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Archbishop of Canterbury, 1945–1961

The Anglican Communion

A Communion of Anglican Churches

ALTHOUGH Geoffrey Fisher indicated that he regarded canon-law reform as his signal contribution to the church, ordinary British men and women probably identified him most closely with the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Other observers have viewed his historic meeting with Pope John XXIII as possessing unparalleled significance. But church historians may be justified in seeing Fisher's work on behalf of the constituent elements of the Anglican Communion as this archbishop's greatest achievement. Promoting the unity-in-diversity of this communion of autonomous churches was not only something that Fisher did well; it was an activity that yielded nothing but positive results, both in the present and for decades to come.

Air travel enabled Fisher to visit the churches of the Anglican Communion to an extent previously impossible. He traveled all over the world: to Australia and New Zealand in 1950 (Fisher was the first archbishop of Canterbury to visit the Antipodes), to West Africa in 1951, to Central Africa in 1955, to India, Pakistan, Japan, Hong Kong, and Korea in 1959, to Nigeria and East Africa in 1960. His trip with Rosamond Fisher to Asia in 1959—a strenuous 20,000 miles in five weeks—was the first tour of Asian countries by an archbishop of Canterbury. Several of these trips were to inaugurate new provinces of the Anglican Communion. The new provinces that came into existence after the Second World War—as well as the jurisdiction of the archbishopric in Jerusalem and the East

Asian Episcopal Conference—got under way during his archbishopric and at his urging.¹

While Fisher has often been described as autocratic, this characterization may apply more to his manner than to his meaning. He might dominate a discussion, but the aim of the process might well be to turn over authority for the church in portions of Africa or Asia.² When evaluating Fisher, we will have to look not only at his methods but also at his purposes and at the results of his work. In the important instance of his efforts on behalf of the Anglican Communion, he was not an autocrat.

Geoffrey Fisher was the archbishop of Canterbury in the waning days of the mighty British Empire, whose heyday was the period from the 1830s to the 1950s. In Africa, before independent states replaced colonies, Fisher had organized four new provinces of the Anglican Communion. This order of events was appropriate, for in many of these countries Anglican missionary activity preceded British rule; the missionary societies were intent upon developing indigenous churches.³ Not only was the archbishop of Canterbury “ahead of the politicians,” notes Trevor Beeson; he aided the statesmen, for this work of establishing autonomous churches “contributed much to the peaceful transition of [these] countries to independence within the Commonwealth.”⁴ Because Anglican churches achieved autonomy before the countries themselves became politically independent, the newly structured Anglican churches, by virtue of their cohesiveness, provided a practical benefit to the new nations. Moreover, these new provinces signaled an important change in the nature of the Anglican Communion. African and Asian churches increasingly balanced a communion that had been dominated by the Western churches.⁵

Fisher acknowledged that “Anglican” had become a misleading name for the communion, for most of its churches were not English. At a joint session of the American Episcopal Church’s General Convention, meeting in Philadelphia on September 12, 1946, he declared: “[T]he Anglican Communion embraces many national churches. . . . They are spread all over the world. The name Anglican is already a misnomer; it indicates their remote origin, but it does not at all describe their present condition. They are indigenous churches, not only here and in England and in the

1. *DNB 1971–1980*, s.v. “Fisher, Geoffrey Francis, Baron Fisher of Lambeth.”

2. Carpenter, *Cantuar*, 497.

3. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide*, 6, 7, 298.

4. Beeson, *The Bishops*, 129.

5. Welsby, *A History of the Church of England, 1945–1980*, 91.

British Dominions, but in India, China, Japan, Ceylon, and Africa, East and West.”⁶

The visit to the United States which was the occasion for these remarks was one of many trips that Fisher made as Cantuar. Typically he undertook his travels in order to accomplish definite ends. He visited the United States, for example, not only to greet his American cousins but also—like a savvy politician—to woo them back to Lambeth: the next international conference was but two years away.

Strengthening American Ties

Archbishop Cosmo Lang had made the American bishops feel like outsiders at the Lambeth Conference of 1930.⁷ Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill recalled that in 1930 the American bishops felt more like “onlookers” than “participants.” Consequently, some of them “said they would not attend another Conference.”⁸ Aware that this treatment had frayed the ties of friendship, Geoffrey and Rosamond Fisher visited both Canada and the United States in 1946.⁹ At the Americans’ General Convention, held that year in Philadelphia, Sherrill was elected presiding bishop (taking office on January 1, 1947).

This visit was the first of several trips that Archbishop and Mrs. Fisher would make to North America.¹⁰ Fisher also traveled to the United States for the General Convention of the Episcopal church in 1952.¹¹ During this visit, on September 7, he gave an address in Christ Church (Old North Church), Boston, which was broadcast over radio and television.¹² In his remarks he said that at the heart of the spiritual heritage of both the United States and Europe “are such things as these: belief that each man

6. GF, “Anglicanism Today,” in *The Archbishop Speaks*, 87.

7. Carpenter, *Cantuar*, 497.

8. Quoted in Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 176. In his autobiography, Sherrill writes: “It was no secret that the American bishops who attended the 1930 Conference came home with the feeling that they had been given scant opportunity to be heard.” *Among Friends*, 235.

9. At the end of this visit, Fisher joked with reporters who had covered his trip: “In my 32 days in Canada and the United States,” he said, “I have traveled 7,500 miles, I have slept in 22 beds, and I have given 44 sermons. Therefore, for every two sermons I acquired one bed.” Ball, “Archbishop Departs from Halifax.”

10. Smyth, “In Duty’s Path,” 69.

11. This visit included a three-week vacation in the Hudson River Valley and Massachusetts with Henry Knox Sherrill and his family. Sherrill, *Among Friends*, 244–45. See “Friends and Bishops,” 7.

12. Carpenter, *Cantuar*, 498.

has a personal worth. . . ; belief that man is responsible for his brother's good. . . ; belief that society must be directed first by order and then by freedom, first by duties and then by rights, first by just laws and then by the liberties they secure; belief that society and each member of it is responsible . . . to God."¹³ These phrases contain the quintessential Fisherian themes: no real freedom outside an ordered structure, no rights apart from duties, and in all things responsibility to God.

In 1954 Fisher attended the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, Illinois, and the Anglican Congress, held in Minneapolis and chaired by Bishop Sherrill. He was also present for the meeting of the central committee of the World Council of Churches in 1957. In all, he made four visits to the United States.¹⁴

Fisher had known Sherrill before the latter was the American presiding bishop. "During the war," the archbishop later recalled, "I had formed a great personal friendship with Henry Sherrill. . . . He had been in England in charge of the chaplains looking after the U.S. Forces." The two met for the first time in St. Paul's Cathedral in April 1945. "From then onwards we were completely devoted to each other. . . ." Both leaders worked hard to ensure enthusiastic American participation in the Lambeth Conference of 1948, the first held in eighteen years. The Lambeth Conference was no longer what it had been at the start. Initiated by Archbishop Longley in 1867, for many decades the conference was, Fisher said later, "a little domestic affair," with "comparatively few bishops from overseas." For the 1948 meeting, he wanted "to revive the whole idea of the Lambeth Conference as the great family gathering of the Anglican Communion."¹⁵

Fisher's genial manner and earnest expression of good will won over the American Episcopalians. Of course, between the 1930 and the 1948 Lambeth conferences was their shared experience of the Second World War, which pulled Britons and Americans closer together. Anyone who peruses the correspondence back and forth between American and British church figures in this period—the letters of deans and theologians, not just of senior prelates—notices this growing bond, strengthened by the writers' awareness not only of a common heritage but also of jointly held principles now under siege. After Lambeth 1948, American Episcopalians had a clearer perception of themselves as an important part of the Anglican

13. GF, "Christianity and the Modern World," in Carpenter, *The Archbishop Speaks*, 36.

14. Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 178. See Sherrill, *Among Friends*, 260–61.

15. Quoted in Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 174. See Sherrill, *Among Friends*, 201, 236, 240.

Communion, which they could see was—although rather vaguely defined—at least more than a federation of independent churches.

The 1948 Lambeth Conference

The 1948 conference was attended by 326 bishops and ably chaired by Geoffrey Fisher. Among its results were the establishment of the Anglican Congress and the creation of the Anglican Cycle of Prayer, which united Anglicans around the world in prayer each day.¹⁶ Although the agenda of the conference included such weighty topics as the Christian doctrine of man, Christian marriage, church unity, the church in the modern world, and the Anglican Communion, its most important achievement was in the realm of identity and self-awareness.¹⁷

Stanley Eley, Fisher's senior chaplain, said of the conference: "It was at this time that the Anglican Communion realized that it was a communion. . . . When you have over a hundred United States bishops meeting half a dozen Japanese bishops only three years after the war . . . ended, the emotional currents are bound to be there." But the spirit of fellowship present in this conference channeled these currents in a positive direction: "[S]inking all that in their common Anglican heritage, the fellowship . . . and the love that grew out of that Conference between the various parts of the Anglican Communion welled up again in the Minneapolis Congress of 1954." The tenor of the 1948 conference was established by its presiding officer, Geoffrey Fisher: "Within a very few days," Eley observed, "there was a spirit of informality and yet discipline which is typical, I think, of Fisher."¹⁸

Arriving in England for this conference, the presiding bishop of the Japanese church, the Right Reverend M. H. Yasiro, brought with him a beautifully embroidered cope as a gift for Cantuar from the women of the Church of Japan. Indeed, it was offered as a peace gesture. But the cope was held up at the docks, its journey blocked by a £200 import fee. After persuading the Chancellor of the Exchequer to cancel this fee, Fisher wore the cope at the opening service of the Lambeth Conference; he wore it again for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.¹⁹ For this opening

16. Welsby, *History of the Church of England*, 89.

17. Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 180.

18. Quoted in Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 181.

19. Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 181.

service, held on American Independence Day, July 4, 1948, Fisher called on Bishop Sherrill to preach.²⁰

Six years later, the spirit of fellowship within the Anglican Communion was further enhanced by the Anglican Congress in Minneapolis, the first meeting of its kind since the Pan-Anglican Congress held in London in 1908. Bringing together both clergy and lay leaders to discuss the communion, the congress sought to stimulate among all participants the recognition that they were responsible for one another. The more-senior members should have special regard for the churches in developing countries which were working toward self-sufficiency.²¹ To this gathering each diocese could send one priest and one lay delegate, in addition to its bishops; 657 delegates were present in Minneapolis.²² Fisher recalled the significance of the celebration of the Eucharist each morning of the congress: "Every morning we met at the Communion service according to a different Anglican liturgy, and that taught all of us a good deal, too. And always there was this atmosphere of loving trust holding us all together in the united spirit of the Anglican Communion."²³

The 1958 Lambeth Conference

Eventually the 1958 conference turned out well; by this time, many of the bishops knew and trusted one another.²⁴ But preparations for this gathering had started to go awry when Fisher, following precedent, invited Makarios III (1913–77), among other Orthodox leaders, to attend the opening ceremonies of the conference. Makarios—archbishop of Cyprus from 1950 and Cypriot Greek political leader (he would be elected first president of Cyprus in 1960)—was seen by some in the United Kingdom as a supporter of terrorists. He had, in fact, organized a patriotic youth party that participated in terrorist attacks. When rioting broke out in Cyprus, Turkey, and Greece in 1955, the British, who controlled Cyprus, sent in troops; and in 1956 they exiled Makarios to the Seychelles Islands. Many in the United Kingdom blamed Makarios for the deaths of British soldiers during the

20. Ibid.

21. GF looked forward, he said, to "a new understanding by the older Churches of the loneliness, the lack of resources, the need of leadership and learning felt by many of the younger Churches. Their courage and devotion must stir up the whole Communion to come eagerly to their aid." "Concluding Words," in Dawley, *Report of the Anglican Congress, 1954*, 217.

22. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 278.

23. Quoted in Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 193.

24. Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 194. See Sherrill, *Among Friends*, 266–70.

conflict. The feeling was that while Makarios might not have condoned attacks on British troops, he had not condemned them either. To Fisher's relief, a month before the start of the Lambeth Conference, Makarios announced that he would be unable to attend. Earlier, Fisher had gone on television and, during an interview, referred to his fellow-archbishop as "a bad man." This remark got Fisher into further trouble—this time with the Greek Orthodox Christians. Makarios was not only a high-ranking Orthodox official but also the "ethnarch" of the Greeks rebelling against British colonial rule.²⁵ This whole affair was, in addition, but another instance of Fisher's maladroitness handling of the Fourth Estate.

Within Fisher's own ecclesiastical household, a problematic area was the relationship between the two archbishops, York and Canterbury. Just before the start of the Lambeth Conference, Michael Ramsey did something that Fisher thought demonstrated poor judgment: he gave the inaugural address at a eucharistic congress of the Anglo-Catholic organization the Church Union. Fisher thought that Ramsey's prominent participation in this congress was the wrong signal to send at decidedly the wrong time. "At breakfast together," Ramsey's biographer, Owen Chadwick, writes, "Fisher exploded and attacked the Church Union and all that it stood for and said that they had done great harm and ought to apologize." For his part, "Ramsey confessed that they had done a lot of harm and ought to apologize but said that the best of them were trying to, and that the Church of England ought to apologize to the high churchmen for the way in which it had sometimes treated them."²⁶

This incident reveals important contrasts between one archbishop of Canterbury and his successor, but Fisher could not allow these differences of churchmanship and personality to get in the way of his conference. In the Lambeth proceedings, Ramsey was to be a key player. The conference would take up the following subjects: the Bible, church unity, progress in the Anglican Communion, resolving conflicts between and within nations, and the family. But the most central of these themes was probably the first, on the authority of the Bible; and Ramsey was chairman of the committee on the Bible and the person who drafted its final report.

Ramsey's group ended up embracing both modern biblical criticism and the authority of the Bible for contemporary life.²⁷ Fisher was pleased with York's contributions to the conference; and he was especially grateful

25. Edwards, *Leaders of the Church of England, 1828–1978*, 364; Carpenter, *Cantuar*, 507.

26. Chadwick, *Michael Ramsey: A Life*, 98.

27. *Ibid.*, 99.

for the assistance that Ramsey provided in coaxing the Anglo-Catholic participants at Lambeth to take a friendlier attitude toward the Church of South India, which united a church with the historic episcopate to churches without it in a common structure. “Yet,” as Owen Chadwick remarks, “nothing could alter the double personal difficulty—a difference of principles between a low churchman and a high churchman, and an indefinable difference of temperament.”²⁸

It was at this Lambeth conference that Michael Ramsey was widely recognized as an outstanding churchman and as Fisher’s likely successor. From the opening service of this gathering, the contrast between the tightly organized and supremely aware Fisher and the frequently abstracted Ramsey would have been apparent to anyone looking out for it: “At the opening service in Canterbury cathedral (3 July 1958),” Chadwick writes, “Ramsey muddled his instructions and wandered all round the cathedral looking for where he was supposed to sit and stand.”²⁹

Among the other accomplishments of the 1958 Lambeth Conference was a recommendation for the establishment of the Anglican Consultative Council. This body was to carry on the work of the Lambeth Conference between sessions and to advise the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops. The council began functioning after the 1968 conference. Lambeth also called for a revision of the prayer book. And it blessed the religious communities; the Anglican Communion’s official acceptance of monks and nuns made it unique among the churches that came out of the Reformation.³⁰

A document that received a good bit of media attention was the report of the Committee on the Family in Contemporary Society, which gave its support to the use of birth control for family planning.³¹ Stephen Bayne, the bishop of Olympia, Washington, chaired this committee; his successful handling of this task enhanced his reputation. Fisher voiced his approval of the committee’s report. It said:

[T]he procreation of children is not the only purpose of marriage. Husbands and wives owe to each other and to the depth and stability of their families, the duty to express, in sexual intercourse, the love which they bear and mean to bear to each other. . . . Therefore it is utterly wrong to urge that, unless children are specifically de-

28. Ibid., 100.

29. Ibid., 97.

30. Ibid., 100.

31. Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 197.

sired, sexual intercourse is of the nature of sin. It is also wrong to say that such intercourse ought not to be engaged in except with the willing intention to procreate children. It must be emphasized once again that Family Planning ought to be the result of thoughtful and prayerful Christian decision. Where it is, Christian husbands and wives need feel no hesitation in offering their decision humbly to God and following it with a clear conscience.³²

W. M. Jacob notes that this report demonstrated that the bishops “were speaking from a maturely developed moral theology, and with the benefit of personal experience.”³³ The church historian E. R. Norman points out that this report represents “quite a volte-face” on the part of the Anglican church, for the 1930 Lambeth Conference had allowed birth control only in cases of exceptional social or medical need. Those qualifications were abandoned. “Contraception,” Norman writes, “was now to be freely allowed because of the human values implicit in sexual union. This was a revolution in the church’s attitude to sexual morality.”³⁴

The printed reports of these decennial conferences may or may not be significant or memorable. Stephen Bayne identified what was most important about the Lambeth gatherings when he observed that “Lambeth is like an iceberg; eight-ninths of it invisible (being the conversation and relationships of 320 bishops from all over); and one-ninth (the reports) doesn’t give too accurate an idea of the true depth of our meeting.”³⁵ It is significant that the 1958 conference was the first one in which many of those who took part in the “eight-ninths” invisible activity were non-European bishops. The conference was on its way, Adrian Hastings comments, to becoming a truly “international and inter-racial Christian fellowship, rather than an almost accidental imperial and missionary prolongation of the Established Church of the English nation.”³⁶ In sum, especially when viewed in the historical rear-view mirror, what the 1958 Lambeth Conference accomplished was more considerable than is often supposed.³⁷ When it came time to bring the conference to a close, its president, Geoffrey Fisher, good-naturedly directed some humor at his own

32. Quoted in Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth*, 198.

33. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 280.

34. Norman, *Church and Society in England, 1770–1970*, 413.

35. Quoted in Booty, *An American Apostle*, 64.

36. Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920–2000*, 449.

37. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 295.

reputation as a headmaster, saying to the members from overseas: "Will those who belong to other forms go back to their classrooms."³⁸

Stephen Bayne's appointment as Anglican executive officer was announced by Geoffrey Fisher on April 19, 1959, after Bishop Ambrose Reeves of Johannesburg, South Africa, declined the offer.³⁹ Fisher and others had become convinced of the need for such an officer, who would travel all over the world, giving further cohesion to the Anglican Communion, helping to hold it together, finding out about and making known the problems and concerns of Anglican churches around the globe.⁴⁰ The Lambeth Conference of 1958 created this office. Those who supported the idea recognized that this work needed to be concentrated in the hands of one person, who would have to work well with the archbishop of Canterbury. At the time of Bayne's appointment, the Anglican Communion consisted of 340 dioceses and 40 million church members, including eight million in Africa. There were Anglican prayer books in 170 languages.⁴¹

New Provinces in Africa

When Geoffrey Fisher became archbishop of Canterbury, there were still many "Overseas Bishops of the Canterbury Jurisdiction," who remained dependent upon Cantuar for oversight. Fisher felt that the time had come for these Anglican churches to reflect in their organization a new maturity and autonomy.⁴² He actively assisted them with their formation, personally drawing up the provincial constitutions for the provinces of West Africa, Central Africa, and East Africa. In this process he made use of the model provided by the constitution of the Church in the Province of South Africa. According to its polity, the local archbishop was the focus of unity. He presided over a general synod to which each diocese sent representatives: clergy and laity as well as bishops.⁴³

During Fisher's tenure of office, four new provinces were established in Africa: West Africa in 1951, Central Africa in 1955, East Africa in 1960, and Uganda in 1960. Of this achievement, Bishop William Wand commented: "Such a record would alone have been sufficient to make

38. Quoted in Holtby, *Robert Wright Stopford, 1901–1976*, 53.

39. See Peart-Binns, *Ambrose Reeves*, 149, 150, 260.

40. Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher*, 473.

41. Booty, *An American Apostle*, 92–97; Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 279–80.

42. Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher*, 501.

43. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 268; Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher*, 500.

Geoffrey Fisher's tenure of the chair of St. Augustine . . . of outstanding importance in the long history of the Anglican Communion."⁴⁴

When Fisher journeyed to West Africa in 1951 it marked the first time that a primate had traveled to inaugurate in person a new province of the Anglican Communion. The Church of the Province of West Africa included the dioceses of Lagos, Sierra Leone, Accra, Niger, the Gambia, and the Rio Pongas. Its formation as a province had been initiated by Archbishop William Temple in 1944. The new province, which brought together—not easily—both Low Church and Anglo-Catholic dioceses, was formally inaugurated by Fisher on April 17, 1951, in Freetown, Sierra Leone, when the bishops of the six dioceses signed the preamble and the articles of the constitution. The archbishop of Canterbury then released them from their oaths of canonical obedience to him, and they elected their own metropolitan.⁴⁵ “The granting of independence to the Anglican dioceses in the British West African colonies,” notes W. M. Jacob, “took place significantly before they achieved political independence from Britain—Ghana in 1957, Nigeria in 1960 and Sierra Leone in 1961.”⁴⁶

In May 1955 Fisher again journeyed to Africa, this time for the inauguration of the new province for Central Africa. Fisher was the celebrant at a Eucharist at the Cathedral of St. Mary and All Saints in Salisbury (the old name of Harare), Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). This service marked the culmination of a complex process that Fisher had initiated in 1951: the formation of the Church in the Province of Central Africa, consisting of Anglicans in what are now Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi.⁴⁷ It was on this trip, during a visit to St. Michael's College in Blantyre, Nyasaland (now Malawi), that Fisher in a discussion with students made his infamous remark that “all men are equal in the love of God but not in the sight of God.”⁴⁸ His biographer, Edward Carpenter, has commented, “It would be impossible to imagine a form of words more calculated to be misunderstood in so highly charged a political atmosphere. Nor is it easy to understand precisely what this comment means—or was intended to mean.”⁴⁹ It is just as well that Fisher did not elaborate.

44. Wand, *Anglicanism in History and Today*, 44.

45. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 269.

46. Ibid.

47. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism*, 315; Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 269.

48. Quoted in Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher*, 518.

49. Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher*, 518. Hastings comments: “The Archbishop's statement, in so far as it was true, was rather banal, but it was poor theology (Fisher indeed was

In 1960 Fisher, age 73 and still going strong, inaugurated the province of East Africa in a service at Dar es Salaam (a seaport on the Indian Ocean in what is now Tanzania). Consisting of 12 dioceses, this province took longer to form. Also in 1960, Uganda was established as an autonomous province. This transformation, notes W. M. Jacob, had met with “considerable white opposition.” Fisher achieved his goal by, in Jacob’s words, “forc[ing] the division of the existing diocese into eleven new dioceses, with the suffragans becoming diocesans, and the former diocese becoming a province.” Once again, the ecclesiastical realm was ahead of the political, Uganda being formed as an independent province two years before the country gained political independence.⁵⁰

Jacob points out that with the formation of the Uganda province, the Anglican episcopate began to undergo an important change. When 1960 began, there were only three black African diocesans; by the end of that year there were seven. Fisher had consecrated four black African suffragan bishops in 1955; they were made diocesans when Uganda became an autonomous province.⁵¹

David Edwards points out that Fisher’s efforts in Africa amounted to a “double success.” His trips “loosened the constitutional” but “strengthened the personal links.”⁵² Canon Max Warren, general secretary of the Church Missionary Society and an advisor to Fisher on Uganda, later wrote: “In Geoffrey Fisher Africans saw a great church leader, and a European at that, actually abdicating authority, in Africa an event as yet without precedent in the State.”⁵³

These remarkable developments anticipated the era when the Anglican church in Africa would become one of the largest and strongest forces, and surely one of the most vital elements, in the Anglican Communion. By the end of the twentieth century, the Anglican Communion was no longer largely Anglo-Saxon; by then, most Anglicans did not have English as their first language. Since 1950 the number of provinces had more than doubled, and the fastest-growing dioceses were in Africa and New Guinea.⁵⁴ Indeed, by 2006 the average Anglican would not be a middle-aged English gentle-

no theologian) and it could easily be taken as a defence of racial discrimination on the old grounds of God having set each man in his estate—castle or cottage, affluent white suburb or rickety black shanty-town.” *History*, 434.

50. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 270.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Edwards, *Leaders*, 362.

53. Quoted in Edwards, *Leaders*, 362.

54. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, 298.

man but a woman of 22 in sub-Saharan Africa walking several kilometers every day to fetch water for her three or four children.⁵⁵

SAMPLE

55. Duncan Reid, review of *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism: The Anglican Communion in the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Ian T. Douglas and Kwok Pui-lan, *Journal of Anglican Studies* 3 (2005) 126.