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THE CHURCH'S ONE FOUNDATION:
the Anglican Origins and Ecclesiological Significance of the
1920 Lambeth Appeal to All Christian People.

by

David van Krieken Vannerley

Canterbury Christ Church University

Thesis submitted
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2015

The Church's One Foundation: the Anglican Origins and Ecclesiological Significance of the
1920 Lambeth Appeal to All Christian People.

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96306 words.

Abstract

How can the Anglican Communion resolve its problems of internal ecumenism to overcome the threat of rupture that faces it at the beginning of the twenty-first century?

Anglican identity is not monolithic but pluriform within the particularity of its tradition. The Anglican way of being Christian is one that is discursive rather than definitive, aware of its roots but open to new expression of itself – and aware of the conditionality of any expression of Church in this passing world. However, from time to time, there are tensions within the tradition between those who hold differing views.

In 1867, facing the challenge of maintaining Anglican unity, Archbishop Longley summoned a meeting of Anglican bishops who sought collective understanding in a discursive, dialogic fashion and which evolved into a Lambeth Conference Tradition. The bishops sought the common mind of the Church on problematic questions, always aware of the mutability of their conclusions and often willing to change their view according to changed circumstances. In this way they sought to maintain Anglican unity and the principle of comprehension whereby the tradition sought to be inclusive of diversity.

The Sixth Conference in 1920 sought to address the wider question of Christian unity by employing the same methodology. The Appeal to All Christian People was intended to draw the churches into engagement with one another to overcome their differences and achieve a degree of ecclesial unity. Reconciliation of Christians with each other was set at the heart of ecumenical discourse and bore fruit in important ways.

This thesis proposes that the same methodology can and should be deployed to address the disputes that exist within the Anglican Communion at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Lambeth Conference Tradition is an essential element in Anglican heritage that Anglicans may only ignore at their peril.

Preface

Much that is Anglican is rooted in Canterbury.

My own priestly identity has been formed by the Diocese of Canterbury and by the University that shares its name with our Cathedral. I have lived, studied and worshipped in or near the city all my adult life and it does seem a good place to begin an exploration of Anglican identity. Indeed, the incident that gave form to this piece of research took place in that same Cathedral Church of Christ.

I am grateful to the Diocese of Canterbury for its generous support from the Continuing Ministerial Education Fund during this research. My development as a researcher has been enriched by the common life of the research community of Canterbury Christ Church University and I have been fortunate to receive advice and encouragement from a range of academic staff here. They include Prof. Gareth Jones, Dr. Leonie Hicks, Dr. Ralph Norman, the Revd Dr. Jeremy Law and particularly my First Supervisor, the Revd. Dr. Ivan Khovacs. Archival materials are critical to the argument of this thesis and it would not have been possible to write it without the assistance of the archivists of Lambeth Palace Library and of Canterbury Cathedral.

The support, and tolerance, of my family and of the congregation of Swalecliffe, St. John the Baptist have been essential. Particularly, this is so of my wife and if a thesis is to be dedicated, this one should certainly be dedicated to her.

David van Krieken Vannerley,

Canterbury Christ Church University,

on the Commemoration of King Alfred the Scholar, 2015.

Abbreviations and References

Article refers to the English 39 Articles of Religion.

Bishops are referred to by surname and see, until they are established in the narrative.

Lambeth Conferences are referred to by sequence number, e.g. Lambeth 6.

References marked * are Lambeth archive items, cited by volume identifier and folio number, e.g.

*LC105:56 means (Archive)(Lambeth Conference series)(volume 105)(folio 56).

Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference are referenced by year and sequence number, e.g. R1897/4.

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Abp. | Archbishop |
| AChC | Anglican Church of Canada |
| ACNA | Anglican Church in North America |
| BCP | Book of Common Prayer |
| Bp. | Bishop |
| CEN | Church of England Newspaper |
| Chron. Con. | The Chronicles of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury |
| CMS | Church Missionary Society |
| CSI | Church of South India |
| CTG | Church of the Triune God (The Cyprus Report) |
| CW | Common Worship |
| FCA | Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans |
| FCEFC | Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches |
| Gafcon | Global Anglican Future Conference, first meeting was held in Jerusalem in 2008. |
| LCC/LCCB | Lambeth Conference Consultative Body |
| NMC | Nature and Mission of the Church |
| ODC | Oxford Dictionary of the Church |
| SPG | Society for the Propagation of the Gospel |
| UMCA | Universities Mission to Central Africa |
| WCC | World Council of Churches |

Figures

This thesis is rooted in a conversation that took place in Canterbury Cathedral concerning the nature of Anglicanism. Each of the Archbishops of Canterbury who feature in the historical review at the beginning of the thesis has a monument in the cathedral and these are illustrated in the appropriate place. With the years of their enthronement they are:

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| John Bird Sumner | 1848 | Fig. 1, p. 43 |
| Chares Thomas Longley | 1862 | Fig. 2, p. 48 |
| Archibald Campbell Tait | 1868 | Fig. 3, p. 59 |
| Edward White Benson | 1883 | Fig. 4, p. 63 |
| Frederick Temple | 1897 | Fig. 5, p. 66 |
| Randall Thomas Davidson | 1903-1928 | Fig. 6, p. 69 |

Figures: all ©2013, Dr. J vK. Robson.

Introduction

From the past into the future by way of the present

The investigation of an event by a theologian should not be merely a matter of antiquarian interest but should be undertaken so that the insights gained might be of service to the people of God. Some while ago, the writer was duty visitor chaplain in Canterbury Cathedral when a visitor demanded in an aggressive manner:

‘Are you Orthodox?’

In conversation, it became clear that he did not mean ‘are you a Russian’ or ‘do you recite the symbol of Nicaea-Constantinople with integrity’ but rather ‘do you subscribe to my version of the Anglican way’. His remark leads us to a fundamental question: what is an Anglican? This thesis interrogates Anglican heritage to answer that question. The twenty-first Century Anglican Communion is riven by disputes of which that incident is emblematic. Arguments have been conducted with a degree of narrowness. Accusations of disloyalty and infidelity have been made against opponents who are accused of pursuing innovatory and destructive ideas.

This thesis argues that the Communion needs to recover confidence in the possibility of consultation and debate represented by the Lambeth Conference tradition. In that tradition Anglicans – even when in profound disagreement – have sought to work together, within their common heritage, to resolve those things that can be resolved and to devise strategies to cope with those things that cannot be resolved. Perhaps Dark was right to criticise the Conferences as debating societies but it is in debate that we learn about each other and from each other – and begin to discern the means by which we might honour each other.¹

The Communion needs to recover the broad and eirenic spirit represented by the 1920 Appeal to All Christian People so that it can look beyond narrow denominationalism. The Communion must regain the vision of the fullness of the Church that the Lambeth fathers caught by looking not for difficulties but for opportunity.²

A study of the Appeal in its own right, and within its Conference tradition context, is a timely reminder that Anglicanism contains within its patrimony the resources for reconciliation and fellowship; it is in the spirit of that search for an Anglican future that this work has been undertaken.

¹ Dark, S (1930) *The Lambeth Conferences*; London, Eyre and Spottiswoode; 76.

² This thesis follows a convention whereby Church, capitalised, refers to the One Church rather than the separated and denominationalised churches, except when included in church names.

a. Scope and Methodology

This thesis is concerned with the ecclesiological perspectives that enliven the self-understanding of the Anglican tradition as it is focused in the debates and resolutions of the successive Lambeth Conferences. Lambeth 6, particularly through its Appeal to All Christian People, gives us a lens through which we can examine the question of what it is to be part of the Anglican tradition.

The London residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury is Lambeth Palace. When Abp. Longley was persuaded to gather together the bishops with whom he was in full communion in an innovative meeting in 1867, it was natural that he should make use of the state rooms in the palace for its four days of meetings. Referred to as the Pan-Anglican Conference in its early days, the name Lambeth Conference became the normal title.³ The name continues in use even though the Conferences have, in fact, been held in Canterbury at the University of Kent since 1978.⁴ The term Pan-Anglican remained in occasional use until at least 1897 when the Daily News described the expression as ‘hideous’;⁵ the origin of the term is unknown.⁶

The conference was immediately seen as an important departure for the Anglican Communion and, it was hoped, the means by which the Communion might be held in union without its member churches floating apart into a state of being ‘independent’ and ‘isolated branches of the Catholic Church’.⁷ The Conference was seen from the outset as a means of unification for Anglicans. Further, in time, it began to be viewed as a possible instrument with which to secure a greater unity within the wider Christian tradition.

Although there were deeply unsettling events in the background of Lambeth 1, particularly regarding Natal, the conference was not called to discuss those events so much as to give the opportunity for mutual fellowship and support between the bishops. That those bishops were drawn from every continent was something that had occurred in an unplanned and unexpected way: wherever English people had travelled and traded, the Anglican Church had followed. As early as 1578, Cranmer’s service of Holy Communion was used on the shores of Hudson Bay and only nine years later the first recorded baptism in the New World took place.⁸ A similar story may be told for many other places

³ E.g. by the critical Magee of Peterborough, Morgan, D (1967) *Bishops come to Lambeth* (Rev. Ed.) London, Mowbray; 81.

⁴ Lambeth 10 was too large to be accommodated at Lambeth and was held in and around Church House Westminster, 462 bishops attended together with almost a hundred observers and consultants; Stephenson, A.M.G. (1978) *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conference*, London, SPCK; 239.

⁵ 1st July, 1897.

⁶ Hobhouse, W (1908) *A Sketch of the first four Lambeth Conferences*; London, SPCK, mentions a Latin use in 1236 cited, he says, by Lyndwood in 1679 ‘*Concillium pan Anglicanum Londini habitum*’, it is not known who first applied it to the 1867 meeting of bishops.

⁷ The Canadian bishops’ letter, App. 1.

⁸ Morgan 20, cf. AChC (2011); Robert Woolfall baptised the infant Virginia Dare at Roanoke Island, N.C.

and by 1867 there were more Anglican bishops outside the British Isles than within.⁹ The conference was the vehicle by which the Anglican Communion first began to struggle to have a sense of itself as something that was broader and deeper than simply as the Church of England Abroad. In the development of the Conference tradition we may see the first dawning of a realisation that the Anglican way might be a significant thread in the tapestry of world Christianity.¹⁰

The Appeal is about the unity of the Church. Although the themes of Christian reunion and communion emerged right at the outset of the series of Conferences, Lambeth 6 brought the question sharply into focus. In a charming pen picture, Morgan portrays a group of bishops experiencing a significant moment of clarity over Sunday afternoon tea on the lawn at Lambeth Palace; they were moved to make an appeal to other Christians that the churches should reunite.¹¹ As we shall see in Chapter Seven, the reality of this event was somewhat more complex but the fact that it has not been fully described should not subtract from the significance of the moment.

From a desire for reunion arises naturally the question of what the requirements for reunion might be. The bishops returned to earlier statements that had evolved into what is now called the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral (1888): a statement of things regarded as so essential that, if agreement could be reached upon them, then intercommunion might be established and visible union restored. By defining the matters upon which there must be agreement the bishops were obliged to say how they thought Anglicans might self-identify in order to seek the agreement of others.

The bishops had a sense of an urgent need for Christians to be as one, in a visibly united Church and sought to make their appeal in a way that clarified what the ecclesiological issues in need of resolution might be. What were the things upon which Christians must agree in order to be in communion? Why was a new statement needed? Could Anglicans not have turned to the historic formularies of the Anglican tradition? Unfortunately not; those formularies do not address such questions, their conceptual framework depends on the notion that the Church of England is simply the ancient Church of the land and that it has no distinctive beliefs beyond those set out in the Catholic Creeds.¹² This thesis is focused on Lambeth 6 which brought the ecumenical discussions of the previous conferences into particularly sharp relief. Crucially, it proposed a means to bring reunion. The effect was to give Anglicans both consent and encouragement to work actively with their ecumenical partners as the twentieth century progressed.

⁹ The Archbishop was then still described as 'Primate of the United Church of England and Ireland'; Davidson, R.T. (1920) *The Five Lambeth Conferences*, London, SPCK.

¹⁰ Cf. Williams, R.D. (2008) *Better Bishops for the sake of a Better Church*. www.lambethconference.org/lc2008/news/news.cfm/2008/4/23; accessed 22nd March, 2011.

¹¹ Cf. Morgan 108.

¹² Contra Sykes who asserts that Anglican tradition has one distinctive belief, viz. that it has no distinctive beliefs. Sykes, S. (1996) *Unashamed Anglicanism*; London, DLT; xii.

1. The argument of this Thesis

The argument of this thesis develops thus:

In the 1860s the Anglican Communion was threatened with disunion. The bishops came together in Conference to address the Communion's difficulties, forming what is now called an Instrument of Unity. The consultative, non-coercive method adopted provided a means by which Anglicans could understand their divergent views and so discover commonality between themselves.¹³

The expectation was that through debate participants would come to understand the collective mind of the communion on problematic issues and also seek to discern the acceptable range of views within the communion. However, the conclusions reached have always been conditional and mutable; there are clear examples of the Communion changing its collective mind.

Conference's views have never had legislative force. Any authority they have is because of the endorsement of bishops who, within their respective provinces, are charged with being the focus of unity and with maintaining the authenticity of the tradition, particularly in terms of maintaining the integrity of teaching in the context of the Historic Formularies.

The development of Anglican self-understanding through debate, in mutual respect and commitment and by seeking shared understanding is particularly exemplified by the 1920 Appeal to All Christian People. It is a generous and open-hearted approach that seeks to maintain the Anglican principle of comprehension yet without calling into questions the spiritual value of the gifts that Christian traditions might bring to one another in a process of convergence.

As in 1860, the early twenty-first century Communion is threatened by disunion. Despite the significant progress made towards external reconciliation with other Christian traditions on the basis of the Appeal's approach, the Communion has not yet resolved the problems of its own internal ecumenism. For example, how is the Bible to be read by Anglicans? Lambeth 1 was exercised by Colenso of Natal. His publications seemed to challenge contemporary understanding about the accuracy of the text of Scripture.¹⁴ In the early twenty-first Century the issue is about the degree to which the text of Scripture was conditioned by the society from which it arose. Over 150 years the Communion appears not to have resolved the problem about its own understanding of the normative Christian text. These issues will be particularly examined in the fourth section of the thesis. The Communion has faced conflict in the past. The route to resolution was found in the consultative process between the bishops in Conference.

¹³ Non-coercive here means that the Conference does not reach enforceable decisions but rather that the discussions express the mind of the gathered bishops on a particular subject.

¹⁴ See Chapter Two, especially Note 141.

If fullness of communion is to be restored between all Anglicans, the Communion needs to recover the goodwill to debate the issues through the traditional means of a conference of the bishops who will attend to one another, honouring their divergent views and seeking thereby to come to a common mind. That is why Anglicans need to reappropriate the attitudes and methodology advocated by their own tradition – and particularly in the 1920 Appeal.

This study elucidates the Lambeth Conference ecclesiology and methodology as a potential tool to resolve the challenging issues facing that the Anglican Communion. The Appeal made by the bishops in 1920 is a pivotal statement of Anglican ecclesiology and demands the present attention of Anglican theologians, for the sake of the future well-being of the Communion.

2. Methodology

Unfortunately, ecclesiological theoretical writing is underdeveloped; there have been very few modern academic studies in the area apart from the work of Avery, Cardinal Dulles. He proposes that there have been a series of models of self-description deployed by ecclesiologists, coloured by the predominant civic model of an epoch.¹⁵ Similarly, Curtis describes the Anglican Communion as having the same character as the British Commonwealth: a free association of independent bodies, owing some kind of allegiance or respect to an authority figure.¹⁶

Dulles's ecclesial identity colours his approach. The idea of the teaching magisterium of the church encourages Roman Catholic writers to produce confident metanarrative work: it is not so for Anglicans. Such recent Anglican ecclesiological writing as there is tends to be descriptive of Anglican ecclesial life rather than proposing theoretical understandings. There is no modern Anglican writer or schema with the same dominant theoretical standing. The lack of theoretical work by Anglicans is a feature of the more general absence of confessional writing in the tradition: there are neither Anglican Institutes nor confessional statements. So that, for example, while Hooker gave a great gift to Anglicans his work remains a theological study commanding interest rather than obedience.¹⁷ Work for an Anglican ecclesiologist is therefore all the more challenging.

History and theology are aligned in their interpretive nature, thus one might describe ecclesiology as lying on the border between them. Yet, theology has distinctive concerns and understandings. The theologian seeks to understand the historical process because it has the potential to reveal the activity

¹⁵ Dulles, A. (1987) *Models of the Church* New York, Doubleday.

¹⁶ Curtis, W.R. (1968) *Lambeth Conference, The* ; New York, AMS; 283 & 333: this analogy does not take full account of the distinct contribution of the American church with its insistence on the independence of the constituents of the Communion (Cf. Ingram, T.R. (1959) *Lambeth Unity and Truth*; Bellaire TX, St Paul Press; 13, 37). Sachs notes the development of independent Anglican churches in parallel with the development of the colonial legislatures leading to the growth of vibrant post-colonial churches that are recognisably Anglican yet also fully enculturated (Sachs, W.L. (2002) *Transformation of Anglicanism, The*; Cambridge, CUP; 164).

¹⁷ Primarily *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594).

of God in human society. Historical theologians are engaged in reading ‘the signs of the times’ in obedience to Christ.¹⁸ The recollection that some historians employ interpretive metanarratives in the same way that particular Christian traditions do, serves only to reinforce the impression of similarity. We might say that a Marxist historian will take a similar approach to her work as a Catholic ecclesialogist will – using the source material as a means to advance a particular view of issues. Stake places explanation and understanding at the heart of all qualitative research and those intellectual activities are key features of the work of both the historian and the theologian.¹⁹

The world, particularly to those theologians of a Barthian outlook, is the arena in which the salvation project is worked out, thus historical events are part of salvation history. Additionally, Christians see God’s critical acts of salvation as being rooted in historic events – be it the Exodus or the Resurrection. The history of the people of God is therefore not only the history of the people but also, in some sense, the history of God as well. Theologians studying the historical record are engaged in an essentially prophetic role of interpretation and, like the Scriptural prophets, seek to make the fruits of their study available to the Church so that it might understand and participate in God’s mission in the world. Engagement with the historical sources is not, therefore, merely a matter of antiquarian interest but a way on drawing on those resources in order to inform our present thinking.

Similarly, while the Church can be described as an institution, it is also described, theologically, as ‘the body of Christ’.²⁰ Historians can quite reasonably write about the story of the Church – its characters, events and significance – but it is the role of the theologian to reflect on the inner life of the Church. They seek to take the study beyond the historical and into the theological, despite initial dependence on historiographical resources.

The thesis adopts a Case Study method to make a thorough analysis and interpretation of source material relating to the Lambeth Conference tradition. The interpretation is grounded in an exhaustive examination of the archival material enabling an exploration of the documentation and events of the conferences. Close reading of the texts has therefore been an essential tool in the treatment of the sources. The outcomes of such interpretation are then subjected to further theological reflection and analysis in order to generate the ecclesiological understandings that are the ultimate ambition for the present writing.

Holliday argues that case study format is appropriate where one is undertaking the investigation of a bounded system, such as an institution.²¹ Case Study methodology allows us to develop ‘an in-depth description and analysis of the case’ that aids deep understanding of the issues highlighted in the

¹⁸ Cf. Mt 16.3; Scripture citations are from NRSV (1995) (Anglicised Ed.) Oxford, OUP.

¹⁹ Stake, RE (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*; London, Sage; 37.

²⁰ I Cor. 12.12ff.

²¹ Holliday, A. (2008) *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research* (2nd Ed.), London, Sage; 16.

research questions.²² The method also permits engagement with a wide range of evidence. Yin identifies six – documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observations and physical artefacts.²³ The empiricist historiographer Marwick extends this to some thirteen categories of primary source material including several documentary forms, family and personal sources, the artefacts of popular culture, physical/archaeological artefacts, literary and artistic sources, observed behaviour and surviving customs.²⁴ The richness of the archive relating to the 1920 Lambeth Conference is so great that almost all of Marwick’s categories are represented in the sources. We find official and personal papers, photographs and artefacts, including a very striking necklace.²⁵ There is a wealth of documentation giving context to the Conferences, including ephemera and newspaper cuttings. The diaries of the participants are included, as well as personal letters to non-participants. Even the printed Conference texts may unexpectedly yield a personal touch when they have been annotated by known individuals in their own hands.

The character of this research is formed by the intellectual milieu of the Anglican tradition; it therefore reflects an understanding of the Church and the world from within, but not limited to, the range of Anglican perspectives. Understanding the origin, character and impact of the Appeal throws light on what it meant to be an Anglican in 1920 and, it is argued, also in 2020. The Anglican way of being Christian is revealed in the documents and debates; thus we may see that reaching an ontological understanding is essential to the present writing; it is its *raison d’être*.²⁶

The thesis emerges from the writer’s situation as an Anglican priest who has observed several of the Lambeth Conferences from a Canterbury side-line and as a matter of current practice is actively concerned with seeking clarity about the nature of Anglican identity.²⁷ A particular impetus to this question was given by spending eighteen months as a County Ecumenical Officer, in which role the writer had to become quickly fluent in a range of Christian dialects. One needed to converse with Salvationists as a Salvationist, as a Catholic with Catholics and with all as an Ecumenist. That experience forces one to ask where, in all of that, is one’s own true identity? How does one speak Anglican: indeed, is there such a dialect?

Work like this thesis is concerned with deep issues of self-identity; it is likely to be more intensely value-laden than if one were to be conducting, for example, an empirical investigation of a physical phenomenon. Therefore, the interplay between the material, the writer and the reader must be acknowledged.²⁸ There is a particular ecclesiological problem because the Anglican study of Christian

²² Creswell 78.

²³ Yin, R.K. (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Method* (3rd Ed) London, Sage 86.

²⁴ Marwick, A (2001) *New Nature of History, The*; Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan: 166.

²⁵ The Davidson Amethysts, now an heirloom of Lambeth but originally a gift to Mrs. Davidson.

²⁶ Use of ontological here should not be taken as presuming that there is some fixed core to Anglican thought.

²⁷ Holliday 23.

²⁸ Creswell 179.

history has been especially identified with the Catholic tradition within the Anglican spectrum, the tradition to which the writer belongs. The study of Church history is important to Catholic Anglicans because it is seen as the route by which they may find validation for their claim to be both Anglican and yet in continuity with the wider western catholic heritage. A writer from that tradition therefore has to engage with issues around self-understanding and self-justification and also to be clear about the role that self-understanding plays in the interpretation of the evidence. Consequently, a high degree of integrity in identifying and discussing the values that shape this developing present narrative is essential.

This thesis is a piece of theological writing that derives its evidence from historical records. Insofar as it is based within an historical narrative, however, it is important to use appropriately sound historical methodology in the gathering of information and its analysis. The writing lies somewhere on the boundary between historiography and theology and therefore must deploy methodologies defensible in terms of both disciplines. However, all evidence may be subjected to degrees of interpretation. The researcher, for example, may impose their own values or views upon the outcomes of processing the source materials, conforming their results to dominant ideas in their own milieu or era. The search for the 'scientific account' of the past has proved fruitless in the face of the inevitably interpretive role of the historian. Historians have now discovered that their texts are as much subject to a hermeneutic process as those with which theologians seek to engage. King summarises the approach of twenty-first century historians by writing, 'We go to the archive not to find the answers but to articulate better questions.'²⁹ The historian therefore seems as much an exegete as the theologian.

Significant material came to light that had not been considered in academic writing before. Was its obscurity significant? Why had its significance remained unrealised? **This thesis argues that the material is of value because it enriches our understanding of personalities and events of the Conference; it allows us to draw alongside the participants. Further, if it enhances our understanding of their ecclesiology it opens the possibility of our understanding our own ecclesiologies as expressions of a continuing Anglican discourse about the Church.**

4. Studying the Church

Ecclesiological writing is concerned with the nature of the Church.³⁰ As theological writing, it deploys a range of assets to promote reflection including those drawn from historical sources. Hence it can be seen as standing near a boundary between historiography and theology. However, ecclesiology cannot be seen as purely historical writing because the self-understanding of the Christian community is that

²⁹ King 18.

³⁰ Cf. McGrath A. (1999) Ecclesiology in Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Modern Christian Thought; Oxford, Blackwell; 127: 'formerly the science of the building and decoration of churches ... ecclesiology now stands for the study of the nature of the Church'.

the Church is not merely an institution but has further dimensions to its existence that are best described in what, for the time being, might be called paradigmatic terms.³¹

The central conundrum is that while the Church describes itself as, in some sense, a divine institution, it is simultaneously a human institution; it is both soteriological and sociological. The Church may be a human construct but it believes itself to have the potential to mediate grace, to be the agency through which the Kingdom of God might operate and to be a foretaste of that very kingdom.³² If the life of God is inherently present in the Church, as Christians believe, it cannot be categorised as merely a kind of club, people become members as a result of the Holy Spirit working in them.³³

Dulles, naturally, writes as a Roman Catholic who sees his church as the Church and his writing takes little account of other Christian traditions. Others will write from the perspective of their own traditions. The very range of Christian belief and practice leads us to ask whether there can be a single ecclesiological metanarrative when we are confronted with the distinguishing ecclesiologies of the denominations: are we able to see beyond diversity to unity?

Christian thinking about the Church is rooted in Scripture, particularly in a small number of passages where Christ describes it in language that is, broadly speaking, metaphorical.³⁴ The difficulty is that the language that Christ reportedly used is not directly about the Church as an institution, so much as about the Kingdom of God or the People of God. So, for example, the Fourth Gospel has a series of passages that reflect upon the relationship between Christ and his people as being like the connection between the trunk of the vine plant and its other physical elements.³⁵ As such, this is a relational description which is difficult then to apply to the Church as a structured society.

Consequently, Christians have been more likely to employ the language used by Paul, writing to the Roman and Corinthian churches, describing a society in which there are clear roles, 'Some are Apostles, some are Prophets'.³⁶ Some members of the Church are called, or appointed, to particular functions, about which there is agreed understanding within the community. The Church, as the body of Christ, has a range of 'organs' of varying honour but all of which are essential to the health of the

³¹ Dulles 34ff: explores the nature of those terms and the sense in which they are paradigmatic, see also below in Chapter Nine.

³² Cf. Lang, Selbie &c. (1938) *The Practice of Intercommunion and the doctrine of the Church*; London, SCM: 6.

³³ Cf. Dulles 17.

³⁴ The language might also be described as metaphysical perhaps, or as paradigmatic or iconographic: the tradition does not recall the use of literal institutional language, Christ does not say the Church will be organised in this way, rather that, 'the Kingdom is like a mustard seed' for example.

³⁵ John 15.1 et seq.

³⁶ E.g. 1 Corinthians 12.

community.³⁷ Part of the task, then, is to understand the particularity of the Anglican reading of those Scriptures in order to see how those roles may be fulfilled in this one way of being Christian.

Christ called disciples, ‘Come, follow me’.³⁸ He seems to have given them some direction as to the future at about the time of his death or post-resurrection appearances, ‘Go into the world and make disciples’.³⁹ He does not appear to have made any provision for future leadership beyond the disciples. When the death of Judas Iscariot creates a vacancy amongst the Twelve we are told that, after appropriate preparation, the remaining Apostles selected a replacement to restore their number.⁴⁰ They also appointed others to assist them as they felt it not to be part of their role to ‘wait at tables’⁴¹ implying that the Church’s subsequent orders of ministry were of the Church’s own devising rather than part of the explicit intention of Christ although, it must be said, that these appointments were made in the context of community prayer and reflection that would have made the community confident that they had fulfilled Christ’s will.⁴²

Thus, the apparent absence of clear direction from Christ about how a continuing society of people obedient to his teachings might be organised means that the Church has been free to take an adaptive stance, so Dulles, but also that there is no consensus about the Church. In Creswell’s language, there is no Ecclesiological Rainbow, no agreed metanarrative.⁴³ How do Anglicans give expression to the ministry of the Church and of Christians? We shall see that the study of the Lambeth Conference Tradition allows us to draw important conclusions about the way that the Communion has sought to address these questions.

³⁷ Similarly Ephesians 4.11 although this may not be Pauline, cf. Dunn, J.D.G (1998) *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, The; Edinburgh, Clarks: 13.

³⁸ Mk 1.17.

³⁹ Mt 28.18.

⁴⁰ Acts 1.26; why they did so is unclear, later losses do not seem to have led to similar elections: surmising that the number of apostles might reflect the number of patriarchs seems only to add to our puzzlement; the Fourth Gospel records a tradition that one would be lost (Jn. 17.10) but no apparent instruction from Christ that a replacement should be found.

⁴¹ Acts 6.2.

⁴² Casting lots was consistent with the Jewish understanding that they revealed the divine will; similarly, the Pope of Alexandria is still ultimately selected by a young child choosing one of three slips of paper from the cathedral altar; cf. Ex.28.30.

⁴³ Creswell (1994) 82.

c. The Sources and Literatures

The events and ideas current within the Conference Tradition are fundamental to later thinking about Anglican identity. Examination of the literature clarifies the root question of how Anglican tradition might be defined: ‘what is an Anglican?’⁴⁴ If we are to discover the significance of Lambeth 6 and its Appeal, our starting point must lie in the close examination of the events and documentation of the conference itself. Central to this is the Conference record held at Lambeth and especially the short-hand contemporaneous notes made during the plenary debates. We may also examine the written outcomes, such as the Encyclical Letter, and the debates, resolutions and reports upon which they are based.⁴⁵ Such material is available in the printed record and held in the library resources of this university, in the library of Lambeth Palace and the library of Canterbury Cathedral. There are also secondary writings relating to Lambeth 6. These fall into two broad categories; first, contemporary polemic works exploring the ideas and methods advocated in the Appeal and, second, subsequent biographical and autobiographical writing relating to participating bishops.

Lambeth Palace Library holds about one hundred printed items relating to the conferences from 1866 to 1923, including some ephemera, as well as folders of miscellaneous press cuttings and the like.⁴⁶ There are orders of service and printed sermons that either relate to or were preached at the conferences’ main acts of worship. About half the holdings relate to only two Conferences because of the controversy surrounding the first and the excitement caused by the Appeal. The tally does not include the multiple holdings of the Encyclicals translated into a wide range of languages.⁴⁷ The British Library Integrated Catalogue indicates that the Lambeth collection contains all but a very small number of relevant printed works.⁴⁸ Even so, a few important items were found in Canterbury Cathedral Library that were not in either of the major collections.

The Archive Indices list some eighty-five folders of directly related material in the Lambeth Conference and Davidson series, as well as others in the Bell, Lang, Bishops’ Meetings and Miscellaneous Series.⁴⁹ Davidson’s staff were assiduous in filing the documentation regarding the Conference, consequently there is a rich and textured collection of material giving considerable insight into the process and progress of the 1920 Conference. However, the arrangement of the folios sometimes means that it is not easy to follow the story of what was happening within the Conference from within a single source folder. Further, there are significant gaps in the material, Davidson, for

⁴⁴ Ibid. 30.

⁴⁵ Such letters are issued after each Conference although not now called ‘encyclicals’.

⁴⁶ Lambeth holds contemporary papers for Conferences up to 1968, including the verbatim; responsibility for the conferences now lies with the Anglican Consultative Council.

⁴⁷ The languages into which the Encyclicals were translated varies depending on which foreign Christian bodies were thought to be potentially interested in the documents.

⁴⁸ Accessed 29th March, 2011.

⁴⁹ The Davidson series has more than seven hundred folders, many with over three hundred folios.

example, did not keep a continuous journal, only producing memoranda when requested. Where one might hope this material could be supplemented from his chaplain's diary, we find that Bell seldom wrote at length or usefully; his office workbooks are more helpful as he generally kept his original notes of meetings as well as the later typescript minutes.

The general and academic printed literature associated with the study of the Lambeth Conferences has a character derived from the nature of the Conference sequence itself: it is cyclical.⁵⁰ As the time of a conference approaches there will be preparatory writings which typically summarise the proceedings of previous conferences, listing the participants, the resolutions adopted, the reports published and the Encyclicals. Following a conference there will be a short period of publication of works of commentary, the range of which will depend on the topicality or controversy of the resolutions. There will then be a temporary cessation of relevant writing for half-a-dozen years, or so, apart from biographical material in the memoirs of particular bishops. For example, shortly before Lambeth 3, a history of the first two Conferences was prepared by Davidson who was, again, due to be a member of the conference secretariat.⁵¹ This volume was revised and reissued prior to Lambeth 4 taking its final form in 1920 as *The Five Lambeth Conferences*, described on the title page as a compilation under Davidson's direction by Honor Thomas.⁵²

Later literature is noticeably dependent on the 1920 version as the most readily available source of information even though it is quite abbreviated in form and gives no detail about the conference debates. In part, this may be due to a clear feeling that the debates should be kept private, within which there was a general understanding that the record may be consulted but not directly cited. The restriction on citation was still in place when Stephenson wrote about Lambeth 1 but is no longer applied; unrestricted access has been given to this researcher.⁵³

The great advantage of Davidson's compilation is that he had been present at the Conferences and had an unrivalled overview of the conference proceedings across three decades. His repeated emphasis is that the bishops gathered for consultation and for fellowship; the Conference was not to be seen as in any sense a legislative body.⁵⁴ The book gives the key texts of the conference tradition up to that point, including the Encyclicals and Resolutions. Davidson's book also includes committee reports and attendance lists to provide compact coverage of the information which a new bishop might need to have to understand the workings of the conference. In a letter to Robertson, late bishop of Exeter,

⁵⁰ Cf. Fisher's preface to his introductory volume; Fisher, G. (1948) *Lambeth Conferences, 1897-1930*, The London, SPCK; vi.

⁵¹ Bell, G.K.A. (1952) *Randall Davidson 3rd*. Ed; Oxford, OUP; 120.

⁵² Thomas was Davidson's researcher and 'typewriting secretary' *Davidson14:46; A further volume (1929, SPCK) reprinted the 1920 edition bound with the SPCK's report on Lambeth 6 without additional material.

⁵³ Stephenson (1978) 17.

⁵⁴ E.g. Davidson (1920) 15ff.

Davidson writes that, ‘the Five Lambeth Conferences gives, in handy form, the whole acts of all the five Conferences with an excellent index’.⁵⁵

Davidson’s material repeatedly reappears in later works.⁵⁶ Even Fisher’s volume has an introductory chapter that is largely dependent on Thomas’s work, notwithstanding the intention of his Preface to make ‘a new start’ with his volume.⁵⁷ The accumulated materials of the conferences were by this stage becoming increasingly difficult to present with clarity and Fisher’s volume, whilst despairing of the production of an Index for itself, offers an appendix with a helpful selection of resolutions arranged thematically and by date order.⁵⁸ This appendix shows the development of thought within the conference tradition on particular subjects showing that, in some respects, conference thinking has come to the point of contradicting or reversing previously held positions.⁵⁹

Dark used Davidson as his principal source to produce a popular and readable introduction for his Anglo-Catholic readership prior to Lambeth 7 (1930). Dark was editor of the *Church Times* and somewhat forthright, ‘I confess I have little faculty for impartiality’.⁶⁰ The bulk of the text is a well-crafted selection of quotations from the Conference documentation but one made from an Anglo-Catholic standpoint. For example, there is a longer section on the revival of religious communities within Anglicanism than one might have expected, with a degree of advocacy for that movement.⁶¹ He criticises the Conferences’ lack of authority, describing them as little more than ‘debating societies’, not least because they do not address issues that he held important, especially the rise of the Anglo-Catholic movement.⁶² The great concern of his volume is that the questions around the South Indian union scheme should be fully understood by his Anglo-Catholic constituency, he argues that the scheme has significant implications for their understanding of episcopacy; it is, then, a book intended to prepare those of his outlook for what was to come. Unsurprisingly, Dark dwells at length on Lambeth 6’s reassertion of the importance of the episcopate to the unity of the Church, particularly the language of the Appeal that describes the episcopate as the one means of providing a united ministry for a future united Church.⁶³

⁵⁵ *LC113:24.

⁵⁶ Hobhouse (1908) presents an independent tradition, writing as an outsider he has a number of helpful observations in this small early paper-back book; formerly editor of the *Guardian*, he was Bampton lecturer in 1909 and an archdeacon.

⁵⁷ Fisher vi; Davidson’s letter to Lowther-Clarke of Melbourne (3rd March, 1920) gives full credit for the book to Thomas, *LC113:157,

⁵⁸ Fisher 283.

⁵⁹ See Ch.3, section 8.

⁶⁰ Dark ix.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 91.

⁶² *Ibid.* 76.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 131.

Likewise Morgan's *The Bishops come to Lambeth* was published a year before *Lambeth 9* (1958) and then reissued with amendments prior to *Lambeth 10*.⁶⁴ More relaxed in tone and aimed at those who were interested in the conference process but not themselves attending as bishops, it is primarily a piece of popular writing, following in the steps of Heywood's *About the Lambeth Conference*.⁶⁵ Morgan's text is unlike Davidson's writing of record but is free of Dark-like partisanship. Morgan found himself unable to explain any one particular conference without going back into the history of the conference sequence – and beyond that to the question of why there were Anglican bishops in every continent.⁶⁶ Morgan seeks to explain why the Conferences took place and to interpret them – rather than simply recording the event and its outcomes. He describes the growth of the Communion and the eventual concern that it might begin to disintegrate without some central means of communication. The process is well described but without any critical apparatus, the researcher is often left frustrated at the lack of indication as to the source of some of the assertions – or indeed the identity of individuals referred to in the text. Use of this book therefore requires a deal of supportive reading and investigation in order to allow one to deploy the insights that it contains. Stephenson criticises the book for having 'many minor errors' but still admits its value as an introductory text.⁶⁷ Morgan's contribution to the process of interpreting the conference tradition is his proposal that no one Conference can be detached from its context within the Tradition. Such understanding is supported by other writers and, indeed, Herklotts extends Morgan's notion of the progression of conference tradition thought by seeking to root its origins before the First Conference – in the celebrations of the 150th Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) (1851) during which significant informal discussions between British and American bishops took place.⁶⁸

Heywood's slight volume, a paperback account of the Conference series, is interesting as a popular account not intended for bishops. The description of previous conferences is very brief, barely filling two dozen pages, and is derived from Davidson (1920).⁶⁹ He includes a brief chapter describing the buildings at Lambeth and asserts:

'that the character of the Lambeth Conference is dependent on it being in the close contained quarters of Lambeth Palace, with its intimacy and the opportunities for informal talks in the gardens ... its character and its usefulness might be affected if it ceased to assemble from diverse parts of the earth at Lambeth Palace'.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Morgan op cit.

⁶⁵ Heywood, B. (1930) *About the Lambeth Conference*; London SPCK.

⁶⁶ Morgan 6.

⁶⁷ Stephenson (1978) preface, p. xiv.

⁶⁸ Herklotts, H.G.G. (1966) *Church of England and the American Episcopal Church, The*; London, Mowbray; 165.

⁶⁹ Heywood, preface.

⁷⁰ Heywood 26.

His third chapter rehearses the published agenda for Lambeth 7, noting the recurring themes between the conferences and emphasising the consistent defence of episcopacy. Interestingly, his fourth chapter introduces a selection of the major figures, giving a short paragraph to each and also to some prominent bishops from overseas provinces but not the US, ‘there are too many Americans of distinction to include’.⁷¹ His writing is very much a popular piece with little additional material of worth apart from his own observations – though these, sadly, are very limited.

Stephenson’s *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences* builds on his first book, the only academic study of Lambeth 1, providing a broad and reliable introduction to the conference series.⁷² However, it too is part of the cyclical literature being timed to appear shortly before Lambeth 11 (1978) with a foreword by Abp. Coggan, commending the book to the attention of the bishops over whom he was shortly to preside.⁷³ The strength of his work is that it takes the important step of returning to original sources and providing detailed description of each of the first ten conferences. Crucially, he attempts an analysis of the impact of the series upon the progressive development of Anglican thought about Anglican tradition. By the time that Stephenson wrote the body of material concerning the conferences had become vast and unwieldy, so inevitably he has to be selective in what he discusses and while he criticises other writers for not dealing with particular issues, he is just as able to remark that the 1897 Committee Report on the critical study of Holy Scripture, ‘need not detain us’.⁷⁴

Lastly, we may note Coleman’s summary of Lambeth Resolutions which has an important introduction written by Owen Chadwick.⁷⁵ This volume, however, is somewhat disappointing in that it has no commentary on the material that is presented and it is not possible for Chadwick to offer much interpretation in the relatively short piece he provides. He argues that the strength of the conferences lie in their weakness. He suggests that the meetings would not have been able to take place if they had been given any authority but that the fact of their happening for the fellowship of the bishops who attend has been of great benefit to the Communion. Further, the nature of the meeting gives it considerable authority, the Church has long looked to meetings of bishops to resolve the issues that face it and here, in some sense in the ancient image, was a meeting of bishops intended to do just that.

This thesis has benefitted from the very extensive archive of digitised journal and newspaper articles that can now be accessed electronically.⁷⁶ One may now read the *Standard*’s account of the first day of the First Conference, written by a reporter among the crowd outside Lambeth Palace, or seek the views of the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* as to the appropriateness of the agenda, or hear again the voice of the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*’s deep concern about the possibility of increased

⁷¹ Heywood 44.

⁷² Stephenson, AMG (1967) *The First Lambeth Conference, 1867*; London, SPCK.

⁷³ Stephenson (1978) xiv.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 105.

⁷⁵ Coleman, R. (1992) *Lambeth Conferences, Resolutions of the 12*; Toronto, Anglican Book Center.

⁷⁶ Cf. Holliday 74.

Tractarian influence on account of the creation of provincial synods.⁷⁷ Such resources add richness to the description, enabling a greater depth of interpretation, but have not yet been extensively employed in the writing of church history because of past difficulty in accessing the material.

d. Conclusion

From the line of argument presented here four research questions arise:

1. What was the milieu from which the Appeal arose?
2. What were the immediate circumstances that caused the Appeal to be made?
3. What was the contemporary impact of the Appeal within and beyond the communion?
4. What is the present significance of the Appeal and the tradition for Anglican self-understanding?

The 1920 Conference was the sixth in the series. To understand it fully we need to know how the Conferences came to be and how they developed their particular way of thinking, here described as the Lambeth Conference Tradition. How did that tradition become so confident that it could make the Appeal? Critical analysis of the Conference antecedents and process is the business of Chapters One to Three; this will allow us to understand something of the milieu of the Appeal.

Understanding how the bishops at Lambeth 6 came to make the Appeal is critical to our appreciation of the document.⁷⁸ Within that process the guiding role of Davidson is of great importance. We need to appreciate the ecumenical context of their thinking and therefore to understand the development of the various iterations of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. The second section, Chapters Four to Six, gives an account of the Quadrilateral, Davidson and the Conference in order to address the second research question, what were the immediate circumstances of the Appeal?

Chapters Seven to Nine are concerned with the immediate impact of the Appeal. The genesis and significance of the Appeal for Anglicans will be considered particularly because of its potential to help us understand the modern conflicts within the communion. Through this analysis we will come somewhat closer to understanding Anglicans self-view. The Appeal has a complex textual history that raises as many ecclesiological questions for other traditions as it provides answers for Anglicans.

Finally, Chapters Ten and Eleven will consider the significance of the Appeal for the twenty-first Century to understand the contribution that it might make to Anglican ecclesiological debate in our

⁷⁷ London Standard, 30th September, 1867; accessed 15th October, 2011; Nottinghamshire Guardian, 4th October, 1867; accessed 3rd November, 2011; "Vigil" Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, May 1868; accessed 15th October, 2011.

⁷⁸ Cf. Creswell, J.W. (2007) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*; Sage, London; 103.

own time. The assertion of this thesis is that the Appeal remains a document that requires our present attention as its ecclesiological perspective and methodological approach have the potential to resolve the new problems.

Consequently, the thesis has two major components. The first is an exploration in historical theology making extensive use of archival material from the period between 1865 and 1926. Archival evidence is presented to elucidate the ecclesiology prevalent at that period. The second part is concerned with bringing those archival resources into dialogue with twenty-first century ecclesiological concerns, as a study in theological analysis and theorisation.

One: The context in which the Conference Idea emerged

The first section of this thesis addresses the research question, 'what was the milieu from which the Appeal to All Christian People arose?' Chapter One investigates a necessary prior question: what was the context in which the idea of bringing the Anglican bishops together in consultation arose? Subsequent chapters will describe the growth of the Conference tradition and the writing of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. The Appeal sought to engage other traditions with the ecclesiology expressed in the Quadrilateral; it was made in the context of a developed tradition of shared reflection and consultation by Anglican bishops 'in Conference assembled'.⁷⁹ Examining the origin and growth of that Conference tradition helps us to discover the roots of the Appeal's ecclesiology.

What was happening in the Victorian Church of England that allowed the idea of such conferences to emerge? Why did the Conferences become a feature of Anglican life? In addressing these questions we will see that there were two developments in the life of the Church of England that are of crucial importance:

1. The church gained an awareness of the possibility of it taking independent action outside the inherited framework of the Anglican-Parliamentary monolith;
2. The church gained an awareness of its being part of an international community of like churches: somehow the Church of England had brought forth an Anglican Communion.

The Church of England underwent profound change during Victoria's long reign, just as the society in which it was set had also done. Chadwick characterises the period as a search for ecclesiastical autonomy that had arisen from a renewal of its life matching the energetic and expansionist attitudes that can be seen as typifying people's outlook in the Victorian era.⁸⁰ As the efforts of missionary bishops overseas greatly extended Anglican presence in the world, new ways of being Anglican developed – away from the strictures of the English establishment.⁸¹

Interaction between English Anglicans and overseas Anglicans fed developments in church life and the theological thought of both. American Anglicans witnessed a way of being Anglican that was outside establishment and proclaimed the liberty of the provinces to settle their own affairs that should not be understated. Debates and disputes within this increasingly international religious tradition made it necessary to find instruments of unity that could hold the communion together.

There were at least four significant ecclesiological influences at work:

⁷⁹ The phrase used in each post conference encyclical and in the Appeal itself.

⁸⁰ Chadwick, O. (1972) *The Victorian Church* pt. 2 London, SCM; 352ff.

⁸¹ The Church of England was established in England, Wales and the Isle of Man; it was also in union with the Church of Ireland whose archbishops were expected to defer to Canterbury, reflecting the political union between the two countries. By the end of the period with which this thesis is concerned Wales had become its own ecclesiastical province (1920) and the two Irish provinces had also gone their own way (1871).

1. the change in the political role of the Church of England and its relationship with the apparatus of government;
2. a revival of religious life that might be characterised as an activist attitude within the Church of England and the style of praxis which arose in consequence;
3. English Anglicans increasingly had the experience of being part of a growing international ecclesial community and began to seek to understand the interplay between the different elements of that community;
4. A series of disputes about the nature of Anglican belief raised serious questions about how such issues could be resolved at the provincial and supra-provincial levels.

In the event it was the Canadian bishops who took the first initiative by proposing a Conference. Abp. Charles Longley, after some hesitation, decided to respond by inviting those bishops in communion with him to meet.⁸² The time seemed right and the response of the church was broadly positive with the Americans and colonial churches being initially, it appears, somewhat more enthusiastic than the English.

We should note that it was progress in transport technology that actually made the idea of holding such conferences feasible.⁸³ Travel was becoming easier and faster, the means of travel less costly and accordingly communities were becoming less isolated. Anglicans were not the only Christians to decide to consult internationally: the Roman Catholic First Vatican council took place in 1869 and other traditions followed in due course. Contemporary commentators suggested that the Anglicans were seeking to steal the march on Rome.⁸⁴ Some said the Methodist Ecumenical conference of 1881 was held in imitation of Lambeth but in reality it was the case that international gatherings were now more practical and, therefore, more likely to be held.⁸⁵

⁸² See Chapter Two, a.1.

⁸³ Chadwick in Coleman iv.

⁸⁴ 'We need not urge the fact that it is an obvious imitation of those great assemblages ... which the present Pope delights to gather.' Times Leader 14th September, 1867.

⁸⁵ Times, editorial 6th September, 1881.

a. Stress and change in Victorian English Anglicanism

1. The search for Autonomy.

Chadwick characterised the essential change in the economy of the Church of England from 1840 onwards as being a ‘search for an ecclesiastical autonomy’ that had previously neither been considered appropriate nor necessary. The Church of England was seen primarily as a department of state with a particular focus on the promotion of decency and orderliness;⁸⁶ Sir Andrew Luck said as much in the Commons.⁸⁷ The bishops were appointed with some care but essentially with a view to their political value to the government in the Lords. The organs of the church government, Convocation and the archiepiscopal courts, had been allowed to atrophy. There was an assumption that because they did nothing, they could do nothing – unless it be by express will of the crown, conveyed through the Prime Minister.

When Lambeth I was called, some believed that as it had been called merely by the Archbishop, without crown authority, the debates would be ‘contrary to the laws of England and the safety and unity of the Church of England’, as an anonymous ex-M.P. put it.⁸⁸ Such a high erastian view emphasised the danger to the Church of its acting independently of the Crown and especially the danger to the rights of the laity as voiced by their proper representatives, the House of Commons. Thus, any threat to the establishment was a threat to the future of the Church; Thirlwall of St. Davids stated in a published letter to Longley, opposing the Conference, that it was the establishment alone that held the Church together.⁸⁹

Similarly, JB Cardale, leader of the Irvingite secession in England, even though no longer in communion, was fiercely supportive of the establishment.⁹⁰ He argued that the Church’s history showed that it cannot be held together by bishops alone, the coercive power of the state is also required. Were anything to weaken the establishment, the church would ‘break ... into its warring parties and see its destruction’. A conference of bishops would undermine the control of the State over the Church. He angrily demanded to know what right the bishops had to address the rest of the Anglican Church with a ‘pretended authority’, not apparently realising that outside the three nations

⁸⁶ Cf Neil, S. (1965) *Anglicanism*, Harmondsworth, Penguin; 258.

⁸⁷ Chadwick 2/361.

⁸⁸ ‘An ex-MP’ (1868) The reports presented to the Lambeth Conference; London, Hatchard; the quotation is the long title of the pamphlet.

⁸⁹ Thirlwall, C (1867) *The Episcopal Meeting of 1867*; London, Rivingtons: 26.

⁹⁰ Cardale left the Church of England after experiencing glossalalia in the 1830 Glasgow Revival, the tract is directed to his clergy in London, marked ‘For Private Circulation Only’; it is bound with other Irvingite papers, the sect was ritualist, adventist and propheticist; the ministerial succession failed in the mid-Twentieth century, and they are now believed extinct. Cardale, JB (1867) *Remarks on the proceedings of the Lambeth Conference*; London, Strangeways and Walden: cf. Article, Catholic Apostolic Church Cross, FL & Livingstone, EA (2005) *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Rev.3rd Ed); Oxford, OUP.

of the establishment, the bishops were effectively the only authority in their provinces, not least in the United States – although that authority was exercised in a synodal context.

Many maintained that Convocation could only debate matters remitted to it by the Crown. When it tentatively began to set its own agenda, MPs were surprised to receive opinions from the Government Law Officers that it was not acting illegally.⁹¹ Further it was discovered that, far from acting properly by proroguing the Canterbury Convocation after a few hours formal debate, the archbishops had been acting *ultra vires* by failing to obtain the consent of their suffragans for prorogation.⁹² Clerics and lawyers began to pay close attention to ancient statute and discovered that many assumptions about Convocation were false. Slowly, Convocation began to meet with purpose. Such regained vigour was limited by the inability to propose new canons without royal warrant and the need to be conscious of political reality: Convocation had to make haste slowly, lest Parliament take serious fright.

Chadwick argues that since the 1832 Reform Act, the Commons had ceased to be Anglican, it was no longer an assembly of Anglican laity, as people of any persuasion could now stand for election. Therefore, it suited the government to have a church body to which it might turn for advice. Convocation was a place where church matters might be debated and that was an important safety-valve because of the tension amongst Anglican clergy about developments within the Church.⁹³

Clergy who had a greater sense of the church than it being a department of the state were caused some distress by erastian views. Preaching on the achievements of Lambeth 1 Tyrwhitt said of the erastian view:

It is not a startling novelty to find that men who do not believe in Christ do not believe in bishops, but we shall see ... that something has been gained and something has been done for the Church of Christ. The talk in this country is all against that organisation which has endured from Apostolic times'. 'One part of the annoyance of the life of a bishop or of a minister of the Church of Christ in England is to hear his Master insulted for his wretched sake; to hear that the state is his Master and not Christ, that he is an official with a salary paid by the State; to be told he has no commission at all from Christ the Lord, no special work or special grace given him in any sense; that Christ the Lord never gave such grace to him or any bishop of any time; that, properly speaking, in the clerical sense there are no clergy; that all the church is a conventionality.'⁹⁴

Thus erastianism held the danger of tying the Church so closely to government that it ceased to be a Christian society.

⁹¹ Chadwick, 1/320.

⁹² Chadwick 1/316.

⁹³ Chadwick 1/324.

⁹⁴ Trywhitt, R StJ (1867) Anglican Conference – Two Sermons, The; Oxford, Parkers; 4.

Accelerating changes in society meant that the post-Restoration model of the English establishment could no longer be sustained. Dissenters and Roman Catholics had to be politically engaged or unmanageable social pressures would have built up. The consequence of this was the end of the Anglican-Parliamentary monolith.⁹⁵ Parliament's need to address the problems of the emerging industrialised society and of increasing imperial commitments meant that Parliament was less able, less willing even, to devote time to ecclesiastical matters.

Again, there was surprise when Benson tried King of Lincoln in his archiepiscopal court (1890). Randall Davidson (then Dean of Windsor) wrote to Talbot (Warden of Keeble) that it was far from clear to him that such a court still existed, despite historical precedents showing that it had.⁹⁶ Some genuinely feared that were the church to take any matter into its own hands it would, in some undefined way, bring an end to the Church of England. Dr. Deane, the archbishop's Vicar General, said to Davidson shortly after the beginning of King's hearing, 'I do not believe, after this prosecution, that the Church of England will last five years'.⁹⁷

The political influence of the later eighteenth-century bishops was considerable – but not always welcome. The successful resistance to the appointment of bishops in North America by the colonial legislatures was apparently based on an assumption that any bishops would expect similar political authority in New England as in Old England. The political influence of the bishops slowly declined throughout the nineteenth century. Chadwick suggests that the critical moment was the introduction of the secret ballot in 1872. Until then, the bishops (and lower clergy) were one of the instruments by which a government might pressure voters to return supportive MPs.⁹⁸ Once the ballot was secret, the bishops were only of value to the extent of their individual votes in the House of the Lords, in which they did not all, in fact, sit. Chadwick shows that increasingly bishops were appointed for their character and achievements rather than for their politics. His review of their voting patterns suggests that episcopal votes, towards the end of the century, were not cast on party lines. On social matters the bishops were broadly liberal but on constitutional matters they were clearly conservative. The same bishops might vote with the Liberal party on one day but with the Conservatives on another.⁹⁹

The bishops were seen increasingly as belonging to and operating within their diocese rather than having a role primarily focused on their membership of the House of Lords.¹⁰⁰ They continued their Parliamentary duties but Chadwick's work shows both that the laity expected more of their bishops in their ministerial role and that the bishops also came to expect more of themselves. Consequently, the bishops began to complain that they had insufficient resources to fulfil both roles. There were not

⁹⁵ Sachs, WL (2002) *Transformation of Anglicanism*, The; Cambridge, CUP; 35.

⁹⁶ Bell (1952) 130.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁹⁸ Chadwick 2/332.

⁹⁹ Chadwick 2/335.

¹⁰⁰ Chadwick 2/336.

enough bishops, they maintained, and that some dioceses were unmanageably overlarge. This view did not go unchallenged: the Times asked why, if they were all so very busy, they were wasting their time by attending Lambeth 1.¹⁰¹ The government eventually responded by reviving the Tudor provision for bishops suffragan, followed, later, by the creation of new sees and boundaries changes.¹⁰² Increasing the number of bishops further weakened their political role as the number who actually sat in the Lords remained unchanged at twenty-six; England had a new kind of non-parliamentary bishop.

The evidence shows that the bishops responded to their parochial clergy's increasing expectations: both by gathering with their clergy in the developing diocesan conferences and simply by residing in their dioceses. Confirmations, for example, once more became the focus of active pastoral attention, these had been vast, badly organised and hurried events. One at Exeter cathedral was so heavily oversubscribed that the candidates' families were not allowed to attend but had to wait outside for their young people.¹⁰³ Ryder of Gloucester was credited with the revival of good practice, supported by Wilberforce of Oxford (his brother-in-law).¹⁰⁴ Confirmations became local, intimate and genuinely pious acts of worship, often in the candidates' own churches, to which the bishop could travel on the rapidly growing railway system.¹⁰⁵ In summary, the primary focus of most bishops became the diocesan role rather than the constitutional role. English bishops increasingly became like American or colonial bishops: their role defined in terms of cultic function.

2. Renewal of Church life.

We may argue that the dissatisfaction with a quiescent church evidenced by Chadwick reflected the wider vitalisation of society. The changing role of the bishops has to be set in its context of increasing activity in the Church of England, partly in response to the general sense of energy in later Victorian society and also in response to the reform movements that had arisen within English Anglicanism. It was clear to contemporary commentators, such as Blomfield of London addressing his clergy (July 1830) that the church could no longer take its position in the country for granted, it would increasingly have its fate in its own hands and be thrown upon its own resources. He was equally clear, however, that this new situation also gave the church the opportunity to flourish.¹⁰⁶

The evangelical revival during the previous century, associated with Wesley, Whitfield, Edwards and Newton, had impacted on Anglican practice on both sides of the Atlantic. There was a revived emphasis on the need for a personal discipleship among its advocates. Faith should have outcomes

¹⁰¹Times, editorial, 14th September, 1867.

¹⁰² Chadwick 2/334.

¹⁰³ Chadwick 2/343.

¹⁰⁴ Neil 237.

¹⁰⁵ Chadwick 1/515.

¹⁰⁶ Sachs 75.

both of personal sanctification and in appropriate acts of charity. Whitfield described such acts as the evidence of grace at work in the heart of the believer. As confidence and numbers grew, evangelical thought turned to the possibility of working for the sanctification of society so that it might ‘serve as an image of the Kingdom of God, a godly realm’.¹⁰⁷ From this concern arose campaigns associated with Wilberforce and Shaftesbury – the ‘liberation of the captives’ – both in the plantations of the Caribbean and in the manufactories of the English industrial heartland.¹⁰⁸

The evangelical party held sway in the Church of England for, at least, the first half of the century largely because of its energy and purpose but the Liberal and High Church parties also became re-energised in their own ways. For the High Church party it was the issue of the nature of the relationship between Church and State that triggered the Tractarian movement.¹⁰⁹ Keeble was so incensed at the proposal to reduce the number of Irish bishoprics that he preached the freedom of the church to order its own affairs before the assembled judges of the Midlands Circuit in his pivotal Assize Sermon (14th July, 1833). In doing so, he challenged English Anglicans to set aside obligations to crown and state and to return to an older understanding of the church as a society under God, of which the monarch was very welcome to be a member but should not expect to be the ruler.

Many members of the church appeared to be prepared for such an appeal. Gladstone, and who can imagine a greater Anglican loyalist than he, gradually came to understand that the old establishment could not remain unchanged.¹¹⁰ He also came to see the change not as a disaster but a great opportunity, the beginning of a new independence of action in which the church could ensure its integrity, regain its mission and expand its spheres of activity. Consistent with this attitude, Gladstone offered himself as honorary treasurer of the Colonial Bishops Fund on its foundation in 1841 and remained so until the end of his working life.

Hook, Rector of Leeds in the middle of the century, will serve as a further example.¹¹¹ His parish had fourteen church buildings where worship was, in his own view, often less than edifying. Although influenced by evangelical activism he was a high churchman in his practice and he put significant effort into making worship seemly and well-ordered. Alongside this, however, he also taught that the church must become the church of the poor if it was to survive and in doing so he became the best known urban parish priest of his era. He emphasized good practice both in the conduct of the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 48: though we may want to consider whether image is a sufficiently strong term, compared to foretaste or sacrament of the Kingdom.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Luke 4.18.

¹⁰⁹ C.f. Sachs, citing Newman, p. 121.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 80 ff.

¹¹¹ Vicar of Leeds: 1837-1859, then Dean of Chichester.

occasional offices and in preparation for the reception of the Eucharist which, he taught, was how the believer was weaned from the ways of the world and into the Kingdom of Heaven.¹¹²

Victorian ecclesiastical realignment and ecclesiological reassessment led to a series of reimaginings of what it might be to be Anglican – each of them, in practice, challenging ideas that had been thought to be the settled outcomes of the sixteenth century reformation process. Once the erastian view of the church enshrined in the English settlement was challenged it became a matter of inevitability that other questions that the Formularies had seemed to have settled should be open to new debate and analysis.¹¹³ What was the proper understanding of the nature (and number) of the sacraments? What was the role and authority of the church's ordained members? What should the words of the Prayer Book look like when they took liturgical life?

In such a progressive/activist milieu it seems unsurprising that Anglicans moved from merely proposing the establishment of bishoprics in existing areas of strength, such as the first overseas see of Nova Scotia in 1785, to the innovative notion of the missionary bishop who would go into new territory and lead the formation of a new church community.¹¹⁴ People's imaginations were caught by such expansionist endeavours and generous lay people gave large sums of money to turn them into reality; Angela Burdett-Coutts, the banking heiress, for example, endowed no less than three colonial bishoprics.¹¹⁵

3. Home and Away

A third influence was the experience of the Church of England abroad, where there were no constitutional arrangements akin to those in England. Nowhere else in the Empire was the Anglican Church established, even though colonial bishops were initially appointed under Letters Patent from the crown and some were paid stipends by colonial administrations. Anglicans abroad did not seek establishment but rather identification with the culture of the emergent societies.¹¹⁶ Thus it became possible for Canadian Inuit and Aotearoan Maori to be both loyal to the traditional culture of their heritage and also to the Anglicanism that they adopted in significant numbers.

Consequently, there was a body of experience to set in contrast with that of English Anglicans. To be sure, there were English commentators who held that the mother church would be, 'mistaken to adopt the garb her daughters may incautiously have adopted'.¹¹⁷ However, home Anglicans could no longer close their eyes to what was happening abroad when it was displayed to them so clearly by the presence of American and Colonial bishops at the SPG Jubilee - or their experience of retired colonial

¹¹² Ibid. 104.

¹¹³ The Formularies are BCP, the Ordinal and the Articles of Religion.

¹¹⁴ Sachs 118.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 114.

¹¹⁶ With the exception of some of the pre-revolutionary American colonies, Ibid. 60 ff.

¹¹⁷ John Bull, editorial 1st April, 1868.

bishops ministering among them ‘under commission’. The contrast between many home bishops and their energetic, mission-focused overseas counterparts was considerable

To some extent the ground for these developments had been prepared by the work of F.D. Maurice who had written of his expectation that the Church of England would be changed by international developments.¹¹⁸ He had high hopes for the influence of the American church upon the English as it was a new church community, high in energy, with a significantly different understanding of the relationship of the church, as a society of the faithful, with the surrounding secular society in which it had no privileged position or role.

The diocese of Lichfield had the experience of a returned colonial bishop as their diocesan. Selwyn of New Zealand was preferred there in 1868 and continued to work as energetically in the Midlands as he had in the Pacific islands. It was felt notable at the time that his first decision was to actually reside in the bishop’s house.¹¹⁹ The contrast between his conduct and that of English bishops of the old school was pronounced and not unnoticed. Even the news magazine *Punch*, highly critical of the Lambeth Conferences and Selwyn’s role in them, eulogised him as, ‘every breath a bishop and every inch a man’.¹²⁰ Parry of Iowa simply and consistently referred to him as ‘the Apostolic Selwyn’.¹²¹

The critical contribution of the ‘daughters’ lay in governance. In Australia, Canada and South Africa the colonies were feeling their way towards national identities that derived from their own locus rather than simply being Europeans planted into a new land. The Anglican churches in these places found that they needed systems to manage their lives and missions and turned to the synodical idea as their best means of establishing identity and coherence. A detailed discussion of this development would be too complex to describe here but we may note that by Lambeth 1, a significant number of the bishops present were used to their churches being synodally governed. Rather than being the shocking innovation that some contemporary English churchmen felt the conference to be, it now seems to have been a natural progression from the home church life to which the overseas bishops were accustomed.¹²²

Many of the colonial bishops were men of great energy and effectiveness who led the establishment of whole new Christian communities in quite unexpected places. The contrast with an English bishop such as Hampden of Hereford, who is alleged hardly to have stirred from his study in twenty years after his highly controversial preferment from an Oxford college, was all too clear.¹²³ This created the sense that there was energy and a praxis in the overseas church from which the home church could

¹¹⁸ Sachs 73.

¹¹⁹ John Bull 1st November, 1868.

¹²⁰ *Punch* 27th April, 1878; valedictory poem alongside a very positive obituary.

¹²¹ Parry W.S. (1879) *The Second Lambeth Conference*; Davenport, Iowa; 33.

¹²² Sachs, 164-207, gives a full account.

¹²³ Chadwick 1/237: Hampden had been censured for his theological views but the Prime Minister, Russell, still had him preferred for political reasons.

learn and benefit. There was also recognition that the home church had gifts to offer those overseas and so we find R1897/51 strongly urging that young clergy have a time of experience overseas or in England as appropriate to their provenance.¹²⁴

Anglicans in the United States belonged to a church separated from English Anglicanism by the consequences of history. Initially, there was a serious question about how Americans Anglicans might remain fully in communion separated, as they were, by distance and political allegiance. Thus when the Canadian bishops requested an international conference, some were uncertain whether the Americans could be invited because they lived outside the British Empire. Erastian English clergy were sure that they should not be; their presence was one of the reasons that led Dean Stanley to deny the use of Westminster Abbey to the First Conference. Canon Henry Liddon, although of Tractarian persuasion, adopted a similar view during the Second Conference. Renowned preacher as he was at St. Paul's cathedral, he announced in the press that he would 'not preach on Sunday afternoons during his residency, in consequence of the American and colonial bishops being invited during their stay in England'.¹²⁵

4. Theological Disputes

The nineteenth century was a period of rapid and far-reaching change in English society. The intellectual life of the nation also saw the growth of important new insights and methodologies, theology could hardly expect to be insulated from such developments. The difficulty for the Church arose when a minister advocated teachings that seemed contrary to the Formularies – how were the bishops to deal with free-thinking clergy? The evangelical George Gorham had a history of dispute with his Tractarian bishop, Phillpotts of Exeter – the bishop being less than conciliatory in his dealings with Gorham. One dispute had centred on Gorham placing an advertisement for a curate who was to be 'free of Tractarian error'.¹²⁶ Phillpotts insisted that he would interview the preferred candidate, particularly to test his doctrinal suitability, as was his practice.

In 1847, dissatisfied with his living Gorham, sought preferment from the crown and was offered a parish near Exeter by the Lord Chancellor. Phillpotts made it clear that he would interview before granting his licence. The bishop found Gorham unsound on the doctrine of baptismal regeneration and declined to institute. Gorham applied to the Court of Arches for a writ compelling the bishop to accept the patron's presentment. After two year's delay the court found in favour of the bishop on the key point that BCP clearly teaches that regeneration follows baptism and that – much as conversion of life might be desirable – the regeneration was unconditionally complete. Evangelical Anglicans felt threatened by this judgement because it made it difficult for them both to insist on conversion of life

¹²⁴ Davidson (1920) 208.

¹²⁵ John Bull, 3rd August, 1878.

¹²⁶ Chadwick 1:251ff.

and remain in the Church of England. Equally, the High Church party were alarmed that the contrary judgement would have undermined the status of BCP as a doctrinally defining Formulary.

Gorham appealed. The appeal was heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a quasi-court brought into being some years earlier to hear appeals from the ecclesiastical courts. High Church Anglicans were offended by this appeal to a secular authority, which consisted of lawyers not trained in ecclesiastical law. The committee was augmented for the Gorham case by three ecclesiastical Privy Councillors, the two archbishops and Blomfeld of London. In its judgement the Committee stated that it was not attempting to test the doctrinal issues only the legal question of whether the bishop had the right to refuse to institute. Gorham's beliefs could not be clearly said to be unorthodox despite rigorous examination; the only ecclesiastical lawyer on the committee, Lushington, declared that he was quite unable to understand exactly what Gorham believed.

Phillpott was obliged to institute and the immediate issue was resolved; however, the case exposed a serious weakness, that there was no clear means by which doctrinal disputes could be resolved. The bishop had lost the case chiefly because he had trespassed on the patron's proprietary right to present, without being able to demonstrate good cause. Gorham's doctrinal inadequacies, if any, were far from clear and Philpott was held not to have the right to refuse institution, in this particular case. The judgement managed to give the impression that there was no clear doctrinal authority within the Church of England, although legally the matter could have been resolved by Parliamentary action, which some attempted to take.¹²⁷

Effectively, Gorham had escaped censure for failing to uphold BCP's teaching and this appeared to give liberty to ministers to evade compliance with the Formularies. Such a sense of indecision or impotence played directly into the problems that later arose over Colenso. The same judicial committee found against Gray not on theological but legal grounds: how could a Christian Church be so subject to the rule of a law that apparently gave no honour to the essentials of the Church's faith?

Similarly, the storm that broke over the publication of *Essays and Reviews* also seemed to show the Church as ineffective in doctrinal disputes.¹²⁸ The book was a collection of seven pieces by serving clergymen, including Frederick Temple.¹²⁹ The content essentially addressed issues arising from increasing knowledge of the natural world: the central thesis was that all knowledge comes from God so where scientific knowledge sat badly with religious belief, it was right that religious belief should give way. So, if the data securely supported Darwin's account of creation, then Genesis must be seen

¹²⁷ Chadwick 1:264: Blomfeld of London proposed constituting the House of Bishops as a Court of Appeal; his bill was lost in the Lords and not presented to the Commons.

¹²⁸ Parker, JW (Ed.) (1860) *Essays and Reviews*; London, Parkers.

¹²⁹ Along with Rowland Williams; Prof. Baden Powell; Henry Bristow Wilson, Charles Wycliffe Goodwin; Mark Pattison and Prof. Benjamin Jowett.

as poetic writing, not an alternate scientific understanding.¹³⁰ For this reason the book was seen by many as an attack upon the doctrine of the Divine inspiration of Scripture.

Sumner was appalled and the whole bench of bishops with him, a rare moment of unanimity on their parts. The diocesans of Williams and Wilson decided to prosecute, to general applause. The case was heard in 1862 at the Court of Arches by Lushington.¹³¹ In his judgement Lushington said that the measure of orthodoxy in the Church of England could only be adherence to the clear teachings of the Formularies. The Articles do not define the mode or manner of the inspiration of Scripture, so a minister could not be prosecuted for holding or failing to hold a particular view about inspiration, as long as he affirmed that ‘Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation’.¹³² All that that could be required of a minister was that he uphold the Article.

Ministers, therefore, were able to deploy critical methods for the study of the texts provided that they did not question the place of any of the texts in Scripture. For example, one might debate the theological issues around the incident of the Adulterous Woman and to discuss its place in the text but not to question its validity as part of the Gospel.¹³³ Lushington ruled that Williams and Wilson were mostly merely exercising intellectual curiosity; their questions were legitimate even if uncomfortable. He ruled that Williams’s view of Scripture as an ‘expression of devout reason’ and Wilson’s view of inspiration were beyond the limits of the Articles, dismissed most of the rest of the charges and sentenced both to be deprived for one year. They immediately appealed to the Privy Council Judicial Committee who overturned their convictions, showing that the civil courts were likely to reach judgements that were as broad as possible, seeking not to set unreasonable limits on belief.

b. Analysis

In the wake of the seventeenth century Restoration Settlement, the Church of England was established as the public church of the English nation. As such it was altogether subject to the Crown and Parliament in a monolithic structure that appeared to place it in an unassailable position. In reality this arrangement was only briefly tenable. The settlement failed to encompass dissenting Protestants or recusant Catholics; it could only apply to lands under the Crown and failed to take proper cognizance of the position of Scottish Anglicans. Remaining faithful to their episcopal faith the Scottish Anglicans had become a persecuted minority because of their Jacobite sympathies and had been subjected to legal disability by the same union government that maintained the English establishment.

¹³⁰ For a full account Chadwick 2:77ff.

¹³¹ Appointed in 1858 alongside his role as Judge of the High Court of Admiralty.

¹³² Article 6.

¹³³ The text is varyingly placed; missing in some texts it is at Jn 7.53-8.11, or after Jn 7.36 or 21.25 or Lk 21.38, some texts note the passage as doubtful; NRSV marginal notes.

The structure as it stood was quite unable to contain the innovations with which it was presented by the political and social developments of the early nineteenth century, including the independence of the Americans, the emancipation of Catholics and Protestants, the accelerating changes of the Industrial Revolution and the startling developments in intellectual life.

How then were Anglicans to maintain their communion in the new context of the later nineteenth century? The Canadians proposed, and Longley conceded, that the best approach was to bring the bishops together to confer. The innovation of the Lambeth Conference was a developmental advance for a Christian tradition that was turning away from older political alliances. Critical to that progression was the growing sense of English Anglicanism being only part of a stream of Christian thought and practice wider and deeper than itself. In this way, an isolated national church became transformed into a body that saw itself as part of an international Christian tradition. This would not have taken place had there not been a resurgence within the religious thought and practice of the Church of England that can be seen as of a piece with the great self-confidence and drive that characterised later Victorian England. The evidence shows that English Anglicanism was changing in ways that were not predicted by, and surprising to, many within that church.

From the narrative we have seen how the Church of England experienced a slow process of disengagement from the strictures of state control during the second half of the nineteenth century. The sense that the leadership within the Church might be better equipped to understand and address the issues facing the Church grew slowly at the same time as Parliament found itself progressively less inclined to assert its undoubted legal authority. Instead Parliament allowed an increasing ‘voluntarism’ to colour its view of the position of the church. The Church of England increasingly found its position to be cognate with that of Anglicans overseas and as a consequence was increasingly willing and able to learn from them.

When Parliament did intervene directly, for example, in the matter of the 1874 Public Worship Regulation Act, it did so at the behest of Tait. Tait, as a member of the House of Lords, was able to introduce primary legislation as a private member’s bill. However, the unedifying events that followed increased the sense the Parliament was no longer able to handle ecclesiastical matters in a way that would win the support of the church. The law was brought into disrepute and quickly became a dead letter.¹³⁴ The law failed to be effective because it took no account of the way in which ecclesiastical sentiment within the Church of England had developed – rather than being honoured for its legal status, the Act instead was seen as repugnant because of its imposition on a Church community which had had no say in its development, despite the involvement of its leading figure. The bill was not laid before Convocation for debate, even though Convocation was arguably the

¹³⁴ See Appendix 9.

proper place for the matter to be addressed, and had ordinarily been consulted over such matters before its long years of inactivity.¹³⁵

The Public Worship Regulation Act was the almost the last piece of primary legislation concerning the Church of England adopted by Parliament prior to the Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act 1919. Davidson had reached the conclusion that Parliament was no longer willing, or at any rate no longer had the time, to manage the Church and was emboldened to promote an Act which gave the Church of England virtual self-government. The creation of the Assembly would free Parliamentary time.¹³⁶ Thus there was a process of separation of the Church from the government that would have been repugnant to earlier generations of erastian Anglicans. The willingness of Parliament to approve the 'enabling Act', as it is generally known, shows that a remarkable change of attitude had come about if we consider the situation only seventy years previously.

The difficulty for those Victorians who continued to hold to an erastian view was that they were looking back to earlier times when the Church of England was an isolated national church without the overseas extensions that it had acquired. The writer of the Anonymous ex-MP pamphlet, for example, shows a fundamental lack of understanding of the position of Anglicans overseas: consistently he assumes that English practice operated abroad, writing of parsonages and tithe. He writes that the appointment of bishops by any method other than Royal authority 'offends the Prerogative' and ought not to be permitted, ignoring the outcome of the Colenso judgement striking down, as it did, the Letters Patent system prior to the publication of his pamphlets. A key phrase is that, 'the parson's freehold and the rule of the secular courts protect the freedom of the laity and should not be replaced by the rule of bishops or synods'.¹³⁷

This assertion may once have been true in England but it misses the point of the very challenge that brought the Conference together, that the old English ways could not work in the great majority of the provinces of the Anglican Communion. Thirlwall asserts that the motive of the Canadian bishops in calling for a conference was their discomfort at the Colonial Secretary severing the formal connection between the Crown and the Canadian episcopate but he seems not to appreciate that the Canadian church was never actually established in the same way as in England.¹³⁸

Similarly, the doctrinal questions that arose in reaction to new directions in intellectual life created a situation with which the old arrangements could not cope. Simple recourse to law would not serve to deal with complex questions of theological understanding in the face of new knowledge. The civil courts showed themselves reluctant to enforce any narrow definition of belief so permitting a range of

¹³⁵ Cf. Chadwick 2/361.

¹³⁶ Herbert, C (1929) *Twenty five years as Archbishop of Canterbury* London, Wells Gardner & Darton; 98.

¹³⁷ 'An ex MP', 5.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 22.

views to be held that implied a lack of theological discipline – and perhaps even of integrity. The legal outcomes created the impression that the Church of England was unable to enforce even the most limited kind of doctrinal discipline. The overseas Anglican churches were able to have much greater clarity as to their beliefs because those beliefs were settled within the community rather than having recourse to external courts. American Anglicans had never been subject to this kind of external restraint and the attempt to impose the view of the courts in the Natal dispute simply caused the collapse of the letters patent system that had been the basis of Colenso's appeal to the Privy Council. Thereafter the South African Church found itself free to maintain its own governance within its own voluntary society.

These various factors led the Church of England and its overseas relating communities to a situation where a new approach was required. The old instruments were no longer viable and were in any case rooted in an authoritarian-legalist approach that could not be applied outside Britain and Ireland. An instrument of unity for the whole Anglican tradition would have to be grounded in a different notion of governance, one of consultation and consent because there was no means of imposing decisions. Henceforward the governance of the Anglican Communion, as it was beginning to be called, would be a process of negotiation and the reaching of a common mind between groups of Christians who were bound to one another by common heritage, practice and loyalty – not by enforceable obedience.

c. Conclusion

Following the post-Restoration settlement the Church of England was established with a particular relationship with the English State and people. In the following centuries, changes in English home society and its extending influence abroad meant that the established order was faced with issues and movements that it could not fully contain. Overseas political expansion was matched by Anglican missionary endeavour with the result that the English church became part of an international network. The overseas daughter churches were like to their mother in worship and belief but unlike in governance. Although overseas bishops were originally appointed under crown Letters Patent, that system collapsed and local, indigenous procedures were adopted. The consequence of this was that organisational unity under the leadership of Canterbury collapsed. A system of provincial overseas churches, each with their metropolitan bishop emerged alongside the Anglican churches in the British Isles and the United States. The principle of provincial independence quickly took root.

The essential problem for this family of churches, which began to call itself the Anglican Communion, was the maintenance of unity in the face of their widely separated locations and contexts. Further, there developed an interaction between the mother and daughter churches that

enlivened and changed both. Increasingly, the Church of England sought a degree of autonomy akin to that of the daughter churches. The search for means to attain autonomy was aided by political changes that reduced the commitment of Parliament to its role as guardian of the establishment and effectual authority over the Church of England. The erastian view of the church as a department of state became increasingly untenable. Although holders of such views mounted considerable opposition to the holding of Lambeth 1 they were unsuccessful and seemed like spokesmen for an idea that had passed.

The control of the Church of England by the state was weakened by the election of non-Anglicans to the House of Commons following the Reform Acts. Parliament also became increasingly preoccupied with civil and social issues at home and the growing imperial ambitions of the country. There was less time and less willingness for Parliament to give the attention to church matters that was required. Further, a series of legal challenges over doctrinal matters appeared to show that whereas Parliament had legal authority it, and the courts, were reluctant to use that authority. The result was that the Church of England appeared both to be in doctrinal disarray and also to lack the means by which the issues could be resolved. In order to maintain the identity of the newly international Anglican way of being Christian and to maintain its doctrinal integrity new means were required. As a result Abp. Longley, urged by Canadian bishops and his own provincial Convocation, decided that his best course of action was to invite the bishops of the communion to meet in Conference so that the common mind of Anglicanism could be discerned on critical questions of the day.

Two: The First Conference

At the distance of a century and a half it is surprising, difficult even, for us to see quite how innovative and controversial the calling of the Conference was and why it occasioned such heated opposition.¹³⁹ Chapter One showed how the English Anglican tradition had undergone great change and stress in the early Victorian period and how it had found itself to be part of a broader Christian tradition of international Anglicanism. The Anglican tradition underwent further change in the second half of the nineteenth century. The new idea of an Anglican Communion arose, an expression almost unknown in 1860, and the growth of the colonial ecclesial outposts into fully fledged provinces profoundly changed the relational dynamic between the English, American and other Anglican churches.

This chapter examines the circumstances in which the first Lambeth Conference was called and seeks to understand how it set the tone and standard for the Conferences that followed, helping us to understanding the milieu from which the Appeal arose. The Conference established a principle of consultation around important ecclesial and theological issues that was conditioned by a voluntarist understanding of the communion between the provinces. The Archbishop invited his fellow Anglican bishops to confer, he did not command them to attend a synod or quasi-legislative body. Although he presided over the sessions he did so from a table at which he was joined by the other bishops having metropolitan authority, one amongst equals.

The Anglican tradition had become international in the wake of traders and colonisers; it had taken root in a wide range of places far beyond the imagining of earlier generations of English Christians. The English way of being Christian was taken beyond its homeland to far-flung plantations and colonies. Thus, the Church of England found itself engaged in missionary endeavour in ways unplanned and undreamt. Similarly, the Anglican Church in the newly independent United States turned to missionary activity almost as soon as it had come into being, paying particular attention to Central America and the east Pacific region.¹⁴⁰ The extent of the Anglican Communion has always, in point of fact, been greater than that of the British Empire and the territory of the United States – reaching into Asian and South American lands and also into the Iberian Peninsula through the agency of the Irish Church.

During the discussion of the summoning and proceedings of Lambeth 1 extensive reference will be made to contemporary sources, including newspapers and periodicals of the day, now readily available in electronic form. Another important source for the period is the surviving range of printed sermons, often polemical in tone. From these sources we will see that the idea of the Conference,

¹³⁹ A convention will be observed whereby conference will be spelt with a capital letter if referring to a particular Conference and also when referring to the continuing life of the Conference between its sessions.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/page/history-episcopal-church> accessed 1st November, 2013.

which now seems such a normal part of the Anglican way, provoked reactions and promoted hopes that seem strangely distant and unexpected.

There was good reason for calling the meeting but the decision, ultimately, could really only have been taken by Longley on the basis that he believed he would be supported at home and abroad. The proposal came from the Canadian bishops. The Americans had already spoken encouraging words when in England for the SPG Jubilee and his initial enquiries led him to believe that the bishops in Asia and Southern Africa would also be supportive. At home the Canterbury Convocation expressed vocal support for the proposal.

The period of the meeting seems very limited at this distance but we should perhaps recall how innovatory it actually was. The circumstances of the time were not only favourable but there were also significant issues that needed to be addressed. The means adopted was that of the Conference.

In the deliberations of Lambeth 1 we see the first steps being taken towards a kind of permissive ecclesiology whereby the constituent member churches choose not to act in a coercive way towards one another. Rather, though the ministry of their bishops, the churches sought to reach a common mind about problems, or at least to understand the nature of any disagreements. The issues that were exposed at Lambeth 1 continue to be problematic for the Communion to this day and therefore command the attention of ecclesiologists of the early twenty-first century. Those issues are primarily located in the tension between the independence of the constituent churches of the communion and their mutual accountability. Their mutuality resides in their shared inheritance of worship, belief and practice derived from texts originally held in common, despite later revision or adaptation to local situations.

a. Slowly to Lambeth

1. The Call for a Conference

The growth of this new, 'Anglican' communion was haphazard and uneven: accompanied, on occasions, by serious misadventure. The South African diocese of Natal, a colonial missionary diocese, found itself in difficulty when the published views of its first bishop, Colenso, became a matter of great controversy.¹⁴¹ He was tried on charges of heresy by his metropolitan, Gray of Cape

¹⁴¹ The books in question were: Colenso J.W. (1861) *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*: newly translated and explained from a missionary point of view, Pietermaritzburg, Elukanjeni Mission Press (in which he rejects substitutionary atonement and everlasting punishment) and Colenso J.W. (1862-3) *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*, London, Longman and Green (in which he challenges the historicity of the biblical narrative). Hinchliffe's analysis identifies nine charges against Colenso:

(1) That he denied that our Lord died in man's stead, or to bear the punishment or penalty of our sins,

Town, in 1863, and deposed from his see. The attempted deposition and its subsequent reversal by the Privy Council, led Anglicans to realise that there were significant unresolved issues about authority within the Anglican churches.¹⁴² How were overseas bishops to be appointed and were they to relate to the crown in similar ways to the English bishops? Or rather would they have a new character like the bishops of the American church and its missionary daughters?

The independence of the USA had put political distance between home and American Anglicans but contact was still maintained. When the SPG celebrated its 150th anniversary in 1851, some of the American bishops attended the events in Britain. Afterwards the US Presiding Bishop (Chase of Illinois) wrote to Sumner commenting on the value of this contact. Sumner had encouraged their attendance as a demonstration of Anglican unity but there had been surprise among the organisers at how much enthusiasm there had been in America, especially as SPG assistance to the congregations in the colonies had ceased once the revolution began, some seventy years previously.¹⁴³ Herklotts states that the simple fact of overseas bishops gathering in London for the SPG Jubilee meant that it was feasible to consider a conference – it was no longer an impossible idea.¹⁴⁴ Samuel Cunard's introduction of a steam packet service crossing the Atlantic in only twelve days (1840) made it possible for the American bishops to visit with relative ease.¹⁴⁵ Chase hoped that there might be: 'a

and that God is reconciled to us by the death of his Son.

(2) That he taught that justification is a consciousness of being counted righteous, and that all men, even without such a consciousness, are treated by God as righteous, and that all men are already dead unto sin and risen again unto righteousness.

(3) That he taught that all men are born into righteousness when born into the world; that all men are at all times partaking of the body and blood of Christ; denying that the holy sacraments are generally necessary to salvation, and that they convey any special grace, and that faith is the means whereby the body and blood of Christ are received.

(4) That he denied the endlessness of future punishments.

(5) That he maintained that the Bible contained but was not the Word of God.

(6) That he treated the Scriptures as a merely human book, only inspired as any other book might be inspired.

(7) That he denied the authenticity, genuineness, and truth of certain books of the Bible.

(8) That, by imputing errors in knowledge to our Lord, he denied that He is God and Man in one Person.

(9) That he brought parts of the Book of Common Prayer into disrepute (e.g. the Athanasian Creed and the vow at the ordination of deacons which spoke of 'unfeigned belief' in the Scriptures). Hinchliff, P (1963)

The Anglican Church in South Africa; London, DLT; p92-3

¹⁴² The legal issue chiefly focused on whether the Bishop of Cape Town had it in his metropolitanical authority to set aside the Letter Patent issued to Colenso. The Privy Council held that his attempt at deposition was an affront to Crown prerogative: Colenso was a bishop by virtue of the exercise of the prerogative, not by any ecclesial authority. However, the conflict between the two Letters Patent, one granting metropolitanical authority and the other apparently excusing the bishop of Natal from any obedience, caused the collapse of the Crown appointment system. Appointment became a matter of local arrangement. Hobhouse describes the effect as to 'practically disestablish the Church' in the self-governing colonies, although in fact it was not established in the English sense in any of them; Hobhouse 7.

¹⁴³ Herklotts 154.

¹⁴⁴ Herklotts 178.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Chadwick in Coleman iv.

council of all the bishops in communion with Your Grace ... [which would exert] a moral influence far beyond that of any secular legislation'.¹⁴⁶

Sumner, perhaps not surprisingly given his general disposition, noted the comments but took no action.¹⁴⁷ However when, later, the Canadian bishops agreed to seek some means of consultation



Fig. 1: Sumner's Monument in Canterbury Cathedral

between members of the whole Anglican family, their request to Sumner's successor, Longley, was neither unexpected nor unwelcome.¹⁴⁸ Hobhouse gives the main credit for the approach to Lewis of Ontario.¹⁴⁹ They asked that the Archbishop and Convocation of Canterbury adopt some means 'by which, the members of our Anglican Communion in all quarters of the world should have a share in the deliberations for her welfare, and be permitted to have a representation in one General Council

for her members gathered from every land.'¹⁵⁰ A private letter accompanied their request, to which Longley replied positively:

The meeting of such a synod as you propose is not by any means foreign to my own feelings and, I think, might tend to prevent those inconveniences the possibility of which you anticipate. I cannot however take a step in so grave a matter without consulting ...¹⁵¹

Longley's words may seem overly cautious but are consistent with the somewhat reserved manner he generally adopted in his correspondence. Stephenson, Morgan, Herklotts and others have placed emphasis on the Canadian concern about the situation in South Africa but it is important to remember that their letter also names two other issues that relate to matters we have already noted:

1. decisions by English secular courts about Church of England doctrine seemed to remove any limits on what clergy and members might understand the faith to be;
2. the renewal in the life of the English Convocations might lead them to adopt new legislation, leading to an unhelpful diversity of Canon Law among the provinces.

To present the Canadian concern as being only about Colenso is too simplistic.

¹⁴⁶ Morgan 58.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Chadwick (1971) 327ff.

¹⁴⁸ Canadian Provincial Synod 20th September, 1865; Herklotts 168, see App 1.

¹⁴⁹ Hobhouse 8.

¹⁵⁰ Herklotts 4.

¹⁵¹ Chronicle of Convocation (1867) London, Rivingtons; 696.

Convocation, now conducting real business again after its long years of inactivity, discussed the Canadian letter.¹⁵² Archdeacon Wordsworth, later bishop of Lincoln, encouraged Longley to summon a conference, despite the considerable opposition which Hobhouse helpfully describes thus:

Tractarians and lawyers regarded it as likely to infringe the prerogative of the Crown, timid churchmen predicted it could only end in disestablishment, ardent protestants discerned a plot to supersede Protestantism by Anglo-Catholicism [and] the friends of Dr. Colenso foresaw that such an assembly could hardly disperse without being urged to join in his condemnation.¹⁵³

Colenso had a range of important and influential friends in the Church of England – and in the popular press. His cause became a relying point for erastian politicians and clergy who saw his defence as central to their way of thinking. Who, they might have asked, was a mere bishop to attempt to impose his will upon one who had the crown's authority?

In May 1866, Convocation appointed a committee to 'consider and report upon' the Canadian proposal.¹⁵⁴ After due debate the Lower House conveyed a:

Respectful expression of an earnest desire that he [Longley] would be pleased to issue an invitation to all the Bishops in Communion with the Church of England to assemble ... for the purpose of Christian sympathy and mutual counsel on matters affecting the welfare of the Church at home and abroad.¹⁵⁵

Shortly afterwards Longley informed the Upper House that he proposed to issue such an invitation, which he did one week later (22nd February, 1867).¹⁵⁶ Apart from saying that it would begin with Holy Communion and then be given over to 'brotherly conversations', there is little indication as to the Conference's agenda. The invitees were asked to suggest subjects for consideration and discussion. Thus the bishops were invited to confer and the faithful besought to pray for the success of the deliberations.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² 1855. Convocation had met briefly and formally but conducted no business since 1717 Chadwick (1971) 324.

¹⁵³ Hobhouse 9.

¹⁵⁴ Chronicle of Convocation (1866) London, Rivingtons; 268: they struggled to express their idea of who might be invited, reluctant to use the newly coined 'Anglican' a series of phrases were discussed, some of which had the unwelcome effect of excluding the Scots and Americans.

¹⁵⁵ Chron. Conv. (1867) 793.

¹⁵⁶ Both Convocations have two houses, bishops and clergy, that continue to sit but with a new House of Laity to constitute the General Synod of the Church of England; Longley's letter is at App. 1.

¹⁵⁷ Longley's prayer is at App. 4.

2. Concerns and Controversy

Those who responded to Longley's invitation raised issues that will quickly become familiar, including on-going Anglican concerns about:

1. the levels at which authority is to be exercised;
2. the relationships between the provinces;
3. the sense in which there might be any level of authority beyond that of the provincial.

These three questions continue to trouble the Communion and the unresolved nature of the debate around them is an important component of the difficulties with which it is faced in the early twenty-first century.

From the outset Longley made plain his intention that the Conference would not be a legislative body. Speaking to the Upper House of Convocation to outline his intentions, he said:

It should be distinctly understood that at this meeting no declaration of faith shall be made, and no decision come to which shall affect generally the interests of the church, but that we shall meet together for brotherly counsel and encouragement ... I should refuse to convene any assembly which pretended to enact any canons or affected to make any decisions binding on the church ... nothing [will] pass but that which tends to brotherly love and union.¹⁵⁸

Longley thus ensured that the Conference was neither a threat to the Establishment nor to the prerogative of the Crown – neither it would be possible for any ecclesiastical faction to impose its will on others. Yet Longley's approach also allowed the issues to surface in a controlled way, trusting to the good sense of his fellow bishops. Thus, the Conferences had a non-legislative character from the start; this has continued to be the case, to the relief of some and the frustration of others. The Conference seeks a common mind, where possible, but does not seek to impose that mind on others – or preclude the possibility that its mind might be changed on a particular subject, as illustrated in Chapter Three. Legislative authority remains at the provincial level.¹⁵⁹

The idea of an 'Anglican Communion' was quite recent, the phrase only beginning to appear in SPG documents after about 1853.¹⁶⁰ Many of the churches regarded themselves as in some way simply the Church of England Overseas and had names that reflected such a view. The realisation that they might be something more may be seen as an important driver in the perceived need for a conference – to ensure that diversity did not lead to divergence on essentials.

¹⁵⁸ Davidson (1920) 5.

¹⁵⁹ 'Provincial' is a slightly inaccurate description, some of the larger churches are multi-provincial but with authority remaining at the 'Church' level.

¹⁶⁰ Herklots 159.

The agenda eventually adopted was partly based on suggestions made by Gray of Cape Town.¹⁶¹ Unfortunately, the very same bishop was clearly seeking to gain some kind of ‘synodical sanction’ for his actions against Colenso, even though such a ruling would clearly be beyond the Longley’s original remit to the Conference.¹⁶² The anxiety surrounding the possibility of further confusion and conflict was such that the northern bishops in England decided not to attend and others postponed their acceptance until it was clear what the business of the conference would actually be.

Many evangelical bishops doubted that the conference was legal at all.¹⁶³ Ewing of Argyll, in an sermon intended for a London church, declared that any present disunity arose from the attempts of some to over-define the content of the faith and anticipated an exodus of evangelicals from the Church of England if the bishops debated away from ‘the moderating influence of the laity’.¹⁶⁴ Concern that the bishops could not be relied on was a recurrent motif in English commentary.

Still others objected to the summons of a conference on erastian grounds. As the Church was under royal authority, at least in the British Empire, they claimed that the invitation ought to have been made in some way that was clearly endorsed by the Crown. Some of the concern may well derive from the verbatim account in the Chronicle of Convocation being headed ‘Synod of the English Communion’. Once the word synod had been used of the meeting, however inaccurately, it was difficult to shake off the association.¹⁶⁵

Dean Stanley of Westminster was so firmly of this view that he refused to countenance any of the Conference worship taking place in the Abbey.¹⁶⁶ His antipathy was fuelled by the planned ‘presence of bishops from beyond the Empire’, the Americans.¹⁶⁷ He was also personally sympathetic to Colenso.¹⁶⁸ Stanley seems later to have repented of his behaviour and wrote apologetically to Hopkins of Vermont, the US presiding bishop. A far from conciliatory reply asks the basis on which Stanley supposed the American prelates could not be trusted ‘with the care of [the church’s] sacred interests’.¹⁶⁹ Stanley was reportedly taken aback and appears to have sought to make later amends for his discourteous action.

Longley did not summon the first conference to discuss the Natal situation, although it is sometimes stated that he did. The conference was, however, overtaken by the Natal situation to the extent that the

¹⁶¹ Agenda gives the impression of something more fixed than was the case; it was more a programme that would allow the bishops to produce a list of items to be reported on by committees and to produce a final statement that became known as the Encyclical.

¹⁶² Davidson (1920) 7.

¹⁶³ Stephenson (1978) 31.

¹⁶⁴ Ewing, A (1867) Union: a sermon; London, Bosworth: published but not preached through illness.

¹⁶⁵ Chron. Conv. (1866) 268.

¹⁶⁶ Morgan 61.

¹⁶⁷ Stanley spoke forcefully in Convocation against the meeting on the grounds that while people were ‘clear what it would not be’, they ‘could not say what it would be’. Chron. Conv. (1867) 732.

¹⁶⁸ He and Tait of London had together instigated the reference of the case to the Privy Council, Morgan 55.

¹⁶⁹ John Bull 7th December, 1867 prints the correspondence.

expected programme was abandoned; causing Thirlwall of St. David's to withdraw.¹⁷⁰ The final session, intended as a formal signing of the Conference Statement unexpectedly became a further debate on Colenso.¹⁷¹ The danger of such a discussion may be why the Archbishop of York declined to attend; Herklotts asserts that it was because of his fear that the overseas bishops might undermine the policy of the English bishops concerning Colenso.¹⁷² There was also a remaining sense in the north that Canterbury was inclined to ignore York's role as the other primate in England.¹⁷³

Lambeth 1, and its successors, were called as meetings of bishops and of bishops alone. So, they cannot be said to be synods in any conventional Anglican sense; the Lambeth 2 Encyclical (1878) says that it was issued by the meeting of 'Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan and other Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England'. This was not the hope of the Canadians when they wrote that:

We humbly entreat your Grace, since the assembling of a general council of the whole Catholic Church is at present impracticable, to convene a national synod of the bishops of the Anglican Church at home and abroad, who attended by one or more of their presbyters or laymen, learned in ecclesiastical law, as their advisers, may meet together, and, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, take such counsel and adopt such measures as may best be fitted to provide for the present distress in such synod.¹⁷⁴

There was continuing debate about the attendance of other representatives but R1897/4 states the view that, 'the conditions of membership of the Lambeth Conference should remain unaltered'. R1897/5 agreed that a 'Consultative Body' with a different membership might be formed and invites, 'the Archbishop of Canterbury to take such steps as he feels appropriate to form such a body'. Temple, however, took no such steps.¹⁷⁵

Longley allowed himself to be persuaded to hold a conference of bishops, despite the lack of any precedent but he was immovably against the calling of a synod despite the best efforts of Selwyn of New Zealand, Fulford of Montreal and Gray of Cape Town.¹⁷⁶ He said to Convocation:

'If I consent to the ... petition it is on the full understanding that I repudiate all idea of convening of assembly that can justifiably be called a synod or that can enact canons'.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ Davidson (1920) 9; Thirlwall had been hostile to the conference from the outset, seeing no point or occasion for it 'unless it be in poor imitation of Rome', he believed that Longley had coerced by the other bishops; Thirlwall 7, 13.

¹⁷¹ Davidson (1920) 11.

¹⁷² Herklotts 173.

¹⁷³ Stephenson (1978) 32.

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix 1.

¹⁷⁵ Fisher 290.

¹⁷⁶ Stephenson (1978) 26, 30.

Enaction of canons was heavily restricted in English law. Convocation could debate what it chose but new canons required specific authority from the crown, in a process that could only be initiated by the crown.

3. The bishops gather

Objectors notwithstanding, the Conference began on Tuesday 24th September, 1867, commencing with a service of Holy Communion at which the preacher was Whitehouse of Illinois, the ‘eminent American bishop’ of Longley’s invitatory letter. Whitehouse said that he had been asked to preach because ‘to some extent I had been identified with this plan of demonstrative unity, this exposition of the Church as the body of Christ ... [they came together] to demonstrate the co-operative unity of the Anglican Communion ... the visible unity of the Anglo-Catholic Church’.¹⁷⁸

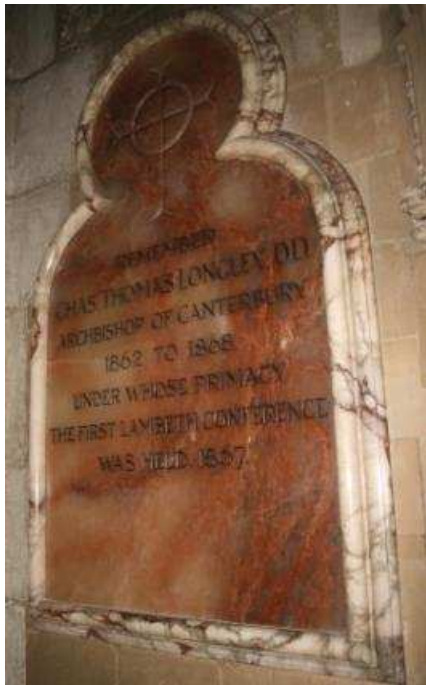


Fig. 2: The Longley Monument

In his opening address Longley reinforced his intention for the conference: ‘we merely propose to discuss matters of practical interest, and pronounce what we deem expedient in resolutions which may serve as safe guides to future action.’¹⁷⁹ He continued, ‘In opening the proceedings of the first conference that has ever taken of the bishops of the Reformed Church in visible communion with United Church of England and Ireland my prevailing feeling is one of profound gratitude to our Heavenly Father for having this far prospered the efforts that have been made to promote solemn assembling of ourselves together’.¹⁸⁰

Longley referred to the tentative and experimental nature of the meeting and its lack of precedent but was encouraged by the support that he had, so far, received. Thus, together, the seventy bishops began to explore uncharted waters. The proceedings took place entirely within the precincts of Lambeth Palace.

Heywood argued that the source of the conference’s character in his day lay partly in its somewhat confined location.¹⁸¹

The bishops debated in the upstairs dining room, generally known as the Guardroom. The metropolitan bishops sat at a top table either side of Longley and the remainder in a block facing

¹⁷⁷ Chron. Conv. (1866) 268.

¹⁷⁸ Davidson R.T. (1889) *The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878 and 1888*; London, SPCK; 61 & 76; ‘Anglo-Catholic’ here is in the earlier sense not to be confused with later usage for ritualist, or high church, Anglicans.

¹⁷⁹ Davidson (1920) 8.

¹⁸⁰ Davidson (1889) 77.

¹⁸¹ Heywood 26.

them. Despite the apprehension of others, the bishops began to address their agenda. Dean Goode of Ripon may have spoken for at least some in the hall when he wrote that ‘the danger is not what is proposed in the programme but what may be proposed in the conference.’¹⁸²

Day One was largely concerned with drafting a suitable Preamble for their proposed resolutions; it emphasises the need for the church to be united in its witness ‘that the world might believe’.¹⁸³ In context, the words probably only referred to unity within the Anglican Communion but, in time, the phrase gained currency in the wider ecumenical movement.¹⁸⁴ Twentieth century ecumenical texts repeatedly cite the same words as a key scriptural inspiration of ecumenical endeavour.

The bishops believed that the basis of unity was to be sought in ‘the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds and affirmed by the undisputed Councils ... reunion will come from maintaining that faith and drawing closer to our common Lord’.¹⁸⁵

Day Two abandoned the original agenda for a discussion of synodical authority, concluding that the faith and unity of the Anglican Communion would be best maintained by there being a higher synod above the ‘several branches’. This laid the ground for the subsequent debate about the Natal situation, in the sense that a ‘higher synod’ was precisely the mechanism that would enable Gray to deal with his troublesome suffragan, the Privy Court decision notwithstanding.

The debate was difficult. Longley refused to accept a resolution proposed by the American presiding bishop that would have condemned Colenso. A more anodyne formula was adopted that, ‘noted the hurt done to the whole communion by the state of the Church in Natal’.¹⁸⁶ Committees were set up to give further consideration to this and other issues. An address to all Anglicans was adopted without further difficulty and it was agreed that it would be signed the following day. However, it was beyond Longley to prevent further debate about Natal unexpectedly arising and delaying the signing of the Address.¹⁸⁷ Gray proposed a further motion against Colenso which was debated but not, in the end, adopted. After recital of the Nicene Creed and the Gloria the bishops arrived at their planned evening conversazione some two hours late and the conference was largely ended.

The following day there was a closing act of worship in Lambeth parish church. The bishops processed to the church, arriving half-an-hour late. The local population was clearly puzzled by the event, especially by the presence of a ‘black archbishop’, as one onlooker described him, actually the

¹⁸² Goode Wm. (1867) *Remarks on the Approaching Lambeth Conference*; London, Hatchard; 13.

¹⁸³ Jn. 17.21.

¹⁸⁴ Dean Goode believed that the search for unity was hopeless, he condemned the failure to see the grounds of disunity, it ignores: ‘the hopeless enslavement of other ‘nominal’ churches ... [it is] desiring union with followers of Anti-Christ’; Goode 8.

¹⁸⁵ Davidson (1920) 9.

¹⁸⁶ Davidson (1920) 10.

¹⁸⁷ The Bishops’ message from the Conference was first to be known as an Address but rapidly and officially became known as an Encyclical, following the Roman Catholic terminology.

Revd R. Gordon, chaplain to Courtney of Jamaica.¹⁸⁸ Fulford of Montreal, appropriately, preached; his text has not survived, apart from a brief paraphrase in the Guardian.¹⁸⁹ He reportedly said, ‘that if they had done nothing more than give physical testimony to their oneness of faith and resolve they would have done more for the unity of the Church than had been accomplished in the last century’.¹⁹⁰

The committees presented their reports to a further session attended by those bishops still in England on 10th December.¹⁹¹ The resolutions were mostly procedural, agreeing that the seven reports be adopted, that condolences be sent to the Russian Church on the death of Patriarch Philaret, thanking the episcopal secretaries for their work and thanking Longley for his conduct of the conference.¹⁹² Longley was requested to add the names of absent bishops who assented to the Encyclical before its general distribution. And so, the experiment came to its conclusion.

4. Some Contemporary Commentary

The Times found fault with the idea of a conference at every turn; it asked why bishops were ‘deserting their dioceses to adopt resolutions’ a spectacle that ‘may lower in the public mind the value and power of the episcopal office’.¹⁹³ During the conference the paper complained about the debates being in private, if they had been in open, ‘the public might have been reassured that there was some point to the conference’. The Record, an Evangelical newspaper, angrily denounced the secrecy of the conference as an attempt by the bishops to take power to themselves.¹⁹⁴ Some idea of the proceedings did make its way into the press eventually. In late October the Standard reprinted material from the New York Church Journal in which an unnamed bishop gave an accurate outline account.¹⁹⁵ The privacy meant, apparently, that inaccurate reports were published; Gray of Cape Town protested publicly against them.¹⁹⁶

The Times further objected to ‘the presence of foreign bishops’, considered an intrusion into ‘our’ church.¹⁹⁷ The presence of colonial bishops was also condemned, the writer being unable to understand why Anglicans abroad needed bishops in any case, showing that to some the cultic role of the episcopacy was wholly submerged beneath an idea of the bishop as an officer of the State. Article

¹⁸⁸ London Standard 30th September, 1867.

¹⁸⁹ Stephenson (1978) 41.

¹⁹⁰ Davidson (1889) 106.

¹⁹¹ Davidson (1920) 12.

¹⁹² Davidson (1920) 76.

¹⁹³ Times, editorial, 14th September, 1867.

¹⁹⁴ Reprinted with acknowledgement in the Daily News, 15th October, 1867.

¹⁹⁵ London Standard, news item, 23rd October, 1867.

¹⁹⁶ Derby Mercury, news, 25th December, 1867.

¹⁹⁷ Times, leading article, 25th September, 1867.

10, 'Of Councils', is quoted to challenge the legality of the meeting, despite Longley's careful choice of words, showing a further lack of understanding.¹⁹⁸

Churchmen did not entirely suffer these assaults in silence, two Oxford priests, for example, rebuking the press from their pulpits. Burgon, preaching 'before the University' in St. Mary the Virgin, described the Church as the enduring kingdom of Daniel's vision:

'... but that Kingdom is assailed and never more than in the recent past with the vulgar and unmeasured violence with which certain organs of public opinion have for the last weeks been assailing our venerable and revered primate'.¹⁹⁹

Tyrwhitt preaching at St. Mary Magdalene commented acridly:

The criticisms of the press are but a new version of the demand for a sign ... was the Anglo-Saxon Synod expected to raise the dead, or cast out the devils of mammon or swindling that possess the Anglo-Saxon? Or Christianise the daily press?²⁰⁰

The letter of condolence to the Russians caused disquiet. Today it might be seen as a generous ecumenical gesture, the view then was different. The Times said 'Our bishops should find something better to do than write epistles in Greek to oriental patriarchs'.²⁰¹ A Methodist writer, 'Vigil', characterised the letter as having 'a most unpromising significance', although without explaining what he meant.²⁰² There is a broad sense in such responses that, by having dealings outside England, Anglicans were somehow opening the possibility of foreign imposition, or worse still Roman Catholic influence. Thus The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine excoriates the Encyclical for failing to condemn 'the blasphemous follies that abound in the Church of Rome'.²⁰³ The Times warns that, 'the English people will no more endure the meddling of an American bishop than of an Italian priest'.²⁰⁴

By contrast, the Nottinghamshire Guardian's leader says:

The Pan-Anglican Synod [sic] has concluded ... and the ill-nature with which its critics regard it may be viewed as indicating its success. Nearly all the adverse criticism has been based on a misconstruction of the objects of the conference so gross that it is hardly possible to say it was not wilful.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁸ Times, leading article, 17 September, 1867.

¹⁹⁹ Burgon, JW (1867) *The Lambeth Conference and the Encyclical*; London, Parkers; A sermon preached after the public reading of the Encyclical by command of the bishop.

²⁰⁰ Tyrwhitt 16.

²⁰¹ Times, Leading article, 10th November, 1867.

²⁰² Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, May 1868.

²⁰³ Ibid., December 1867.

²⁰⁴ Times, editorial, 10th October, 1867.

²⁰⁵ Nottinghamshire Guardian, editorial, 4th October, 1867.

Similarly, Longley wrote to Whitehouse of Illinois after the conference that, ‘the vehemence with which the infidel press has attacked the conference plainly shows the importance they attach to the movement’.²⁰⁶

A helpful contemporary assessment of the outcome comes from Christopher Wordsworth, Archdeacon of Westminster, preaching on the Sunday following Conference. He argues eight points in favour of the meeting as evidencing Anglican Catholicity that are worth summarising:

The oneness of the Church is proclaimed by the gathering of its bishops; the primitive truth and doctrine is once more proclaimed; the perplexities of our colonial churches were addressed; the faith and courage of the home church will be quickened by its American and colonial visitors; the sign of unity in the proposals coming from Canada; the hand of friendship was extended to those separated from us; we were cheered by the conviction that there is yet a greater work to be done.²⁰⁷

The contrast with Dean Stanley’s view is marked, one wonders how the sermon was received, given, as it was, in his own abbey church. Wordsworth’s sermon gives us a description of Lambeth Conferences that is worth recalling and could suit as a description of many later Conferences.

We may let W.H. Freemantle, a residentiary canon of Canterbury, speak for the erastians. Preaching in Canterbury Cathedral, he stated his belief that the opinions of the Privy Council, though only binding in the UK, were of far greater value than those of any ecclesiastical body because, ‘the judgements were made by lawyers’. Like Ewing, he was alarmed by the prospect of bishops seeking to reach conclusions apart from the laity, he seems to have thought of the meeting as an attempt ‘to revive the ancient councils or perhaps substitute the authority of the bishops alone’. Such councils he says, ‘are prone to the professionalisation of religion but the voice of the laity needs to be heard’. This is not an unreasonable complaint but overlooks the situation in the overseas churches where rule by the bishop-in-synod was the norm, it was England that was out of step by relying Parliament to supply the voice of the laity.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Whitehouse, H.J. (1867) Sixteenth Annual Address; Chicago, Diocese Illinois: 11; this important letter seems unknown in the literature and is in the Seventeenth Address, bound consecutively; see App. 5.

²⁰⁷ Wordsworth, Chris (1867) *Quietness of the Church*, The; London, Rivingtons; 9.

²⁰⁸ Freemantle WH (1886) *The present work of the Anglican Communion*; London, Rivingtons.

b. Analysis

We cannot claim that Longley's decision to summon the Conference was inevitable but his views were decisive: it would not have happened without his support. In his invitation letter Longley writes that it was the encouragement of other bishops which led him to take the step of granting 'this grave request' which he later describes as leading to the 'greatest era of my life and Arch-episcopate'.²⁰⁹ The issue of how the communion was to remain united – raised by the Canadian bishops – was so significant that it would surely have had to have been addressed. The establishment of a Conference was, perhaps, the only practical approach.

In retrospect, it seems clear that the conference failed to address issues of authority within the communion or to bring the Natal problem to a satisfactory conclusion.²¹⁰ The root of that failure lay in its remit. The Conference lacked the authority or structure to carry out such tasks. There was a motion adopted that called for a supra-provincial authority to be established but it was recognised that such a body could only hear appeals by agreement of the relevant provinces; it was beyond their skill to devise a means by which it could have any authority over the Scots and Americans. However, from this we may conclude that Anglican tradition is non-coercive between its constituents. While there is shared canonical practice, those canons operate at the level of the constituents and no higher. We might also conclude that the biggest single contribution of the First Conference was that it demonstrated that it was possible to have a conference without any of the dire consequences that had been predicted by its opponents, egged on by the popular media in the UK.²¹¹

The opposition was not confined to those of an evangelical or erastian outlook but also included a number who simply did not see the need for such Conferences. The striking feature of the antagonistic reportage is the extent to which it fails to grasp that the Conference was not about an English church but about a church that had become international. Most of the recoverable contemporary media responses were positive in tone. The hostility towards the Conference seems to derive largely from the novelty of the event. Also, some were apprehensive about the influence of ritualism or the possibility of external interference in the English church. What the opponents seem to have failed to grasp was that it was necessary to find a new way of being Anglican, one that had an international perspective because the church had moved on from simply being an aspect of the English political settlement.

The innovative approach adopted gave the attendees a new sense of commonality; their word was fellowship. This is underlined by their sense that the four days of the main gathering had been insufficient a time for them to consult as fully as they would have liked. Longley might have

²⁰⁹ Whitehouse 11.

²¹⁰ The committee report deemed the see to be 'spiritually vacant' and called on the South African Church to proceed to the consecration of 'one to discharge those spiritual functions of which these members of the Church are now in want'. Davidson (1920) 74.

²¹¹ Stephenson (1978) 43.

anticipated this but we must remember that until the 1920s, the English House of Bishops only met for a single day annually, four days may have seemed generous. The Conference honoured the principle that the provinces knew their own situations best and should not have their freedom of action inhibited. There was a broad sense that the bonds between the provinces had been strengthened and the fact that the bishops had come to know one another strengthened their sense of identity as a single episcopal body. A pattern was set for the Conference to advise and endorse but not to coerce. However, the Conference did not satisfactorily address the question of the mutual accountability of the provinces that is the counterbalance to their independence; today, this remains problematic for the Communion.

Conference adopts resolutions but it cannot be assumed that a Lambeth resolution is an authoritative statement of any legal situation; appeals to the wording of Lambeth resolutions are ultimately misplaced. The Report on Christian Unity submitted to Lambeth 7 expresses this well when it says that formal action belongs to the several churches of the Anglican Communion, ‘but the advice of the Lambeth Conference, sought before executive action is taken by the constituent Churches, would carry great moral weight’.²¹²

The principle that the Conference cannot legislate is one of the roots of major conflict in the early twenty-first century within the Anglican Communion. For example, we may note the exasperation felt by socially conservative bishops that the words of the Lambeth resolution on human sexuality cannot, in some sense, be enforced within the whole Communion.²¹³ Socially liberal bishops have been equally frustrated that the same resolution’s commitment to listen to the experience of homosexual people has not been honoured.²¹⁴

Prior to Lambeth 14 (2008) there were articles in the Anglican and secular press about ‘whether this would be the last Lambeth’ because of the threats of non-attendance by some bishops as a result of the dispute concerning human sexuality. There is a misconception here that the Conference somehow has a life of its own, whereas it is called into being at the behest of and by the invitation of the incumbent Archbishop of Canterbury. Those who wrote such headlines were, perhaps, unaware that bishops had declined the invitation before. On the other hand, it must be noted that the Conference is one of the

²¹² Morgan 58.

²¹³ R.1998/1.10 (b): ‘in view of the teaching of Scripture, [Conference] upholds faithfulness in marriage between a man and a woman in lifelong union, and believes that abstinence is right for those who are not called to marriage’.

²¹⁴ R.1998/1.10 (c): ‘[Conference] recognises that there are among us persons who experience themselves as having a homosexual orientation. Many of these are members of the Church and are seeking the pastoral care, moral diction of the Church, and God’s transforming power for the living of their lives and the ordering of relationships. We commit ourselves to listen to the experience of homosexual persons and we wish to assure them that they are loved by God and that all baptised, believing and faithful persons, regardless of sexual orientation, are full members of the Body of Christ’;

things that unites the Anglican Communion and it is therefore a serious matter for a bishop to decline to attend for reasons other than of health or pastoral necessity.

The Conference's place in the life of the Anglican Communion grew to the point that by the 1960s it became normal to refer to it as one of the 'instruments of unity' of the Communion.²¹⁵ The instruments of unity are those things that hold the communion in communion, so to abstain from one of them might be said to impair the communion of the abstainer with other Anglicans. In this sense, it might be argued that there must be a question over the status, as fully Anglican, of a bishop who declines to attend. Equally for the Archbishop not to invite a bishop is tantamount to a statement that the person in question is seen as not in communion, as was the case with Abp. Robert Duncan, primate of what has become the Anglican Church in North America (2009-2014).²¹⁶

American writers, in particular, sometimes assert that the Conference is dominated by the English bishops. The largest single group of attending bishops were from the British Isles but the bishops from elsewhere had a strong and influential role.²¹⁷ Indeed, the stimulus for the holding of both the first two conferences came from the Canadian bishops. The resolute refusal of the US bishops to accept authority beyond their own ecclesiastical courts can be seen as critical to the evolution of the Conference's role as consultative and voluntary but not with supra-provincial authority.²¹⁸

This evaluation of Lambeth 1 shows that it encapsulated both the strengths and weaknesses of the Conference system as it developed and this point will be further illustrated in the following chapter's account of the subsequent conferences, leading up to that of 1920.

c. Conclusion

Longley summoned Lambeth 1 with encouragement at home and from abroad. The catalyst was a letter from the Canadian bishops asking him to call a meeting to discuss the problems facing the Anglican Communion. Missionary work by English and American Anglicans had spread this way of being Christian around the globe and beyond the British Empire. From this arose questions about how unity was to be maintained and what kind of authority there might be. There was concern about the relationships between the provinces as they sought to be both local and in relationship with one

²¹⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 2 Davidson says 'Perhaps it is not too much to say that a decennial Conference ... has now become a recognised part of the organisation of our Church'.

²¹⁶ ACNA consists of the majority of those Anglicans who have left the US and Canadian provinces over issues of perceived liberalism; Abp. Duncan was recognised as the American primate by the Global South primates – see the discussion of the Jerusalem Declaration in Chapter 11.

²¹⁷ Cf. Appendix 2: Data about the Lambeth Conference.

²¹⁸ E.g., the refusal of US bishops to serve on the Voluntary Tribunals Committee of Lambeth 2 lest they appear supportive of the proposal: see Lee, A (1879) Ninth Charge of the Bishop of Delaware; Delaware, Webb's: 6.

another. Thirdly, there was concern that changes in the English Church might open gaps between it and the other provinces that were no longer under the authority of the Archbishop or Convocation. Behind these questions lay concern about the situation that had arisen in the diocese of Natal on account of its bishop, Colenso.

Longley approached these issues by summoning a conference of the Anglican bishops. The conference would not have legal authority over the provinces but would bring them together within their shared inheritance of faith. The conference was composed of the bishops, whose ministry was both to unite the people of the Church and also to maintain the heritage of faith. The conference, therefore, relied on the prestige of its members rather than any coercive authority. Longley was absolutely clear that this was not a synod. No new canons would be enacted, rather it was a gathering for fellowship – for mutual understanding and discussion.

There was opposition to the conference in England arising from three concerns. The friends and supporters of Colenso were worried that the conference would somehow impose a solution in Natal. There were some who saw the presence of overseas bishops as being an intrusion into the settled state of the Church of England that might be in conflict with the prerogatives of the Crown. Lastly, there were those for whom the innovatory nature of the conference was problematic; often accompanied by a fear that the bishops might exceed their authority in some way. These concerns were often expressed in a way that failed to appreciate that the Anglican tradition had grown far beyond its English origins.

In due course, the Conference met for a scant four days within the confines of the Palace and sought to address the difficult questions with which it was faced. Unfortunately, it was not able to resolve the question of how the independence of the provinces was to be balanced by mutual accountability. Neither was it able to resolve the question of how any standard of Anglican doctrine or discipline might be maintained. These two questions remain active concerns for the Anglican Communion today, which is why it is important for early twenty-first century theologians to return to the events and the questions of Lambeth 1.

Three: The development of the Conference Tradition

Chapter Three will give an account of the conference series after Lambeth 1, leading to Lambeth 6, which is the focus of this research. A detailed account of the individual conferences would be beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, the narrative will demonstrate the cumulative outcome of the Conferences. The outcome will permit description and analysis of the Anglican Communion as it was when Lambeth 6 commenced.²¹⁹

The Conference Tradition developed its own methodology and an increasing consciousness of its capacity to address issues that faced the communion in an exploratory and advisory way. We shall see that each successive meeting has contributed something new to this methodology for the clarification of Anglican teaching. By Lambeth 6 there was a maturity and continuity in the tradition that made it possible for the 1920 Conference to strike out in an unexpected way – towards something recognisably part of the modern ecumenical endeavour.

A striking feature of the early Conferences is the degree of continuity between them, Davidson himself, for example, attending five out six.²²⁰ The Latin and Greek texts of the first and second Conference Encyclicals were produced by the same person.²²¹ His son did the same work for the third (1888).²²² The participants changed but slowly as bishops then did not generally retire and also held their sees for much longer than is common today. Bishops in the emerging churches were often elected at a relatively young age and served for several decades.

The Lambeth Conferences developed a method and scheme of working that enabled the Anglican bishops to consult on the existing state of thinking within the Communion, expressing their judgement through resolutions that could encourage and stimulate but not bind the provinces. From this we may deduce that one way of answering the question about the locus of authority within the Anglican Communion is to assert that it lies in the consensus of the bishops – authority is not so much in the Communion as of the Communion.

A bishop who does not subscribe to the consensus within the Communion is not thereby expelled from the communion of Anglicans but the extent of that communion is in some sense impaired. Mere impairment is insufficient to cause ecclesial exclusion but it does offer the opportunity for further dialogue, indeed by its nature it could be said to demand further definition, so that by understanding difference a new consensus might be sought.

²¹⁹ Creswell, 75, describes this methodological approach as the ‘detailed description of the case arising from the collected data’.

²²⁰ Addressing Lambeth 6 on the last day, Edith Davidson somewhat pointedly remarked that she and her sister could also remember Lambeth 1 as they were then living in Fulham Palace, they had a more complete memory of the Conferences than even her husband; *Davidson6:25.

²²¹ Christopher Wordsworth, bishop of Lincoln 1868 – 1885.

²²² John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury 1885 – 1911.

The Conferences were at about ten-yearly intervals and brief consideration will be given to the way in which each came about.²²³ An outline of the major issues considered by each will be given and the contributions of each, within the context of the broader conference tradition, will be examined. Given the large body of material that is available by way of outcome from these conferences, the discussion will necessarily be limited in scope. There will be an emphasis on the Encyclical passages and Resolutions of Conference that refer to the two most significant issues for the argument of this thesis: expressions of Anglican self-understanding and the views expressed about other, non-Anglican traditions. Such an examination will allow us to understand the themes and directions of thought that subsequently arose during Lambeth 6.

The material in Chapters One to Three allows us to describe and understand the milieu out of which the Appeal to All Christian People arose. As we proceed, particular recurrent motifs will emerge; these motifs feed directly into the 1920 debates and also impinge on the debates of the 2020s. The investigation of the Conference tradition is important because it shows that the Appeal, although startling and innovative in its time, arose naturally from what had passed before, particularly the growing sense of the importance of seeking for unity among Christians.

b. The Development of the Conference Tradition

Despite the ten-year gaps between the Conferences, a sense of continuity developed between them that can be described as a Conference Tradition. Continuity of membership and assiduous record keeping meant that those attending did not have a sense of coming to a new conference on each occasion but, rather, that they were attending continuations of the Conference. The evidence shows how each meeting added something to a growing shared understanding across the Anglican Communion and across the meetings of the Conference.

1. Lambeth 2, 1878 – continuity.

The president of Lambeth 2 was Tait. He had not wholly approved of the Conference idea and was displeased by the events of 1867; even so, when another Canadian letter arrived (December 1872) he accepted its request for ‘a second meeting of The Conference’.²²⁴ The request was endorsed by the West Indian provincial bishops the following year.²²⁵ Some outstanding matters had not really been

²²³ R1897/2 hoped that the conference be held ‘every ten years or so on the invitation of the Archbishop, if he be willing to give it’, Davidson (1920) 199; international difficulties have twice caused the interval between Conferences to longer.

²²⁴ Stephenson (1978) 43; Davidson (1920) 14.

²²⁵ Davidson (1889) 138.



Fig. 3: Tait's Monument in
Canterbury Cathedral

addressed by the continuation meeting held in December 1868 to receive the committee reports of Lambeth 1: it was only one day long and attended by barely twenty bishops. In 1874, Kerfoot of Pittsburgh visited Tait and, on behalf of the American bishops, urged him not only to convene a meeting but also to make it much longer.²²⁶ Tait was reticent. Addressing the Canterbury Convocation he affirmed that 'very great good' had come out of Lambeth 1 but he was reluctant to convene a meeting of bishops unless there were substantial issues to be considered.²²⁷ The North Americans clearly hoped for an early meeting but Tait had already decided to conduct a diocesan visitation in 1876.²²⁸ He wrote positively to the American bishops but repeated his warning that, 'respecting matters of doctrine no change can be proposed or discussed and that no authoritative explanation of doctrine ought to be taken in hand.'²²⁹

Addressing Convocation Tait said:

There is no intention whatever on the part of anybody to gather the Bishops of the Anglican Church for the sake of defining any matter of doctrine. Our doctrines are contained in our formularies, and our formularies are interpreted by the proper judicial authorities.²³⁰

He was encouraged when the York Convocation supported the proposal and in March 1876 wrote to the metropolitan bishops to inform of his intention to invite their attendance with their suffragans. This became the normal method of invitation for future conferences.²³¹ He also invited suggestions for the agenda. Based on their replies, Tait drafted his invitation in July 1877, assisted by Selwyn of Lichfield (previously of New Zealand), a keen advocate of the Conferences. The topics were similar to those of Lambeth 1 with the question of unity at the head of the list. The bishops would be asked to consider having voluntary boards of arbitration, the latest incarnation of the higher synod idea, as well as a range of other ecclesiastical issues.²³²

²²⁶ Ibid.. 141.

²²⁷ Davidson (1920) 15.

²²⁸ Davidson (1889) 145.

²²⁹ Ibid.. 147.

²³⁰ Chron. Conv. (1875) 15f.

²³¹ Davidson (1920) 17.

²³² Davidson (1920) 18; including relationships between missionaries and local bishops, the position of the Anglican chaplains in continental Europe, 'modern forms of infidelity and the best means of dealing with them' and reports on the condition and progress of the churches represented at the conference.

Tait was aware of the seriousness of ‘issuing an invitation which his brother bishops might feel obliged to accept’, when they already busy running distant dioceses:

No one can doubt that very great good has arisen from ... the last Lambeth Conference. At the same time it must be remembered that it is a serious matter to gather the bishops together from all parts of the globe, unless there is some distinct object for their so gathering ... but it is possible that bishops at a very great distance – such as the Bishop of Athabasca,²³³ ... might perhaps, under a misapprehension, think it was necessarily their duty to come to such a Conference unless it was distinctly stated what was to be done.²³⁴

The Times had allowed its attitude to mellow somewhat, editorialising that:

The bishops will come in large enough numbers to be representative. They will meet in social intercourse, they will hold counsel together, they will pray together ... with the sense that they belong to a body which is essentially and spiritually one. The desire to cherish and keep alive this feeling and to promote it by finding the outward means of expression for it, is a sufficient reason why the proposed Pan-Anglican Synod [sic] should be held.²³⁵

The virulent objection to the Conference project was noticeably absent, most newspaper comments are largely confined to news reports of the Conference invitation.

Lambeth 1 was only four days long; Tait’s Letter of Intention says that the conference would continue to explore the issues that had been previously raised and which had ‘not been given sufficient attention’. Lambeth 2 adopted a three-phase pattern for the meetings that became the norm. The first week was spent in preparatory meetings, the next two in committees investigating issues suggested by bishops and a final week considered the committee reports. Herbert asserts that the major burden of organising the conference fell on Tait’s domestic chaplain, Randall Thomas Davidson.²³⁶

On St. Peter’s day 1878, one hundred bishops gathered in Canterbury Cathedral for the opening service.²³⁷ They also visited St. Augustine’s College: the missionary training establishment so many of them had attended. Tait specially gathered the Americans to thank them for their kindness to his deceased son Crauford, who attended the Boston General Convention of 1877.²³⁸

²³³ William Carpenter Bompas (1834-1906): His yearlong journey to the distant North West was legendary; he has the distinction of founding three dioceses (Athabasca 1873, Mackenzie River 1884 and Selkirk 1891).

²³⁴ Davidson (1920) 16.

²³⁵ The Times continued to use this misnomer until as late as 1908. A news item, 6th July, 1908, is the first instance of ‘Lambeth Conference’ yielded by the on-line Times database, accessed 15th November, 2011.

²³⁶ Herbert 15.

²³⁷ Stephenson (1978)(61) says only thirty or forty, Fisher one hundred, perhaps based on the conference attendance; Stephenson’s work is meticulous and more likely to be reliable; Davidson (1920) 19.

²³⁸ Parry (1879) 20.

Business began at Lambeth, on 2nd July. At Holy Communion Thomson of York preached on a slightly surprising text, ‘when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face’.²³⁹ He developed a theme of the Church making progress through debate.²⁴⁰ He asserted that, ‘[Peter] the great apostle, had not learned all that the school of grace can teach him’. Anglicans, however, did not need such a confrontational approach, meeting rather in brotherhood:

In Conference upon the interests of that branch of the Church, springing from this little island, has spread over the earth that the sun never sets upon her daughter churches, we will never admit a doubt that God is with us.²⁴¹

Conference sessions were held in the Old Library. All but two English bishops were present, with at least 98 of the 173 serving bishops of the Communion.²⁴² After the formalities were completed, including an agreement that the verbatim should not be published, business commenced. Topics were given an initial half-day’s debate and then remitted to the committees for further exploration.²⁴³

The Wednesday sessions considered the question of voluntary boards of arbitration. The American bishops held back because of their need to show their independence of English authority, although acknowledging the benefit of the idea for the colonial churches. In the afternoon the relationships between bishops of missionary sees and the missionaries posted to their dioceses by missionary societies were considered: missionaries were sometimes reluctant to submit to episcopal jurisdiction.²⁴⁴ Thursday was concerned with Anglican chaplaincies in continental Europe and after lunch with ‘modern forms of infidelity’. Finally, on the Friday there was a full day discussing the condition of the churches whose bishops were present. For the next two weeks committees worked at producing reports on each of the five principal topics. Lastly, the reports were reviewed by the whole conference and the final texts included in the Encyclical letter of the Conference.²⁴⁵ No formal resolutions were adopted although the reports did make recommendations.²⁴⁶

The English bishops met the costs of the conference and a hospitality committee organised a social and visiting programme. Some argue that the British bishops dominate the conferences.²⁴⁷ However, it is noticeable that in the report on the creation of a Caribbean province emphasises the need for local agreement and decision. Conference did not think it right to tell local bishops how to organise

²³⁹ Gal 2.11.

²⁴⁰ Parry (1879) 17.

²⁴¹ Davidson (1889) 208.

²⁴² The evangelicals Baring of Durham and Philpott of Worcester declined, Stephenson (1978) 63; attendance figures are often uncertain because of last minute cancellations and unexpected arrivals.

²⁴³ Hobhouse (40) comments, ‘there is not much material in the published biographies of prelates who took part in the Conference for constructing any account of the debates ... until the official record is published they cannot be traced’.

²⁴⁴ Stephenson (1978) 64.

²⁴⁵ Davidson (1920) 119ff.

²⁴⁶ Coleman 4.

²⁴⁷ Ingram 13.

themselves.²⁴⁸ Similarly, on voluntary boards of arbitration the view is that provinces should settle matters within their own authority and canons, ‘your committee are [sic] not prepared to recommend that there should be any one central tribunal of appeal from such provincial tribunals.’²⁴⁹

Parry of Iowa was impressed by Tait both as a president of Conference and also with his hospitality and openness to all the bishops, of whatever nationality. He wrote that Tait was:

First and foremost in rank as he was unquestionably in his presence and many sidedness of character ... gentle, affable, and courteous [in] manner which revealed the catholicity of an earnest Christian character.²⁵⁰

Lee of Delaware is similarly approving writing positively about the international nature of the gathering; he maintains the confidentiality of Conference but his diocesan Charge still manages to convey its flavour. However, his affability fades somewhat when comparing the conference with the First Vatican Council:

In contrast to Rome it did not undertake to set forth new doctrines but to uphold the faith delivered to the saints ... it was remarkably contrasted ... in its untrammelled liberty of debate ... Rome trumpets her unity but it is uniformity produced by coercion, by suppressed enquiry, stifling conviction putting shutters on the mind and deadening the conscience.²⁵¹

Clearly, he is arguing that it is the Anglican tradition that is truly catholic in its scope and ethos. Magee of Peterborough commented:

I feel now that I have learned much from the pan-Anglican and I see too that it is really an institution which will root itself and grow, and will, in all human probability, exercise a powerful influences on the future of the Anglican Communion. That is a good deal to say on the part of one who greatly disliked and dreaded the whole affair from the first.²⁵²

At the end of the final service, in St. Paul’s Cathedral, Tait said that, ‘I feel confident that the effect of our gathering will be that the Church at home and abroad will be strengthened by the mutual counsel that we have taken together.’²⁵³

²⁴⁸ Davidson (1920) 95.

²⁴⁹ Ibid. 88.

²⁵⁰ Parry (1879) 31.

²⁵¹ Lee 12, 14.

²⁵² Hobhouse 33.

²⁵³ John Bull 3rd August, 1887.

2. Lambeth 3, 1888 – a broadening vision.



Fig. 4: Benson's monument.

Davidson writes that, 'it was virtually settled at the Conference of 1878 that a third conference should be held at Lambeth ten years later and the death of Archbishop Tait made no difference in these arrangements'.²⁵⁴ Lambeth 3, again, began with worship in Canterbury Cathedral, Benson presiding from St. Augustine's chair 'ex cathedra'.²⁵⁵ There were no preparatory letters and resolutions, Benson simply issued the

invitations.²⁵⁶ Hobhouse comments, 'Benson was the last man in the world to wish that such a meeting should stop, with his wide outlook, keen historical sense and inborn love of pageantry, a great assembly of prelates ... appealed most strongly to his sympathies.'²⁵⁷

Bp. John Wordsworth of Salisbury wrote to his diocesan clergy asking their prayers for the conference, that 'the voluntary federal union of those churches represented will become in God's good time the type of union for the rest of Christendom ... a free council of Christian Bishops recognising ties of natural brotherhood and of historical development but not claiming for itself an artificial authority or a divine right of lordship'.²⁵⁸ He was a member of a family closely connected with the management of the conferences, the son of Bp. Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln and nephew of Bp. Charles Wordsworth of St Andrews.

Benson preached on the text, 'each part of the body when working properly promotes the body's growth building itself up in love'.²⁵⁹ He lauded the growth of the Communion and its encouragement of good government based on Christian principles. The spread of the Anglican tradition arose from its energy:

New churches are forming new nations ... presenting ... the higher ideals that are the basis of society, of the marriage union, of family life, of self-restraint, of truthfulness, not only the life

²⁵⁴ Davidson (1920) 27.

²⁵⁵ Davidson (1920) 106.

²⁵⁶ Stephenson (1978) 74.

²⁵⁷ Hobhouse 37.

²⁵⁸ Wordsworth, J (1887) Pastoral Letter; London, Browns.

²⁵⁹ Ephesians 4.16.

of the individual but which form the people ... a recognised commercial reality and even administration of justice, a conscience in dealing with subject races, public action on principles not merely selfish, the devotion of lives to benevolent causes are things found under Christian governments and scarcely looked for elsewhere.²⁶⁰

Contemporary writers were taken by the breadth of experience and culture represented by the bishops – including Crowther of The Niger, an emancipated slave.²⁶¹ Parry was deeply moved by ‘the tears of [Crowther] when the procession passed the grave of Dr. Livingstone’.²⁶² Contemporary commentators saw this diversity as evidence of the catholicity of Anglicanism; it was not merely a local version of the faith but one which had been able to transplant itself internationally.

Conference sessions were held in the Library; Mylne of Bombay criticised the arrangements, writing that, ‘the acoustic properties of the room are so bad that the rows had to be packed in closely in order to enable all to hear’.²⁶³ Although Lambeth seemed the obvious place for the Conference its facilities were becoming inadequate in the face of the growth in numbers of the international episcopate.

The working pattern of the second conference was repeated.²⁶⁴ There is a greater maturity in the agenda of this conference in the sense that the conference did not concern itself wholly with the internal or faith issues that were prominent within the Communion but began to look beyond itself into the social context in which Anglicans found themselves.²⁶⁵ Perhaps this reflects Benson’s own concerns; the agenda was drawn up by him although he clearly leaned heavily on his staff, including Davidson, by then Dean of Windsor, who was responsible for the management of the conference.²⁶⁶

The Encyclical does discuss church governance but its first concerns are with temperance, purity of life and the care of emigrants. Social concerns were placed before matters of ecclesiastical administration. There are also sections on marriage and polygamy, Lord’s Day observance and the rise of Socialism; these show an explicit concern with the social context of Anglicans. Although many bishops spoke, contemporary assessment places emphasis on the impact of Crowther’s words, drawn out of life experiences that were unimaginable for many present.²⁶⁷

The Encyclical presents shared understandings coupled with the principle that local churches know how best to address local issues, for instance when dealing with issues such as polygamy. On mutual

²⁶⁰ Benson, EW (1888) Sermon at the beginning of the Lambeth Conference; London, SPCK: 6 ff.

²⁶¹ The first Black Anglican bishop.

²⁶² Parry, W.S. (1888) The Third Lambeth Conference; privately published: 30.

²⁶³ Mylne, L.G. (1889) Counsels and Principles of the Lambeth Conference of 1888; Byculla, Education Society’s Press; 3.

²⁶⁴ Davidson (1920) 37.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Stephenson (1978) 75.

²⁶⁶ Chadwick in Coleman ix.

²⁶⁷ Stephenson (1978) 80.

relations it says that, ‘within our Communion the duly-certified action of each Church or Province should be respected by the other Churches and their members’.²⁶⁸

Rejecting the idea of a supra-national Council it says:

We would counsel patient consideration and consultation, of such character as may eventually supersede the necessity for creating an authority which might, whether as a Council of advice, or in a function more closely resembling that of a Court, place us in circumstances prejudicial alike to order and to liberty of action.²⁶⁹

This Encyclical is the first to extend the notion of unity beyond the Anglican Communion; it also considers the relationship of Anglicans to other Christian communions. There are sections about relations with the Scandinavian churches, the Old Catholics and the East. The letter is generous in its outlook and welcoming to the development of relationships, particularly with the Old Catholics, but it is clear that the traditions do not yet know one another and that there are unspecified ‘barriers remaining’. The continuance of episcopacy in such churches is viewed positively but there must be further explorations before the traditions might give mutual recognition.²⁷⁰ The conclusion about the East is more focused. The chief barriers to mutual recognition are the Filioque clause of the Nicene Creed, Anglican failure to baptise with a triple immersion and the lack of Orthodox imposition on hands during confirmation. Some Anglicans saw the use of ikons as an obstacle but the discussion concedes that they are not idolatrous.²⁷¹ The section has an eirenic tone, suggesting that despite doctrinal differences, Anglicans should honour the long years of persecution suffered by Eastern Christians – and not seek to detach them from their denominational allegiance.²⁷²

The Home Reunion Report is the first Lambeth citation of the Chicago Quadrilateral.²⁷³ The Quadrilateral is advanced as a basis upon which Anglicans could confer with other Christians with a view to finding sufficient agreement leading to reunion.²⁷⁴ The outcomes of this conference were, for the first time, presented as a wide-ranging series of resolutions, most of which are not germane to this thesis.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁸ Davidson (1920) 112.

²⁶⁹ Ibid. 113.

²⁷⁰ Davidson (1920) 161.

²⁷¹ Ibid. 168.

²⁷² Ibid. 169.

²⁷³ Ibid. 158.

²⁷⁴ The Quadrilateral is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

²⁷⁵ Fisher 10.

3. Fourth Conference 1897 – consolidation.

Lambeth 4 was held a year early to coincide with the thirteenth centenary of the arrival of Augustine in England and also with Queen Victoria's Jubilee. The Pall Mall Gazette suggested that the bishops



Fig. 5: Frederick Temple's Monument.

might find the Conference anti-climatic coming as it did directly after the Jubilee.²⁷⁶ Benson issued the invitations but died before the conference met, Frederick Temple presided.²⁷⁷

Temple had little influence over the planning, consequently he kept the arrangements he could make very much to himself: rarely consulting the Conference Secretary, Davidson, now bishop of Rochester.²⁷⁸ Temple's conduct of the chair caused tension; Davidson says he was 'vigorous, brusque and effective' but with a reluctance to acknowledge the part his predecessor had played in preparing for the conference. Some of the bishops, especially the Americans, found his manner difficult but were eventually won over by him.²⁷⁹ For example he wrote the Encyclical letter without consultation. Certain phrases in it were felt to be unduly

harsh, particularly about the missionary zeal of the Church of England, and he flatly refused to accept amendments during the debate. The following morning he conceded the points in a statement but when one of the bishops rose in a conciliatory tone to note his concession he was told, 'You may thank me as much as you like, Sir, but you must thank me in silence'.²⁸⁰

A contemporary newspaper described Temple as 'a really impressive type of the self-made man'.²⁸¹ Chadwick, from a modern perspective, more succinctly, as a 'dictator'.²⁸² Carpenter concludes that it was simply unfortunate that he had come to the primacy so late in life.²⁸³ Sidney Dark, the Anglo-Catholic biographer of Davidson, described the Encyclical as 'a colourless document not unfairly described as a series of truisms and platitudes'.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁶ Pall Mall Gazette 2nd July, 1897.

²⁷⁷ August 1895, Davidson (1920) 40.

²⁷⁸ Bell 303.

²⁷⁹ Stephenson (1978) 96.

²⁸⁰ Stephenson (1978) 108.

²⁸¹ Daily News 1st July, 1897.

²⁸² Chadwick in Coleman ix.

²⁸³ Carpenter, E & Hastings, A (1997) *Cantuar: the Archbishops in their office* (3rd Ed.) London, Mowbray , 305.

²⁸⁴ Dark 97.

For the first time there was a period of retreat before the Conference led by King of Lincoln, greatly respected – despite his trial before Benson on charges of ritualism.²⁸⁵ To commemorate Augustine's centennial the bishops travelled by special train to the traditional place of his landing at Ebbsfleet, in the parish of Minster-in-Thamet.²⁸⁶ They then returned to Canterbury where the customary events in the Cathedral and St. Augustine's College took place. The following Monday, 194 bishops assembled in the Guard Room at Lambeth to address Benson's agenda, noticeably more domestic in tone than its predecessor. Church Unity was one of the twelve topics but the emphasis was clearly on the communion's organisation and internal affairs.

The 'Organisation of the Communion' committee returned to familiar ground with its proposals for the establishment of a voluntary Tribunal of Reference, under the Archbishop of Canterbury's presidency and formed as required. The conference refused the proposals, instead asking Temple to form a Consultative Body. Temple agreed and it is known to have met at least once. The Encyclical says that the Consultative Body should have only 'moral authority' so maintaining the non-coercive approach which is characteristic of Lambeth thinking.²⁸⁷ The American bishops remained very suspicious even of such a consultative, non-authoritative body and we may see their influence at work once again to ensure that the churches within the communion were regarded as equal, with no authority imposed above the provincial level.

The committee proposed twelve resolutions. R1897/7 encouraged the use of the title of Archbishop by the metropolitan bishops and R1897/11 welcomed the revival of religious communities and the office of Deaconess 'in our branch of the Church', the first Lambeth reference to formal ministry by women.²⁸⁸ An important group of resolutions concerned with missionary work emphasise the need for the church to adapt to local circumstances, not placing 'the burdens of foreign [i.e. English] customs upon them'.²⁸⁹ 'Native Churches' should be encouraged to see themselves as members of the church of their place and not a foreign church implanted into their societies, they should seek to be independent and self-supporting but yet understand themselves as having a Catholic heritage of faith.²⁹⁰

The ecumenical resolutions are generally low key. Each says that not enough was known about the other churches and that the best course of action would be for investigative committees be appointed. R1897/39, indeed, refers back to an identical request made with regard to the validity of orders in the

²⁸⁵ Cf. Stephenson (1978) 97; see Chapter One.

²⁸⁶ Fisher 11; Times 3rd July, 1897 'Grand Episcopal Excursion': the arrangements were complicated by the lack of railway stations either at Ebbsfleet or at Richborough, whence the bishops repaired for lunch in a marquee.

²⁸⁷ Stephenson (1978) 103.

²⁸⁸ Davidson (1920) 201.

²⁸⁹ R1897/19.

²⁹⁰ R1897/19 and R1897/20.

Swedish Church by Committee 10 in 1888²⁹¹ with the hope that a report might indeed be presented in 1908.²⁹²

R1897/27 is more positive, saying:

That in the Foreign Mission Field of the Church's work, where signal spiritual blessings have attended the labours of Christian Missionaries not connected with the Anglican Communion, a special obligation has arisen to avoid, as far as possible without compromise of principle, whatever tends to prevent the due growth and manifestation of that "unity of the Spirit", which should ever mark the Church of Christ.

The Conference's positive attitude to the Eastern Orthodox Churches gave rise to almost the only non-official publication in relation to Lambeth 4, a report by the committee of the National Protestant Church Union which is condemnatory of rapprochement. They write that, although the Orthodox had endured long persecutions and held that much that was scriptural and excellent, they remained 'altogether impoverished and corrupt', unworthy of consideration for re-union, talk of which was in any case part of an Anglo-Catholic manoeuvre to deprotestantise the Church of England.²⁹³

This conference can be seen as a consolidation of what had passed before, it was not innovative in the way that the three previous conferences had been. Doubtless it would have helped to secure the bonds of friendship and allegiance between the members of the ever-growing episcopal body. As Temple wrote in the Encyclical, 'Every meeting of the Lambeth Conference deepens the feeling of the unity which originally made the Conference possible and now gives increasing value to its deliberations.'²⁹⁴

4. Fifth Conference 1908 – looking outwards.

1908 was the year of two great Anglican gatherings: a Pan-Anglican Congress was held in the early summer, directly before Lambeth 5. Discussion of the Pan-Anglican Congress is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, we may note that the event meant that many of the bishops came to Lambeth having had the opportunity to give prior thought to some of the agenda subjects. The Conference later expressed its deep appreciation of the value of the Congress and its potential for impact on the missionary endeavour of the Communion.²⁹⁵ Davidson, now Archbishop of Canterbury, felt the strain of having two such gatherings in the same year was very great and said this should not be allowed to happen on any subsequent occasion.²⁹⁶ Bishop Montgomery, secretary of the SPG, gives interesting

²⁹¹ Davidson (1920) 161.

²⁹² R1897/39.

²⁹³ NPCU (1898) Lambeth Conference and the Churches of the East, The; London NPCU.

²⁹⁴ Davidson (1920) 187.

²⁹⁵ R1908/26.

²⁹⁶ Bell 569.

accounts of both events in his Memoir which means that we have rather better contemporaneous detail of the 1908 conference than its predecessors.²⁹⁷

Pertinently, one Congress paper asked whether, ‘the Lambeth Conference satisfies the demand’ for a general council or synod of the Communion; it also asked whether the metropolitans might not meet regularly and form an executive body for the Communion.²⁹⁸ The speakers at the Congress were not



Fig. 6: Davidson’s Monument.

supportive saying that what was needed was not closer union with Canterbury but between the constituents of the Communion.²⁹⁹

1908 was Davidson’s fourth Conference and the first at which he was President; he was joined by 241 other bishops.³⁰⁰ The proceedings began with a Saturday at Canterbury followed by a service at Westminster Abbey on the Sunday (5th July). Although there was no

preliminary retreat prior to this conference, a devotional day was led by Coplestone of Calcutta, Metropolitan of India, at the end of the committee phase.³⁰¹ The conference considered eleven broad subject areas; two were new to the agenda (Clergy Training and Ministries of Healing). Although there was a discussion about divorce, as in 1888, this was set in the context of a broader discussion of marriage than had previously been the case.³⁰² The discussions show the bishops struggling with the implications of the Anglican tradition no longer being simply English, as conditions in other parts of the world begin to be understood as impacting more and more on Anglican practice. During his ground-breaking visit to North America (1904) Davidson replied to the welcome given by Montreal diocese saying that the ‘world seemed so much bigger than people had used to think’ and we may see this perception expressed in the resolutions adopted by this Conference.³⁰³

For example, the 1878 and 1897 discussions on the localised adaption of the Book of Common Prayer were revisited. R1908/27 sets out principles whereby the Book might be revised by local churches in terms of enrichment and the avoidance of redundancy. This is both an acknowledgement of the

²⁹⁷ The writing is primarily detailed narrative rather than analysis.

²⁹⁸ Stephenson (1978) 114; citing Edwin Palmer, Fellow of Balliol College, Bishop of Bombay from 1908.

²⁹⁹ Stephenson (1978) 115 citing the Congress Report.

³⁰⁰ Contra Stephenson – he forgets that Davidson had been at Lambeth 2 as Tait’s chaplain.

³⁰¹ Davidson (1920) 43ff.

³⁰² Ibid.. 326.

³⁰³ Bell 444.

importance of the Book as shared heritage but also as a book that could no longer be left unaligned to local need. The Book should be retained ‘as a bond of Union and Standard of Devotion’ but it needs also to be rendered intelligible and made ‘better suited to the diverse needs of the various races within the Anglican Communion’.³⁰⁴

Similarly, the value to the home and overseas churches of young clergy serving elsewhere in the Communion for a few years at the beginning of their ministry is emphasised in R1908/9 but, interestingly, is accompanied by the earnest hope that such postings might be on a reciprocal basis. The report of Committee 2 (Supply and Training of Clergy) struggles considerably with the details of the legal issues around the service of overseas clergy in England and is at great pains to make clear the value attached to such service by the English church, this seems to be the first acknowledgement that the mother church was as much in need of the aid of her children as the children were of their mother’s.³⁰⁵

The perennial topics of the organisation of the Anglican Communion and its relationships with other traditions were given their due time and committees. No less than twenty resolutions are concerned with issues around Anglican relationships with other Christian traditions and communions.³⁰⁶ However, on examining the data we may conclude that a more rounded approach to the agenda had been taken and some advance in understanding the particularities of other Christian traditions was now taking place.

The Encyclical was drafted by Davidson with the assistance of four others and was the longest in the series to that point, more than double the length of the second and third such letters and a quarter longer than Temple’s.³⁰⁷ A significant innovation at this conference was that the outcomes of its deliberations were all focused around a single theme, that of service; this is made explicit in the Encyclical which suggested that the theme made a natural focus for the Conference resolutions.³⁰⁸ Subsequent conferences have generally had a cluster of themes appropriate to their time: this approach is one particular contributions of Lambeth 5, the other is the explicit recognition of the interdependence of the Communion’s churches.

³⁰⁴ R1908/24.

³⁰⁵ Davidson (1920) 347.

³⁰⁶ R1908/58 to R1908/78.

³⁰⁷ Comparing the printed lengths in Davidson (1920).

³⁰⁸ Fisher 11.

b. Analysis

The second Canadian letter asks for a second meeting of the Conference not for a second Conference, showing that the Conference were already seen as a continuum. They acknowledged the benefits of the Conference but also believed that there was unfinished business from Lambeth 1. The sense of continuity was underlined by the way in which many of the bishops attended several Conferences in succession. Davidson serves as an illustration of that continuity, with the Conferences seeming like milestones in a career that leads, with a sense of inevitability, to his presidency of two Conferences. He was far from alone in being a regular presence, however. No detailed research appears to have been undertaken on the social and educational background of the bishops but, at any rate in the early stages, they seem to have been a cohesive group, sharing a common culture, faith and language.

Each of the early conferences contributed distinctive features to the emerging Conference tradition. Lambeth 2 bequeathed the form of the Conference Agenda and the practice of inviting the metropolitans as equals to Canterbury, accompanied by suffragans at their discretion. Lambeth 3 emphasised the expectation of continuity, showing that the conference had become an established feature of the communion's life; the focus moves from domestic concern for Anglican unity towards a search for unity between the communions, hence the adoption of the Quadrilateral. Lambeth 4 consolidated that which had passed before but one should note the clear emphasis on the responsibility of the provinces for their own affairs; the whole communion should trust provinces to know their own situations best though, critically, it failed to address the issue of mutual accountability and rejected any suggestion of a central coercive authority. Lambeth 5 built on the principle of provincial responsibility, accepting that local churches could legitimately modify or replace BCP and that the provinces were the best judges of how that might be done, as well as of social issues such as the Anglican response to polygamy; the Encyclical also adopted service as its central theme, the idea of a theme within the Conference debates became normal.

Thus we see that debate in an atmosphere of mutual attention lies at the heart of the Conference process. Thomson's Lambeth 2 sermon proposes an ambition in an intuitive and predictive way: understanding and respect would come through debate even where disagreement might remain. His sermon is a valuable contemporary comment, conveying a sense of rightness about the conference method. He ventures a prophetic tone in asserting that if Christendom ever were to reunite it would have to be through such a method of leadership meeting to consult, rather than to assert some kind of authority. The bishops saw themselves as acting in an ancient tradition, gathering to debate issues of the day but how far this was really based in the reality of the original Great Councils and how far it was a kind of pious wishful thinking must be a matter of debate.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁹ Cf Chadwick, in Coleman: 19.

We have already asked what other model of decision making could have been adopted. Longley having set his face against an actual synod there seemed to be no further discussion, except that Thomson suggests that the only other possible model was the Roman Catholic one of centralised authority. Repeatedly, the Conferences opposed centralised authority; it is not the role of the ‘central’ to dictate to the provincial. Any central authority was limited to that which an archbishop might be able to accumulate by virtue of the prestige of his office combined with whatever personal charm he possessed. The Conferences themselves added little to that, apart from the ‘moral influence’ for which the original American letter had hoped. From this it follows that the communion is not held together by common authority but by common character. Three times the Conference declined to impose any form of supra-provincial synod, making the Communion an association through shared and mutual consent rather than a form of obedience. The significance of this non-coercive heritage cannot be understated, particularly in terms of the communion rending issues of the early Twenty-first Century. The Conferences do not form a supra-provincial body that may direct the actions of the component churches; the Conferences have refused to be such body in themselves and have also repeatedly refused to countenance the establishment of such a body. While frustrating where provinces have seemed to act irregularly, by ordaining women or by planting missions into the sphere of another province for example, the principle is that such provinces can only be persuaded not coerced. Therefore to be Anglican implies accepting plurality for the sake of comprehension. Recognition of this point is central to the argument that is developed in Chapter Eleven.

Central to the development of this approach were the American bishops who, instinctively, were not prepared to acknowledge any authority beyond their own nation, in keeping with its very origins. Their role in developing the consultative, non-coercive approach adopted by the Conferences must be admitted. American respect for Canterbury was based on the ecclesial heritage of the American Anglicans – there was no question of residual authority inherent in the relationship. In this sense, we might assert that the critical event for the growth of the Communion was not the acquisition of the colonial daughter churches but the loss of the American Anglican community. Whatever form the Communion adopted had to be one that could accommodate the entirely distinct nature of the American Anglican Church, as well as an almost bewildering array of other Anglican iterations.

Following from this, we can extend the argument to say that the indigenisation of the American church, its acquisition of localitude, serves as a template for the development of other Anglican churches. Each local church had to bring together its geographical identity with its Anglican heritage in the same way that the Christian faith itself has always needed to be adoptive and enculturated. Thus, it seems to be part of Anglican heritage to be both recognisably Anglican and recognisably local. Symptomatic of that was the important Conference decision to endorse the development of local liturgical forms. The new provinces needed to have liturgy that could hold together both the heritage of Anglican practice and local need. Practicality is given a higher priority than the artificial retention

of a text that was no longer suitable to the places where Anglicans were actually ministering. Further it obeys a founding Anglican principle that worship should be ‘in the tongue of the people’.³¹⁰

In terms of relationships beyond the Anglican Communion, we observe a progression in thought from concern with maintaining the unity of the Communion towards seeking the unity of Christendom itself. Early seventeenth-century Anglicans had been interested in maintaining unity with the European churches of the Reformation; that concern was subsequently overwhelmed by the political situation in the middle of the century. The somewhat triumphalist Anglican Church of the Restoration settlement was more interested in mission to the new colonies than ties to old Europe. The diversity of interest in relationships with other communions appears to be a progression from earlier concerns; it is not concerned simply with pan-protestant union but has a wider interest seeking to include the Orthodox churches of the East. However, Anglican antipathy towards Rome meant that, at this early stage, there was no desire for or hope of engaging Rome in any ecumenical process.

The early Conferences failed to articulate a coherent means by which the independent provinces could demonstrate the interdependence which is the counterpoint to their independence. There were seriously divisive issues but the bonds of the communion had held; mostly, one might suppose, this was because of a sense of goodwill between the provinces. However, this is a critical ecclesiological question that has great significance for Anglicans in the early twenty-first Century where good will has, to some extent, collapsed. It is in the contrast between independence and interdependence that we address the issue of the balance between the church in its local expression and the church in its catholic whole. The Communion still struggles to define the responsibility of the provinces towards each other; this issue is further complicated by the responsibility of the provinces to develop appropriate cultural integrity within their own societies. The critical question, then, is that if the issue could not be given definitive resolution then, in those early Lambeth Conferences, what hope is there that this might be achieved in the future? Thus, we might ask whether the Gafcon primates are right to assert that the instruments of unity no longer have the capacity to hold the communion together. This is a key and pressing question for the early twenty-first century and at the heart of the discussion in Chapter Eleven.

c. Conclusion

After a cautiously innovatory beginning in 1867, the series of Lambeth Conferences developed a definite tradition of fraternal debate. From the second Conference there was an explicit understanding that these were continuations of a Conference Tradition, rather than the summoning of a new

³¹⁰ Article 24.

conference each decade. On each occasion opinions were expressed about issues within the communion, between the Christian communions and beyond the Communion – its world context, so to speak. The debates showed the collective mind of the leadership within the Anglican Communion, as reported to the members through encyclicals, reports and resolutions. The data in this chapter shows how each of the early conferences made a distinct contribution to the growth of the Conference Tradition, introducing important strands that remained active in the shared thinking of the bishops and the Communion.

The conclusions that the bishops reached were not legislative but advisory. From the outset it was clear that the Conference was a conference, not a synod or council in the classic and technical sense of an authoritative Church body that could define doctrine or practice. From that starting point developed an understanding that there was no authority within the conferences to give direction to ‘the provinces’. In this usage the provinces are the individual national iterations of Anglicanism even where they are structurally multi-provincial, such as in Canada or Nigeria. Those provinces know their own locations and cultures and are the best units to express Anglican practice within them, such as by producing localised editions of the Book of Common Prayer. The Conference refused to agree to any supra-provincial authoritative body, meaning that the Communion must be viewed as an association of churches through shared and mutual consent rather than a form of obedience.

The experience of the Americans was central to the development to the development of that way of viewing the Communion. The history of their nation meant that they had had to find authority within their own fellowship once they were cut off from political ties with Britain. The effect of that severance was to remove any authority that the see of Canterbury might have originally had. Thereafter their adherence to Canterbury was a voluntary participation on the basis of shared belief, practice and heritage. The churches in British colonies had a similar experience partly based on their remote location and the increasing reluctance of the Crown to exercise any role in their lives.

The conference tradition made provision for the shared life of the Communion in a range of areas. It sought to reach a common mind on social and theological issues that had developed. The conference tradition failed to address the question of how the provinces might show their mutual accountability. The impact of that failure is still felt in the early Twenty-first Century when serious disagreement has undermined the bonds of shared heritage.

A clear Conference Tradition had been developed and embedded in Anglican thinking, a sixth conference was expected to follow: heir to what had passed before, conscious of its heritage and continuity – perhaps personified in Davidson its president – but meeting in a world context that was in stark contrast to that of the Fifth, a cataclysmic conflict had struck Europe from which no part of the world was immune and between this early series of conferences and the – eventual – Sixth Conference a great gulf was fixed.

Section Two: the milieu of the Appeal

Research Question: What were the immediate circumstances that caused the Appeal to be made?

Four: The origins and elements of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral

The first section of this thesis explored the milieu from which the Appeal to All Christian People arose and has shown how the Anglican Communion evolved a method of enunciating its doctrinal and ecclesiological understandings through the vehicle of periodic gatherings of its leadership. Our attention now turns to the circumstances in which the Appeal came to be made.

The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral succinctly describes the essentials of ecclesial life and identity as understood by Anglicans.³¹¹ The Quadrilateral tells us how Anglicans understand the Church and therefore how they understand themselves as part of the Church. By setting out the essentials in this way, Anglicans both explain themselves and also invite Christians of other traditions to agree with them. Shared understanding might lead to convergence of the separated communions revealing the theological unity of the Church in the world through acts of reunion. The Conferences encouraged intra-communal convergence in denominational thinking and gave clarity to the boundaries of problematic questions. In terms of Anglican self-definition the major development was the Quadrilateral. Delineation of the essentials of the nature of the Christian Church helped Anglicans define their beliefs about the nature and status of their own community. The acceptance of the Quadrilateral took place within the development of the Conference tradition and is arguably one of its greatest achievements.

As discussions about reunification amongst Christians became more common and urgent in the early twentieth century Anglicans needed to find an expression of their ecclesial self-understanding. The Quadrilateral became their chosen definition, an attempt to express the essential elements of what Anglicans hold the Church to have at the heart of its identity, its core ecclesiological understanding. Understanding the Quadrilateral is essential to our full appreciation of the Appeal – not only to understand the background to the Appeal but also to understand why Lambeth 6 took the decision to set the Quadrilateral aside in favour of a new formulation. What had happened that they should want to set aside this apparently fundamental definition? We shall see in Chapter Eight that this decision was brought about by a desire to be more conciliatory but that this gesture ultimately failed.

Anglican tradition is not given to the production of systematic theologies as some other Christian communities are; there is no equivalent of the Summa of Aquinas. Ramsey famously describes Anglicanism as, ‘a method, a use and a direction’ rather than being a system with an established corpus of doctrine.³¹² Unfortunately, this means that when Anglicans have to give account of their faith to others, they have no authoritative documents to deploy beyond the original seventeenth

³¹¹ Material from this chapter was presented as a paper to the Ecclesiastical History Society Postgraduate Colloquium, Bristol, 22nd February, 2014.

³¹² Ramsey, A.M. (1945) ‘What is Anglican Theology’ in *Theology* 48; 2.

century Formularies, which are relatively limited in their scope.³¹³ The 1922 report of the Archbishops' Commission is called *Doctrine in the Church of England* not the doctrines of the Church of England, not least because the commission were unable to resolve many of the issues that arise from Anglicans having a range of views in fundamental areas.³¹⁴ The outcome is a spectrum not a specification. Similarly, the Quadrilateral does not contain great detail but rather directs our attention to the areas that must be explored together.

The first iteration of the Quadrilateral emerged in New England in the immediate post-Civil War period. Americans were tragically riven by the conflict and their churches had divided along the north-south boundary. Following the military resolution of the war, a longing for healing and unity had arisen among protestant Christians. William Reed Huntington was a prominent, influential member of the House of Deputies of the General Convention, a renowned parish priest and prolific writer.³¹⁵ Huntington's book, *The Church Idea*, is an extended essay reflecting on the essential elements of ecclesial identity.³¹⁶ The inspiration of his writing was a deep concern to enable the churches in the America to draw together into a visible union of what he later called 'American Catholics'.³¹⁷ Huntington had participated in an ecumenical ministerial fraternal in Worcester, Mass. and Wright suggests that the first germ of his work may have arisen from those discussions.³¹⁸ Huntington argues that America needed the Church to help it recover from the national trauma but the Church is fatally hindered by its disunity, 'The Church fails because the Church is broken'.³¹⁹

The Quadrilateral arose from particular circumstances in North America but as a summary of Anglican ecclesial principles it came to have far wider currency. The question of its origin is problematic, not because of any doubt about the sequence of the events but because each of its elements has roots in the earliest days of the Christian faith.³²⁰ Anglicans see it as not merely a nineteenth century statement but something derived from the essential deposit of faith of the whole Christian Church, an expression of what it is to be faithful to the teachings of Christ and the Apostles. To discuss the Quadrilateral is therefore to discuss the faith itself, with profound implications for the discipleship and self-understanding of the individual.

³¹³ Cf. Avis, P. (2007) *The Identity of Anglicanism*, London T&T Clark; 1.

³¹⁴ ACD (1922) *Doctrine in the Church of England*; London SPCK. Cf. Carpenter (1997) *Cantuar*; London, Mowbray; 430.

³¹⁵ He was twice a major participant in the revision process of the American Prayer Book and a trustee of the Anglican Cathedral in New York, which he helped to design. The library of his final parish, Grace Church (New York City), holds sixteen printed volumes of his works besides copies of his better known published works, Wright 213; American Anglicans commemorate him on July 27th.

³¹⁶ Huntington, W.R. (1870) *The Church Idea*, New York, Cambridge.

³¹⁷ Huntington W.R. (1909) *The Four Theories of Visible Church Unity*; <http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/wrh/unity1909>; accessed 29th January, 2012.

³¹⁸ Wright, 8.

³¹⁹ Huntington (1870) 215.

³²⁰ Cf. Wright, J.R. (ed.) (1988) *Quadrilateral at One Hundred*; Cincinnati, Forward Movement; p. 8ff; cf. also Woodhouse-Hawkins in Wright 61.

a. The origin and growth of the Quadrilateral

1. William Reed Huntington

In his study, *The Church Idea*, Huntington proposed four essential elements to the identity and praxis of the Church:

1. The Holy Scriptures as the Word of God.
2. The Primitive Creeds as the Rule of Faith.
3. The two Sacraments ordained by Christ himself.
4. The Episcopate as the key-stone of Governmental Unity.

The description is terse; Wright says it is, ‘minimalist, reductionist and anti-confessional in intent’. We might say that in order for others to agree to this summary, the less content there might be, the more likely the chance of agreement.³²¹ Huntington himself writes:

The Anglican principle and Anglican system are two very different things. The writer does not favour attempting to foist the whole Anglican system upon America; while yet he believes that the Anglican principle is America’s best hope.³²²

There remains a degree of ambiguity about how Reed derived his version of the Quadrilateral.³²³ At the time of its centenary there seems to have been broad agreement amongst scholars that the matter could not be resolved. The English theologian F.D. Maurice, some forty years previously, had written of there being six essential elements to the ecclesial identity: baptism, the creeds, forms of worship, the Eucharist, the ministry grounded upon the episcopal order and the Scriptures.³²⁴ All the essentials of the Quadrilateral are present, although differently grouped and only one element, ‘forms of worship’ is additional. Huntington comments that some might be surprised that he had not included ‘forms of worship’ in his description, suggesting that he was mindful of Maurice as he wrote.³²⁵ Although not included in his Quadrilateral, Huntington says that BCP would still have a place in the future Church of the Reconciliation, arguing that the book was part of Anglican practice rather than Anglican principle.³²⁶ However, he adds that if the claims made for BCP by its supporters are true, then it would have an increasing place, but that at the same time other traditions of worship might also flourish just as in the first days of the Church there had been a wide range of liturgy.³²⁷ Similarly, he

³²¹ Ibid. 11, original orthography.

³²² Ibid. 10.

³²³ Woodhouse-Hawkins, in Wright 62.

³²⁴ These are the chapter headings of the opening of Vol. 2 of Maurice, F.D. (1842) *The Kingdom of Christ* London, Rivingtons.

³²⁵ Huntington (1870) 204.

³²⁶ Huntington is of course referring to the American BCP and to the American Articles.

³²⁷ Ibid. 201.

omits the Articles of Religion from his Quadrilateral seeing them as part of Anglican heritage, rather than of the heritage of the whole Church.

The second version of the Quadrilateral was at the heart of a lengthy resolution of the American House of Bishops during the 1886 General Convention held in Chicago. The resolution was not put to the Deputies but a form of it later returned to that House, where it was adopted in the Lambeth version as part of a resolution calling for a Joint Commission on Christian Unity. The amended text was clearly acceptable to Huntington, as he proposed the relevant resolution himself.³²⁸ The American bishops did not ignore the importance of Huntington's claims for Anglican principles but clearly felt that he had been overly terse; their text was significantly modified. The changes are italicized below:

1. 'The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God
2. The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith
3. The two Sacraments – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him.
4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples of God into the unity of His Church.³²⁹

As we have seen in Chapter Three, Lambeth 3 spent considerable time considering relationships between the Christian traditions. Among the Resolutions adopted on the subject stands R1888/11, which includes a version of Huntington's Quadrilateral.³³⁰ The Lambeth version is described as, 'articles [which] supply a basis on which approach may be made by God's blessings towards home reunion'.³³¹

The text of the four clauses is not the same as in Huntington or at Chicago. One of the amendments, ironically, uses the language of the 39 Articles to amplify Huntington's original. The amendments are italicised:

1. *'The Holy Scriptures of the Old New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation', and being the rule and ultimate standard of faith*
2. *The Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal symbol; and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of faith.*
3. The two sacraments ordained by Christ himself – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by him.

³²⁸ Wright 13.

³²⁹ Ibid. viii, original orthography.

³³⁰ Reaffirmed in the same text by Lambeth 4.

³³¹ Coleman 13.

4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church.

In the following sections we will examine the four clauses in turn, considering the development of the text of each and their roots in the deeper history and theology of the Christian religious tradition.

2: Scripture

Adherence to the canon of Scripture has long been a feature of normative Christianity and the addition of other texts a symptom of heterodoxy. Additional texts occasionally appeared in the first Christian centuries, which were often pseudopigraphic; claims of supplementary revelation were also known in the ancient world, particularly in Gnostic circles.³³² In modern times additional texts are more likely to be represented as supplementary revelation, such as the Book of Mormon. Adherence to a supplementary text, then, becomes an identifier of a group that consequently is not normally considered to be within the spectrum of those ‘who believe as the Church believes’. The most important test of a text’s claim to Scriptural status was its connection with a known leader among the first Christians. A number of attempts to define the range of Scripture are known to have been made but by the early fourth century acceptance of the Athanasian canon was normative. Anglican adherence to the Athanasian Canon is an aspect of a claim to hold the faith once delivered, without sectarian addition, rooted in the patristic church.

The evolution of the Quadrilateral statement on Scripture is illustrated below:

| SCRIPTURE | |
|--------------------|---|
| Source | Text |
| Huntington | The Holy Scriptures as the Word of God. |
| Chicago Resolution | The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God |
| Lambeth Resolution | The Holy Scriptures of the Old New Testaments, as ‘ <i>containing all things necessary to salvation</i> ’, and being the rule and ultimate standard of faith. |

³³² Du Toit in Metzger & Coogan (1993) Oxford Companion to the Bible; Oxford, OUP; 103.

Scripture has the prime place as being that which binds all Christians together. Anglicans have a particular way of handling Scripture: an analogy often used is of reading it through the spectacle lenses of tradition and reason, to which some would add, on the advice of John Wesley, that the outcome should be tested against human experience.³³³ Formal commitment to Scriptural inerrancy does not feature in the historic Formularies; indeed Article 7 encourages a view that it is Christ who is the Word of God – not the scriptural text.³³⁴

Huntington wrote:

Anglicanism is pledged to no particular philosophy of interpretation ... how far and in what manner the divine and human elements coexist there, it is idle to surmise because manifestly impossible to determine.³³⁵

Huntington's first clause is not intended to impose the Anglican way of handling Scripture upon other traditions; rather it is intended to assert the loyalty of Anglicans to Scripture as a point of commonality with other Christian traditions who would each have their own distinctive approaches to the interpretation of the texts. The emphasis in the Quadrilateral is on that which is held in common, rather than that which is divisive.

The Chicago amendments make clear the positioning of Anglicans alongside other Reformation churches because the phrase, 'of the Old and New Testaments' has the effect of excluding the Apocryphal (Deutero-canonical) texts, in distinction to Orthodox and Latin practice. Article 6 says that the canonical books are those whose authority has never been doubted in the Church. The Apocrypha is held to be valuable but not appropriate for the definition of doctrine, following Jerome.³³⁶ On this basis occasional readings from the Apocryphal books are included in the Anglican lectionaries. This view is cognate with the position of the Methodist and Lutheran traditions but not so with those traditions more influenced by Calvin's thinking, where the Apocryphal books have no standing.³³⁷ The addition of the phrase 'as the revealed word of God' serves to protect the view that Scripture is part of God's revelation of himself in the world and not merely an antique text.

Lambeth 3 further modified the clause by adding the phrase 'containing all things necessary to salvation' (from Article 6). The phrase reinforces the primacy of the canonical Scriptures so as to exclude the possibility of the addition of material of a confessional nature, whether it be obedience to a particular Ordinary, such as the Papacy, or subscription to a particular Confession, such as that of Westminster. Salvation is freely and generally available, not set about with conditions deriving from

³³³ Cf. McAadoo, H.R. (1991) *Anglican Heritage* Norwich, Canterbury Press; 6-15.

³³⁴ Fuller in Sykes, S., et al (1998) *The Study of Anglicanism* London, SPCK; 87f.

³³⁵ Huntington 115.

³³⁶ BCP 613.

³³⁷ Dentan in Metzger & Coogan, 38.

membership of a particular Christian confession or from the adoption of any extra-canonical text or statement. The confession of the Catholic faith is made in the context of Scriptural requirements common to all of Christendom, not the particular requirements of the various Christian traditions. So we may see that there is little that would be controversial as between the Reformation churches in this first clause. Orthodox and Roman Catholic believers would not perhaps be content with the way that the Deuterocanonical texts are, in practice, excluded – apart from very limited lectionary use.

3: The Creeds

There are New Testament texts that have the quality of credal statements about them; Kelly adduces a considerable number of such texts.³³⁸ Phil. 2.6-11 and 1 Cor. 15.3-7, for instance, are both currently authorised for use as Affirmations of Faith at Services of the Word in English Anglican worship.³³⁹ However, the creeds referred to in the Quadrilateral are later in date and conceived for specific purposes. They do not seem to have particular Scriptural antecedents but arise from a characteristic Christian concern with orthodoxy.³⁴⁰ Creeds were written both as formal patterned declarations prior to baptism and as controversial texts setting out the range of acceptable belief.

The *Apostles' Creed* used in the Western Church is essentially the kind of baptismal confession that was made by candidates being presented within the Christian community. Initially interrogatory in style, by the third century it was being recited by candidates in the form of a continuous text.³⁴¹ The three-fold form of the text was dictated by ancient practice whereby the candidate would answer each of the baptismal questions in turn and be immersed once after each affirmative response.³⁴² The text is a descendant of the Old Roman Baptismal Creed, which lies at the root of a family of western creeds but which have little standing in the East.

The Eastern Churches primarily use the Symbol of Nicaea-Constantinople, one of the shared texts of Christendom and used in worship by a wide range of Christian traditions. Anglicans most often recite it in a Eucharistic context. The text was developed during the Christological controversies of the early fourth century but also under imperial political pressure that there should be clarity of definition around Christian identity.³⁴³ Kelly says that such creeds were, 'devised as the touchstone by which the doctrines of Church teachers and leaders might be certified as correct'.³⁴⁴

³³⁸ Kelly, J.N.D. (1972) *Early Christian Creeds* 3rd Ed., London Longmans; 13ff.

³³⁹ CW 147.

³⁴⁰ Young, F (1991) *The Making of the Creeds*, London, SCM; 2.

³⁴¹ Pannenberg, W. (1972) *The Apostles' Creed in the light of today's questions*, London, SCM; 1 ff; also Kelly *op cit*, 100ff.

³⁴² Young 6.

³⁴³ Young 13.

³⁴⁴ Kelly 205.

They were intended to be theological tools; Turner, an earlier student of credal development, characterised them thus, ‘the older creeds were for catechumens but the new creed was a creed for bishops’.³⁴⁵

The Quadrilateral statements on the creeds again show development:

| CREEDS | |
|--------------------|--|
| Source | Text |
| Huntington | The Primitive Creeds as the Rule of Faith. |
| Chicago Resolution | The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith |
| Lambeth Resolution | The <i>Apostles’ Creed</i> , as the baptismal symbol; and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of faith. |

Huntington does not say which creeds he means but the meaning is clear in his argument. The expression Rule of Faith is of considerable antiquity having been used by Iranaeus, Tertullian and Origen but is unlikely to have signified a fixed form of words in their time.³⁴⁶ Huntington says that some of his contemporaries argued that a ‘simple faith’, without doctrinal complexity, was needed but Huntington responded that:

Christianity as a religion rests upon a basis of alleged fact. Discredit this foundation, destroy people’s faith in its strength, and the whole fabric will tumble to the ground in a hundredth part of the time it has taken to rear it. When the Church renounces the principle of dogma, she will be simply be committing suicide.³⁴⁷

Creeds express the dogma of the Church, its first principles, without which its existence as a visible, voluntary society of people committed to the idea of a Kingdom that begins its existence on earth and finds its completion in the world to come would not be viable.

³⁴⁵ C.H. Turner cited Ibid..

³⁴⁶ Young 8.

³⁴⁷ Reed 118.

The Chicago version makes two significant changes, it omits the Apostles' Creed and calls the Nicæan symbol a 'sufficient statement'. There is no claim of fullness or completion about these two creeds but, rather, that the doctrines set out in the symbol are those on which Christians may agree – regardless of other particular doctrines a tradition may wish to advocate. The Nicene symbol sets out the essentials that distinguish those who affirm it as believing as the Church believes: those who believe only part, or notions contrary to it, may in some sense be on a spectrum of Christian belief but do not believe as the Church does.

The problem of the division between the Greek and Latin churches over the double procession of the Holy Spirit, centred on the Latin addition of the 'filioque' clause to the Nicæan symbol has been well rehearsed.³⁴⁸ Positive contacts between Anglicans and the Orthodox from the earliest days of the Lambeth Conferences have led to an Anglican willingness to omit filioque in the interest of better relationships with the east.³⁴⁹

The Lambeth version asserts the normative position of the Apostles' Creed as the baptismal creed of the west, emphasising the common heritage of the sundered western churches against their fissiparous tendencies. Thus, the final text looks in two directions at once, to the east and the symbol of the undivided church, but also to the western baptismal heritage. The rootedness of Anglican tradition in the common heritage of all Christians is affirmed and the claim of Anglicans to be a local expression of the Catholic faith is asserted.

4: The Sacraments

The first Anglican Catechism classically describes a sacrament as, 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof'.³⁵⁰

The catechism is also clear that there are but two sacraments. This is in keeping with Reformation thinking but not with the older Greek and Latin understandings that there are seven. There was, indeed, a debate in England as to whether the act of reconciliation should be considered a third sacrament, especially as it might be argued that it has authority from Christ. The Ten Articles (1536) included Penance as a third dominical sacrament but Cranmer and the evangelicals argued against it, and absolutely against the other four.³⁵¹ The issue was resolved by the evangelical ascendancy from the beginning of the reign of Edward 6th and Cranmer had his way, although he was prepared to agree, at least in the 1530s, that the omitted four had something of a sacramental nature, following St.

³⁴⁸ Kelly 358ff for example.

³⁴⁹ Omission is authorised in England on 'appropriate ecumenical occasions', CW 140; R1978/35, reinforced by R1988/6 (s.5), requesting provinces to consider the omission of filioque.

³⁵⁰ BCP 294.

³⁵¹ Matrimony, Confirmation, Unction and Orders.

Ambrose’s argument that the washing of the disciples’ feet by Christ had the marks of a sacrament about it.³⁵²

The debate re-emerged as a result of the Tractarian movement and so we find Lambeth 2 agreeing, somewhat reluctantly, that formal confession was permissible but not mandatory.³⁵³ Bishops with a ‘protestant’ view were hampered in their opposition by the Communion Service rubric which makes provision for ‘interview’ by the minister in the case of those held to be in sin³⁵⁴ and also by the general provision of BCP ‘for the relief of troubled consciences’.

| SACRAMENTS | |
|--------------------|--|
| Source | Text |
| Huntington | The two Sacraments ordained by Christ himself. |
| Chicago Resolution | The two Sacraments – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – ministered with unfailing use of Christ’s words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him. |
| Lambeth Resolution | The two sacraments ordained by Christ himself – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – ministered with unfailing use of Christ’s words of institution and of the elements ordained by him. |

The Chicago version makes a contextually significant statement about how the sacraments are to be celebrated, referring to the dispute over the use of fermented grape juice in the communion. For reasons to do with their social mission some protestant communities, particularly those associated with the beginnings of the Temperance Movement, had stopped using wine. The Anglican position is that, however laudable and ethically correct that view might have been, it remains theologically correct to follow the tradition that Christ intended wine to be used, cf. R1888/2: ‘the use of any liquid

³⁵² MacCulloch, D. (1996) *Thomas Cranmer* New Haven, Yale; 183ff.

³⁵³ Report E, the reports were adopted by Conference as if they had the weight of resolutions and included in the subsequent encyclical; Davidson (1920) 97.

³⁵⁴ BCP 236.

other than true wine ... is unwarranted by the example of our Lord and an unauthorised departure from the custom of the Catholic Church'.³⁵⁵

Similarly, Anglicans may well honour the commitment of Salvationists to the gospel, but a Vow on the Flag, however solemn the words spoken, is not a baptism with water in the name of the Holy Trinity.³⁵⁶ The Salvationist would respond that if a sacrament is indeed the outward sign of a spiritual condition, it is the inward condition which is important not that which signifies it.³⁵⁷

Huntington writes that:

The peculiar claim of the sacraments to rank as pledges of unity is this, that they are among the few undisputed legacies of the Apostolic age. Upon whatever other points Christians may differ, they are agreed that these two simple rites, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, have been in use in the Church since the beginning. Even those who, like the Society of Friends, reject the sacraments altogether, do so on the grounds that Christians have no longer need of such external helps, not upon the ground that the rites themselves are of post-apostolic origin.³⁵⁸

5: Episcopacy

The New Testament witnesses to a variety of ministerial practice. The language of later ministerial theology is easily to be found but the settled order of bishops, presbyters and deacons cannot be securely evidenced as established, normative or unchallenged.³⁵⁹ Within the range of practice, one stream seems based on the pattern inherited from the synagogue, of a leader and a group of elders in each community.³⁶⁰ Christians superimposed additional roles of travelling prophets and apostles.³⁶¹ Ephesians 4, on the other hand, sets out a five-fold pattern of ministry, apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor and teacher, which, the writer has argued elsewhere, is reflected in modern English Anglican practice of three ordained orders and two lay orders of Evangelist and Reader.³⁶²

While Anglicans have been ready to declare that 'since the Apostles' time there have been these three orders in the Church' this assertion cannot wholly be supported.³⁶³ The institution is of great antiquity

³⁵⁵ Davidson (1920) 119.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Jn. 3.5 & Mt. 28.19.

³⁵⁷ Cf. <http://www.salvationarmy.org/About Us » Doctrines » Our Beliefs – Sacraments;> accessed 28th February, 2012.

³⁵⁸ Huntington 178.

³⁵⁹ There is debate about its significance, however: Melinsky argues that the words used are all secular rather than cultic vocabulary, later Christian ecclesiological understandings were later superimposed upon them; Melinsky, M.A.H (1992) *The Shape of the Ministry* Norwich, Canterbury Press, 3.

³⁶⁰ Cf. Acts 11.30 and 15.22.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.* 27.

³⁶² Vannerley, D.vK. (2009) *The Voice of the Stranger* Saarbrücken, VDM; 57.

³⁶³ Church of England Canon C1.

but the evidence is so patchy that it is difficult to argue for established continuity.³⁶⁴ Schillebeeckx argues that by the mid-second century the three-fold ministry was normative and that the communities with different orders had disappeared or lapsed into heresy.³⁶⁵ Huntington is clear, ‘The Anglican principle insists upon governmental unity as an essential condition for oneness in the Church.’

By the time of the Council of Chalcedon the pattern seems well established with the primary relationship being between a bishop and a community: a bishopless church is described by Canon 24 of the Council of Chalcedon as being a ‘widow’.³⁶⁶ The presbyters depend upon the bishop even where he has come from among their number; while they share in the ordination of new presbyters, they do not share in the ordination of their bishop, who may only be ordained by other bishops.³⁶⁷

| EPISCOPATE | |
|--------------------|--|
| Source | Text |
| Huntington | The Episcopate as the key-stone of Governmental Unity. |
| Chicago Resolution | The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples of God into the unity of His Church. |
| Lambeth Resolution | The Historic Episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church. |

Anglicans broadly view episcopacy as essential to the well-being of the Church; some would go further and regard it as part of the essence of the Church but this is not the dominant ecclesiological

³⁶⁴ Horne in Hall, C. & Hannaford, R. (Eds) (1996) *Order and Ministry*, Leominster, Gracewing; 5.

³⁶⁵ Schillebeeckx, E. (1981) *Ministry – a case for change*, London, SCM; 24.

³⁶⁶ http://www.earlychurchtexts.com/public/chalcedon_canons.htm, accessed 29 February, 2012.

³⁶⁷ The disciplinary Canons of Nicaea insist upon this, which suggests that it may not always have been the case up to the adoption of Canon 4.

view. Huntington's phrase sums this up well, the bishop's task is to unite the ministry of the church. Characteristically, he avoids over-definition but we may be left wondering how distinctive such an episcopal ministry might be in comparison, for instance, with a Baptist Regional Minister? So, Chicago adds the phrase 'historic episcopate' to make clear that what is intended is a view of oversight that is rooted in the tradition of the Church. Bishops belong to a distinct order of ministry, to which they are specifically called by the community and to which they are admitted by the laying on of hands with the invocation of the Holy Spirit, public prayer and acclamation. As with any ordination the person is imprinted as having a life-long call.³⁶⁸ In this sense then, a bishop is who a person is, not the role that she fulfils.

At the same time the Lambeth Fathers had the courage to assert that the ways in which the episcopal office had been conducted in earlier days do not determine its future form, episcopacy must be adaptive to local culture and conditions. Bishops will be necessary for a future united Church but they are not a measure of the value of the ministry in the existing disunited churches. Avis writes that, 'Anglicans hold that episcopacy is a fundamental characteristic of the church but their formularies do not argue the case for it or decry those who lack it'.³⁶⁹

The US bishops brought their iteration of the Quadrilateral to Lambeth 3 in order to commend it as a potential tool for the reunification of the churches. The Conference was able to receive it as being in keeping with the broader understanding among the Communion's bishops. Here we see an expression of the methodology of the Conferences. Following debate and reception of the idea the Conference expressed its endorsement of the Quadrilateral by the adoption of the report and resolution. The 1888 Lambeth resolution was well received at the time. For example, Charles Shields, an American Presbyterian from Princeton was reported in the *Scottish Guardian* thus:

In justice let it be added that neither hierarchical nor sacerdotal claims have been put before us as terms of church unity. Not the Roman or Anglican prelacy, but simply the historic episcopate as adapted to American Christianity; not the priestly view of the sacraments but simply the sacramental words and acts themselves; not the denominational Articles of Religion but simply the Nicene Creed of a once united church; not even the revered Prayer Book but simply the Holy Scriptures. And these are the terms of unity proposed by a Church hitherto reputed to be the most narrow and exclusive body in the land. Will any other church sacrifice as much for unity?³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ Board of Ministry & Unity (1986) *The Priesthood of the Ordained Ministry*, London, BMU; 70.

³⁶⁹ Avis 13ff.

³⁷⁰ *Scottish Guardian* 28 September, 1888, cited Plunkett WC (1888) *Home Reunion and the Lambeth Conference*; Dublin, Hodges Figgis; 8.

b: Analysis

Huntington's greatest single contribution to Anglican ecclesiological thought was the proposal that the ecclesiology of a future uniting Church should not depend on the denominational preferences of his own time but on the shared heritage of the Church. Thus, he does not ask 'what would it suit Anglicans for the Church to be like' but instead, 'what we can learn from our heritage that will secure our future'. Consequently, he abandons long held Anglican positions because they had become impediments to reunion. An outstandingly loyal and effective advocate of a particular Christian tradition thus states that there are greatly valued elements of his own tradition that might be surrendered in the face of the greater claim made by the cause of Christian unity.

The clauses of Huntington's Quadrilateral each have a degree of controversy, despite his claim that they are fundamental features of the Christian Church. Some aspects of the controversy were particular to his time; others continue to have serious impact in the twenty-first century. For example, the time when he wrote was one of serious debate among Anglicans concerning the nature of Scripture. Comparison of the successive Quadrilaterals shows us that in order to gain acceptance the initial phrasing of Huntington's writing was subject to progressive elaboration. Huntington's apparently simple phrase, that the Scriptures 'are the word of God', conceals a range of opinion as between different Christian traditions concerning the means of inspiration and the role of the interpreter. The debate in England over the book *Essays and Reviews* seemed to have shown that the Church of England had no particular fixed understanding of how Scripture was to be seen as inspired. The legal judgement arising from the controversy over *Essays and Reviews* was that English Anglican ministers were entitled to reasonable doubt about the context, authorship and interpretation of scriptural books, so long as they did not deny their 'broad inspiration', whatever that might mean.³⁷¹ Clearly, there would have to be significant work undertaken between the Christians traditions to reach any common understanding about the authority of the Scriptures at such a time, as well as within the Anglican tradition.

Closely related to the issues around Scripture are those questions concerning the Creeds. Free Church theologians frequently argued that the Creeds could not be held as a measure of the faith of the Church without imperilling the truth that the Holy Spirit could, and does, bring further understanding to the Church.³⁷² Tying ourselves to these past statements, they felt, might prevent future inspiration. As we shall see in Chapter Nine this issue particularly came to the fore during the Joint Conferences between Anglicans and the English Free Churches – a difficulty that was unanticipated on the Anglican side. There does seem, somehow, to be a degree of inconsistency in a position that ties the Church to the Scriptures but is unable to honour the creeds derived from Scripture. This debate

³⁷¹ Chadwick 2/75ff.

³⁷² Cf. Jn. 16.13.

touches questions around the nature of the teaching authority of the Church to which we shall have to return in Chapters Ten and Eleven.

Evangelical Free Church reticence concerning the form and manner of the sacraments arose from the same concern. From their standpoint, too close an adherence to the past appears to limit the ability of the Holy Spirit to lead the Church to new understanding in relation to the cultures amongst which it is now set. Thus, later, the Evangelical Free Churches replied to Anglicans that, ‘We need to keep our minds free to learn of the Holy Spirit’.³⁷³ The nineteenth century difficulties around the form and manner of the sacraments seem to have retreated somewhat but this cannot be said of the continuing controversy over episcopacy.

None of the potential English ecumenical partners were without some ministry of oversight. The difficulties arise from the manner in which it is exercised and the form of authorisation of the ministers. Anglicans maintain that the episcopate is a distinct order to which a person is particularly ordained. Other denominations may have their Regional Ministers, as in the URC, but they are seen in a functional manner, a role within the overall ministry which a person fulfils and then might withdraw from. There is no permanency in the condition of being a Regional Minister in the way that there is for an Anglican bishop. At the turn of the Twentieth Century, Free Church concern was about how episcopacy had been practiced among Anglicans and particularly within the Church of England. Free Church Christians saw bishops as autocratic, aloof from the people and primarily figures of the State, despite Anglican movement toward lay representation in governance and the idea of ‘constitutional episcopacy’.³⁷⁴

Significantly, no iteration of the Quadrilateral raises the question of Apostolic Succession, the claim of unbroken continuity in the episcopacy. For Catholic and Orthodox Christians – and also many Anglicans – such continuity is a mark of authenticity. The Reformation churches instead argue that authenticity derives from what is the leaders preach and the people practice. The Lima Statement proposes a conciliatory view that episcopal continuity might be seen as ‘the sign but not the guarantee of the continuity and unity of the Church’.³⁷⁵ In recent ecumenical writing, especially since the Lima Statement, there has been a widening of understanding of Apostolic Succession away from the simple mechanical sequence of manual impositions to a view that the Church shows itself to be apostolic through its witness, communal life, teaching and ministry. In their formal statements the Anglicans maintained the sufficiency of their own ministry but did not make any judgement about the ministry of others.

³⁷³ Bell, GKA. & Robertson, WL (1925) *The Church of England and the Free Churches* Oxford, OUP, 24.

³⁷⁴ Cf. Bell & Robertson, 41: the Free Church delegates to the post-Appeal Conferences ask in their report to the Federal Council of the English Free Churches, ‘what is constitutional episcopacy and how can it be combined with essential Presbyterian and Congregational elements?’

³⁷⁵ WCC (1982) *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* Geneva, WCC; 29.

Lambeth 3 adopted a number of significant resolutions with wide ecumenical scope that review progress and make proposals regarding ecumenical relationships. The adoption of the Quadrilateral at that time was not the only matter that concerns us. R1888/19 was the resolution that had the effect of releasing Anglican communities from obedience to the Articles of Religion, should they so choose.³⁷⁶ Again, the provinces were held to have such a decision within their own competence. The confessional implication of this is profound as it detaches Anglican identity from a document that had previously been held to be both formative and normative. A Lutheran who is detached from the Augsburg Confession would be surprising but an Anglican detached from the Articles now becomes an open possibility. Newman went to Rome, in part, because of the furore over his struggle with the Articles but now, barely forty years later, in Huntington's analysis, they are to be seen as part of Anglican system rather than Anglican principle.

Abandonment of the Articles in this way is a serious matter in terms of the unity of the Anglican Communion. Atherstone, writing for a conservative Evangelical readership, for example, argues that it is one of the key components of a collapse of theological coherence in the Anglican Communion. A collapse that, he believes, will lead to its division.³⁷⁷ This argument strongly illustrates the desire of some Anglicans to hold onto confessional identity regardless of any ecumenical imperative – even in the face of existing Anglican participation in united churches that have abandoned confessional statements in order to become something new. Churches like that of South India hold Anglican principles only in a fashion subordinate to a greater principle of the visible union of Christians.³⁷⁸ They exhibit all the ecclesial features for which Huntington argued but also acknowledge their roots in a diversity of Christian traditions.

The Lambeth fathers consistently pursued an eirenical path through advocacy of the Quadrilateral that was welcomed by the free churches in England.³⁷⁹ Their statements of Anglican principle should not be interpreted as condemnatory of Free Church practice but rather as an expression of core areas for ecclesiological debate and, if possible, resolution. They make clear the Anglican position that a future united church would have to hold to the principles enunciated regarding scripture, sacraments, creeds and ministry – whatever had been the practice in the past. That position was applied in the debates that worked out the eventual agreements to form the united Church of South India and in that led to the Porvoo Communion of Anglican and Nordic Lutheran churches. A consultative methodology of debate can be seen at work in each of these cases where there was a shared commitment to resolve legitimate differences among Christians, leading to acts of union, yet without imperilling diversity.

³⁷⁶ Except in England where the civil legal situation requires continued adherence.

³⁷⁷ Atherstone, A. (2004) *The Incoherence of the Anglican Communion*, in *Churchman*, Vol. 118/3 Autumn 2004; accessed electronically 21st February, 2012.

³⁷⁸ Cf. Neill 83.

³⁷⁹ Bell & Robertson 7.

The Quadrilateral gave Lambeth 6 a place from which the bishops could begin the self-description of their tradition. Being able to describe themselves meant that they knew what they were looking for in terms of potential commonality with other Christian communions. The Quadrilateral indicates the signs of common heritage whereby separated communions might map a route back towards one another. The Quadrilateral's utility was, however, limited because it was essentially an Anglican understanding. Christians of other traditions would recognise Anglicanism in it but also recognise a degree of difference.

c. Conclusion

The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral is an expression of the central ideas of Anglican ecclesiology. As an instrument of debate it has its roots in the work of the American W.R. Huntington whose own experience of disunity in the politics and religion of the US fired a deep longing for reconciliation. He sought to understand what the key features of the Church might be, to express them simply and commend them to all Christians as a route to reunion. His ideas were taken up by the American bishops and commended to Lambeth 3, which adopted the Quadrilateral as a sufficient expression of Anglican ecclesiology that could be a basis for discussions about reunion.

The elements of the Quadrilateral have roots that stretch back to the earliest days of Christian belief and practice. They express an understanding of the essentials of the life of the Church that both represents the shared heritage of the churches but also represents the areas about which they most disagree. That there should be so much dissension among Christians in these areas illustrates their fundamental status within Christian self-understanding. The clauses allow a degree of elasticity that permits them to be understood developmentally, presenting opportunities for the Church to see how these ideas may sustain it and help it to pursue its mission. The question of whether each of them should be held as essential to the Church's being is unresolved but Anglicans would see each of them as, at the very least, contributing to the well-being of the Church.

Anglicans propose the Quadrilateral as the starting point for a discussion about how Christians might draw together. However, specifying these four areas has the effect of turning them into a norm for the Anglican position within ecumenical dialogue; they have become an agenda for that dialogue. The Quadrilateral does not present a fully elaborated doctrinal scheme but it does show where Anglicans have the greatest degree of expressed self-understanding. When deploying the Quadrilateral, Anglicans do not call into question the faithfulness of other Christian traditions nor the reality of God's evident blessings upon those other Christian communities. On the contrary, the evident faithfulness of those communities is what makes it appropriate for Anglicans to seek to draw into union with them.

The Quadrilateral gave Lambeth 6 a place from which the bishops could begin the self-description of their tradition. Being able to describe themselves meant that they knew what they were looking for in terms of potential commonality with other Christian communions. The Quadrilateral indicates the signs of common heritage whereby separated communions might map a route back towards one another. The Quadrilateral's utility was, however, limited because it was essentially an Anglican understanding. Christians of other traditions would recognise Anglicanism in it but also recognise a degree of difference. However, the Quadrilateral has formed the basis for successfully concluded schemes of recognition and reunion such as the Church of South India and the Porvoo Communion.

Five: Randall Davidson and the Lambeth Conferences

This chapter will assess Davidson's influence upon the conference tradition. His career and experience gave him unparalleled knowledge of the Conferences which he used to bring Lambeth 6 to the point where it could confidently issue the Appeal. The strength of his personal prestige among the bishops gave the Appeal authority as an Anglican ecclesiological statement. During his long archiepiscopacy he showed great flexibility and the ability to develop his views. This chapter argues that the example of his conduct and approach typifies the conference spirit, pursuing a path of moderation and flexibility through consultation and shared reflection.

Preaching on St. George's Day, 1924, Davidson asked 'what will our great-grandchildren think of us and the religious element of the life we are sharing?'³⁸⁰ That is an interesting question to address as we, ourselves, are those upon whom he pondered. He surmised that we would be 'concerned to see how a restless and crowded people' sought to find their way back to equilibrium after the upheaval of the Great War, about the bewilderments of international relations and 'how democracy was revealing in new ways its powers and its perils'. He was keen to say that any attempt to say how we would look upon his day would be both 'presumptuous and futile'.

These are the words of one who had lived through a time of remarkable and terrible experiences. He was a Victorian clergyman who stayed on into the twentieth century. He had indeed been at the heart of the Victorian church to an extraordinary degree and deeply trusted by Queen Victoria herself as a source of advice on all matters pertaining to the Church of England.

Yet Davidson had a list of significant innovations to his credit. He was the first Archbishop of Canterbury to travel in North America; the first to give a New Year's radio broadcast, a tradition still maintained.³⁸¹ He was the first archbishop to preside over two Lambeth Conferences. He brought the Enabling Act 1919 to Parliament bringing an unprecedented degree of self-government and lay involvement to the Church of England. His leadership grasped the nettle of Prayer Book reform in 1927. He was the first Archbishop of Canterbury ever to retire.³⁸²

Merrill and West state that, in writing about others, authors are as much seeking to understand themselves as they are to understand their subjects; we cannot, they argue, write the stories of others without reflecting our own histories, social and cultural locations as well as our subjectivities and values.³⁸³ To this list we might also add ambition, in the case of Bell's biography of Davidson. The use of Bell's work presents two problems.

³⁸⁰ Davidson, R. (1925) *Occasions* London, Mowbrays; 55.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.* 46 contains the text.

³⁸² There was no procedure for such a problematic occurrence, see Carpenter 444.

³⁸³ Merrill, B. & West, L. (2009) *Using Biographical Methods in Social Research* London, Sage; 5.

First, Bell did not have undifferentiated original sources; pre-selection of documents had taken place under Davidson's direction. Davidson's personal secretary, Arthur Shepherd, had a significant role.³⁸⁴ He 'facilitat[ed] the work of selection' within the chosen material.³⁸⁵ The Davidson archive is vast.³⁸⁶ Bell's Preface is clear that the papers had already been prepared for use; Davidson had hoped to undertake the project himself but was prevented by his early death.³⁸⁷

Second, Bell was a protégé of the childless Davidson, a loyal aide who could be relied on to present the biography in a congenial way. Bell's career mirrored that of Davidson, the trusted chaplain at Lambeth, preferred to a Deanery – Canterbury in Bell's case – and to a diocese. Davidson wrote the biography of his father-in-law, Tait, and Bell that of Davidson.³⁸⁸ The parallels are compelling; Bell was aware of them and it seems as if the biography was part of a personal positioning. Denzin proposes that the stories of others are at times turned into a kind of narrative heroic fiction in which the subject becomes a construct dependent upon the narratives of the author. In this case, numerous passages show us that Bell held Davidson in the highest possible regard and the writing approaches its subject in an uncritical, hagiographical way. Bell in his turn was also well regarded; a week after Lambeth 6 ended Lang of York wrote to Davidson:

I am full of gratitude to Bell for all the invaluable work he had done in preparing the ground for the Appeal and the Encyclical. I hope his unique experience will not be lost by his going into ordinary parish work.³⁸⁹

Fortunately, we have two other contemporary sources on which to draw. First, Sidney Dark, a prolific biographical writer, produced *Davidson and the English Church* at the end of his subject's life.³⁹⁰ Dark was editor of the *Church Times*, in those days aggressively Anglo-Catholic, and therefore often critical of Davidson's moderate position.³⁹¹ Even so, Dark's writing is well balanced and, while he does not hesitate to note areas of tension, he is even-handed in his treatment. Second, Charles Herbert was asked by his publishers to produce a biography to celebrate the twenty-fifth year of Davidson's archiepiscopacy.³⁹² The style is florid but also has a degree of contemporary commentary that is valuable to the researcher. Both writers bring a degree of critical analysis to their subject that is important because of its historical proximity.

³⁸⁴ His secretary 1899-1923; Carpenter, 411.

³⁸⁵ Bell xxii.

³⁸⁶ The Lambeth Archive alone contains 803 folders, typically holding two hundred folios or more.

³⁸⁷ Bell xx, also 1373 quoting Davidson 'I do want to ... leave rough hewn behind me some kind of history of the last fifty years'.

³⁸⁸ Davidson, R. T. & Benham, W. (1935) *Life of Archbishop Tait*, London, Macmillan.

³⁸⁹ *Davidson6:56, 14th August, 1920.

³⁹⁰ Dark, S. (1929) *Davidson and the English Church*; London, Allens.

³⁹¹ 'The *Church Times* campaign[ed] for Anglo-Catholic principles, which it did with vigour and rudeness.'

<http://www.churchtimes.co.uk/about-us/history>; accessed 3rd December 2012.

³⁹² Herbert op cit.

a. Davidson: a Victorian clerical career

1. Prior to 1903

Like Crauford Tait, Davidson was of Scottish Presbyterian heritage; their fathers were at school together, both families having a legal background.³⁹³ Bell notes that Davidson's father had determined on an English education for his three sons and having made that decision he began to attend an English Episcopal congregation in Edinburgh.³⁹⁴ Randall was, apparently, his parent's favourite.³⁹⁵ Once Randall had been ordained bishop, his father began to describe himself as Church of England but was evasive about his ecclesial allegiance, neither being confirmed an Anglican nor attending Scottish Episcopal worship. The boys' schooling was English and Anglican, Davidson was in Westcott's house at Harrow; Davidson later describing Westcott as a prophetic figure.³⁹⁶ Tait and Davidson were confirmed together by Tait, pere, by then bishop of London. They went to Oxford together, travelled abroad and read for ordination, on Westcott's advice, at the Temple under Vaughan.³⁹⁷ Although his studies were interrupted by ill health, Davidson was eventually called to serve title at Dartford in Kent, largely through the influence of the Tait.³⁹⁸ The two were ordained together by Parry of Dover, acting for Tait senior, now Archbishop but unwell.³⁹⁹ Davidson was later offered a living in Canterbury by Tait but he felt unable to accept.⁴⁰⁰

Crauford Tait served title as his father's chaplain but wished to marry and took a parish, so the Lambeth Chaplaincy was offered to Davidson in 1877. Davidson became resident at Lambeth as the junior of the five chaplains.⁴⁰¹ By January 1878 he had proposed marriage to Tait's second surviving daughter, Edith, and they were married in the Lambeth chapel at the end of the year.⁴⁰² He was a trusted private secretary and extremely close to his father-in-law, particularly after the tragic deaths of

³⁹³ Mews, S. (2004) T. Randall Davidson Oxford Online Dictionary of National Biography <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32733>, accessed 25th April, 12.

³⁹⁴ A private congregation not part of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

³⁹⁵ Bell's record of a conversation with Mrs. Harry Davidson, sister-in-law, in October 1923; the material not used in his biography. *Bell 248;f92.

³⁹⁶ Davidson (1925) 12; also *LC105:f6, Davidson calls him 'the Christian Prophet of our day'.

³⁹⁷ There was no formal training for ordination; a candidate had only to convince a bishop's examining chaplain of his suitability.

³⁹⁸ The first appointment after ordination is the title parish cf. Chalcedon Canon 6, 'none shall be ordained unless he has a title'; Bell 33.

³⁹⁹ Herbert 7.

⁴⁰⁰ St Andrew and St Mary Breadman, neither church building survived the 1942 air raid.

⁴⁰¹ He was one of those sent to minister at Hatcham, St. Andrews after the arrest and imprisonment of Fr. Tooth; Arthur Tooth (1933) Catholic Literature Association: www.anglicanhistory.org/bios/atooth; accessed 12th December, 2012.

⁴⁰² Bell 41, Herbert 15.

Crauford and the archbishop's wife.⁴⁰³ Increasingly, he was left to handle the correspondence independently.⁴⁰⁴ By the time he left Lambeth he was highly versed in the detailed workings of the Church of England. Herbert writes that, 'It might be said that if he read with Dr. Vaughan ... for Holy Orders, he read for Episcopal Orders with Archbishop Tait'.⁴⁰⁵

Tait appointed him as one of the Six Preachers of Canterbury, Hill suggests that he was the most distinguished person to hold the office to that time.⁴⁰⁶ He was appointed Sub-Almoner of Windsor, an honorary post, as a compliment to his father-in-law, giving him status as a Royal Chaplain.⁴⁰⁷

Tait died in 1881; Davidson wrote a description of the death-bed scene for the Queen's information. She was much impressed and Davidson wrote again discussing Tait's hopes for his possible successor – particularly naming Benson of Truro.⁴⁰⁸ In this way, he seems to have had a major role in selecting his own next employer. When it became clear that Davidson was to serve as Benson's chaplain the Queen instructed her private secretary to establish a secret cypher so that Davidson's advice on church matters could be passed confidentially.⁴⁰⁹ Victoria commented that she expected him to be, 'a man of great use to me' as she was feeling the loss of Dean Stanley as an advisor.⁴¹⁰

When the Deanery of Windsor became vacant in 1883, Victoria set herself on preferring Davidson. Gladstone felt him too young but the Queen had taken the precaution of procuring a statement from Benson that Davidson's age should not be a barrier to the appointment.⁴¹¹ Victoria often consulted Davidson, he possessed huge knowledge of the personnel of the Church of England and regularly advised her on questions of preferment.⁴¹²

Dark says Benson relied on Davidson as heavily as Tait had done, even after his preferment to Windsor.⁴¹³ The events around the trial of King of Lincoln illustrate this reliance. Benson corresponded with him over the jurisdiction issue. His initial letter declining to hear the case says that, 'after much consultation especially with the Dean of Windsor' he had, 'failed to satisfy himself that he had jurisdiction'. An appeal by the putative prosecutors to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council obtained a ruling that the jurisdiction existed and Benson was obliged to proceed with

⁴⁰³ Herbert 9; only Edith, Lucy and Agnes survived of nine children; Agnes died perinatally in 1888; Lucy continued to live at Lambeth and became Mary Benson's partner after Abp. Benson's death.

⁴⁰⁴ Herbert 11.

⁴⁰⁵ Herbert 23.

⁴⁰⁶ The college of Six Preachers were founded by Abp. Cranmer to ensure that preaching was acceptably reformed at the Cathedral; Hill, D.I. (1982) *The Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral*; Canterbury, McIntosh; 104.

⁴⁰⁷ Herbert 27.

⁴⁰⁸ Herbert 29.

⁴⁰⁹ Herbert 31.

⁴¹⁰ Dark 21; Bell 61.

⁴¹¹ Bell 65.

⁴¹² Herbert 33.

⁴¹³ Dark 27.

‘continued dependence’ on Davidson.⁴¹⁴ The judgement was Benson’s own work but his son wrote that, ‘Dean Davidson was in this matter, as in so many, his intimate friend and counsellor’.⁴¹⁵ Preaching at the dedication of Benson’s memorial in Canterbury Cathedral, Davidson spoke with admiration of Benson’s calmness at this difficult time:

When the question arose of reviving for active exercise, then and there the Archbishop’s court for the trial of a bishop, the opposition from the great majority of those who would have been deemed his wisest counsellors was more vehement than people care now to remember. With quiet, unobtrusive courage he persevered. Not many, I think, will now say that he was wrong.⁴¹⁶

Davidson was, of course, one of those counsellors. He asserts that the greatest gift Benson gave to the Church of England was to create clarity about how great a force for good the Church could be in English society and, ‘he made people keen to be churchman and church women, because they better understood what it meant’.⁴¹⁷

In 1891 Davidson was appointed bishop of Rochester, he approached the role over-energetically and his health broke. When, in 1895, Winchester became vacant he was translated thence. Winchester was a more wealthy, better organised diocese and not under the same kind of pressure as the rapidly expanding south London communities that Rochester then included.⁴¹⁸ Victoria had already appointed him Clerk to the Closet (Principal Royal Chaplain), going to Winchester made him diocesan for Windsor and the Queen’s favourite home, Osborne House, as well as ex officio prelate of the Order of the Garter.⁴¹⁹ Thus, he remained in close contact with the court and available to counsel the Queen. He was at her deathbed and presided over the immediate funeral arrangements. Perhaps we should not be surprised that his Canterbury Cathedral monument shows Davidson wearing court shoes.

The new king, Edward 7th, was far less interested in ecclesiastical matters but regularly consulted Davidson. When Frederick Temple was translated to Canterbury there was some thought that Davidson might follow him at London; the king tried to persuade him but Davidson pled ill-health.⁴²⁰ Temple’s primacy was short, and being already elderly, the succession question was soon under discussion. When Temple died, Davidson was nominated and he became archbishop in 1903. He and Edith returned to the home where she had grown up, where they had been married and where

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. 41.

⁴¹⁵ Benson 47.

⁴¹⁶ Davidson, R.T. (1911) *Captains and Comrades* London, Murray; 10.

⁴¹⁷ Davidson (1911) 4.

⁴¹⁸ Herbert 59; the diocese then included south London as well as Essex.

⁴¹⁹ Dark 76.

⁴²⁰ Herbert 68.

Davidson had learned the craft of ecclesiastical administration; it is unlikely that anyone was surprised by the appointment.⁴²¹

2. Challenges during his archiepiscopate

Davidson wrote to Maclagan of York seeking his affirmation, and in reply Maclagan wrote that,

Your long and intimate acquaintance with Lambeth and its Archbishops, and all the duties belonging to their office, has been a remarkable and providential preparation for your succeeding them in the Archbishopric. I feel sure that you have special gifts which will enable you not only to carry on their work, but to add to it some features which will greatly promote the interests of the Church.⁴²²

The Times expressed its approval of the appointment and suggested that the result would have been no different had there been a free vote of the House of Bishops. The piece speaks approvingly of his moderation and careful handling of the difficulties arising from ritualism in particular.⁴²³ His colleagues, the editor notes, often consulted him on the area.⁴²⁴ Davidson handled the different factions within the Church carefully, although he had little sympathy with extremists of any kind. He did not really understand the ritualists' emphasis on matters that seemed to him to be of small importance.⁴²⁵ Likewise, he had little sympathy for the protestant activists, on one occasion sending a measured rebuke to one of his Winchester incumbents for attending meetings of the Protestant Association.⁴²⁶

At the welcoming banquet furnished him by the City of Canterbury, Davidson made his 'central' position very clear, criticising both those who supposed sixteenth century religion to be the apogee of Anglican tradition and also those who regarded it as a lamentable blunder.⁴²⁷ Davidson's neutrality was soon tested: a deputation of a hundred MPs attended him at Lambeth within two weeks of his enthronement, demanding the prosecution of disobedient ritualist priests. No such campaign emerged.⁴²⁸

Davidson summed up his attitude to the role of the archbishop thus:

The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury has this peculiarity. His 'Authority' if we can call it so, is almost universally recognised, but it is undefined; it is moral, not legal, and its

⁴²¹ Carpenter 409.

⁴²² Dark 110.

⁴²³ See App. 6.

⁴²⁴ Times Leader, 9th January, 1903, accessed 15th January, 2013.

⁴²⁵ Herbert 55.

⁴²⁶ Herbert 65.

⁴²⁷ Dark 116.

⁴²⁸ Dark 119.

effective exercise depends in no small degree upon the personal weight, tact and courtesy of the Primate. In the letters patent still granted by the Crown to a Bishop of Calcutta on his Consecration, he is declared to be ‘subject to the general supervision and direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury,’ and the phrase might be applied in practice to many other sees besides that of the Metropolitan of India. Obviously, therefore, very much turns upon the Archbishop’s willingness to concern himself actively as a counsellor and friend ... any unwillingness on his part to take trouble in the matter, or on the other hand any assumption of a definite authority and right to interfere, would probably result in a speedy diminution of his opportunities.⁴²⁹

Herbert writes:

Never Premier had held together a coalition Cabinet of members of differing opinions with greater skill than he had held in combination a Church aimed at unity in diversity. Never Free Church minister had more successfully carried on an Union Church, consisting of Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and others, than he had presided over a Church of equally varying opinions.⁴³⁰

The roots of his approach may lie in his having seen at first hand the results of too prescriptive approach during his time with Tait in relation to the Public Worship Regulation; this is certainly Herbert’s conclusion: ‘[working] with Tait taught him to be conciliatory and avoid persecution.’⁴³¹

Davidson’s inclination to patient process was tested when he was obliged to intervene in the Kikuyu ‘Controversy’.⁴³² Missionary conferences had regularly taken place in Kenya Colony. The conference of 1913 was at the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, and discussed the possible means of bringing the various missions into union. Modern commentators generally focus their attention on the event at the end of the conference: an Anglican service of Holy Communion had been held in a Presbyterian building at which non-Anglicans had communicated. Such actions were not, in fact, that uncommon and there was a long tradition of English ‘occasional conformity’.⁴³³

Of greater ecclesiological significance was the proposal that indigenous converts should belong to their own common church. The Kenyan Mission Church would have its own order of ‘native’

⁴²⁹ Herbert 72: from a letter to A.C. Benson, who was writing his father’s biography.

⁴³⁰ Herbert 117.

⁴³¹ Herbert 13.

⁴³² Material on which this section is based was presented as a paper at the Ecclesiastical History Society’s Postgraduate Colloquium, 6th March, 2015.

⁴³³ Peel & Willis (1914) *Steps towards Reunion*; London Longmans, Green: defends their actions; they assert that they acted out of generosity, the service had been Anglican in nature, spontaneous and all present had declared their acceptance of Creeds and Scriptures (32). The defence is weakened by failing to consider whether the participants also accepted the Anglican understanding of the sacraments, let alone the Anglican polity of the BCP rite used.

ministers, recognised by all the missionary denominations as possessing valid orders.⁴³⁴ There would be four grades of minister according to their level of responsibility but traditional ministerial language was not used to describe these grades. Davidson himself saw this as a far more serious matter.⁴³⁵

Weston of Zanzibar, fiercely Anglo-Catholic, immediately denounced his fellow Anglican bishops, Peel of Mombasa and Willis of Uganda, accusing them of both heresy and of schism, and demanding that Davidson try them both in the Archiepiscopal Court.⁴³⁶ The controversy was overtaken by the start of the Great War and a proposal that the matter be referred to the next Lambeth Conference was made and accepted by all sides.⁴³⁷ Weston commented on Davidson's fairness, saying that he took all the questions seriously and was courteous to all concerned – but that Davidson refused to become 'excited' by the case.⁴³⁸ Broadly speaking, Davidson's view was that it would be wrong to alienate any church member who acted with zeal because the zealous are the life-blood of the Church.⁴³⁹ Weston would have wished him be more forthright.

Speaking on his North American tour Davidson quotes with approval an, unnamed, American president who wrote that that no-one thought to measure sea levels from the state of the water during a storm, far better to wait for calm weather.⁴⁴⁰ Such tolerance, in Davidson's view, had to be tempered by obedience to that which was lawful in the church. However, as his primacy progressed, Davidson showed himself to be increasingly flexible about the application and interpretation of the law. His influence on the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1904, reporting 1906) brought it to the double conclusion that much done in the course of worship in the church was of legal dubiety but also that the law itself was insufficiently broad to encompass the needs of the Church. The contending parties were thereby both assured that they were right. This masterful outcome may be regarded as one of Davidson's greatest achievements. Even the temperamentally hostile Dark describes the contribution of Davidson's evidence as 'masterly'.

When a diocesan bishop, Davidson had taken a less generous view, his 1894 Visitation Charge gave Twelve Regulations that would not have comforted the Anglo-Catholic party at all. He was concerned that the use of vestments and particular gestures might be provocative and undermine the devotion of church people. In evidence to the Royal Commission he said:

I am neither advocating nor depreciating such usages. I cannot bring myself to regard them as in themselves possessing grave importance, although indirectly they are of consequence ...

⁴³⁴ Herbert 92.

⁴³⁵ Dark 139.

⁴³⁶ Dark 41.

⁴³⁷ The proposal was made by a consultative commission of ten bishops assembled under rules agreed by the 1897 Lambeth Conference, *LCC4:19.

⁴³⁸ Dark 90.

⁴³⁹ Herbert 91.

⁴⁴⁰ Davidson (1904) 171.

inasmuch as they may ... promote or retard the devotion of the worshippers. Most of these [practices] are matters of degree about which it would be humiliating or even impossible to lay down precise rules.⁴⁴¹

There was a progression in his view. When at Windsor he had argued that clarity and comprehensiveness in the rubrics would be a solution to all difficulties.⁴⁴² Later, Davidson turned away from the idea that rules in canon were the answer. Ultimately, the commission requested that the Crown begin the process of framing a new rubric on ritual. Dark asserts that this was the beginning of the process that led to the writing of the Deposited Book of 1927.⁴⁴³ These issues were not finally resolved until the adoption of the new code of Canon Law, from 1964, where Canon C27 lists the possible vestures of the presiding ministers rather than seeking to regulate practice.⁴⁴⁴

The chief challenge of his primacy was to lead the church through the Great War and to attempt to speak on the ethical implications of warfare to the nation. A full discussion of this area is beyond the scope of the present study but we may note that his speeches and sermons are collected as *The Testing of a Nation*, the title seems to give the key to his view of the experience.⁴⁴⁵ Davidson consistently defends the idea of the just war and also points approvingly to the national unity of purpose during wartime. He argues that even 'the religion of peace' must defend itself against oppression and, in one sermon, develops the idea that 'the peace of God' has a counterbalancing notion of the 'strife of God'.⁴⁴⁶ He felt strongly that the German state should not be allowed to be unrepentant and in 1916 dismissed calls for a negotiated peace as 'flimsy sentimentality' in the face of enemy obduracy.⁴⁴⁷ His sense of the ethical propriety of the Allied cause made him call both for the energetic pursuit of a righteous cause, but also for the rejection of reprisal.⁴⁴⁸

Davidson's addresses rarely appealed to emotion, those published show that he would deploy reasoned argument to persuade his audiences. During his North American tour he refers to his late brother-in-law's visit on Archbishop Tait's behalf and we may detect a sense of pathos in his words.⁴⁴⁹ However calmly his texts read, his delivery was not without vigour: Davidson had significant hip area damage from a teenage shooting accident and his hernia regularly fell out when he preached.⁴⁵⁰ Little of the man himself intrudes, except in some of his post-war sermons, where he reflects on the awful damage caused by the war. In his opening address to Lambeth 6 he movingly

⁴⁴¹ Dark 125f.

⁴⁴² Times letter 9th April, 1889.

⁴⁴³ Dark 132; Deposited Book is the term for the draft supplementary Prayer Book laid before Parliament for its approval.

⁴⁴⁴ Canons of the Church of England (1975) London, SPCK.

⁴⁴⁵ Davidson, R.T. (1919) *Testing of a Nation* London, MacMillan.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Phil 4.7; Davidson, R.T. et al (1917) *Christ and the World at War* London, Clarks; 19.

⁴⁴⁷ Dark 177.

⁴⁴⁸ Herbert 100.

⁴⁴⁹ Davidson (1904) 162.

⁴⁵⁰ Mews op cit., see footnote 393.

describes sitting in his Lambeth study hearing the falling bombs and anti-aircraft fire, tragically aware that were Christian men fighting on both sides in those airborne engagements.⁴⁵¹

His Armistice Sermon speaks powerfully of the way in which the national perspective had been profoundly changed by the five year experience:

It was common incident to many of us when every nerve was on the stretch with painful and anxious excitement and with a solemn sense ... of national peril ... to look back, it might be by chance, it might be on purpose – to letters or diaries or remembered talks of a few years ago. And we found ourselves startled and almost incredulous as the things stared at us which had seemed large then ... and which seem so utterly unimportant now. We have learned in these years a truer proportion. We see the world and its life in a clearer air.⁴⁵²

When Davidson wrote about prayers for the dead in 1905 he was insistent that in his diocese such prayers must be consistent with the ‘concluding part of the prayers for the Church Militant’.⁴⁵³ The heart of his dispute with Fr. Dolling of Portsmouth was that Dolling wanted to have an altar in his new church specifically intended for prayers for the dead.⁴⁵⁴ The experience of the Great War changed his view and by the time of the proposed Book of 1927 he felt able to sanction words such as ‘Multiply, we beseech thee, to those who rest in Jesus, the manifold blessings of thy love’. Dark comments that it is difficult to see these words as anything but an endorsement of some kind of post-mortem effect of prayer, a version of purgatory.⁴⁵⁵

Dark gives Davidson full credit for his decision to resign so that, ‘the leadership of the Lambeth Conference of 1930 should be in the hands of those who have prepared for it,’ he characterises the decision as one of wisdom and deliberation, not one forced upon Davidson unwillingly.⁴⁵⁶

Herbert prefers to place the resignation in the context of the Parliamentary defeats of the Deposited Book, Davidson’s standing and arguments having failed to win the case. Davidson had spoken in the Lords and had carried the debate, the resolutions in favour being carried. He could not speak in the Commons, where the motions were lost.⁴⁵⁷ This must have been deeply galling for a parliamentarian of Davidson’s standing; Hastings’s judgement is that Davidson’s speech in the Lords was instrumental in winning the vote for the 1911 Parliament Bill.⁴⁵⁸ His words in Parliament and with the government generally carried great weight and it was that standing that enabled him in 1919 to begin the process

⁴⁵¹ *LC105:5.

⁴⁵² Westminster Abbey, 10th October, 1918: Davidson (1919) 158.

⁴⁵³ BCP 245.

⁴⁵⁴ Bell 263ff.

⁴⁵⁵ Dark 127.

⁴⁵⁶ Dark 243.

⁴⁵⁷ He was in the gallery for the whole of the debate; Herbert 116.

⁴⁵⁸ The bill proposed removing the power of the House of Lords to block legislation proposed by the Commons; Hastings, A. (2001) *History of English Christianity*, A (4th Ed.); London, SCM; 53.

that led to almost complete self-government for the Church of England. Carpenter asserts that he was the last archbishop able to carry this degree of influence in the national arena.⁴⁵⁹

3. President of the Lambeth Conference

The observable continuity of the early conferences depends in part on the repeated attendance of particular bishops. Davidson himself was present at five conferences, the bishops at Lambeth 6 applauded when he reminded them of this in his Opening Address.⁴⁶⁰ He was at Lambeth 2 as Tait's chaplain and drafted into the conference secretariat; Herbert asserts that the bulk of the organisational work fell into his hands.⁴⁶¹ Bell gives no detail but The Times mentions Davidson as marshal of the processions at the closing service in St. Paul's Cathedral.⁴⁶² By Lambeth 3 Davidson was at Windsor and was General Secretary.⁴⁶³ He assisted Lightfoot of Durham and Stubbs of Oxford in drafting the Encyclical.⁴⁶⁴ He brought out the Conference Report in 'record time'.

By Lambeth 4 he was Bishop of Rochester and Conference Episcopal Secretary. Dark asserts that agenda of this conference was largely Davidson's work.⁴⁶⁵ Temple, irascible at the best of times, did not take kindly to his knowledge and experience, perhaps feeling that he was not as much in control of the Conference as he would have wished. Benson had made almost all the arrangements, including bringing the date forward to coincide with the Augustine centenary. Davidson notes in his journal that he was 'little consulted in the running of the conference'. Temple was manoeuvred into paying some tribute to Benson by Davidson asking him, diplomatically if he would like to do it himself or whether he would allow one of the US bishops to do so.⁴⁶⁶

Finally, by 1908 Davidson was archbishop and served as president of the Conference for the first time. Few attendees could have had such a depth of knowledge of its workings or such a wide range of contacts within the Communion, partly because of his presence at previous Lambeth Conferences. Importantly, he would also have been a familiar face to the overseas bishops from their own prior attendances. Few could match his knowledge of Conference procedures and personnel. When the bishops returned to Lambeth in 1920 for Davidson's second conference, they would have known themselves to be coming to meeting that would be run in an assured manner by someone whose experience and knowledge was unparalleled. Davidson does seem to have been highly regarded. At the luncheon given in Canterbury by St. Augustine's College, Bell tells us that:

⁴⁵⁹ Carpenter 425.

⁴⁶⁰ *LC105:8.

⁴⁶¹ Herbert 15.

⁴⁶² John Bull, 3rd August, 1878.

⁴⁶³ Davidson (1920) Five Lambeth Conferences, London SPCK; 118.

⁴⁶⁴ *LC105:7. 'I remember once sitting in the Lollard Tower literally all the night through as ... Lightfoot and Stubbs ... worked hour after hour ... drafting the Encyclical and documents.'

⁴⁶⁵ Dark 89.

⁴⁶⁶ Bell 303.

The demonstration of affection felt by all the bishops present for the Archbishop of Canterbury as they stood upon their feet as one man when he rose to make his speech showed in a conspicuous way the remarkable influence which the Archbishop was to exert on all his brother bishops – an influence of affection and unbroken patience and not of authority or command.⁴⁶⁷

Such sentiments were further expressed to Bell by other Conference members, the Archbishop of Armagh told Bell that Davidson had explained:

How it was his policy not to act as the ordinary chairman but to treat any bishop with the utmost deference, so that none might say hereafter that the view of any bishop of the Church had not had a fair hearing. The assembly was far too serious and important to admit of any method savouring of suppression or rush.⁴⁶⁸

Our understanding of Davidson's conduct of the conference would have been enhanced by Bell including some details of it in his biography but he declines to do so. His material is a scant ten pages long.⁴⁶⁹ His unpublished diaries say little apart from some brief notes.⁴⁷⁰ For instance, he has a little sketch of the seating plan for the primates for the Opening Service at Canterbury Cathedral.⁴⁷¹ He kept a log book but it contains little more than his own annotated copies of the draft minutes and resolutions. In the biography Bell simply refers readers to the published reports of the conference saying, 'it is not necessary to give an account'. Davidson's own pocket diary barely mentions the Conference at all.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁷ *Bell251:75.

⁴⁶⁸ *Bell251:76.

⁴⁶⁹ Bell 1003.

⁴⁷⁰ *Bell251:61ff.

⁴⁷¹ *Bell251:72; many of the diary entries are very brief indeed, for example the entry for 27th June, 1920 reads: 'Archbishop in bed with lumbago. Barlow forbids him going to Farnham for Talbot's Golden Wedding. H and I hear Inge at St James, Piccadilly'. 'H' is Henrietta, Mrs. Bell.

⁴⁷² *Davidson622:91ff.

b. Analysis

Davidson deserves to be rediscovered as one of the great Archbishops of Canterbury. His longevity in the role gave him increasing stature as the years passed while he continued to show a level of adaptability and openness to innovation. His impact on ecumenical discourse and his surefootedness as primate gave him great credibility in the Church of England, the Anglican Communion and the British State.

He was careful in his handling of the different factions in the Church, although he had little sympathy with extremists of any kind. He demonstrated considerable diplomatic skill in holding the conflicted elements of the English Church together. For the present purpose, however, we must consider his wider influence within the Anglican Communion. A comparative study of the impact of each archbishop upon his Lambeth Conference(s) would be a very revealing piece of work, though one that cannot be undertaken here. We do need, though, to understand the impact of Davidson's leadership and experience Lambeth 6. The data shows that he was well known, trusted and knowledgeable. His career had been built upon progress by careful and considered steps. His contemporaries in Church and State held him in high regard and he clearly had a great deal of personal credibility. His knowledge and experience of the Conferences gave him the prestige and authority to lead Lambeth 6 towards the innovatory step of making the Appeal. The character of the negotiations called for in the Appeal was entirely consistent with his attitude of seeking to hold the middle ground while also working to comprehend as wide a range of persons and opinions as possible. He sought moderation but was also moderate by example. There is ample evidence of his favoured method of working being by a patient process of argument and this is same methodology as one seems advocated in the Appeal. In this way, we can see that the outcomes of Lambeth 6 bore the marks of its President's influence and character.

The following analysis of his archiepiscopate makes use of the contemporary assessments of Herbert and Dark. Four aspects of his performance command our attention: his pursuit of moderation, his views on ritualism, his attitude to ecumenism and his ability to adjust his views in the light of new situations in the church.

1. Moderation and Comprehension

Contemporary commentary saw Davidson was a person of moderation. The Church was fortunate he was inclined to act in a moderate, and moderating, fashion given the internal stresses that it faced during his archiepiscopate. Dark critiques Davidson's 'lack of audacity'.⁴⁷³ Dark characterises him as

⁴⁷³ Dark, Preface vii.

‘a very good man but one who had no principles’.⁴⁷⁴ By this Dark means not that Davidson was unprincipled but rather that he seemed never to reach the point of saying, ‘enough’. Actually, there are cases of his setting boundaries in matters of order and discipline, such as his Diocesan Regulations or his handling of the serious issues around the Kikuyu incident. Dark’s Anglo-Catholic faith is one that temperamentally thrives on the drawing of clear lines and he becomes frustrated in his purpose where Davidson will not give unequivocal endorsement to Dark’s preferred positions. Dark describes him as ‘the consistent apostle of comprehensiveness’, although there were times when Dark would clearly have wished him to be less comprehensive.⁴⁷⁵ Writing about the Deposited Book Dark suggests that something had been put into the book to suit every possible theological view, with the intention of eliciting the maximum support for it. Dark would have preferred a book that took a principled position.⁴⁷⁶ Davidson and his advisors, however, gave higher priority to an attempt to hold the whole range of English Anglican views together in one Church. Similarly, Herbert views him as one whose steady presence was a calming influence on the Church in a very difficult period. Even among the crises of the Great War he sought to offer an ethical compass to the nation in the face of the new and terrifying experiences of a total war. Sure in his own judgement, Davidson proceeded cautiously, ‘he was no adventurer’ but thereby was able to carry the Church and Parliament towards the self-government for the Church of England.⁴⁷⁷

2. Ritualism

Nockles⁴⁷⁸ argues that both sides in the ritualism debate indulged in selective reading of highly ambiguous material. They deployed constructs of Anglican identity congenial to their own views, rather than seeking to use those historical resources as points of reference for shared understanding. The protagonists devised accounts of the data that were designed to strengthen their own positions, rather than investigating the context in which the data arose and the accuracy of the records. Davidson, instead, sought to find a path of moderation that avoided adopting either partial account of the English Church, this he is acknowledged to have done in a sure footed way. We have seen that he did not really understand the ritualists’ emphasis on apparently trivial matters but also deprecated the aggressive tactics of the protestant activists.⁴⁷⁹ He would have witnessed the damaging consequences of these behaviours both first-hand on his visit to Hatcham and also through his experience as a diocesan bishop.⁴⁸⁰ The negative experience of such confrontational behaviours helps us to understand why he later sought development through debate and a search for the common heritage of Christians.

⁴⁷⁴ Dark 31.

⁴⁷⁵ Dark 147.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Dark 206.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.. 237.

⁴⁷⁸ Nockles, P. In Platten, S (ed.) (2003) *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition*, Norwich, Canterbury Press; 190.

⁴⁷⁹ Herbert 55.

⁴⁸⁰ See also App. 9.

Dark concludes that, while Davidson's long service to the Church was of inestimable value and maintained its standing he 'gave it no enthusiasm'. However, partisan 'enthusiasm' had been seen to damage the Church and was the very thing that Davidson sought to avoid.

3) Ecumenism

Davidson made his support for Christian reunion plain. He supported collaboration between missionary societies as he showed by his presence at the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference. The Conference is now understood as among the critical moments in the development of an ecumenical movement in Europe and his endorsement greatly increased the credibility and prestige of that event. He gave weight to its outcomes and we see him placed at the heart of a seminal ecumenical event. The Edinburgh Conference was symptomatic of an increasing sense among Protestant Churches that their divisions should not be exported to the mission field and that those divisions needed to be healed. That Lambeth 6 should subsequently appeal to Christians in the way that it did shows his influence at work to further ecumenical dialogue on the basis of respect for the churches in order that they might – eventually – again be visibly the Church. There were instances, Dark's views notwithstanding, where he made it clear that he would not countenance unity at any price. Both with Kikuyu and in the failed negotiations with the Salvation Army he argued that there must a proper understanding of the nature of the ministry in the Church. We shall see that concern emerge in the *Appeal's* insistence on clarity about the way that ministry might be held in common.

4. Adaptability

Great changes that had taken place in the character of the Church of England during the fifty years of Davidson's ministry. Although he consistently presented himself as of 'central' tradition in the Anglican spectrum the context of that centrality was altered by the success of Anglo-Catholic apologetic. The Church as a whole had moved somewhat in that direction, the middle was now in a different place, on higher ground one might say.⁴⁸¹ Simply to hold the middle ground at a time when the catholic heritage of the tradition was increasingly emphasised, at the cost of its protestant identity, was to be moved towards the views of the Anglo-Catholic party. Davidson presented his case for the Church Assembly (Powers) Act on the basis of it being helpful to a Parliament that no longer had the time or inclination to be overly concerned with the organisation of the Church of England. However, the adoption of the legislation had the effect of achieving a major Anglo-Catholic objective, the liberty of the Church. Davidson's subtle change of view on prayers is an interesting example of his following a movement in the Church away from its older identity. Dark suggests that Davidson's initial view on the disciplining of the clergy was consistent with that of his erastian father-in-law Tait. Fifty years later, following Parliament's second rejection of the Deposited Book, he joins with the

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Herbert 117.

whole bench of bishops in stating that they intended to permit the use of the book and all the practices it allowed, the view of Parliament notwithstanding. Dark writes that, ‘in effect the youthful erastian has become an elderly rebel – an extremely polite and regretful rebel, but a rebel none the less.’⁴⁸²

c. Conclusion

Davidson’s long experience and personal prestige made him a powerful influence on the Lambeth Conference tradition. His natural inclination was towards moderation. He sought the broadest possible comprehension within the Church of England and, by extension, the wider communion. He had been deeply affected by the experience of leading the church through the moral dilemmas that faced a country entangled in a new kind of warfare from 1914-18. We are fortunate in having three important and near contemporary biographical accounts of Davidson, although the use of that by George Bell is problematic.

He had a distinguished career in the English church and played a significant role as an ecclesiastical advisor to Queen Victoria. He served title in Dartford but soon become chaplain to Tait, whose daughter he married. From there he was successively Dean of Windsor, bishop first of Rochester and then of Winchester and finally archbishop. He became a royal chaplain early in his career and moved easily among government figures being an effective speaker in the House of Lords. His association with the Conferences was continuous from his attendance as Tait’s chaplain to his presidency of Lambeth 5 and Lambeth 6. He had unrivalled knowledge of the workings of the Conferences and would have been a familiar figure both to home and overseas bishops. The bishops held him in great esteem, especially by 1920.

His archiepiscopate was characterised by significant ecclesiastical challenges which he faced in an even-handed way, not being drawn into the Anglican sectarianism of his day. He resisted extremism on all sides but was also affected by the changing identity of his church as is illustrated by the evolution of his views on ritual behaviour and prayer for the dead. His guidance of the Royal Commission of 1904-06, in reaching a conclusion acceptable to all, is one of his greatest achievements.

The Great War had as much personal effect on him as anyone but called for him to exercise great wisdom in the debates on the religious and ethical aspects of the war. He also had to address the serious issues arising from the Kikuyu controversy, which he did to general satisfaction. Lastly, it fell to him to lead the church through the difficult process of Prayer Book revision. The conflict over the new book culminated with his leading the bench of bishops in defying Parliament and authorising the

⁴⁸² Dark 239.

use of the 1928 Deposited Book regardless of its failure to gain approval in the Commons. The expression of self-determination that this defiance represents for the Church should also be set alongside Davidson's successful promotion of the 1919 Enabling Act that gave the Church of England virtual self-government.

His desire for reconciliation began to reach out beyond the Anglican tradition toward other Christians so that he felt it right to commit his influence and prestige to the project of encouraging Lambeth 6 to issue the Appeal. In doing so he helped to lay the foundations of the modern ecumenical movement and particularly to focus Anglican commitment to reunion between the Christian Churches. Davidson deserves to be rediscovered as one of the great Archbishops of Canterbury in the Twentieth Century.

Six: 1920, the Sixth Lambeth Conference

This chapter addresses the research question concerning the immediate circumstances of the Appeal. The detail of Lambeth 6 is examined, showing the Conference at work to address the problems facing the communion in the 1920s. Lambeth 6 met in the shadow of a great conflict at a time when many of the political issues remained unresolved; subsidiary conflicts and disputes continued in a number of regions of the world. Although the bishops were focused on the question of Christian reunion in 1920, that desire for unity must be put in the wider context of the need to reconcile the nations after the war. The bishops believed that if the Church was to have credibility in promoting unity it must first set its own house in order. This concern parallels the experience and thinking of Huntington, and others, in the aftermath of the US civil war. In this sense, ecclesial unity is subsidiary to a greater need for humanity to express oneness, a gift offered by a Godhead that is itself in perfect union. Although the debates on Christian reunion have dominated reflection on Lambeth 6 it is important to remember that there was an important parallel debate on the League of Nations. The bishops were supportive of the League, which seemed to offer a way towards peaceful international co-operation and a resolution was adopted endorsing the League and its work as ‘essentially Christian’.⁴⁸³ Christian reunion was not seen in isolation but as part of a wider search for reconciliation, in which the success of Christians might be an encouragement and a restorative influence for the good of all humanity.

The war had shattered optimism about scientific progress but the bishops believed ‘the Christian hope’ might fare better.⁴⁸⁴ Woods of Peterborough, introducing his Prayers for the Conference, writes that, ‘there is a passionate desire for the remaking of society, [and that] somehow only the people who know Christ can reach the necessary energy for this’.⁴⁸⁵

Davidson’s opening address describes the sense of failure that emerged from the realisation that the combined efforts of Christians had not prevented the outbreak of war:

We must take up the solemn trust of striving, so far as in us lies and by God’s help we may, to make good, or to make less ill, the outcome of those dark years and to help in re-starting for the world a worthier life, something more like a witness for Christ among men.⁴⁸⁶

Morgan observes that there is often trepidation about the Conference but its outcome is generally positive because, ‘it brings things into the open that might well become corrupt and sour if had been unaired’.⁴⁸⁷ Some approached the Conference with concern. Gore was fearful of a schism caused by

⁴⁸³ R1920/3-6.

⁴⁸⁴ Morgan 101.

⁴⁸⁵ *Davidson6:49.

⁴⁸⁶ *LC105:6.

⁴⁸⁷ Morgan 102.

Anglo-Catholic departures⁴⁸⁸ Ironically, the Anglo-Catholic Weston of Zanzibar was unsure if he could attend at all without compromising his conscience⁴⁸⁹. Davidson later wrote:

During the year before I was constantly being warned about the difficulties or even perils of the Conference which everybody said must accompany such a gathering. I was very concerned that a minority might, “march out denouncing us”.⁴⁹⁰

The sense of unease is apparent but the evidence does not support any particular conclusion as to why this might be so; perhaps it was a reflection of the factional tension within Anglicanism. Davidson was concerned about the controversial nature of some of the topics and also wondered if they could complete the agenda.⁴⁹¹ In his closing address he says that:

For years I have looked forward not with joy, but with gravity and hope and prayerfulness ... and a good deal of bewilderment as to how we could compress into the few weeks at our disposal, the subjects which would obviously have to be considered.⁴⁹²

Perhaps his trepidation arose from the residual bad feeling caused by the Kikuyu ‘incident’: Weston, as we have seen, had been furious making accusations of heresy and schism. Heywood was new to Mombasa but Willis was still in post in Uganda. There was clear concern about the potential for dispute over the unresolved issues and the poor relationships in East Africa.

Henson of Durham was a cause of concern because of his ‘modernist’ views. Anglo-Catholics, including Weston, were incensed by Henson’s views.⁴⁹³ Davidson considered Henson’s publications and could see no reason why he should not be a bishop.⁴⁹⁴ Lang concurred.⁴⁹⁵ One mentions Henson, Weston, Heywood and Willis together here because, although they seemed problematic before the conference, they became friends during the conference. They were always to be found in one another’s company, particularly surprising in the case of Weston and Willis. Davidson arranged for the official photographers to take a group photograph of this ‘remarkable combination of men’.⁴⁹⁶

A different reaction to modernism came from some English bishops who were calling for a return to strict orthodoxy, in what was known as ‘credal loyalty’. Davidson believed this might be counter-productive, writing to Gibson of Gloucester:

⁴⁸⁸ Late of Oxford and a major theological figure of the late Victorian period.

⁴⁸⁹ Bell 1004.

⁴⁹⁰ *Davidson14:44, August, 1920.

⁴⁹¹ *LC105:7-8.

⁴⁹² *LC110:234.

⁴⁹³ *Bell 251:79: Henson insisted on being referred to as bishop-elect of Durham, although still at Hereford, and processing between the bishops of London and Winchester.

⁴⁹⁴ Bell 872ff.

⁴⁹⁵ *Lang190:32, 26th December, 1917, Gore’s letter.

⁴⁹⁶ *Davidson14:51; the photo seems not to be in the archive.

Our best line of advance is the firm adherence to our quiet and steady assurance of the truth of what is committed to our keeping and that we serve this best by shewing, rather than proclaiming, our allegiance to it.⁴⁹⁷

The bishops reluctantly accepted that Davidson would not allow discussion of credal loyalty at Lambeth 6 because he did not want to put off younger, thoughtful people. They were unhappy but hoped there might be private discussions among the bishops.⁴⁹⁸ Davidson adds that he ‘took the precaution of emphasizing the Creed in his [opening] address’.⁴⁹⁹

a. The Course of the Conference

1. Preparation

Advance planning began in 1915. The Programme of Events⁵⁰⁰ shows that the Lambeth staff were at work on the arrangements most of the way through the war – expecting a conference in 1918. Preliminary notice was sent out in August 1915 but as the war continued it became clear that postponement was inevitable. Very soon after the Armistice, the Metropolitans were asked their views on a new date: unanimously they preferred 1920.⁵⁰¹ The focus of the preparations was within the Lambeth precinct. Physical changes were needed to the buildings, especially the Library.⁵⁰² Chairs were ordered from Messrs. West & Collier in 1919; they were narrower than before so that the increased number of bishops could be fitted into the library.⁵⁰³ Bishops arranged their own accommodation, although Honnor Thomas sought accommodation from a number of London clubs.⁵⁰⁴ Sion College gave Hon. Membership to all the bishops for the duration, including use of the ‘Club Rooms’.⁵⁰⁵ Initially, a luncheon buffet was provided in the nearby parish institute but abandoned because of poor uptake and a loss of £16.⁵⁰⁶

⁴⁹⁷ *Davidson198:15.

⁴⁹⁸ *Davidson198:19: Gibson’s reply.

⁴⁹⁹ *Davidson14:44.

⁵⁰⁰ *LC113:1.

⁵⁰¹ *LC113:232, 23 November, 1919; most replied by telegram preferring 1920.

⁵⁰² *Bell251:72: the costs were met from the Archbishop’s resources; electric light was fitted in the library for £10 ‘though it was only used by Woodward when cleaning’.

⁵⁰³ *LC113:126: is the architects plan for the library; seating was in six blocks, four facing the dais, two sideways to it, there was a short row of seven seats behind dais, and a lower table with six seats for the reporters and secretariat. The bishops were sold their chairs afterwards, a major source of income.

⁵⁰⁴ *LC113:275, March, 1920.

⁵⁰⁵ *LC113:291, 20th April, 1920.

⁵⁰⁶ *LC113:409: The caterer was the Aerated Bread Company, ‘an ethical baker’ because they did not use yeast; Bell was alarmed by the parish expecting payment for the use of their hall (*Bell251:72).

Lambeth printed invitations to metropolitan bishops and they passed on the invitation as appropriate, the expectation was that only diocesan bishops would attend.⁵⁰⁷ There were difficulties, some retired bishops expressed ‘disappointment’ that they had been excluded.⁵⁰⁸ Davidson restated the attendance rules but failed to notice that the American list included two retired bishops.⁵⁰⁹ There had been a press campaign to get certain retired bishops invited.⁵¹⁰ On the first day, Gailor of Tennessee, Acting Presiding Bishop, proposed that six of them should be invited and Davidson appears to give way graciously. The archive shows, however, that Davidson had been in contact with all of them: Gailor’s proposition appears to have been stage-managed.⁵¹¹ Three of the six declined their invitations.⁵¹²

Ironically, Weston, who had threatened not to attend, wrote complaining that he had not been invited.⁵¹³ Willis of Uganda opposed the formation of a province in East Africa, according to Weston’s letter, another point of tension between them.⁵¹⁴ The printed pro formae include an invitation to be used for extra-provincial bishops and it is difficult to see why Weston did not receive one. Davidson replies that he is prepared to take the unusual step of issuing a direct invitation to Weston.⁵¹⁵ Davidson had told the English Bishops’ Meeting in May 1918 that Weston had reportedly ‘repudiated his allegiance to Canterbury’, Davidson may have taken this rumour seriously.⁵¹⁶

The LCCB was regularly kept informed during the preparatory process.⁵¹⁷ In June 1919, Palmer of Bombay wrote to them suggesting agenda items be dropped in order to make reunion the prime topic. Winnington-Ingram of London made a similar suggestion, ‘other areas might be dealt with more slightly’. Even at this early stage the LCCB agreed. The bishops’ consultation responses show that was a great hope for movement on re-union, much of the prior correspondence related to it and in the event a quarter of the Resolutions were on reunion. The LCCB also proposed debates on marriage and sexuality, women’s ministry and liturgical usage. Despite all this careful work, Davidson remarks

⁵⁰⁷ *LC113:28: Bp. Taylor-Smith, British Military Chaplain-General, argued for an invitation as he had been invited to Lambeth 5 in his official role. Davidson wrote that he had been invited ‘in error’.

⁵⁰⁸ *LC113:17: Revd Duncan Travers on behalf of Bp. Hine, lately of Northern Rhodesia; Robertson, late of Exeter, suggests ways in which he might evade exclusion, including his presence ‘on a private basis’, *LC113:24.

⁵⁰⁹ *LC113:4: US bishops without a charge but still active were not considered to be retired.

⁵¹⁰ *LC138:4; cf. Western Daily Mail, 17 June, 1920, illustrates the press campaign to get Gore invited.

⁵¹¹ *LC105:15.

⁵¹² *LC105:73 Gore wrote he would have voted against such an invitation.

⁵¹³ *LC113:350: 7th June, 19, Weston states his reluctance to attend with Henson present and wishing to make a statement condemning him at conference; the dispute was taken seriously and discussed at LCCB, *LC113:37. *LC113:346: 4th April, 1919, Burge of Oxford, also Anglo-Catholic, expressed concern that Weston might not be invited because of his difficult reputation; Davidson reassured him: *LC113:349, 1st June, 1919.

⁵¹⁴ *LC113:342.

⁵¹⁵ *LC113:343: Davidson suggests that they might be able to resolve the issues during the Conference (*LC113:349, 1st June, 1919).

⁵¹⁶ *BM6:15th June, 1918.

⁵¹⁷ *LC113:32, 11th June, 1919.

that ‘many of the bishops arrived unprepared and in a receptive mood rather than a participatory or contributing mood’.⁵¹⁸

Davidson’s family were pressed into Conference service – his bereaved sister-in-law Lucy Tait and his cousin Mary Mills ran the domestic arrangements.⁵¹⁹ Edith Davidson was praised for the hospitality that she organised, including a family programme, assisted by Maud Montgomery.⁵²⁰ Bell made most of the day-to-day arrangements, helped by his wife, Henrietta. Davidson says the book shop was Henrietta’s idea and it made a small but welcome profit.⁵²¹ Additional work was undertaken by the Conference Secretariat, under Bp. Montgomery.⁵²² His team included Honnor Thomas as ‘typewriting secretary’; she seems to have been the person most in command of the detail of the conference, for which Lang particularly thanked her on the last day.⁵²³ Davidson comments that:

She really took Montgomery’s place; the arrangements depended in no small degree upon her unflinching accuracy of detail about correspondence and individual arrangements for the different bishops.⁵²⁴

Thomas also acted as treasurer.⁵²⁵

The press were broadly welcoming. The Church Times demanded a debate on loyalty to the Church, which was not in the agenda.⁵²⁶ The Westminster Gazette’s confident prediction of a debate on Kikuyu proved unfounded.⁵²⁷ The Daily News wrote a mere six column inches, mostly about one bishop who was a cricketer and another who was a sharpshooter.⁵²⁸ The Times welcomed the Conference as ‘many probably fail to grasp the extent of the Anglican Communion’ and wrote that the bishops assembled can ‘do much to achieve the Church’s high purpose.’⁵²⁹ Anglicans were called to pray for the Conference and Davidson wrote to Dr. Meyer, Secretary of the NCEFC, asking that the Free Churches might also do so. The World’s Evangelical Council issued a surprisingly liturgical Form of Guided Intercession as a fraternal gesture. The Western Mail pointedly wondered why ‘if the

⁵¹⁸ *Davidson14:45.

⁵¹⁹ Her partner, Mary Benson, the former archbishop’s widow, died in 1918, *Davidson14:60.

⁵²⁰ *LC143a.

⁵²¹ *LC110:236.

⁵²² Secretary of SPG and ineligible to attend, he was assistant secretary in 1908 and Episcopal Secretary in 1920.

⁵²³ *Davidson6:53.

⁵²⁴ *Davidson14:46.

⁵²⁵ *LC113:377 is Thomas’s pocket account book. A balance sheet (*LC113:392) showed the total cost as £2333/1/10½. The UK National Archive Currency Converter, accessed 21st June, 2013, estimates an equivalent of about £50 000. The biggest single cost was for secretarial services, including short-hand writers, and for printing. The archiepiscopal estate paid £1500 for building costs and additional entertainment. Mr Partridge of the Central Board of Finance (*LC113:388) had raised donations of £925 to offset the contributions made by the English bishops, who donated about £11 each. SPCK donated half the profits on the Report after costs (*LC113:403).

⁵²⁶ *Davidson764:230.

⁵²⁷ *Davidson764:239.

⁵²⁸ *Davidson764:240.

⁵²⁹ *Davidson764:242: 2nd July, 1920.

differences between the churches are so great as some people are in the habit of thinking' it was possible for Davidson to ask the Free Churches to pray for the success of the Conference.⁵³⁰ The Daily Sketch was suspicious of the planned debate on family life choosing to print the official photograph of the Conference in Session bannered 'sitting in secret behind closed doors the bishops in session at Lambeth are the fountainhead of the laws of marriage and legitimacy which affect every family in this land'.⁵³¹

2. Commencement

About 267 bishops attended, each having a portrait in the photographic album supplied by Russell's.⁵³² The most common reasons for non-attendance were that they could not leave their diocese for pastoral reasons, e.g. Durant of Lahore, or old age.⁵³³ The album has a copy of Printed Paper 38 pasted inside the back cover with the known attendees, as at 28th June, 1920. A second loose, uncatalogued copy of Paper 38 was found in the album, marked 'H. Bell'.⁵³⁴ This copy is annotated to show that at least 120 family members accompanied the bishops. Every bishop was offered a short stay at Lambeth Palace.⁵³⁵ The archbishop also gathered the bishops in regional groupings to discuss their particular areas.

Most bishops were in London by the time Gore led a retreat day at Fulham Palace on Friday 2nd July. The next day the bishops travelled to Canterbury by train, with lunch at St. Augustine's College⁵³⁶ and the Opening Service in the Cathedral. In his address from Augustine's Chair, Davidson comments on the opportunities and obligations of the Conference.

We are gathered on a holy ground in which each of you has rightful heritage.' 'What does this conference truly mean? It is the centre of countless prayers – expectation may easily be pitched too high for what can be done in a few short weeks of counsel – and it is for counsel not legislation. But it is for an old Creed that we stand, interpreted from time to time by an Anselm, a Langton, a Cranmer, a Seker, a Benson each a messenger to his contemporaries but for us, as for them, it is the old Creed that stands.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁰ *LC138:5: 27th June, 1920; Davidson's press cuttings file.

⁵³¹ *LC138:286.

⁵³² *LC143:201 Capers of West Texas seems not to have attended. The attendance figure is not secure; *LC111:12: Davidson says about 253 bishops attended, some had been unexpectedly prevented by illness. The album shows that Azariah of Dornakal was the only Asian, Oluwole of Lagos and Howells of West Equatorial Africa the only Black Africans; no indigenous Chinese bishops attended.

⁵³³ *LC113:52 to LCCB.

⁵³⁴ Now *LC143A.

⁵³⁵ *MS4728: from Emily, wife of Berkley of the Bahamas, to her children describing their stay in company with Whitehead of Madras, Mrs. Whitehead, McKim of Tokyo and Baines of Natal.

⁵³⁶ *LC113:122: the South East & Chatham Railway declined to offer a group discount.

⁵³⁷ *Davidson6:51.

Built upon that foundation Anglicans could look to the future with confidence in spite of the terrible years through which the world had recently passed:

Set at this unparalleled time in a bewildered world to do our part in repairing the vastest cataclysm which the human race has known ... not one of us supposes that we can just with simplicity and quietness [resume] our former words and ways ... it would be folly indeed did we not at such a time, for such a task as ours, have open eyes and ears for fresh plans and possibilities and adventures of our faith.

He then moves to the most significant theme of the Conference, 'I suppose that if there is a dominant or frontal thought in Christendom today... it is the thought of greater unity [of which the search for unity of faith] is a reflection'.

The following day, Sunday 4th July, the bishops attended Holy Communion at Westminster Abbey. Davidson was disappointed with the arrangements, 'like the Queen at the Jubilee I was given a very bad place and could not see!'⁵³⁸

Business began on Monday 5th July. The first week was a series of plenary sessions at which the principal subjects were introduced by a senior bishop. On Plenary Days the bishops would assemble in the chapel at 1030 for prayers, organised by Bilborough of Dover. They moved to the library at 1100 and, after a moment of silent devotion, Davidson presented the previous day's minutes. Morning sessions ended at 1330 and recommenced after one hour for lunch; the working day generally ended at 1700. There was occasional variation of the pattern as for the group photograph on the first Friday.⁵³⁹ Towards the end of the conference time began to run out and tea was taken early at 1630 followed by a resumption of business at 1700. Extended sessions took place after the debate on the Appeal and on the days when marriage and sexual ethics were debated. Bell says that Davidson's lumbago returned for 'a very painful bout' just as the Conference began and he presided wrapped in rugs and 'to his disgust, a hot water apparatus under him'. The bout gradually eased during the committee weeks, he seems to have been in quite good health by the end of the Conference.⁵⁴⁰

Conference primarily worked through its eight committees. Davidson did not repeat his mistake of 1908 by appointing the chairmen in advance, the Americans had been aggrieved that none of their number were appointed.⁵⁴¹ With the exception of Lang's prior appointment to the chair of the Reunion Committee, each was left to elect its own chair; though none of them elected an American.⁵⁴² The

⁵³⁸ *Davidson14:45.

⁵³⁹ *LC111:9.

⁵⁴⁰ *Bell251:76.

⁵⁴¹ *Davidson14:47 /*LC113:46 Abp. Riley of Perth to LCCB.

⁵⁴² Perhaps a source of the occasional American view that the Conference is dominated by the English.

committees met at Church House except the reunion committee, which was the biggest and met in the Lambeth Palace library.⁵⁴³ Davidson remarks that:

Some said that Lang was impatient with the more prolix members of the [reunion] committee but I had watched him in action and thought him fair: his speech introducing the committee report was a masterpiece.⁵⁴⁴

The Draft Copy Minute Book and verbatim transcripts give a full account of the Conference.⁵⁴⁵ Draft Minutes were produced quickly, during the early evening, as typescripts on ‘flimsy’ paper. These were seen by Davidson and a corrected version printed overnight. Once agreed, minutes were signed by Davidson in the Fair Copy Minute Book. The Draft Copy Minute Book shows the difficulties in drafting acceptable minutes, especially with the more contentious subjects such as reunion and issues around marriage and human sexuality. The typescript drafts are corrected in a variety of hands, with deletions, reordering and proposed new texts, often carelessly written, and sometimes in Davidson’s own distinctive hand. Bell’s log book adds little, except that he is careful to note voting figures, often otherwise unrecorded.⁵⁴⁶

Mssrs. Hodges and Hall, professional shorthand writers, recorded plenary debates verbatim and their employer’s typists produced transcripts.⁵⁴⁷ The unpublished ‘verbatim’ contain two or three days record beginning with lists showing who spoke in each debate.⁵⁴⁸ There is no such record of the Committee meetings. Each committee had a hardback notebook with Davidson’s instructions for the conduct of meetings pasted into the front; unfortunately no account of the clarity of their handwriting was taken in the selection of secretaries.⁵⁴⁹ Records of attendance were kept but minutes are often reduced to a statement that ‘a discussion took place to which a number of bishops contributed’.⁵⁵⁰ Fortunately, the records of the Committee on Reunion are more thorough, containing draft resolutions and some of the documents that evolved into the Appeal to All Christian People.

Bell issued brief daily Press Statements⁵⁵¹ merely noting the main speakers expected on each subject without any detail of the debates, some are less than half a sheet of typescript.⁵⁵² The brevity of these documents and the exclusion of the press occasioned hostile newspaper comment.

⁵⁴³ The committees sat as convenient from Monday 12th July to Saturday 24th. Plenaries recommenced on Monday 26th, taking the committee reports one day each until Saturday 7th August, the eighteenth plenary day.

⁵⁴⁴ *Davidson14:48.

⁵⁴⁵ *LC111.

⁵⁴⁶ *Bell253:4ff.

⁵⁴⁷ *LC111:132: W.B. Gurney & Sons, Abingdon Street, Westminster.

⁵⁴⁸ Proceedings of the Lambeth Conference 1920, *LC105 to *LC110.

⁵⁴⁹ Gibson of Gloucester, secretary of the Episcopal Communion Sub-Committee had particularly challenging handwriting.

⁵⁵⁰ *LC119, for example.

⁵⁵¹ *LC113:180 ff.

⁵⁵² E.g. the Morning Post, 10th July, 20, has little more than an annotated agenda.

4. Business Programme

Davidson's unpublished Opening Address is little known; it reaches a level of eloquence rarely seen in his preaching, especially when describing the wartime bombing near to Lambeth Palace. He reviewed his involvement with the Conferences, commenting that:

In 1908 I thought it unlikely I should be at another conference, far less did I, or any of us, foresee the horror of catastrophe and wrong which has in the last six years cast its fearful shadow over the whole world's life.

The aftermath was 'looming still'.⁵⁵³ He prays that:

The Holy Spirit should govern [our] work so that men might look back in thirty years on the 1920 Lambeth Conference as a source of inspiration ... Our task is vast yet we face it with perseverance and godly fear.

The bishops were optimistic about what they might achieve and Bell gives credit for this to Davidson:

It was the Archbishop's words at the opening of the sessions on July 5th taken from the Gospel for the previous day (Trinity 5) 'Launch out into the deep' that, echoed by many bishops in the course of the Conference gave a stimulus, as it were, and supplied an interpretation to all that was done.⁵⁵⁴

Over the next few days the main topics for discussion were introduced. Lang initiated the discussion on the reunion of the churches arguing that they must seek to make progress because, 'the needs of the world and the expectations of all Christian people invest this subject with a solemn urgency'.⁵⁵⁵ Bell comments in his diary, 'Naturally, the work on Reunion was the most important part'.⁵⁵⁶ Lang was clear that reunion must return to first principles and the practice of the early church, so far as it can be identified:

The object of our quest is not the terms on which the Anglican Communion can be enlarged but the terms upon which a truly Catholic Church can be recovered and its unity renewed and restored. Facing the facts of Christendom as they are now we must think out anew the necessary framework of faith and order within which in the course of many generations and in many parts of the world the life of the One Church, the Catholic Church which we desire can be built up.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵³ *LC105:5.

⁵⁵⁴ *Bell251:75.

⁵⁵⁵ *LC105:104.

⁵⁵⁶ *Bell251:77.

⁵⁵⁷ *LC105:109.

His language is about the Church, rather than of Anglican denominational identity. He takes for granted the authenticity of the Anglican way of being Christian and its rootedness in the shared heritage of the Church. Some features of the lives of the churches relate to the essence of what it is to be Church, so shared elements must be identified to promote convergence:

None of the bodies bear the full imprint of Christ's will but the defects they all bear cannot be said to be a bar to the gift of his grace. Any debate about validity of order or sacrament in any particular body is fruitless ... It is useless to describe schemes until there is common understanding of principle.⁵⁵⁸

Anglican heritage holds certain ideas out of principle that would have to become features of a uniting church but other Christians would bring different, but equally important, features to the blessing of all. For example, 'Episcopal Ordination [should] be desired as a matter of principle'.⁵⁵⁹ Indeed whatever was adopted by a uniting church should arise from principle not convenience or utility, still less to entice the reluctant. Lang appeals to the bishops that, in the spirit of R1908/78, they should be bold:

Cannot we take a further step and ... write to other Christian Churches not merely to acknowledge the sin of Division and pray for the growth of unity but definitely to consider the basis upon which that unity can be obtained?⁵⁶⁰

Bell believed that new means of expression were required for these discussions and therefore he did not want to be restricted to the language of the Quadrilateral, which he believed was unhelpful to the Free Churches.

Continuing the debate, Gibson reviewed the state of relationships with the Orthodox and other Eastern Churches. He welcomed the conversations that had been held, energised by the political situation following the occupation of Turkey by allied troops in 1918. He noted that Serbian students at Oxford had been told to use Anglican sacraments if they could not access their own. Eastern prelates had been welcomed to the UK and the Conference would meet representatives of the Oecumenical Patriarch.⁵⁶¹

Maclean of Moray spoke of the contacts he had undertaken with the 'lesser eastern Churches'.⁵⁶² He reviewed the discussions that had been held with the Assyrian 'Nestorians' and showing that there

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid..

⁵⁵⁹ *LC105:112.

⁵⁶⁰ *LC105:104.

⁵⁶¹ *LC105:117; also: Davidson (1923) *Allocution on the Relations between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches*; London, Faith Press, a bilingual pamphlet including the terms of the Patriarchal recognition of Anglican orders and its endorsement by the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

⁵⁶² Now termed the Oriental Orthodox Churches.

were no longer any significant differences of understanding, he believed, about the person of Christ between Nestorians and Anglicans.⁵⁶³

In less optimistic tone, Boyd Vincent of Southern Ohio spoke of the visit his American delegation to the World Conference on Faith and Order had made to a number of European church leaders. They had gone to Rome and, while he acknowledged the personal graciousness of the Pope, he asserted that the rigidity of the Roman position meant the only way towards reunion was by total submission to Rome, 'Union with her is currently impractical because of the UnCatholic terms which she would impose'.⁵⁶⁴

Lowther Clarke, Abp. of Melbourne, referred to Lambeth 5's suggestion that union might be grown by shared episcopal ordinations alongside the authorisation of transitional arrangements, respecting the convictions of those not episcopally ordained, while not surrendering the principle of the Preface to the 1662 Ordinal.⁵⁶⁵ Anglican tardiness had not, apparently, prevented negotiations among other Australian Protestants.⁵⁶⁶ He identified the heart of the problem as the recognition of orders between the churches.⁵⁶⁷ He stated that:

Episcopacy should not be presented as a harmless concession to Catholic sentiment, or a prudent insurance against defects in someone's ministry but rightly presented as representing the mystical communion with the church of the past and giving recognition to the church of the present.

Anglican episcopalianism is not a matter of the survival of a custom or of convenience but a conviction that is part of being Church in the widest sense, a mark of its being part of the one Catholic Church. The instinct towards denominational self-preservation should be set aside in favour of a journey towards a united Church. Palmer of Bombay responded that the only Church into which any convert should be invited is the Catholic Church of Christ, 'What would be the point of asking an Indian to join the Church of England?'⁵⁶⁸

Weston now made his first contribution to the Conference, immediately impressing his hearers with a positive and generous response. Weston in person was persuasive and gracious, even if his writing was often combative and over-assertive. Noting his disappointment at the outcome of the 1918 Kikuyu missionary meeting he asked:

⁵⁶³ *LC105:122.

⁵⁶⁴ *LC105:129.

⁵⁶⁵ Whatever the status of existing ministers might be, all new ministers would be episcopally ordained, as with the Church of South India; c.f. Bell, GKA (1920) Documents on the problem of Christian Unity; London SPCK; 24ff.

⁵⁶⁶ Eventually leading to the Uniting Church of Australia in 1977.

⁵⁶⁷ *LC105:136.

⁵⁶⁸ *LC105:143.

If we are to defend episcopacy it must be on the basis that it reveals the fatherhood of God – we must heal the divisions within ourselves before we can look outwards ... might we not get an agreement before we leave the Conference that if we cannot get all that we want with regard to reunion – [might we not] ... come to an agreement that we will mutually tolerate one another's views and one another's practices?⁵⁶⁹

Introductory debates concluded, Conference went into its Committee stage. There were non-business events; for example, William Burdett-Coutts, the American born MP for Westminster, held a reception on 20th July attended by many bishops and about sixty Parliamentarians, including several government ministers.⁵⁷⁰ The bishops were received at Buckingham Palace on the evening of Wednesday 21st July; Davidson wrote the Address that was presented to the King and also, helpfully, drafted the King's reply.⁵⁷¹ Davidson had dinner with the Lord Chancellor and the King two days later on the Friday evening.⁵⁷²

5. Committee Work

The work of the Reunion Committee is the subject Chapter Seven.

Three important pieces of business were conducted by the Episcopal Churches sub-committee. First, was a brief report on the willingness of the Irish Church to offer support to the two Iberian Reformed Episcopal Churches and their willingness to ordain ministers, including bishops.⁵⁷³ Second, Bp. Mumford of the English Moravians gave evidence by invitation, this represented another of the small steps that eventually led both to the Interim Agreement on Intercommunion between the Church of England and the Moravian British Province and the Intercommunion Agreement in America between Moravians, Anglican and Lutherans.⁵⁷⁴ Third, they met the delegation from the Oecumenical Patriarch, producing helpful clarifications reflected in the Conference Resolutions. Subsequently, the Patriarch accepted the validity of Anglican orders in 1923.

The Committee on Provincial Organisation yields data on the bishops' views of themselves as Anglicans but also as part of the Catholic Church. Carter, Abp. of Capetown, noted that there were 31 extra-provincial dioceses at that time mostly giving allegiance to Canterbury but some to the US or Canada.⁵⁷⁵ He described a visit to an isolated missionary diocese, commenting on their loneliness and their sense that they belonged to SPG rather than the Church. By contrast, he described the experience

⁵⁶⁹ *LC105:176.

⁵⁷⁰ The Times 21st July, 1920.

⁵⁷¹ The Times later printed the final version in full *Davidson764:263, 26th July, 1920.

⁵⁷² *Davidson622:97.

⁵⁷³ *LC116:10.

⁵⁷⁴ The debate on the Moravians shows their willingness to match Anglican practice and Anglican willingness to supply bishops to co-consecrate because of doubts around the Moravian succession; *LC108:218.

⁵⁷⁵ *LC107:60.

of fellowship within the province of South Africa and asserted that it is much easier to maintain a provincial rather than a diocesan identity.⁵⁷⁶ He spoke of the opportunity to expand the work into German South West Africa once South African Union troops had occupied it – showing that a province could move more effectively than a single diocese would be able.⁵⁷⁷ The abiding problem was about how the provinces might secure their fellowship with one another.⁵⁷⁸

Matheson, Abp. of Rupertsland, argued that the development of provinces was the ‘preponderating’ practice of the Church. In his homeland the province was often the mother of dioceses it had helped to form, rather than a regional coalescence.⁵⁷⁹ De Carteret of Jamaica listed the strengths of provinces:

‘Local fellowship for the bishops; the unification of administration and discipline in the region; the strengthening of the Church’s position by better organisation of resources; the province forms a convenient court of appeal from the diocese when needed; provincial affirmative vote of episcopal elections form a useful safeguard; membership of a province encourages co-operation between dioceses.’⁵⁸⁰

Lawrence of Massachusetts described how the American church had recently set up a provincial system for these very reasons.⁵⁸¹

On Wednesday 4th August Conference adopted the significant R1920/12(b)ii, forbidding the reception of Holy Communion from ministers who are not episcopally ordained and permitting reception only from priests of the Anglican Communion.⁵⁸²

6. The Conclusion of Business

The final morning’s debate laid down an important principle by agreeing that, while the Book of Common Prayer should be seen as the liturgical and doctrinal norm, it did not follow that its orders of worship were necessarily the best for use in the mission field. They also agreed that it set the standard to which any replacement must aspire but did not specify exactly which edition of the book held this important unifying role. Anglicans, by this measure, are the people who believe as the Prayer Book specifies and worship in the way it describes.⁵⁸³

Lang then moved that Davidson leave the chair:

⁵⁷⁶ Underlined by Donaldson, Abp. of Brisbane who called diocesan colleges ‘a disastrous mistake’; *LC106:244.

⁵⁷⁷ *LC106:213.

⁵⁷⁸ *LC106:217.

⁵⁷⁹ *LC106:219.

⁵⁸⁰ *LC106:225.

⁵⁸¹ *LC106:239.

⁵⁸² *LC109:110.

⁵⁸³ *LC110:6-12.

‘I was compelled to move that your Grace leave the Chair because we felt that until you had done so it would be difficult for us to tell you about the ability with which you filled it ... [his] personality and the Lambeth Conferences are in a unique manner bound together ... he has set an example as President that all his successors will feel bound to emulate.’⁵⁸⁴

He spoke of the facility with which Davidson had presided:

‘we have marvelled at his patience and at his almost exceeding fairness ... to be chairman of two hundred and fifty habitual chairman is a true test of chairmanship.’

Gailor spoke very warmly of the welcome and honour with which the Americans had been greeted in England, gratefully remembering Davidson’s visit to America, which showed his concern for the growth of the Church outside England. He had been patient with the regular speakers (laughter) and encouraged the timid ‘and we greatly appreciated it’.⁵⁸⁵ D’Arcy of Armagh applauded Davidson’s ability to remember the independence of sister churches that were united by common history, common conviction and common hope: these were the spiritual bonds that united them.⁵⁸⁶ Bell records that D’Arcy had also spoken to him of Davidson privately:

‘The Archbishop is a wonderfully wise man’, he said to me ... and dwelt on his fairness, his open mindedness and his patience in a way which practically all the bishops have endorsed. [Davidson] had explained to Armagh how it was his policy not to act as the ordinary chairman but to treat any bishop with the utmost deference, so that none might say hereafter that the view of any bishop of the Church had not had a fair hearing. The Assembly was far too serious and important to admit of any method savouring of suppression or rush.’⁵⁸⁷

The Conference then adopted this unpublished resolution:

‘That this Conference with one heart and mind records its gratitude to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the unfailing ability, strength and courtesy with which he has fulfilled the duties of President of Conference.’

The minutes note that it was ‘Carried amidst profound applause.’ Lang interrupting it:

‘I am compelled to say that if we are to get on there must be some economy of applause ... ‘

He then proposed a motion admitting Edith Davidson to temporary membership of the Conference:

⁵⁸⁴ *LC110:224.

⁵⁸⁵ *LC110:229.

⁵⁸⁶ *LC110:231.

⁵⁸⁷ *Bell251:76.

‘It is fit that Mrs Davidson should be present at this conference, which has done more than any other to recognise the services of women but I feel bound to ask Mrs. Davidson to remember that her presence here on this platform must not be taken as involving any prophecy of a speedy elevation of [her] sex to the episcopate. (laughter)

‘She has memories and associations with Lambeth Conferences from the very first from the days when as a child she marvelled at seeing so many bishops at Fulham Palace, it is remarkable that for three she has been living at Lambeth itself. She has made Lambeth Palace not merely a place of meeting but in a special sense a home for all the bishops.’⁵⁸⁸

Lang then presented the gifts.⁵⁸⁹ To Edith Davidson he said, ‘we have not presumed to select the article which we would wish you to take from our hands’ and he made her promise not to give the money to some charitable cause on account of her ‘kind heart’. The gift was used to purchase a purple amethyst necklace which is an heirloom of Lambeth.⁵⁹⁰ He then asked if, ‘the latest member of the Conference is disposed to speak a word today’. Thus Edith Davidson became the first woman to address a Lambeth Conference anticipating Bp. Barbara Harris⁵⁹¹ by some eighty years :

‘it is only one word but it comes from out of the very depths of my heart. I do thank you and shall never forget your kindness ... I did not require anything to remind me of what this time has meant to me ... I am not the only one who had been connected with all the Lambeth Conferences. My sister is behind me and has [also been] so.’ (cheers).

7. Ending.

The Conference came to its conclusion after lunch on Saturday 18th August and the bishops returned home.⁵⁹² Weston remained in England long enough to write in the Church Times commending the work of the Conference:

‘The Lambeth Conference has spoken. Without doubt we should be grateful for its utterance. Before it met, men were filled with fear. They were certain that it would hand over our pulpits to women; advise some measure of federation with non-episcopal communions; perhaps

⁵⁸⁸ *Davidson6:52: Gurney’s gave Edith Davidson a verbatim transcript as a keepsake.

⁵⁸⁹ *LC110:5: the Americans organised the gift of a new primatal cross; the balance of the donations would make a £100 gift for Mrs. Davidson.

⁵⁹⁰ *MS3348:137: Edith Davidson left them in her will to Mary Mills’s daughter, Catherine, who, childless, wrote in her will: ‘I have desired ... that these amethysts should be the property of succeeding Archbishops of Canterbury and that they should be worn by the wife of the Archbishop for the time being’.

⁵⁹¹ The first female Anglican bishop, consecrated Bishop Suffragan of Massachusetts, 1989.

⁵⁹² *H5021-2.3 is the closing service of Holy Communion, Sunday 8th August 1920 – the Communion Office was sung to Martin in A; two of the five hymns were sung to plainchant melodies, one was by Wesley and Nunc Dimittis was added after the blessing, sung to a chant by CH Lloyd.

extend recognition to Presbyterian ministers; and approve schemes for a general inter-communion and exchange of pulpits. From all these things we are delivered.’⁵⁹³

The sense of relief at some of these things was more widespread than Weston’s Anglo-Catholic readers. That the Conference had progressed so well was generally credited to Davidson’s experienced presidency, Montgomery states that the bishops felt more secure knowing that this was Davidson’s second conference.⁵⁹⁴ Credit was also widely given to Montgomery and his staff for their organisational work.⁵⁹⁵

Afterwards Bell wrote in his diary:

‘It is difficult to sum up in any brief statement the impressions formed by the Lambeth Conference of 1920. The great feeling which underlies everything is one of profound thankfulness for the whole sense and spirit of the conference itself.’⁵⁹⁶

The national secular press was positive in the immediate aftermath but seems not to have covered the Conference in any detail, dissuaded, perhaps, by the paucity of available information. The Manchester Guardian was impressed by the ‘new idea’ of the Appeal’s approach but the remainder of the piece simply reprints Bell’s press release.⁵⁹⁷ The Daily Mail contents itself with four column inches in which it reprints one paragraph from the Appeal together with an optimistic quotation from Wood.⁵⁹⁸

Davidson’s conclusions about the Conference are characterised by a sense of relief that all had gone well, despite his earlier concerns. His Memorandum notes: ‘Initial responses to the Appeal were very friendly, the non-conformist press is so far wholly civil’.⁵⁹⁹

b. Analysis

While the process and ethos of Lambeth 6 depend on and derive from the longer Conference Tradition examined in Chapter Two, it also marks a watershed: it is the point at which the Anglican Communion decisively turned outward from itself to address the division of the Church. The outcome was not a theoretical definition of Church, still less a condemnation of those who did not share the Anglican way, but rather an honest attempt to draw the churches into engagement with one another. We shall see in Chapter Seven that the Appeal addressed all Christians in terms that recognised their

⁵⁹³ Church Times 20th August, 1920.

⁵⁹⁴ Stephenson (1978)134.

⁵⁹⁵ *LC110:226: Lang applauded both Woods and Bell ‘who works like an unseen force of nature’.

⁵⁹⁶ *Bell251:75.

⁵⁹⁷ *LC138:9.

⁵⁹⁸ *LC137:10.

⁵⁹⁹ *Davidson14:53.

Christian status on the one hand but also honestly accepted an Anglican share of the blame for the sin of division.

Three aspects of the outcome of Lambeth 6 are of value to ecclesiological reflection concerning issues of unity among Anglicans. We might consider that they establish guiding principles around mutual responsibility and cultural sensitivity, brought together in honest debate, which enables reconciliation even among people of widely differing ecclesiological outlooks. The breadth of opinion and diversity among Anglicans suggest that the same principles may be of help to Christians in general when engaged in ecumenical debate.

We consider first the role of the Church as an icon of unity for all humanity, particularly in the light of the unexpected outcomes of the Conference. Then we reflect on the issues of inter-relationships that arise within the Church and lastly, we ask what the 1920s might say to the 2020s in terms of the ability of the Conference model to hold widely differing understandings of Anglican tradition together in the face of threats to unity.

1. Human Unity

The Lambeth 6 Encyclical's central theme is fellowship; fellowship between Christians of different traditions and fellowship between the nations of the world. In the long run the Encyclical Letter has been overshadowed by the Appeal, which is reflected the data, very little contemporary press comment refers to the Encyclical.⁶⁰⁰ The longing for fellowship, unity one might say, is also the motivation of the Appeal. At the heart of that longing lies the theological understanding that the visible Church is in disobedience and the sin of disunity. In such a condition it is in no position to fulfil its God-given task of reconciliation: how can it preach unity from out of its own disunity? The process of producing the Appeal text caught the collective imagination of the bishops. As they worked with the ideas and arguments, they came to believe that they had passed through an experience unlike any previous experience of the Conference. Although reluctant to make an explicit claim of inspiration, at least some present had a definite sense of being guided to their outcome. Lang comes most close to saying that they had been guided by the Holy Spirit but is clearly wary of making such a claim. The Conference had achieved a wholly unexpected outcome. Instead of resolutions seeking further information and study of other Christian traditions, like those of Lambeth 5, there is a new approach. The other churches are called to join in common cause to seek reunion together for the sake of the greater good of the Church. There was, of course, considerable interest in the question of Christian reunion before the Conference began but there was no expectation of a document being

⁶⁰⁰ *LC137:5: the text grew from Davidson's manuscript Introduction amended as Conference progressed.

*LC137 contains disordered working drafts and amendments. Palmer of Bombay did the bulk of the work with Wood as secretary; the working group included Chase of Ely, Boutflower of South Tokyo and Brent of Western New York, assisted by Bell. The documents were typed by Honnor Thomas. Davidson had stated that he would want, 'clear proposals for amendments not requests like 'please can we have a paragraph on ...'' (*LC109:127).

produced that would go beyond the statement of existing denominational positions. The Appeal represents a new approach and demonstrates that the Conference process was capable of generating something with the potential to unlock a seriously intractable issue.

2. Relationships within the Communion

D'arcy of Amargh spoke of the common bonds between the Anglican churches being rooted in, 'common history, convictions and hope'. He does not clarify his understanding of what those might be, and we would today perhaps have a different understanding, but he is clearly reflecting on those things which make the Anglican churches look, sound and behave as if they are part of a single tradition. Davidson's Canterbury Address spoke of the common heritage of an old – by implication shared – creed and the need for it to be given new expression from time to time. However, both these statements beg the question of what might happen if the actions of one province seem to step outside the shared heritage. How are the provinces to be held in communion? The answer established within Anglicanism by the Conference Tradition is to bring the bishops of the churches together to learn from one another, as was Longley's original intention. The work of the Committee on Provincial Organisation presents an exposition of the value of the province but ignores the question of how mutual accountability can be maintained. The Communion's broad view is that each province knows its own situation best but yet is accountable in some sense to the other provinces for their stewardship of the depositum fide. The difficulty resides in the nature of the accountability, particularly where the divergence is not concerned with the kind of first order theological beliefs delineated in, e.g., the Symbol of Nicaea but rather in lower order issues such as the gender of a province's ministers. We shall return to this discussion in Chapter Ten.

The failure to clarify the means of mutual accountability can be seen to lie at the heart of the Communion's problems in the early twenty-first century; we shall examine this issue in Chapter Eleven. The Communion was far less diverse at the beginning of the Twentieth Century than it has become a hundred years later. The bonds of commonality between the provinces then appear stronger than now. The location of the episcopate in a single social context, essentially white, male and middle-class together with much less variation in worship across the Communion must have led to a greater sense of identity than can be maintained in a twenty-first century context. To illustrate, at Lambeth 6 all the debates were held in English among men of broadly similar social class. At Lambeth 14 simultaneous translation was provided into seven languages for an episcopate that was far more diverse by culture, language and gender. The Communion of 2020 is in the process of becoming far more polychromatic than in 1920.

3. What 1920 might say to 2020

We have already noted the apprehension that regularly precedes meetings of the Conference but that such apprehension may be dissipated by the outcome of the meetings. The outcome of Lambeth 6 was quite other than expected: although many of the bishops had called for a focus on Christian reunion, none of them foresaw that the Appeal would be the result. Further, the Appeal was couched in such generous and non-denominational terms that it was warmly received by those to whom it was addressed. Many of the bishops expressed their surprise and delight at the fraternal closeness of the debates and the sense of shared purpose that grew among them during the reunion debates that came to dominate the Conference. The remarkable friendship that developed between Henson, Weston, Heywood and Willis illustrates clearly the benefit that arises from those of very different standpoints coming together in Conference. Within their diversity they were also able to discover a convergence of thought. Davidson should be given credit both for his careful preparation and for his careful handling of the debates. He created an atmosphere in which a positive attitude could flourish despite the challenging issues that the Conference sought to address. Perhaps we may say that the message of 1920 to 2020 is that there is far more to be gained by conference than confrontation. There were serious issues to be confronted by Lambeth 6 but in the process of shared encounter the bishops found that there was commonality in their differing expressions of the Anglican way that enabled them to reach beyond their disagreements in search of a shared goal. We might ask in which ways the fault lines of 1920 were quantitatively worse than those a century later and that is a very challenging question. The fault lines appear to be similar, in so far as they continue to reflect the old divisions between the evangelical, liberal and catholic traditions in Anglicanism. However, a major difference is that cohesion has been undermined by cultural diversity. The Communion has become a fellowship of churches with common heritage and outlook but that are highly responsive to the local cultures within which they are set. One Anglican may be an Inuit Anglican, her sister may be a Xhosa Anglican but both are able to recognise affinity to the English Anglican who writes these words.

c. Conclusion

Lambeth 6 met at a time when the world had not yet fully come to terms with the impact of the 1914-1918 War. However, we see in the preparatory documents and the debates, a clear focus on the questions of the unity of humankind. The bishops believed that divisions between peoples and nations needed healing and that healing of the divisions in the Church was also necessary. Christian re-union would be a symbol of hope to the rest of humanity, fulfilling the ecclesiological imperative that the people of God should be one so that the world might believe.

The Conference gathered bishops in common debate who were of diverse and contradictory views. There were serious concerns before the Conference that it would increase disunity among Anglicans or that one faction or another would separate from the Communion. Yet, despite the foreboding, bishops who might have been expected to be in conflict were able to make common cause; remarkable friendships grew that crossed significant boundaries. This shows the Conference at work producing shared understandings that united Anglicans. Theologically this might be interpreted as the Holy Spirit at work to bring unity and to generate community amongst those present – drawing the gathering into the Communion to which it aspired. We may question the sense in which divisions in the Anglican Communion in the early twenty-first century are greater than those of earlier times and so ask why the same method of consultation should not be again be deployed.

The Conference members took seriously the charge that Davidson gave them in his Opening Address, that they should follow the example of their predecessors and find appropriate new ways to give expression to their ‘old creed’. He continued to encourage them, by his presidency and example, to be loyal to their ‘common history, common conviction and common hope’. The impetus to make their appeal for Christian reunion arose out of their growing sense of fellowship and the heart-felt desire to extend it beyond the limits of the Communion.

The researcher is fortunate to have available extensive documentation for the Conference, including the verbatim accounts of the debates that make it possible to follow the developing thinking and mood of the bishops in some detail. The tenor of the bishops’ words was that they were meeting as a representative and international body of people who were authentically catholic in their expression of the Christian faith. However, they have breadth of thinking that makes it possible for them both to honour the gifts that they have received and also to honour the gifts held by other Christian traditions. They express commitment to the Anglican way but also a deep understanding that Anglicans are only part of the whole Church of Christ. As we have seen it was just such a sentiment that led one bishop to remark, ‘what is the point of asking an Indian to join the Church of England?’

Section Three: the impact of the Appeal

Research Question: What was the contemporary impact of the Appeal within and beyond the communion?

Seven: How the Appeal came to be.

The second section of this thesis examined the immediate circumstances in which the Appeal to All Christian People came to be made. Our attention now turns to the significance of the theology, impact and legacy of the Appeal. We have seen how Anglicans had already given expression to their identity through the Quadrilateral but in the face of the urgent post-war desire for human unity now sought *the means to engage other Christians in dialogue*. Davidson's Presidential role as a moderating, statesman-like figure was crucial to the achievements of the Conference.

This chapter examines the process through which the Appeal to All Christian arose from the work of the Conference Committee on Christian Reunion. The detailed description of the content of the early texts is dealt with in Chapter Eight. Initial work in the Committee was unsuccessful and left participants dejected, especially after the contributions of the group of 'expert witnesses'. These half-dozen academics and retired bishops seemed to be quite out of touch with the Committee members, who had an urgent sense of the need to bring Christians together in reunion for the sake of humanity's own unity. The despondency was overcome by the work of a small group of like-minded bishops meeting privately and unofficially. They suggested that, rather than stating any Anglican positions, Lambeth 6 should make an appeal to other Christian traditions to work together for reunion. Their idea of an appeal, which soon became The Appeal, caught the imagination of the Committee and the Conference.

The contribution of Frank Weston was critical to the change of direction; instead of being a negative influence, as had been feared, he became a key contributor. The working group document was largely based on work previously done by Weston. Some of the group met with Davidson, Lang and members of the Conference secretariat over tea in the Lambeth garden and produced a document that formed the core of the Appeal. Significant editorial work was undertaken by Lang to whom Davidson delegated the major responsibility for the Reunion Committee and the documents that it produced. The text grew from being a mere statement of Anglican position to a surprisingly open and invitational text, seeking to draw other Christian bodies into a conversation. The ambition was not simply the amalgamation of denominations but a rediscovery of the unity of the Church. There was a sense of urgency and invitation which surprised Conference enthusiastically endorsed. Subsequently, their work was later warmly welcomed by potential ecumenical partners, even though the meetings that followed did not deliver immediate tangible results.

An important feature of the Reunion Committee's thinking was a growing concern that the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral had outlived its usefulness. Lang sought to replace the Quadrilateral with a new, threefold formulation: a coming reunited church would need to have common faith, worship and ministry. Lang argued that the Quadrilateral was an obstacle to the Free Churches, in particular,

because of the language that it used. Other traditions had come to regard the Quadrilateral, he said, as a list of demands, an agenda, rather than a survey of the issues that needed resolution. However, this chapter argues that it was not the language of the Quadrilateral that was the problem but the concepts presented by it. The chief difficulty lay with episcopacy, although there were also concerns about the use of the ancient creeds, especially from Congregationalists. Episcopacy was not an issue between Anglicans, Orthodox and some Lutheran Christians, but it is an area of difficulty between those traditions and other Reformation Churches.

Unfortunately for English Anglicans, it was those non-episcopal churches that were predominant amongst potential ecumenical partners in England. Simply put, it was not the Quadrilateral's description of episcopacy that deterred other protestant churches but episcopacy itself. In England, particularly, episcopacy was seen as inseparable from prelacy and the state role of the Anglican bishops. Lang's concern about the Quadrilateral arose from a genuine concern to ease the path towards Christian reunion. However, in practice, the Quadrilateral continued in use for ecumenical discussions involving Anglicans because its elements are too fundamental in nature, from an Anglican perspective, for them to be surrendered. Consequently, the Quadrilateral became fundamental to the South India reunion scheme. More immediately, the reconciliation of the English and Swedish episcopal lines in the autumn of 1920 had been achieved on the basis of long years of work grounded in the principles of the Quadrilateral.

Existing literature on Lambeth 6 supposes that the crucial point in the Appeal's development was an afternoon tea party where a number of bishops agreed to propose a document. However, examination of the data shows that this was not the case; the process was more deeply rooted and more carefully prepared than the customary, somewhat light-hearted view has supposed. That view gives a false impression of the efforts that were made by committee members to overcome the serious ecclesiological difficulties that they faced – it also seriously underplays the role taken by Weston. Perhaps, if Weston had lived longer, his stature would have been greater but he died in the mission field soon after the ending of the Conference.⁶⁰¹ The tea party was a turning point but the work it had a longer history than supposed and was the result of careful preparation by Bell and an enthusiastic group of bishops; it did not originate new work but rather allowed senior figures to endorse the draft that the ecumenical enthusiasts had already produced, outside the formal committee structure. The concern for reunion among church people that were also mission-focused has long been observed and is underlined by the identities of the bishops who were most involved in seeking to move the work of the Reunion Committee forward.

⁶⁰¹ Smith preface.

a. The work of the Reunion Committee

This section examines the process by which the Reunion Committee carried out its work. The analysis of the texts of the Appeal's progenitor documents will be undertaken in Chapter Eight. The Reunion Committee was the largest and continued to meet in the Lambeth library. The Committee also operated as two sub-committees, one on relations with episcopal communions and the other on relations with non-episcopal communions. Palmer of Bombay and Nickson of Bristol were elected joint secretaries; each also served as secretary to a sub-committee. Lang was appointed as committee chair by Davidson although there was a confirmatory vote at the first meeting.⁶⁰² The committee agreed that Lang, Gibson of Gloucester and Boyd Vincent of Southern Ohio should meet together to assign members to the sub-committees. Gibson was appointed to chair the Episcopal Communion Sub-Committee and Lang undertook to chair the other.

1. Initial disappointment

The first meeting was on Wednesday 7th July and the next on Monday 12th in the library at 1400. The intervening time was intended for the bishops to address the substantial amount of reading that they had been given, including Bell's Documents and a dozen other printed texts. Thereafter meetings were at 1100 and 1430 daily. The committee accepted that they were working against a deadline of having an interim report available by 21st July.⁶⁰³

At the outset the Committee established four areas of preliminary discussion:

What idea of unity do we have?

What do we consider to be the necessary conditions of Catholic unity as regards Faith, Sacraments and Ministry.

What do we regard as the sufficient principle justifying any claim that the ministry of a united church should be based upon episcopal ordination?

What attitude ought we to take as to the 'validity' of the orders and sacraments of the non-episcopal churches?⁶⁰⁴

Lang opened the meeting on Monday 12th July stressing the immense and far-reaching character of the subject, the necessity of approaching it with an open mind and, 'the readiness to reconsider even

⁶⁰² On a resolution proposed by the archbishops of Armagh and Rupertsland, *LC115:3.

⁶⁰³ Ibid. although the idea was later abandoned.

⁶⁰⁴ *LC115:7.

cherished traditions'.⁶⁰⁵ His statement references his growing belief that the Quadrilateral had outlived its usefulness. He held that its language was a significant barrier for the Free Church representatives with whom they needed to engage. The members agreed that they would not issue an interim report but put all their effort into a final document.

At the fourth meeting (Tuesday 13th July) Henson suggested that the Quadrilateral should be amended in some way to show that episcopacy was needful as basis for unity but not requiring it to be of the 'esse' of the Church.⁶⁰⁶ No details of the discussion are given in the minute book but we know that Bell was cynical about this writing that, '[Henson was] extraordinarily able and he had a definite policy – recognition of Presbyterian orders'.⁶⁰⁷

Following the initial discussion Lang, Palmer and Nickson had circulated a draft document on unity, headed Seven Propositions, this was circulated during the day for discussion at the end of the afternoon session on Wednesday 14th July. Lang proposed that the Seven Propositions might form part of the Report but, answering Weston and Furse of St Albans, he added that acceptance of a draft would not preclude any bishop from raising questions in the main debate. He saw the Propositions as serving 'only to summarise the considerable measure of agreement in the discussions' and he wished 'to test the accuracy of [his] impression'.⁶⁰⁸

Lang then welcomed the group of Anglican expert witnesses, including two of the 'missing bishops', although this proved to be counter-productive. There is no detailed record of the content of their evidence or of the questions they were each asked.⁶⁰⁹ The Committee found them to be inflexible and unhelpful.⁶¹⁰ The discussion left the committee feeling that there was no way forward, there seems to have been considerable dejection.⁶¹¹ Bell's diary says, 'the witnesses seemed rigid dogmatists or 'boneless' enthusiasts for the most part, 'It is devilish' said Neville [Talbot] of Pretoria of the worst day, after Gore and the others had held forth'.⁶¹²

Importantly for what followed, a group of notable Free Church divines were invited to attend on Thursday 12th, including some who became the most significant dramatis personae of the subsequent

⁶⁰⁵ *LC115:9.

⁶⁰⁶ *LC115:12.

⁶⁰⁷ *Bell251:79.

⁶⁰⁸ *LC115:17.

⁶⁰⁹ *LC115:15: Bp. Gore, Bp. Ryle (Dean of Westminster), Armitage Robinson (Dean of Wells) and C.H. Turner (Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford).

⁶¹⁰ For example, we know from the subsequent discussion that Gore insisted that it was not enough to refer to Baptism among the sacraments but Confirmation had also to be included; this seems not to address the main issues of church-division.

⁶¹¹ *Davidson261:375.

⁶¹² *Bell251:78.

ecumenical discussions, see Chapter Nine.⁶¹³ Their attendance appears to be the first occasion on which Free Church representatives were invited to speak at a Lambeth Conference.

The Reunion Committee had not intended to meet on Friday 16th July because Lang was going to Cambridge to receive an Honorary Degree and others wanted to support him. Lang's notes tell us that six bishops, who had remained in London, met in the Lollard Tower dining room and it was their discussion that began to move the work forward.⁶¹⁴ However, an unsigned and undated memo in another volume names eight who were present, perhaps Lang merely misremembered.⁶¹⁵ The group agreed to develop Weston's post-Kikuyu proposals, from which we might conclude that the real father of the Appeal was Weston himself, Maynard Smith was certain of it:

Everyone has read the Report of the Conference, few have read Central Africa, but by comparing the documents we may see that rightly or wrongly, it was Frank's policy that triumphed.⁶¹⁶

Weston, Woods of Peterborough and Rhineland of Pennsylvania wrote a first draft of the Appeal after the Friday meeting; this was passed to Lang and Davidson by the following morning; Lang recalls that he and Davidson read it in the library.⁶¹⁷

Willis of Uganda had written to Davidson asking if the Kikuyu proposals for missionary alliance would be discussed.⁶¹⁸ Davidson replied that he was sure that the Reunion (Non-Episcopal Sub) Committee will consider them; the correspondence delicately avoids any reference to the furious row that those same proposals had caused.⁶¹⁹ There is therefore some irony that it was Weston's counter proposals that became the catalyst for the committee's change of direction and finding of the means to move their discussion on towards the eventual Appeal.

⁶¹³ Including Scott-Liggett (Wesleyan Methodist), Jowett (Congregational), Shakespeare (Baptist), Carnegie-Simpson (Presbyterian).

⁶¹⁴ *Davidson261:376, 27 October, 1920.

⁶¹⁵ *LC114:107: Talbot of Winchester, Palmer of Bombay, Brent of W. New York, Rhineland of Pennsylvania, Sheldon of Nassau, Talbot of Pretoria and Weston.

⁶¹⁶ Central Africa was the UMCA journal; Smith, M.H. (1926) Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar, London SPCK; 233.

⁶¹⁷ *Davidson201:373.

⁶¹⁸ *LC114:39.

⁶¹⁹ *LC114:40.

2. Demythologising the Tea Party

The eirenical, almost legendary, tradition represented, for instance, by Morgan's account⁶²⁰ is that the idea of an Appeal arose from a conversation over tea on the Palace lawn on a Sunday afternoon, a happy moment of clarity amongst a casual group. However, this fails to do justice to the preparation that had already been undertaken. This was no accidental gathering but a convened group organised by Bell.⁶²¹ Bell coyly says that the group met with the 'connivance of Davidson' but omits to mention that he was himself the secretary of the group.⁶²² The group 'under the tree', Davidson's description, were himself and Lang together with Rhinelander, Woods and Brent of Western New York. Davidson does not mention the presence of Bell but does say, 'Edith was also with us', something unreported in the literature.⁶²³ He goes on to say that Woods wrote a new draft following the tea party, which Lang 'considerably manipulated afterwards' and which was 'much improved'.⁶²⁴ The Appeal, as published to the Committee, was, he says, 'the outcome of that afternoon's conversation'; according to Lang it was possible because of the 'invaluable work done by Bell in preparing the ground'.

The Woods draft was presented to the Unity Committee on the morning of Monday, 19th July with Lang heavily emphasizing three points:

1. There should be an Appeal;
2. There should be the fewest possible Resolutions attached to the Appeal;
3. The duty of pursuing re-union should be remitted to the provinces.⁶²⁵

On Thursday 22nd July Committee reconvened and adopted the draft of the proposed Appeal with some minor textual amendments, very little survived of the Seven Propositions, although a few phrases can be seen.⁶²⁶ The text in the minute book is virtually the same as in the published report. None of the intermediate development papers are included in the minutes. The level of agreement within the committee seems to have been very high although Bell complains in his diary that Henson had become difficult at times:

He wanted an indication that there was some discord over the Appeal and the Resolutions, prompting Palmer to say 'I could kill that man' in exasperation ... but hostile and critical as he had been in committee he maintained absolute silence in the Conference itself to his immense credit in the eyes of all and did not vote against it.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁰ Morgan 108.

⁶²¹ Jasper Life of Bell 56, cited in Stephenson (1978) 141.

⁶²² Bell (1952)1011, cf. Morgan 108.

⁶²³ *Davidson14:49 and specifically elided in Bell (1952)1012 citing this very document.

⁶²⁴ *Davidson14:47.

⁶²⁵ *Davidson261:f375.

⁶²⁶ *LC115:23.

⁶²⁷ *Bell251:79.

Henson seems often to have been problematic in committee, prompting a public rebuke from Davidson shortly after the Conference where he complained that Henson's speeches to the Church Assembly were often so negatively expressed that he appeared to be opposed to items over which he had mere reservations or actually supported.⁶²⁸

3. The Plenary Debates on Reunion

The draft text of the Appeal was presented on Friday 30th July. The Conference had already spent time discussing the League of Nations; we must understand that the two ideas were linked in the minds of many.⁶²⁹ On the morning of the Reunion debate Davidson announced that he had received a fraternal telegram from the first ever international meeting of the Scandinavian bishops which he read to the Conference: it seemed a good omen.⁶³⁰ The importance of the debate in their minds is shown by it being minuted in far more detail than any of the other discussions.⁶³¹ Lang had introduced the committee report the previous day, he told the Conference that there had not been time to undertake detailed work on resolutions concerning relations, pressure of work on the Appeal was simply too great.⁶³² In this way he prepared the Conference to understand the importance of the Appeal. The Resolutions had come to Conference directly from the sub-committees. During the main discussions the Committee had not been without disagreement, 'But' he said, 'we were also wonderfully drawn together and that we felt a wisdom and a power infinitely greater than our own'.

Lang argued that:

It is not for men to seek to create a unity of Christendom because it has that unity in Christ: what is wanted is not the unity of the Church but its manifestation ... our task was to find some way towards unity through common faith, common sacraments and common ministry.⁶³³

We should note the way in which he regroups elements of the Quadrilateral into three points of commonality, of faith, sacraments and ministry, following the text of the Appeal.

After a moment of silent prayer Lang read the Appeal, in toto. He then re-read it but pausing to note particular points as he went and glossing each paragraph. He said that God wills unity, a unity to which no communion has attained but to which all communions should strive. Conference needed to keep the whole width of purpose of unity in mind, the discussion was not about reunion with particular strands but of the whole Church. All the churches keep to themselves gifts intended for the

⁶²⁸ Davidson, R.T. (1920(b)) *The Appeal of the Lambeth Conference* London, SPCK; 28.

⁶²⁹ *LC107:3.

⁶³⁰ The account in this chapter does not include the full text of the contributions to the debate.

⁶³¹ *LC107:124ff.

⁶³² *LC107:126.

⁶³³ *LC107:130.

whole Church and that is wrong. Anglicans have to accept both a share of the guilt and of the shared need to repent of schism and escape from it.

Lang argues that if there is to be any visible union it must have a basis in principle and not because of loyalty to any feature of denominational heritage. The committee sought to move beyond the Quadrilateral because they did not wish merely to repeat well-worn phrases:

We want to get out of some of the associations which have surrounded [the Quadrilateral] ... it has too often been regarded as a series of terms which have been laid down as governing union ... We want to put it all on a new setting.⁶³⁴

In an ecclesiological significant statement Lang acknowledges the reality of the blessing of the Holy Spirit on non-episcopal ministries, an acknowledgement not previously made by Anglicans. He does not take a denominational position of describing episcopacy as the single source of ministry but, rather, describes the episcopate as having a unifying ministry within the Church. He seeks to divest episcopacy of features that are problematic for the Presbyterian and Congregationalist traditions and which, by implication, are not essential to the nature of episcopacy.⁶³⁵ That is, he seeks to disassociate episcopacy from prelacy in the belief that the Free Churches might accept a form of episcopacy, while knowing that prelacy would never be acceptable. By taking this approach, the committee bring themselves to the position where they may be able to make an offer of mutual recognition of ministries between Anglicans and those who have not retained personal episcopal oversight within their polities.

Lang sought Conference's help in testing this version of the Appeal and suggested that they must interrogate the draft asking:

1. is each statement worth saying?
2. is each statement in this document reasonably said?
3. if the Conference thinks so, then the Committee asks them to say it by adopting the Appeal.⁶³⁶

Finally, he said the ideals of the Appeal 'must be placed first and foremost before our own people.' Anglicans could not ask others to do what they would not themselves. He had studied various attempts at reunion at length but saw this as an entirely new approach, not trying to patch up disagreements but returning to principles. He called for the report to be taken as an organic whole.

Davidson wanted to take up the suggestion and took it as a formal proposal but there was a short period of confusion as both Baines of Natal and Wakefield of Birmingham rose to attempt minor

⁶³⁴ *LC108:8ff.

⁶³⁵ *LC108:13; See Chapter Nine for a discussion of the Free Church difficulties with episcopacy.

⁶³⁶ *LC108:17.

textual changes to the Appeal. Davidson seems momentarily to have struggled to maintain the progress of the debate but was rescued by Thompson of Sodor & Man who said that he was not sure that a motion had been proposed but if it had he would like to second it.⁶³⁷ Thompson argued powerfully that Conference should accept the entirety of the Appeal and suggested that, as the document so clearly had its genesis in an atmosphere of prayer:

It is unthinkable that recommendations prepared, we are informed, and we believe it, in the presence and power of the Holy Spirit should not be accepted ... the committee was as representative as it could possibly have been; the report is moderate and unifies diversity of thought.⁶³⁸

Davidson managed to regain control after this and finally put the question ‘that the Appeal be taken en bloc’ which was carried. Bell says there were only three votes against.

Kinsolving of Southern Brazil appealed for members to ask questions rather than make speeches. Averill of Auckland immediately asked what it was that they had in mind that Anglican ministers would have to receive from other traditions. Lang said that the Bishop of London had recently addressed some Wesleyan ministers and had offered to receive whatever form of recognition suited them and that was the principle that they were proposing to work on. What a Scottish presbytery might confer on an Anglican minister was essentially for the presbytery to say, rather than the Anglican.⁶³⁹

Donaldson, Abp. of Brisbane expressed his hope for the Appeal in this way:

We are not proposing a deal but a great common act of profound spiritual significance. We believe that Union is a gift God alone can give but he is waiting until every section of the Church performs an act of humiliation and penitence. It may not be practical politics to talk of Rome doing [such an act] but they must ... just as the rest of us.⁶⁴⁰

Anglicans, he says, must accept a share of the blame for disunity. He understands that the problem with non-Episcopalians is asking them to receive a conditional and episcopal ordination when they already both regard their own ordination as complete and also recognise Anglican ordination – so what quite would be the recognition that was being sought?⁶⁴¹ In defence of the Anglican proposal he wondered if they were asking Free Church ministers to do any more than Jesus did in accepting John’s baptism of which, we might argue, he had no clear need. That the discussion was taking this turn shows the central problem of the Appeal: it asked a lot of others but asked little of its own people.

⁶³⁷ *LC108:19.

⁶³⁸ *LC108:21.

⁶³⁹ *LC108:25.

⁶⁴⁰ *LC108:27.

⁶⁴¹ *LC108:28.

Hall of Vermont cautiously arose in dissent – he believed that the Appeal was mistaken to focus on episcopacy and the three orders, when the important matter was the transmission to the modern Church of the Great Commission from those who first received it.⁶⁴² By accepting others as practically equal, in this way, Anglicans would surrender their distinctiveness. Outsiders would be inclined to ask if that which is of distinctive value to Anglicans can be so easily surrendered, why should they want to adopt it?⁶⁴³

Burgess of Long Island said that he was already faced with a concordat whereby some Congregational ministers have stated themselves ready to submit to his ordination should the terms be right. He believed, however, that some of them saw it as a simple practical matter that towns should have one church. They did not understand or think that anything would be added to their existing ordained status.⁶⁴⁴ He sought to assert the Anglican principle that episcopal ordination was not a matter of mere convenience, such ordination should be seen as sacramental in nature and recognition of that sacramentality must be sought from any who offered to submit themselves to it regardless of what their existing status might be.⁶⁴⁵

Weston was the first contributor after lunch. He said that he would ‘speak from the same platform’ as Hall, they were both Anglo-Catholics, but reach a different, more positive conclusion. He asserted that there had been no compromise in the Committee; for himself, he had not had the gradual change of mind that some bishops had described, rather the Appeal contained ‘what had been on my mind for many years’.⁶⁴⁶ He believed that what was needed was to bring separated groups together into harmony with Catholic Christianity, in its broadest sense, each group retaining its characteristic ways but united at the level of the regional synod of bishops. His broad proposal was not that Anglicans were going to ordain Free Church ministers, or that the Free Churches ordain Anglicans, but instead both would share a mutual recognition that all are authentic ministers of the Church of God.

He wanted the bishops to see themselves as ‘putting before the world an ideal ... wanting people to learn the value of that ideal ... it would not be a quick and easy process’.

He expected a long process in which he would have to teach and encourage the priests of his Anglo-Catholic party to look beyond their parishes and to the ideal – he acknowledges the difficulty that some bishops have in dealing with the sensitivities of the priests of his party. Finally, he appealed to

⁶⁴² Cf. Mt. 28.19.

⁶⁴³ *LC108:32.

⁶⁴⁴ Discussed, from the Congregationalist point of view, in Smyth, N (1923) *A story of Church Unity*; New Haven, Yale University Press, which tends to confirm the bishop’s view that the Congregationalists wanted unity above all things and did not fully understand Anglican reservations.

⁶⁴⁵ *LC108:38.

⁶⁴⁶ *LC108:47.

fellow Anglo-Catholic bishops to make the Appeal and the Resolutions their own, 'let it go out to the world that all the bishops of all parties have signed'.⁶⁴⁷

Talbot was the last weighty contributor to the debate, he said that he had never heard a debate, 'well thank God it is not really a debate' that had so impressed him:

There is a feeling abroad that we have been passing through something of which we have had no previous experience – without parallel at the Conference ... this is not a statement of our faith, nor for our own satisfaction or the guidance of our people but an Appeal. It is a case for the Anglican Communion but stated with reserve and penitence, dropping ways of speaking to which we have become attached and about which we have been complacent.⁶⁴⁸

Lang put the Appeal motion to Conference; although the Minutes specify his thanks to the Evangelical bishops for their acceptance and forbearance, the Verbatim makes it clear that Lang had also thanked Weston and his party, indeed the whole of Conference, for their collective approach to the Appeal. We might wonder why the secretariat felt the need to slant the record in this way.

The motion was adopted with four bishops voting against.⁶⁴⁹ Bell comments in his diary:

It was the greatest moment of this or any previous Lambeth Conference, a moment full of the sense that the Spirit itself had led the bishops and ending with a burst of heartfelt praise in the singing of the Old Hundredth by all present standing in their places.⁶⁵⁰

Thereafter, the bishops proceeded to a blow by blow dissection of the Resolutions where they were at last able to tinker with the texts to their heart's delight – little of these debates can be described as theologically uplifting. They became so preoccupied that they were obliged to reconvene after tea. Almost all the resolutions were adopted unanimously.

⁶⁴⁷ *LC108:53.

⁶⁴⁸ *LC108:57.

⁶⁴⁹ Bell names them as Hall and Burgess of Long Island (who had spoken against the motion) with O'Rourke of Accra and Webb of Milwaukee, who had not spoken.

⁶⁵⁰ *Bell251:77.

4. Later points

Once the resolutions had been dealt with there was a discussion about how the Appeal was to be issued. Some bishops were concerned that the Appeal might lose its prominence, given the range and number of the resolutions about relationships with other Christian bodies. Rhinelander of Pennsylvania called for it to be available before the impending World Conference on Faith and Order and also asked whether it ought to be signed by everyone or only by Davidson.⁶⁵¹ The next day, (Saturday) Davidson reported that he had considered the matter of the signatures overnight and felt it was better that the document should come from the whole body of the Conference, rather than from any particular persons. He tactfully added that some bishops had shown great generosity in voting for the Appeal regardless of any private reservations that they may have had. He did not believe that they should be burdened with a request to individually sign it; this seems a good example of the diplomatic way that he sought to bring the Conference to a sense of unity, even in areas of potential controversy.⁶⁵²

Returning to Friday's debate, Gibson introduced the second part of the Reunion Committee's report which sets out the reasoning for the Resolutions regarding relationships with particular other communions. Most noticeable among these is the decision that Anglican bishops should accept invitations to co-consecrate Swedish bishops, setting a seal on the slow process of mutual recognition between the English and Swedish churches. In the long-term, this decision was to be one of the greatest contributions of Lambeth 6 to ecumenical progress. Gibson underlined the great mass of material with which the sub-committees had had to deal in less than a fortnight's 'a race against time'. Davidson said that the consequential Resolutions needed to be treated with great care, they were far from technical matters but each had great importance in different parts of the Anglican Communion.⁶⁵³ He added that the Appeal had been placed with SPCK for publishing in England but did not know what the overseas arrangements would be.⁶⁵⁴

The Conference briefly returned to the Appeal after tea on Tuesday 3rd August. Most of the day had been spent on a somewhat fraught debate concerning marriage and issues of sexuality so they were obliged to reconvene for an evening session in order to complete the planned business of the day. The Draft Minute Book illustrates the difficulties the secretariat had in producing a balanced account of the debate, with numerous corrections and changes. By contrast, the record of the Appeal debate is strikingly plain and unamended. This was, perhaps, not the best atmosphere for Lang to bring back a range of technical amendments to the Unity Resolutions that members had suggested to him. One bishop, he said, had asked for the document to make quite clear that the Appeal was not proposing a

⁶⁵¹ *LC108:121.

⁶⁵² *LC109:127.

⁶⁵³ *LC108:128.

⁶⁵⁴ *LC108:251

loose federation but Lang felt this unnecessary. The phrase ‘blindness to the sin of disunion’ was added in the third paragraph at the request of ‘many bishops’, who wanted to give greater strength to the document.⁶⁵⁵ In this way, the process of producing a remarkable and unprecedented document came to its completion.

b. Analysis

The Appeal expresses Anglican self-understanding and an Anglican desire to reach out to other traditions. Present day Anglican ecumenical endeavour is rooted in and enabled by this century old document which has had a profound effect on Anglican contribution to ecumenical debate. In this sense, the Appeal is foundational, setting out an ecclesiological basis for Anglican encounter with other traditions. Other English Protestant churches were clearly surprised by the tone and intention of the document, which left them with no choice but to consider their own standpoint, however much or little they could concur. The Appeal provided a positive context for discussion in South India and between the English and Swedish churches and also made clear the basis upon which Anglicans could participate in the discussions leading to the formation of the World Council of Churches.

The Appeal’s theological analysis is focused in four assertions:

1. the Church should be united but is not;
2. disunity means the Church’s witness is not credible;
3. the Church must recover its unity of faith, worship and ministry;
4. the episcopal ministry is the means and locus of unity.

1. The unity of the Church

In truth there is only one Church but its unity is not ‘manifest in the world’. Instead, the world sees Christians divided between exclusive and excluding communities, seemingly blind to their commonalities. Anglicans have ties that bind them to others who are also Christian, suggesting that Anglicanism is a way of being Christian – not the way.⁶⁵⁶ No narrow, exclusivist claim is made but rather it is asserted that the fullness of the Church lies only partly within Anglican tradition; important elements of Church lie beyond Anglican boundaries.⁶⁵⁷ Gifts meant for all are, instead, held in a

⁶⁵⁵ *LC109:93.

⁶⁵⁶ The Appeal noticeably avoids the language of ‘branch theory’, generally attributed to Palmer; his Treatise on the Church of Christ (1838) argues that if a Christian group holds the faith of the undivided Church and maintains the apostolic succession, they remain a part of the Church, albeit separated; cf. ODC 233. Branch theory, once popular among Catholic Anglicans, claims equality between Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Anglican in a way satisfying to Anglicans but somewhat repugnant to others.

⁶⁵⁷ Contra Lumen Gentium’s assertion that, ‘the Church subsists in the Roman Catholic Church’; Ratzinger argues that the use of ‘subsists in’ is not exclusive as it allows for some of the reality of the Church to be outside

fragmented and particularised way – so the search for unity is critical to the well-being of the Church. The whole Church needs the gifts that were intended for all but are presently withheld within the separated churches. As God gives the whole gift of the Church to the whole of the Church it must be sinful for elements within the Church to attempt to withhold part of that giftedness. The Lambeth Fathers say they are bishops of the one Holy Catholic Church but also in communion with the Church of England, revealing the divided reality of the Church and the divisiveness of denominationalism. They offer a complex description of the Church as a ‘society’, both independent and missional; it is an ‘outward, visible and united society’ with its own leadership, using the gifts of grace and inspiring its members to ‘service of the Kingdom of God in the world’ and they say, ‘this is what we mean by the Catholic Church’. The theological challenge is to hold the visibility of the Church together with its unity. The Church exists in a creation that is in the process of redemption but how can it be sufficient to believe in its unity only as an ‘ambition’, an unrealised eschatological, coming future? Surely from this arises an imperative to seek the revelation of unity even in the partially redeemed present?

2. The witness of a divided Church is not credible

Christians have become divided because of ‘self-will, ambition and lack of charity’ and remain so because of blindness to the sin of disunion’. Anglicans confess their share of the guilt in dividing the Church, ‘crippling the body of Christ and hindering the activity of His Spirit’. This is powerful language, reaching far beyond mere regret because the shared heritage of dispute and recrimination has alienated Christians from each other and from the world. The future credibility of the Church will depend on the willingness of Christians to set the needs of others before their own. Otherwise, Christians’ words will be turned back on them by a world who hears a Church call for human unity while unable itself to unite: its call will carry no weight. Christians lose credibility in the world if they are unable to fulfil a mission of reconciliation because they lack internal reconciliation. Christ’s high priestly prayer for the unity of his people was a prayer to the Father, but to his people they have the weight of a commandment because they express the perfectly united intention of the Trinitarian God.⁶⁵⁸ To be disunited in the face of it is to be sinful.⁶⁵⁹ Thus, Christians who desire unity must be prepared to make sacrifices, ‘for the sake of a common fellowship, a common ministry and a common service to the world’. Both ministry and service are founded in common faith. On the one hand that faith calls on Christians to enable one another’s mutual discipleship (ministry) and on the other it impels them to reach out beyond the fellowship (service). No communion should be absorbed; rather all communions should come together, manifesting the theological unity of the Church. All should

the Roman communion, although not in the same degree of fullness; interview for Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22nd September, 2000, <http://www.ewtn.com/library/Theology/OBDOMIHS.HTM>, accessed 19th June, 2014.

⁶⁵⁸ Jn. 17.21.

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. Vannerley (2010) 3; ‘Scripture teaches us that Christ and the Father are perfectly united in will; it follows that when we read that prayer of Christ we are not merely rehearsing a pious intention but that we hear the command of God’.

reach out towards a reunited and catholic Church, gathering together ‘all who profess themselves Christians’. The distinctiveness of the traditions would not be lost but be reconciled so that the gifts intended for all would be able to be redistributed amongst all. The whole Church could benefit from the particular strengths and insights of the separated traditions.

3. Unity of faith, worship and ministry

All those who believe in Jesus Christ and are baptised into the faith share membership of the Church. A reunited Church would construct its ‘visible unity’ from common belief, common worship and common ministry. This is not a search for a kind of lowest common denominator but for genuine essentials, thus the inclusion of Scripture and the two ancient creeds. If the Scriptures and Symbols are the classic expression of the deposit of faith, why should one want to add to them? Any such possible additions, indeed, carry the implication of sectarian or schismatic thinking. Unity of faith would be expressed through ‘whole-hearted acceptance’ of Scripture as the standard of faith and of the Catholic creeds, unity of worship through the shared use of the two dominical sacraments that ‘express the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and of Christ’. Unity of ministry would derive from recognition that those who minister have both an inner call and the endorsement of the fellowship. Within the diversity of practice there should be a unifying core of belief that would allow Christians to recognise one another and also allow the world to recognise them. The bishops do not, however, address the problems around the interpretation of Scripture. Liberals, catholics, evangelicals and modernists all accept Scripture in their own ways, for diverse hermeneutical motives. Within the Anglican spectrum there is a wide diversity of understanding and it is possible that a united Church might be able to contain a similar diversity – but this might also be a rock on which the ecumenical ship might founder. The three-fold unity would give essential coherence and cohesion notwithstanding any divergence of expression appropriate to the social context in which local churches might be set. Thus, the fellowship that is God’s will for humanity will be given exemplary expression. The Church is called to be a fellowship bound together by its possession of its distinctive features but also by its mutuality, its *koinonia*, that overcomes barriers of culture, language or ecclesiological nuance – and ultimately of time and space as the whole Church is made perfectly one with the life of the Godhead.

4. Place of episcopacy

Adam states that Anglican tradition has generally held that episcopacy is for the best good of the Church, not an essential of its identity but one whose absence means that a Christian community does not possess the fullness of the Church.⁶⁶⁰ Leadership is held by individuals for the sake of the Church

⁶⁶⁰ Adam, W (2011) *Legal Flexibility and the Mission of the Church*, Farnham, Ashgate; 159ff.

and is not absolute but exercised in a synodal context, ‘constitutional episcopacy’ as it was then described. Anglican ecumenical action has been directed to persuading partners of the value of the episcopacy and of bringing their practice into line with Anglican thinking, for the sake of unity. This is seen in the two Indian unions, the Porvoo Agreement and the two Anglican-Lutheran agreements in North America. Remarkably the partners have been prepared to make these concessions to Anglican ecclesiology but we must note that these have been somewhat small scale associations between traditions that do not represent very large components of the Christian spectrum. In England the Baptist Union of Great Britain and the United Reform Church have both adopted systems of ministerial oversight that seem similar to episcopacy. These Baptists Regional Ministers and URC Moderators are the acknowledged leaders of geographical areas, ordain and lead in mission but the difficulty for Anglicans is that they are appointments to office. These office holders are not ordained to a permanent episcopal ministry so, citing the Appeal, they seem not to ‘share in that grace which is pledged to the members of the whole body in the apostolic rite of the laying-on of hands’.

Finally, the Appeal makes a plea for action succinctly expressed in its fifth section:

This means an adventure of goodwill and still more of faith, for nothing less is required than a new discovery of the creative resources of God. To this adventure we are convinced that God is now calling all the members of His Church.⁶⁶¹

The timeliness motif, also used in the opening of the document, comes together with a deep sense of urgency that gives a prophetic tone to the writing. Although called an ‘appeal’, it is also a challenge to adopt a new outlook, an ecclesial adventurousness. Intra-Christian relations must be renewed to erase attitudes that had varied from wariness, at the best, to downright hostility, focused in denunciation and anathema.

The Appeal gave three gifts to Anglican tradition:

1. a clear statement of where Anglicans believed the search for unity might begin with a sense of urgency about the quest;
2. an assurance that they have a basis within the discourse of their tradition upon which they can build future dialogue;
3. permission and encouragement to develop schemes for reunion imbued with a sense of urgency for the sake of Christians and for the sake of the world.

⁶⁶¹ SPCK (1920) 28.

c. Conclusion

The Appeal to All Christian People was a timely and heartfelt call to the Christian churches to reunite. The text identifies key areas where ecclesiological convergence would be necessary for a reunited body, the Church, to come into being. It proposes that the convergence should not be achieved by the subordination or amalgamation of existing traditions, the churches, but rather through a shared process of theological exploration and reflection. The aim of the process would be to establish the conditions under which the traditions could reach shared life through having common faith, common worship and common ministry. The missional imperative for such a search was the conviction that the disunity of the Church discredited its preaching – particularly in the context of a world that had passed through the horrors of a world war. Humanity itself need to seek unity and Lambeth 6 believed that the best way to achieve that was through Christian faith and principles but they could only be effectively presented by a Church that had healed its own divisions. The task, then, was to discover the means by which the theological unity of the Church might be made manifest in the world.

The process by which the Appeal came to be written was complex and has not been well described in previous literature. In particular the work of Weston and Lang has been underplayed with insufficient attention to the careful work of preparation that took place during the conference. Instead an image has been presented of the bishops arriving at the idea of an appeal through a happy chance, over tea on the lawn at Lambeth Palace. The process had in fact been fraught and came close to collapse until the self-initiated action of a small group of bishops who developed previous work brought to the conference by Weston. His work arose from his experience as a missionary bishop in West Africa and particularly in reaction to the ‘Kikuyu Incident’. Davidson left the work of the Reunion Committee in the hands of Lang but handled the plenary debates on the resulting document with considerable skill.

During the process, Lang made an attempt to abandon the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral as the benchmark for Anglican ecumenical endeavour. He believed that it had become unhelpful by appearing to set an agenda to which other potential ecumenical partners must submit. Instead he sought a new formulation. However this foundered on the fundamental issue that it was not the words of the Quadrilateral that were problematic but rather the model of the Church that it presented. Even so, the Appeal’s proposal for progress through mutual learning and understanding became the normal means by which Christian traditions have sought to draw together. The fruits of such a way of approaching the problem of disunity were made evident in successful schemes that were given impetus by the publication of the Appeal. This was largely possible because Anglicans of different viewpoints were prepared to meet together to understand their own heritage first, rather than holding aloof from one another as appears to have happened in the early twenty-first century. The commitment of Lambeth 6 was to seek unity first among Anglicans, then among Christians and, ultimately among humanity.

Eight: The Writing of the Appeal

Chapter Seven described the events around the adoption of the Appeal to All Christian People; this chapter will pay close attention to the growth of the text. It is important to note that the Appeal is not programme for reunification but an expression of principle; it does not set out details but instead calls for debate. The debate is described as enticing, an adventurous exploration of the views of the different Christian traditions. The traditions are called on to learn from one another and in that way to discover not only diversity but also commonality. We shall investigate the shifts of emphasis and developing thought in the successive draft documents. The progression is illustrated by the shift in the title of the drafts: originally a Statement of Propositions, and somewhat Anglican propositions at that, the drafts evolve into a heartfelt Appeal. Central to the argument of this thesis is the idea that there is a progression from believing that the unity of the Church is a gift of God, albeit one that is not fully revealed, to an activist attitude that unity is something for which Christians must strive. The gifts given to the churches, held back as if private possessions, were intended for the whole Church to hold in common. Part of the revelation of the unity of the Church will be the bringing of those gifts into the common possession of the whole Christian community.

In their debates the bishops caught a vision of a possible new future for the Church and were anxious to share that vision widely. Analysis of the documents reveals important detail about Anglican self-understandings. Also, the fault lines in their thinking, ultimately leading to the failure of the Appeal to deliver the result for which they had hoped, become clear. The documents reveal a willingness to engage with other Christian traditions that had not always been present in the past, coupled with a generosity of ecclesiological spirit that is a genuine departure. The new approach led to important progress in ecumenical relations in South Asia, Europe and North America much later in the twentieth century. The level of reunion achieved within the Churches of South and North India and the North American Anglican-Lutheran concordats have their roots in the Appeal initiative.

Given the significance of the Appeal, it is surprising that previous writers have paid such little attention to the origin of the text. In part, this silence may be because the archive folders themselves tell the story in a fragmented way but also, until recently, scholarly use of the material was restricted. No unified account of the originating process has appeared in the literature. The source materials are inchoate and no one archival source gives a full account of the process that brought the document to its final form.

The members of the 1920 Committee on Reunion were faced with a mass of documentation. Davidson wrote that he had decided to give the bishops as much information as possible so that, rather than needing help from outside, they would tend to be brought to each other. He had asked Bell to collate the documents bearing on the problem of Christian unity and that the material the bishops were given

had contributed to the smoothness of the Conference.⁶⁶² Apart from Bell's handbook of important documents, the members were each given a bundle of pamphlets and a number of books that would have made for a considerable burden of urgent reading.

As we have seen, the reality of the genesis of the Appeal is far more complex than the simple 'tale of the Tea Party'. The deepest roots of the document lie in the two Kikuyu Missionary Conferences of 1913 and 1918. The 1913 conference is well known in the literature but that of 1918 is rarely reported. The events of the first conference and the subsequent furore led to an enquiry conducted by the Consultative Committee of the Lambeth Conference (LCC).⁶⁶³ The LCC reported in 1915 but its report was overshadowed by the wartime situation. Despite the dispute and ill-feeling, the 'Kikuyu Incident' was an important stimulus to Weston's thinking. The negative context notwithstanding, Weston had hoped to persuade those attending the 1918 Conference that there might be a way forward that preserved what he saw as the important theological principles. Weston was not averse to the search for unity but believed that it should proceed on grounds of an integrity that had not been present at the shared worship of the first conference. He believed that worship had presented a false impression of unity between traditions that were actually at serious ecclesiological odds with one another.

Seeking an approach congenial to his high view of the Church and of its sacraments, Weston had proposed to the missionary leaders that they should find a route to unity by means of the adoption of a system of parallel and collegial episcopacy. Despite the residual negative feelings arising from his outburst after the first conference his presence was welcomed – but he was unable to persuade other attendees of the value of his approach. His words seem to have had no impact on the outcome, although the warmth of his personality healed some of the previous hurt. At the time Weston's contributions were regarded as critical to the evolution of the Appeal. However, as the process of producing the substantive text proceeded, the work increasingly left the hands of the committee members and came under the direct influence of Lang. The final stages being were entirely under his control and some of the writing being entirely his, without reference to the committee. Lang particularly wanted to separate the Appeal from dependence on the Quadrilateral. Under his guidance the Quadrilateral was set aside for the purposes of the Conference, although subsequent unity discussions ultimately returned to its formulations as a basis for negotiations.

⁶⁶² *Davidson 14:43.

⁶⁶³ LCC is the usual archive designation.

a. The textual history of the Appeal document

The Appeal text's development is not systematically documented, perhaps matters moved too quickly to be recorded, even by Bell or Lang. Bell's log book is a scant text with only some of the typescripts pasted in without commentary.⁶⁶⁴ His diary is also silent.⁶⁶⁵ *LC114:106, unsigned and undated, gives some information; it seems to be the account referenced by Davidson in his Autumn memo. If so, it is Lang's but it is incomplete, only definitely referring to four of the eight known documents.⁶⁶⁶ *LC141 has the most documents but is also incomplete.⁶⁶⁷ The following account is reconstructed from four main sources:

1. *LC141;
2. Davidson's Autumn memorandum;⁶⁶⁸
3. the typescript Lang Memorandum;⁶⁶⁹
4. The Reunion Committee Minute Book.⁶⁷⁰

The documents, referred to by index (D) and number, are:

| Index Number | Heading | Source | Notes |
|--------------|--|--|--|
| D1 | The Committee on Reunion | Lambeth Conference Reports *LC141:4 | Written on 13 th July (p.m.) by Lang, Nickson and Palmer. |
| D2 | Seven Propositions agreed as commanding broad support in the Committee | Reunion Committee minute book *LC115:18 | Adopted on Wednesday 15 th July. |
| D3 | A Statement of our Position [first version] | Lambeth Conference Reports *LC141:5 | Undated; unclear if seen by the Reunion Committee. |
| D4 | A Statement of our Position [second version] | Lambeth Conference Reports *LC141:8 | Lollard Tower meeting text discussed at the tea party. |

⁶⁶⁴ *Bell254.

⁶⁶⁵ *Bell251:66-67.

⁶⁶⁶ The documentary evidence shows it is Lang's work.

⁶⁶⁷ Titled 'Lambeth Conference Reports (all versions) and Encyclical'.

⁶⁶⁸ *Davidson261:373.

⁶⁶⁹ *LC114:106.

⁶⁷⁰ *LC115.

| | | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| D5 | An Appeal to all Christian People [first version] | Reunion Committee minute book *LC115:25 | Dated 19 th July: edited by Lang, shown to the committee that morning. |
| D6 | An Appeal to all Christian People [second version] | Lambeth Conference Reports *LC141:5 | Also 19 th July: revised by Lang after the committee meeting. |
| D7 | An Appeal to all Christian People [third version] | Lambeth Conference Reports *LC141:10 | Printed text for the Conference plenary. |
| D8 | An Appeal to all Christian People [fourth version] | Lambeth Conference Reports *LC141:11 | Final galley. |

1. Origins

Weston's work for Kikuyu 1918 was not lost. Maynard Smith reports that he published his proposals in the UMCA journal, *Central Africa*, six months before Lambeth 6.⁶⁷¹ He seems not to know that the proposals were also published by Bell.⁶⁷² *Central Africa* was mostly read in Anglo-Catholic circles but Weston's proposals became more widely known during the Conference. There was more to the process than the committee work, Bell writes:

The main work, it is true, was done in committees but a vast amount was done outside, in conversation on the lawn at Lambeth after luncheon, with Tinnevely, Warrington and Zanzibar arm-in-arm or in confabulation at night between e.g. Zanzibar and Dornakal.⁶⁷³

Mention of the Indian bishops is important; the South Indian negotiations had already made a tentative start, Bell notes the proposed method of unification in his source book.⁶⁷⁴ The reunion proposal was consonant with Weston's approach, mutual recognition of ministries alongside a commitment that all ordinations after the union would be episcopally administered. Bell continues:

⁶⁷¹ Smith 233.

⁶⁷² Bell 46ff.

⁶⁷³ *Bell251:78.

⁶⁷⁴ Bell (1920) 24.

When Dornakal finds Zanzibar ready in the end to give [his support] ... provided that the future is secured and satisfactory guarantee of episcopal supervision is guaranteed ... Zanzibar says to Dornakal 'If you are one of the bishops then I shall be entirely satisfied'.

Bell says that the presence of Azariah of Dornakal, the first South Asian Anglican bishop, with his engagement with the South Indian proposals, 'constituted an immense stimulus in itself'. How much impact the knowledge of an emergent scheme in India would have had on the thinking of the bishops is very difficult to gauge at this distance but the sources suggest that Azariah's commitment to a catholic ecclesiology, coupled with his evident enthusiasm, would at least have shown that the possibility of such a reunion scheme existed.

Following the committee's first meeting, Lang, Palmer of Bombay and Nickson of Bristol circulated a draft document on unity, D1, probably written on the night of 13th July.⁶⁷⁵ The paper asserts that the Church's unity already exists by Christ's will but is obscured by the sins of Christians and a lack of a will to heal their divisions. The writers do not seek the reunion of some ecclesial bodies but rather that all Christians 'should manifest the unity of the Church'. In this way the God-given gifts possessed by the different traditions would come to be shared by all Christians. The Christian status of all baptised persons is generously affirmed but it is coupled with a call for all Christians to acknowledge their own part in perpetuating division. The shared heritage of 'common faith, common worship and common ministry' is described in characteristically Anglican language but also acknowledged to belong to all, regardless of tradition. The text explicitly acknowledges the spiritual reality and worth of ministry and sacraments in those communions that do not possess the episcopate. However, the episcopate is promoted as the means of securing the unity and continuity in the church of the future. This last suggestion was open to considerable Free Church objection, discussed in Chapter Nine.

D1 went to the Committee on Wednesday 14th July but the discussion left the bishops feeling that there was no way forward.⁶⁷⁶ Bell says there was considerable dejection.⁶⁷⁷ D1 is a succinct expression of Anglican understanding of the Church and is open-hearted towards Christians of other traditions. Anglican acknowledgement of guilt for separation was a radical departure for a tradition that had been accustomed to presenting itself with considerable self-confidence, if not arrogance. However, as a document D1 fails; it is not sufficiently enticing for those outside the Anglican Communion, it is an assertion of one tradition – not an invitation to joint exploration of the shared heritage.

Despite the unhappy atmosphere, D1 provided a starting point, leading to D2, a typescript headed, 'Seven Propositions agreed as commanding broad support in the Committee'. The two texts are close

⁶⁷⁵ Full texts, Appendix 4 (column 1).

⁶⁷⁶ *Davidson261:375.

⁶⁷⁷ *Bell251:78.

although para. (3) is reordered. D2 seems to have been written by the leadership group but there is no authorship data. The first paragraph is unaltered but the second uses more inclusive language to speak of ‘all Christians’ rather than retaining an apparently Anglican focus. Similarly, removal of the second half of (3) serves to address fears among some Anglicans that a federal church might be established.⁶⁷⁸ Instead it emphasises the need for all Christians to seek union in order to manifest the fullness of the divine gifts. Para. (5)’s sections on common faith, sacraments and ministry are unchanged but the committee wanted a definite reference to confirmation alongside baptism;⁶⁷⁹ this reference seems to have been a response to the expert witnesses, especially Gore, who ‘loved confirmations’ but is removed in later drafts.⁶⁸⁰ This reference later disappears. D2 bequeathed its broad shape to the process but its text was overlaid as the document evolved.

2. The new direction

At the end of the week some committee members met in the Lollards Tower dining room on Friday 16th July. The group consisted of those who were most anxious to move the discussion forward; Bell calls them ‘the little self-appointed group’.⁶⁸¹ They agreed to return to Weston’s 1918 Kikuyu proposals, particularly his promotion of regional, parallel episcopacies. Lang’s role as chair and editor should not be underestimated but contemporary assessment was that Weston’s influence was critical. Bell writes:

A very large part of the success of the Appeal ... was due to the chairman of the Reunion Committee, the Archbishop of York and while this is abundantly true ... nothing or anything like the same such would have been done had it not been for the Bishop of Zanzibar whose speech in the first week struck the note of the Appeal and whose further speeches in committee, conciliatory spirit, large heartedness, clear mindedness and passionate drive for reunion together with a quite remarkable power of draftsmanship were the predominant forces in the drafting out of the Appeal and its attached resolutions.⁶⁸²

D3, unsigned and undated, seems to be the document known to have been prepared by Weston, Woods and Rhinelander of Pennsylvania after the Friday meeting. Lang and Davidson discussed such a document the next morning which was later than D2 and on textual grounds this is the best candidate. Lang’s Memo says that D3 was redrafted by Woods; Lang may not have been aware of the

⁶⁷⁸ Church Times, 20th August, 1920, a Conference commentary by Weston, *Lang59:58.

⁶⁷⁹ *LC115:17: some Anglicans saw Confirmation as a separate rite, rather than as part of the broader sacrament of initiation, maintaining its separate identity was part of a denominational standpoint. Amongst the Free Churches, only the Methodists had a Confirmation rite. For others, all parts of initiation were rolled together into a single act of ‘coming into membership’.

⁶⁸⁰ Prestige, G. L. (1935) *The Life of Charles Gore*; London, Heinemann: p. 241: ‘He said in one of his letters, “I LOVE confirmations.” It has been claimed that Gore’s Confirmation addresses were the perfection of what such addresses should be.’ Capitalisation original.

⁶⁸¹ *Bell251:78.

⁶⁸² *Bell251:77.

part played by the other two bishops or perhaps forgot.⁶⁸³ The language moves beyond D2 as Weston's characteristic vocabulary emerges; for example, the idea of 'groups' within the Church or the new definition of the Catholic Church.

The paragraph on the Church's unity is entirely rewritten, using language about fellowship like that used in Conference plenary debates on the League of Nations. The church is a visible expression of a divine expectation that God's people should promote his will and glory, it is to be seen as free-standing with its own structures and its own officers: it is called the Catholic Church. Here we may hear echoes of Anglo-Catholic and Free Church concerns about the church's independence, a divinely established institution, *sui generis*. The text moves from a passive view of unity as God's gift to the Church, towards an activist understanding of the need for Christians to be positively engaged in manifesting the Church's innate unity. This view is consistent with a mission orientated imperative rooted in Scripture, that the Church should be united 'so that the world will believe'.⁶⁸⁴ Unity is something to be striven for.

The Church's unity is not visible in the world because of the sin of the Church's own members, thus the Church is 'crippled' in its efforts to fulfil its mission. A challenge follows: if the unity implicit in the Church as a divine foundation is not visible, then the time has come for Christians to reach out towards the goal of a future united church. The divided groups should no longer hold to themselves gifts intended by God for the use of the all. To heal their broken fellowship, Christians must once again gather around that which is held in common. The statements about common faith, worship and ministry are repeated in broadly similar phrases with the liberty of practice in worship described in Westonian terms.⁶⁸⁵ Groups should honour those things precious to themselves but without denying the value of the other's gifts – or seeking to hold back from one another the gifts of each. The spiritual efficacy of ministry in other communions is affirmed in a new eighth paragraph.

There is an assertion that the Anglican Communion represents a stream of Catholic Christianity equal to the 'ancient episcopal communities of East and West'. This is a claim of high status; Anglicanism is no mere parvenu sect but has roots in the apostolic Church. The assertion is consistent with the claim that Anglicans have no distinct doctrine but merely teach what the Church has always taught because they are what the Church has always been.

Episcopacy should be exercised in a representative and constitutional way; this view responds to Free Church concerns about the nature of episcopal rule, rather than episcopacy itself, which was an important contextual statement. However, such a commitment to constitutional episcopacy was just as

⁶⁸³ *LC114:106.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. John 17.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf Bell (1920):47.

important to many Anglicans, particularly in the emerging national churches of the communion and had long been upheld by the Scottish and American provinces.

Finally, an important paragraph proposes that there should be a mutual exchange of ministerial heritage between uniting traditions. The bishops declare themselves ready to submit to some form of recognition, conveying to them whatever was thought lacking from the non-Anglican perspective. Other ministers would submit to something that looks suspiciously like re-ordination, however tactfully suggested. Ecclesiologically this paragraph is problematic. While we might understand a Roman Catholic perspective on alleged deficiencies in Anglican orders, for example, it is far more difficult to understand what problems a Methodist might perceive. English Free Church traditions already generally recognised Anglican ministry and sacraments as effectual means of grace. The paragraph is intended to convey reassurance, to say to those who would be required to go under the hands of a bishop in the historic succession, that Anglicans were willing to undergo a similar kind of rite. However it is quite clear that there is an asymmetry in the proposal.

There is a sense of excitement in the new writing; it describes a call to an ‘adventure of goodwill’, it reads as a summons to share a vision of a possible future, where the Church fulfils its call in deeper and broader ways than heretofore. The changed mood of the writing gave rise to hope that they might have found a way to reinvigorate their debates and produce an outcome that could facilitate real progress towards Christian reunion.

3. Development work in the Reunion Committee

D3 was typed up overnight and passed to Lang and Davidson on Saturday morning; Lang recalls that he and Davidson read it together in the library.⁶⁸⁶ The archbishops agreed to send it forward to the garden meeting on the next day. The Appeal was, Davidson says, ‘the outcome of that afternoon’s conversation’; Lang, as we have seen, says it was possible because of the ‘invaluable work done by Bell in preparing the ground’.⁶⁸⁷ The group ‘under the tree’ reviewed the work of the previous two days. Davidson says that Woods took pencil notes on the discussion and then wrote a new draft, which Lang ‘considerably manipulated afterwards’ and which was ‘much improved’.⁶⁸⁸ The post meeting document is identified here as D4. Copies were produced for the subsequent meeting of the Reunion Committee on the 19th when it was further debated; unfortunately, the minute book does not detail the discussion.

The differences between D3 and D4 are less extensive than Davidson’s comment suggests. The first five paragraphs are largely unaltered. The first major change comes in (6a), with a statement that

⁶⁸⁶ *Davidson201:373.

⁶⁸⁷ *Davidson6:56.

⁶⁸⁸ *Davidson14:47, 49.

Scripture is to be seen as the ‘rule and ultimate standard of faith’. While this is simply characteristically Anglican affirmation of the importance of Scripture, at the time it would have been seen as a response to the perceived threat of modernist thinking in the Church. The assertion would be important to Evangelicals in the Church of England and beyond. Important as intellectual endeavours might be, they cannot supersede Scripture, even if they promote our understanding of the Scriptural text.

In (6b) the Weston-inspired language about the freedom of traditions to ‘authorise ... additional rites and customs of worship and devotion’ is removed. Such a statement could have been seen as an over-generous concession to ritualism. However, later experience of ecumenism suggests that, in practice, such a freedom is a matter of necessity. The alternative would be a kind of uniformity, contrary to the declared intention of (4) to honour the gifts of all the converging traditions. Important as flexibility may be, the two rites that take precedence for Christians are Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist because of their roots in Christ’s own teachings. Other acts of worship or devotion are not of the same degree of significance for the faith community. The language concerning ministry is unchanged as is the description of the need for episcopacy for it to be constitutional and for all traditions to hold it in their systems.

A new paragraph (9) attempts to address the issue of recognitional asymmetry in a convergence of ministerial traditions. The new text is a solid affirmation of the value of all Christian ministries:

God forbid that any man should repudiate a past ministry rich in spiritual experience both for himself and others.

Perhaps these words are the strongest that could be used without actually ceding the full validity of non-episcopal ministries. However, the question remains that if Presbyterian and Congregational ministers were so clearly ministers of the gospel, what would be the point of additional episcopal ordination? Free Church ministries could not be further acknowledged without giving way on the key principle of episcopal ordination – and if that were done, what would remain of Anglican distinctiveness?

A new paragraph (10) develops the idea of the ‘crippling of the Society of Christ through disunity’. The moral authority of the Catholic Church in the future would depend on the extent to which it showed readiness to prefer the needs of others. The world will not believe that Christians are serious about the fellowship of humanity if they cannot first express that fellowship among themselves. A final short paragraph makes explicit the nature of the document as an appeal to other Christian communities rather than simply an Anglican position paper. The new material, some of it startlingly different, was brought to Committee on 19th July. Those who had not been involved in the discussions

over the weekend may well have been somewhat surprised by the developments but clearly they were able to endorse the revised document. Only a very few amendments arose from the day's debate.

Confusingly, D5 is also dated 19th July but the Lang Memo shows it was produced after the Committee session. Lang says that he agreed to take full responsibility for D5 as, 'a statement of our position'. A comparison between D4 and D5 shows that the committee were largely content to endorse the new work but that there were some new emphases:

1. A statement that barriers between Christians can only be removed by a determined effort;
2. An assertion that God was calling Christians to an 'adventure' of goodwill;
3. A thankful acknowledgement of the efficacy of ministry in non-Anglican communions.

D5 is the first version of the text headed as an 'Appeal to All Christian People', capturing the mood of the Committee that their task was not simply to produce a statement of where Anglicans believed themselves to stand but, rather, to describe a vision of a place whence all Christians might journey together. There is a sense of urgency and enthusiasm in the document, thus paragraph (4) says: 'the removal of ... barriers ... will only be brought about by a new comradeship of those whose faces are definitely set this way'.

Comradeship – though clearly expressing the sentiment that the bishops wanted to convey – is not particularly a Scriptural word.⁶⁸⁹ Why did they not choose fellowship or communion as words with greater theological weight? Perhaps it is a reflection of the time in which they wrote, so soon after the end of the war. Comradeship suggests unity in struggle; in this case, the ecumenical endeavour: it is like a call to arms and a perhaps a recognition of the potential cost of the struggle. Similarly, (5) is amended to say that all members of the Church are called to the 'adventure' of seeking reunion. D5 represents the final work of the Reunion Committee before the Conference plenary.⁶⁹⁰ Lang's work of editing and expansion continued, while the Committee became more concerned with the Resolutions it was to present.

4. The Substantive Text

Lang had become increasingly clear that they must address the principle of unity: no detailed scheme of reunion should be put forward.⁶⁹¹ He sought a new beginning; an appeal, rather than a position statement, was thus aligned with his hopes. He believed that restating the Quadrilateral would be counter-productive, its text was too familiar and the language too difficult – it would be better to begin again with a new presentation. The text debated in Conference was aligned with Lang's views

⁶⁸⁹ An electronic search of eighteen Bible translations, including those in common use in 1920, and ten biblical dictionaries did not produce a single use of the word: website <http://www.blueletterbible.org> accessed 23rd September, 2013.

⁶⁹⁰ *LC141:5.

⁶⁹¹ Cf. *Davidson261:373.

but it is clear that the Quadrilateral was never far from the Conference's thinking; its established position and brevity of statement made it difficult to exclude. Lang's avoidance of detailed proposals made it difficult for much of the thinking of Weston and his supporters to be included in the final document; however, their support was demonstrated when Weston, Woods and Linton Smith published their 'Interpretation of the mind of the Lambeth Conference of 1920', an exposition of how a scheme of reunion might proceed.⁶⁹²

The version of the Appeal laid before Conference on 30th July was largely based on D5, despite Lang's further revision.⁶⁹³ D6, a typescript, was produced after the Committee meeting on 22nd July, and the printers set the official conference text from it, D7. The galley was seen by a special meeting of the Committee on 28th July before it was circulated to the Conference membership: there is no difference between D6 and D7.⁶⁹⁴ D6 shows a few important changes: the most obvious is the addition of a somewhat grandiloquent preface. Lang says it was his work and added on his own authority. His notebooks contain extensive notes on the debates from which he could have developed his revisions but it seems that, in the final stages, the Appeal increasingly bears the stamp of his thinking rather than that of the Committee.⁶⁹⁵

Lang's preface declares the call felt by the bishops 'in Conference assembled' to speak out in response to the prayers and concerns of so many. All who hold the faith are acknowledged to be members together of the one Church and the barriers between them are deplored. There is a tone of heartfelt appeal, as the title says, 'to all Christian People'. The reference to the number of bishops attending might seem surprising but some felt it important. They wanted to assert that the Conference was widely representative, with a higher attendance figure than some of the ancient Councils – or even a contemporary Roman Catholic gathering. The warm acceptance of all baptised in the name of the Trinity as fellow Christians was an importantly inclusive statement, well received by other traditions. Finally, the preface declares that the search for reunion was a vocation inspired by the Holy Spirit and fired by a vision of a future visibly united Church.

A much enlarged (2) presents the claim to fellowship of heritage with the other episcopal communion that was previously at the beginning of (7). Previously it had a slightly plaintive appearance as a plea for acceptance by Rome and Constantinople but here is expressed as being part of a network of relationships. Anglicans relate to Roman Catholics and the Orthodox through common ties of heritage but also with the Reformation Churches, who '[stand] for rich elements of truth, liberty and life'. (3) is enlarged with a blunt acknowledgement of the sinfulness of the historic divisions between the

⁶⁹² Woods F.T., Weston F. and Linton Smith, M. (1921) *Lambeth and Reunion*; London, SPCK.

⁶⁹³ *LC108:10.

⁶⁹⁴ Stated in the Lang Memo but it is difficult to see when the meeting can have been held; the morning was fully concerned with a difficult plenary on provincial independence and the role of the Consultative Committee. They may have met at lunchtime before the first plenary on reunion, which began the afternoon's work.

⁶⁹⁵ *Lang209.

Christian churches, an acknowledgement of shared guilt and a call to leave such things behind. Lang said in debate that the phrase ‘blindness to the sin of disunion’ was added at the request of ‘many bishops’, who wanted to give greater strength to the document.⁶⁹⁶

(4) begins with a new assertion that the time has come to repair past damage and a statement that the failure to repair these failings means that the churches cannot present the gospel in its fullness and maturity. Then follows a reworded paragraph about each group retaining in its practice those things that have made it distinctive in the past and affirming the gifting that may arise from such diversity; Weston’s description of ‘groups’ within Christendom survives.

(6a) on the common faith, unexpectedly introduces the Apostles’ Creed, added to the Nicene as an appropriate baptismal affirmation; it is not clear what caused this late addition. It is not a feature of the Quadrilateral and presents a difficulty for the East, where it has no acknowledged status, being seen only as a local baptismal statement. The appearance of the Apostles’ Creed at this late stage in the process cannot be explained from the archive sources, it seems puzzling and, in the long run, somewhat unhelpful.

The opening tone of (7) also seems a little surprising, continuing from the unchanged (6c) on the question of a ministry acknowledged by the whole Christian community both the inward call of Christ, a new phrase, but also the authority of the whole body it says:

May we not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing such a [common] ministry?

Episcopacy, it is asserted, is shown by history and ‘present experience’ to be the best instrument of unity and is likely to prove so also in the future, arguments that Free Churchmen found noticeably unconvincing.

Finally, the simple statement that ‘This Appeal do we make to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity’ is replaced by a very much longer paragraph that begins by placing the appeal for unity first and foremost before Anglicans. The appeal is extended to whichever other Christians may also see the text and calls on all to unite in a shared endeavour to recover the visible unity of the Church without any one communion being absorbed by another.

In some respects it is unfortunate that each successive document is longer than its predecessors, perhaps a degree of simplicity was lost by the growth of the text in a process not unlike that which we observed in the gradual expansion of the Quadrilateral. However, it is the text of D6 that was presented for plenary debate and subsequently presented to the world for examination and debate.

⁶⁹⁶ *LC109:93.

A few folios in *LC141 tell the story of the final stages. *LC141:10 is a printer's galley of D6 as presented to the Conference. The following folio, D7, is a second galley with the same text but erroneously including R1920/10 at the end without a break.⁶⁹⁷ That error aside, the two galleys are identical. D8 is the final pull from Clays, the printers, marked to be released for publication on Thursday 12th August.⁶⁹⁸ The statement of the number of bishops has been removed, not least because in the end the Appeal was not quite unanimously made.⁶⁹⁹ D8 is, then, the text is published in the Conference Report.⁷⁰⁰

b. Analysis

The substantive text of the Appeal offered both a challenge and a methodology. The churches were challenged to accept the sinfulness of division and to strive for reunion. The remedial methodology proposed mutual acceptance by the Christian traditions and an openness to accepting one another's gifts. The Anglican gift was the proposal that the episcopate should be the focus of unified ministry and that the Anglican episcopate, in particular, offered itself to others as the means of attaining unification of order. The methodology was essentially that which was adopted in South India. Subsequent events showed its practicality as a response to the separation of the denominations, even though it led to a temporary degree of impaired communion. The transitional nature of the arrangement allowed the traditions to tolerate arrangements that were not normally acceptable knowing that they would be corrected with the passage of time. So, former Anglicans accepted the presence of ministers without episcopal ordination knowing that all future ordinations would be episcopal. In due course, such issues were resolved and the Church of South India (CSI) is now in communion with ecclesial bodies that have no direct communion with one another, save through their shared relationship with CSI. In this way, CSI seems to have begun to pass beyond the denominational phase of Christian presence in India into some new mode of existence. Interviewed in 2012 by the author, a minister of the CSI said that the most difficult part of coming to live and work in England was learning to be denominational.⁷⁰¹

Examination of the Appeal text shows that, however well-meaning it was, in places it caused difficulties for potential ecumenical partners in a way that now seems predictable. In Chapter Nine we shall see how they became highly problematic for the Free Church side in the subsequent Joint Conference. The failure of those meetings to reach a lasting resolution to the problem of church

⁶⁹⁷ *LC141:11.

⁶⁹⁸ *LC141:12.

⁶⁹⁹ *Bell 251:77.

⁷⁰⁰ *LC141:40.

⁷⁰¹ Field work undertaken for a research project on behalf of Churches Together in Hertfordshire; Vannerley, D.vK., (2012) Review of Churches Together in Hertfordshire; St Albans, CTH.

disunity takes on a sense of inevitability. Six issues, in particular present themselves as areas of tension between Anglicans and others, as discussed below.

1) The Episcopate as a focus of unity

Appeal paragraph (7) begins ‘May we not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing a [united] ministry?’ Those of Presbyterian or Congregational ecclesiology might, just as reasonably, answer, ‘no’ – as indeed they did in the subsequent discussions. Para. (7) urges that history and experience show Episcopacy to be the best instrument of unity ‘and [it] is likely to prove so also in the future’, an argument that others found noticeably unconvincing. The presentation of the argument in this way seems to have reinforced the Free Church perception of the lack of balance in the document’s approach; it quickly became apparent that any future united communion could only retain its integrity by maintaining important elements of presbyterian and congregational polity alongside episcopal elements, so as to fully receive the gifts of all.

2) The nature of episcopal leadership or rule

An important early task for the future was to develop clarity about the nature of episcopal rule. This was far more problematic for Free Church members in the UK than elsewhere. The development of the Anglican Communion in the second half of the nineteenth century has seen the leadership of the episcopacy exercised through the model of the ‘bishop-in-synod’. The English Free Churches had no direct experience of such a pattern in operation and retained deep concerns, suspicions even, about the kind of bishops they might be agreeing to incorporate into their systems. The suspicions were rooted in their past experience of authoritarian models of diocesan episcopacy, often referred to as ‘prelacy’, and the constitutional inequality of the Anglican leadership being directly represented in Parliament. The changes made by the 1920 Enabling Act, beginning the introduction of a constitutional episcopacy, had not been in place long enough for their full significance to be appreciated. The Free Church representatives can hardly be criticised for working to inherited models.

3) The questions around mutual recognition of ministerial status

At the time, the question of mutual recognition seemed unbreakably tied to proposals for so-called ‘re-ordination’ with an unbridgeable difference of view between Anglicans and others. Some Anglicans clearly believed that there was some defect in the ministerial character of the Free Church ministers but the reverse was not true. So, the central questions of what each would need to receive from the other are asymmetric: imposition of episcopal hands on long-standing ministers of another tradition seems little more than humiliation whereas imposition of Congregationalist hands on the Archbishop of Canterbury seems redundant, not least to the Congregationalist. If Presbyterian and Congregational ministers were clearly ministers of the gospel, as the Appeal asserts, episcopal

ordination adds nothing but Anglican approval – at the cost of Free Church ministers surrendering an important principle of their own self-understanding. The Free Church ministries could not be any further acknowledged by the Lambeth fathers without their giving way on the key principle of episcopal ordination – and if that were done, what would remain of Anglican distinctiveness?

4) The status of Scripture

Anglicans regularly describe their tradition as governed by ‘Scripture, Tradition and Reason’.⁷⁰² The Free Evangelical denominations held a degree of scepticism about the way in which Anglican commitment to Scripture would work out in reality. Such scepticism was rooted in events already noted, the publication of *Essays and Reviews* and *Lux Mundi* – as well as court decisions giving far more latitude of belief than was always felt appropriate by Evangelicals. While some of the Free Church leaders would appreciate that such latitude of belief would ensure that their own views could be accommodated, others would be concerned about the kind of theology that might be abroad in a future united church. A modern Evangelical Anglican writer asserts that ‘Evangelicals have always struggled within this denomination’ and his view would be comprehended, endorsed even by those viewing the tradition from without in 1920.⁷⁰³

5) The use of the Creeds

The question of the use of the historic creeds became a significant problem in the later discussion, particularly for Congregationalists who felt that the use of creeds in worship seemed somehow to undermine their belief in continuing revelation by the Holy Spirit. They seem to have believed that being tied to ancient forms of words, however well they might reflect normative Christianity tied them to a past iteration of the faith that should not be privileged over their present experience. The late appearance of a reference to the Apostles’ Creed in process cannot be explained from the archive sources, it seems puzzling and, in the long run, somewhat unhelpful. The Apostles’ Creed had not been considered previously in the debates, is not a feature of the Quadrilateral and presents a difficulty in terms of relations with the East, where it has no acknowledged status, being seen only as a local baptismal statement. Perhaps its use at Morning and Evening Prayer had given it a disproportionate significance to some bishops who might have seen it as too important an element of practice to be omitted. Frequency of use had given the Apostles Creed undue prominence in their thinking but, by the final version of the Appeal, the Nicene Creed alone was referenced.

⁷⁰² The phrase is derived from the work of Hooker and his contemporaries.

⁷⁰³ Thompson, M. (2008) *The Anglican Debacle* <http://acl.asn.au/resources/the-anglican-debacle/>, accessed 30th September, 2013.

6) The growth of Ritualism

Some contemporary commentators were deeply suspicious that the intentions of the bishops were less than honourable, that in some undefined way they were seeking the increase of ritualism in the Anglican Communion. Anglo-Catholics were seen as disloyal to the Reformation principles that were honoured by evangelical Christians. Anglo-Catholics said and did things that were intolerably close to Roman Catholic practice, Free Church members would not want to share a church with such people. For example, the Revd Archibald Fleming, wrote to The Times raising the spectre of Popery at work in the Church of England and showing that the old suspicions remained:

Are we not haunted by a dread – an anxious and reasonable dread – that the great Church whose destinies we are invited to share is being mastered by its tail, a tail which is semaphoring to Rome.⁷⁰⁴

Broadly speaking the Evangelical Free Church leadership seem not to have been too subject to such fears but they would have to carry with them memberships to whom such fears of ‘popery’ were still very real.

From this discussion it follows that the argument must now address the reaction outside the Anglican tradition to the Appeal of the Bishops, and so we move to consider the subsequent events as other Christian traditions considered and then responded to the unprecedented invitation that had been laid before them.

⁷⁰⁴ *Davidson 764:31; The Times, 2nd October, 1920, Fleming was Minister of St Columba, Pont St., the outpost of the Scottish Kirk in London.

c. Conclusion

The 1920 Lambeth Appeal to All Christian People went through a lengthy process of development. The text evolved from being a statement of Anglican understandings on certain key questions about the identity of the Church into a heartfelt plea for all Christian traditions to share a common journey of exploration. An active search for visible unity would take away the reproach from a community that longed to show humanity a way of living in fellowship that would overcome the dreadful heritage of conflict represented by memories of the Great War. In the process of understanding one another better Christians would be enabled to share with each other the gifts of God that were held in each tradition as if their own but actually intended for all of God's people.

Important impetus was given to the writing of the Appeal by the prior work of Weston of Zanzibar, arising from his missionary experience, and the presence at the Conference of Azariah of Dornakal - a key figure in the move to begin negotiations for Christian reunion in South India. As the process continued, Abp. Lang of York took greater and greater responsibility for the management of the document, ultimately contributing important sections that were entirely his own work. A significant feature of his work was his belief that the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral had outlived its usefulness. Contemporary commentators ascribed much of the approval with which the Appeal was met as due to Lang's work.

Surprisingly, no full account of the development of the Appeal text appears in the literature. This is partly due to the inchoate nature of the archive owing to the speed at which the work was conducted but also to past issues about access to the archive. Careful examination of the archival documents has enabled a reconstruction of the process which illustrates the emerging consensus within the committee that a new approach was needed. Eight major textual sources are set beside each other in this chapter in order to analyse the developing theological themes under discussion as the writing progressed to its conclusion.

The bishops were enthused by their work and their appeal was initially well received; however, their exploration of Anglican concerns around reunion served to highlight six areas of disagreement between Anglicans and, particularly, the English Free Churches. This was unfortunate as those same churches were the ones that appeared to be the most likely partners in future ecumenical discussions. The problematic areas seem to be somewhat obvious and the ultimate of the failure of the Appeal to have immediate effect inevitable.

Nine: Subsequent actions and reactions

The discussions between the Church of England and the Evangelical Free Churches, 1920-25, show that the changes brought about by the Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act 1919 had not been fully appreciated or understood by the Free Churches. This chapter will examine the immediate reaction of the Evangelical Free Churches to the Lambeth Conference Report. The most important ecumenical outcomes of Lambeth 6 included:

1. The presence of English Anglican bishops at a Swedish Lutheran episcopal ordination in November 1920 restoring communion between the Churches of England and Sweden;⁷⁰⁵
2. The impetus given to the South Indian negotiations by the Anglicans having a clear context in which to debate and a mandate from the Communion to proceed on the basis of the Appeal;
3. The impetus given to the Church of England and Free Evangelical Churches Joint Conference, the longest gathering of English reformation traditions since the Savoy Conference in 1661.

Bulky folders of reports from around the world detail the flurry of ecumenical activity in the following year or two. The documents detail a wide-spread sense that major statement had been made by the Conference, to which many Christians felt able to respond. Bell wrote to the metropolitan bishops asking what impact the Appeal had made in their countries: some 410 folios of responses lie in the archives.⁷⁰⁶ The Indian bishops replied with a copy of the Report of the South India United Church/Five Southern Anglican Dioceses Joint Body that eventually led to the scheme of reunion.⁷⁰⁷

In August 1920, Davidson received a somewhat barbed letter from Shakespeare, Secretary of the Baptist Union, foreshadowing the theological difficulties that would face Anglicans as they sought to entice their Free Church brethren to engage with the Appeal:

Surely it would be as wrong for us to doubt or deny the presence and guidance of the Spirit of God in the outcome of the Conference as it would be to deny that the blessing of God attends a Free Church ministry.⁷⁰⁸

The chapter analyses the Joint Conferences between Anglicans and the 'home Free Churches'.⁷⁰⁹ The Joint Conferences provide data and commentary on the continuing process that English Anglicans undertook following Lambeth 6, enabling the churches to proceed with a degree of confidence into

⁷⁰⁵ Henson and Woods co-consecrated two new Swedish bishops, Bilting and Rundgren, Abp. Soderblom wired Lambeth to explain how they would be expected to dress and participate,*Davidson265:62. The rapprochement between Canterbury and Uppsala was the first healing of the seventeenth century ruptures.

⁷⁰⁶ *Davidson266 contains the bulk of this material, the analysis of which is deserving of separate study but is beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁷⁰⁷ *Davidson268:39.

⁷⁰⁸ *Davidson6:57, 15th August, 1920.

⁷⁰⁹ The usual contemporary description.

later ecumenical developments in England. Both sides went into the discussions with good will but were ultimately unable to movement towards ‘home reunion’.

The discussions achieved two important things:

- a. they addressed the problem identified by Selbie in 1923:⁷¹⁰

‘they have gone as far as they could for the present but that there [is] still an awful lot to be learned of each other, on our side there is grievous ignorance about the Anglican Church – there is even worse ignorance about us on the Anglican side’.⁷¹¹

- b. the debates enabled English Anglicans to hone their self-understanding; the chief effect of the Appeal was not to bring churches together but to change the way that Anglicans thought about themselves.

We shall examine the documents produced by the Joint Conference and therefore be chiefly concerned with the English churches of the Reformation. However, it is important to remember that there were responses to the Appeal in other parts of the world and from other Christian traditions. The press response was muted, perhaps because of the very limited information Bell supplied in his press releases, but was broadly positive.⁷¹² The denominational papers were more attentive, apart from the Catholic Times, with warm responses from the three Methodist newspapers.⁷¹³

Copies of the Appeal were sent to other church leaders, including Bourne, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, with a second copy intended for Rome itself.⁷¹⁴ The Eastern Churches responded positively but in the context of the post-war political situation: British troops were occupying former Ottoman territories and the Orthodox authorities were dependent on Allied good will for their safety and survival. Bp. Dorothea of Istanbul responded warmly with prayers that, ‘the Lord might strengthen and prosper all efforts for harmony and union between the Christian Churches’.⁷¹⁵ Encouraging responses were received from the Catholicos of All the Armenians and the Catholicos Patriarch of Georgia.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁰ Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, an important Congregationalist and among the Evangelicals.

⁷¹¹ Lang, C.G. & Selbie W.B. (1923) *The Lambeth Joint Report of Church unity*; London, Hodder & Stoughton; 84

⁷¹² Summarised in Appendix 7.

⁷¹³ Methodist reunion was not achieved until 1932.

⁷¹⁴ A polite acknowledgement was received from the Cardinal Secretary of State, 21st June, 1921:

*Davidson268:5a.

⁷¹⁵ Dorotheus was Locum Tenens of the Oecumenical Throne,*Davidson268:7, the Turkish government had prevented a Patriarchal election while the city was under Allied occupation and (*MS2626) had threatened to demolish Sancta Sophia.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid. 8.

English bishops reported that informal meetings had sprung up among Christians anxious to explore the proposals and the issues that divided them.⁷¹⁷ In 1921 Bell enquired whether the English Diocesan Conferences had discussed the Report.⁷¹⁸ York was highly supportive (the letter is signed by Lang)⁷¹⁹ Worcester⁷²⁰ and Coventry⁷²¹ both reported a ‘drawing together’ but Ipswich were not having a Conference that year.⁷²² London supplied an article from its Diocesan Magazine that said ‘the fact that the non-conformist leaders have for the present practically turned down the Appeal is not a reason to give up’.⁷²³

Henson’s response reflecting his discomfort over the whole enterprise:

Dear Bell,

I have to say that ‘The Appeal to all Christian People’ had not been brought before the Durham Diocesan Conference; and that as far as I am able form an opinion on the matter, it is never likely to be.

Yours Ever, Herbert Dunelm.⁷²⁴

Later in the year, Davidson wrote to the Anglican metropolitans reviewing progress:

It seems to me quite clear that in almost every part of the world where the Anglican Communion is to be found ... a new spirit of fellowship , a new readiness for co-operation and understanding have been revealed during these eventful years.⁷²⁵

a. The Joint Conference

This section will describe how the Joint Conference began, examine in detail the contents of the First Report and note the Working Papers written towards the end of the Joint Conference’s life. During the early Autumn formal responses from the denominations began to arrive at Lambeth. The Revd George Armitage, General Secretary of the Primitive Methodist Conference wrote,

With profound gratitude to Almighty God, welcoming the cordiality of the manifestly sincere Appeal hoping that the British Churches may gather in prayer and consideration.⁷²⁶

⁷¹⁷ *Davidson261:398.

⁷¹⁸ *Davidson265:14, sent 2nd July, 1921.

⁷¹⁹ *Davidson265:14.

⁷²⁰ Ibid., 25.

⁷²¹ Ibid., 31.

⁷²² Ibid., 56.

⁷²³ Ibid., 43.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., 22.

⁷²⁵ *Davidson265:62.

The Council of Evangelical Churches in Wales ‘rejoiced exceedingly’.⁷²⁷ The Chairman of the United Methodist Conference was ‘profoundly impressed by the Spirit of the Address’.⁷²⁸

1. Preliminary Contacts between Davidson and the Free Church leadership.

Davidson’s immediate focus was on the Free Churches. An early step was for Bell to arrange for a private meeting to be held at Lambeth with the Wesleyan Methodist Dr. Scott Lidgett.⁷²⁹ Lidgett was an early positive responder to the Appeal publishing a supportive article in *The Contemporary Journal*.⁷³⁰ Davidson felt he could turn to Lidgett for help in identifying sympathetic Free Church leaders with whom a discussion might develop. Lidgett’s article declares him a supporter of the process; he applauds the way that the Appeal looks beyond the details of reunion to the high ideal of the church being Christ’s own creation. The idea had clearly seized their minds – and those following it up would not indulge in an academic discussion or allow themselves to become trapped by details. He maintains that the Appeal was not merely an invitation to others to become Anglican themselves, much as their heritage is valued by Anglicans, but rather sought to find the commonality of a church that is Christ’s but is also currently broken. The change in direction on the part of the Anglicans meant, in his view, that ‘it [was] the greatest event since the Reformation’. Bell’s notes of the eventual meeting record Lidgett as saying that the Wesleyans and Baptists were ‘warm’ to the bishops’ approach but that the Presbyterians and Congregationalists ‘were the most difficult’.⁷³¹

Subsequently, a meeting was held at Lambeth on 28th October with Free Church leaders chosen with Lidgett’s help. The aim of the meeting was that Davidson could ‘seek informal counsel’ on how to set up a process, hardly a situation the dissenters could have previously imagined. Shakespeare, the Congregationalist secretary of the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches (FCEFC), led those who were unable to see the Appeal as other than a definite programme, rather than an invitation to explore. Even so, he agreed to add a note to the Agenda for the next FCEFC to say that the two archbishops would be available at Lambeth after the end of the meeting and hoped that the Council members would join them.⁷³² The very cautious approach adopted led to an FCEFC resolution that representatives would be appointed to a Joint Conference. The wording of the resolution was checked privately with Davidson to ensure that it would not cause any difficulties for the Anglican side.⁷³³ The FCEFC statement welcomed the change in Anglican attitude towards ‘dissent’ but also said that Anglicans themselves needed to hear the Appeal. There would need to be frank and fearless speaking

⁷²⁶ *Davidson261:369.

⁷²⁷ *Davidson262:6.

⁷²⁸ *Davidson262:3.

⁷²⁹ Lidgett was President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1908 and a prominent advocate of Methodist Union; he was the first President of the post-union Methodist Conference in 1932.

⁷³⁰ *Davidson261:408 – cutting from CJ 1920: 472 ff.

⁷³¹ *Davidson261:372.

⁷³² *Davidson261:379.

⁷³³ *Davidson262:143.

about the areas of difficulty identified by the FCEFC at the outset and which remained problematic throughout the discussions.⁷³⁴

2. The Joint Conference

Bell and the Revd W.L. Robertson, a Presbyterian, co-secretaries to the Joint Conference, published a helpful account in 1925.⁷³⁵ Twenty-nine Free Church representatives, in approximate proportion to their churches' memberships and including a Moravian bishop, met twelve Anglican bishops, including Davidson and Lang.⁷³⁶ The Anglican representatives appointed were amongst the most able and the most ecumenically committed of the bishops.⁷³⁷ The FCEFC acted as the board of reference for their side but there is no record in the *Journal of the Bishops' Meeting* of the Anglican representatives having any kind of formal standing. Davidson merely reported that the meetings were taking place and that he and Lang were being assisted by 'certain bishops', presumably chosen by the primates on their own authority.⁷³⁸ A pattern quickly emerged by which the greater part of the work was remitted to a working party that also acted as a standing committee. Papers would be produced or commissioned by the working party, considered by the Joint Conference and then remitted to the denominations.

From the outset the Free Church side was anxious to emphasise their good faith and pleasure that such discussions had become possible at all. The FCEFC response to the Appeal said, for example:

We are humbly grateful for the place that which recovery of the visible unity of the Church of Christ has in the minds of so many Christian people ... [the FCEFC] recognises and reciprocates the brotherly and irenic spirit of the Appeal; welcomes many things that may be the beginning of new and happier relationships ... but there are fundamental provisions that do not command its assent ... is willing to discuss [them] to [avoid] misapprehension ... welcomes everything that would further religious intercourse ... especially desires that those who belong to the Lord should gather at his table. We call on all the faithful to give prayerful consideration to all these matters.⁷³⁹

Before the main sessions began the Free Church members met and produced an initial document stating that:

⁷³⁴ *Davidson262:60.

⁷³⁵ Bell & Robertson op cit.

⁷³⁶ Cf. Ibid. preface; see Appendix 4.

⁷³⁷ W.H. Frere C.R., a notable ecumenical enthusiast, one of the Anglicans at the Malines Conversations, became one of the Anglican representatives once consecrated to Truro in 1923.

⁷³⁸ *BM7:212: the Bishops' Meeting Journal is written in Davidson's own hand.

⁷³⁹ Ibid. 7.

These proposals can not only be met with respect but also with earnest and cordial welcome. This is not a matter only between the Churches but [because of the sin of disunity] also between all Churches and their Lord.⁷⁴⁰

They understood that the Appeal was meant to secure a way towards the reunion of the whole of Christendom. The desired outcome was unity, not uniformity; the diverse worship and polity of the churches would need to be brought together under one Faith and Order without loss of character. They welcomed the bishops' abandonment of preconditions in the name of the common endeavour which offered the recognition of each other's conscientious views. Such a course would need 'a spirit of brotherhood between the churches', the possibility of which they believed had been raised by 'the whole tone of the Lambeth Appeal'; they would have to extend that spirit into acceptance of the principles for which each community stood.⁷⁴¹

Their carefully worded statement identifies three areas crucial to their own self-understanding:

1. Their recognition as Churches: they ask two things of the Anglicans, that they be recognized as true churches and also as churches in networks of relationships beyond England. Although they be relatively small to the Church of England, their wider fellowship was greater than the Anglican Communion – they could not be asked to become separate from their sister congregational or presbyterian churches in order to achieve a 'smaller fellowship' with an episcopal one;
2. Episcopal Ordination: no demand for episcopal ordination could be imposed on those already in ministry, this would deny the reality of their present ministries particularly as the Scriptural sources themselves do not prescribe any one polity for the Christian community;
3. Spiritual Freedoms: this relates to two considerations; first, the expected difficulty over the historic creeds and the uses to which they might be put as the churches need to keep their 'minds free to learn of the Holy Spirit'. Second, the Free Church refusal to accept that the civil power can or should have any authority in the spiritual realm.

In September 1921 the FCEFC endorsed the preliminary work that had been done but sounded an important warning about its future. The questions that had been raised, 'must be cleared up so that there is mutual understanding of the issues. But words of unity must be accompanied by acts of unity, e.g. acts of intercommunion, interchange of pulpits and forms of concerted spiritual action'.⁷⁴²

Lambeth 6 had indeed agreed that, in limited circumstances, such acts of unity might take place. R1920/12 provides that a bishop might give occasional permission for ministers of other churches to

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid. 8.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid. 11ff.

⁷⁴² Ibid. 29.

preach or their people to receive Holy Communion in Anglican churches provided that there was a genuine 'seeking towards an ideal of union such as is described in our Appeal'. The difference of opinion was about the sequence of such events; where the Free Church view was that acts of sharing were part of a search for unity, Anglicans saw them as the consequence of agreement having been achieved.⁷⁴³ In short, this might be expressed as saying that one side regarded the Communion as food for the journey and the other regarded it as the reward for arriving at the destination.

3: The 1922 'First Joint Report'

Over the following months the problematic areas were explored in considerable detail and by May 1922 an agreed report was presented to the sponsoring bodies covering three subjects:

1. The Nature of the Church;
2. The Ministry;
3. The Place of the Creed in a United Church.

Ten or so agreed propositions are set out in each area showing a high level of theological convergence.⁷⁴⁴

1. The Nature of the Church: the Church is dependent on the will of God. As God is One, there can only be one true Church that presents the life of Christ, 'its constitutive principle', to the world through the activity of the Holy Spirit. All the redeemed are members of the Church, whether visible or invisible, and the two aspects of the Church are one because the life of the Godhead is one. The visible Church was instituted by Christ to be a fellowship and both his witness and his instrument in the spread of his kingdom on earth. The visible church has at least four characteristics including:

- a. The profession of faith in God as revealed in Christ;
- b. The observance of the two Dominical Sacraments;
- c. The ideal of the Christian life protected by a common discipline;
- d. A ministry that preaches the Word, administers the sacraments and maintains the unity and continuity of the Church's witness and work.

These clauses are not those of the Quadrilateral but they are not far distant, essentially dealing with the same issues of shared belief and practice held by the Christian churches, even in their diversity. There is no explicit reference to the Scriptures but that is dealt in 3(2), among the credal clauses, and

⁷⁴³ The prospect of an Anglican minister preaching in a Free Church was a matter of difficulty for some in authority. *Davidson262:106 is an unsigned Counsel's Opinion on preaching in 'Dissenting Pulpits': it concludes that for an Anglican to preach in such a way was not in itself an act of schism and therefore not actionable at canon law. Such a preacher is not leaving the Church of England but speaking as its representative, seeking to bridge the gap between the Church and Chapel. Regular worship in a dissenting assembly would however be a different matter.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid. 34-38.

episcopacy is addressed in 8(3); we may say that the Quadrilateral is present but in a different way, consonant with Lang's expressed wish for its reformulation. Strong of Ripon also argued forcefully in the Anglican group meetings that the 'old Anglican language' no longer met their situation.⁷⁴⁵

Baptism is affirmed as the visible sign of admission to the Church, as an ordinance of Christ and his apostles, 1(8), but there is no further reference to the Holy Communion. This omission is puzzling given the heated debates that there had been within English Anglicanism as to the nature of the Eucharist and the manner in which it should be celebrated. The ritual disputes had been followed with close attention and considerable misgiving by Free Church theologians throughout their course and had raised in the minds of those observers serious questions about the nature of the community to which they were being asked to draw close.

The two final clauses are far more detailed as they come to deal with the relationships between the Church and the local churches, the expression 'catholic' is not used. Local churches are the local embodiment of the greater body. Where denominational churches are found in competition and disagreement with each other there is a serious ecclesiological issue. Even if there were a degree of justification for their mutual alienation, their existence does not incarnate the theological unity of the Church and cannot be said to be, 'in accordance with the mind of Christ'.⁷⁴⁶ Although these denominational churches bear some of the likeness of the One Church, they none of them can be considered as giving adequate expression to the mind and purpose of He whose life binds the One Church together. The degree of dissimilarity may be varied, 'some indeed may be so defective that they cannot rightly be judged to be parts of that Church'. However, a human judgement may only be reached in so far as regards 'the sphere of the visible church', the ultimate judgement lies in the mercy of God. Humanity may not presume to make a judgement about the nature of the sphere of the invisible and true Church. None of the faith communities engaging together is an adequate or complete presentation of the reality of the Church, fundamentally because their disunion prevents them from being so. The denominational churches are subject to a theological imperative to seek reunion so that they might begin to reflect the unity that is the mark of the true and obedient Church.

2. The Ministry: the Free Church representatives argued that it was necessary get the theology of the Church right as everything else follows from it. The deeply divisive issue of ministry is, thus, a secondary matter. However, the data shows that this logic had not necessarily been followed by Anglicans; issues around ordination had been at the forefront of previous debates. The Joint Report is, therefore, an important corrective to the impression that somehow ministerial theology was the only thing with which the bishops were concerned.

⁷⁴⁵ *Davidson264:5

⁷⁴⁶ Bell & Robertson 35.

The Joint Report affirms the integral nature of ministry to the Church; it exercises ‘powers and functions’ that inherently belong to the whole Church, not to any one part or person. Particular ministers have no more claim to ministerial authority than any others. The ministerial authority of the Church does not belong to any particular denomination – it is the common heritage of all. Ways of ministering may be various without their validity being questioned. The means of entry into public ministry is ordination. No-one can take ministry upon themselves of their own volition; there must be evidence of both inner call and also recognition of that call by the Church itself, which will signify its recognition by a commissioning including prayer and the imposition of hands. When those conditions are met the Church has the assurance that the new minister will be graced with all that is needful to participate in ministry.

Over time the traditions have diverged in their ministerial practice, uniting traditions would have to have mutual reassurance about their future ministry. All ministers would have to be accepted as ministers by all and from the time of union that acceptance would be signified by all new ministers being episcopally ordained. The Free Church representatives were content to agree, 2(8), that for many Christians, episcopal ordination is the ‘means whereby this authority of the whole body is given, we agree that it ought to be accepted as such for the United Church of the future’.⁷⁴⁷ This is a major concession but it causes consequential difficulty, as Davidson it ‘the real difficulty is getting over the semi-episcopal period through which a uniting church would have to pass.’⁷⁴⁸

The eventual South Indian scheme simply left it to the passage of time to resolve the problem. The unfortunate consequence of this was that, whereas the former Presbyterian members of the CSI were still in full communion with the global family of Presbyterian churches, former Anglicans found themselves in a state of impaired communion with some parts of the Anglican Communion until the last of the presbyterally ordained ministers had ceased to be active.

Clause 2(9) makes a balanced commitment that a future church would have to preserve elements of presbyterian and congregational polity alongside the episcopal – and that all three would have to be bound together within a constitutional framework. Clause (10) says that no particular theoretical understanding of the origin or character of episcopacy is implied by the agreement but also that no-one should call into question the spiritual value of any ministries that have been exercised in the uniting traditions. No suggestion of re-ordination would have been acceptable to the Free Church side, so the proposed method seems the most sensible approach, despite the ecclesiological difficulties that would necessarily arise. The agreement could be regarded as the triumph of real politik over ecclesiastical nicety but it is difficult to see how the catholic wing of the Church of England would have been able to engage with a united church based on such a scheme of union. Several decades

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid. 37.

⁷⁴⁸ *Davidson14:55.

would have to pass before proper order, as they would have understood it, might have been established throughout the new denomination and sufficient assurance about its ministry and sacraments have been established.

3. The Place of the Creed: the heading of this section in the First Report is a little misleading. Most of the discussion refers to the ‘Creed commonly called Nicene’ (4) there is also reference to the Apostles Creed and there is no exclusion of other credal statements. Anglican Christians hold their heritage in high regard; the continuity it represents seems to them to validate their present faith and practice. The continued use of a Fourth Century formulation seems natural and proper: it is a statement of what the Church held true then and holds to be true now. However, some Free Church people found the Nicene Creed to be problematic, and this was specially so of the Congregationalist representatives. It was not that they wished to repudiate any of the Nicene doctrines but that the use of the formulation in worship was a stumbling block. They believed that use of the creeds inhibited the ability of Christians to find new, culturally appropriate formulations under the continuing guidance of the Holy Spirit.

A uniting church must have unity of faith grounded in the Scriptural witness, focused through the teaching of Jesus Christ. The Church is called on to confess its faith in Christ in a range of ways including during its worship. For that purpose the Nicene Creed would be ‘a sufficient statement’ but that the united church would have to reach an agreement on when and how to make use of the formulation. (6) makes clear that there would have to be tolerance of diversity in the use of the Creed and this is the prelude to (7)’s exposition of Free Church concerns that the Creed, while being ‘sufficient’ was not ‘a complete expression of the Christian Faith’ and is also open to a reasonable level of interpretation: It is not clear who, if anyone, had been suggesting any different position. Some wanted to express their belief in the continuing, teaching presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church to guide and inspire ‘emphasising the duty of the Church to keep its mind free and ready to receive from Him in each day and generation ever-renewed guidance in the apprehension and expression of the truth’.⁷⁴⁹

The present day successors of those Free Church representatives join themselves together by the use of Statements of Faith that are often far more binding and specific than the words of the Nicene Creed and, in the case of the United Reformed Church, many times longer.⁷⁵⁰

The third section is primarily about the freedom of the church to believe as it wishes, free from interference, including interference by the state. Perhaps it is surprising, therefore, that this section does not include any reference to the role of the civil authority, given the position of the Church of

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid. 39.

⁷⁵⁰ Cf. Basis of Union of the URC; <http://www.urc.org.uk/jobs/62-general/the-manual/595-the-basis-of-union.html>, accessed 28th October, 2013; it includes a credal statement somewhat longer than the Nicene Creed with a range of alternate forms.

England as being ‘by law established’.⁷⁵¹ We may infer that the Joint Conference felt that the establishment question would have to be left until other ecclesiological questions had been resolved.⁷⁵²

4. Work from 1923 to 1925

Although the major writing produced by the Conference was called the First Report, in the event there were no further substantial documents. A number of short papers were produced concerning problematic areas but no final report was agreed as the process lost momentum and a general feeling emerged that as much had been done as was possible.⁷⁵³

Among the lesser papers, we should note the attempt to address the question of episcopal authority in the Memorandum on Representative and Constitutional Episcopate (July 1924). The authors, Frere and Garvie, returned to the Westonian concept of parallel jurisdictions, suggesting a way forward might be for the uniting denominations to present episcopal candidates to the two Anglican primates. As the candidates would never have been bishops before it would be an entirely new commission that was conferred in this way and therefore there might not be any question of ‘reordination’.⁷⁵⁴ The episcopal orders so conveyed would be transmitted to other ministers in ways to be agreed by each denomination individually.

Looking back in 1923, Davidson wrote that he could not have imagined in 1920 the degree of progress that would be made by the Joint Conference. He described the method as to make progress

⁷⁵¹ The present day Methodist and United Reform Churches might also be described in such a way as their corporate legal identities were brought into being by the Methodist Church Union Act 1929 and the United Reformed Church Act 1972 respectively, whatever the ecclesiological considerations may be.

⁷⁵² A short memorandum on Church and State was adopted in 1925, it is primarily a statement of the perceived problems with no solutions proposed: Bell & Robertson 84.

⁷⁵³ The Additional Papers; page numbers are Bell and Robertson:

| Memorandum Title: | Published | Page |
|---|-----------------------------|------|
| The Status of the Free Church Ministry | 6 th July, 1923 | 43 |
| On a Constitutional Episcopate | 11 th July, 1924 | 58 |
| Second Memorandum of the status of the Free Church Ministry | 19 th July, 1925 | 67 |
| Memorandum on a Constitutional and Representative Episcopate | 19 th July, 1925 | 75 |
| Relations of the Free Churches to Communion with which they are in Fellowship in other parts of the World | 19 th June, 1925 | 83 |
| Problems connected with the Union between Church and State | 19 th June, 1925 | 84 |
| On Safe-guarding the Evangelical Principles of the Reformation | 19 th June, 1925 | 87 |

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid. 76: they do not discuss the issue of whether such ordination per saltum would be valid. A long paper written by Wordsworth of Salisbury for Lambeth 5 had concluded that there was no theological objection to a lay person being ordained bishop. So, even if the orders of a Free Church minister were utterly denied, which the bishops did not wish, he would still be capable of receiving the grace of episcopal orders: Wordsworth, J (1909) Ordination Problems <http://anglicanhistory.org/england/jwords/saltum.html>; accessed 28th October, 2013.

one step at a time; this might seem unduly cautious but ‘it is essential not to let the people of God think that the whole thing could be quickly and quietly settled’.⁷⁵⁵

A paper from Frere summarised the progress from the Anglican point of view in three points,⁷⁵⁶ he believed that:

- a. ‘The Free Churches are bent on improvement’ and that ‘they have an increasingly churchly attitude’;
- b. ‘They have real discipline behind their machinery’;
- c. ‘They wanted to be able to go back to their people and affirm that the Anglican side has given up its old position that the Free Church people were ecclesial nobodies.’

By ‘improvement’ in (a) he means that the Free Churches were trying to adopt standpoints more acceptable to Anglicans; whether that would truly be seen as an improvement by those same Free Church people is somewhat debateable. By (b) he means that the FCEFC representatives were in a position to deliver on an agreement with Anglicans, thereby reassuring the Anglican side that there would be a genuine convergence rather than only a toleration of difference. The contribution Anglicans were invited to make was to accept that their partners were indeed genuinely part of the same Church to which Anglicans belonged, sundered as they were and fractured as it is.

The Joint Conference met for five years altogether absorbing a great deal of thought and energy but eventually the participants felt that it had run its course.⁷⁵⁷ At its September 1925 meeting, the FCEFC accepted the wish of the Free Church representatives to stand down. Their report was received with ‘deep thankfulness for the work they had done and for the agreements that they had been able to reach’. The level of agreement of matters of faith meant that the member churches could work ‘whenever possible’ with integrity alongside Anglicans on moral, social, religious and evangelical work. A high level of mutual recognition had been reached and, on the Anglican side, acknowledgement that Free Church ministry is evangelical, sacramental and not schismatic. They also acknowledge that the problems around ordination remained and were beyond resolution at that time but:

The conversations have been much longer and far more conciliatory than any previous such with a closer fellowship and better mutual understanding ... the Spirit of God is manifestly bringing us together.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁵ *Davidson264:16.

⁷⁵⁶ *Davidson264:5.

⁷⁵⁷ Bell & Robertson 87.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid. 92.

b. Analysis

The impact of the Appeal was to bring new vigour to the search for 'home reunion' and enable the churches to address Selbie's assertion by achieving an improved level of mutual understanding. The discussions brought together the questions of identity and union in a productive and positive process. In order to consider union, each tradition had to be able to ask what where the components of its identity – the gifts it might offer to other traditions. However, for there to be a prospect of union it would not enough for Anglicans to bring to others, figuratively, a dish of good things from which others might be invited to eat. Those ingredients would have to be poured out into a new bowl, to which Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian ingredients would also be added – producing a new mixture. The new mixture might, perhaps, need no other label but Christian and reveal the restored flavour of the undivided Church. Lidgett described the Appeal's plea as being that people should 'not merely ... become Anglican' but rather embrace the gifts of all the uniting traditions. The Joint Statement shows with great clarity the convergences of thinking between the two sides of the discussion. Although further Memoranda were produced by the Joint Conference these were in by way of further development of the principles already accepted.

Although the Conference quickly identified the denominational divergences over worship and ministerial practice as problematic we might say that they are merely the presenting symptoms of the deeper question of the failure of the denominational churches to reach a shared understanding of the nature of the Church. The argument of the Joint Report was not about the particular understandings of Church that were forged in the Reformation period and became the heritage of the English reformed denominations. Instead it seeks to reach beyond them to the far deeper Scriptural and ecclesiological roots of the Church. The denominational churches are as they are because of the Reformation heritage so to try to reach back beyond that period implies the surrender of areas of their distinctiveness. They sought language and concepts for a new Church that could be inclusive rather than holding onto the denominational distinctivenesses. In the search for reunion they showed themselves ready to consider the possibility of gaining much by losing a little.

From this problem we might deduce that the Appeal may have given insufficient consideration to the Church itself at a sufficient depth to satisfy its audience, the potential ecumenical partners. As a result the Joint Report needs a somewhat lengthy discourse on the Church before it can proceed to the matters that might have been expected to be given most emphasis. What is clear is that the Church belongs to Christ and not to the denominations, the denominations are only pale reflections of the what the fullness of the Church might be like were all the gifts of Christ to the Church made available to all instead of held in partial, inadequate and compromised reflections of it. The basis for reunion must therefore be a clear ecclesiological understanding that will be the tool for resolving the lesser differences between the traditions on the means of ministry and the forms of belief statement.

The writers of the Appeal assumed that the primary difficulty for the Free Churches would be about questions of ministry and the episcopacy although the Joint Report makes it clear that this is not the case. Episcopacy is so central to Anglican ecclesiology that it was difficult for the bishops to appreciate the difficulties it raises for Congregational and Presbyterian traditions. The image of ministry in the New Testament is pluriform; the reformed traditions saw no reason to privilege the case for episcopacy over other possible models. As a gesture of reconciliation they were prepared to accept that a coming church would have bishops but the progress of the debate enabled a deeper question to be asked – what kind of bishops would a uniting church need? Those bishops would have to operate in a context that also honoured the congregational and presbyterian heritages of the uniting church. In 1920 the Free Church leaders found it difficult to believe that bishops as known to Anglicans could operate in such a context. A century later the situation is different both among English Anglicans but especially so in the united and uniting churches that have arisen. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter Ten. Clearly, it would have been better if the bishops had handled the question of Free Church ministerial status more carefully in the Appeal. The omission of any reference to a rite that could have been understood in any sense as reordination would have strengthened the ability of the Appeal to draw the Free Churches into constructive dialogue.

The Lambeth fathers seem genuinely to have wanted to innovate in order to reunite but perhaps did not appreciate the degree of alienation between themselves and the Free Churches. The initial responses of the Free Churches might best be described as warm but wary and we might ask whether they had heard what the bishops were saying. Their reactions seem to suggest that what they heard was the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral being represented and not a new approach, otherwise it is difficult to understand their language about the Appeal being a complete programme. The Enabling Act had only been in force for six months at the time of the Lambeth Conference and it may well be that neither the Free Churches – nor indeed some Anglicans – had appreciated the changes in the life of the Church of England that would follow from it.

What seems remarkable is the level of agreement about the nature of the Church. Both sides of the Joint Conference gave high status to Scripture. Indeed, the Free Churches sought to draw the material for their ecclesiological reflections solely from their inherited understanding of Scripture. Anglicans had other resources upon which they wished to draw, with their historic commitments to the deployment of tradition and reason in their theologisation. Even so, the participants were able to reach a high level of mutual recognition. As we have seen, both sides now felt that they would be able in the future to co-operate in social and missional actions. In the long term that recognition has proved to be the greatest achievement of the Joint Conferences. The acceptance that the denominational churches, despite their distinctivenesses, have sufficient commonality to co-operate lies at the root of shared endeavour by the English churches within English society. Instead of denominational humanitarian

aid societies there is Christian Aid.⁷⁵⁹ Likewise, there is a straight line from the Joint Report to the deployment of Street Pastors in English urban areas.⁷⁶⁰

c. Conclusion

The Appeal and consequent discussions can be characterised as bringing new vigour to the questions around home reunion enabling the churches to gain an improved level of mutual understanding. Abroad, the Appeal encouraged reconciliation between the Churches of England and Sweden and eased the way to union in South India. This chapter is focused on home reunion because of the availability of data and the way that data shows the sundered churches learning from each other. In the process of seeking unity, Anglicans were able to clarify their understanding of their own identity as distinct from other English Christian traditions.

In this argument, identity and unity become parallel notions as the possibility of unity resides in the ability of the denominational churches to find sufficient commonality of identity that they can recognise one another. The elements of shared identity that they are able to affirm in one another are reflections of the greater theological identity of the One Church of which they are broken fragments. The Congregationalist Selbie identified the mutual lack of knowledge and understanding as the element that most held the churches apart. The Joint Conference established by Davidson and the FCEFC was intended to address that ignorance as well as delineating the areas of commonality and divergence.

The divergences in practice, especially relating to ministerial order, appear to be the issues to be resolved but in reality are merely symptoms of a deeper failure. They represent a lack of resolution concerning the question of what the Church is. If it is described as being Christ's Church, rather than the possession of the denominations, then there is an ontological unity that arises from Christ's prayer that the Church should be One. To denominationalise the Church into churches, itself a contradictory expression, is to commit the sins of disunity and deafness to the wishes of Christ. The parties to the Joint Conference were able to agree all this.

Where they needed to undertake further detailed work was in the reconciliation of their divergent experiences of communal practice. A coming unified church would have to incorporate a range of

⁷⁵⁹ Christian Aid was founded by church leaders in the aftermath of the Second World War and operates as a department of Churches Together in Britain and Ireland; <http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/who/history/index.aspx> accessed 3rd February, 2015.

⁷⁶⁰ Street Pastors are volunteer members of churches trained in conflict resolution, pastoral skills and First Aid who operate to support communities particularly in relation to anti-social night-time behaviour that is often substance abuse related. The scheme is an initiative of the Ascension Trust. <http://www.streetpastors.org/> accessed 3rd February, 2015.

elements in its polity; it would need to just congregational and presbyterian as it might be episcopal. The bringing together of separated Christians with their separated gifts would lead to the emergence of a new way of being Church, one that could simply be called Christian.

The Joint Conference took place in direct response to the Appeal and was the longest shared discussion between the English churches for many centuries. The outcome was a high level of ecclesiological agreement on the basis of which the participants were able to recognise each other as sharing in differing and varying imperfect ways the character of 'Church'. As a consequence they were able to agree that there was no longer any reason why they should not co-operate with each other as often as possible on practical social projects. This was the most important outcome of the Joint Conference. Almost as important was that it established a foundation on which the churches could build as time passed, setting the scene for the high levels of ecumenical engagement to be observed by the end of the Twentieth Century in Britain and Ireland.

Section Four: evaluation

Research Question: What is the present significance of the Appeal and the Lambeth Conference tradition for Anglican self-understanding?

Ten: The Church and the churches

The first three sections of this thesis examined the milieu, writing and impact of the Appeal to All Christian People conducting a critical analysis of its theological framework and understandings. From this we concluded that the Appeal presents a style of theologisation that is eirenic, discursive and invitatory. The principles it elucidates are intended to help Christians come into ecclesiological dialogue with a view to making manifest the theological unity of the Church. This material is not being examined only for antiquarian interest; the argument of this thesis is that the Appeal is of value to Christians in the early Twenty-first Century because it speaks into the theological issues that beset the Anglican Communion.

How can there be a Church and yet also churches?

Is the notion that there is a Church any more than an ambition or something that churches aspire to be? It is axiomatic that the Church is a conditional body; it does not belong here because its members have no lasting home in this life but are in transition to a different 'city'.⁷⁶¹ The Church is, amongst other things, a body with an eschatological identity, an eschatological destination; its present iteration is impermanent. Chapter Ten is a case study asking a single question: can the Appeal elucidate the conundrum of the Church and the churches? Stake writes that issues in Case Study are seldom 'clean' but intricately related to a range of contexts. We have given considerable attention to the contexts of the Appeal, the time has now come to examine whether it can promote our understanding of the theological question about how to understand the Church.⁷⁶²

The Appeal presents a particular view of the Christian Church; because of its context, drawn from the particularity of a denominational church, we might say that it presents a narrow Anglican ecclesiology. The Appeal states that Anglican churches believe themselves to be part of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church: that statement begins to lead towards a broader ecclesiology, one that might encompass other, or all, denominational churches, if it were to be sufficiently developed. The Appeal gives three particular leads to Anglicans who are seeking to explore their understanding of the Church and their relationship with the other churches:

1. it says where Anglicans believe a search for unity might begin;
2. it gives an assurance that Anglicans have a firm basis in their own tradition for ecumenical dialogue;
3. it gives Anglicans permission and encouragement to engage with other traditions.

⁷⁶¹ Hebs. 13.14, 'For here we have no lasting city but we are looking for the city that is to come'.

⁷⁶² Stake R.E. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*; Sage, London; 17, 37.

Together these amount to a kind of ethical imperative that makes ecumenical endeavour a proper and normal endeavour for Anglican Christians. Consequently, study of the Appeal may lead us towards a broad ecclesiology of the Church and away from the narrow ecclesiology of a denominational church.

Within the case, ‘does the Appeal help us understand what a broad ecclesiology might be like’, there are issues.⁷⁶³ We might ask:

1. does the Appeal have significance as an exposition of Anglican ecclesiology;
2. does it contribute to the progression in Christian understanding of the Church;
3. does it have present value for Anglicans seeking reconciliation within and beyond their communion?

The Introduction referenced difficulties arising from an under-theorisation of ecclesiology. We have also noted that Anglicans seem ill-disposed to the writing of systematic theologies but ecclesiology appears particularly neglected.⁷⁶⁴ Nazir-Ali, for example, writing on the future of the Church omits a systematic exposition of the nature of the Church, only describing what it has been like and the models that help us describe how it now is, abstracted from Dulles’s work.⁷⁶⁵

In order to explore the relationship between Church and the churches this chapter brings the Appeal into conversation with Dulles and with two other texts:

1. The 2005 World Council of Churches convergence paper on The Nature and Mission of the Church (NMC), which sets out the shared thinking of member churches as well as the divergences;⁷⁶⁶
2. the 2006 Cyprus Statement of a working party of Anglican and Orthodox theologians called The Church of the Triune God (CTG).⁷⁶⁷

These two texts are relevant because they have twenty-first century provenance and because they represent systematic attempts at broad ecclesiology in which Anglicans have actively participated. Importantly, they represent attempts at the kind of shared theological exploration that are advocated by the Appeal and might be seen as part of its heritage. The Appeal, of course, is from an earlier time when the traditions had much to learn about each other. NMC is a different kind of writing in which

⁷⁶³ Cf. Stake, 16.

⁷⁶⁴ Reasons for this neglect seem underexplored in the literature but might include the sense that the Formularies give sufficient definition to Anglican understandings (see Chapter One) coupled with a reluctance to appear to be promoting novel doctrine (see the Introduction); there seems to be a feeling that such writing might appear overly didactic and contrary to the discursive approach of the Conference Tradition (see Chapter Two). Also the tendency to revere the writings of the Church Fathers, as reflecting an authentic ancient tradition, seems to disincline Anglicans to systematic writings, which are generally of more recent provenance and therefore somewhat remote from the shared writing of the undivided Church.

⁷⁶⁵ Nazir-Ali, M. (2001) *Shapes of the Church to Come*; Eastbourne, Kingsway.

⁷⁶⁶ WCC (2005) *The Nature and Mission of the Church*; Geneva, WCC Electronic edition ecumenism.net/archive/.../2005_wcc_fo_nature_mission_church_en, accessed 15th February, 2014.

⁷⁶⁷ www.anglicancommunion.org/.../TheChurchoftheTriuneGod accessed 15th February, 2014.

diverse Christians are seeking common language that honours and expresses both their shared heritage and the differentiated theological understandings of the traditions. NMC represents a more confident stage but that confidence is based on the prior experience of growth in mutual understanding.

The Appeal does not have the depth of thought and theological stature of the CTG, by comparison it seems lightweight, almost emotional in its urgency. Yet, for Anglicans, the Appeal lies at the roots of CTG's deep reflection. Without the Appeal to enable and promote the process of theological engagement by Anglicans there would have been little motivation for theologians to work at this profound level. Such profundity is essential if there is to be the kind of doctrinal concurrence that, for the Orthodox, is the pre-requisite of full ecclesial reconciliation.⁷⁶⁸ The Appeal turns Anglicans in the direction of the deep theological reflection required in pursuit of the unity that is the vocation of the Church, called for in Christ's high priestly prayer and claimed as a very mark of the Church by the Symbol of Nicaea.⁷⁶⁹

a) Seeking a broader Ecclesiology

We shall examine the leading ideas of the Appeal, giving some commentary and exegesis, and then examine two other documents drawing appropriate comparisons between them. This will draw out the significance of the Appeal lying, as it does, so close to the source of the stream of ecumenical discourse that gave rise to the later documents, what we might call the developed fruits of the process that began early in the Twentieth Century.

Christians gathered into congregations will have a notion of church. They will explain church on the basis of their experience, practice and reading of Scripture – and, perhaps inevitably, will regard their own expression of church as being exemplary. Travelling to worship a Christian will become aware that there are other groups gathering who also call themselves church and will also believe themselves to be exemplary. What is she to make of them? Perhaps she will conclude that some of those others are sufficiently like her own congregations for them to enter into relationship – others she may dismiss as being, somehow, inadequate expressions of church. She might be expressing a narrow understanding of ecclesiology, perhaps a denominational one, but certainly one that is referenced within her own 'kind' of Christian. However, once we realise that there are other 'kinds' of Christian we are challenged to understand where, between our ecclesial particularities, the generality might lie.

⁷⁶⁸ This is not to deny that often in Anglican tradition practice sometimes precedes theological reasoning, which may then be deployed to justify a position reached for reasons of pastoral concern, such as English Anglican flexibility towards the remarriage of divorced persons.

⁷⁶⁹ Jn.17.21.

Another approach might be to explore Scriptural understandings of Church and the experience of Christians, seeking to draw conclusions about the nature of the Church from them: so arriving at a broader ecclesiology. The shared holding of Scripture, after all, being one of the markers of the Church, it also serves as a tool of recognition between the Christian traditions. However, all Christians also begin from their own contexts and any outcomes are likely to be conditioned by them.

Roman Catholics have been less neglectful of ecclesiology than some Christian traditions. Indeed, in the late twentieth century, those who engaged with ecclesiology found themselves faced with a single, somewhat dominant work, *Models of the Church* by the Jesuit Avery, Cardinal Dulles. Although he seeks to reach beyond his own heritage and the language of his church, the book is still very clearly of its Catholic milieu. Dulles's careful analysis of the Church's self-understanding has become the common coin of ecclesiological study. Building on the Second Vatican Council's document *Lumen Gentium*,⁷⁷⁰ he makes four particularly helpful contributions to the field:

1. He argues that the Church is best described through models; these give form to the thought of a particular age about the Church, models derived from the dominant ideology of the Church's social context;
2. His methodology has the virtue of being akin to Christ's teaching method when Christ says 'the Kingdom of Heaven is like ...'; models help us to draw general conclusions about the nature of the Church without being tied to denominational particularity and, this, is consonant with the Appeal's approach;
3. He proposes that some models are accessible to all and so ecumenically therapeutic, rather than additional irritants; all may discuss the Church as institution or mystical communion, sacrament, herald and servant – and, to some extent, be on neutral ground;
4. His work allows of an important observation - that a distinction can be made between the multiple ecclesiologies held by the denominational churches and his metanarrative description of the Church, what this thesis calls the narrow ecclesiologies of the traditions and the broad ecclesiology of the whole Church of God.

Similarly, the Appeal seeks a broader ecclesiology that might be attractive to other Christian traditions so that they might be drawn back into a visible unity. The Appeal commands the present attention of theologians because it is also not tied to denominational particularity and is irenic in its approach. At its heart, it is a call to Christians to return to the first principles of the Church with no denial of the working of the Holy Spirit among the churches. Instead it calls on Christians to build

⁷⁷⁰ *Lumen Gentium*, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, promulgated 21 November, 1964.

on their separated experiences by offering those experiences to one another so that the whole body of the Church might be strengthened.⁷⁷¹

The Appeal is a fundamental expression of Anglican self-understanding and also of the Anglican desire to reach out to other traditions. Present day Anglican ecumenical endeavour is rooted in and enabled by this century old document, which has had a profound effect on their contribution to the wider ecumenical narrative. Other churches were clearly surprised by the tone and intention of the document, which left them with no choice but to consider their own standpoint, however much or little they could concur. Not only did it provide a positive context for discussion in South India and between the English and Swedish churches but it also made clear the basis upon which Anglicans could participate in the discussions that led to the formation of the World Council of Churches.

To summarise the discussion in Chapter Seven, the Appeal's theological analysis is focused in four assertions:

1. the Church should be united but is not;
2. disunity means the Church's witness is not credible;
3. the Church must recover its unity of faith, worship and ministry;
4. the episcopal ministry is the means and locus of unity.

Disunity impairs the Church's witness. Whichever model of the Church may affirm the identity of a particular tradition the actuality will be that they cannot fulfil the model. So, for example, if the Church is the Herald of the Kingdom – an attractive model for Barthian Protestants – the proclamation will be flawed, not because of a lack of zeal but because the reality of the churches does not match the aspiration to be the Church. Similarly, it is difficult to describe the Church as a mystical communion when Christians are, in practice, divided by their sacramental life, rather than united by it.

However, an apparent failure to achieve the fullness of a model of the Church does not mean that any one church should cease to aspire to that model. Indeed, realisation of the significance of failure may well be the driver of ecumenical endeavour; hence the Appeal's rootedness in the realisation that the unity of the Church is not revealed by the churches. The four assertions are supported by a sequence of ideas that develop an argument for ecumenical engagement between the churches.

Chapter Seven shows that, as the argument developed, it becomes necessary for Anglicans to abandon some classic positions, such as adherence to the Quadrilateral. Alongside that willingness to take a new approach, they also made the remarkable statement that the fullness of the Church resides only partly within Anglican tradition – important elements of the Church's life lie beyond Anglican boundaries; this implies that Anglicans cannot be fully Church without other Christians but also that

⁷⁷¹ Cf. Eph. 4.12.

other Christians cannot be fully Church without Anglicans. So when Anglicans aver that that they are part of the Church they are also committed to the distinctive teaching, pace Sykes, that they are only part of the Church.⁷⁷² Anglicans cannot be fully Church without the participation of all other Christians. What might the important, but missing, elements be? Perhaps a different answer will come from each others tradition. A Congregationalist might say that Anglicans are not sufficiently congregational, the Pope might say that they are not sufficiently Roman or a Salvationist bemoan a lack of emphasis on conversion. No Anglican will know until conversation has begun and that, first and foremost, is what is urged by the Appeal: that conversation should, indeed, begin.

The Appeal's argument develops in this way:

1. The disunity of the Church means that it is being unfaithful to Christ and that it is disabled from carrying out its part in God's mission in the world;
2. The Church is an 'outward, visible and united society' with its own leadership, using the gifts of grace and inspiring its members to 'service of the Kingdom of God in the world';
3. The whole Church needs to have access to all the gifts that are presently distributed among the churches;
4. The Church needs to recover its common faith, common worship and common ministry;
5. The Future credibility of the Church rests upon the ability of Christians to respond to Christ's desire for the people of God to be one.
6. Anglicans regard themselves as part of a Catholic Church whose unity is sinfully not manifest in the world, they accept their share of the guilt both for this and also for retaining to themselves gifts of God that are intended for all Christians;
7. Anglicans admit both their share of the blame for disunion and also that components of the faith may be missing from their tradition that are present in other traditions;
8. The nature and status of the episcopate is a key issue for Anglicans who see the episcopate as part of the fullness of the Church;
9. Past ministries among all the churches have manifestly been blessed by the Holy Spirit and no-one should be expected to repudiate what has been achieved within the churches.

The Appeal made three significant contributions to Anglican ecumenical thinking:

1. it gives a clear statement of where Anglicans believe the search for unity might begin, coupled with a sense of urgency about the quest;
2. it offers assurance that Anglicans have a basis within their own tradition upon which they can build future dialogue with other churches;

⁷⁷² Introduction, footnote 16: Sykes argued that the belief that Anglicans have no distinctive doctrine is itself a distinctive Anglican doctrine.

3. it gives Anglicans permission and encouragement to develop schemes for reunion for the sake of Christians and for the sake of the world.

From this it follows that commitment to a search for unity is an authentic feature of Anglican identity. We may go further and say such an endeavour may be an intrinsic feature of the tradition, otherwise it would be failing to incarnate the assertions of the Nicene Symbol that the Church is One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. If Anglicans are to claim that they are part of that Church, then they must display its characteristics, even if in the attenuated form that is all any denominational church can attain.

1. The Nature and Mission of the Church

Published in the earliest days of the ecumenical journey, the Appeal helped establish a positive tone in ecumenical discussions; it gives an Anglican view so that others might know whence that tradition might embark on the ecumenical journey. In the years that followed there have been wide bilateral discussions between Christian traditions addressing all manner of apparently intractable problems resulting, for example, in theological reconciliation between the two branches of Eastern Orthodoxy⁷⁷³ or the Agreed Statement on Justification of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches.⁷⁷⁴ For Anglicans, the impetus for participation in such dialogue has the Appeal at its roots. Standing behind the process, as if a godparent, is that earlier plea from one church to its separated sisters.

When we examine the history of ecumenical engagement we find, however, only limited direct investigation of ecclesiological issues. However, Anglicans have twice participated in significant ecclesiological discussions, the first being under WCC auspices and resulting in the text *The Nature and Mission of the Church*. NMC describes itself as a ‘convergence paper’, intended to assist the churches in their reflection on their commonality as well as their divergences in ecclesiological thinking.⁷⁷⁵ The Appeal stands at a far earlier stage of the ecumenical dialogue and so cannot make that kind of claim, it is not a convergence document but rather a call for a process of convergence. So, NMC is an outcome of a subsequent, shared ecumenical journey that Christians have undertaken presenting some of the results of the collective and convergent thinking to which the Lambeth fathers had invited the Church. For the Appeal the Church is a given, some of its features are described but their theological origin and identity is not particularly explored. NMC is necessarily more complex and nuanced, making important observations about four features of the Church:

⁷⁷³ The Chambesy Agreed Statement on Christology, 1990; <https://orthodoxjointcommission.wordpress.com/category/official-statements/> accessed 21st August, 2015.

⁷⁷⁴ Joint statement of the World Lutheran Council and the Catholic Church; http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/documents/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_31101999_cath-luth-joint-declaration_en.html accessed 21st August, 2015.

⁷⁷⁵ NMC 5.

1. It is God's gift to humanity, the vehicle through which human persons are to combine whilst maintaining their individuality and playing their part in the mission of God to the world;⁷⁷⁶
2. It is centred and grounded in the Word of God whether understood as the Word Incarnate in Christ Jesus, or as the Word spoken and recorded in Scripture, or as proclaimed and heard in the preaching, witness and action of those in relationship with the Father;⁷⁷⁷ Word and Spirit are inseparable, the Spirit both incorporates us into the Church and enables the faithful proclamation of the Word in speech and action;⁷⁷⁸
3. The characteristic marks of the Church derive from the nature of the Godhead: the oneness of the Church derives from the unity of Triune God,⁷⁷⁹ its holiness derives from the holiness of God, its catholicity from the all-embracing nature of God's interrelation with the kosmos and its apostolicity from its being sustained by the Word that proceeds from the Father;⁷⁸⁰
4. NMC takes Scripture as normative, but like the Appeal does not address the difficult question of hermeneutics; Scripture gives the context in which ecclesiological investigation is undertaken, the diversity of the Scriptural imagery is a positive aspect of the catholicity of the Church whereby diversity becomes a blessing.⁷⁸¹

A relatively simple statement from one Christian tradition will perforce be refined and elaborated by contact with the understandings of other traditions. There is nothing wrong with the simplicity of the Appeal's statement, 'This is what we mean by the Catholic Church', but it is insufficient as a theological description of the Church. We also need to know something of the origin of the Church, its relationship to the life and economy of the Godhead and what is meant by its statement that, 'its members are inspired to the world-wide service of the kingdom'.

NMC itself takes a subtly trinitarian approach making use of four models of the Church, partly coinciding with *Lumen Gentium*:

'The Church may be described as the People of God, or as the Body of Christ or as the Temple of the Spirit and finally as the *koinonia* in which all of those, and other images, are bound together'.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁶ NMC 9.

⁷⁷⁷ There is no explicit reliance on the work of Barth in the text.

⁷⁷⁸ NMC 10.

⁷⁷⁹ NMC 12.

⁷⁸⁰ One might expect there to be further reference to the work of the Spirit here but there is not.

⁷⁸¹ NMC 16.

⁷⁸² NMC 17.

There is a necessary attempt to hold all four together and in balance ‘to honour the totality of the Biblical witness’. The primary theological insight of Nature and Mission is that the Church is God’s gift and therefore God’s Church. Our theologising must therefore relate our understandings of the community to our understanding of the God who is revealed in the Church.

The ecclesial community’s multiform self-understanding is an outcome of the diversity of the images or metaphors that might be applied, drawn from Scripture and developed by theological deduction from the shared experience and tradition of the Church. Descriptions of the Church that seems acceptable to one generation will fail later generations as the Church strives to be faithful to the gospel in a changing world. A single description may not even be appropriate for the whole of a generation as world-wide Christianity seeks to relate to a huge range of cultural contexts. What then might the core descriptions of the Church be? Christians maintaining localised expressions of the Church also need to be able to identify one another as holding the same faith.

The diversity of the Scriptural language, although a problem for theoreticians, proves to be a resource for a Church that continually finds itself in both familiar and unfamiliar social contexts, a question particularly explored by Segundo.⁷⁸³ NMC suggests that such diversity can be seen as an aspect of the Church’s broader catholicity. From this we must conclude that it is not necessary or helpful for the Church to privilege one model or description of itself over others. Even those within a single denomination may not be able to exclusively deploy only a single ecclesiology for themselves. This proposal opens the possibility of a multiplicity of ways in which to be authentically Anglican – or Baptist or Orthodox. Dulles writes that:

‘The Anglicans, with their principle of comprehensiveness, have come closer than most Roman Catholics to seeing the legitimacy of keeping irreducibly distinct theologies alive within the same ecclesiastical communion.’⁷⁸⁴

So, comprehensiveness is a facet of the catholic nature of the whole Christian community, making it difficult to argue that any one understanding of Anglican tradition is the sole acceptable version. Diversity becomes a gift of God that is to be embraced rather than condemned – and the call of God to the Church is to seek ways in which its members honour their differences rather than deploying them as Church dividing instruments. We might ask, however, what the instruments of unity, a favourite Anglican phrase, might be that would hold such a diverse community of faith together or would the Appeal’s common faith, common worship and common service be sufficient?

For NMC, the Church is the Father’s gift, grounded in the Word (incarnate, written and proclaimed) and is the sphere of the sanctificatory operation of the Holy Spirit. The nature of the Church is entirely

⁷⁸³ Segundo (1976) *The Liberation of Theology*; New York, Orbis.

⁷⁸⁴ Dulles 12.

derived from the nature of the godhead. None of this is in contradiction of the Appeal – it simply begins in a different place, not accepting the Church as a given but rather exploring its *raison d'être*. The Appeal lacks the theological sophistication of NMC with its explicitly trinitarian exposition of the Church but that is what we should expect as they represent different stages of the ecumenical dialogue. Whereas the Appeal lies at the roots of ecumenism, NMC is one of its fruits. Nevertheless, there is commonality that illustrates a cumulative shared understanding between the churches that was largely lacking in the earliest stages of the process. The Appeal calls for conversation and NMC is an outcome of the response to that call. Where the two documents are closest is in their shared recognition of the value of the diversity in the Church that reflects the rich complexity of humanity's relationship with God.

2. The Cyprus Statement

In contrast to NMC, the Anglican-Orthodox Cyprus Statement is an agreed theological statement, the outcome of a process of bilateral conversation between two Christian traditions that have a history of seeking agreement with each other.⁷⁸⁵ The Church of the Triune God (CTG) is a deep and richly textured document that draws its understanding of the Church from an exposition of Trinitarian Christian belief. CTG gives us the theological language that we can use to interpret the Appeal. Carefully layered arguments are employed that make it difficult to summarise without doing injustice to the subtlety of the text. CTG arose from a realisation that a discussion of the nature of the Church was central to resolving the divergences between Anglican and Orthodox theology and to understanding the nature of the disagreements that had emerged.⁷⁸⁶ Ecclesiological debate is central to Christian self-understanding because 'it is within and by the Church that we come to know the Trinity and by the Trinity we come to understand the Church.'⁷⁸⁷

The life of the Church is derived from the life of the Trinity, eternally a community of love. The persons do not exist in the possession of their own individual identities or natures but by 'giving themselves wholly into the lives of others'.⁷⁸⁸ Humanity rejects the call to life in community, preferring a narrow way of selfish existence quite unlike the self-giving love of Christ. By entering into the life of humanity, Christ 'in his own person, fully human and fully divine ... renews humanity disfigured by sin'.⁷⁸⁹ The Appeal echoes this and would add that there is also now the possibility of Christ renewing the Church, which has been disfigured by the particular sin of disunity. Through baptism we die to the old humanity and rise to the new, in which God's grace draws us into lives of

⁷⁸⁵ We have noted the correspondence from the Conferences to the East and the presence of Eastern representatives at Conferences, including the formal presentation at Lambeth 6. An outcome of that was the Patriarchal recognition of Anglican orders.

⁷⁸⁶ CTG preface.

⁷⁸⁷ CTG 1.3.

⁷⁸⁸ CTG 1.4.

⁷⁸⁹ CTG 1.8.

love for God and neighbour.⁷⁹⁰ The communion of believers in the Triune God and with one another is the essence of the Church and described as a mysterion.⁷⁹¹ Divine activity in the Church means we can speak of the Church as being both the body of Christ and the Temple of the Holy Spirit. Although complex, the shared and historic doctrinal formulations were defined in response to the faith community's experience of the revelatory and salvific economy of the Trinity.⁷⁹²

Baptism admits us to the community, which is built up by the Eucharist, becoming a single body transcending its diversity, healing us and revealing the Kingdom. The Church is therefore called to be the 'visible sign of her inner reality as the mystery of communion with and in the Blessed Trinity': a phrase which cleverly combines classic Anglican understanding of the sacraments with Orthodox theological vocabulary.⁷⁹³ Ultimately, the Church is intended to be the arena where human persons come to experience communion with the life of the Blessed Trinity, in Orthodox tradition called theosis.⁷⁹⁴ The Church cannot, therefore, be primarily seen as a sociological phenomenon but, rather, as the gift of God.⁷⁹⁵ CTG concludes that the Trinitarian faith requires that the Church must be a place of being both 'one' and of being 'many', not only in the human persons that constitute its membership but also in the relationship of the Church to the local churches. The existence of the local and the catholic is simultaneous, neither can be said to precede the other.⁷⁹⁶

While Christians acknowledge that they cannot know God except inasmuch as God chooses to be self-revelatory, life within the Church can convey knowledge and insight about the life of the Trinity that is shared with and through membership of the community of the faithful. The most that we can say is that we can know of God by means of our experience of the impact of divine activity in the world.⁷⁹⁷ Knowledge about God is only fulfilled by participating in the communion that the faith community of the Church shares with the communion of the Trinity. Our knowledge of all of this is predicated by participation.

Finally, when the question is asked 'who saves us', the Church has to reply with conditioned and bipolar statements to the effect that 'we are saved by one of the Trinity' but that at the same time 'we are saved by the whole of the Blessed Trinity'. The good pleasure of the Father is that humanity should be saved to be a holy people for himself, the loving consent of the Son was that it should be through the Incarnation and the action is given effect by the operation of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁹⁸ As all of

⁷⁹⁰ CTG 1.8.

⁷⁹¹ Mysterion approximates to sacrament but with the overtone of 'heavenly mystery'.

⁷⁹² CTG 1.11.

⁷⁹³ CTG 1.12.

⁷⁹⁴ CTG 1.21.

⁷⁹⁵ CTG 1.22.

⁷⁹⁶ CTG 1.26.

⁷⁹⁷ We have knowledge of the possibility of this happening through Scripture and Tradition but it must then be apprehended through our corporate and individual experience, so John Wesley.

⁷⁹⁸ Eudokia is a Scriptural word and extensively developed in the writing of Basil the Great.

the Trinity has participated in this way, the way is opened for humans to become children of God by huiiothesia – adoption – also described by the Greek fathers as theosis, divinization, wherein both the human and the divine become present in our lives as they were in the life of Christ.

Whether we describe Christ as being the Servant of God, (Isaiah), or as the Son of Man, (Daniel), descriptions of him remain relational. When the Servant suffers it is for the many; when the eschatological Christ comes he will bring with him the saints: these saving acts are achieved by Christ but in a communal context, both with the Holy Trinity and, in a differentiated way, with humanity. In this way we can understand that the Church – that part of humanity with which Christ is in fullest explicit relationship – has become as much a part of his identity just as much as he has become part of the identity of the Church. Modern Christians relate to Jesus of Nazareth in a primarily ethical way, imitating him and being obedient. They may also relate to him as the Christ through the medium of the collective worship of the Church and in personal devotion which bridges the centuries as we meet him in prayer, prayer that is enabled by and arises from the very relational nature of his being. All this is brought to its apogee by the formation and unification of the Church by the Holy Spirit, which is the same Spirit as was in Christ Jesus and is the bond of love within the Godhead.⁷⁹⁹

CTG argues that we must arrive at ecclesiology by way of Christology conditioned by Pneumatology. If the task has been undertaken faithfully, in the light of revelation and the experience of the Church, the ecclesiology reached will be far broader than the narrow ecclesiologies of the two denominations. Engagement with other traditions on the basis of this agreement would have the potential to assist the Church in reaching the broadest possible self-understanding. The progression from the Appeal to CTG is particularly focused in the former's aspiration that Christians should recover their common faith and worship, there seem not to be substantial disagreements between the two traditions in those areas. However, in the area of common ministry the decision of Anglican provinces to admit women to the ministry has created a new barrier despite that substantial agreement about the nature of ministry. The views of the Eastern churches have important bearing on the question of women's ministry which is one of the intra-Anglican areas of dispute that will be considered in Chapter Eleven.

b. Analysis

The Appeal to All Christian People⁸⁰⁰ might have been expected to be a relatively narrow piece of ecclesiology presenting the Anglican standpoint in an assertive manner. Remarkably, this is not completely the case and, as Chapter Nine shows, it was greeted by other Christians as a generous and

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. Rom 8.9-11.

⁸⁰⁰ The comments here are based on the text of the Appeal as printed, (1920) SPCK 26ff., being the public version of the text with minor differences from the Conference text, D6/7, see App. 7.

conciliatory document. The value of the Appeal for our own time lies in the extent to which it can be seen as genuinely a broad piece of writing. A document that began as a ‘Statement of Our Position’ gained breadth as it evolved into an appeal based on a search for a wider understanding of the nature of the Church.

Coming to the document for the first time one is struck by the sense of timeliness and urgency. The early theme of fellowship relates to the concern that the dreadful experience of the Great War should be overwritten by renewed search for the unity amongst humanity. Huntington’s writing in *The Church Idea* and the bishops’ Appeal both have major conflict in their backgrounds. Echoing Huntington’s earlier work, the bishops seek to replace conflict with fellowship. The bishops write that they see responsibility resting upon themselves ‘at this time’ and that they are called to ‘new outlook and measures’ by the times in which they live. They believe that they are called to prophetic action, proclaiming the virtue of fellowship but also the disgrace of disunity within the Christian community. In this they can be seen as working out one classic understanding of the role of the episcopacy – to proclaim unity and to recall the Church to its vocation.⁸⁰¹

The matter of the timeliness of the document leads to an important point. We should not expect to find a fully worked out ecclesiology in its fifteen hundred words. Instead, it is a considered statement on the disunity of the churches and an attempt to indicate a route to reunion. Christians must return to one another as parts of the one Church in a search for fellowship among ‘those whose faces are definitely set this way.’⁸⁰² The Appeal is innovatory and conciliatory, an approach that speaks to the present need for reconciliation with the Anglican Communion.

The Appeal recognises this sentiment when, in Section 8, it says that ‘the truly equitable approach to union is by the way of mutual deference to one another’s consciences’. Flexibility and engagement are the means by which Christians may go forward together, recognising that disunion is a problem for all Christians. There is no security from exterior criticism to be found in any Christian tradition while Christians are at odds with one another, contrary to Christ’s prayer that they should be one. The Appeal stands at the beginning of a process of exploration of which the other two documents are fruits. They share an important characteristic in that they are documents on which all Christians can fruitfully reflect.

Among the unresolved ecclesiological issues relating to the Appeal three seem particularly related to the question of what constitutes the Church:

1. How are the distinct ordained ministries of the churches to be united into the ordained ministry of the Church?

⁸⁰¹ Cf. *The Order of Consecrating Bishops* BCP 584.

⁸⁰² SPCK 27.

2. At what point can a community be said to have left the fellowship of the Church?
3. Does diversity of praxis undermine the formation of a coherent community?

1. Integrating the ordained ministries of the churches

Without repeating the discussion in Chapter Nine it is clear that the bishops had not sufficiently addressed the manner by which the ordained ministries of uniting churches might be brought together in a way that honours the past ministry of all, while also preparing for the future ministry of a united church. In the Appeal the bishops offer to undergo any form of ‘commission or recognition’ that would make them acceptable to other traditions but the condition of this is that potential partners would have to accept some kind of Anglican recognition. In the majority of cases this kind of proposal has been found impractical because whatever might be done to the Anglican partners, in the end the other ministers have to accept some rite that cannot be seen as other than an episcopal ordination.⁸⁰³ In practice the churches have learned to accept that a period of reception, during which irregularity is tolerated for the sake of a greater gain, will be necessary but that in time the irregularity dissipates. This realisation has been a matter of shared growth of understanding between ecumenical partners and sometimes accompanied by considerable discomfort. However, if the other documents enable the Church to understand itself better, it should then be possible for Christians also to have greater clarity about the ministry, which is derived from the Church through Christ’s commission. The focus of NMC on the Church’s ministry of the word will inform shared, developing understanding of the role of the ordained in missional proclamation. CTG’s careful analysis of the divergent views of the Orthodox and Anglicans, particularly over the ordination of women, clarifies the area for future dialogue.

2. Leaving the Church

The question of when a community of Christians can be said to have left the Church is highly problematic. The ecclesiology of the Appeal seems to suggest that a community would have to express outright repudiation of, for example, a credal assertion in order to be beyond the Church. The incipient Arianism of the Jehovah’s Witnesses tradition would be a case in point. The history of the western churches, however, suggests that the church-dividing issues are often relatively low order

⁸⁰³ Two methods have been subsequently adopted to overcome this difficulty. In almost all cases all sides have agreed to a period of convergence in which a newly formed episcopate carries out all future ordinations and in the meantime a degree of ministerial disorder is accepted, requiring a difficult combination of tolerance and insistence that, on the one hand, all ministers are immediately accepted as serving all members while, at the same time, there is a complete commitment to episcopal ordination for all future ministers as deacons, presbyters or bishops. Alternatively, all ministers have undergone an act of reconciliation so that there is no period of uncertainty or confusion of status; this was the method chosen in North India and it may be that the example of what had happened in South India was what brought the North to such a difficult decision. In this way a difficult period of transition, with possible impairment of communion between the new body and international partners is avoided; it was not until Lambeth 12, some forty years after their union, that the South Indian bishops were able to take their places as fully recognised members of the Anglican Communion.

matters, such as divisions amongst Dutch Protestants since the mid-nineteenth century over whether one should stand or sit to sing accompanied or unaccompanied music other than, or solely, the psalms.⁸⁰⁴ Often, however, the low order questions are seen by the protagonists as actually relating to matters of very high order indeed. Thus, the fissiparousness of Dutch Protestantism and the divisions in the Anglican Communion are presented as relating to a proper understanding of the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture. We shall see in Chapter Eleven that this is a critical issue for the Anglican Communion, where some Anglicans, who appear to have separated, maintain that it is not they who have left the Communion but the Communion that has left them.

3. Community Coherence

Two of these documents argue that it is possible to see diversity of practice as a gift to the Church rather than as a threat to its unity. However, this must lead us to ask whether there is really no value in uniformity, does it not contribute to the formation of identity with a tradition? In the past Anglicans have claimed that they are able to hold diversity of practice within the tradition in a creative way but a breaking point in the Communion now seems to have been reached. By contrast, the present day united Church of South India combines elements of congregational, presbyterian and episcopal schema in its polity and yet seems to have developed its own identity and loyalty to its own, new identity. These two situations suggest that local identity is important to people but that inter-local identity is far more difficult to maintain – especially in an arrangement as lacking in central authority as the Anglican Communion. This issue is an illustration of the complexity inherent in the interplay between the local and the Catholic in the Church.

c. Conclusion

The Appeal promoted ecumenical dialogue, setting a positive and encouraging tone to which others could respond with integrity. Later documents take up that challenge to clarify where the churches can, and cannot yet, reach theological agreement. We should not look to the Appeal for a fully developed ecclesiology because that was not its purpose. The developed ecclesiological work followed at a later stage in the process once Christians had agreed to answer the call to dialogue contained in the Appeal, they are the fruits of a process encouraged long years before. We have noted a commonality between the documents focused in their positive attitude towards diversity and in the search for understanding of the nature of unity. We have also been helped by noting the points of contact with Roman Catholic thinking in the work of Dulles.

⁸⁰⁴ Debates which led to three major secessions within the Free Dutch Reformed Church tradition which had itself succeeded from the Dutch Reformed Church over the question of the relationship with the state.

The Appeal encourages engagement between Christians in a non-assertive and generous way giving particular gifts to Anglicans to promote their participation in ecumenical debate. We have seen that it explains where an Anglican exploration of unity might begin, suggesting that Anglican tradition has within it the capacity to sustain such an enquiry; it enables and encourages Anglicans to engage with other churches. Thus, we have seen that the Appeal proposes a methodology for approaching the complexities of relationships between the churches. We may also say that its method is appropriate for addressing the present difficulties within the Anglican Communion, see Chapter Eleven.

The Nature and Ministry of the Church and The Church of the Triune God bring great depth of understanding in their different ways. As developed and highly nuanced pieces of theology they plumb depths of thinking far beyond that of the Appeal. They show us, however, that with goodwill, honesty and clarity concerning shared definitions between the churches it is possible for the collective understanding of the Church to be significantly enhanced as the differing gifts held by the churches are brought to bear in a shared endeavour. This realisation serves to underline the way that Christians are harmed by the division in the Church – a division that serves to deprive them of the gifts that are meant for all but presently held by Christians in a fragmented and divisive way.

The churches have often described themselves in narrow and restricted ecclesiologies that have the effect of excluding others. The call of the Appeal is for Christians to develop together a broader ecclesiology of the Church, one that can be shared with integrity and is fully consonant with their shared heritage. By discovering that broad ecclesiology Christians will understand how they might receive the gift of visible unity and be reconciled for the sake of the world. The Church cannot minister credibly while it remains disunited for the sin of disunity obstructs the divine gift of unity. But even as the Church hopes for the revelation of its unity it is recalled to its vocation of receiving the gift – and so Christians are inspired to take on the task of seeking for unity amongst the churches.

Eleven: Early Twenty First Century conflict in the Anglican Communion

Chapter Eleven is a case study which seeks understanding of what the Anglican Communion is and where its boundaries lie.

We have given attention to three developments:

1. the growth of the Anglican Communion (Chapter One);
2. the growth of the Lambeth Conference Tradition as an instrument of unity (Chapter Three);
3. the growth of Anglican ecumenical understanding, culminating in the Appeal (Chapters Four and Seven).

From that story arose the suggestion that being Anglican is a way of being Christian that has particular attitudes, aspirations and commitments. But how flexible can these attitudes, aspirations and commitments be? What did not arise were definitive texts, other than the historic formularies, the boundaries of the Anglican way therefore seemed vague. We saw (Chapter One) that the dependence on the definition of doctrine by the English courts was problematic. The courts were reluctant to exercise their regulatory duties where the result would be the exclusion of someone from their perceived rights (the Gorham case) tending to restrict themselves to strictly legal matters. How then could we understand when a particular expression of Anglican Christianity has moved so far from the consensus that it has ceased to be Anglican? Chapter Three suggested that exclusion is never realised, one might eventually decide that one has left the communion but the search for mutual understanding (as explained there) means that the communion never leaves you. The Gafcon primates indeed assert that they have not left the communion but that the communion has left them because they are now the only authentic Anglicans. This chapter is an attempt to elucidate these theological issues.⁸⁰⁵ **A first issue for this study, then, is to ask what the acceptable boundaries of Anglican belief are.**

In 2015, the Anglican Communion appears to be riven, perhaps irreparably. Lines are drawn between Anglicans who could be characterised as ‘Conservative’ or ‘Liberal’. We might have expected that assertions within this debate could be tested against the formularies and so resolved, this proves not to be so. However, this thesis argues that the ecclesiological resources, embedded within the Lambeth Conference tradition, are sufficient for Anglicans to find a way through their difficulties. Particularly so in the case of the Appeal, whose call to fellowship and mutual respect is as urgent and relevant now as it was when it was first made. Is there then a potential process of engagement between the protagonists, consistent with past Anglican practice, which can offer an alternative to separation?

⁸⁰⁵ A critical account of the intra-Anglican disputes of the early twenty-first century will have to wait for historical-theologians of a much later decade to analyse the eventual outcomes, whatever they may be.

In 1920 the Anglican Communion was faced with new situations (the impact of the Great War) and ecclesiological proposals (regarding reunion) that could not be addressed within the existing structures. Consequently, the bishops sought a new formulation so as to resolve their difficulties. A century later the situation is entirely parallel. The incapacity of the Communion to resolve its difficulties around the sexual identity, orientation and gender of ordained ministers has become the primary focus of discord. There are similar difficulties relating to the laity as well. By adhering to the 2008 Jerusalem Declaration, seven of the more than forty Anglican provinces have declared that ministerial authority can only fully reside in heterosexual men and that true discipleship excludes the possibility of same sex sexual relationships.⁸⁰⁶ **The second issue for this case study is the lack of commonality of formulary between the provinces.**

For conservative Anglicans the question is about the inspiration of Scripture. A statement on the Anglican Communion by the Church Society says:

The Communion has come under increasing strain as parts of it made doctrinal changes without reference to others. This was the case as Provinces began to ordain women as priests contrary to the teaching of the Bible (though the Bible uses different terms for ministry) and to the practice of the Christian Church for over 1900 years. More latterly the Communion has been torn asunder by revisionists who insist that homosexual practice should be accepted. Of course these issues are merely the presenting issues. Underneath the far more serious matter is that parts of the Communion, mostly the 'western' provinces have set themselves over the authority of Scripture.⁸⁰⁷

The status of the 'doctrinal changes' requires examination; are they indeed changes of doctrine or perhaps of some lower order status? For the writer there is no uncertainty about the Scriptural witness and therefore to ordain women can be equated with abandonment of the notion of the divine inspiration of Scripture. There is no acknowledgement of textual ambiguity or of the need for interpretation. For that writer Scripture is clear and undisputable. Other Anglicans would see this as flawed logic and question the implication that all doctrinal assertions are of undifferentiable significance. The writer appears to promote the practice of the Church to a similar status as Scriptural writ; can this really be the case? **Thus a third issue for this case is whether there is a hierarchy of significance within Anglican doctrine.**

The depth of the division in the Communion can be illustrated by an incident in October 2013: Abp. Welby of Canterbury visited Kenya at the same time as the Gafcon 2013 meeting in Nairobi. He did

⁸⁰⁶ Province is sometimes Anglican shorthand for national groupings. Many of the provinces are multi-province fellowships, e.g. Canada or Nigeria.

⁸⁰⁷ Church Society website: http://www.churchsociety.org/issues_new/communion/iss_communion_intro.asp accessed 16th July, 2014.

not attend the meeting nor was he invited to do so. Yet this was a meeting of Anglican Primates. Andrew Brown, a regular commentator on Anglican matters wrote:

So what we learned yesterday, which was news, was that the Anglican Communion is now quite dead. There will not be another Lambeth Conference.⁸⁰⁸

In the light of the evidence concerning the dispute amongst Anglicans we ask what the Appeal might have to say about the conduct of the dispute and the possible means of resolution. We must ask whether the early twenty-first century issues among Anglicans are really so intractable that they cannot be addressed through the dialogic methodology proposed by the Appeal. What is it about this particular set of circumstances that means that the inherited wisdom of the Communion, its deposit of self-understanding, can be set aside as no longer being sufficient? By examining these questions the case study seeks to analyse the underlying theological beliefs that have created the perception that the Instruments of Communion are no longer sufficient.

a. Elements within the conflict

The steadfast denial of synodal status to the Lambeth Conferences has been noted (Chapter Two) as has the assertion of provincial authority within Anglican tradition (Chapter Three). So we observe that Anglican doctrinal authority is distributive rather than focused in, e.g., particular confessional documents. The Communion lacks any coercive means of enforcing unity which exacerbates its difficulties. These focus on three principal areas:

1. the question of the acceptable range of belief within the Communion;
2. the Instruments of Unity within the Communion are weak and this is particularly so regarding the low level of commonality of the Formularies;
3. the Jerusalem Declaration and the related scheme for an Anglican Covenant have introduced elements in the discussion that, it will be argued, are inimical to Anglican tradition.

1. The Anglican Formularies

Longley and Tait were emphatic that there would be no new doctrinal definitions made at the Lambeth Conferences. They were clear that the Anglican doctrines were set out in the Formularies of the Church of England as interpreted by the 'competent authorities' (Tait). Doctrine was thereby locked into historic, received texts and unable to be modified, even if open to interpretation. Their position was understandable in the light of the volatile internal politics of the Communion at the time

⁸⁰⁸ Guardian 30th October, 2013, accessed 12th July, 2014.
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/andrewbrown/2013/oct/30>.

but is also problematic. How might new problems of life and faith be effectively addressed when the tradition is tied to a static expression of belief? Their solution was to bring the bishops together in Conference in order to seek resolution of the challenging questions of the day. One benefit of the Longley/Tait position is that it offers a relatively straight-forward definition of Anglican identity: **an Anglican is one who subscribes to the Formularies, or the faith practices derived from them.**

For differing reasons none were prepared to regard the Conference as being among the ‘competent authorities’. In England it would probably have been illegal and in America it would have been repugnant to their concept of provincial autonomy. As the other churches were broadly derived from the Church of England it might have been supposed that the Formularies were shared by all the provinces in the Communion. Originally this might have been true but as provinces became freestanding, often in post-colonial independent states, they increasingly developed their own significant legal texts and canon law.

Further, the Formularies were increasingly stretched by argument and particularly by the definitions of the ‘competent authorities’ themselves. The range of opinion permitted by the Formularies turned out to be greater than expected (the Gorham case), the authorities were confused in their application of the principles of their competency (the Colenso case) and the Formularies were subject to interpretations that seemed to take them far from the plain meaning of the text (Newman’s Tract 90). There appeared to be multiple definitions of Anglican between which people felt at liberty to choose. A member of the Church of England would need to specify which party was her spiritual milieu – was she high, broad or low? Was she liberal or conservative? Was she Evangelical or Catholic? Old certainties and definitions were taken past the point at which they could be readily sustained. The activities of partisan missionary societies exported these uncertainties into the emerging daughter churches. Evangelical societies like the CMS developed new evangelical dioceses side by side with dioceses of other traditions – like those of the Anglo-Catholic UMCA. The dispute between Weston and his neighbours in East Africa was rooted in this partisan approach to mission.

The apparent commonality of formulary between the Church of England and the other provinces is largely illusory. In England, Canon C15.1(1) clearly defines the Formularies: the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion, the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. These are again specified in the Preface to the Declaration and Oaths required when a minister is licensed. While there is a common heritage of Canon Law within the Communion, the Canons of the Church of England have no status at all outside the two provinces of Canterbury and York.

So, Canon 16 of the Church of Nigeria requires the same Declaration of Assent as is used in England but there is no preface to define the Historic Formularies of the Church of Nigeria. There is, however, an oath of submission to the Constitution of that Church which would seem to supersede or

encompass the older texts.⁸⁰⁹ Canadian practice likewise specifies no particular formularies but rather includes a declaration and oath during the ordination service. The candidate must avow their loyalty and obedience to ‘the faith as the Church of Canada has received it’ and says to the bishop:

I solemnly declare that I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly promise to conform to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Anglican Church of Canada.⁸¹⁰

In provinces outside England the foundational Prayer Book may not be the 1662 book at all – but some other book adapted to the province’s own needs. The Scots have their own Prayer Book of 1637 and the Americans have their Prayer Book of 1789. The English BCP has no authority in those provinces even where it supplied texts to the other books.

There is a similar diversity regarding any equivalent of the Articles of Religion. The American Church has a Statement of 39 Articles, although in point of fact there are only 38 actual articles. These were adopted by resolution of the General Convention and have significant differences to the English Articles.⁸¹¹ The Irish have the 104 Articles of 1615, written by Abp. Ussher of Dublin.⁸¹² Other provinces have taken the lead of R1888/19 and dispensed with the 39 Articles altogether; note, for example, their absence from the 1991 Prayer Book of the Lusitanian Church.⁸¹³

The united churches in India have abandoned the confessional statements of their denominational antecedents in order to become something new. They hold Anglican principles only in a fashion subordinate to a greater principle of the visible union of Christians.⁸¹⁴ Similarly, they no longer adhere to other inherited texts, such as the Westminster Confession, simply honouring them as part of a received patrimony that is secondary to the new traditions of a new church. Abandonment of the Articles in this way can be seen as a serious matter in terms of the unity of the Anglican Communion. Atherstone, writing for a conservative Evangelical readership, argues that it is one of the key components of a collapse of theological coherence in the Anglican Communion that, he believes, will lead to its division.⁸¹⁵ His argument strongly illustrates the desire of some Anglicans to hold onto confessional identity regardless of any ecumenical imperative. However it is difficult to sustain his argument because of the longevity of the differential usage within the Communion compared to the

⁸⁰⁹ Canons of the Church of Nigeria: <http://www.dioceseoflagoswest.org/Doctrine/Canons.html> accessed 24th March, 2014.

⁸¹⁰ Anglican Church of Canada: <http://www.anglican.ca/resources/liturgicaltextsonline> accessed 24th March, 2014.

⁸¹¹ Anglicans on Line: http://anglicansonline.org/basics/thirty-nine_articles, accessed 24th March, 2014: English Article 21 is stated as no longer applicable and the text omitted.

⁸¹² Church of Ireland: <http://www.tlogical.net/irish.htm> accessed 24th March, 2014.

⁸¹³ Lusitanian Church: <http://www.igreja-lusitana.org/index.php/en/igreja-lusitana/liturgia> accessed 24th March, 2014.

⁸¹⁴ Cf. Neill 83.

⁸¹⁵ Atherstone op cit.

recent nature of the disputes in question. Perhaps more importantly the 39 Articles do not address the main questions of debate in the Communion, nor could they be expected to.

Although there is a shared heritage because of the shared origin of the provinces, there has been no insistence on the transportability of the formulary texts. Thus, there is no complete commonality of Formularies across the Communion. On the contrary, successive Lambeth Conferences have insisted that authority lies at Provincial level. So it seems consistent that the provinces should have some degree of freedom of doctrinal expression. Appeal to any particular provincial formulary to resolve new and problematic issues is therefore futile.

2. What limits are there on Anglican belief?

If the Formularies cannot help us where else may we look? In point of fact the English Preface to the Declaration and Oaths may help us.⁸¹⁶ The Preface describes the faith of the Church as having been ‘revealed in Scripture, set forth in the creeds and born witness to by the Formularies’. There is a hierarchy in this sequence; ‘revelation’ is the most forceful claim word, compassing the idea of Divine epiphany by way of the written text. The phrases ‘set forth’ and ‘born witness to’ have diminishing status by comparison. So, we can deduce a hierarchy of doctrinal significance wherein Scripture sets out the most important statements, those things necessary to salvation, in fact. The other statements are of lesser authority so that, compared to Scripture, the creeds are of a second order of significance and the formularies perhaps a third. Matters of belief, not explicit in the first order texts, might be deduced and formulated into a lower order statement provided that it is conformable to Scripture as Anglicans often say.⁸¹⁷

For example, following the Quadrilateral, Anglicans generally assert that the episcopal order is for the ‘well-being’ of the Church. This belief can be supported by reference to Scripture and history but its doctrinal status is of a lower order. Neither Scripture nor Creeds require the presence of bishops in the Church, even though some Scriptural passages support the idea of episcopacy. The experience of the Christian community, however, was that it seemed to be best form of leadership among the range of ministerial models attested in the New Testament. From this we deduce that the lower order affirmations give expression to beliefs and teachings that the Church has experienced as beneficial.⁸¹⁸ These lower level affirmations of doctrine may not necessarily have explicit definition in higher level authorities but have come to be seen as valuable to the Christian heritage. Thus, practices such as

⁸¹⁶ The Declaration of Assent: "I, [name], do so affirm, and accordingly declare my belief in the faith which is revealed in the Holy Scriptures and set forth in the catholic creeds and to which the historic formularies of the Church of England bear witness; and in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, I will use only the forms of service which are authorized or allowed by Canon." Canon C15.

⁸¹⁷ Otherwise obsolete as an adjective, conformable is common in the Authorised Version of the Bible and Tudor sources.

⁸¹⁸ The expression affirmation is used in preference to formulations in order to avoid confusion with the particular texts of the Formularies.

having bishops or emphasising worship on the first day of the week have been received by the Church as being important self-expressions.

Anglicans insist that Scripture contains all that is necessary for Salvation. The acceptable range of views within the Church or within the Anglican tradition must therefore be conformable to Scripture. Scripture is primary, normative and binding upon Anglicans and likewise on all other Christians. However, over the centuries the meaning and definition of Scripture has been disputed and the Church has needed second order instruments to interpret the doctrinal content of Scripture.⁸¹⁹ For that purpose the Ancient Creeds, especially that of Nicaea-Constantinople, set out the lower order doctrines which are binding on all those who would say that they believe 'as the Church believes'. The Scriptures and the catholic creeds are the common belief held by the Church, rooted in Scripture, and to which Anglicans should adhere. Clearly the Lambeth Conference Tradition, the Quadrilateral and the Appeal do not have the same status as Scripture and the Creeds but they are still in some sense definitive. They exhibit a lower order of authority. The Communion's problem is that none of the disputed areas between Anglicans is decisively dealt with in any of the high order affirmations. In the absence of decisive texts, new instruments appear to be needed, hence the Gafcon affiliated provinces adopting the Jerusalem Declaration, as considered below.

Anglican theology normatively sees itself as in succession to the early Church Fathers and, therefore, in a tradition that is not of a narrow ecclesiology but rather of the inheritance of the whole Church. Williams shows that Anglican writers have repeatedly looked back to the Church Fathers for guidance and inspiration as an expression of their sense of continuity with the apostolic and patristic church.⁸²⁰ His series of essays bring together a variety of writers from within the tradition who each contribute a manner of understanding Anglicanism in ways that are diverse and not wholly able to be reconciled; together, they help us to see where the broad field of Anglican theological endeavour is located. This approach contrasts with other denominations that often refer to particular or confessional statements. Their confessional statements are given high levels of authority and are defining of their tradition; Avis writes:

Anglicanism is not a speculative faith: it does not erect conceptual superstructures. It is a pastoral and practical creed, and to that extent, it is pragmatic in character ... it is not a confessional faith with the considerable body of official doctrine that Lutherans have ... Anglicanism does not have the distinctive combination of a rather inflexible scholastic official theology and an unchallengeable magisterium that the Roman Catholic Church has.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁹ Hence the need for Article 6 to specify what is contained in Scripture and what is not.

⁸²⁰ Williams, R (2004) *Anglican Identities*; London, DLT.

⁸²¹ Avis 155.

There may not be a succinct definition of what Anglicanism is and what Anglicans are. What is available, however, is the cumulative understanding of how Anglicans live and believe represented by the Lambeth Conference Tradition. Exploration of the tradition allows us to suggest that there are a number of significant marks, statements or ideas that can serve in the fashion of co-ordinates on a map. These co-ordinates delineate the ‘field’ in which Anglican thinking can be found, from this we can envision the broad location of Anglican identity. The argument here is based on the analogy of the mathematical technique of approximation to suggest a way of understanding how Anglican theological thinking works with its proposition that answers may be extrapolated from incomplete data through the deduction and interpretation of the theorist.⁸²²

The Conference’s endorsement of the Quadrilateral as a satisfactory statement of the essentials of Anglicanism gave to it a pre-eminent status within the tradition and beyond. The Quadrilateral became the touchstone of acceptability, an agenda for ecumenical agreement, despite Lang’s attempt to set it aside (Chapter Seven). Discussions about re-union schemes have returned to the Quadrilateral because the Quadrilateral describes matters so fundamental to the Anglican understanding of the Church that discussion of them cannot be avoided in any re-union scheme. We can say that the Appeal provided an impetus but the Quadrilateral continued to set the Agenda; that was certainly the view of at least some of the participants in the Joint Conferences discussed in Chapter Nine.

The Quadrilateral defines very little that is not acceptable to a significant proportion of all who call themselves Christian and, as we have seen, it has held a central role in a range of ecumenical discussions. Yet, the Quadrilateral does set Anglicans apart from some Christian communities, particularly those that are heirs to the European Reformation tradition because of its insistence on the value of the episcopacy. Lambeth 6 did not argue that those ecclesial traditions without the episcopacy were not Christians, nor that the ministry of their clergy was not blessed by the Holy Spirit. The Appeal says, ‘God forbid that any man should repudiate a past experience rich in spiritual

⁸²² Vannerley (2009) 90: ‘Approximation is a mathematical technique whereby ranges of known data are used to form an idea of where an answer to a problem might reside. It involves an interaction between theoretical propositions and empirical measurements which are constantly compared to one another. By this technique, results are generated from data which may not be complete. There will be a sense of the general location of the result because:

1. Some measurements have been made;
2. There is a theoretical reason for saying that the answer should lie in the area indicated.
3. The result might be within a range of values rather than at a fixed point on a scale and also be subject to amendment as further data becomes available or as theoretical insights are refined.

As the data is explored, the relationships between its elements will be clarified and it will be possible to observe gaps in the data and make appropriate predictions about how those gaps might be bridged ... the Scriptural comparator for this method is the way that the Parables of the Kingdom build up a cumulative image of the kingdom by saying that it is like salt, yeast, seed (especially of the mustard), hidden treasure, a fishing net or a vineyard. The technique allows intuition or inspiration to help bridge the gap between what has been established and the result sought. This is not mere guesswork but a way of progressing from what is assumed, or known, towards the generation of useful new understanding or clarification.

blessing for himself and others.⁸²³ To be Christian in the Anglican way requires the presence of the episcopal ministry as the mark of continuity with the undivided Church. The question for the ecumenical partners was rather about whether they could accept the Anglican way of being Church as one that they could share without surrendering matters critical to their own sense of the essentials of being a Christian in the way of, for example, the Primitive Methodist.

3. The Jerusalem Declaration and the Anglican Covenant

Stephen Noll analyses the intra-Anglican dispute from the perspective of one who has taken a leading role in the Gafcon process.⁸²⁴ His paper is skilfully written and helpful to Anglicans of all persuasions. He argues that the time has come for a new instrument of unity, a Council of Bishops – rather than a mere conference – and that the Primates Meeting of the Gafcon provinces constitutes such a Council. However, his argument also makes it clear that Gafcon’s Jerusalem Declaration has introduced a doubly innovatory new definition of Anglicanism.⁸²⁵ First, an Anglican is now defined as a person who subscribes to the Declaration. Second, until now a person was expected to be in communion with Canterbury. Jerusalem sets that aside. A new test of Anglican identity, subscription to the Declaration, replaces the hitherto central test of being in communion with the founding primatal see. Implicit in the Declaration and the other FCA papers is a particular way of reading Scripture, characterised above as conservative, which thereby excludes from their fellowship all those who would interpret Scripture in another way.

The documents from FCA sources are in multiple conflict with the Lambeth Conference Tradition, representing a profound departure from the consensual heritage of the tradition. There are five major points of conflict:

1. the imposition of the English 1662 Prayer Book as the sole liturgical and doctrinal standard;
2. the self-government of the provinces, hitherto a crucial principal, is limited by the creation of a Primatal Council whose authority must be accepted;
3. the highly significant introduction of a new definition of Anglican identity, i.e. subscription to the Jerusalem Declaration;
4. the imposition of the English 39 Articles on all Anglican churches as an additional measure of ‘orthodoxy’ whether or not those churches have previously subscribed to them;
5. the claimed right to intrude ‘orthodox’ ministers into the area of existing Anglican dioceses without the consent of the incumbent bishop.

⁸²³ SPCK 27.

⁸²⁴ Noll, S (2013) Sea change in the Anglican Communion: available at <http://www.stephenswitness.org/2013/10/sea-change-in-anglican-communion.html>; accessed 3rd April, 2014.

⁸²⁵ Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans (2008) Jerusalem Statement: <http://fca.net/resources/the-complete-jerusalem-statement>, accessed 3rd April, 2014.

While it is arguable that the first of these items is implicit in the description of the Formularies that was used by Longley and Tait, we have already seen that the American Church takes its stand on its own first prayer book. FCA affiliates in the US have argued only for a return to the 1928 American Prayer Book, not to an earlier or to a non-American book. Points 2 and 3 are in conflict with the guiding principles under which the Conference has operated as an instrument of unity. Successive Conferences have rejected the imposition of a superior body above the provincial level; as we have seen, not even a voluntary council of reference has found favour. Adoption of the Declaration changes the relationship between the provinces, which has hitherto been consensual and inclusive. Instead they would be bound together in a coercive way by a narrower quasi-confessional document and the authority of the Primatal Council that it validates. The final points are in direct conflict with Lambeth resolutions concerning the exemption of newer churches from the English Articles and respect for established provincial boundaries. A new confessional document has come into being, in contrast with Anglican practice hitherto.

Noll makes it clear that the provinces that adhere to the FCA believe they have not left the Anglican Communion but rather that they are the Anglican Communion. Thus, it is legitimate for them to interpose a mission into the area of an established Anglican province and to ordain ministers to serve in existing dioceses without the consent of the bishop of that place. They declare themselves to be the true Anglicans and that others are false teachers of a false gospel: this is clearly a matter of extreme seriousness as it involves abandonment of the principal of comprehension. Their action seems tantamount to schism. The dispute, writes Noll, is not between equally faithful Anglicans of different points of view. The dispute is between real Anglicans, the FCA, and followers of a new belief system that is accused of being barely Christian. FCA self-description as confessing people is particularly telling because in broader Christian tradition, a confessor is one who suffers for the truth.⁸²⁶

Serious difficulties arose over the publication of the Declaration and over the FCA provinces declining their invitations to Lambeth 14. In response Abp. Rowan Williams began a series of discussions that led to the proposal for an Anglican Covenant. The Covenant would have bound the adopting provinces to one another in a formal way that had not previously existed. Communion would no longer be on the basis of common heritage and mutual recognition but of subscription to the Covenant, which would be a binding document. Norman Doe documents the extensive process of consultation that eventually produced a draft document that was offered to the provinces for their consideration.⁸²⁷ His book does not include the end of the process – the Covenant was rejected by many dioceses and provinces. The Maori dioceses, for example resolved to reject the covenant as it

⁸²⁶ The same language was used by the Protestant churches in Nazi Germany.

⁸²⁷ Describes with a careful legal commentary; Doe, N (2008) *An Anglican Covenant*; Norwich, Canterbury Press

would inhibit the provincial independence of their church.⁸²⁸ The death blow came with its rejection by those it was intended to help, the Primates' Council of Gafcon, meeting in Oxford. Their statement did not argue a case but simply dismissed the draft Covenant in these words:

For the sake of Christ and of His Gospel we can no longer maintain the illusion of normalcy and so we join with other Primates from the Global South in declaring that we will not be present at the next Primates' meeting to be held in Ireland. And while we acknowledge that the efforts to heal our brokenness through the introduction of an Anglican Covenant were well intentioned we have come to the conclusion the current text is fatally flawed and so support for this initiative is no longer appropriate.⁸²⁹

The statement gives us no clarity for the reasoning behind the rejection of the Draft Covenant other than an earlier section where the Declaration is reaffirmed as the only acceptable basis of communion.

Doe is at pains to point out the voluntary nature of the covenant⁸³⁰ but the provinces would have been invited to surrender part of their independence. They would have been subject to the collective rule of the other provinces in a way that was innovatory and gave an increased role to the central bodies of the Communion. The Scots, and others, rejected the Covenant on these grounds. The proposed Covenant can be subjected to the same critique as the Declaration as it too is in conflict with the Conference tradition. Perhaps the best that could be said for it was that it was an attempt to offer the conservative provinces the advantages that they sought in the Declaration but without the perceived disadvantages to the more liberal provinces.

The Covenant process died with the Gafcon Oxford statement. With the Covenant's advocate, Abp. Williams, having retired from Canterbury there is no likelihood of its revival. We would be naïve to ignore the deep personal antipathy that existed towards Williams in some evangelical quarters.⁸³¹ There may be a sense in which his project was doomed for that reason alone. Two other major protagonists have also retired, Abps. Jenson of Sydney and Akinola of Nigeria.

⁸²⁸ 'The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia has declined to endorse the Anglican Covenant. Delegates to the synod meeting in Fiji on 9 July voiced objections to the disciplinary provisions in the proposed pan-Anglican agreement and disquiet with the centralization of authority in London, but resolved to remain a part of the wider Anglican Communion.' CEN 15th July, 2012 recovered from <http://geoconger.wordpress.com/category/anglican-communion/instruments/anglican-covenant/> accessed 10th June, 2014.

⁸²⁹ Gafcon (2010) *Oxford Statement of the Primates' Council* http://gafcon.org/news/oxford_statement_from_the_gafcon_fca_primates_council accessed 10th June, 2014.

⁸³⁰ Doe 14.

⁸³¹ Or towards the American Presiding Bishop Jefferts-Schori; the (English) Church Society repudiated obedience to Williams even before his enthronement; see http://www.churchsociety.org/issues_new/church/national/iss_church_national_archbishopwilliams.asp accessed 17th July, 2014.

Notably, all the Anglican primates attended the enthronement of Justin Welby in Canterbury Cathedral in 2013. Some Gafcon primates declined to attend a suggested time of fellowship after the service, media interpreters suggesting that this was to avoid meeting with more liberal primates, specifically Jefferts-Schori.⁸³² The presence of the Gafcon primates suggests, however, that there remains some possibility of reconciliation. Further, they have also declared their intention of attending a meeting of Primates convened in Canterbury by Abp. Welby to be held in January, 2016.

b. Analysis

The discussion above shows us that

1. the Formularies are insufficient in themselves to hold the Communion together
2. there are, however, limits on the range of Anglican belief
3. the Jerusalem Declaration and the Anglican Covenant are not appropriate means to rectify the problems because they are themselves inimical to Anglican heritage.

How does this information bring us close to describing the character of the Anglican Communion? When Longley summoned Lambeth 1 he was clear that it would not be allowed to redefine doctrine or enact canons: doctrine, he said, was contained in the Formularies. The function of the Conference, at the strongest, is to elucidate the existing doctrines to meet particular new situations. This is done by seeking the common mind of the bishops in the light of their local knowledge, common obligations and knowledge of the shared heritage of the Communion. Paradoxically Anglicans are both tied to the original English formularies but also liberated from them by the Anglican understanding of provincial independence.

If the Conference Tradition does not allow of any change in the Formularies, then the Communion could be defined as being those who adhere to the original English Formularies. Except that, the principle of provincial independence means that, at least in reference to lower order beliefs, there is room and authority for diversity in Anglican belief. If that is the case, the Communion is held together only in regard of high order doctrine – the matters identified in the Quadrilateral perhaps (Chapter Four). However, the presenting questions of the dispute concern issues that are not addressed in the Creeds or in the Church's tradition. The clarity of Scripture on women's ministry and homosexuality can only be maintained by adopting one particular attitude to Scripture from among the range of hermeneutic positions that have previously been open to Anglicans: one choice from among many choices. In the past the Anglican way of addressing such situations has been through discursive and

⁸³² Cf. Virtue on Line, for example, <http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/print.php?storyid=17341> accessed 10th June, 2014.

dialogic interaction, the Conference Tradition. The Anglican Communion is characterised by a shared heritage that is subject to interpretation and coheres through exploring that heritage through dialogue not dogmatic statement. Therefore to withdraw from the dialogue is in itself inimical to Anglican practice. So we might say that the Communion is a fellowship of Christians who have an inherited understanding of the particularity of their way of being Christian but who are also prepared to interrogate and explore that inheritance in an adaptive and fluid way to seek authentic new expressions of being Anglican Christians.

This proposal suggests that Anglican identity is located in a commitment to the process of theological thinking, somewhat like Ramsey's description of the tradition as 'a method, a use and a direction'.⁸³³ However, it does not follow that the participants in such a process will necessarily reach identical conclusions – as the divergence on the validity of women's ministry clearly shows. So, we might ask whether the Conference Tradition has any resources that would help Anglicans to be better at acknowledging disagreements with each other without resorting to exclusion.

The Appeal speaks into the process of investigative debate in one particularly telling phrase, 'God forbid that any man should repudiate a past experience rich in spiritual blessing for himself and others.'⁸³⁴ Here an Anglican document says to non-Anglicans that they are recognisable to Anglicans as fellow Christians even where they are distinguishable as non-Anglicans. The theological unity of the Church means that Anglicans can look at other traditions and offer to embrace the diversity they represent (Chapter Nine). Diversity and doctrinal difference are not necessarily so great, this suggests, that they prevent mutual recognition. Why should this generous attitude to 'outsiders' not equally apply within the Communion? Are the presenting issues really so intractable? The ecclesiological principle of comprehension is an essential part of Anglican identity and so to seek to exclude should not be part of the Anglican approach, least of all to seek to exclude other Anglicans.

The weak commonality of Formularies between the provinces may undermine its theological coherence but the matters of dispute are not ones that are actually dealt with by any provincial formularies. The looseness of association between the provinces supports their independence of thought and therefore a tendency to divergence in practice. The resultant damage to the sense of mutual accountability is precisely the concern that caused the Canadian bishops to approach Longley in the first place. The antidote was the creation of the Lambeth Conference: not to return to the Conference Tradition and system as the remedy for present difficulties is a rejection of the inherited shared wisdom of the Communion.

Anglicans have long sought to maintain the principle of comprehension. Consequently, they are obliged to recognise a degree of diversity – of contradiction even – with the range of their own

⁸³³ Ramsey *op cit.*

⁸³⁴ SPCK 27.

membership. There is a kind of internal ecumenism within the tradition which, when it works well, brings together people of almost as great a range of opinions as Christendom itself. Anglicans are therefore well placed to accept the possibility of entering into a variety of relationships with non-Anglican traditions, because the problems of external ecumenism seem little more difficult than the existing problems of internal ecumenism. Such openness can extend even to those, like the Lutherans, who adhere to very specific confessional statements, as has been shown in North America. Anglicans therefore seem to believe that there is no reason why such honestly held diversity of belief should vitiate that which is held in mutual rejoicing.

If the Church is a vehicle of redemption (Chapter Ten) then it should exhibit something of the character of the Redeemer who came into the world to reconcile humanity both within itself and towards God.⁸³⁵ The Church then should be a church, indeed the Church of Reconciliation. The vocation to be the agent of reconciliation seems to be a necessary characteristic of its communal life and should be present in all its relationships. It is difficult to see how such a role could be pursued through any means but by engagement with the other and that is the principle that underlies the Appeal's call on the separated churches.

The critical contribution of Lambeth 6 to the ecumenical dialogue was to establish an Anglican attitude of openness and exchange with other Christian traditions, whilst remaining rooted in its own heritage. The willingness of those bishops to make an appeal of any kind now seems remarkable: that it should have been so warmly received was a significant change in the atmosphere that surrounded the inter-church conversations in the following decades. The Lambeth Appeal was a critical moment both for the communion and for those with whom it was eventually able to establish an unprecedented level of good relationships, leading towards mutual recognition and even, in a small number of cases, to full intercommunion.

Can the Appeal also speak into the present situation in the Anglican Communion? The present day Anglican difficulties are a reflection of the wider difficulties in the Christian community where honestly held views come into conflict. They also reflect the Anglican failure to resolve the issues of internal ecumenism that arise where a communion contains a range of what might be called 'sub-traditions'. Yet is the nature of the conversation so very different? The Anglican sub-traditions at least begin from a place where they share more with each other than with many non-Anglican traditions so why should they not apply the same Appeal-like approach to the resolution of their difficulties? Unfortunately, the October Pastoral Letter, 2015, issued by the Gafcon and signed by Abp. Wabukala

⁸³⁵ 2 Cor 5.19

of Kenya declares that, ‘the time for dialogue is over’. This statement seems profoundly contrary to Anglican tradition.⁸³⁶

There are two temptations in such a situation. One is to put the issues to one side and behave as if the differences do not matter. In reality, they do matter – they matter so much that some are driven to regard them as church-dividing. The other temptation is to become despondent in the face of the very clear difficulties and cease to listen to the message that the Appeal encapsulates. The Appeal speaks out clearly and scripturally: it is not Christ’s will that his people be divided because division vitiates the gospel. The call to the shared search for reconciliation between Christians is as clear in 2020 as it was in 1920.

The divergence of views within the Communion may not ultimately be able to be resolved but the tradition has no chance of all of reaching a resolution while the protagonists decline to engage with one another. Both the Jerusalem Declaration and the Anglican Covenant were, in their own ways, inimical to Anglican tradition and both have failed to restore unity to the Communion. As we have seen, the fundamental problem with both documents is their attempt to assume for themselves a quasi-confessional status. If there is to be any hope of restoring the wholeness of the Communion it can only be achieved by reaching back to the resources that are held in common by all Anglicans – the common heritage of the Lambeth Conference Tradition and the vision for the re-union of Christ’s people that is held in the Appeal to All Christian People of 1920.

c. Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined the way in which the Lambeth Conference Tradition can supply theological resources that could be deployed to address the present fractures within the Communion. The chief characteristic of the fracture is the failure of the parties to maintain dialogue with each other in the way that has previously been a feature of Anglican practice.

We have seen that the official formularies of the Church of England were once seen as the doctrinal standard for all Anglicans but that that position can no longer be maintained. The chief problem is that there is no longer a commonality of formulary across the whole Communion. Anglicans locate doctrinal authority at different levels and in different ways, with Scripture being pre-eminent. The pre-eminence of Scripture is, however, complicated by a lack of consensus among Anglicans about how Scripture is to be interpreted. Anglicans also attribute doctrinal authority outside Scripture but in a subsidiary way. Texts such as the Creeds are also held to be authoritative insofar as they are

⁸³⁶ <http://gafcon.org/news/chairmans-october-pastoral-letter-2015>, accessed 26th October, 2015.

conformable to Scripture. Authority is also attributed to the collective and cumulative wisdom of the bishops at Lambeth assembled and definitions delivered within the Conference Tradition. Chief Spacing corrected. among those definitions stand the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral and the Appeal to All Christian People, which have acquired high status within the Communion.

The Lambeth Conferences have worked in a consensual, non-coercive manner. Even where opinion has been profoundly divided there has been no recourse to condemnation or collective rebuke. Consequently there has been a broadly tolerant attitude of comprehensiveness, which is seen by Anglicans as a precious virtue. An approach based on acceptance has served the Communion well and provides the best means to address the present difficulties within the Communion. Further, the cumulative tradition of the Conferences provides a rich reserve of experience and doctrinal formulation upon which the Communion may draw.

The Appeal proposes that the diversity Christian experiences of the working of the Holy Spirit should be honoured by all is a template for acceptance of difference. In debating such differences partners come to understand both themselves and each other – and both at a deeper level. The practice and tradition of debate and discussion is particularly characteristic of the Anglican way of being Christian and it is to that practice that the Communion needs to return.

The imposition of any new levels of authority superior to the provinces has repeatedly been rejected by the Conferences. So both the proposed Covenant and the Jerusalem Declaration can, in a profound sense, be seen as standing beyond the previous bounds of the tradition. Worryingly, they seem to lead towards a narrower ecclesiology, setting up a quasi-confessional statement where there had been none before. The particular emphases of the Jerusalem Declaration can further be seen as the abandonment of the principle of comprehension. These documents stand in contrast, and perhaps conflict with the past Anglican practice of seeking to make broad ecclesiological statements as a means to understanding between the diversity of Christians.

Conclusion

In writing a conclusion for this thesis six questions will be posed:

1. What is revealed as the central question of the research?
2. How has the methodology of the thesis developed?
3. How does the argument of the thesis develop?
4. How does this work contribute to contemporary study?
5. Where could the argument take us beyond the present writing?
6. What further areas for research have been revealed by the present project?

1. What is revealed as the Central Question of the Research?

The central question of this thesis is to ask how we may understand what Anglicanism is within the broad spectrum of the Christian tradition. To answer that question we must make enquiries about what particular insights Anglicans bring to the broad question of what Christians believe. Do Anglicans have particular and distinctive beliefs or do they hold their beliefs in a distinctive manner? Are there ways in which Anglican ethical thinking is distinct or rather do they behave in a broadly similar way to other Christians? How do Anglicans show that they belong to one another within their own tradition? Each of those subsidiary questions, it becomes apparent, has a somewhat nuanced answer in which Anglicans will simultaneously seek to maintain both their catholicity and their particularity.

Anglicans assert their catholicity by maintaining their allegiance to key characteristics of the Church, such as obedience to Scripture, faithfulness to the historic Creeds, use of the Dominical Sacraments and maintenance of ministerial continuity through the episcopal office and succession. Yet at the same time they assert their denominational identity through the formulation of a document, unknown elsewhere in Christendom, called the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. The Quadrilateral simultaneously asserts catholicity through its advocacy of historic marks of identity and at the same time gives a particularly denominational slant to them. These are the things that make us catholic, it says; we invite you to agree with us so that we may be one. At one level, then, we may answer the question by saying ‘an Anglican is someone who subscribes to the Quadrilateral’.

There are other, important elements of denominational identity, however. Other ‘instruments of unity’ as Anglicans like to call them. Chief among those are the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lambeth Conference over which he will preside. However, we find that the Archbishop has primatial authority only in England and that his Conference cannot legislate, which means that Anglicans are not held together in some legal structure but only by shared consent. An ill-defined

sense of common heritage, likeness and behaviour binds Anglicans into a kind of network, a network that from time to time has serious internal disputes. This free association of people, who are Christian in a particular manner, hold together possibilities of unity and disunity that can only be resolved to the degree to which there is a bond of common consent. So, we may say that an Anglican is someone who chooses to be in Communion with Canterbury and is content that her bishop should travel to the next Lambeth Conference.

What might happen, however, if that consent were to be withdrawn? How can the Communion maintain itself as a communion if goodwill is lost over some theological dispute or question of discipleship? At the beginning of the Twenty-first Century the Communion is seriously disrupted with some bishops, particularly in the global south uncertain as to whether they are able – or even willing – to maintain communion with some other Anglicans, including even the Archbishop of Canterbury. Are they, then, no longer Anglican? This thesis argues that the means of resolving those questions may lie in Anglican heritage, and particularly in the Lambeth Conference Tradition as exemplified by the 1920 Appeal to All Christian People. Anglicans have sought to maintain their fellowship by means of having their bishops assemble in debate to find a common mind. To resort to other means, whether it be the imposition of a covenant, or insistence on subscription to a declaration is profoundly innovative and contrary to Anglican heritage. From this perspective we might give an answer that an Anglican is not someone who maintains unity in such a way.

2. How has the methodology of the thesis developed?

An initial question about the nature of Anglican identity arose from the experience of the writer in pastoral and ecumenical engagement. If one says that one is an Anglican, what does that mean and how may the content of that identity be clarified? The 1920 Lambeth Conference sought to address some of those concerns so the initial research strategy was to engage with the Conference archive. What light could the archive throw on the motivations and contributions of the bishops who attended the Conference? In short, could they enable us to understand Anglican identity?

As the Introduction explains, engagement with the archival data brought about an important change of direction in the writing, a ‘definition of better questions’ (King). A better way to approach questions of Anglican identity, it seemed, was to view them through the lens of one critical document, the Appeal. Here one finds an attempt to crystallise the essence of the Anglican way of being Christian in order to persuade members of other traditions of the value of engagement with Anglicans, in pursuit of reunion. Perhaps the Appeal contained the degree of clarification needed? It quickly became clear, however, that the Appeal had sprung out of a long process of development in Anglican thinking and

that it had deep roots in the tradition. Thus, the writing of the Appeal must be seen in relationship to its context and antecedents – as well as its ecclesiology and impact.

Consequently, this thesis has been written as a piece of historical theology. From the original cluster of questions around Anglian identity, four research questions were developed which give a distinctive character to the writing. The first two questions are about the Anglican origins of the Appeal. The second two ask what the Appeal tells us about Anglican ecclesiology and analyses the impact of that particular ecclesiology on internal and external ecumenical relationships in the Anglican Communion. The first half of the thesis has a historical emphasis; we ask how the Conference Tradition began and how it worked. The second half has a different emphasis as we seek to understand what the outcomes of the Conferences actually signify; hence the second half is interpretive in nature.

The bounded nature of the Conference institution and its tradition (Holliday) led to the decision to use case study methodology to achieve the desired research outcomes. As Case Study seemed the appropriate research method, the whole thesis has been written in the context of that approach. However, two chapters particularly operate in the case study mode.

1. Chapter Ten is a close examination of the question of how there might be a Church but also churches. Anglican data is deployed alongside agreed ecumenical statements to examine the issue and reveal the conditionality of denominational, or narrow, ecclesiologies, as against the eschatological hope of the revelation of the unity of the One Church.
2. For the theology to be purposeful it must speak into the condition and needs of the Anglican Communion in the Twenty-first Century. Why else would anyone trouble to read it? Consequently, Chapter Eleven brings the cumulative argument of the thesis to bear on the problematic issue of the condition of the Anglican Communion at the beginning of the Twenty-first Century. The material is deployed to ask how the heritage of the Anglican past may teach the Anglicans of the present to prepare to be the Communion of the future.

3. How does the argument of the thesis develop?

The starting point was to understand how the Church of England spread outside England and gave rise to a family of related, localised churches. These churches had matured in their own ways, they had grown up – and were in danger of growing apart. To address the danger of disunity the Lambeth Conferences were conceived as a means of maintaining unity and seeking to resolve conflict within what was starting to be called the Anglican Communion. The means adopted was discursive and voluntarist. Provinces retained their independence and Lambeth resolutions had no legislative force: it was a Conference and not a synod.

The Conferences developed a dialogic and exploratory tradition of bringing the Communion's diocesan bishops together to seek their common mind on the issues of the day, finding that mind through debate. Implied was the acceptance of the possibility of a range of views on low-level issues. The relative success of the Conferences in promoting Anglican unity led the bishops to consider how Christian unity might be promoted. Movements towards reconciliation between Christian meant that Anglicans needed to define their self-understanding and the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral came to be seen as the classic expression of the matters upon which Anglicans believed agreement was essential.

Abp. Thomas Randall Davidson was associated with the Conferences throughout a remarkable career. His connections, longevity of service and diplomatic skills made him a commanding figure. Under his leadership Lambeth 6 made an appeal for Christian reunion couched in the same discursive and exploratory terms that the Conference Tradition itself maintained. The Appeal sought to describe the essentials of ecclesial life from an Anglican perspective and to engage other Christians with that description, not to make them Anglican but to reunite the Church. Thus the established Conference methodology was brought together with its previously expressed concern for unity in a ground breaking and innovatory approach to those beyond the Communion.

The immediate consequence was to give impetus to unity discussion in Sweden, South India and between the major protestant churches in England, quite unlike anything that had previously occurred. Ultimately these exploratory approaches between the traditions led to actual schemes for union and intercommunion as well as, in England, a new commitment to shared social and mission work which is characteristic of modern English ecumenism. In time, Christians became engaged with central questions about nature of the One Church and the harm done to its mission by the existence of the disunited churches. This began to raise in their thought the possibility of a united Church through a discursive process of learning to understand each other better.

The force of this argument leads one to assert that twenty-first century Anglicans need to learn from the discursive and conciliatory heritage of the Lambeth Conference tradition in order to address the divisive questions that face the Communion.

4. How does this work contribute to contemporary study?

The data presented about Lambeth 6 and the development of the Appeal has not previously been subject to critical analysis. Similarly, development and content of the Lambeth Conference Tradition has received insufficient attention. Anglicans seem to have lost sight of the value of the tradition's

modelling of a non-coercive, collaborative, discursive approach to the exploration of theological disagreement. The thesis argues that this omission is unhelpful because the Appeal has a vision of how to heal the hurts of disunion that continues to have relevance and value to the Anglican Communion in the early Twenty-first Century. Therefore, part of the value of the project is that it reveals a hidden, but none the less significant, part of Anglican heritage in order to make it available for the Church as it continues to address the questions of internal and external ecumenism. The Appeal lies at the root of much current ecumenical endeavour and lays down an important methodology for it.

The Appeal is particularly an Anglican attempt to make a description of the Church that was both true to its denominational origin but yet sought to reach towards as broad an ecclesiology as possible. Its ecclesiology emphasises the Church as society of faithful people that is the arena of salvation, which reflects and mediates the rule of God in the present. The Church brings human individuals together in a society that should aspire to common faith, ministry and worship. God's will for his people is that they should be united even when that unity is not revealed by the actual condition of the Church. The hope and prayer of the faithful is that its unity will be revealed: there is a belief in the ultimate unity of God's people. The Church is simultaneously a sociological, soteriological and eschatological phenomenon: human and divine, divided yet one, present and yet still to come. The analysis in the thesis reveals particular understandings of both the broad ecclesiology of the Church, and of the narrow ecclesiologies of the churches, in disunion. Anglicans need to understand their own vision of the Church before they can convey it to others and before they try to understand the ecclesial visions of the churches. This thesis furthers that process by clarifying aspects of Anglican ecclesiology.

The raw archival data is developed through a process of theologisation into a means of understanding the Church and the churches. From this arises the possibility of applying such critical insights to address not only the Church of the past and the present but also of the future. The basis of the Lambeth Conference Tradition and the 1920 Appeal is a belief that the reconciliation of difference among the faithful is by debate, not by confrontation. The outcomes of those debates may be presented as a gift rather than as a piece of legislation. Agreement comes about by acceptance, not by coercion. This thesis invites, or perhaps challenges, the reader to reclaim something of the urgent enthusiasm of the Lambeth 6 bishops who had a vision of the possibility of bringing the sinful disunion of the Church closer to its ending.

The thesis argues that the best hope of resolving the early twenty-first century conflicts within the Anglican Communion may be to return to its heritage of resolution by debate – not by the imposition of quasi-legal forms. The Conference Tradition maintains that the provinces of the Communion each know their own situation and cultural context best. Any resolution of the conflicts must honour that

localitude, alongside the catholicity of the Communion, in the context of a commitment to the principle of comprehension which is a key marker of Anglican ecclesiology. This thesis encourages the reader to consider the principles and methodology within the Lambeth Conference Tradition as a means to reasserting the communionhood of Anglicans, ‘that they might be one’.

5. Where could the argument take us beyond the present writing?

From the outset of this thesis it has been proposed that the discursive and dialectic approach that the Lambeth Conferences had adopted had the potential to be a methodology by which the divided churches might find their way back to one another. Despite the initial optimism and some limited achievements, the Appeal failed to bring about widespread reunion among the Christian traditions. Later ecumenical experience has shown, however, that the principle can be effective and that, therefore, the Appeal lies somewhere in the heritage of much ecumenical endeavour.

We have to recognise that the conditions of 1920 and of 2020 are difficult to compare. The Anglican Communion has grown and changed under a range of internal and external pressures; it has become far more diverse and the component provinces more assertive of their individual characters. The Communion has long lived with a range of theological views, an increasing cultural range adds further dimension to its overall diversity. We could, perhaps, begin to reflect on the questions for the Communion that might be seen as arising from this research. For example, why was it that the Communion then was able to take an eirenic stance concerning the search for unity? Are the problems of 2020 really so much more intractable than those of 1920? The Anglicans of 1920 seem to have been able to gather the goodwill to address questions of external ecumenism. Can the Anglicans of 2020 likewise engage with the questions of internal ecumenism?

These are perhaps questions that are best addressed within the Communion’s internal conversations but for that to happen there would need to be a commitment to engagement. Such questions cannot easily be answered but the attempt to answer them might be a significant component in a process of reconciliation. Bringing these two historic loci into juxtaposition creates the possibility of fruitful reflection on the outworking of the principle of comprehension. If it is the case that commitment to comprehension is an integral component of Anglican identity, the disputant parties within the Communion would need to reflect deeply on how their arguments could be said to be upholding that identity.

For the Communion to continue into the future in a recognisable form, Anglicans need to develop the means to understand how difference might be accommodated. The argument in this thesis has

suggested that a possible approach to this is to do with restatement of the principle that each province knows its own situation best and must minister in culturally appropriate ways within its host society. That local self-understanding must, however, be held in relationship with the centripetal force of mutual responsibility in a tradition that asserts its catholicity. Further, we have seen how Anglicans have, in practice, a hierarchy of beliefs that allows for divergence of thought and practice on matters of a relatively low order of status, things that may not be essential. The disputes of the 1920 within the Communion were mostly concerned with such relatively low order questions and Anglicans may, again, want to consider whether the disputes of 2020 actually concern matters of a higher order, or not.

6. What further areas for research have been revealed by the present project?

The thesis has revealed unexpected connections within its own data, such as the under interpreted role played by Weston in both the Kikuyu incident and in the Appeal's creation. It has also revealed connections to other important areas of enquiry beyond itself that are worthy of further attention. Some of these have been put to one side because they are tangential to the argument, such as the question of Methodist Reunion. Others have been laid to one side because they could not be accommodated within the scope of the present writing, such as the question of the personal influence of the individual Conference Presidents. The existence of these areas of enquiry shows that the present project relates to a network of questions in historical theology that deserve critical investigation and analysis.

We have seen that in the aftermath of the Great War there was a longing for fellowship and that this was an important influence on the bishops' thinking. Consequently, there is an observable parallel process in the Conference advocating support for the League of Nations and calling for conversations between the Christian traditions. There has been little exploration of this convergence in the literature. Similarly, the question of the moral leadership given by Davidson during the conflict has not received attention. Davidson clearly believed that Britain was engaged in a just war indeed he spoke of the 'strife of God' as a counterbalancing idea to the 'peace of God'. Study of the relationship between his language and theories of the Just War would serve to illuminate a significant aspect of his archiepiscopate.

This thesis has argued that Davidson was a moderate person whose instinct was to seek common ground rather than to emphasize difference. The Appeal shows its parentage by its call for the Christian traditions to seek one another out in dialogue. Can other Presidents of the Conference be said to have had the same kind of influence upon their own Conferences? Longley and Temple

contributed to the Conference tradition in contrasting ways as noted but is there a general principle to be revealed in this area? Is it possible to say what the impact of the individual President's views and personality might be on the outcome of the Conferences? In this context we should note that Stephenson's project to give an account of every Conference remains incomplete. There is no systematic study of the totality of the Conference tradition and this becomes problematic to those who would write about the impact of the Conferences upon the Communion and upon its ecumenical partners.

Did the publication of the Appeal have any impact on the movement towards Methodist reunion? Was it perhaps a galvanising influence or did that process have its own momentum that was left untouched by the urgings of the bishops? The close involvement of significant Methodist figures, such as Lidgett, in the talks between English Anglicans and the Free Churches seems to suggest that Methodist reunion and the Appeal arose within a similar milieu. There is then an important cluster of questions around the relationship between the broad call for reunion, the specific call of the Appeal and the achievement of Methodist reunion in 1930.

There has been major work carried out since the mid-Twentieth Century seeking to understand the process of decolonisation and the impact both on colonisers and colonised. A question arises from this thesis about the interaction between the sense of the independence of the ecclesiastical provinces and developing thought about decolonisation. Such questions had barely begun to be asked in 1920, although there was a first recognition of the issues concerning 'racialism', as Weston called it in his speech on the resolution condemnatory of colour-prejudice, R1920/7. From this we may ask what a post-colonial Anglican Communion might look like and how it might operate. Similarly, despite English experience of the Suffrage Movement and the significant change in women's working roles in wartime, issues of feminism had not begun to be addressed in the Communion – other than the negative views taken on the possibility of women's ministry at Lambeth 5 and Lambeth 6.

7. Reflection.

How can the author, as an ordained Anglican writer of theology, not engage with the question of Anglican identity? We have to ask what the theoretical context of that engagement might be. Yet, as we have seen, Anglican ecclesiology is under theorised, being largely descriptive. What might help in the future would be for Anglican writers to develop more complex theoretical methodologies from which insights into the shared ecclesiological elements within the Communion might be developed.

A key part of Anglican identity seems to be the tendency to approach issues reflectively; it seems not to be within the Anglican patrimony to have didactic statements of belief. While this has the potential

to be deeply frustrating for ecumenical partners – and indeed for at least some Anglicans as well – it gives a certain agility to the tradition’s approach to new and unexpected dilemmas. The Lambeth Conference Tradition offers to Anglicans of the future the suggestion that that Anglican understanding of any issue is to be found in the common mind of the Communion as revealed in discussion and debate. Such understandings, rooted in Scripture, observed through the twin lenses of tradition and reason and tested always against our experience of reality, yield the possibility of approaches to problematic issues that are able to receive the consent of as many as possible – in accordance with the principle of comprehension.

Such answers should be consistent with the received heritage of the Anglican way and honouring of what might be called the Anglican particularity. However, to fully honour both comprehension and particularity, any such theological outcome will have to be non-coercive in nature because all our proposals are ultimately contingent and mutable in the face of the eschatological hope that the fullness of Church is yet to come.

The Anglican patrimony does include the notion of excluding individuals from the Communion, as in the BCP provision but only on ethical grounds, ‘notorious and evil livers’, not on the grounds of belief. There are – as we have seen – limits on the acceptable range of belief within the Communion but no provision for exclusion on the basis of disagreement on low order questions, such as the gender of the clergy. Following this line of argument brings us towards a conclusion that it is in the Anglican nature to seek to be inclusive and, also, that an approach that seeks to exclude is profoundly unAnglican, except it be for disbelief of the highest order. For those of an authoritarian inclination such a stance seems uncomfortable to the point of nonsustainability, a line must be drawn, they might believe, but Anglican practice does not enable the drawing of such lines.

Anglicans know what they believe as the consequence of an open-hearted attempt at dialogue, understanding that in entering into a debate implies the danger of being unable to agree. Disagreement does not justify exclusion – rather it is in itself an invitation to continue to work at problematic issues, trusting those with whom there is disagreement to hold that disagreement in honour. The heart of Anglican ecclesiology, therefore, must be a generous heart that enables the community to seek truth in partnership, even when in disagreement.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The first letter of the Canadian bishops.⁸³⁷

May it please your Grace:

We, the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Province of Canada, in Triennial Synod assembled, desire to represent to your Grace, that in consequence of recent decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the well-known case respecting the Essays and Reviews, and also in the case of the Bishop of Natal and the Bishop of Cape Town, the minds of many members of the church have been unsettled or painfully alarmed; and that doctrines hitherto believed to be scriptural, undoubtedly held by the members of the Church of England and Ireland, have been adjudicated upon by the Privy Council in such a way as to lead thousands of our brethren to conclude that, according to this decision, it is quite compatible with membership in the Church of England to discredit the historical facts of Holy Scripture, and to disbelieve the eternity of future punishment; moreover, we would express to your Grace the intense alarm felt by many in Canada lest the tendency of the revival of the active powers of Convocation should lead us to drift into the status of an independent branch of the Catholic Church – a result which we would at the time most solemnly deplore.

In order, therefore, to comfort the souls of the faithful, and reassure the minds of wavering members of the church, and to obviate, so far as may be, the suspicion whereby so many are scandalized, that the church is a creation of Parliament, we humbly entreat your Grace, since the assembling of a general council of the whole Catholic Church is at present impracticable, to convene a national synod of the bishops of the Anglican Church at home and abroad, who, who attended by one or more of their presbyters or laymen, learned in ecclesiastical law, as their advisers, may meet together, and, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, take such counsel and adopt such measures as may best be fitted to provide for the present distress in such synod, presided over by your Grace.

F. MONTREAL (Metropolitan, President)⁸³⁸

Jas Beaven, D.D. (Prolocutor)⁸³⁹

⁸³⁷ Herklotts 168-9.

⁸³⁸ Francis Fulford, first bishop of Montreal, later Metropolitan; the synod was held in September 1860.

⁸³⁹ Professor of Theology at Kings College, Toronto.

Appendix 2: Text of Abp. Longley's invitation to the First Lambeth Conference.⁸⁴⁰

Right Rev. and Dear Brother,

I request your presence at a meeting of the Bishops in visible communion with the United Church of England and Ireland, purposed (GOD willing) to be holden at Lambeth, under my presidency, on the 24th September next and the three following days.

The circumstances under which I have resolved to issue the present invitation are these:- The Metropolitan and Bishops of Canada, last year, addressed to the two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury the expression of their desire that I should be moved to invite the Bishops of our Indian and Colonial episcopate to meet myself and the Home Bishops for brotherly communion and conference.

The consequence of the appeal has been that both Houses of the Convocation of my province have addressed to me their dutiful request that I would invite the attendance, not only of our Home and Colonial Bishops, but of all who are avowedly in Communion with our Church. The same request was unanimously preferred to me at a numerous gathering of English, Irish, and Colonial Archbishops and Bishops recently assembled at Lambeth; at which – I rejoice to record it – we had the counsel and concurrence of an eminent Bishop of the Church in the United States of America – the Bishop of Illinois.

Moved by these requests, and by the expressed concurrence therein of other members both of the home and Colonial Episcopate, who could not be present at our meeting, I have now resolved – not I humbly trust, without the guidance of God the Holy Ghost – to grant this grave request, and call together the meeting thus earnestly desired. I greatly hope that you may be able to attend it, and to aid us with your presence and brotherly counsel thereat.

I propose that, at our assembling, we should first solemnly seek the blessing of Almighty God on our gathering, by uniting together in the highest act of the Church's worship. After this, brotherly consultations will follow. In these we may consider together many practical questions, the settlement of which would tend to the advancements of the Kingdom of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and to the maintenance of greater union of our missionary work, and to increased intercommunion among ourselves.

Such a meeting would not be competent to make declarations of law or lay down definitions on points of doctrine. But united worship and common counsels would greatly tend to maintain practically the unity of the faith: whilst they would bind us in straighter bonds of peace and brotherly charity.

I shall gladly receive from you a list of any subjects you may wish to suggest to me for consideration and discussion. Should you be unable to attend, and desire to commission any brother Bishop to speak for you, I shall welcome him as your representative in our united deliberations.

But I must once more express my earnest hope that, on this solemn occasion, I may have the great advantage of your personal presence.

And now I commend this proposed meeting to your fervent prayers; and, humbly beseeching the blessing of Almighty God on yourself and your diocese, I subscribe myself,

Your faithful brother in the Lord,

C.T. Cantuar.

⁸⁴⁰ Davidson (1920) 5.

Appendix 3: Data on the first six Lambeth Conferences

Although it is not a matter of great profundity, it is helpful to have some notion of the data relating to the Lambeth Conferences. From the first to the fourth conferences there was a slow numerical and proportional growth in attendance.

| Attending bishops | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----|
| Conference Year | Presiding Abp. | Actual Attendance | Invitees | % |
| 1867 | Longley | 76 | 144 | 53 |
| 1878 | Tait | 100 ⁸⁴¹ | 173 | 57 |
| 1888 | Benson | 145 | 211 | 68 |
| 1897 | Temple | 194 | 240 | 81 |
| 1908 | Davidson | 242 | 368 | 66 |
| 1920 | Davidson | 252 | ? | |

As the tale of the conferences grew, the ratio of bishops from the British Isles to those from overseas slowly changed. One should note that the home bishops included from the outset a number of bishops who had originally been missionary or colonial bishops but who had returned and were ministering in these islands under 'Commissions'.⁸⁴²

| Year | Total | England | Scotland | Ireland | US | Missionary and colonial |
|-------------|------------|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| 1867 | 76 | 18 | 6 | 5 | 19 | 24 |
| 1878 | 100 | 35 ⁸⁴³ | 7 | 9 | 19 | 30 |
| 1888 | 145 | 46 ⁸⁴⁴ | 6 | 11 | 29 | 53 |
| 1897 | 194 | 58 ⁸⁴⁵ | 7 | 10 | 49 | 70 |
| 1908 | 242 | 79 ⁸⁴⁶ | 7 | 12 | 55 | 89 |
| 1920 | 252 | 74 | 7 | 10 | 52 | 103 |

⁸⁴¹ 108 accepted but some were prevented from attending Morgan 74.

⁸⁴² Davidson (1920) 51.

⁸⁴³ Including 4 ex-colonial holding commissions; *ibid.*, p.25.

⁸⁴⁴ Including 6 ex-colonial holding commissions; *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁸⁴⁵ Including 7 ex-colonial holding commissions; *ibid.*, p. 42.

⁸⁴⁶ Including 14 ex-colonial holding commissions; *ibid.*, p. 45.

Appendix 4: Prayers for Lambeth 1 and Lambeth 6.⁸⁴⁷

Longley's prayer for the First Conference:

O God Almighty, Father of lights and fountain of wisdom: we humbly beseech thee that thy Holy Spirit may lead into all truth thy servants the Bishops [about to be] gathered together in thy name. Grant them grace to think and so such things as shall tend most to thy glory and the good of the Holy Church: direct and prosper, we pray thee, all their consultations, and further them with thy continual help, that the true Catholic and Apostolic faith once delivered to the Saints being maintained, thy Church may serve thee in all Godly quietness: through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen.

The 1920 Prayer:

O Almighty God, pour forth, we beseech thee, the Holy Spirit upon thy servants who shall come together from many lands for counsel and mutual help in the work of thy Holy Church. Grant unto them and unto us abundance of wisdom and of zeal, that we may both know thy will and fulfil it with all our powers, to the achievement of thy kingdom and the blessing of all mankind, through Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

⁸⁴⁷ Riley, A *H5021.12 duplicated in *LC140.

Appendix 5: Abp. Longley's letter to Whitehouse of Illinois.⁸⁴⁸

Dear Bishop of Illinois,

May you have a safe voyage across the Atlantic; and may you find all in your diocese at peace and abounding in the fruits of the Spirit. I shall always look back on the Conference as an important era in my life and Arch-episcopate. I trust that it has tended to bind the different branches of the Church in our Anglican Communion more closely together in the bonds of brotherly love. The Encyclical, as I have heard from very good authority is considered a very serious matter by Roman Catholics – English and Foreign; and some of them have said that the Church of Rome has never received such a blow since the Reformation. Then, the vehemence with which the infidel press has attacked the conference plainly shows the importance they attach to the movement. Altogether, I trust, we may thank God, and take courage.

I must not conclude without thanking you for the important aid which you rendered to the course of the Conference throughout. But for your voice in February I certainly should not have had the courage to invite our brethren from the United States.

I am deeply thankful that I was permitted to do so, and it will be long before the pleasing recollections of my intercourse with so many of them can fade from my memory.

Believe me dear Bishop of Illinois,

Your faithful and affectionate,

Friend and Brother,

C.T. Cantuar

⁸⁴⁸ Whitehouse (1867) 11.

Appendix 6: The development of the Appeal text: parallel documents.

| D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | D8 |
|--|---|--|--|---|--|---|
| Typescript written on the night of 13 th July, 1920 by Lang, Palmer and Nickson. | The result of the Committee debate on Wednesday 14 th July. | | Dated 19 th July; I propose that this means the morning of that day. | Dated 19 th July; I propose that this document was edited following the first committee debate. | I propose that this typescript was edited by Lang after the second committee debate before being laid before Conference. D7 is the printer's galley of the same and is identical. | The text as published |
| THE COMMITTEE ON REUNION | SEVEN PROPOSITIONS Agreed as commanding broad support in the Committee | A STATEMENT OF OUR POSITION | A STATEMENT OF OUR POSITION | The Conference adopts and sends forth the following Appeal to all Christian People. AN APPEAL TO ALL CHRISTIAN PEOPLE | The Conference adopts and sends forth the following Appeal to all Christian People. An Appeal from the bishops assembled in the Lambeth Conference of 1920 TO ALL CHRISTIAN PEOPLE | The Conference adopts and sends forth the following Appeal to all Christian People. An Appeal from the bishops assembled in the Lambeth Conference of 1920 TO ALL CHRISTIAN PEOPLE |
| c.f. paragraph 4 | | | | | We, Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan and other bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England, two hundred and fifty in number in Conference assembled, realising the responsibility which rests upon us at this time and sensible of the sympathy and prayers of many, both within and without our own communion, make this appeal to all Christian people. We acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptised into the name of the Holy Trinity, as sharing with us membership in the universal Church of Christ which is his body. We believe that the Holy Spirit has called us in a very solemn and special manner to associate ourselves in penitence and prayer with all those who deplore the divisions of Christian people, and are inspired by the vision and hope of a visible unity of the whole Church. | We, Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan and other bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England, realising the responsibility which rests upon us at this time and sensible of the sympathy and prayers of many, both within and without our own communion, make this appeal to all Christian people. (The text thereafter is identical to D6 and D7.) |
| 1. The unity of the Church which is the body of Christ exists by His act, and embraces all those whom he has drawn into fellowship with himself, or is drawing, both those who have departed this life, and those who yet in it. It is the duty of the Church on earth at any time to devote itself to the purposes of God, by striving to let this Unity be visible in common life, witness, worship and service. | 1. The unity of the Church which is the body of Christ exists by his act, and embraces all those whom he has drawn into fellowship with himself, both those who have departed this life, and those who yet in it. It is the duty of the Church on earth at any time to devote itself to the purposes of God, by striving to let this Unity be visible in common life, witness, worship and service. | 1. We believe that God wills <i>fellowship</i> . By <i>God's own act</i> this fellowship was made in and through Jesus Christ. Its life is in His Spirit and its objective is the accomplishment of his will and the promotion of his glory. We believe that God intends this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned, to be an outward, visible, and united society, with its own recognised officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring its members to world-wide service. | 1. We believe that God wills fellowship. By God's own act this fellowship was made in and through Jesus Christ and its life is in His Spirit. We believe that <i>it is God's</i> purpose to manifest this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned, to be an outward, visible, and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognised officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God. This is what we mean by the Catholic | 1. We believe that God wills fellowship. By God's own act this fellowship was made in and through Jesus Christ, and its life is in His Spirit. We believe that it is God's purpose to manifest this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned, in an outward, visible, and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognised officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God. | 1. We believe that God wills fellowship. By God's own act this fellowship was made in and through Jesus Christ, and its life is in His Spirit. We believe that it is God's purpose to manifest this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned, in an outward, visible, and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognised officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God. | |

| | | This is what we mean by the Catholic Church. | Church. | This is what we mean by the Catholic Church. | This is what we mean by the Catholic Church. | |
|---|---|--|---|--|---|--|
| <p>2. This Unity is now obscured through the sins and failures of Christians, which have led to, and still maintain, the divisions of Christendom. Our desire is to invite our fellow Christians to join in a sincere confession of these sins and in an earnest and deliberate endeavour to heal these divisions.</p> | <p>2. This Unity is now obscured through the sins and failures of Christians, which have led to, and still maintain, the divisions of Christendom. Our desire is that we and all our fellow Christians join in a sincere confession of these sins and in an earnest and deliberate endeavour to heal these divisions.</p> <p>Accepted.</p> | <p>2. This united fellowship is not visible in the world today.</p> <p>We are all organized in different groups, each one keeping to itself gifts that rightly belong to the whole fellowship, and tending to live its own life apart from the rest.</p> | <p>2. This united fellowship is not visible in the world today</p> <p>Christians are organized in different groups, each one keeping to itself gifts that rightly belong to the whole fellowship, and tending to live its own life apart from the rest.</p> | <p>2. This united fellowship is not visible in the world today.</p> <p>Christians are organized in different groups, each one keeping to itself gifts that rightly belong to the whole fellowship, and tending to live its own life apart from the rest.</p> | <p>2. This united fellowship is not visible in the world today. On the one hand there are other ancient episcopal Communion in East and West, to whom ours is bound by many ties of common faith and tradition. On the other hand there are the great non-episcopal Communion, standing for rich elements of truth, liberty and life which might otherwise have been obscured or neglected. With them we are closely linked by many affinities, racial, historical and spiritual. We cherish the earnest hope that all these Communion, and our own, may be led by the Spirit into the unity of the Faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God. But in fact we are all organized in different groups, each one keeping to itself gifts that rightly belong to the whole fellowship, and tending to live its own life apart from the rest.</p> | |
| <p>3. Our aim therefore, is not merely or mainly that some of the Churches, into which the one Church has been split up, should be united with ours, but that all should co-operate in manifesting in one visible body the fullness of the diverse gifts of the Spirit.</p> <p>Thus our ideal is neither the absorption of these Churches into one uniform system, nor their alliance into a loose federation but a living visible fellowship in which the various gifts and graces bestowed by God upon each shall be no longer kept in separateness, but used and enjoyed for the enrichment of the whole body.</p> | <p>3. Our aim therefore, is not merely or mainly that some of the Churches, into which the one Church has been split up, should be united with ours, but that all should co-operate in manifesting in one visible body the fullness of the diverse gifts of the Spirit.</p> | <p>3. This condition of broken fellowship we acknowledge to be sinful, and we desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Society of Christ and hindering the activity of His Spirit.</p> | <p>3. We acknowledge this condition of broken fellowship to be contrary to <i>God's will</i>, and we desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Body of Christ and hindering the activity of His Spirit.</p> | <p>3. We acknowledge this condition of broken fellowship to be contrary to God's will, and we desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Body of Christ and hindering the activity of His Spirit.</p> | <p>3. The causes of division lie deep in the past, and are by no means simple or wholly blameworthy. Yet none can doubt that self-will, ambition, and lack of charity among Christians have been principal factors in the mingled process, and that these, together with blindness to the sin of disunion, are still mainly responsible for the breaches of Christendom. We acknowledge this condition of broken fellowship to be contrary to God's will, and we desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Body of Christ and hindering the activity of His Spirit.</p> | |
| <p>4. We acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptised into the name of the Holy Trinity, as sharing the membership in the universal Church of Christ, which is his body.</p> <p>We confess that in and through the existing divisions of Christendom we have all alike become involved in a state of schism, of which we have all need to repent, and from which we</p> | <p>4. We acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptised into the name of the Holy Trinity, as sharing with us membership in the universal Church of Christ, which is his body.</p> <p>We confess that in and through the existing divisions of Christendom we have all alike become involved in a state of schism, of which we have all need to repent, and from which we</p> | | | | | |

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| must all ask to be set free. | must all ask to be set free. | | | | | 4. The times call us to a new outlook and new measures. The Faith cannot be adequately apprehended and the battle of the Kingdom cannot be worthily fought while the body is divided, and is thus unable to grow up into the fullness of the life of Christ. The time has come, we believe, for all the separated groups of Christians to agree in forgetting the things which are behind and reaching out towards the goal of a reunited Catholic Church. |
| | <p><u>3 (b) Transposed here</u> Thus our ideal is neither the absorption of these Churches into one uniform system, nor their alliance into a loose federation but a living visible fellowship in which</p> <p>the various gifts and graces bestowed by God upon each shall be no longer kept in separateness, but used and enjoyed for the enrichment of the whole body.</p> | <p>We have a vision of many groups retaining their own systems, while combining in one organic fellowship,</p> <p>in which all the treasures of faith and order, possessed at present separately, may find full scope and be available for the whole body.</p> | <p>We have a vision of many groups retaining their own systems, while combining in one organic fellowship,</p> <p>in which all the treasures of faith and order, possessed at present separately, may find full scope and be available for the whole body.</p> | <p>The removal of the barriers which have arisen between them will only be brought about by a new comradeship of those whose faces are definitely set this way.</p> <p>We have a vision of many groups retaining their own systems, while combining in one organic fellowship,</p> <p>in which all the treasures of faith and order, possessed at present separately may find full scope and be available for the whole body.</p> | <p>The removal of the barriers which have arisen between them will only be brought about by a new comradeship of those whose faces are definitely set this way.</p> <p>The vision which rises before us is that of a Church, genuinely Catholic, loyal to all Truth, and gathering into <i>its fellowship all 'who profess themselves Christians' within whose visible unity all the treasures of faith and order, bequeathed as a heritage by the past to the present, shall be possessed in common, and made serviceable to the whole Body of Christ. Within this unity Christian Communion now separated from one another would retain much that has long been distinctive in their methods of worship and service. It is through a rich diversity of life and devotion that the unity of the whole fellowship will be fulfilled.</i></p> | |
| | | <p>5. This means an adventure of goodwill and</p> <p>to this adventure we are now called.</p> | <p>5. This means an adventure of goodwill and</p> <p>to this adventure we are now called.</p> | <p>5. This means an adventure of goodwill and</p> <p>to this adventure we are convinced that God is now calling all the members of His Church.</p> | <p>5. This means an adventure of goodwill and still more of faith, for nothing less is required than a new discovery of the creative resources of God. To this adventure we are convinced that God is now calling all the members of His Church.</p> | |
| 5. We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve at least | 5. We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve at least | 6. We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the whole-hearted acceptance of :- | 6. We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the whole-hearted acceptance of :- | 6. We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the whole-hearted acceptance of :- | 6. We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the whole-hearted acceptance of :- | |
| a. the acceptance of the canonical scriptures of the old and new Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation, and the Nicene Creed | a. the acceptance of the canonical scriptures of the old and new Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation, and the Nicene Creed | a. The Holy Scriptures as the record of <i>God's revelation of Himself to man,</i> | a. The Holy Scriptures as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith | a. The Holy Scriptures as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith | a. The Holy Scriptures as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; | |

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| as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith; | as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith; | and the Creed commonly called Nicene; | and the Creed commonly called Nicene; | and the Creed commonly called Nicene; | and the Creed commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the <i>Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal</i> confession of belief; |
| b. the acceptance of the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, as ordained by Christ himself, | b. the acceptance of the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, as ordained by Christ himself, | b. The corporate life of the whole fellowship as expressed for all in the divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion; with wide liberty for each group to authorise such additional rites and customs of worship and devotion as are found by experience to minister to its spiritual needs. | b. The corporate life of the whole fellowship as expressed for all in the divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion; | b.The corporate life of the whole fellowship as expressed for all in the divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion; | b. The divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ; |
| and c. A common ministry which possesses the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole Body. This common ministry, we believe, can only be secured through episcopal ordination. | c. A common ministry which possesses the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body. This common ministry, we believe, can only be secured through episcopal ordination. Accepted but with a need to refer to refer to confirmation in (b). | c. A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body. Consideration alike of history and of present experience point to the Episcopate as the one means of providing such a ministry. | c. A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body. Consideration alike of history and of present experience point to the Episcopate as the one means of providing such a ministry. | c. A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body. Consideration alike of history and of present reality point to the Episcopate as the one means of providing such a ministry. | c. A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body. |
| 6. While expressing this belief with regard to the authority necessary for the Ministry of the whole Church, we yet gladly acknowledge, that God has been pleased to confer gifts of his Holy Spirit upon the Ministry of Churches which have not accepted Episcopal ordination, and to use the Sacraments administered in them as effectual means of grace. 7. We believe that the acceptance of the Historic Episcopate would not only secure for the whole Church a common Ministry, but also prove in the future as in the past, to be a powerful means of maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church. | 6. While expressing this belief with regard to the authority necessary for the ministry of the whole Church, we yet gladly acknowledge, that God has been pleased to confer gifts of his Holy Spirit upon the ministry of Churches which have not accepted episcopal ordination, and to use the sacraments administered in them as effectual means of grace. 7. We believe that the acceptance of the Historic Episcopate would not only secure for the whole Church a common ministry, but also prove in the future as in the past, to be a powerful means of maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church. Accepted 4 dissenting. | 7. We confidently claim a place by the side of the ancient Episcopal communities of East and West, awaiting hopefully such mutual re-union we will again unite us in completeness of fellowship. We believe that in the future as in the past, the Episcopate will prove to be the most effective means of maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church. But we greatly desire that the office of a bishop should be increasingly exercised in a representative and constitutional manner in accordance with the ideals of the early and undivided Church. | 7. We confidently claim a place by the side of the ancient Episcopal communities of East and West, awaiting hopefully such mutual re-union we will again unite us in completeness of fellowship. We believe that in the future as in the past, the Episcopate will prove to be the most effective means of maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church. But we greatly desire that the office of a bishop should be increasingly exercised in a representative and constitutional manner in accordance with the ideals of the early and undivided Church. | 7. We confidently claim a place by the side of the ancient Episcopal communities of East and West, awaiting hopefully such mutual re-union we will again unite us in completeness of fellowship. We believe that in the future as in the past, the Episcopate will prove to be the most effective means of maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church. But we greatly desire that the office of a bishop should be everywhere exercised in a representative and constitutional manner in accordance with the ideals of the early and undivided Church. | 7. May we not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing such a ministry? It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of those Communion which do not possess the Episcopate. On the contrary we thankfully acknowledge that these ministries have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace. But we submit that considerations alike of history and of present experience justify the claim which we make on behalf of the Episcopate. Moreover, we would urge that it is now and will prove to be in the future the best instrument for maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church. But we greatly desire that the office of a bishop should be everywhere exercised in a representative and constitutional manner, and more truly express all that ought to be involved for the life of the |

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| | | | | | Christian family in the title of Father-in-God. Nay more, we eagerly look forward to the day when through its acceptance in a united Church we may all share in that grace which is pledged to the members of the whole body in the apostolic rite of the laying-on of hands, and in the joy and fellowship of a Eucharist in which as one Family we may together, without any doubtfulness of mind, offer to the one Lord our worship and service. | |
| | | | | | <p>8. We believe that for all, the truly equitable approach to union is by the way of mutual deference to one another's consciences. To this end, we who send forth this appeal would say that if the authorities of other Communion should so desire, we are persuaded that, terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and clergy of our Communion would willingly accept from these authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations, as having its place in the one family life. It is not in our power to know how far this suggestion may be acceptable to those to whom we offer it. We can only say that we offer it in all sincerity as a token of our longing that all ministries of grace, theirs and ours, shall be available for the service of our Lord in a united Church.</p> <p>It is our hope that the same motive would lead ministers who have not received it to accept a commission through episcopal ordination, as obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship. In so acting no one of us could possibly be taken to repudiate his past ministry. God forbid that any man should repudiate a past experience rich in spiritual blessings for himself and others. Now would any of us be dishonouring the Holy Spirit of God, Whose call led us to perform them. We shall be publicly and formally seeking additional recognition of a new call to wider service in a reunited Church, and imploring for ourselves God's grace and strength to fulfil the same.</p> | |
| | | 8. We want this ministry to be available for the whole fellowship. On the other hand, we desire to share in the inheritance of Grace held in trust by the other groups; and should the authorities of those groups so desire we are persuaded that Bishops and clergy of our communion would be willing to accept formally from them | 8. The moral leadership exercised by the Catholic Church in days to come depends upon the readiness with which each separated group is prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of a common fellowship, a common ministry and a common service to the world. | 8. The moral leadership exercised by the Catholic Church in days to come depends upon the readiness with which each separated group is prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of a common fellowship, a common ministry and a common service to the world. | 9. The spiritual leadership of the Catholic Church in days to come, for which the world is manifestly waiting, depends upon the readiness with which each group is prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of a common fellowship, a common ministry and a common service to the world. | |

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| | | some suitable recognition or commission which would commend our ministry as having its place in one family life. | | | | |
| | | | This Appeal we make to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. 19 th July, 1920 | This Appeal we make to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. 19 th July, 1920 | We place this ideal first and foremost before ourselves and our own people. We call upon them to make the effort to meet the demands of a new age with a new outlook. To all other Christian people whom our words may reach we make the same appeal. We do not ask that any one Communion should consent to be absorbed in another. We do ask that all should unite in a new and great endeavour to recover and to manifest to the world the unity of the Body of Christ for which he prayed. | |

Appendix 7: Reactions to Lambeth 6 in the secular and denominational press.

The Lambeth press file shows that press response to Lambeth 6 was muted. Bell's sparse press releases must have done little to encourage interest.⁸⁴⁹ A more substantial release went out on the Wednesday following the end of the Conference with most of the papers using it on August 12th. For example the Manchester Guardian carried a short piece; while it does hail the 'new idea' contained in the Appeal, the rest of the item is simply reprints the press release.⁸⁵⁰ A few days later it had a longer piece reviewing Conference Report, which it regarded as interesting and promising. The substance of each of the seven sections, it says, is: 'skilfully written, well condensed and expressed with moderation and the utmost sweet reasonableness ... the whole thing displays in a high degree the Anglican genius for caution and accommodation'.⁸⁴⁹

The Daily Mail gave brief coverage of the Appeal but of little else in its four column inches; it does quote the paragraph setting out the call to share the vision of reunion which it rounds out with an optimistic quote from Woods, as Conference Secretary.⁸⁵⁰

Dr. Meyer, the Secretary of the FCEFC, was interviewed by the Morning Post on August 13th and while he says that he was sympathetic to the Appeal he was concerned about what expectation was being laid on Free Church members by Anglicans and that the reunion project was imperilled by 'the talk of re-ordination'.⁸⁵¹ The Yorkshire Post concentrated on the part played by 'our' archbishop, Lang; it says, for example, that the quire of York Minster was full on the following Sunday to hear Lang preaching on the significance of the resolutions but without any editorial view of them.⁸⁵² The Western Mail acclaimed the Appeal as potentially 'epoch-making'.⁸⁵³

The denominational press was more interested in the outcomes of the Conference with the exception of the Catholic Times – a cutting sent to Lambeth with the 'compliments of the editor' – dismisses the Conference in 3 column inches, saying that, 'no-one can have confidence in Anglican prelates on account of their blindness to the wrongs done by the State'.⁸⁵⁴ The three Methodist newspapers were more welcoming; the Methodist Times editorial says, 'few will read the Recommendations without feeling that they express a purpose to make a fresh start in the treatment of the matter [of reunion]'.⁸⁵⁵ The United Methodist welcomes the new conception of a reuniting Catholic Church 'to which every church should bring its own contribution'.⁸⁵⁶ The President of the Primitive Methodist Conference wrote a positive commentary on the Conference as the front page centre piece of his paper.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁴⁹ *LC138.

⁸⁵⁰ *LC138:9 Manchester Guardian 12.08.1920.

⁸⁴⁹ *LC138:15 Manchester Guardian 14.08.1920.

⁸⁵⁰ *LC138:10 Daily Mail 12.08.1920.

⁸⁵¹ *LC138:11 Morning Post 13.08.1920.

⁸⁵² *LC138:19 Yorkshire Post 16.08.1920.

⁸⁵³ *LC138:20 Western Times 16.08.1920.

⁸⁵⁴ *LC138:14 Catholic Times 14.08.1920.

⁸⁵⁵ *LC138:22 Methodist Times 19.08.1920.

⁸⁵⁶ *LC138:23 United Methodist 19.08.1920.

⁸⁵⁷ *LC138:25 Primitive Methodist 19.08.1920.

Appendix 8: Membership List for the Joint Conference on Church Reunion 1920-1925

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| Anglican | Aps. Davidson and Lang*; Bps. Winnington-Ingram of London, Donaldson of Salisbury*, Frere of Truro ^{858*} , Kempthorn of Lichfield, Smith of Hereford, Strong of Ripon*, Headlam of Glos.*, Woods of Winchester ⁸⁵⁹ and Talbot of Winchester. ⁸⁶⁰ |
| Baptist | Revds. Charles Brown*, J.C. Carlisle, W.Y. Fullerton, J.H. Shakespeare*; Mr. Herbert Marnham and Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P. |
| Congregational | Revds. Sidney M. Berry, A.E. Garvie*, J.D. Jones*, W.B. Selbie, Thomas Yates and the Rt Hon J.H. Whitley, P.C., M.P. ⁸⁶¹ |
| Moravian | Bishop H. R. Mumford |
| Presbyterian | Revds. R.C. Gillie, Alexander Ramsey, W.L. Robertson*, P. Carnegie Simpson* |
| Primitive Methodist | Revds. J.T. Barkby, S. Horton and Prof A.J. Peake ^{862*} |
| United Methodist | Revds. T. Nightingale, Henry Smith Sir Walter Essex |
| Wesleyan Methodist | Revds. Walter H. Armstrong, W.T. Davison, J. Scott Lidgett*, J. Alfred Sharp, F.L. Wiseman and Sir Henry Lunn ⁸⁶³ |

* Members of the Joint sub-committee formed in 1925 to complete the final documents.

Members were appointed on the Free Church side according to approximate strengths of the denominations, illustrating Methodist dominance at the time; the lay membership of the Free Church side included some prominent and accomplished persons.

⁸⁵⁸ Joined on consecration.

⁸⁵⁹ Joined on consecration replacing Bp. Talbot.

⁸⁶⁰ Retired as bishop of Winchester 1923, d. 1924.

⁸⁶¹ Speaker of the House of Commons from 1921.

⁸⁶² Author of the one-volume Bible Commentary.

⁸⁶³ Wrote occasionally under the pen name of 'John Wesley'.

Appendix 9: A note on Ritualism

Ritualism is the short-hand expression for the use of garments, gestures, actions and prayers that went beyond the stated requirement of BCP. The controversy that arose over ritualistic practice was fuelled by a lack of clarity as to the actual requirements. A direction in the preamble to BCP Morning Prayer, known as the Ornaments Rubric, stated that the ornaments and practices of the Church of England were to be as in the second year of King Edward 6th.⁸⁶⁴ Unfortunately, it was uncertain what the practice of the Church of England was at that time. Anglo-Catholic Ecclesiologists, especially those of the Alcuin Club, undertook reitailed research that showed that the Church of England at that time did not look like a Protestant Church.⁸⁶⁵ Members of NCPU, on the other hand insisted that only those actions and ornaments specifically sanctioned by BCP should be used.

Parliament – at the motion of Abp. Tait in 1874 – enacted the Public Worship Regulation Act with the expectation that it would prevent the further spread of certain behaviours during worship that were held to be against the letter and spirit of the directions made in the Book of Common Prayer. A court was established to deal with such irregularities. Those of a Protestant persuasion were clear that many such behaviours, dear to the followers of the Oxford Movement, were now to be demonstrated as illegal and used the Act to oblige diocesan bishops to take action against clergy who conducted worship in ways Protestant Anglicans believed to be inappropriate. The act was accepted by the bishops as being the least damaging proposal of a number that were being promoted, not least by the Queen who regarded the Protestant Reformation as being under threat. The bishops seem to have felt that the strength of the Act was that it did not make stipulation as to what was, or was not, legal but only provided a process whereby causes could be tested.⁸⁶⁶

There were a number of prosecutions and five priests were imprisoned.

At a trivial level one might say that Fr. Arthur Tooth was sent to prison for having too many candles on his altar but at the same time his prosecution under the Act gives insight into the wider processes at work. The legal reason for his incarceration was that he was in contempt of Court. Lord Penzance, who was also Dean of the Court of Arches, where competence to determine such matters had previously lain, made directions in the new court established by the Act as to the manner in which worship was to be conducted at St. James, Hatcham in South London (Rochester Diocese). Fr. Tooth declined to comply and was subsequently found contumacious and imprisoned; worship was thereafter conducted by a series of outside priests in accordance with the court's decisions regarding ceremonial.⁸⁶⁷

Anglo-Catholic clergy summonsed under the Act refused to acknowledge the authority of the new court because it was a civil court, not an ecclesiastical one, and so repugnant to their principles. In point of fact they also refused to defer to the Court of Arches because appeal from that ecclesiastical

⁸⁶⁴ 'The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed Place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel; except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the Place. And the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past. And here is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all Times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.'

⁸⁶⁵ Ecclesiologists in the original sense of students of church ornaments and furnishings.

⁸⁶⁶ Chadwick 2/324.

⁸⁶⁷ Penzance, a distinguished matrimonial lawyer, came out of retirement to accept the role of Judge in the new court, he was hampered by the poor drafting of the Act and twice obliged to appeal from the Queen's Bench to the Lords to clarify his powers to issue monitions and contempt proceedings; the legal issues with the Act appear to have been as problematic as the ecclesiological; Rigg, JM (Art.) James Plaistow Wilde, ODNB Online, accessed 12 November 2013.

court was to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council – a civil authority. Public discontent at the sight of principled clergy being taken off to prison made the Act unworkable as bishops declined to play their apparent role as persecutors of conscience. The *Jewish World*, for example, referred to Tooth's incarceration as a 'spectacle as revolting as it is melancholy'.⁸⁶⁸ The satirical magazine *Funny Folks* preferred to quip punningly about Anglo-Catholics fighting on 'Tooth and Dale', referring to two of the Anglo-Catholic 'confessors'.⁸⁶⁹

The Act gave bishops the right to grant stay of prosecution, which they increasingly used to the point that no further prosecutions took place. The failure to prosecute was challenged in the secular courts and found to be secure. An attempt to overthrow this in the Commons was defeated and so the Act became disreputable and a dead letter.⁸⁷⁰ The final skirmish was the prosecution of King of Lincoln, as an attempt to force the bishops to act.

Thus, we may see a process at work whereby Tait, as a member of the House of Lords, was able to introduce primary legislation as a private member's bill. Endorsed by both Houses it became part of the Statute Law. The law failed to be effective because it took no account of the way in which ecclesiological sentiment within the Church of England had developed – rather than being honoured for its legal status, the Act instead was seen as repugnant because of its imposition on a Church community which had had no say in its development, despite the involvement of its leading figure. The bill was not laid before Convocation for debate, even though convocation was arguably the proper place for the matter to be addressed, and had ordinarily been consulted over such matters before its long years of inactivity.⁸⁷¹

The resolution of the Ritualist controversy was achieved by the appointment of a Royal Commission, after discrete work by Davidson, which contrived to please all sides by declaring that many Anglo-Catholic practices were illegal but at the same time stated that the law was no longer adequate for the practice of the Church of England. Parliament made no further intervention in the regulation of worship until the controversy over the 1927 and 1928 Deposited Books:⁸⁷² full discussion of those events is beyond the scope of this thesis but we may note that although Parliament declined to authorise the Deposited Book of 1928, the diocesan bishops used their own undoubted liturgical authority to permit its use regardless and faced no major challenge over their decision.⁸⁷³ The present Canon B8 describes the range of acceptable vesture of ministers at the time of Divine Service, giving clergy the right to follow their consciences but with an obligation to consult with their Parochial Church Councils.

⁸⁶⁸ John Bull 17 February 1877.

⁸⁶⁹ Fr. Pelham Dale and Fr. Arthur Tooth; *Funny Folks* (London), 20 October 1880; 370.

⁸⁷⁰ The Act remained in force until struck down by the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (No.1) Measure of 1963.

⁸⁷¹ Cf. Chadwick 2/361.

⁸⁷² The proposed Prayer Books were referred to as having been Deposited in the Parliamentary libraries.

⁸⁷³ Hastings 202ff. gives a sure-footed guide to the complexities of these events.