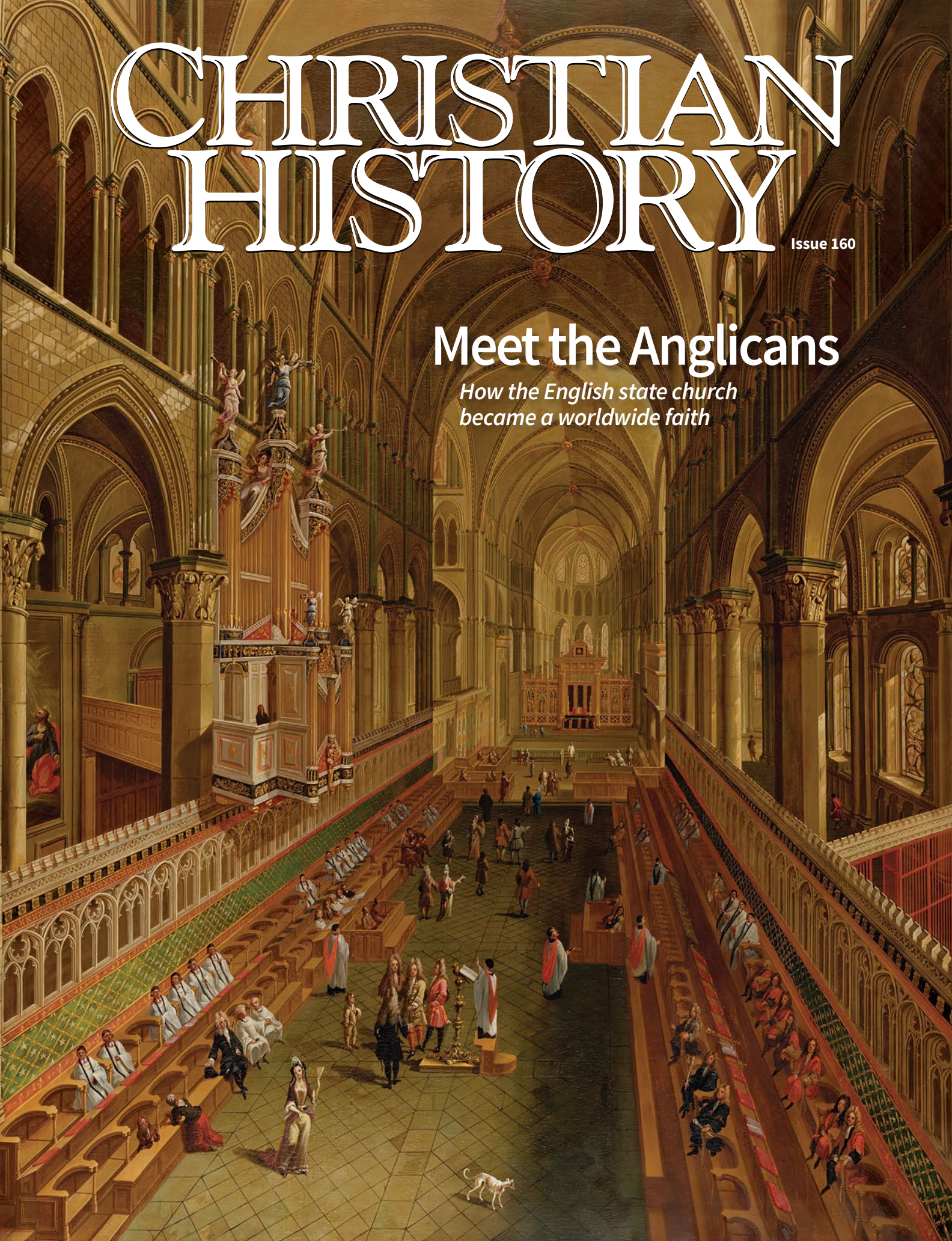


CHRISTIAN HISTORY



Issue 160

Meet the Anglicans

How the English state church became a worldwide faith



“HEAR YE! HEAR YE!” The popular musical *Hamilton* portrayed Samuel Seabury, Anglican priest (left), as a loyalist foil to Alexander Hamilton. Learn more about Seabury on pages 29–32.

Did you know?

A GLOSSARY OF SOME ANGLICAN TERMS

LET’S START AT THE VERY BEGINNING....

The name “Anglican” means simply “relating to England or the English” (the word “England” means “land of the Angles,” i.e., Anglo-Saxons). Anglican denominations have their origin in the way Christianity was practiced in England, beginning all the way back to the days of Roman Britain (see pp. 6–9). According to the Venerable Bede in his history of Christianity, in the sixth century, Pope Gregory I saw an Anglo-Saxon boy in a Roman slave market and, on being told that he came from the place of the pagan “Angles,” exclaimed “*Non Angli sed angeli*” (not Angles but angels) and prepared to evangelize southern Britain.

...BUT QUICKLY GET MUCH MORE COMPLEX!

Many Anglican denominations exist throughout the world today. In this issue we’ll mostly trace the English and American stories, particularly these groups:

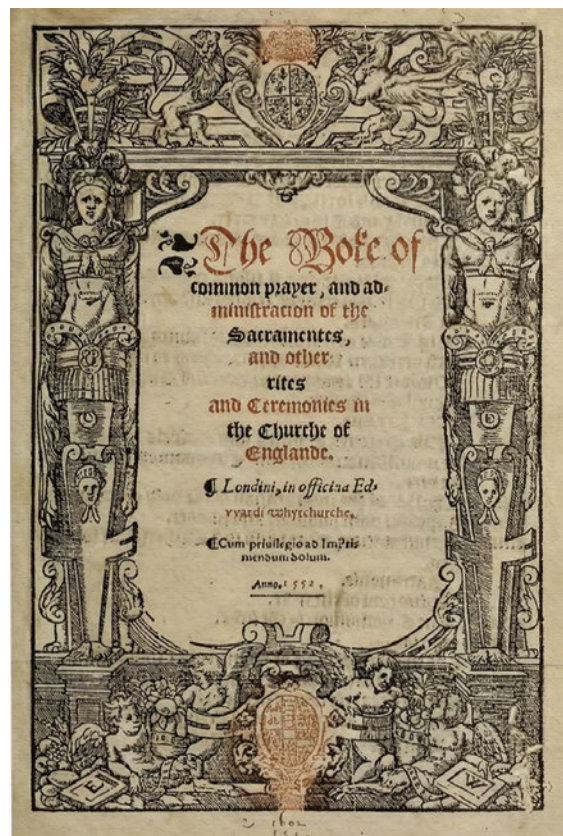
- **Church of England (COE):** This church originates with Henry VIII’s break with the papacy in 1534 (pp. 11–13, 14). It is the official state church of England, which the archbishop of Canterbury heads. Anglicanism in Scotland is expressed by the Scottish Episcopal Church (the state church of Scotland is Presbyterian) and in Wales by the Church in Wales (not a state church).
- **The Episcopal Church (ECUSA or TEC):** This expression of American Anglicanism came to North America with British settlers and was formally organized (as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA) in 1789 (pp. 29–32).
- **Anglican Communion:** This worldwide fellowship of Anglican denominations grew out of the Church of

England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (pp. 34–36). It has no official founding date but coalesced in the 1800s around the Lambeth Conference, an international meeting of Anglican bishops. The archbishop of Canterbury presides over Lambeth, which began in 1867 and has occurred every 10 years since 1878. Churches in this fellowship are said to be “in communion” with the archbishop of Canterbury.

▪ **Reformed Episcopal Church (REC):** This group was founded in 1873 in New York City as a protest against the Episcopal Church’s nineteenth-century move toward more Catholic doctrine and practice (pp. 22–24). Today it is part of the Anglican Church in North America.

▪ **Continuing Churches:** Theological debates from the 1960s led to the “continuing church movement” containing groups who opposed what they saw as a liberal drift in TEC and the Anglican Church of Canada and wanted to “continue” on a more conservative path. Among those that still exist today are the Anglican Catholic Church and the Anglican Province of Christ the King.

▪ **Anglican Mission in the Americas (AMiA):** Connected to the continuing church movement, this group was officially founded in 2000 as a conservative mission in the United



BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (BCP) Since 1549, Anglican worship has been shaped by liturgies contained in editions of this worship book (right). See pages 10 and 14 for more.



WHAT ANGLICANS DO An illustration shows various priestly vestments as well as participation in worship (*above*). One central feature of Anglican worship is the Eucharist, also called the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.

States under the supervision of bishops in Rwanda and Southeast Asia (pp. 48, 49).

- **Global Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans (GAFCON):** This group of worldwide Anglican denominations was founded in **2008** as a conservative counterpart to the Anglican Communion, especially on issues of human sexuality.
- **Anglican Church of North America (ACNA):** With roots in some earlier conservative protests, and as a direct response to the 2003 consecration of a practicing homosexual bishop by TEC, the ACNA was founded in **2009**. The REC and AMiA were founding members, although AMiA later left. ACNA members often use the language of “three streams” to describe the denomination (Anglo-Catholic, Reformed, and charismatic; see pp. 22–24).

WHAT TO CALL ANGLICANS

- **Bishops, priests, and deacons:** The Church of England retained the threefold organization of the ordained ministry that had characterized the Roman Catholic Church, while eliminating many of the minor orders of medieval Catholicism. A bishop oversees a diocese, including its clergy and parishes. (“Episcopal” means “having bishops.”) A bishop is the only one who can confirm members into the church, and he or she also provides other forms of spiritual and organizational leadership.

WHAT ANGLICANS WEAR Most Anglican clergy wear special liturgical clothing for conducting worship. The most common include albs, cassocks and surplices, and sometimes tippets; for deacons, dalmatics; for priests, stoles and chasubles; and for bishops, miters. See if you can identify any here (*right*), as well as one familiar editor for this issue!

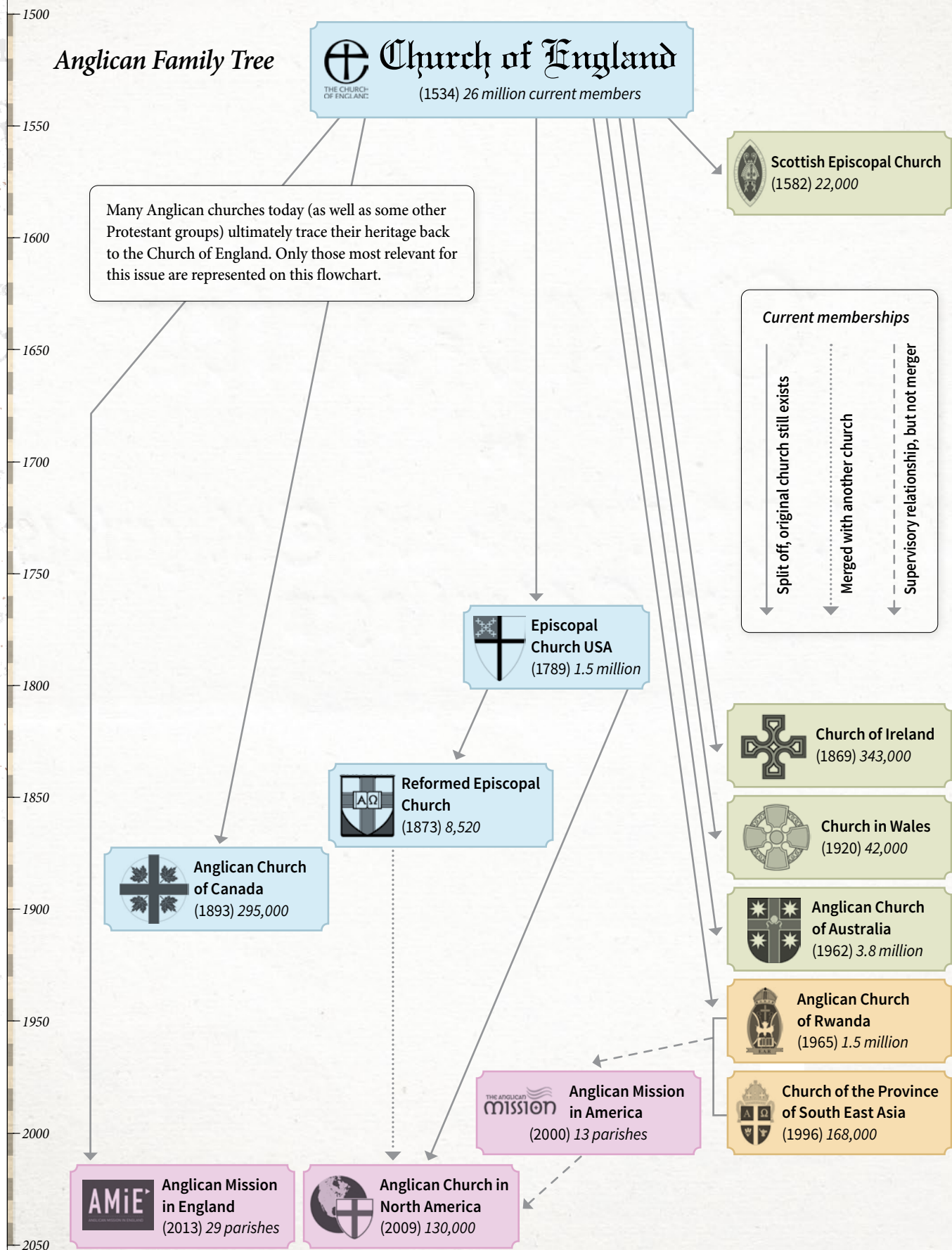


DAILY OFFICE Many Anglicans have been interested in recovering the monastic offices of daily prayer for the whole church, emphasizing morning and evening prayer. Services include Psalms, other Scripture readings, canticles, and a time of prayer. This church (*above*) hosts a late-evening office called compline.

A priest is ordained to preside at the Eucharist and preach the gospel, while a deacon is ordained to proclaim the gospel through word and service—often in a way that primarily involves ministry in the “world”—and to assist bishops and priests. You may also hear the terms “vicar,” “curate,” and “rector.” Historically the rector was the priest in charge of a parish, and the vicar and curate were assistants.

- **Parish:** Originally a parish included all people in a certain geographical area surrounding a church (whether or not they actually attended it). Today in many places “parish” is used interchangeably with “congregation.”
- **Vestry:** A vestry is an elected group of laypeople who are in charge of the government of a parish. The COE no longer has vestries, but churches in the United States and elsewhere do.
- **Diocese:** A diocese is the organization of parishes in a geographical area all under the supervision of one bishop, normally called a “bishop diocesan” or an “ordinary.”
- **Province:** A province is a collection of dioceses.
- **Synod:** A synod is a meeting held to govern the church. Today synods generally include lay, clergy, and episcopal representatives. **CH**





Letters to the editor

Readers respond to *Christian History*

ALWAYS MORE TO TELL

I loved the latest issue, "Christianity on the seas." When I first saw the title, what came to mind was none of the topics you covered. I first thought about the lyrics from Gordon Lightfoot's classic "The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald" (maritime themes in pop culture). . . . I would have also liked greater mention of Mercy Ships. Completely missing were topics close to my heart due to the legacy of my parents: Rivers of the World and Seafaring Cowboys. Rivers of the World grew out of the need for the Presbyterian Church in the Congo to transport missionaries to the region. . . .

Perhaps a topic for the future might be how missionaries transitioned during times of crisis, i.e., the Congo revolution. I suspect that virtually every mission organization has historical record of how their missionaries survived and escaped.—Royce Buller, Wesley Chapel, FL

Thanks for sharing, Royce. Choosing which sea stories to cover and which to leave out was a real challenge. Like you mentioned, we could have said a lot more—we hope we'll return to related topics in the future.

I've just finished reading your latest issue of *Christian History* (159) from cover to cover, as I have done for every one of your issues since issue 1. I am thankful to you for how your work has educated and enlightened me. I write to offer a couple of suggestions for future issues:

(1) The latest issue mentioning Robert Jermain Thomas (*CH* #159, p. 45) reminds me of the enviable strength of the Korean church. I believe that Korea has one of the greatest percentages of Christians of any country (at least in Asia), and I would love to see an issue on the church in Korea.

(2) Being of Chinese ancestry, I would love to see an issue on John Sung, who is often called the Billy Graham of China. More generally, an issue about Christianity in China would be most welcome.—David Yee, Cary, NC

These are great suggestions. While we have not done a full issue on John Sung, you can find articles about him in issues #98 and #153. We will spend more time with the church of the East soon with an issue on Christianity along the Silk Road in 2027!

Thank you for your moving and informative accounts of seafaring Christianity. Readers may be interested to know that, in the single New Testament passage that identifies "leadership" as a spiritual gift (1 Corinthians 12:28), the apostle Paul uses a nautical term. The Greek word *kubernesis* means "to pilot a ship;" in the Septuagint (the early Greek translation of the Old Testament), it is used to translate "guidance" in Proverbs 1:5; 11:14; 24:6. On a larger ship, the pilot or steersman

might not issue many orders (a separate officer, the *keleustes*, commanded the rowers), but navigated using the steering oars. . . . There are many rowers who must work together in rhythm, but only one pilot; James 3:4–5 warns us against trying to become our own pilots, setting a different course, by wielding the steering paddles of our tongues.

As I ply my oar, or help to raise a sail, it is encouraging to know that we have a Pilot steering the church who knows the way, never sleeps, adapts to changing conditions, and has a sure and steady hand.—John Espy, Lawrence, KS



CREED REFLECTIONS

When *CH* posted Jennifer Woodruff Tait's reflection, "Really God, really human," from issue #158 on Facebook, we got many comments from readers. Here are just a few.

I have always thought of the Nicene Creed as the expanded version [of the Apostles' Creed]. They are of course totally in agreement but the Nicene adds detail. I memorized the Apostles' Creed some 50 years ago. I read the Nicene Creed a dozen times per year. I take great comfort in that no matter what institutions organized by men do, the creeds are still the distilled expression of our faith.—Ed Litteral, South Webster, OH

A profession of our faith that does not include anything about Jesus's life/mission. As my seminary professor taught, it is a theo-political statement. Constantine wanted to tamp down the discussion, the various thoughts, disagreements about Jesus. If there had been more bishops in attendance who believed as Arius believed, we might have something a little different. . . . Therefore, we must ask (those who are willing) what was the agenda?—Gayle Fisher-Stewart, online reader

I belonged to a United Methodist church that included among its members Al Agnew, one of the last POWs to be released from Vietnam. It was an honor to hear his personal testimony and how he had resisted learning the Scriptures, hymns, and creeds while growing up. Yet while being tortured, he was as surprised as his tormentors when asked, again, "What do you believe?" He responded, "I BELIEVE IN GOD, THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, . . ." and he realized that he actually did.—Marsha Stewart, Madison, IN **CH**

Senior editor's note



The story of this issue for me starts 32 years ago. When I was in seminary to become a Methodist preacher, two things happened at once.

One is that I was in a class on the history of Christian worship. I learned for the first time that the early Christians had celebrated the Eucharist on every Lord's Day and that John and Charles Wesley had received the Eucharist as often as they could. (John Wesley wrote a sermon about this: it's called "The Duty of Constant Communion," and you can find it online.)

The second is that I was just finishing my supervised ministry internship at a Methodist church in the area, and it was common for interns not to keep attending the church where they had interned. I needed to find somewhere else to go. It just so happened that I had recently been to a choral concert at the big old Gothic-and-stained-glass Episcopal cathedral downtown.

I thought I might go back on a Sunday morning—knowing, in the back of my head, that Anglicans of all sorts generally celebrated the Eucharist weekly. I was seeking a deeper connection with my Lord at his Supper. I went that Sunday morning, and I stayed for the next two years.

ANGLICAN OUTSIDER

There is not enough space here for me to tell you the whole story of how I eventually joined the Episcopal Church in 2011 and became a priest in 2016—step by step following the leading of Jesus and where he seemed to want me to serve him. But I tell this part of the story here because it affects my advisory guidance over this issue on the history of Anglicanism in two ways.

The first is that I came to Anglicanism as an outsider, as no doubt are many readers of this issue. You'll soon learn—if you didn't already from our "Did

you know?" feature on the inside front cover—that Anglicans have specialized terms for most aspects of church life. Some terms trace all the way back to the early church and some arose in the Middle Ages or later. Anglicans also have ways of organizing themselves that may seem odd to Christians used to nondenominational churches.

As we walk through the Anglican story together, we hope that this issue will help explain and demystify Anglican ways of being Christian. This includes what it means to be a state church and what happens when you stop being one; the ways Anglicans can look and sound "Catholic lite" (and why they do); the pervasive influence of Anglicanism on Western culture and the Book of Common Prayer on Western literature; the global journey of an expression of Christian faith that was once explicitly and particularly English; and the debates that have shaped and fractured the movement.

The second is that, as I say in "Generations upon generations" (pp. 29–32), nobody is neutral about the Episcopal Church—especially, I would argue, in the last half century and particularly in the last 23 years (see pp. 48–49 for more on why). Because we were well aware of this, we have sought to tell the story of that fraught recent history with fairness and candor, inviting many different perspectives into the telling.

Everybody stands somewhere when they look at history, after all. Jesus has called me to stand here. Whatever your own Christian tradition, listen for where he is calling you. **CH**



Jennifer Woodruff Tait
Senior editor, *Christian History*
Scholar-advisor, issue #160.

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Look for our next issue #161 on Hildegard von Bingen.

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HOLY ISLAND Irish monk Aidan established this priory on Lindisfarne Island, from which he evangelized Northumbria (modern-day northern England/southern Scotland).

tradition describes his journey as culminating with an appointment as first bishop of Britain.

A different tradition from within Roman Catholicism cites a letter to Eleutherius (pope, c. 171–189) from Lucius, an unverified king of the Britons in the late second century, which asked the pope how he might become a Christian. As with the accounts of Joseph of Arimathea, historians have found scant evidence for these early beginnings. However, Tertullian and Origen attest to Christianity existing in Britain in writings dated from the early third century.

Regardless of how it arrived, by the turn of the fourth century, Christianity was well established in Britain. Reliable accounts of this period relate how Alban, later canonized, sheltered a Christian priest in his home north of London during the Diocletian persecutions (303–311). The priest left such an impression on Alban that he converted

to Christianity. When discovered, Alban was martyred, supposedly declaring, “I worship and adore the true and living God who created all things.” A few years later, bishops from Britain attended the Council of Arles, called by Constantine to resolve issues related to the Edict of Milan.

UNCONQUERED FAITH

Three centuries of Roman occupation encouraged Celtic Britons to adopt Latin customs and the Christian faith. People of the ancient Celtic fringe in present-day Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, mostly left to their own devices, resisted these pressures. After the sack of Rome in 410, Roman Britain became vulnerable to waves of invading Angles and Saxons. These Germanic tribes brought their version of paganism to Britain and established a set of independent kingdoms stretching from Kent in the southeast to Wessex in the west to Northumbria in the north of present-day England.

Latin Christianity waned within the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons, but a residual Christianity persisted among Britons left unconquered, mostly in the far west of Britain and Wales. This version of the faith is now known as Celtic Christianity, a designation that implies a kind of regional and theological unity that scholars believe never really existed. Nevertheless, Patricius (Patrick), born c. 389 in Roman Britain, was taken captive in a raid at age 16 and kept in Ireland as a slave for at least six years. He escaped and traveled for several years, then went home to Britain. There he received a vision to return and evangelize Ireland.

Patrick went to France to receive ecclesiastical training and consecration as a bishop. By the late fifth century, Patrick’s work in Ireland, combined with earlier missionary efforts by Palladius, had borne fruit with a multitude of converts and a network of growing churches. In 563 the

The holy Lamb on “mountains green”

ENGLAND’S CHRISTIAN BEGINNINGS

Jeffrey B. Webb

How early did Christianity come to Britain? If we give credence to the legend once set forth in song by William Blake (1757–1827), very early indeed:

And did those feet in ancient time,
Walk upon England’s mountains green:
And was the holy Lamb of God,
On England’s pleasant pastures seen!

Medieval legends from the twelfth century on held that Joseph of Arimathea traveled to Britain as early as AD 36 and later founded a church at Glastonbury. Others gave credit to Simon Zelotes, Aristobulus, and even Paul the Apostle for exposing early Britons to the Christian faith. Modern historians doubt these accounts and generally agree that Christianity arrived in England with the Roman Empire.

During the reign of Claudius (AD 41–54), armies under Aulus Plautius began Rome’s conquest of Britain. When he retired in 47, the empire controlled much of southeastern Britain. The Eastern Orthodox tradition maintains that Aristobulus arrived as a missionary in the wake of these conquests. He was a Jewish Cypriot who converted to Christianity and is thought to have been one of the 70 disciples mentioned in the Gospel of Luke. The Orthodox



COPTIC CONNECTION? A 5th-c. Coptic burial shroud (*above*) mirrors the Celtic “wheel” cross found at Iona Abbey (*middle*), prompting some to suggest Coptic tradition traveled from Egypt to Ireland and England.

Christian community in Ireland sent the abbot Columba to Iona, an island in the Inner Hebrides. There Columba established a monastery aimed at converting the Scoti, the Latin name for pagan Celts living beyond the northern pale of Roman Britain. Iona would later be called the “Cradle of Christianity” for its role in introducing the faith to Scotland.

Oswald, eventually king of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, received asylum on Iona after his father’s death, and there he converted to Christianity. He returned home, assumed his throne, and facilitated the move of Irish monk Aidan from Iona to the island of Lindisfarne, later known as “Holy Island.” There Aidan built the Lindisfarne Priory, from which he made frequent excursions into Northumbria and introduced many of Oswald’s Anglo-Saxon barons to the Christian faith. A prayer attributed to him begins

Leave me alone with God as much as may be. As the tide draws the waters close in upon the shore, make me an island, set apart, alone with You, God, holy to You.

CORRALLING CELTIC CHRISTIANS

The Celtic variant of Christianity in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and Northumbria soon drew the attention of Pope Gregory I, the Great (pope, 590–604). From Rome, Gregory came to regard the Christians in the British Isles as beyond his ecclesiastical authority and thus growing away from orthodoxy. In 596 Gregory sent Augustine (died c. 604), prior of a monastery in Rome (not to be confused with Augustine of Hippo), along with a company of men, on the

ROME TO CANTERBURY Archbishop Augustine of Canterbury (*above*) sought to solidify Roman Christianity in 6th-c. England. By Alfred the Great’s time in the 9th c. (*right*), the Anglo-Saxons were largely under papal authority.



“Gregorian mission” to convert pagan Anglo-Saxons in England to Christianity.

Augustine was welcomed in Kent by King Ethelbert (560–616) and his Frankish Christian wife, Bertha. Ethelbert allowed Augustine to use a church in Canterbury named for Martin of Tours. After converting Ethelbert, Augustine traveled to Arles in France and was consecrated the first archbishop of Canterbury. He received authority to consecrate 12 other bishops in England, including an archbishop for York who also had authority to consecrate 12 bishops. Augustine also ordained Laurence, a member of his mission, to be his successor at Canterbury.

However, Augustine could not secure submission of the existing bishops in Britain to Roman authority. A rift opened between Celtic Christianity in England and Roman Catholicism as pre-Gregorian bishops and their successors continued to follow the spiritual and liturgical lead of Irish clerics at Iona. The spread of Roman Catholic adherence among the Anglo-Saxons would have to wait until Theodore of Tarsus became archbishop of Canterbury. He served from 668 to 690, a 22-year term of service that largely brought Christianity in England under papal authority in Rome.

In the sixth and seventh centuries, pastoral care came from *minsters*; these were an array of cathedral chapters and monasteries chartered by kings and thegns (feudal lords) with grants of land and other rights. Monks and priests performed



the sacraments among laity within range of their minsters, and the minsters became hubs of local and regional religious life.

But Christianity's further spread was stymied after 793, when a series of Norse invasions began with an attack on Lindisfarne Priory. Churches and monasteries throughout the British Isles were plundered and destroyed, and along with them vital accounts of the church's early history. Many of the Norsemen—mostly Danish—made Christianity their faith, but many did not. In time key figures like Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald, archbishop of York, led a tenth-century revitalization of the monasteries, which in turn re-energized the laity. In 1066 Pope Alexander II supported William of Normandy's invasion of England, lending a papal banner for the conqueror to carry into battles against Anglo-Saxon and Danish forces.

The Norman Conquest set Christianity in England on a new path of development. Once in control King William I determined to replace existing abbots and bishops with men of his own choosing, which had the effect of bringing English liturgical practices more in line with Normandy and the rest of France. By appointing his own people, he carefully preserved some ecclesiastical autonomy from Rome.

Lanfranc (1005–1089), William's choice for archbishop of Canterbury, was highly respected within the church hierarchy and at the same time an advocate for William's discretion in the appointment of high-ranking church officials, or "lay investiture." (Lanfranc regularly corresponded with Margaret, queen of the Scots and a Christian, writing to her at one point, "Let there be a mutual exchange between us of prayers and good works. Those that I render are small indeed; but I am confident that I shall receive far greater benefits in return.") Lanfranc sought to make his office superior to the archbishopric of York while also seeking to rid the church of vice and corruption.

Major monasteries at Lindisfarne, Muchelney, Tyne-mouth, and Whitby were reconstituted, and new ones such as Battle Abbey were built. In following years foundations were laid for Winchester Cathedral (1079), York Minster (1080), and Durham Cathedral (1093). In these institutions monastic



FAITHFUL ENGLAND Christian King Oswald (left) united Northumbria, but in 793 Norse invasions halted the faith's spread (above). Archbishop Dunstan (at Christ's feet, far left) helped revitalize the hurting 10th-c. church.

orders such as the Cistercians and the Benedictines grew, and in 1131 England birthed its own order—the Gilbertines—founded by Gilbert of Sempringham.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, dioceses and parishes with individual churches and chapels grew alongside the existing minster system. Rectors, vicars, and chaplains administering the sacraments in their parish churches eventually became a familiar sight throughout the English countryside. Christians expressed piety through participation in the sacraments, but also through prayers, observance of saints' days, religious festivals, pilgrimages, veneration of images and relics, and displaying religious iconography.

ANSELM AND ANARCHY

The reigns of William I's successors, William II (r. 1087–1100) and Henry I (r. 1100–1135) were noteworthy for the service of Anselm as archbishop of Canterbury. An early scholastic philosopher, Anselm (c. 1033–1109) wrote *Proslogion* (c. 1078). He pressed for greater control over ecclesiastical affairs, including restriction of lay investiture, and for the Gregorian Reform, which imposed a high standard of moral conduct on the clergy. Both kings forced Anselm to seek asylum in Europe amid conflicts over his authority.

In some ways Anselm succeeded in establishing the primacy of his office over the English church and in maintaining the power of the church in public affairs. However, after Henry I's death, the nation entered a period of political chaos and civil war amid a clash over the royal succession. The era known as the Anarchy (1138–1153) produced widespread lawlessness. A great number of clergy became licentious and immoral. Of these times the *Peterborough Chronicle* observed that many people in England "said openly that Christ and his saints were asleep."

Following the Anarchy, Henry II established the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), which were intended to bring law-breaking clergy to justice by means of civil courts rather than in-house ecclesiastical discipline. The issue opened the question of the church's rights and privileges;



POWER STRUGGLES Archbishop Thomas Becket and King Henry II clashed over church authority (above), resulting in Becket's death. Two centuries later John Wycliffe (right) would clash with papal authority, earning the moniker of "Morning Star of the Reformation."

Archbishop Thomas Becket (1118–1170) refused to sign and was forced into exile. From a distance Henry II and Becket exchanged threatening royal edicts and warnings of excommunication, but a compromise brought Becket back to England. He then excommunicated three bishops who consecrated Henry II's heir in violation of the privilege of his office. Four of Henry II's knights responded by stabbing Becket to death in Canterbury Cathedral—supposedly after overhearing Henry say, "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?"

When Pope Alexander III declared Becket a saint and threatened an interdict over England, Henry II submitted to the rite of penance and was whipped by some 80 monks at Becket's tomb. These events increased the power and prestige of the church in England, an outcome confirmed by Pope Innocent III's six-year interdict over England from 1208 to 1214 due to King John's refusal to seat Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury. The interdict meant that marriages, burials, and other sacraments ceased across the entire land. Ultimately John relented and submitted to Langton's consecration. The archbishop went on to draft the Magna Carta (1215), an agreement between John and his barons confirming the rights of the feudal nobility.

SCHOLASTICS AND LOLLARDS

Cambridge University was founded in 1209 during John's troubled reign. This coincided with the arrival of the mendicant (begging) orders to England beginning with Dominicans (1221), Franciscans (1224), and Carmelites (1242). These orders stressed education. Franciscan priest Roger Bacon wrote and taught at Oxford University (founded c. 1096) and became a catalyst for scholasticism, a movement

that rigorously pursued knowledge through dialectical reasoning, partly in an attempt to reconcile Christian theology with classical Greek and Roman philosophy.

Scholasticism influenced John Wycliffe (c. 1328–1384), who graduated from Merton College, served briefly as master of Balliol College, then became head of Canterbury Hall, all at Oxford University. He became rector at a nearby parish church and finished his doctorate, then began the work of translating the Latin Vulgate Bible into Middle English. Begun in 1372, his vernacular language New Testament was finished before his death in 1384; his associates continued to improve it and add an Old Testament translation.

Wycliffe's Bible was a revolution in the making. Few English Christians were literate, but poring over Scripture brought Wycliffe and those in his circle to question not only certain Roman Catholic teachings and practices, but also the Roman curia as the ultimate source of truth. Wycliffe wrote books and tracts against clerical landowning, ecclesiastical imprisonment, and transubstantiation. This led Pope Gregory XI (pope, 1370–1378) to issue bulls condemning his teachings (1377) and the Council of Constance (1415) to posthumously declare him a heretic.

Church officials burned Wycliffe's writings—and his remains as well—but they couldn't extinguish the movement he created. The Lollards, Wycliffe's clerical followers, promoted the Bible as the highest authority and rule of faith and condemned "signs, rites, bishops' blessings," and other beliefs and rituals as being "nowhere ensampled in the Holy Scripture." In 1395 the Lollards delivered their Twelve Conclusions to Parliament and posted it to the doors of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral. That gesture heralded the eventual arrival of the Protestant Reformation and the transformation of English Catholicism into something new. **CH**

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Religious whiplash

In his 1983 book The Anglican Spiritual Tradition, John R. H. Moorman, bishop of Ripon in the COE, helped readers see the Reformation's tumult by imagining its effect on a fictional parish priest.

James Whyte . . . was born in the city of Colchester in 1499, in the reign of King Henry VII. . . . He was ordained priest in 1524 at the age of 25. . . . The first change which affected him was [in 1538] when he was told that he must get a copy of the whole Bible in English and set it up in his church where his people could come and read it. This surprised him a good deal, for he remembered well the days when to possess even a single sheet of an English Bible was forbidden. . . . Once, when he came into the church, he found William [the clerk] reading . . . and when he got to [Ephesians 4:11] he stopped and said: "You see, there's nothing there about priests, is there?" James . . . told William pretty firmly that whereas he was entitled to read the Bible in public, he was not entitled to comment on it. . . .

HENRY VIII DIES, EDWARD VI FURTHERS REFORM

[In 1549] the form of worship. . . was swept away. The Latin Mass, which [James] had been saying daily for 22 years, was now made illegal.

As he read [the new Book of Common Prayer] through, however, he realized that things were not as bad as they might have been. The Mass was . . . in English; but the shape of the liturgy had been preserved and James was allowed to wear his customary vestments. He noticed also that there was now much more for the laity to do. . . . It was also more edifying, as a sermon had to be preached or a Homily read, at every Mass. So, on Whitsunday 1549, James Whyte led his people through the first celebration of the Mass in English. On the whole things went well, even at the administration of the Sacrament when, for the first time for 300 years or so, people were expected to drink from the chalice. . . .

In 1550 a great blow struck them . . . an act was passed which said, first of all, that all the books which had been used in the past . . . were to be completely destroyed . . . and, secondly, that all images or statues in the churches were to be defaced and destroyed. . . . James had to be away for some weeks during this summer but when he

ROOD VANDALS This rood screen featuring Thomas Becket (above) was defaced during the Reformation. In the end the Church of England rejected iconoclasm.



came back he was appalled at what he saw. The church he loved, with all its beauty and colour, was now bare and ugly. The walls, which had been covered with paintings were now white. . . . James was horrified for he had always believed that the church was designed to be a foretaste of heaven, with its richness and colour and with the reminder, in painting and in sculpture, of those who would be our fellow-citizens in the household of God. But all this had gone.

MARY RESTORES CATHOLIC WORSHIP (1553)

Most of James's parishioners were quite happy to feel that there would be no more change and confusion. They had had to change their form

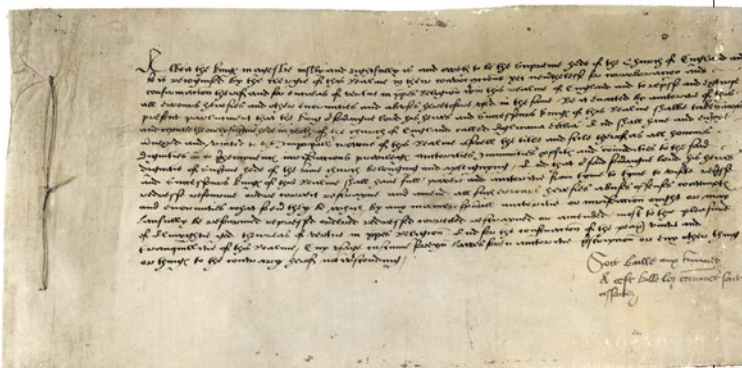
of worship three times in five years, and surely that was enough. . . . Of course, the reformers had had some good ideas. He was quite happy saying all the church services in English and preaching to his people more than he had done in the past. And perhaps some of the little ceremonies were without much significance. But the desecration of the churches had troubled him, and he was bothered by new ideas about the priesthood and the Mass.

But now that things had returned to normal, James became saddened by the rigidity of the queen and her government, at the ruthlessness with which their opponents were silenced, and at the savage way in which a large number of misguided and more or less ignorant people were put to death. . . .

ELIZABETH RETURNS PROTESTANTISM (1559)

James, and all the other 9,000 clergy . . . had once more to change their way of life. Again the ornaments and furnishings, restored with so much difficulty five years ago, had to be removed from the churches. Again the missals and manuals had to be taken away and supplanted by an English Prayer Book not unlike that of 1552.

James was now 60 years old and had had enough . . . In spite of everything, he prayed that he would now be left in peace. After all, change had to come; and although much had been lost, there were things to be thankful for. One was the English Bible and the other was the Book of Common Prayer. With the help of these he could tell his parishioners the story of God's work and of man's redemption, and he could lead them in forms of worship which they could understand and in which they could take part.—*John R. H. Moorman (Reprinted with permission from publishers Darton, Longman and Todd)*



The raw materials of Anglicanism

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Calvin Lane

The word “Anglican” has a curious history. Although it appears at various moments in medieval and early modern sources, it is only long after the sixteenth century that some Christians understood themselves to be part of a distinct religious tradition called “Anglicanism.” But to arrive at that place, to find a tradition with an emerging global presence distinct from merely the English state church, a unique spirituality and liturgical inheritance, and an identifiable body of theological reflection, one must grapple with the various movements for reform in the sixteenth century. These were the raw materials for what would become Anglicanism.

THE KING’S “GREAT MATTER”

Henry VIII (1491–1547, r. 1509–1547) was a devoutly conservative Catholic in the 1520s. But by the close of that decade, the king wrestled with the question of his succession. He had only one legitimate child, his daughter Mary, and he wondered whether his lack of heirs was due to sin—perhaps his marriage to his late brother’s wife, the Spanish princess Katherine of Aragon (1485–1536), was incestuous. Only a generation earlier, England had lived through a dynastic civil war, and questions of his own dynasty’s legitimacy lingered. The succession anxieties were compounded by Henry’s roving eye, which had become fixed on Anne Boleyn (d. 1536). By the start of the 1530s, Henry wanted to end his

SUPREME HEAD The 1534 Act of Supremacy (above) recognized King Henry VIII (left) as the head of the Church of England, abolishing papal authority and starting the Reformation in England. One consequence of the act was the closing of Catholic abbeys, such as Glastonbury (top), which fell into ruin.

marriage to Katherine. But how, since divorce was illegal? This project became known as the “King’s Great Matter.”

Henry’s advisors took a variety of approaches including hosting a papal legate (personal representative of the pope) in England. Then in 1532 a middle-aged don from Cambridge suggested that the theological faculties of European universities ought to be canvassed for their opinion. That don was Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556; see p. 14 and CH #48). Although his strategy proved unfruitful, Cranmer had another option. He scoured history to identify moments in which the king was supreme in his lands, not only in matters civil but also spiritual.

For his efforts Cranmer was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in March 1533 and two months later declared Henry’s marriage to Katherine invalid. By the next year, Parliament had passed the Act of Supremacy declaring that Henry had always been the supreme head of the English church and that the pope had no authority in England. Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–1534) excommunicated Henry and all his advisors.



But what actually changed for the English people? Although the Latin Mass continued, some could not accept a rupture with Rome. Those who refused to recognize Henry's supremacy faced execution. Prominent examples were Henry's former chancellor Thomas More (1478–1535) and Bishop John Fisher (1469–1535). Arguably the most important development in Henry's reformation was the dissolution of the monasteries: the closure of centuries-old abbeys and the confiscation of their buildings.

What, though, of "Protestantism"? Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* (1517) and his excommunication (1521) were old news by then. The Lutheran princes of Germany had already won something of a grudging recognition from the emperor in their Augsburg Confession. Likewise the Reformed tradition, one distinct from the Lutherans, was emerging in the urban communities of southern Germany and Switzerland. For the rest of Henry's reign, his advisors seesawed back and forth between potential reform efforts, debating, for example, the place of private confession, prayers for the dead, and the possibility of clerical marriage. Cranmer, unlike others, navigated the challenges of Henry's court, and in the reign of his son, Edward VI (1537–1553), orchestrated a reformation project more consonant with the Reformed tradition of Switzerland.

REIGNS AND REFORMS

Following the end of his marriage with Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII went through a series of wives, making the story of his reign something of a soap opera. The sum of all his marriages, however, was that at Henry's death in 1547, his son by his third wife (Jane Seymour)—Edward—succeeded him: a nine-year-old boy. Henry also had Mary by wife #1, Katherine of Aragon; and another daughter, Elizabeth, by wife #2, Anne Boleyn. On his accession in 1547, the boy-king Edward was surrounded by a group of

A TALE OF TWO MONARCHS Edward VI (left) ascended to the throne in 1547 at just nine years old. With Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (right) as counselor, Edward furthered church reform. When the king died at age 16, his Catholic sister, Mary (middle), became queen and reversed his work. She executed Cranmer in 1556.

counselors led by Cranmer. They moved the Church of England toward worship in English instead of Latin, eliminated medieval Catholic devotional mainstays like shrines and images, increased preaching, and wrote a formal collection of 42 doctrinal articles that, while cautious, aligned with the Reformed more than with the Lutherans. Cranmer also set to work inviting celebrity Reformed theologians to teaching positions at Oxford and Cambridge.

The most obvious aspect of Edward's reformation agenda was the Book of Common Prayer (BCP), which first appeared in 1549. This fairly restrained first liturgical outing was replaced in 1552 with a more thorough version. The BCP was both conservative and revolutionary. It continued a trend in medieval worship: the steady effort to make liturgy uniform across a kingdom. The Roman Catholic Council of Trent did the same thing, creating a "common" Tridentine Mass in 1570. But the BCP also swept away local patterns and had England praying in unison.

Although reforms meant images were removed and stone altars torn down, the prayer book required a material context and a conservative approach to feasts and seasons that effectively set the Church of England apart from other Reformed churches. Many medieval vestments were banned, but clergy were still ordered to wear the surplice (the white gown). The Church of England retained the threefold order of ministry (deacons, priests, and bishops), as well as the unique role of the cathedrals, often with elaborate repertoires of liturgical music. Edward's regime also produced a handy collection of sermons for

MONARCH IN THE MIDDLE Elizabeth, Henry VIII's middle child, became queen in 1558. She returned the Church of England to Protestantism, but without the further reforms Cranmer and Edward envisioned.

clergy, the *Book of Homilies*. Cranmer prepared a Reformed canon law but could not get it through Parliament before Edward VI's untimely death at 16 in 1553.

Despite a failed attempt to prop up a Protestant successor through Edward's cousin, Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554), the English crown went next to Mary (1516–1558). The new queen, a staunch Catholic, attempted a wholesale reversal of both Edward's and Henry's reformation projects. After arresting many bishops, including the aged Cranmer, Mary reintroduced the Latin Mass and rebuilt shrines. In November 1554 Mary's cousin, Cardinal Reginald Pole, held a grand reconciliation ceremony at Westminster absolving the kingdom of heresy. Mary is best known for burning Protestants as heretics, including Cranmer in 1556.

ELIZABETH'S ENGLAND

English Christians had faced a dizzying series of religious changes in the space of a generation (see p. 10). Some spoke up and faced serious consequences, even execution. Catholics suffered under Edward. Protestants suffered under Mary. Edward and Mary would, however, come to have something in common: a short reign marked by an unexpected death. When Mary died in 1558, having reigned for only five years, England had already lived through a convulsed age. Henry, Edward, and Mary had each endeavored to reshape the religious life of the kingdom. This was the landscape inherited by the last of Henry VIII's heirs, his middle child, Elizabeth (1533–1603).

"This is the Lord's doing," Elizabeth recited from the Psalms on news of her accession, "and it is marvelous in our eyes." Elizabeth Tudor was educated by Reformed chaplains and was unequivocally a Protestant. Dismissing the monks of Westminster who greeted her at her coronation, the new queen reasserted the Book of Common Prayer and named reliably Reformed men as bishops. But those Reformed men joined her in freezing the Church of England in place. Cranmer's project, clipped by Edward VI's death back in 1553, was an agenda in steady motion toward conformity with the churches of Switzerland. Elizabeth, though Protestant, desired no further "progress." The people of England, whether Catholics distressed by the abolition of the Mass or Protestants distressed that England had not been reformed enough, had to present themselves for prayer-book worship. Elizabeth took as her motto, *semper eadem*, "always the same." Through the rest of her long, steady reign, she faced



challenges. From Catholics she faced conspiracies, assassination attempts, and even an attempted invasion in 1588 by Catholic Spain (see painting above). On the other hand, she perceived Puritans, those who called for the abolition of bishops and the prayer book, as insolent and undermining (see p. 28).

By the close of Elizabeth's reign in 1603, the Church of England was still part of an international family of Reformed churches. Representatives from the Church of England even showed up at the Calvinist Synod of Dort (1618–1619). But the Church of England remained the outlier. England's Articles of Religion, reduced from 42 to 39, were clearly Protestant, but their language about justification by grace was not as explicit about "double predestination," the notion that God not only decrees some for eternal life but actively decrees some for damnation.

Likewise the clergy wore surplices and the church observed feast days and celebrated Holy Communion roughly four to six times a year (more frequently in the cathedrals). The church's star theologian in the 1590s, Richard Hooker, argued that the church's mission rested on God's good order and that the queen was entrusted with seeing it through. Although the Church of England at the close of Elizabeth's reign was a Reformed church, its peculiarities left open a door in the seventeenth century to its becoming a distinctly unique tradition (see pp. 15–17). Consequently, from the raw materials of this reformation, would later come something called "Anglicanism." **CH**

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The archbishop's hand

Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation

The pyre was lit. The wood kindled. The chained victim—the defrocked and degraded archbishop of Canterbury, formerly the foremost clergyman in the realm—awaited a slow and painful death by burning in March 1556. Suddenly he stretched forth his right hand, plunging it into the fire and holding it steady among the flames. This was a political and prophetic act, understood as repentance and resistance: penance for signing recantations of his Protestant teaching. It was also a vindication of his previous writing—similarly composed with this hand—especially the Book of Common Prayer. This act punctuated a life shaped by sixteenth-century reform.

UNCONVENTIONAL CRANMER

Who was this individual of confession, conviction, and contradiction? Thomas Cranmer was the first archbishop of Canterbury to embrace the Reformation. Born in Nottinghamshire during the first years of the Tudor dynasty, he spent a third of his life (from his midteens to his forties) ensconced in the scholarly world of the University of Cambridge. Little evidence exists from this period of the dynamic thinking and eloquence that characterized his later theology. However, he gave at least one clear indication that he was unconventional: he married a woman named Joan (who died together with their child in childbirth), an act that delayed him receiving his bachelor of arts and rendered him ineligible for college fellowships and ecclesiastical orders. Only after her death was he ordained a deacon and priest and made a fellow of Jesus College.

Cranmer's practical counsel for the king propelled him beyond the university and into the orbit of royal service: instead of pursuing a legal case in Rome, Cranmer proposed that Henry VIII and the team advocating for his annulment from Katherine of Aragon should solicit opinions from universities across Europe. He was soon drafting arguments in defense of this aim and serving as a royal diplomat in Germany and Italy. It was on one such mission that he received the startling news that he was to be the next archbishop of Canterbury.

This choice surprised his contemporaries and likely troubled Cranmer; he had just married Margaret—a niece of Nuremberg reformer Andreas Osiander (1498–1552)—in disregard for his vow of celibacy and to the distaste of his monarch, who disapproved of clerical marriage. As archbishop, Cranmer pressed for further religious reform, always in perilous conversation with the royal will: sometimes succeeding, at other times failing to achieve his goals.



FAITH IN THE FLAMES At his execution Thomas Cranmer repented of his initial renunciation of Protestant convictions, allegedly by holding out his hand to burn first.

ENDURING WORDS

That he survived Henry's reign meant that Cranmer became one of the chief architects of the religious reform enacted in the name of his son, Edward VI. It also allowed him to produce his greatest and most enduring achievement: the Book of Common Prayer, a reformed English liturgy, which was released in 1549 and revised in 1552. This text—which introduced phrases like “dearly beloved, we are gathered here today” and “ashes to ashes, dust to dust”—is the beating heart of Anglican worship. Moreover, its somber yet stunning prose skillfully captures the theology of conversion and confession that shaped the life and death of its author.

Consider, for example, the evocative language of the General Confession that first appeared in the revised prayer book of 1552:

Almighty and most merciful father, we have erred and strayed from thy ways, like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us: but thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults. Restore thou them that are penitent, according to thy promises declared unto mankind, in Christ Jesus our Lord. And grant, O most merciful father, for his sake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of thy holy name. Amen.

—Jonathan Reimer, associate professor and John H. Van Gorden Chair in History, Eastern University



Divided kingdom

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS WARS IN ENGLAND

Sarah Ward Clavier

Devils in Samuel's Likeness have dangerously deceived us; the Spirits of Lies have [laid] in wait to wrest unstable Souls & have drawn thousands from the truth, the vessels of wrath have poured themselves forth upon our earth and have filled it with a deluge of devastations; the Revengers of wickedness have plagued both persons and places for their Long settled but not sorrowed for wantonness

—From the *Notebook of Archibald Sparke*, a priest in Wales, c. 1650–1667 (modernized)

England's slow spiral into civil war both surprised and deeply wounded those who experienced it. All parties, such as Welsh priest Archibald Sparke, portrayed the fracturing of church and state as God's punishment upon a sinful nation. People often attributed that sinfulness to their religious and political opponents. The full story, of course, is more complicated than that.

CONFORMITY AND DISCONTENT

When James VI (of Scotland; 1566–1625) ascended to the throne of England and Ireland in 1603 as James I, he inherited a Church of England that served as a stabilizing and unifying force in England and Wales. Despite coming from Calvinist Scotland, James was disinclined to disturb the established church or to institute further religious reform, even with early and sustained pressure from a vocal minority of largely Calvinist Puritan MPs (members of Parliament) and clergy. The Millenary Petition of 1603 purported to be signed by a thousand clergy who described themselves as “groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies.” They called for an end to confirmation services, the use of the cross

TURBULENT TIMES The politically and religiously motivated civil wars that resulted in the execution of King Charles I in 1649 troubled both state and church for years.

in baptism, and absentee clergy; they also demanded freedom to preach without fear of sanction.

Furthermore, Puritan MPs called for reform to the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) and to church discipline, but to no avail. James admired the English episcopal system precisely because it subordinated the church to the monarch—the very arrangement Puritans sought to dismantle. Following a conference of the church at Hampton Court, James proclaimed in 1604 that “no well-grounded matter appeared to us . . . why the state of the Church should in any material point be altered.” Instead he enforced conformity, resulting in the ejection of roughly 90 Puritan clergy.

Toward the end of his reign, James promoted anti-Calvinist churchmen, for example William Laud (1573–1645), who became bishop of St. Davids (Wales). Yet it was James's son Charles I (1600–1649) to whom anti-Calvinism, discipline, and order in the church appealed most. Laud became archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 and, with Charles, initiated reforms that prioritized the “beauty of holiness” in worship. Those who resisted faced punishment in courts, such as the Court of Star Chamber, which were directly under the Crown's control.

As part of his effort for religious unity across his kingdoms, Charles tried to introduce the English prayer book into Scotland. The attempt was disastrous. The resentful Scottish church (the Kirk) and the Scottish Parliament, whom Charles never consulted, saw the new prayer book as both an unwelcome religious change and an English imposition. Resistance to this overstep, in the form of the



Covenanter movement, ultimately resulted in war. The Scottish Covenanters defeated Charles in the Bishops' Wars, serving as one key factor leading to civil war in 1642.

When the Long Parliament met on November 3, 1640, prominent opponents of King Charles I (such as MP and future lord protector, Oliver Cromwell; 1599–1658) sought redress for long-held grievances, not least the policies of Archbishop Laud. (Laud himself was arrested, imprisoned and, after four years and a failed trial, executed in 1645.) In the early months, MPs were unified, but this soon ended. Once a powerful Puritan party, led by John Pym (1584–1643), took control, more moderate voices—which included defenders of the Church of England—lost influence. (Many Puritans were *parliamentarians*—those who sought to limit the monarchy's power and give parliament more authority instead.)

Moderates mustered signatures on pro-church and pro-king petitions to rival those of the Puritan party, to oppose iconoclasm, and to protect traditional church practices. Consequently moderates often found themselves in the *royalist* camp—those who supported the Crown.

Civil war broke out in August 1642, devastating all the British kingdoms. One historian has estimated that over 25 percent of English buildings were destroyed, and the death toll was, in proportion to the population, greater than Britain's in World War I. In many areas continued adherence to the Church of England became a marker of loyalty to the king and the royalist cause. In parliamentary areas after 1642, clergy who supported the king or who decried Parliament were ejected from their livings. Statues, rood screens, stained glass, and fonts were destroyed or removed as remnants of "popery." When parliamentary armies occupied royalist areas, their inhabitants lamented the destruction of church furniture, organs, and on one occasion in Wales, Bibles bound with the BCP.

The 1646 parliamentary victory led to continued civil war and an outright ban on the Church of England, its

REVOLT AND WAR The Crown's attempt to force an English prayer book in Scotland led to riots (*middle*). Religious and political unrest culminated in war, new leadership under Oliver Cromwell (*left*), and rejection of the Church of England. Iconoclastic vandalism was one visible mark of the regime change (*right*).

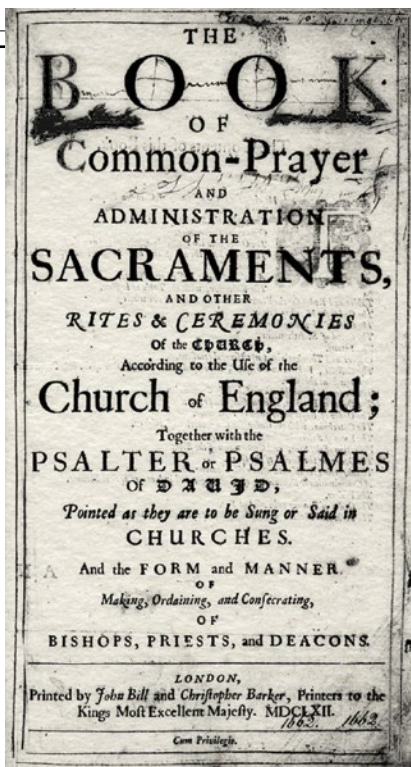
bishops, and its traditional liturgies. Waves of ejections took place across England and Wales, particularly in former royalist territories. Clergy were fined and removed from their livings. In 1653 Cromwell became lord protector.

CHURCH UNDER FIRE

Although persecution was uneven from 1646 to 1660, many still experienced it. Laity faced prosecution for being married in church by clergy, having baptisms with godparents, and attending traditional services on Sundays. That said, services continued in varying degrees of secrecy. In many rural areas, attending an episcopal service appears to have been relatively easy. Such practices sometimes became part of a popular cause; the Rump Parliament, active after the civil wars ended, banned Christmas services and festivities, resulting in the pro-Christmas riots of 1652.

Episcopal activists supported ejected clergy, providing them space in gentry houses to continue traditional services. This network maintained the Church of England, aided by a general fondness for traditions such as "greening the church." That the church survived nearly 20 years of such mistreatment is a testament both to that support network and to the deep-seated religious traditions of England and Wales—the roots of which, in some cases, stretched back before the Reformation itself (see pp. 6–9).

After Cromwell's death in 1658 and the return of the Long Parliament, Charles II (exiled son of Charles I) was invited back to England to restore the monarchy. In the Declaration of Breda (April 1660) Charles declared that he would respect religious toleration insofar as it did not threaten the peace of



RESTORATION Archbishop William Laud (right), with Charles I, tried and failed to bring religious uniformity to England. The 1660 restoration of Charles II (above right) meant a return to the state church. For example the BCP was revised and reinstated in 1662 (above).



the kingdom. He tended toward toleration of Presbyterians and less radical Puritan groups, which greatly encouraged some to support his Restoration. Such hopes, however, would prove short-lived. After the election of the Cavalier Parliament (1661–1679), composed largely of royalist campaigners and strong supporters of the Church of England, Charles interpreted nonconformists as threats to the peace and banned them from holding public office or religious services (see p. 28).

Indeed, for MPs elected in 1661, nonconformity posed an existential threat. Many had personally experienced land seizure, exile, or prosecution during the regime interim, or knew those who had. They feared that 1641 would “come again,” toppling the kingdom into civil war. As a result radicals who had governed, raised taxes, or worked for parliamentary governments were harassed, closely monitored, and in some cases arrested or physically attacked.

More positively, traditional church liturgy and customs returned to general approval. New “traditions” commemorated the monarchy’s return, including the celebration of the Feast of St. Charles, King and Martyr. The BCP lectionary places this feast day annually on January 30.

According to historians such as Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor, Anglicanism as it was until the twentieth century was born at the Restoration. This does not mean that it was monolithic and undivided. Its members—including

theologians, bishops, and chaplains of nobles—still debated multiple issues. Although Charles II and his government weathered these storms, and his brother James II (1633–1701) inherited the throne smoothly on Charles’s death in 1685, the Church of England was headed for further dispute and controversy in the years to come.

POPERY AND TYRANNY?

Despite a promising start, James II was a difficult monarch for Anglicans to support loyally. James promoted Catholics and dissenters to key positions in national and local governments and rewrote town charters to gain a stronger hold on power. Loyalist Anglicans deeply resented this interference. They saw James’s attempts to grant toleration for Catholics as tyranny, gaining him the reputation as an agent of the pope. This anti-Catholic sentiment increased with the birth of James’s son and heir.

The prospect of a Catholic dynasty united churchmen and politicians, ultimately resulting in an invitation for William of Orange (1650–1702; the king’s nephew and son-in-law, married to his daughter Mary) to invade. William arrived in England in November 1688. The invasion and deposition of James II were portrayed as a noble Protestant cause, aimed at saving the nation from tyranny and popery, and safeguarding the English church. Though lauded as saviors, ultimately William and Mary did little to heal the divisions within the church or the kingdom. [CH](#)

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SIGNING FOR CHANGE This petition to support the 1806 Foreign Slave Trade Abolition Bill includes two thousand original signatures. Parliament passed the bill and abolished the slave trade officially on March 25, 1807.

GOOD NEIGHBORS

Clapham, now a district in the southwest of London, then an outlying village, was home to Holy Trinity Church (now Holy Trinity Clapham), where key members of the Clapham Sect worshiped. The rector of Holy Trinity, John Venn (1759–1813), was an evangelical preacher brought to Holy Trinity in 1792 by the influential and evangelical Thornton family. That same year Henry Thornton (1760–1815)—a prosperous banker, philanthropist, and leading abolitionist—bought Battersea Rise, a majestic home in Clapham where the people who would come to be known as the Clapham Sect gathered to encourage, inspire, strategize, and even reside at times. Clapham became home for many members of the group, helping their friends to sustain their shared vision and work through physical proximity, communal worship, and neighborliness.

Thornton's cousin and close friend William Wilberforce (1759–1833) was among those who lived in Clapham. Wilberforce was a member of Parliament who advanced his efforts over many years to end the British slave trade through incremental legislation. Having entered Parliament in 1780 at age 21 while still a dissipated youth, Wilberforce came under spiritual conviction in 1785. He sought counsel from the famous former slave ship captain, John Newton (1725–1807), who had since become rector at St. Mary Woolnoth in London (see p. 21). Wilberforce assumed that becoming a committed Christian would require him to leave public service and enter the ministry. Newton, fortunately, convinced him otherwise.

In 1786 leading abolitionists sought out the newly converted Wilberforce, hoping to find in him an advocate for their cause in Parliament. They did. In 1787 Wilberforce wrote in his journal these now famous words: “God Almighty has set before me two great objects, the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners.”

The pursuit of these “two great objects”—the abolition of the British slave trade and moral reform across society—became the coalescing force of the Clapham Sect. That vision is often, and correctly, understood as a vision of social reform. Yet it can also be understood as the embodiment of the virtue of benevolence—literally, good will toward others—and the Clapham Sect sought to enact such goodwill to all, regardless of class, race, or creed.

Such a way of thinking was remarkable within what was still a rigidly stratified society. Numerous members of the Clapham Sect came to embrace such active

Making England good again

THE CLAPHAM SECT: ANGLICAN ACTIVISTS OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Karen Swallow Prior

Against our current culture—one in which more is better and numbers matter most—the Clapham Sect stands apart. This band of evangelical Anglican reformers, active in England from the 1790s to the 1830s, had only a few dozen members. Yet small as it was, as one historian has stated, it likely accomplished more than any similar coalition in English history.

The Clapham Sect is most known today for its greatest cause, the abolition of the British slave trade, and its most famous member, William Wilberforce (see CH #53). However, the group—also variously called the Clapham Saints, the Clapham Circle, the Clapham Party, and the Claphamites—tackled an array of reforms in a sweeping attempt “to make goodness fashionable,” as its collective effort is often described. Whatever success it had—and by any measure, it was considerable—owes to the group’s embrace of diverse personalities and gifts, shared vision, and commitment to embodied community.

Indeed, Clapham wasn’t just a project; it was a place.

GIRL POWER Hannah More (*right*) used her social influence and wealth to further the efforts of the Clapham Sect and shape social reform in England. She was notable as the sect's only female member not related to male members of the movement.

FELLOW LABORER Zachary Macaulay (*far right*) witnessed the cruelty of slavery when he worked on a Jamaican sugar plantation. He worked alongside More and became one of the most influential Claphamites, working as a free colony governor, educator, and editor of a journal that advocated for abolition and social change.

"AM I NOT A BROTHER?" A cameo medallion (*below right*) features an enslaved African with the powerful words: "Am I not a man and a brother?" The image became emblematic of the abolition movement.



benevolence through transformative experiences: moral awakenings that turned into spiritual awakenings.

MEET THE CLAPHAMITES

The name is a bit of a misnomer. The group's members were committed communicants of the Church of England, so it was not a "sect" in the true sense. Rather members were among many Anglicans influenced by the evangelical revival sweeping across England and the transatlantic region during the eighteenth century. The evangelical movement transcended denominational divides and was based not on doctrinal or ecclesiastical distinctions but on renewed emphases.

Historian David Bebbington identifies these four emphases as conversionism, biblicism, crucicentrism (the centrality of Christ's death on the cross), and activism. Clapham Sect members reflected the emphasis on the experience of conversion and the spirit of activism in particular. Often their transformative experiences entailed facing the slave trade's horrors, followed by a recognition that it posed the greatest moral question of their time.

For example Zachary Macaulay (1768–1838) left a life of youthful rebellion to work on a sugar plantation in Jamaica where he saw the evils of slavery firsthand. His journals record horrific accounts of the cruelties he witnessed. Upon his return to London, he came under the influence of his brother-in-law Thomas Babington (1758–1837), an evangelical philanthropist, a member of Parliament, and a Claphamite. Babington reflected the array of social reforms that interested the group; he not only opposed slavery but also took up the causes of smallpox vaccinations and expanded voting rights.

Macaulay went on to serve as governor of Sierra Leone, which Thornton helped establish to resettle newly freed Africans (see pp. 34–36). He eventually settled in

Clapham upon marrying a young woman he met teaching at one of the schools run by fellow Claphamite Hannah More (1745–1833).

Macaulay opened an academy in Clapham devoted to educating boys from Sierra Leone. He also directly supported many of the missionary, evangelistic, and social reform efforts championed by other Claphamites and served as editor of the *Christian Observer*, an evangelical journal that voiced the views and concerns of the Clapham Sect.

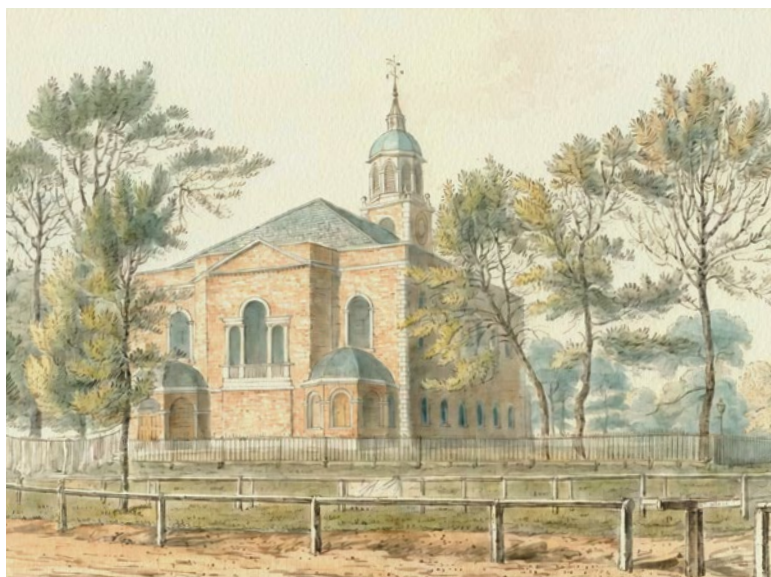
James Stephen (1758–1832, great-grandfather of Virginia Woolf) was a lawyer and a member of Parliament who became an abolitionist after witnessing an enslaved African being burned alive. Stephen was the legal architect who drafted legislation that would eventually be passed by Parliament as the Slave Trade Act of 1807, thus bringing an end to the Atlantic slave trade within the British Empire. It would take more years and continued efforts to bring about emancipation.

GIFTED FOR GOOD

Members of the Clapham Sect understood that goodwill must be manifested in concrete actions over time. For those serving in public office, that meant political action. Those of financial means acted with monetary support. Those whose gifts were thinking, writing, teaching, or preaching used their powers to persuade their fellow citizens to stem evil and do good. They were diligent, patient, and determined.

Henry Thornton used his considerable resources to underwrite various projects of the Clapham Sect, including





helping found the Sierra Leone Company and the *Christian Observer*. He also supported the organizations now known as the Christian Mission Society (CMS) and the Bible Society, along with numerous similar projects.

Other wealthy members of the Clapham Sect funded various evangelistic and educational efforts, including projects led by Hannah More. In More's younger years, she was a rising star in literary and London social circles, but under the influence of Newton and other abolitionists, she became an evangelical Anglican and retreated from fashionable life.

Notably More was the only female member of the Clapham Sect who was not so by virtue of being a relative or spouse of one of the men. The breadth of More's social reform efforts—opening Sunday schools whose purpose was to teach the children of laborers reading, arithmetic, and Bible lessons; producing cheap tracts containing domestic tips and moral tales for mass distribution; writing religious treatises for the upper and middle classes; and publishing antislavery poetry—well reflects the overarching reform vision of the Clapham circle.

Another writer in the group was Thomas Gisborne (1758–1846), an Anglican priest who penned an array of theological, philosophical, and poetical works. Some of these poems were set to music and sung as hymns. Like More he used his gift of writing to advocate the abolitionist cause, publishing in 1792 the treatise *On Slavery and the Slave Trade*.

Charles Grant (1746–1823), chairman of the British East India Company and a member of Parliament, lived in Clapham and supported a number of humanitarian and evangelistic causes as well as serving on the London Abolition Committee.

CLAPHAM'S LEGACY

As activists the Claphamites were reformers, not revolutionaries; they were largely conservative theologically,

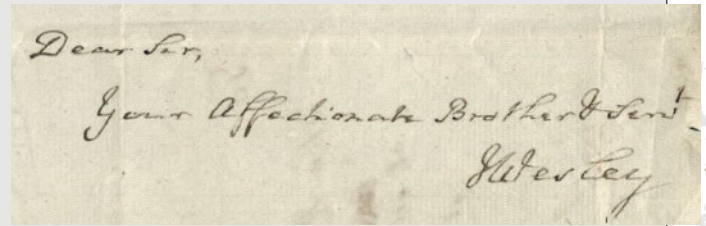
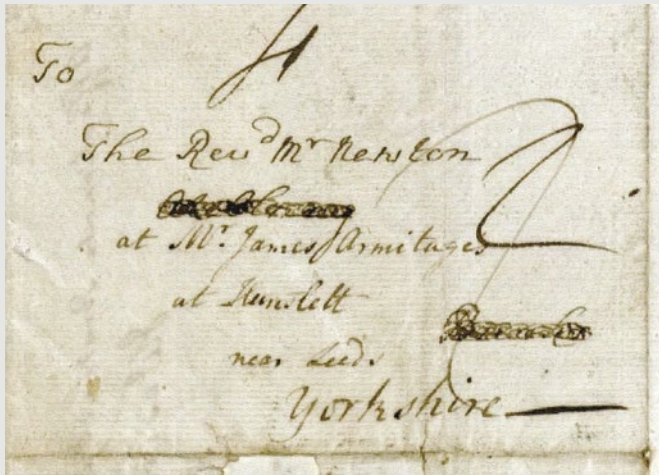
RIPPLES OF REFORM William Wilberforce (*left*) is probably the most recognizable Claphamite. But even Wilberforce was just one member of this small group of movers and shakers whose efforts led to lasting reform. Their Christian community, centered at Holy Trinity in Clapham (*above*), bound them together.

socially, and politically. They sought to suppress vices such as drunkenness, dueling, gambling, prostitution, and Sabbath-breaking. They adhered to conservative gender norms as well. Hannah More could not join the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the African Slave Trade because she was a woman, for example, and Wilberforce discouraged women from taking too public a role in the work, despite relying heavily on More's contributions to the cause.

However, some of the Clapham efforts would not be considered “conservative” according to the use of the term today. The group advocated for the reform of prisons, labor laws, education, and voting. Wilberforce even helped to found the first Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

The Claphamites' holistic vision and broadminded ability to cross religious, political, and social aisles to cooperate with others who shared their vision made them a potent force for change. They worked with Quakers, Methodists, nonevangelical Anglicans, and others: first, to bring an end to the British slave trade, then, finally, to free enslaved people across the British Empire with the Emancipation Act of 1833. Because many of the societies and programs they founded and supported continue today, this small circle of like-minded neighbors has remained a mighty force for good. **CH**

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YOUR AFFECTIONATE BROTHER In his last letter to John Newton (left), John Wesley acknowledged their theological disagreements. However he also expressed his love and respect for his fellow laborer in the Lord (above).

Hearts strangely warmed

The evangelical Anglicanism of John Newton and John Wesley

Like so many others in the eighteenth century, John Newton and John Wesley joined the transatlantic movement we now call the Evangelical Revival (or more often in the States, the Great Awakening). Beginning with rumblings in Central Europe that spread Pietists and their “heart religion” to places from Siberia to North Carolina, this movement ignited a renewed passion for “experiential religion” even as it took on various contours of Christian expression found in its path.

In England the revival started in the 1720s, combining with a recovery movement that stemmed from the “recent unpleasantness” of the previous century (see pp. 15–17), the dormant piety of Puritan forebears, and the holy living tradition of high church Anglicanism. Early on figures such as John and Charles Wesley, Howell Harris, George Whitefield, and others were swept up in this movement, eventually spending the rest of their lives trying to keep up with it.

AWAKENED ANGLICANS

Key to the movement was an emphasis on a conversion experience or even an “awakening.” Some, such as the Wesley brothers, came from solid Christian backgrounds and had a Christian faith already. Others like Newton left rebellious lifestyles.

Wesley’s Aldersgate experience in 1738 carried him into evangelicalism when he felt his “heart strangely warmed.” A decade later Newton’s awakening took place while he was steering a ship caught in a great storm, on a date that he would commemorate the rest of his life—March 21. (To the consternation of later evangelical abolitionists, Newton would captain three slave ships following this experience. His abolitionist fervor came later.)

The subjective nature of these experiences led not only to a cottage industry of printed testimonials, but to very different theological approaches to salvation itself. Newton and Wesley represent well the two dominant theological trajectories of the revival in Anglican circles, one distinctly Reformed (Newton) and the other grounded in the high church (Wesley).

Both Newton and Wesley were priests of the Church of England, even if Newton was brought up in dissent (see p. 28). After captaining slave ships and working as a tide surveyor, Newton’s ministry was “regular,” with incumbencies in Olney and in London. Wesley’s ministry started at Oxford as a Fellow but was later marked by “irregularity,” an itinerant ministry with an emerging network of societies and lay preachers that created a unique subculture within the church.

LOVE IN TENSION

The men knew each other, having met in 1757. Their differing theological trajectories caused tension. In Wesley’s last known letter to Newton in 1767, Wesley refused to take part in any further disagreement, but he added toward the end of the letter:

Certainly I believe some of your opinions to be just as wrong as you believe mine to be. But this does not prevent my loving you; yea, and seriously thinking you are much holier than me.

He closed the letter with “Your affectionate brother and servant.” Wesley lived until 1791, and out of his ministry arose worldwide Methodism. Newton lived until 1807 and became a mainstay of evangelical Anglican thought in the centuries that followed.

—Ryan Danker, director of the John Wesley Institute

Christian History has written much on both John Wesley and John Newton: see issues #2, #69, and #81 for more.



Saving Anglicanism?

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

Russell M. Lawson

By the mid-nineteenth century, Anglican priest and writer John Henry Newman (1801–1890) identified a growing problem in the Church of England. Modernist tendencies, including ideas of revolution and rationalism, were creeping into the ideology of the church. As democratic impulses swept through the country, members of Parliament became increasingly less Anglican—dissenters filled government seats, eroding the power and practice of Anglicanism and dissolving the state’s centuries-long commitment to the Church of England.

Newman was also vociferously against what he called “liberalism,” free thought opposed to hierarchical power and authority. Free-thinkers, he believed, opposed the principle of the apostolic succession, the God-given power and authority of priests and bishops. This ancient idea, which went back to the first disciples of Christ, would be the means, Newman believed, to save Anglicanism from the widespread forces of change occurring during his lifetime.

Modernity, at the same time, was slowly moving people away from faith and belief in the supernatural to skepticism, doubt, and rationality. It also was leading to teachings he abhorred as heretical, such as Unitarianism and Universalism.

A SECOND REFORMATION?

Newman was not the only one. Other Oxford divines—theologians and clergymen educated at Oxford University and other bastions of conservatism—joined Newman in the protest against a liberalized church, forming the Oxford Movement.

OXFORD DIVINE John Henry Newman (*above*) was the foremost figure of the Anglican reform movement started at Oxford University. Known as an Oxford “divine,” Newman taught at Oriel College (*left*) and preached at the University Church of St. Mary (steeple in background).

The leaders of the movement included John Keble (1792–1866), professor, minister, and poet; Edward Pusey (1800–1882), professor and theologian; Richard Hurrell Froude (1803–1836), Oxford tutor and priest, author of the posthumously published *Remains*; and William G. Ward (1812–1882), theologian, publisher, and writer. Newman remained the movement’s most prominent figure (though he would eventually convert to the Roman Catholic Church).

In 1833 Newman initiated the *Tracts for Our Times*, a series of 90 tracts published until 1841. Though Newman himself was the chief contributor, he credited the movement’s actual beginnings to John Keble’s sermon on the “National Apostasy,” which outlined how the state was distancing itself from the established church.

Newman, his friends, and colleagues followed up this first public statement with a series of short essays, the *Tracts*, published in London. The *Tracts* argued for what Newman called a “Second Reformation” to counter what he and others thought was backsliding by the Church of England. (Because of the *Tracts*, the reformers were often called Tractarians.)

Oxford Movement writers argued against the modern church, accusing it of ignoring important early church



OXFORD INFLUENCE The Oxford Movement created visible change in Anglican worship (above), as well as other practices. Marian Rebecca Hughes (right) founded the first Anglican religious order as a result.

THE REAL FOUNDER Newman actually credited the Oxford Movement's beginnings to John Keble (above right) and his sermon "National Apostasy."

practices, adopting a less rigorous stance in liturgy and rituals, and giving into forces then sweeping throughout England, Europe, and the world. The *Tracts* themselves gave voice to Anglo-Catholic strains within Anglicanism—that is, an approach to liturgy and ritual that is more Catholic in practice. In the "Advertisement for the *Tracts*," Newman wrote that people left the Church of England because they no longer cared for the sacraments; they instead wanted to hear enthusiastic preaching. Or they wished for Anglicanism's formality but with the authority and beauty of the Roman Catholic Mass.

In Tract 1, "Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission," Newman argued that the Anglican divines did not preach what was popular, rather what was necessary for salvation, and did not give in to the popular urges of the crowd, rather stood above the crowd as successors of Christ. But without government support for the established church, the people would go the way of what was most popular. In Tract 2, "The Catholic Church," Newman did not mean the church in Rome, but referred to the statement in the Nicene Creed, "One holy catholic and apostolic church," which meant a church unified because the ministers are indirectly appointed by Christ through apostolic succession over the centuries.

In Tract 20, "The Visible Church," Newman claimed that some people thought that his emphasis on the apostolic succession was popery; he responded

that the question is not, whether it will lead to Popery, but whether it is *in the Bible*; because it would bring the Bible and Popery into one sentence, and seem to imply the possibility of a "communion" between "light and darkness." No; it is the very enmity I feel against the Papistical corruptions of the Blessed Gospel,

which leads me to press upon you a doctrine of Scripture, which we are sinfully surrendering, and the Church of Rome has faithfully retained.

NEWMAN'S DEFENSE

Along with the *Tracts of Our Times*, Newman wrote his autobiography, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864), to defend the Oxford Movement and his own actions in the face of widespread criticism. In *Apologia* he walked readers through the Oxford Movement, its causes and results. He began with the French Revolution and how it had led to widespread changes in the nineteenth century. The British government began to exercise greater influence on the church. Whigs and Liberals came to power, and under Prime Minister Lord Charles Grey, the Reforms of 1832 completely changed the electorate by granting a much wider representation to (male) voters from a much larger range of social classes.

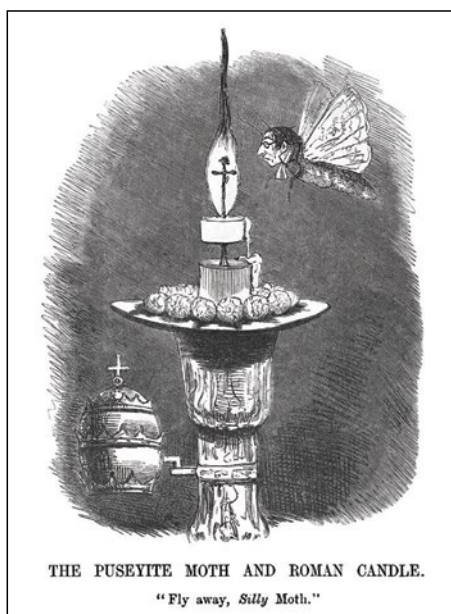
Additionally the apostolic succession was, to Newman's mind, the key to the power and influence of priests and the *raison d'être* for Anglicanism, for only if the church could show that it derived from the ancient apostles, formed in the centuries after the Resurrection, could it withstand the challenge of more influential evangelical Protestantism on the one side and Roman Catholicism on the other.

"There was something greater than the Established Church," he wrote, "and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic." As Parliament began to look away from its centuries-old obligation of supporting the Church of England, Newman believed a second Reformation was necessary, but this one would uphold the traditions of the past, many of which derived from the ancient Roman Catholic Church. Though *Apologia's* liturgical impact was impressive, its fight against modernism ultimately failed.

A ROAD TO ROME

Newman at this time was vehemently anti-Roman Catholic and very much Anglican, but as one reads the *Tracts*, it is





evident that the force of Rome's persuasion was overtaking the latter. And it was not just to Newman that this was happening, but to many other clergy and laypeople in England. His friend Hurrell Froude, for example, abandoned Anglicanism because he so loved the sacraments, the hierarchy, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Newman at first was horrified, but after Froude's death in 1836, he increasingly came around to Froude's point of view. For all of its chicanery, he told himself, the Roman Catholic Church was emerging as the only force upholding the apostolic succession and the early fathers' teachings. Modernity was taking Anglicanism away from antiquity, and those, like Froude and Newman, who could not watch as their church tradition abandoned its legacy, moved on to Catholicism.

As Newman lyrically wrote in the *Apologia*, "Since that time Phaeton has got into the chariot of the sun; we, alas!, can only look on, and watch him down the stoop of heaven. Meanwhile, the lands, which he is passing over, suffer from his driving." (In Greek mythology Phaeton was the son of the sun god Apollo, who asked to drive his father's chariot with disastrous results.)

Tract 90 was the apex of the Oxford Movement and a farewell to Anglicanism from Newman. He wrote:

Our Prayer Book is acknowledged on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our articles [i.e., the 39 Articles] also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through GOD'S good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being catholic in heart and doctrine.

Ironically he and others who had lived their daily lives reciting the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer now abandoned it because the Church of England itself, they believed, had abandoned its true origins.

Ultimately Newman realized his and the movement's failure to change British Anglicanism. Many of those



FAREWELL TO CANTERBURY An 1850 satirical cartoon depicts Edward Pusey as a moth, drawn dangerously to the Roman flame (left). Pusey remained Anglican, but Rome won over John Henry Newman. Later he became a Catholic priest, and finally, a cardinal (above).

involved accepted the failure and continued their lives in the Church of England. Newman, however, embraced the expression of Christianity that he had once so despised.

A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT

But the Oxford Movement was not dead. The *Tracts*, especially those written by Newman, influenced others throughout the world. Many members of the American Episcopal Church (see pp. 29–32) welcomed the emphasis on piety, holiness, and faith in the *Tracts*, the basing of the Anglican tradition on the ancient church fathers, the emphasis on apostolic authority, and Newman's notion of the indefectibility of the church—that the Anglican tradition is essentially true, an accurate representation of what God wants on earth.

Others, such as William Grant Broughton (1788–1853), the bishop of Australia, felt that the emphasis on a high church and the apostolic succession brought an air of continuity and respectability to his position. John Coleridge Patteson (1827–1871), bishop of Melanesia and a graduate of Oxford, admired the Oxford Movement as well as Newman's *Apologia*. Today aspects of Anglican worship and theology throughout the world continue to reflect the protests that arose in the green fields and Gothic buildings of Oxford 200 years ago. **CH**

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“The sacred gift has been handed down”

Tracts for the Times was a series of 90 essays published between 1833 and 1841 by members of the Oxford Movement in the Church of England. Below are some excerpts that show their desire to move Anglican doctrine and practice closer to a Catholic model.

There are some who rest their divine mission on their own unsupported assertion; others, who rest it upon their popularity; others, on their success; and others, who rest it upon their temporal distinctions. This last case has, perhaps, been too much our [i.e., the Church of England clergy's] own; I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built, OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT. We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of GOD. The LORD JESUS CHRIST gave His SPIRIT to His Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present Bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives.

—Tract 1, “Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission” (John Henry Newman)

Here we see the common course of things in the world. We omit a duty. In consequence our services become inconsistent. Instead of retracing our steps we alter the Service. What is this but, as it were, to sin upon principle? While we keep to our principles, our sins are inconsistencies; at length, sensitive of the absurdity which inconsistency involves, we accommodate our professions to our practice. This is ever the way of the world; but it should not be the way of the Church.

—Tract 3, “On Alterations in the Liturgy” (Newman)

If we take the example of the holy men of Scripture as our guide, certain bodily privation and chastisement are a very essential duty to all who wish to serve GOD, and prepare themselves for his presence.

—Tract 21, “Mortification of the Flesh a Scripture Duty” (Newman)

The oftener we do it [partake of the Lord's Supper], the more expert we shall be at it, and the more benefit and comfort we shall receive from it. It is very difficult, if not impossible, for those who do it only now and then, (as once or twice a year,) ever to do it as they ought; for every time they come to it, they must begin as it were again; all the impressions which were made upon their minds at the last Sacrament, being worn out before the next; and it being a thing they are not accustomed to, they are as much to seek how to do it now, as if they had never done it before. It is by frequent acts that habits are produced. It is by often eating and



A TALE OF TWO CONSECRATIONS The subtle differences between this 1847 bishop's consecration (*left*) to one in 1868 (*right*) show the Oxford Movement's influence.

drinking this spiritual food, that we learn how to do it, so as to digest and convert it into proper nourishment for our souls.

—Tract 26, “The Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion” (excerpt from a sermon by Bishop William Beveridge, 1637–1708)

Rites and ordinances, far from being unmeaning, are in their nature capable of impressing our memories and imaginations with the great revealed verities; far from being superstitious, are expressly sanctioned in Scripture as to their principle, and delivered to the Church in their form by tradition.

—Tract 34, “Rites and Customs of the Church” (Newman)

It was easy for those, free from the errors of Rome, to see that her doctrine of the sacrifice interfered with that of the one Sacrifice on the Cross; but many overlooked that the belief in that Sacrifice might then only be altogether sound, when the Eucharistic Sacrifice was also revered.

—Tract 81, “Catena Patrem” (Edward Pusey)

It may be objected that the tenor of the above explanations is anti-Protestant, whereas it is notorious that the Articles were drawn up by Protestants, and intended for the establishment of Protestantism; accordingly, that it is an evasion of their meaning to give them any other than a Protestant drift, possible as it may be to do so grammatically, or in each separate part. . . . In the first place, it is a duty which we owe both to the Catholic Church and to our own, to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit; we have no duties toward their framers. . . . In giving the Articles a Catholic interpretation, we bring them into harmony with the Book of Common Prayer, an object of the most serious moment in those who have given their assent to both formularies.

—Tract 90, “Remarks on Certain Passages in the 39 Articles” (Newman)

The story of Anglicanism



c. 47 The Roman Empire gains control over southeastern Britain. Christianity is well established by the fourth century.

304 Alban is martyred in London.

c. 389 Patrick is born in Roman Britain. As a teen he is enslaved in Ireland. Years later he returns to evangelize the island.

563 An Irish Christian community sends Columba to Iona (modern-day Scotland) to establish a monastery.

596 Pope Gregory sends Roman prior Augustine to England. Augustine becomes the first archbishop of Canterbury.

793 Norsemen attack Lindisfarne Priory, beginning a series of conquests on English coasts.

c. 1078 Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, writes *Proslogion*. Anselm helps solidify greater ecclesiastical control in the church in England.

1131 England establishes its own monastic order, the Gilbertines.

1138 A time of widespread lawlessness, known as the "Anarchy," begins.

1164 King Henry II establishes the Constitutions of Clarendon.

1170 After being exiled for refusing to sign the Constitutions, Archbishop Thomas Becket returns to Canterbury. Four knights murder Becket after his continuing conflict with Henry II.

1215 Archbishop Stephen Langton drafts the Magna Carta.

1372 John Wycliffe begins translating the Latin Vulgate Bible into Middle English.

1415 The Council of Constance posthumously declares Wycliffe a heretic.

1509 Henry VIII's reign begins in England.

1533 Thomas Cranmer becomes archbishop of Canterbury.

1534 The Act of Supremacy declares Henry VIII the supreme head of the English church, initiating the Protestant Reformation in England.

1547 Edward VI succeeds Henry VIII as king and initiates further reform.

1549 The first edition of the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) is published.



1552 The BCP is revised, continuing reforms to the Church of England.

1553 Edward dies. Catholic Mary becomes queen, reverses reform, and persecutes Protestants.

1556 Cranmer is burned as a heretic.

1558 Mary dies and Elizabeth's reign begins. She reinstates the BCP and returns the country to Protestantism.

1603 James ascends to the English throne. A year later he enforces church conformity, resulting in the ejection of Puritan clergy from the church.

1607 Anglicans establish the first English-speaking colony in the New World in Jamestown, Virginia.

1615 Poet John Donne becomes a priest in the Church of England.

1625 Charles I becomes king of England.

1633 Poet and Anglican clergyman George Herbert publishes *The Temple*.

1637 Charles attempts to force the English BCP in Scotland. The Covenanter movement and the Bishops' Wars follow.

1642 Religious conflict escalates into the English Civil War, largely between royalists and parliamentarians.

1649 Charles I is executed.

1653 Oliver Cromwell becomes lord protector of England.

1656 Parliamentarians gain victory and ban the Church of England (COE), resulting in sporadic persecution of clergy and laity involved in traditional services.

1658 Cromwell dies, likely of sepsis.

1660 Charles II assumes the English throne, beginning the Restoration. The Declaration of Breda promises toleration of all religious factions in England.

1661 The Cavalier Parliament, made up mostly of royalists, is elected, leading to persecution of nonconformists.

1662 Parliament ejects dissenting ministers. The revised BCP is released.

1685 James II's reign begins. His leniency toward Catholics and dissenters breeds resentment, and he is deposed in 1688.

1713 Satirist Jonathan Swift appointed dean of Dublin's St. Patrick's Cathedral.



Commemorative medal of Queen Anne's bounty, 1704

1738 John Wesley has his Aldersgate experience. George Whitefield arrives in the American colonies to preach for the first time. Satirist Laurence Sterne is ordained in the COE.

1748 John Newton cries out to God during a sea storm.

1757 Newton and Wesley meet.

1780 William Wilberforce enters Parliament at age 21.

1784 Methodists organize in the new United States as a denomination separate from Anglicanism. In England they will separate in 1803.

1784 Samuel Seabury secures consecration from the Scottish Episcopal Church to serve as a bishop in the United States.

1785 The first General Convention of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (later the Episcopal Church or TEC) is held.

1787 Wilberforce joins the abolitionist movement against the slave trade.

1789 The Protestant Episcopal Church ratifies a new prayer book and officially declares itself separate from the COE.

1792 Evangelical preacher John Venn begins his tenure at Holy Trinity Church in Clapham, where Wilberforce lives. The Clapham Sect coalesces with key members to reform society.

1804 Absalom Jones is ordained as the first Black priest in the Episcopal Church.

1817 Bishop John Henry Hobart founds the Episcopal Church's first seminary, General Theological Seminary, in New York.

1822 The British Navy liberates the slave ship holding Samuel Ajayi Crowther.

1823 The more evangelical Protestant Episcopal Seminary of Virginia is founded.

1825 Crowther becomes a Christian in Sierra Leone and trains for the ministry.

c. 1830 Episcopalians send missionaries abroad.

1833 The Emancipation Act frees enslaved people across the British Empire. John Henry Newman and others begin writing and publishing *Tracts for Our Times*, advocating for Anglo-Catholic reform in what became known as the "Oxford Movement."

1847 Charlotte Bronte publishes *Jane Eyre*.

1850 The term "broad church" is first used by A. P. Stanley to describe the ideal English church.

1860 The controversial *Essays and Reviews* is published by seven liberal clergy in the Church of England.

1864 Crowther is named "Bishop of the countries of West Africa."

1871 Missionary Bishop John Coleridge Patteson is martyred at Nukapu Island in the South Pacific.

1872 Anglican Christina Rossetti writes the beloved devotional poem, "In the Bleak Midwinter."



1873 The evangelical-leaning Reformed Episcopal Church (REC) forms in response to theological differences within the Episcopal Church.

1927 Modernist poet T. S. Eliot joins the Church of England.

1931 C. S. Lewis is convinced of Christianity and returns to the COE.

1938 Anglican author Dorothy Sayers writes *Are Women Human?*

1974 The "Philadelphia Eleven" are ordained irregularly, the first female priests in TEC.

1976 The General Convention of TEC regularizes the ordination of women and develops a new prayer book in light of Vatican II insights.

1979 The new BCP for TEC is published.

1998 Conservative bishops from the worldwide Anglican Communion attend the Lambeth Conference to oppose support of homosexual relationships. They are instrumental in passing the Lambeth 1:10 Resolution.

2000 Churches in Africa and South America establish the Anglican Mission in the Americas. They establish multiple mission organizations over the next two decades.

2008 Nigerian bishop Peter Akinola and Uganda Bishop Henry Orombi are instrumental in the establishment of the Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON).

2009 The Anglican Church of North America is formed in response to the consecration of Gene Robinson as a TEC bishop.

2026 Sarah Mullaly is consecrated as the first woman archbishop of Canterbury.



Canterbury Cathedral, 2014

“Reformation without tarrying”

Dissenters from the Church of England founded parallel religious communities

In sixteenth-century England, no one belonged to a denomination: “church” and “nation” were two different names for the same group of people. “Recusants,” or Christians who refused to take part in the national church, faced fines and imprisonment.

Most recusants were Roman Catholics, but by the 1580s, some of the most radical Puritans were worshipping in “Separatist” congregations in London and Norwich. The Norwich community’s leader, Robert Browne (c. 1550–1633), gave his name to the Separatist movement (Brownists) and wrote the most famous treatise defending the formation of churches not authorized by the state: *A Treatise of Reformation Without Tarrying for Any* (1582).

Elizabethan Separatists were a tiny minority but regarded as dangerous extremists. While Browne led his followers to the Netherlands, he later returned to England and reconciled with the established church. After London Separatist leaders John Greenwood and Henry Barrow persisted in dissent and were executed in 1593, others, such as John Robinson (1576–1625), John Smyth (1554–1612), and Thomas Helwys (1575–1616), also migrated to the Netherlands early in the 1600s. Robinson’s Separatist congregation migrated from the Netherlands to New England on the *Mayflower* in 1620, where they eventually joined other Puritans in setting up a different kind of state church across the Atlantic.

Smyth and Helwys moved in a different direction. Influenced by Dutch Mennonites, they rejected infant baptism and became the first Baptists. Smyth eventually joined the Mennonites, while Helwys returned to England, dying in prison around 1616. Helwys brought back from the Netherlands an Arminian view of salvation that would define the General Baptist tradition. Much later, in the 1640s, other English Separatists also rejected infant baptism while remaining Calvinists, becoming known as Particular Baptists.

SPLINTER CELLS

In 1642 war broke out in England between king and Parliament (see pp. 15–17). In 1643, as war still raged, Parliament called a church council, the Westminster Assembly. With Scottish Presbyterian participation, it drew up a confession of faith and a plan for a state church that would make England look more like Presbyterian Scotland. However, the Parliamentary army was dominated



“A FOOLISH FELLOW” A handwritten insult appears on this 17th-c. engraving of a Nonconformist minister.

by more radical Independents and, after the execution of King Charles in 1649, imposed its own religious settlement that largely ignored Westminster.

Under the Commonwealth, which lasted until 1660, local parishes functioned independently and dissenting groups proliferated. Both groups of Baptists flourished, alongside even more radically egalitarian groups such as Quakers and Levellers. Meanwhile the Book

of Common Prayer was banned, and now those loyal to it were the ones who had to worship in secret.

After 1662 Separatism was no longer a fringe position. Mainstream Puritans adopted it by force of necessity after the Restoration of 1660. These “Nonconformists” split into Presbyterian and Congregationalist factions, alongside the two groups of Baptists and the mystical, pacifist Quakers. Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Particular Baptists shared Calvinist confessions of faith based on the Westminster Assembly’s work of the 1640s.

Under the Restoration, Nonconformists could not hold government office or teach. (In 1662 all dissenting ministers were ejected from Parliament, resulting in the formation of dissenting churches.) The Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade gatherings of more than five unrelated people for worship. The Quakers suffered most due to their rejection of all hierarchy and of war and their habit of disrupting Anglican worship. James II granted toleration to both Nonconformist Protestants and Roman Catholics in 1687, but this led to his overthrow in 1688.

TOLERANT ANGLICANISM

In 1689 Parliament passed the Act of Toleration, allowing Protestant dissenters to worship freely and to operate their own schools (as long as they swore allegiance to the Crown), but still excluded them from public office and the universities. From this point on, dissenting churches had a secure place within English society, though not full equality before the law (which would have to wait until the nineteenth century). Even so, over the centuries, the Church of England learned to accept the existence of multiple parallel religious communities. —Edwin Woodruff Tait, contributing editor to CH

Generations upon generations

FROM A SINGLE SETTLEMENT TO A NATIONAL POWER: THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA

Jennifer Woodruff Tait

Anglicanism came to North America with the English—and it came first. Thirteen years before the dissenting Pilgrims (see p. 28) landed, settlers established the first permanent English-speaking colony in 1607 after several other failed attempts. Supposedly their chaplain, Robert Hunt (c. 1568–1608), prayed that day,

We do hereby dedicate this Land, and ourselves, to reach the People within these shores with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to raise up Godly generations after us, and with these generations take the Kingdom of God to all the earth.... From these very shores the gospel shall go forth, not only to this new world, but the entire world.

The Virginia Company, an English trading company (the name honored the late Elizabeth I), held a charter from King James I to colonize a portion of the coast. They named it Virginia and their new settlement after the king: Jamestown. From here Anglican influence spread outward. By 1609 the Church of England was the established church in colonial Virginia; eventually the Virginia model would be mirrored in Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia in the eighteenth century. However, Anglicans were soon numerically surpassed first by Congregationalists, on and off by Presbyterians, and eventually (by the early nineteenth century) by Methodists.

AMERICANIZING ANGLICANISM

Anglican colonists still worshiped according to the Book of Common Prayer; they had priests and deacons (not as many of them as in England), but no bishops. The entire colonial system was under the authority of the bishop of London, and commissaries represented him in the colonies. A parish system similar to the English one also existed, and “glebes” (land for the support of the church) were established. During the English Civil War (1642–1651), Oliver Cromwell sent ships to Virginia to ask settlers to acknowledge his leadership and cease prayer-book worship, but the request made little difference to colonial practices.

Right away the harsher environment and great distance from the English church meant changes, beginning with vestry governance. Vestries (see inside front cover) had been part of the English church for 300 years, but gained more power in colonial America, including the power to select clergy for their parish. This would later become the practice of the entire American church.

Missionary societies helped spread Anglicanism. Thomas Bray (1656–1730), the Maryland commissary, founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in



THE FIRST SETTLERS This 20th-c. painting imagines priest Robert Hunt giving thanks, surrounded by Anglican settlers, at what would become Jamestown, Virginia.

1698 with a major focus being catechesis of British colonists and the building up of colonial Anglican libraries. After traveling to Maryland in 1700 and being unable to obtain a stipend from the colonial government, he went home to England and founded an organization to support colonial clergy and missionaries, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1701. Finally in 1724 Bray founded a *third* organization, Dr. Bray's Associates, which supported ministry to Black Americans.

The church was small but thriving. In 1724, 161 parishes existed throughout the American colonies, all the way from Massachusetts to South Carolina (up from 85 in the late seventeenth century). In the words of historian Robert Prichard, “Clergy reported full churches in times of fair weather, ministry to African Americans, and a rate of receiving holy communion greater than that in England.” Many of the clergy and people reflected a rational, intellectual, and moderately high church theological orientation.



Soon, however, the religious mood shifted—and it would be an Anglican, George Whitefield (1714–1770), who would shift it. Whitefield first arrived in the colonies in 1738 to take up work begun by John and Charles Wesley in Savannah, Georgia. When Whitefield returned in 1740, his preaching tour over the next year electrified colonial America. He established relationships with revival-minded clergy of every denomination (while also becoming a close confidant of deist Benajmin Franklin, 1706–1790) and preached to thousands—maybe as many as 15,000 people at once. In the end he made seven trips to the colonies and died there on his last one.

While Whitefield never left the Church of England, he soon ran afoul of Anglican leaders for his dramatic and emotional preaching, willingness to engage in extemporaneous prayer, and rejection of the need for episcopal ordination. Those opposed to Whitfield's emotional methods used higher education to combat revivalism and also organized conventions to discuss the issues and petition the English church, once again, for colonial bishops.

By the 1760s younger clergy proved willing to adapt a more revivalistic approach—modern hymns, lively preaching, prayer groups—while keeping within the bounds of prayer-book worship and episcopal governance. In addition Methodist societies were growing separately—and Methodism, while clearly an evangelical revival movement, was also a Church of England renewal organization. This tension between high and evangelical Anglicans would remain a prominent feature of American Anglicanism.

REVOLUTIONIZED IDENTITY

And then came the Revolution. Although in practice many Anglicans supported the colonial cause, the Revolution cut them off from the king to whom their priests had pledged loyalty and for whom they prayed every Sunday—and the taxes that supported their churches. How could they constitute themselves as the Church of England in what was no longer a colony of England?

A BISHOP FOR AMERICA Henry Compton, bishop of London (*left*), appointed James Blair (*middle*) as Virginia's first commissary in 1689, but Anglican colonists didn't get their own bishop until after the Revolution. Samuel Seabury (*right*) became the first bishop in the new American Episcopal Church.

There were talks with the Methodists, who ultimately organized in 1784 as a separate denomination, and there were efforts in both Philadelphia (led by William White, 1748–1836) and Connecticut (led by Samuel Seabury, 1729–1796) to propose organizational plans for a new church. The Connecticut group sent Seabury to England to seek consecration as a bishop; while the English Parliament was figuring out how to consecrate someone who could not swear loyalty to the king, he went to Scotland, where three bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church consecrated him in 1784. He began ordaining clergy in America in 1785.

Finally, in 1785, the organizing groups held the first General Convention of what they named the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. They proposed a new form of the Book of Common Prayer (without prayers for the king), which was ratified in 1789, and arranged for governance by a bicameral General Convention. Seabury, along with White and Samuel Provoost (1742–1815), both consecrated in England in 1787, became the first bishops; White became the first presiding bishop. In 1789 the General Convention formally declared the Episcopal Church's separation from the Church of England. On paper they had a church.

On the ground the situation looked a little rockier. Only about 10,000 Episcopalians occupied the new United States. It took North Carolina until 1817 and Georgia (which only had one functioning church) until 1823 to send any delegates to the General Convention. Provoost disliked being bishop so much that he retired in 1801 and became an amateur botanist. But slowly a new generation began to expand, evangelize, debate, and reorganize.



THE REVEREND JONES Racism forced Absalom Jones (*above*) to leave Methodism. He founded an Episcopal church in Philadelphia and became the first Black Episcopal priest in 1802.

HUMBLE BEGINNINGS The first church building in Jamestown was fairly simple (reconstruction at *top right*). The Oxford Movement (pp. 22–24) influenced later Episcopal church designs, such as Christ Church in New Haven, Connecticut (*right*).



By 1830 the church had multiplied threefold with around 30,000 members. By the time of the Civil War, it would have over 150,000. New leadership arose as well, including Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York (1775–1830), consecrated in 1811. He founded the church's first seminary in 1817—the high church General Theological Seminary in New York—and worked energetically to spread the faith.

The also thriving but much more evangelical Anglicanism of Virginia counteracted Hobart, where the Protestant Episcopal Seminary of Virginia (today Virginia Theological Seminary) was founded in 1823. Episcopalians also moved west, with dioceses formed in Ohio (1819) and Kentucky (1832). The church formally reorganized its missionary efforts in 1835 and appointed missionary bishop Jackson Kemper (1789–1870) to oversee the work. It also sent missionaries abroad—initially to Greece, China, and Liberia.

Like every other American denomination, Episcopalians had to wrestle with the issue of Black enslavement. There had been Black Episcopalians since the 1790s, when Absalom Jones (1746–1818), one of a group of Black Christians who had left Methodism over racist treatment, founded St. Thomas Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (One of Jones's original compatriots, Richard Allen, 1760–1831, would become the founding bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.) Jones was ordained a deacon in 1795 and the first Black Episcopal priest in 1802, but his

followers remained second-class citizens in the local Episcopal church. While individual Episcopalians supported abolitionism, mostly the church did not speak out against enslavement, especially since many high church Episcopalians frowned on political participation. (Hobart, for example, refused to vote.) During the Civil War, the church briefly met in two different General Conventions, North and South, but reunited in 1865.

SHIFTS AND DIVISIONS

The high-church-versus-evangelical debate changed shape as influences from the Oxford Movement (see pp. 22–24) began to cross the Atlantic. In its English context, the Oxford Movement had begun as a political and philosophical debate, but its leaders had come to appreciate early and medieval liturgical practices. The liturgical aspect proved most influential in America.

In 1845 William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796–1877) presided over the very first establishment of a Protestant



religious order for women to minister to the poor and sick; by 1880, 13 orders of Episcopal nuns existed. By the 1860s American Anglo-Catholic Episcopalians were buying vestments for their clergy, chanting parts of the liturgy, using candles and incense, and building Gothic churches. Conflicts over liturgical practices, differing opinions on other Protestants preaching and presiding in Episcopal churches, and debate over baptismal regeneration versus a revivalistic personal conversion reached a tipping point. The Reformed Episcopal Church (REC) formed in 1873 as a result.

With the departure of many (although not all) evangelicals to the REC and the Episcopal Church's post-1867 participation in a once-a-decade gathering of worldwide Anglican bishops at Lambeth Palace, many American Anglicans began to define themselves—and Anglicanism as a whole—as a separate religious tradition, not merely a branch of Reformed Christianity or even, for some, of Protestantism itself. It was in this era that the terms “Anglican” and “Anglican Communion” first came to be widely used for worldwide churches that trace their heritage back to the Church of England.

NO SUCH THING AS A HERETIC?

In the twentieth century, the church also began to define itself as something else: broad (see p. 33). For years the greatest tensions in the Episcopal Church had been between the high and low branches; now tension arose between these branches and those who favored a more expansive interpretation of Scripture and the Book of Common Prayer. The church generally took an expansive approach, although one bishop, William Montgomery Brown (1855–1937), did get defrocked for heresy. A 1924 *Time* article about the case titled “Bad Bishop” noted, “If there can be such a thing as a heretic (i.e., one who disbelieves what a church believes), Bishop Brown was a heretic. Bishop Brown, however, contended there is no such thing as a heretic.”

“BAD BISHOP” BROWN Bishop William Montgomery Brown (left) was defrocked for heresy in 1924, but his “broad” doctrine reflected a growing interpretative divide within the 20th-c. Episcopal Church. In the 1970s issues such as regularizing the ordination of women (above) intensified such divisions.

The church's identity as a mainline denomination—in the center of American Protestant religious life and connected to other organized, educated, powerful Protestant denominations such as Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Methodist—became important to it. The denomination had seminaries, colleges, missions, good ecumenical relationships, a bureaucracy, a full-time presiding bishop, clergy, and a popular prayer book (updated in 1928). Membership peaked at 3.6 million in 1966.

But long-standing tensions among high, low, and broad resurfaced. Conservative resistance in the 1970s focused on the ordination of women, regularized at the 1976 General Convention (some women had been irregularly ordained prior to this), and on the development of a 1979 Book of Common Prayer revision. The new book incorporated insights from Vatican II and the resulting liturgical movement (see CH #157) and overhauled the 1928 version. Those who rejected these developments as well as general theological liberalism and broadening attitudes toward human sexuality in the church, became known as “continuing” Anglicans (see p. 1). Ultimately many would become part of the Anglican Church of North America (see pp. 48–49).

Today it is hard to find someone, inside of it or outside, who remains neutral about the Episcopal Church. Nevertheless it continues as one of the most influential expressions of Anglican Christianity worldwide. Robert Hunt could not have predicted the generations that would come after him, nor the way the continent would be transformed. **CH**

Jennifer Woodruff Tait is senior editor of CH.

Faith holds (very) wide the door

The influence of the broad church movement

Interpret the Scripture like any other book.” With this one sentence, Benjamin Jowett (1817–1893), a deacon in the Church of England and the master of Balliol College, Oxford, shook a country and a church.

Jowett wrote this in an essay on the interpretation of Scripture in the popular and controversial *Essays and Reviews* (1860) produced by seven liberal clergy of the Church of England in response to contemporary controversies, chiefly over Darwinian evolution and higher criticism of the Bible. While Jowett’s essay caused the biggest stir (despite following up his statement with the note that “There are many respects in which Scripture is unlike any other book; these will appear in the results of such an interpretation”), the essay collection as a whole produced a great deal of consternation and an (unsuccessful) heresy trial for several authors.

HIGH, LOW, OR BROAD?

The term “broad church” was first used in an 1850 article by priest and historian A. P. Stanley (1815–1881) who called the English church “not High or Low, but broad.” *Essays and Reviews*, however, helped crystallize the movement. A growing number of clergy and leaders did not accept Anglo-Catholic or evangelical answers to the era’s intellectual challenges and social problems. In many ways they were heirs of the latitudinarians (see pp. 15–17). Besides Jowett and Stanley, other English churchmen commonly associated with the movement in England were Thomas Arnold (1795–1842) and F. D. Maurice (1805–1872).

While early leaders of the movement hoped this truly broad church would in fact encompass everyone, it soon became clear that this was simply another kind of churchmanship to go alongside high (Anglo-Catholic) and low (evangelical). Broad church adherents wanted a tradition more concerned with social justice and less individualistic than the low church, less ecclesiastical and ritualistic than the high church, and open to using reason to ascertain religious truth instead of exclusive reliance on Scripture and church tradition.

Broad church ideas crossed the Atlantic and penetrated profoundly into Episcopal Church leadership and denominational ethos, primarily through Phillips Brooks (1835–1893), rector of Trinity Church Boston, a well-known writer, and a spellbinding preacher. He was one of the main organizers of the Church Congress movement (1874–1934), which attempted to bring all three church parties—high, low, and broad—into a forum where they could discuss issues



REALITY BEYOND RELIGION? A parody of Plato’s allegory of the cave shows broad churchmen John Colenso and Benjamin Jowett coaxing Oxford professor Henry Longueville Mansel, a critic, to see truth outside reliance on Scripture.

together. (A similar movement had begun in England in 1861 and is still ongoing.)

The Church Congress eventually faltered when it became clear during the fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the 1920s that most clergy participants sided with the modernists, upsetting a portion of the Episcopal laity. More successful was broad church involvement in the idea of Episcopalianism as America’s true national church (seen, for example, in the Washington National Cathedral, still an active Episcopal parish).

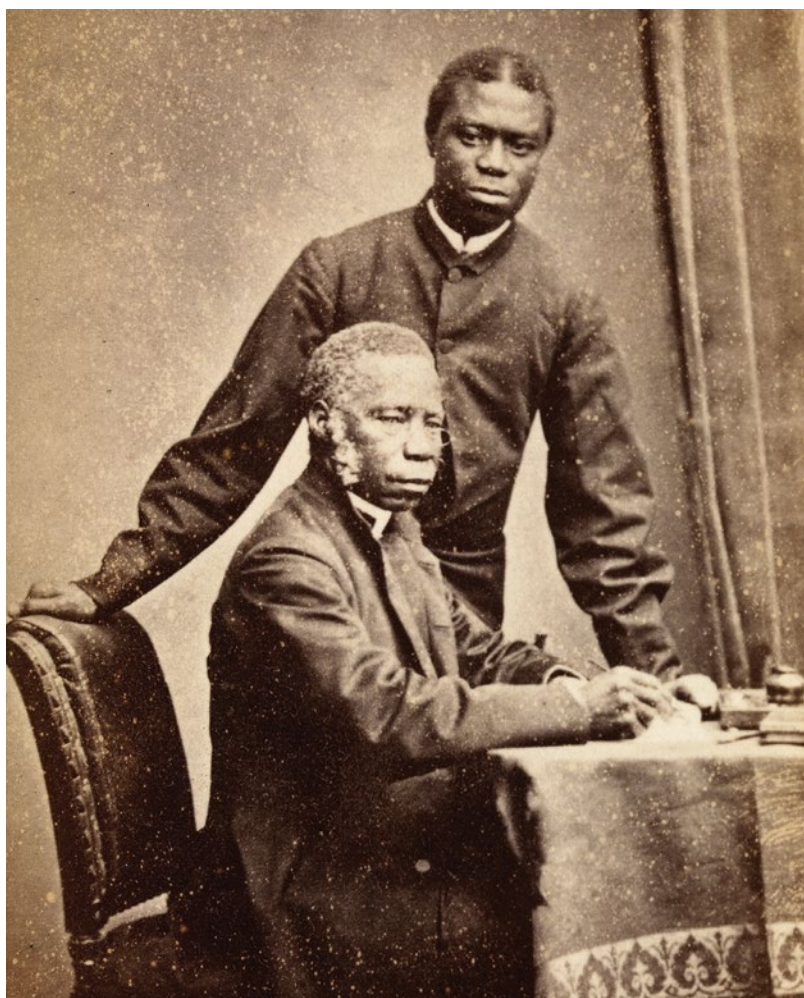
Today the modern Episcopal Church is largely either high or broad, but not low; evangelicals typically are a part of the REC (Reformed Episcopal Church) or the Anglican Church of North America (ACNA), formed in the 2000s (see pp. 1–2). All three groups remain living and active in the Church of England, though, as well as around the globe. In 2024 two broad church COE authors, Theo Hobson and Sam Rylands, wrote to the *Church Times*:

Broad Anglicanism rests on theological ground; for, if God reveals himself in Jesus Christ, Christian speech about God and the world begins by trying to hold in tension two apparent opposites: Creator and creation: Jesus Christ—fully human, fully God, held together in this person found in cradle and cross.

Whether Jowett would have agreed is unknown. Brooks might have, though—the man who wrote in a little-sung verse of his carol “O Little Town of Bethlehem,”

Where Charity stands watching,
And Faith holds wide the door,
The dark night wakes, the glory breaks,
And Christmas comes once more.

—Jennifer Woodruff Tait, senior editor and issue advisor



BISHOP OF WEST AFRICA Samuel Ajayi Crowther poses for a portrait with his son, Dandeson. Crowther translated the Bible into Yoruba and was the first Anglican bishop for Nigeria.

Patteson, an exceptional linguist, had already studied German, Arabic, and Hebrew. His gifts for foreign languages truly flourished as he eventually mastered 23 Melanesian languages to better devote himself to serving the people of these diverse island communities. His respect and love for Christ and the indigenous people he served were evident in his striving to build Anglicanism locally in keeping with the indigenous cultural context. Eventually he would establish schools, teach students, and actively oppose the slave trade in the South Pacific.

In 1864 Patteson became the first missionary bishop of Melanesia, sailing to reach the various islands on his boat and working and living among the people he served. Then in 1871 Patteson visited Nukapu Island. The island had recently been subject to labor and slave raids, which Patteson had long advocated against. Some of the raiders may have painted their ship to match Patteson's, and in a possible case of mistaken identity, Patteson and two of his companions were killed by those they came to serve in retaliation for native deaths at the hands of slave raiders. Remembered today as a martyr, Patteson built a strong foundation for the church, not only in the South Pacific, but in the Global South as a whole, as he sailed across the miles in

the *Southern Cross*.

Anglicanism certainly spread as a part of British imperialism and colonialism, and benefited from plantations and slaves in the Caribbean in the eighteenth century. However, it also grew across the Global South and even journeyed back to the West due to the stories of people like Patteson, who poured themselves out for others, following the example of Jesus.

FREED TO EVANGELIZE

Patteson represents one face of Anglican mission, those leaving Britain for distant lands. Yet Anglicanism often took root through another pattern: indigenous Christians who transformed the church from within. Such a person, who exemplified both the effects of colonialism and the Anglican missionary zeal, was Samuel Ajayi Crowther (1809–1891).

Crowther, then called simply Ajayi, was born in what is modern-day Nigeria and left Africa in chains after

To the ends of the earth and back again

HOW ANGLICAN MISSIONARIES SPREAD THE GOSPEL BOTH NEAR AND FAR

Jonathan S. Riches

As his boat, the *Southern Cross*, cut through the winds and waves of the South Pacific in the late nineteenth century, John Coleridge Patteson (1827–1871) was a long way from the cultural comforts of England. The son of a knighted judge, equipped with multiple university degrees and a passion for languages, Patteson could have easily rooted himself in a safe parish ministry at home. Instead he was ordained a deacon in 1853 and, a year later, answered the call of Bishop George Selwyn to share the gospel in New Zealand and the South Pacific Islands. He gave up comfort and security to spend the rest of his life traversing 2,000 miles of ocean on the other side of the world.

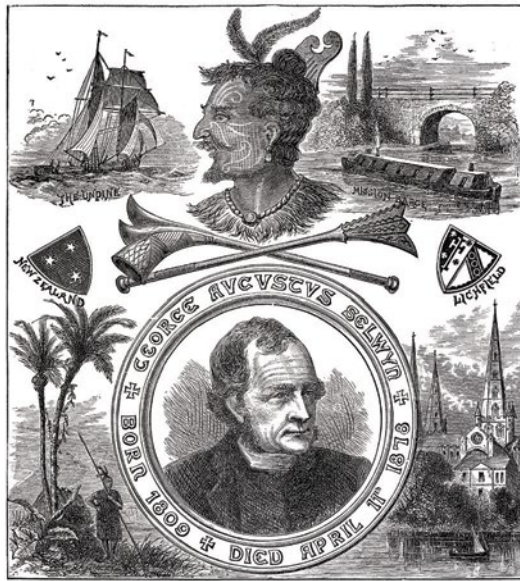
ANSWERING THE CALL Bishop George Selwyn (*far right*) called upon gifted linguist John Coleridge Patteson (*middle row, right*) to evangelize the South Pacific Islands with Selwyn (*right*). Patteson became missionary bishop of Melanesia and died a martyr.

being abducted by slave raiders and uprooted from his family and homeland at the tender age of 12. He watched as his home village was burned. As he was led away, his heart did not leave his people or his homeland. Despite being enslaved because of the imperial and colonial system, Crowther was raised to be an important indigenous missionary. Eventually he would return home with the Scripture translated into his native Yoruban tongue. The captive became an evangelist. The slave became a bishop. But that triumphant outcome was not apparent for many years yet.

Portuguese slave traders sold Crowther, and he found himself on a ship crossing the Atlantic. Crowther did not know to whom he would be sold next or where he would end up when the British Navy boarded his slave ship in April 1822 and came to his rescue. He and other freed slaves were taken to and settled in Sierra Leone, a country that William Wilberforce had helped establish as a colony for such cases (see pp. 18–20).

Though closer to home than before, Crowther experienced a way of life different from his upbringing. Formerly enslaved people from across inland Africa formed his new neighborhood, all carrying memories of the various lifestyles and traditions of their home countries. In Sierra Leone this cobbled community all lived and dressed according to a Western style.

Crowther spent the next several years under the care and tutelage of a British-based Anglican missionary organization, the Church Missionary Society, led by Reverend John Rahan. Rahan and the Church Missionary Society cared for and educated Crowther and many other freed people who had become Christians and had been resettled in Sierra Leone. In 1825 Crowther converted to Christianity and was baptized by Rahan. At this point he assumed the English name Samuel Crowther.



FROM SLAVERY TO SCHOOL A 1746 engraving shows the layout of a slave compound in Nigeria (*above*). British Christians established Sierra Leone for those liberated from slavery (*middle row, left*). The colony's schools educated converts such as Samuel Crowther.

Fourah Bay College was established by the society in 1827 to train future Christian leaders, and Crowther studied and later taught there. There he formally learned



FULL CIRCLE MISSIONS Leaders of international Anglican churches gathered in 2022 to consecrate two new bishops in England as part of the Anglican Network in Europe (ANiE). This newer network is a result of missions to Europe from places such as Africa, South America, and Asia.

Today one example of this is the Anglican Church in Brazil—Diocese of Recife, which has worked to reach low-income neighborhoods and even planted a congregation on the beach. The Anglican Church in Brazil is now partnering to support and grow parishes in Central and South America. The church in Africa and South America has also sent missionaries to Europe and America to help revitalize

English, Igbo, and several other inland African languages. He also had to relearn his native tongue of Yoruba after years away from home. He went on to translate the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into Yoruba. In 1843 he was ordained a priest in the Church of England. Eventually he took the gospel throughout Western Africa to his homeland and up the Niger River, proving more resistant to the tropical diseases and the climate than the missionaries sent from Europe. In 1864 Crowther was named “Bishop of the countries of West Africa beyond the limits of our dominions,” the first indigenous African bishop in worldwide Anglicanism.

Racism struck again, however. Despite his accomplished and faithful ministry to West Africa, Crowther was not allowed to enjoy the fruits of this labors. After having done much to spread the faith in West Africa, as he got older, he saw younger European missionaries come in and dismantle his work, replacing indigenous workers with White Europeans and eventually forcing Crowther’s resignation.

The effects of colonialism and racism marked Crowther’s life, but so did the love of the gospel. Although it may have seemed, at the end of his life, that only vestiges of his work would remain, Crowther laid the foundation for the explosive growth of Christianity in West Africa. Crowther planted the seeds of Anglicanism in Nigeria that grew to a church of about 25 million members, a church as large as the Church of England itself.

HOME-GROWN ANGLICANISM

Over the years Anglican mission would no longer come solely from the West. The rise of organizations such as the Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON), established in 2008, have caused a shift in Anglican leadership and mission toward the Global South; missions would even originate from there. The church’s focus has become sharing the gospel from everywhere to everywhere, no longer just the countries of the West sending missionaries to the South or the rich educating the poor.

churches in the post-Christian West, including partnering with Westerners to establish the Anglican Mission in the Americas (2000) and the Anglican Mission in England (2013). Africa, especially Crowther’s native Nigeria, has been instrumental in providing structural and theological support to the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA), forming the Convocation of Anglicans in North America (CANA) in 2005. CANA was a founding partner of the Anglican Church in North America when it was established in 2009.

Dispersal of Anglicanism across the globe is aided by not only an increasingly mobile society but also by Christians resettling from areas of war or persecution. A recent example has been the wars in Sudan, which have displaced Christians first to neighboring countries and then sometimes farther as they resettle. War-displaced Christians in Sudan have carried the gospel life and light into refugee settlements and cities farther abroad. In some ways this mirrors how the church spread in its earliest days—persecution and conflict forced Christians to flee and take the gospel with them.

While Anglicanism spread early in a traditional fashion from the United Kingdom and America, its missions have now shifted to a collaborative effort by the global church. The center of Anglicanism has shifted from England to countries such as Nigeria, Uganda, and Kenya, with other Global South churches assuming leadership roles. History shows us that faith and the gospel are not about hierarchy and economics, but about all people sharing the truth of Christ everywhere. The story of Anglican mission is not simply the story of the English missionary society sending evangelists abroad. It is the story of Christians from around the globe carrying the gospel across cultures, languages, and borders—even back to the lands that first sent missionaries to their country. 

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No poet is an island

SOME WRITERS WHOSE ANGLICAN FAITH WAS
CENTRAL TO THEIR WORK

Karen Swallow Prior

Despite popular conceptions the Anglican literary tradition is much deeper and wider than C. S. Lewis and some of his friends (see CH #113). Indeed it is long and rich, spanning five centuries—and counting—offering literature that has shaped both the Christian and the secular worlds.

ELOQUENT ELIZABETHANS

The “Golden Age” of English literature is set squarely within the Church of England’s establishment. Of course William Shakespeare (1564–1616), baptized into the Church of England as an infant, is the brightest luminary in this period of English literature, but he is hardly the sole star. Queen Elizabeth I (see pp. 11–13) was not only a patron of the literary arts but was a poet in her own right, a gifted letter-writer, and a rhetorician. Her writing played a crucial part within the delicate architecture by which Elizabeth served as “defender of the faith.”

One of the greatest poets of the Elizabethan age, Edmund Spenser (c. 1552–1599), celebrated the Anglican Church and Elizabeth, its supreme defender. His masterpiece from the 1590s, the allegorical epic poem *The Faerie Queene*, features knights that symbolize Christian virtues such as holiness, temperance, chastity, and justice; they battle dragons, giants, and other representations of human vice and doctrinal error. He portrays the Roman Catholic Church allegorically as an enemy to be defeated, and Queen Elizabeth is symbolized as the embodiment of Britain’s glory as both a nation and a church.

WITTY WORDSMITHING

In the seventeenth century, writerly experimentation, wit, and artistry flourished among its authors—including some of the best poets in the English language, whose literary excellence is inseparable from their churchmanship. Foremost among these is John Donne (1572–1631). Though Donne was born into a Roman Catholic family, he later joined the Church of England, was ordained as a priest in 1615, and eventually became dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London. Witty and erudite Donne tended in his earlier poetry toward the satirical and erotic but took a later turn toward the devotional, in parallel with his vocational, theological, and spiritual journey.

While most lauded for his poetry, Donne is perhaps best loved for one of his prose works, a meditation

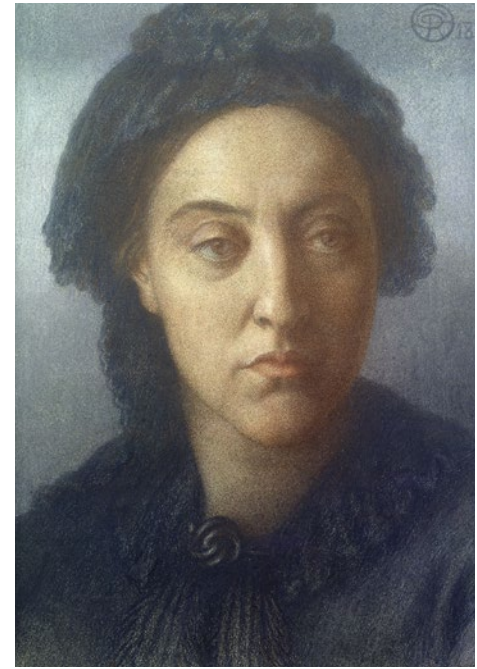


POET AND PRIEST Famous poet John Donne was also a priest and dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral (*above*). Donne is entombed and memorialized there (*right*).

containing the famous line, “No man is an island.” Regardless of his subject matter, Donne displayed an unusual balance between passion and reason, a combination expressed powerfully in his metaphysical poetry.

The metaphysical school was a movement of seventeenth-century poets characterized by their use of unusual extended metaphors. These metaphysical conceits, as they are called, used ordinary physical objects to reveal eternal, transcendent spiritual truths. Donne’s friend and fellow Anglican clergyman George Herbert (1593–1633) was another of these poets. Herbert’s wit was more subtle but no less brilliant than Donne’s. His surviving body of poetry is entirely spiritual and devotional and is collected in a volume titled *The Temple* (1633), which consists of sections named for the architectural components of an Anglican church.

One such example of Herbert’s metaphysical conceits is “The Pulley,” a poem in which the human need for rest is compared to a pulley that pulls human beings back to God to find their rest in him. Herbert also wrote “emblem poems” (or shape poems), verses arranged with



lines that resemble the subject—the shape of an altar in “The Altar,” for example, or of wings in “Easter Wings.”

SATIRICAL SCRIBES

By the eighteenth century, the British nation and the Church of England were prominent and powerful, claiming an identity that echoed the reign of the classical Roman emperor Augustus. The corresponding literary era became known as the Augustan age (or the Neoclassical period). Many of this era’s prominent writers were devout Anglicans but often rendered their faith commitments more implicitly than explicitly. Furthermore, conditions were ripe for a literary mode that often thrives in a homogenous culture with shared theological conviction: satire. The Anglican writers who wrote using this literary mode—which mocks vice or folly for the purpose of correction—expressed, paradoxically, their earnestness through a posture of irony and mockery.

Widely considered the best satirist in the English language, Anglican clergyman Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) served as dean of St. Patrick’s Cathedral in Dublin from 1713 until his death. Steeped in Christian theology and Anglicanism, which he viewed as the virtuous *via media* between doctrinal and ecclesiastical extremes, Swift wielded satire to critique a multitude of individual and social sins. But pride was the vice Swift judged to be the besetting sin of his age. Pride in human progress, ethnocentrism, and chronological snobbery were all objects for Swift’s barbed wit, brilliantly on display in *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726) and *A Modest Proposal* (1729).

Laurence Sterne (1713–1768), ordained a priest in the Church of England in 1738 and later a major innovator of the novel, also began his writing career with satire. He produced satirical pamphlets in the midst of an ecclesiastical debate. The debate ended poorly, but the experience

LITERARY QUEENS Queen Elizabeth (left) was a gifted writer as well as queen. Edmund Spenser honored her significance in his epic poem, *The Faerie Queene* (middle).

RENOWNED ROSETTI Christina Rossetti (above) expressed her deep Anglican faith through her poetry and activism.

allowed Sterne to discover his gift for writing, particularly in the comic mode. His masterpiece, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy; Gentleman* (published in parts from 1759 to 1767) has been described as the first postmodern novel because of its nonlinear structure, word play, and narrative self-consciousness.

Tristram Shandy was groundbreaking in literary terms, garnering acclaim and criticism, the latter primarily regarding a level of bawdiness that brought Sterne rebuke from at least one bishop. Sterne’s sermons and later work reveal him to be cutting edge in other ways too. He anticipated the later sentimental movement in literature and sympathized with early antislavery views.

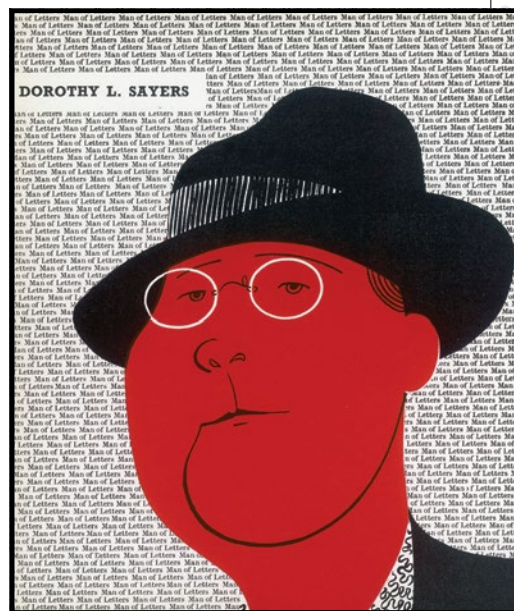
ROMANTICS AND REALISTS

The Romantic movement replaced the early eighteenth century’s satirical spirit by the century’s end. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) gave voice to the Romantic movement through his poetry and his philosophical works. The son of an Anglican vicar, raised in the Church of England, Coleridge strayed from orthodox beliefs for a time, but returned to the Church of England later in life. Always, however, his works expressed deep and profound theological understanding—of human nature, human language, and the way both of these reflect God’s nature and the nature of his image-bearers.

Developing a synthesis between opposing impulses of satire and Romantic sensibility, Jane Austen (1775–1817)



LEADING LADIES 19th-c. authors such as Charlotte Brontë (above) and Jane Austen, who wrote *Sense and Sensibility* (middle), reflected Christian convictions in their widely influential works. Dorothy L. Sayers (far right) was just as influential in the 20th c. and wrote prolifically as a Christian cultural critic.



offered the best of both ways of looking at the world. The daughter of an Anglican clergyman and herself a devoted member of the Church of England, Austen wrote novels that followed in the tradition of the comedy of manners, and in so doing, her works established newly respectable ground for the novel as a literary genre. Steeped in classical Christian virtues, Austen's novels reflect the regularity of the Anglican liturgy and the dialogical nature of the Book of Common Prayer.

By the nineteenth century, the Church of England faced internal and external pressures. The Brontë sisters, Charlotte (1816–1855), Emily (1818–1848), and Anne (1820–1849), reflected these tensions in their collected works. The Brontës, daughters of an Anglican clergyman, had grown up in the church. The most literarily acclaimed of the sisters is Charlotte, whose *Jane Eyre* (1847) notably critiques hypocrisies of nominal faith and the corrupt Christian institutions that plagued the Victorian era. *Shirley* (1849), a lesser-known novel by Charlotte, wrestles directly with rising tensions in the Anglican Church between high and low church traditions within the context of the Industrial Revolution.

Christina Rossetti (1830–1894) is most known for her poetry, which ranges from fantastical to emotional to devotional, often experimental, but visionary and splendidly crafted. Her most beloved devotional poem, “In the Bleak Midwinter” (1872), has been set to music and sung over the years by chamber singers and pop stars alike. Rossetti, deeply committed to her Anglican faith, turned down two offers of marriage over the course of her lifetime owing to both suitors’ incompatible religious beliefs. She remained single, channeling her passionate energies toward social change: ministering to former

prostitutes, aiding the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and advocating against war, slavery, and animal cruelty.

MANAGING MODERNITY

Anglicans writing in the modern period found themselves in a faith context of increasing skepticism and even hostility. Hence hints of an apologetic mode began to emerge in their works. This context makes T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) one of the most interesting Anglican writers of this period. A highly regarded poet and critic of the modernist movement, Eliot was an adult convert to Anglicanism. His masterpiece, *The Waste Land*, is one of the most important works of poetry of the twentieth century. Published in 1922, a few years before Eliot was received into the Church of England in 1927 (he was once a Unitarian), the poem achingly searches for meaning, suggesting a hunger for faith that Eliot would soon satisfy by converting to Anglicanism.

Perhaps Anglicanism’s most prolific and multifaceted writer is Dorothy L. Sayers (1893–1957). Sayers wrote detective fiction, radio dramas, stage plays, poetry, literary and cultural criticism, and religious works. *Are Women Human?* (1938) and *Why Work?* (1942) offer robust theological insights into matters that were both timely and timeless for the church. In addition Sayers’s translation of Dante’s *Divine Comedy*—a years’ long undertaking left unfinished at her death—remains widely acclaimed today for its poetic quality and its readability.

Sayers was a friend of C. S. Lewis (1898–1963), who also wrote in many genres (see p. 40). Their literary relationship was mutually influential in fruitful ways that have helped continue their legacies—legacies that were themselves centuries in the making and, in turn, continue the long, rich tradition of Anglican literature. **CH**

Karen Swallow Prior is a scholar, speaker, and author.

“Further up and further in”

A beloved author's return to Anglicanism

Clive Staples (C. S.) Lewis's (1898–1963) rejection and eventual reconciliation with Christianity involved a labyrinth of complex experiences: his mother's early death, an education that privileged rationality over faith, a world war that revealed devastation unparalleled in his lifetime. In his autobiography, *Surprised by Joy* (1955), Lewis writes that he was “the most dejected and reluctant convert in all England” when he finally admitted the existence of God.

In fact Lewis reveals that the whole experience felt as if he was a prodigal brought in “kicking, struggling, resentful, and darting his eyes in every direction for a chance to escape.” For him it was a bitter surrender at the conclusion of a long-fought intellectual battle. When Lewis finally returned as a travel-stained prodigal, he chose the faith of his boyhood: Anglicanism.

FROM DULL TO SPLENDID

Lewis grew up among strong Protestant traditions in Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom. His maternal grandfather, Rev. Thomas Hamilton (d. 1905), was an Anglican minister in the Church of Ireland, rector at St. Mark's, Dundela, in Belfast. Hamilton trained at Trinity College, served as chaplain in the navy, and spent four years in Rome.

Reverend Hamilton openly expressed his disdain for Catholics (a view Lewis's older brother, Warren, later condemned)—a political bias that left the youngest Lewis disgruntled with the church. Lewis's parents emphasized the importance of Anglican faith, although they were not fanatical. He reveals in *Surprised by Joy* that his early life was not characterized by “a strict and vivid Puritanism.”

His perception shifted when churchgoing transformed from a “dull” obligation to the splendor of connection with a higher power. However, the journey was long and difficult. After his mother's death, his old beliefs still nudged him. Young Lewis went to study with his father's former schoolmaster, W. T. Kirkpatrick (1848–1921), whose emphasis on rationality helped Lewis lean firmly into atheism, but hope was not lost.

His first experience on his return to faith was reading George MacDonald's (1824–1905) *Phantastes* as an adolescent, a reading colored by his continued fascination with myth. This fascination with “true myth” deepened when he befriended a circle of Christians in Oxford during his tenure as a don—a circle that included fantasy author J. R. R. Tolkien (1892–1973). All these experiences helped Lewis redefine his childhood faith as an adult. The fateful day when he rode in the sidecar of his brother's motorcycle, an unwavering truth



ASLAN'S COUNTRY A window at Holy Trinity Church in Oxford displays scenes from Lewis's fantasy series, *The Chronicles of Narnia*. In the series' last book, *The Last Battle*, the cry of “Further up and further in!” became a popular anthem of entering Christ's presence with joy.

seemed to emerge from the dust clouds: Yes, Jesus is the Son of God.

A SENSIBLE FAITH

Anglicanism made sense to Lewis, so he resumed Anglican practices and beliefs, worshiping in the Church of England. Lewis's biographer, George Sayer (1914–2005), wrote that Lewis regularly attended Holy Trinity Church not because he preferred it but because it was the closest parish to his home at The Kilns. His new approach to faith valued love and tolerance. Collective conformity was not paramount; community was. This attitude certainly inspired what would become one of Lewis's most famous works: *Mere Christianity*.

Joy Davidman Lewis (1915–1960) said of her husband that he wasn't high church but a “tough Ulsterman” (from Ulster, Ireland) with the views of an “Orangeman” (strong Protestant), although he approached life with “half [humour].” Lewis's mature faith allowed him to navigate the complexities of theology, to appreciate a diversity of beliefs, and to love his neighbor without the political burdens of his past. —Crystal Hurd, educator, researcher, poet, and recipient of the 2025 Paul F. Ford Award for Excellence in Lewis Scholarship in Teaching and Writing



Preaching, writing, caring, transforming

FACES OF ANGLICANISM IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Jennifer A. Boardman

JOHN STOTT (1921–2011)

Born in London to Sir Arnold and Lady Emily “Lily” Scott, John Stott grew up in the Church of England (COE). In 1935 he began attending boarding school at Rugby School, where he described himself as “estranged” from God. This changed at the school’s Christian Union, where Stott heard a talk by Anglican evangelist Eric Nash (1898–1982) on the question “What then shall I do with Jesus, who is called the Christ?” For the next five years, Nash answered Stott’s questions and mentored him, culminating in Stott deciding to study theology at Cambridge. While at Cambridge he wrote and began teaching at All Souls Church, where he worshiped as a child. He was ordained deacon in the COE in 1945 and priest in 1946, served as a curate, and then became the rector of All Souls, Langham Place, in 1950 at the age of 28.

Stott soon rolled up his sleeves. As his biographer Timothy Dudley-Smith wrote, “John Stott has provided a model for international city-center contemporary ministry now so widely accepted that few now realize its original innovative nature.” Among other innovations he created evangelism-training classes for his congregants, discipleship courses, lunchtime services, homeless ministries, and children and family services. He helped create the London Institute for Contemporary Christianity to form more bridges between Christian faith and intellectual reasoning.

Stott also helped advance the gospel in the developing world by training pastors and providing theological and biblical resources to church leaders. His book *Basic Christianity* is available in more than 3,000 languages. He died at age 90

ORDAINED AUTHORS Fleming Rutledge (left), J. I. Packer (middle), and John Stott (right) are all influential Anglican ministers known for their theological works.

and was buried in Dale, Pembrokeshire, Wales, where his gravestone reads: “Who resolved both as the grounds of his salvation and as the subject of his ministry to know nothing except Jesus Christ and him crucified” (1 Cor. 2:2).

J. I. PACKER (1926–2020)

James Innell Packer was raised in a middle-class, nominally Anglican home in Gloucestershire, England. He was confirmed at the age of 14, but he decided to follow Jesus when, as a student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford University, he heard a talk at the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union. He also heard lectures by then-professor C. S. Lewis. Packer was ordained as a priest in the COE in 1953 and earned his doctor of philosophy degree in 1954 at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford.

Packer was a prolific author, and his most famous book, *Knowing God*, was published in 1973. He wrote of his best-seller, “The conviction behind the book is that ignorance of God lies at the root of much of the church’s weakness today.” In 1954 Packer married Kit Mullet; they had three children. He and his family moved in 1979 to Vancouver, Canada, where Packer began his long teaching career at Regent College. He also served as general editor of the English Standard Version of the Bible and supported the Protestant-Catholic ecumenical movement for the greater advancement of the gospel.



Packer's view of Anglicanism stressed the reliability of the Bible, the importance of praying to the triune God, and the essential call to make disciples and live holy lives. Instead of just thinking about God and talking about God—which he believed many modern evangelicals spent most of their time doing—Packer insisted that Christians needed to know God by spending time with him in prayer, by listening, and by studying the Bible. Packer died at the age of 93 in Vancouver.

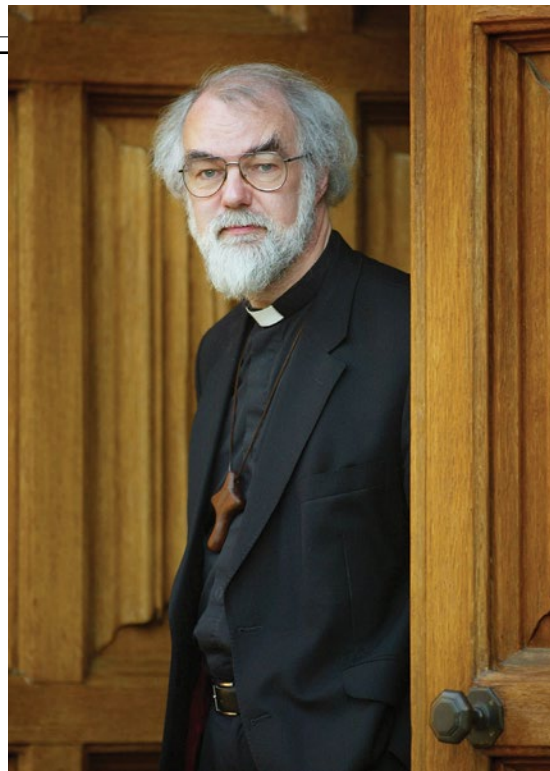
FLEMING RUTLEDGE (b. 1937)

Hailing from Richmond, Virginia, Alice Fleming Parker (Rutledge) received her master of divinity degree from Union Theological Seminary in 1975. In 1977 Rutledge became one of the first female priests ordained in the Episcopal Church (TEC). After pastoring high schoolers at Christ Church, Rye, in New York—one of the oldest congregations in the United States—Rutledge served as senior associate priest at Grace Church in New York City. She has taught at Princeton, Wycliffe College at the University of Toronto, and the American Academy in Rome. Rutledge is also a noted Tolkien scholar and known for her evangelistic preaching. She married Reginald “Dick” Rutledge in 1959.

In 2015 Rutledge published one of her many books, *The Crucifixion: Understanding the Death of Jesus Christ*. In a recent interview, she discussed the immense cruelty of this particular Roman form of torture: “Crucified people disappeared. That was the purpose of crucifixion—to annihilate them, to erase them from the human record with the most degrading mode of public ‘disappearing’ someone that has ever been imagined. And I mean that almost as literally as I can. The cross and Resurrection are one event—you can’t have one without the other. If Jesus had not been raised from the dead, we never would have heard of Him.”

N. T. WRIGHT (b. 1948)

As a boy living in Northumberland, an English county on the border of Scotland, Nicholas Thomas Wright recalls “sitting by myself . . . and being completely overcome, coming to tears, by the fact that God loved me so much he died



NEW PERSPECTIVES N.T. Wright (left) is known for his scholarly work on the apostle Paul.

WELSH ARCHBISHOP Rowan Williams (above), from the Church in Wales, was the first archbishop of Canterbury from outside the COE since the Reformation.

for me. Everything that has happened to me since has produced wave upon wave of the same.” Wright was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, serving as president of the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union. He studied for the Anglican ministry at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, and later received his doctor of divinity. He married Maggie Fiske in 1971, and they have four children.

Wright served in numerous positions as a Fellow, chaplain, professor, and lecturer at universities and colleges in England and Scotland; he also was canon theologian at Westminster Abbey in 2000 and bishop of Durham from 2003 to 2010. A prolific author, Wright has been a scholar of the “New Perspective” on Paul, which advocates studying the apostle Paul’s words in a first-century context instead of imposing modern norms on his writings. Wright also critiqued what he calls a very Western, American notion of heaven. He said in an interview, “The problem is that most Western Christians today think that the whole point of Christianity is for our souls to go to heaven when we die, whereas the New Testament concentrates on God coming to dwell with us.” To that end Wright encourages Christians to emphasize that not only did Jesus die and was resurrected, but that God has already begun forming a new creation.

ROWAN WILLIAMS (b. 1950)

Rowan Williams attended Christ’s College, Cambridge, to study theology. He received his doctor of philosophy degree from Wadham College, Oxford, in 1975 and was ordained as



FROM ATHEIST TO APOLOGIST Alister McGrath (*above*), scientist and theologian, was first an atheist. He became a prominent faith defender with books such as *The Dawkins Delusion?* He has written over 50 books.

SCHOLAR PRIEST Passionate about connecting academic and parish life, Sarah Coakley (*right*) cofounded the Littlemore Group in 2005 for that exact purpose.

a priest in the COE in 1978. He married theologian Jane Paul in 1981, and they have two children.

Williams served as a lecturer, dean, chaplain, professor, and canon at both Cambridge and Oxford. In 1991 he was elected bishop of Monmouth in the Church in Wales and archbishop of Wales in 1999. Then in 2002 Williams was elected archbishop of Canterbury. He served until 2012.

In the 2010 General Synod of the COE, Williams condemned the infighting over female bishops and the ordination of practicing homosexuals, causing many conservative Anglicans to distrust his leadership. In 2008 the Indian canon Vinay Samuel (b. 1942), a member of the Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON) team, accused Williams of intellectual colonialism.

Following his term as archbishop, Williams went on to serve as master at Magdalene College, Cambridge, until 2020. In 2024 Williams was asked about the biggest challenge in the global church today, and he responded:

We're divided perhaps more than we've been for a long time of how we use the Bible . . . as if the Bible has to be in every respect a 100% accurate guide to everything you can imagine from history to biology rather than the dependable communication from God of who God is.

SARAH COAKLEY (b. 1951)

Sarah Anne Furber (Coakley), of Blackheath, London, earned her graduate-level degrees at Harvard Divinity School and the University of Cambridge. She spent her



career as a systematic theology professor at Lancaster, Oxford, Harvard, Princeton, and Cambridge Universities. At the latter school, she was appointed the Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity, the first woman to hold the position. Furber was also ordained as a priest in the COE in 2001. She married James Coakley in 1975. They have two children.

Coakley's academic and theological pursuits have centered around natural theology, including working with mathematicians and scientists and writing on Christology, the theology of the body, and Gregory of Nyssa.

In 2025, when asked to explain Christology, she responded,

It's not that there was once this very nice bloke whom a few years later people decided to bump up to the level of divinity because there seemed to be enough qualifications. That's a kind of extrinsic Batman approach to Christology, which is absolutely deadly. It only makes sense if the whole cosmos is transformed by it. It only makes sense if my moral life is changed by it. It only makes sense if the whole way I look at the universe and its beauty is affected by it.

ALISTER MCGRATH (b. 1953)

Born and raised in Northern Ireland, Alister McGrath was a talented science student at Oxford University, eventually earning his doctor of philosophy degree for his research in molecular biophysics in 1977. At the same time, however, McGrath was also fascinated by theology and later reflected that while at Oxford, "I was discovering that Christianity was far more intellectually robust than I had ever imagined."

McGrath moved to Cambridge to study for ordination and was ordained a priest in the COE in 1981. He has held lecture and research positions at various academic institutions, including Oxford, Drew University, Regent College, and King's College London.

When he was a teenager, McGrath had become an atheist. However, when he arrived at Oxford, he began having



BISHOP TO BARNABAS Michael Curry (*far left*) left his role as TEC presiding bishop in 2024, but continues his church ministry as a “son of encouragement.”

CARING FOR BODY AND SOUL Sarah Mullally (*left*) left the medical field for the church. In 2026 the former nurse became the first woman to serve as archbishop of Canterbury.

conversations with Christian students and reflected, “I had no idea that it was really about a personal relationship with Christ. Discovering that changed things in a very big way. I discovered not simply that Christianity was true, but also that it was real. It was not just something that made sense, but also something that could transform someone’s life.”

McGrath’s personal story as both scientist and theologian as well as a former atheist made him a keen debater against prominent atheists after his conversion. Calling Richard Dawkins “embarrassingly ignorant of Christian theology,” McGrath debated the scientist as well as other prominent atheists. McGrath maintains a belief that science (including evolution) and Christianity complement each other, asserting, “Science does not in principle exclude God. Science simply says we are not going to bring God into things.”

MICHAEL CURRY (b. 1953)

Though Michael Curry’s parents were raised Baptist, they became Episcopalians after being served the same Communion chalice as White people in an Episcopal church in then-segregated Ohio. Curry earned his master of divinity degree from Yale University in 1978. He served as deacon, priest, and rector in churches in New York, North Carolina, Ohio, and Maryland, where he built ministries focusing on pastoral care, children’s education and care, preaching, and inner-city outreach. He and his wife, Sharon Clement Curry, have two children.

In 2000 Curry was elected eleventh bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, the first Black Episcopal bishop in the US South. He was then elected the first Black presiding bishop of TEC from 2015 to 2024. In 2016 Curry traveled to Canterbury Cathedral for a meeting of the heads of the global Anglican Communion. While he was there TEC was officially sanctioned for three years due to its stance on marrying same-sex partners. In response Curry stated: “Our commitment to be an inclusive church is not

based on a social theory or capitulation to the ways of the culture, but on our belief that the outstretched arms of Jesus on the cross are a sign of the very love of God reaching out to us all.”

SARAH MULLALLY (b. 1962)

Sarah Elisabeth Bowser (Mullally) became a Christian as a teen in Surrey, England. She chose to go into the medical field, opting for being a nurse rather than a doctor because it allowed her to care more holistically for her patients. In 1992 she received her master of science degree from London South Bank University. She married Eamonn Mullally in 1987, and they have two children.

Mullally held numerous nursing and leadership positions. In 1998 Mullally felt called to the church and began theological training, becoming a deacon in the Church of England in 2001 and a priest in 2002. She left nursing to pursue full-time ordained ministry in 2004. She served as the bishop of Crediton and London before succeeding Justin Welby as the archbishop of Canterbury in 2026. Mullally was the first woman elected to this highest position in the worldwide Anglican Communion.

Conservative Anglican groups, especially in Africa and the Global South, largely opposed her appointment to the post, due in part to their opposition to the ordination of women as well as Mullally’s support of the LGBTQ community. When asked about LGBTQ people in the church, Mullally said in 2018, “What we have to remember is this is about people, and the church seeks to demonstrate love to all, because it reflects the God of love, who loves everybody.” Mullally upholds the COE’s position that marriage is between one man and one woman, but she conducts blessings of same-sex couples in committed relationships. **CH**

Jennifer A. Boardman is a copyeditor and writer. She holds a master of theological studies from Bethel Seminary with a concentration in Christian history.



The road from Canterbury

AN ANGLICAN ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

Michael Matlock served as a Protestant professor of Christian Scripture for 25 years, including eight as an Anglican priest. Today he serves as the director of liturgy at the Cathedral of Christ the King in Lexington, Kentucky, and is utilizing the Pastoral Provision to transition toward ordination as a Roman Catholic priest. The Reverend Canon Elise B. Johnstone is rector of St. John the Baptist Episcopal Church (TEC) in Seattle, Washington. The Reverend Bruce W. Cory is a priest in the Episcopal Diocese of Lexington and serves at St. John's Episcopal Church (TEC) in Corbin, Kentucky. Matthew Barrett is a member of the ACNA, research professor of theology at Trinity Anglican Seminary, theologian-in-residence at Anselm House, host of the Credo podcast, and director of the Center for Classical Theology.

Christian History: *What do you think is the essence of Anglicanism?*

Michael Matlock: The core of Anglicanism is its commitment to the *via media* (middle way) that seeks to hold together continuity with the historic Catholic tradition and reformational theological insights. Anglicanism values the interplay of Scripture, tradition, and reason in discerning the faith. It has retained a historic episcopal structure and a rich liturgical life centered on the BCP. At its best, it forms Christians through the Daily Office and sacraments, offering a distinctly English vision of worship.

Elise Johnstone: A communal relationship with God, centered in liturgical worship shaped by ancient tradition, the richness and depth of Scripture, and the Spirit-guided discernment through reason. Our deepening relationship with God empowers us to love our neighbors as ourselves.

Bruce Cory: If we mean by “essence” the “distinctiveness” of Anglicanism, I would look to the unique character of

ON THE CANTERBURY TRAIL Canterbury Cathedral (left and interior above) remains one of the most recognizable symbols of the Church of England, from which all Anglican traditions trace their heritage.

the English branch of Catholic/Western Christianity. This character includes elements of pre-Roman Christianity, some of the Roman character contributed by those after Augustine of Canterbury, and elements of the continental reforms. This is accomplished by faithfulness to the prayer-book tradition. We agree to worship together using the words of the BCP. While the prayer book and the Bible provide a textual basis for our common life, we allow a broad range of interpretations and expressions of that textual basis.

Matthew Barrett: Participation is at its heart. Christ assumed our human nature so we can become partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. 1:4). To that end worship is sacramental. At baptism the priest touches the water as God sanctifies it so the baptized are cleansed from sin and born again (BCP). The Eucharist is a participation in the body and blood of Christ, a communion with his real presence (1 Cor. 10:16). As for worship, in Morning and Evening Prayer, we participate in the communion of the saints—on earth and in heaven. Catholicity is not a church's autonomous preference but rooted in apostolic succession. With the Council of Nicaea, we confess the creed each Sunday, convinced that bishops and ecumenical councils are essential to preserve the one holy catholic and apostolic church.

CH: *How do you see this lived out in your parish?*

MB: In a most refreshing way! I've launched Anselm House at St. Aidan's Anglican Church. Anselm Fellows gather for



A FORK IN THE ROAD St. Andrew's Church in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina (*above left*), became the ACNA's office when it left TEC in 2009. TEC is currently headquartered in New York City (*above*).

CULTIVATING THE GOOD LIFE Anselm House is an Anglican school of theology. Fellows participate in the Daily Office at St. Aidan's Anglican Church (*left*).

Evening Prayer, the formation of virtue, and friendship over a meal, followed by contemplating God with a text from the Great Tradition. Fellows apply classical theology by participating in the liturgy at St. Aidan's where they saturate themselves in the Daily Office and sanctify time according to the gospel rhythm of the liturgical calendar.

EJ: Each Sunday we gather and hear the Word proclaimed, and we are strengthened and renewed through the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. We are empowered to live more fully into being that which we have received: we are inspired to see more fully that we (and all) are God's beloved. The Holy Eucharist shapes our hearts and minds, and that shaping guides us to flourish in respecting the dignity of every human being—especially through meeting Jesus in our neighbors who are unhoused or underresourced. At St. John the Baptist, Seattle, where I am blessed to serve, we deliver lunches to our unhoused neighbors in encampments in the area, and we support a tiny home village both with meals and in other ways. We have been deepening connections and relationships through a Kenyan parishioner in partnering with scholarships with school children in Kenya.

BC: My church is in the Appalachian Mountains, which have a strong Baptist/congregational presence. Many of the members of St. John's are former Baptists, Pentecostals, or from other denominations. Very few are "cradle Episcopalians." Even I have Pentecostal and Roman Catholic roots. We have a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church who will join us for worship, as well as someone from the nearby Presbyterian church who joins us for Bible study on Sunday mornings before he goes to the Presbyterian church

for the worship service. (They have a choir. We don't.) We come together in this community because we can pray together from the BCP and delve into the Scriptures while also respecting cultural and theological diversity. There is room within the prayer-book tradition for adapting the liturgy into particular contexts. We approach the Scriptures from our unique perspectives, and each perspective is respected, even if not all will agree.

CH: *How would you describe your own theological commitments among the many ways Anglicans have identified over the centuries?*

BC: My theological commitment is first to the person of Jesus Christ. All other elements—liturgical styles, governance structures, and even many theological differences—are less important. We have one member of the congregation who also regularly attends a nearby Pentecostal church. They sometimes give her a hard time for attending our Episcopal church. We don't. I often find myself commenting, "Yes, but it is all still Jesus." I return frequently to a quote sometimes attributed to St. Vincent of Lerins: "In essentials unity. In non-essentials, liberty. In all things, charity." The essential is Jesus Christ. Everything else is commentary.

MM: I had long identified as an Anglo-Catholic; my theological heart beats with the Caroline Divines and the Oxford Movement. I believe that the church is a visible, sacramental society and that the Eucharist is the center of the Christian life. This commitment to the "Great Tradition" and the visible unity of the church eventually led me to find the fullness of these convictions in communion with the See of Peter [the



LIVING THE GOOD LIFE Anglicans root worship in the sacraments and the liturgy. St. John's Episcopal Church in Corbin, Kentucky, opens its Easter Vigil service (*above*); a child holds a palm branch on Palm Sunday at St. Aidan's in Kansas City, Missouri (*above right*); a boys' choir sings Evensong at All Saints' Church in Northampton, UK (*right*).



Roman Catholic Church], much like St. John Henry Newman. My "Anglicanism" was always a desire for the "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church."

EJ: *Lex orandi, lex credendi*—as some would phrase it, "praying shapes believing."... As a child and teen, I was primarily formed in the liturgy of Rite I (more Elizabethan in language and theology) and then experienced the breadth of the 1979 BCP, and supplementary liturgical resources of The Episcopal Church as a young adult. This, I believe, has brought me to a more incarnational understanding of our sacramental life, grounded in God's grace, which I find incredibly loving and humbling. The baptismal ecclesiology, and the eucharistic theology of the current Book of Common Prayer is foundational for me.

CH: *How does the liturgy shape your own life and your ministry?*

EJ: The Daily Office—reminding me each day, through the Apostles' Creed and Scripture, of my baptism, and God's empowering and loving grace—as well as the (at least) weekly celebration of the Holy Eucharist, guides me to empower the community I am blessed to serve. I seek to deepen our communal relationship with God and each other, and this gives me the gift of seeing the face of God in all.

MM: Liturgy is not merely a "style" of worship; it is the *lex orandi* (law of prayer) that establishes the *lex credendi* (law of belief). I see the liturgy as the Bible "in motion." It forms us not according to personal preference but according to the faith of the church. Now, as director of liturgy

at the cathedral parish, my ministry is to ensure that the beauty of the Roman Rite draws others into the mystery of Christ, just as the Anglican liturgy once prepared my own heart for this homecoming.

BC: Calling to mind *Sacrosanctum Concilium* from the Second Vatican Council, the liturgy, for me, is the font and summit of the church. The liturgy is the structure in which we receive the sacraments, the means of grace poured out on us as followers of Christ. The liturgy also serves as the context in which we, as a community, offer our worship to God.

MB: It's changed my life. I left the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) to become Anglican and participate in a liturgy whose worship is catholic. My family could no longer survive without a tradition that is defined by the creeds and a church accountable to the councils that gave us those creeds. We were also starving for a biblical tradition that believes the sacraments are *sacraments*. We found a tradition with a prayer book that reads the Scriptures sacramentally like the Fathers. Liturgy is not a moment during devotions or at church; it shapes my whole life now. **CH**



United in protest

The ACNA and African Anglicans

The Anglican Church of North America (ACNA) came into being in 2009 as a protest against the erosion of traditional Anglican values within the Episcopal Church of the USA (TEC) and the Anglican Church of Canada. One trigger to leave TEC had been the election of Gene Robinson, a gay man in a same-sex partnership, to the episcopacy in 2003. But tensions had been brewing for decades over what conservative Episcopalians considered to be an overemphasis on secular human-rights issues at the expense of core Christian doctrines and ethical concerns. Women's ordination was a sensitive issue, particularly for those from an Anglo-Catholic tradition; also the promotion of LGBTQA+ rights was seen as contrary to biblical values and Christian sexual morality.

APPEAL TO AFRICA

As a minority within TEC, conservatives looked to the worldwide Anglican Communion, particularly to churches in Africa, for support. Some feared that the 1998 Lambeth Conference (see p. 1) would make moves to support gay relationships. Conservative American Episcopalians urgently alerted African and Asian bishops to this danger. They successfully created a robust body of bishops at Lambeth who opposed such a move, producing a strong statement that homosexual relations are unbiblical. This was called the Lambeth 1:10 Resolution, and it read in part that the conference "upholds faithfulness in marriage between a man and a woman in lifelong union, and believes that abstinence is right for those who are not called to marriage."

BOILING POINTS The election of practicing gay priest Gene Robinson (*right*) as well as female ordination (installation of Sarah Mullally as archbishop, *left*) led to a conservative exodus and the ACNA's formation.

American conservatives might naturally have felt more kinship with the church in South Africa, but the immensely influential Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the South African church was clear that a church that had strenuously opposed apartheid on the grounds of race could not now discriminate against people on the grounds of sexuality. The large, dynamic evangelical and biblically orthodox churches of Nigeria and Uganda proved more sympathetic. In 2006 Archbishops Peter Akinola (b. 1944) of Nigeria and Henry Orombi of Uganda (b. 1949) became instrumental in the creation of the Global Anglican Futures Conference (GAFCON) and its Jerusalem Declaration reaffirming opposition to gay inclusion.

On its formation the ACNA was welcomed as a full member of GAFCON, even though the ACNA was not part of the Anglican Communion. The churches in both Nigeria and Uganda made the decision to refuse any financial help from TEC. The small Anglican Church in Rwanda, recovering from the devastating genocide of 1994, soon became a focus for ACNA support.

In both Nigeria and Uganda, the controversy has had a wider effect on society, creating concerns about a "gay agenda" aimed at subverting traditional African values, resulting in legislation to ban homosexual practice and same-sex marriage. The conflict has also raised the question of how to escape the colonial heritage of a Western-dominated Anglicanism.

The relationship between the ACNA and African Anglicans has, however, not been without its problems. Many African Anglicans ordain women to the priesthood

and some to the episcopate (currently only men can be ordained to the episcopate in the ACNA). Six African female bishops attended the installation of Sarah Mullally as archbishop of Canterbury in 2026 (see p. 44).

Regardless the ACNA sought to create an alternate to Canterbury in the worldwide Anglican Communion. In 2026 in Abuja, the capital of Nigeria, they met to begin this process, stating, “Reordering the Anglican Communion is now necessary,” but held back from appointing a single alternative archbishop. —Kevin Ward, retired associate professor at the University of Leeds



JOINING THE FIGHT African Anglicans, such as Nigerian bishop Emmanuel Chukwuma (*right*) and Ugandan archbishop Henry Orombi (*left*), opposed the liberalism of Western Anglicanism and became strong voices for conservative practices worldwide.

The gospellers

Africa's influence in global Anglicanism today

In the context of worldwide Christianity, modern African Anglicanism has come to define the future of global Anglican orthodoxy. Particularly African Anglicanism was and is a key contributor to the shift of Christian leadership to the Global South.

How did African Anglicanism become so influential in the international Christian community? Three factors have shaped its emergence and form of expression in the continent and consequently, around the world: the gospeller, the gospel experience, and the gospel historical movement among the African people.

SOWING GOOD NEWS

The term “gospeller” refers to the human instrument: the people who transmitted the gospel to diverse communities in Africa. While the theological foundation of African Anglicanism is rooted in the 39 Articles of Religion, the growth and expansion motive came from missionary movements through colonial pathways in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Kenya, Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries focused on indigenous people rather than serving as chaplains to British settlers, encouraging local populations to take the lead and evangelize their communities. Anglican mission enterprise, as early as the eighteenth century, gradually expanded from White-led churches to indigenous leadership, as in the ministry of Bishop Ajayi Crowther (see pp. 34–36). African evangelical Anglican theology today was sown in Africa and beyond by these gospellers.

In many instances across African communities, the gospel experiences of the various missionary societies were resistance stories. Their efforts were fraught

with spiritual and sociocultural obstacles and struggles. Early converts in these contexts saw how the power of the gospel disarmed ancient spiritual strongholds in their communities. The missionaries were often given “evil forests” to evangelize—areas believed to be possessed by gods and forbidden for humans to transverse. But instead of the missionaries dying due to human transgression, the evil forests were “redeemed.” They became centers of civilization in many of those ancient communities and remain so today. The transforming power of the gospel became the propelling motivation for the indigenous gospel movement.

REAPING A HOMEGROWN HARVEST

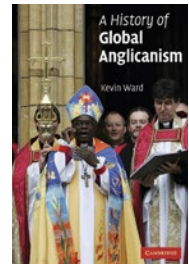
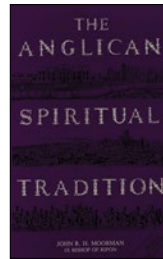
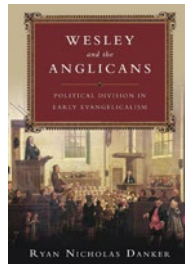
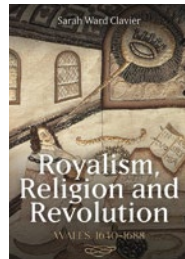
By the nineteenth century, the Anglican Church in Africa became indigenous because of the gospel historical movement—a missions movement in which African Anglicans became self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. Indigenous Anglican congregations in the Niger delta area spread the gospel faithfully. At the heart of this missionary zeal was a strong commitment to biblical authority and evangelism.

This zeal continues today as modern African Anglicanism remains a strong voice among conservative evangelicals in the global Anglican Communion. African Anglicans also serve as key leaders within GAFCON, uniting conservatives committed to biblical authority.

Indeed the Anglican Communion stands to gain unique spiritual vibrancy and resilience from these modern African Anglicans, whose passion for cultivating the Good News at home and around the world has resulted in a massive, homegrown harvest, ripe for the reaping. —Olayemi O. T. Fatusi, dean, St. Francis of Assisi Theological College, vicar, St. Philip Anglican Church Gwarinpa

Recommended resources

DISCOVER THE HISTORY OF THE ANGLICANS—IN ENGLAND, THE UNITED STATES, AND WORLDWIDE—WITH THESE RESOURCES RECOMMENDED BY OUR EDITORS AND AUTHORS.



BOOKS

For an **introduction** to the Anglican story, see John Booty, Jonathan Knight, and Stephen Sykes, *The Study of Anglicanism* (1988); Mark Chapman, *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction* (2006), and Winfield Bevins, *Simply Anglican: An Ancient Faith for Today's World* (2020). For more in-depth study, see Colin Buchanan, *Historical Dictionary of Anglicanism* (2015) and Mark Chapman, Sathianathan Clarke, and Martyn Percy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies* (2015).

Everything you've ever wanted to know about Anglicanism is covered in Oxford University Press's five volumes about Anglicanism, *The Oxford History of Anglicanism* (2017–2019), edited by Rowan Strong; as well as Brill's *Anglican-Episcopal Theology and History* series (2015–2025), edited by Paul Avis.

Find the general **history of the church in the United Kingdom**, from its ancient beginnings to the twentieth century, in John Moorman, *A History of the Church in England* (1980); John Howe, *Our Anglican Heritage* (2010); Henry Chadwick et al., *Not Angels But Anglicans: A History of Christianity in the British Isles* (2010); and Gerald Bray, *The History of Christianity in Ireland* (2021).

Many excellent books also exist on specific eras of the church in England and on Anglicanism beyond England. For **pre-Reformation English church history**, see Robert Norman Swanson, ed., *Catholic England* (1993); Christopher Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400–1530* (1996); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars 1400–1580* (2005); and Nicholas Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England* (2022).

Move on to the **English Reformation** in A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (1964); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations* (1993); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England (1547–1603)* (2001); G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (2005); Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided*

(2017); and Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (2017).

Additionally, read more on the history of the **Book of Common Prayer** with Charles Helfling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer* (2008); Brian Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Very Short Introduction* (2018); and Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography* (2019).

Discover **Anglicanism in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries** in John Moorman, *The Anglican Spiritual Tradition* (1983)—which we excerpted in this issue on p. 10; Andrew Foster, *Church of England 1570–1640* (1994); William Gibson, *The Church of England 1688–1832* (2000); Calvin Lane, *The Laudians and the Elizabethan Church* (2013); and Sarah Ward Clavier, *Royalism, Religion, and Revolution: North-East Wales, 1640–1688* (2021). You may also find C. S. Lewis's analysis of Anglicanism in British literature during this time period useful. See his volume *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (1954).

Turn to the **evangelical Anglicans** with Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734–1984* (1989); David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980s* (2004); and Randle Manwaring, *From Controversy to Co-Existence: Evangelicals in the Church of England 1914–1980* (2002). Dig deeper on the **Clapham Sect** in Karen Swallow Prior, *Fierce Convictions: The Extraordinary Life of Hannah More* (2014), and find more on **Methodists and Anglican evangelicals** in Ryan Danker, *Wesley and the Anglicans* (2016).

Get to know the **Oxford Movement** with Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities in Catholic Revival in Anglicanism* (1983); John Shelton Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism* (2000); George Herring, *What Was the Oxford Movement?*

(2002); C. Brad Faught, *The Oxford Movement: A Thematic History of the Tractarians and Their Times* (2003); Michael Chandler, *An Introduction to the Oxford Movement* (2003); Stewart Brown and Peter Nockles, eds., *The Oxford Movement* (2014); and Christopher Dawson, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement* (2023).

Trace **Anglicanism in America** with David Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (1993); Pamela Darling, *New Wine: The Story of Women Transforming Leadership and Power in the Episcopal Church* (1994); Harold Lewis, *Yet with a Steady Beat: The African American Struggle for Recognition in the Episcopal Church* (1996); Gardiner Shattuck Jr., *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (2003); David Hein and Gardiner Shattuck Jr., *The Episcopalians* (2005); and Robert Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church* (2014).

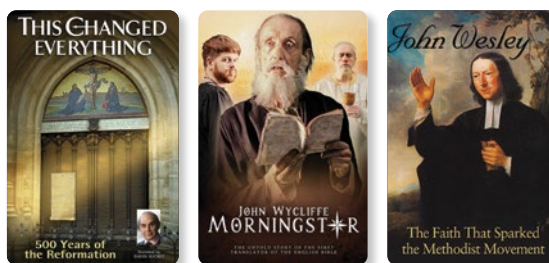
Finally, explore the story of **missions and global Anglicanism** with Titus Presler, *Horizons of Mission* (2001); Ian Douglas and Kwok Pui-Lan, eds., *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism: The Anglican Communion in the Twenty-first Century* (2001); Kevin Ward, *A History of Global Anglicanism* (2006); Bruce Kaye, *An Introduction to World Anglicanism* (2008); and Stephen Burns, Bryan Cones, and James Tengatenga, eds., *Twentieth-Century Anglican Theologians: From Evelyn Underhill to Esther Mombo* (2020).



PAST CH ISSUES

Many issues of *CH* reference the Anglican story, but here are some of the most relevant to this issue:

- #2 and #69: *John and Charles Wesley*
- #7, #88, and #140: *C. S. Lewis*
- #16: *William Tyndale*
- #23: *Spiritual Awakenings in North America*
- #38: *George Whitefield*
- #41: *American Puritans*
- #48: *Thomas Cranmer & the English Reformation*
- #49: *Everyday Faith in the Middle Ages*
- #53: *William Wilberforce and the Century of Reform*
- #60: *How the Irish Were Saved*
- #81: *John Newton*
- #89: *Richard Baxter and the English Puritans*
- #100: *400th Anniversary of the King James Bible*
- #113: *Seven Literary Sages*
- #120: *Calvin, Councils, and Confessions*
- #156+: *Fasts and Feasts*



VIDEOS FROM VISION VIDEO

Vision Video has several films related to this issue, including the *History of Worship* series and *This Changed Everything*. Find specific figures such as John Wesley in *Encounters with John Wesley*, *John Wesley: The Faith That Sparked the Methodist Movement*, *Wesley: A Heart Transformed*, and *John Wesley: The Man and His Mission*; C. S. Lewis in *The Shortest Way Home*, *The Most Reluctant Convert*, *Shadowlands*, and *Through a Lens Darkly*; John Wycliffe in *John Wycliffe: The Morningstar and Morningstar*; and William Tyndale in *God's Outlaw: The Story of William Tyndale*. Our Torchlighters series for children has episodes on William Tyndale, John Wesley, John Newton, Richard Allen, and John Bunyan.

Find many of these titles and more on Vision Video's streaming service, Redeem TV.



WEBSITES

See the usual collections at Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Gutenberg.org, and Internet Modern Sourcebook for access to primary sources; but add Project Canterbury for specifically Anglican collections. Virginia Theological Seminary's Bishop Payne Library offers an online guide to Anglicanism as well.

Explore further the major Anglican traditions with these denominational and organizational websites: The Episcopal Church; Anglican Church in North America; Church of England; Reformed Episcopal Church; Anglican Communion; and Global Anglican Future Conference. The Anglican Compass website, aimed at people new to the tradition, can also help you navigate Anglicanism in general.

Finally, find everything you've ever wanted to know about all editions of the Book of Common Prayer at justus.anglican.org. Get more specific with the 1979 BCP used by ECUSA and the 2019 one used by the ACNA. **CH**

Questions for reflection

The Anglicans



A HIGH CALLING Episcopal bishops consecrate Douglas Sparks by the laying on of hands in Fort Wayne, Indiana, on June 25, 2016.

Use these questions to help guide your understanding of the Anglican story.

1. What were some unfamiliar terms or ideas you encountered in “Did you know?” (See inside front cover.) What did you learn?
2. Who was Thomas Becket (pp. 6–9)? In what ways did the church and the monarchy begin to clash in the Middle Ages?
3. How did the Reformation in England (see pp. 11–13) look different from the Reformation in Europe, and why?
4. Consider the excerpts from *The Anglican Tradition* on page 10. How do these passages capture the radical changes the church endured during the reigns of Henry VIII and his children?
5. What caused the English Civil War during the seventeenth century (pp. 15–17)? What happened to the Church of England during this time?
6. Who were the members of the Clapham Sect (pp. 18–20)? What did their work accomplish?
7. What was the Oxford Movement (pp. 22–24)? How did John Henry Newman and others advocate for reform within the Church of England?

8. Why did the Episcopal Church in America form and organize separately from the Church of England (pp. 29–32)?
9. What was the broad church movement (p. 33)? How did it affect Anglicanism in the twentieth century in England and the United States?
10. How and why did missions to places such as Africa and South America shift to missions from these places (pp. 34–36)?
11. How did the faith of the Anglican writers on pages 37 to 39 influence their work? Were you surprised to learn any of these writers were Anglican? Why?
12. Why did C. S. Lewis reject the Anglicanism of his youth (p. 40)? What were some reasons for his return?
13. What do the figures on pages 41 through 44 have in common? How do their expressions of Anglicanism differ?
14. Consider the perspectives offered on Anglicanism in the interviews on pages 45 to 47. What did you learn? What surprised you about the interviewees’ spiritual journeys?
15. What events led to the formation of the Anglican Church of North America and its partnership with African Anglicans (p. 48)? How has African Anglicanism shaped the global Anglican community (p. 49)? **CH**



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