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“illiterate amateurs.” As regards modern criticism (I speak foolishly), so am I. But these same illiterate amateurs “had been with Jesus,” and their preaching turned the world upside down.

C. CAMERON WALLER.

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ART. V.—WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE CHURCH?

WHAT is to become of the Church of England? I know that the question has a catch-penny air, and that because of this some of her members will be strongly tempted to dismiss it as beneath their attention. But, unless I am mistaken, there are a good many other people who are revolving this inquiry, or something very much like it, in their minds. Behind them there are many more who have not yet put their feelings into words, but nevertheless are conscious of all the anxiety which this question implies. That anxiety is, in fact, very much wider than any public expression of it which has so far been made.

There are always people ready and content to dismiss any such questionings as the work of wicked alarmists, who have some sinister ends to gain by causing uneasiness in the minds of others. There are always the persons who are so very comfortable themselves that they only want to be left alone, who do not mind by what concessions an enemy is bought off if only they themselves can be allowed to go on in their own placid way. And there are always the people who have been mesmerized by that blessed word “moderation”; who never felt enthusiasm for anything or indignation against anything; who believe, or seem to believe, that all would be well with the world if its affairs could be conducted without the help of the zealots, the enthusiasts, and the really active people who make things “hum.” All these classes are likely to think that nothing threatens any serious danger to the Church, and that whatever sorrows may trouble us now will soon pass away, as sorrows have in other generations.

There is something to be said, it must at once frankly be admitted, for the plea that the Church has in the past gone through dangers every whit as serious as those which at present surround her. Before the great measures of reform were carried, which in the early part of the Victorian period so vitally and so happily changed the organization of the Church, she was, no doubt, in a very parlous state. The scandals associated with her life and the administration of her affairs had roused an indignation which was in no way

compensated for by widespread and convincing enthusiasm for righteousness within her. The language used about the Church in those days was such as the reader only of modern controversial literature can have little or no conception of. The most characteristic products of the late Dr. Littledale in trouncing the Low Churchmen were "as water unto wine" when compared with the common form indicative of the militant Nonconformist in pre-Victorian and early Victorian days. If the authorities of the Church had then in an obstinate spirit resisted all reform, it is scarcely possible that the link between Church and State should by this time have been anything more than a memory. The rise and progress of what was known as Puseyism increased the difficulties of the Church, and as late as the fifties there were men of intelligence, as well as men of energy, who thought that Disestablishment and even disruption could not long be avoided. They were wrong: the Church weathered that storm.

But, with all allowance for this, I do not think it is at present safe to indulge in blind and unintelligent optimism. The balance of political power has completely changed since the early Victorian days, and he would be a bold man who would, without hesitation, predict a sure majority for the union of Church and State in the House of Commons in 1912. Just now what the Church most urgently needs is peace, and that is just what she has no immediate likelihood of getting, if things go on as they at present are. She needs peace in which to readjust her relations to the State; peace in which to work out some system of self-government; peace in which to make up, if she can, the sad arrears of work amongst the poor at home; peace in which to prosecute her mission to the non-Christian world abroad. But before peace can come, she must find some remedy for her present sorrows and disorders. How will that remedy be found? At present there seem to be some curiously contrasting opinions upon the subject.

I. There are those who think that the acute strife of the last three years will die what may be called a natural death. It does not appear that they expect the end to come by the defeat of either of the two antagonistic schools of thought, but rather by the exhaustion of the fighting element on one side or the other.

If I understand them aright, they certainly do not contemplate any suppression of the very extreme party amongst the High Churchmen. They do not look forward to a time when the conflict will cease by the surrender of those who for so many years have brought one period after another of anxiety and of internecine strife upon the Church. They do not expect very much from the mild discipline of episcopal

displeasure, exercised upon no general plan, and presenting to the public eye the most curious contrasts in the treatment of offending clergy. In this, no doubt, they are right. The Bishops who would be really active are held in check by the others. And so it comes about that the present attitude of the Bishops is very much that of the gentleman who sought to put out a conflagration in his house by a carefully deliberate resort to a watering-pot. It is understood that the Bishops themselves, or some of them, do still retain a belief that the policy to which they seem committed will prove effectual. But outside the ranks of the people with whom it is a kind of impiety to dissent from a Bishop's opinions, and of those who only want peace, no matter at what price, there are no signs of this placid optimism being adopted. The most extreme teaching and the worst ritual extravagances have received some check. But a check is not the same thing as a sweeping defeat. Where men have given way it has been, as a rule, with an explicit intimation that they do *not* believe themselves to have been in the wrong. Surrender has been a policy for the moment, a matter of present necessity, the acceptance of a temporary set-back as unavoidable; it has not sprung from a conviction that the old ways had been wrong, and as wrong should never be resumed.

How, then, do the persons of whom I am writing suppose that the strife is to cease? Apparently by the exhaustion of the protesting party. Sooner or later, they predict, other Churchmen will grow tired of clamouring in vain for something to be done; of appealing, with but poor success, to the powers of the Bishop; of endeavouring to arouse the great mass of indifferent or inactive Church-people to some sort of regard for the welfare of the Church. When, at last, they are tired of protesting, the Protestant agencies will again lose support; less will on every side be heard of the scandals complained of, and after a while the pressure of public opinion, such as it is, will be removed. The crisis—if the title can be used for a condition of affairs so long sustained—will be over; peace, or our nearest approach to it, will at last return. Then also, this point being reached, out will come the, for a time, disused censers; out will come the tabernacles, hidden away for a space from the general eye; out will come the condemned manuals. The extreme clergy will start again, just where they left off. More modern Continental ritual will be introduced before English congregations; more bits of medieval superstition will be paraded before credulous persons as "primitive and Catholic" customs. And that is how some people think that peace will be restored to the Church.

For myself, I cannot help thinking that they are mistaken. Twice at least something like this has come to pass. But on one occasion the cause of sober Churchmanship was ruined by outbreaks of violence; on the other it was injured by wearisome litigation, and the sentimental dislike of the public to seeing clergy imprisoned, in effect, for ritual offences. It is not likely that the same causes will again be efficient, and in the meantime the steady growth of an intelligent appreciation of the principles at stake will render it less easy for indignation to die away. But it is not my present purpose to deal at any length with this prediction; I am only taking note of it as one view held.

II. There are Churchmen who think that Parliament will solve the question by providing new laws against clerical insubordination. I confess that this seems to me at the very least doubtful, and for many reasons.

There is, in the first place, the initial difficulty of getting attention for Church affairs. The House of Commons is not very well disposed to their discussion, and we can feel no surprise at the fact. There are not many constituencies in which what may for convenience be called the Protestant vote is so strong that their representatives can see their way in such matters without a shadow of anxiety. In most cases members, whilst uncomfortably aware of the reality of Protestant pressure, know that to be active in support of anti-ritualistic legislation is to risk the votes of High Church constituents, and so perhaps to lose as much support as may be gained. There are militant High Churchmen as well as militant Protestants, and the militant High Churchman has shown that he is quite capable of putting his Church views before his allegiance to any political party. That is a fact which affects ministers as well as private members.

Then there is the general feeling of the members of both Houses to be taken account of. Perhaps I am wrong; but it seems to me that a majority in each House consists of those worthy people who are devoid of any strong views on ecclesiastical questions. Their feeling towards faiths is one of amiable and all-embracing toleration. That anyone should be prosecuted at law for reasons of faith or practice seems to them a shocking anachronism. They forget that a clergyman prosecuted on account of ritual would suffer not on account of faith, but for non-performance of a contract, much as a landlord, or a tenant, or a party to an agreement for sale or purchase might suffer.

It may be answered, and quite fairly, that the House of Commons has already taken up a very definite attitude on the subject. That is so. On May 12, 1899, the following motion

was carried by a majority of 154 : "That this House, while not prepared to accept a measure which creates fresh offences and ignores the authority of the Bishops in maintaining the discipline of the Church, is of opinion that if the efforts now being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure the due obedience of the clergy are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to maintain the observance of the existing laws of Church and Realm." It appeared to me at the time that this resolution was expressly devised as a kind of harmless sedative for disturbed Protestants, and without any serious intention of carrying into effect the threat conveyed. It will soon be three years since the resolution was passed. Nobody with any knowledge of the facts can pretend that the action of the Archbishops and Bishops, so far as any has been taken, has been "effectual." But what disposition has there been to give the Church the "further legislation" promised? None, so far as I am aware. Endeavours are again to be made in the session of 1902, and no doubt it is well that the subject should be kept before the mind of Parliament; but it is not easy to be hopeful as to the result.

Nor, if drastic legislation were passed, is it certain that it would effect the desired results. The Public Worship Regulation Act conveys a melancholy warning against too much reliance upon the strong arm of the law. It is probable that a short and simple Act merely removing the Bishop's veto (in most, if not all, cases), and substituting deprivation for imprisonment in the case of contumacious clergy, might excite no feeling; but there is some danger lest more drastic measures should again provoke a reaction in favour of the "martyrs." If, therefore, the legislation looked to is repressive legislation, I doubt its efficacy. Whether legislation, which gave the Church some measure of autonomy, would alter the situation is more than anyone can venture to say. At present such plans as are before the public offer no hope of change, but a further development which gave parishioners some measure of control over the services of the Church might do something. That, however, seems a very long way off.

III. But if peace does not come by the exhaustion of fighting elements, nor yet by legislative repression of the disturbing element, what else may happen? Prediction is an unpleasant exercise, for there is always the danger of being proved in the wrong by the crushing evidence of sober fact. But if one must enter upon it, I should expect two things to come to pass.

First, I imagine that the present condition of affairs will for a space continue very much as it is. The Bishops, who are

in earnest in their opposition to the pro-Roman activities of the Neo-Anglican School, will do their best. Their zeal and their courage deserve recognition. They have a hard part to play. The other prelates will continue their policy of something nearly resembling a masterly inactivity. The small advantages gained for the cause of law and order in some dioceses will therefore be compensated for by the quiet though resolute continuance of the advanced campaign in others. At any signs of the work of protest growing slack, there would no doubt, as I have already suggested, be a return to any minor things laid aside, and possibly fresh experiments in Continental novelties. The defence of the Church against these encroachments of thinly disguised Romanism would also continue. It might lose much or little in activity here and there, as the work lost for some the charm of freshness, and as hopes of effecting great changes grew less confident; but, at the same time, the protest would grow more intelligent. There is already an increasing disposition to be less content than of old with vague generalities and comprehensive denunciations; to learn something more of the real facts of the controversy—in fine, to know the why and the wherefore of denunciation, protest and defence. The two campaigns would therefore, I imagine, go on side by side, as now, until—

Until the second of these two things happened. And what is that? Here, no doubt, I reach very delicate ground, and my poor attempt at prediction may be received with contemptuous scorn by many who are wholly devoid of sympathy with Anglo-Romanism. But, whether men like it or not, I cannot help fearing that the end of this controversy is most likely to be found, as the Archbishop of Canterbury himself seems once to have feared, in Disestablishment and disruption. There are those who will scout the bare possibility of any such issue; but, after all, things do not refrain from happening merely because we do not like them. Let us see what is to be said for this supposition.

Is it expected that the Unionist Government will remain for ever in office? At present, no doubt, its position is numerically a very strong one. At present, too, the forces of the Opposition are so hopelessly divided that they cannot do very much harm. But who that has any knowledge of political history supposes that these conditions are bound to continue? Sooner or later—perhaps rather sooner than later—a change is inevitable. And what then? So curious has been the revolution in popular feeling since the doctrines of the old Manchester School were in the ascendancy that there is little probability of Radical leaders going to the people with plans for any serious revolution in the conduct of our foreign

affairs. It is, they protest, domestic legislation which has been neglected, and domestic legislation which must be their first cure.

Now, when they consider the merits of planks for the party platform, is it possible that Disestablishment should be left out? It will fairly be replied that the subject was ignored at the last election, and the objection is sound. But the circumstances of that election were so peculiar that no argument can safely be based upon this precedent. There is far more probability of truth in the predictions of those who urge that the next Radical majority will be one returned with a commission, amongst other things, to disestablish the Church.

Let it be remembered that there are ecclesiastical, as well as political, facts in favour of such a view. The extreme Anglicans have already become a Disestablishment party.<sup>1</sup> It would be a mistake to suppose that their threats are merely idle talk. An Established Church is not their ideal, unless the Established Church can manage its own affairs, and,

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<sup>1</sup> Some, indeed, of its leaders have long been in favour of Disestablishment. In the case of Mr. G. W. E. Russell the following quotation from the *Liberator* (January, 1902, p. 5) may be of interest: "Mr. G. W. E. Russell, speaking at a meeting of the Cymru Fydd Society in London, on December 5, dealt at length with Disestablishment. He told how he was first induced to take an interest in it by the conflicts of 1868. He was then a schoolboy at Harrow, but the discussions in Parliament and the country made a permanent impression on his consciousness and memory, and he then and there threw in his lot with the party of Disestablishment. From that time down to the present he had never wavered in the profound conviction that Establishment was in itself an evil, and Disestablishment in itself a good thing. That resolution was not altogether an easy and profitable one, for, looking back on twenty years of political life, he said advisedly that his bitterest and most unscrupulous opponents at elections had been the clergy of the Established Church, and those who worked under them. The tendency of Establishment was to deaden spirituality, encourage undue subservience to the powers that be, and to quicken an unhealthy appetite for the loaves and fishes. The evil to the State consisted in the fact that it supplied the State with a false conscience. After the election of 1885, during the reign of the Tory Government, Disestablishment naturally fell into abeyance; but in 1892 it received some recognition from the leaders of the Liberal party, which meant Mr. Gladstone. With an intimate knowledge of Mr. Gladstone, he repelled and repudiated the idea that he took up Disestablishment in order to serve the political exigencies of the hour. He was guided by the principle of the right of the majority to decide. As to Mr. Gladstone's views with regard to the Disestablishment of the Church of England, it was a question on which, as far as Mr. Russell knew, he never revealed his inmost mind. It could only be got at by hints and inferences, and Mr. Russell's impression was that as years went on he was more and more grievously disappointed with the part English Establishment played in public affairs, and increasingly dissatisfied with the part it played in questions of national conscience and duty."



perhaps, also control those of the State. Those conditions are not, and are not likely to be, fulfilled in Great Britain. What precisely they expect to get from Disestablishment it is not, indeed, easy for other people to see. They are not in a majority, and could not expect to control a Disestablished Church. They would suffer, like other people, from the financial and social results of Disestablishment and Disendowment. They might even fare very badly under a popular Church franchise. But in any case there remains the fact that they seem to be courting Disestablishment.<sup>1</sup> If, therefore, a political party makes the separation of Church and State a plank in its platform, it will not find its policy opposed by a united Church party; it will have the advantage of finding a certain number of Church-people openly in its favour. In the Church itself it will confront a body torn by internal strife. Perhaps an urgent peril might for a time frighten some members of the contending sides into forgetfulness of their difficulties, but present appearances seem to be against such an assumption. It is impossible to say how far the condition of affairs has influenced the old Church and State feeling, once so powerful in lay as well as clerical minds; but it would not be surprising if another Disestablishment Bill showed that it had been most seriously attenuated.

And if Disestablishment and Disendowment come, what then? The mind shrinks from contemplating the bitter rivalry, the keen strife, which must in that case at once ensue. Can it be supposed that the Disestablished Church would arrange its affairs in so loose a way that the Vicar of St. Alban's, Holborn, and the Vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, would both find themselves equally happy within it? Does it not seem almost certain that one side or other would have the mastery, and that the beaten party would secede? There is too much reason to fear that disruption must be the almost certain sequel to Disestablishment.

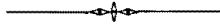
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<sup>1</sup> The following extract from a speech by Mr. J. Fisher at the public meeting of the Midland Counties Branch of the Liberation Society (*Liberator*, January, 1902, p. 11) doubtless exhibits the general view of the Society just now: "They had not many legislative achievements to record, and the public mind had not been friendly to any reforms. Still, they were not without encouragement. The Church was divided and discontented, and put forth demands which could never be met so long as the Church was established by law. Mr. Fisher subjected the scheme of the Church Reform League to an exhaustive criticism, and showed that there was not the slightest probability of its provision being approved by Parliament. He found much encouragement in the principles and aims of the Churchmen's Liberationist League, which were in all essential respects like their own. Enlightened Churchmen were now realizing that Disestablishment alone would make adequate reforms possible."

There may be—doubtless there are—Churchmen who can view such a prospect without emotion and without alarm. But it is not easy to share their feeling. Whether we consider the loss to the State or the loss to the Church, the blow to the organizations of the Church or the harm (though perhaps only temporary) to its spiritual life, it seems difficult to contemplate such an issue to the present controversy without shame, as well as misgiving.

How grave, then, must be the responsibility of those whose defection from the path of sober loyalty to Holy Scripture and the law of their Church threatens us with this catastrophe!

G. A. B. ANSON.



#### ART. VI.—EASTER SERVICES IN JERUSALEM.

SO many people are doubtless arranging just now to spend Easter at Jerusalem that the following notes of my own experiences may possibly be of service in some quarters.

Greek Passion Week is the time of the year when Jerusalem is thronged with “orthodox”—mostly Russian—pilgrims, who come by thousands to worship at the Tomb of our Lord, and be present at the “Miracle of the Holy Fire.” It is affirmed that on the Easter Eve of each year a flame descends from heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, kindling all the lamps and tapers there. This fire is then given out by the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs to the crowd of pilgrims through two holes in the walls of the Sepulchre. The origin of this extraordinary superstition may be traced to a singular legend, told by Eusebius, of the transubstantiation of water into oil for the use of the lamps on Easter Eve in Jerusalem. But legends have a way of growing, and in the nineteenth century it began to be believed that an angel came and lighted the lamps which hung over the Sepulchre.

Originally all the Churches represented at Jerusalem partook in the ceremony of the Holy Fire; but the Roman Catholics, after their expulsion from the church by the Greeks, denounced it as an imposture, and have never since resumed their old complicity in the affair.

The Holy Fire, like all the other services at Jerusalem during the Greek Easter, is interesting enough to attract even yet people of every nationality to see it. Having myself “assisted” at these various ceremonies under circumstances exceptionally favourable for detailed observation, I will now endeavour to give a circumstantial account of what I saw in the order in which the events occurred.