



THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ANGLICANISM

VOLUME IV

Global Western Anglicanism, c.1910–present

EDITED BY
JEREMY MORRIS

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Contents

<i>List of Contributors</i>	ix
<i>Series Introduction</i>	xi
1. Historiographical Introduction <i>Jeremy Morris</i>	1
 PART I. THEMES AND WIDER ENGAGEMENTS	
2. The Evolution of Anglican Theology, 1910–2000 <i>Mark Chapman</i>	25
3. Liturgical Renewal and Modern Anglican Liturgy <i>Louis Weil</i>	50
4. Gender Perspectives: Women and Anglicanism <i>Cordelia Moyse</i>	68
5. Sexuality and Anglicanism <i>William L. Sachs</i>	93
6. The State, Nationalism, and Anglican Identities <i>Matthew Grimley</i>	117
7. Sociology and Anglicanism in the Twentieth Century: Class, Ethnicity, and Education <i>Martyn Percy</i>	137
8. Anglicanism in the Era of Decolonization <i>Sarah Stockwell</i>	160
9. Anglicanism and Christian Unity in the Twentieth Century <i>Paul Avis</i>	186
10. War and Peace <i>Michael Snape</i>	214
11. Global Poverty and Justice <i>Malcolm Brown</i>	243

PART II. INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

12. The Development of the Instruments of Communion 271
Colin Podmore
13. The Anglican Communion and Anglicanism 303
Ephraim Radner

PART III. REGIONAL SURVEY

14. Anglicanism in Australia and New Zealand 331
Ian Breward
15. North American Anglicanism: Competing Factions, Creative
Tensions, and the Liberal-Conservative Impasse 362
Sheryl A. Kujawa-Holbrook
16. Anglicanism in Britain and Ireland 397
Jeremy Morris
- Index* 437

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Series Introduction

Rowan Strong

Even Henry VIII at his autocratic best could hardly have imagined that his Church of England would, nearly five centuries after he had replaced papal authority with his own, become a global Christian communion encompassing people and languages far beyond the English. Formally, Henry asserted his royal power over the national Church on a more global scale—on the imperial theory that ‘this realm of England is an empire’ asserted by the Act in Restraint of Appeals (to Rome) in 1533. Yet this was sixteenth-century imperial theory serving a national end. England was an empire and therefore King Henry was an emperor, that is, a ruler who was the paramount earthly authority and consequently superior to the papacy. So Henry’s Church of England was always a national project, meant first and foremost to be the Church of the English—all the English—who would, if necessary, be compelled to come in. That national politico-religious agenda—a Church of all the English with the monarchy as its supreme head—formed the thrust of the policy of all but one of the succeeding Tudor monarchs. However, that royal agenda of the inclusion of all the English lay at the heart of the problem of this national ecclesiastical project.

At no time since Henry VIII ushered in his religious revolution did all the English wish to be part of this Church of England, though for over two centuries the monarchy and the English ruling classes attempted to encourage, cajole, or compel everyone in England to at least attend their parish church on Sunday. In Henry’s reign, religious dissent from this monarchical Church was disparate and small, partly because Henry ensured it was dangerous. So some advanced Evangelicals (as early Protestants were called), such as Robert Barnes and William Tyndale, were executed by the regime in the early years of the religious revolution. Later, some prominent conservatives influenced by Catholic reform, such as Bishop John Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and some members of particular observant religious orders, followed their Evangelical enemies to the scaffold or the block. As the Protestant Reformation unfolded, and Catholic reform began to gather definition, from the reign of Edward VI onwards, those among the English who dissented from, or who were dissatisfied with, this national Church began to increase in numbers. Even those within it argued among themselves as to what the Church of England stood for.

Consequently, the Church of England, and its later global Anglican expansion, was always a contested identity throughout its history. It was contested

both by its own adherents and by its leadership. This series looks at the history of that contestation and how it contributed to an evolving religious identity eventually known as Anglican. The major question it seeks to address is: what were the characteristics, carriers, shapers, and expressions of an Anglican identity in the various historical periods and geographic locations investigated by the volumes in the series? The series proposes that Anglicanism was not a version of Christianity that emerged entire and distinct by the end of the so-called Elizabethan Settlement. Rather, the disputed and developing identity of the Church developed from Henry VIII's religious revolution began to be worked out in the various countries of the British Isles from the early sixteenth century, went into a transatlantic environment in the seventeenth century, and then evolved in an increasing global context from the eighteenth century onwards. The series proposes that the answer to 'what is an Anglican?' was always debated. Moreover, Anglican identity over time experienced change and contradiction as well as continuities. Carriers of this developing identity included formal ecclesiastical dimensions such as clergy, prayer books, theology, universities, and theological colleges. Also among such formal carriers of Anglican identity was the English (then the British) state, so this series also investigates ways in which that state connection influenced Anglicanism. But the evolution of Anglicanism was also maintained, changed, and expressed in various cultural dimensions, such as architecture, art, and music. In addition, the series pays attention to how Anglicanism interacted with national identities, helping to form some, and being shaped itself by others. Each volume in the series devotes some explicit attention to these formal dimensions, by setting out the various Anglican identities expressed in their historical periods by theology, liturgy, architecture, religious experience and the practice of piety, and its interactions with wider society and politics.

A word needs to be said about the use of the term 'Anglicanism' to cover a religious identity whose origins lie in the sixteenth century when the name was not known. While recognizing the anachronism of the term Anglicanism, it is the 'least-worst' appellation to describe this religious phenomenon throughout the centuries of its existence. It is a fallacy that there was no use of the term Anglicanism to describe the Church of England and its global offshoots before John Henry Newman and the Oxford movement in the 1830s. Newman and his Tractarian *confreres* certainly gave wider publicity to the name by using it to describe the separate Catholic culture of their Church. However, its usage predates the Tractarians because French Catholic writers were using it in the eighteenth century. It has become acceptable scholarly usage to describe this version of Christianity for the centuries prior to the nineteenth, notwithstanding its admittedly anachronistic nature.¹ Into the nineteenth century contemporaries

¹ John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England* (New Haven, 1991), pp. xiii–xiv; John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689–c.1833*

used the terms ‘Church of England’ or ‘Churchmen’ to encompass their Church, even in countries and colonies beyond England. However, these names are not acceptable or understood today with their formerly inclusive meaning. The latter is objectionable on gender terms; and the former, while used by Anglicans in a variety of different lands and cultures, only leads to confusion when addressing the Church of England beyond England itself. Consequently, it has long been recognized in the scholarly literature that there is a need for some term that enshrines both the Church of England in England, its presence beyond that nation, and for that denomination over its entire historical existence. The most commonly adopted term is Anglicanism, and has been used by a number of recent scholars for periods prior to the nineteenth century.² A less Anglo-centric term—‘Episcopal’ or ‘Episcopalianism’—is widely used in some parts of world for the same ecclesiastical phenomenon—Scotland, North America, and Brazil. However, that term does not figure as widely as Anglican or Anglicanism in the historical literature, so it is the predominant usage in this series.

Consequently, Anglicanism is understood in this series as originating as a mixed and ambiguous ecclesiastical identity, largely as a result of its foundation by the Tudor monarchs of the sixteenth century who were determined to embrace the whole of the English nation within their national Church. It is, consequently, a religious community that brings together aspects of ecclesiastical identity that other Western Churches have separated. From an English Church that was predominantly Reformed Protestant in the sixteenth century, emerging Anglicanism developed a liturgical and episcopal identity alongside its Protestant emphasis on the Bible as the sole criterion for religious truth. The series therefore views Anglicanism as a Church in tension. Developing within Anglicanism over centuries was a creative but also divisive tension between Protestantism and Catholicism, between the Bible and tradition, between the Christian past and contemporary thought and society, that has meant Anglicanism has not only been a contested, but also at times an inconsistent Christian identity.

Within England itself, the Tudor project of a Church for the English nation became increasingly unrealistic as that Church encompassed people who were not English, or people who thought of themselves less as English than as different nationalities. But it has proved to have a surprisingly long life for the English themselves. The series demonstrates various ways in which the Church over the centuries attempted to enforce, encourage, or cling to its

(Cambridge, 1993), ch. 1; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660–1832* (Cambridge, 2000 edn.), p. 256; Nigel Voak, *Richard Hooker, and Reformed Theology: A Study of Reason, Will, and Grace* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 1–5; Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (Oxford, 2003 edn.), pp. 40–61.

² John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit, 1984); Thomas Bartlett, ‘Ireland and the British Empire’, in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), p. 270.

national identity in England, with some degree of success, not least in retaining an enduring cultural appeal for some English who were only loosely connected to its institutional life, or barely to its theological or religious claims. Even today English cathedrals often attract audiences to daily Evensong that otherwise would not be there.

But for those in England and beyond for whom their Church was more central, contestation, and the evolution of identity it prompted, was probably inevitable in a Church that, after its first two supreme heads, was deliberately re-founded by Elizabeth I to be ambiguous enough in certain key areas to give a Church for all the English a pragmatic chance of being accomplished. But this was a loaded gun. A basically Protestant Church, aligned with the Swiss Reformation, but with sufficient traditional aspects to irritate convinced Protestants at home (though less so major European Reformers); but insufficiently Catholic to pull in reformed Catholics for whom papal authority was non-negotiable, simply pleased no one for quite a while. It was neither Catholic fish nor properly Protestant fowl, at least according to those English that wanted the Church of England to conform completely to the worship and polity of Geneva, by the later sixteenth century the pre-eminent centre of international Protestantism. Even Elizabeth's bishops were not entirely comfortable with the Church they led, and some of them tried to push the boundaries towards a properly Reformed Church modelled on that of the New Testament. Until, that is, they realized Elizabeth was having none of it, and made it clear she would not deviate beyond the Church and worship enacted by Parliament in 1558–9. In her mind, though probably in no one else's, those years constituted 'the settlement' of religion. When her archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, refused to suppress the so-called 'prophesyings' of local clergy meeting for what would now be termed professional development, the queen simply suspended him for the rest of his life and put his functions into the hands of an appointed committee. Royal Supremacy was an undoubted component of the Church of England's identity, and Elizabeth and her successors for many years were not about to let anyone forget it, be they bishops or religiously-interfering Members of Parliament.

The fact that Elizabeth emulated the long reigns of her father and grandfather, and not the short ones of her half brother and half sister, meant that her Church of England had time to put down local roots, notwithstanding the 'Anglican' puritans who sought to remake it in Geneva's image; or the zealous Catholic mission priests who hoped to dismantle it by taking Catholics out of it completely.

Where the English went their Church was bound to follow, though this intensified the unhappy situation of Ireland where the English had for centuries sought political domination undergirded by settlement. The consequence of legally establishing a Protestant Church of Ireland was to add religious difference to the centuries-old colonial condition of that island,

whose Gaelic-speaking population remained stubbornly Catholic, in part because the Catholic Church was not English. Generally, the Irish wanted no part of this Church, aside from a small percentage of Irish who stood to gain from alliance with the prevailing Protestant power.

The following century saw the contest for the Church of England become more militant and polarized, until the English went to war to settle the issue among themselves. Perhaps the most surprising development was the emergence of a group of Anglicans who began to publicly advocate for the conservative aspects of the Church of England, a group that coalesced and became another sort of Anglican to the usual sort of Calvinist. This new variety of Anglican was particularly encouraged by specific royal patronage under the first two Stuart kings, James I and Charles I. These new contestants for the identity of the Church have been called by various names—Arminians, Laudians, avant-garde conformists—partly because they were not tightly defined but represented various agendas. Some sought, with the support of Charles I (the first Supreme Governor to be born into the Church of England), to bolster the independence and wealth of the Church; others, to oppose the Church's Calvinist theology and particularly the doctrine of predestination; others, to redress the lack of attention given to the sacraments and sacramental grace compared with the fervour for preaching among the more devout. But all were more or less agreed that the worship of the Church and the performance of the liturgy were woeful and needed to be better ordered, and churches should be more beautiful as aids to devotion and the fundamental significance of the sacraments.

But whether their agenda was liturgical, theological, or sacramental, to their puritan opponents this new Anglicanism looked like Catholicism, and that was the Antichrist from whose idolatrous and superstitious clutches the Protestant Reformation had released the English into true Christianity. They were not prepared to hand over the Church of England to a Catholic fifth-column. But while James I was cautious in his support for these avant-garde Anglicans, liking their support for divine-right monarchy but not their anti-Calvinism, his aesthetic, devout, and imperious son was markedly less so. The religious ball was in the royal court, particularly when Charles pulled off, in the 1630s, a decade of ruling without calling a Parliament, thereby silencing that body's uncomfortable and intolerable demands for royal accountability and religious reform.

The export in 1637 of Charles's particular version of the Church of England to his other kingdom of Scotland, in the form of a Scottish Prayer Book, not only stoked the fires of Scottish Presbyterian nationalism, but also released the pent-up energies of those within the Church of England who wanted an end to what they saw as royal absolutism and religious renovation by would-be papists. The rapid result of this intensification of political and religious contestation was the outbreak in 1642 of years of civil war in the royal

Supreme governor's three kingdoms. The internal Anglican quarrel, part of wider political differences, ended with the demise of the revolution begun by Henry VIII—the legal abolition of the Church of England, sealed in 1645 in the blood of the beheaded archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud; and followed by that of his Church's head, Charles I, in 1649. For the first time in its legal existence the Church of England (and the Church of Ireland) no longer officially existed.

Then an unexpected thing happened—some people continued to worship and practise their devotional lives according to the use of the defunct Church of England, demonstrating that its identity, though contested, was by this time a genuine reality in the lives of at least some of the English. They did this despite it being illegal, though the republican regime under Oliver Cromwell was not particularly zealous in its proscription of such activities. However, the diarist John Evelyn was present one Christmas Day when a covert congregation in London was dispersed by soldiers while keeping the holy day (proscribed by the regime) by gathering for Holy Communion according to the Book of Common Prayer.³ Evelyn and others worshipped this way, and numbers of clergy used as much of the Prayer Book as they could in the parishes, notwithstanding that their leaders, the bishops, did little to set an example or to ensure the continuation of their illegal order. Anglican identity through worship and the ordering of the week and the year according to the Prayer Book and the Calendar of the Church of England was now being maintained, not by the state, but at the clerical and lay grassroots.

When Charles II landed in Dover in 1660 as the recognized king of England, after the rapid demise of the republican regime with its non-episcopal quasi-congregationalist Church following the death in 1658 of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, one outcome was the restoration of the legal monopoly of the Church of England. What that legal restoration did not do was to restore the spirituality, devotion, practice, and belief of the Church of England, because these had been ongoing in the period of the Church's official demise. Nevertheless, the legislation that brought back the establishment of the Church of England did newly define some ingredients of Anglican identity.

Before the Commonwealth the Church of England had not made ordination by bishops a non-negotiable aspect of Anglicanism. While it was certainly normal, there were exceptions made for some ministers who had been ordained in non-episcopal Churches elsewhere to minister in the Church of England without re-ordination. Now all clergy in the Church had to be episcopally ordained, with the sole exception of those clergy who came from Churches with a long historic tradition of episcopacy—the Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and the Church of Sweden. So from 1660 episcopacy became a

³ William Bray (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn FRS* (London, 1878, 4 vols.), I, p. 341 (25 Dec. 1657).

basic characteristic of Anglicanism. The result was the expulsion of hundreds of clergy who would not conform to the requirement and to that of using only the Book of Common Prayer in worship. These dissenting clergy and laity, most of whom came from the previous Calvinist and puritan groups, now became permanent nonconformists outside the Church of England. In 1662 a slightly revised Book of Common Prayer was passed by Parliament as the only authorized liturgy for the Church therefore reinforcing liturgical worship as a fundamental criterion of Anglican identity. Parliament again passed an Act of Uniformity and various other acts against nonconformist worship. Uniformity was restored as an aspect of Anglicanism. So also was the royal supremacy.

However, while episcopacy has remained virtually unquestioned, and uniform liturgical worship remained uncontested within Anglicanism until the late twentieth century, the same could not be said for the other dimensions of the 1662 resettlement of Anglicanism—legal establishment, the royal supremacy, and uniformity. These identifiers were to be victims of the global success of Anglicanism from the eighteenth century, as the Church of England expanded; first across the Atlantic into North American colonies, and then globally within and beyond the British Empire. The first to go was legal establishment when the Americans successfully ushered in their republic after their War of Independence with Britain and some Anglicans remained in the new state. No longer could these Anglicans be subject to the British crown, or be legally privileged in a country in which they were a decided minority, when the Americans had gone to so much trouble to jettison these things. So an Anglicanism—known after the Scottish precedent as Episcopalianism—came into existence for the first time in history without monarchical headship, but rather as a voluntary association. Even within the British Empire these legal and political aspects of Anglicanism, so much a part of its foundation in the sixteenth century, were in trouble by the 1840s. It was then that the bishop of a very new colony, almost as far away from England as you could get, started acting as though the monarchy and establishment were Anglican optional extras. Inspired by the United States precedent, Bishop Augustus Selwyn began unilaterally calling synods of his clergy just four years after New Zealand had been annexed in 1840 as a crown colony, and a few years later he was leading his Church into a constitution which made authoritative synods of laymen, clergy, and bishops. Voluntaryism was catching on in international Anglicanism.

Contestation and evolution continued to be a part of Anglicanism. One of its most enduring characteristics, the sole use of an authorized liturgical form for public worship, began to be challenged by two mutually hostile internal parties—Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. In some dioceses the latter succumbed to the temptation to use the Roman missal with the permission of sympathetic diocesan bishops. In contrast, encouraged by the global ambitions of the

wealthy diocese of Sydney, some of the former had *de facto* abandoned the use of an authorized prayer book entirely. Into this recent Anglican contest has been thrown issues of human sexuality which have conflicted wider society, particularly in the West, but which have been accentuated for Anglicans by questions of how varieties of human sexuality conform or do not conform to the authority of Scripture. So these historical forces have not ceased to play their part within the dynamic of Anglican identity. The post-colonial era following the retraction of the British Empire has brought further criticism, from Anglicans themselves, about the extent to which their denomination was complicit in British imperialism, and that therefore their identity suffers from being an imperial construct. For such Anglican critics, necessary deconstruction has to occur which allows English markers of identity, even as basic as liturgical worship or episcopacy, to be questioned or even relinquished.

Since the nineteenth century and the effective end of the royal supremacy—whether that was exercised by the monarch or the British Parliament—emerging global Anglicanism was increasingly beset into the twenty-first century by the issue of authority. There has been no effective replacement for the royal supremacy, in part because of Anglicanism's historical origins in anti-papal national royalism. Beyond the purely diocesan level, the Anglican Communion struggled to find an operative replacement for the authority of the royal supremacy. Various attempts at authority by moral consensus, all bedevilled by anxiety that something akin to a centralized (i.e. papal) authority was being constructed, were tried. But all such central organizations of an emerging international Communion were saddled with the original limitations imposed by Archbishop Longley when he agreed to call the first Lambeth Conference of diocesan bishops in 1867. By repudiating any real global authority, and opting for the consultative label of 'conference' rather than 'synod', Longley found a way to bring opposing parties of Anglicans together. But the emerging Anglican Communion, with its so-called 'Instruments of Unity'—be they the Anglican Consultative Council, or Primates' Meeting—tried to emulate Longley and both avoid the devil—papal centralism—and the deep blue sea—myriad manifestations that belied the claim to unity. True to its origins, Anglicanism perhaps remained more comfortable with its various national existences, than with its international one.

However, the history of Anglicanism is not merely the tracing of the evolution of a now global form of Western Christianity, important though that may be to tens of millions of contemporary Anglican adherents. As part of the historical turn to religion in recent academic interest, in the past two decades there has been a great increase of interest in the history and development of both the Church of England and its global offshoots. Scholars have investigated a plethora of facets of these religious phenomena, from the institutional to the popular, from formal theological belief and worship to informal, more diffusive faith. Other historians have looked at seminal

Anglican figures and movements. As well as specifically religious history, other historians have been recapturing the pivotal importance of Anglicanism in wider social and political contexts.

There has been a general historiographical revision which might broadly be described as moving the Church of England (and religion generally) from the margins to the centre of major economic social, political, and cultural development in English, British, imperial, and global history from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. The Church of England, Anglicanism, and religion more generally are now seen to be seminal dimensions of these various historical periods. So, for example, the significance of religion in the British Empire has now been recognized by a number of important scholars.⁴ However, the major religious denomination in that empire, the Church of England, has been only sparsely studied compared to Nonconformity and is just now beginning to be critically examined.⁵ Belatedly religion is moving up the scale of historical importance in British, imperial, and global history, but it still lags behind the significance and attention that it has received from historians of England. There have been various studies of the Church of England in its national context, but these have not always been integrated into wider British and global studies.⁶

A number of studies of historical Anglicanism have focused on the narrative of the institutional and theological history of Anglicanism, either as the Church of England or as an Anglican Communion. These include Stephen Neill's now very dated *Anglicanism*, originally published in 1958. More recently, there have been William L. Sachs's *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (1993), and Kevin Ward's *A History of Global Anglicanism* (2006). However, these scholarly histories are single-volume histories that inevitably provide insufficient depth to do justice to the breadth of scholarship on their subject. Anglicanism is now a subject of such complexity as both an institutional church and a religious culture that sufficient justice cannot be done to it in a single-volume historical treatment.

But there is now sufficient international historical interest and extant scholarship to make an extensive, analytical investigation into the history of Anglicanism a feasible intellectual project. In undertaking such a challenge the

⁴ Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867* (Chicago, 2002); Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (Abingdon, 2008).

⁵ Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire 1700–c.1850* (Oxford, 2007); Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850–1915* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2014).

⁶ Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2007); Rowan Strong, *Episcopalianism in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Religious Responses to a Modernizing Society* (Oxford, 2000); Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia* (Melbourne, 2002).

scholars who embarked on the project back in 2012 understand that not only was Anglicanism a religious identity shaped by theological and ecclesiastical understandings, but Anglicans were also formed by non-religious forces such as social class, politics, gender, and economics. Anglicanism has, therefore, been an expression of the Christianity of diverse social groups situated in the differing contexts of the past five centuries—monarchs, political elites, and lower orders; landowners and landless; slave-owners and slaves; missionaries, settlers, and indigenous peoples; colonizers and colonized—and by their enemies and opponents, both within and without their Church.

Historiographical Introduction

Jeremy Morris

When the editors of this *Oxford History of Anglicanism* were considering the overall plan of volumes for the series, it was originally proposed to have one volume covering world-wide Anglicanism in the twentieth century, under one editor. But all of the independent referees argued that the projected scope was simply too vast for a single volume, and that two were needed in its place. The difficult question, however, was how to divide the subject? Any chronological division, for example at 1945, would risk both unbalancing coverage into two volumes of unequal length, and cutting key themes that really merited sustained discussion into two segments. A thematic division, perhaps putting regional and local perspectives in one volume, and overarching themes covering the whole of the Anglican Communion in another, would require much more overlap between the two volumes than was desirable, unless, that is, one volume was to deprive itself of necessary illustrative and contextual material, and the other was to avoid conceptual explanation and survey. In the end, the decision was taken to divide twentieth-century Anglicanism into two cultural entities, Western Anglicanism (the subject of this volume), and non-Western Anglicanism. It is not, it needs to be said at once, a very satisfactory or neat division, but a practical necessity. Both books, it is hoped, will be read as effectively dove-tailing into each other, with the editors trying to produce complementary volumes that have distinct, different approaches.

The difficulties of the distinction between 'Western' and 'non-Western' Anglicanism are worth spelling out from the outset. By 'Western Anglicanism', we mean principally the three regional areas of North America, the British Isles, and Australasia (or rather, Australia and New Zealand). The category is defensible in various ways: these were all industrial and 'advanced' economies by the twentieth century; they were mostly English-speaking; their demographic profile was mostly dependent on historic migration from Europe and particularly Britain and Ireland, or of course indigenously British and Irish; their religious histories shared certain common identities, in that those of

North America and Australasia had been profoundly influenced by settlement from Britain and Ireland, and by Britain's religious changes and conflicts; and their Anglican life in particular was consequently shaped decisively by the liturgical tradition of the Book of Common Prayer. Moreover, as this volume will demonstrate, in the twentieth century even as the Anglican Churches in all three regional contexts pursued essentially autonomous, distinct destinies, their experience of growth and decline was broadly similar. But at the same time, the commonalities, or the religious and cultural 'border' between Western and non-Western Anglicanism, should not be exaggerated. After all, until the 1960s, much of the leadership of the Anglican Churches in Africa and Asia was British or American. A great deal of qualification is needed, and by implication a great deal of complication, to make sense of Anglican experience across all three regions covered in this volume. Both North America and Australasia had colonial histories of their own, with the domination and subjugation of indigenous peoples. The Church-state link in England was not shared with North America and Australasia. The governance structure of the Episcopal Church in the United States was substantially different from that of the Church of England, and of the Anglican Churches in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Sharply different constitutional histories in the United States and Britain and Ireland naturally conditioned different national religious histories. So one could go on.

The difficulties are compounded by terminology. We have already seen some of the definitional complexities associated with the term 'Western Anglicanism'. Several other terms in common use also have their limitations and their unacceptable undertones, including 'First world' or 'Old' and 'New' worlds, and 'global North'. There is no longer any adequate common term to capture the simple geographical region covered, to all intents and purposes in this volume, by the outdated term 'British Isles'. Some historians—notably Diarmaid MacCulloch—have attempted to introduce the term 'Atlantic Isles' to cover both Britain and Ireland.¹ But this has not passed into common usage yet. For much of the twentieth century, 'British Isles' has referred to both Britain and Ireland, and for that reason is reluctantly retained here. But the creation of the Republic of Ireland in the 1920s sundered the link between realm and government, and made the common term politically problematic. Commonly, before 1920, 'Church of England' referred to both England and Wales. Australia retained the title 'Church of England in Australia' in formal use until 1981; its abandonment naturally reflected post-colonial national consciousness. Even the term 'Anglican' is of limited use in Scotland and the United States; in both countries 'Episcopal Church' is the proper designation, though most would accept 'Anglican' as a common substitute; yet both

¹ D. MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490–1700* (London, 2003), p. xxvi.

Churches share roots that are at once not entirely dependent on the Church of England, and yet also somewhat distinct from each other.

If terminology, like scope, is complicated enough, what about chronology? Historians have long fretted about the apparent tidiness of chronologies too dependent on the passing of centuries. Both 'long' eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been posited as a way round the problem. The twentieth century presents similar obstacles. Here, I have chosen to begin essentially just before 1914, taking the scope of the volume loosely just beyond the end of the twentieth century into the beginning of the twenty-first. If this seems untidy, at least it has given contributors the freedom to trace particular trends and narratives as far as humanly possible. It would seem strange, for example, to discuss the evolution of the Anglican Communion, and of its institutional forms, in the twentieth century, only to stop short of the profound conflicts and far-reaching changes that opened up in the 2000s. The year 1914 would seem a natural starting-point, if only because at the beginning of the twentieth century much of the world was carved up into European empires, and the long and violent death of those empires really began in 1914.

THE WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE AND ANGLICANISM

But in practice it is convenient to begin just a few years before, with the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910. This was a conference on such a scale, and so momentous in its consequences for Western Protestantism, that it has commonly been taken to mark a watershed between the age of empire and mission, and the 'ecumenical century'. The Catholic theologian George Tavad, for example, claimed it 'inaugurated twentieth century ecumenism', and the Anglican bishop and missionary Stephen Neill argued it was 'in many respects the end of an epoch'.² Certainly in two key respects the conference was significant. First, its watchword 'the evangelization of the world in this generation' captured both the ambition of the modern missionary movement and its conviction that, by the early twentieth century, Western empire and economic progress had brought the Christianization of the world within grasp—an ambition bitterly crushed by the First World War. Second, however, the conference did give renewed impetus to what was by then a growing conviction, born of the great obstacle interdenominational competition created in the mission field, that Churches needed not only to work

² G. H. Tavad, *Two Centuries of Ecumenism* (London, 1960), p. 95; S. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 393.

together for the benefit of mission, but to grow together. Mission and Church unity were thus inextricably entwined. Even though the war intervened, still the work of the Continuation Committee formed out of the conference itself became instrumental in the inter-war process of evolving the ecumenical instruments that eventually came together in the World Council of Churches.

What is interesting about the conference, from the point of view of the study of modern Anglicanism, is that many of the themes that concerned Anglicans throughout the twentieth century were already present in 1910. Fear of the decline of Churches in Europe and America—as one delegate put it, ‘men are not coming forward as ministers, nor . . . as missionaries, because they are not coming forward into the membership of the Christian Church at all’—fear of the advance of Islam in Africa and Asia, criticism of colonialism, concerns to understand better other world religions, concern to expand the numbers of indigenous clergy, anxiety about the growth of nationalism—these were some of the leading themes of the conference.³ Anglicans were present in significant numbers, and that included some Anglo-Catholic delegates, who felt able to participate because of a prior agreement that ecclesiological issues would not feature substantially in discussion. But the very presence of Anglo-Catholics in an ecumenical conference drawn principally from British and Irish, European, and American Protestantism reflected the decisive ecumenical shift Anglicans would make in the course of the century, away from a bipolar approach (Anglo-Catholics drawn to Roman Catholics, Orthodox, and Old Catholics, Evangelicals to the Free Churches, and continental Lutheranism and the Reformed) towards a more integrated, even-handed one.

For these reasons, then, as well as others, the Edinburgh conference can stand as a suitable start to a ‘short’ twentieth century, lasting from 1910 to 1999. Certainly its light falls over many of the contributions to this volume. And Anglicans, in 1910, had good reason to be confident that their voice would be as strong and significant as any Christian voice in the century to come. Not only were Anglicans closely involved in much of the organization of the conference, and prominent as delegates, as well as prominent in the mission field from which many of the delegates were drawn, but the archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson, had opened the conference with a passionate plea for the coming of the kingdom of God: ‘Secure for that thought its true place, in our plans, our policy, our prayers; and then, why then, the issue is His, not ours’.⁴ So strong has been the myth about Edinburgh 1910 and its influence over the twentieth century, that few have commented on the irony of Davidson’s words, given the conflict about to be unleashed on the

³ World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission VI* (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 308.

⁴ W. H. Temple Gairdner, *Edinburgh 1910: An Account and Interpretation of the World Missionary Conference* (Edinburgh and London, 1910), p. 43.

world, though George Bell, in his masterly biography of Randall Davidson, chose to omit them from his account of the archbishop's address.⁵

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ANGLICANISM

If Davidson's almost apocalyptic words jar strangely, to a modern eye, given the anxieties delegates shared about Christian mission at home and abroad, they merely serve to highlight the extraordinary transformations Western Anglicanism underwent in the course of the succeeding century. These transformations have many complex dimensions, but four are absolutely central to the variety of narratives and analyses presented here, and have changed the historiography of Anglicanism in the twentieth century.

The first, inescapably, is that of secularization. This was both a theoretical preoccupation of theologians, historians, and sociologists alike in the twentieth century, and an actual set of experiences undergone by Church people in North America, the British Isles, and Australasia. The two were not always closely or directly related, ironically. The actual experience of church attendance varied considerably through the century and across different geographical contexts. In broad measure, in the British Isles Anglican church attendance remained relatively stable until the 1960s, though there were already signs of contraction well before then; thereafter it entered a steep decline, which appeared to be slowing down early in the twenty-first century. In Canada, it followed a similar trajectory, though with modest growth earlier in the twentieth century. In Australasia, likewise, Anglican membership remained relatively stable for the first half of the century, but declined towards the end. In the United States, the Episcopal Church expanded almost three-fold in the first half of the century, but began a sharp decline in the 1970s, which 'bottomed out' in the 1990s. That was against a much higher level of regular church-going overall, however, and the difference between the experience of church-going in the United States and that elsewhere in the Western world has itself led to much scholarly discussion.⁶ At the same time, Anglicanism in the United States had proved much more fissiparous than it had in Britain and Ireland.⁷

But secularization theory has sometimes seemed at best loosely related to available statistics of church attendance, not least because it has mostly been constructed at a relatively general level—or perhaps it is better to say that it is

⁵ G. Bell, *Randall Davidson: Archbishop of Canterbury* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1952), p. 574.

⁶ Cf. P. Berger, G. Davie, and E. Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe? A Theme and Variations* (Aldershot, 2008).

⁷ Cf. R. Lindsay, *Out of Africa: The Breakaway Anglican Churches* (Camarillo, CA, 2011).

at its most persuasive at a general level—and has required significant, and sometimes damaging, qualification and adjustment in order to take account of particular local trends. This is a point made forcefully by the Anglican sociologist of religion David Martin, for whom ‘those versions [of theory] that treat secularization as a universal and unilateral trend’ have been a constant target of criticism.⁸ Secularization theory in its classic form was influenced particularly by the sociological enquiries of Ferdinand Tönnies, Max Weber, and Émile Durkheim, and assumed that the rise of modern industrial and commercial society, allied to critical philosophies emanating from the Enlightenment which privileged reason and marginalized faith, was intrinsically threatening to religious belief. An inevitable decline was the fate of traditional, organized religion—above all, Christianity—in the condition of modernity.⁹ The theory was informed by what we might call the ‘pathology’ of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century clergy, who were convinced that their failure to fill their churches was a sign that the age was against them, and that society was sinking inexorably into a pit of materialism and indifference. The theory for much of the twentieth century was central to social commentary on religion, and the history of Anglicanism was influenced by this. Yet towards the end of the century much more critical voices, such as that of David Martin, came to the fore. The difficulty of using a universal theory to account for particular and complex situations was highlighted by a growing number of historians, and there were even scholars who began to doubt the historical truth—as opposed to the sociological theory—of the connection of Church decline with social and economic advance.¹⁰

The ways in which secularization theory has had to adjust to take account of different historical realities can be traced through many of the contributions to this volume. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, a growing number of scholars were ready to accept both, on the one hand, the general observation of declining church attendance in the West, and on the other the disruption offered to the conventional picture of decline by the growth of Christianity in other parts of the world, and by migration from there to the West. A common observation was that the ‘centre of gravity’ of world Christianity was shifting southwards, from Europe and North America to Africa and Asia.¹¹ This helped to effect a reassessment of the place of religion in modern society in

⁸ D. Martin, *The Future of Christianity: Reflections on Violence and Democracy, Religion and Secularization* (Farnham, 2011), p. 5.

⁹ Cf. S. Bruce (ed.), *Religion and Modernization: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis* (Oxford, 1992).

¹⁰ Cf. C. G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000* (London, 2001); R. Stark and R. Finke, *The Churching of America 1776–1992: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992).

¹¹ T. M. Johnson and S. Y. Chung, ‘Tracking Global Christianity’s Statistical Centre of Gravity, AD33–AD2100’, *International Review of Mission*, 93 (2004): 166–81.

the West, encouraging some scholars to assert forcefully the abiding importance of faith.¹² It also obliged scholars to recognize the multi-ethnic character of large city congregations, and the resultant changes in ecclesial culture—in music, in styles of worship, and in approaches to mission and to healing ministry. For Anglicans in the West, this reflected two important changes. The first was to the culture of Anglicanism itself, as it adjusted from being a white, male, Anglo-Saxon-led religious tradition, to being one of much greater diversity. The second was the increasing shift in power and influence in Anglicanism away from its traditional centre in the Church of England, with a concomitant increase in intra-Anglican conflict over a wide range of issues, though focused particularly on issues of human sexuality and women's ordination, a shift that itself in part reflected changing reactions to the experience of empire.

The second major transformation is related to this, then, and that is decolonization, or loss of empire. The growth of Anglicanism world-wide followed successive cycles of trade and imperial expansion. The language of empire was at the heart of Anglicanism from its origins in the English Reformation. As the Henrician Act in Restraint of Appeals of 1532 had asserted, 'this realm of England is an Empire...governed by one Supreme Head and King'. Here 'empire' denoted a single polity, 'compact of all sorts and degrees of people', rather than a description of sovereignty over other realms and nations. Thus 'empire' was, in the Henrician legislation, a political entity in which Church and state worked harmoniously together. But this was patient of adaptation into overseas empire. Even though very different colonial contexts had, in the nineteenth century, made the close application of the 'English model' of establishment under the royal supremacy virtually impossible outside Britain and Ireland, still by the early twentieth century in most parts of the British Empire there was an assumed 'fit', a correspondence, between the apparatus of colonial government and the ethos of Anglicanism. As several contributors to this volume observe, until the 1950s and 1960s the Anglican Churches outside North America were mostly led by English-born and educated bishops. Anglican clergy were present, often as officiants, at major state and ceremonial occasions in the colonies, and served as chaplains in the armed forces. Standard histories of Anglicanism written in the first half of the century almost inevitably subordinated (often severely) its development in Africa and Asia to what was assumed to be the essential narrative, namely the story of the Church of England. J. W. C. Wand, who had served as archbishop of Brisbane from 1934 to 1943, and was subsequently bishop of Bath and Wells, and then London, published an apparently comprehensive study of *Anglicanism in History and Today* in 1961; the whole of Anglican

¹² Cf. G. Davie, *Religion in Modern Europe: A Memory Mutates* (Oxford, 2000).

Africa outside South Africa attracted just one paragraph in a book of 280 pages.¹³ What was perhaps even more extraordinary was the bias unconsciously reflected in the chapter titles: after an opening chapter, 'Historical Turning Points', outlining the key points in Anglican history, but really focusing on the Church of England, the second simply carried the title 'Its Sister Churches'.

Such a thing rapidly came to seem inconceivable with decolonization. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the change began with the Indian subcontinent. The creation of the Church of South India in September 1947 followed independence by a few months, though it had been over twenty years in the making. The new united Church, controversial as it was with many Anglo-Catholics, may have been led at first mostly by Anglo-Saxon bishops and senior clergy, but it proudly asserted the independent ancient history of Christianity in India, and made a determined effort to reinterpret Christian life and worship in a way that was distinctive to India. This was a process echoed later in Africa and elsewhere in Asia, as colonial government made way for independence, and empire mutated into commonwealth. It had two effects that changed the historiography of Anglicanism. First, it encouraged greater attention to the contextual variety of local Anglicanism, and thus shifted the attention of historians away from a 'top-down', Lambeth-centred view of Anglicanism in the non-Western world, towards one in which the distinct identities and developments of Anglicanism in its many local contexts came to the fore. Almost as a result of this shift, there was a reluctance to force the denominational categories of Western Christianity sharply into an analysis of non-Western contexts—something very evident in the rich literature on African Christianity that began with books such as those by Bengt Sundkler and Louise Pirouet, and arguably found its most eloquent theoretician in Kwame Bediako.¹⁴ Naturally, the main focus of such a change lies largely outside the scope of this volume. But the change went hand in hand with a second shift, namely one in which historians became much more aware that Western Anglicanism was itself a contextual product as much as a norm, and that the history of imperial expansion was not only responsible for transmitting a European version of Christianity to the non-Western world, but shaped it even in its country of origin. The work of historians such as Bill Sachs and Bill Jacob, amongst others, reflected this changing awareness.¹⁵ There was a parallel awareness present in the work of political and social historians who

¹³ J. W. C. Wand, *Anglicanism in History and Today* (London, 1961), p. 44.

¹⁴ B. Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania* (London, 1974); L. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda, 1891–1914* (London, 1978); K. Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh and Maryknoll, NY, 1995).

¹⁵ W. L. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (Cambridge, 1993); W. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide* (London, 1997).

delineated the close connections between the ‘imperial project’ and domestic politics and policy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rowan Strong’s study of the intimate relationship—the ‘public discourse’—between imperialism and Anglicanism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has yet to be matched by historians of the twentieth century, but the work of many historians of Anglicanism nonetheless is consonant with it—one example would be Matthew Grimley’s study of Anglican theories of the state.¹⁶ Post-colonial studies, and post-colonial theory, had not had much direct impact on the historiography of Western Anglicanism, at least in its more conventional, ‘ecclesiastical history’ form, by the end of the century. It was to theologians and historians writing out of a non-Western context, for the most part, that one had to turn for examples of this, and that of course lies outside the scope of this volume, though there were echoes—as we shall see later—in work that was done to attend to Christian minorities or neglected communities in the West.

A third transformation was related to decolonization, and that was in the history of mission. In the age of empire, or at least until the Second World War, missionary activity undertaken by the Anglican missionary societies was largely in continuity with what had been done in the nineteenth century. It generated a ‘heroic’ history of its own, emphasizing the work of the missionary societies and individual missionaries. In this historiography, Christian mission was seen predominantly as a one-way process of donation, with the faith being given or ‘transmitted’ to those willing to receive it. Charles Groves’s monumental *Planting of Christianity in Africa* (1948–58) argued that Western missionary work had been undermined by its tendency to be too intellectual and insufficiently emotional, and in doing so paid relatively little attention to the ways in which African people themselves appropriated and shaped the Christianity they received.¹⁷ In Stephen Neill’s influential *History of Christian Missions* (1964), this perspective was still present, though qualified and nuanced by awareness of more recent developments, including the growing strength of indigenous Churches in Africa and Asia, and the rapid increase of Pentecostalism. Neill drew attention to the way, between the wars, the great missionary societies began to lose confidence, affected as they were by political turbulence in Europe; but he still tended to describe mid-century missionary work in terms that would have been familiar to earlier generations, citing ‘the strengthening and extension of the hold of the missions on almost every country in the world’.¹⁸ More recent work has

¹⁶ R. Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700–1850* (Oxford, 2007); M. Grimley, *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England: Liberal Anglican Theories of the State between the Wars* (Oxford, 2004).

¹⁷ C. P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, 4 vols. (London, 1948–58).

¹⁸ Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, p. 462.

complicated this picture, demonstrating how much was learned by missionaries from the context in which they worked, and the people amongst whom they worked, as much as was taught by them.¹⁹ Mission is always a two-way process, susceptible to a two-way analysis: for every 'sending' culture there is a 'receiving' one, and each is influenced by the other, if not necessarily to an equal degree. By implication, the history of mission must always keep two contexts in mind, not simply one.

The mutual interactions of sending and receiving cultures began to have more prominence in the generation of mission historians influenced—whether consciously or not—by decolonization, from the 1960s onwards. Perhaps the most startling example was the reception of a late nineteenth-century controversy, rather than a twentieth-century one—namely that over Bishop J. W. Colenso's efforts to translate the Bible into Zulu, and the resulting split in the South African Church.²⁰ It was another South African theologian—though Reformed, not Anglican—David J. Bosch who provided a typological 'map' for historians rethinking the history of mission, effectively marginalizing the 'heroic' model of mission, and demonstrating the powerful operation of many different paradigms in mission history.²¹ Along with the work of Lesslie Newbigin, bishop of the Church of South India, who also deployed the concept of 'paradigm' change popularized by Thomas Kuhn to help explain how culture and mission were intertwined, and other scholars, this changed perceptions of Western Anglicanism itself in the 'age of mission'. Not only did it foreground the role of imperial expansion and colonial government in the activity of mission itself, but it also highlighted how central the imperial 'project' had been to Anglicanism's self-understanding. The effects were most noticeable, not so much in ecclesiastical history, but in political history, and in the new social history that experienced such an upsurge in the 1960s and 1970s. Here, time and again religion was often marginalized, or pigeon-holed as an epiphenomenal distraction from the main business of historical explanation. The missionary societies, and indeed the whole enterprise of Christian mission, were often reduced to mere adjuncts to ideologies of social and political control. Christianity almost disappeared altogether from the much-lauded *Age of Extremes* (1994) by Eric Hobsbawm, for example, whose assessment of its significance can be deduced from his passing comment that in the last decades of the century there was 'a bizarre return to

¹⁹ Cf. K. Cracknell, *Justice, Courtesy and Love: Theologians and Missionaries Encountering World Religions, 1846–1914* (London, 1995); B. Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2009).

²⁰ Cf. the essays gathered in J. A. Draper (ed.), *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Inspiration* (London, 2003).

²¹ D. J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY, 1991).

fashion among some intellectuals of what their educated grandfathers would have described as superstition and barbarism'.²²

Just as criticism of 'classic' secularization theory helped to reinstate the significance of religion as an object worthy of scholarly attention, so the reaction against excessively reductive post-colonial interpretation has permitted a more nuanced reading of the missionary enterprise to emerge. Recognizing the reciprocal process of cultural exchange that underlies Christian mission, historians into the twenty-first century increasingly acknowledged that the growth of Christianity in the non-Western world belied the assumptions of many post-colonial scholars that it was simply an alien implant and would disappear. As David Maxwell observed, clearly 'the grass-roots adherents ignored the criticisms of the intellectual elites'.²³ Historians such as Andrew Walls, Lamin Sanneh, and Jeffrey Cox pioneered a new appreciation of the complexities of mission history.²⁴ Here, the missionary movement was not seen merely as an adjunct to the European project of empire, though the wider political context of mission was not ignored. The essence of this new approach—though I am admittedly risking a certain over-synthesizing here—was to take the evangelistic goals of the missionary societies seriously as their stated aim, and to explore their relationship to their cultural and political contexts through their primary role as religious institutions, rather than as agencies subserving concealed political or ideological agendas.²⁵ This way, for example, the work and aspirations of Indian Anglicans could be understood on their own terms, and not as a mere afterthought or residue of the raj.²⁶ The work of the missionary societies was integral to the development of indigenous Anglican Churches throughout the world, but that development itself could not be explained exclusively through analysis of the societies. European perspectives were important, in other words, and could not or should not be excluded from consideration—thus much of the fruits of post-colonial criticism and historiography could be retained—but to say this did not occlude the need to consider dynamic local factors in accounting for the history of Anglicanism in the 'mission field' and afterwards. Just as this repositioned the study of African and Asian

²² E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991* (London, 1994), p. 202.

²³ D. Maxwell, 'Decolonization', in N. Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire* (Oxford, 2005), p. 286.

²⁴ Cf. A. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY, 2002); L. Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY, 1989); J. Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818–1940* (Stanford, CA, 2002).

²⁵ Cf. K. Ward and B. Stanley (eds.), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2000).

²⁶ Cf. S. B. Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V. S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2000).

Anglicanism, recognizing its contextual distinctiveness, it also rebalanced the historiography of Anglicanism in the West, reaffirming its complexity and its own distinct identity.

Mention of identity leads to the fourth area of transformation in the historiography, namely the broad question of Anglican identity itself. Here the major fault-line was represented by a single book, *The Integrity of Anglicanism* (1978), by Stephen Sykes. For much of the twentieth century, scholarly understanding of what Anglicanism is was dominated by a broad historical perspective, represented particularly by scholars such as William Wand and Stephen Neill, which assumed that the essence of the Anglican tradition could be constructed first and foremost by narrating the history of the Church of England. In this view, Anglicanism tended not to be systematized as a theological tradition with its own characteristic doctrinal positions, but rather described more loosely as a distinct tradition of spirituality and order, with varying emphasis placed upon its pastoral ministry (the ministry 'to all in every place' view which was an obvious derivation from the historic parish system), its spirit of moderation and compromise, its claimed 'triad' of authority of Scripture, reason, and tradition, and its adherence to the historic threefold order of ordained ministry. Its character was often described as its 'genius'.²⁷ Ecumenically it was commonly called a 'bridge' Church between Protestantism and Catholicism. Spiritually it was deemed to have a historic core of gentle and moderate, if disciplined, character, which bore a remarkable similarity to the religious ethos of the High Churchmanship of those who, for the most part, were the ones who wrote about Anglican spirituality. An excellent example was *Anglican Devotion* (1961) by C. J. Stranks. His approach was predictably historical, surveying a number of texts from the Reformation to the Oxford movement. When he sought to summarize 'Some characteristics of Anglican devotion' in his final chapter, moderation and balance were constantly to the fore. Anglican spirituality attempted to 'hold the balance between the claims of reason and emotion', the Book of Common Prayer was characterized by restraint, dignity, and a 'fusion of fact and feeling', the pre-eminence of the Bible in Anglican devotional life was matched by the centrality of the Prayer Book. Protestants welcomed the Catholicism of the Prayer Book and Catholics its Protestantism, and all this was stated nonetheless within a moderate Tractarian or High Church appreciation of the Church and the sacraments as essential to Christian life.²⁸ Martin Thornton's influential *English Spirituality* (1963) was perhaps another example of the genre, if however one with a much sharper and more original attention to a particular

²⁷ Cf. A. W. F. Blunt, *The Genius of Anglicanism* (London, 1942).

²⁸ C. J. Stranks, *Anglican Devotion Studies in the Spiritual Life of the Church of England between the Reformation and the Oxford Movement* (London, 1961), pp. 271, 274, 276, and 280.

strand of spirituality, namely the ascetic one.²⁹ To describe this genre the way I have is not to deny that this was indeed the Anglican tradition, or rather 'Anglicanism', as it was commonly followed by large numbers of church-goers. But it did appear to present Anglicanism as a much more unified and compact religious tradition than it really was, one in which theology took second place to pastoral practice, in which the accent was on restraint and moderation rather than on confessional confidence, and in which a high literary culture was particularly constitutive of a notional 'spirituality' that in fact was almost invariably associated with a privileged elite.

Demolition of this overly synthesized view of Anglican identity cannot be attributed to Sykes alone, but his was by far the most caustic and penetrating voice. *The Integrity of Anglicanism* was an attack on the theory of Anglican 'comprehensiveness', which he traced back to F. D. Maurice, but which had been articulated eloquently by Michael Ramsey. According to this theory, Anglicanism's great merit was that it reconciled apparently contradictory opposites, encompassing widely different doctrinal and ecclesiological systems in an overarching schema that in and of itself possessed coherence, and which, as we have seen, was generally supported by a somewhat selective reading of history. Anglicans could thus claim to have 'no special doctrines' of their own, but at the same time to be distinguished by their moderation, breadth, openness to other traditions, and so on. As Sykes archly commented, 'Lots of contradictory things may be said to be complementary by those with a vested interest in refusing to think straight.'³⁰ To the contrary, for Sykes, Anglicanism must have a distinctive theological position of its own, as otherwise it could not reasonably defend its difference from other religious traditions which did themselves claim to have distinctive doctrinal emphases. The refusal to see this was simply an example of a 'poisonous arrogance' which assumed an entity known as 'the English mind' and which went back no further than the Industrial Revolution; it needed to be called out for what it was by 'Anglicans of other racial origins' than the English.³¹ Sykes himself never provided a definitive answer to the obvious following question, 'What then is Anglican theology?', though he did, in a later collection of essays, make significant strides towards the answer.³² There were strongly critical reactions to Sykes's arguments, especially from those who were convinced he had misunderstood Maurice and Ramsey.³³ But his work was a fatal blow to the earlier genre. It became impossible to maintain with the same blithe

²⁹ M. Thornton, *English Spirituality: An Outline of Ascetical Theology According to the English Pastoral Tradition* (London, 1963).

³⁰ S. W. Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism* (Oxford, 1978), p. 19.

³¹ Sykes, *Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. 61.

³² S. W. Sykes, *Unashamed Anglicanism* (London, 1995).

³³ Cf. W. J. Wolf, J. E. Booty, and O. C. Thomas, *The Spirit of Anglicanism: Hooker, Maurice and Temple* (Edinburgh, 1982).

confidence the notion that there was a 'single' religious tradition called Anglicanism—other, that is, than as an identifiable, actual communion of Churches—and that no work needed to be done to demonstrate Anglicanism's theological characteristics.

As a result, Sykes's work helped to provoke a growing anxiety about the question of Anglican identity, an anxiety naturally intensified by the developing crisis in world-wide Anglicanism in the 1980s and 1990s over the ministry of women and, later, human sexuality. One of the central concerns of Sykes's work had been the nature of ecclesial authority—a particularly problematic issue in Anglicanism. Increasingly from the 1980s on scholars began to explore this question with a much more critical eye on Anglican history, and with a concern to try to elucidate what exactly was distinctive about Anglicanism ecclesiology. One of the most persuasive voices was that of Paul Avis, who, in a series of books over nearly thirty years, provided an answer as close as that of any to the questions posed by Sykes.³⁴ But there were others. The Australian scholar Bruce Kaye, a theologian with an acute understanding of history, for example, attempted to perceive a way through conflicting understandings of Anglicanism.³⁵ Paul Zahl, an American Anglican from a more identifiably Reformed background than is usual in the field of Anglican studies, argued for a 'Reformed' reading of Anglicanism; in Britain the theologian John Webster implicitly attempted something similar, though from a systematic, 'continental' theological perspective that shied away from the apparent parochialism of preoccupation with Anglican identity.³⁶ What these and other contributions made clear was that there was no easy route through to clarifying exactly what was the 'identity' of Anglicanism. The Anglican Churches unquestionably occupied a distinct place in the spectrum of world Christianity; but what *defined* their position was hard to pin down.³⁷ Anglican identity was no longer a given; the phrase suggested, quite simply, a question.

This pluralization of the concept of Anglican identity found its echo in the growing popularity of 'Anglican studies', a suitably all-inclusive category useful as a way of clustering disparate fields of enquiry in theological colleges and courses, but at the same time a significant nod to Sykes's plea for Anglicans to make explicit the theological, historical, and other presuppositions that steered

³⁴ P. D. Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church: Theological Resources in Historical Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1989); Avis, *The Anglican Understanding of the Church: An Introduction* (London, 2000); Avis, *The Identity of Anglicanism: Essentials of Anglican Ecclesiology* (London, 2007).

³⁵ B. Kaye, *Reinventing Anglicanism: A Vision of Confidence, Community, and Engagement in Anglican Christianity* (Adelaide, 2003).

³⁶ P. M. Zahl, *The Protestant Face of Anglicanism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1998); J. B. Webster, *Word and Church: Essays in Christian Dogmatics* (Edinburgh, 2001).

³⁷ Cf. C. Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity* (London, 2005); also R. D. Williams, *Anglican Identities* (London, 2014).

their Church opinions and actions. Sykes himself edited a popular contribution to what, by the end of the century, was fast becoming a genre of its own.³⁸ It was a genre that revelled in breadth, with thematic sections devoted perhaps to history, theology, literature, gender, sexuality, ethics, and so on, or to regional perspectives, and invariably drawing on multiple authors. Two voluminous companions to Anglicanism that appeared within two years of each other reflected this bewildering diversity of content and style—the *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to the Anglican Communion* (2013) and the *Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies* (2015).³⁹ The implication for the historiography of Western Anglicanism was clear: Anglicanism was best studied as a collection of diverse and often disparate voices.

ANGLICANISM AND THE DISCIPLINES OF HISTORY

It is evident, surveying the themes of secularization, decolonization, changes in the understanding of mission, and the increasing complexity of notions of Anglican identity, that they have a common structure that helps to give an overarching shape or narrative to the history of Western Anglicanism: it could be summarized as a movement from a dominant central perspective to multiple local contexts, from cultural and social cohesiveness to multi-layered ecclesial conflict, and from agreed and consensual views to complicated, contested claims. If these were four major transformations through which the history of Western Anglicanism in the twentieth century can be interpreted, it can be no surprise that the actual historiography of Western Anglicanism—that is, the history as actually written by historians and theologians—can be categorized in a similar way. This volume is written effectively bearing this set of historiographical trajectories in mind; the themes weave in and out of the various contributions here. It is a different question, however, as to how these various transformations have affected the practice of historical writing. From the perspective of historical writing on twentieth-century Anglicanism at the beginning of the twenty-first century, one can see an opening out of the traditional discipline of ‘ecclesiastical history’ into several related strands, registering both continuity and change in Anglican historical scholarship.

National and international narratives have remained important, if perhaps less fashionable than they once were. Most accounts published towards the

³⁸ S. W. Sykes and J. E. Booty (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism* (London, 1988).

³⁹ I. S. Markham, J. B. Hawkins IV, J. Terry, and L. N. Steffensen (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to the Anglican Communion* (Chichester, 2013); M. D. Chapman, S. Clarke, and M. Percy (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies* (Oxford, 2015).

end of the twentieth century and into the early twenty-first century were alert to the impact of the global development of Anglicanism on older modes of understanding. A few examples only can suffice here. Kevin Ward's *History of Global Anglicanism* (2006) and Bruce Kaye's *Introduction to World Anglicanism* (2008) were marked by the transformations discussed above, yet also displayed a concern to render a coherent account for the general reader.⁴⁰ Kaye himself edited a history of Anglicanism in Australia, to some extent matching the broader account of the Churches in Australasia by Ian Breward.⁴¹ More local approaches were not ignored, either, as evidenced by, for example, Allan Davidson's studies of New Zealand dioceses.⁴² For the Anglican Churches in Britain and Ireland, national narratives remained important too, though there were surprisingly few attempts to rewrite Anglican history as such: the best accounts were in fact those that included much material on Anglicanism in studies of broader scope, such as those by Adrian Hastings, Densil Morgan, and Keith Robbins.⁴³ North American Anglican scholarship also followed national lines, to some extent.⁴⁴ National Churches naturally demand national Church histories, however well-adjusted to take account of contemporary challenges. It is unlikely that there will ever cease to be a requirement for historians to consider Anglican history in its distinct national contexts. Likewise, the practice of biography has remained central to modern Anglican scholarship. Many of the chapters in this book lean heavily at times on the work of scholars who have concentrated on one particular life, in the best cases putting it firmly in its broader social, political, and ecclesiastical contexts. Good examples are probably too many to cite here. This is also true of theological history, or rather historical theology, though here most works tend either to focus on a single individual and are written by theologians, or relate twentieth-century Anglican theological history as part of a broader chronological framework.

The more traditional practice of ecclesiastical history has also remained firmly in place. In contrast to wide-ranging national and global narratives, the particular characteristic of ecclesiastical history as I mean it here would involve a focus on institutions, or on a specified theme, or on a group of individuals or 'movement'. The study of the twentieth century, in contrast to

⁴⁰ K. Ward, *A History of Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 2006); B. Kaye, *An Introduction to World Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 2008).

⁴¹ B. Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: A History* (Carlton South, Victoria, 2002); I. Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (Oxford, 2001).

⁴² A. Davidson, *Tongan Anglicans 1902–2002* (Auckland, 2002); Davidson (ed.), *Living Legacy: A History of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland* (Auckland, 2011).

⁴³ A. Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920–1985* (London, 1986); D. D. Morgan, *The Span of the Cross: Christian Religion and Society in Wales 1914–2000* (Cardiff, 1999); K. Robbins, *England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales: The Christian Church 1900–2000* (Oxford, 2008).

⁴⁴ Cf. A. L. Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective* (Urbana, IL, 2004); D. L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, PA, 1993).

that of earlier ages, can suffer from a paradoxical situation vis-à-vis sources—from too many to make a sufficiently comprehensive account viable (though the increasing availability of Internet sources, with search engines, to some extent is easing this difficulty), and from too few to make it possible at all, if key archives remain closed to the contemporary researcher. A thirty-year rule is in place commonly in the United Kingdom, but in some cases this can be much longer, even up to a century. Thus, the commissioned ‘official’ history, such as Andrew Chandler’s monumental history of the Church Commissioners, can build successfully on approved access to achieve the kind of comprehensive coverage that might not otherwise be available.⁴⁵ Alternatively, by judicious use of published as well as some archival material, a similar goal can be attained. Good examples once again abound. To note just a few, Bob Reiss’s study of the Church of England’s clergy recruitment, John Mantle’s detailed account of the short-lived worker-priest movement, and Cordelia Moyse’s history of the Mothers’ Union are all models of the genre.⁴⁶ Whilst the overall approach of books such as this is relatively conventional, one might include under the same broad umbrella of ‘ecclesiastical history’ some studies which have been influenced rather more obviously by contemporary currents of social and political criticism, because the central preoccupation remains nonetheless the Church as institution. Here, one might cite, for example, Miranda Hassett’s analysis of structures of power and finance in the Anglican Communion, and Gardiner Shattuck’s study of the Episcopal Church’s attitude to and policy on civil rights.⁴⁷

Yet that last point indicates how the scope and methods of ecclesiastical history began to broaden out considerably in the second half of the twentieth century, in the process changing the way Anglican historians tended to read the Church’s past. Probably the greatest single impact came from the enormous growth and diversification in what is usually called ‘social history’ from the 1960s on. There were several dimensions to this. New methods of analysis were applied to familiar data, using more intensively categories such as social class, centre and periphery, elite and popular religion, forms of power and hegemony, amongst others. New sources were mined, or old sources mined more intensively: they included oral material, census and occupational data, and transcripts and other records from court proceedings. New subjects of analysis were also sought out, particularly looking at marginalized and

⁴⁵ A. Chandler, *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century: The Church Commissioners and the Politics of Reform, 1948–1998* (Woodbridge, 2006).

⁴⁶ R. Reiss, *The Testing of Vocation: 100 Years of Ministry Selection in the Church of England* (London, 2013); J. Mantle, *Britain’s First Worker-Priests* (London, 2000); C. Moyse, *A History of the Mothers’ Union: Women, Anglicanism and Globalisation, 1876–2008* (Woodbridge, 2009).

⁴⁷ M. K. Hassett, *Anglican Communion in Crisis: How Episcopal Dissidents and their African Allies are Reshaping Anglicanism* (Princeton, NJ, 2007); G. H. Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington, KY, 2000).

oppressed groups, with a view to reconstructing history 'from below' in response to the more conventional political history 'from above'. As noted earlier in this chapter, this could often go hand in hand with an assumption that religion was a sort of ideological dead end, a mistake that would fade from history, and so many of the pioneers of this new social history proved not to be all that interested in religion itself; quite often, if discussed at all, it appeared as a kind of cipher for other forms of social protest and ideological mobilization. As a result, one cannot say that there was a new 'Anglican social history'; such a thing had yet to be attempted. But there were social historians who turned their attention particularly to the study of religion, and in so doing included Western Anglicanism within their field of interest. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries proved particularly fertile ground. But there were incursions into twentieth-century studies too. In Britain and America in particular, a robust subdiscipline of the social history of religion emerged in the hands of scholars such as Hugh McLeod, Jeffrey Cox, and Simon Green, all of whose works had interesting things to say about Anglicanism as a social phenomenon.⁴⁸ Later British examples included Ian Jones's study of post-war Birmingham, and Sarah Williams's groundbreaking study, using oral material, of working-class religion in South London in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁹

Emerging out of the new social history were particular strands of study dealing with particular communities of people, whether defined racially, socially, by gender, or otherwise. Here, again, scholars of religion in a broader sense have had interesting things to say about Anglicanism, but there have also been historians who have turned to examine rich themes within Anglicanism itself. Probably the largest group of works in what has sometimes—somewhat tendentiously—been called 'advocacy history' is constituted by that studying the impact of religion on women. These have ranged from conventional biographies, such as Sheila Fletcher's study of the pioneer Anglican woman preacher Maude Royden, to broader thematic studies, such as Sean Gill's history of women in the Church of England, and Catherine Prelinger's study of the changing role and status of women in the American Episcopal Church.⁵⁰ A second field—though much larger in American Anglican studies

⁴⁸ Cf. D. H. McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London, 1974); J. Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870–1930* (Oxford, 1982); S. J. D. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organization and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire 1870–1920* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁴⁹ I. Jones, *The Local Church and Generational Change in Birmingham 1945–2000* (Woodbridge, 2012); S. C. Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark, c.1880–1939* (Oxford, 1999).

⁵⁰ S. Fletcher, *Maude Royden: A Life* (Oxford, 1989); S. Gill, *Women and the Church of England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (London, 1994); C. Prelinger (ed.), *Episcopal Women: Gender, Spirituality and Commitment in a Mainline Denomination* (New York, 1992).

than in British and Australasian—is concerned with the category of race, and especially with the relationship of the Episcopal Church to African Americans.⁵¹ A third field concerns minorities constituted by sexual preference, though this is as yet small.⁵²

That last comment points to an undoubted further development in prospect in the historiography of twentieth-century Anglicanism. As intellectual fashions change, and as the world of twentieth-century Anglicanism recedes, it is likely that the discipline of historical enquiry will continue to develop in ways largely unforeseeable at present. There is a rich field of historical material lying in wait for historians in the future. The prospect of detailed, thoroughgoing work on different communities of Anglicans is an exciting one, as is the possibility of authoritative explorations of particular institutions and themes. The history of the global Anglican Communion itself is likely to look very different by the middle of the twenty-first century from what appeared in prospect in the first quarter.

CONCLUSION

This brief introductory survey of the historiography of Western Anglicanism in the twentieth century has done no more than draw attention to a number of broad themes, and to the variety of historical approaches through which the subject has been pursued. The essays in this volume illustrate both themes and approaches in different ways. One conclusion that might be drawn is that the study of Anglican history is not well served by concentration on just one approach, but that, as a major Christian tradition in its own right, Anglicanism as a community of belief works at many different levels and in many ways, and opens up therefore for historical enquiry many complementary angles, some of which had barely begun to be explored by the beginning of the twenty-first century. Church history cannot be done satisfactorily, as was once assumed, by concentrating on Church leaders, key institutions, and theological ideas; it requires coordination with the careful study of social and political contexts and movements, from which as much is to be learned about what shaped Anglicanism in the West as is to be learned from official Church sources. What is at issue here is not only a history of ‘the Anglican Church’, for as we have seen, such a unified, compact entity exists really only in the imaginations of certain theologians. Rather, it is a history of

⁵¹ Cf. C. E. Lincoln and L. H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham, NC, 1990); also Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race*.

⁵² Cf. C. J. A. Hall, *A Thorn in the Flesh: How Gay Sexuality is Changing the Episcopal Church* (Lanham, MD, 2013).

Anglicanism—that is, of a community of belief which shares much of its history with a vast range of other human forms of association. Thus, the historiography is necessarily complicated and contested.

But a second conclusion might be seen to sit at odds a little with this, and to suggest that, nonetheless, a broad generalization can be attempted. Taking the century as a whole, it is hardly surprising that one can discern a long, slow but inexorable shift away from the Anglo-centric perspective that dominated Anglican historiography in the ‘Indian summer’ of the British Empire, between the wars, to one in which the diversity and dynamism of Anglicanism across the globe had decentred preoccupation with what was going on in Lambeth or Canterbury, and opened up a correspondingly diverse and dynamic set of perspectives even on the apparently fading Anglicanism of the West. It was no longer possible to construct an adequate history of modern Anglicanism that had little to say about Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Pacific Rim. Nor was it possible to pretend that the beliefs and practices of Anglican congregations even in the West could be described largely in terms of the theological and ceremonial concerns of a male clergy. Conflicts between different elements of world-wide Anglicanism, whether over theological ‘orthodoxy’ or over ethics, could not be relegated to a secondary level of analysis, but irrupted into the management and evolution of churches as far afield as San Francisco, London, and Sydney. What Anglican leaders wanted, and what their congregations were prepared to condone or recognize, were very different things. By the end of the twentieth century, Western Anglicanism had travelled a long way from its profile at Edinburgh 1910.

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Part I

Themes and Wider Engagements

The Evolution of Anglican Theology, 1910–2000

Mark Chapman

In her essay ‘Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown’, Virginia Woolf wrote: ‘On or about December 1910 human character changed. . . . All human relations have shifted—those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics and literature.’¹ In the years before the First World War, society was becoming increasingly diverse and riven with conflict. To politicians such as Winston Churchill, as well as some clergy such as J. N. Figgis, a monk of the new Anglican Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, and a well-known preacher and political theorist, civilization was at a crossroads, and its forces were ‘visibly dissolving’. It looked to Figgis that the world was tottering. The theological controversies in the years before the First World War were characterized by divisions over the extent to which theology could accommodate itself to the scientific developments of the modern world, or whether it was forced to make a stand against what was frequently perceived to be the decadence of a society which had lost its earlier sense of unity.

Many who sought the task of accommodation were in search of the kind of synthesis which had prevailed in the different varieties of mainstream Anglican theology in the past: they were the natural heirs of Hooker, the Caroline Divines, and the Cambridge Platonists. Although some groups of Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics had tended towards the sectarian and had resisted any compromises with the wider culture, on the whole Anglican theology was happy to embrace an understanding of truth which did not regard it as the sole preserve of the Church. At the beginning of the twentieth century this kind of synthesis was expressed in the English modifications of Hegelianism which

¹ Virginia Woolf, ‘Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown’, in *The Hogarth Essays* (London, 1924), pp. 4–5.

had been so marked in the collected volume edited by Charles Gore in 1889, *Lux Mundi*, which continued to exert an influence well into the Edwardian period: liberal Catholics were synthesizers rather than sectarians.

Some others, who represented a less distinctive churchmanship, most notably William Temple, continued along the Hegelian path well into the twentieth century in search of the ideal of an organic society in which the individual would find his or her true realization in the social whole. Others, who were labelled 'modernists' or liberal churchmen, began to reject the idealist solution although they retained a vision of the unity of all truth. In general theirs was based not on a Hegelian synthesis, but on what they regarded as a scientific and rational apprehension of the world which applied to all things, including the Bible and the teachings of the Church. Some aspects of the Christian tradition, especially the miracles of the New Testament and supernatural explanations of the sacraments and ministry, proved very difficult to explain (and provoked rapid responses from conservative critics). Still others, such as Figgis himself, as well as some New Testament scholars influenced by the recovery of apocalyptic in the years immediately before and after the First World War, including E. C. Hoskyns, grew increasingly aware of the irreconcilability of modern thought with the world-view of the Bible. This could prove disruptive to any thought of Anglican synthesis. While never a dominant strand of Anglican theology, such radicals have frequently been a thorn in the flesh of the synthesizers (and in recent years one might include in their number Donald MacKinnon).

With its long history of accommodation to the English state, its very loose requirements for belonging, and weak systems of discipline of both clergy and laity, Anglicanism, especially in its English established form, has always tended towards synthesis even when this looked less and less plausible to those outside. It has never achieved the confessional or dogmatic unity of some other mainline Churches: comprehensiveness, which may have started as a political necessity after the calamities of the civil war, became a theological virtue, but one that required presuppositions about unity, truth, and provisionality which arguably no longer held sway in the changed conditions of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Yet Anglican theology for the most part continued the line of synthesis, both philosophical and modernist, until remarkably late—indeed it is possible to date the final effort at an Anglican Church and state synthesis to the archbishop of Canterbury's *Faith and the City* report of 1985. By that stage, however, British society was far too pluralist to allow for the sort of overarching conception of truth which had underpinned earlier expressions of Anglican theology. Its grandiose claims at universality and to speak for all members of society looked increasingly hollow. By the end of the twentieth century, the Church of England and the wider Anglican Communion were too diverse and divided