redoubling of efforts for home mission and church extension. Nonconformists were behind the enumerations of provision for public worship in London in 1865,<sup>24</sup> English and Welsh towns in 1872-73,<sup>25</sup> Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire in 1876 and 1879 respectively,<sup>26</sup> and south Lancashire in 1880.<sup>27</sup> The number of sittings was also sometimes recorded in connection with the many local censuses of church attendance which were conducted, mostly in English and Scottish towns, in 1881-82, and largely by newspapers with Nonconformist leanings (see Appendix 6). The principal driver for these censuses was the Government’s failure to repeat the 1851 religious census of church attendance. The Nonconformist media were also behind some subsequent counts of churchgoing, such as those in London by the *British Weekly* in 1886-87;<sup>28</sup> and the *Daily News* in 1902-03.<sup>29</sup>

From the 1890s greater collaboration between the Free Churches, which resulted in the formation of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches in 1896, generated additional statistics. Nationally, Howard Evans was the most prominent Nonconformist statistician of the time. Commencing with an article in *Contemporary Review* in 1897,<sup>30</sup> he became responsible for the statistical sections which appeared in the *Free Church Year Book* from its inception in 1900. Locally, visitation campaigns took place in some of the major cities, one of the earliest in Bradford in 1892.<sup>31</sup> There was an important study of the Free Church presence in Liverpool, by Wilfrid Rowland in 1908,<sup>32</sup> and a Free Church commentary (by Arthur Black and Thomas Dann) on a city-wide census four years later.<sup>33</sup> Black, a Baptist, seems to have been something of an expert on religious statistics, although little of his work appears to have survived. He is perhaps best remembered today for his series of newspaper articles on *London Church and Mission Attendances*, largely based on a survey of Roehampton and Putney after the First World War, and originally published in the *British Weekly*.<sup>34</sup>

## 2.4 Free Churches: Methodists

Of the individual Free Churches, the Methodists have the longest unbroken tradition of publishing annual membership figures. Indeed, the Wesleyan Methodists were the first of any of the Christian denominations in Great Britain to do so, in 1766. In time, they added many other series, including ministers (from 1790), members on trial (from 1855), Sunday scholars (from 1863), deaths (from 1864), new members (from 1875), junior members, members who ceased to meet and transfers between circuits (all from 1881), local preachers (from 1883), losses through emigration (from 1888), and transfers between other churches (from 1906). *Returns of Accommodation Provided in Wesleyan Methodist Chapels and Other Preaching Places* were taken in 1873, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931.

The Wesleyans studied their annual membership balance-sheet assiduously, locally, regionally and nationally. Early examples of localized use include William Buckley Haigh's *Synopsis of Wesleyan Methodism in Yorkshire*,<sup>35</sup> and *Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism*.<sup>36</sup> Nationally, Edwin Tindall's *The Wesleyan Methodist Atlas of England and Wales*,<sup>37</sup> with its 15 plates, was as innovative in its mid-Victorian day as Abraham Hume's Anglican cartography, but is now largely forgotten, in part because Tindall left the Wesleyan ministry under a cloud in 1883, having been found guilty of embezzlement.

In the early twentieth century another minister, Ernest Loosley, identified his special interest as 'figures and statistics'; he is best known for his analyses of Wesleyan membership in relation to the population census in a trio of articles in the *Methodist Recorder* (7 July 1910, 8 September 1921 and 16 July 1931). The connexion also gathered non-recurrent evidence, such as through a Spiritual Advance Committee towards the end of the First World War.<sup>38</sup> However, there were some Wesleyan sceptics about the value of head-counting, such as Henry Carter, who wrote in 1911: 'Numerical standards are insufficient where spiritual values are to be estimated. Over a large area of Church life statistics have little worth.'<sup>39</sup>

Non-Wesleyan Methodists were no less conscientious about quantification, for the most part collecting much the same range of data as the Wesleyans. Membership returns were the single most important annual series, commencing in 1798 for the Methodist New Connexion (until 1906), 1820 for the Primitive Methodists (until 1932), 1826 for the Bible Christians (until 1906), 1837 for the Wesleyan Methodist Association (until 1856), 1857 for the United Methodist Free Churches (until 1906), and 1907 for the United Methodist Church (until 1932). All these traditions merged into the Methodist Church in 1932. Still remaining outside are the Independent

Methodist Connexion and the Wesleyan Reform Union, whose membership statistics go back to 1864 and 1860 respectively.

The Methodist New Connexion was ahead of the Wesleyans in reporting deaths (from 1803), the Primitive Methodists, Methodist New Connexion and United Methodist Free Churches in counting Sunday scholars (the first two from 1851, the third from 1857). Of the non-Wesleyans, only the Primitive Methodists made regular returns of sittings. Alone of the Methodist denominations, Primitive Methodists enumerated adherents who were not in membership (from 1880). They also once counted their chapel-goers, on 7 April 1861;<sup>40</sup> as did the United Methodist Free Churches on 10 April 1881 and 24 March 1901.<sup>41</sup> The Primitive Methodists undertook *ad hoc* statistical surveys, in addition, including through the General Missionary Quarterly Committee in the mid-1890s;<sup>42</sup> and in the metropolitan area in 1906 and 1918.<sup>43</sup>

When the Methodist Church was formed, it carried over most of the recurrent indicators it had inherited, including a decennial census of church accommodation (in 1940, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000). But there were voices in Methodism who felt that this did not go far enough, doubtless influenced by the emergence of empirical religious sociology in Britain during the 1950s. In 1961 a Sociological Sub-Committee of the Church Membership Committee was set up to develop the Church's social sciences base. It was renamed the Methodist Sociological Group in 1968. Under its successive chairs, Bernard Jones and Jeffrey Harris, it developed into a network of ministers, laity and academics with, at its peak, some 65 names on its books. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the Group was associated with a series of relatively small-scale Methodist enquiries, several connected with the dynamics of membership growth and decline. For the most part, these lie unpublished in the Methodist Archives at Manchester, but a flavour of the work can be seen in a special issue of the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* (Sixth Series, Vol. 32, No. 1, January 1963) and in Jones's *Family Count*.<sup>44</sup>

Partly in consequence of the Group's endeavours, Methodist data-gathering was radically overhauled in 1968: annual publication ceased in favour of triennial reporting (from 1969-71), categories were redefined, new measures were introduced (notably the community roll in 1969 and church attendance in 1972), and others were discontinued. The processing of this information is now outsourced to the Research and Statistics Department of the Archbishops' Council of the Church of England. Computerization enabled more sophisticated and disaggregated examination of the statistics, which Harris skilfully deployed in a church growth context.<sup>45</sup>

During the final quarter of the twentieth century, the Methodist Church sometimes engaged one of its sons, David Bartholomew, to prepare various forecasts and analyses of ordained and lay ministry and membership. He was then Professor of Statistics and

Mathematical Science at the London School of Economics and was President of the Royal Statistical Society in 1993-95. He is the author of three books blending statistical theory with theology.<sup>46</sup> The Church has also initiated many other non-recurrent studies, notable examples including the surveys of ethnic minorities in 1983,<sup>47</sup> and local (or lay) preachers in 2000.<sup>48</sup> The Wesleyan Reform Union commissioned Christian Research to prepare a new quantitatively informed strategy in 1995-96.<sup>49</sup>

## 2.5 Free Churches: Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers

Wesleyan Methodism's example of collecting annual membership figures from 1766 was quickly followed by the New Connexion of General Baptists in 1770. But this was a small strand in the Baptist family, which – overall – made a relatively late statistical appearance. The earliest information comprised a list of Particular Baptist ministers and an estimate of their members in the mid-eighteenth century prepared by John Collett Ryland.<sup>50</sup> Fuller lists of congregations and ministers were published in the 1790, 1794 and 1798 editions of John Rippon's *Baptist Annual Register* and in the *Baptist Magazine* for 1811, 1823, 1827, 1831, 1832 and 1835. The return in the 1835 volume (pp. 549-66) was the most comprehensive, in covering both Particular and General Baptists and in recording in many cases the number of members, hearers and Sunday scholars (based on responses to printed forms sent to ministers).

From the 1830s Baptist membership data are available in the publications and archives of the regional associations (which had also been recording baptisms from the 1770s), but collated national statistics had to await the appearance of the *Baptist Handbook* in 1861. Progress was incremental, with the membership series commencing in 1864 (although the 1869 edition included a partial retrospective back to 1834), followed by Sunday scholars in 1867 (available for the New Connexion of General Baptists from 1841), then pastors and lay preachers, and baptisms in 1929.

Even then, the picture was not necessarily complete, adversely affected by the failure of some churches to affiliate to the Baptist Union and by the unwillingness of some associated churches to make returns. Still standing outside the Union are Old Baptist Union, Gospel Standard Strict Baptist, Grace Baptist and other churches. Confusion is added by the existence of separate Baptist Unions for Wales, Scotland and Ireland co-existing with the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. There have been some non-recurrent Baptist surveys in recent years, particularly of church growth in 1978,<sup>51</sup> caring activities in 1983,<sup>52</sup> social action in 1992,<sup>53</sup> work among young people in 1994,<sup>54</sup> worship in 1996,<sup>55</sup> and baptismal candidates in 1998-99.<sup>56</sup>



The Congregationalists were also quite late in the day in reporting annual membership data, under the auspices of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the Union of Welsh Independents and the Congregational Union of Scotland. The series run from 1898 in England, 1897 in Wales and 1900 in Scotland (with Scottish adherents separately enumerated). The number of Sunday scholars and lay preachers was also recorded from the same time, until 1967 and 1955 respectively, albeit with gaps during and after the First World War and in the Second World War. Data on ministers and places of worship have been collected since the 1860s. Remarkably little *ad hoc* statistical research was ever undertaken, the main exceptions being the surveys by Luke Beaumont in 1929-31,<sup>57</sup> and Peter Sissons in 1966-67,<sup>58</sup> both in North-West England.

The majority of Congregational churches joined the United Reformed Church in 1972, but a minority formed the Congregational Federation, which has published statistics of members, adherents and children since 1973. The other denominations which came together to constitute the United Reformed Church were the Presbyterian Church of England, which annually returned congregations, communicants, membership gains and losses, baptisms and Sunday scholars from its foundation in 1876 until 1970; and the Churches of Christ, which gathered data about congregations, membership and average attendance at Holy Communion from 1842 to 1980. The same statistics have been collected by the Fellowship of Churches of Christ since 1981, representing congregations which did not join the United Reformed Church. The United Reformed Church itself has broadly maintained the statistics inherited from its three constituent bodies, but it has not carried out many non-recurrent investigations, a rare exception being the social concerns and values study commissioned from Christian Research in 1995-96.<sup>59</sup>

The Society of Friends has a very long tradition of record-keeping, especially of registers of births, marriages and deaths, but it seems to have entertained misgivings about the propriety and utility of statistics until the mid-nineteenth century. Even aggregative analysis of the vital registers, and deductions which could be drawn from them about the size of the Quaker community, had to wait until then, when John Stephenson Rowntree published his *Quakerism Past and Present*,<sup>60</sup> and Joseph Fox his essay 'On the Vital Statistics of the Society of Friends'.<sup>61</sup> The analysis has since been taken much further forward by Richard Vann and David Eversley.<sup>62</sup>

The first censuses of Quaker members were unofficial ones, conducted by Samuel Tuke in 1840 and 1847.<sup>63</sup> Official annual returns of membership numbers, recruitment, resignations and expulsions were first compiled in 1861 and have been printed ever since in *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of London Yearly Meeting of Friends*. Enumerations of attendance at meetings for worship and mission meetings have also been made, in 1904, 1909, 1914 and 2006.<sup>64</sup> There have been several

official or semi-official demographic and attitude surveys of Quaker members and attenders in recent decades, notably by Kathleen Slack in 1964-65,<sup>65</sup> Meeting for Sufferings in 1980, Ben Pink Dandelion in 1990,<sup>66</sup> Paul Burton in 2002 (in Scotland),<sup>67</sup> and Rosie Rutherford in 2003.<sup>68</sup>

## **2.6 Free Churches: Other Denominations**

Space does not permit a full account of the statistical experience of all the other denominations which have loosely constituted the 'Free Church community', most of which are or were quite small and a few of which do not subscribe to the Trinity. Only a few selective headlines may be noted. Despite being formed in Britain in the eighteenth century, the Moravians did not begin their annual returns of members and communicants until 1848 and average weekly attendance in 1900. The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, which began at the same time, did not publish membership figures until 1940. The Unitarians have kept limited serial data, although the Foy Society Survey Group's report in 1967 is an important non-recurrent source.<sup>69</sup> The New Church (or Swedenborgians) recorded members from 1825 and subsequently average attendance. The Latter Day Saints (or Mormons) have kept good statistics of baptisms, converts, excommunications, members and emigrations from the outset of their British Mission in 1840.

The Assemblies of God have less recurrent data in the public domain but commissioned Christian Research to undertake special studies of membership and attendance in 1992 and 1993. The best information on the (Open) Christian Brethren comes from the surveys of assemblies carried out in 1978, 1988 and 1998-99.<sup>70</sup> The Salvation Army enumerated only officers and centres of work for a long time, but membership (soldiers) and worship attendance were returned from 1945. A census of attendance at Army citadels took place in 1995, a poll of public perceptions of the Army was commissioned in 1998,<sup>71</sup> and a survey of homeless people using the Army's residential or day centres was undertaken in 2006-09.<sup>72</sup> The Seventh Day Adventists have returned membership since 1903 and carried out a special enquiry in 1980-81.<sup>73</sup> The Jehovah's Witnesses began reporting statistics of membership in 1932 and congregations, kingdom publishers, pioneers and new subscribers to their magazines in 1943.

In Wales the Presbyterian Church of Wales regularly counted chapels, ministers and members from 1867, and membership gains and losses, children, Sunday scholars and non-member adherents from 1895 (although some of these series have now been discontinued). In Scotland published data on ministers, communicants, baptisms, Sunday scholars and finance are available from the late 1850s for the various Presbyterian secessions from the Church of Scotland. However, the statistics are hard

to use in any long-term perspective on account of the complex history of these bodies. Put simply, the United Free Church of Scotland was the outcome of the merger in 1900 of the Free Church of Scotland (1843) and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (formed in 1847 through the amalgamation of the United Secession Church and the Relief Church), but a minority of Free Church congregations opted to remain outside the union and maintain an independent existence to this day. Similarly, while the majority of the United Free Church of Scotland rejoined the Church of Scotland in 1929, a minority did not do so and remain a separate denomination.

These divisions within Scottish Presbyterianism often spilled over into public disagreements about the reliability and interpretation of statistics and became bound up in the Scottish disestablishment question. Two Free Church ministers made especially notable contributions to the quantification of Scottish religion: James Johnston in 1874,<sup>74</sup> and Robert Howie in 1893.<sup>75</sup> Less tinged with partisanship were the tabulations (disaggregated to congregational level) which appeared in the *Scottish Church and University Almanac* between 1881 and 1929, from which *The Distribution & Statistics of the Scottish Churches* derived.<sup>76</sup> In more recent times, two economists from Heriot-Watt University (Robbie Mochrie and John Sawkins) have been researching Scottish Presbyterian religious statistics for 1843-74. Early outputs include their dataset at the Economic and Social Data Service (SN 5806) and a bibliography of quantitative sources.<sup>77</sup>

## **2.7 Roman Catholic Church: Before the Second World War**

As we have noted above (sections 1.1 and 1.2), the earliest quantitative records of post-Reformation Catholicism come from censuses ordered by Government and mostly conducted by the Church of England, in 1603, 1676, 1705, 1706, 1767, 1780 and 1829. The Roman Catholic Church did not have its own hierarchy in Britain at this time and was dependent for organization and co-ordination on the work of the Vicars Apostolic accountable to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome. Such internal statistics as are available – mostly on priests and churches but sometimes for estimated Catholic population – derive from their periodic returns to the Vatican. The earliest extant report, and the first detailed survey of the post-Reformation English Roman Catholics from a Catholic source, dates from 1773.<sup>78</sup>

The estimated population data, the traditional indicator of Catholic ‘belonging’, were doubtless very approximate. While good registers of confirmands were maintained for the long eighteenth century (several of which are now available in print), it was very rare indeed for detailed records to be kept of all parishioners. Joseph Dunn, the local mission priest from 1783 to 1827, was a rare exception in carrying out a census of his congregation in Preston, which enables an analysis to be made by sex, age and

residence.<sup>79</sup> The absence of reliable data did not preclude those antipathetic to Roman Catholicism from making their own estimates of the Church's presence. Two notable examples were *The Progress of Popery* and *Statistics of Popery*, originally published in, respectively, *Blackwood's Magazine* in October 1838 and *Fraser's Magazine* in March-April 1839 but subsequently reprinted as pamphlets by the Protestant Association and the (Protestant) Reformation Society. The former achieved a print-run of 10,000 copies in 1838 and the latter went through six editions in 1839.<sup>80</sup>

The Roman Catholic hierarchies were restored in England and Wales in 1850 and in Scotland in 1878, and from this point greater effort seems to have been made to gather statistics in a more systematic fashion, albeit with minimal standardization and quality control. This activity was not least to meet the requirements for regular returns to the Roman Curia, although the strategic planning potential was not lost on some of the bishops. Thus, soon after the restoration in England and Wales a small book of *Catholic Statistics, 1823 to 1853* was published, no copies of which appear to survive. In 1866 the English and Welsh hierarchy ordered a retrospective collection of baptismal and marriage data for 1850-65, baptisms being compared with the national birth rate in order to estimate the size of the Roman Catholic population, thereby anticipating by almost a century the more sophisticated sacramental index method developed by Anthony Spencer in 1955.<sup>81</sup>

There were also local initiatives. The Diocese of Salford gathered statistics on baptisms, confessions, Holy Communion and confirmations in 1873, while the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle recorded baptisms for the first time in 1874. Counts of Roman Catholic mass attendance took place in the Dioceses of Salford in 1875 and Liverpool in 1881 and 1891, and there was a census of the Archdiocese of Westminster in 1893-94. These local statistics often found their way into diocesan directories, the earliest of which seems to have dated from Hexham and Newcastle (in 1868), followed by Salford (1877), Liverpool (1885), and Birmingham (1888). In addition, individual priests sometimes gathered parish-level data, such as Michael Condon who carried out annual house-to-house censuses of his parishes of St Laurence, Greenock in 1869-85 and St Patrick, Glasgow in 1885-88. Besides these ecclesiastical sources, much information about Roman Catholics could be found in the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. However, the Church showed little recognition of this fact, notwithstanding the useful abstract made from these reports by William Golden Lumley in 1864.<sup>82</sup>

The main medium of publication for the national Roman Catholic statistics, then as now, was the *Catholic Directory* (for England and Wales) and *Catholic Directory for Scotland*. These titles commenced in 1838 and 1848 respectively, with figures for clergy and churches routinely appearing from the mid-1840s, although population estimates were more intermittent and often unchanged from one year to the next. In England and

Wales in 1910-11 the hierarchy decided to rationalize the collection of data, with the result that the 1913 edition of the *Catholic Directory* contained for most dioceses returns for 1911 of infant baptisms, adult converts, marriages, burials (soon discontinued), Catholic population, and Catholic schools and pupils.

But it was still left to each diocese to procure its own facts, so that, in effect, the Church was operating sixteen different statistical systems, each employing its own definitions and year-end dates, and with little attempt at verification, whether at diocesan level or nationally. The figures of population, aggregated from, for the most part, the 'guesstimates' of individual clergy, were especially problematical. When Waclaw Zbyszewski reviewed the published data in *The Tablet* for 6 March 1948, he was emphatic in his judgment that 'the estimates of the Catholic population in the *Catholic Directory* do not hold water'.

## **2.8 Roman Catholic Church: After the Second World War**

Zbyszewski's critique failed to stir the English and Welsh hierarchy to action, but the lay Catholic intelligentsia of the Newman Association of Great Britain certainly did respond (see additionally Appendix 7). They formed the Newman Demographic Survey in 1953, with the intention of applying the social sciences in general and statistics in particular to the mission of the Catholic Church in England and Wales. The driving-force behind the Survey was Anthony Spencer, who became its founder honorary secretary and, from 1959, its paid director. For the first five years it functioned entirely through the voluntary labours of Catholic lay graduates and professionals with an interest in statistics and social research, and it had 200 of them on its books at one stage. Then, in 1958, the first salaried staff member was appointed when the Survey secured a commission from the Catholic Education Council to research the future supply of Roman Catholic teachers. Further consultancies followed, from Catholic dioceses and organizations, and by the end of 1962 the Survey had 13.5 full-time equivalent staff.

The Survey's principal successes were in establishing on a secure and consistent footing the collection and analysis of recurrent statistics relating to Roman Catholic population, pastoral activities, schools, pupils, teachers, and higher education students. By 1959 an annual census of Catholic schools had been initiated, and all dioceses were using a common form to return their demographic and pastoral statistics, which were centrally validated and tabulated. A major feature of the Survey's serial work was that its data were computed on two geographical bases, local education authorities as well as Catholic dioceses, thereby facilitating their use with central and local government figures and in planning. Non-recurrently, a census of Catholic clergy and religious in England and Wales was completed in 1961, and a parish census service was launched

early in 1962, following a successful pilot by Michael Fogarty in Aberystwyth.<sup>83</sup> An important study of religion among young adults aged 15-24 was carried out, in conjunction with the Young Christian Workers<sup>84</sup>.

Unfortunately, the Survey was stopped in its tracks in 1964 when the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales withdrew its support following a dispute over a conference paper given by Spencer on Catholic education, of which the Catholic Education Council disapproved. The Survey's activities, staff and library were accordingly split. The Catholic Education Council assumed responsibility for the educational and, somewhat bizarrely (since only baptisms were strictly relevant to its brief), the pastoral and population statistics services. While the Council continued to collect both series, it ceased publication of the latter immediately but commenced *Catholic Education: A Handbook* as a source for the former from 1960-61. The tabulation of pastoral and population statistics on a local education authority basis continued until 1969, ending with the reorganization of local government. Data for the years 1963-91 were eventually published by the Pastoral Research Centre in 2006.<sup>85</sup>

The English and Welsh hierarchy did not appear to be greatly concerned about this situation. Although some of the bishops had arranged regular counts of mass attendance throughout the inter-war period, they did not all do so until 1960. They generally attached little significance to statistics prior to the late 1950s, when some began to recognize their value in negotiating with central and local government. Even thereafter, it is noteworthy that, unlike in Scotland where a Gallup Poll of the beliefs, practice and attitudes of professing Catholics in 1977 was commissioned by the Archdiocese of Glasgow and Diocese of Motherwell,<sup>86</sup> the comparable enquiry in England and Wales in 1978 was funded by an anonymous trust on behalf of the Department of Sociology, University of Surrey.<sup>87</sup> Writing in 1980, Michael Hornsby-Smith, the Catholic sociologist responsible for the 1978 survey (and for many other investigations of post-Vatican II English Catholicism), bemoaned the lack of a research and statistics unit within the Church, while identifying at least six areas where serious empirical spadework was needed to inform pastoral strategies.<sup>88</sup>

The situation in England and Wales does not appear to have improved much since Hornsby-Smith's overview, except perhaps in the area of financial data, which seem to have become increasingly reliable and transparent, doubtless in part as a result of the expanding requirements of charity law and the Charity Commission. In other respects, if anything, the position is somewhat worse. Restructuring in 1991-92 saw the transfer of the Catholic Education Council's statistical and other remits to the Catholic Education Service, at which point the collection of pastoral and demographic data seems to have collapsed in large part (it obviously being a low priority for the Service), while even the annual school census results were not published for many years after 1991.

The deficiencies have not really been made good through non-recurrent surveys, the only vaguely quantitative one of which to have taken place directly under the auspices of the Catholic Bishops' Conference being on evangelization, among parishioners and priests in 2001.<sup>89</sup> It fell to the Catholic Media Trust and the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development to commission opinion poll research on the demographics and social values of Catholics in 1998 and 2008-09 respectively. Statistics of Roman Catholic overseas missionaries have been collected by the Catholic Missionary Union (formerly the National Missionary Council) of England and Wales and published in the annual *Our Missionaries* since 1979.

After the Newman Demographic Survey was forced into liquidation in 1964 by the withdrawal of the hierarchy's support, Spencer was appointed research lecturer at Cavendish Square Graduate College. He took with him the Survey's programmes of work on evangelization, religious vocations, parishioner records and censuses, support for the Third World and investigations in the sociology of religion in general. These were rebranded as the Pastoral Research Centre. Two significant reports on the parish register, religious practice and population statistics of the Catholic Church in Scotland date from this time (1966-67). Regrettably, the College closed in 1969, and Spencer began teaching sociology at Queen's University Belfast in 1970. For much of his time there, he turned, not unnaturally, to research into religion and conflict resolution in an Irish context. Moreover, the Centre's library, archives and databank were in store from 1990 to 2000 and were not fully rearranged until 2002, when Spencer relocated to Taunton.

Since returning to England, Spencer has been fully engaged in research and publishing, based upon the reports of the Newman Demographic Survey (which the bishops declassified in 2005) and the resources of the Pastoral Research Centre. An especially important milestone has been the collation, from a variety of sources, of a *Digest of Statistics of the Catholic Community of England & Wales, 1958-2005, Volume 1*.<sup>90</sup> This complements James Darragh's shorter and more high-level digest for Scotland.<sup>91</sup> Spencer has also continued to argue the case for statistical reform of the Catholic Church in England and Wales, most notably in his detailed critique *Facts and Figures for the Twenty-First Century*.<sup>92</sup> This underscored the shortcomings of the British data in the *Catholic Directory* and in the two Vatican publications, *Annuario Pontificio* and *Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae* (*Statistical Yearbook of the Church*). As yet, despite a brief consideration by the bishops in 2004, there are few signs that Spencer's recommendations (including the proposal to set up a modestly-sized central statistical unit for the Church) are likely to be taken up by them.

## 2.9 Ecumenical Initiatives: National

Apart from the collaboration within the Free Church constituency, noted above (section 2.3), there has been limited statistical co-operation between Christians in Britain, nearly all of it post-dating the Second World War. One of the earliest initiatives was the Christian Economic and Social Research Foundation, set up in 1953 as a successor body to the Economic Research Council, with the intention of studying socio-economic conditions as they were affected by material, moral and spiritual factors. However, it increasingly focused on research into drink-related issues, including a series of enquiries into alcohol consumption by Methodist ministers, in 1962, 1972 and 1982.<sup>93</sup> It had ceased by 1987, its archives being preserved in the London Metropolitan Archives. The Foundation had minimal impact at the time on mainstream religious statistics.

More influential in this regard during the late 1960s was the quantitative study of conversion experience produced by the Evangelical Alliance as one component of its radical reassessment of evangelism in Britain, through the *On the Other Side* report.<sup>94</sup> Especially after its resurgence in the 1980s and 1990s, the Alliance has been responsible for several other investigations of activities and attitudes within its membership, at both church and individual levels.

In 1972, as part of a broader review of the missionary situation in Britain, the British Council of Churches considered a seminal paper which had been prepared by Barbara Wollaston, who was secretary of the Greater London Churches' Consultative Group. Entitled *Stand up and be Counted*,<sup>95</sup> it strongly argued the case 'that a fresh approach to the collection and use of statistical information is the basic prerequisite of any realistic planning for mission in the United Kingdom'. It recommended that those responsible for the collection of denominational statistics should meet and agree upon common standards and categories in order to make them meaningful for comparative purposes. The paper also emphasized the need to relate data to geography, particularly to standard planning regions and local government boundaries, as well as calling for a stronger relationship between religious and general social statistics.

Although some preliminary discussions seem to have taken place within the Council in 1973, no substantive progress was ever made. However, the Council did commission some non-recurrent research of its own in subsequent years, including studies of young people and the Church in 1979-80,<sup>96</sup> church computing in 1986,<sup>97</sup> and local councils of churches in 1988.<sup>98</sup> This tradition was continued by the Council's successor bodies, for example the Churches Together in England investigation of finding faith in 1991.<sup>99</sup>



The arrival of the church growth movement stimulated further enterprises in the 1970s (even though the British Church Growth Association, which produced *Church Growth Digest* between 1979 and 2002, was not itself responsible for any major original research). A relatively small undertaking was the Urban Church Project, which ran from October 1973 to December 1983. The brainchild of an Anglican clergyman, David Wasdell, it operated as a consultancy-based research unit designed to facilitate church growth in urban industrial society. It carried out 25 in-depth case studies of local churches (Anglican and Methodist) and produced 48 publications.<sup>100</sup>

More ambitious in scope was the Nationwide Initiative in Evangelism (1977-83), whose story has been told by Roger Whitehead and Amy Sneddon.<sup>101</sup> One strand of this concerned empirical research, including the promotion of church and neighbourhood surveys, but the Initiative will be best remembered for commissioning the first census of churchgoing (and membership) in England in modern times, in 1979.<sup>102</sup> The Initiative's chair was Donald English, who was soon to become General Secretary of the Methodist Church Home Mission Division, where the Methodist Sociological Group was based. That Group took the lead in convening the Interchurch Research Group which had a short existence in 1978-80 and endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to establish an ecumenical programme of religious research to run in parallel with the 1981 Government census of population. Shortly after the Initiative collapsed, Mission England took place in 1984 with Billy Graham as lead evangelist, and its organizers sponsored several national and regional Gallup Polls, as well as statistical analysis of the enquirers who came forward at the mission meetings.<sup>103</sup>

The Nationwide Initiative's 1979 census was actually carried out by the Bible Society Research Department under the leadership of Peter Brierley, the Society's Programme Director, who had joined from the Government's Central Statistical Office, for whom he had compiled *Sources of Statistics on Religion*.<sup>104</sup> Supported by Lynda Barley, now Head of Research and Statistics for the Church of England, Brierley laid the foundations for a broadly-based portfolio of quantitative and qualitative research at the Bible Society which has continued, with some interruptions, to this day. This often extended beyond market research about Bible ownership and reading and preferences for Bible versions. Regrettably, only headline data have tended to be released by the Society from these internal Bible-related studies, although the commissions it worked on for third parties have resulted in publications, such as the reports on the 1982 and 1995 Welsh church censuses.<sup>105</sup>

Brierley left the Bible Society in 1982 to become European Director of MARC Europe, a ministry of World Vision International, until its closure by the parent body in 1993, following a change of direction. From the ashes of MARC Europe he established the Christian Research Association, with a virtually identical remit. This

became an independent charity and company limited by guarantee, of which Brierley was Executive Director until his retirement in 2007. At this point Christian Research was merged into the Bible Society, while retaining its distinctive identity as a membership organization and its ‘professional impartiality and editorial independence’.

Throughout its history, Christian Research has carried out many research consultancies for Protestant and inter-denominational clients, most of which have not been published, at least in full. However, it has also provided invaluable current awareness services for its institutional and personal members through its newsletters (*LandMARC* from 1986 to 1993 and *Quadrant* subsequently), produced biennial editions of what is now the *UK Christian Resources Handbook* since 1982 (although its origins can be traced to the *Protestant Missions Handbook*, started by the Evangelical Missionary Alliance in 1964) and of *Religious Trends* since 1997, and completed three further church censuses in England (in 1989, 1998 and 2005),<sup>106</sup> plus three in Scotland (in 1984, 1994 and 2002).<sup>107</sup>

By these means Christian Research in general and Brierley in particular have transformed the United Kingdom religious statistical landscape from the late 1970s, considerably improving the volume, range, quality and comparability of Christian data on churches, clergy, membership, attendance and overseas mission. Brierley has also done much to popularize the appreciation of figures among Christian leaders, including through his books such as *Act on the Facts* and *Painting by Numbers*,<sup>108</sup> and a long-standing monthly column in *Church of England Newspaper*. He has likewise written *A Century of British Christianity*.<sup>109</sup> He remains active in the field since his retirement from Christian Research and has set up Brierley Consulting.

While Christian Research is one of the biggest players on the statistical scene, it by no means has a monopoly of inter-denominational activity, and there have been several new entrants during the past decade or so. Churches Information for Mission (CIM) was one short-lived example, being incorporated on 11 May 1999 ‘to promote the efficiency of churches and other charitable institutions which advance the Christian religion’ in England, and registered as a charity on 24 February 2000. Owned by a consortium of 25 Christian churches and agencies, its major achievement was to carry out a Church Life Profile among adult churchgoers, children and church leaders in 2001, both to coincide with the civil population census and to form part of the International Congregational Life Survey, which was being simultaneously conducted in three other countries. The Profile was funded by the Church of England, Baptist Union, United Reformed Church, Methodist Church and Salvation Army, and it was from these denominations that most participants came.<sup>110</sup>

CIM was rarely far from financial difficulties, and these precluded as full an analysis of the results from the Profile as might be wished, and ultimately led to the charity's dissolution (it was removed from the Charity Commission's register on 23 November 2004). Tearfund, the evangelical relief agency, was one of CIM's partners, and has commissioned recurrent research of its own into religious affiliation and church attendance among very large samples of people since 2006, little of which has entered the public domain.<sup>111</sup> Theos, a theological think tank launched in November 2006, has also sponsored several opinion polls on socio-religious issues, the findings from which usually appear in full on its website. At the regional level, during the past decade, studies of religion as social capital conducted by or for inter-faith networks often include some quantitative data (see Appendix 3).

## **2.10 Ecumenical Initiatives: International**

Several global initiatives covering the United Kingdom may perhaps also be mentioned in this ecumenical context. Nearly all of these had missiological roots, including the six earliest publications, dating from 1901 to 1938.<sup>112</sup> A comparable venture after the Second World War was the Survey Application Trust's *World Christian Handbook*, which went through five editions in 1949, 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1967. These had a broader basis than just overseas mission and contained national and international statistics of places of worship, clergy, lay leaders, members and Christian community derived from a combination of published sources and questionnaires to Churches.

Standing in the same tradition, but even richer in the range of collated and interpolated quantitative data (especially about adherents) for 1900 and various dates from 1970, have been the two printed versions of the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, under the principal editorship of David Barrett.<sup>113</sup> These are complemented by *World Christian Trends, AD 30-AD 2200*.<sup>114</sup> They have now been developed by Todd Johnson, from the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, into the online *World Christian Database*, which is available on subscription from Brill, the academic publishers. The database is fully interactive and continuously updated by a full-time staff, from published and unpublished sources, fieldwork, interviews and questionnaires. Despite its name, its brief extends to non-Christian religions. It is marketed separately from (but is presumably identical to) Brill's *World Religion Database*, edited by Johnson and Brian Grim at the Institute on Culture, Religion and World Affairs at Boston University.

Another (but partially overlapping) database has been built by Patrick Johnstone of WEC International from information gathered for his series of prayer manuals *Operation World*, which have been published intermittently since 1964. The database is

available on CD-ROM, but Christian Research also used the 1993 version, with additional evidence of its own, to generate two snapshots: *World Christian Handbook* and *Atlas of World Christianity*.<sup>115</sup> The former title comprised statistics of community, membership and churches for Trinitarian denominations in each country of the world (including the United Kingdom), at quinquennial intervals and going back to 1960 in many cases.

## **2.11 Non-Christian Faiths: General**

In *Religious Trends* and the forerunner volumes of the *UK Christian Handbook*, Christian Research has also offered statistics about non-Christian faiths, but these appear to be less reliable, and less rooted in direct knowledge and contacts, than the Christian data. The four editions of Paul Weller's *Religions in the UK* do not fill the gap since, excellent though they are, they are primarily qualitative reference tools.<sup>116</sup> Weller's Religions and Statistics Research Project at Derby (1994-98), co-directed with Ahmed Andrews, never realized its full potential.<sup>117</sup> Even the proceedings of an important two-day seminar on the topic at the University of Derby's Cromford Mill Conference Centre in May 1994 never seem to have been published.

On the whole, Judaism (considered below, section 2.12) apart, the individual non-Christian faith communities have not attached much importance to statistics-gathering. Indeed, except for the 2001 census, the situation has not really moved on significantly since Jørgen Nielsen's assessment in the 1987 volume on religion in the *Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources* series.<sup>118</sup> It remains the case that there is a 'glaring lack of material' for faiths other than Christianity and Judaism, which Nielsen explained in terms of those other faiths' lack of statistical consciousness (partly stemming from cultural reasons related to their communities' origins in South Asia), the absence of cohesive administrative and communication structures, the overlap (and thus confusion) between religion and ethnicity, and suspicion about the potential misuse of any data by Government or the opponents of a faith.

These factors would certainly seem to account for the relative paucity of quantitative data about Islam and Muslims, by far the largest non-Christian community in Britain, which have been generated from within the faith. It is symptomatic of this state of affairs that the page on Muslim statistics on the Muslim Council of Britain's website includes no 'official' Muslim sources. There have even been remarkably few 'internal' non-recurrent surveys of Muslim practice and opinion, the obvious exception being the Islamic Human Rights Commission's study in 2004, which utilized a less than perfect sampling methodology.<sup>119</sup>

For the rest, some of the most interesting work on Islam has been completed by ‘outsiders’, including Jim Holway’s return of mosque attendance in 1985,<sup>120</sup> and the Charity Commission’s study of the activities, management and funding of mosques in 2008.<sup>121</sup> Although British Muslims appear to have acquiesced in the religion question in the 2001 census, which was seen at that time as a mechanism for getting them on the social and political map, growing Islamophobia since then, occasioned by 9/11, 7/7 and other events, will doubtless have made many suspicious of standing up to be counted. The attitudes of Britons to Islam and Muslims were revealed in polls sponsored by IQRA and the Islamic Society of Britain in 1990 and 2002 respectively.

## 2.12 Non-Christian Faiths: Judaism

Resettlement of the Jews in Britain dates from the mid-seventeenth century, but it was almost two centuries later before any serious attempt was made to enumerate them. One of the first in the field was Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid, who used synagogue burial returns and mortality ratios to calculate the Jewish population of London in 1830.<sup>122</sup> A key driver came with the need to secure empirical evidence to underpin the campaign for Jewish emancipation in the 1840s and 1850s. In August 1845 the Chief Rabbi issued a questionnaire to all congregations seeking information about synagogal, educational and charitable activities, the results being partially printed in the *Jewish Chronicle* for 23 July 1847. The Board of Deputies of British Jews also began to collect demographic data from its member synagogues at this time, relating to the number of births, marriages, interments and seatholders. These were supposedly annual, although only the data for 1852 and 1856-59 are now deemed adequate.

The mass immigration of European Jews after 1881 temporarily stimulated a requirement for better facts and figures, in order for the Jewish community to hold its own in the national debate on the ‘aliens question’. Joseph Jacobs was one of those to respond to the challenge, with his *Studies in Jewish Statistics*.<sup>123</sup> He maintained the momentum through a statistical section in the inaugural issue of the *Jewish Year Book* (1896-97, pp. 27-33), which he edited. This included the number of Jewish seatholders, marriages, deaths, burials and inmates of public institutions for 1873-95 (from the records of the Board of Deputies and United Synagogue), as well as estimates of the Jewish population. Similar sections were included in subsequent editions of the *Jewish Year Book*, even after Jacobs handed over the editorial reins to Isidore Harris in 1901.

A Society for Jewish Statistics also enjoyed a brief existence in London in the 1900s, its secretary being Simon Rosenbaum (later Rowson), author of a seminal essay on the statistics of United Kingdom Jewry.<sup>124</sup> Redcliffe Nathan Salaman likewise wrote a series of articles on ‘Anglo-Jewish Vital Statistics’ for Supplements 4-8 of the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1921. In the 1930s, estimates were made of the size of the Jewish

population of Greater London by H. L. Trachtenberg and Miron Kantorowitsch,<sup>125</sup> and there was a statistical committee of the Jewish Health Organization. However, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust naturally made many Jews ambivalent about the provision of information which could be used in their persecution.

There was a further small flurry of activity in the years immediately after the Second World War. In 1945 the Jewish Refugee Committee profiled Jewish refugees. A Jewish Research Unit briefly existed, co-ordinated by Rose Henriques, but its only known publication is a *Survey of Jewish Interests*, based on the replies to a questionnaire sent in 1947-48 to a cross-section of the Jewish community.<sup>126</sup> Sigbert Jon Prais conducted a study among Birmingham Jewry (which was never published) and Raymond Baron of Jewish university students.<sup>127</sup> Hannah Neustatter reviewed the entire evidence base for the ‘Demographic and Other Statistical Aspects of Anglo-Jewry’, encountering many gaps, which she partially tried to fill with her own 1950-52 surveys of 55 provincial Jewish communities and 5,225 Jews in selected towns.<sup>128</sup>

The relative paucity of information was confirmed in a paper on ‘Statistical Research: Needs and Prospects’ delivered by Prais at a two-day conference on ‘Jewish Life in Modern Britain’, convened in April 1962 by the Board of Deputies of British Jews in association with the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. ‘There is hardly a single figure that can be quoted with any firmness for the Jewish community of Great Britain today’, Prais declared gloomily. He particularly emphasized the need to revive the central collection of data on Jewish births, marriages and deaths, arrangements for which had existed at the start of the century but had long since been discontinued.<sup>129</sup>

The conference led directly to the creation in 1965 of a Statistical and Demographic Research Unit (subsequently the Community Research Unit) within the Board, which instituted annual returns of marriages and deaths (since extended to circumcisions/births and divorces, and now published as *Britain’s Jewish Community Statistics*); prepared broadly quinquennial surveys of synagogue membership; and undertook sundry *ad hoc* projects, such as studies of the Jews of Sheffield in 1975 and Redbridge in 1978.<sup>130</sup> The Unit was successively headed by Barry Kosmin and Marlena Schmool, the latter writing an essay on ‘A Hundred Years of British Jewish Statistics’.<sup>131</sup> The Unit was replaced in 2007 by the Community Policy Research Group within the Community Issues Division of the Board.

Additional data have been generated by an independent think tank, the Institute of Jewish Affairs, founded in New York in 1941 but located in London since 1965, which was renamed the Institute for Jewish Policy Research in 1997. Kosmin came back from the United States to be the Institute’s Executive Director until 2005. The Institute was relaunched in 2006, and, as of 2009, has been concentrating on a

primarily domestic agenda, with David Graham as Director of Social and Demographic Research. The *Jewish Journal of Sociology* has also been an important conduit for the publication of papers bearing on the statistics of British Jews since it first appeared in 1959, including Ernest Krausz's study of the Jews of Edgware in 1962-63.<sup>132</sup> Krausz had previously researched Leeds Jewry.<sup>133</sup>

## 2.13 Irreligion

Until well after the Second World War, the overwhelming majority of the British people professed to believe in some kind of God and to 'belong' to some form of organized religion, even if they did not practice it. This situation is now changing, but the proportion of avowed atheists still remains relatively low. The British evidence is summarized in an international context by Phil Zuckerman.<sup>134</sup>(134) Secularism as a movement is usually traced back to the days of the French Revolution, when its prophet was Thomas Paine, but it has never been a strong numerical force in Britain. This is evident from such membership figures as are available, for the National Secular Society from 1883, the Rationalist Press Association from 1899, and the British Humanist Association from 1964. Non-recurrent surveys are rare, perhaps the single most important being Colin Campbell's *Towards a Sociology of Irreligion*, based largely upon research in the early 1960s.<sup>135</sup>(135) Sub-conscious undercurrents of humanism run much deeper than paid-up membership, of course, as the British Humanist Association sought to demonstrate in opinion polls which it commissioned among the British public in 1964, 1996 and 2006.

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## Notes to Section 2

- <sup>1</sup> Such as Edward Glyn, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Peterborough ... at His Primary Visitation, June 1901*, London: Harrison & Sons, 1901.
- <sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 17, 1747, p. 326; Bodleian Library, Ms. Top. Cheshire b. 1, p. 129 and Henry Heginbotham, *Stockport: Ancient and Modern*, London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1882-92, p. 87; Arthur Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Suffolk: Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement*, third edition, London: Richard Phillips, 1804, p. 331.
- <sup>3</sup> *Report from the Clergy of a District in the Diocese of Lincoln: Convened for the Purpose of Considering the State of Religion in the Several Parishes in the Said District*, London: printed for F. and C. Rivington, 1800.
- <sup>4</sup> Alexander Dallas, *Pastoral Superintendence: Its Motive, Its Detail and Its Support*, London: James Nisbet, 1841, pp. 138-42; James Jaffe, 'Religion, Gender and Education in a Durham Parish During the Early Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 48, 1997, pp. 282-301.
- <sup>5</sup> *Statistics: A Tool for Mission*, London: Church House Publishing, 2000.
- <sup>6</sup> Leslie Paul, *The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy: A Report*, London: Church Information Office, 1964.
- <sup>7</sup> *Scottish Population Statistics, Including Webster's Analysis of Population, 1755*, ed. James Gray Kyd, Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Vol. 44, Edinburgh: the Society, 1952.
- <sup>8</sup> Apart from a national estimate of religious adherence in the second part of Sinclair's *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland*, 2 vol., Edinburgh: printed for Arch. Constable, 1825-26.
- <sup>9</sup> James Nathaniel Wolfe and Michael Pickford, *The Church of Scotland: An Economic Survey*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1980.
- <sup>10</sup> Peter William Brierley, *Turning the Tide: The Challenge Ahead – Report of the 2002 Scottish Church Census*, London: Christian Research, 2003; *UK Christian Handbook: Religious Trends, No. 4, 2003/2004*, ed. Peter William Brierley, London: Christian Research, 2003, pp. 2.4-2.19, 5.4, 5.6, 12.1-12.36.
- <sup>11</sup> 2 Samuel 24:1-25 and 1 Chronicles 21:1-30.
- <sup>12</sup> David Bogue and James Bennett, *History of Dissenters from the Revolution in 1688 to the Year 1808*, 4 vol., London: printed for the authors, 1808-12, Vol. 4, pp. 327-8.
- <sup>13</sup> *Committees for Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts: Minutes, 1786-90 and 1827-8*, ed. Thomas Webster Davis, London Record Society Publications, Vol. 14, London: the Society, 1978, pp. 90-1.
- <sup>14</sup> *Congregational Magazine*, New Series, Vol. 5, 1829, pp. 689-736.
- <sup>15</sup> *Congregational Magazine*, New Series, Vol. 10, 1834, Supplement.
- <sup>16</sup> *Congregational Magazine*, [Second] New Series, Vol. 2, 1838, pp. 325-34, 465-71, 557-65, 827-48.
- <sup>17</sup> Simeon Woodhouse, 'Ecclesiastical Statistics', *Dearden's Miscellany*, Vol. 1, January-June 1839, pp. 56-7, 169-75, Vol. 2, July-December 1839, pp. 699-702.
- <sup>18</sup> 'Comparative Statistics of Religion in Wales', *Congregational Calendar for 1848*, London: Jackson and Walford, 1848, pp. 71-6.
- <sup>19</sup> *Religion in Hertfordshire, 1847 to 1851*, ed. Judith Burg, Hertfordshire Record Publications, Vol. 11, Hitchin: Hertfordshire Record Society, 1995, pp. vii-xviii, xxvi-xxxiii, 1-93.
- <sup>20</sup> *Voluntaryism in England and Wales; or, The Census of 1851*, London: Society for the Liberation of Religion from State-Patronage and Control, 1854.
- <sup>21</sup> *The Truth about Church Extension: An Exposure of Certain Fallacies and Misstatements Contained in the Census Reports on Religious Worship and Education*, London: William Skeffington, 1857.
- <sup>22</sup> *Statistics of Dissent in England and Wales, From Dissenting Authorities; Proving the Inefficiency of the Voluntary Principle to Meet the Spiritual Wants of the Nation*, London: William Edward Painter, [1842].
- <sup>23</sup> *Nonconformist Chapels: What are They? Half-Hours with the Registrar-General Disclosing Extraordinary Facts and Figures Illustrative of the Utterly Misleading Character of Nonconformist Statistics Respecting Them*, London: P. S. King, 1879.
- <sup>24</sup> *Religion in London: Statistics of Church and Chapel Accommodation in 1865 – An Article Reprinted from the British Quarterly Review, No. 85*, London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, [1866].
- <sup>25</sup> *The Nonconformist*, 23 October, 6 November, 4 December 1872, 8 January and 17 December 1873.
- <sup>26</sup> Goodeve Mabbs, *The Churches in Derbyshire; or, Provision for Public Worship in the Country Districts: An Analysis of the Accommodation Provided by All Religious Bodies in the Divisions, Districts and Parishes of the County*, London: Bemrose and Sons, 1876; Goodeve Mabbs, *The Churches in Nottinghamshire; or,*



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- Provision for Public Worship in the Midland Districts: A Full Analysis of the Accommodation Provided by All Religious Bodies*, London: Bemrose and Sons, 1879.
- <sup>27</sup> *Religious Statistics of Eight Towns in South Lancashire: Collected at the Request of the Committee of the Congregational Union of England & Wales*, Oldham: Thos. Dorman, 1880.
- <sup>28</sup> *The Religious Census of London: Reprinted from 'The British Weekly'*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1888.
- <sup>29</sup> *The Religious Life of London*, ed. Richard Mudie-Smith, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.
- <sup>30</sup> Howard Evans, 'Religious Statistics of England and Wales', *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 71, 1897, pp. 276-9.
- <sup>31</sup> *House-to-House Visitation of Bradford, 1892: Being an Account of the Movement*, Bradford: Thomas Brear & Co., [1892].
- <sup>32</sup> Wilfrid Rowland, *The Free Churches and the People: A Report of the Work of the Free Churches in Liverpool*, London: Thomas Law, 1908.
- <sup>33</sup> Arthur Black and Thomas Dann, *The Free Churches and the People: A Review of the Census of Church Attendance Taken by the 'Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury' on Sundays, December 8<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 1912*, [Liverpool]: Advisory Board of the Liverpool and District Federation of Free Church Councils, 1913.
- <sup>34</sup> Arthur Black, *London Church and Mission Attendances*, London: Botolph Printing Works, 1928.
- <sup>35</sup> William Buckley Haigh, *Synopsis of Wesleyan Methodism in Yorkshire, and Companion to the County Plan of Circuits*, Leeds: printed for the author, 1830.
- <sup>36</sup> *Agency and Progress of Wesleyan-Methodism as Exemplified by Statistical Details, and Considered with Reference to its Facilities for Promoting and Sustaining a General Revival of Religion throughout the Country*, London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1845.
- <sup>37</sup> Edwin Tindall, *The Wesleyan Methodist Atlas of England and Wales*, London: Bemrose and Sons, [1874].
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## 3. Statistics Collected by Other Agencies

### 3.1 Social Investigators

The quantitative study of British society began in earnest with the work of John Graunt and William Petty in the 1660s, but it was not really until the 1830s that the attention of social investigators turned to religion. A major catalyst was the emergence in that decade of statistical societies in London, Manchester and other provincial cities, which brought together ministers of religion, professionals and other individuals interested in conducting empirical local research, including explorations of the interactions of religion, morality and education.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1830s and 1840s members of these societies carried out many community studies in various parts of the country, usually in working-class areas, gathering details on, among other topics, religious affiliation, church attendance, church sittings and the ownership of scriptures. Their reports were then read before the relevant society. Many of those given to the London Statistical Society were published in its *Journal*, but most of the Manchester ones were unpublished and, if extant, need to be consulted among the archives of the Manchester Statistical Society at the Manchester Central Library.<sup>2</sup>

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* carried a series of influential articles on national religious statistics. Examples, in addition to the essays by Fox (on the Quakers) and Lumley (on Roman Catholics), already noted above (in sections 2.5 and 2.7, respectively), included William Guy's on the duration of life among the clergy,<sup>3</sup> and Herbert Skeats on Anglican and Nonconformist finance.<sup>4</sup> It was also fitting that Horace Mann gave an interpretation and defence of his 1851 religious census,<sup>5</sup> given that the Society's census committee had supported the inclusion of a religion question (albeit one of profession rather than attendance) in the 1841, 1861 and 1871 censuses.

Thereafter, the Royal Statistical Society (as it was from 1887) has not really identified closely with religious matters. When, in the 1950s, it commissioned Maurice Kendall to edit a two-volume guide to United Kingdom statistics, a chapter on religion was conspicuous by its absence.<sup>6</sup> Fortunately, the deficiency was rectified by a volume in its successor series (jointly sponsored with the Economic and Social Research Council), *Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources*, in 1987.<sup>7</sup>

Likewise, of the 'big names' in British empirical sociology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree stand out as having a particular concern about religion. However, Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London, Third Series, Religious Influences* was purely qualitative.<sup>8</sup> In religious statistical terms, Rowntree's three studies of York were mainly of interest for the series of church attendance censuses in 1901, 1935 and 1948.<sup>9</sup> Rowntree's intended *magnum opus* on the spiritual life of Britain in the wake of the Second World War was never completed.<sup>10</sup> Other inter-war social investigations also dealt with religion almost solely in terms of churchgoing, examples including: Ipswich in 1923,<sup>11</sup> Wallsend and South Shields in 1928,<sup>12</sup> and Liverpool in 1930-31.<sup>13</sup>

Churchgoing was of equal fascination to Mass-Observation (M-O), the social research organization established by Charles Madge, Humphrey Jennings and Tom Harrison in 1937, but their studies covered the full spectrum of religiosity, including alternative belief systems. Extensive recourse was made to participant observation, especially in the two principal field centres – the semi-suburban 'Metrop' (Hammersmith) and 'Worktown' (Bolton, but extended to Blackpool during the summer). This technique essentially generated qualitative information, and any national figures derived for a long time from a self-selecting panel of observers, who responded to 'directives'. It was recruited initially through the *New Statesman*, and was skewed towards men, the young, the South-East, the middle class and the politically left-leaning. M-O's other religious statistical research during the Second World War was usually conducted in Metrop or Worktown, typically involving street interviews with 100 respondents.<sup>14</sup>

But M-O was also responsible for the first full-length quantitative British survey of the religion of 'ordinary folk'. Funded by the Ethical Union and published (albeit incompletely) as *Puzzled People* in 1947, the fieldwork was actually conducted between October 1944 and January 1945 in Hammersmith, among a quota of 500 adults.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the promised summative book on all M-O's other religious research never materialized, although some insights can be gained from sections in Harrison's *Britain Revisited* (1961).<sup>16</sup> Much primary material is held by the Mass-Observation Archive, University of Sussex (now substantially reproduced in *Mass Observation Online*, from Adam Matthew Digital). Clive Field has abstracted all M-O's wartime religious data in his article 'Puzzled People Revisited'.<sup>17</sup>

### **3.2 Opinion Pollsters**

M-O went into commercial opinion polling and market research after the Second World War, one of its first major studies to deploy a representative sample of the adult population being on attitudes to capital punishment, analysed by religion, for the *Daily Telegraph* in 1948. Polling was a service industry which had been founded in Britain (as

an import from the United States) by the British Institute of Public Opinion, later renamed Social Surveys (Gallup Poll), in 1937. Commencing with professed church membership and regular churchgoing in its November 1937 omnibus, Gallup went on to pose many questions on religious and closely related topics among quota samples of adult Britons, although it was February 1957 before its first full-scale enquiry on the subject was conducted.<sup>18</sup>

Inevitably, the areas which Gallup investigated were substantially determined by what its clients were prepared to commission and pay for, but it also funded some religious work for research's sake, especially during Gordon Heald's time with the company as Director (1969-80) and Managing Director (1980-94), before he left to found Opinion Research Business. A fair amount of Gallup's data has entered the public domain, especially through *The Gallup International Public Opinion Polls*,<sup>19</sup> and the *Gallup Political Index* (1960-2001), most issues of which were republished on microfiche.<sup>20</sup> Many of the Gallup datasets are archived at the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut.

Opinion polls are not without their methodological and interpretative challenges, including their potential to exaggerate the degree of religiosity. In particular, there has been a tendency from the beginning for reported attendance at places of worship to be double the reality, as Kathleen Bliss noted in the *Christian News-Letter* as early as 24 November 1948. However, polls remain an invaluable – and often the only – source of statistics for religious beliefs and attitudes. An evolving abstract of belief data from the 1940s, derived from Gallup and some of the many other pollsters who have now entered the arena, has been compiled by Robin Gill.<sup>21</sup> Clive Field has prepared comparable reviews of the poll evidence for Lent, Easter, Christmas, London, Sunday observance, Scotland, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.<sup>22</sup>

### **3.3 Academic Researchers**

The tradition of social investigation is often difficult to separate from academic research. Academically generated religious statistics mostly post-date the Second World War. A principal catalyst was the emergence of the sociology of religion as a distinctive sub-discipline, partly underpinned by developments in empirical social psychology during the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>23</sup> One of the first sociologists in the field in Britain was John Highet, who undertook several quantitative studies of the Scottish Churches before the mid-1960s (see Appendix 8). Highet was a member of the Church of Scotland, which has subsequently commissioned research projects from Scottish universities, including Edinburgh and Glasgow (recorded above, in section 2.2).



In England there were pioneering statistically-based local studies of religion by William Pickering of Rawmarsh and Scunthorpe in 1954-56,<sup>24</sup> Peter Kaim-Caudle of Billingham in 1957-59 and 1964-66,<sup>25</sup> David Glass of London in 1960, Peter Varney of South Norfolk in 1962,<sup>26</sup> Robin Hinings of the Clun Valley in 1968,<sup>27</sup> and Geoffrey Nelson and Rosemary Clews of Dawley in 1969.<sup>28</sup> More recently, extensive research into conventional and common religion in Leeds was undertaken between 1976 and 1984, under the auspices of the University of Leeds Departments of Theology and Religious Studies and of Sociology,<sup>29</sup> while Lancaster University's Department of Religious Studies conducted a survey of the congregational domain and holistic milieu in Kendal in 2000-02.<sup>30</sup> In Wales Graham Day and Martin Fitton investigated religion in Newtown and Machynlleth in 1974.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to these (and other) community studies, some of them now being replicated by Steve Bruce for a major book on religious change since 1945, academic social scientists have devoted much attention to investigating sects and new religious movements. On the whole, however, this literature contains little of statistical interest, the partial exceptions including Jim Beckford on the Jehovah's Witnesses,<sup>32</sup> and Eileen Barker on the Moonies.<sup>33</sup> More quantitatively revealing have been studies among religious professionals, commencing with Tony Coxon's survey of Church of England ordinands in 1962,<sup>34</sup> and the Aston University Industrial Administration Research Unit's enquiry among Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic clergy in 1972-73.<sup>35</sup>

Latterly, research in this field has been disproportionately concentrated at the Centre for Ministry Studies, School of Theology and Religious Studies, Bangor University, owing much to Leslie Francis during his time in Bangor (he has since moved to the Institute of Education, University of Warwick) and to his colleagues and doctoral students there. The Bangor ministerial projects have often dealt with the Church of England or the Church in Wales, but there were major studies in 1996-97 of Methodist (by John Haley),<sup>36</sup> Pentecostal (by William Kay), and Roman Catholic (by Stephen Loudon) clergy.<sup>37</sup>

As an educationalist and psychologist, Francis has also written or co-authored literally hundreds of papers and countless books since the 1970s on the religiosity and worldviews of children and young people, employing innovative attitude scales which he has personally devised. There is a synthesis of much of his early work in (with William Kay) *Drift from the Churches*, including the results of the quadrennially replicated surveys of pupils in East Anglian schools between 1974 and 1994.<sup>38</sup> By far the biggest sample he has analysed thus far has been that of 34,000 13- to 15-year-olds attending secondary schools throughout England and Wales in the 1990s, measuring their religious, supernatural and moral beliefs and attitudes.<sup>39</sup>

A considerable quantity of pre-Francis research among children and young adults, from the 1940s to 1970s, also exists. An introduction to this may be found in sections 4.1 and 4.2 of Clive Field's contribution to *Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources*.<sup>40</sup> There is additional detail in a review article by Francis,<sup>41</sup> while works by John Wilfred Daines and Derek Wright have ongoing bibliographical relevance for this older material.<sup>42</sup>

Many quantitative studies undertaken by academics fall into the non-recurrent category, but religious variables (typically religious affiliation and attendance at a place of worship) have also become standard features in some of the main serial sources. Political scientists were the first to do this with the British (and Scottish and Welsh) General Election Surveys, following on from parliamentary constituency-based work in the 1950s of how religion influenced voting behaviour (Greenwich, Droylsden, Bristol North East, Glossop and Newcastle-under-Lyme were among the case studies),<sup>43</sup> and from the seminal national profile of *Political Change in Britain* by David Butler and Donald Stokes.<sup>44</sup>

Apart from two missed years (1988 and 1992), the National Centre for Social Research's consortially-funded British Social Attitudes Survey has been annual since 1983. As well as some standard religious variables, with potential for aggregate analysis,<sup>45</sup> extended modules on religion have been run in 1991, 1998 and 2008 as part of the International Social Survey Program.<sup>46</sup> There has been a separate Scottish Social Attitudes Survey since 1999, which routinely covers religion but additionally included special modules on religion in 2001,<sup>47</sup> attitudes to Muslims in 2003,<sup>48</sup> and to religious and other discrimination in 2006.<sup>49</sup> The British Household Panel Survey, based at the Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Essex, has incorporated religious variables since its start in 1991.

Besides the International Social Survey Program, there are a number of other multinational projects which are academically-led, and which have investigated religion. The European and World Values Surveys, which have been conducted in Great Britain in 1981, 1990, 1999 and 2005 (with a further wave planned in 2010-11), are among the best-known and most extensive in their coverage of religious and moral issues. The Religion and Moral Pluralism project (1998) and the Bertelsmann Foundation's Religion Monitor (2007) have attained similar depth, but hitherto on a one-off basis.<sup>50</sup> The Standard Eurobarometer, conducted on behalf of the European Commission each spring and autumn since 1974, has usually contained a few religious variables, while the Special and Flash Eurobarometers have very occasionally probed religious prejudice, particularly against Muslims. The European Social Survey, fielded every other year since 2002, also contains some religious questions, but there has not yet been a special module on religion.

Multinational public opinion polls based in North America which touch on religious themes, and which are conducted in Britain, currently comprise the Pew Global Attitudes Project (from 2002), Transatlantic Trends (an initiative of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, from 2003) and the Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland (from 2006). The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League have both commissioned international polls, in 1993 and more regularly from 2002, probing anti-Semitism, while Gallup's World Poll is focusing increasingly on Islamic opinion and attitudes to Muslims (both surveyed in 2006-07 and 2008).

### 3.4 Print and Broadcast Media

The print media's principal contribution to the collection and analysis of religious statistics has been through the newspaper industry. One of the most important and earliest manifestations of this interest was the large number of local counts of church attendance organized by the press in England and Scotland in 1881-82 (see Appendix 6), following on from the *North British Daily Mail's* similar exercise in the West of Scotland in 1876. Another thirty or so counts took place during the ensuing two decades, notably in Swansea and Cardiff in 1884 by the *South Wales Daily News* and *Cardiff Times* respectively; London by the *British Weekly* in 1886-87; Aberdeen (by the *Northern Daily News*), Dundee (by the *Dundee Advertiser*) and Liverpool (by the *Liverpool Daily Post*) in 1891; and Birmingham by the *Birmingham News* in 1892.

A further burst of newspaper enumerations of churchgoing occurred in the Edwardian period (see Appendix 9), of special significance for its scale and methodological rigour being the *Daily News* census of Inner and Greater London.<sup>51</sup>(51) The *Daily News* was one of two publications (the other being the *Nation and Athenaeum*) which surveyed the religious allegiance and beliefs of its readership in 1926,<sup>52</sup> but perhaps the most influential exemplar of the self-completion questionnaire in a secular newspaper was Geoffrey Gorer's enquiry in *The People* in 1951, covering both conventional and alternative aspects of religion.<sup>53</sup>

Inevitably, respondents to readership questionnaires constituted self-selecting samples who were unrepresentative of the nation as a whole. Therefore, the press (both broadsheet and tabloid) quickly latched on to the potential of opinion polls as a means of reporting and – to an extent – creating news by gathering more scientific data about religious beliefs, practices and attitudes, including the paranormal and reactions to particular events. Thus, the papal encyclical *Humanae vitae* in 1968 prompted enquiries among and about Roman Catholicism, while 9/11 and 7/7 generated a wave of surveys about Islam and Muslims. On account of its established status, the Church of England was always a subject which attracted special research attention,

not least when it was divided over politics, doctrine, liturgy, the ordination of women or homosexuality.

Topics impinging on religion, such as the reform of abortion and Sunday trading laws, also triggered newspaper polls and/or column inches for investigations carried out on behalf of pressure groups like the Abortion Law Reform Association, Society for the Protection of Unborn Children, Shopping Hours Reform Council and Keep Sunday Special. The most sustained polling relationship was between Gallup and the *News Chronicle* from 1937 until the newspaper's demise in 1961, and thereafter with the *Daily Telegraph* or *Sunday Telegraph* until the end of the twentieth century. But virtually no major secular title has been immune from sponsoring religion-related polls, at least until very recent years when newspapers have been forced to trim costs with the progressive collapse of their sales and advertising revenues. Some specialist publications have been active, too, for instance the *Times Educational Supplement*, which has conducted several surveys into religious education and collective worship in schools.

Religious newspapers can also provide statistics, although their budgets typically have not stretched to commissioning many commercial opinion polls. Exceptions comprise Gallup studies on the papal visit in 1982 conducted for *The Universe*, a Catholic weekly; surveys for another Catholic magazine, *The Tablet*, in 1999, 2001, 2005 and 2008, the last among mass-going Catholics, partly testing attitudes to *Humanae vitae*, forty years on; and some use of the online Cpanel of churchgoing Christians since its launch by ComRes in 2008. Circulation figures are a measure of each newspaper's influence, and these are available from a combination of sources, including the returns of newspaper stamps in the nineteenth century (noted in section 1.2, above), the Audit Bureau of Circulations since 1931 (for major titles only), and the *UK Christian Handbook* (from 1980).

Readership questionnaires have been common in the religious press but have mostly collected marketing-type information from self-selecting samples. The longest sequence appears to be for the *Jewish Chronicle* (from 1958). Of wider significance, in terms of the number of replies attracted and the range of questions asked, were those undertaken among their readers by the *Catholic Herald* and *Scottish Catholic Observer* in 1977 and the *Church Times* in 2001 (with, in the latter case, separate analyses for laity and clergy).<sup>54</sup> Statistics of religious books published each year exist from 1928 (via *The Bookseller*) or, classified by the Dewey scheme, from the *British National Bibliography* since 1950.

The audiences for religious broadcasts have been monitored since the 1930s, initially on an *ad hoc* basis. Some of the earliest data appear in the works by Brian Cooper and Kenneth Wolfe.<sup>55</sup> Recurrent estimates for listeners to and viewers of religious

programmes are available from 1940 for the BBC and from 1957 for the independent television companies, with the data to 1970 summarized by Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley.<sup>56</sup> Television audience data since 1981 have been gathered independently by the Broadcasters Audience Research Board.

The broadcasters have also commissioned several national opinion surveys to measure in greater detail the religious profile of their audiences and their reactions to religious programmes. Notable examples include those conducted for the BBC in 1954, and for independent television in 1961, 1963-64, 1968, 1973, 1978 (in Greater London), 1987 and 1993.<sup>57</sup> Polls have likewise been conducted to gather news content for religious programmes, albeit much more so for the BBC (in Britain and Scotland) than for independent broadcasters. Indeed, during the past two decades the BBC has probably been the single most important agency for sponsoring non-recurrent surveys on issues affecting religion and multiculturalism, including some wide-ranging investigations such as the Soul of Britain study in 2000.

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## Notes to Section 3

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## **4. Future Needs and Prospects for Religious Statistics**

Each of the four contributors to *Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources*, Vol. 20 (1987) provided a concluding chapter, reflecting upon the state and prospects of the religious statistics which they had surveyed. More than twenty years later, it seems appropriate to see how far quantitative data on religion have progressed, and where the gaps and deficiencies currently lie.

In terms of collection agencies, it is pleasing to record a positive shift in Government's attitudes toward religious statistics. The inclusion of religion questions in the 2001 and 2011 censuses and in the Labour Force Survey and Citizenship Survey represents a major advance (although their absence from the General Household Survey is curious). Unfortunately, Government's refusal to distinguish denominations within the Christian category (to which 72 per cent of Britons subscribed at the 2001 census) is a major limitation in the data. More generally, one is left with the distinct impression that Government interest in religious statistics is disproportionately driven by its concerns for better intelligence about non-Christian faiths, especially Islam. This reflects the demands of diversity and equality agendas on the one hand and the need to combat socio-political alienation and terrorism on the other.

Given that the effectiveness of the decennial census as a means of gathering population information is increasingly in doubt, in Britain and other Western countries, a major imperative will be the need to strengthen Government's serial sample survey data on religion and to augment them with appropriate non-recurrent investigations into the interface between faith and public policy. A cross-cutting review, with independent expert input, of all data appertaining to religion regularly collected by, or on behalf of, Government or Non-Departmental Public Bodies would seem desirable. This should transcend the incremental development of the Integrated Household Survey by the Office for National Statistics, as a replacement for the five separate investigations (including the General Household Survey and the Labour Force Survey), for which it has been responsible. The Integrated Household Survey, which has been under planning since 2004, with its first module in the field from 2008, currently proposes to use the religion question from the Labour Force Survey.

Less progress is visible with the statistics collected by the faith communities themselves. The Christian Churches continue to gather them on an individual denominational basis and have taken no real steps towards harmonization and standardization, either with each other or with secular planning regions and administrative units. Christian Research has provided a semblance of editorial unity for figures of churches, clergy and members, but, in practice, this involves a significant degree of shoe-horning of

data to fit the tabulations and of estimation (perhaps even guesswork on occasion). With the merger of Christian Research and the Bible Society, it also remains to be seen how far the new organization will be able to maintain the volume of research and publishing which was established under the directorship of Peter Brierley.

Most Churches still devote relatively little effort, and attach limited importance, to the collection, analysis and reporting of quantitative data. Of the major bodies, the Church of England perhaps has the best track-record and the Roman Catholic Church the worst. Among the non-Christian faiths, Judaism is most statistically aware, but Islam (with an estimated 2,422,000 adherents in Britain in 2008) generates few figures of its own and, paradoxically, seems happy to look to the state for information about the Muslim community and the wider religious landscape.

The other agencies we have considered – including pollsters, academics and the media – make an important contribution to the collection of quantitative data about religion, but it is mostly of a non-recurrent nature and also somewhat fragmented and unpredictable, with important matters often being neglected (sometimes because they are not deemed newsworthy). As a genre, opinion polls are useful for capturing public reactions to specific events and issues, but sample sizes (rarely more than 2,000 and often less) inhibit the extent to which results can be disaggregated by standard demographics and other factors, leading to rather superficial analyses and conclusions. Serial surveys from academic sources often possess greater methodological rigour, and can be a little larger in the number of respondents, but there is still scope for a more holistic overview being taken of their content, to minimize overlap (between them and with Government surveys) and optimize the use of scarce resources.

In particular, as funders of the Religion and Society Programme (which has supported this website), and of many of the major British datasets, the Economic and Social Research Council and the Arts and Humanities Research Council could have a major role in identifying the gaps in British religious statistics, and in helping to fill them through core questions and periodic specialist modules in the sample surveys which they help to sponsor. There is also a need for the research councils and the Joint Information Systems Committee to audit the collecting policy of the (distributed) Economic and Social Data Service in respect of religious and related data, since (as can be seen from the database on this website) comparatively little of direct relevance is yet deposited with the Service's constituent datacentres. In undertaking these reviews, there should naturally be appropriate input from the user community, including through the British Sociological Association's Sociology of Religion Study Group and (for older data) the Ecclesiastical History Society.

An associated generic weakness, which it is hoped that the British Religion in Numbers project will help to rectify, is that, even when quantitative data on religion

are available, they are often insufficiently well-known and utilized, especially if they have not been written up for formal publication. For example, it is remarkable how few statistics and surveys inform the recent debate involving Callum Brown, Hugh McLeod and others about the extent to which the 1960s were a critical decade for religious change.<sup>1</sup> This may be because, apart from *Churches and Churchgoers* by Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, there has been no single reference guide to the statistics, and this is quite selective in its coverage (being mainly confined to membership) and terminates in 1970.<sup>2</sup>(2) Even Christian Research's *Religious Trends* is far from comprehensive and can on occasion be idiosyncratic.

For the rest, the extant figures have to be unearthed from a plethora of relatively obscure serials, monographs and reports which are not widely held in public or research libraries, and often not sent to (or requested by) the copyright libraries. Indeed, the archiving of religious statistics in both print and electronic media is, overall, quite inadequate in Great Britain. The Religious Archives Group is striving to improve the national infrastructure through the first ever comprehensive survey of religious archives in the United Kingdom, to enhance their representation in the National Register of Archives. It is also liaising with the British Library on the archiving of key religion-related websites, although delays in the reform of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 and the slow progress to a web archiving regulation under the Legal Deposit Libraries Act 2003 remain major legislative constraints.

The problem is compounded by the fact that religious archives and records are privately owned, even in the case of the two established Churches, leaving discretion about disclosure and access entirely in their hands. The same is true of many of the secular agencies which have been involved in the collection of religious statistics. Some transfers of material to public repositories have occurred, without any loss in ownership, and this trend is to be encouraged. However, creating a culture of openness and transparency can be difficult when organizations fear that promulgation of data may lead, at best, to invidious comparisons with 'competitors' or, at worst, be used to attack and undermine them.

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## Notes to Section 4

<sup>1</sup> Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain*, Harlow: Pearson, 2006, pp. 224-77; Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*, second edition, London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 170-92; David Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Currie, Alan David Gilbert and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

## Appendix 1

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William D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English-Speaking World: Great Britain*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.

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Humayun Ansari, *The Infidel within: Muslims in Britain since 1800*, London: C. Hurst & Co., 2004.

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Susan Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960*, London: Heinemann, 1977.

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## Appendix 2

### Recent Publications on the 1851 Religious Census of England and Wales

The fullest record of the published literature of the 1851 religious census is currently Clive Douglas Field, 'The 1851 Religious Census of Great Britain: A Bibliographical Guide for Local and Regional Historians', *Local Historian*, Vol. 27, 1997, pp. 194-217. This was reprinted in pamphlet form by the British Association for Local History in 1999, with a short bibliographical update. The present list records all major publications since the text for the 1997 article was completed.

### General Commentaries

- Evva C. Benson and Cynthia Doxey, 'The Ecclesiastical Census of 1851 and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints', *Local Historian*, Vol. 34, 2004, pp. 66-79.
- Alasdair Charles Crockett, 'Churchgoing Rates in Nineteenth-Century England: Supply-Side Deficiency or Demand-Led Decline?', *Patterns and Processes of Religious Change in Modern Industrial Societies*, eds Alasdair Charles Crockett and Richard O'Leary, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004, pp. 13-49.
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- Alasdair Charles Crockett, 'A Secularising Geography? Patterns and Processes of Religious Change in England and Wales, 1676-1851', University of Leicester Ph.D. thesis, 1998.
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- Robin Graham Murison Crockett and Alasdair Charles Crockett, 'Historical Sources – How People Counted: A Method for Estimating the Rounding of Numbers', *History and Computing*, Vol. 9, 1997, pp. 43-57.
- Robin Graham Murison Crockett, Alasdair Charles Crockett and S. J. Turner, "'Base-Number Correlation": A New Technique for Investigating Digit Preference and Data Heaping', *History and Computing*, Vol. 13, 2001, pp. 161-79.
- Cynthia Doxey, 'The Church in Britain and the 1851 Religious Census', *Mormon Historical Studies*, Vol. 4, 2003, pp. 107-38.
- Robin Gill, *The 'Empty' Church Revisited*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Leonard Smith, 'The 1851 Religious Census and the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, 1854', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, Vol. 23, 2003-06, pp. 625-8.



Keith D. M. Snell, 'The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-Class Culture', *Past & Present*, No. 164, August 1999, pp. 122-68.

Keith D. M. Snell and Paul Spencer Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

## **Local Studies**

### ***Berkshire***

Kate Tiller, 'Church and Chapel: The 1851 Religious Census', *An Historical Atlas of Berkshire*, ed. Joan Dils, Reading: Berkshire Record Society, 1998, pp. 90-1.

### ***Cornwall***

*1851 Religious Census: West Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly*, ed. John Charles Cripps Probert, [Redruth: the editor, 1998].

### ***Derbyshire***

Stephen Greasley, *The Baptists of Derbyshire, 1650-1914*, Ilkeston: Moorley's Print & Publishing, 2007, pp. 201-19.

### ***Devon***

Bruce Ivor Coleman, 'Religious Worship in 1851', *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, eds Roger Kain and William Ravenhill, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999, pp. 228-33.

### ***Essex***

Michael Beale, 'The Religious Census of Essex, 1851', *Essex 'Full of Profitable Things': Essays Presented to Sir John Ruggles*, ed. Kenneth Neale, Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 1996, pp. 55-73.

W. Bryan Tyler, 'Religion: Wanstead and Woodford, 1851', *Wanstead Historical Society Journal*, No. 29, September 1995, pp. 15-18.

### ***Gloucestershire***

Alan Munden, 'The Religious Census of Cheltenham in 1851', *Cheltenham Local History Society Journal*, No. 21, 2005, pp. 36-50.

### ***Hertfordshire***

Deryk Marshall, 'The Ecclesiastical Census of 1851 in the Watford Parish Union', *Hertfordshire's Past*, No. 47, Autumn 1999, pp. 13-19.

### ***Isle of Man***

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### **Northamptonshire**

*The 1851 Religious Census of Northamptonshire*, ed. Graham S. Ward, Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society, 2007.

### **Rutland**

'The Returns of the Rutland Registration Districts to the 1851 Census of Religious Worship', ed. Peter Tomalin, *Rutland Record*, No. 22, 2002, pp. 51-86 and No. 24, 2004, pp. 169-74.

### **Shropshire**

Howard Burrows, 'Religious Provision and Attendance in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Shropshire', Council for National Academic Awards (Wolverhampton Polytechnic) M.A. thesis, 1983.

*Church and Chapel in Early Victorian Shropshire: Returns from the 1851 Census of Religious Worship*, ed. Clive Douglas Field, Shropshire Record Series, Vol. 8, Keele: Centre for Local History, University of Keele, 2004.

Delia Garratt, 'Primitive Methodism in Shropshire, 1820-1900', University of Leicester Ph.D. thesis, 2002, pp. 137-56.

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John Alexander McPhail, 'Religious Attendance and Provision in Birmingham and the Black Country and the Surrounding Rural Areas during the Mid-Nineteenth Century', University of Wolverhampton Ph.D. thesis, 1995.

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### **Suffolk**

*Suffolk Returns from the Census of Religious Worship of 1851*, ed. T. C. B. Timmins, Suffolk Records Society, Vol. 39, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.

### **Surrey**

*The 1851 Religious Census: Surrey*, transcribed by Cliff Webb and ed. David Robinson, Surrey Record Society, Vol. 35, Guildford: the Society, 1997.

### **Sussex**

John Ashley Vickers, 'Religious Worship, 1851', *An Historical Atlas of Sussex: An Atlas of the History of the Counties of East and West Sussex*, eds Kim Leslie and Brian Short, Chichester: Phillimore, 1999, pp. 76-7.

### **Warwickshire**

John Aitken, 'Never Before, Yet Never Again: Birmingham in the 1851 Religious Census', *Birmingham Historian*, No. 22, May 2002, pp. 24-9.

### **Worcestershire**

*Census of Religious Worship, 1851: The Returns for Worcestershire*, ed. John Aitken, Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series, Vol. 17, [no place]: printed for the Society, 2000.

### **Yorkshire**

John Wolffe, 'The 1851 Census and Religious Change in Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire', *Northern History*, Vol. 45, 2008, pp. 71-86.

John Wolffe, 'Elite and Popular Religion in the Religious Census of 30 March 1851', *Elite and Popular Religion*, eds Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, Studies in Church History, Vol. 42, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006, pp. 360-71.

John Wolffe, *The Religious Census of 1851 in Yorkshire*, Borthwick Paper, No. 108, York: Borthwick Institute, University of York, 2005.

*Yorkshire Returns of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, Volume 1: Introduction, City of York and East Riding*, ed. John Wolffe, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, Vol. 25, York: University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 2000.

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### **Cardiganshire**

David Russell Barnes, *People of Seion: Patterns of Nonconformity in Cardiganshire in the Century Preceding the Religious Census of 1851*, Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1995.

### **Glamorgan**

Gary Gregor, 'Gower's Nonconformist Chapels in 1851 and in 2001', *Gower*, Vol. 55, 2004, pp. 60-9.

## Appendix 3

### Contemporary Regional Studies of Religion as Social Capital in England and Wales

Interest in religion as social capital has developed strongly in Great Britain since the early 1990s, within faith, governmental and academic communities alike. A significant number of surveys have now been completed, usually under the auspices of local consortia of faith organizations but with the active involvement (and often the financial sponsorship) of regional development agencies and/or central and regional government.

These surveys have provided some basic quantitative data about the presence and social and community action of the various faiths within the survey area, especially as regards the number of places of worship, salaried and voluntary staff, the delivery and take-up of activities arranged for the benefit of citizens, funding and partnership working. A few have also attempted an economic impact assessment. Response rates have been very variable, and this has inevitably affected the robustness of some of the statistics.

The listing below records reports at the regional level which have appeared during the 2000s and which are, accordingly, reasonably current. Copies are usually also available on the relevant internet site, together with some ancillary material in a handful of cases (for example, 22 local authority audit reports for the Gweini investigation). Surveys relating to individual towns or sub-regional (such as county) units, or which pre-date 2000 have not been noted. A number of these may be traced from the listing available at:

[http://www.presenceandengagement.org.uk/pdf\\_lib/39\\_Regional\\_Reports\\_Table\\_April09.pdf](http://www.presenceandengagement.org.uk/pdf_lib/39_Regional_Reports_Table_April09.pdf)

#### ***Greater London***

London Churches Group for Social Action and Greater London Enterprise, *Neighbourhood Renewal in London: The Role of Faith Communities*, London: Greater London Enterprise, 2002.

London Churches Group for Social Action and Greater London Enterprise, *Regenerating London: Faith Communities and Social Action*, London: Greater London Enterprise, 2002.

### **South East**

Sarah Lewis, *Beyond Belief? Faith at Work in the Community: A Report by South East of England Faith Forum about Faith Based Regeneration Activities*, [Guildford]: South East England Faith Forum, 2004.

### **South West**

Marion Jackson and Richard Kimberlee, *Daily Service: How Faith Communities Contribute to Neighbourhood Renewal and Regeneration in the South West of England*, Bristol: University of the West of England, 2004.

Alistair Beattie, Clare Mortimore and Heather Pencavel, *Faith in Action in the South West: A Survey of Social and Community Action by Faith Groups in the South West of England*, Bristol: faithnetsouthwest, 2006.

### **East**

Zoe Morris, Kath Maguire and Jenny Kartupelis, *Faith in Action: A Report on Faith Communities and Social Capital in the East of England*, Cambridge: East of England Faiths Leadership Conference, 2003.

East of England Faiths Council and Cambridge Housing and Planning Research, *Faith in the East of England: The Roles of Faith Communities in the Region*, Cambridge: East of England Faiths Council, 2005.

### **West Midlands**

*Believing in the Region: A Baseline Study of Faith Bodies across the West Midlands*, Birmingham: Regional Action West Midlands, 2006.

### **Yorkshire and Humberside**

*Angels and Advocates: Church Social Action in Yorkshire and the Humber*, Leeds: Churches Regional Commission for Yorkshire and the Humber, [2002].

HE Research, *Economic Impact Assessment of Faith Communities in Yorkshire and the Humber*, Ripon: Plug and Tap for Yorkshire and Humber Faiths Forum, 2009.

### **North West**

*Faith in England's Northwest: The Contribution Made by Faith Communities to Civil Society in the Region*, Warrington: Northwest Development Agency, 2003.

DTZ Piedad Consulting, *Faith in England's Northwest: Economic Impact Assessment*, Warrington: Northwest Regional Development Agency, 2005.

### **North East**

Kath Smith, *Faith in the North East: Social Action by Faith Communities in the Region*, Durham: Churches' Regional Commission North East, 2004.

### **Wales**

John M. Evans, *Faith in Wales: Counting for Communities*, [Cardiff]: Gweini, 2008.

## **Appendix 4**

### **Church of England Clergy Visitation Returns of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries**

#### **Primary Sources: Editions of Returns**

##### ***Diocese of Chichester***

*Chichester Diocesan Surveys, 1686 and 1724*, ed. Wyn Kelson Ford, Sussex Record Society, Vol. 78, Lewes: the Society, 1994.

##### ***Diocese of Exeter***

*The Diocese of Exeter in 1821: Bishop Carey's Replies to Queries before Visitation*, ed. Michael Cook, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 3-4, Torquay: printed for the Society, 1958-60.

##### ***Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry***

*Visitation Returns from the Archdeaconry of Derby, 1718-1824*, ed. John Beckett, Margery Tranter and Wendy Bateman, Derbyshire Record Society, Vol. 29, Chesterfield: the Society, 2003.

*The Church in Derbyshire in 1823-4: The Parochial Visitation of the Rev. Samuel Butler, Archdeacon of Derby in the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry*, ed. Michael Ridgwell Austin, Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol. 5, Derby: the Society, 1972.

*Visitations of the Archdeaconry of Stafford, 1829-1841*, ed. David Robinson, Collections for a History of Staffordshire, Fourth Series, Vol. 10 and Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts Joint Publications Series, Vol. 25, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1980.

##### ***Diocese of Lincoln***

*Episcopal Visitations in Bedfordshire, 1706-1720*, ed. Patricia Bell, Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Vol. 81, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002.

##### ***Diocese of Llandaff***

*The Diocese of Llandaff in 1763: The Primary Visitation of Bishop Ewer*, ed. John Richard Guy, Publications of the South Wales Record Society, Vol. 7, Cardiff: the Society, 1991.

##### ***Diocese of Oxford***

Articles of Enquiry Addressed to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford at the Primary Visitation of Dr. Thomas Secker, 1738, ed. Henry Augustus Lloyd Jukes, Oxfordshire Record Society, Vol. 38, Banbury: printed for the Society, 1957.

Bishop Wilberforce's Visitation Returns for the Archdeaconry of Oxford in the Year 1854, ed. Eric Paul Baker, Oxfordshire Record Society, Vol. 35, Banbury: printed for the Society, 1954.

### ***Diocese of Peterborough***

*The Church in Victorian Northampton: Visitation Records of Bishop Magee, 1872-1886*, ed. Victor Arthur Hatley, Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society, Vol. 37, Northampton: the Society, 1992.

### ***Diocese of Ripon***

*Bishop Bickersteth's Visitation Returns for the Archdeaconry of Craven, Diocese of Ripon, 1858*, [ed.] Edward Royle, Borthwick Texts and Studies, Vol. 37, York: Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York, 2009.

### ***Diocese of Salisbury***

*Wiltshire Returns to the Bishop's Visitation Queries, 1783*, ed. Mary Ransome, Wiltshire Record Society, Vol. 27, Devizes: the Society, 1972.

### ***Diocese of Winchester***

*Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Surrey: Replies to Bishops' Visitations* [1725, 1764, 1788], ed. William Reginald Ward, Surrey Record Society, Vol. 34, Guildford: the Society, 1994.

*Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Hampshire: Replies to Bishops' Visitations* [1725, 1765, 1788], ed. William Reginald Ward, Hampshire Record Series, Vol. 13, Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1995.

*Doing the Duty of the Parish: Surveys of the Church in Hampshire, 1810*, ed. Mark Anderton Smith, Hampshire Record Series, Vol. 17, Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 2004.

### ***Diocese of York***

*Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743*, ed. Sidney Leslie Ollard and Philip Charles Walker, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol. 71, 72, 75, 77, 79, Wakefield: printed for the Society, 1928-31.

*Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns, 1764*, [eds] Cressida Annesley and Philippa Hoskin, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, Vol. 21, 23, 26, York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 1997-2001.

*Archbishop Thomson's Visitation Returns for the Diocese of York, 1865*, [eds] Edward Royle and Ruth M. Larsen, Borthwick Texts and Studies, Vol. 34, York: Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York, 2006.

## **Primary Sources: Editions of Specula**

### ***Diocese of Bristol***

'Bishop Secker's Diocese Book' [1735-37, Bristol city and deanery], ed. Elizabeth Ralph, *A Bristol Miscellany*, ed. Patrick McGrath, Bristol Record Society's Publications, Vol. 37, Gloucester: printed for the Society, 1985, pp. 21-70.

### ***Diocese of Canterbury***

*The Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker* [1758-61], ed. Jeremy Gregory, Church of England Record Society, Vol. 2, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.

### ***Diocese of Chester***

*Notitia Cestriensis; or, Historic Notices of the Diocese of Chester* by Francis Gastrell, [ed.] Francis Robert Raines, Chetham Society Remains, [First Series], Vol. 8, 19, 21, 22, Manchester: the Society, 1845-50.

*The Archdeaconry of Richmond in the Eighteenth Century – Bishop Gastrell’s Notitia: The Yorkshire Parishes, 1714-1725*, ed. Lawrence A. S. Butler, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol. 146, Leeds: printed for the Society, 1990.

*The Cumbria Parishes, 1714-1725, from Bishop Gastrell’s Notitia, with Additions by Bishop Porteus, 1778-1779*, ed. Lawrence A. S. Butler, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol. 12, Kendal: printed by Titus Wilson, 1998.

### ***Diocese of Gloucester***

*Bishop Benson’s Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1735-1750*, ed. John Fendley, Gloucestershire Record Series, Vol. 13, Gloucester: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 2000.

### ***Diocese of Lincoln***

‘Documents Relating to Leicestershire and Preserved in the Episcopal Registry at Lincoln’ [Archdeaconry of Leicester, 1705-23], ed. William George Dimock Fletcher, *Associated Architectural and Archaeological Societies Reports and Papers*, Vol. 22, 1893-94, pp. 227-365.

*Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolnensis sub episcopis Gul. Wake et Edm. Gibson, A.D. 1705-1723* [Archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow], ed. Robert Eden George Cole, Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 4, Lincoln: W. K. Morton, 1913.

*Buckinghamshire Dissent and Parish Life, 1669-1712*, ed. John Broad, Buckinghamshire Record Society, Vol. 28, Buckingham: the Society, 1993.

### ***Diocese of Southwell***

*‘Under the Heavy Clouds’: The Church of England in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, 1911-1915 – The Parochial Visitation of Edwyn Hoskyns, Bishop of Southwell*, ed. Michael Ridgwell Austin, Cardiff: Merton Priory Press, 2004.

### ***Diocese of Worcester***

*The State of the Bishopric of Worcester, 1782-1808*, ed. Mary Ransome, Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series, Vol. 6, Leeds: printed for the Society, 1968.

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## Appendix 5

### Abraham Hume's Contribution to Religious Statistics and Sociology

Abraham Hume (1814-84) was a Church of England clergyman and antiquary. Born in Hillsborough, County Down, he was educated at the Royal Belfast College, the University of Glasgow and Trinity College Dublin. His first career was as a teacher, of mathematics and English, initially in Belfast and then in Liverpool, to which he moved in 1841. He was ordained an Anglican deacon in 1843 and priest in 1844, spending his entire ministry in two Liverpool slum parishes, as non-stipendiary curate of St Augustine's (1843-47) and as vicar of All Souls, Vauxhall (1847-84).

Hume played an active role in the life of the Church of England in the city, including as a promoter of a Diocese of Liverpool, ultimately holding canonries at both Chester and Liverpool Cathedrals (from 1874 and 1880, respectively). He also made major contributions to the city's educational and cultural development. Nationally, he was involved in a wide variety of learned societies, including as a Fellow of the Royal Society, Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Statistical Society. His extensive publishing and scholarship resulted in the award of no fewer than four honorary doctorates.

Hume's mathematical background informed his statistical interests and his application of quantitative methods to the study of religious matters, locally and nationally. His innovations also extended to the application of cartographic techniques to religious data. In both aspects he made a particular secondary study of the 1851 ecclesiastical census of England and Wales, but he also gathered significant amounts of new primary information relating especially to religious profession and churchgoing in the Diocese of Liverpool. In pioneering the use of religious sociology and religious statistics, he was not entirely free of bias. A staunch Anglican, he was frequently involved in polemical controversies with Nonconformity, including about the significance of statistics.

Some of Hume's papers survive at the Elgin Museum, Lambeth Palace Library, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, and the Universities of Edinburgh and Liverpool. Details are given in the National Register of Archives. Fuller published accounts of Hume's life and work may be found in:

*Liverpool Courier*, 22 November 1884.

*Liverpool Mercury*, 22 November 1884.

- John Cooper Morley, *A Brief Memoir of the Rev Abraham Hume, Vicar of Vauxhall and Hon. Canon of Liverpool, with a Chronological List of His Published Writings*, Liverpool: the author, 1887.
- William Stuart Frederick Pickering, 'Abraham Hume (1814-1884): A Forgotten Pioneer in Religious Sociology', *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, Vol. 33, 1971, pp. 33-48.
- Jean-Alain Lesourd, 'Un prêtre Anglican pionnier de la sociologie religieuse: Abraham Hume (1814-1884)', *Aspects de l'anglicanisme: colloque de Strasbourg (14-16 Juin 1972)*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974, pp. 207-30.
- Eric Glasgow, *Liverpool People: A Miscellany*, Southport: the author, 1990, pp. 109-13.
- Peter Seymour Morrish, 'The Creation of the Anglican Diocese of Liverpool', *Northern History*, Vol. 32, 1996, pp. 173-94.
- Charles William Sutton and Eric Glasgow, 'Hume, Abraham (1814-1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, eds Colin Matthew and Brian Harrison, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, Vol. 28, pp. 732-3.

In chronological order, Hume's principal writings on religious topics comprise the following (copies of some of which have not been traced):

- Belfast College, Its Position and Prospects; with Suggestions for the Settlement of Religious Disputes, the Improvement of its Education and Discipline, and the Extension of its General Usefulness*, Belfast: John Henderson, 1845.
- Missions at Home: or, A Clergyman's Account of a Portion of the Town of Liverpool*, London: Rivingtons, 1850.
- Condition of Liverpool, Religious and Social, Including Notices of the State of Education, Morals, Pauperism and Crime*, second edition, Liverpool: printed by T. Brakell, 1858.
- Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire into the Deficiency of Means of Spiritual Instruction and Places of Divine Worship in the Metropolis and in Other Populous Districts of England and Wales, Especially in the Mining and Manufacturing Districts*, House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1857-58, Vol. 9, pp. 455-6, 459-63 [oral and written evidence of Abraham Hume, 14 May 1858].
- Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire into the Present Operation of the Law and Practice Respecting the Assessment and the Levy of Church Rates*, House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1859 Session 2, Vol. 15, pp. 149-64 [oral evidence of Abraham Hume, 22 July 1859].
- Remarks on the Census of Religious Worship for England and Wales, with Suggestions for an Improved Census in 1861 and a Map Illustrating the Religious Condition of the Country*, London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860.
- Analysis and Combined List of the Subscribers to the Various Church Societies in Liverpool*, Liverpool: McCorquodale, 1861.
- Church Extension in Liverpool: Remarks on the Census of Liverpool for 1861, with Suggestions for the Formation of a New Church Building Society*, Liverpool: C. Tinling, 1861.
- The Insufficiency of the Voluntary System*, Manchester: Sowler, 1861.
- Alleged Progress of Dissent: More Fallacies and Misstatements by the Rev. Marmaduke Miller ... Exposed and Refuted*, [Sunderland, 1862].
- The Church of England the Home Missionary to the Poor, Especially in Our Large Towns, Written in Reply to the Articles of Herbert S. Skeats, Esq. in 'The Nonconformist' Newspaper on 'Dissent in Poor Populous Districts'*, London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1862.

- Defence Not Defiance; or, A Few Words for the Church of England: I. The Church of England, the Best Home Missionary; II. The Actual Progress of Dissent in England; and III. Further Exposure of Fallacies and Mis-Statements*, Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker, [1862].
- Caution in Religious Enquiry: Assize Sermon*, Liverpool, 1863.
- ‘Church Subjects: Curates, Patronage, Populations, &c.’, *Liverpool Daily Courier*, 8 October 1864.
- Results of the Irish Census of 1861, with a Special Reference to the Condition of the Church in Ireland*, London: Rivingtons, 1864.
- The Progress of Liverpool and of Church Building in it, Written at the Request of the Committee for Church and School Extension*, Liverpool, 1865.
- Church Congress, Liverpool, Supplementary Paper: State and Prospects of the Church in Liverpool, Including Numerous Details and Suggestions on Collateral and Subordinate Topics*, Liverpool: Adam Holden, 1869.
- Connexion Between Science and Religion: A Sermon Preached at Christ Church, Kensington, Liverpool, 18<sup>th</sup> September 1870, during the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, Liverpool: Adam Holden, 1870.
- Sermons, Notes of Sermons and Papers on Clerical Subjects: A Selection from the Remains of the Late Thomas Cowan*, ed. Abraham Hume, London: James Nisbet, 1871.
- The British Army, Considered in Regard to Creed, County and Character*, Liverpool: *Daily Courier*, 1872.
- The Church of England in the Rural Districts, Being a Reply to the Mis-Statements of ‘The Nonconformist’*, London: Church Defence Institution, 1872.
- Some Account of Recent Nonconformist Attacks upon the Church of England*, London: Church Defence Institution, 1873.
- The Question of a Bishop for Liverpool: Two Papers* [by Abraham Hume and William Lefroy], Liverpool: T. Brakell, 1876.
- Removal of Churches and Adjustment of Districts: A Survey of the Parish of Liverpool, with a View to the Economy of Our Ecclesiastical Resources in Securing Good Results*, Liverpool, 1878.
- The Ecclesiastical Districts in Liverpool: Their Origin, History, Nature, Population Changes, etc.*, Liverpool: T. Brakell, 1879.
- Remarks Explaining the Limits of Attendance of the Poor at Public Worship*, Liverpool, 1879.
- Growth of the Episcopate in England and Wales during Seventeen Centuries*, Liverpool: Thomas Brakell, printer, 1880.
- Detailed Account of How Liverpool Became a Diocese, Read Before the Clerical Society of Liverpool, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1880*, London: Rivingtons, 1881.
- ‘Ecclesiastical History of Liverpool’, *Liverpool Diocesan Calendar*, 1881, pp. 65-107.
- Ecclesiastical History of Liverpool, Reprinted from the Liverpool Diocesan Calendar and Clergy List*, Liverpool: J. A. Thompson, 1881.
- Remarks on the Liverpool Churches and Their Congregations*, Liverpool: *Daily Post and Echo*, 1881.
- Suggestions as to a Census of Religious Beliefs in the Diocese of Liverpool, in a Memorandum to the Lord Bishop of Liverpool*, Liverpool: T. Brakell, 1881.
- ‘Ecclesiastical Census of the City and Suburbs of Liverpool’, *Liverpool Diocesan Calendar*, 1882, pp. 67-88.
- Ecclesiastical Census of the City and Suburbs of Liverpool, Reprinted from the Liverpool Diocesan Calendar and Clerical Directory, Second Issue*, Liverpool: J. A. Thompson, 1882.
- ‘Census of Religious Worship for the Diocese of Liverpool’, *Liverpool Diocesan Calendar*, 1883, pp. 67-84.
- Account of the Census of Religious Worship Made in the Churches and Episcopal Chapels on Trinity Sunday, 1882*, Liverpool, 1883.

*The Bishop of Liverpool and His Critics: Ecclesiastical and Other Considerations*, Liverpool: Smith, 1883.  
'Ecclesiastical Districts in the City of Liverpool', *Liverpool Diocesan Calendar*, 1884, pp. 67-78.

## Appendix 6

### Local Censuses of Church Attendance in Great Britain, 1881-82

Abstracts and analyses of the results of the local censuses appear in the following sources:

- The Nonconformist and Independent*, 2 and 23 February and 9 March 1882.
- The Newspaper Religious Census and its Lessons: A Summary of the Statistics of Attendance at Public Worship, Published Between October 1881 and April 1882*, London: Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, 1882.
- Andrew Mearns, *The Statistics of Attendance at Public Worship, as Published in England, Wales and Scotland by the Local Press Between October 1881 and February 1882*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882.
- Robert Howie, *The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures*, Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, pp. 99-108.
- David Hugh McLeod, 'Class, Community and Region: The Religious Geography of Nineteenth-Century England', *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*, 6, ed. Michael Hill, London: SCM Press, 1973, pp. 29-72.

Additionally, Howie (p. xxi) refers to a contemporary pamphlet by William Bruce on *Church Attendance*, giving details of the local censuses in Scotland in 1881, but no copy of this publication has yet been located.

A full list of the places surveyed, with details of published sources (if known), is tabulated below (and superseding the appendix which appears in *Religion*, Reviews of United Kingdom Statistical Sources, Vol. 20, pp. 492-4):

Place	Date	Conducted by/published source
<i>England</i>		
Accrington	Morning only	
Barnsley	1881, 20 November	<i>Sheffield and Rotherham Independent</i> , 24 November 1881; <i>The Independent's Religious Census of Sheffield, Rotherham, Chesterfield, Barnsley, Worksop and Retford Taken on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1881, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the 'Sheffield and Rotherham Independent'</i> , Sheffield: Leader & Sons, 1881, pp. 13-14
Barrow-in-Furness	1881, 13 November	<i>Barrow Times</i> , 19 November 1881
Basingstoke		<i>Basingstoke Standard</i>
Bath	1881, 6 November	<i>Keene's Bath Journal</i> , 12 November 1881
Bath (villages around)	1881, 20 November	<i>Keene's Bath Journal</i>
Blisworth	1881, 4	<i>Northamptonshire Guardian</i> , 10 December 1881

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Bolton	December 1881, 4	<i>Bolton Weekly Journal</i> , 10 December 1881
Bournemouth	December 1882,	<i>Bournemouth Visitors' Directory</i> , 4 February 1882
Bradford	January 1881, 11 and 18 December	<i>Bradford Observer</i> , 22 December 1881; <i>Census of Public Worship in Bradford: Being Statistics of the Attendance at Religious Services in the Borough on Dec. 11 and Dec. 18, 1881, with Press and Pulpit Comments, Revised and Reprinted from 'The Bradford Observer'</i> , Bradford: <i>Bradford Observer</i> , 1882
Bradford-on-Avon	1881, December	<i>Keene's Bath Journal</i>
Bristol	1881, 30 October	<i>Western Daily Press</i> , 2 November 1881; James Fawckner Nicholls and John Taylor, <i>Bristol Past and Present</i> , 3 vol., Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1881-82, Vol. 2, pp. 305-8; <i>Religious Census of Bristol, Reprinted from the Western Daily Press</i> , Bristol: W. and F. Morgan, 1881
Burnley	1881, 18 December	<i>Burnley Gazette</i>
Burslem	1881, December	<i>Staffordshire Sentinel</i> , 24 December 1881
Charlton Kings	1882, 5 February	<i>Cheltenham Examiner</i>
Cheltenham	1882, 29 January and 5 February	<i>Cheltenham Examiner</i>
Chesterfield	1881, 20 November	<i>Sheffield and Rotherham Independent</i> , 24 November 1881; <i>Derbyshire Courier</i> , 26 November 1881; <i>The Independent's Religious Census of Sheffield, Rotherham, Chesterfield, Barnsley, Worksop and Retford Taken on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1881, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the 'Sheffield and Rotherham Independent'</i> , Sheffield: Leader & Sons, 1881, pp. 14-16
Chippenham	1881, December	<i>Keene's Bath Journal</i>
Christchurch	1882	<i>Christchurch Times</i> , 11 February 1882
Colne	1882, June	<i>Burnley Gazette</i> , 1 July 1882
Corsham	1881, December	<i>Keene's Bath Journal</i>
Coventry	1881, 4 December	<i>Coventry Herald and Free Press</i> , 9 December 1881
Darlington	1881, 18 December	<i>Northern Echo</i> , 19 December 1881
Darwen	1882, 19 February (churches) and 26 February (Sunday schools)	<i>Darwen News</i> , 25 February and 4 March 1882
Daventry	1881, 4	<i>Northamptonshire Guardian</i> , 10 December 1881

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Derby	December 1881, 18	<i>Derby and Derbyshire Gazette</i> , 23 December 1881
Diss	December (evening only)	<i>East Anglian Daily Times</i>
Donington	1881, 4 December	<i>Spalding Free Press</i>
Douglas Egremont Forest of Dean Frome	1881, December	<i>Whitehaven Free Press</i> <i>Dean Forest Mercury</i> <i>Keene's Bath Journal</i>
Gateshead	1881, 2 October (morning only)	<i>Newcastle Daily Chronicle</i> , 5 October 1881
Gloucester	1881, 13 November	<i>Gloucester Journal</i>
Gloucester	1881	<i>Gloucester Mercury</i>
Gosport	1881, 18 December	<i>Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle</i> , 24 December 1881
Gosport	1881, 18 December	<i>Portsmouth Times</i> , 21 December 1881
Halstead and Haverhill	1882, January	<i>East Essex and Halstead Times</i> , 21 January 1882
Hanley	1881, December	<i>Staffordshire Sentinel</i> , 24 December 1881
Hastings and St Leonards	1881, 20 November	<i>Hastings and St Leonards Times</i> , 26 November 1881
Holbeach	1881, 4 December	<i>Spalding Free Press</i>
Hull	1881, 27 November	<i>Hull News</i> , 3 and 10 December 1881; <i>Eastern Counties Herald</i> , 8 December 1881
Ilkeston		<i>Ilkeston Advertiser</i>
Ipswich	1881, 30 October (evening only)	<i>Ipswich Journal</i> , 8 November 1881
Ipswich	1881, 13 November	<i>Ipswich Free Press</i> , 19 November 1881
Ipswich	1881, 13 November (morning only)	<i>East Anglian Daily News</i> , 14-15 November 1881; Paul Antony Welsby, 'Church and People in Victorian Ipswich', <i>Church Quarterly Review</i> , Vol. 164, pp. 207-17
Kettering	1881, 4 December	<i>Northamptonshire Guardian</i> , 10 December 1881
Latchford		<i>Mid-Cheshire Examiner</i>
Leckhampton	1882, 5 February	<i>Cheltenham Examiner</i>
Leicester	1881, 20 November	<i>Leicester Daily Post</i> ; <i>Leicester Daily Mercury</i> , 23 November 1881
Liverpool	1881, 16 October (morning)	<i>Liverpool Daily Post</i> , 17 October and 15 November 1881

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	and 6 November (evening)	
London, City of	1881, 1 May	<i>St James' Gazette</i> , 13 June 1881; 'Census of Congregations of the City Churches and Chapels', <i>Journal of the Statistical Society</i> , Vol. 44, 1881, pp. 596-601
Long Buckby	1881, 4 December	<i>Northamptonshire Guardian</i> , 10 December 1881
Long Sutton	1881, 4 December	<i>Spalding Free Press</i>
Longton	1881, December	<i>Staffordshire Sentinel</i> , 24 December 1881
Lymm		<i>Mid-Cheshire Examiner</i>
Margate	1882, 5 February	<i>Thanet Free Press</i>
Margate	1882, 12 February	<i>Keble's Margate &amp; Ramsgate Gazette</i> , 18 February 1882; <i>Kentish Gazette</i> , 21 February 1882
Melksham	1881, December	<i>Keene's Bath Journal</i>
Mexborough	1881, 20 November	<i>Sheffield and Rotherham Independent</i>
Midsomer Norton Nantwich		<i>Keene's Bath Journal</i>
Needham Market	1881	<i>East Anglian Daily Times</i>
Newcastle-under- Lyme	1881, 18 December	<i>Staffordshire Sentinel</i> , 24 December 1881; <i>Newcastle Guardian</i>
Newcastle-upon- Tyne	1881, 2 October (morning only)	<i>Newcastle Daily Chronicle</i> , 5 October 1881
Newton and Earlestown		<i>Mid-Cheshire Examiner</i>
Northampton	1881, 6 November	<i>Northamptonshire Guardian</i> , 12 November 1881; <i>Northampton Mercury</i> , 12 November 1881; <i>The 1851 Religious Census of Northamptonshire</i> , ed. Graham S. Ward, Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society, 2007, pp. 227-37
Nottingham	1881, 4 December	<i>Nottingham and Midland Counties Daily Express</i> , 8 December 1881
Nottingham	1881, 4 December	<i>Nottingham Journal</i>
Padiham		<i>Burnley Gazette</i>
Peterborough	1881, 11 December	<i>Peterborough Advertiser</i>
Pinchbeck	1881, 4 December	<i>Spalding Free Press</i>
Portsmouth	1881, 18 December	<i>Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle</i> , 24 December 1881
Portsmouth	1881, 18 December	<i>Portsmouth Times</i> , 21 December 1881
Prestbury	1882, 5 February	<i>Cheltenham Examiner</i>
Retford	1881, 20	<i>Sheffield and Rotherham Independent</i> , 24 November 1881;

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	November	<i>The Independent's Religious Census of Sheffield, Rotherham, Chesterfield, Barnsley, Worksop and Retford Taken on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1881, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the 'Sheffield and Rotherham Independent', Sheffield: Leader &amp; Sons, 1881, pp. 12-13; Retford, Worksop and Gainsburgh News, 26 November 1881</i>
Rotherham	1881, 20 November	<i>Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 24 November 1881; Sheffield Telegraph, 24 November 1881; The Independent's Religious Census of Sheffield, Rotherham, Chesterfield, Barnsley, Worksop and Retford Taken on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1881, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the 'Sheffield and Rotherham Independent', Sheffield: Leader &amp; Sons, 1881, pp. 9-12</i>
Runcorn		<i>Warrington Guardian; Mid-Cheshire Examiner</i>
Scarborough	1881, 4 December	<i>Scarborough Mercury</i>
Sheffield	1881, 20 November	<i>Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 19, 24 and 26 November 1881; Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 24 November 1881; The Independent's Religious Census of Sheffield, Rotherham, Chesterfield, Barnsley, Worksop and Retford Taken on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1881, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the 'Sheffield and Rotherham Independent', Sheffield: Leader &amp; Sons, 1881, pp. 3-9; Edward Ralph Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, London: Lutterworth Press, 1957, pp. 275-80</i>
Shepton Mallet	1881, December	<i>Keene's Bath Journal</i>
Southampton	1881, 4 December	<i>Hampshire Independent, 10 December 1881</i>
Southport and Birkdale	1882, 17 September	<i>E. Bland, Annals of Southport and District: A Chronological History of North Meols, A.D. 1086 to 1886, Manchester: A. Heywood, [1888], p. 205</i>
Spalding	1881, 27 November	<i>Spalding Free Press</i>
Stockport	1881, November (evening only)	<i>Cheshire County News</i>
Stockton-on-Tees	1881, 27 November	<i>Stockton Herald</i>
Stoke-on-Trent	1881, December	<i>Staffordshire Sentinel, 24 December 1881</i>
Surfleet	1881, 4 December	<i>Spalding Free Press</i>
Swindon	1882, 5 February	<i>Cheltenham Examiner</i>
Towcester	1881, 4 December	<i>Northamptonshire Guardian, 10 December 1881</i>
Trowbridge	1881, 13 November	<i>Keene's Bath Journal; Wiltshire Times</i>
Warrington	1881, 6	<i>Mid-Cheshire Examiner; Warrington Examiner, 12</i>

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Warrington (villages around)	November 1881	November 1881 <i>Mid-Cheshire Examiner</i>
Wellingborough	1881, 4 December	<i>Northamptonshire Guardian</i> , 10 December 1881
Whitehaven	1881, 4 December	<i>Whitehaven Free Press</i>
Widnes		<i>Mid-Cheshire Examiner</i> ; <i>Warrington Guardian</i>
Wolverhampton	1881, 6 November	<i>Wolverhampton Evening Star</i>
Worksop	1881, 20 November	<i>Sheffield and Rotherham Independent</i> , 24 November 1881; <i>The Independent's Religious Census of Sheffield, Rotherham, Chesterfield, Barnsley, Worksop and Retford Taken on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1881, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the 'Sheffield and Rotherham Independent'</i> , Sheffield: Leader & Sons, 1881, p. 12; <i>Retford, Worksop and Gainsburgh News</i> , 26 November 1881
<i>Wales</i>		
Carnarvon		
Conway	(evening only)	
Corwen	1881, November	<i>Wrexham Advertiser</i> , 19 November 1881
Llanelly	1881, 20 November (evening only)	<i>Llanelly Guardian</i> , 17 November 1881; <i>Western Mail</i> , 25 November 1881
Newtown		
Wrexham	1881, 4 December	<i>Wrexham Advertiser</i>
<i>Scotland</i>		
Abbotshall, Kirkcaldy, Dysart and Kinghorn	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Aberdour	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Arbroath	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Ardrossan and Saltcoats	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 104
Ayr	1881 (morning only)	<i>Ayrshire Post</i> ; Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 103
Bannockburn	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Berwickshire	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Blairgowrie and	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in</i>

Ratray	(morning only)	1881	<i>Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Brechin	(morning only)	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Broughty Ferry	(morning only)	1881	<i>Dundee Advertiser</i> ; Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, pp. 101-2
Burntisland		1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Bute	(morning only)	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 106
Carnbee		1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Colinton		1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Cupar (Angus)	(morning only)	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Cupar (Fife) and Ceres	(morning only)	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Dundee	(morning only)	1881	<i>Dundee Advertiser</i> ; Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, pp. 101-2
Dundonald, Troon, Dreghorn, Fenwick and Kilbirnie	(morning only)	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 105
Dunse	(morning only)	1881	
Edinburgh		1882, 8 January	<i>Edinburgh Daily Review</i> , 24 January 1882; Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Forfar	(morning only)	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Glasgow		1881	Glasgow United Evangelistic Association
Glasgow		1882, 15 January	<i>Glasgow Herald</i> , 18 January 1882
Gourock		1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 106
Greenock		1881	<i>Greenock Telegraph</i> ; Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 99
Hawick and Wilton	(morning only)	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Helensburgh		1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in</i>

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		<i>Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Inverness	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Kilmarnock, Riccarton and Kilmaurs	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 103
Kilwinning, Irvine, Stewarton and Dalry	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 104
Kirriemuir	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Largo	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Leith, Newhaven and Granton	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Melrose and Galashiels	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Montrose	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Newport	1881 (morning only)	<i>Dundee Advertiser</i> ; Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, pp. 101-2
Paisley	1881 (afternoon only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 99
Perth and Kinnoull	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
Row and Rosneath	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 107
St Andrews	1881 (morning only)	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
St Ninians		
Scoonie	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Selkirk	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Torryburn	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108
Wemyss	1881	Robert Howie, <i>The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures</i> , Glasgow: David Bryce, 1893, p. 108

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## Appendix 7

### Newman Demographic Survey and Pastoral Research Centre

The Newman Demographic Survey originated on 15 October 1953 as an agency of the Newman Association of Great Britain, with the intention of applying the social sciences in general and statistics in particular to the mission of the Catholic Church in England and Wales. Its driving-force was Anthony Ernest Charles Winchcombe Spencer, who became its founder honorary secretary and, from 1959, its paid director. For the first five years it functioned entirely through the voluntary labours of Catholic lay graduates and professionals with an interest in statistics and social research, and it had 200 of them on its books at one stage. Then, in the summer of 1958, the first salaried staff member was appointed when the Survey secured a commission from the Catholic Education Council to research the future supply of Roman Catholic teachers. Further consultancies followed, from Catholic dioceses and organizations, and by the end of 1962 the Survey had 13.5 full-time equivalent staff. Even so, and despite a continuing dependence on volunteers, it was rarely far from insolvency, while the external contracts inevitably skewed the Survey's original priorities.

The Survey's principal successes were in establishing on a secure and consistent footing the collection and analysis of recurrent statistics relating to Roman Catholic population, pastoral activities, schools, pupils, teachers, and higher education students. By 1959 an annual census of Catholic schools had been initiated, and all dioceses were using a common form to return their demographic and pastoral statistics, which were centrally validated and tabulated. A census of Catholic clergy and religious in England and Wales was completed in 1961, and a parish census service was launched early in 1962, following a successful pilot in Aberystwyth. A fuller assessment of the Survey's achievements, in the eyes of Spencer, is provided in:

- 'The Newman Demographic Survey, 1953-62: Nine Years of Progress', *Wiseman Review*, Vol. 236, 1962, pp. 139-54.
- 'The Newman Demographic Survey, 1953-1964: Reflection on the Birth, Life and Death of a Catholic Institute for Socio-Religious Research', *Social Compass*, Vol. 11, No. 3-4, 1964, pp. 31-40.
- 'The Newman Demographic Survey', *A Use of Gifts: The Newman Association, 1942-1992*, London: Newman Association, 1992, pp. 34-7.

A detailed overview of the Survey's research may be found in *Annotated Bibliography of Newman Demographic Survey Reports & Papers, 1954-1964*, ed. Anthony Ernest Charles Winchcombe Spencer (Taunton: Russell-Spencer, 2006).

During its ten and a half years' existence the Survey was required to restrict access to most of its reports and papers, but early in 2005 the Standing Committee of the

Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales agreed to declassify all of them. Since then a good number of the reports have been formally published for the first time by Russell-Spencer Ltd, usually with a new foreword or personal postscript. Copies have been lodged with the six legal deposit libraries and may also be bought by individuals. The remainder of that part of the Survey's archives and databank, which were inherited by the Pastoral Research Centre but are not yet in a sufficiently complete or polished state to render them suitable for publication, may be consulted (by prior arrangement) at the Pastoral Research Centre, Stone House, Hele, Tanuton, Somerset, TA4 1AJ.

In addition to these then unpublished reports and papers, some limited findings and commentaries by the Survey's staff were put into the public domain. Spencer's own publications from these years included:

- 'The Newman Demographic Survey: How and Why', *The Tablet*, 29 October 1955.
- 'Youth and Religion', *New Life*, Vol. 14, 1958, pp. 1-59.
- 'More Catholic Marriages: An Increasing Proportion of the Annual Total', *The Tablet*, 14 March 1959.
- 'Irish Catholics in England: The Recent Immigration Figures', *The Tablet*, 22 August 1959.
- 'Studying the Faithful: From Head-Counting to Psycho-Sociology', *The Tablet*, 18 September 1959.
- 'Counting England's Catholics', *Hibernia*, 16 October 1959.
- 'The Newman Demographic Survey', *Catholic Gazette*, 18 October 1959.
- 'Anglican Conversions: The Claims of the Church of England's Year Book', *The Tablet*, 16 January 1960.
- 'The Post-War Growth in the Catholic Child Population of England and Wales', *Catholic Education: A Handbook, 1960/61*, London: Catholic Education Council for England and Wales, 1960, pp. 18-29.
- 'Numbering the People: No Question About Religion', *The Tablet*, 22 April 1961.
- 'Pastoral Care and Religious Sociology', *Clergy Review*, Vol. 48, 1963, pp. 475-97.

The Survey's existence had depended to a significant extent upon the backing of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales. This had been quickly obtained after the Survey's inauguration but was withdrawn on 11 December 1963, following a dispute over a conference paper given by Spencer on Catholic education, of which the Catholic Education Council disapproved. The Survey, which was by that time a company limited by guarantee, was accordingly forced into liquidation on 29 February 1964. From 1 March, the Survey's work was split into two halves. The Catholic Education Council assumed responsibility for the pastoral, population and educational statistics services. Spencer was appointed research lecturer at Cavendish Square Graduate College of the Holy Child nuns and took with him the Survey's programmes of work on evangelization, religious vocations, parishioner records and censuses, support for the Third World and investigations in the sociology of religion in general. These were rebranded as the Pastoral Research Centre. The Survey's staff,

library, archives and databank were split along similar lines between the Council and the College.

During his time at the College, Spencer extended his research into Roman Catholicism to Scotland and New Zealand, as well as England and Wales. He continued to draw upon the earlier work of the Newman Demographic Survey but also conducted new research through the Pastoral Research Centre, including – for a short while – further parish censuses. Additionally, he set up, in September 1965, Socio-Religious Research Services which launched an ecumenical census service, although this seems to have been short-lived, with Bishop's Stortford the only place to have been surveyed. Spencer's publications from this period include:

- 'Bemerkungen zu einer statistischen Definition der Zugehörigkeit zu Kirche', *Die Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche: Bericht über die 7. Internationale Konferenz für Religionssoziologie in Königstein/Taunus vom 30. Juni bis 2. Juli 1962*, eds Walter Menges and Norbert Greinacher, Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1964.
- 'Vers une définition statistique de l'appartenance à l'Église', *L'appartenance religieuse: Conférence Internationale de Sociologie Religieuse, Königstein, 1962*, Bruxelles: Éditions du CEP, 1965.
- 'How Effective are Catholic Schools?', *Slant*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Spring 1965, pp. 9-13.
- 'The Demography and Sociography of the Roman Catholic Community of England and Wales', *The Committed Church*, eds Laurence Bright and Simon Clements, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966, pp. 60-85.
- 'The Structure and Organisation of the Catholic Church in England', *Uses of Sociology*, eds James Dermot Halloran and Joan Brothers, London: Sheed and Ward, 1966, pp. 91-125.
- 'Catholicism and Communication', *Social Compass*, Vol. 14, 1967, pp. 67-71.
- Report on the Parish Register Statistics of the Catholic Church in Scotland, 1966*, Harrow: Pastoral Research Centre, 1967.
- 'Statistics, Ecclesiastical', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vol., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967, Vol. 13, pp. 672-6.
- 'An Evaluation of Roman Catholic Educational Policy in England and Wales, 1900-1960', *Religious Education: Drift or Decision?*, ed. Philip Jebb, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968, pp. 165-221.
- 'Religious Census of Bishop's Stortford', *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*, ed. David Alfred Martin, London: SCM Press, 1968, pp. 135-45.
- Report on the Parish Register, Religious Practice & Population Statistics of the Catholic Church in Scotland, 1967*, Harrow: Pastoral Research Centre, 1969.
- 'The Future of the Episcopal and Papal Roles', *IDOC International, North American Edition*, No. 3, May 1970, pp. 63-84.

Unfortunately, Cavendish Square Graduate College closed in 1969, and Spencer began teaching sociology at Queen's University Belfast in 1970. For much of his time there, he turned, not unnaturally, to research into religion and conflict resolution in an Irish context. Moreover, the Pastoral Research Centre's library, archives and



databank were in store from 1990 to 2000. His publications on Catholicism in England and Wales were accordingly more limited in number but included:

*The Future of Catholic Education in England and Wales: A Report*, Watford: Catholic Renewal Movement, 1971.

‘The Catholic Community as a British Melting Pot’, *New Community*, Vol. 2, 1973, pp. 125-31.

‘Demography of Catholicism’, *The Month*, Vol. 236, 1975, pp. 100-5.

‘Alienation in English Catholicism, 1958-1972’, *Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference, Sociological Association of Ireland, Dublin, 4-5 April 1975*, eds Anthony Ernest Charles Winchcombe Spencer and Patrick Augustine O’Dwyer, Belfast: Department of Social Studies, Queen’s University of Belfast, 1976, pp. 115-34.

‘Catholics in Britain and Ireland: Regional Contrasts’, *Demography of Immigrants and Minority Groups in the United Kingdom: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Symposium of the Eugenics Society, London, 1981*, ed. David Anwyll Coleman, London: Academic Press, 1982, pp. 213-43.

Following his retirement, Spencer eventually relocated to England, where he was able to rearrange the Pastoral Research Centre’s library, archives and databank at Taunton in 2002. This has facilitated a renewed programme of research and publishing based upon the declassified reports of the Newman Demographic Survey and the resources of the Pastoral Research Centre. An especially important milestone has been the collation, from a variety of sources, of a *Digest of Statistics of the Catholic Community of England & Wales, 1958-2005, Volume 1: Population and Vital Statistics, Pastoral Services, Evangelisation and Education*, ed Anthony Ernest Charles Winchcombe Spencer (Taunton: Russell-Spencer, 2007). A second volume is planned, to cover overseas mission and evangelization, higher education, social welfare, social action, other personnel, other finance, other Catholic organizations, and the Catholic mass media.

In an effort to reenergize the Catholic Church’s central statistical efforts, which appear to have collapsed somewhat since the reorganization which resulted in the creation of the Catholic Education Service in 1991 and the subsequent devolution of most of the pastoral and demographic statistical responsibility to dioceses, Spencer submitted two unpublished reports to the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of England and Wales in autumn 2003. These were briefly considered by them in February 2004 but not acted upon. In the face of the Conference’s apparent unwillingness to make improvements, Spencer prepared a more detailed critique, which was put into the public domain as well as being sent to the Conference: *Facts and Figures for the Twenty-First Century: An Assessment of the Statistics of the Catholic Community of England and Wales at the Start of the Century* (Taunton: Russell-Spencer, 2006). As yet, there are few signs that Spencer’s recommendations (including the proposal to set up a modestly-sized central statistical unit for the Church) are likely to be taken up by the bishops.

Sincere thanks are expressed to Tony Spencer for his help in the preparation of this appendix.

## Appendix 8

### John Highet's Contribution to Scottish Religious Statistics

Born (1918) and bred in Glasgow, John Highet was educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford and spent much of his academic career lecturing in applied sociology at Glasgow, prior to becoming head of the School of Social Studies at what is now the Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen. He was also closely involved with the Church of Scotland and a member of a number of its committees at General Assembly and Presbytery levels.

His primary empirical research into the Scottish Churches seems mainly to have been conducted between *circa* 1947 and *circa* 1965, two decades during which he was effectively the sole representative of the academic sociology of religion in Scotland. Especially useful were the statistics he assembled on Scottish church membership and attendance (including, in the latter case, through churchgoing counts in Glasgow), and his assessment of the impact of evangelistic campaigns.

Highet made limited use of opinion poll data, of which he was quite critical, and, in any case, at that period there were no sample samples which included sufficiently large numbers of Scots. Scotland-only polls did not emerge until the 1970s (see Clive Douglas Field, “‘The Haemorrhage of Faith’? Opinion Polls as Sources for Religious Practices, Beliefs and Attitudes in Scotland since the 1970s’, *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, Vol. 16, 2001, pp. 157-75). Highet also dismissed as ‘singularly worthless’ the inclusion of religious profession as a question in the population censuses of some European countries (*Jewish Life in Modern Britain*, eds Julius Gould and Shaul Esh, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, p. 135).

From 1960 Highet moved increasingly into the sociology of education. His principal publications on Scottish Christianity comprise:

*The Churches in Scotland To-Day: A Survey of Their Principles, Strength, Work and Statements*, Glasgow: Jackson Son & Company, 1950.

‘Scottish Religious Adherence’, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 4, 1953, pp. 142-59.

‘The Churches’, *The Scottish Economy: A Statistical Account of Scottish Life by Members of the Staff of Glasgow University*, ed. Alec K. Cairncross, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. 297-315.

‘The Churches’, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: Glasgow*, eds James Cunnison and John Brodie Smith Gilfillan, Glasgow: Collins, 1958, pp. 713-50.

- 'The Protestant Churches in Scotland: A Review of Membership, Evangelistic Activities and Other Aspects', *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, Vol. 8, July-December 1959, pp. 97-104.
- The Scottish Churches: A Review of Their State 400 Years After the Reformation*, London: Skeffington, 1960.
- 'Churchgoing in Scotland', *New Society*, 26 December 1963.
- 'A Review of Scottish Socio-Religious Literature', *Social Compass*, Vol. 11, No. 3-4, 1964, pp. 21-4.
- 'Faithful After a Fashion', *Glasgow Herald*, 11 October 1965.
- 'Trend Report on the Sociology of Religion in Scotland', *Social Compass*, Vol. 13, 1966, pp. 343-8.
- 'Great Britain: Scotland', *Western Religion: A Country by Country Sociological Inquiry*, ed Hans Mol in collaboration with Margaret Hetherington and Margaret Henty, The Hague: Mouton, 1972, pp. 249-69.
- 'Trends in Attendance and Membership', *Prospects for Scotland: Report of the 1984 Census of the Churches*, by Peter William Brierley and Fergus Macdonald, Bromley: MARC Europe, 1985, pp. 8-13.

## Appendix 9

### Local Censuses of Church Attendance in Great Britain, 1901-12

Place	Date	Conducted by/published source
<i>England</i>		
Chester and Hoole	1903, 25 October	<i>Cheshire Observer</i> , 31 October 1903
Dewsbury	1901, 10 February (evening only)	George Coates, 'Temperance Notes', <i>Methodist New Connexion Magazine</i> , Vol. 104, 1901, p. 81
Hull	1903, 13 December and 1904, 10 January- 17 February (incomplete)	<i>Hull News</i> ; Peter Derek Stubley, 'Serious Religion and the Improvement of Public Manners: The Scope and Limitations of Evangelicalism in Hull, 1770-1914', University of Durham Ph.D. thesis, 1991, pp. 202-6, 300-3
Lincoln	1903, 8 March	<i>Lincoln Leader and County Advertiser</i> , 14 March 1903; James William Francis Hill, <i>Victorian Lincoln</i> , London: Cambridge University Press, 1974, pp. 313-16
Liverpool	1902, 2 November	<i>Liverpool Daily Post</i> , 11 November 1902
Liverpool	1912, 8 December	<i>Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury</i> , 13 December 1912
London, Inner	1902, 30 November-1903, 21 June	<i>Daily News</i> ; <i>The Religious Life of London</i> , ed. Richard Mudie-Smith, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904, pp. 1-333, 449-61, 475-503
London, Greater	1903, 19 July-8 November	<i>Daily News</i> ; <i>The Religious Life of London</i> , ed. Richard Mudie-Smith, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904, pp. 335-450, 458, 462, 504-18
Middlesbrough	1904, 1, 8, 15 and 22 May	Middlesbrough Temperance Society; <i>North Eastern Daily Gazette</i> , 5, 12, 19 and 26 May, 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30 June, and 7 July 1904; Peter Derek Stubley, 'The Churches and the Iron and Steel Industry in Middlesbrough, 1890-1914', University of Durham M.A. thesis, 1979, pp. 83-91, 136-41
Newport, Isle of Wight	1903	Newport Free Church Council; 'What the Councils are Doing', <i>Free Church Chronicle</i> , Vol. 5, 1903, pp. 252-3
Perranuthnoe	1903, November	<i>The Cornishman</i> , 21 and 26 November 1903

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Southend	1903, 4 January	<i>Southend Standard</i> , 8 January 1903
Wallasey	1903, 24 May	<i>Wallasey News</i> , 30 May 1903
Wallasey	1906, 2 December	<i>Wallasey News</i> , 8 December 1906; <i>Religious Census of the Wallasey Churches taken on Sunday, Dec. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1906</i> , Seacombe: Willmer Bros., [1906]
Whitehaven, Workington and other towns and rural districts in West Cumberland	1902, 14 December 37	<i>West Cumberland Times</i> , 20 December 1902
York	1901, 17 and 24 March	Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree, <i>Poverty: A Study of Town Life</i> , London: Macmillan, 1901, pp. 345-9
<i>Wales</i>		
Carnarvon	1908, 26 January	<i>Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald</i> , 31 January and 7 February 1908
Carnarvon	1908, 5 July	<i>Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald</i> , 10 July 1908
Tredegar	1909, December	Tredegar Free Church Council; 'Religious Investigation Work', <i>Free Church Year Book</i> , 1910, pp. 155-7
<i>Scotland</i>		
Aberdeen	1901 (morning only)	<i>Aberdeen Journal and General Advertiser</i> , 15 and 18 April 1901
Aberdeen	1911, 2 April (morning only)	<i>Aberdeen Daily Journal</i>
Dundee	1901	<i>Dundee Advertiser</i> , 1 April 1901

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