A. C. Headlam: his place in the tradition and development of the church

Jefferies, Phillip

ABSTRACT

A. C. HEADLAM: HIS PLACE IN THE TRADITION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH

Phillip Jefferies

Arthur Cayley Headlam occupied an important vantage point as a student and young priest in the academic world at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. He occupied the middle ground which both understands and receives the exciting spirit of reason in science and history but manages to hold to the 'a priori' givenness of Christian Revelation.

Whereas many theologians felt the necessity of a separate existence for faith and theology, Headlam expected a close, dialectical relationship between the two.

This openness found expression in a faith in which a more or less traditional incarnational theology could both live with and find support in the robust atmosphere of rationalism, and in which the maintenance of Catholicism did not entail either an isolationism or an exclusion of the spirit of criticism.

In terms of the historic three fold ministry, Headlam attempted to hold together an evolutionary theory, in which the shape and style of the institutional ministry, dictated by an objective, historical approach, depended upon social circumstance, with a simultaneous belief in the providence of God, identified in the Church's ability to adapt to emergent needs.

As schemes for Christian unity developed, Headlam, as a senior and important figure in the Church, saw these 'emergent needs', as demanding an ultimate acceptance of episcopacy for the regularisation of Church Order. He did not see Apostolic Succession as the means of the transmission of Grace, however, but as a practical rather than an essential characteristic of the Church. Grace lay, rather, within the Corporate nature of the Church. As a consequence, there could be an immediate recognition of Christian ministries within the inclusive body of Christ.

Within the perennial tension between the givenness of tradition and the free Spirit of God, Headlam attempted to face the consequences of his exposed position.

A. C. HEADLAM

HIS PLACE IN THE TRADITION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH

Phillip Jefferies

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts

University of Durham

Department of Theology

1991

Acknowledgements

I should like to express my thanks to Stephen Sykes (then Van Mildert Professor of Divinity, now Bishop of Ely) for his initial encouragement and guidance and to Dr. Sheridan Gilley (Senior Lecturer in Theology) for his continued kindness and support.

Beryl Thompson patiently typed a text alien to her Brewery Research; the Parish of S. John the Divine must have decreased in order that this might increase and my wife endured to the end - to them I am deeply indebted.

C O N T E N T S

Contents (continued)

Introduction

The phenomenon of revolution, by inherent definition, contains the ideas of change and upset and also of cyclic recurrence. There will be nothing new, 'sub specie aeternitatis', about new things coming to pass; but the changes that come will, nevertheless, move mankind into different worlds and the prospect will be at the same time both exciting and fearful.

Such a description applies to the world into which Arthur Cayley Headlam was born in 1862. Academic England stood, then, in the bright inheritance of the Enlightenment with reason and empiricism in the ascendency. The Church in which he was nurtured and grew to maturity faced evolution not only in the external but impinging disciplines of natural science, but also within: empirical verification was the emergent style in historical and biblical studies within the 'Queen of Sciences' itself.

At Oxford Headlam, the historian, theologian and priest was the grateful heir and enthusiastic proponent of this empirical temper. Within this enthusiasm there was, too, a confidence that within the controversy and the upheaval, the disclosure of God still had currency; but, more than that, it was in the very debate itself that the vision of God was clarified.

For many, the maintenance of faith would only seem possible by protecting that faith from the rough and tumble of the scientific revolution. For them this would mean some sort of retreat: altogether away from the whole unsettling and threatening area of historical and biblical criticism and back into the old tradition. For others it would mean a move into a faith that could handle the new science and historical scholarship. Headlam's support for the spirit of renewal engendered by Lux Mundi, within that very wing of the Church of England of his own origin and sympathy, together with his defence of Loisy, serve to illustrate the quality and degree of integration that a lively faith might have with an openness to critical research.

Within the Church of England, with its adherence to the traditional threefold ministry, historical scholarship would test the received patterns of ministry. Their authority would need to be reassessed. Here Hatch, Lightfoot, Gore and Moberly can provide a spectrum against which Headlam's stance, in the first part of his Bampton Lectures may be evaluated.

The question of the nature of ministerial order leads naturally to the question of ecumenical relationships. Headlam's Bampton Lectures of 1920, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, were delivered and published just in advance of the Lambeth Conference of the same year, where the theme was 'Fellowship'. Headlam throughout his life, was an enthusiastic and critical ecumenist. He considered his approach to be very much within the spirit of Catholicism and therefore, in examining his case for reunion, it has been necessary to consider the question of Apostolic Succession and the definition of the boundaries of the Church, for which Headlam found help in Augustine of Hippo, and the schemes for reunion with which he was involved.

Headlam is a man of his times in that he embraced the critical spirit of the age. In attempting to integrate that new spirit within the tradition of the Catholic faith he may not have been unique or completely successful, but he represents the spirit of venture which is an essential part of the integrity of the Christian Faith.

CHAPTER ONE

Arthur Cayley Headlam - his background, life and character

The churchyard to the east of the small parish church of Whorlton in Teesdale is heavy with evidence that this tiny village on the Durham banks of the river was, for a period, the home of the Headlam family. Here, among the family graves, the tomb of Arthur Cayley Headlam bears the simple and economic inscription 'Arthur Cayley Headlam, C.H., D.D., Bishop of Gloucester 1922-1945. Born at Whorlton 2nd August 1862, died at Whorlton, 17th January 1947. According to Jasper, the family was Norman in origin and had long connections with the North East. In the eighteenth century the family wealth, acquired through shipbuilding on both the Tees and the Tyne, was such that Arthur Cayley Headlam's great-grandfather, John Emerson Headlam, was able to leave that industry and settle as squire of Gilmonby Hall in upper Teesdale. Here, in 1769 he married his cousin, Jane, the daughter of John Emerson, Rector of Winston and Middleton-in-Teesdale and their eldest son, John, was born the same year. Following in the steps of his maternal grandfather, he took Holy Orders in 1793 and became Rector of Wycliffe across the river from Whorlton and about a mile to the south-east. Here he remained for the rest of his life, and it is to him that his descendants looked as 'the real founder of their house'.[1]

John Headlam, Rector of Wycliffe, was made Archdeacon of Richmond in the diocese of Chester in 1826 and, after it became part of the reconstituted diocese of Ripon in 1836, he became, in addition, its Chancellor. He had married Maria, the daughter of the Reverend Thomas Wilson-Morley, later to become Dean of Carlisle, in 1806. She was the great-great-granddaughter of Richard Bentley (1662-1742), the classical scholar and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and, by this connection, Maria reinforced in the Headlam line the propensity for independence, if not high-handedness, already present: the Duke of Cleveland considered her husband to be dangerously radical; Sydney Smith thought him 'a bigoted Tory'.[2] John and Maria had seven sons and five daughters. Of the eight that survived, five distinguished themselves academically. Among them was their daughter, Margaret Ann, who became a French and Italian scholar, wrote a great deal of good poetry, notably Italian sonnets, and 'showed her independence by becoming a devout Tractarian despite her strict Evangelical upbringing'.[3] In this latter characteristic she was followed by her brother, Arthur.

Arthur Headlam, after a distinguished career at Cambridge, where he was Scholar of Trinity, University Prizeman, twenty-ninth Wrangler and tenth Classic, was ordained to a curacy in Hertfordshire before returning as his father's curate for a brief year, at Wycliffe. In 1854 he was appointed Vicar of Whorlton where, in contrast to his father's parish across the water, he ran things very much on Tractarian lines. There was a surpliced choir as early as 1871 - not an insignificant fact considering that the same practice was

listed as one of the excesses brought before the Bishop of London at the end of 1877 with respect to the parish of S.Peter, London Docks.[4]

Arthur Headlam and his elder brother, Morley, lived at opposite ends of the village green: Morley in the Grange, Arthur in the Hall, which he built next to the church on land owned by his father. Here he indulged his passion for gardening and took in students whom he coached for public and university entrance examinations. Conditions at the Hall were austere: as well as a rigorous routine of work, heat was kept at a modicum and food was plain 'but there was no waste'.[5] This austerity applied to all alike.

In 1861 Headlam married Agnes Sarah Favell, the daughter of James Favell's second marriage to Ann Elizabeth Cayley. They had five children: Arthur Cayley, James Wycliffe, born in 1863, Rose Gladys in 1864, Kenneth Francis in 1867 and Lionel William in 1870. In the ten years of the marriage, Agnes brought to the Hall and the family a warmth and a gaity which went some way as a counter-balance to her husband's reserve and discipline.

Here, until he was twelve, Arthur Cayley lived: attending the village school, gardening, collecting coins, mixing with his cousins in the more relaxed atmosphere at the Grange across the green and, at the age of nine experiencing the loss of his mother with, no doubt, the emotional reticence expected of him.

In 1874 he started at Reading School where he liked work and was nearly always top of his form. He disliked games, however, and he disliked Sundays when there was no work to be done and when he was

the object of some bullying. At fourteen, at his father's suggestion, he took the Winchester entrance scholarship. 1876 was a year of changes. Headlam's father moved to the living of S.Oswald, Durham, to follow J. B. Dykes and, in effect, to maintain its High Church tradition. He also married Ann Louisa Woodall, 'a devout Tractarian and an active Church and social worker'.[6] That same year Arthur Cayley, having been placed eleventh of the thirteen elected in the entrance scholarship, started at Winchester.

As at Reading, so at Winchester: it was the work he liked. Games he disliked and that failing, together with his temper, resulted in him suffering some bullying again as a consequence. As an established senior, however, he himself was 'formidable and downright'[7] and was given the nickname 'the general'. Among his hobbies at this time was a keen membership of the Natural History Society - a recurring interest throughout his life, nurtured in the garden at Whorlton in his early years and to which he constantly returned.

Academic brilliance was not expected of Headlam. He found Latin and Greek a nightmare, but he was good at History. As a consequence, his father suggested that the safest way forward was for him to try for one of the six Wykehamist scholarships offered by New College: he came fifth and went up to Oxford in 1881. There he missed the guidance available at Winchester: he decided that he was not a genius who could get on without a lot of work. In Moderations his family hoped for a first, but he himself was not surprised by his second. With Greats Headlam was happier, worked

harder and secured a good first. As a consequence he was personally encouraged to try for the New College Fellowship. He came second, but close and immediately tried for All Souls where he won the fellowship in History.

Headlam was elected to the All Souls' Fellowship in 1885 and he remained there for eleven years. His first impression was that All Souls had 'the best set of fellows in Oxford',[8] and in later life he looked upon the college as 'the best club in Europe',[9] drank claret from his All Souls' mug and, according to his domestic chaplain, found there the greatest consolation on the death of his wife.

Among the Fellows was Herbert Hensley Henson (1863-1947) who had been elected the previous year. Not only was their life-span, but for a year, identical, but they also shared a strange bond in two otherwise dissimilar people. Owen Chadwick described the contrast:

> Temperamentally they were made for opposition; bludgeon and rapier, elephant and hawk, theologian and historian, heavy and light, flat feet and nimble toes, bumbler and master of language.[10]

Yet, although Henson thought Headlam was of the opposite pole and 'infinitely trying', even as a friend, he considered him to have a kind heart: like 'a Brazil nut concealing a generous character under a hard shell' and he felt that they 'were linked together in friendship which was real and precious and from which they never were apart'.[11]

Henson was ordained deacon in June 1887 at Cuddesdon. None of his family were present but Headlam walked there, together with two

other Fellows. When Henson was ordained it was to his Fellowship, but he had helped the Anglo-Catholic priest Jimmie Adderley, head of Oxford House mission in East London. The post became vacant and Henson was appointed. For the short time he was there and during his time as Vicar of Barking, Headlam frequently went to stay with Henson and to help him during this period of Henson's Catholicism. It was no surprise, then, either to Henson or his other associates, when the question of ordination arose. Henson wrote: 'The clerical office will be no burden to you: your vocation is clear in the minds of your friends'.[12] Headlam, who had read Theology privately rather than for the Schools on the advice of William Sanday, was ordained to his Fellowship at Michaelmas, 1888.

There was always in Headlam a conflict between the apprehension of priesthood in terms of the spiritual and pastoral, and the generally less popular apprehension of the duty, also contained within orders, to scholarship and teaching. Frank Brightman, the liturgist and a librarian of Pusey at the time of Headlam's ordination, wrote to him warning that he seemed too intellectual and that his devotional side needed to be developed: 'It is our danger now to give up being religious and devout, as the Tractarians were; the new generation of intellectual High Church people are not of the same tone as they used to be ...'.[13] Headlam himself was aware of this conflict and when, in the spring of 1896, he was offered the College living of Welwyn, in the Diocese of S.Alban's, he noted the importance of being responsible for the pastoral needs and spiritual well-being of people, but he also feared the limitation

that the acceptance of such a care would have upon his scholarship: 'I might be unable ever to find myself again in a position to go on with the work I have definitely proposed to do'.[14] He had collaborated with Sanday on the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans and the book, which did much to establish Headlam's reputation as a scholar, had only appeared the previous year. There was much he might sacrifice, and this dilemma was compounded by a further offer, upon the recommendation of Fr. Puller of Cowley, of the post of first Warden of S. Deiniol's Library and Hostel at Harwarden. Headlam, free to choose between scholarship and pastoral care in the exercise of priesthood, chose to obey a sense of duty rather than desire. He went to Welwyn in September 1896.

Headlam's predecessor at Welwyn, Canon Wingfield, had been Rector for twenty-five years, had suffered ill-health for a long time and was a staunch Evangelical. The parish found the new incumbent a considerable contrast. He set to work with vigour, choosing to get on with the job, rather than wait a month for his formal institution. He made it clear in the October parish magazine that he would make any changes he considered necessary; there would be no debate, but anyone who disapproved could see him personally and he would give then an explanation.[15] This insensitive and dictatorial style was a recurring feature of his ministry at Welwyn and the church council, which he introduced ahead of its time in the Church at large and which might be expected to illustrate a respect for democracy, in fact serves to emphasise his roughshod approach: mistrusting the parishioners to elect the right people

he appointed all the members himself. It was not popular. The congregation found Headlam to be rather High Church. He explained his churchmanship, if explanation it was, in his first sermon: he was 'an historical churchman, true to the historical principles which have been exhibited through all ages, and true and loyal to the historic position of the Church of England'.[16] What, in liturgical practice, this meant for the parish of Welwyn was the introduction of Choral Eucharist on most Sundays and a weekday eucharist on Saints' days. For these services the clergy wore stoles of the traditional liturgical colours.

The parish of Welwyn was mainly agricultural and had a population of just under two thousand. Headlam inherited a curate but the relationship did not survive: the latter made the mistake of criticising his new Rector's delivery in the reading of lessons in church, and left soon after. His successor, however, was found to be more congenial, so much so, that Headlam moved out of his large Rectory, with its avenue of lime trees and its extensive grounds, and went to stay with the new curate. There he remained for three and a half years until he returned to the Rectory with his bride. Evelyn Persis Wingfield, the cousin of Headlam's predecessor, worked as a parish visitor and Sunday School teacher in Welwyn. They married on September 18, 1900. He was thirty-eight; she was forty-three. She shared with him the Headlam passion for gardening and, with the help of their staff of three gardeners, created a garden of considerable reputation. Together, Headlam and his wife propagated their enthusiasm by arranging botany classes in the parish and in the Rectory gardens. Years later Edward Prichard,

Headlam's domestic chaplain at Gloucester, said that he learnt more botany from him in an afternoon that he ever learnt at school.[17]

In addition to the 'extra-curricular' botany, there was much activity in the more traditional area of parochial and ecclesiastical life, though the approach was sometimes less than traditional: instruction to the Sunday School teachers included lectures on textual criticism and sermons were heavy with the problems of early Church History. The finances of the parish were sorted out and funds raised to build a daughter church at Woolmer Green where Headlam insisted on an architect who was more knowledgeable in archaeological remains than in church architecture.[18] Beyond the parish, Headlam's energies were engaged in a wide range of activities illustrative of his interests: he was secretary of the Eastern Church Association, examining chaplain to the Bishop of Southwell and an examiner for the School of Theology at Oxford, he was a member of the Council of Secondary Education appointed by the Convocation of Canterbury and, in 1901, with the encouragement of many, including Lord Halifax, Charles Gore and Baron von Hügel, accepted the editorship of the Church Quartlerly Review upon the death of Knight Watson. Von Hügel wrote to Headlam in August 1901, expressing his pleasure in Headlam becoming editor:

> Now I feel sure ... your becoming editor must and does mean the triumph of the wider, more generous and truly scientific temper and outlook, which we all want so much.[19]

Headlam was in demand as a writer, lecturer and preacher. He lectured at the Church Congress in Nottingham in 1897, was Birbeck Lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1988, and was Select Preacher at Oxford, 1899-1901. He continued to work on the history of the early church and he conributed three essays in D. G. Hogarth's Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane (1899), which discussed the relationship of archaeological research and biblical and classical literature. With an established reputation as a scholar and the possession of so much energy a move back to the fields of scholarship and education was inevitable. At the beginning of 1903 Archibald Robertson, Principal of King's College, London, was appointed Bishop of Exeter. Later, the same year, Headlam was appointed as his successor at King's. He had applied on the suggestion of Cuthbert Turner. There were seven candidates, short-listed to three, and Headlam was chosen when Winfrid Burrows, a former Principal of Leeds Clergy School, withdrew.

Headlam inherited a threefold problem at King's: the relationship of the College with the University of London and University College, London; the impracticably wide range of educational activities and a parlous financial position. When he came to resign as Principal and Dean some nine years later, Headlam had proved himself to be an impressive administrator who had incorporated King's College into the University of London, secured the financial and administrative independence of the Medical School, Hospital and other departments and freed the College from debt.

Within the Theological Department itself, Headlam introduced a tutorial system in which he himself played a full part, in spite of his heavy wider commitments. Here, as Principal, Dean and Professor of Dogmatic Theology he was a formidable figure. He had a propensity to silence but none to putting students at their ease. This, together with an impatience in any delays and a ruthlessness in criticism, could make any tutorial a devastating experience - and did. Jasper records the experience of a student who, in a nervous state, dropped the pages of the essay he was reading and in the ensuing confusion realised that he had omitted part of his argument. In characteristic fashion Headlam said 'Go onnnnnnnn. Go on anywhere. It will not make the slightest difference to your argument'. Jasper's comment is that Headlam was passing judgement on the piece of work presented to him and the question of any effect on the student would not have entered into it.[20]

In October, 1912 Headlam submitted his resignation to the Bishop of London. It was a protest at the interference of the Board of Education by means of the Treasury grant in the affairs of universities and colleges; he also wanted some leisure for reading and writing. His father had died in 1909 and his step-mother the following year, the family estate was now his responsibility and he saw that as a holy trust. He had told his father 'I shall certainly look on the care of Whorlton for which you have made such full provision a religious duty, and one which I shall discharge with affection'.[21] He retired to Whorlton, coming to London to lecture, having retained the Chair of Dogmatic Theology - which he occupied until the autumn of 1917.

When Hensley Henson accepted the nomination to the See of Hereford in December 1917, he suggested to the Archbishop of Canterbury that Headlam might succeed him in the Deanery of Durham.[22] Nothing came of this, but when the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Henry Scott Holland, died in March 1918, Randall Davidson, urged by Gore, offered the post to Headlam, who accepted in April and was in residence the following term. In the four and a half years that he occupied the Chair, Headlam, as Regius Professor, reformed the Divinity degree, the curriculum of the Honours School of Theology and introduced a scheme for the training of Ordinands. The Divinity degrees were opened to members of other Christian denominations, and the standards tightened up, and in some cases introduced: no examinations had been necessary and the requirement of theses had become inconsistent. The curriculum of the Theology School was altered to give more emphasis to the religious teaching of the New Testament and less to the specialised Old Testament studies, to broaden the basis of the study of Doctrine, along the lines of his Inaugural Lecture, connecting it to the fundamentals - the being and nature of God, life, death and judgement, and to introduce Christian Philosophy. The training of Ordinands was based upon his experience at King's London. Headlam thought that the Faculty of Theology should, like those of Law and Medicine, primarily provide the training necessary for a learned profession. This received the approval of the Central Advisory Council for the Training of the Ministry.

All of Headlam's reforms succeeded by sheer dint of his determination and authority. The scheme for training Ordinands did not survive his departure from Oxford; but the other reforms stood the test of time. With regard to the curriculum changes, these were needed, but Headlam's methods of achieving them were by means of what Chadwick would call 'bludgeon',[23] and, furthermore, he continually referred back to what he had done at London University and antagonised would-be supporters.[24] Edward Prichard, who became his domestic chaplain at Gloucester, was at Oriel during Headlam's time as Regius Professor, and sat under him. He describes him as having the reputation of being the rudest man in Oxford and as never being happier than when he had the College tutors growling round him.[25] In spite of his angular and stubborn style, however, his intentions were often liberal. He appreciated and encouraged scholarship even where he disagreed with the conclusions. In 1919, when Ripon Clergy College was transferred to Oxford, with the Modernist, H. D. A. Major, as the Principal, Headlam welcomed him: 'We have two other kinds of Churchmanship here in Oxford', he said, 'and we shall welcome you: but don't think that I agree with you, I don't'.[26] This did not prevent Headlam from using Major as a tutor, nor did it prejudice him when Major was delated to the Bishop of Oxford on a charge of heresy following his statement on the Resurrection at The Modern Churchmen's Conference at Girton College in 1921. With the exception of C. H. Turner, the Theological professors, of whom Headlam was one, found no grounds for proceeding with a more formal hearing.

In 1920, the year of the sixth Lambeth Conference, Headlam delivered the Bampton Lectures. The title was The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, and the lectures were written with the Conference in mind. Much of the content was not new: he incorporated earlier work which he failed to alter in the light of later studies. Other points of view were not taken into account and he was impervious to criticism. The Bampton Lectures presented a statement of Headlam's position, 'which', said Jasper, 'he maintained for the rest of his life, completely unshaken by all criticism. Throughout it conveyed the impression of confidence and finality, his mind was made up and his last word had been spoken'.[27] Nevertheless, Headlam's views, expressed through his Lectures, which were hurriedly published, and by Headlam himself at the Lambeth Conference, provided a cogent contribution to the ecumenical debate, which was part of the agenda, and helped to pioneer an ecumenical movement which was then in its infancy.

In the Birthday Honours List of 1921 Headlam was made a Companion of Honour. Some thought that it was in lieu of a bishopric, but by the end of the following year he had been offered the See of Gloucester which, urged by his old friend, Henson, he accepted. He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on 25th January, 1923, the feast of the Conversion of S.Paul, and enthroned on 13th February - embedding his pastoral staff in the west door of the Cathedral as he knocked for admittance.

Whether such force was seen as an omen to the gathered representatives of the diocese of Gloucester to whom Headlam came is not recorded. Certainly his enthronement address to the clergy was forceful: they were urged to learn to

speak with real authority so that people would be convinced of the truth of the Christian message. The laity were told to do more to improve clerical stipends, to promote Christian unity and to accept a responsibility to see that religious education was an integrated part of education as a whole. Headlam had arrived and the Diocese knew it.

According to Edward Prichard who became the Bishop's Domestic Chaplain in 1924, Headlam, as Regius Professor, had 'run Oxford' in a manner that was abrupt and rude, 'but in Gloucester the authority he had exercised ... was magnificently enhanced by his episcopal office'. Prichard saw no occasion for resentment: 'It was his right and he fearlessly and quite naturally assumed it'.[28] Priest or layman, Headlam dealt with both alike in his stern and undiplomatic way. Clergy found him unfeeling, and he did nothing to put them at their ease or explain himself beyond his carefully chosen words: 'he usually began a sentence with a sort of swallow, as though he was continually subtracting any unnecessary word from what he was going to say, leaving the lowest common denominator, which would be entirely clear and also devoid of the slightest suspicion of over-statement'.[29] From him Prichard learnt that what he said he meant 'no more, no less. Every word had its true value, and had to be accepted as such, without reading anything into it beyond its proper meaning'.[30]

Whether Headlam really believed this was possible, whether this was the only way he could cope or whether it was, as Prichard understood it, an emotional economy to put 'relationships on an

even keel'[31] is bound, to a certain extent, to be a matter of conjecture. Relationships between the clergy, the laity and their Diocesan Bishop, however, were far from plain sailing. A clergyman who told Headlam that he was hard, unfeeling and unjust was ejected from the palace by the chaplain, while the bishop ignored him and silently read his bible. A squire of the county was summoned to the palace and left the bishop's study 'like a school boy coming out of the Headmaster's room after a thrashing'.[32] The man was not young and his son, an Oxford don, said that Headlam had broken his father's heart. A prominent layman in the diocese, in describing Headlam, resorted to the verse in the Psalter: 'He casteth forth his ice like morsels, who is able to abide his frost?'[33] Hard he certainly was and apparently unfeeling, but he was not necessarily unjust: he was prepared to rebuke parish priest or county squire alike when he saw fit, but he would not be browbeaten and he was prepared to defend his clergy. On one occasion, he dismissed a deputation of parishioners who complained about the extra devotional services of their Anglo-Catholic vicar: 'I have often been compelled to reprove people for praying too little.' he told them, 'but I will never reprove them for praying too much'.[34] Perhaps he remembered his father's Anglo-Catholic predecessor at S.Oswald's, Durham, J. B. Dykes, who had been isolated by his bishop.

It was said that the Diocese of Gloucester ran like clockwork under Headlam who, at his first Diocesan Conference, told his clergy that they should regard their bishop as a commander, and who, according to Prichard, 'bestrode the Diocese like a Colossus'.[35]

Certainly the palace was ordered according to a regular pattern and strict timing. His chaplain read and sorted the post from 7.45 until 9.0 a.m. while Headlam did his planning and thinking. At 9 the bishop robed for Morning Prayer, at 9.20 he had breakfast. By 10 the bishop was ready for the mail: his chaplain was summoned brusquely by Headlam entering his room and jerking his head in the direction of his own study 'as though he were summoning the garden boy'.[36] They worked at high speed and the bishop, whose mind seldom wandered and who could give himself completely to the matter in hand, got through this part of his schedule in twenty minutes, trusting his chaplain to deal with much of the confidential mail and to know the bishop's mind. He could then get on with what he considered to be the 'real work' - which meant research, in which he was helped by his chaplain, and writing, dictating long sections of a book or article on which he was working to the Diocesan Secretary.

There were no interruptions. Unlike his friend Hensley Henson at Auckland Castle,[37] Headlam did have a telephone in his palace at Gloucester, but, like Henson, he never used the instrument himself. His cousin, Maud, who ran the domestic side of things at the palace, always answered the telephone and if it was an ecclesiastical matter she sounded the dinner gong and the chaplain came running. This conditioned Prichard to thinking that it was beneath the dignity of a bishop to use the telephone and he was consequently taken aback once when, having telephoned Lambeth Palace in a crisis for the name of any bishop home on leave who might help, he found himself talking to Randall Davidson.

The afternoons and evenings usually meant engagements in the diocese. Headlam wore a top hat, immaculate gloves and carried an ebony stick. He saw to it that his car was large enough for him to step out, hatted and with dignity. In parish churches he invariably wore Consecration robes and took the eastward position, irrespective of any hopes to the contrary. One of his clergy who suggested that Headlam came 'properly dressed' in cope and mitre received the reply that clergy never came properly dressed, in frock coat and top hat, to see him.

The evening engagements were usually arranged for six so that Headlam could get back for dinner at eight. All meals had to be on time. Prichard describes the butler, pocket watch in his hand, poised before the dinner gong. Time not circumstance was the controlling factor and over this grim household the redoubtable Maud Headlam presided. She had been a school mistress and came to organise the domestic side of the palace life when Mrs. Headlam became too ill to cope. Maud, in her abrupt and imperial style, bore the family likeness and the staff, from Chaplain down, experienced the brusqueness of her tongue. The meals, however, came on time. Headlam would rush through his dinner. Edward Prichard, new in his appointment as Domestic Chaplain, had frequently at first only time to get half-way through the second course because the bishop was ready for the cheese. 'We none of us have ever had time to eat slowly'[38] Headlam explained, referring back to those strict and formative years at Whorlton Hall. The evening, whenever possible, included a detective novel until Evensong at 9.45. If there were guests for dinner there was still

Evensong: it served to bring the evening to an end. Headlam usually retired to his cold bedroom and narrow bed no later than 10.15.

Headlam does not emerge as a man of deep spirituality. The discipline that enables the spiritual life to develop was there, established in his childhood and akin to his nature and clearly practised in the routine of his life. There are few signs, however, of any deep stirring of the spirit. His sermons were generally considered to be uninspiring, his charges to ordination candidates were 'severely practical and unemotional'[39] and they had no deep feeling about them. They dealt with 'clean hands' both with regard to the ordering of the eucharist and also of the church accounts, but there was nothing that dealt with the heart. The intellectual life was stressed, but there was nothing in the spiritual life: there was no 'pi-jaw'[40] as Headlam called it. But in a man so used to keeping any such intimate details strictly close there is a danger in biography of being too readily dismissive. As a boy of 15 at Winchester, contemplating his confirmation, he confessed, in a letter home, that he did not think enough about heaven and that he found it hard to imagine, and of the Confirmation service itself he wrote: 'I do not think I can write to you as perhaps I ought, for I never can properly express my feelings. I do not know how I feel exactly; ever since yesterday it has seemed like a happy dream'.[41] Such insights go some way to explain and support Hensley Henson's view of Headlam as having a hard, protective exterior, but they also go some way, too, in supporting his appreciation of Headlam's heart. It would make

sense and also be fairer to say that Headlam's spiritual centre was similarly well protected - possibly to his own loss; certainly to the loss of those to whom he ministered. This is not the same thing as a denial of any deep spirituality, though it may have looked very much like it.

When Headlam moved to Gloucester his wife was already a sick woman. She had supported her husband, when he was Principal of King's, in raising money and in caring for the College staff. She visited the wives of lecturers and porters alike and provided that warmth in social gatherings which her husband was unable to give. When, after Headlam's resignation from King's College, they returned to Whorlton, Mrs. Headlam's health broke down. Oxford, subsequently, found her a tired woman who did her best to support her husband and assist in the Sunday afternoon 'At Home', but she was really chronically ill with heart disease; Gloucester had her for just over a year.

In June, 1923, Mrs. Headlam was taken seriously ill and, although there was some improvement the following Spring, cancer was diagnosed and she died in March of that year. Headlam noted, in his letter in the Diocesan Magazine for April, that many in the Gloucester diocese might have found a friend in his wife if she had had life and strength. On a personal note, he acknowledged that his wife had provided, 'to an exceptional degree', a happy home which brightened his work and alleviated his troubles.[42] For one who prided himself in precision in his use of language[43] and whose reserve was such that personal feelings were not expressed, this letter is a rare public record of the depth of the relationship.

Headlam never publicly expressed his grief. Writing from Whorlton, the day after the burial, thanking his chaplain for arranging the funeral, he expressed his intention of carrying on as usual.[44] The simple stone cross which marks his wife's grave in Whorlton church yard, next to his own grave, bears the cold and economic inscription 'Evelyn Persis Headlam. March 17, 1924'. And yet Prichard records the fact that after his wife's death Headlam had attacks of sickness and fainting and that he often found the bishop in his grief, and there is other evidence of the depth of the relationship. Headlam had written to his wife at least once a day whenever they were separated; on a birthday, in her last illness, he had searched the Cotswolds for her favourite wild flowers. As an old man of seventy-nine he had looked back to the days before his wife's death, seventeen years before, and written to his niece: 'I love still thinking and dreaming of her'.[45]

Miss Persis Wingfield, Headlam's niece who had accompanied him on his visit to Yugoslavia in 1926 and who was the recipient of frequent letters from her uncle, alone shared this delicate and intimate detail of a man who otherwise appeared so rock-like. He was a man, wrote his chaplain, who neither met with nor expected sympathy: 'It would have been like sympathising with a granite statue. But those who knew him intimately felt their virtue go out towards him because of the intense loneliness of the man'.[46]

The 'loneliness' would have been due, in part, to his background and character, and also to how he perceived his role as bishop. It would be wrong to say that he did not delegate - he trusted people to do their work and did not interfere; but he did not share.

There was no such thing as a staff meeting. The Archdeacon of Gloucester, who under Headlam's predecessor had had ready access to the bishop, had, under the new regime, to wait to be summoned and then would be told by Headlam what he himself was going to do. Prichard records the view that if Headlam had held staff meetings he would have listened courteously and then given his reasons for considering his own opinions best.[47] Headlam did not think much of democracy: his politics were described by Prichard as 'aristocratic'. The art of government was best expressed by those already acquainted with command: he was dismissive of those who, in the words of Swift which he once quoted, 'with the spirit of shopkeepers tried to frame rules for the administration of a kingdom'.[48] He believed, rather, in a special class trained to command from youth. In fact, one of his criticisms of the clergy of his day was that 'they did not differ socially from the great number of their people, and, what was more, they had no capital'.[49]

Headlam believed that a society was a healthy one if it possessed a number of rich men who used their wealth in a responsible and unselfish way. He used to say that the ultimate cause of social hatred, which made the philosophy of Karl Marx effective, was the selfishness of the Russian aristocracy.[50] For him, the ideal was a public-spirited aristocracy where the egalitarian principle, apparently, only lay in the equal opportunity for employer and employed to dutifully and sacrificially fulfil their respective roles. Prichard records the remark of Headlam's, often reported in the Diocese of Gloucester, that 'a couple of bloaters was a good

enough breakfast for any working man, and he should not expect anything better'.[51] Although the source is not located, its general currency according to Prichard, as a frequently quoted remark, bears witness to a distinction of class which would alienate rather than endear the pastor to his flock. Certainly, an accusation of slackness on the part of munition workers in a sermon delivered in Gloucester Cathedral in September, 1941, upset not only the workers themselves, but also the clergy. The Bishop of Tewkesbury and the Dean of Gloucester led a deputation: the remarks were too one-sided and they wished to dissociate themselves from them. Headlam was inundated with letters of protest too; in the face of everything, however, he was unmoved.[52] He used to say that he and Sir Charles Oman, an old friend and Fellow of All Souls, were the last of the true Tories.[53]

As a bishop, Headlam saw his responsibility lying not only with the See of Gloucester, but also in the areas of scholarship and the wider church beyond the diocese. Consequently, he continued his considerable contribution to the wider life of the Church at home and abroad. He was involved in the Faith and Order Conference of 1927 and 1937, leading the Anglican delegation in the latter; he provided solid support for the discussions on the Church of South India; he continued his early interests in the Orthodox Church and also with the Scandinavian Churches. Chadwick described Headlam as 'one of the best known of all British Churchmen abroad, partly because he was a genius at ecumenical meetings, with a long list of gains to his credit in different parts of Europe, and partly because he held an official position, which made him a foreign

secretary for the Church of England'.[54] The official position to which Chadwick refers is the chairmanship of the Council on Foreign Relations, a post Headlam held from 1932 until 1945; the occasion for referring to Headlam's international reputation was his controversial views on the possibility of an honourable relationship with Germany on the eve of the outbreak of war.

In June 1938 Headlam had led an Anglican delegation to the Lutheran Churches in Latvia and Estonia. On his way back he stayed in Berlin and saw Hensley Henson's letter in The Times on the anniversary of Martin Niemöller's imprisonment. Niemöller had been the Lutheran pastor at Berlin-Dahlem until his arrest in 1937 for his anti-Nazi activities in leading the Pastors' Emergency League, which became known as the Confessing Church. Hensley Henson's letter argued that Niemöller's confinement in a concentration camp effectively rejected the foundation of 'justice, toleration, freeedom and good faith' on which mutual respect between England and Germany could rest.[55] Headlam returned to the palace at Gloucester and replied to Henson with a letter to The Times. He called Niemöller a 'troublesome clergyman' who used the pulpit for political ends. He denied that the German government treated the Christian Churches with insult and injustice, and he expressed disbelief that letters like Henson's helped the cause of friendliness and peace; Headlam urged friendship and understanding.[56]

Henson replied by way of The Times two days later, challenging Headlam on the principle of ecclesiastical silence in the face of a tyranny of international concern. Headlam returned to The Times

with a letter in which he claimed that those pastors, including Nazi-styled clergy, who co-operated with Hitler, were good and orthodox and that the one thing that Hitler desired was a united German Church. Headlam gave the same advice in the handling of Hitler as was given to a meeting of Boy Scouts: to be courteous.[57]

With the benefit of hindsight, Chadwick claims this letter amongst 'the most lamentable ... ever written by an Anglican bishop to a newspaper'.[58] An article appeared in Truth entitled 'Heil Headlam!' George Bell, Bishop of Chichester, with the support of Henson, tried to persuade Archbishop Lang to make Headlam resign from the chair of the Council on Foreign Relations, but the Archbishop thought him too stubborn to comply. Bell and Lang agreed on a public exchange of letters to make it clear that Headlam represented neither the bishops as a body nor the Church of England as whole. Headlam, however, remained in office and the Bishop of Chichester considered that the evidence of the damage which he had done to both Niemöller and to Christianity to be overwhelming.

Headlam was genuinely convinced that Germany wanted friendly relations with England. He was far from being a diplomat and, considering his position, was unwise. The unique position which he occupied, however, did provide him with a certain vantage point from which he was able to provide a facet of the truth. He felt that he knew well the character of German theologians and their explosive temperament at theological conferences. He had received a letter from a German woman who had been brought up in German

clerical circles who confirmed his view of the German clerical tendency to 'plunge into argument' and to 'fight with each other or the powers that be'. She thought the words 'church militant' described the pastors in Germany to perfection.[59] It was in the light of this kind of perception that Headlam had viewed the action of Dr. Niemöller. Privately however, he admitted to be confused by the situation in Germany: writing to his niece, he confessed, 'Really I am in a maze. Things are reported differently by different people, and there is a good deal of false witness'.[60]

Headlam continued as chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations until 1945 - the year he resigned his see. In spite of having been clearly wrong by the outbreak of war, if not before, in his interpretation of the situation in Germany, having been opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Durham and Chichester among others, and he himself being in his late seventies, Headlam, nevertheless soldiered on. Whatever this may say about episcopal collegiality and authority, it certainly bears witness to Headlam's tough independence. However, by 1942 Headlam had serious doubts about his ability to remain Bishop of Gloucester until the end of the war: he celebrated his eightieth birthday with a sense of increasing weakness. But it was not until the spring of 1945 that Headlam announced his intention to retire the following autumn. He wanted more freedom to write, he had become very deaf, his doctor advised retirement and Whorlton Hall, no longer occupied by evacuees, was free.

Prichard, Headlam's trusted chaplain, arranged his final departure from Gloucester and the sale of all the unwanted furniture - harried daily by letters from Whorlton from Headlam's unmarried sister, Rose ('a battle-axe if ever there was one'[61]). In the spring of 1946 the University of Oslo awarded Headlam an honorary doctorate of divinity and he decided to receive the degree in person and summoned Prichard from Gloucester. The day before they sailed Headlam met his former chaplain in the Athenaeum. Being deaf, he shouted instructions to Prichard and told him that whilst he himself would be travelling first class he would probably prefer to go third. He did not expect Prichard to dine with him, and so wished him good night. On their return Headlam delivered what were to be his final words to Prichard: 'Goodbye, I did not enjoy it; I am too old for this sort of thing, but you did your best'.[62]

In October Headlam preached on J. B. Lightfoot at the Commemoration Service of Founders and Benefactors in Durham Cathedral. On November 3rd he preached in All Souls. He returned home tired and unwell. He survived Christmas and died in his sleep on 17 January, 1947 - his last occupation had been to count the days to the anniversary of his consecration on 25 January, nearly a quarter of a century before.

The memorial in the North Quire of Gloucester Cathedral includes the description of Headlam as a true friend to his clergy, a wise counsellor to the Church of God and a great scholar. At his funeral at Whorlton, however, Prichard alone represented Gloucestershire. Of the man he served so faithfully he wrote:

As I look back I think I found Bishop Headlam not so very easy to like, but far more easy to love, that is to work and spend oneself for. There were many things that I found it difficult to agree with, much that could have been put in another way, and often much opposition which seemed unnecessary. But on the other hand there was always so much common sense, and so much trust that he secured the best service one could offer.[63]

REFERENCES

1 Ronald Jasper, Arthur Cayley Headlam (Faith Press: London, 1960), p.20.
2 Ibid., p.20.
3 Ibid., p.22.
4 L. E. Ellsworth, Charles Lowder & the Ritualist Movement (Darton, Longman and Todd: London, 1982), p.151.
5 Jasper, p.23.
6 Ibid., p.25.
7 Ibid., p.27.
8 Ibid., p.34.
9 Edward C. Prichard, Arthur Cayley Headlam 'A Life' (Churchman Publishing: Worthing and Folkestone, 1990), p.39.
10 Owen Chadwick, Hensley Henson (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1983), pp.245-6.
11 Hensley Henson, Restrospect of an Unimportant Life (Oxford University Press: London, 1942), Vol.1, p.22.
12 Jasper, p.36.
13 Ibid., p.36.
14 Ibid., p.47.
15 Welwyn Parish Magazine, October 1896, No. 314. See Jasper, p.63.
16 Jasper, p.63.
17 Prichard, p.30.
18 The church was consecrated in November 1900.
19 August 2, 1901 and quoted in Jasper, p.68.
20 Jasper, p.81.
21 Ibid., p.97.
22 Hensley Henson, Vol.I, p.220.
23 Supra, p.11.
24 Jasper, p.132, where he quotes Professor D. C. Simpson's estimate of Headlam's achievements.
25 Prichard, p.46.
26 Jasper, p.133.
27 Ibid., p.140.
28 Prichard, p.92.
29 Ibid., p.8.
30 Ibid., p.9.
31 Ibid., p.10.
32 Ibid., p.26.
33 Quoted in Prichard, p.45.
34 Jasper, p.311.
35 Prichard, p.21.
36 Ibid., p.21.
37 Chadwick, p.275.
38 Prichard, p.15.
39 Ibid., p.37.
40 Ibid., p.40.

41 Jasper, p.28.
42 Ibid., p.172.
43 Prichard, p.9f.
44 Ibid., p.29.
45 Jasper, p.353.
46 Prichard, p.51.
47 Ibid., p.59f.
48 Ibid., p.57.
49 Ibid., p.38.
50 Ibid., p.2.
51 Ibid., p.2.
52 Jasper, p.319.
53 Prichard, p.57.
54 Chadwick, p.268.
55 Ibid., p.265.
56 The Times, 14 July 1938 and quoted in part in Chadwick, p.266.
57 Ibid., 20 July 1938 and quoted in part in Chadwick, p.267.
58 Chadwick, p.267.
59 Jasper, p.300f.
60 Ibid., p.299.
61 Prichard, p.65.
62 Ibid., p.66.
63 Ibid., p.50.

CHAPTER TWO

HEADLAM - THE HISTORIAN IN HIS CONTEXT OF RATIONALIST ORTHODOXY

1 Introduction

Headlam was, by background and nature, a conservative. He was considered to be a stubborn man. Once established in his views he was not readily open to fresh ideas, and yet the decade that saw his birth at Whorlton Hall 'next to the church and overlooking the river'[1] on the Durham side of the Tees in 1862, also witnessed events less congenial to conservative society in England. The inheritance into which A. C. Headlam was born was not only the apparent tranquillity and safety of a cultured middle class family strong within the establishment of the church, college and state, but also the disruption in England within the church and society as a result of the developments in the fields of natural science and historical study.

The 1860's experienced, as evidence of this disruption, the rumblings resulting from the publication of Charles Darwin's On The Origin of Species[2] and the publication of Essays and Reviews.[3] The second work was probably the one from which the greatest controversy came, with its expressed intention of opening up the Bible to modern criticism.[4] But how far it is possible to separate these two areas of science and historical criticism is far from clear, sharing, as they did, a common climate: they were facets of ' ... a more general unsettlement of minds ... '[5]. As Owen Chadwick puts it:

> In one aspect unsettlement was due not to the natural sciences but to the advance in historical study of ancient texts. In another aspect these students of ancient documents probably could not have written as they did unless they wrote in a climate of opinion already formed by natural scientists and by philosophers.[6]

It is generally difficult to locate precisely the source of trends of such moment, and perhaps 'precision' seems singularly inappropriate when it is to as broad an area as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that it seems necessary to turn. It was there, however, that the spirit of rationalism may be clearly located affecting science and religion. The English philosopher John Locke (1632 - 1704) in An Essay Concerning Human Understanding of 1690 wrote:

> Reason must be our last judge and guide in everything. I do not mean that we must consult reason, and examine whether a proposition revealed from God can be made out by natural principles, and if it cannot, that then we must reject it; but consult it we must, and by it examine whether it be a revelation from God or no; and if reason finds it to be revealed from God, reason then declares for it, as much as for any other truth, and makes it one of her dictates.[7]

Propositions may come to us 'by deductions of reason', or they may be recommended to us as 'coming from God in some extraordinary way of communication', that is by revelation. In either case it would be both a necessity and a duty to assess their credentials by the clear principles of reason. Such clarity, or the desire for clarity, reflected a broader spirit at large; a spirit which longed for unity in terms of both a satisfyingly comprehensive philosophy for all aspects of life and also relief from the enthusiasm and dogmatism in an age 'tired of controversies, wars, and persecutions'.[8] It was a spirit, too, which in a circular, self-supporting way found both expression in and encouragement from the advancement in mathematics, astronomy and the physical sciences. 'The world was opening itself to man's rational quest, disclosing itself as most intricately and harmoniously ordered'.[9] Here we see a potential harmony between religion and science which seems, by and large, to have been generally celebrated. Addison's hymn 'The Spacious Firmament' written in 1712 expresses a happy relationship between the celestial creation and the creator by way of reason. While denying the music of the spheres, nevertheless:

> In reason's ear they all rejoice,
> And utter forth a glorious voice:
> For ever singing as they shine
> 'The hand that made us is Divine'.[10]

It was because the attention of science was firmly focussed on the world of nature and not on man that the harmonious relationship between science and religion continued and theology still reigned as queen. This concentration on nature was understandable because there was so much to examine there without turning the glass on to man himself and the frightening prospect of the nature of his historical judgement - what Van A. Harvey, in describing critical historiography, has called 'the swampy ground which borders on theology and philosophy of history'.[11] As Alan Richardson has said, 'The second stage of the great scientific revolution which they had initiated still lay in the future, for the revolution of men's minds understanding of history was not accomplished until the nineteenth century'.[12]

A. C. Headlam was born at that point in the nineteenth century when science turned its confident attention to man himself, and theology, sharing the same bold, investigative spirit, was turning its attention to biblical criticism.

2 The Legacy of 'Science'

Time is a great aid in the assimilation of ideas which at their first appearance seem novel, alien and threatening. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Cambridge geologist, T. G. Bonney, in reply to a letter in the Guardian of 1871 from a certain archdeacon who called Darwinism the most easily refutable sophism of the day, said that he believed that evolution would soon be as axiomatic as the law of gravity, and accepted the necessity that man was part of the evolutionary process. 'Nor', he said, 'is there any reason why a man may not be an evolutionist and yet a Christian'.[13] Nevertheless, by the year A. C. Headlam was elected to a Fellowship of All Souls in 1885 at the age of twenty-three, it has been said that more educated Englishmen doubted the truth of the Christian religion than had done so thirty years before.[14] Although scientists often complained, nevertheless, the public at large did not distinguish between historical study which, had they realised it, would have been the source of the greater upheaval, and 'science'.[15] In 1911 Headlam chose, as Principal of King's College, London, to deliver a paper entitled Prolegomena to the Study of Theology. Its aim shows that he had this popular view of the rivalry of religion and science very much in mind - a rivalry distinct from the problems religion had experienced with the development of historical study. In the conclusion to this paper Headlam sums up his intention:

> In this investigation it has been the purpose to discuss religion as a natural development of the mind, to

> discover the sources from which it has been built up, to consider the reason for looking upon our belief as true and the method of testing it - setting aside so far as possible the idea of revelation.[16]

We see here, in Headlam's stated purpose, the influence of science on the attitude to study at large.

Certainly there was much to justify this general attitude which attributed to science so important an influence on the things of religion. Recent conclusions in the realm of geology had been seen to be opposed to the Church's accepted teaching on creation in Genesis. Indeed, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, three Bampton lecturers were highly critical of the claims and conclusions geologists had made as the advance of their department of science threatened established beliefs. Sir Charles Lyell had placed geology on a systematic basis and 'effectively brought the whole realm of nature under the conception of developmental law',[17] although it was not until his Principles of Geology had entered its tenth edition in 1868 that Lyell finally admitted his adherence to Darwinism and biological evolution.[18] Lyell himself was reluctant to face the links between inorganic development and that parallel development discovered by Darwin in the organic field. Nevertheless, according to Reardon, 'he saw them plainly enough',[19] and in spite of this knowledge saw no reason to give up his Christian belief.[20]

In a collection of essays written over a period of twenty years and concerned with the double purpose of the defence and restatement of Christianity, and published in 1909 under the title History, Authority and Theology, Headlam revealed a developed attitude towards science from the viewpoint of theology. His attitude illustrates something of the extent of the development in the working relationship between theology and the dictates of scientific method. 'The original squaring of geology with what the Bible was believed to say was a process which was not respectful to either authority. Throughout the Old and New Testaments, the science is the science of the writer's own time', and 'it gives us no scientific knowledge derived through any but ordinary human sources, and that it should not for this purpose be quoted. The spheres of science and of religion do not collide'.[21]

The ways in which science and religion avoid 'collision' and maintain their mutual 'respect' for their individual 'authorities', (to re-employ Headlam's vocabulary) seem to be twofold: by a clarification of their differing roles, on the one hand, and a high regard for the authority of reason on the other. In his Prolegomena he begins the process of clarification by looking at the way science uses the term 'law', according to Headlam:

> Law, when used by science only means a higher generalisation. But the ordinary connotation of the term

suggests a meaning which seems to imply the existence of some outside constraining influence, so that it appears not only to describe phenomena but also to explain them. When we speak of laws of gravitation or laws of motion, all we assert is that material bodies move towards one another in a certain way that can be calculated, but the use of the misleading word 'law' inevitably suggests the quite erroneous idea that we have discovered some external compelling force which controls and regulates these movements.

All that science does is to discover the way in which things happen in the world. It does not answer, or attempt to answer the question which religion asks - What are the cause and purpose of the world? It has indeed so far changed the question and purified the religious idea by showing that it is not for religion to ask the cause and purpose of each individual act, but rather the cause and purpose of the world as a whole. Science has not created a substitute for religion, or given any answer to the questions which religion or philosophy ask, but it has helped in the purification of the religious idea.[22]

To a certain extent Headlam seems to be saying that science should attend to smaller details while, regally, theology will take care of the larger matters of state. Certainly that condescension is apparent when, in the same paper, he goes on to say that:

> Science should be allowed perfect freedom for its own work; it may succeed in showing - it has not done so yet - how life comes out of matter, and how mind comes out of life. It will still not have explained the cause and purpose of the world.[23]

Nevertheless, it is the freedom which Headlam urges for science and the respect which he has for its authority, together with a sense of openness to its uncharted development, which should perhaps attract our attention the more powerfully.

There is a proper and innate authority belonging to both science and religion, an internal discipline, as it were, and this has to be obeyed, but there is, too, an empirical reason which would command ultimate authority. At the end of the Prolegomena Headlam says:

> To each individual it (religion) appeals with the authority of the Church or nation. They must conform to it to be true members ... it comes first as an authority; but it will not be accepted ultimately unless it commends itself to reason and is found true in experience ... Religion in all cases comes at first as an authority with which it comes compelling people to fashion their lives to it, but the authority cannot ultimately live unless what it teaches commends itself to reason and is found true in experience.

Later, in an article entitled Nature Miracles and the Virgin Birth, in 1914, he again refers to the ultimate sanction of reason: 'We should always be careful not to rely upon authority' he says. 'The Church has to win assent by its power of teaching: it is in the "Ecclesia docens" speaking not with the voice of command but with the voice of reason that has won and will win the consent of mankind to Christianity'.[24]

Headlam was very much aware of the change in climate as it affects the church. In his paper The Sources and Authority of Dogmatic Theology he likens the method of theologians of the past to that employed by the lawyer: he would build up his theology by citing authorities; in language reminiscent of Locke, Headlam sternly warns that there can be no authority which does not commend itself to our reason and work in us through our reason.[25] Reason, then, would appear to be a 'common denominator' in the twin camps of science and religion but otherwise, so far, they would seem to be separate and self contained, or rather the one, science, would seem to be a satellite of religion. In fact Headlam does not think in terms of separate development. Although he states that scientific discovery cannot interfere with the realm of theology[26] he also makes it clear in the same paper that "The more science can discover, the greater will become the need of the divine Creator to be the source and guide of the universe, not less.[27] The wonder of scientific discovery

undergirds the theory of a grand design, and nothing is found that is incompatible with God's goodness, a theory which many have found congenial. Its 'a priori' approach, however, questions the integrity of any expressions of conviction in the search for truth, so,when Headlam says: 'As in science, so in religion we believe that what is true for us is an adequate representation of the absolute truth, and that all effort at attaining religious knowledge is valuable because we and the world with us are gradually approaching nearer and nearer the truth!'[28], far from being courageously open, we feel that we are being more hemmed in by a 'cul-de-sac' of an argument. This taints, rather, our appreciation of Headlam's genuine desire to be inclusive and comprehensive, a desire which he expressed in language which was to find currency some fifty years later. 'It has', he writes, 'been a common tendency of recent years to find a place for Divine action in the gaps of scientific knowledge', and he wisely warns 'The gaps in the scientific knowledge in one generation are often the triumph of the next, and therefore it presents the most precarious basis on which to build'.[29] Such a tendency, says Headlam, is derogatory to our conception of God, who is not here and there, but everywhere present.

In judging Headlam's position as a priest in the academic world at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, we have the benefit of a vantage point for a balanced judgement. Perhaps it is easier to be detached and objective in this area of scientific

development, than in the related area, potentially closer to the heart, of historical analysis, to which we must now turn.

3 The Historian

From first to last Arthur Cayley Headlam was an historian. In 1885 he was elected to a history fellowship at All Souls'. While still at Winchester he had shone in this subject while in others he had failed to achieve the highest honours. It was from Winchester that Dr. Fearon, his former teacher, wrote congratulating him on his election: 'It was delightful to see the old love for History bearing its fruits and receiving due recognition. I have always said that Oman and yourself were two of the best historians I ever had under me ...'[30]

Charles Oman, to whom Dr. Fearon referred, had himself been elected to a history fellowship; senior to Headlam at Winchester, he had been elected, two years before and in the same college. It was in the chapel of that self-same college of All Souls' that Headlam, as an elderly bishop just months away from death was to return to preach the Commemoration Sermon in the autumn of 1946, taking as his text 'Where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding?'[31] Sir Charles Oman, who in his time had been Chichele Professor of Modern History, had died, and in his reference to him Headlam showed the philosophy of history to which he still subscribed. Referring to Oman as 'an historian in the truest sense', he went on to praise the fact that 'He had intense interest in the past life of the world in both small and great things, and he told the story of the past with great knowledge and accuracy, without any

pretension, without dwelling on its importance, without any desire to emphasise its lessons ... We learn from history by reading the true story and not by listening to the comments of the historian'.[32]

This philosophy of history was the key signature to a great deal of Headlam's thinking. Coming at the end of his life, his views both reflect and relate to the open, fresh and courageous commitment to the truth which was there at the beginning. In his late twenties he wrote to his father: 'I often feel that you do not quite realise the altered condition of thought in which we live at Oxford - the new way of looking at things which science has introduced, still less literary and historical criticism. Now in secular matters one learns to ask always, Is this true? How do I know this is true? One learns to supply definite rules of evidence on subject matters in which it is possible to be unbiased, and one learns above all things the faculty of judgement, which means not only to reject what is false, but to accept what is true'.[33]

The impersonal, non-subjective approach so admired in his eulogy on the method of Oman, 'free of the interpretations of the historian', 'the new way of looking at things which science has introduced', allowed,Headlam believed, an objectivity which both facilitated and justified the method of confrontation as a means of arriving at the truth. Certainly it is true to say that confrontation was both far from being alien to his nature.[34] It does also appear,

however, that he genuinely believed in the efficacy of a confrontational approach in the test for truth. So, in his father's concern for his son during the controversy surrounding the publishing of Lux Mundi and expressed in relief that he is away from Oxford, Headlam writes, 'You say that you feel glad that I should be removed from the disturbed state of the theological atmosphere. Now as my feelings were rather the other way, and as one reason which made me hesitate about going was a dislike to leave Oxford when an important controversy was going on ... I feel that I ought to explain my position to you.

In the first place I do not think there is anything excited or unhealthy about the controversy. As long as religious life is healthy and real, there must be always controversies; for new questions exist to be settled.' As far as any personal repercussions of such a dialectical approach are concerned, Headlam goes on to quote from a conversation with Charles Gore in which the Principal of Pusey told him 'one gained much more even from controversy when one learned every day to respect more and more the moral character of those from whom one differed'.[35]

The immediate context of those remarks was the readiness of the contributors to Lux Mundi to get alongside the moral and intellectual problems of the times, treating 'contemporary secular thought as an ally rather than as an enemy',[36] to the

detriment of those of a less robust spirit - specifically Henry Liddon, Canon of S. Paul's. In fact in his letter to his father in which Headlam attempted to reassure him on the healthy nature of personal confrontation, with no ill feelings, ironically Headlam points to Gore's solicitude for Liddon in his last sickness and to the fact that both Gore and Paget (also a contributor to Lux Mundi) were his literary executors! The real significance of this reference to Liddon, however, lies in the fracture he represents within that body whose common heritage was the Tractarian Movement. That fracture came at the point where criticism and anti-critical conservatism met: the readiness not to foreclose 'with an appeal to dogma' but a 'facing in fair and frank discussion the problems raised'.[37]

Charles Gore was but nine years older than Headlam, and the latter showed himself to be a true contemporary of that new era of open readiness to move towards a sharing of the common ground rules of dialectic engagement. In an article Criticism and the Acts of the Apostles, in 1901, Headlam wrote: 'Criticism can never do its proper work unless it is free, and must be met, when wrong, neither by the suppression of opinion nor by ecclesiastical anathema, nor by "a priori" reasoning, but by its own proper weapon - "criticism" - more correctly applied'.[38]

This even-handed treatment of theology in terms of the demands of the world, together with Headlam's ideals in the philosophy of history, finds a common point in an openness to the truth: whether it be the 'true historian' who reads the 'true story ... without any desire to emphasise the lesson', or the courageous free course of criticism. In both cases there is here evidence of a liberated confidence appropriate to an age in which 'the honorific adjective was "scientific" and the magic noun "fact"'.[39]

In England the legacy of 'science' and the quest for facts is clearly seen to have been taken up in Essays and Reviews. This volume of seven essays published in 1860 was intended to allow a free response to the problems surrounding Biblical criticism. Welch describes it as being essentially a manifesto for freedom and honesty in the discussion of biblical-critical questions, a protest against the 'conspiracy of silence' that had dominated the English scene.[40] It was conceived in the mid-fifties by Frederick Temple, Headmaster of Rugby and Benjamin Jowett of Balliol, who was, from 1855, Regius Professor of Greek. Although 'they stipulated that nothing should be written inconsistent with the obligations of an Anglican clergyman'[41], clearly the furore which followed showed that others had different views on what the obligations of being an Anglican clergyman involved: the editor, Henry Bristow Wilson and Rowland Williams (the only two of the six ordained who were beneficed), were both arraigned before the Dean of Arches - the former by a fellow clergyman from the diocese of Ely

with the permission of the Diocesan; the latter by Bishop of Salisbury himself. The judgement by Stephen Lushington, Dean of Arches, given in June 1862, which illustrated the limitation of the law in the area of orthodoxy, was, in the words of Owen Chadwick, 'the most momentous single judgement ... which enabled Anglican clergymen to adjust their teaching in the light of modern knowledge'.[42]

Some thirty years after the Dean of Arches judgement on Wilson and Williams, the controversial area into which Essays and Reviews had plunged was still very much the topic. In 1897, Headlam, who had now left Oxford and had been instituted as Rector of Welwyn in September of the previous year, was asked to speak at the Nottingham Church Congress. Within a series of lectures on 'Methods of Theology', he spoke on the subject The Historical Method. He began by saying that the intellectual life of the nineteenth century was essentially 'historical' by which he said he meant that whereas other periods of history had started from an 'a priori' view point, considering what men should be, the current move was to start, or profess to start, with what men were. He continues:

> Historical method ... implies, first of all, a habit of mind which is sometimes called scientific, being that which a man of science ought to possess; a habit which can only be obtained by the most careful training by the desire, and not only the desire but the capacity, to see facts as they are; to make correct historical deductions, not to read into them

> our own theories and prejudices. This is exceedingly hard to acquire even in secular methods when men's interests are not aroused - it is infinitely harder in religious methods, when men feel that there is so much at stake.[43]

The question arises whether the scientific 'habit of mind' can be adopted by historians. Hans-Georg Gadamer, the nineteenth-century German Professor of Philosphy at Heidelberg, was concerned to resist any such attempt to apply an objective method in the field of humanities. It was a successful enough method in the natural sciences; it was Gadamer's contention that it could not be successful here. Indeed, understanding what had been said or written 'involves, as an indispensable presupposition, preconceptions - prejudices'.44 These prejudices, however, are not out of order, on the contrary, they maintain an essential dimension for human understanding. The Enlightenment had wanted to break free, by way of reason - a 'prejudice against prejudice'. But, Gadamer asks:

> Does the fact that one is set within various traditions mean really and primarily that one is subject to prejudices and limited in one's freedom? Is not, rather, all human existence, even the freest, limited and qualified in various ways? If this is true, then the idea of an absolute reason is impossible for historical humanity...[45]

Similar points are made by Daniel Hardy in his contribution to Keeping the Faith. He sees an idealising of 'the mean and goal of inquiry' and an imposition of these 'idealizations as normative' with the result that, in the fields of science, as well as theology, 'there are', quoting John Watkins, 'no "depths"; there is surface everywhere'.[46] This limitation affects wisdom: it results in loss. Simplicity is not beauty here, it is, rather, equated with poverty; the complexity and dynamism of meaning at every level provides, in fact, the richer, wiser tradition.[47]

Headlam, in his enthusiastic commitment to the scientific method, fails to see both the impossibility of pure objectivity and also the richness of what Hardy would call the 'contamination' in historical study. And in this Headlam never wavered. As a young man he was excited by what he saw as the possibilities of objectivity; at the end of his life, in All Souls' chapel, he upheld the same belief in the pure independence of the historian, uncontaminated by 'pretension' and any personal involvement or identification.

Such an unwavering, stolid position would be consistent with Headlam's character and would find support elsewhere, as in his academic life where many of the views he expressed in his Bampton Lectures were perhaps the result of conclusions reached much earlier in his life and, as Jasper says, he did not change his position thereafter.[48]

The relationship between faith and reason was recognised by Headlam as having a certain complexity. In an article entitled Gospel History and its Transmission Headlam deals with the

problem of reconciling critical freedom and religious belief. In a broad sweep, that would seem to comprehend much of the inherited German theological scene, Headlam writes: 'To build up a logical argument able to create faith apart from religious experience is impossible, but if our faith is built up on a wide survey of facts and experience, if we are attracted by the teaching of Christ, the beauty of the Personality of Jesus of Nazareth, if we learn to accept him as the Son of God, then the miraculous events of his life ... take their fitting place in our scheme of history. We cannot base our belief on the formal arguments from miracles, but the record of Christ's life in its completeness arrived at by criticism, is a consistent and corroborative conclusions to our argument',[49] and he adds 'higher criticism does not overthrow the Bible: it only introduces another and we believe a more rational method of interpreting it'.[50]

There is a leap of faith, but it is inspired by the facts. Christ is not elevated beyond the range of the historical world, it is, in fact, historical criticism, bravely applied, that Headlam sees as an aid and means to the celebration of faith. This is quite different from the influential pattern of German theological thinking.

On the continent at the turn of the century liberal Protestantism, in what may be seen as a natural progression from rationalism, was heir to a divided inheritance of thinking on the question of history vis a vis faith. The initial assumptions of the Tubingen school had been said to preclude historical enquiry, and F. C. Baur (1792-1860) its founder, believed that the resurrection of Christ lay outside the

sphere of any historical investigation.[51] Others, following Schleiermacher's emphasis on feelings found a haven in the 'experience' of Christ rather than in the vulnerable traditional 'facts' of his life. In Albrecht Ritschl and his followers we find the critical front reduced to that area which was considered susceptible to investigation - namely the 'impression' Christ made upon those who had encountered him. So we see, at the turn of the century, Adolf von Harnack in the Ritschlian line distinguishing in What is Christianity (1900) between the historically vulnerable empty tomb and what might be considered the relatively safer ground of verifiable conviction in the "Easter faith".[52] And then the historical territory, as it were, was reduced to nothing with Schweitzer's Quest of the Historical Jesus: 'The abiding and eternal in Jesus is absolutely independent of historical knowledge, and can be understood only by contact with his spirit which is still at work in the world'.[53] This gathering retreat from the criteria of history is recognised by Headlam. With reference to Harnack's lectures on the Nature of Christianity he is critical because 'apparently he would have us accept the belief that Jesus lives, and the hope of immortality based upon that belief, but dispense with all the evidence in favour of this belief in the Gospel. But on what evidence do we base our belief if we discard the evidence given?'[54] On what, indeed? For Headlam there would be an essential balance in his will-to-truth which must qualify the complete freedom he elsewhere

exhorts for criticism.[55] Michael Ramsey described Headlam as having an Anglican care for the 'Via Media'. In his epilogue in From Gore to Temple, Ramsey identifies the 'via media' in, among other areas, 'the dislike of pressing aspects of theology with the ruthless logic of a self-contained system' and recognises this gift for the case of the middle ground to be 'markedly present in A. C. Headlam'.[56] And that would be true of his belief: in his criticism of Schleiermacher he says 'The problem he (Schleiermacher) always had before him was to reconcile the claims of religion with the dominant philosophical system of the day. To those inspired by Spinoza and by Hegel, there was no place for any form of supernaturalism in their philosophical system. He therefore built up his religion primarily on the basis of feeling ... He was a philosopher and a theologian who approached the Gospels as much from the definitely theological point of view as any mediaeval Schoolman'.[57] Whereas for Headlam, in theory at least, there would have to be a balance between the meaning which Christ might have in the life of a man of faith and the down-to-earth historical questions which the times demand to be asked.

So it would seem that Headlam very much saw the relationship of historical criticism and faith as a happy, viable marriage. The question arises, however, as to whether Headlam's happy balance does not in fact beg the question as far as historical integrity is concerned? It may be fair and accurate to chart the retreat of certain aspects of German theology out of the range of the artillery of the new found historical science, but is Headlam

himself not 'hoisted by his own petard'? The standards of criticism which he both salutes and employs go no further than the text. They do not penetrate the philosophy of history whereby Headlam might see what limited ability the historian actually has when he attempts to 'tell the true story' and where history is a 'quicksand' in the sense that it may not provide an unyielding foot-hold.58

If Headlam was from first to last an historian balancing a courageous belief in the necessity to employ criticism and the dialectic in the pursuit of truth, on the one hand, and a traditional belief in revealed truth in the scriptures on the other, then he was an historian and theologian of his generation: going so far but no further.

REFERENCES

1 Ronald Jasper, Arthur Cayley Headlam (Faith Press: London, 1960), p.22.
2 Charles Darwin's On the Origin of Species was published in 1859.
3 Essays and Reviews was published in February of 1860 and edited by Henry Bristow Wilson.
4 Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church Part II, Second Edition (Black: London, 1972), p.75: 'In the middle fifties two Anglican clergymen, Jowett of Balliol and Frederick Temple, agreed that the reticence on the subject of the Bible was unhealthy. They agreed to collect writers who would publish a volume to encourage free and honest discussions of Biblical questions'.
5 Ibid., p.2.
6 Ibid., p.2.
7 John Locke, An Essay concerning Human Understanding, 2 vols. (Dent: London, 1961), 2, Book 4, Chapter 19, paragraph 14, p.295.
8 Claude Welch, Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century (Yale University Press: New Haven & London), vol.I (1799-1870), p.31.
9 Ibid., p.31.
10 English Hymnal, No. 297, v.3.
11 Van Austin Harvey, The Historian and the Believer (S.C.M. Press, London: British Edition, 1967), p.xiii.
12 Alan Richardson, The Bible in the Age of Science (SCM: London, 1961), p.30.
13 Owen Chadwick, Part II, p.27. The Archdeacon was Archdeacon Freeman.
14 Ibid., p.1.
15 Ibid., pp. 3 & 7.
16 A. C. Headlam, Prolegomena to the Study of Theology (in 'London Theological Studies' by members of the Faculty of Theology in the University of London, 1911), p.127.
17 Bernard M. G. Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore (Longmans: London, 1971), pp.288 & 289.
18 Owen Chadwick, Part II, p.27.
19 Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore, p.289.
20 Owen Chadwick, Part II, p.6.
21 A. C. Headlam, History, Authority and Theology, p.22.
22 Headlam, Prolegomena to the Study of Theology, p.108.
23 Ibid., pp. 109 & 110.
24 A. C. Headlam, Nature Miracles and the Virgin Birth, in C.Q.R. Vol. 79, 1914.
25 A. C. Headlam, The Sources and Authority of Dogmatic Theology (Macmillan & Co., 1903: London), p.9.
26 Ibid., p.21.
27 Ibid., p.19.
28 Headlam, Prolegomena to the Study of Theology, p.127.
29 Ibid., p.25.
30 Jasper, p.33.
31 Sermon preached on 3rd November 1946, in the chapel of All Souls, printed for the Warden and Fellows at the University Press, Oxford.
32 Jasper, p.349.

33 Ibid., p.41. Letter to his father from Athens and dated 12th October 1890.
34 Ibid., p.39,
Note 9. Headlam's father has said of him, 'It is a pity that he puts so little restraint on his tongue and his pen as strangers don't understand him'.
35 Ibid., p.40.
36 A. M. Ramsey, From Gore to Temple (Longmans: London, 1960), p.3.
37 Charles Gore, The Holy Spirit and Inspiration in Charles Gore (ed.), Lux Mundi (Murray: London, 1889), p.361.
38 A. C. Headlam, Criticism and the Acts of the Apostles, Church Quarterly Review, Vol.53 (1901), p.3.
39 Van A. Harvey, I, 1, p.44.
40 Welch, I, p.168.
41 Owen Chadwick, p.75.
42 Ibid., p.81.
43 A. C. Headlam, The Historical Method, Report of the Church Congress, Nottingham, 1897, p.70.
44 Andrew Louth, 'The Nature of Theological Understanding: some parallels between Newman and Gadamer',in Geoffrey Rowell (ed.)., Tradition Renewed (Darton, Longman and Todd: London, 1986), p.100.
45 Ibid., pp.101-102.
46 Daniel Hardy, 'Rationality, the Sciences and Theology', in Geoffrey Wainwright (ed.), Keeping the Faith (S.P.C.K: London, 1989), pp.277-278.
47 Ibid., pp.303-305.
48 Jasper, pp.141-142. See also p.21 above.
49 Church Quarterly Review (1907), pp.169-197.
50 Ibid., pp.409-435.
51 Alan Richardson, History, Sacred and Profane (S.C.M.: London, 1964) p.121.
52 Ibid., p.122.
53 A. Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus (Black: London, 1931), p.399.
54 A. C. Headlam, The Miracles of the New Testament (Murray: London, 1914), pp. 265 & 266.
55 Church Quarterly Review (1901), p.3.
56 Ramsey, pp.165-166.
57 Headlam, The Miracles of the New Testament, I, vi, pp.51-53.
58 Mark Pattison, and quoted in Richardson, History, Sacred and Profane, p.114.

CHAPTER THREE

FAITH AND REASON

1 Lux Mundi was published in the same decade that saw the death of Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882), the 'wonderful chief', as Henry Scott Holland called him.[1] In him was focused great hope for the fearful: those people who found the confluence of advancing natural science, on the one hand, and biblical criticism on the other, a river too deep to cross. Canon Scott Holland, writing about the Regius professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, uses language reminiscent of some Christological debate - there was no time when he was not:

> Nobody living could recall the time when he had not been there. And all the amazing days had come and gone: and still the same presence belonged to the same spot. Still, that invincible faithfulness of his persevered, and preserved and prayed, and toiled and loved. Still, the grey eyes lifted, now and again, from their lowered bent, and let the prophetic light come through. Still, now and again the burdened face was illuminated by that sudden and incomparable smile which Stanley so vividly remembered. Still he held the fort, and never swerved or shook. Still he spoke, and wrote, and studied, and counselled. It was if the whole Past was made present to us as we watched him pass to and fro. And, at last, the end, so long delayed as to become almost incredible, had come. The old man was dead. And up from every

corner of the country came creeping the old men still left to whom his name had been a watchword and an inspiration. It seemed the last act of the historic Movement. Everything that was left from out of the momentous memories must be there. We younger men watched the long procession of men whose names had been familiar but whom we had never before seen in the flesh. Here they were - bowed, grey, tottering, making their final effort, delivering their witness to the end. On and on they filed, round and round the quadrangle, bearing the old hero home to his rest, laying his body by the side of his wife whom he had so absorbingly mourned. As they turned away from the grave they knew that they would never meet again in such a company, on this earth. They too, were, now, to pass away with him whose name and presence had meant so much to them. And What would follow?[2]

The elevated style of Scott Holland, here in isolation, conceals his appreciation of the situation at large, in its wider setting; he himself was a contributor to Lux Mundi which was to provide a common channel, a 'media via', even, for both the Tractarian and the biblical critic. Pusey, whom Reardon describes as retarding rather than promoting the Old Testament studies at Oxford by his unbudging traditionalism[3] symbolised, at least, the end of an era to which Scott Holland respectfully and figuratively alludes: 'last act', 'final effort' and the significant turning away from the

grave of the old men who would never again meet in such a company.

One of the 'old men' - metaphorically, that is: he was about fifty-three years of age when Pusey died - was Henry Parry Liddon (1829-1890). Canon of S. Paul's and Dean Ireland professor of exegesis in the University of Oxford, a post which he held until the year of Pusey's death, Liddon had an 'intense'[4] admiration for the traditionalist, and conservative professor of Hebrew[5] whose Life he 'assiduously'[6] compiled, to be eventually published post-humously in four volumes. For him, Pusey would have provided an anchor against the changing tide.

Liddon was, to a degree, prepared to face the tide of Darwinism, although he thought it by no means proven: it was still 'not inconsistent with belief in the original act of creation which is essential to Theism'[7], but he remained adamant against the currents caused by biblical criticism. In his Bampton Lectures of 1866, published in the following year, he had made no concessions to the difficulties being raised by biblical criticism.[8] His lectures were entitled The Divinity of Our Lord and his fear was of an 'inclined plane, leading swiftly and certainly towards Socinianism tempered by indifference'.[9] Liddon, who was considered a great preacher, emphasised the power of the Incarnate to evoke adoration, and the divine humility which

Pusey had preached was expressed in terms of the raising of man.[10] The tradition of adoration, so close to the hearts of the Tractarians, depended, in Liddon and Pusey, on the divinity of Christ, as opposed to emphasis on Christ's real humanity, which is the way the tide of theology was turning in the movements of Lux Mundi and Modernism. Ramsey, in writing about the Incarnation and Kenosis, in From Gore to Temple says:

> Gore reacted with horror from the idea stated in Liddon's Bampton Lectures that 'the knowledge infused into the human soul of Jesus was ordinarily and practically equivalent to omniscience'. His care was to safeguard what he believed to be the Gospel picture of Christ's real humanity, and therefore 'it was necessary that he should be without the exercise of such divine prerogatives as would have made His human experience impossible'.[11]

That worship and adoration were not the sole preserve of those conservative theologians, like Pusey and Liddon, who protected the traditional view of the divinity of Christ and avoided the hard questions and answers prompted by biblical criticism, is the history of this period of the Church. It is to be seen in the 'new era'[12] of Anglican thought ushered in by the publication of Lux Mundi in 1889 which enabled, the Tractarians, if they would, with their yearning for worship and adoration, to live at peace within a world which included biblical criticism. The ground was prepared and the 'era'

anticipated notably in two ways. There were the quiet, persevering academics, and there were those who in the practice of their religion were not intimidated and forced into retreat, but were prepared to meet the problems of the day, however, disturbing, openly and within the confidence of that religion. Such a man was Richard Church (1815-1891), who became Dean of S. Paul's, to the delight of Liddon, in 1871. His book The Oxford Movement, Twelve Years, 1833-1845, published after his death, has been described as a 'judicious and balanced interpretation of the history of the movement'.[13] Those same qualities are reflected in his attempt to reassure the broken hearted Liddon[14] at the time of the publication of Lux Mundi:

> Ever since I could think at all I have felt that these anxious and disturbing questions would one day be put to us; and that we were not prepared, or preparing, to meet them effectively. ... It seems to me that our apologetic and counter-criticism had let itself be too much governed by the lines of attack and that we have not adequately attempted to face things for ourselves, and in our own way, in order not merely to refute but to construct something positive on our own side.[15]

The 'something positive' came with Lux Mundi, but the way had been paved by such open attitudes, as Dean Church demonstrated, from within the devout practice of the faith.

Pusey had lived and worked within the sanctity of Tom Quad, and his religion came first. His successor in the chair of Hebrew, was S. R. Driver (1846-1914), who 'started to expound as scientifically assured results ... things which his predecessor would have laid down his life to avert'.[16] Owen Chadwick writes:

> At both universities the new divines approached their work with an attitude different from that of their predecessors. Pusey was first a canon and second a professor, for his duty in the church was paramount and his duty to the university a part of that larger duty. His successor Driver was first a professor and then a canon, for his paramount duty was the advancement of knowledge, which his place in the church allowed and encouraged him to do.[17]

S. R. Driver, 'who understood and accepted the main positions adopted by the best continental scholarship, soon swept away the accumulated dust and established himself, with his Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, as the foremost authority in England in his domain'.[18] He was gentle, cautious and dispassionate, Chadwick tells us, in his scholarship.

Michael Ramsey sees in the seeds sown by J. B. Lightfoot (1828-1889), B. F. Westcott (1825-1901) and F. J. A. Hort (1828-1892) a creative and significant preparation for the studies in the Incarnation, which was the theme of Lux Mundi.

Alan Stephenson, noting the change in attitudes between 1860, the year of Essays and Reviews, and the Third Lambeth Conference in 1888, gives credit to Driver, H. E. Ryle (1856-1925), William Sanday (1843-1920) (whom Headlam had worked hard to get elected to the Lady Margaret professorship and with whom he had collaborated in the writing of the International Commentary on Romans) and Charles Gore (1853-1932) himself. The climate had become less harsh: time and the influence of men who had quietly persevered had had their effect. In the Lambeth Conference of 1888, Frederick Temple (1821-1902), Bishop of London who, four years previously had given the Bampton Lectures entitled The Relations between Religion and Science, wrote a Report on the study of Holy Scripture. In his memoirs, edited by E. G. Sandford, we read:

> One of the most striking illustrations both of Dr. Temple's self-command and of his lasting sympathy with liberal thought is afforded by the Report on the study of Holy Scripture (sic) which he wrote, when Bishop of London, for the Lambeth Conference of 1888. It anticipated conclusions now generally accepted by thoughtful men, which base the defence of Revelation upon sure foundations. The succeeding Conference endorsed many of these conclusions, but the rejection of the Report at the time held back for many years a cause that was dear to him, and he felt it much. He knew ... how to 'hold his tongue' when he thought silence right; the keenness of his disappointment was, however, well

known to his intimate friends.[19]

Temple's 'lasting sympathy with liberal thought' is attested in his letter to the Bishop of London, when he was still headmaster of Rugby, making the point that was very much the spirit that lay behind Lux Mundi and was to flourish in the Modernist movement: 'If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded'.[20]

2 Lux Mundi

Although the publication of Lux Mundi in 1889 was in some ways a gentler experience than had been the publication of Essays and Reviews in 1860 - there had been time to adjust to the spirit of criticism, on the one hand, and there was a reverent treatment of their subjects by the eleven contributors, on the other - nevertheless, its launching certainly stirred the waters. It affected Canon Liddon profoundly, perhaps to the extent of hastening his death; but in many ways Lux Mundi was a means of salvation. It provided just the encouragement needed for those who devoutly wished to practise the catholic faith without sacrificing intellectual honesty. Owen Chadwick writes:

> If some were unsettled, others found relief in the debate. They were glad not to be troubled further about Balaam's ass or Jonah's whale. Their doctrine of God seemed to them more Christian when the earlier doctrines of Jehovah were seen to be faulty so far as they were partial. They felt more free to worship with mind as well as heart. Nearly all the intelligent young men stood behind Gore ...[21]

One of the 'intelligent young men' was Headlam. His grandfather, the Archdeacon of Richmond, had been a strict Evangelical,[22] but two of the Archdeacon's children became Tractarians. Margaret Ann, the youngest, and Headlam's father, Arthur. In 1876, when Dr. J. B. Dykes, Vicar of S. Oswald's, Durham, died, Headlam's father moved from Whorlton to succeed him. S. L. Ollard records that the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Baring) had refused to allow Dykes to have the help of a curate because he refused to give a written pledge that any curate would not be obliged to wear coloured stoles, take the eastward position or be present when incense was used (although incense was not used at S. Oswald's). In a large parish and with these pressures Dykes died on January 22nd.[23]

The appointment of Headlam's father seems to have been a good one, whether by luck of judgement (Jasper records that Headlam was appointed 'despite his Tractarian views') and he preserved the style of worship which was so close to Dykes' heart - 'candles, surpliced choir, vestments and daily services', while 'restoring and maintaining peaceful relations with the Bishop'.[24]

In his letter of reassurance to his father, anxious at the 'disturbed state' of theology, as it had reached him in his rich Tractarian inheritance in Durham, Headlam revealed both his doubt and also, in one interesting aspect, his identity too with the thinking of Lux Mundi and Gore in particular. He wrote:

> To explain my position is difficult. It was not so much that I had doubts or even difficulties, but I felt that I must ask the question, Is Christianity really true? I found soon that all the critical and historical training I had made me feel more sure of the historical character of all or most of the books of the New Testament and of the facts they narrated. I found that the different attacks made were often inconsistent and really less critical than the defence which was possible. All I have tried to do is to clear my judgement, as I had been taught, of preconceptions to answer each question on its merits.
>
> I have satisfied myself that making every necessary concession to criticism the great miracle of history of Israel remained and the prophecy of the Messiah miraculously fulfilled in the coming of Jesus. Was it then that our Lord had been mistaken about Israel's history and was not divine? That could not be, because all the evidence of history and criticism seemed to me to point to his divinity. The important factor to remember was the doctrine of kenosis or divine self-

humiliation of Christ. He laid aside His divine nature to come and live not only as man but as a man of His own time and country. He used as a means of conveying truth the imperfect philosophical, theological and scientific ideas of his day ...

You must not imagine that we can consider - any of us younger men - that our own views are infallible. All we feel bound to do is to explain them and defend them in controversy, in a spirit as befitting the subject as possible, in order that we may help to settle difficult questions. We hope to be quite willing to learn from those from whom we differ, and all we ask for is that older people may at any rate attempt to understand us, as for example the Dean of S. Paul's has done; and not to write in the dogmatic and inconsiderate way of so many of the writers in the Guardian. After all a former generation of High Churchmen ought not to forget how much they differed from their predecessors and how much they shocked the world, and yet looking back they must see how much after all they agreed with them in every great Christian truth.[25]

Headlam was a Fellow of All Souls between the years 1885 and 1896. He defended the faith from his academic tower against the power of the pen in the medium provided by The Church Quarterly Review, the journal which he was to edit in 1901 and to own in 1907. In 1890, however, it was edited by C. Knight Watson, a Tractarian of the old school who was very

much out of sympathy with both higher criticism and Lux Mundi. The result was that Driver and Gore got less than sympathetic treatment from the Review, so much so that Headlam complained to Knight Watson in May 1890. In spite of reassurances, the October issue that year contained a pamphlet in which, inter alia, it claimed credit for opposing the dangerous tendencies of Lux Mundi. Headlam reacted strongly and refused to continue as a contributor for a journal which considered such views to be hostile to Christianity.[26]

Of all the contributors to Lux Mundi, it was on Gore that the task of harmonising the historic faith with new inheritance of biblical criticism chiefly fell, and although the contributors wrote within the context indicated by the sub-title - 'A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation' - with the dual allegiance to the Catholic Creed and Church and the needs of the new epoch with its profound changes,[27] it was Gore's essay, entitled The Holy Spirit and Inspiration, which 'aroused most interest, as also, in some minds, the most disquiet'.[28] It is here that we find the source of salvation for Headlam and his fellows which he is at pains to explain to his father. Writing about the Incarnate Son of God, Gore said:

> He shews no sign at all of transcending the science of

> His age. Equally, He shews no signs of transcending the history of His age. He does not reveal His eternity by statements as to what had happened in the past, or was to happen in the future, outside the ken of existing history.[29]

At this point Charles Gore inserted the footnote which gave currency to the 'kenotic' theory. 'Christ', he wrote:

> Never exhibits the omniscience of bare Godhead in the realms of natural knowledge; such as would be required to anticipate the results of modern science or criticism. The 'self-emptying' of God in the Incarnation is, we must always remember, no failure of power, but a continuous act of self-sacrifice ... Indeed, God 'declares His almighty power most chiefly' in this condescension, whereby He 'beggared Himself' of Divine prerogatives, to put Himself in our place.[30]

Gore had been appointed the first Principal of Pusey House in 1884 and, with his permission, Headlam was offered a librarianship there. Although he declined, Headlam, the High Churchman, found the theology of Gore both exciting and congenial.

When Headlam left All Souls to become a parish priest himself, which he did, after careful thought and consultation, in the autumn of 1896, at the age of thirty-four, the Tractarian standards of worship seem to have been naturally assumed as part of his priestly style. In

setting down his personal arguments for and against accepting the College living of Welwyn, Headlam had concluded that he needed the reality of practising his faith as a parish priest and pastor. In reaching this conclusion, some notes he made at the time include a special, additional reason which lay deep. It expresses well the spirit of the age which produced Lux Mundi where the experience of the worshipping community and critical scholarship meet:

> To these general reasons for going to Welwyn I must add a special one, which is connected with my own work and study. It seems to me that what is needed is the creation of a good sound school of what may be most clearly expressed as historical theology, for that I believe to represent the point of contact between the old Catholic school and the modern critical school. That is the idea in my mind in taking Welwyn, and forms a definite continuity between my work and my ideal at Oxford, and my work and my ideal in parish work.[31]

Headlam's idealism proved, on the ground, to be impracticable. He certainly brought textual criticism and the problems of Church history to his parish - he was still 'the general' and Sunday School teachers and the like turned out for his lectures, but his unattractive style and the subject matter itself would have bewildered them.[32] Nevertheless, his commitment in the parish is illustrative of the spirit that was abroad, and which he thought the publication of Lux Mundi produced. He wrote in 1909 of Lux Mundi, 'the effect of which was openly to commit a large body

of the church to the acceptance of the modern critical method'.[33] In the preface to Lux Mundi, Gore had written:

> The real development of theology is rather the process in which the Church, standing firm in her old truths, enters into the apprehension of the new social and intellectual movements of each age: and because 'the truth makes her free' is able to assimilate all new materials, to welcome and give its place to all new knowledge, to throw herself into the sanctification of each new social order, bringing out of her treasures things new and old, and showing again and again her power too of witnessing under changed conditions to the catholic capacity of her faith and life.[34]

This is precisely how Headlam saw its role in the parish which he had entered in 1896. His acceptance of the living of Welwyn represented the bond between the rational theologian and the worshipping community and was a sign of Headlam's identification with the philosophy of Lux Mundi.

3 Modernism

When Gore died in 1932, H. D. A. Major wrote his obituary in the Modern Churchman, which he edited. He declared:

> It was Charles Gore and the Lux Mundi group who found the way to fresh advances ... With immense courage Gore accepted the results of Biblical Criticism. He dared to acknowledge not only that the Old Testament science and history was inaccurate. He even dared to affirm that modern critics of the Old Testament knew more about the facts of its composition that did the Saviour Himself; in short, that our Lord's human consciousness experienced and exhibited the limits of his terrestrial environment. Essays and Reviews was an epoch making book, but Lux Mundi was no less brave. It gave the Anglo-Catholics a deserved ascendency over their Evangelical rivals who still clung to Biblical infallibility and shuddered at Gore's doctrine of 'Kenosis' ...
>
> As an English modernist theologian he deserves to rank with Maurice, Jowett, Westcott, Hort and Rashdall. He would not have felt quite happy in the company of some of them because they were more devoted to the truth and less to orthodoxy than he. Nevertheless, he accomplished what they could not have done - he liberalised the Oxford Movement.35

Alan Stephenson, in his book The Rise and Decline of English Modernism, dates the starting of English Modernism in 1898,

with the founding of The Churchman's Union for the Advancement of Liberal Religious Thought (later becoming the Modern Churchmen's Union in 1928).[36]

He gives a thumbnail sketch of what he considered to be the beliefs of the typical English Modernist:

> He was totally convinced of the existence of God. The 'Death of God' school of the 'sixties would have filled him with horror. He believed in a God who was in everything and that everything was in God, but a God who only worked through the evolutionary process. In other words he was a panentheist. He believed in a God who could be known, to a certain extent, in other religions, but who was supremely revealed in the Logos. He had no doubt about the existence of Jesus Christ, though he was prepared to admit that if it were ever proved that Jesus had never existed, that would not mean the end of his religious faith. His Christology was a degree Christology and adoptionist ... He maintained that he believed in the supernatural, but not in the miraculous. His Jesus, therefore did not perform miracles. He was not born of a virgin and his resurrection was a spiritual one. The tomb was not empty ... He had little interest in ritual.[37]

Stephenson admits that Major's description of Gore as a Modernist is anachronistic; he should add, too, that it is limited. A comparison of the obituary with the thumbnail sketch of what modernists might be expected to believe finds

common ground only in the area of the acceptance of biblical criticism and its consequences. In terms of panentheism, worship, Christology and miracles the belief of Gore would have been massively unyielding. Headlam, in the spirit of Gore and Lux Mundi, writing again for the Church Quarterly Review, on The New Theology took R. J. Campbell, its author, to task. Campbell was minister of the City Temple and a sort of honorary Modernist.[38] In his book The New Theology, Campbell had stated his purpose: 'What is wanted is a restatement of the essential truth of the Christian religion in terms of the modern mind'. He goes on to attempt to answer that need in terms of 'the New Theology', which, he says, 'indicates the attitude of those who believe that the fundamentals of the Christian faith need to be articulated in terms of the immanence of God'.[39]

Headlam, in reviewing the book, stands in the tradition of Lux Mundi. He is anxious to defend the transcendence of God, and in answer to Campbell's complaint that we have no means of knowing what infinity is, turns to the self-limiting theory which he found so helpful in Gore's contribution to Lux Mundi to bridge the gap between transcendence and immanence that he is anxious to preserve. Headlam goes on to enlist the support of Irenaeus: '"The Father"', he quotes, "is unmeasured, the Son is the measure of the Father". We cannot but think that this thought is far truer, we believe, and more suitable to the notion of God than the popular epithet "infinite". The word is purely negative in its

associations; it means nothing but the absence of all limits. And there is nothing in it to show that it does not include the absence of all positive existence'. Headlam is at pains to maintain the divine identity against a modernist all-embracing pantheism. He appeals to the common experience of our own sense of being and also the consciousness of that which is beyond, which also provides a basis for moral behaviour, too, whereas 'Mr. Campbell's philosophy in which ultimate distinctions have disappeared, whether we call it Pantheism or, as he prefers it, a monistic idealism, does not'.[40]

Two years later in an article for the same journal entitled 'The Christ of History', Headlam looks at a collection of essays in the Hibbert Journal Supplement for 1909 among whose contributors were Modernists.[41] The essays deal with the questions being raised at that time concerning Jesus' personality. Headlam wrote: 'The main thesis is that we must make a clear distinction between the Jesus of history and the Christ of worship. While the Jesus of history was a mere man, with all the limitations, religious, moral, and intellectual, of the times in which he lived, the object of Christian worship has been a spiritual ideal to which we may provisionally apply the word "Christ"'[42] Headlam wondered at this neglect of the question whether the Christ of worship had any objective reality, and he identified Wilhelm Wrede as the person who provided the

critical basis for such unbalanced speculations - seeing Paul, as Headlam read Wrede, as the Apostle who had not known Jesus after the flesh, and consequently as the original source of the construction of divinity upon Jesus of Nazareth.

Headlam reveals the balanced centrality of his position as a sort of fulcrum in the to and fro of the extremities of the debate. While, on the one hand, emphasising the orthodox path in terms of English Modernism, he would, on the other hand, have appeared radical to the Roman Catholic Church in his support for the Abbé Loisy in what Headlam called, at one point,[43] his 'numerous periods of indiscretion'. Headlam wrote three articles in the Times Literary Supplement entitled 'The Vatican and the Abbé Loisy' on three successive Fridays in January 1904 as a defence and support to the recently condemned French Roman Catholic theologian. He defends the need for debate: 'When new ideas are being introduced, there must be constant change of opinion before they are harmonised with older ideas', and he quotes Loisy: 'On ne tue pas les idées à coups de baton'. Headlam began by looking at Renan who, in 1845, renounced his orders because of the incompatibility of Catholicism and criticism. Renan had said 'Catholicism suffices for all my faculties except the critical power of reason: I never hope in the future to find more complete satisfaction. I must, then, either renounce Catholicism, or amputate this faculty. The latter is an operation difficult and painful, but, believe me, I

would perform it if my conscience were not opposed to it, if God were to come this evening and tell me that it was agreeable to him'. Headlam asks whether it was really necessary to lose him: 'Could not all his learning and literary power have been retained on the side of the Church to which he had been devoted?'. The prudent Duchesne and the eloquent Dominican Lagrange played their part in paving the inevitable way for biblical criticism in the Roman Church. Loisy himself, although Duchesne's disciple, Headlam saw as a sort of advanced guard of the army of criticism in the Roman Church: 'he draws all the assaults of the enemy, and allows a large body of those who are following him to advance in safety'.[44]

Headlam did not support Loisy in all of his conclusions: he accused him of confusing the minds of many of his readers by some 'rather doubtful speculations about the consciousness of our Lord', and through his doctrine of 'development'. Loisy did not go far enough to declare the limits of objective Christian truth. In terms of freedom, however, Headlam supported Loisy against the condemnation of Rome. 'Criticism is a science', Headlam wrote in his defence, 'and just as much as in the case of any other science it must arrive at its conclusions by its own methods ... any erroneous conclusions they must disprove by criticism. The final results will only be obtained by criticism, and free criticism: and any hampering of its freedom must impede the result'. Shades of Frederick Temple's perceptive and prescient comments of over fifty

years before: 'To tell a man to study, and yet bid him, under heavy penalties to come to the same conclusions as those who have not studied, is to mock him. If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded'.[45]

In conclusion, we may say that Headlam sought to earth his rational theology within the worshipping community. By exercising his ministry in the parochial setting he bore witness to his belief in the viable relationship between criticism and faith. This was the declared intention of Lux Mundi: 'to attempt to put the Catholic faith into its right relationship to modern intellectual and moral problems'.46 The Light of the World is Jesus, the incarnate Son of God, and as such, he brings together heaven and earth. Wainwright, in the Preface to Keeping the Faith says that 'the emphasis placed by Lux Mundi on the incarnation may have been an attempt to capture from the inside - and reclaim for Christ - the immanentist mood and the turn to the human ...'47 and it was Headlam's desire to reconcile the immanent and the transcendent. In his book, Christian Theology, published in 1934, Headlam says that 'our need is a God who is transcendent, and, therefore, has created the world, and a God who is immanent in the world and in each human soul' and that 'the Christian doctrine of the Trinity brings these two doctrines together'.48 So Headlam, with certain sympathies with the modernism of both the English liberal protestants ('the Anglican wing of the European movement' according to Sykes49) and of the French Roman Catholics, and having at the same time a close affinity with the liberal catholics of the Lux Mundi group, holds, a central and orthodox position.

REFERENCES

1 Henry Scott Holland, A Bundle of Memories (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co: London, 1915), p.99, and quoted in A. M. G. Stephenson, The Rise and Decline of English Modernism (SPCK: London, 1984), p.30.

2 Ibid., pp.30-31.

3 Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore, p.357.

4 F. L. Cross (ed), The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (Oxford,1957), p.808.

5 Stephenson, p.31.

6 Cross, p.808.

7 Reardon, p.295.

8 Ibid., p.430.

9 Reardon, p.431.

10 Pusey, Sermon from Advent to Whitsuntide, quoted in Ramsey, From Gore to Temple, p.43.

11 Ibid., pp. 33-34.

12 Ibid., p.vii.

13 Cross, (ed.), p.285.

14 See A. M. Ramsey, p.7.

15 Reardon, p.432 f.

16 Stephenson, p.32.

17 Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, p.451 f.

18 Reardon, p. 357.

REFERENCES (continued)

19 E. G. Sandford (ed.), Memoirs of Archbishop Temple (Macmillan: London, 1960) Vol.II, p.628.

20 Randall Davidson and William Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, 2 vols., (Macmillan: London, 1891), Vol.1, p.291.

21 Chadwick, p.106.

22 Jasper, p.22.

23 S. L. Ollard, A Short History of the Oxford Movement (Mowbray: London, 1983), p.139.

24 Jasper, p.25.

25 Headlam, Letter to his father from Athens, 12 October 1890, and quoted in Jasper, p.41 f.

26 See Jasper. p.40.

27 Gore, p.viii.

28 Reardon, p.444.

29 Gore, p.360.

30 Ibid., p.360, n.1.

31 Jasper, p.47.

32 Ibid., p.63.

33 Headlam, History, Authority and Theology (1909).

34 Gore (ed.), Lux Mundi (Murray: London, 1890), p.ix.

REFERENCES (continued)

35 H. D. A. Major, The Modern Churchman, (February 1932), pp. 582f and quoted in A. M. G. Stephenson, pp.34f.

36 Stephenson, p.9.

37 Ibid., pp. 7f.

38 Ibid., p.5.

39 C.Q.R. (1907), Vol.64, pp. 409-435.

40 Ibid., p.417.

41 Tyrrell and Percy Gardner's names appear among the essayists.

42 C.Q.R. (1909), Vol.69. pp.257-281.

43 Headlam, The Times Literary Supplement 'The Vatican and the Abbé Loisy' (15 January 1904).

44 Ibid.

45 Davidson & Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, Vol.1, p.291.

46 Charles Gore (ed.), Lux Mundi (John Murray: London, 1890), p.vii.

47 Geoffrey Wainwright (ed.), Keeping the Faith, (S.P.C.K.: London, 1989), p.xxiii.

48 A. C. Headlam, Christian Theology (O.U.P., 1934), p.464.

49 Stephen W. Sykes, The Integrity of Anglicanism (Mowbray: London, 1978), p.26.

CHAPTER FOUR

HEADLAM AND CHURCH ORDER

1 Introduction

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a debate arose on the nature of ministerial order within the Church. In England that debate focussed upon the question of the authorisation of of that Ministry: was there an inherent authority in the patterns of ministry, which directly expressed the purpose of God, or was the ministry a product of a more secular styled evolutionary development of a natural and possibly accidental character? The latter, liberal theory, found support in the scholarship of Edwin Hatch (1835-1889); and J. B. Lightfoot (1828-1889); the former in the theology of the Anglo-Catholic theologians, Charles Gore (1853-1932) and R. C. Moberly (1845-1903).

It is against this background that Arthur Cayley Headlam's theology of the Ministry fits. In 1920 he delivered the Bampton lectures on The Doctrine of the Church and Re-Union. The second part of the lectures deals with ecumenism (and will be considered in the following chapter); but what he calls the doctrine of the Church is concerned with the origin of the Christian ministry. Headlam saw his Bampton lectures to be very much in lineal succession to this late nineteenth century debate. Referring to the 'historical problem: what is the origin of the Christian Ministry?', in the preface to his lectures, Headlam said

> Shortly before I came up to Oxford Dr. Hatch delivered his Bampton lectures, and there stirred up a renewed interest in a problem which had always been keenly discussed in the Church of England. Just after I took my degree Dr. Lightfoot published his edition of the Epistles of St. Ignatius, when again the problem was one of vital importance.[1]

It will be necessary, then, to examine the setting in which Headlam considered himself to stand, namely that of Hatch and J. B. Lightfoot and to look further at Gore and Moberly before examining and evaluating that part of his Bampton lectures which falls within the subject of this chapter.

2 Edwin Hatch: (1835-1889)

Arthur Headlam went up to New College Oxford in 1881. The previous year Edwin Hatch, who had been vice-principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, since 1867[2] had delivered his Bampton Lectures The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches. In a style of approach later to be espoused by Headlam'[3] Hatch applies what he calls the 'historical temper',[4] which had been applied to the facts of civil history, and to the facts of ecclesiastical history - an area which was to be recognised as his speciality, being appointed Reader in Ecclesiastical History at Oxford four years after delivering those Bampton Lectures.[5]

Hatch begins where the New Testament ends, believing 'that polity was in a fluid state'[6] when that literature was written, and preferring to begin when the fusion of the many elements present in the literature of the New Testament had begun, under the divine order, to coalesce into an identifiable society'.[7] These early centuries of the Christian era were characterised, according to Hatch, by the pressure of poverty which preceded the final decay of the Roman Empire. Yet with the new class of pauper developed a new virtue - that of philanthropy,[8] to which the community, following the way of the teaching of Christ, could readily identify. In them 'the duty to help those who were in need was primary, absolute and incontrovertible'.[9]

It was, Hatch argued, those social circumstances that gave both shape and style to the organisation of the Christian communities. In circumstances of such supplementary-benefit dependence the officers of administration and finance would have had an important place. They were the 'epimeletes' (or superintendent) and the 'episcopos' and the names were applied, at first, to both individuals and also to a body of people.[10] Hatch then identified an administrative pattern within the Christian community which was similar to the one which existed in the municipality, and a use of titles which were common to civil and ecclesiastical administrations alike - both in their corporate and individual expressions.
This corporate responsibility for the care of the poor, vested in the committee, became concentrated in the singular and permanent or quasi-permanent officer who in the Christian community received the offerings for the poor. This leitourgia (public duty or service[11]) was common to Church and State and their administrative services were analogous. With the Church, however, that service was both elevated and prolific: elevated because 'that which was given to "the least of the little ones" was given also to God', the poor of the Christian communities being called a thusiasterion - an altar of sacrifice and the bishop being compared with God the Supreme Administrator (the 'panton episkopos') who gives to every man severally as he has need;[12] prolific because of the character of the Christian Faith itself, whose discipline might result in the increase of dependence through enforced

employment, perpetual virginity or widowhood, the regard for the status of the stranger or a vulnerability to the unscrupulous opportunist ('quia multi sub specie peregrinationis de ecclesiarum collatione luxuriant'[13]). So, at the centre of this administration, Hatch identified the episkopos,[14] and to whom S. Jerome ascribed glory in relieving the poverty of the poor.

Although there was probably a time in the history of the Christian Church when a single class of officers administered this practical care, nevertheless, argued Hatch, the division of labour became imperative[15] and the order of diakonoi provided the much needed relief. The 'seven men of good repute'[16] became, therefore a 'prototype of a class of officers who came into existence out of necessity and who have since been permanent in the Christian Churches',[17] and Hatch identified Justin Martyr (c100 - c165) Polycarp (c69 - c155) and the Clementine literature[18] at the beginning of the third century - as evidence, after the Apostolic age, for a clearer definition of the nature of the division of labour.

In Justin Martyr's first 'Apology'[19] the offerings, having been received by one officer, were distributed to the people by others who bore the name diakonoi - a title which was not only the common name of those who served at table but, additionally, seemed to have been especially applicable to those who distributed the meat at a religious sacrifice among the festival company.[20] 'In this respect', observed Hatch,

'the deacons hold a place which they have never lost: in all Churches which have been conservative of ritual, those who assist the presiding officer at the Eucharist are known - whatever their actual status, archbishop, bishop or presbyter - as deacon and sub-deacon'.

The letter of Polycarp[21] together with the Clementines[22], according to Hatch, showed that the deacons shared with the bishop not only in the administration, whereby the Bishop acted as chairman and treasurer and the deacons as 'outdoor relieving officers', but that they also acted as officers of enquiry to the bishop and his council in their superintendent and judiciary role.

The relationship of the bishop and the deacon was necessarily expressed in terms of superiority and subordination, but, argued Hatch, that relationship was at first a close one. Every case of priority would have been known to the bishop and possibly relieved by the deacon, and at Rome when a bishop was in danger of martyrdom, it was to his deacon and not his council of presbyters, that he committed the church funds and it was to the diaconate that the church customarily looked for a candidate in the election of a new bishop.[23] Later, because of the increase in the scale of the Church's work in the field of provision of practical care, the raised status of the bishop and the analogous pattern of Christian ministry with that of the superiority of the Mosaic priesthood over the Levites, the deacons gradually lost their ancient share of discipline and were relegated to a subordinate role in

worship.[24] Nevertheless in the role of the Archdeacon, who originally was the president of the college of deacons, and not a presbyter-archdeacon, we see in present times a vestige of the original closeness to the bishop in terms both of administration and care.

If the origins of the bishop and the deacon lay within the patterns of organisation in secular and religious communities and associations dealing with practical relief and rooted in the early centuries of the Christian era, the sources of the presbyterate were much more fundamental, widespread and of greater antiquity.

When families first began to move together to live in community, the administrative and judicial authority of the patriarch was shared in a council of heads of families - the elders of the commune.

The evidence of this is widespread and Hatch directs us to vestiges in Egypt after Hellenization, to the Bedouin community of his day, the settled villages of the Arabian peninsula as well as to the witness of the Old Testament when the action of Boaz in redeeming Elimelech and the buying of Ruth before 'ten men of the elders of the city'[25] serve to illustrate his point.

The overlap of the style of organisation of the secular and the religious communities, identified by Hatch for the bishop and the deacon, appears in a clearly defined form in the interval between the close of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New with to the elder or 'Presbyter'.

Alongside the synagogue was the synedrion or local court. The the two were distinct: the former being the assembly of the people, the latter the seat of the elders. They were, however, harmonious to the degree that the court met in the synagogue and the elders, who presided at the local court also had the seats of honour in the congregation of the synagogue. The pattern of their administration, as well as their worship, was often carried out into the countries of the dispersion, so firmly was it part of the Jewish culture.

In the Jewish communities, to which the Apostles naturally related, the pattern was that of a governing body of elders, whose functions (of whom) were partly administrative and partly disciplinary, but not liturgical or didactic. The acceptance of Jesus as the Christ by a Jewish community demanded no change in organisation: the weekly commemoration of the Resurrection supplemented, rather than supplanted the old worship as the letters of the Apostles supplemented the ancient lessons from the prophets. The community still used the title paroikia - a colony living as strangers and pilgrims in an alien society (even when that sense of alienation lessened)[26] and the same names were in use for the members of the court and its administration. So the names synedrion and presbyterion were used, on the one hand, to refer to both the local and the chief Jewish councils, but also, on the other hand, to refer to the Christian council (as Ignatius, and also the Fathers of the 5th and 6th Century, bear witness).[27]

From this Hatch concludes that officers who bear the same names in the same community exercised 'closely analagous' functions - namely that the elders of Judaeo-Christian communities were officers of administration and of discipline just as they were in those communities which remained Jewish.[28]

As for the presence of Elders in the Christian churches of the Gentile world, Hatch argued that it was not necessary to assume a direct transfer from the Jewish churches; government by a senate or council was universal in the Roman municipalities and, moreover, respect for seniority was widespread and took many forms and was often expressed in a committee of seniors whose individual members bore the name 'Elder'.[29]

During the second century the distinction between the Christian communities of Jewish or Gentile origin tended to pass away, and the Jewish pattern of the governing council became dominant. As the synedria exercised authority both in ecclesiastical law, where the punishment of ex-communication prevailed, and also in cases of wrong between men, where the punishment of physical coercion prevailed (often under the protection of the state), so also the main functions of the Christian council of presbyters followed a similar pattern. They, too, exercised discipline, rather more strictly than their Jewish counterparts had done, on the principle 'If the salt of the earth should lose its savour, wherewith should it be salted?' and the officers of each

Christian community were the custodians of the required standards. They also exercised a 'consensual jurisdiction'[30] in any matters of dispute of Christian with Christian. It was a matter of community pride that one settled this sort of dispute internally:[31] "Let not them who have disputes go to law before the civil powers, but let them by all means be reconciled by the Elders of the Church, and let them readily yield to their decision".[32]

As the environment changed in which the Church existed, so these two functions of the early council of presbyters were modified. The increase in size of the community and the decrease in its need to prove itself altered the character of the supervision. Moreover, the fact that the Christians were no longer a colony of strangers in a foreign land - a 'paroikia' - meant that the consensual jurisdiction of the Church courts became limited in relationship to the state - an ironic outcome of the narrowing of that boundary between Church and State which was to have a long and continued history of contention. Hatch identified a similar struggle between the bishops, who wished to act as sole judges, as opposed to working with the synedrion or consilium of presbyters of which they had been merely the presidents.

In the course of time, in what Hatch describes as a 'slow and silent' revolution[33] the presbyter came to act alone and his functions changed from being primarily disciplinary to being

liturgical; whereas at the time of Justin Martyr (c100 - c165)[34] and also at the time of the Apostolic Constitutions (later half of the Fourth Century)[35] the presbyters' place in worship was no more significant than 'seats of honour and dignity' - bishops being plentiful[36] and their presidency of any meeting of the community being the norm. In the course of time, however, presbyters would have been detached from their original communities to take 'oversight' of a new congregation. Although it is likely that baptism and the celebration of the eucharist had been a right of the presbyter from the beginning, Church order and the plentiful number of the bishops had made it rare; the decrease in bishops and the increase in detached congregations altered the situation and the right to teach and to celebrate the eucharist became 'ordinary and unquestioned' - though the involvement, in the Western Church, of the bishops in that part of the initiation rite known as Confirmation, provides a vestige and sign of that earlier practice.

There is another sense of isolation: in the course of the second century it became evident that one of the church officers stood out against the others in a position of seniority. Hatch declines to opt for what he sees as 'the short and easy road' which linked a quasi-monarchical government directly with the command of Christ himself or with the Apostles themselves acting under his express directions. He sees it, rather, as part of the 'general course of the

divine government of the world'.[37] By this phrase Hatch meant the development which he identified in the pre-existing organisation of associations where, in every case, there was to an administrative necessity for a presiding officer. From this he inferred that the church organisation, which was, in other respects, harmonious with those organisations, would be in harmony here too.

Furthermore, Hatch argued that it would be both quite natural and also strategically necessary for the doctrinal unity of the Church to be maintained by the existence of a presiding presbyter, and he refers to S. Jerome (c.342 - c.420) who explained the election of a presiding presbyter 'as a remedy against division, lest different presbyters, having different views of doctrine, should, by each of them drawing a portion of the community to himself, cause division in it'.[38] Just such a situation was that which faced the Western Church in the question of the readmission of the lapsed after the Decian prosecution (AD 249 - 50). This led to a need for a unity of discipline which found satisfaction in the supremacy of the bishop. With the ascendancy of the spirit of compromise, Novatian was elected Bishop of Rome in opposition to the election of Cornelius in 251. Under normal circumstances the election would not have been challenged. In the situation of division, however, the necessity for unity was seen by Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (d.258), to outweigh all other considerations - the attempt to form two communities side by side put its authors outside the pale of the Catholic Church.[39]

Out of the conception of the bishop as the embodiment of unity of doctrine and discipline flowed the idea that he, rather than the presbyters, took the Apostles' place. It was a succession not only to the seats which the Apostles had filled, but also to the powers which the Apostles possessed,[40] particularly the 'power of the keys' which, it was argued, was given not personally, or to the Church of the time, but to the long line of church officers (though this view did not win its way to general acceptance until the fifth century) to whom, it was later maintained, also succeeded to the power of the Apostles in the conferring of spiritual gifts and that through them exclusively did the Holy Spirit enter into the souls of those confirmed or ordained.

Throughout his lectures, Edwin Hatch maintained an investigative style compatible with the 'historical temper',[41] as he called it, characteristic of civil history. This brave candour, to which Headlam allied himself, is also seen in the critical approach of J. B. Lightfoot, to whom he referred, together with Hatch, in the preface to his own Bampton lectures on the origin of the Christian Ministry.

3 J. B. Lightfoot (1828 - 1889)

In his preface to the sixth edition of his commentary St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, Lightfoot, referring to his dissertation, The Christian Ministry, declared that he was 'scrupulously anxious not to overstate the evidence'.[42] Behind this apology one may detect the shock which his essay of 1868 gave to many who were defensive of the divine origins of the threefold ministry and, to a lesser degree, that of the priestly nature of the second order.

In the preface to his Bampton lectures, Headlam refers to the influence of Hatch and Lightfoot in that chronological order because it was to the work on Ignatius, which Lightfoot published in 1885, to which Headlam wanted to refer. That work dealt, both with S. Ignatius' interest in countering the heresy of Docetism, and the matter of ecclesiastical order: "of all the fathers of the Church, early or late, no one is more incisive or more persistent in advocating the claims of the threefold ministry to allegiance than Ignatius"[43] claimed Lightfoot. Certainly this subject was of recurring importance in the epistles of Ignatius. Time after time he urges the vital importance of adhering to the bishop as the personal centre of unity:

> I expect you to act together with the Bishop, the presbyters and the deacons who are entrusted with the Ministry of Christ.[44]
>
> Shun division as the beginning of evils. Do ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect, as to God's commandment let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresover the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be, there is the universal Church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptise or to hold a love-feast, but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid.[45]

The persistence of Ignatius in advocating the claims of the threefold ministry and particularly of episcopacy gave spice to what would otherwise have been a textual debate on the genuineness of the letters. However, although Lightfoot had 'won general acceptance'[46] that the seven letters were genuine, as opposed to Cureton's publication in 1845 of only three genuine letters (to the Ephesians, to the Romans and to Polycarp), nevertheless, Lightfoot himself argued that the main point at issue had not been materially affected since 'the Curetonian letters afforded abundant witness themselves to the spread of episcopacy in the earliest years of the second century.'[47]

In the light of this it is a little surprising that Headlam, in his preface to his Bampton lectures, referred to this later work by Lightfoot rather than to his earlier and more generally relevant and wide ranging dissertation on the Christian Ministry in his commentary on S. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians of 1868, which anticipates much of what Edwin Hatch had to say in his Bampton Lectures of 1880.

Lightfoot began his essay on the Christian Ministry by distinguishing between the ideal and the practical. Whereas it was true, he argued, that the kingdom of Christ was not a kingdom of this world, nevertheless the Church of Christ was not exempt from the universal law which demanded of any society the existence of institutions, rules and offices.[48] Within this social setting and open to the adjudication of history as 'the sole upright and impartial referee'[49] Lightfoot set out his 'modus operandi'.

Before the middle of the second century each organised Christian community had its three orders of ministers - its bishop, presbyters and deacons of which, according to Lightfoot, the diaconate came first relieving the twelve apostles of the duties in the daily distribution of food and alms to the needy. They were chosen by popular election and afterwards ordained by the imposition of hands by the Twelve.[50] This office Lightfoot considered to be quite new and he saw no reason to connect it with any prototype in the Jewish community. Although its prime function was the relief

of the poor, and enabling the Twelve as a consequence, to devote themselves to prayer and the ministry of the word, nevertheless Lightfoot considered it likely that the deacons would become ministers of the Word by virtue of the opportunities afforded them.

Whereas the diaconate was born of the necessity of the moment, the presbyterate already existed in the Jewish synagogue. The first Christian disciples conformed to the religion of their fathers in the essential points and 'superadded their own special organisation to the established religion of their country'[51]. Consequently the idea of the presbyterate would have been taken over into the Christian community to direct the worship and to watch over the earthly needs of that community. This pattern would have been represented in the cities of the dispersion and in the Gentile churches at large. It was in the Gentile churches that episkopos appeared as a synonym for presbyter, and Lightfoot saw it as Hellenic and believed it would have been the natural designation of a presiding member of a new society[52] although the name 'presbyter' continued.

The functions of the presbyterate were to govern and to teach. Although the latter was very much secondary in the conception of the office, nevertheless Lightfoot felt that the mobility of the apostles and evangelists would have resulted in the transferance of the burden of instruction to those local officers.[53] Moreover, as their personal gifts became clear, so specialisation would follow.

By the close of the apostolic age both the diaconate and the presbyterate were widely and firmly established, but the office of bishop lacked clarity and distinction. Lightfoot saw no identity between the bishop and the apostles; the latter, as the title suggested, were mobile and inaugurators of new brotherhoods; the bishop was a local officer. The early synonymous use of the title with that of presbyter suggested to Lightfoot that the episcopate developed from the presbyterate by elevation rather than out of the apostolic order by localisation.

The episcopate was seen to continue its close relationship with the order from which it developed. In the apostolic era James took precedence in the affairs of the church in the manner of a bishop, but he was still part of the presbytery but as 'head or president of the college'.[54] Later, Irenaeus (c130 - c200) and then Cyprian (d.258) related the bishop to the presbyterate: the former frequently speaking of the bishop as a presbyter (but never the other way round)[55] and the latter writing as Bishop of Carthage to a presbyter and addressing him as 'fellow-presbyter'.[56]

The Lutheran, Rothe,[57] had argued that the crisis caused by the death of Peter, Paul and James, the face of growing dissensions caused by Jewish-Gentile factions and Gnosticism, and the fall of Jerusalem, had provoked the surviving Apostles to initiate a succession of bishops.

Lightfoot, however, saw the development of the episcopate, which, by early in the second century, was widely established beyond Jerusalem into Gentile Christendom, not so much as an isolated act but as a progressive development.

This conclusion, drawn from polity, was to unsettle parts of the Church. So, also, did his views on the sacerdotal aspect of the ministry, which he saw as being until Cyprian[58] part of the sacerdotal character of the Christian body as a whole: the minister is regarded as a priest because he is the mouthpiece, the representative of a priestly race[59]. So much was this the case that Lightfoot felt obliged to include in later editions, subsequent to the 1888 Lambeth Conference, a collection of passages highlighting the more Catholic aspects of his essay and defending his position.[60] In one of those passages,[61] which is part of his original address to the Durham Diocesan Conference of 1887, he spoke of a two-fold inheritance of doctrine and polity as part of the essentials to which the Church of England, in her intermediate and mediatorial position, must hold. It seems that Lightfoot felt that the inheritance of the Church of England provided him with the confidence to look both to the doctrinal inheritance of the past and the scientific hopes of the future and so fearlessly examine the evidence.

4 Gore

Charles Gore (1853 - 1932) was described by Michael Ramsey as a 'ceaselessly controversial figure' who championed both biblical criticism and a liberalizing of orthodoxy and yet could oppress those whose critical conclusions he held to be subversive.[62] The subsequent uneasy tension of such a synthesis might be seen in the issue which Gore took with the evolutionary view of ministry expressed by Hatch and Lightfoot.

The key signature of Gore's response, expressed at the outset of his work, The Church and the Ministry (first published in 1886), is summed up in his phrase 'from above'. The Incarnation, to which Gore was devoted,[63] represented the climax of God's revelation[64] and bore the overriding characteristics of finality. The consequence was that although Gore was happy to look at the evidence, 'a supernatural cause' would suggest 'supernatural effects'[65] and it would be the gravity of such an equation by way of a premise that would determine Gore's conclusion that the organisation of the Church and its ministry could not be casual, natural or human in origin. Gore stated:

> The question, is whether believers in Christ were left to organise themselves in societies by the natural attraction of sympathy in beliefs and aims, and are, therefore, still at liberty to organise themselves on any model which seems from time to time

> to promise the best results, or whether the divine Founder of the Christian religion Himself instituted 'a' society, 'a' brotherhood, to be the home of the grace and truth which he came to bring to men: so that becoming His disciple meant from the first this - in a real sense this only - incorporation into His society. If this was the case, the Church was not created by men, nor can it be recreated from time to time in view of varying circumstances. It comes upon men from above.[66]

Gore doubted whether Hatch had, in his Bampton lecture,[67] made it clear that he believed in the supernatural character of the person of Christ. If he did, said Gore, then his presuppositions about the merely 'natural' development of Christian institutions needed correcting and this, Gore felt, Hatch had failed to do.[68] According to Gore, Hatch saw the divinity of the Church in the same way that he saw the divine hand in the solar system[69] and to this Gore adds the comparison with the British Constitution and with the Roman Empire. These, too, must bear the same relationships to God because they, too, are within Hatch's 'universe of law' but, Gore argues, the relationship of the Church to the Christ who burst from the tomb and gave life to this community must be divine within that 'universe of law', in a way that closely matches the divine cause to which it is related.[70]

In arguing to maintain this close, personal and divine link of Christ with the organisation of the Church, Gore recognised

the danger of an antithesis of the natural with the supernatural:

> The supernatural influence in the genesis of the Church did not annihilate 'the natural inclination which all men have unto sociable life'; but it controlled and intensified it[71]

and he directs us to Hooker where the latter makes the distinction that although

> as it is a society it have the selfsame original grounds which other politic societies have, namely, the natural inclination which all men have unto sociable life, and consent to some certain bond of association, which bond is the law that appointeth what kind of order they shall be associated in: yet unto the Church as it is a society supernatural this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their association which belong to the Church of God must be a law supernatural, which God hath revealed concerning that kind of worship which his people shall do unto him. The substance of the service of God therefore, so far forth as it hath in it anything more than the Law of Reason doth teach, may not be invented by men, as it is amongst the heathens, but must be received from God himself, as always it hath been in the Church, saving only when the Church hath been forgetful of her duty.[72]

This reception of the Church from God himself was seen by Gore very much in the sixteenth century terms of Richard Hooker. When Hooker draws the distincton between the divine origin and

that invented by the heathens and those forgetful of their duty, Gore is equally categorical in concluding that since the Church represents God's will and God's purpose of redemption, 'Those who separate themselves from it, separate themselves from the hope of salvation - like the covetous or the extortionate' and he likens them to 'men diseased'.[73]

Gore, then, having looked at the evidence, conceded only that the natural social patterns provided just an element in the divine preparation - in the same way that the Roman Empire, the Greek language, the diffusion of the Jewish religion through the dispersion and the philosphical idea of the divine Reason did. 'If the question be asked whether the influence of contemporary guilds may not have modified the Christian religion in such a way so to be the cause of its assuming the form of an association or system of associations - the Church and the churches - the answer is a decisive negative'.[74] For Gore the Church 'came upon' men as a divine gift from the beginning of Christianity, and, 'took them up, one by one, out of their isolation and alienation from God into its holy and blessed fellowship. It was never a creation of their own by free association'.[75]

5 Moberly

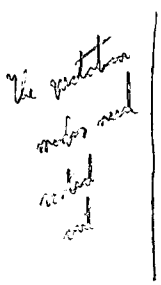
R. C. Moberly (1845 - 1903) a High Churchman like Gore, published Ministerial Priesthood in 1897 while Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford and a Canon of Christ Church.[76] Like Gore, too, he wrote in the context of the late nineteenth-century debate on the institutional ministry, and also wrote defending an inherent, divine value in the received pattern of ministry as opposed to an evolutionary one of expedience.

In his Preface, Moberly raised the question of 'mental presuppositions'[77] in connection with J. B. Lightfoot's dissertation on The Christian Ministry in his commentary on Philippians. He saw these mental presuppositions as unchallenged assumptions on the part of Lightfoot, which, in his Preface Moberly called the 'unconscious substructure' of the bishop's essay[78] and he formulated 'half propositions' to illustrate his point. So, for example, if ends were greater than means and means existed for ends then whatever belonged to the category of means could not be regarded as essential. So, too, if the outward represents the inward and the inward which is represented is far higher than the outward which represents it, then the outward is only conventionally necessary for the reality of the inward.

Moberly's point is that it is vital to recognise the fundamental pre-existing convictions which are bound to obtain in any consideration of what he calls 'great vital facts'79 or 'the highest questions':

> If I endeavour so to confine the range of my life's consciousness as to deduce a ruling principle on the highest questions from the particular evidence taken alone, the result will be, not that I shall succeed in doing so - that is impossible; but that my ruling principle will be a sort of paradox reached by way of accident, instead of being itself the true outcome of reasonable thought. But if, as I must submit, everything of this kind - even the meaning of the evidence - depends upon the mental presuppositions with which the evidence is approached, it is necessary to plead for a more explicit recognition of this most important principle of truth.

So the implication is that Lightfoot's 'mental presuppositions' result in conclusions which would have been different if his presuppositions were otherwise. For Moberly it does not follow that the means to an end becomes expendable in the light of that end. Whilst he does not want in any way to confuse means with ends, nor to give methods, however divinely appointed, what could, in the strict sense be called 'absolute' or 'intrinsic' value, nevertheless "there is ... a sense, and a supremely true one - even though it be distinct from either logical or scientific correctness - in which, under circumstances, their value may be called inherent, and even 'absolute'.[81]



As a result of such analysis, Moberly criticises Lightfoot for using the truth of the Church's essential spiritual existence

to deny the reality of her proper existence as bodily:

> he treats it, not ... as the living, proper utterance of Spirit, but as a lower, politic, condescending, accidental necessity ...[82]

By Lightfoot's use of words and phrases like 'it became necessary' and 'not held incompatible with' Moberly argues that the organisation of the Church was seen by the Bishop in terms of 'an unfortunately inevitable necessity of condescension'.[83]

Moberly himself, however, sees less of a rupture between what he calls the 'outward' and the 'inward'. Whilst he readily conceded that there would always be a shortfall from the perfect expression of the ideal, nevertheless, up to the point where it 'traitorously disclaims its own significance' he believed the outward, bodily manifestation would in a measure not only represent but actually express the spiritual reality. Spiritual being has no avenue of expression or method other than the bodily - 'if he is not spiritual in and through the body, man' argues Moberly, 'cannot be spiritual at all'.[84] From this view of unity, Moberly sees the Church in the same light. Limited by its imperfections, nevertheless the Church is the Kingdom of God upon earth containing the working of the Spirit through its bodily organism like the bud contains the blossom and the seed the fruit.[85] In its beginning is its end, and it is in 'the overmastering truth of its spiritual reality' that the key to the explanation of the body of the Church lies. To approach the Church from below, as it were

and attempt an analysis from the point of view of what Moberly calls its 'material history' would be tantamount to pronouncing on the ultimate meaning of man from a chemical or anatomical standpoint.[86]

For Moberly then in the debate concerning the beginnings of the Church, there was a fundamental and profound unity. He eschewed any antithesis of the Spirit of God and the organisation of the Church as a heresy: for him ecclesia episcoporum was ecclesia Spiritus.

6 Headlam

In the Preface to his Bampton Lectures of 1920, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion,, Headlam refers to both Hatch and Lightfoot as having stimulated his thinking in the area of the origin of the Christian Ministry, which formed part of the subject of those lectures.

He begins by setting what Moberly would call the 'substructure' of his approach. Headlam, true to form,[87] espouses the pure historical method 'which begins by examining the evidence, which seeks to construct a history of things as they were and then ultimately to draw conclusions from that evidence'',[88] and he is aware of the 'dangers of misrepresenting and misinterpreting that evidence as a result of natural bias'. This natural inclination to bias Headlam sees all around him, or at least identifies it in Lightfoot, Gore, Moberly and Hatch. Whilst accepting, by his declared approach, the warnings of Moberly on the dangers of mental presuppositions, he proceeds to accuse him, in effect, of being 'hoist with his own petard' in using a theological method of interpreting the New Testament by later Church history and Anglo-Catholic presuppositions.[89]

Headlam found the same failure, in principle, in the approach of Charles Gore whose dogmatic presentation, he felt, preceded the history - for whom the function of history was to prove rather than to instruct.[90] And then Bishop Lightfoot himself, whom Headlam acknowledged as an inaugurator of historical method,

assumed at the outset of his inquiry into the Christian Ministry in his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, a principle which would have been more legitimate as a conclusion: 'he assumes one of many theories of the ministry. It is not altogether surprising that he is able to find what he desires', conceded Headlam, who was sympathetic to the conclusion, 'but we can well imagine someone else starting by an equally authoritative statement of his theory arriving at quite different conclusions, after an equally honest investigation'.[91] In this criticism Headlam, consciously or unconsciously, was on identical lines to Moberly in his preface to Ministerial Priesthood where he questioned Lightfoot's 'mental presuppositions'.
Headlam declared an understanding for the difficulties which prejudiced an objective enquiry: 'the natural infirmities of the human mind, of the ease with which an unrealised prejudice may make an investigator misrepresent and misinterpret the evidence', but as far as he was able[92] he committed himself to 'an historical manner' of scholarly, dispassionate objectivity with regard to previous scholarship. Taking in order the apostolate, the diaconate and the presbyterate, Headlam recognised, in a spirit of freedom and courage, the ambiguity and uncertainty surrounding the inchoate orders of the emerging Christian Church. He accepted the title 'apostle' as referring to both 'The Twelve' and, in a wider, literal sense, to ministers of mission who, like

Barnabas and Saul, were solemnly sent forth by the Church to preach the Gospel and found churches.[93]

Headlam saw the earliest Christian community as 'embryonic' in organisation[94] with the apostles taking the lead 'on all occasions'[95] having been the companions of Christ and witnesses of his resurrection and having taken the lead at every point of crisis.

This, however, was but a stage in the development of the emerging pattern of the Church. The constitution of the Church at Jerusalem was something 'abnormal', something which in its origin belonged to a temporary stage in its history. The seven were appointed to meet an emergency. The presbyters with the Apostles were modelled on the Sanhedrin and James was in a unique position because of his relationship to Christ. But the new religion, argued Headlam, would break new ground.[96] Indeed Headlam stated that the character of the apostolate was bound to change otherwise the Church would have been stereotyped and, as society became different, the world would have been under the rule of a 'dead hand'.[97]

The 'missionary' aspect of the apostolate, the coming and going, prevented isolation or stagnation of the local communities and in the hybrid, multi-faceted, compendium description 'apostles, prophets, evangelists and teachers' the apostolate represented the whole Church and its ministry was not a confined and localised affair.[98] Headlam followed Lightfoot in recognising the preaching ministry of the apostolate to which the Didache, discovered in 1875 and

published in 1883, bore witness and, for Headlam, provided a key. The two classes of Christian ministry, the localised, administrative ministers of the community on the one hand and the ranging, preaching and teaching ministers of the apostolate on the other, represented that earliest stage in the pattern of the ministry, but development was inevitable and natural.

So it was in the creation of the diaconate. There was no 'emergence' here in the sense of steady, natural development, but rather 'emergency'. 'Nothing suggests that the Church and the Apostles at that time had any idea in their minds that they were doing more than dealing with an emergency'99 wrote Headlam. The occasion was the dispute concerning the distribution of alms to the widows of the Hellenist community who were being overlooked and the needs of the apostolate to continue its work.[100]

This practical and local problem was seen by Headlam to indicate the <u>in via</u>, fluent response of the leadership of the Church, in council. It was a decision which bore the hallmarks - in the call of the Holy Spirit, the involvement of the community and the laying on of hands by the Apostles - of the later, developed model of ordination of the third and following centuries. Headlam, in a footnote, quotes F. J. A. Hort (1828 - 1892) who, in his <u>The Christian Ecclesia,</u> referring to the establishment of the diaconate, said that:

> the appointment was not only a notable recognition of the Hellenistic element in the 'Ecclesia' at Jerusalem, a prelude of greater events to come, but also a sign that the 'Ecclesia' was to be an 'Ecclesia' indeed, not a mere horde of men ruled absolutely by the Apostles, but a true body politic, in which different functions were assigned to different members, and a share of responsibility rested upon the members at large, each and all ... [101]

From the passing crisis, Headlam saw, accidentally and seminally inaugurated, a pattern for the future, and his philosophy of the working out of God's purpose in the pattern of the Church's ministry may be detected in his statement:

> The whole incident exhibits in a marked way the power of the Church to meet a 'new situation'. It is the first great change, the parent of many others. There was no far outlook into the future, but an exhibition of that wise statesmanship, that adaptation to circumstances which does the right thing to meet any emergency. For the first time the Church appoints a new body of officials. Their function is not what we might hold to be lofty. It was intentionally inferior to that of the Apostles. Yet it is recognised that the occasion is one of importance. A solemn procedure is inaugurated.[102]

The element of 'emergency' which Headlam saw figuring decisively in the inauguration of the diaconate appears again in his presentation of the development of the presbyterate. The profound links of the Christian Church with Judaism and

the synagogue were severed at the martyrdom of Stephen, by the expulsion of Christians from the synagogues. Headlam, in attempting to identify the origin of the office rejected Hatch's hypothesis that the prebyterate had a 'spontaneous and independent origin in the councils of the Greek cities'.[103] On the basis that 'It is a wise rule in historical research always to seek for the simplest explanation of an event or institution'[104] he saw the source, rather, in the body of elders which took part in secular administration and held a position of dignity in every synagogue.

The breach between Church and synagogue was a limited severance only. The Christians would have organised themselves along the same lines as the community with which they had been so closely associated and they would have most naturally given that title to their officers with which they were traditionally familiar.

There was, Headlam argued, a natural departure of the Christian presbyter from that of his Jewish source: 'The spirit was necessarily quite different', and he contrasts the secular and political functions of the Jewish Elder with the more specific spiritual and ecclesiastical emphasis of his Christian namesake. There must, however, have been some overlap with the presbyters (who according to the Pauline practice,[105] were established in all the cities where Paul had founded Churches on his first missionary journey) dealing with the administration of such an undertaking as the famine relief in Judaea.[106]

The link between administration, oversight and relief work points up the question of the relationship between the ministerial titles in the unclear period of church organisation. The link between elder and deacon is picked up by Headlam. He quotes from Lightfoot's essay: "It is a fact now generally recognised by theologians of all shades of opinion that in the language of the New Testament the same officer in the Church is called indifferently 'bishop' and 'elder' or 'presbyter'", and he contrasts this view with the theory of Hatch which linked bishops and deacons in one type of organisation and presbyters with another.[107]

The fluid use of the title bishop, elder, presbyter, facilitates the link between the diaconate and the second order of Ministry and provides a smooth and simple movement towards the firmer ground (as Headlam recognised it[108]) described by Clement of Rome (fl.c96) in his Epistle to the Corinthians where he described how the the Apostles 'preaching everywhere in country and town, appointed their firstfruits when they had proved them by the Spirit to be bishops and deacons to them that should believe'.[109]

Headlam represents something of a middle way in his stance on the origin of the Christian Ministry. Ramsey, in From Gore to Temple linked Headlam with a care for the Via Media, which he said was 'markedly present' in his theology.[110] If that is true we may well identify its presence here where he is happy to face the historical facts in an open way, finding an evolutionary pattern of ministry as being not of the dead

hand but of the living Spirit of God:

> We are presented with the picture of a society, a living organism, inspired by the Spirit of God, and capable of adapting itself to all the needs that arise. It is an orderly well-regulated polity. Under the guidance of its first ministers, who had been appointed by the Lord himself, it appoints the officers necessary for its life, and it modifies its arrangements as circumstances change.[111]

REFERENCES

1 Arthur C. Headlam, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion (John Murray: London, 1920), p.vii.
2 Cross (ed.), p.611.
3 See, inter alia, Headlam's lecture on The Historical Method (Report of the Church Congress, Nottingham, 1897), p.70, and quoted in part in Ch.2 supra.
4 Edwin Hatch, The Organization of the Early Christian Churches (Longmans: London, 1918), p.2.
5 F. L. Cross (ed.), p.611.
6 Edwin Hatch, p.20.
7 Ibid., p.21.
8 Ibid., p.34.
9 Ibid., p.35.
10 Ibid., p.38.
11 Liddell & Scott, A Greek English Lexicon (Oxford University Press, 1849), p.806.
12 Hatch, p.42.
13 Ibid., p.45 n.46.
14 Ibid., pp. 46 - 48.
15 Ibid., p.49.
16 Acts, 6, 3.
17 Hatch, p.49.
18 See Cross (ed.), p.301 on the definition of the 'Clementine Literature'.
19 Hatch, p.50, n.59.
20 Ibid., p.50, n. 56, refers to an inscription at Anactorium where the 'diakonos' was the officer who distributed the sacrificial flesh.
21 Ibid., p.51, n.58, Polycarp ad Philipp. 5.
22 Ibid., p.50, n57, Epist. ad Jacob 5.
23 Ibid., p.52, n.59.
24 Ibid., pp. 52 - 54.
25 Ruth 4, 2ff.
26 Hatch, pp.60-61.
27 Ibid., p.61, n.16.
28 Ibid., p.62.
29 Ibid., p.64: In the philosophical schools the professor was sometimes called 'presbyteros' and on p.22, Hatch refers to Philo where he explains that the word 'elder' was used not in reference to length of years, but to mental and moral development.
30 Ibid., p.72.

31 Ibid., pp.72-73.
32 Clement, Epist. Clem. ad Jacob 10,and quoted in Hatch, The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches, p.73.
33 Ibid., p.77.
34 Ibid., p.79, n.61.
35 Ibid., p.79, n.62.
36 Ibid., p.79, n.59. The small province of pro-consular Asia (about the size of Lincolnshire), had 62 bishops, one for each town,and in the half-converted province of North Africa 470 episcopal towns are known by name.
37 Ibid., p.84.
38 Ibid., p.99, n.28.
39 Ibid., p.105.
40 Ibid., p.107.
41 Ibid., p.2.
42 J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (Macmillan: London, 1888), p.x.
43 J. B. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers Part II S.Ignatius, S.Polycarp, Vol.1 (Macmillan: London, 1885), p.39.
44 Ignatius, Epistle to the Magnesians, VI,in Lightfoot, Vol.II, Sect.1, p.118.
45 Ignatius, Epistles to the Smyrnaeans, VIII in Lightfoot, pp.308-314.
46 Cross, (ed), p.677.
47 Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, p.x.
48 Ibid., p.181.
49 Ibid., p.187.
50 Ibid., p.187.
51 Ibid., p.192.
52 Ibid., p.194.
53 1 Timothy,3. 2; 1 & 5, 17, and Titus, 1. 9.
54 Lightfoot, p.198.
55 Ibid., p.228.
56 Ibid., p.230, n.3.
57 Richard Rothe (1799-1867) Lutheran theologian who wrote a book on the beginning of the Christian Church in 1837 - see Cross (ed.), p.1185.
58 Lightfoot, p.258.
59 Ibid., p.257.
60 J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (1908) Preface to Twelfth Edition, pp.xi - xiv.
61 Ibid., p.xiv.
62 Paul Avis, Gore: Construction & Conflict (Church Publishers Limited: Worthing, 1988), p.4.
63 Charles Gore, The Church and the Ministry (SPCK: London, 1936) p.1.
64 Gore delivered the Bampton Lecture in 1891 on The Incarnation of the Son of God.

65 Ibid., p.8.
66 Ibid., p.9.
67 The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches, delivered in 1880.
68 Gore, p.6, n.1.
69 Hatch, pp.18-20.
70 Gore, p.7, n.3.
71 Gore, p.9, n.1.
72 Richard Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, (Oxford, 1845), Vol.1, Bk.1, XV,2, pp.273-274.
73 Gore, p.18 f.
74 Ibid., p.28 f.
75 Ibid., p.46.
76 Cross (ed), p.910.
77 R. C. Moberly, Ministerial Priesthood (John Murray: London, 1897), p.vii.
78 Ibid., p.viii.
79 Ibid., p.xvi.
80 Ibid., pp.xi and xii.
81 Moberly, p.57.
82 Ibid., p.43.
83 Ibid., note on p.45.
84 Ibid., p.40.
85 Ibid., p.40.
86 Ibid., p.41.
87 Headlam had imbibed the 'altered condition of thought' by which 'one learns to ask always, is this true? How do I know this is true?' See Ch.2, above.
88 Headlam, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, p.5.
89 Ibid., p.5, n.1.
90 Ibid., p.5, n.1.
91 Ibid., p.4. Headlam refers to Lightfoot's authoritative opening statement that the Kingdom of Christ has no sacerdotal system.
92 Ibid., p.6.
93 Ibid., p.61.
94 Ibid., p.55.
95 Ibid., p.51.
96 Ibid., p.73.
97 Ibid., p.45.
98 Ibid., p.61 f.
99 Ibid., p.57.
100 Acts, 6. v. 1-6.
101 A. C. Headlam, p.59,n.1.

102 Ibid., p. 58f.
103 Hatch, p.66.
104 Headlam, p.67.
105 Acts, 14. 23 and quoted by Headlam, Ibid., p.65. n.3.
106 Acts, 11.
107 Headlam, Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, p.65, n.10.
108 Ibid., p.66, n.1.
109 1 Clement, 42.
110 Ramsey, From Gore to Temple, 165 f.
111 Headlam, p.90.

CHAPTER FIVE

Headlam and Ecumenism

1 Introduction

Headlam delivered the last of his Bampton Lectures on 6th June 1920. They were immediately published - the following day, published with 'unprecedented speed'[1] with the impending Lambeth Conference, beginning on 2nd July, very much in view.

Randall Davidson presided at this conference, the first time an Archbishop of Canterbury had hosted more than one such conference, and his familiar presence provided a security and continuity which both symbolised and underlined the keynote of fellowship.[2] The gathering of bishops took place in the aftermath of the 1914-18 World War, a controversial liberalism among the Modernists and the question of reunion, provoked, in part, by the Kikuyu episode of 1913. In this context Headlam, two years into the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford, provided his 'important'[3] Bampton Lectures on The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, and a wealth of experience, the fruit of an involved and theological interest in the question of Christian unity, which influenced both the thinking at Lambeth that year and in the wider field in the years to come.

In this chapter, on the problem of Christian unity as Headlam saw it, it will be necessary to look at the question of Apostolic Succession, with which he dealt, diversely and in depth, and also at his activities and thinking on the question of reunion with episcopal and non-episcopal churches.

2 Apostolic Succession

In 1913 Headlam 'returned' to his home at Whorlton 'with his books and his garden'[4] having resigned his position as Principal and Dean of King's College, London, the previous October. The principal reason he gave the Bishop of London, Chairman of the College Council, was his desire to pursue more freely his literary and theological work. It was in that same year of 'retirement' that The Prayer Book Dictionary, edited by George Harford and Morley Stevenson, appeared. To it Headlam had contributed two articles, one on Episcopacy, the other on Apostolic Succession.

In defining Apostolic Succession, Headlam takes two statements. The first was by Haddan which represented the 'older Tractarian view'[5] and the other was from Gore's The Ministry of the Christian Church, as being the more modern statement which layed stress on the idea of succession only. Haddan had defined Apostolic Succession as 'a ministry ordained in due form by (Episcopal) succession from the Apostles, and so from our Lord himself, to be an integral part of that visible Church of Christ upon earth'. It further implied, according

to Haddan, a transmission of the special gift of grace for the continuation of Christ's work and was not, therefore, to be seen in terms merely of an 'external office of convenience and of outward government'.

Charles Gore also saw Apostolic Succession as of the 'esse' of the Church. With regard to those who hold ministerial office, Headlam quotes Gore: 'their authority to minister in whatever capacity, their qualifying consecration, was to come from above, in such sense that no ministerial act could be regarded as valid - that is as having the security of the divine warrant about it - unless it was performed under the shelter of a commission, received by the transmission of the original pastoral authority which had been delegated by Christ Himself to His Apostles'. Headlam adds, by way of further definition, 'It is a matter of very great importance ... to exalt the principle of the Apostolic Succession above the question of the exact form of the Ministry.'[6]

Headlam, having looked at the historical facts, concluded that the custom of ordination and the original establishment of the ministry did indeed go back to the Apostles and that from them there had been a 'succession of ministers in the Church always appointed by their predecessors, who had authority so to appoint them according to the Church rules of ordination.'[7]

Headlam draws these conclusions from the evidence of the fourth Canon of

Nicaea (325 AD) which lays down that no fewer than three bishops shall take part in the consecration of another bishop, which Headlam saw as cardinal and regulatory for the Church from then on. Retrospectively from that point Headlam refers to the witness of Eusebius (c260 - c340) in the Ante-Nicene period; Cyprian (d.258) and Firmilian (d.268); Irenaeus (c130 - c200), who enumerated the succession of bishops at Rome; Clement of Rome (fl.c.96), who, speaking of the Apostles, said 'they appointed their first fruits, when they had approved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe'[8]; back to the New Testament itself and the appointment of presbyters in the churches by Paul and Timothy and Titus by the laying on of hands.

Of the historical nature of the succession Headlam is confident, or at least 'reasonably certain' of a succession going back to the Apostles; what this means, in doctrinal terms, is where speculative theology takes off, and Headlam gives several interpretations.

In his article in The Prayer Book Dictionary Headlam leads with the theory of Edwin Hatch that succession means succession in post, 'one officer being appointed in another's place, as governor succeeded governor in a Roman province'.[9] And similarly, in his own Bampton Lectures, delivered seven years after the appearance of the article in The Prayer Book Dictionary, he deals firstly with this interpretation of succession: a 'continuous succession of bishops, publicly

appointed to their office', locating the importance of this interpretation in the second century controversy with Gnosticism. The secrecy, which was a feature of the Gnostic inheritance of faith, was countered by the open tradition of the 'great churches' where a clear and continuous succession of bishops, publicly appointed to their office, provided a confident witness to the truth of the Church's teaching.

Irenaeus, in his opposition to Gnosticism by his emphasis on the traditional nature of the episcopate,[10] is central here, and Headlam refers to the second century theologian both in his Prayer Book Dictionary article and in his Bampton Lectures, quoting in a foot-note in the Lectures from his chief work, Adversus omnes Haereses, the reference by Irenaeus to the enumeration of those who stand in the succession of those made bishop by the Apostles 'even as far as us' - a tradition which in truth is open for all to see.[11] The theory of succession as orderly sequence is followed (in the Bampton Lectures) by consideration of succession being linked in a more personal way with the Apostles by a common function. So, like the Apostles, the bishops were rulers of the Church: administering its discipline, presiding over its teaching and celebrating the Sacraments. Headlam gives the analogy of a royal succession whereby successive kings fulfil the inherited duties of their predecessors. This continuity of function he sees as the 'normal and accepted meaning' of the term 'Apostolic Succession'[12] and finds its origin in the

principal work of Hippolytus (c170 - c236), Refutation of all Heresies, and was confirmed in Headlam's view, both in Session XXIII of the Council of Trent, held in 1563 (dealing with Orders) and also, ironically, in Van Espen (1646 - 1728), once Professor of Canon Law at Louvain, until his suspension for supporting the validity of a Jansenist bishop.

Any irony there lies, I think, in Headlam enlisting the support of the eventual Jansenist, Van Espen,[13] for a functional interpretation of Apostolic Succession. (The first Jansenist proposition was the absolute necessity for the presence of the grace of God in any obedience to his commands[14] and an interpretation of the succession in terms of transmitting grace). In the Bampton Lectures Headlam quotes Gore, as he did in his definition of Apostolic Succession in the Prayer Book Dictionary article,[15] and sees the transmission theory in terms of an endowment, by direct succession, of those gifts which, traditionally, the Church believed her ministers to possess. The interpretation of Apostolic Succession as the channelling, by means of the succession of the laying on of hands from the Apostles, of God's Holy Spirit is, concedes Headlam, the meaning generally attached to the doctrine.[16]

Headlam, who, in his article in 1913 in the dictionary, allows the possibility that Hippolytus writing in the third century saw the succession in terms of the transmission of grace, is nevertheless anxious to emphasise a contrary 'argument from silence':

> I have, I think, read everything from the Fathers which is quoted in favour of the Apostolic Succession, and I do not know any passage which speaks of ordination in this sense. If this statement is correct, the argument from silence becomes, I think, conclusive, because we are not dealing with periods about which we have have little information.[17]

Ronald Jasper described Headlam's attitude to Apostolic Succession as rigid[18], and as such Headlam did appear to dismiss the possibility of the transmission of grace being an integral part of a serial theory of ordination. In his dictionary article Headlam described Apostolic Succession as a fact, not a doctrine. The force of that rather artificial and legalistic declaration seems to emphasise the inadmissability in Headlam's mind of any merging of the historical, lineal plane with the spiritual, vertical plane. So, in his third Bampton Lecture, Headlam attempts an acknowledgement of C. H. Turner's support for his conclusions on Apostolic Succession. He does so on the strength of Turner's lexicographical approach.[19]

Cuthbert Hamilton Turner (1860 - 1930) had contributed the third essay in a collection edited, until his death in 1917, by H. B. Swete, and published in 1918 and entitled Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry. The first part of his essay dealt with "succession language" and showed how 'in early usage, succession was conceived as passing from holder to holder of the episcopal office in each see rather than from consecrator to consecrated'.[20] Bate, who wrote a

memoir on Turner, recalls that Turner used to maintain that his essay was concerned with the word 'diadoche' and not with the effect and significance of ordination.[21] A wider and more comprehensive view of succession would involve Turner in an acknowledgement of the essential dimension of grace. Headlam cites Turner in support of his interpretation of succession,[22] but fails to acknowledge this wider belief which Turner undoubtedly held. Perhaps he may be forgiven for doing so. Bate, in his memoir on Turner, conceded that if Turner's general thesis had been sound 'there is nothing in the continuity of the ministry beyond the numerical following of one bishop by another; that the early Church knew nothing of any transmission of grace in ordination, and that the Church's attitude to non-episcopal ministries ought therefore to be profoundly modified'.[23] Turner, however, had said that two conditions needed to be fulfilled before a bishop was recognised as being in the succession of the Apostles. One was, indeed, the serial succession to the vacant 'cathedra', but there was another: 'to be lawfully entrusted with the "charisma" of the episcopate by the Ministry of those already recognised as possessing it',[24] so much so that 'if he had not received by ordination the "charisma" of the episcopal office, he had not right to govern, or bind and loose, or impart the gifts of office, because without that "charisma" of his ordination he and his community had nothing to stand upon but their own basis; with it they possessed the whole fellowship and life and virtue of the Church catholic and apostolic'.[25]

There is no doubt that Headlam believes in the 'Grace of Orders', although he is reluctant to use the term.[26] Where he differs from Turner, Haddon, Gore and the 'transmission school' at large, is in the exact location of the means of grace. Certainly the bishops provide a means of grace, but this by virtue not of their ordination, in a mechanical way, but 'by God in answer to the prayers of the Church through the hand of the bishop'. It is to the Church that God gives the Holy Spirit; it is the Church in which resides and from which comes 'the authority to consecrate and ordain, or to perform all spiritual offices'. The grace of orders depends upon the authority of the Church and not the Church upon Apostolic Succession and transmission.[27]

This distinction between the authority of the Church and that of transmission is a fine one. If one were to phrase Headlam slightly differently and say that grace of orders depends upon the authority of the Church and not the Church upon the transmission of grace, one approaches a theologically tautologous situation: transmission is about grace; the Church has the authority of grace. That Headlam saw that the line was a fine one, if not altogether an illusion, is seen in the conclusion of a correspondence between Headlam and the Cowley Father, F. W. Puller, S.S.J.E., on the subject. Headlam writes:

My dear Puller

... We both agree that Grace of Orders, if we are to use that term, was the direct gift from the risen Lord to His Church. That it was given in each individual case in answer to the prayers of the Church, and that the laying-on of hands of the Bishop was so to speak the instrument, or sign in the older sense, of the gift. The particular point on which we differed was the source of the authority or the commission of the Bishop. You would argue that he had an independent and apostolic commission, that he was appointed by those who themselves had been appointed by others right back to apostolic times, and that therefore ultimately his commission depended upon his succession. I on the contrary would believe that his commission depended upon the authority of the Church as the guardian of the sacraments ... The result of that difference would be this; that whereas according to you the sacraments and therefore the Church depended upon the Succession, I should be inclined to believe that the Succession depended upon the authority of the Church. The one would make it primary and the other secondary in importance. Now as to which theory is the right one I really do not know.[28]

The distinction between the transmission of grace by a succession of ordination and the transmission of grace by the corporate authority of the Church was important in Headlam's

arguments for unity; from his side of the argument there was room to manoeuvre to incorporate other ministries. To this end he found Augustine supportive.

3 St. Augustine of Hippo (354 - 430)

Headlam devoted one lecture, in his Bampton series, to the teaching of St. Augustine. Through his handling of the Donatist controversy, he developed the doctrines of the Church, sacraments and sacramental grace which were germane to the development of Headlam's arguments for the unity of the Church.

The Church in North Africa, where Augustine was born in 354 and to which he returned, after his baptism by Ambrose, in 388, was divided, at times violently so,[29] by the Donatist schism. In 311 the Archdeacon Caecilian had been consecrated Bishop of Carthage. One of the consecrating bishops was Felix who, it was thought, had been a collaborator in the last Persecution of Diocletian (303 - 305), handing over ('traditio') the Holy Books. To be a 'traditor', to a purist frame of mind, meant the loss of spiritual authority. Caecilian's consecration was, within these terms, invalid and a rival bishop, Majorinus, was elected who in turn was succeeded by Donatus, whose name lives on. Caecilian was supported by the newly converted Emperor, Constantine, who, together with the tolerant Latin Church, was anxious for a unified Church; the party of Donatus confined to Africa, was strong on home ground.[30] The state finally pronounced against Donatism in 411, though the schism, 'greatly weakened, persisted until the African Church

was destroyed by the Saracens in the 7th - 8th centuries'.[31] Augustine was thrust to the forefront of this situation by virtue of his election as coadjutor bishop in 395 and then sole bishop in 396.

Augustine came from outside the provincial situation with a majestic vision of the Church[32] in the light of which power and glory the Donatists were like frogs who 'cry from the marsh, We alone are Christians ... thou singest with me, and thou agreest with me; thy tongue soundest what mine doth, and yet thine heart disagreeth with mine'.[33] All this is grist to Headlam's mill in his endeavours for unity in the Church. He sees Augustine's doctrine of the Church as commanding and comprehensive:

> What had impressed him, and had been one of the strong motive influences to his conversion, had been the spectacle of the Christian Church as a great spiritual force ... the idea of catholicity - that is, of the one Church throughout the world, in contrast to the local heresies - the bonds of faith and brotherhood which united peoples and nations together, everywhere.[34]

Such a body had to comprehend failure; it was indeed the city of God, the visible representative of Christ on earth, but it had to contain 'both he who breaks and he who keeps the commandments'.[35] Come the final destiny and the Church would be pure, but for the interim the wheat and the tares must grow together:[36] 'in one and the same current (as it were) of mankind ran both the evil merited by the parent, and the good

bestowed by the Creator'.[37]

The line that divided the good and the bad was an invisible one, and this division hardened into Augustine's 'defined member of the elect'.[38] It was a paradoxical division, as Headlam saw it, whereby the hard limitation of salvation within the visible Church, inherited from Cyprian (d.258) was held in tandem with the possibility of others, outside the Church, who might be amongst the elect. So Headlam quotes from Augustine's De Baptismo contra Donatistas (400 AD): 'In the ineffable foreknowledge of God many who seem to be without are really within, and many who seem to be within are really without'.[39] Such lack of exclusively tight definition excites Headlam who, while admitting that, to Augustine, the only Church on earth was the visible Church, finds signs and symptoms of a theory of the invisible Church as it was developed by the reformers[40] and will find support here for his practical theories on the question of unity.

In the Donatist controversy, Augustine resisted the temptation to define the Church exclusively in the name of purity. He saw the Church to be inclusive and was anxious to find a solid argument for recognising the baptism and the orders of the schismatic 'pars Donati' he defined what later theologians called the 'character indelibilis'. This 'character' led, in Mediaeval times, to an exclusive ministry within Catholicism based upon the bishop which was the opposite of its original purpose; Augustine, according to Headlam, intended to make it clear that 'the ultimate validity

of sacraments depends upon the authority and voice of the Church', and that there is nothing in his theology 'which we in modern days would call sacerdotalism'[41]. He therefore developed the doctrine whereby those who had received the sacraments within the discipline of the Church, irrespective of the moral rectitude or otherwise of those who administered them, were validly in receipt of those sacraments.

The intention was to be inclusive in a realistic way, and Augustine was concerned to face a real and dynamic world from which the Donatists had retreated: 'While the Donatist view of the Church had a certain rock-like consistency, Augustine's Church was like an atomic particle: it was made up of moving elements, a field of dynamic tensions, always threatening to explode'.[42] In his book The Evolution of Mediaeval Thought, David Knowles refers to the way in which different facets of theological interpretation have looked to S. Augustine for patronage - orthodox to heretic - and found identity.[43]

Headlam, too, found a friend in Augustine of Hippo. He, too, may have found what he wanted to find - in fact he misinterprets Augustine's Latin in his enthusiasm to identify an anti-sacerdotalism, understanding Augustine to say that priesthood and episcopacy were not necessary for salvation,[44] whereas most interpreters understood Augustine to say that 'it matters very much to salvation whether a man becomes a Christian or ceases to be a Christian, but not in the least whether he becomes a bishop or ceases to be a bishop'.[45] It was important for Headlam to find in Augustine a more muted focus upon Ministry than in Cyprian, for example, and he

relishes the fact that 'St. Cyprian has the word "bishop" always on his lips, St. Augustine rarely'. He concedes that the nature of the Donatist controversy partly explains this, but only partly; it was still more Augustine's own 'character and disposition' whereby the priesthood of the laity was recognised and bishops were seen not in terms of 'mediatorial power', being placed in the Church 'for the good of the community'.[46]

In Augustine, Headlam finds a historical basis on which he feels he can rest his argument for a reunion of the Church. The handling of the Donatist schism by Augustine provided him with a generous flexibility which he, in turn, might use as a paradigm case to illustrate the possibility of defining the Church in a less exclusive way. Headlam is at pains to emphasise that the controversy results in schism and not heresy[47] and that reconciliation and reunion does not involve the bishops and clergy in any form of reordination. Augustine, however, was dealing with a 'party' whose orders and sacraments were identical with the Catholic Church - 'The Donatist bishops expounded the same Bible as himself, they professed the same creed, they celebrated an identical liturgy'[48] - and even then his attitude, in word and deed, could hardly be described as reconciliatory or eirenic, but was marked by a degree of ruthlessness: 'Altogether, Augustine's campaign against the Donatists shows little trace of oecumenical moderation, having drawn its strength from a bitter obstinacy'.[49]

Nevertheless, Headlam found, in Augustine's emphasis upon the voice and authority of the Church to validate the sacraments, a refusal to rebaptise or reordain those previously separated by the Donatist schism and in his ability to allow the visible society of the Church to contain imperfection, an easing of the way towards the ideal of unity. To Augustine, steeped in the ways of Neo-Platonic thought, the Church was 'in via' - becoming what, in ultimate reality, it was. Headlam is attracted by this concept and feels that the great questions of unity of his time can be served by it:

> We may apply his principles a little further than he did and recognise that the unity of the Christian Church is, as much as its holiness or its possession of truth, something ideal. There is the one Church without division in the heavenly sphere: the Church on earth is continuously striving to attain that ideal unity.[50]

4 Kikuyu

The village of Kikuyu in Kenya was, in the year 1913, part of the British Protectorate of East Africa. Its bishop was W. G. Peel, Bishop of Mombasa. To the east was the neighbouring diocese of Uganda whose bishop was J. J. Willis, and to the south-east the protectorate and diocese of Zanzibar and its bishop Frank Weston. The first two dioceses were closely associated with the evangelical Church Missionary Society. Under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Uganda a conference was held in June of that year. A visiting Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Norman Maclean, subsequently gave a report to The Scotsman, which appeared on August 9th, in which he described the conference as the most wonderful gathering of all the Protestant Missions of the Protectorate. The denominations present were the Church of Scotland, the African Inland Mission, the Society of Friends, the United Methodists, the Lutherans, the Seventh Day Adventists, together with the two Anglican bishops and some of their clergy.[51]

These missionary churches found themselves in a difficult position both in terms of effective mission and in comparison to the other two missionary bodies of the region, the Roman Catholic Church and the Islamic mission. Unlike these latter groups, the "Protestant Missions", as Maclean had described them, lacked unity and cohesion and were hampered by territorial boundaries.

'Confronted by the solidarity of Rome and the solidarity of Islam, it is not surprising that the Protestant bodies should see the necessity of some sort of union'.[52] It was then, understandably, to this end that these Churches met at Kikuyu.

The result of the conference was a proposed Scheme of Federation, the suggested basis of which would be:

1 The loyal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith and practice; of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as general expression of fundamental Christian belief; and in particular, belief in the absolute authority of Holy Scripture as the Word of God; in the Deity of Jesus Christ; and in the atoning death of Our Lord as the ground of our forgiveness.

2 Recognition of common membership between societies in the federation.

3 Regular administration of the two sacraments by outward signs.

4 A common form of Church organisation.

In addition to these proposed bases, every society was to be recognised as autonomous in its own sphere of activity, there would be an exchange of recognised ministers as preachers and recognised church members would be able to communicate in the other federated churches when temporarily residing in their district.[53] All future native candidates for the ministry would be ordained by the laying on of hands and all would be trained in the same way, to whatever church or society they

belonged.[54]

The 1913 Kikuyu Conference ended with a united service which took the form of a celebration of the Holy Communion by Bishop Peel according to Book of Common Prayer and at which all present, with the exception of the Society of Friends, received the Sacrament.

The excitement felt by the Scottish Presbyterian, Maclean, which prompted him to report to the The Scotsman that the Missions in British East Africa had solved the problem of combining Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, was shared by many who, in the missionary situation, if not in the Church at large, looked for a working harmony among the denominations. Such a reaction as that of the Dean of Durham, Herbert Hensley Henson, who described the Kikuyu proposals as 'the laudable object of facilitating the evangelization of the Africans by getting rid of, or at least lessening the considerable mischiefs of denominational individualism'.[55] Needless to say, that was not the only type of reaction - either at home or in East Africa itself.

Whereas the Bishop of Uganda and Mombasa were Evangelicals and associated with the low church Church Missionary Society, their neighbouring brother bishop to the south-east, Frank Weston of Zanzibar, was an Anglo-Catholic and associated with the High Church Universities' Mission to Central Africa. He did not see the future Church in Africa in anything like the same terms. His biographer wrote: 'In his isolation Frank was comforted by the thought that he was a Catholic Bishop and

that his work was to build the Catholic Church in Africa. He did not look on the Church as a human institution, which could be changed or modified for anyone's convenience'.[56] The Kikuyu gathering that June, from which he absented himself, in spite of having received an invitation, profoundly upset him, both because of the scheme itself, which seemed to him 'to be designed rather with a view to the susceptibilities of comflicting sects, than from any consideration for the needs of the Africans'[57] and because of the united service of Holy Communion with which the conference ended.

Once Frank Weston was in receipt of a copy of the document of federation, he wrote to Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury,[58] (to whom, having no Provincial in East Africa, he owed canonical obedience) on September 30th. His letter demanded a public admission by the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda that they had failed to emphasise the Athanasian Creed; Confirmation; Absolution; Infant Baptism; Holy Communion as different from Communion administered in Protestant bodies with the result that it was impossible to communicate at one another's altars, to preach in one another's pulpits, or to prepare men from the Protestant bodies with Church candidates for either Baptism or Ordination. Nor had they emphasised the need for episcopacy in the Church. Unless the bishops recanted, Weston would seek a Synodical Court to try the Bishops, and his letter contained a formal indictment of the two bishops in terms of 'propagating heresy and committing schism'.[59]

Frank Weston was described by his biographer as 'very highly strung' he also said that it was the fashion to say that he was very impulsive.[60] The Bishop of Winchester thought the climate had got to him,[61] and Hensley Henson records that the Bishop of Uganda, visiting him in Durham in March 1914, while preparing to defend his case, had found Weston 'on the verge of a nervous breakdown'.[62] Randall Davidson himself, found Weston in interview 'delightfully loyal, friendly and frank' and was touched by his attitude and behaviour, but nevertheless had occasion to wish that Weston had been open to wiser opinions.[63] After a later interview that lasted nearly three hours, Randall Davidson recorded: 'What struck me repeatedly in the conversation was that he does not think out his problems before coming to his conclusions', which the Archbishop found disappointing in a man who had had such an opportunity for quietly thinking things over. Bell observed: 'It would be difficult to find a greater contrast than that between the mental methods of the two men. The Archbishop pressed hard upon the facts, while Bishop Weston spoke as impulse led him'.[64]

Weston's impulsive indictment, if it may be so described, set the waves, already undulating around the rock of the English Church by virtue (or otherwise) of the general swell of a wider modernist movement, positively breaking upon it. Whereas to some the Kikuyu scheme seemed a magnificent move forwards to Christian reunion, to others it seemed to threaten the disruption of the Anglican Communion. Hensley Henson

entered the lists, by way of The Times' correspondence columns, affirming Kikuyu within the heritage of the Reformation and against a 'sterilizing' isolationism.[65] Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford, wrote in the same columns that, as a result of Kikuyu, he doubted if the cohesion of the Church of England was ever more seriously threatened.[66] On 31st December 1913, Headlam's own contribution to the debate appeared in The Times.

Headlam began his letter by making it clear that the Kikuyu proposals were, to his mind, based on the fundamental Catholic principles which had inspired the development of the whole of the Christian Church and had always been accepted by the Church of England. He made the point on the basis of Catholicity, in support of the Kikuyu Conference and in the face of what he considered a general misjudgement - not least by those who professed to support it.[67]

The Catholic principles to which he referred were the ones formulated at the third Lambeth Conference of 1888 and known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral. The Quadrilateral, which in idea went back to William Reed Huntington's book The Church Idea of 1870[68] and came to Lambeth by way of the General Convention of the American Episcopal Church at Chicago in 1886, provided an approach towards reunion. Headlam summarised those principles in his letter to The Times as the acceptance of the Holy Scriptures, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the historic Episcopate. He then proceeded in his letter

to test the Kikuyu proposals against the principles of the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

Headlam found two sides of the Quadrilateral to be 'fully secured', namely the acceptance of the Holy Scriptures and of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. As for the other two principles, he felt that the Conference at Kikuyu had gone as far as was possible at that stage: 'The Lord's Supper is to be regularly administered by outward signs, by the recognised ministers of the Church to full members of the Church only. The importance of the Sacrament is insisted on'. Such celebrations could not be considered regular, but, as with the practice of lay baptism, Headlam would not use the word 'invalid', and he quoted Pusey, by way of support, 'God may make His own Sacrament efficacious even when irregularly administered'.[69]

The question of the fourth principle, that of the historic episcopate, is answered by Headlam by identifying a movement towards a regularisation of both the Ministry and the Sacraments. He believed that this would lead, by way of the question 'How can our Ministry and our Sacraments be made regular, not for each separate community, but for the whole Church?', inevitably 'to the ultimate acceptance of this historic rule of the Church, episcopal ordination, as that which regularizes a Ministry for the whole Church and guarantees a regular and valid celebration of Sacraments'.[70]

Headlam goes on to say that two concessions are asked of the Church: the admission of the baptised to Anglican Sacraments on the mission field and the admission of regularly appointed Ministers of other communities to preach in Anglican Churches in the position of a lay reader. This latter concession would, Headlam thought, be emphasising, by its limitation of these Ministers with regard to wider Ministry of administering the Sacraments themselves, 'the necessity for episcopacy for regular Sacraments'.

Headlam's letter, printed by The Times on the eve of the New Year, ended with hope for the future by emphasising the opportunity, contrary to popular belief, to build up the Church in East Africa on Catholic principles by means of the Kikuyu proposals: 'It does not complete the task, but it begins it well'. The letter was welcomed by Randall Davidson. With regard to Hensley Henson's contribution to the debate, the Archbishop was to express the feeling that the Dean had not made the settling of the controversy easier for him.[71] With regard to Gore, whose letter to The Times of 29 December, spoke of the Kikuyu proposals as being totally subversive of Catholic order and doctrine and who saw, in the Modernist movement at large, the greatest threat to the cohesion of the Church of England, the Archbishop, who 'believed in ordinary methods of social incubation',[72] managed to maintain his equilibrium and apparently 'was not disposed to be unduly alarmed'.[73]

But to Headlam the Archbishop was grateful. Jasper quotes the

relevant parts of Randall Davidson's letter to him, written on the same day as Headlam's letter appeared in print:

> Everybody is writing to the press and sometimes in a way which is doing untold mischief. The relief therefore is immense in reading your quite admirable letter in The Times - the first of all the published letters ... to give me real satisfaction. Nothing could be better in substance or form, nothing at this juncture more useful ... I must not go into the fray, but let me, at the same time, thank you most cordially for an utterance which cannot, I feel sure, fail to do good.[74]

Randall Davidson's decision, after 'quiet consideration',[75] was to summon the Consultative Committee of the Lambeth Conference. It met in July 1914 but its findings did not appear until Easter 1915, the declaration of war on August 4th, 1914, taking the Archbishop's time and delaying his own contribution.[76] The conclusion, when it came, upheld the principle which motivated the promoters of the Scheme of Federation. With regard to the details, the Archbishop noted that the difficulties 'turn partly on the question whether the Church of England, in addition to the emphasis she deliberately sets upon our Episcopal system, has laid down a rule which marks all non-episcopalians as "extra Ecclesiam"'. In maintaining the essential element of the Apostolic threefold ministry, the Archbishop saw no need to place other bodies, following a different use 'extra Ecclesiam'. However, Federation, while falling short of corporate reunion, was

something more than co-operation and involved more than local sanction and could be dealt with by the Lambeth Conference. He saw no reason, in the mission field, to deny the pulpit to Christians of other denominations, nor for the baptised of other denominations, deprived of the ministrations of their own Church, to be denied the opportunity of communicating at Anglican altars (although this did not imply that Anglicans might receive Communion from non-episcopally ordained Ministers). As far as the joint Communion Service was concerned, he saw it as a spontaneous act of devotion in the extenuating circumstances of the mission field: 'admittedly abnormal, admittedly irregular' but nevertheless he believed that they would all be acting rightly 'in abstaining at present from such Services'.[77]

When the Archbishop's statement pleased neither side, he was unperturbed, believing that to be better than being praised by one party and denounced by the other. Headlam, too, expressed satisfaction saying that at such a moment it required far more courage to be sober-minded than to be extreme.[78]

5 Reunion

Well might Headlam have expressed satisfaction at the Archbishop and the Consultative Council's judgement on the Kikuyu issue: after all, it followed closely his own reasoning, so welcome to Randall Davidson, expressed in his letter published in The Times on 31st December, 1913. But concern and interest in the question of reunion was far from new to him; the seeds were sown much earlier, possibly more than a quarter of a century earlier.

In the summer vacation of 1889, Headlam had been invited to attend a conference between teachers and students of different denominations at Bonskeid in Perthshire. The leading light was Professor Drummond, who held the Chair of Natural History at the Free Church College, Glasgow. He arranged the conference as a result of the conviction that the disunity and isolation of the Christian denominations was hindering the appeal of the Gospel. Headlam was one of twenty-eight men from different universities and denominations, and the conference was so successful that it was decided to repeat the formula the following year. Although Headlam was unable to attend that second gathering, the spark of his ecumenical interests was kindled there where 'he met a body of brilliant young men discussing their religious differences ... They were, for the most part, testing something new, and what they tested they found to be good'.[79]

The reason for Headlam's absence from the second of these Scottish ecumenical conferences was a Middle East expedition and holiday. In 1886, into his second year of the All Souls' History Fellowship, Headlam had taken up an interest in Coptic, fostered by his membership of William Sanday's seminar. Although he gave up serious work on the language after leaving All Souls, nonetheless, his brief, but able[80] entry into this field provided him also with an introduction to the Middle East and its Churches. In 1889 Headlam arranged to join a small expedition under Professor William Ramsay, a New Testament Scholar and eminent authority on the history and geography of Asia Minor, to that region the following year. The main work was to be inscription copying, mapping and planning. From the archaeological point of view, Headlam produced a Supplement to the Journal of Hellenic Studies for 1892 entitled Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria, but in the course of his life the greater significant of his visit lay in his introduction to the Eastern Churches. After the work with Ramsay was complete, Headlam stayed on for a site-seeing holiday, which was to complete twelve months abroad, and resulted in a report to Archbishop Benson on ecclesiastical conditions in Asia Minor, Egypt and Greece. The practical suggestions, only ever realised in part, centred on a sort of theological exchange, whereby young priests and ordinands would come to England and able scholars and teachers might go to the Middle East; the less tangible outcome, but the more fruitful, was Headlam's 'real and by no means uncritical

interest in the Orthodox and other Churches of the East'.[81]

In 1918 Meletios, the new Archbishop and Metropolitan of Athens, visited America and England. His object was to foster closer relations between the Greek and Anglican Churches. In preparation for the official conference in London, Headlam organised two meetings in Oxford at which the question of orders and the Filioque Clause (already discussed in New York) together with baptism and confirmation were considered. He was again present at the London conference and Randall Davidson was effusive in his thanks. It was no surprise, therefore, that when the Archbishop appointed the Eastern Churches Committee, which he did in 1919 under the chairmanship of Charles Gore, Headlam was a member, and when the Committee was given the early task of preparing a statement of terms for intercommunion with the Orthodox Church, Headlam was involved.

In his Bampton Lectures of the following year, Headlam dealt with the questions of intercommunion and reunion with the Orthodox Church. His general approach was on the basis that in the course of the history of the Christian Church there had been a 'very great variety of custom'.[82] It was very often a question of respecting individual customs; so it was a matter of recognising the use the Greek Church made of chrism in confirmation and their reverence for ikons on the one hand and the Anglican style of confirmation on the other and living with these different customs in the hope of learning something in the future. The

question of the 'Filioque' Clause, recognition of Orders and union in the Eucharist he dealt with in more detail.

This interpolation of the 'filioque' clause into the Creed, Headlam saw as a Western error. The doctrine of 'double procession', whereby the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, traditionally upset the Greek Church, who saw in it a double source in the Godhead, whereas the Latin Church was only anxious to emphasise the equality of the Father and the Son. Headlam finds salvation in the Greek Doctor of the Church, St. John of Damascus (c.675 - c.749) who provided the formula 'from the Father through the Son', combining acceptably both points of view. In practical terms, he suggests using the uninterpolated Creed for the occasions the Churches meet in united Council, but, in true Headlamian form, suggests in ordinary circumstances we live with the differences.[83]

As far as Orders were concerned, Headlam would want to emphasise both 'the regularity of our succession and the sufficiency of our formularies'[84] and would want to base reunion and intercommunion upon this sufficiency of the Anglican Orders. Nevertheless 'to avoid any occasion of offence', an Eastern bishop should take part in consecrations of English bishops and 'vice versa'.

A similarity of argument is employed by Headlam on the point of union in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. There should be an acceptance of the doctrine and intention of both our Liturgies 'as adequate'; such difficult terms as

'Transubstantiation' should be subsumed in the ineffability of the mystery.

When, in 1921, the Eastern Churches Committee published the Suggested Terms of Intercommunion, they were on the lines suggested in Headlam's Bampton Lectures, even to the style of the phrases and 'adequate' and 'sufficient' appear here, too, to describe both the Orders of the two Churches and also the doctrine of the Eucharist taught by the Liturgies of the two Churches; the presence of Christ in the Eucharist 'was a divine mystery transcending human understanding'.[85]

As one might expect, there was a counter feeling of inadequacy and insufficiency abut these 'Terms'. The Catholic party of the Church of England thought that they did not go far enough. As a consequence, a declaration was prepared, which appeared in the Church press on May 26th, 1922, of a much more definite Catholic character, with Bishop Gore heading the list of signatories. Headlam denounced the declaration as inconsistent with Anglican teaching and offered his resignation from the Eastern Churches Committee (of which Gore was Chairman) to the Archbishop: he considered the declaration 'a travesty of the English Church dressed up in the clothes of the Eastern Church'.[86]

Gore removed his name from the head of the list of signatories, though he would not withdraw his signature; he claimed, however, not to have known anything about the declaration, nor who had written it.[87] Headlam agreed not to

resign and the Orthodox authorities, having heard about the controversy, then regarded the declaration not as a mainstream opinion 'but only the views of a section'.[88] Nevertheless on July 28th 1922, the Patriarch of Constantinople informed the Archbishop of Canterbury that his Holy Synod had concluded that Anglican ordinations possessed 'all essentials ... held indispensable from the Orthodox point of view' and were valid.[89] Randall Davidson did not want to exaggerate the importance of this declaration - he had no 'hesitation' about the question anyway[90] but he did welcome it. As a result of the Patriarch's declaration Headlam felt able to approach the Archbishop on the future use of the 'Suggested Terms' and approval was given for the Eastern Churches Committee to use them as a basis for further discussions with the Orthodox Church. The future, in fact, turned out to be quite distant: it was after the Lambeth Conference of 1930 that a Joint Doctrinal Commission was set up. The Archbishop was then Lang and he appointed Headlam, then Bishop of Gloucester, as its chairman.

The Commission meeting in Bonn made little progress, but it did endorse 'Headlam's' 'Suggested Terms'. The outcome was a counter-balanced mixture of Orthodox/Anglican doctrinal beliefs rather than anything that looked like the potential fusion of a compound. So, for example, the Orthodox statement accepted the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist as pre-eminent and yet the other five were not considered to be secondary or unnecessary; the Anglicans affirmed that the

Book of Common Prayer only termed Baptism and Holy Communion as Sacraments, but that other rites could be considered to have the character of Sacraments.[91] Headlam was not enthusiastic about the conference; he thought that it had done just enough to 'keep things going'. However, the Pro-Synod of the Orthodox Church, due to consider the Commission's report, never met: a world economic crisis intervened and the world moved towards war.

Headlam's Bampton Lectures, which lay behind the Eastern Churches Committee's 'Suggested Terms for Intercommunion' were also greatly influential in the Reunion Committee of the 1920 Lambeth Conference which followed hard upon their publication.[92] At the Conference the Archbishop of York, Cosmo Lang, suggested that this committee's report be presented in the form of a letter to Christian people - a style which would be 'warmer and more persuasive'.[93] The 'Appeal to all Christian People', so it became known, bore the marks of Headlam's thinking. It moved on slightly in form from the Lambeth Quadilateral basis - but significantly. The bases of the Scriptures, of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, were included without their former directions with regard to the use of the words of institution and the elements ordained by Christ. In place of the Historic Episcopate, however, there appeared the belief in 'a Ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body'.[94]

The 'Appeal' did, however, expect episcopacy to be the system of any united Church, and the hope was expressed that ministers who had not received episcopal ordination would do so as a form of commissioning, just as Bishops and clergy of the Anglican Communion would themselves receive a commissioning from the Communions in any scheme. Headlam received a letter, after the Conference, from Professor Nairne who wrote: 'How good it was to see the Bishops of Lambeth following you so faithfully; the hopeful Appeal must be considered your work'.[95] But Headlam was less euphoric: the 'Appeal' did not go quite far enough for him. Whereas he favoured a mutual recognition of ministers and mutual conferring of a commission, he did not see the necessity of episcopal ordination at this stage; it should be an ultimate characteristic of a united Church, but his understanding of succession and his desire to affirm other ministries did not demand it at the point of Ministry.

There was here, in time and theology, early signs of an overlap with the scheme for a South Indian Church. At Tranquebar in May 1919 a conference between representatives of the Anglican and South India United Churches determined to resolve the problem - Kikuyu-like - of a divided Christian mission. At the Lambeth Conference of 1920, in connection with the mutual recognition of orders, Bishop Whitehead of Madras said that he would have to consider his position as a bishop if he was required not to recognise Presbyterian orders in the face of the scheme for a South Indian Church.[96]

This confrontation of 'recognition' 'versus' 'ordination' developed from the Lambeth Conference's 'Appeal'. In South India, Christians could not see how a ministry recognised as 'blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as an effective means of grace' had, at the same time, to be reconciled with 'the Episcopate ... the one means of providing such a ministry'.[97] The Metropolitan of India received conflicting advice. Cuthbert Turner commented: 'If the Church of England and the Church of the Province of India does not stand for the assertion that an episcopal ministry has something which a presbyterian ministry has not, I find it difficult to see what is the "raison d'être" of its existence at all'. Headlam advised differently: any minister commissioned according to the requirements of the Appeal would, he felt, fulfill the requirements of a priest of the Catholic Church.[98] Headlam's distinction between the validity of non-episcopal orders is a carefully defined one, and strictly applied. When Dr. Banninga, a leader in the United Church, entered into correspondence with Headlam about the scheme, Headlam is quite ruthless for the truth. He defends the Anglo-Catholic opposition as sincere and acknowledges the strength of their position; he accuses Banninga's side of intolerance and of demanding more than is necessary:

> On the one side you say: 'Let it be granted that our orders and ministries are all valid'. There I should agree with you. I think you have asked really more than is necessary when you demand that they all should be

> equal. It is quite sufficient that we should all agree to respect one another's orders without going further ... Then, on the other side if the union is to be an effective one, what you have to do is to accept wholeheartedly what I call the Catholic position. That you seem to be continually frightened of doing. Instead of accepting the historic episcopate, you are trying to explain it away; instead of being wholehearted Catholic Christians, you want to be half-hearted Presbyterians or half-hearted Congregationalists.[99]

Headlam saw a clear difference between validity and regularity: the Catholic practice of episcopal ordination was the historic norm and was not the same as, as well as not being necessary for, valid orders.

Headlam continued to give the scheme his support and his advice and, although nearly eighty years of age, played his part in endorsing the final form when it was approved by the Joint Committee in 1941. The Church of South India was inaugurated at a service in S. George's Cathedral, Madras, on September 27th, 1947, but by then Headlam was dead.

Headlam had ministered in Holy Orders, as Deacon, Priest and Bishop, for nearly sixty years, in the inheritance of the Tractarians. He felt that, although he rarely found himself believing exactly as they did, nevertheless, he would not have stood as firmly and as healthily without those beginnings.[100] Firm within the security of Catholicism, he felt confidently at ease to promote a generously accepting attitude to other

denominations. He was confident that 'faith, humanity, and charity must be the weapons with which we attempt to recreate the sense of brotherhood and of divine things in the world'.[101]

REFERENCES

1 Jasper, Arthur Cayley Headlam (Faith Press: London, 1960), p.140.
2 Alan M. G. Stephenson, Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences (SPCK: London, 1978), p.128.
3 Ibid., p.132.
4 Jasper, p.101.
5 Harford & Stevenson (eds.), The Prayer Book Dictionary (Pitman: London, 1913), p.38.
6 Ibid., p.38.
7 Ibid., p.40.
8 Ibid., p.40, Headlam quotes from I. Clement.
9 Ibid., p.41, Headlam quotes from Edwin Hatch's Bampton Lecture of 1880 The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches.
10 F. L. Cross (ed.) The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p.702.
11 My paraphrase of Irenaeus Ad. Haer. III.iii.1. 'Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatem, in omni Ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint videre, et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episopi in ecclesiis, et successiones eorum usque ad nos' quoted in Headlam The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion p.126 n.1.
12 Harford & Stevenson (eds.), p.41.
13 F. L. Cross (ed.) 'In the question of the "Chapter of Utrecht" he gave his opinion in favour of the validity of the ordination of a Jansenist bishop ... Summoned by the Archbishop of Utrecht to retract, he fled to the Jansenist colony at Amersfoort where he died soon afterwards. All his works were placed on the Index ...' p.1406.
14 Ibid., p.714.
15 Supra, p.130.
16 Harford & Stevenson (eds.), p.41.
17 Headlam, p.128.
18 Jasper, p.145.
19 C. H. Turner, Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis in 1920, was a Patristics scholar and heavily involved in the publication of the Lexicon of Patristic Greek.
20 H. N. Bate (ed.) Catholic and Apostolic. Collected Papers by the Late Cuthbert Hamilton Turner. (A. R. Mowbray & Co: London, 1931), p.36.
21 Ibid., p.37.
22 Headlam, p.124, note 1.
23 H. N. Bate (ed.), p.37.
24 H. B. Swete (ed.), Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry (Macmillan & Co: London, 1918), p.107.

25 Ibid., p.107 f.
26 Harford & Stevenson (eds.), p.42.
27 Ibid., p.42.
28 Jasper, p.119 Letter to Fr.Puller 4.ii.13.
29 Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo (Faber & Faber: London, 1987). pp.229 and 231 where the Catholics match the Circumcellions in violence.
30 Ibid., p.215.
31 Cross (ed.) p.415.
32 Brown, pp.216 ff.
33 S. Augustine, Expositions on the Book of Psalms, John Henry Packer (Oxford, 1850), Volume IV, p.408.
34 Headlam, The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion, p.144.
35. Ibid., p.146.
36 Ibid., p.147, Headlam quotes from De Civitate Dei, XX,9
37 S. Augustine, The City of God (J. M. Dent & Son: London, 1945), XII, xii. Vol.2, p.392.
See also Brown, Augustine of Hippo, p.329, in the chapter entitled 'Civitas Peregrina'.
38 Brown, p.223.
39 Headlam, p.149, n.3. Namque in illa effabili praescientia Dei multi qui foris videntur intus sunt et multi qui intus videntur foris sunt.
40 Headlam, p.151.
41 Ibid., p.171.
42 Brown, p.223.
43 David Knowles, The Evolution of Mediaeval Thought (Longmans: London, 1962), p.34.
44 Headlam, p.160.
45 H. N. Bate (ed.), Catholic and Apostolic and N.1 on Contra Cresconium ii.II(13). See also Jasper, p.141 where, inter alios, Brightman is quoted, describing Headlam's reading of Augustine at this point as 'monstrous, and such as would disgrace a Fourth Form schoolboy'.
46 Headlam, p.159.
47 Ibid., p.142.
48 Brown, p.217.
49 Ibid., p.226.
50 Headlam, p.171.
51 G. K. A. Bell, Randall Davidson, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press: London, 1935), Vol.1, p.690.
52 H. Maynard Smith, Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar (S.P.C.K: London, 1926), p.147.
53 Bell, Vol.1, p.691.
54 Maynard Smith, p.148.
55 Hensley Henson, Retrospect of an Unimportant Life (Oxford University Press: London, 1942), Vol.1, p.159.
56 Maynard Smith, p.145.
57 Ibid., p.156.
58 Weston had already written to the Archbishop on 5th August 1913, expressing his own anxiety and that of his staff about the as yet unconfirmed reports about federation and warning of the possibility of refusing communion with the dioceses of Uganda and Mombasa. Bell, Vol.1, p.692.

59 Ibid., Vol.1, p.694.
60 Maynard Smith, p.146.
61 Weston himself mentions it in his letter of 20th September, 1913, to the Archbishop. Bell, Vol.1, p.692.
62 Hensley Henson, Vol. 1, p.165.
63 Bell, Vol.1, p.697.
64 Ibid., Vol.1, p.699.
65 Hensley Henson, Vol.1, p.162.
66 Bell, Vol.1, p.694.
67 Jasper, p.122.
68 Stephenson, p.84.
69 Jasper, p.122, where Headlam's letter to The Times is quoted.
70 Ibid., p.123.
71 Hensley Henson, Vol.1, p.163. Henson calls at Lambeth the day after delivering a sermon on the subject in Oxford on February 1st, 1914.
72 Prestige, The Life of Charles Gore, (Heinemann: London & Toronto, 1935), p.365.
73 Bell, Vol.1, p.695.
74 Jasper, p.121.
75 Bell, Vol.1, p.695 - phrase used in his letter to the Bishop of Zanzibar.
76 Ibid., Vol.1, p.702f. The Consultative Body had met from July 27th to July 31st 1914, and had come to a unanimous agreement.
77 Ibid., Vol.1, pp.705-708.
78 Headlam, Kikuyu : the Archbishop of Canterbury's Statement (C.Q.R., 1915) Vol. 80, pp.330-1.
79 Jasper, p.44.
80 'He became proficient in a remarkably short space of time, and eminent Coptic scholars such as W. E. Cross, G. W. Horner, and M. Amelineau came to regard his abilities with respect' - Jasper, p.38.
81 Jasper, p.55.
82 Headlam, p.297.
83 Ibid., p.297.
84 Ibid., p.298.
85 Ibid., p.159.
86 Headlam to Randall Davidson on June 1st, 1922 and quoted in Jasper, p.162.
87 Jasper, p.163.
88 G. K. A. Bell, the Archbishop's Chaplain, to Headlam on July 1st, 1922.
89 Bell, Vol.II, p.1106.
90 Ibid., p.1107.
91 Jasper, p.224.
92 The Lectures appeared on 7th June 1930; the Lambeth Conference began on July 2nd, 1920.
93 Bell, Vol.II, p.1011.
94 Stephenson, p.144.
95 Jasper, p.150.
96 Stephenson, p.139. See also Henson, Vol.II, p.9.
97 Words from 'The Appeal' and quoted in Stephenson, p.144.
98 Jasper, p.238f.
99 Letter to Dr. Ganninga, April 4th, 1934. Quoted in Jasper pp.244-6.

100 Headlam, What it means to be a Christian, C.Q.R. (1944) Vol.116, pp.167-8.
101 Headlam, The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion, p.318.

EPILOGUE

The concept of charity, to which Headlam alludes at the end of his Bampton Lectures, may be said to explain his position generally. At first sight, this appears to be a rather bold conclusion and unlikely. He was a man who had been brought up with limited affection (his father was remote; his mother died when he was nine) and his emotional reticence, together with his often brusque and dismissive manner, belies the ready definition of charity. If, however, truth is an essential concomitant of charity, then another perspective is added; and truth is not necessarily easy.

In his commitment to truth, wherever it might lead, Headlam espoused cool reason. It was a brave and exposed position, even though it was the popular and contemporary legacy of the historical criticism of the day. This was particularly the case in a Christian of Tractarian background and where that commitment to reason entered the traditionally holy ground of faith. Here, however, Headlam saw controversy as a salutary catalyst for the truth. This controversial or dialectical approach might appear, in its pursuit, to be 'dismissive', but it was not so in a personal way, but was comprehended by the corporate concern for truth.

Headlam's pursuit of the truth, however, stopped at the text: he did not go beyond to ask how, if ever, it was possible to record the true story - questions of epistemological historiography; he believed in the divine disclosure. There was much in Essays and Reviews and Lux Mundi that Headlam found to be an exciting fulfilment rather than a fearful limitation to a practising faith

and he welcomed the renewal of faith that an openness to reason provoked. He saw no reason, however, to reject the essential divinity of Christ who was always 'the measure of the Father'.

This refusal, even in the light of a welcome rationalism, to let go of tradition is in evidence with regard to the Christian ministry. Here, while he recognised social circumstances playing a vital role in its evolving shape, nevertheless, the resultant historic threefold ministry was to be seen as of the givenness of God.

The question that arises as a consequence concerns the definition of the boundaries of the Church. The succession of ordination from the Apostles as a channel of grace was potentially limiting, and Headlam saw, rather, the Church corporate as the custodian and means of grace. This provided him with a larger field in which to draw up any possible schemes for unity. God was most certainly within the Catholic pattern of episcopal ordination, but not exclusively so. Ultimately that pattern should be the regular pattern of any united Church; there was a difference, however, between what was irregular and what was invalid.

The consequence of Headlam's thinking was a united Church where, after the mutual acceptance of ministries and commissioning, there would be, in the course of time, an ultimate alignment with the received traditional pattern of episcopal ordination. Whether such a generous and gentle scheme was commensurate with the dictates of truth in as much as it comprehends the differing and passionately held doctrines involved may well be doubted in the light of the reception of such schemes.

Headlam felt that the Church of England was singularly well placed to bring about a united Church; it could be said that he himself epitomised that position. He attempted to hold the revolutionary ideas that taunted the faith within the traditional orbit of the Church. Such a central position in the cause of orthodoxy, contrary to popular opinion, is not a comfortable or secure position. It was, however, the position that Headlam occupied and in doing so he illustrates the perennial dichotomy of celebrating the intangible free Spirit of God within the God-given structures and disciplines of the Church. In his way he explains how it is 'that the wheel may turn and still be for ever still'.[1]

REFERENCES

1 T. S. Eliot, Murder in the Cathedral (Faber & Faber: London, 1935), p.12.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

1 Primary Sources (Books and Pamphlets)

George R. Eden & F. C. Macdonald (eds.), Lightfoot of Durham (University Press: Cambridge, 1932).

Harold Francis Hamilton, Questionnaire on Apostolic Succession (Lambeth Palace Library Catalogue: MS2622, 1913*). (*Catalogued 1913 but dated 1915).

George Harford & Morley Stevenson (eds.), The Prayer Book Dictionary (Pitman: London, 1913).

A. C. Headlam, The Historical Method (Church Congress Report: London, 1897).

A. C. Headlam, The Sources and Authority of Dogmatic Theology (Macmillan: London, 1903).

A. C. Headlam, History, Authority and Theology (Murray: London, 1909).

A. C. Headlam, Prolegomena to the Study of Theology (London Theological Studies: 1911).

A. C. Headlam, The Miracles of the New Testament (Murray: London, 1914).

A. C. Headlam, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion (Murray: London, 1920).

A. C. Headlam, The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ (Murray: London, 1924).

A. C. Headlam, The Church of England (Murray: London, 1925).

A. C. Headlam, Jesus Christ in History and Faith (Murray: London, 1925).

A. C. Headlam, Christian Theology (Oxford University Press: London, 1934).

A. C. Headlam, Sermon in the Chapel of All Souls (University Press: Oxford, 1946).

W. Sanday & A. C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (Clark: Edinburgh, 1905).

2 Secondary Sources (Books and Pamphlets)

S. Augustine, The City of God, Vol.2 (J. M. Dent: London, 1945).

S. Augustine, Exposition on the Book of Psalms (Packer: Oxford, 1850).

Paul Avis, Gore: Construction and Conflict (Churchman Publishing: Worthing, 1988).

H. N. Bate (ed.), Catholic and Apostolic, Collected Papers by the late Cuthbert Hamilton Turner (Mowbray: London, 1931).

G. K. A. Bell, Randall Davidson, Vol.1 (O.U.P. London, 1935).

Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo (Faber & Faber: London, 1987).

Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Pt.2, 2nd Ed. (London, 1972).

Owen Chadwick, Hensley Henson (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1983).

Charles Darwin, On the Origin of Species (London, 1859).

Randall Davidson & William Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, 2 vols. (Macmillan: London, 1891), Vol.1.

L. E. Ellsworth, Charles Lowder & the Ritualist Movement (Darton, Longman & Todd: London, 1982).

Charles Gore, The Church and the Ministry (S.P.C.K: London, 1936).

Charles Gore (ed.), Lux Mundi (Murray: London, 1890).

A. Harnack, What is Christianity (London, 1904).

Edwin Hatch, The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches (Longmans: London, 1918).

Hensley Henson, Retrospect of an Unimportant Life 1863-1939 (O.U.P: London, 1942).

Richard Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, 3 vols. (University Press: Oxford, 1845), Vol. 1.

Hort, The Christian Ecclesia (Macmillan: London, 1898).

Ronald Jasper, Arthur Cayley Headlam (Faith Press: London, 1960).

David Knowles, The Evolution of Mediaeval Thought (Longmans: London, 1962).

J. B. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, Part II, S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp, Vols. 1 & 2 (Macmillan: London, 1885).

J. B. Lightfoot, S. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (Macmillan: London, 1888).

Roger Lloyd, The Church of England 1900 - 1965 (S.C.M: London, 1966).

John Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, 2 vols. (Dent: London, 1961), Vol.2.

H. Maynard Smith, Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar (S.P.C.K: London, 1926).

R. C. Moberly, Ministerial Priesthood (Murray: London, 1897).

S. L. Ollard, A Short History of the Oxford Movement (Mowbray: London, 1983).

G. L. Prestige, The Life of Charles Gore (Heinemann: London, 1935).

Edward C. Prichard, Arthur Cayley Headlam, A Life (Churchman Publishing: Worthing, 1990).

Oliver Chase Quick, Doctrines of the Creed (Nisbet: London, 1938).

A. M. Ramsey, The Gospel and the Catholic Church (Longmans: London, 1936).

A. M. Ramsey, From Gore to Temple (Longmans: London, 1960).

Bernard M. G. Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore (Longmans: London, 1971).

Alan Richardson, The Bible in the Age of Science (S.C.M: London, 1961).

Alan Richardson, History, Sacred and Profane (S.C.M: London, 1964).

Geoffrey Rowell (ed.), Tradition Renewed (Darton, Longman & Todd: London, 1986).

E. G. Sandford (ed.), Memoirs of Archbishop Temple, 2 vols. (Macmillan: London, 1960), Vol.2.

A. M. G. Stephenson, The Rise and Decline of English Modernism, (S.P.C.K: London, 1984).

A. M. G. Stephenson, Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences (S.P.C.K: London, 1978).

A. Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus (Black: London, 1910).

H. B. Swete (ed.), Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry (Macmillan: London, 1918).

Stephen Sykes, The Integrity of Anglicanism (Mowbray: London, 1978).

Stephen Sykes, The Identity of Christianity (S.P.C.K: London, 1984).

Van Austen Harvey, The Historian and the Believer (S.C.M: London, 1967).

Alec Vidler, Essays in Liberality (S.C.M: London, 1957).

Alec Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution (Penguin: London, 1961).

Geoffrey Wainwright (ed.), Keeping the Faith (S.P.C.K: London, 1989).

Claude Welch, Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century, Vol.1 (Yale University Press: London, 1972).

Henry Bristow Wilson (ed.), Essays and Reviews (Collection of British Authors, Vol.613, 1860).

The Church Quarterly Review.

F. L. Cross (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (Oxford University Press: London, 1966).

The English Hymnal (Oxford University Press: London, 1933).

The Guardian (1903, 1911 and 1919).

The Journal of Theological Studies (1901 and 1903).

H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (University Press: Oxford, 1849).

Times Literary Supplement (London, 15 January 1904).