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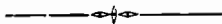
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macy to convert presumption into certainty by the consecration, for instance, of a bishop or bishops. What Church shall fulfil this friendly office? It is natural and honourable that it should be a European one. The Church of England is half strangled with red tape, and long before we should get letters patent authorizing a commission to appoint a committee to instruct a secretary to ask someone to prepare a schedule of a thousand questions (with half a guinea to pay on each) there might be no England or Sweden to deal with. But there remains by its side a yet more venerable Church, sharing its history and greatness, but unfettered by its bureaucratic traditions, from whose veins no communion need scorn to receive an infusion of Apostolic blood; kindred in origin, in history, in institutions, in ideas, the British and Scandinavian peoples need no longer be alien in faith and worship, and no longer without hope that the bridge thus made may lead to highways and byways of the religious system of Europe, as the short sea passage from Larne, which seemingly only enables Antrim to shake hands with Dumfrireshire, really grasps also Orkney and Land's End.

The days that see the revival of a true Diaconate and of Celtic missionary enterprise, the reinforcement of the Church's "evangelic faith and apostolic order" with the statesmanship of Presbyterianism and the zeal of Methodism, and a *modus vivendi* with Protestant Europe, may or may not be in sight, and the Irish Church may or may not be ready to hasten them. But they are days worth hoping for and praying for; and if the enlargement and deliverance do not come from thence, we may yet feel they might well have done so, and say to that Church: "Who knoweth but thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?"

J. S. JONES.



#### ART. V.—WALES, EDUCATIONALLY, POLITICALLY, AND RELIGIOUSLY.

WALES does not suffer at the present moment from want of attention, counsel, and patronage. Religious leaders, politicians, and educationalists are vying with each other in paying their homage and offering their services to a people numbering less than two millions of souls. Besides the old Welsh Church, which is the representative of primitive Christianity in this island, and has conferred more benefits on the Welsh people during its long and chequered career than all its rivals combined, we have the Roman Catholic Church,

putting forth new and special efforts to bring the Welsh people into her fold, and we have the various Protestant denominations, each believing in the paramount value of its own message, and convinced that it has something to contribute to the fulness and completeness of Welsh life which none of its rivals has. We have our political parties, with their respective organizations and policies, which are professed and pursued just now with more vehemence than harmony. We have also our educational movements and institutions, which, in theory, at least, are fast approaching perfection, and are expected to crown with untold blessings the future generations of the Principality. What substantial benefits will be reaped from these newly-acquired political privileges and educational advantages remains to be seen. This new order of things cannot fail to produce a profound change in the moral and intellectual condition of the people. What the nature of that change will be, whether beneficial or otherwise, depends in a great measure upon the moderation, the good sense, and the unselfishness of the leaders of life and thought in Wales. Like all Celtic peoples, the Welsh are a delicate instrument to play upon. They are emotional, impressible, and impulsive; they are intensely patriotic, attached to their country, their language, and their traditions; they are quick of apprehension, and have an eager craving for knowledge; they are an eminently religious people, and are influenced by nothing so much as by religious earnestness and eloquence. Their intellectual acumen is keen and active; they revel in metaphysical discussions and speculative disputations; they have been always strongly attached to music and poetry; and, notwithstanding their temporary revolt against the Church, which is the oldest institution of their land, they are far from being devoid of reverence for antiquity. Indeed, it has been said, and with truth, that the somewhat advanced politics which find favour among them at present are the expression of their reverence for antiquity; for the leaders of Welsh Radicalism have wisely appealed to the people's love of their language, their traditions, and their nationality, while losing no opportunity of accusing their own rivals of being the opponents of everything that is peculiarly Welsh. To the amount of truth embodied in this accusation, is unquestionably due much of the success that has attended Welsh Nonconformity and Welsh Radicalism. The Welsh people are extremely sensitive. The most direct way to their affection and confidence is to trust them and to deal kindly and sympathetically with them; the most certain way to incur their distrust and contempt is to assume an air of superiority over them. If I were to deal with the less favourable side of the character of my countrymen, I should be compelled to acknow-

ledge that they are sometimes moved by unworthy jealousies. The sacredness of a common cause is not sufficient on occasions to restrain them from detraction and petty intrigue; their want of unity and loyalty to one another, even when labouring for a common object, has not seldom prevented them from obtaining their just rights, or enjoying the fruits of those rights when obtained. History unfortunately is full of illustrations of this, and the present state of religious and political parties in Wales reminds us often, and forcibly enough, that we have not yet learnt to profit by the experience of the past.

I have thus sought to set forth with some detail the peculiar characteristics of my countrymen, in the hope that we may be able in some degree to form an estimate of those materials out of which the present political, intellectual, and religious forces at work among us are shaping the future of Wales. What those forces are, it will be my endeavour to indicate briefly in the following pages.

If any proofs were needed of the readiness of the Imperial Parliament to do full justice to Wales, they would be found in the generous aids and encouragements which, without distinction of party, have been ungrudgingly given to the establishment of a system of higher education in the Principality. Our educational advantages are, or will soon be, equal to those of any other part of the kingdom. No Welsh youth will henceforth have reason to complain that the means of education and culture are beyond his reach. Indeed, I would almost say that the only danger seems to be that those means are too easy; for the difficulties surmounted in the acquisition of knowledge have been an essential element in the formation of the character of some of those who have struggled successfully with them, and have thereby qualified themselves to serve their God and their country. Be this as it may, we are not henceforth likely to hear much of the almost romantic efforts and self-denial by which many a Welsh youth in the past has climbed the tree of knowledge and carried off some of its choicest fruits. But our fatal misfortune is that the religion of Christ is excluded from our national system of education; it finds no place in that system as a contributory force in the formation of the moral and intellectual character of our youth. Nothing but sectarian blindness can render us insensible to the seriousness of this defect. Our University colleges and our intermediate grammar schools, as well as the overwhelming majority of our Board schools, make no provision for either the religious devotions or the religious instruction of their pupils. Those who are entrusted with the tremendous responsibility of training our youth are not allowed

to call to their aid the most effective means of all. This is no less a disadvantage and a wrong to the teacher than a loss to the pupil. One is often tempted to ask, What has Christianity done to the Welsh people that it should be thus tabooed and excluded from our schools and colleges? Previous to the formation of School Boards, religion had always formed an integral, if not a predominant, part in the education of our Welsh youth. If the means were inadequate, the most essential element was never absent. But we have entered on a new departure, and the change is a momentous one. The increased facilities for the acquisition of general knowledge intensify the need of providing means for religious instruction. A system which provides ample opportunities for the cultivation of the intellect, while it ignores the moral and spiritual faculties, is fraught with dangers. Our religious differences and divisions may unhappily explain, but they cannot justify, our present position with regard to this question. Those who are agreed on the fundamental truths of Christianity, who acknowledge the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, and use the same translation of the Bible, should surely not find it difficult to agree on a common basis of religious teaching, and I at least believe that the Word of God, read and studied with reverence, and explained with simplicity, would produce its own effect. The education question bristles with difficulties, and it behoves the friends of religious education and voluntary schools to be moderate in their demands. They should be content with insisting upon what is called the compromise of the Act of 1870, and avoid making any proposals that would introduce a principle which might be construed as a violation of that compromise, and serve as a precedent to a hostile Government for introducing measures that might prove fatal to our voluntary schools. I remember listening to a speech of the late Mr. W. E. Forster, delivered in Bangor in 1883, in which, after saying that he had had some difference on the subject of religious education with his friends in Wales during the passing of the above Act, he made use of these simple but significant words: "As to secular education, he thought that a mistake. He thought that this would be found hereafter to be a mistake." We are not without indications that the Nonconformists of Wales are beginning to realize this mistake. Even Mr. Lloyd George confessed in his speech at the recent conference of Welsh Baptists at Rhyl that he was opposed to purely secular education. "He thought they had made a mistake in excluding the Bible from certain schools in Wales. . . . He thought it would be an unfortunate mistake if they as Nonconformists went in for purely secular education." If the friends of religious instruction insist upon the significance

of the provisions embodied for that purpose in the Act of 1870, and loyally abide by them, we are not without hopes that the reproach which has hitherto attached to Board schools in Wales on this score will be wiped out by the force of the reaction which is unquestionably setting in among Nonconformists against "purely secular education." But I am afraid that it will be a long time before religion and theology will find a recognised place in the daily life and study of the students in our intermediate schools, and our University colleges.

In dealing with politics as a force in Welsh life, I am well aware that I am face to face with a thorny and complicated question. My countrymen have been for nearly a generation deeply absorbed in politics, and the effect is, I fear, far from favourable to their religious life. The recently-created parish, district, and county councils have multiplied our electoral contests; they have intensified the political interest and activity of the Welsh democracy, and have already introduced considerable modifications in the attitude of many old-fashioned Liberals. This is likely to result in some important and permanent changes in Welsh politics. But I must dismiss local politics, deeply instructive and significant as they are, and restrict my remarks to what I may call Parliamentary politics. These, just now, present several points of peculiar interest. The Unionist Party among us is full of buoyant hopes, fresh from its well-earned triumphs. But the significance of that triumph lies mainly in the fact that it is the result of hard work and sustained effort, and an augury of even greater triumphs in the future, provided always the work of organization and teaching be carried on assiduously in the interval between this and the next struggle. That the late victories were won by hard work is evidenced by the fact that they were the result, not so much of defections from Radicalism, as of an increase in the Unionist vote. This is surely significant, and should be carefully laid to heart. But it must also be acknowledged that the severity of the provisions of Mr. Asquith's Bill, and the fact that it did not propose to abolish the tithes, but only to apply them to objects in most of which the people felt little or no interest, served to extinguish the zeal of many voters for disendowment. Nor must we lose sight of another fact, namely, the serious dissensions that had arisen among the Liberal Party in Wales. Those dissensions have become more patent and pronounced since the General Election, and it becomes increasingly evident that, as usual with Celtic people, defeat has demoralized rather than chastened them. Welsh Radicalism, at present, is sharply divided into at least two parties, and this division threatens to

assume a permanent existence. The *Cymru Fydd* Section, led and inspired by Mr. Lloyd George, advocates the formation of one organization for Wales, while the great majority of the South Wales Radicals insist upon retaining their old organizations. The subject has been hotly discussed at two or three conferences, but there are no signs as yet of an amicable arrangement. The struggle goes on apace; hard words and violent threats are used. The attitude of Mr. Lloyd George towards the late Government and Mr. Asquith's Bill is severely criticised by the friends of Mr. Bryn Roberts. The member for the Carnarvon Boroughs is accused of wrecking Lord Rosebery's Government, and of deferring for many a year the most cherished hopes of Welsh Liberationists. The *Goleuad*, a Welsh Calvinistic vernacular weekly, takes up the cudgels on behalf of Mr. Bryn Roberts and the section which he represents, and the Carnarvon papers champion the cause of Mr. Lloyd George. Professor Henry Jones, one of the ablest of advanced Welsh politicians, almost went out of his way recently to say that he "suspected that *Cymru Fydd* was fast degenerating into a street cry, and that a sentiment, in its own place noble, is being exploited for petty ends." He added significantly, "We would, in fact, do better work if there were less noise." The Welsh correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, a singularly able writer and well-informed in Welsh Radical politics, has lately said that "there can be little doubt that many Liberals feel that the present situation is well-nigh intolerable." Mr. Lloyd George defended his attitude towards the late Government on the question of Welsh Disestablishment, as long ago as May last, in a speech of unusual ability: "We have been told that we ought to have patience. . . . Homilies on patience are preached to us almost continually. I do not quite know whether to take it for a compliment, as an acknowledgment of the meekness of our character, or for an insult, as an implication of the simplicity of our intellect. Ireland gets Home Rule passed through the House, Scotland gets her Grand Committee, London gets her equalization of rates, England gets her Parish Councils, and an Employers' Bill if she wanted it. But it is reckoned that Wales is sufficiently rewarded if permission is granted her for the exercise of patience. I honour the meekness of that patience which tranquilly submits to the suffering it cannot obviate. I admire the strength of that patience which calmly awaits the hour of deliverance, whose advent it cannot precipitate. Above all, I revere the self-sacrifice of that patience which nobly bears the burden of its own affliction in order to lighten that of others. But I cannot even comprehend the patience which stands inert on its monument, smiling inanely at a grief it can and ought

to avert. The patience which suspends the sword of righteousness when victory but awaits its fall; the patience which unduly prolongs the suffering of others, whilst to itself it arrogates the merits of endeavour—that patience is an impostor, and I am here to-night to brand it with its real name, as cowardice.” This passage, with the help of what may be read between the lines, and especially when read in the light of what has transpired since, is a fair indication of the cleavage that is in process of formation between the two wings of the Welsh Radical Party. I will not trouble your readers with extracts from the controversy, which is still going on, and threatens to become as voluminous as it is violent. Very strong epithets are used, and unworthy motives are imputed on both sides. The last contribution of Mr. Lloyd George to his side of the question is a trenchant article in the October number of *Young Wales*, where he advocates the “Home Rule all round policy,” to the exclusion of every other, as the only way out of the present *impasse* of the Liberal Party. He argues with lucidity and force that Irish Home Rule, the Abolition of the House of Lords, and apparently even Welsh Disestablishment, are impossible till his own favourite policy is carried out successfully. He bluntly tells his Irish friends that “to carry a Home Rule Bill for Ireland alone is as desperate a task as that of Sisyphus.” In reading the opinions of twenty-two leading Liberals, which follow the contribution of Mr. Lloyd George in the same pages, we see that, where they are not merely oracular, they are hopelessly at cross purposes on this question. The writer of the notes in a recent number of the *British Weekly* takes Mr. Lloyd George sharply to task, and thus concludes his remarks: “A demand for a Welsh Parliament competent to settle the Church Question and the Land Question will simply be laughed at. We hope and believe that Mr. Lloyd George will soon move back to his old lines, and that Welsh Liberals, and especially the Welsh Nonconformist Churches, will do their utmost to put down a notion as preposterous, as extravagant, as impracticable, as hopeless, as ever entered a human breast.” What is highly significant, and, at first sight, inexplicable, about all this is that it is a quarrel among men who appear to hold practically identical views on all political questions relating to Wales, and to differ only on questions of tactics or organization. Is it, after all, only a quarrel about who shall be first? If so, and appearances are in favour of this conclusion, it is the worst possible condemnation of those who take part in it. Judging from the tenor of the controversy, it is fomented and embittered by jealousies, not only between rival political leaders, but between North and South Wales, and between some of the



religious denominations who are suspected of aiming at political ascendancy.

What effect all this may have on the fortunes of political parties in Wales, may, perhaps, be a matter of comparative indifference; what effect it must have on the religious life and convictions of the people is a matter of supreme importance. To keep the political passions in a state of perpetual excitement cannot fail to exercise an influence which must prove highly injurious, if not fatal, to the spiritual life of the nation. And Churchmen as well as Dissenters are exposed to this subtle but real danger. I fear that the effects of the Disestablishment controversy and the struggle of the late elections are not wholly beneficial to us. The polemics of Church Defence, necessary though they be, are in danger of diverting the minds of the clergy, to some extent, from the higher work of the ministry, and perhaps of vitiating their taste for spiritual things. To take an active and prominent part in Church Defence is sometimes supposed to constitute the main qualification for preferment in the Church, which must create an essentially false standard of ministerial efficiency. I cannot help thinking, moreover, that the cry of Church Reform, which has of late been so earnestly raised, is not without its perils, especially to the laity. I would not utter a word against those administrative reforms which are urgently needed, if the Church is to be brought more in touch with the democracy of our times, such as better means for the training of candidates for Holy Orders, especially in the practical work of the ministry; better facilities for the removal of criminous or cantankerous clerks; the providing of effectual means for protecting the laity from the vagaries of clergymen whose offensive and unauthorized innovations, as not infrequently happens, close the doors of their parish churches against devout Churchmen; the giving of a more direct voice to the laity in the selection of their pastors; but I must confess my fear that a vague cry for Church Reform is in danger of leading the people to look for the efficiency of the Church more to administrative changes than to an increase of spiritual power, while it is calculated, especially when used by responsible persons, to foster hopes doomed to disappointment, which, in its turn, could hardly fail to produce a violent reaction, and its consequent disaster.

I have allowed myself little space to deal with the religious forces that are at work in Wales. It is confessed by many who are in a position to know that there are influences at work in Wales which are slowly but surely undermining the faith of the people. The late Mr. Henry Richard thought in 1887 that he foresaw a danger "of the people of Wales ceasing to be the earnestly religious people they once were." A

Welsh Methodist minister said, in 1888, that he was obliged to expel from communion in his chapel in Cardiff "more than one or two young men," because they "had learnt to deny the existence of God and the truth of the Bible." The Rev. Principal Edwards in the same year said that the Welsh people had become open to the charms of novel ideas on religion and politics, and for this reason were in danger of repudiating all theological truth. Two or three years ago a leading Nonconformist layman startled the Welsh public by expressing his doubts as to whether sectarianism had not accomplished its mission, and added as his reason for this opinion the fact "that the one great central idea of all the sects at this moment is the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Wales, a purely political aspiration. It is a low aim for any part of the Church of the living God." A leading Welsh Nonconformist minister used the following words in a private letter a little more than a year ago: "The indifference in religious matters is an alarming symptom. Many of our youth seem not to care a pin whether Christianity is true or not." Dr. Cynddylan Jones, in his able address delivered lately at Llangattock, said that "dogmatic preaching among them (the Calvinistic Methodists) had well-nigh, if not altogether, disappeared." It has been repeatedly asserted by those who ought to be in a position to know that there are half a million of people in Wales who do not frequent any place of worship.

While the Welsh people are thus politically divided, and are showing signs of uncertainty in their religious beliefs, the Church of Rome appears on the scene, offering to supply what she does not hesitate to call the fatal defects of our Christianity, and to satisfy our national aspirations. She sends us a Vicar Apostolic, a Welshman, at least by blood, who is under the direct authority and supervision of the Pope himself. Bishop Mostyn, in his first pastoral, recalls with tender emotions the ancient attachment to the Holy See of Wales, with its long roll of saints, apparently in utter obliviousness of the obstinate refusal of the bishops of the old British Church either to submit to the jurisdiction of Augustine and his successors, or to abandon their own peculiar rites in favour of those of Rome. He revives the discredited legend of Lucius, and appeals to the Venerable Bede, an unfortunate authority for him, for the pages of Bede abound in proofs of the enmity that existed between the leaders of the Celtic Churches and the Archbishops of Canterbury, who were favourable to the Pope. Bishop Mostyn further tells the Welsh people that, though the Church of Rome does "not confine her labours to one community, one nation, one race," yet she suits

“her various modes of government to the different wants and needs of each individual nation and community. And it is by reason of this, her watchfulness, and of her anxiety for the salvation of souls, that she has lately thought fit to consider Wales as a community by itself, and to form the whole of that Principality, with the exception of the county of Glamorgan, into what she terms a vicariate apostolic.” This is inconsistent with what Cardinal Vaughan is reported to have said at Preston last year, when he gave as one of the “evident facts” on which rest his “hopes of a gradual submission of an ever-increasing number of Anglicans,” “the growing realization of the Catholic, and therefore of the non-national character of the Church of Christ, and the increasing distrust of national limitations in the idea of religion.”

Such are the forces that are at work in Wales. The Welsh correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, in his judicious comments on the papers read on the Welsh Church at the Norwich Congress, frankly admitted that “there are Nonconformists without number who are loth to believe in the eternal necessity of Dissent.” He apparently believes that substantial measures of Church reform might do away with that necessity. Be that as it may, the Church has her task before her. Our systems of elementary, intermediate, and higher education are almost entirely secularized; political questions are absorbing the interest and sapping the spiritual vitality of many religious leaders among us; evolution and the higher criticism are fascinating many of our educated and half-educated people, and are threatening to undermine the faith and corrupt the Gospel which have done so much for us in the past; a large and increasing proportion of the masses are growing indifferent, if not hostile, to the claims of religion; the Roman Church, disdainfully exclusive in her pretensions as ever, is about to concentrate her attention on Wales; the Dissenting communities, while apparently anxious to devise a plan which would avoid the present system of overlapping each other, which obtains in almost every neighbourhood, and while bitterly resenting the alleged proselytizing tendencies of the Church, are, nevertheless, prepared to treat her as of no account, and to consider her work as altogether insufficient or unsatisfactory, however well she may have already occupied the ground. These are some of the facts with which the Church in Wales is at this moment confronted. How is she prepared to meet them? She must rely on the principles of the Reformation, not, indeed, as represented in the famous Tract Ninety, where an attempt is made to harmonize the Thirty-nine Articles with the doctrines of the Council of Trent—two sets of documents, it need hardly be said, which, on every logical and historical principle, are

eternally irreconcilable—but as represented in her own authorized formularies, and in the writings of her greatest divines. We doubtless want administrative reforms, but our greatest and most urgent need is a spiritual revival, and a due appreciation of our position as a reformed Church.

DAVID JONES.

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ART. VI.—DECLARATORY ACTS AND THE REFORM  
OF CONVOCATION.<sup>1</sup>

**I**N inviting members of the National Church to consider once more the conditions of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, I would first of all ask them to remember that these Convocations are already in existence. Whether we like them or not, there they are; and it is unwise to ignore them. And next, I hope that they will also bear in mind that all Churches that ever were heard of have an opportunity for discussing their own affairs. Not to speak of the countless Synods of the early Churches in all their branches, I would remind them of the important and vigorous annual Synod of the Scots Episcopal Church, of the Irish Reformed Church, of the American Episcopal Church, of the Churches of the Colonies; the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, that of the Free Church of Scotland, of the United Presbyterians, and other bodies in that country; and the annual meetings of the Wesleyans, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, and others in our own country. I am not discussing whether these are all Churches in the true sense of the word; I am quoting their example as that of contemporary Christian organizations within our own observation, all showing one and the same tendency to central councils more or less representative.

The Convocations of Canterbury and York have for many centuries acted as Synods for these two provinces. We must remember that there is a nominal distinction between a Convocation and a Synod. A Provincial Synod consists of the bishops of a province, together with some of their presbyters, summoned by the Metropolitan, for purposes of deliberation and action in matters ecclesiastical. A Convocation consists of a representation of bishops and clergy summoned by the Metropolitan at the command of the King, for advice and action in affairs of State. The two gatherings may co-exist. There

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<sup>1</sup> I desire to express my direct obligations to Dr. Cutts's "Dictionary of the Church of England," Article "Convocation" (London S.P.C.R., 1889); and to two articles in the *CHURCHMAN*, "The Reform of Convocation," by Mr. Philip Vernon Smith. I think it desirable to reprint this article at the present time, as Church Reforms will probably be much discussed in the next few years.