Routledge Contemporary Ecclesiology

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ENGLISH CHRISTENDOM

THEOCRACY, CHRISTOLOGY, ORDER AND POWER

Bruce Kaye

The Rise and Fall of the English Christendom

English Christendom has never been a static entity. Evangelism, politics, conflict and cultural changes have constantly and consistently developed it into myriad forms across the world. However, in recent times that development has seemingly become a general decline. This book utilises the motif of Christendom to illuminate the pedigree of Anglican Christianity, allowing a vital and persistent dynamic in Christianity, namely the relationship between the sacred and the mundane, to be more fundamentally explored.

Each chapter seeks to unpack a particular historical moment in which the relations of sacred and mundane are on display. Beginning with the work of Bede, before focusing on the Anglo Norman settlement of England, the Tudor period, and the establishment of the church in the American and Australian colonies, Anglicanism is shown to consistently be a religio-political tradition. This approach opens up a different set of categories for the study of contemporary Anglicanism and its debates about the notion of the church. It also opens up fresh ways of looking at religious conflict in the modern world and within Christianity.

This is a fresh exploration of a major facet of Western religious culture. As such, it will be of significant interest to scholars working in Religious History and Anglican Studies, as well as theologians with an interest in Western Ecclesiology.

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Preface

This book is concerned with the way christians understand how they can be members of a kingdom that is not of this world and also members of a continuing community that most certainly is of this world. The first christian communities had to face the passing of generations and thus the handing on of their faith to the next generation. Thus began a process of tradition and that in time inevitably meant institutions of one kind or another. Power is exercised in all communities, but the coming of institutions in these new communities brought with it multiplied opportunities for the use and abuse of such power.

I have tried to look at this issue through the window of one of the longest living and ubiquitous forms of this strange ‘two world’ living – a christendom. That is to say, a realm which professes christian faith and shares power with lay and clerical members of that community. The particular christendom I am looking at is the one that grew up in England, its rise and fall and what we might learn from that story.

The book has had a long and in some ways difficult gestation. It attempts to engage with questions that in various forms I have had to confront in all my employment responsibilities. As a curate in a semi rural parish in Australia, my rector asked me to work with the northern half of the parish (there were seven church centres in the parish) to direct my attention to those who did not come to church and generally not to invite them to do so. How could I engage with people outside the institutional church that was supposed to be the custodian of the gospel? On appointment as Senior Tutor in a university college in England I was asked by the Principal to figure out a vision for that part of the college devoted to university students generally so that it was not just an appendage of the ordination training operation that was the other part of the college. How could an institution be the bearer of a vision and how did that relate to the academic vocation of being a university college in a British University.

Back in Australia on appointment as the Master of an Anglican university college in a secular university, I was asked to develop a vision for the college that was faithful to its Anglican foundation and had some relevant integrity in the university. In my last employment as General Secretary of

the Anglican Church of Australia I was asked to contribute to the formation of policy and the development of a workable identity for the national church institutions in a stridently federal church constitution. All of these jobs forced me to think about how ideals direct actions and also about the nature of institutions in sustaining values and actions.

Furthermore, it has seemed to me that the more we can find some ultimate justification for our actions the greater the potential for us to do bad things. Academics can persuade themselves to do bad things in the name of the truth, just as church people can persuade themselves to do reprehensible things in the name of the gospel. Of course in both examples great and wonderful things can be generated by the pursuit of truth and commitment to the gospel, but it is not always necessarily so.

This puzzle of how ideals so partially effect actions was first raised for me as an undergraduate by the agnostic professor of Philosophy at the University of Sydney, John Anderson. His exegetical lectures on Plato's dialogues confronted the issue each week. Is life always to be lived in the cave with only shadows of the light outside to give any indication of a wider reality? My more focused attention to the nature of institutions was first galvanised fifty years ago by a conversation with Charles Vereker, which started on Durham station and ended as we parted at London Kings Cross. These two men started me on a lifelong curiosity about the nature of human society and the place of institutions.

I am grateful for many people who have helped advance my engagement with these questions over the years. To Donald Robinson who gave me a reading course on eschatology in the New Testament when I told him I did not want to follow the college curriculum. To my Doctor Vater in Basel, Bo Reicke, whose intense scholarship was blended with a generous and courteous nature. I learned from him the moral quality of scholarly activity and the kind of power it conveys when joined to a model of humility. C.K. Barrett was a kindly and generous mentor in difficult times. Kingsley reminded me of what I had learned as an undergraduate from the Roman historian, Edwin Judge, to pay careful attention to texts.

In terms of my employment experience, John Cockerton who, in surprising circumstances, gave me such a generous brief for the shaping of an institution in Durham. To Keith Rayner, Primate of the Anglican Church of Australia, who similarly offered me a challenge too good to pass by and accompanied it with wholehearted support and a wise and godly example.

Over the years these people, amongst many others, have contributed to the thinking that lies behind this book. Many colleagues in universities and churches around the world whom I have met through my various employments constitute that community. I particularly wish to thank Christopher Haigh, who not only read the draft of the complete manuscript he also persuaded me to include the chapter on Gardiner and Hooker. Long-term conversationalists Hugh MacKay and Keith Mason whose professional skills are in different areas from mine. Stanley Hauerwas, a long-time friend, always

challenging, provocative and supportive, Stephen Pickard relentlessly imaginative and a constant friend, John Gascoigne, who lent me his rich historical knowledge, Ian Douglas a valiant pilgrim in the life of the Episcopal Church and others who have helped me on the way, sometimes not knowing they did so. In a slightly different category, the members of the Heretics Club in Sydney who heard parts of earlier forms of this book, the members of my house group at St Michaels Anglican Church Vacluse, and then David Ragg, Brian Selley and John Black, who have been fellow campaigners in a regular weekly exercise of a different kind of intellectual discipline.

My thanks go to the many libraries and staff including at Moore College in Sydney; University Libraries at Charles Sturt, New South Wales, Adelaide, the Australian National University, Cambridge (UK), Duke (Durham NC) and Seattle. The State Library of New South Wales, the British Library and the National Library of Australia have been mines of information and help. The vast array of online archives, journals and books have transformed the work of scholarship.

My best thanks go to my wife Louise whose love and commitment lighten every day of my life and who also read a lot of the material in this book and listened to innumerable rambles on the latest discovery.

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Introduction

In the second half of the twentieth century one might have thought that religion had finally been removed from the public square and that modern societies were ultimately secular with religion relegated to the private domain. Of course, this was never really the situation but it was a widely held perception. In the first quarter of the twenty-first century that perception has been if not shattered, at least seriously dented as religion has made a dramatic return to the public square especially in the context of political disturbance and violence. This return has prompted a significant re-think within the three largest religious traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, as they try to come to terms with violence within their own households. The other side of this for citizens and nations is how religion fits in the public polity of modern states, especially those that have grown out of or been influenced by the European experience. These challenges are more pointed for Christians whose religion has played a significant role in the emergence of modern societies with European heritages. The role of the English in this process has been both remarkable and distinctive. It is in this context that *The Rise and Fall of the English Christendom: Theocracy, Christology, Order and Power* has been written.

These questions have regularly been thought of in terms of the very modern concepts of 'church' and 'state'. There is however a longer tradition of the relationship between Christianity and a polity. That pattern, from which Western modernity emerged, was a Christendom. This book sets out to examine a critical part of the Christendom that developed in England as a way of approaching some of the issues facing the churches left over from that Christendom. I am more concerned to suggest a way of approaching current issues than offering solutions to particular problems.

The term Christendom is widely used to mean merely the extent of Christian belief amongst populations around the world. For example Philip Jenkins in his very influential book *The Next Christendom* uses the term to describe an area where Christian belief and practice have come to be important parts of the social fabric.¹ Judith Herrin in her book *The Formation of*

¹ Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, 2002

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Christendom sets out her ambition in more reflexive terms. ‘I have asked how Christianity developed a dominant position and status in Europe, of which the term Christendom could justifiably be used.’² In the late medieval period the growth in power and influence of the papacy across nations in Europe also provided a different idea of a christendom that was ecclesiastically governed or led from Rome. Vitally important as this movement was, it did not represent a territorial rule and was not a nation.

In the history of Christianity the term is notoriously used for the political establishment initiated by Constantine in the Roman Empire. This Christendom was primarily a political entity. Later christendoms of Western Europe emerged out of the empire of Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire and there were also those ‘micro christendoms’ which Peter Brown identified.³ Given the traditional historiography of Christianity in Western Europe, it is easy to forget that in early Christianity there were churches to the east that spread as far as China. Indeed Western European Christianity was but one part of a vast large canvas that stretched to eastern edge of the map of the known world.⁴

This book operates within two major frameworks. First of all, there is the work of Peter Brown. It is evident from the extensive and ground-breaking work of Peter Brown that it is necessary to speak of a number of christendoms in the history of Western Christianity. Each of these christendoms has its own history and characteristics. Brown argued that the rise of the Carolingian empire engulfed much of continental Europe including these micro christendoms into a ‘kingdom of truly “imperial” dimensions.’ On the basis of this Frankish domination emerged a new form of christendom that they regarded as ‘the only true “Christendom” that mattered.’ Brown says that this happened because ‘few rivals to the Frankish definition of Christendom had survived the political storms of the seventh century.’⁵ The English Christendom was one of the micro christendoms that survived and one aspect of its story is the continuing untidy relation between the successors of the christendom of the Carolingian version.

The focus of this book is that particular christendom that emerged amongst the English off the northwestern edge of continental Europe. These micro christendoms were polities that professed christianity and managed with institutional arrangements to fulfil that vocation. The phenomenon of such christendoms has to do primarily with the interplay between the instruments of governance and the authority and power they represent in the practices of this christian community. My working definition is that these sorts of christendoms are political units which profess to be a christian

2 Judith Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, 1989 p. 8

3 See Peter Brown, *Western Christendom*, 2013 especially Chapter 16

4 See Peter Brown, *Western Christendom*, 2013 especially pp. xvi-ff; Philip Jenkins, *Next Christendom*, 2002 and Philip Jenkins, *Lost History*, 2008

5 Peter Brown, *Western Christendom*, 2013 p. 378

polity and in which there is a coalescence of power and authority between the lay and clerical elements.

The second framework is the enduring problem in Christianity of the presence of God in the mundane or empirical circumstance in which christians are called to live out the terms of their christian vocation. The experience of theocracy in ancient Israel provides not only a precedent for these challenges and difficulties but also points to some of the issues that confronted the early christians in their different circumstances and their very different understanding of the Kingdom of God. Despite these differences, issues of continuity and thus institutionalisation were very similar. In both there came to be openings for differences and levels of responsibility and authority that could so easily be turned into differences of power and control. The challenge not to forget the underlying purposes for which responsibility was given and the practice of the essential christian values that was required for all inhabitants of these ecclesial institutions. The early christians faced some very particular challenges in trying to make their way in a world that did not constitute their real citizenship, in which they travelled as pilgrims and aliens marching to the beat of the kingdom of Jesus that he told Pilate was not of this world.

In this context I have four particular interests in this book. I would like to try to elucidate some of the issues of christendom as a theocracy and as an example of divine presence in Christianity. Second, I wish to underline the long continuity of the English Christendom and thus of the story that is the inheritance of English churches, especially Anglicanism. I write this in some critical distance from the idea that Anglicanism began in the sixteenth century with the Tudor reformation. The more I have studied the earlier period represented in this book the more that idea seems to me to be seriously inadequate. Third, I am interested in opening up some of the lineaments of how the past and its living presence works for a tradition of faith like English Christianity and its progeny. Fourth, I want to illustrate with two examples some of the problems that radical social and institutional change brings for any recognisable continuity of faith. The American War of Independence killed quite suddenly and dramatically the institutional connections with the English Christendom. The new Republic established a radically different social and political environment for the continuing Episcopalians. The convict colony of New South Wales was established as an arm of the English Christendom and change came slowly by gradual attrition and not by violent eruption. The new polity came in different ways to the different self-governed colonies, which were scattered around the coastline of a vast continent. As a result many of the local colonial sentiments remained and they never achieved the kind of national sentiment that occurred in the United States. A national church constitution did not come until the twentieth century. The differences between these two examples produced churches that were different both constitutionally and culturally.

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With these interests in mind the book proceeds with an opening chapter concerned to elaborate something of the relation between theocracy and christendom followed by an introductory chapter for the English Christendom focussing on the presentation of the widely influential Bede. There follow four chapters on the crucial and formative period of the Anglo-Norman Christendom in which vital foundations were laid for the future pattern of the English Christendom. This one-hundred and fifty-year period from the Norman Conquest to the Magna Carta provided the shape and structure of the future of the English Christendom and illustrates key elements. William I and Lanfranc secured the consolidation of a national church and polity in which the king was supreme. This pattern of lay sovereignty over the christendom persisted throughout the period up until the dramatic constitutional changes of the sixteenth century initiated by Henry VIII. The complete rule of the king was challenged by the investiture contest. Concession was made to Anselm on investiture but sovereignty survived by other means. The sovereignty was carefully ordered by the reforms of Henry II only to be challenged by Becket's demand for a jurisdictional separation for church courts for clergy. This was the most serious challenge to the Anglo-Norman pattern, but it survived by a somewhat messy compromise to rule another day. The same more or less could be said of John's relations with Innocent III though in this case there were more severe signs of future internal challenges in the kingdom with the rise of the powers of the barons and the creation of the Magna Carta.

Later the rise of the Tudors and the assertion of a comprehensive Royal Supremacy by Henry VIII that overpowered the traditional form of the English Christendom proved to be a significant turning point for christendom and its rationale. Early in this period Stephen Gardiner argued out of the past for the absolute character of royal power at the head of a hierarchy. Richard Hooker towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth I argued on more fundamental theological grounds so that he opened a way into the future.

These chapters are followed by a detailed discussion of the two examples of adjustment in the United States and New South Wales. A final chapter draws some conclusions with particular focus on institutions and power.

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