

# Anglican History



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# England and the Reformation

## Issues of the Late Medieval Church

### The Papacy's Involvement in Political Affairs

One of the main arguments by the Papacy for their political power, and in particular independence, was the need for a neutral party to settle disputes among Christian nations. However over time the Papacy was seen as merely another player in the political drama who not only took sides but could be coerced into one's own. Becoming merely another power to be worked with undermined the Church's spiritual authority in the eyes of many.

### The Glossa Ordinaria and Authority of Scripture

The *Glossa Ordinaria* was a standard commentary on the scriptures. As the Bible was copied explanations of texts or quotes by Church Fathers and Theologians would be added to the margins. Often these texts were themselves recopied just as much as the text itself. Eventually a standard commentary text developed that became functionally as authoritative as the Scriptures. Theologians would write commentary on the *Glossa* and quote from it as the *Glossa* in debate. With the Renaissance came new ideals, one of which was the idea of *ad fontes* "to the source". The Renaissance was a revival of antiquity, and along with this came the desire to go behind some of the accumulation of history getting back to the original sources of things. The Reformation would have its own version of this in the concept of *Sola Scriptura*. The *Glossa* was seen as flawed and inferior. The Reformers desired to return to the original source of the text itself. This is way even with *Sola Scriptura* the Magisterial Reformation valued the Church Fathers even though many of the radicals ignored them. The Reformation was the religious side of Renaissance humanism. The Protestant doctrine of *Sola Scriptura* was intended to clarify only the original source has supreme authority which undermined the authoritative teaching of the Church as an institution.

### Selling of Indulgences

Selling indulgences for the dead was the purpose of Martin Luther's 95 thesis which sparked the Reformation. Understanding the issues with medieval indulgences requires understanding both the theology of penance, and concept of the "treasury of merit" within the context of late medieval ideas of the Church's spiritual authority.

the In the early Church when Christians sinned after Baptism they were offered a "Second chance" though what would eventually develop into the sacrament of Penance. Initially sins were confessed publicly then some form of act was prescribed to demonstrate contrition or make up for the wrong committed. Because one of the spiritual disciplines is almsgiving, donations for the poor or the Church in general was seen as a legitimate method of showing sincerity in asking forgiveness. Other forms of

penance included prayers, fasting, or pilgrimages but almsgiving was "quick" and perhaps to some easier. All of this was seen as under the authority of the Church who held the keys of Heaven and Earth, and so the power to forgive or retain sins based on John 20:23. An indulgence was just a more systematic extension of this principle and could technically be anything. The Crusades for instance had a "plenary indulgence" attached, or a forgiveness of all sins. It was not a requirement to be written down as a piece of paper. Selling them was seen as just a streamlining of donations and alms as a form of penance.

The "Treasury of Merit" was an idea that the Atonement worked essentially as a transactional concept. Christ won for the human race "merit" enough to "pay" for everyone's sins. This merit is then "stored" in Heaven but also can be added to by others, such as particularly holy saints who do works of *supererogation*. These are works that are above and beyond what they needed for their own salvation and so can be added to the Treasury in Heaven. What is perhaps the more important thing to remember in terms of indulgences is the underlying concept of saving grace as personally transactional. It was, in theory, possible to transfer grace "earned" to another person's account. This theology was the commonly held framework within the late medieval Church. The Church then argued it had the power not only over the forgiveness of the sins of the living (such as was common in penance) but over the dead as well. Christians who had passed were just as much part of the Church, and so just as much under her authority. If this was true, then the Church could apply the merit earned by the living onto the account of the dead. Because almsgiving was easy, simple, and lucrative for corrupt clergy, it is easy to see how buying indulgences for both living and the dead developed. Not only could a person go on pilgrimage for their deceased loved one, they could also give to the Church by quickly buying an indulgence.

### **Church Corruption**

A continuing issue in the Church is one of corruption. This was no less of an issue in Medieval Europe though combined with other issues was part of what led to the breaking of Latin Christendom. Three primary problems were simony, absenteeism, and nepotism. Simony is technically the selling of grace and applied in specific to the selling of ecclesiastical office, because Ordination as a sacrament bestows grace. On occasion a person was made a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon not due to holiness but to do some form of economic transaction either money or land. Though even Rome condemned such practices they were unable to fully stop them. Absenteeism was a dereliction of pastoral duty. Holding a pastoral position over a Parish or even Diocese but not living or being present in it. Sometimes this was caused by simple logistics, a person may hold more than one parish or in rare cases more than one Diocese. This was connected to simony in that this was regularly due to a person buying more than one position. They would do this because each position came with a guarantee of a position of the tithe, essentially functioning as taxes. For each position one held, one got the

"taxes" as well. It is important to note that this was an issue continually addressed by the Medieval Church as well, and in addition by the Roman Council of Trent.

### Via Moderna and Grace

The Via Moderna was a popular movement in the latter middle ages. In terms of the Reformation the issue that came about was with the nature of grace and salvation. In Medieval theology there was a distinction between condigned and congruous merit. Condigned merit is an instant giving of grace, whereas congruent merit is a progressive cooperation with grace. Augustine said that "God crowns his own gifts", the idea being that God grants the grace of righteousness and then crowns the person for that righteousness. Aquinas followed this by placing condigned merit first as the initial gift of justification and then congruent merit as that which happens afterwards to satisfy God's law. Under the influence of Biel (d.1495) these two concepts were flipped. One earns congruent merit first and then is given condigned merit as a gift. Thus for early medieval scholasticism the gift of justification was first, but for the later via moderna movement it was more of a reward. This was the "works righteousness" that caused problems for the Reformers.

### Lack of Lay Participation in Mass

There are Medieval mass devotional books that were designed to give the people something to do during the mass. Mostly they were uninvolved, and Mass was a time for them to engage in private devotion before receiving communion (which was rare). Therefore when a populist reform movement occurred, such as the Reformation, it tended to attract many turned off by the passive options given them. This is not to say lay people were entirely unengaged with their faith, however. The average Medieval person was better catechized than later polemics would make it seem. And in addition, various popular devotional movements and practices arose outside of the Mass. However, there was a void of action in Mass that made particular Reformation services more popular.

## The Continental Reformation

### Cultural and Philosophical Background

#### Rise of Cities

The development of cities created a more powerful and wealthy middle class (particularly in England). Until this point Europe's economy was based on trade and production of raw good, as money began to play a bigger role so did cities. Cities themselves were somewhat outside the typical feudal system, and tended to be filled with the new "middle class". The Middle Class were those who had attained via trade a high level of wealth but did not come from an established aristocratic family. Within a money economy this created a very wealthy class of

people with leisure time and this created a growing literate population in the cities. High literacy, combined with the new advancements in printing books, created a need for a literate spirituality. This need was met by the growing Protestant movement which tended to place greater emphasis on literacy in each person being able to "read the Bible for themselves". This of course required the time and money to learn to read, and the money for a personal Bible!

### Universities, Nationalism, Political Philosophy

Along with the cities came the Universities. Although these had been in existence long before, they helped develop ideals of nationalism by the late Middle Ages. Until this time people did not think of themselves as "English", or "French" or "Spanish" as a national body. They intermingling of ideas in the universities, and the encounter with various people created a more national consciousness. In these environments also developed newer political philosophies, such as "republicanism". These new democratic ideas lead to challenging the authority structure of the Church as a greater educated populace demanded greater involvement.

### Renaissance Humanism

The Renaissance was a cultural desire to revive what was seen as a golden era lost of ancient Roman society. This movement was initially sparked in Italy but would later influence all of European society. Foundational was the idea of *Ad Fontes* or "to the sources" which meant to go back behind accumulated traditions to the source or original of something. Interestingly it was this drive for the past that lead to the creative flourishing of art, literature, and ideas. Of course one of the sources was the Bible, and so the theological equivalent of *Ad Fontes* was *Sola Scriptura*, or "The Scripture Alone" as the authority and not the developed traditions which, like with other aspects of civilization, was seen as less pure for those influenced by Renaissance thought. It is important to remember, however, this was just an influence that helped support the Reformation. The Roman Church also benefited greatly from the Renaissance particularly in terms of art. They were not opposed to these new developments *per se* as much as these developments were part of the cultural waters from which the Reformation was born.

### Nominalism

The popular theology of the day which denied the reality of "universals". It is called "Nominalism" because it argues things are only that which we call them, *nominus* is Latin for "name". Thus there is no ultimate "goodness", but good is whatever God called it to be. In nominalism to say that God is sovereign means he has the free will to do whatever he pleases, and that whatever he pleases is good *because* he decreed it to be. The earlier Medieval theologians said God is good in essence, and so what he decrees must be good. For nominalists, for

instance, God could have decreed a different 10 Commandments. Also, in nominalism the Church cannot have an ultimate existence, but is merely a voluntary association of people who gather. The Church becomes that which performs particular *functions* such as “rightly administering the sacraments”, “right preaching of the Gospel” and “church discipline”. These became the "marks of the Church" for the Protestant Reformers.

**Types of Reformation**

	<b>Catholic</b>	<b>Magisterial</b>	<b>Radical</b>
Main Leaders	Papacy, Council of Trent	Luther, Calvin, English Reformers such as Cranmer. Zwingli (?)	Zwingli (?), Minno Simmons, George Fox, various anabaptists or others
Locus of Authority	Teaching Magisterium of the Church in Rome which interpreted both Scripture and Tradition as equal components of Divine Revelation. The Bible is to be read by the Church as an institution founded by Christ centered on his Vicar, the Pope.	Scripture alone but informed by the Church Fathers. Developed Creeds and Confessions as authoritative statements of true Christian belief (ie, Augsburg Confession, Synod of Dort, 39 Articles). The Bible is to be read by the Church as a Spirit guided body of Christians.	Scripture alone and individual conscious. Rejected creeds and confessions as binding, though some developed statements of belief. Tended to downplay any authority of the Church. The Bible is to be read by the individual who is guided directly by the Spirit.
Goals and Principals	Only reform abuses, do not change theology, combined with the "counter reformation" to re-win Europe to the Roman Church.	Still held themselves to be catholic, but not Roman Catholic. Reform both abuses and theology where the Church had gotten off the path due to unbiblical traditions. More moderate and conservative.	Absolute concept of Scripture as the sole authority on individual Christians. Emphasis on individual conscious as well as democratic church government. More radical in their approach to reforming the church.
Modern Denominations	Roman Catholic Church. Old Catholic Churches	Lutherans, Presbyterians, Anglicans/Episcopalians, Methodists	Baptists, Quakers, Amish, Mennonites, Church of Christ

## The Main Protestant Reformers of the Continent

**Martin Luther:** German Monk who objected to selling indulgences for the dead. Wrote 95 Theses to challenge the Church and sparked the German Reformation which sparked a Reformation in the whole of Europe. His main concern was assurance of salvation, and main theological issue was forensic justification by faith alone.

**John Calvin:** French theologian and lawyer who came to similar final conclusions as Martin Luther. His theological stream is often called "Reformed Theology". Eventually helped lead Geneva, Switzerland become a Reformed city-state and wielded great influence there. His major influence was a systematic Protestant theology called *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. His main concern was preserving the absolute sovereignty of God, and main theological issue was God's complete freedom in electing some to salvation and others to damnation.

**Ulrich Zwingli:** Swiss reforming priest who was greatly concerned with the abuses and corruptions of the Church. He was much more radical in his beliefs than Luther and Calvin, though not as radical as many of the Anabaptists, and in fact came into conflict with some of them over their rejection of infant Baptism. Ruled a theocratic city-state of Zurich. Died in battle during the Second War of Kappel in combat with several Catholic Swiss Cantons. His main concern was preserving the purity of worship from superstition, and main theological issue was the authority of the Bible above all else in combating the corruption of the Church.

## Reformation Theology: The Solae

**Sola Scriptura: (Formal Principal)** Scripture alone is Divine Revelation in the Church, in contrast with Tradition. The Authority of Scripture overrides the authority even of a Church institution.

**Sola Fide: (Material Principal)** Faith alone is the method by which God saves us, good works are only evidence of that faith but are not themselves judged. In contrast with faith that performs good works being judged on the basis of those works. It is the faith, and only the faith, that guarantees God's gift of *imputed* and *forinsic* righteousness.

**Sola Gratia:** Grace alone is the reason by which God saves us. In contrast with any form of human work or merit which could be said to "earn" grace in some manner. It is not possible for a person to "merit" grace for then it would cease to be "grace".

**Solus Christus:** Christ alone is the source of God's saving grace and merit. In contrast to the idea that another individual can add to that "Treasury of Merit" or that Divine Grace can be mediated through any Saint. More broadly this is often seen as asserting Christ as the only mediator and so only a denial of a priestly class. This is the basis for the Protestant "Priesthood of all believers".

**Soli Deo Gloria:** God alone receives all glory for all good works. In contrast to giving glories or honors to Saints and clergy that are due to God alone. Good works and holiness in a person do not make the person praise worthy, for all their virtue is only a gift. Thus even the greatest Saint should only bring glory to God and not to themselves.

### The English Reformation

#### Henry VIII

In England the Reformation began under King Henry VIII as a political action. Henry's father, Henry VII, has risen victorious after the Wars of the Roses which was the result of a disputed succession for the crown. This history is important in understanding the later desperation to secure an Heir which was the immediate political cause for the English Reformation. In fact popular religion and piety was very much Catholic and context into the Reformation. People hated the Papacy but not the Church or their traditional practices. It was only some of the leaders and some of the people, focused in the cities, that sought broader theological changes. Later they would use the political changes to address concerns about Catholicism itself. In fact recent scholarship has noted that, at least in England, that there was not nearly so much widespread corruption or lack of lay engagement. England was not teeming for Reformation, and it was resisted heavily in the North. Reformation in England was a product of the Universities, imposed from the top down, and driven by political concerns which allowed the theological reforms to follow.

Henry's first marriage was to Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Catherine was initially betrothed and married to Henry's brother Arthur, but he died soon after their marriage in 1501. Henry was then betrothed in his stead but could not marry her until he was older, and indeed did not until 1509. After years of trying, the only surviving child was the future Queen Mary. Unable to produce a male heir and with the history of the Wars of the Roses in mind, he sought out an annulment with Catherine to try with another wife. Along with English clergy, including Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, he would request an annulment from the Pope on the grounds that Catherine was his brother's wife and the marriage should never have occurred. He argued the lack of heir was God's judgment on that marriage and so further proof the request should be granted. Under normal circumstances it likely would have been except the Pope needed Spanish assistance against the Germans and was unwilling to jeopardize that alliance by granting Henry an annulment to the Spanish royal family.

This refusal on the part of the Pope was the spark of the Reformation in England. Under advice from Archbishop Cranmer Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy in 1534 which declared the King of England to be head of the Church in England. The Pope was declared merely another foreign power and to have no authority outside the city of Rome. Though it began as a political action it would be used by reform minded clergy as a way to bring the theological reformation of the continent to England. Ironically Henry himself had little sympathy for Protestant theology. Prior to these issues he had written an argument against Martin Luther and in defense of transubstantiation. For his efforts he was even granted the title "Defender of the Faith" by the Pope. Henry was perfectly happy with Catholicism, which was also true of the vast majority of the English people in the countryside. Most English loved their Church but hated the Pope. Henry attempted to create "Catholicism without the Pope" and even continued to enforce clerical celibacy, and died with a full Roman Requiem Mass. He did dissolve the Monasteries but this was more likely for economic and political reasons than theological. He never intended to start a new Church, and in fact a defining aspect of the English Reformation would be the idea that they were not doing anything new, but merely restoring the true ancient faith.

#### **Cranmer and the Prayer Books under Edward VI**

King Edward VI was born via Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour. He became King at 9 years old in 1547 after the death of Henry VIII. Due to his age he never ruled directly, yet under him the Kingdom became Protestant. Though his father remained a staunch Catholic, the education for young Edward was in the hands of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer had many Protestant leanings, and in fact became much more Protestant over time. Various reforms, such as abolition of clerical celibacy, abolition of images, reduction of lights on the Altar, and forbidding bell ringing in Mass were instituted. But none as far reaching or historically significant as the liturgical reform and development of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

In Medieval Christianity worship was conducted through several books all needed for different purposes. The *Missal* was the Altar Book containing all that was needed for the Mass or what we would call the Eucharist. In it was the main set of prayers for consecrating the bread and wine, as well as the various prayers and readings needed to each day of the Church year. In the English Church this was the Rite of Sarum, developed in the 13th century and the basis for the latter Prayer Book liturgy. The *Rituale* was a book of prayers and rituals for use by priests. Baptisms, weddings, funerals, exorcisms, blessings for crops, and churches, and other items are all found in this book. Bishops, in addition to the *Rituale*, also used a *Pontificale* containing rituals particular to Bishops. The Medieval *Pontificale* had the Ordinal, or ordination rites for clergy, coronations of Kings and Queens, and a few rituals relevant to the Crusades such as blessings of swords, war banners, making of new Knights, and imposition of a crusader cross for those going on crusade. To perform these rituals correctly, at least for the Mass itself, clergy needed the *Ceremonial* with all the extra rubrical instructions. The

Church also used a *Martyrology* which listed all the Saints, information about them, and what was needed for their saint days. Finally, for daily prayer, there was a *Breviary* which contained all the prayers and readings needed to the daily hours of prayer. This is mostly only used in Monasteries and by clergy.

The *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 was Cranmer's initial masterpiece that took elements from all the above, edited them in line with his reformed theology, and had all of it translated into English. The Breviary was reduced to a simple set of Morning (Matins) and Evening (Evensong) Prayer. Based on the Sarum Rite he adapted the Mass, calling it the Supper of the Lord or Holy Communion, and also included everything needed for simple celebration. He greatly reduced the Saints days and so all readings and prayers fit much more easily into the single volume. From the *Rituale* he adapted baptism, funerals, weddings, and the blessing of a woman after childbirth. The only thing to survive from the *Pontificale* was the latter 1550 Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. All rubrics needed were considered included and the simplified services greatly helped reduce the volume. For the first time the average literate person, in English anyway, had access to everything used in Church services. Hence it was "common" prayer. From the Archbishop to the local peasant all used the same book for daily prayer, and all had access to all the rituals in the Church all in a "common" language. Though not all welcomed the English usage. English was only the language of the people in England proper. In other parts of the Kingdom, Wales, Cornwall, etc., people still spoke native dialects and saw this as imposing English upon them. they preferred the Latin as a universal language, so ironically seeing it as more "common" even though they did not understand it!

The 1549 Prayer Book was still very Catholic, compared to the liturgies of the continental reformation. There was an exorcism during Baptism, blessing of elements at communion, a recitation of the *Pascha Nostrum* (Christ our Passover), and other elements. Later a revision in 1552 would eliminate these extra Catholic elements and the Church of England would become much more Protestant. The 1552 was the first to include the "Black Rubric" at the end of Communion. This was an additional rubric, though printed in black instead of red, which was intended to explain kneeling to receive the Eucharist in a Protestant manner. It stated that kneeling to receive was to be seen as an act of humble acknowledgment of God's grace given to sinners and explicitly condemned Eucharistic adoration. In addition to liturgical changes Cranmer also promulgated the "42 Articles of Religion", the forerunner of the later 39 Articles. These articles would be part of the Elizabeth "documentary" Settlement. Cranmer's articles were very Protestant in terms of salvation, sacraments, the place of tradition, and the saints.

For an example within the Communion service, these are some of the changes made:

1549

- ✘ Offers the alternate name "The Supper of the Lorde" or "Holy Communion"
- ✘ Removes all prescribed pre-mass prayers
- ✘ Removes many manual actions, kissing of the altar, genuflections, reduces sign of the cross
- ✘ Eliminates private prayers by the priest
- ✘ Adds an initial exhortation for people to receive communion
- ✘ Removes the *Ave Maria* as well as any intercessions of the saints
- ✘ Moves one of the pre-mass prayers, the *Collect for Purity*, to the beginning of the service itself as a public prayer
- ✘ Confession of sin completely re-written, removes references to saints, also moved right before reception
- ✘ Adds prayers for the King after the Gloria
- ✘ Removes most of the rubrics surrounding the readings and the Gospel
- ✘ Specifies a homily (though we know they could be done in Medieval Europe)
- ✘ Adds an exhortation for those receiving communion, warning them of receiving unworthily, after the homily
- ✘ Eliminates offertory prayers, lavabo, and sacrificial language from Offertory; replacing them with a series of scripture readings
- ✘ Simplifies proper prefaces. Sarum and Medieval missals have a large variety of propers for various days. Cranmer reduces the prefaces to: Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday
- ✘ Moved the *Agnus Dei* to the end, before final prayer of thanksgiving (post-communion prayer)
- ✘ Prayer of Consecration completely re-written: Less blessing of the bread and wine, expands prayers for the King and adds them before praying for the Church, removes praying for specific names, removes listing of various Saints, removes command to elevate host to be seen by the people and in fact forbids it, shifted language to a more "memorialist" view of the Sacrament and reduced sacrificial language about the bread and wine, finally shortens and simplifies prayer
- ✘ Places confession, adds comfortable words, and adds the new "Prayer of Humble Access" after consecration and before receiving
- ✘ Adds a series of scripture readings before also adding a Postcommunion prayer of thanksgiving
- ✘ Adds a final blessing over the people
- ✘ Eliminates ablutions and final Gospel
- ✘ Adds several "Protestant" rubrics at the end: Forbade communion only by the priest, required larger bread that could be broken and divided, added extensive instructions for the people to also commune, allowed leftover Sacrament to be used by the priest for personal use

1552

- ✘ Eliminates rubrics for vesting
- ✘ Moves confession to before *Sursum Corda*
- ✘ Adds a recitation of the Decalogue after Collect for Purity and moves the *Gloria* to the end of the service
- ✘ Eliminates "The Lord be with you" phrases
- ✘ Moves exhortation to receive communion to after the Offertory
- ✘ Moves the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church" out of the consecration prayer to after the offertory sentences before the exhortation, confession, and *Sursum Corda*. Also renames these prayers "...whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth", removes all prayer for the dead or honor of saints
- ✘ Moves Prayer of Humble Access to after Proper Preface and before consecration
- ✘ Eliminates the "Peace" and the *Agnus Dei*
- ✘ Shortens Prayer of Consecration, removes blessing bread and wine, in fact removes the word itself from the institution narrative, stops prayer after words of institution
- ✘ Moves *Pater Noster* to after communion
- ✘ Removed scripture readings from 1549 before postcommunion prayer, only has prayer
- ✘ Introduces the "Black Rubric" stating that kneeling to receive does not imply presence of Christ in the bread and wine, but is only an action of humility before God's gifts.

**Queen Mary: The Last Roman Resurgence**

Edward VI died in 1553, leading to issues of succession which ironically was the problem Henry VIII's marriages tried to avoid. Fortunately this did not lead to a civil war, instead Mary would take the throne as Queen. Mary was the daughter of Henry's first wife Catherine and was a devout Catholic through her Spanish family influence. Much of her reign was an attempt to bring England back in line to the Roman Church and in fact the restoration of popular religion was welcomed at the time. The main opposition to her policies came from the cities and universities which were much more Protestant, though held a lot of political power. She did persecute many heretics, see Foxes *Book of Martyrs*, but so did the later Elizabeth I with similar numbers. However because it was during this time that the great English reformers; Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were martyred, and combined with historical differences between Mary and Elizabeth. Cranmer actually recanted initially, then changed his mind and recanted his recantation. He along with many others were burned at the stake, which was the standard execution method for heresy. She was never able to produce an heir and would eventually die of influenza in 1558 close in date to the same death as her Archbishop, Reginald Pole.

## Elizabethan Settlement

### Elizabeth and Unity

Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife, Ann Boleyn. After Mary's death, she took the throne in 1558. Her personal leanings were Protestant but she was not overly dogmatic, or at least as much as many liked. For instance her royal chapel kept a crucifix and candles on the altar yet her writings leaned in a much more Protestant direction. Among her many accomplishments was requiring an educated clergy. However her primary concern was the unity of the Empire and as such was decently tolerant in terms of religion as long as no one caused too much trouble. Out of this desire for unity and order developed the "Elizabethan Settlement" which would define the Church of England in terms of liturgy and theology.

This settlement was a documentary settlement which consisted of the following:

- ✘ Act of Uniformity. This imposed the *Book of Common Prayer* as the only standard of worship in the Church. It also required all people to attend service at a Church of England Church or be fined. It was this act that most enraged the Puritan party. They objected both in principal as well as to the BCP itself which they accused of having "lingering popery".
- ✘ The *Book of Common Prayer* as the primary unifier. Even today in many ways the thing that defines an Anglican is they worship according to the BCP. The 1559 did only slight revisions to the 1552, but these were a step in a more mediating direction. The "Black Rubric" was removed and the administration of the Sacrament combined the 1549 and 1552 statements to make Christ's presence more ambiguous.

1549	1552	1559
The body of our Lorde Jesus Christe whiche was geven for thee, preserve thy bodye and soule unto everlasting lyfe.	Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy hearte by faythe, with thankesgeving.	The bodie of our lord Jesu Christ, which was geven for the, preserve thy body and soule into everlastinge life: and take and eate this in remembraunce that Christ died for thee, feede on him in thine heart by faith, with thankesgevyng.

- ✘ The "Ornaments Rubric" which stated "*And here is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all Times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.*" This rubric would become a later point of contention during the Oxford movement in championing more traditional vestments in the Church.
- ✘ Act of Supremacy. This act of Parliament declared Elizabeth, and thus the Crown, as the supreme governor of the Church of England. This would solidify the Church in an "Erastian" direction. "Erastianism" is the idea that the civil authority holds power over the ecclesiastical, primarily in context of church discipline but later the idea expanded as secular power over the Church.
- ✘ The *39 Articles of Religion*, the "confessional" document. It was a *via media* between Lutheran conservative Protestantism and the more radical forms. It was not, at the time, intended to allow a revival of Roman theology. Neither was it written as a comprehensive confessional document on the level of the Reformed confessions. As a result it was much more open to catholic interpretation and has at times been described as "verbal incense". The Articles deal primarily with the debates of the era, such as the nature of Church authority to Scripture, the debates over the Biblical Canon, Justification, works of "supererogation", purgatory, relics, and other medieval practices deemed part of the problem with the late Medieval Church, and mediating positions on the Sacraments. It also addressed the other side by condemning particular beliefs of the more radical wing of the Reformation.

This settlement was articulated by two theologians: John Jewel and Richard Hooker. Jewel wrote against Rome, arguing they had left the Faith and so had left the Church. From his point of view the Church in England had never left the Church but was instead part of the true continuation. They were not intending to do anything new, but only to keep pure the ancient traditions.

Richard Hooker is one of the major theologians of the English Reformation, and wrote the massive tome *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. This treatise was argued against the Puritans whom he saw as taking *Sola Scriptura* too far. Instead he argued for a *via media* between the Lutheran and more radical Reformers. For instance he argues that though the Episcopacy is not mentioned in Scripture, it is not forbidden and its usefulness and antiquity allow the Church to keep it. This principle is called *adiaphora*, the idea that some things are "indifferent" and the Church has the right to decide how things can be done as long as Scripture is not directly violated. This allowed the Church of England to not only keep Bishops but also impose a set ritual form of worship. Another theological point Hooker is known for is the "Three Legged Stool" of Scripture, Tradition, and Reason. This is, however, often misunderstood. In Hooker these three are not equal but have a clear hierarchy:

*“Be it in matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliver, to that the first place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatsoever any man can necessarily conclude by force of reason; after this the Church succeedeth that which the Church by her ecclesiastical authority shall probably think and define to be true or good, must in congruity of reason overrule all other inferior judgments whatsoever.” (Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Book V, 8:2)*

Hooker's theological method begins with Scripture as primary over all else. It is only when things are unclear or unsaid that we consider what is reasonable with some guidance from tradition. Reason in this context is also not to be confused with post-enlightenment rationalism. Reason for Hooker is logical process and classical Medieval scholastic dialectic.

Hooker's *Laws* is primarily about Ecclesiology under the concept of Divine Law. The Church is for him both a public institution and supernatural society. In *Via Media* fashion he then also proposed both a visible institutional Church and a mystical invisible one. The Church visible is made of all professed members mystically connected in Baptism. The mystical Church is only known to Christ and so beyond our discernment. Therefore unlike the Reformed who define the true Church in a functional sense where there is a proper preaching of the Word, administration of the Sacraments, and discipline; and unlike the Roman Church which defines the Church based on unity and antiquity; Hooker argues the Church is marked by an outward profession of Faith taken at face value. Heretics and Schismatics are "limbs of Satan", but only apostasy removes someone from the Church *per se*. Episcopacy he considered to be *bene esse*, or that which is for the good of the Church. He argued the NT saw a certain fluidity between Bishops and Presbyters, and so in some sense the same office. It should be kept out of deferential wisdom for the tradition, but could also be changed if needed in theory.

### Dissenters

Not all embraced the Elizabethan Settlement. The two dissenting parties were the Roman Catholics and the Puritans.

#### Roman Catholic Recusants

Under Elizabeth the Roman Church developed underground and were called "Recusants". They were squeezed in the middle of the conflict: Rome forbade them from attending Prayer Book services in 1566, and Elizabeth fined those not attending. Often they met in private homes, especially wealthy patrons, in secret chapels for Catholic Mass. Many would also attend Church of England services to avoid the fine. Often priests tried to walk both sides. Catholicism was still very popular in the North, and in

1569 the Earls revolted in connection with some other political issues. Though they hoped for Spanish and French help, they were defeated. What caused the most problem was when Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570. After that all still loyal to Rome were considered disloyal to the Crown.

Rome did attempt to take care of them however. More than 600 priests from the new "seminaries" on the continent came to England from c.1574 - 1603. They were not there for evangelism but for pastoral care. In 1585 it was a treasonous offense for Catholic Priests to enter England, and similar anti-catholic statutes last until the 1830's. This does not mean there was a lack of aggressive evangelism on the part of Rome, but this was often handed by the Jesuits, and in some later cases were more aggressive than acceptable as during the reign of King James I.

### Puritans

The second group of dissenters were the "Protestants of the hotter sort" or Puritans who believed the Church had not reformed enough. Mostly this movement was centered in the universities and cities, the rural and aristocratic people tended to lean at most towards the Elizabeth settlement, and often were Recusants. They were varied in how radical they believed reform needed to be, and also differed on such things as church government. Some were Presbyterian and some Congregationalists, but all held that Bishops were "papistical fripperies". Most, but not all, still held a strong view of the Sacraments and even infant baptism. They were primarily influenced by the magisterial Reformation and in particular John Calvin. They took issue with the compromises of the Church of England, in particular the *Book of Common Prayer*. They opposed the imposition of ritual practices, even as simple as they were. Also at issue was the continued usage of vestments, prescribed prayers, and "dumb readings" or readings of Scripture without immediate commentary.

Though the influence of Calvin their primary focus was the immediacy of the presence of God, and in a good sense a focus on spirituality and moral living. They decried bad or little preaching, a lack of desire for holiness on most people, and multiple livings among the clergy in having several parishes but not providing adequate pastoral care for them all. Other elements of Reformed theology that became points of contention were over the "Regulative Principal" of worship, and the Calvinist theology of double predestination.

The Regulative Principal states that God is only to be worshiped in way prescribed by him. Therefore other forms, even if they are not mentioned in Scripture are forbidden. It is not enough, they argue, to show a practice is compatible with Scripture it must also be directly prescribed. This stems from a Reformed view of Scripture itself, as a law book for the Church as the new Israel. As a direct correlation, if Israel had a legal code regulating worship then the Church as the new Israel does as well. The New Testament

was used in this manner and believed a coherent set of worship prescriptions could be obtained, with added things needed for "expediency". This is due to the additional belief in the *sufficiency* of Scripture, that it contains everything needed for Christian life and belief, and *perspicuity*, that it is evidently clear in its presentation of that information. Any misunderstanding is due to the problem of human sin, not the text itself.

Additionally the Puritans held to double predestination. Double predestination is the belief that God has elected some to salvation and also some to damnation. Calvinism sees this position as the logical conclusion of predestination in general, and as also the logical conclusion from Calvinism as a theological system. Calvinistic soteriology can be explained with five central tenants: Total Depravity, Unconditional Election, Limited Atonement, Irresistible Grace, Perseverance of the Saints. Note that the previous list in the current form, with the acronym TULIP, dates much later to the early late 19th or early 20th century. It's concepts however are found stated clearly in the Synod of Dort (1618-1619) as extracted from the writings of John Calvin and his primary concern for the absolute sovereignty of God. Because people are totally depraved they have no desire of natural will to seek or love God, therefore the only salvation can be found in God electing them to salvation based on nothing but his own will (it is completely unconditional), therefore Jesus did not die for everyone but only those elect to salvation thus the atonement was limited in scope (all others are destined for damnation), if this is the case then God's grace must be irresistible so that once a person is elected they have no choice but to give in to that grace, which would mean that finally all those true Christians will persevere until the end, apostasy being a sign a person was never truly elect and so never truly saved. This was a more extreme version of predestination than most in England were willing to assent, which would later cause the Puritans to accuse Anglicans of being "Arminian", though this is technically inaccurate in some respects.

Eventually two groups of Puritans would develop, the separatists (or "enthusiasts") who saw the church of England as apostate and from which real Christians must separate, and non-separatists who believed the national Church could be more fully reformed in the future. Separatists tended to be more in line with the radical reformation, and non-separatists more magisterial.

## Anglican vs. Puritan

### The House of Stuart: King James I

On her deathbed, Elizabeth names as successor James VI of Scotland who would become James I of England in 1603. This began the Stuart line of Kings (James I, Charles I, Charles II, James II, Mary II, and Anne) which saw high levels of development in the Church of England, giving both the *Authorized King James Bible*, a standard of English prose and translation, as well as the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* which remains the official BCP of England and widely used in the worldwide Communion. During this period was also great controversies and turmoil. It was a period of great conflict in a religious inspired civil war, the beheading of the King, and turmoil in worship and the future of the Church of England.

Because he was Scottish, and Scotland was strongly Presbyterian, the Puritans initially thought he was on their side. They presented him with what is called the "Millenary Petition" which called for him to ban such things as making the sign of the Cross, wearing a surplice, confirmation, and bowing at the name of Jesus. It's name derived from having over 1000 signatories whom they said were "all groaning as under a common burthen of human rites and ceremonies".

The following were the details of the Petition:

- 1- Eliminate the Sign of the Cross at Baptism
- 2- Eliminate the series of interrogative questions given to infants at Baptism
- 3- Eliminate Confirmation
- 4- Baptism not to be administered by Women
- 5- Cap and Surplice "not urged"
- 6- Move the examination (of personal sin) before Communion
- 7- Eliminate terms "priest" and "absolution" in the BCP
- 8- Eliminate the usage of wedding rings
- 9- Shorten the service
- 10- Make Church music more edifying
- 11- Lord's Day "not profaned" (this would become a latter issue in terms of recreational activities)
- 12- "Rest on Holidays not so strictly urged"
- 13- Prescription of Doctrinal uniformity
- 14- Remove all "popish opinions" from being taught
- 15- No more bowing at the name of Jesus
- 16- Only read the "Canonical Scriptures"
- 17- Reform ministers to become better preachers
- 18- Eliminate absenteeism (Priests not living in their parish area)
- 19- Revive lawfulness of ministers marriages (?)

- 20- Only require subscription to the Articles of Religion and King's Supremacy
- 21- Massive Reforms of how Excommunication was done, less secular (only done by pastors), revise penance system, etc.

In response he called the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 and there disappointed the Puritans with many of their requests. Several of the practical reforms are agreed too, such as with excommunication, education of the clergy, and livings. The other major agreement was for a new translation of the Bible for authorized usage in the Church of England. To the great contention of the Puritan party, however, James I reacted strongly against any suggestion to remove Episcopacy. Unknown to them he was a firm believer in the Divine Right of Kings, which he saw inseparable from Episcopacy. He stated that Presbyterianism "agreed with a Monarchy as God with the Devil" and asserted "No Bishop, No King". This last statement in particular would be the eventual conflict that lead to the English Civil War and the interregnum of Oliver Cromwell. Anglicanism would begin to develop as more anti-Puritan, a division which would increase after the war.

### The English Civil War

#### **King Charles I**

Charles I became King in 1625 and was much more committed to the Divine Right of Kings the James had been. He declared he owed an account of his actions "to God alone". This combined with, or do to, aggressive policies and political decisions would lead the nation into a war that though very political was also very religious and put a particular stamp on Anglican and Episcopal culture.

On the political side, he twice dissolved Parliament when it did not agree with him and strongly resisted growing republican ideals. Once in 1626 and again in 1629, after which it would not meet again for eleven years. His attempt to fund war with Scotland lead to unpopular taxation, such as the "Ship Money" in 1634 to help fund the Royal Navy. Instead of supplying ships personally, it had been custom to provide monetary support which the King could use for the Navy. This was a common tax during war, but until now had never been used during peacetime. He also extended the tax inland requiring all of England to pay. When squires complained of heavy taxation they were punished. "The King can do no wrong!" was the official policy.

On the religious end he offended Protestant sensibilities by marrying a French Catholic princess, and in connection refused military help to Protestants on the continent during the 30 years war. When Parliament resisted his Ecclesiastical advisors, and passed a resolution declaring a capital enemy any who would introduce "popery" or Arminianism" he dissolved it in response. He was a fan of such ceremonial "popery" and imposed by law a new Prayer Book on Scotland which was much more Roman. For example the Eucharistic Canon added the earlier 1549 blessing of the elements, and

introduced an "epiclesis" or calling down of the Holy Spirit. In response the Scots declared that "The Mass has entered among us!" and begin rumblings of revolution. This change would influence the American *Book of Common Prayer* after the American Revolution.

1559 BCP	1637 Scottish BCP
<p>...in his holy gospel commaunde us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious deathe, untyll his comminge againe: Heare us O merciful father, we besech the, and graunt that we receiuyng these thy creatures of breade and wine, accordinge to thy sonne our saviour Jesu Christes holy institution, in remembrauce of his death and passion, may be partakers of his moste blessed body and bloude...</p>	<p>...in his holy gospel command us to continue a perpetuall memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, untill his coming again : Heare us, O mercifull Father, we most humbly beseech thee, <b>and of thy almighty goodnesse vouchsafe so to blesse and sanctifie with thy word and holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may bee unto us the body and bloud of thy most dearly beloved Son; so that</b> wee receiving them according to thy Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christs holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and bloud...</p>

**Archbishop William Laud**

His Archbishop as well was very much opposed to Puritan sympathies. William Laud became Bishop of London in 1628, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and was "High Church" in the old sense of the phrase thought also a supporter of ceremony in the Church. Though in 1622 he defended Anglicanism in a public debate with a Jesuit, he was branded as an "Arminian" by the Puritans. They opposed his emphasis on the liturgy and ceremonial, restoring "altars" instead of "tables", and repudiated the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. For the later he, and his supporters, defended the wording of the 39 Articles opposed to the more strict definitions of the Reformed confessions. On the beneficial side he attempted to reform the quality of clergy, demanding resident canons do their jobs and not delegate them to those he believed unqualified. Unfortunately his autocratic nature combined with his support of King Charles I made him despised by many. During the Civil War he would be impeached, tried, and executed in 1644.

**Start of the War**

After imposing the Prayer Book on Scotland the General Assembly rebelled. Nationalism and religious conviction combined to unite the Scots to protect their Kirk (Church). The Assembly united around a Covenant to resist "superstition" and "popery", banned the *Book of Common Prayer*, and abolished Episcopacy. Those who

signed to this fight were called "Covenanters". These events lead to the "First Bishops War" in 1639, called such because it was a war over, in central ways, episcopacy in Scotland. Needing to fund the war lead Charles I to reluctantly call Parliament to session in 1640. This would be known as the "Short Parliament" and only lasted three weeks. Charles I was unable to force Parliament to approve funds for the war and so was quickly absolved. Adding to growing tension, however, Charles I called Convocation right afterwards which declared Kingship a Divine Right and also sought to impose the "etcetera oath". This oath required all to swear they would uphold ecclesiastical government by "Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, etc." The final "etc." implied to many an open ended oath to consent to any future whims of the King and Bishops.

Continued disaster in the Bishops Wars with Scotland forced Charles to reconvene Parliament later that year. This time Parliament would remain, and under it lead to the Civil War. They stood up decisively to Charles' authority by receiving the *Root and Branch Petition*, presenting the King with a list of grievances called the *Grand Remonstrance*, and in addition impeached and would execute Archbishop William Laud and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford who has a strong supporter of the King in Parliament.

Though the *Root and Branch Petition* would not pass, it's main idea of removing Episcopacy by "root and branch" would come to fruition later when Parliament would abolish Episcopacy and take away their livings. The *Grand Remonstrance* in 1641 called on the King to reduce the power of Bishops, call a Protestant Synod, and remove all "popish" ceremonies. The *Petition* does carefully word itself so as not to accuse the King directly. Instead it blames his advisors and Bishops who are part of a supposed conspiratorial Jesuit plot to overturn Protestantism in England. It calls out a list of problems and demands that spread across economic, political and religious grievances. Though in it all is the religious center in the fear of "Jesuited counsels", that the nation is under threat from foreign powers in alliance with the Pope who, they claim, have corrupted the English government and prevented "pure religion".

It lists three main instigators:

1. "*The Jesuited Papists, who hate the laws, as the obstacles of that change and subversion of religion which they so much long for*"
2. "*The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cherish formality and superstition as the natural effects and more probable supports of their own ecclesiastical tyranny and usurpation.*"
3. "*Such Councillors and Courtiers as for private ends have engaged themselves to further the interests of some foreign princes or states to the prejudice of His Majesty and the State at home.*"

It accuses the above to four main objectives:

1. *"...maintain continual differences and discontents between the King and the people, upon questions of prerogative and liberty, that so they might have the advantage of siding with him..."*
2. *"...suppress the purity and power of religion and such persons as were best affected to it, as being contrary to their own ends..."*
3. *"...cherish the Arminian part in those points wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and enlarge the difference between the common Protestants and those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such opinions and ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with Popery, to increase and maintain ignorance, looseness and profaneness in the people; that of those three parties, Papists, Arminians and Libertines..."*
4. *"...disaffect the King to Parliaments by slander and false imputations... and have caused the great distractions under which we both suffer."*

Charles's response to his authority was an attempt to arrest several main instigators in Parliament personally. Having failed, he fled London in 1642 and raised his standard at Nottingham. The Civil War had officially started. It would place the King, Bishops, royalists and those loyal to the established Church against the Parliament, Puritans, religious independents, and republicans on the other.

### **Religion under the Long Parliament**

It was during the Long Parliament that Puritanism held ascendancy, executed William Laud, banned the BCP in 1644, removed Bishops creating a Presbyterian Church of England, and held the Westminster Assembly detailing their beliefs. In 1641 Parliament passed the *Bishops Exclusion Act* removing all ordained from any temporal powers such as being in the House of Lords, and in 1646 an Ordinance was passed abolishing the offices of Bishop and Archbishop as well as removed their territorial properties from them for use by the "Commonwealth".

The Westminster Assembly, which met between 1643 and 1653, was a religious alignment between the Parliamentarians and the Presbyterian Scots. Starting in 1643 Parliament and the Scots signed the *Solemn League and Covenant* which brought political alignment and the promise of religious alignment as well. In it everyone over the age of 18 was required to uphold and swear that:

*"without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, prelacy (that is, Church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness."*

Any clergy who refused to sign the covenant was deprived of their livings. The later Assembly would produce a Confession, long and short Catechisms, and the *Directory of Public Worship* which was intended as a guide to replace the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Confession in particular would become the most influential confession of Reformed Christian theology in the English speaking world.

In comparing the documents of Westminster and those of the Elizabethan Settlement several contrasts are seen:

Differences in Doctrine

In general the largest difference is that Westminster greatly expanded the same ideas to create a more narrow document. Westminster is much more specifically an distinctly Reformed. However there are also some outright differences.

Subject	39 Articles	Westminster Confession
General Structure	More medieval (like the Lutherans) in beginning with God before moving to articles about Scripture. Faith seeking understanding.	Begins with Scripture before statements about God. This reflects a different epistemology. Epistemology is primary over metaphysical concerns.
Authority of Scripture	<i>"In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church."</i>	<i>"many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it does abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God: yet notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts... "</i>

<p>Apocrypha</p>	<p><i>"And the other Books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine"</i></p>	<p><i>"The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon of the Scripture, and therefore are of <b>no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings.</b>"</i></p>
<p>Scripture in the Christian life</p>	<p>Normative Principle:  <i>"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."</i></p>	<p>Regulative Principle:  <i>"The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation, faith and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men"</i></p>
<p>Predestination</p>	<p>Has a small section on Predestination. Only mentions predestination to life, leave the reason for election open, and avoids the question over if a person could commit true apostasy and thus lose their salvation.</p>	<p>Much more fleshed out than the 39 Articles. States that all events (not just salvation) or preordained by God, teaches double predestination, limited atonement, and denies election based on any form of foreknowledge. Will later go on to state that even the evil acts committed by angels and men are not only the result of God's permission but his specific will.</p>

<p>Original Sin</p>	<p>Man's nature is corrupt so that he sins, and so is deserving of judgment. No mention of inherited guilt. "very far gone from original righteousness" as opposed to being totally depraved.</p>	<p>Not only are people corrupt, but they also inherit the guilt of Adam's sin. Humanity is completely depraved in nature.</p>
<p>Ceremonies and Ritual, Church Authority</p>	<p><b><i>"The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith: And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written,"</i></b></p> <p><i>"It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word."</i></p> <p><i>"Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."</i></p>	<p><i>"Under the Gospel, when Christ, the substance, was exhibited, the ordinances in which this covenant is dispensed are the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the sacraments of <b>Baptism and the Lord's Supper: which, though fewer in number, and administered with more simplicity, and less outward glory"</b></i></p> <p><i>" But the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by Himself, and so limited by His own revealed will, that He may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representation, or any other way not prescribed in the holy Scripture."</i></p>
<p>The Church</p>	<p>Only mentions the visible Church of Christ</p>	<p>Makes a distinction between visible and invisible Church</p>
<p>Sin after Baptism</p>	<p><i>"After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives."</i></p>	<p>Perseverance of the Saints: stronger language of "shall" persevere in grace, though may fall into sin for a time.</p>

### Differences in Worship

The *Directory of Public Worship* was the Puritan response to the Prayer Book. Its goal was a much more radical reforming of worship in the Church in line with the non-Lutheran continental Reformation. The *Directory* specified the following:

- 1- People in worship are to take their "seats or places without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or other"
- 2- There is no specified liturgy or prayers. Prayer is to be extemporaneous. Though there are suggestions.
- 3- Forbade reading the Apocrypha, Scripture must be always read in order without skipping verses.
- 4- Called for a more robust and clearer preaching that would be plain, faithful, and wise.
- 5- Baptism should be done in public places under public worship.
- 6- Communion should be celebrated frequently.
- 7- More discipline in keeping the Sabbath (Sunday, the Lord's Day). No sports or recreation, day must be spent in public worship, prayer, meditation, or reading of Scripture.
- 8- Burial of the dead forbidden from any ceremony. Body is to be simply placed in the grave. Instead the minister should merely remind family and friends that attend "of their duty". Exception is made for honors given to civil authority.
- 9- Denounced all festival Holy Days, only Sunday was prescribed (included Christmas and Easter).

### Interregnum: Rump Parliament and Oliver Cromwell

Among the strongest supporters of the Parliamentarians was Oliver Cromwell. He was by conviction a Puritan who had undergone a conversion experience and would become an independent. He believed he had been called by God to purify the Church of England and was very militarily successful. Under Parliament the military became a professional, permanent, and geographically broad unit as opposed to the more informal militias commonly in usage. Cromwell quickly took prominence during the war leading a decisive victory at Matson Moor in July 1644. The power of this new professional army grew, which would lead to the weakening of Parliament. When the war ended in 1645 at the battle of Naseby in 1645 Cromwell's command of the New Model Army would cause problems for Parliament. In the meantime Parliament moved to establish itself as a Commonwealth.

Soon after the war events would lead to the execution of King Charles the I. He was imprisoned in 1647, escaped and was recaptured in 1648. Under much instigation of independents such as Cromwell he was brought to trial and executed in 1649. Not all in Parliament supported such actions, but those opposed were purged creating the "Rump

Parliament" which gave the order of execution. This beheading horrified the English populace. Soon after, the book *Eikon Basilike* was widely distributed which presented Charles as a dignified martyr. His beheading would alienate many who would have been supporters of Cromwell and Parliament. Many who fought for Parliament even began to feel the beginnings of a new tyranny of the Calvinistic type. "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large" they said.

In 1653 Oliver Cromwell would himself be dissatisfied with Parliament. As he was in control of the army, he led a military coup and dissolved it. Cromwell now ruled as "Lord Protector" of the Commonwealth. Cromwell was somewhat of a contradiction in religious policy. On one hand he was much more radical. Under him Christmas was illegal, marriage was forbidden as a religious ceremony, theaters were closed, many Churches had books, ornaments, vestments, and even organs destroyed. The famous Glastonbury thorn tree was uprooted and burned, and other popular pilgrimage places or objects were destroyed. Many puritans of the time even considered the Lord's Prayer to be a "popish invention". Popular entertainment was curtailed, with various places such as theaters closed. On the other hand he also attempted to be very tolerant and had a sincere attachment to religious liberty in many ways. He stated he would "meddle not with any man's conscience", though there was still persecution for Catholics and Anglicans. No universal standard of worship was imposed on the nation and many independent groups flourished. Though varied, these independents all shared a deep distrust of organized religion. They were also termed "Congregationalists" as they believed the rule by the people of the congregation. Among them were the Brownists, some of which would break off to form the Baptists, the Sabbatarians, Adamites, Ranters, Muggletonians, Socinaians, Philadelphians, "Sweet Singers of Israel", and more mystical movements such as George Fox and the Quakers also called the "Society of Friends", "Family of Love", or "Children of Light". Other social movements arose as well such as the Levelers who believed in a radical leveling of the social order, and Diggers who advocated mass redistribution of land. After Cromwell died his Son Richard took over in 1658. He was inept, however, and resigned in 1660. In an effort to maintain order, General Monck of the New Model Army invites Charles II to take the Crown of England and so restore the Monarchy.

## Anglican Ascendancy

### **Restoration of the Monarchy and Episcopacy**

During the Commonwealth the Anglicans had been driven underground. The restoration of the Monarchy was seen as a relief which would bring the Church back to Episcopacy and the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Puritans initially hoped for some leniency. Before coming to England Charles II had even granted a general pardon to all but a few directly connected to the regicide and indicated some desire for toleration. Overall, however, he would be firmly on the side of the Anglicans. Compounding this problem for the Puritans had been the Anglican's work in slowly influencing chaplaincies and tutorships. This influence over the youth ensured that when next Parliament (Caviler Parliament) met it was full of loyal churchmen. This Parliament would dig up the bodies of Cromwell and a select few regicides, posthumously execute them by hanging, behead them, and place their heads on a pike above Westminster Hall where Charles I had been executed. Charles I was declared a martyr and placed on the Calendar in the next version of the *Book of Common Prayer* and he remained until 1859. Charles did agree to have a meeting between the Anglicans and Puritan parties, the Savoy Conference. Puritans demanded a removal of the surplice, sign of the cross in Baptism, and kneeling at communion. Also that the word "priest" change to "minister" and "Sunday" to the "Lord's Day". All were rejected. The Clarendon Code in 1661 called on all holding civic office to renounce the *Solemn League and Covenant*, receive communion in a parish of the Church of England, and combined with the later 1664 *Act of Uniformity* drove a final wedge between "conformists" who conformed to the Church of England, and "non-conformists" who were the earlier "Protestants of the hotter sort" and refused to do so. This act required all clergy to declare it was illegal to take up arms against the King, swear to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, and deposed all who had not yet received episcopal ordination. The old class lines continued, with dissent from mostly the tradesmen and artisans, and support for the Church from the Gentry and poor.

A later liturgical committee revised the Prayer Book and added more catholic elements removed under the 1556 and 1559, this version was then approved by Parliament in 1662. This *Book of Common Prayer* remains the official Prayer Book for England and is considered the "standard" around much of the Anglican Communion to this day. Among the more catholic elements was the addition of prayer in commemoration of the dead, adding the line "*And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom*" to the Communion prayers. Also the *black rubric* changed from "no real or essential presence" to "no corporal presence". This later change allowed a more objective view of Christ as really present in the Sacrament while only forbidding the idea of "corporal" presence which intended to rule out transubstantiation.

Commentary on portions of the Preface to the 1662 BCP	
<p>But when, <b>upon His Majesty's happy Restoration, it seemed probable, that, amongst other things, the use of the Liturgy also would return of course</b> (the same <b>having never been legally abolished</b>) unless some timely means were used to prevent it; those men who <b>under the late usurped powers</b> had ...with their utmost endeavours to hinder the restitution thereof. In order whereunto divers Pamphlets were published against the Book of Common Prayer, the <b>old Objections mustered up, with the addition of some new ones, more than formerly had been made, to make the number swell.</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- They assumed it natural to restore the Liturgy along with the Monarchy</li> <li>2- The earlier regime was condemned as not just wrong but illegal and had "usurped" power</li> <li>3- Even now the Liturgy has been objected, with the objectors bringing up the same old arguments and just adding new ones</li> </ol>
<p>...we have rejected all such as <b>were either of dangerous consequence</b> (as secretly striking at some established doctrine, or <b>laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholick Church of Christ</b>) or else of no consequence at all, but <b>utterly frivolous and vain.</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Note the "Catholic" Church. Not Roman but still Catholic. Here is an appeal to the Catholic tradition</li> <li>2- The opposition was either an attack on Catholic tradition OR was irrelevant</li> </ol>
<p>Our general aim therefore in this undertaking was, <b>not to gratify this or that party in any their unreasonable demands;</b> but to do that, which to our best understandings we conceived might most tend to the <b>preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church; the procuring of Reverence, and exciting of Piety and Devotion in the publick Worship of God;</b> and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Main goal was peace and unity of the Church</li> <li>2- Wanted to avoid "unreasonable demands"</li> <li>3- Peace and unity would provide for true piety and devotion</li> </ol>

<p>...Office for the <b>Baptism of such as are of Riper Years:</b> which, although not so necessary when the former Book was compiled, yet <b>by the growth of Anabaptism, through the licentiousness of the late times crept in amongst us, is now become necessary,</b> and may be always useful for the baptizing of Natives in our Plantations, and others converted to the Faith.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Polemic against the Anabaptists</li> <li>2- Adult Baptisms needed because now there are adults to Baptize entering the Church</li> </ol>
<p>...although <b>we know it impossible</b> (in such variety of apprehensions, burnouts and interests, as are in the world) <b>to please all;</b> nor can expect that <b>men of factious, peevish, and perverse spirits should be satisfied with any thing that can be done</b> in this kind by any other than themselves: Yet we have good hope, that what is here presented, and hath been by the Convocations of both Provinces with great diligence examined and approved, <b>will be also well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious Sons of the Church of England.</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Impossible to please everyone but there is nothing in this book that is objectionable to any reasonable person</li> <li>2- Those who take issue with it was factious, peevish, and perverse</li> </ol>

Charles II was not without controversy himself even to Anglicans. Distrust of Rome was high and his French connections along with the Queen Consort who was Roman Catholic bothered many English. Anti-catholic sentiment ran high leading to overblown conspiracy theories about a secret "popish plot" to assassinate Charles and establish "popery" in England. Though a later revealed secret treaty with France would show Charles had agreed to reestablish the Roman Church in England and assist the French against the Dutch who were Calvinist. Charles II would die in 1685 and his bother James II take the throne. James II was even more problematic for the English as he was an open supporter of the Pope and a Roman Catholic.

### Caroline Divines

The "Caroline Divines" is the name given to a fairly unspecified group of influential Anglican writers roughly between the reigns of Charles I and Charles II (1626 - 1685). The term "Carline Divine" dates later to the 19th century with the Anglo-Catholic movement. These divines were referenced by the movement to show their continuity with the Anglican tradition and combined together in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*. This is not a defined group and some variation even from the original list has become common. In general they were High Church supporters of the monarchy who believed in Divine Right of Kings, believed in Episcopacy, and held to a higher form of ceremonialism in addition to the Prayer Book. They were not Roman but did not fully agree with Calvinism in particular on the issue of double predestination.

### Last of the Stuarts and the Glorious Revolution

James II was the brother of Charles II and openly Roman Catholic. Due to him being in the religious minority he attempted to create an era of toleration. The *Declaration of Indulgence* in 1687 removed all penal laws against both Roman Catholics and Non-conformists. However he also began to place Roman Catholics into important positions which increased tensions with the rest of the Kingdom. Eventually these building tensions lead to a secret invitation in 1688 by some in Parliament to invite William of Orange to take the throne. William's wife, Mary, was the daughter of James II and his first wife Anne. William was a Dutch Calvinist, and yet in spite of that he was seen as a better solution at the time than a Roman Catholic. There was very little bloodshed involved. When William and Mary entered London James fled and the "Glorious Revolution" was complete.

This revolution was a problem for many in the Church. On one hand they were just as worried about a Roman Catholic on the throne as anyone, but on the other to support a Parliament initiated coup would go against their principals of Divine Right and seem to undo some of the re-assertions of the post Civil War Church. James had not abdicated the throne, but had fled and many believed he was still rightful King. About 400 clergy and 6 Bishops refused to give loyalty to William and Mary and became known as "non-jurors". These nonjurors were High Church in their beliefs on authority and also more Laudian in there ceremonialism. The non-jourer schism was most prevalent in Scotland and had a distinct influence on the Scottish *Book of Common Prayer*. These distinctions in the liturgy; prayers for the dead, use of a mixed chalice, and an epiclesis would find their way into the American BCP via the Episcopal Church's connection with Scotland after the American Revolution.

By the end of the Glorious Revolution many were in the mood for religious tolerance. This time saw the growth of "latitudinarianism" or the belief the Church has latitude for various differing beliefs. These early latitudinarians were tired of controversy and influenced by new ideas on rationalism for finding truth. The *Act of Toleration* allowed

non-conformists (though still not Roman Catholics) to have their own churches as long as the local Bishop was informed. Eventually these policies and cultural movements paved the way for modern pluralism in England. This does not mean people were unreligious. In fact, there was a boom in piety during the late 17th century in terms of missions organizations such as the SPCK as well as the type religious societies that would influence John Wesley and the Methodists. There was growing interest in hospitals, prison reform, and social morals as well. The problems that would plague other eras were under the surface, but at the time things seemed mostly in order. Many unable to abide by the Church of England fled to the New England colonies to show their motherland what a truly Reformed Church would look like.

## The Oxford Movement

### The Church in the 18-19th Century

#### Church and Society

King William was not sympathetic to High Church views. In fact an effort was made in 1689 to modify the Prayer Book to make it more palatable, at least, to the more Puritan party. Most High Churchman, for their part, were Tories and Jacobites who were not sure about the legitimacy of William's reign and felt Parliament had no right to support the reign of William and Mary.

During their reign the *Act of Settlement* would be passed in 1701 disqualifying all Roman Catholics and ensuring a more stable system for future royal successions as well as solidifying the succession of Anne Stuart in 1702. Thus when Anne died in 1714 the Crown passed to the nearest non-Roman; the great-grandson of James I, George I, and so create the House of Hanover which would last through Queen Victoria at the end of the 19th century.

Unlike William, Queen Anne was a supporter of the High Church party. Among her religious proclivities was the encouragement of the "royal touch" for the "king's evil" a tuberculosis related disease. She also established the "Queen Anne's Bounty" to assist poor priests by using the funds from an older Papal Tax that Henry VIII had confiscated. The Church of England also continued to be viewed by the Continent as the "chief and most flourishing of protestant churches" and intercommunion between the Church of England, Lutherans, and Calvinist on the continent was common.

During this time and after Anne much of the nation fell into a sense of complacency, most desiring above all peace and prosperity with an end to the religious fighting. In general there was also a desire for toleration, except for Roman Catholics as well as Quakers. The former seen as enemies to the state by loyalty to the Papacy and the latter because their pacifism was seen as socially dangerous. This general feeling did not lead to a complete legal toleration, however. Due to fines and restrictions on public service many dissenters would attend Church of England parishes just enough to count and conformists. These were called "occasional conformists" resulting in the *Occasional Conformity Act* being passed in 1711 which fined all who held office but attended a non-conformist service. Spies and informants were even used to enforce the law. On the other hand, the rising power of the Whig party would lead in 1828 to the repeal of the *Test Act* and *Corporation Act* which had restricted public positions to non-conformists.

Anticlericalism was high, the poor clergy viewed the peasants and the rich ones as ambitious hypocrites. At one point crowds cheered when it was proposed to turn Canterbury Cathedral into stables. Many wrote against Church corruption but few

Bishops had the wherewithal to confront it. Some of this was simple greed and complacency, but also a factor was the violence of the French Revolution. Many saw the Church as a bulwark against chaos.

There were many problems facing the Church at the time. There was a large income gap between Bishops and their clergy. For example, the Bishop of Winchester was estimated to make 50,000£/year while half of all curates (local parish priests actually in charge of a parish) received less than 60£/year. Most Bishops spent their time in London with the House of Lords a rarely interacted with their Diocese(s). As such they also took on the role of the London aristocracy and would align themselves with whichever party happened to be in power. In the other direction the Bishops were often courted by the political powers for their ability to influence elections in their Diocese(s). To afford this lifestyle they would hold several livings and only see the area when doing mass confirmations, sometimes 1200 people at once! This pluralism had technically been illegal since Henry VIII but so many exceptions made the law functionally irrelevant. This dynamic created a massive class divide in the Church. Socially the Bishops and poorer Priests were from entirely different worlds and had little meaningful interaction. Absenteeism also continued to be a problem for Bishops and Priests. It's estimated that in 1827 about 3/5 of the clergy were non-resident in their assigned areas. Preaching was long, ideally limited by one hour but often longer, but often not very good. Locally the parish was still a center of British life and the local Parson an important part of the social fabric, but nationally the Church was too often viewed merely as the moral or religious department of state.

Along with the religious fallout from the civil war the other major social change was the industrial revolution in the latter 1700's. England went rapidly from a mostly agrarian society to a plethora of urban centers built around factories and mills. The era of steam power and mass production brought about social change very rapidly before many could adapt more than what was needed for survival. England would now see the growth of slums full of poverty, disease, and overcrowding. These slums would later be a major concern for Christian leaders and in particular the later Anglo-Catholic movement.

This transition led to the need and development of the modern police force by Sir Robert Peel. All of this would put society under massive strain and erode traditional religious, moral, and social structure. Radicalism begins to appear. Horrible working conditions produce massive demonstrations, trade unions, and in particular the Luddites who objected to industrialization and were mostly anti-technology.

In the political scene there were two competing parties: the Whig and Tory. Tories were royalists and tended to support the aristocracy and the established Church. Whigs were supporters of the non-conformists and republicanism. These two parties tended to have differing worldviews on tradition as a result. Whigs were more concerned with

ideals of progress and utilitarianism. Utilitarianism was developed by Jeremy Bentham as the idea of the principal of greatest happiness as opposed to intrinsic rightness or wrongness. The High Churchmen would be most often Tories and more interested in traditional and often rural English society.

### **Liberalism and Deism**

Another challenging facing the Church was the growth of Deism and other forms of revising traditional Christian beliefs from Broad Church or "liberal" ideas.

Deism is the belief that though there is a supreme god of some sort, in general he is uninvolved in the world. At most he started the universe but let it develop on its own. Deists may not even believe in an afterlife. Deism was driven by a desire for "religion of nature" based on scientific rationalism without dogmas, supernatural, creeds, or priests.

Liberals, also known as Broad Church or "latitudinarians", desired a Church for everyone and wanted to use similar rationalism to remove dogmas or other hindrances. Often they questioned the need for much of a Church or sacraments at all beyond just the "blessed company of all faithful people". What really mattered to them was sincerity, not specific beliefs. They petitioned to remove all subscriptions to beliefs and to allow the clergy to each interpret the Bible in their own way. With a weakened Church they also tended to be strongly erastian in viewing the civil State as superior to the Church institution.

### **Evangelical Revival**

One of the largest reactions to the problems facing the Church was the Evangelical movement. Evangelicalism is a combination of low church tendencies, strict desire for personal holiness, and influence from German pietism.

German pietism was itself a reaction to what was felt to be an overly rationalistic and cold hearted Protestant orthodoxy. They stressed the need for a emotive and personal response of faith, a conversion of the heart that was usually abrupt and memorable. This is a crisis conversion experience. A person is to hear the Gospel and be overcome with a sense of guilt and despair which leads to a repentance and faith in Christ alone for salvation. This movement of faith the leans naturally to an assurance of personal salvation and joy as well as inevitable sanctification or Christian moral living. Afterwards the primary focus was on personal prayers, mostly "from the heart", and simple (though not necessarily simplistic) Bible reading.

Because Evangelicalism was more of a movement that now crosses many denominational boundaries it can be hard to define. However in general evangelicals place emphasis on the following:

- 1- Personal conversion (often as an experience).
- 2- Assurance of salvation by faith alone in Christ alone (primarily then his atoning death for personal sin).
- 3- Individual prayer and Bible study.
- 4- Unmediated access to God: a personal relationship with Jesus that is direct, "intimate", and unmediated by a institutional Church or her sacraments/ordinances.
- 5- Sense of urgency in Gospel preaching such that other things were seen as expendable to reach as many people possible.

They were in many ways primarily a reform movement against frivolity and laxness with an emphasis on discipline and seriousness. This led them to reject popular entertainments such as dancing, playing cards, or going to the theater. They also began to dress differently, more simply without ostentation. This latter aspect would eventually influence cultural fashion for all England and in particular the American Colonies.

Though started within the Church they had little sense of the Church or felt need for her sacraments. This brought questions about the relationship between the Church and genuine faith with many later holding to a stronger division between the two. Probably due to this, and also their strong desire for reform and increased discipline, there was often hostility to the movement from the established Church. Many evangelicals would eventually leave the Church if they were ever a part of it. There was in England three main branches of the movement: Arminian Methodists such as John Wesley, Calvinist Methodists such as George Whitefield, and Anglican Evangelicals who continued to place value on proper church order.

In addition to personal conversion their strong desire to preach the Gospel aligned with a desire for social changes. In the Parish of Clapham between 1792 and 1813 a group of Churchman Evangelicals formed that was devoted to both religion and philanthropy. This Clapham Sect produced the likes of William Wilberforce who was instrumental in ending the British slave trade. Evangelical anti-slavery impulses coincided with an increased effort for mission work in places such West Africa. Out of this as well as the value on preaching the Gospel groups such as the Church Missionary Society in 1799 were founded and spread Anglican Evangelicalism across the world.

Among the most influential, and perhaps in some ways unlikely, leader of the Evangelical movement was John Wesley and the founding of the Methodists. John Wesley was born in 1703, the son of a Church of England priest and Rector of Epworth and 15 of 19 children. During his days at Oxford he joined a small group of others

dedicated to living a strict life based on the *Book of Common Prayer* and spiritual discipline. This group would be called "methodists" for their strict, and often derided, method of spiritual life in reaction to the slackness and indifference of society and their peers in the Church. It is important to remember that John Wesley was a Church of England clergyman and never intended to leave the Church. In fact he has many High Church tendencies.

During ministry in the colony of Georgia he attempted to promulgate the same level of strictness but it was never well received and he would return to England. While back home he spent time with the Moravians and it would be under their preaching he had his famous conversion experience. On May 24th, 1738 he attended a Moravian service on Aldersgate in London. On hearing an excerpt from Luther's work on the book of Romans he said he felt "his heart strangely warmed", that he now trusted in Christ alone for his salvation and had an assurance of his personal salvation. He would later mark this point as the real beginning of his ministry and also when he became a Christian.

John Wesley, and his brother Charles who followed him, would go on to preach all over the countryside and start small groups of people dedicated to living a life of holiness. Initially these were never intended to compete with the Church of England as he was very much still a Churchman. The division between Anglican and Methodist would happen over time and somewhat unintentionally. As the movement grew and more meetings were founded they began to organize into an annual conference, the first in 1744. By 1781 they were building their own places of worship, mostly funded by the Countess of Huntington, and these locations were registered as dissenting chapels. The largest issue for him was in the American Colonies where his lay preachers began to pressure him for ordination so they could start having the Eucharist on the mission field. Wesley gave in by appointing two "superintendents", Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, in 1784 as well as two "elders". He continued to argue for remaining in the Church and only felt this was an issue of practical necessity instead of replacing the Bishops. After his death in 1791 the Methodists would eventually separate officially from the Church of England.

## Old Highchurchman

### High Church in context

Initially "High" and "Low" Church were statements about the view of the Church and Episcopacy, not reflective of ritual and liturgy. In response to the various reform movements they stressed the need to keep an emphasis on the visible Church and the idea that God's promises are properly seen, or even confined, to the ordinances of his Church. William Jones, one of the High Church leaders, for instance stated "if we are out of the Church, how can we be saved?"

### Hackney Phalanx

One of the primary centers for the High Church party was in an old parish church of Hackney and founded by Joshua Watson in the early 1800's. This group was known as the Hackney Phalanx, or Clapton Sect, and were instrumental in promoting religious education and High church ideals. Joshua Watson was actually a wealthy layman who had a strong conviction to reform the Church. He was originally a Londoner but left and moved to Clapton where he attracted a group of like minded people. Though this group money was raised to support the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, and the *Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge*. In addition they also worked to produce cheap reprints of the Church Fathers, supported the building of churches, and provided financial support to poorer clergy.

### Theological Outlook

The general theological outlook of these early High Churchman was a reaction against utilitarianism, deism, latitudinarianism, and puritanism. Each of these were seen as in some way being detrimental to the Church. To utilitarianism they argued for the inherent divine command of the Church order, to deism for the Creedal Faith, to latitudinarianism for the Church to be truly a teacher of definite orthodoxy, and to the puritans to preserve catholic practice and order. They were accused of being enthusiasts and many ended up promoting Christian mysticism such as William Law's *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*.

Some of their enduring Theological concerns were:

- ✘ The Eucharist as central: They rejected reductionist views and some even that it was a propitiatory sacrifice (mainly among the non-jurors). Others that it was a memorial sacrifice in some sense being connected to the court in Heaven, others had other views but all supported sacrificial language and raising the standards of the service.
- ✘ Held to the general tenants of Arminianism such as freedom of the will, a greater stress on the Sacraments as sources of grace, and avoided preaching at the expense of the Sacraments. Though they did support better preaching, and many would be known for great sermons.

- ✘ Placed emphasis on the episcopacy as a divinely ordained institution important for the life of the Church.
- ✘ High view of clergy, both as having a unique role as mediators of grace as well as leery of individual interpretation of Scripture by laity.
- ✘ Stressed a divine sanction behind royal authority.
- ✘ Accepted that the Roman Church was in error but rejected the idea of the Pope as the antichrist or that salvation was unobtainable in the Roman Church.
- ✘ Had a distinct dislike of the astringency of Calvinism, the tendency Calvinism had to strip everything down to a perceived irreducible which lead to iconoclasm.

### Keble and National Apostasy

#### **The Catalyst in Ireland**

The beginnings of the Oxford Movement can be traced more directly to an issue in Church governance in Ireland. Most of the Irish were Roman Catholic but because the Church of England was the state Church they still owed tithes, enforced by the state. This created a large amount of resentment among the Irish landholders who would often refuse to pay or attacked collectors. As the Whigs came to power not only did they push for catholic emancipation (granted in 1829) but also attempted to reduce the financial burden in Ireland by reducing the number of Dioceses. This latter was proposed by Lord Althorp who recommended the reduction from 22 to 12. This was a very reasonable move considering the nature of Ireland as mostly rural, poor, with small towns, and mostly Roman Catholic. But this was also a major theological issue that combined with the varied other cultural changes lead to a theological revolution among many. At issue was authority. Who has the right to make such a decision about the Church? For the early Oxford Movement they saw a secular power interfering in the governance of God's Holy Catholic Church in England.

#### **The Spark of the Movement**

Though the issues in Ireland were the cause, the spark come from the University of Oxford. John Keeble (1792 - 1866) was a fellow of Oriel College at Oxford and was in the High Church tradition. He had several main concerns about the direction of the Church in the early 19th century. Primarily was a concern that tradition was being replaced by a crass utilitarianism which was undermining much of what was decent and ordered in society. He was concerned about the growing emphasis on subjective individualism over hierarchical and traditional social order. And in the Church was an opponent of what would be called disestablishmentarianism, the idea that the Church should be disestablished as the official Church of England.

On hearing about the proposal in Ireland John Keble would preach his sermon *National Apostasy* on July 14th, 1833. The sermon does not mention the issue explicitly but paints a picture of a nation abandoning her Christian principals in her disrespect for Apostolic

authority of which he accuses England of apostasy. The sermon begins by arguing for a connection between the present Church and Old Testament Israel as the former Church. Though there is not an absolute equation of all aspects of the law, the punishments and rewards now apply to the individual as opposed to the entire nation. Though towards the end of his introduction he argues some national warnings still apply. This last is the center of his argument, for the downfall of Israel stands as a warning to all nations who think they can be happier and more free by rebelling against King Jesus to be "like the other nations". He then addresses two main points: what are the symptoms for this apostasy and what should Christians do about it. For the first he argues several symptoms. The first symptom is a growing indifference to religious conviction. Here he was addressing the legislative changes introduced by the Whigs which called for greater religious tolerance for public office. But the next, and in some ways major, symptom is a disrespect for the authority of the successors to the Apostles. Even worse is an undermining of their authority based on popular opinion and "expediency" as opposed to at least a religious conviction.

*God forbid, that any Christian land should ever, by her prevailing temper and policy, revive the memory and likeness of Saul, or incur a sentence of reprobation like his. But if such a thing should be, the crimes of that nation will probably begin in infringement on Apostolical Rights.*

Next he addresses how Christians should respond, mainly focusing on intercession for the state, and a civil remonstrance. Being High Church he still values proper order and authority and never imagines an outright rebellion even when they are wrong. What this sermon did which was so important was to provide a different vision for the Church of England. Instead of being a mere department of State it was God's Holy Catholic Church grounded in Apostolic Succession. This was a direct challenge to the developed idea that the Church answered to the State. In some ways it could be argued the then Oxford Movement was a reaction to the problems of the Elizabethan Settlement. To correct these problems the early Anglo-Catholics needed to ground the importance of the Church in something other than

## The Tractarians

### The Movement

Keble's sermon created the "Oxford Movement" also called the "Tractarians" due to a series of mass produced and cheaply published tracts arguing their belief. They were critics of their society, accused Whigs of making an "atomized" society built on self-interest, laissez-faire role for the government, utilitarianism. They were opposed to any thought of dis-establishing the Church (antidisestablishmentarianism) and placed a great emphasis on Apostolic Succession and going back to the Fathers of the "primitive Church".

The combination of tract distribution, zeal, and scholarship would help the movement spread throughout England and eventually make a mark on even the American church. Newman would himself attract large crowds of people for afternoon sermons on Sunday. Much of that scholarship was focused on a revival in looking to the Church Fathers with a library of their works being published in 1838. They popularized two ideas: the *Via Media* and the Branch Theory. Though the Elizabethan Settlement had always been in some sense a *Via Media*, or middle way, between certain extremes; the Oxford Movement had an impact on the nature of those two poles. They essentially stretched one pole in a much more Catholic direction to where the *Via Media* was between Protestant and Catholic as opposed to between Reformed and a more Conservative Lutheranism. The Branch Theory was to explain how the Church of England was fully Catholic with Apostolic Succession yet divided from Rome. They proposed viewing the Holy Catholic Church as a tree with several branches: Roman, Orthodox, and Anglican as all have valid Apostolic Succession.

There were three main leaders of the early movement: Froude, Newman, and Pusey.

- I. R. H. Froude (1803 - 1836)
  - ✘ A pupil of John Keble and fellow at Oriel College, Oxford
  - ✘ Looked for a restoration of the Church
  - ✘ Believed the magnificence of the Medieval Church had been lost, wanted people to be drawn into the wonder of the spiritual life.
  - ✘ His letters and writings were published posthumously in *Remains* by Newman.
  
- II. J. H. Newman (1801 - 1890)
  - ✘ Rejected Benthamite utilitarianism ("greatest happiness for the greatest number"). It treated persons like calculus, made everything about numbers, reduced life to lowest common denominator.
  - ✘ Argued that whenever the Church buys into "progress" and "utility" is dies.

- ✘ Defined the difference between development and change. A sunflower may change to fit its surroundings but it doesn't turn into a cabbage.
- ✘ Defined the task of the Church: sanctify individuals, spiritualize society, redeem the time.
- ✘ Held to a view of Justification that was neither Roman nor Protestant: emphasis was on indwelling of the Spirit and unity with Christ.
- ✘ Often said of him he was a better Catholic as a Protestant and a better Protestant as a Catholic!

### III. E. B. Pusey (1800 - 1882)

- ✘ Regis Professor of Hebrew
- ✘ Would carry on the movement after the others, later called "puseyism"
- ✘ Gave a general set of principals of Anglo-Catholicism
  1. High thoughts of the two Sacraments
  2. High estimate of Episcopacy as God's ordinance
  3. High estimate of the visible Church as the Body of Christ wherein we are made and continue to be members of Christ
  4. Regard for ordinances, as directing our devotions and disciplining us, such as daily public prayers, fasts and feasts, etc.
  5. Regard for the visible part of devotion, such as the decoration of the house of God, which acts insensibly on the mind.
  6. Reverence for and deference to the ancient Church, of which our own Church is looked upon as the representative to us, and by whose views and doctrines we interpret our own Church when her meaning is questioned or doubtful; in a word, reference to the ancient Church, instead of the Reformers, as the ultimate expounder of the meaning of our Church.

### The Tracts

The first Tract was written by Newman as an anonymous plea to persuade clergy to act on the great crisis facing the Church in terms of authority. Following the sermon of Keble Newman focuses primarily on Apostolic Succession. Newman makes the point that without this succession any cleric's claims are irrelevant. They had been relying on the good will of the civil state and general popularity, but what if those are taken away? By what authority does an individual or even Church have for what they do? He points out those dissenting churches who depend simply upon the people become *creatures* of the people. The only solution is to place authority in the succession of Bishops which

began with the Apostles. Following the first Tract, the second addresses the primary issue in Ireland. He's not concerned with the pragmatic effect in Ireland but rather the spiritual implications of the Church not being involved in the relationships between Bishops and other clergy. The problem, for him, is the implicit view that the Church is a department of State and thus is their creation to be used as they see fit. Instead the Church is a divine institution, grounded in the succession of the Apostles, and chartered by God himself. These arguments form the general thrust of many of the Tracts though they also touch on other subjects. For instance, #11 and #20 defend the primacy of the visible Church, #27 and #28 defended the "mystical and sacramental" presence of Christ in the Eucharist though repudiated a carnal view and transubstantiation. Tract 72 even argued for prayers for the dead.

### The Movement fractures

From the beginning there was a tension in the movement over the proper relationship between the Church of England and Rome. When evangelicals proposed to erect a statue honoring Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford, Newman, Keble, and Pusey all opposed it. The movement also opposed setting up a bishopric in Jerusalem jointly with the Lutherans, on the grounds there was already a valid Apostolic See there, thus repudiating Protestantism in the minds of some. A few began to be attracted not just to the medieval Church but also the post-Tridentine Roman Church. After Newman published the works of Froude it was revealed how much he personally disliked the Reformers. This tension would start to split the movement. The largest controversy, however, was sparked by Newman's Tract 90.

### Tract 90

Tract 90 was the last of the Tracts published and was Newman's argument for the compatibility of the 39 Articles with catholic teaching. It was his contention that the Articles do not condemn catholic theology and practice but only certain extravagances and abuses perpetuated by the Roman Church. The Articles are, he says like the Prayer Book, are "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." To interpret it in this manner is justified on two points: that it's a matter of duty to interpret them in the most catholic sense possible and no such duties toward the "framers", and also that the Articles are not received directly from the original framers but through convocations of the Church. Essentially, it's catholic tradition and final grammatical form that matters, not original intent no matter how Protestant that intent may have been. He calls this the "literal and grammatical sense". He also notes that the Articles are intentionally broad so as to include a variety of different views in theological issues.

Article Subject	Summary of Newman
Scripture	The Articles are certainly Catholic here. The Canonical Books are determined by the Catholic Church which includes the Apocrypha which is not useless but inspired , though not used for deriving doctrine. Also the Articles don't mention how to interpret Scripture or the role of any authority, nor do they define the Scriptures as the "Sole Rule of Faith" and encourage private judgment.
Justification by Faith	The Articles do not deny Baptism as a means of Justification. He makes a distinction in types of "Justification": " Faith only may justify in one sense – Good Works in another:--and this is all that is here maintained".
Works and Justification	The Article only addresses the states of grace and being utterly destitute of grace, but makes no comment on the third option: that where there is some grace in between the two. Some people are under divine influences before the grace of justification and prepare the person for that grace.
The Visible Church	The Articles are not given an abstract definition but merely a description of the Church as it exists. It doesn't address such issues as Apostolic Succession for instance.
General Councils	the Articles only state that general councils may err, which is of course true as councils are made of men who may not be guided properly, but this does not apply to councils that have a supernatural privilege of not being able to err. In the case of the Catholic councils they were not formed by just the will of princes but by the King of Saints and so cannot err.
Purgatory	Only the "romish doctrine" is condemned by the Article. Other doctrines of purgatory are allowed, such as the primitive doctrine as well as the Eastern.

<p>Veneration of Icons and Relics, pardons, and invocation of saints.</p>	<p>Same as Purgatory, only the "romish" version is condemned, not the primitive Catholic. In fact, because the Articles were written pre-Trent they only condemn particular abuses that existed at the time, many of which are also condemned by Trent and thus with Rome we agree.</p>
<p>Sacraments</p>	<p>The Article does not deny the seven Sacraments, but only makes a distinction between the "Sacraments of the Gospel" and the others.</p>
<p>Transubstantiation</p>	<p>The Article does not condemn any and all changes in the bread and wine, but only certain theories of the Medieval Schools. The Article is addressing philosophical theories and not doctrine. But Christ is really and literally in (?) the bread and wine though not "local" or in an "earthly" sense.</p>
<p>Masses</p>	<p>"Nothing can show more clearly than this passage that the Articles are not written against the creed of the Roman Church, but against actual existing errors in it." The issue for the Articles is not the "Sacrifice of the Mass" but "sacrifices of masses", i.e. the common idea among some that the mass is a separate Sacrifice from that of Christ.</p>
<p>Marriage of Clergy</p>	<p>This is just an issue left up to the Church, a discipline and not a doctrine essentially.</p>
<p>The Homilies</p>	<p>The Homilies by many may seem overly Protestant but actually are not and in some cases support a more Catholic view than even the Articles. In addition only the "doctrine" generally considered is of authority, not every statement in the Homilies. The Homilies are also only a subsidiary authority, and only so when they bring out the "sense" of the Articles.</p>

<p>The Bishop of Rome</p>	<p>Merely a statement that the Pope doesn't have jurisdiction in England. The Papacy is not in theory a bad thing, but of a tradition which can be changed if needed. What matters is we have Apostolic Succession, and though a Papacy may be helpful for unity it is not required.</p>
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In reaction to Tract 90 many made accusations of "popery" and "antichrist". For many this only confirmed in their mind that the Tractarians were "secret paprists". Many in the movement lost their positions in the Church and Universities, Pusey was suspended from preaching at Oxford. Newman retreated from public life and eventually was received into the Roman Church on October 8th, 1845. Pusey became the leader of the movement and him along with many were torn between staying in the Anglican Church or going to Rome.

**Ritualist Controversy**

The Ritualist controversy concerned particular expressions of worship that developed in the nineteenth century coinciding with changes brought about by the Tractarian movement. The Tractarians themselves were primarily concerned with a renewal of the English Church though a re-appropriation of what they argued were early church practices and theology. In fact, early Tractarians continues to celebrate the Eucharist at the North end with Surplice, Hood, and Tippet. Recent scholars such as Nigel Yates argue that Ritualism was not the inevitable result of the Tractarian movement, yet it did in its theological emphasis contain the seed from which Ritualism grew. In other ways is ways it also a product of its age, being connecting with the medievalism of romanticism. Theologically, higher views of the Church and the Sacraments that came out of this movement eventually led to the adoption of external and ritual manifestations.

Many of the liturgical changes can be traced to the Cambridge Camden Society, which in 1841 began to publish *the Ecclesiologist*, dedicated to a revival and study of Church architecture until 1848 when it added ritual to its field of study. In 1845 E.B Pusey, a tractarian who would become on one the leading advocates of the movement, built a parish in Leeds that would incorporate many practices and ornaments considered "roman" such as use of rosaries, vestments, and candles on the Altar. Perhaps more controversial was the slow revival on monasticism in England which had been eliminated since the Reformation. The Ritualist movement eventually coalesced around six main points in 1875. These points were promulgated by the English Church Union in an attempt to bring order to the goals of the movement. The six points were the usage of Eucharistic vestments, facing east during the Eucharist, the use of altar

lights, mixing the wine and water in the chalice, the use of wafer bread, and the use of incense.

Ritualism became a contentious movement as it clashed with both Evangelicals and a British populace still fearful of Rome. Some of the debate centered on what the Prayer Book actually allowed. When in 1840, Rev. W.J.E. Bennett began introducing many of the proposed changes by the movement, the Rt. Rev. Blomfield's response was to condemn any deviations from the Prayer Book both ritualist and puritan. Following this attitude debate was over the "ornaments rubric" which allowed vestments and ornaments that had been used in the second year of the reign of Edward VI. The controversy culminated in the *Public Worship Regulation Act* in 1867, which strengthened the *Church Discipline Act* of 1840. Both acts sought to prevent ritualist practices. The bill eventually failed due to the provision of veto given to the Bishops, which was exercised regularly, and due to the stubbornness of the ritualists resulting in most of England too fed up with religious squabbling to really fight the movement. It was eventually repealed in 1965, long after Ritualism had created changes in both Anglicanism and non-conformist churches.

In the end, the Ritualist Movement has shaped modern Anglicanism, and the controversy it created is ongoing. Today it is possible to find Anglican and Episcopal churches who will both consider themselves highly reformed while using a surplice, stole and altar candles. At the same time, there is strong opposition to Ritualism from Evangelical groups such as The Church Society, which resulted from the merger of the National Church League and the Church Association. The latter founded in 1865 at the height of the controversy.

Ritualism has remained controversial because in its essence it represents an objection to the evangelical worldview. While evangelicals see in ritual a mechanical religion opposed to the spiritual, ritualism sees God in the material. The core difference lies in the relationship between nature and grace. Does grace come to nature and perfect it, or is nature necessarily opposed to grace? Do externals such as candles and vestments detract from the Spirit of God, or does God work through external reality? Controversies over externals seem trite until they are seen in the light of the larger theological worldview. The Ritualist movement became the controversy it was due primarily to the conflict between two ways of seeing nature and grace, both views expressing themselves in how they saw the Church and sacraments.

## Anglo-Catholic Legacy

### Worship and Practice

The vast majority of what Episcopalians and Anglicans around the world consider the norm are the results of the Anglo-Catholic and ritualist movements. Usage of Roman vestments, candles, incense, and reserving the Sacrament are all part of this legacy. In other practice the movement resulted in a flourishing of monastic orders. There are presently Anglican Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and various others all over the world. They have become such a normal part of life it is easy to forget the controversy that surrounded them. In the Episcopal Church Anglo-Catholic influence can be seen in the 1979 Prayer Book which included a rite for private confession, Holy Week liturgies, and made the Eucharist the central act of Christian worship.

### Theology

Theologically the movement placed a greater emphasis on Apostolic Succession, the reason the Episcopal Church ordains Presbyterian ministers but only receives Roman Catholic priests. There is greater emphasis on the Church Fathers which has led to other worship changes such as the use of Icons. After the movement more Anglicans began to see themselves as, if not just plain catholic, a middle ground between being Protestant and being Catholic.

### Ecumenical

Work with the catholic churches of Rome, the East, and the Oriental Orthodox improved. The Anglican Communion even has a study center in Rome which functions in some ways as an embassy to the Vatican.

### Tensions/Problems?

On the other hand the movement has continued to create a tension with Rome. Many have made the move to Rome or become so Roman while in the Church that the difference seems minimal. Sometimes people question why, if the Anglo-Catholics are right, are we divided from Rome at all? This has created suspicion among many both inside and outside the Church that Anglo-Catholics are really trying to convert the Church to Rome. In addition the controversies of the movement and the way they settled could be seen as eroding Church discipline. Much the movement did in the context of ritualism was illegal but they did it anyway. In addition, Newman's Tract 90 allowed a broader, and perhaps revisionist, interpretation of the 39 Articles which in practice undermined their authority. The 79 BCP is a very Anglo-Catholic book and yet in many ways has broken down "common prayer". No two Episcopal churches look alike or at times teach close to the same theology. How much of this is a result of the legacy of the Oxford Movement?

## Anglicanism in America

### Colonization

England's first attempt at colonization of the Americas was with the failed colony at Roanoke in 1585. At this time this was in what was Virginia, named after Elizabeth I, but later became North Carolina. In one sense Anglicanism started here on the continent. The first Anglican baptism was of Manteo, a Croatan whom the colonist encountered already living in the area. After the failure of Roanoke, the London Company planted the Jamestown colony in 1607, the first successful English colony. Along with the colonists came their Chaplain, Rev'd Robert Hunt, who held the first Anglican service of Holy Communion in the Americas. Later Virginia law would require colonists to participate in the worship of the Church of England. This law was apparently extensive, mandating Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, Sunday morning worship, Sunday evening Catechism, and the clergy to preside at daily worship and preach on Sundays and Wednesdays.

Anglicans were not the only English to immigrate, however. In 1620 the pilgrims would land on Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts. The Pilgrims were Puritans fleeing from the Church of England to establish their own religious laws in the Americas. Often this Puritan colonies were just as rigorous as England, enforcing a strict Sunday Sabbath, and banning such holidays as Christmas and Easter. Along with the Puritans came over time variety of other dissenters of various types, and various parts of Europe, such as the Quakers and Amish who were instrumental in Pennsylvania. Many did come for religious reasons, some for political, some just seeking adventure. This created a smorgasbord across the vast landscape. On the other hand much of this colonization was often concentrated. For instance the Scotch-Irish in the Appalachian Mountains. One interesting pattern that emerged was New England tended to receive colonists from East Anglia where many English had been Parliamentarian during the English Civil War, whereas Virginia saw most from North and West England which was more strongly Royalist. This geographic distinction shaped the American religious landscape. In the end there were three main factions of English religious life in the colonies: those loyal to the episcopal form of Church government, those who were presbyterian, and those who were congregationalists.

Life in the colonies had an effect on Anglican practice. Firstly, it was a harsh environment overall. By 1660 44 of the 67 clergy who came to serve died within five years. The Parishes were also much more vast, in 1724 for instance they were an average of 550 square miles. More problems were created in Virginia in 1624 when royal politics resulted in revoking the Virginia Charter, which also led to the elimination of the clergy placement system and the legislature turned down replacement tax systems. In addition to the harsh environment, which tended to make

some of the issues back home seem irrelevant, the distance from England presented its own problems for Anglicanism.

This environment had a principal effect on the development of the American Vestry system. The Vestry had developed years earlier in 13th century England as a regular parish meeting to care for Church property. When monasteries were dissolved in 1598 they were also charged with caring for the poor. At this point Vestries changed into a selected position. They also began to take on other community projects such as road maintenance. Puritans saw the Vestry as a way to make inroads into greater lay authority. With the distance of the colonies from England they were able to turn Vestry's into something more akin to a Presbytery. In addition the large Parish areas and lack of Priests created a greater need for direct lay governance of the Church as well. In 1603, for instance, the Vestry gained the power to select their own Rectors. They would also often place clergy on rotating one year contracts so as to remove them without needing a Bishop.

Though the Church was established in England, it wasn't the Established Church in all colonies. It wasn't until the last two decades of the 17th century that the monarchy took an interest in expanding their power into the Colonies. Establishment succeeded in Maryland, South Carolina, and New York. Both North Carolina and Georgia tended to be colonized by people who fled from rejection of the Church of England and so failed. Another major issue was the lack of Bishops for the colonies. In 1705 representatives from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, but this would be unsuccessful until after the Revolution. Queen Anne died before she could do so, though she started the process. George the I was apathetic and by that time the Whig Parliament was opposed. An alternative attempt at organizing the Anglican Church in the Americans was the creation of the Commissary system. This system was used by Henry Compton starting in 1689 who was Bishop of London. The first one was established in Virginia which lead to the creation of the College of William and Mary. The system was soon adopted by other colonies but they lacked the authority of a Bishop. In addition some places still proved difficult. Maryland for instance, though passing an act to establish the Church in that colony, didn't include a salary for the Commissary Thomas Bray. He left after three months but would found both the SPCK and SPG.

As an interesting other note: In 1662 laws were passed to make slavery "racial" connecting the child's status to the mother rather than the father. This was generally opposed by the clergy such that in 1705 Virginia passed a law fining clergy who married "white" and "black" persons.

### The Great Awakening

American colonial culture was a formation of several factors. First was the diverse immigrant population, second was the harsh environment that tended to attract both adventurers and those fleeing Europe for a better life or to escape some fate, third was enlightenment philosophy and the various ideals of democracy and tolerance people hoped to establish in the New World, and finally religious revivalism which took hold of the colonies in the early 1700's.

Prior to the revivals Anglican preaching followed the Enlightenment focus on the mind. Emotions, in fact, were seen as suspect. Homilies were read from a manuscript without dramatic flair or eye contact. Revivalism brought to the Church and outside of it a more emotional appeal. Emphasis was placed on extemporaneous sermons with more congregational engagement. Unlike the enlightenment clergy, these new preachers believed a person must see a change in their affections, a preacher gets to the heard through the heart. Often this emotional change was seen as a "new birth", despair followed by a perceived direct emotional encounter with Jesus.

In the Colonies the major personality of the revivals was the Church of England minister, George Whitefield, though he would be mostly rejected by the Anglican parishes. Whitefield was born in 1714 as the son of a widow who ran a tavern in Gloucester, England. According to his own testimony, he was addicted as a kid to lying and swearing. He also said he would steal from his mother, broke the Sabbath, played cards, and dropped out of school. After his mother remarried he completed school and would be accepted into Oxford on scholarship. At Oxford he came into contact with John Wesley's "Holy Club" but continued to have doubts about his faith until he had a particular dramatic and emotional experience that left him weeping. After his ordination he found a massive response to his preaching, and over the course of his life would preach over 18,000 sermons in England alone. In 1740-1741 he came to New England in a preaching tour and became the first American celebrity. He was not the only revivalist preacher and did develop relationships with others from other churches. Alongside such American personages like Jonathan Edwards, the revivalists started what is known as the First Great Awakening.

Whitefield and the revivalists were incredibly controversial and caused different churches to divide over their teaching. The Presbyterians, for instance, would divide into the "Old Light" who rejected revivalist theology, and the "New Light" who would embrace it. The same division would happen in the Congregationalist churches as well. Many left both for the Baptists, believing they now needed an adult Baptism after their "true conversion". This conversionism was the key controversial factor was the idea that each Christian, to be a Christian in the real sense, needed a "new birth experience". For example, George Whitefield said:

*I suppose most of you would tell me, you believed in Jesus Christ as long as ever you remember – you never did misbelieve. Then, you could not give me a better proof that you never yet believed in Jesus Christ, unless you were sanctified early, as from the womb; for, they that otherwise believe in Christ know there was a time when they did not believe in Jesus Christ. You say you love God with all your heart, soul, and strength. If I were to ask you how long it is since you loved God, you would say, As long as you can remember; you never hated God, you know no time when there was enmity in your heart against God. Then, unless you were sanctified very early, you never loved God in your life. My dear friends, I am more particular in this, because it is a most deceitful delusion, whereby so many people are carried away, that they believe already... did God ever show you that you had no faith in Jesus? Were you ever made to grieve in sorrow over your hard heart of unbelief? Did you ever pray, Lord, help me lay hold of Christ? Did God ever convince you of your inability to come to Christ, and make you cry out in prayer for faith in Christ? If not, you will not find peace in your heart. May God awaken you, and give you solid peace by faith in Jesus, before you die and have no further chance.*

-Selected Sermons, *The Method of Grace*, quoted in Prichard

Anglican clergy in particular were suspicious of the entire endeavor. In addition to the above conversionism calling into question the Sacraments and place of the visible Church, he also used extemporaneous prayer and rejected the need for Apostolic Succession. He was rejected by most all Anglican parishes in the Colonies, and the Commissary in Charleston refused him Communion and attempted to suspend him. In Anglican circles he was only welcome in Virginia. He used the controversy in his favor to build up interest in his tours. When he was given an Anglican pulpit he denounced Anglican doctrine and attacked the Archbishop of Canterbury. People came from miles around to hear this preacher who denounced his own Church.

Though many left the Anglican Church due to feeling they were now "really saved" and looking for a church more amiable to their experience, the Anglicans also grew from those leaving other churches who rejected the new teaching. The Anglican response was primarily through education. King's College was chartered, now Columbia, with a Daily Office and Anglican Catechism. Inroads were made at Harvard and Yale. Yale attempted to stop the popularity of Anglicanism by forbidding students from attending the new Anglican chapel near campus, but by 1770 they had an Anglican Chaplain.

Over time some Anglican clergy became warm to aspects of the revivals, particularly the younger clergy in the later 18th century. It also helped that Whitefield would later be much more moderate in tone. Some Anglicans attempted to blend both the "new birth" theology and small group worship while still holding to Anglican liturgy and ministry. There was a new appreciation for religious affections in general, and even those who held to more traditional covenant theology integrated a more personal

preaching style into their services. The other major change in Anglican piety brought by the revivals was the singing of hymns. prior to the Awakening the Church rejected modern hymns. Everything had to be either a Canticle from Scripture or something from the Early Church like the *Te Deum*. As late as 1779 clergy were brought to ecclesiastical trial for singing "unauthorized hymns". It would be only after the Revolutionary War that the young Episcopal General Convention would approve a Hymnal.

On a more positive note, the revivals had a impact on women and slaves. Often revivals were also home centered, focused on household prayer gatherings thus giving women at the time more social influence and power in the new religious movement. In addition, because literacy was much lower in women at the time, the focus on the affections was appealing. Both gave women at the time an opportunity to be involved in something with status in society. The revivalist churches also tended to have the most effective ministry towards the African American population.

In many ways the revivals were democratic and individualist in piety. The focus was on the individual and their personal standing before God without the need for a Church hierarchy. This populism found a ready soil in the Colonies. Each supported the other and increased the overall populist spirit which would lead to support for democratic revolution. The revivals also had a unifying effect on the Colonies. With the downplaying of denominations, and the common "new birth" experience, the geographic and religious boundaries of the Colonies began to break down. There was in a real sense a common religious unity that bound together "America" as the place of religious revival.

Another lasting effect of the revivals that affected Anglicanism in the Colonies was how Anglicans were viewed by the wider culture. The revivals were seen as truly "American" as opposed to "European". However because Anglicans had been indifferent and even hostile they were also seen with suspicion as not really Americans and with too much loyalty to Europe. As suspicion of England grew so did that of its Church, and as the suspicion of the Church grew, such as in asking for a Bishop, so did that of England. Many feared a Bishop would exert the same power as in England and wanted to reject both England and her religion. After the Revolutionary War Anglicans would, like the Roman Catholics, have to prove they were truly American and loyal to the new regime.

## Revolution and Episcopacy

### The War

Religion and Politics fueled the American colonists war against England. The Revolution was cast in religious terms, and so the religion of England tended to take a decline in popularity and even persecution in some cases. On the eve of the war the colonial governments attempted to gain the support of the different churches. In the southern colonies, where the Church had been established, they eliminated Anglican salaries, and in Virginia eliminated the chair of Anglican studies at William and Mary. This both placated dissenters such as Presbyterians and Baptists, as well as forced Anglican clergy to become dependent on the donations of their congregations which tended to be largely in support of revolution.

One pressing issue for Anglican clergy was the requirement for them to recite the Office which had prayers for the King. Many saw a moral issue. The revolutionaries had no legal or moral right to revolt against God's authority in the King and in addition their Ordination vows required them to oppose revolution. This was particularly true in the middle colonies and New England. When, for instance, the Rector of Trinity Church in New York wrote against the revolutionaries the church, rectory, and school were burned. He would eventually leave with the Crown forces in 1783. The Anglican missionary John Hunter, who translated the Bible and Catechism into Mohawk, was put under house arrest for reading prayer for the King. After three years the patriot forces confiscated his house, and turned the church into a bar. He fled to Canada. Many Anglicans in Pennsylvania held services only for women and children, as both were exempt from law forbidding prayers for the King. Only William White, who will become an important figure after the war, was a full supporter of the revolution in that colony.

In Maryland and the southern colonies, however, the Church had been slowly established and local legislatures ordered the removal of the King from the Prayer Book. Clergy in these areas tended to follow the closest authority and were more loyal to the colonial government. This geographic division also reflected the laity. Many in the middle and southern colonies supported revolution, but on the opposite side most in New England and New York supported England. While New England lost most of their clergy during the war, in places like Virginia vestries acted as communication networks for colonial forces and in North Carolina the Anglican priest Hezekiah Ford served as a chaplain for the patriots.

### American Episcopal Church

The aftermath of colonial victory created a challenge for the Anglican Church in the now United States. Not only had Anglicans earlier resisted the revivals, they were also the religion of the defeated enemy. Anglicanism was hierarchical, European, monarchist, and old. Anglicans were considered by many to not be real Americans. This resulted in decline during and after the revolution. For instance, in the span of fifteen years between 1774 and 1789 the Anglican Church in colonies dropped from 318 active parishes to 259. That's about four parishes a year closing, and a loss of 18.5% of the Church. In 2014 there were 6553 open parishes and missions. The same result would be a loss of 1212 parishes by 2029.

It was imperative that the Church reorganize after the war. In the process the Church remained a hierarchical church but with a more democratic system than in England. Besides the cultural reasons, the practical reason was as the war progressed clergy became more scarce and parishes were governed more by the vestries and lay leadership. The two major aspects of this reorganization was the development of General Convention and the establishment of an Episcopacy in the United States.

The first attempt happened when William Smith convened a convention of clergy and laity in Massachusetts. It was here they adopted the name "Protestant Episcopal Church". This name was chosen for two reasons. First, to declare they were not Roman Catholic and second, to declare their support for the episcopal form of church government. "Episcopalian" had become a party term in the 17th century for those who supported the episcopacy, and so the Anglican Church in the colonies defined itself as being Episcopal governed but not Roman.

Following the idea in Massachusetts Rev'd William White from Pennsylvania, who had supported the revolution, thought each State should create "general vestries". In 1782 he published *The Case for the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*. Overall he argued for the independency of the episcopalians (not an official title as he used it) from foreign powers and the compatibility of this governance with United States cultural values. He also appears to make a general argument that the churches at the time could appoint their own Bishops in case of necessity, which was the situation he saw the church in. He had a low view of apostolic succession and also argued for a governing equality between lay, priest, and to a large extent bishops.

**Select Quotes from *The Case for the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered***

*"A prejudice has prevailed with many, that the episcopal churches cannot otherwise exist than under the dominion of Great-Britain. A church government that would contain the constituent principles of the church of England, and yet be independent of foreign jurisdiction or influence, would remove that anxiety which at present hangs heavy on the minds of many sincere persons."*

*"On whatever principles the independence of the United States may be supposed to rest; whether merely on establishments which have very probable appearances of being permanent, or on withdrawing the protection of the former sovereign, or (as the author of these sheets believes) on the inherent right of the community to resist and effectually to exclude unconstitutional and oppressive claims, there result from it the reciprocal duties of protection and allegiance, enforced by the most powerful sanctions of natural and revealed religion."*

*"...in general, the members of the episcopal churches are friendly to the principles, on which the present governments were formed; a fact particularly obvious in the southern states, where the episcopalians, who are a majority of the citizens, have engaged and persevered in the war, with as much ardour and constancy as their neighbours. Many even of those whose sentiments were at first unfavorable to the Revolution, now wish for its final establishment, as a most happy event; some from an earnest desire of peace, and others from the undistinguished oppressions and ravages of the British armies. Such persons accordingly acknowledge allegiance, and pay obedience to the sovereignty of the states."*

*"Inconsistent with the duties resulting from this allegiance, would be their subjection to any spiritual jurisdiction connected with the temporal authority of a foreign state."*

*"...this connection is dissolved by the revolution...a dependence on his lordship and his successors in that See would be liable to the reproach of foreign influence, and render episcopalians less qualified than those of other communions, to be entrusted by their country; neither (as may be presumed) will it be claimed after the acknowledgment of the civil independence, being contrary to a principle clearly implied in many of the institutions of the church of England, particularly in the 34th article of religion..."*

*"In the southern states, where the episcopal churches were maintained by law, the assemblies might well have been supposed empowered, in conjunction with the other branches of legislation, to regulate their external government; but now, when the establishments are overturned, it would ill become those bodies, composed of men of various denominations (however respectable collectively and as individuals) to enact laws for the episcopal churches, which will no doubt, in common with others, claim and*

*exercise the privilege of governing themselves."*

*"All former jurisdiction over the churches being thus withdrawn, and the chain which held them together broken, it would seem, that their future continuance can be provided for only by voluntary associations for union and good government. It is therefore of the utmost consequence to discover and ascertain the principles, on which such associations should be framed."*

*"...no church is farther known to the public, than as a voluntary association of individuals, for a lawful and useful purpose. The effect of this should be the avoiding of whatever may give the churches the appearance of being subservient to party, or tend to unite their members on questions of a civil nature. This is unquestionably agreeable to the simplicity of the gospel; it is conceived to be also, under the present circumstances, agreeable to good policy; for whatever church shall aim at such subjects, unless on account of an invasion of their religious privileges, will be suspected by all others, as aiming at the exclusive government of the country."*

*"It will be necessary to deviate from the practice (though not from the principles) of that church, by convening the clergy and laity in one body. The former will no doubt have an influence proportioned to the opinion entertained of their piety and learning; but will never (it is presumed) wish to usurp an exclusive right of regulation..."*

*"The power of electing a superior order of ministers ought to be in the clergy and laity together, they being both interested in the choice."*

*"Another, will be an equality of the churches; and not, as in England, the subjection of all parish churches to their respective cathedrals."*

*"The last circumstance to be here mentioned, is the impossibility that the churches should provide a support for that superior order of clergy, to which their acknowledged principles point; of consequence, the duty assigned to that order ought not materially to interfere with their employments, in the station of parochial clergy; the superintendence of each will therefore be confined to a small district; a favorite idea with all moderate episcopalians."*

*"As the churches in question extend over an immense space of country, it can never be expected, that representatives from each church should assemble in one place; it will be more convenient for them to associate in small districts, from which representatives may be sent to three different bodies, the continent being supposed divided into that number of larger districts. From these may be elected a body representing the whole. In each smaller district, there should be elected a general vestry or convention," (etc.)*

*"...would perhaps be sufficient to demand of all admitted to the ministry, or engaged in ecclesiastical legislation, the questions contained in the book of ordination; which extend*

*no farther than an acknowledgment of the scriptures, as a rule of faith and life; yet some general sanction may be given to the thirty-nine articles of religion, so as to adopt their leading sense; which is here proposed rather as a chain of union, than for exacting entire uniformity of sentiment."*

*"...no doubt be somewhere the power of making necessary and convenient alterations in the service of the church. But it ought to be used with great moderation; otherwise the communion will become divided into an infinite number of smaller ones, all differing from one another and from that in England; from whence we may expect considerable numbers to migrate hereafter to this country; who if they find too wide a deviation from the ancient practice, will probably form an independent communion of their own. Whatever may in other respects be determined on this head, it is presumed the episcopalians are generally attached to that characteristic of their communion, which prescribes a settled form of prayer."*

*"Wherever these churches have been erected, the ecclesiastical government of the church of England has been adhered to; they have depended on the English bishops for ordination of their clergy, and on no occasion expressed a dissatisfaction with episcopacy...On the other hand, there cannot be produced an instance of laymen in America, unless in the very infancy of the settlements, soliciting the introduction of a bishop; it was probably by a great majority of them thought an hazardous experiment."*

*"From these two facts it may fairly be inferred, that the episcopalians on this continent will wish to institute among themselves an episcopal government, as soon as it shall appear practicable, and that this government will not be attended with the danger of tyranny, either temporal or spiritual."*

*"In the minds of some, the idea of the episcopacy will be connected with that of immoderate power; to which it may be answered, that power becomes dangerous, not from the precedency of one man, but from his being independent. Had Rome been governed by a presbytery instead of a bishop; and had that presbytery been invested with the independent riches and dominion of the Papal See; it is easy to conceive, of their acquiring as much power over the christian world, as was ever known in a Gregory or a Paul."*

*"It may be further objected, that episcopacy is anti-republican; and therefore opposed to those ideas which all good citizens ought to promote, for securing the peace and happiness of the community. But this supposed relation between episcopacy and monarchy arises from confounding English episcopacy with the subject at large. "*

*"All the obligations of conformity to the divine ordinances, all the arguments which prove the connexion between public worship and the morals of a people, combine to urge the adopting some speedy measures, to provide for the public ministry in these churches; if such as have been above recommended should be adopted, and the episcopal succession*

*afterwards obtained, any supposed imperfections of the intermediate ordinations might, if it were judged proper, be supplied without acknowledging their nullity, by a conditional ordination resembling that of conditional baptism in the liturgy; the above was an expedient proposed by Archbishop Tillotson, Bishops Patrick, Stillingfleet, and others, at the revolution, and had been actually practised in Ireland by Archbishop Bramhall. [Nichols's Defence of the church of England, Introduction.] But it will be said, the dropping the succession even for a time would be a departure from the principles of the Church of England. This prejudice is too common not to deserve particular attention."*

*"...moderation of sentiment and expression be justified, if the episcopal succession be so binding, as to allow no deviation in a case of extreme necessity? Had the church of England decreed concerning baptism and the Lord's supper, only that they were "not repugnant to the word of God," and that her offices for those sacraments were "not superstitious and ungodly," would she not be censured by almost all christendom, as renouncing the obligation of those sacraments? Equally improper would be the application of such moderate expressions to episcopacy if (as some imagine) she considers it to be as much binding as baptism and the Lord's supper."*

*"Can any reasonable rule of construction make this amount to more than ancient and apostolic practice? That the apostles adopted any particular form, affords a presumption of its being the best, all circumstances at that time considered; but to make it unalterably binding, it must be shown enjoined in positive precept. "*

*"Now, if the form of Church government rests on no other foundation, than ancient and apostolic practice; it is humbly submitted to consideration, whether episcopalians will not be thought scarcely deserving the name of Christians, should they, rather than consent to a temporary deviation, abandon every ordinance of positive and Divine appointment."*

*"Again, it cannot be denied, that some writers of the church of England apply very strong expressions to episcopacy, calling it a divine appointment, the ordinance of Christ, and the law of God, and pronounce it to be of divine right. Yet, in reason they ought to be understood only as asserting it to be binding, wherever it can conveniently be had: not that law and gospel are to cease rather than episcopacy."*

*"If a Christian king may on an emergency constitute a bishop, much more may the whole body of the churches interested; especially when they interfere not thereby with the civil magistrate. If a prince would be justifiable in taking such a step, rather than have recourse to the spiritual authority of some neighbouring and allied kingdom, much more would we, who labour under peculiar political difficulties."*

Not all agreed with the proposed solution. It seemed too Congregationalist for many, mostly those from New York, Connecticut, and most of New England. They argued the authority of the Church derived from the Bishops and in 1783 most of the clergy from Connecticut elected two from New York as potential Bishops, Jeremiah Leming and Samuel Seabury. Both had been loyalist during war. Seabury had even been imprisoned for his sympathies to the Crown. Leming declined but Seabury sailed for England in 1783. Once there he encountered a difficulty. Ordination required an oath of allegiance to the Crown, which would compromise him back home. His solution was to travel to Scotland and on November 14th, 1784 he was consecrated a Bishop by the non-jurors. For their help he signed a concordant recognizing the non-juror Church and agreeing to use their prayer of Consecration which was closer to the 1549 BCP than the English 1662.

While he was away, in October of 1784 a large group of Episcopalians gathered in New York to begin working on a reorganization. They elected to have a Bishop for each State, to create a unicameral legislature for clergy and laity to vote by orders and presided over by a Bishop, and establish a date for the first convention the next year. In opposition, Seabury called for a rival convention also in 1785. It was built on a more European non-democratic pattern and without lay involvement. Seabury presided, preached, and began ordaining priests and deacons. He also began to sign letters as the "Bishop of all America".

Starting in 1785 General Convention began meeting. They would also meet twice in 1786. Over that time New England would drop out and mostly join the Seabury faction. But South Carolina would join the General Convention faction. In general the southern States wanted to de-emphasize their distinctive traditions as opposed to Seabury and New England. Overall seven states were generally represented. While meeting they elected three candidates for Bishop to propose to England, adopted a constitution, and created a proposed new *Book of Common Prayer*. This new BCP was radical in many ways. It removed the descent to hell from the Apostle's Creed, reduced the 39 Articles to 20, included only a summary of Psalms for recitation, removed the word "priest", and removed the word "regeneration" from Baptism. It was too much and mostly abandoned. On the other hand for some it wasn't enough. King's Chapel in Boston wanted to eliminate all references to the Trinity. They left the Episcopalians in 1786 to form the first Unitarian Congregation. Finally in 1784 Parliament allowed ordination to the Priesthood and in 1786 to the episcopacy. William White was consecrated for Pennsylvania, Samuel Provoost for New York. At the time all Bishops would continue as parish rectors as the Church didn't have a way to support full time Bishops.

By 1787 there were now three churches. Southern and middle States with an English line of succession and lay participation, a New England church with Scottish line of succession and clergy convocations, and the Methodists who had begun becoming a separate denomination. William White attempted to heal the schism and called a

convention in 1789 to unify the Church. This convention created a separate House of Bishops with a partial veto (made stronger the longer they met) and made lay deputies optional. They also approved a new *Book of Common Prayer* which fixed some of the radical changes of the previous proposed book. It retained a shorter Psalter, and also included the Scottish prayer of consecration, a service for Thanksgiving, and a service for the visitation or prisoners similar to one found in the Irish BCP. It still, however, equivocated slightly on the Trinity by making the preface for that day optional. Shortly after, in 1790 James Madison of Virginia would be consecrated in England, and in 1792 William White convinced Seabury, Provoost, and Madison to consecrate Thomas Claggart as Bishop of Massachusetts combining both lines of succession. The Church was unified and had a new Prayer Book but still faced many challenges. Georgia only had one parish, Christ Church in Savannah, truly active and North Carolina was unable to send a delegate to general convention until 1817.

**The First American Prayer Book**

From the Preface

Preface	Comment
<p>IT is a most invaluable part of that blessed <u>liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free</u>, that in his worship, <u>different forms and usages may without offence be allowed</u>, provided the <u>substance of the Faith be kept entire</u>; and that, in every Church, <u>what cannot be clearly determined to belong to Doctrine must be referred to Discipline</u>: and therefore, by common consent and authority, may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended, or otherwise disposed of, as may seem most convenient for the edification of the people, "according to the various exigencies of times and occasions."</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Note the language of "liberty" and "freedom". It's not just that the language can be found in the Bible, but that the language asserts them as being truly American and not British.</li> <li>2- This freedom has grants the Church the right to adapt worship as a form of disciple, but not the right to change doctrine.</li> </ol>
<p><u>The Church of England, to which the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States is indebted</u>, under God, for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection, hath, in the <u>Preface of her Book of Common Prayer</u>, laid it down as a rule, that "The particular forms of Divine Worship,</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- "Indebted", but not under. Heritage acknowledged but also a distinction.</li> <li>2- Now the argument of the Preface turns to the Preface in the English Prayer Book, that it acknowledges the necessity of the Church to change and adapt</li> </ol>

<p>and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein; as to those who are in places of authority should, from time to time, seem either necessary or expedient."</p>	<p>the rites of worship.</p>
<p><u>The same Church hath not only in her Preface, but likewise in her Articles and Homilies declared the necessity and expediency of occasional alterations and amendments in her Forms of Public Worship;</u> and we find accordingly, that, seeking to "keep the happy mean between too much stiffness in refusing, and too much easiness in admitting variations in things once advisedly established", she hath, in the reign of several Princes since the first compiling of her Liturgy in the time of Edward the Sixth upon just and weighty considerations her thereunto moving yielded to make such alterations in some particulars, as in their respective times were thought convenient; yet so as that the main body and essential parts of the same (as well in the chiefest materials as in the frame and order thereof) have still been continued firm and unshaken.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Further argument of above but adds in the Articles and Homilies.</li> <li>2- There is a balance that should be struck between rigidity to ever changing and easiness in changing too much.</li> </ol>
<p><u>Her general aim in these different reviews and alterations hath been, as she farther declares in her said Preface "to do that which according to her best understanding, might most tend to the preservation of peace and unity in the Church; the procuring of reverence, and the exciting of piety and devotion</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Quotes again from the English Preface: the purpose of change is for peace, unity, reverence, devotion, and piety. These are the criteria for a good change as opposed to bad.</li> <li>2- Even though the 1662 is not contrary to Scripture, etc. it's not</li> </ol>

<p><u>in the worship of God; and finally the cutting off occasion, from them that seek occasion. Of cavil or quarrel against her Liturgy." And although, according to her judgment, there be not "any thing in it contrary to the Word of God or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible, if allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings;" yet upon the principles already laid down, it cannot but be supposed that further alterations would in time be found expedient. Accordingly, a commission for a review was issued in the year 1689: but this great and good work miscarried at that time; and the Civil Authority has not since thought proper to revive it by any new commission.</u></p>	<p>above editing either based on it's own principals.</p>
<p><u>But when in the course of Divine Providence, these American States became independent with respect to civil government, their ecclesiastical independence was necessarily included; and the different religious denominations of Christians in these States were left at full and equal liberty to model and organize their respective Churches, and forms of worship, and discipline, in such manner as they might judge most convenient for their future prosperity; consistently with the constitution and laws of their country.</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- "When in the course of..." a call back to the Declaration of Independence?</li> <li>2- Links independence to Divine Providence. Assuages concerns that Episcopalians are not loyal to the Colonies.</li> <li>3- Note the connection assumed between Church and State: if the State is free then so is the Church.</li> <li>4- The other denominations have the freedom to organize as they need, and so does the Episcopal Church.</li> </ol>
<p><u>The attention of this Church was in the first place drawn to those alterations in the Liturgy which became necessary in the prayers for our Civil Rulers, in Consequence of the</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- If nothing else, of course, the change in civil authority required the change of prayers for that authority.</li> </ol>

<p><u>Revolution.</u> And the principal care herein was to make them conformable to what ought to be the proper end of all such prayers, namely, that "Rulers may have grace, wisdom, and understanding to execute justice, and to maintain truth;" and that the people "may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty."</p>	
<p>But while these alterations were in review before the Convention, they could not but, <u>with gratitude to God, embrace the happy occasion which was offered to them (uninfluenced and unrestrained by any worldly authority whatsoever)</u> to take a further review of the Public Service, and to <u>establish such other alterations and amendments therein as might be deemed expedient.</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Beyond such practical above changes this provided the opportunity (seen as guided by God) to make other needed changes to the Prayer Book</li> <li>2- Note it also asserts they do this by their own accord. They're not being forced into it by either an American legislature nor some other human power.</li> </ol>
<p>It seems unnecessary to enumerate all the different alterations and amendments. They will appear, and it is to be hoped, the reasons of them also, upon a comparison of this with the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. <u>In which it will also appear that this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship;</u> or further than local circumstances require.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Key final argument: Nothing in the revision is intended to separate the Church from the "doctrine, discipline, or worship" of England.</li> <li>2- The only independence asserted is governmental and the only changes are based on regional circumstance.</li> </ol>
<p>And now, this important work being brought to a conclusion, <u>it is hoped the whole will be received and examined by every true member of our Church, and every sincere Christian,</u> with a meek, candid, and charitable frame of mind; without prejudice or prepossessions; seriously considering what Christianity is, and what the truths of the Gospel are; and earnestly beseeching Almighty God to</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Similar language to the 1662 BCP. This book is expected to be received well by those who are "true" members of the (Episcopal) Church or any sincere Christian.</li> </ol>

<p>accompany with his blessing every endeavour for promulgating them to mankind, in the clearest, plainest, most affecting and majestic manner, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour.</p>	
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Canon of the Mass Comparison

English 1662	American 1789
<p>ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again;</p>	<p>ALL glory be to Thee Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that Thou, of Thy tender mercy, didst give Thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; Who made there (by his one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that His precious death and sacrifice, until His coming again:</p>
<p>Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood:</p>	<p>[Omitted in Scottish Office of 1764. Scottish BCP of 1637 had a similar paragraph but with "...of thy almighty goodnesse vouchsafe so to blesse and sanctifie with thy word and holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may bee unto us the body and bloud of thy most dearly beloved Son..." the Epiclesis which the Scottish Office of 1764 moved to after the Words of Institution. The American follows the same.</p>
<p>who, in the same night that he was betrayed, (a) took Bread; and, when he had given thanks, (b) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (c) this is my Body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he (d) took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this (e) is my Blood of the New Testament, which is</p>	<p>For in the night in which He was betrayed, (a) He took Bread, and when He had given thanks (b) He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, (c) this is my Body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise after supper, (d) He took the Cup; and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for (e) this is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for</p>

<p>shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. <i>Amen.</i></p>	<p>you and for many, for the remission of sins; do this as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.</p>
<p>[Omitted after 1549, reintroduces in 1637 Scottish BCP by William Laud]</p>	<p>WHEREFORE, O Lord and heavenly Father according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and, of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood. And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we, and all thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that we, and all others who shall be partakers of this Holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction,</p>

	<p>and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. <i>Amen.</i></p>
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## The Church Takes Shape

### **Moral Reform**

After the Revolution and the general stability of the Church via General Convention and the Episcopacy, the Church attempted moral reform. Two issues facing society as a whole was both alcoholism and dueling. The Episcopal Church responded by banning clergy from taverns or any similar establishments, banning burial of those who died in a duel in 1808, and in 1817 proscribed against "gaming" and other "worldly amusements".

These efforts did result in a revival of personal piety among Episcopalians, however one of their arguments, I think, would have later consequences. A primary contention was those who did such things would end up suffering for it, and those who instead did good works would reap present benefits in life. This seems to me to be a form of moral consequentialism, that the morality of something may be measured by the results of the thing. The flip side of this is the modern "health and wealth Gospel" that asserts a direct causal correlation between doing good works or having faith, and present life benefits.

### **Education**

In addition to moral renewal there was also a renewal in Christian education through the growth of Sunday Schools. Robert Raikes in England created a Sunday education program through the Church to teach literacy to children of factory workers. He hired women in the parish to teach these children both reading and the catechism. While awaiting his consecration, William White had visited one of these schools and brought it back to the United States which led to the establishment of the First Day Society in 1790. These schools were run mostly by women and over the course of the 19th century women would play an increasingly important role in the Church. This was a result of two factors: industrialization which took men away from home and removed most of the need for domestic labor (such as clothing manufacture and food beyond cooking), and the Civil War which led to a high number of unmarried women. As a result women formed much of the unpaid workforce for the Church in running Sunday Schools, providing financial resources, and supporting congregational music. As part of this reality, even before the Civil War, the Church would institute female deaconesses in 1855. By 1922 there were 226 Deaconesses.

### **Episcopal Function**

Prior to the Civil War, the Church also began to develop organizationally and doctrinally. On the organizational side Bishops developed a broader set of responsibilities. At the time America didn't have a cathedral system and Bishops didn't have their own office, making their parish still their parish and adding onto the parish office any diocesan needs. Parishes ran themselves with some oversight but Bishops primarily functioned as sacramental ministers for Confirmation and Ordinations. This would change under John Hobart, assistant Bishop for New York in 1811 who modeled

a more robust form of the Episcopacy. He was known for being active in missions, writing pastoral letters, and also actively recruiting clergy. Though his efforts he became very influential, and was also by that a leader in the High Church party. He cautioned his clergy against participating in more protestant churches that didn't have Apostolic Succession, and was leery of participation in the non-Anglican civil government (he didn't vote).

### Church Doctrine

Doctrinally the Church was divided and would become more so. It was the 19th century that would shape the nature of the Episcopal Church into the current Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical, and Broad Church parties. In 1801 General Convention adopted the 39 Articles with minor revisions to reflect the new political realities and was mostly settled, as was England, around the High and Low Church. These positions were ones of emphasis. Both had attempted to take Anglican covenantal theology and meld it with revivalism. High Churchmen placed more emphasis on the Baptismal Covenant with a higher view of the institutional Church and her Sacraments. They were predominant in the North East. Low Churchmen placed more emphasis on the personal conversionism of the revivals, they wanted a more simplified liturgy, provide more time for preaching, and stressed commonalities with other protestants. They were centered primarily about the District of Columbia. The Church mostly kept together, William White himself kept an assistant from each group. These groups perpetuated themselves via seminaries, General in New York being High Church, and one in Virginia by Low Churchmen.

However, by the end of the century the realities of the Church would shift under both the arrival of the Oxford Movement from England and the continued development of the Evangelical movement in the now United States.

Anglican Catholics proved very popular in American culture and spread rapidly, at the same time there was a rise in popularity of the Roman Catholic Church. The industrial revolution brought with it many social changes that forced people to adapt to a new way of life. Some of these were covered earlier in Part I, but suffice to say many were looking for an answer to the myriad problems of a bleak and hard life it brought. Those looking for something else looked to Christianity to preserve an "earlier way of life" and older values. They idealized the frontier family as closer to each other and to the natural world. They also sought a more spontaneous and expressive life. People looked not just for rational doctrine but mystery, beauty, and a nostalgic (or real!) life of the past. The Roman Catholic Church promises much of this and many joined. The Anglo-Catholic also provided for people seeking these things and grew as a reaction against industrial society.

Perhaps, then, it is ironic in how the Anglo-Catholic movement first made its way into the United States. As the Oxford Movement developed it would eventually turn into the Ritualist movement and adopt new ritual practices and Vestments. The "Church Almanac" in the mid 1800's began selling Cassocks and Surplices, then not long after starting advertising for Dalmatics and Chasubles. Presiding Bishop John Hopkins was an advocate of ritualism, and along with the ritualism the Church also embraced

the theological aspects of the Oxford Movement. These Anglo-Catholics were sympathetic to the High Church party but didn't believe that party was catholic enough. They saw proper unity with Rome and the Eastern Church, rejecting ecumenism with protestants. One leader, James de Koven, advocated dropping "Protestant" from the name of the Church. In addition to their unity with Rome and the East, and the added Ritual, they also began advocating daily or weekly Eucharist and private confession among other practices.

On the other end were the "evangelical catholics" who sided with the Low Church tradition. They were the continued development of the evangelical movement in the Episcopal Church which came out of the revivals. Like the Anglo-Catholics they also began using more vestments, though kept them and their rituals to a minimum. Also like the Anglo-Catholics they advocated weekly Eucharist and the Daily Office. What separated them was their emphasis on personal experience and working with other protestants. Their "catholicity" was one of ecumenical desire to create an institution of all Christians. They adopted some liturgical change, but mostly to reduce divisions. They were also greatly influenced by Christian Socialism, and Anglican development of the English clergyman F.D. Maruice, and began placing greater focus on social changes such as abolition and support for the working class. Though the latter the pushed for the "Free Church Movement" to eliminate pew rentals.

When General Convention met in 1844 they addressed these issues, or at least made an attempt. Evangelicals wanted a blanket condemnation of both Rome and the Oxford movement, but the High Church party wouldn't agree to it. By itself the Anglo-Catholics were not enough, but they began to be associated with the High Churchmen and at the time were enough of an alliance. General Convention also didn't support the movement, and mostly didn't rule either way on the theological issues of either Anglo-Catholics or Evangelicals.

### Missions

The Episcopal Church was somewhat slower to expand missions to the West. Initially the main focus was to restructure the revive the colonies after the Revolution. Few places had a Diocesan structure, there was a struggle to obtain Bishops, and Anglicans were generally less trusted by the people in some parts of the former colonies. In 1830 GC began to tackle the issue of missions and in 1835 reorganized the missionary society. Two of the first missionary Bishops were Jackson Kemper and Lionidas Polk. Polk became Bishop of Louisiana in 1841 and Kemper became Bishop of Wisconsin in 1859. the latter was instrumental in supporting Nashotah House Seminary, though it had been chartered earlier in 1847.

Before the Civil War the Church also saw the development of religious communities, particularly of Episcopal Nuns. These were primarily developed out of the Anglo-Catholic movement in England, and would eventually become a regular part of life in the Episcopal Church and the entire Anglican Communion. The first in the United States was the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion founded by Anne Ayres in 1852 in New York. Ironically, perhaps, the main cleric behind this was William

Muhlenberg, a leader in the evangelical catholic party of the Church. The other major religious order of women was the Community of St. Mary founded in 1863 also in New York by Harriet Cannon. These women formed, as is somewhat common amongst religious orders, from believing the SHC was not strict enough and desired something more rigorous. Their main contrition to the Church was gaining wider acceptance for Episcopal nuns. After the war a yellow fever epidemic broke out in Tennessee in 1878, where the sisters had a chapter house. In caring for the victims several suffered from the same disease, but their dedication won them respect. Not many years after there were thirteen different communities around the Church. Men's communities would develop later, SSJE in 1872 and the OHC in 1881.

### Church, Religion, and Civil War

During the Civil War most American denominations split, some never fully reuniting after the War. This was different for the Episcopal Church. During the War there was a split, General Convention in the North and the General Council of the Confederate States under Leonidas Polk for the South. After the War the two would reunite quickly.

Religion played an interesting role during and after the War. Much of the following is taken from Mark Noll's *The Civil War as Theological Crisis*.

During the time between 1776 and 1860 a form of American Protestant Orthodoxy developed. This common cultural set of beliefs centered around the following ideas. First that the Bible was true and the standard for life, as should be expected of Protestant *Sola Scriptura*. But more than religious the core ideals were seen as deriving from the Bible:

1. The Bible supported a republican form of government
2. The Bible is accessible to every sentient person
3. The Bible defended personal liberty and condemned tyranny of human religious authority
4. The Bible forecast a providential destiny for the free colonies as a nation
5. The Bible is best interpreted by the common people
6. An ideal of anti-traditionalism, which was the cause of the problems for the Episcopal Church
7. An ideal for a written, constitutional government, as opposed to rulership by persons
8. An ideal that each person is endowed by "their Creator" with ability to be virtuous on their own free will
9. An impromptu and organic development of the culture, so a value of things "just happening" from the people
10. Influence of the evangelical revivals
11. An ideal that the unity of the nation was tied to the religious unity of the Protestant Churches on some level

So by 1860 Protestants who held the Bible as the highest authority and trusted their own interpretation over other religious authorities were dominant. American society had in large part been built by voluntary societies, the Church of which was a central organization. The Civil War undermined this cultural dominance by creating skepticism over how much the Bible and interpretations of it could be trusted. Some of this began with the abolitionist movement. Both sides argued for and against slavery based on the Bible, but because some abolitionists' arguments became skeptical about the Bible, attacks on slavery were viewed as attacks on the Bible itself. One example of this growing skepticism was *Uncle Tom's Cabin* where Stowe presents the Bible as being malleable based on what a person wants it to say. For these abolitionists the horrors of American slavery made them feel forced to question where the Bible seems to support it. Not all abolitionists argued from that point, and many made a Biblical case against slavery, but this only solidified a growing fracture in the principal that the Bible could be understood intuitively. Some argued the Bible didn't condemn slavery in itself, but only the Southern American version. However this was built on reading the "spirit" of the text, and looking into the cultural backgrounds of Greco-Roman society. To many others this came across as elitism and undermined the ideals of a democratic interpretation of Scripture, that the average person could interpret the Bible themselves.

It's one thing to have a division in interpretation, but in the Civil War there was a larger issue. The post-war problem was that an interpretive question wasn't settled by the Church and the Bible, but by secular War. After the War the Bible and pre-war protestant ministers lost much of their moral cultural authority among the educated in the North. In addition many lost their own moral energy and retreated from public life perceiving a public failure of a unity of Biblical interpretation by private individuals that could guide the nation. "What does the Bible say about Slavery?" was decided by secular powers in an industrialized conflict, and so proved to many the question was irrelevant. Many also began to question the divine guidance of the Nation, taking a more agnostic view of what God was doing.

### The Church to World War II

#### **After the Civil War**

After the Civil War, evangelicals lost much of their influence. They had been concentrated primary in the South and so lost prestige, finances, and influence. In spite of this the Church continued to fight over ritualism. General Convention attempted to compromise on the issue in 1871, but in 1873 a group of dissenters left to form the first breakaway church, the Reformed Episcopal Church. In 1874 General Convention attempted to pass a Canon to forbid many ritual practices, but mostly only came down to a pastoral letter. Eventually, of course, this would die out as all of those things in the letter are widely practiced today.

The creation of the REC would solidify particular theological stances in the Episcopal Church and in some ways be a triumph of Anglo-Catholicism. This can be seen from the REC's *Declaration of Principals* as a contrast to the direction the Episcopal Church was heading.

REC Principal	Comment
<p>1. The Reformed Episcopal Church, holding "the faith once delivered unto the saints", declares its belief in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God, as the sole rule of Faith and Practice; in the Creed "commonly called the Apostles' Creed;" in the Divine institution of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and in the doctrines of grace substantially as they are set forth in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Scriptures are the "sole" Rule of Faith, a declaration of <i>Sola Scriptura</i> in much stronger terms than was normally used and would be used after the Oxford Movement.</li> <li>2. Higher status for the 39 Articles as a statement of faith.</li> </ol>
<p>2. This Church recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy, not as of Divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of Church polity.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Statement against the Oxford Movement's emphasis on Apostolic Succession.</li> <li>2. Some of the importance here was the founder, Cummings, was censured for participation in a communion service with Presbyterians and Methodists.</li> </ol>
<p>3. This Church, retaining a liturgy which shall not be imperative or repressive of freedom in prayer, accepts The Book of Common Prayer, as it was revised, proposed, and recommended for use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, A.D. 1785, reserving full liberty to alter, abridge, enlarge, and amend the same, as may seem most conducive to the edification of the people, "provided that the substance of the faith be kept entire."</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seems at first to be odd, but the idea of freedom in prayer was important to evangelicalism.</li> </ol>
<p>4. This Church condemns and rejects the following erroneous and strange doctrines as contrary to God's Word: First, that the</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The heart of the issues of the day that were becoming common in the Episcopal</li> </ol>

<p>Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity; Second, that Christian Ministers are "priests" in another sense than that in which all believers are a "royal priesthood"; Third, that the Lord's Table is an altar on which the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father; Fourth, that the Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of Bread and Wine; Fifth, that regeneration is inseparably connected with Baptism.</p>	<p>Church, all statements against Anglo-Catholicism</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. First: against Apostolic Succession</li> <li>3. Second: against views of a sacerdotal/sacramental priesthood, which they saw as closer to Rome</li> <li>4. Third: against ideas of Eucharistic Sacrifice which had been revived</li> <li>5. Fourth: against ideas of Real Presences in the Eucharist.</li> <li>6. Fifth: against Baptismal regeneration. They followed the revivals which placed emphasis on a conversion experience.</li> </ol>
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**The Church undergoes changes**

Leading up to WWI was both massive population growth as well as demographic changes as people moved away from rural areas and cities began to grow. This effected the Church as well, as the population became more urban so did the Church. Church government also developed. In 1894 a headquarters in NY was formed rather than using the office of whoever happened to be Presiding Bishop. By 1919 the Presiding Bishop had also become an elected position. It was also during this era the Episcopal Church would develop a Cathedral system, something William White had rejected earlier.

During this time the Church also became dominated by high ritual and broad theology. Though the REC had broken away, there were still Low Churchmen who conflicted with the now more dominant Anglo-Catholics. Many were merely in the middle and desired a united Church that could help lead the nation, these would begin to promote broad church principals. "Broad Church" was the term used to indicate the party holding to a lenient view on liturgy, catholic evangelical social ministry, and a self described openness to various new ideas such as Freud and Darwin. The Broad Church would be represented and supported by the formation of the "Church Congress" which would be in existence from 1874-1934. Its goal was to keep the Church "liberal and free" in an effort to keep the Church unified. They, in many ways, functioned as the primary think tank for General Convention during this time.

Overall the Episcopal Church began to see itself poised to become the Church of the Nation able to confront the shifts in culture. There was a push to adopt a wide latitude

of liturgical practice to appeal to all, the belief that an Episcopacy was the key to unifying Christianity in the Nation, and with that the development of the Cathedral system. This stress for unity led to the adoption in 1886 of a "Quadrilateral" specifying the requirements for Christian Unity. It would be adapted in 1888 by the Lambeth Conference as well. The Church also took part in the World Conference on Faith and Order in 1927 which after World War II became the World Council of Churches in 1948. The Anglo-Catholics generally opposed these meetings due to the closer connection with Rome and Orthodoxy. They argued for a more catholic sense of the Church rather than Protestant reunion of which would hurt reunion with Rome. Instead they began talks with Rome and formed the first Anglican Roman Catholic dialogues during the 1800's. Such efforts would be stalled, however, when in 1896 Rome declared Anglican Orders invalid and in 1928 ended the discussions from their end until the Anglican Study Centre in Rome would be founded in 1966.

1886 Episcopal House of Bishops	1888 Lambeth Conference
<p>We, Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in Council assembled as Bishops in the Church of God, do hereby solemnly declare to all whom it may concern, and especially to our fellow-Christians of the different Communion in this land, who, in their several spheres, have contended for the religion of Christ:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Our earnest desire that the Savior's prayer, "That we all may be one," may, in its deepest and truest sense, be speedily fulfilled;</li> <li>2. That we believe that all who have been duly baptized with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are members of the Holy Catholic Church.</li> <li>3. That in all things of human ordering or human choice, relating to modes of worship and discipline, or to traditional customs, this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility to forego all preferences of her own;</li> </ol>	<p>That, in the opinion of this Conference, the following Articles supply a basis on which approach may be by God's blessing made towards Home Reunion:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as "containing all things necessary to salvation," and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.</li> <li>(b) The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.</li> <li>(c) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself--Baptism and the Supper of the Lord --ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.</li> <li>(d) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.</li> </ol>

4. That this Church does not seek to absorb other Communion, but rather, co-operating with them on the basis of a common Faith and Order, to discountenance schism, to heal the wounds of the Body of Christ, and to promote the charity which is the chief of Christian graces and the visible manifestation of Christ to the world.

But furthermore, we do hereby affirm that the Christian unity . . . can be restored only by the return of all Christian communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence; which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian Faith and Order committed by Christ and his Apostles to the Church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal benefit of all men.

As inherent parts of this sacred deposit, and therefore as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom, we account the following, to wit:

1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God.
2. The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.
3. The two Sacraments,--Baptism and the Supper of the Lord,--ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him.

4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.

Furthermore, Deeply grieved by the sad divisions which affect the Christian Church in our own land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorized response to this Declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian Bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the Church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass.

*Note: While the above form of the Quadrilateral was adopted by the House of Bishops, it was not enacted by the House of Deputies, but rather incorporated in a general plan referred for study and action to a newly created Joint Commission on Christian Reunion.*

The liturgy also underwent change during this time. A new Prayer Book was passed in 1892 with some minor changes: "church militant" changed to "Christ's Church", and a prayer thinking God for the Saints and all faithful departed. Beyond the official BCP there was also a development in various supplemental services. Officially the Church published the *Book of Offices* in 1914. This book contained various rites for consecrating a new Church and cemetery, removing the consecration of a Church, blessing of homes, various Offices for things such as Thanksgiving and July 4th, a Compline service, and additional burial rites for various occasions. In addition to this more official book many others were produced by Anglo-Catholics to supplement the Prayer Book with the broader catholic tradition. This was the time for the development of Anglican Missals which were in many cases a translation of the Roman Missal modified to adhere to the Prayer Book, such as using the Prayer Book Canon. Other books such as *Ritual Notes* were written to conform Anglican/Episcopal usage to that of the Western Tradition by adopting Roman ritual actions into the liturgy. One major benefit was the absence of a full set of Holy Week services in the Prayer Book, an issue also with the later 1928. Anglo-Catholic parishes and clergy used either a Missal or some additional resource to celebrate these days, drawing on the Roman forms. All these and other additional rites

were highly controversial and subject to various pamphlets for and against, and even church legislation in many areas. However, in the end these liturgical changes would become mostly normalized and some find themselves eventually adopted by the future 1979 BCP.

### **Fundamentalism and Modernism**

The final major cultural shift and religious issue prior to World War II was the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy. Because many churches had supported Prohibition, its failure further weakened the role of religion in public policy. Professional, secular, nurses replaced nuns in Hospitals, Hospitals themselves became increasingly built and run by cities rather than being religious, Hollywood provided new forms of public entertainment, and Universities became more secular and specialized in various fields rather than look to clergy as primary educators.

The 1920's saw rapid changes in people's worldviews owing to various scientific conclusions of the day. The two major names are Freud who argued for a non-religious explanation of what we now call psychological disorders, and Darwin who argued for a non-religious mechanism for the creation of natural world via evolution. The former was seen as a threat because some argued his views undermined entirely a spiritual component of the human person. He was able to apply secular techniques to for what before had been reserved for pastoral care, and in particular seen as redefining "sin" as a "mental disorder" that could be cured via something other than grace. The later would become a particular flash point, especially after the Scopes Trial in 1925 which essentially set the standard for cultural belief in scientific evolution from that point forward and forced Christians to reexamine the Genesis accounts.

The controversy itself broke out in the Presbyterian Church. In 1909 one minister wrote that belief in the Virgin Birth was unnecessary. This was seen as a denial of basic Christian doctrine and in 1910 a group of Presbyterian theologians articulated what they believed to be the "Five Fundamentals" of the Christian Faith:

1. The inspiration of the Bible by the Holy Spirit and the inerrancy of Scripture as a result of this.
2. The virgin birth of Christ.
3. The belief that Christ's death was an atonement for sin.
4. The bodily resurrection of Christ.
5. The historical reality of Christ's miracles.

This was the start of "Christian Fundamentalism". There were various other issues that went into the debate as it broke out, irrelevant as they dealt with internal policy for the Presbyterian Church, but in response a group who would be called the "Modernists" signed onto the *Auburn Affirmation* in 1923. The following are excerpts from that document:

our Confession also expressly asserts the liberty of Christian believers, and condemns the submission of the mind or conscience to any human authority: "God alone is lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his Word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship

our church has held that the supreme guide in the interpretation of the Scriptures is not, as it is with Roman Catholics, ecclesiastical authority, but the Spirit of God, speaking to the Christian believer. Thus our church lays it upon its ministers and others to read and teach the Scriptures as the Spirit of God through His manifold ministries instructs them, and to receive all truth which from time to time He causes to break forth from the Scriptures

There is no assertion in the Scriptures that their writers were kept "from error." The Confession of Faith does not make this assertion;

this opinion of the General Assembly attempts to commit our church to certain theories concerning the inspiration of the Bible, and the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Continuing Life and Supernatural Power of our Lord Jesus Christ. We hold most earnestly to these great facts and doctrines; we all believe from our hearts that the writers of the Bible were inspired of God; that Jesus Christ was God manifest in the flesh; that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, and through Him we have our redemption; that having died for our sins He rose from the dead and is our everliving Saviour; that in His earthly ministry He wrought many mighty works, and by His vicarious death and unfailling presence He is able to save to the uttermost. Some of us regard the particular theories contained in the deliverance of the General Assembly of 1923 as satisfactory explanations of these facts and doctrines. But we are united in believing that these are not the only theories allowed by the Scriptures and our standards as explanations of these facts and doctrines of our religion, and that all who hold to these facts and doctrines, whatever theories they may employ to explain them, are worthy of all confidence and fellowship.

We do not desire liberty to go beyond the teachings of evangelical Christianity. But we maintain that it is our constitutional right and our Christian duty within these limits to exercise liberty of thought and teaching, that we may more effectively preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World.

Eventually this controversy would spread into other denominations and the fundamentalist movement would form their own denominational structures and seminaries. In the Episcopal Church, leaders attempted to mostly avoid the conflict by adhering to a Creedal faith. There could be theological liberty as long as something didn't directly violate the Nicene Creed. This was true in theory. Many Episcopal clergy felt free to adopt then current scientific thinking on psychology and evolution while adhering to the Creedal faith. In practice many clergy were more modernist than the

laity. The custodian of the Book of Common Prayer called Original Sin "objectionable to the modern mind", and the Church Conference declared that all the factions of the Church were ready for "modernists revisions of doctrine". In 1923, however, when the Bishop of Massachusetts wrote a book where he stated that it wasn't necessary to believe in the Virgin Birth the laity objected, even though he himself did. General Convention took a position in the middle and attempted to avoid polarization. A pastoral letter from Convention argued a distinction between "belief in" and "facts that we believe". The Creeds are the facts which form a starting point to discover the "deeper" aspects of what we "believe in", though those cannot contradict the Creeds. The reaction to this mostly came from modernists who wanted more. ETS (now EDS) declared the letter not canonically binding, and one preacher in New York preached in an academic gown rather than a Surplice to show the conflict between the (superior) modern thinking and the traditional faith. Bp. Brown from Arkansas would go on to embrace a radical communism. He would even argue that communism made Christianity irrelevant but could still be a priest because he held to the Creed in a "symbolic fashion". He, at least, was deposed in 1924. The first draft of the 1928 BCP omitted the 39 Articles and was only added again due to popular pushback. The Broadchurch Church Congress would dissolve at the end of the controversy, the final head calling the Apostle's Creed a "Museum piece". The Congress was unable to keep the church parties together in more specific groups: separating liberals, evangelicals, and catholics.

**1928 Book of Common Prayer**

The revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1928 was one of the more extensive the Church had done. It changed "minister" to "priest", shortened the Decalogue, added prayers for the dead, shortened the introduction to the General Confession, added more Eucharistic Prefaces, and moved the location of the Prayer of Humble Access. As an introduction to the book a history of the Prayer Book was written in 1929. Looking at it helps understand the mindset going into the revision of 1928.

Excerpts from The New American Prayer Book: Its History and Contents By E. Clowes Chorley, D.D.	Selected Comments
The Prayer Book of 1892 lasted thirty-six years. It was never satisfactory. The Convention which adopted it was not only conservative, but timid. It hesitated to embark on a liturgical adventure. Revision was reduced to a minimum. Archaic expressions were retained and much of its theology savored of the middle ages.	1- Church wanted to move in a Modernist direction, criticized earlier era for not revising enough 2- 1928 revisers wanted to be modern and remove "archaic" language 3- "Middle Ages" used pejoratively, not sure what Anglo-Catholics felt about this!
The resolution appointing the	1- On one hand they're not

<p>Commission, however, expressly stipulated "that no proposition involving the Faith and Doctrine of the Church shall be considered or reported." It also expressly excluded "any proposal to change the title-page of the Prayer Book" and the suggestion of any change in the "Name of the Church." The former instruction proved to be impracticable; the latter was scrupulously observed.</p>	<p>considering changing the doctrine of the Church, though on the other they will change the theology of the Prayer Book (see below)</p>
<p>As compared with the two previous American Prayer Books the new Book has two outstanding characteristics--it is much more flexible in its use and there is a marked tendency to shorten the regular services; especially those of Morning and Evening Prayer. It is no longer compulsory every Sunday to recite the Exhortation beginning, "Dearly beloved brethren" which was in danger of losing its force by constant repetition. For it may be substituted the shorter invitation, "Let us humbly confess our sins to Almighty God."... The Prayer Book of 1892 required the recital of the Ten Commandments in full once on each Sunday; the new Book limits this requirement to "at least one Sunday in each month."</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- The 1928 is intended to be more flexible</li> <li>2- The 1928 is also intended to have shorter services</li> </ol>
<p>Not only are the services shortened, but rigid uniformity in the services is no longer insisted upon. After the third Collect in Morning and Evening Prayer the minister may either end the service with the "Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," or by the use of a prayer or prayers from any part of the Book, thus giving a much greater variety of liturgical use.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- The new Prayer Book also intended to introduce more liturgical variety by giving more options</li> </ol>
<p>"Concerning the Service of the Church," which follows the Preface to the Book, is a striking illustration of the unprecedented breadth of the liturgical liberty of the new Prayer Book. It sets forth that the Order for Holy Communion, for Morning and</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- The 1928 BCP begins to open up the possibility for extra liturgical devotions not found in the Prayer Book to be used with permission of the Bishop</li> </ol>

<p>Evening Prayer, and the Litany, are the services regularly authorized for use "in this Church," but with the far-reaching proviso that, subject to the direction of the bishop, in addition there may be used other devotions "set forth by lawful authority." Nor is this all. Under carefully defined conditions, "when the edification of the Congregation so requires," these other devotions may be used instead of the regular Morning and Evening Prayer.</p>	
<p>The revision of the 1892 Book is far-reaching, and in some instances radical. It extends not only to language, but also to theological statement.</p>	<p>1- The 1928 includes some theological changes (but not changes to doctrine as declared above?)</p>
<p>The relaxation of the requirement to read the Psalter for the day obviates the necessity of reciting in the public services those Psalms or parts of Psalms which call down the curses of heaven upon enemies--the "imprecatory" Psalms.</p>	<p>1- Desire to downplay imprecatory Psalms</p>
<p>The Penitential Office illustrates one marked feature of the new Prayer Book--the elimination of exaggerated and therefore, to that extent, unreal expressions of penitence for sin. The medieval idea of the utter worthlessness of man was far from the conception that "thou hast made him a little lower than the angels." In the older Liturgies and in the later English and American Prayer Books man is represented as utterly depraved, cringing in his approach to God;</p>	<p>1- Use of "medieval" pejoratively again 2- Downplay idea of human total depravity from earlier liturgies</p>
<p>In the revision the pagan idea of the "anger" of God is entirely eliminated. The words, "vile earth and miserable sinners" are deleted, and instead of "who meekly acknowledge our vileness," the prayer reads, "who meekly acknowledge our transgressions." In the appointed fifty-first Psalm the last two verses, which are a priestly addition to the original, are left out so that it ends on the note of Christian</p>	<p>1- Proposes the idea of God's anger as "pagan" 2- "priestly addition" is a reference to the Wellhausen Documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch. It proposed the Torah was a later edited edition of different stories. Also known as the JEDP theory. This is a result of Modernism as it applied current secular scientific</p>

<p>hope.</p>	<p>analysis to the study of the Scriptures.</p>
<p>The growing conviction that the Ten Commandments have no proper place in the service of Holy Communion finds expressions in a significant permission to modify their recital by the omission of the reasons for their observance; reasons which have lost their point and force in modern times.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- This desire to eliminate the 10 Commandments from the Eucharist would not happen until the 1979 BCP</li> <li>2- "lost their point in modern times" could be seen as a connection to the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy</li> </ol>
<p>This also goes back to the English Book of 1549, but it is the first time in the history of the American Prayer Books that prayers for the departed have been recognized. Others appear in the new Burial Office where their use is permissive. In this prayer it is mandatory and as such was vigorously opposed in the General Convention by a group of Low Churchmen.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Re-addition of prayers for the dead which were eliminated after the 1549 BCP</li> <li>2- Influence of the Anglo-Catholic party</li> </ol>
<p>The Joint Commission sought to amend the rubric directing that any remaining portion of the consecrated bread and wine should be reverently consumed and not carried out of church, by a provision that, when allowed by the bishop, there might be reserved so much as might be required that day for the communion of the sick. The recommendation was not adopted.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Anglo-Catholic influence?</li> <li>2- Originally the BCP required consuming all of what was left to prevent ideas of Transubstantiation, etc</li> <li>3- This was an attempt to modify the BCP for the earlier, and more catholic, tradition</li> </ol>
<p>The opening sentence of the exhortation in the Office of Baptism, reading, "forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin," has long been deeply resented, so much so that many of the clergy refused to read it. It has happily been deleted in the new Book as having no warrant in Holy Scripture; the old prayer quoting the saving of Noah and the passage of Israel through the Red Sea as figuring Baptism is now omitted, as also the phrase that the infant may "be delivered from thy wrath."</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- The comment that " many of the clergy refused to read it" is interesting!</li> <li>2- General removal of the idea of original sin and reduce language of God's judgment</li> </ol>
<p>In the Prayer Book of 1892 the making of the sign of the cross in Baptism was</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Anglo-Catholic contribution: addition of mandatory catholic</li> </ol>

<p>permissive; in the new Book it is mandatory as in the Prayer Book of 1549.</p>	<p>ritual</p>
<p>The most significant change is that the vows and promises of the man and the woman are made exactly alike by the omission of the word "obey." They both undertake precisely the same obligation. In the giving of the ring the bridegroom is no longer called upon to say, "with all my worldly goods I thee endow." Provision is made for the blessing of the Ring... Isaac and Rebecca are no longer held up as shining examples of matrimonial felicity.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- 1928 more "egalitarian" wedding rite (word probably not used at the time)</li> <li>2- Also introduces blessing of the ring (Anglo-Catholic)</li> </ol>
<p>The Office for the Visitation of the Sick has been so changed as to be hardly recognizable in its new form. As it appeared in the old Prayer Book it was so gloomy, so medieval in its theology and so utterly lacking in any understanding of the psychological approach to sick persons, that it had almost ceased to be used in the church. Its basic assumption was that not only is all sickness sent by God, but it is sent as a just punishment for some wrong done... In the new Book the whole tone of the service has been revolutionized. Hope supplants doubt and fear. Jubilant Psalms are added.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- More emphasis on moving the Prayer Book into being more "modern" and less "medieval"</li> <li>2- Note the "lacking in any understanding of the psychological approach to sick persons" and remember the debates at the time over the place of secular psychology in the Church</li> </ol>
<p>The harshness of the old first rubric in the Burial Office prohibiting its use "for any unbaptized adults, any who die excommunicate, or who have laid violent hands upon themselves" is softened in the new Book by noting that the Office is "appropriate to be used only for the faithful departed in Christ," but giving the minister discretion, in the former cases, to use such devotions from the service or from other parts of the Book "as may be fitting."</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Attempt at both liturgical flexibility but also a change in the view of the dead. Though remember that the extra-BCP rites will have burials for various other occasions</li> </ol>
<p>Important as is the revision in the New Prayer Book, its large enrichment is even more so. The comparatively short life of</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Modernism values adapting the faith to the modern world, believed the 1928 did this better than the</li> </ol>

<p>the 1892 Book was mainly due to the reluctance of the General Convention to enrich the public service of the Church. The older devotions failed to express changed and changing ideas and conditions. Large spheres of modern life were, as far as the Prayer Book was concerned, excluded. A living Liturgy must express in its forms of devotion the thoughts of the time. New occasions not only "teach new duties," but they call for new devotions.</p>	<p>older 1892</p>
<p>For the first time a form of the ancient "Bidding Prayer" appears in the American Liturgy. It goes back to pre-Reformation days when it was known as the "Bidding of the Bedes." The people were bidden to pray as the preacher named the subjects of their devotion. Its use was continued after the Reformation with the omission of the name of the Pope and the substitution therefore of the King as the "Supreme Head of the Church of England." The fifty-fifth section of the "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical," adopted in 1603 and printed in the old English Prayer Books, is headed, "The Form of a Prayer to be used by all Preachers before their Sermons." The first part of it reads:</p>	<p>1- The Prayer Book of 1928 began to draw from earlier and pre-Reformation liturgies. An result of the Anglo-Catholic movement and one which would add more changes in 1979</p>
<p>Prayers for the departed are now enshrined in the Prayer for Christ's Church; the Burial Office and what was known in earlier days as the Requiem Mass. The old objection to these particular services that they were Roman in character has been worn down in later years. The Church is glad to take devotions of proved value from whatever source they come.</p>	<p>1- Another comment on prayers for the dead 2- Anglo-Catholic influence reduced the idea that "Roman" was inherently bad. The BCP is moving in a more catholic direction</p>
<p>The enrichment of the new Book is very marked in the office for the Visitation of the Sick, the whole tone of which has been transformed. It is evident that its compilers have studied with great care the</p>	<p>1- The 1928 is part modernist influence in taking into account the "newer psychological method of dealing with sickness" 2- It's also Anglo-Catholic in allowing</p>

<p>newer psychological method of dealing with sickness. A suggestion of cheer runs through the whole service and the hope of recovery is prominent. There is no suggestion, as in the old service, of imminent death, and the five new Psalms incorporated in the Office are such as to inspire confident hope...Most striking of all is the permission granted for the Unction of the Sick and the Laying on of Hands, both of which find ample authority in the apostolic times, but were engulfed in the wave of the Protestant Reformation, although Unction found a place in the First Prayer Book of 1549.</p>	<p>for Unction for the Sick as in the 1549 and pre-Reformation rites.</p>
<p>The new Book is not perfect. But it is a large advance on the Books of 1789 and 1892. It is more human; more comprehensive; more truly devotional; more modern. Above all, it is more real. For these things the whole Christian world, which has always turned to the Book of Common Prayer for inspirational devotion, may be devoutly thankful.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1- Notice the language of being "mode modern"</li> <li>2- Also note: it's not perfect. At the time of the 1928 many were saying it would need to be updated again</li> </ol>

### The Modern Church

The big three events of World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II would drastically change American society and that of the world. The result of the two major wars can be considered together as the developments from one didn't have much time before being put on hold by the second.

Between the Wars the Great Depression caused massive unemployment after the stock market crash of 1929 which by the mid to late 30's became one of the most devastating economic events in US history. Unemployment hit a national high of 25% and there was little in way of funds for people to support the Church. The other effect of the Depression was to dampen ideals for an inherently better future. Many had before believed that humanity in general, and America in particular, was destined for ever increasing greatness. There was an ideal that humanity was moving towards an inevitable utopian society, but the vast shock of the Depression, followed by World War II, made people less idealistic. This type of outlook was increasingly present even before WWI but after the Depression and second war became more pronounced.

When World War II began, the Episcopal Church was generally supportive. But it was also the start of allowing conscientious objectors as a result of the formation of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship in 1939. World War II ended with the devastation of Europe, the beginning of the Nuclear Age, a restructuring of international politics such as via the United Nations, the IMF, and NATO, and the beginning of the Cold War between the only two major "superpowers" left in the world: The United States and the USSR. In terms of the Christianity as a whole and the Anglican Communion several postwar realities impacted the Church. First there was a general dissatisfaction with the previous world order of things. In fact the general restructure of world politics and the push for globalization has been often called "The Postwar Order" and there was a definitive efforts to create a new world from the ashes of the old. In the Church this new attitude created new forms of "modern" Church architecture and arts. There was less emphasis on classical ideas of symmetry, order, and realism and more abstraction. The underlying philosophy was more an embrace of postmodernist deconstruction which itself had started as a response to World War I.

One reaction to the world trauma and related issues was to embrace a movement that had started soon after WWI and would be called Neo-Orthodoxy. This movement is most associated with Karl Barth whose *Dogmatics* came out between 1932-1968. Barth had initially been immersed in German high criticism but found it "didn't preach" and that such modernism was unable to address the horrors of WWI, and looked to keep the scholarship of the modern period with a new emphasis on more orthodox Christian beliefs. Because this also was seen by many as an answer to the impasse between the earlier Modernist/Fundamentalist controversy it became very popular after WWII. A primary aspect of Neo-Orthodoxy is a radical view for the need of revelation and

inadequacy of human reason for ultimate truth, though human reason can discern lesser ideas and could embrace modernist scholarship. The Scriptures were seen as not necessarily inerrant or fully inspired, but Jesus' death and resurrection was instead the primary means of transformation for the Christian.

There was also a backlash against all forms of real or perceived anti-Semitism leading to a Christian adoption of "Holocaust theology". Holocaust theology was initially a Jewish Theodicy in light of the Holocaust. Theodicy is the theological response to the question of how a good and all-powerful God can allow evil in the world. After the Holocaust many Jewish theologians began to rethink God as a personal being who intervenes in world events. On the Christian side there was also a reaction. WWI, WWII, and the Holocaust combined, with the Great Depression no doubt, to demand among many an "answer" from God and many rejected traditional answers and traditional theologies.

One of the theological casualties of this was the death of postmillennial eschatology. This is an eschatological belief that Jesus will return when the Church creates the Kingdom on Earth. Essentially its the idea that Christians have the obligation to create Heaven on Earth and this causes Jesus to return and receive that Kingdom from his people. This optimistic view of Christian social progress was shattered at the end of the two great World Wars.

Ecumenism was also a major distinctive of this era. The two World Wars both brought the world closer than ever before and also finished with a world wide push for more international cooperation and transnational structures such as the UN, IMF, and NATO, etc. These latter were need as necessary for preventing another war on the same scale. The Church also began to look more globally and saw the development of multiple ecumenical endeavors. The economic boom, of course, also helped in creating these additional structures. Among fundamentalist/evangelical protestants there was the forming of the National Alliance of Evangelicals in 1942. The remainder of Protestant denominations around the world created the World Council of Churches in 1948 and the National Council of Churches in 1950, responsible for funding the translation of the Revised Standard Version and working towards a common lectionary. The NCC also believed its ultimate goal was to unite all Christian Protestants into one organization that could guide the nation. "*The American way will increasingly be the Christian way, for such is our heritage...Together the Churches can move forward to the goal - a Christian America in a Christian world*" said Henry Knox Sherrill, first president of NCC (quoted in Noll *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*) In 1958 two of the larger bodies of Presbyterians merged, and in 1959 the United Church of Christ was formed by the merger of the Congregationalists and the 'Reformed and Evangelical Church'. The Roman Catholic Church, however, would remain mostly distrusted and on the periphery. They did grow in social influence and visibility but the major breakthrough for them would not be until the election of Kennedy in 1960.

Major missionary movements got their start after the War as well. As people returned from the war they brought with them a new sense of the world as smaller and more interconnected. They also had a desire to continue serving across the world, only this time for Jesus rather than the military. About 25% of the graduating class of VTS went into missions. The Episcopal Church also created Province IX at this time to encompass Episcopal parishes outside the United States.

America in particular saw major demographic and social changes for the Church beyond the theological responses. The most immediate major change was the surge in population from the Baby Boom combined with the growth of new "suburbia" all helped by a growing educated adult populace due to the GI Bill which helped many obtain college degree that would not have otherwise. Coming back from the war these educated and more wealthy middle class suburbanites looked to the Church for post-war stability and social connections. As the result the post-war 50's became the high water mark for Church attendance in the USA and the Episcopal Church flourished immensely. This growth required the Presiding Bishop to develop into a full time position and in 1944 General Convention also created a Vice President and moved into the current offices at "815" that was three times the space. Though parishes grew, the automobile and suburbia forced many smaller congregations to consolidate and also killed off much of the cities from which people moved into the newer, bigger, more modern houses. This would also lead to a decline of inner city parishes. These newer suburban parishes, however, would learn to adapt rapidly to the growth. This era saw the beginning of the professional children's education worker in churches and also the creation of "children's church" when the kids were removed half way though the service making the rest of the service an adult experience. This latter was very unusual in the history of the Church and human society in general which didn't have the ability to have such radical segregation of generations. On the upside there was an increased demand for adult religious education which the Church met via "The Church's Teaching Series" published by the newly created Seabury Press. Religion also took to the new TV stations and one of the first to be on TV was the infamous Bp. James Pike. Unfortunately, Pike supported many more radical and "modernist" ideas and promoted them as that of the Episcopal Church. After the death of his son he in grief turned to spiritualism and conducted live séances on TV. He would be brought up on charges, but not officially defrocked as the Church was hesitant to have a heresy trial.

Another shift in society that lead to changes latter was the nature of the wartime workforce. As men left to war the only people to keep the nation running in offices and factories were women. By the end of the war women had entered what had been in America male dominated fields and after the war many desired to continue being able to work the same professions. Later this would lead to the Feminist movement but at the time already began to change popular perception of women in the workforce and then also the Church. Initially the Church rejected women's ordination, and in fact the Lambeth conference of 1948 rejected that of Florence Li Tim-Oi of Hong Kong, the first

Anglican female ordained as a priest in 1944. Suburbia also had an impact on the role of women in the Church. As suburbia built hospitals and consolidates parishes, the Church mostly dropped Parish Nurses and many Deaconesses. At the same time female education was on the rise and women took jobs as full time staff of Children's Education. To assist with this seminaries also began taking in women for professional level work in the church, though not ordained.

The Liturgy also continued development after the War. As was seen earlier, the 1928BCP was already itself a change from the earlier Prayer Books with any wanting even more revision. The Liturgical Movement, a combination of Patristic studies and sense of ecumenism, had started in seed form before the war and afterwards rapidly become more prominent among scholars and thus seminaries. There was an ideal that a revival of these older forms could create and truly ecumenical movement to unify churches around a common liturgy, as well as get past the fundamentalist/modernist controversy. Initially for the Episcopal Church there were two aspects of liturgical change. First the foundation of the Associated Parishes. This group advocated weekly Eucharist, the addition of Holy Week services to the Prayer Book and to begin using Roman forms. And also some changes to architecture which would be more prominent after Vatican II such as celebrating the Eucharist facing liturgical West (towards the congregation). Second was the beginning of the next Prayer Book revision in 1949 with General Convention authorizing a series of studies for changes to a future Prayer Book. In 1953 several of these studies began proposing revisions to the Eucharist which would be added later in 1979. Initially parishes rarely if ever experienced any of these changes as usage was forbidden as regular Sunday services. These experimental liturgies were primarily confined to seminaries.

The 60's and 70's saw the Civil Rights era and various counter cultural groups, Vatican II, and the culmination the liturgical movement in the 1979 Prayer Book all that shaped the modern era and the Church today. On a demographic side the baby boom started to slow down and was one major factor in the drop of attendance across all mainline denominations at the time. Washington and New York both had to halt construction on their Cathedrals due to financial issues. Interesting there was also a large amount of transfer growth into the Episcopal Church, in 1978 48% of members had been raised in another tradition.

The reason for this influx, and also the reason for the slow death in "Mainline Protestantism" was the adoption of increasingly liberal theology at the beginning of the Civil Rights era. Many, in particular over the Feminist Movement, believed the churches had gone to far and left to join non-denominational evangelical churches. Others left more "fundamentalist" churches to join the Episcopal Church because the Church was more modernist and liberal in terms of the issues of the day. On the more extreme end there were Episcopal leaders such as Paul van Buren the "death of God theologian" who argued the Church needed to abandon traditional ways of thinking

about God and claimed to be a "secular Christian". This was a varied movement but over all they rejected a personal and transcendent God. Another prominent example was Bishop James Pike. He was the first Bishop to be on television and so had wide reaching effects. He called the Trinity "excess luggage" and was generally skeptical of traditional doctrine. He's also well known in his later life of being involved in spiritualism and doing Séances on live TV to contact his deceased Son. The House of Bishops did initially bring up charges but dropped them in exchange for a resolution of censure.

The Roman Catholic Second Vatican Ecumenical Council (Vatican II) from 1963-1965 was a culminating event of the varied movements and ideas in Western Christendom of the time. It heavily revised the Mass, introduced vernacular language, arguably softened the hard stance Rome had taken in regard to other Christian bodies, encouraged personal Bible reading among Catholics, and various other theological and liturgical shifts. This was a major event in the world of Western Christendom overall and had effects even on the Episcopal Church. This is most noticeable in terms of Liturgy as Vatican II was very much a council of the Liturgical Movement that had developed. Whereas earlier the various trial liturgies were restricted to special occasions and seminaries, in 1964 General Convention allowed them to be used regularly on Sundays with the new *Prayer Book Studies* continuing to make changes. These new trial liturgies modified several things that would be adopted in the 1979 Prayer Book. New Prayers for the Church were created ("Prayers of the People"), there was a move to eliminate or reduce the Elizabethan language, the Gloria was moved to the beginning of the Eucharist, the Fraction was separated from the Eucharistic Prayer, the Pax was restored and placed before the Offertory, Morning Prayer was now designed as a separate service instead of, as Cranmer assumed, designed for a Morning Prayer-Great Litany-Preanaphora as the usual Sunday morning. One major theological change was the greater emphasis on Baptism as full membership. People were encouraged to allow padeo-communion, and the Prayer Book moved the prayer for the gifts of the Spirit from Confirmation to Baptism. The 1968 Lambeth Conference would declare withholding Communion from non-Confirmed Baptized was illogical on the grounds they were full members, and the initial version of the Prayer Book presented in 1978 omitted Confirmation entirely and was re-added by General Convention. The Diaconate also had a revived role, being given more explicit ministry and a more equal Ordination Rite. The newer liturgies also adopted a three year Eucharistic cycle, and added more Anglo-Catholic elements to various parts of the Prayer Book such as more Propers for Holy Days. Perhaps one of the most noticeable changes was the theology of Sunday. In the 1979 Prayer Book the Eucharist is said to be the primary act of Worship on Sundays and all Sundays are elevated to high Holy Days. This was a direct result of the earlier Anglo-Catholic and liturgical movements.

In the end some changes were not adopted and the new *Book of Common Prayer* in 1979 also included several services in more traditional language and with somewhat more

traditional forms, a Rite I Eucharist, "Rite I" Rite of Reconciliation (Confession) and a similar Burial Office. Though it is important to note that there were still changes from the Rite I and 1928 Eucharist liturgies following some of the liturgical scholarship of the day. These changes were very controversial then and even remain so today. In 1971 the Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer was formed (now called the Prayer Book Society) to argue against the changes and the 1928 is still highly valued among many Episcopalians.

Other changes in the Church included more lay participation in the same vein as the new emphasis of Vatican II. In 1967 General Convention encouraged wider use of lay readers and started to allow Lay Eucharistic Ministers, and in 1970 the Church created Commissions on Ministry with laity as part of the Ordination process. The Women's Rights Movement, along with other changes such as the place of women in the post-war society and higher educations, had an impact on the Church in terms of women in ministry and eventually women's ordination. In 1964 Deaconesses could marry like male Deacons and women were lay readers at General Convention, in 1965 Presiding Bishop Hines ordered a study into Women's Ordination, and in 1970 General Convention eliminated the differences in pensions, and Rites of ordination between male and female Deacons. There was a proposition in 1973 for women's ordination which was rejected, but in 1974 two retired Bishops ordained eleven women without permission and in 1976 General Convention approved women's ordination.

These plethora of changes would create the next major departure from the Episcopal Church since the Reformed Episcopal Church in the 19th century. In 1977 a group met in St. Louis, the St. Louis Congress of Concerned Churchmen adopted the "Affirmations of St. Louis" which condemned the Episcopal Church for changing Apostolic teaching and order in terms of women's ordination, and lead to the creation of the Continuing Church Movement which eventually resulted in various autonomous Anglican entities most of which are Anglo-Catholic. This movement would quickly fracture into the Anglican Catholic Church, the Anglican Province of Christ the King (was Diocese of Christ the King), and Anglican Church of Canada, and the United Episcopal Church of North America. Examples of other continuing Churches would be the Traditional Anglican Communion, the Anglican Episcopal Church, and the Charismatic Episcopal Church.

After 1979 we enter the current period of issues and history still being written and digested by scholars. Certainly many events have happened since that point but they're harder to write about as objective history. This, at least, is where we leave the Episcopal Church: navigating the various cultural and philosophical changes on the heels of the two great World Wars within the stream of a theological tradition out of the English Reformation and English Civil War but also influenced by the enlightenment and democratic ideals of the American Revolution.

## Anglican Communion

The foundation for the Anglican Communion as we know it today was the combination of English colonialism and mission work by those within the Church of England. The former was perhaps the most efficient, as where the Empire was so was the Church of the Empire at least for those Churchmen now overseas. The sun never sat on the British Empire, so to did it not set on the Church of England. In addition mission work from the Church of England spread via groups such as the Church Missionary Society, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. This work mostly began in those places where the Empire was: Africa, India, and Japan. It was also spurred on by party factions, with evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics vying for "territory". One thing that assisted in mission work inadvertently for the Anglican Church was Article 29 which stated that worship didn't need look the same everywhere. This allowed the liturgy to be more contextualized to the culture and many indigenous liturgies developed, though holding closely to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.

The beginning of the Communion has roots during the colonial period with the start of the Lambeth Conferences in 1867. The impetus for the first conference was an issue of heresy in South Africa. Bishop John Colenso was Bishop of Natal in South Africa, a proponent of liberal theology which believed in Universalism, denied the Atonement, and advocated an acceptance of Polygamy among the local population along with an acceptance of aspects of higher biblical criticism. Bishop Grey of Cape Town, leading other Bishops in the area, condemned his teachings and excommunicated him, but Bp. Colenso objected that his diocese was autonomous and Bp. Grey didn't that the proper jurisdiction. The issue reached the secular English Privy Council who decided in favor of Bp. Colenso but didn't comment on the theological issue, just jurisdiction. Most other Bishops had been unaware of the issue in full, though Colenso's writings had become controversial in England, and in particular the High Church party was uneasy with a secular court making such a decision for the Church. In 1867 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Longley, called all the bishops from the colonies to Lambeth Palace in London to address the issue and begin to work out the relationship between the Church of England and foreign Dioceses. Only about half were able to attend, and some of those had refused leery about consolidation of ecclesiastical power. The Archbishop commented that the meeting was only to discuss practical matters and provide guidance, not legislative decisions. It was not in the beginning to be a governing body. The Conference decided against Colenso, upholding his excommunication. The bishops of the colonies would not meet again for another 10 years and after the second began the tradition of meeting once a decade. The Anglican communion at a very basic level

“just happened”, somewhat intentionally, but also through a lot of voluntary societies. The focus of authority was highly counsiliar, with interaction and checks on each other by little centralization. Unity was maintained by each church respecting the rights of the other churches, because it also comes from a common faith expressed in rites of early church, catholic creeds and threefold ministry. It was an attempt to be more organic in organization than institutional, though over time it has arguably moved in a more institutional direction.

Throughout this time the Anglican Communion was very much England-dominated. This is a result of the continued reality of the British Empire and its influence. Outside the United States most Bishops had been educated in England, and so in some sense unity was the result of the "englishness" of the Bishops. After World War II this began to change as England lost its empire over time, mostly starting with the Indian Independence Act of 1947. As the Empire collapsed the former colonies began to be governed locally, including the Churches. They began to train their own clergy, write their own canons, and operate more autonomously while remaining in "Communion" with fellow Bishops connected to Canterbury by participating in Lambeth Conferences. As a result they also began to exert more influence on the Communion itself. Modern Anglicanism grew from this development and that of the history of the Church of England. "Anglicanism" didn't develop as a centralized ecclesial government like Rome, nor around a unified doctrinal document like the Presbyterians. It's more of an "ethos" than anything else. The corporate realities that hold "Anglicanism" together are the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer locally adapted, the threefold order of ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the historic creeds (Apostle's and Nicene), a particular praxis and tradition from the English Church, and to an extent the tradition of the 39 Articles though it's not strictly enforced after the Tractarian controversies.

The Anglican Communion functions around four "Instruments of Unity" which are the:

- 1- Archbishop of Canterbury: Archbishops of the See of Canterbury, appointed by the See of Rome, appointed by Peter and Paul, appointed by Jesus Christ. *Primus inter parus* of the Communion.
- 2- Lambeth Conference: Conference of Anglican Bishops held about every 10 years. First one was in 1867.
- 3- Primates Meeting: Regular meetings of the primates of the provinces of the Communion. Started in 1978, has met typically every two years.
- 4- Anglican Consultative Council: Standing council to facilitate cooperative work around the Communion. Created in 1968 and meets every 2-3 years.