DAVID A. ROOZEN & JAMES R. NIEMAN, EDITORS

CHURCH, LINE OF AND CHANGE

THEOLOGY AND DENOMINATIONAL STRUCTURES IN UNSETTLED TIMES

Anglican Mission in Changing Times: A Brief Institutional History of the Episcopal Church, USA

Ian T. Douglas

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CHURCH, IDENTITY, and CHANGE

Theology and Denominational Structures in Unsettled Times

Edited by

David A. Roozen and James R. Nieman

Hartford Institute for Religion Research Hartford Seminary hirr@hartsem.edu

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Anglican Mission in Changing Times: A Brief Institutional History of the Episcopal Church, USA

Ian T. Douglas

The Episcopal Church in the United States of America has a curious institutional history. With roots in the church of British colonial power, Anglicans in America struggled to be fully contextualized in form and structure in the early years of the United States. The church's political, economic, and social ascendancy in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century led Episcopalians to believe that they were, de facto if not de jure, the established church in the United States. Radical changes both at home and in the wider world over the last three decades have deeply challenged American Episcopalians to shed their own "national church ideal" and live as one among many in a radically multicultural and pluralistic global Anglican Communion.

The settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 by the London Company, later the Virginia Company, marked the beginnings of the Church of England in the American colonies. The church slowly grew throughout the other colonies up and down the eastern seaboard of what is now the United States, eventually becoming the established church (i.e., state church) in Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, and the lower four counties of New York. By 1700, more than 100 Anglican churches had been set up from Massachusetts to South Carolina with the majority of Anglicans living in Virginia and Maryland. In these two colonies Anglicans outnumbered other Christian traditions.¹

The ministry of the Church of England in the American colonies was

1. A variety of recent books are available on the history of the Episcopal Church in the United States with excellent attention to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1993), and Robert W. Prichard, A History of the Episcopal Church (Harrisburg, Pa.: Morehouse Publishing, 1991).

aided significantly by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). The society, founded in London in 1701, came together to advance Anglicanism among the settlers, Indians, and African slaves in the American British colonies. Much of the growth of the Church of England outside of Virginia and Maryland is credited to the work of the SPG and its missionaries. One of the most famous SPG missionaries to the American colonies, although he had a lackluster ministry of less than two years in North America, was John Wesley. Because of the efforts of this venerable missionary society, the Church of England made significant inroads into the predominantly congregational-leaning Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies during the eighteenth century. The colonial Anglican Church, however, was hampered in its efforts to become genuinely American because most clergy were British-born or expatriate missionaries and there was no episcopal (i.e., bishop) presence in America.

The American Revolution of 1776 threw the established Church of England in the colonies into turmoil and confusion of identity. Although many of the country's patriots, including George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin, as well as more than half the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Anglicans, the matter of loyalty to an English state church was called into question with the founding of the United States. As a result, by the end of the Revolution the Anglican churches in America had become disestablished as well as disassociated from the mother church in England.

Cut loose from the Church of England, these churches at first had no constitutional organization or episcopacy. The first step to secure an American episcopacy occurred in 1783 when ten clergymen in Connecticut met secretly and elected Samuel Seabury as a prospective bishop. Although Seabury had been both an SPG missionary and a loyalist, English bishops refused to consecrate him since he would not take the required oath of loyalty to the Crown. Seabury thus went to Scotland and was consecrated by three nonjuring bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. In 1785 he returned to Connecticut and ordained the first twenty-six Episcopal clergy in the new nation. In the same year, lay and clerical delegates from seven of the nine states south of Connecticut met in Philadelphia in the first General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. There they drew up a constitution, drafted an American Book of Common Prayer, and devised a plan for the consecration of additional bishops. Two years later Americans William White and Samuel Provoost were consecrated bishops in England without having to swear loyalty to the Crown. The young American church now had enough bishops to guarantee its own apostolic succession, a central tenet of Anglican identity.

Of the early gatherings of the Episcopal Church in the United States, the General Convention of 1789 is the most significant. The Constitution and

Canons and the Book of Common Prayer agreed to there are the basis of the polity and worship of today's Episcopal Church. For the last two centuries the triennial meeting of the General Convention has governed the Episcopal Church. The convention is made up of two houses, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies. All bishops sit in the House of Bishops, and the House of Deputies is made up of an equal number of clerical and lay deputies from each diocese in the church. Since 1789 the Book of Common Prayer has dictated the patterns of worship for the Episcopal Church, although it has undergone three revisions (1892, 1928, and 1979).

For the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first two of the nineteenth, Episcopalians were preoccupied with organization and extension of the church within their own states and not with missionary outreach beyond their borders. In 1821, however, the General Convention established both a general seminary for the whole church as well as the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Unlike the independent voluntary missionary societies of the Church of England, this society was set up under the auspices of the whole church meeting in General Convention. Unfortunately though, the first decade and a half of the Missionary Society saw lack-luster results, with only a few missionaries sent to the western frontier and four individuals sailing to Greece.²

In 1835 the General Convention took three significant steps to invigorate the mission of the Episcopal Church. First, it declared that the whole world, at home and overseas, was the church's mission field. Second, it stipulated that all Episcopalians, by virtue of their baptism and not their financial contributions, are members of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. And third, it inaugurated the missionary episcopate. The 1835 convention elected Jackson Kemper bishop for Missouri and Indiana, the first domestic missionary bishop. A little less than a decade later, in 1844, the first two foreign missionary bishops were elected, William Boone for Amoy and other parts of China, and Horatio Southgate for Constantinople.

In the footsteps of Kemper and Boone, the Episcopal Church pushed westward across the United States while initiating foreign missions in China, Japan, and Liberia. On the domestic frontier and overseas, the Episcopal Church followed a watchword of "good schools, good hospitals and right ordered worship" all under the episcopal oversight of missionary bishops. In most cases parochial work was reserved for ordained men while women missionar-

^{2.} For an institutional history of the foreign mission work of the Episcopal Church, see Ian T. Douglas, Fling Out the Banner: The National Church Ideal and the Foreign Mission of the Episcopal Church (New York: Church Publishing, 1996).

ies, who were excluded from ordained ministry, staffed the schools and hospitals. The Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, organized in 1871, became the primary source of financial and personnel support for the church's mission work at home and around the world.³

The Episcopal Church also pursued a vigorous ministry in the urban centers of the United States. Individuals such as William Augustus Muhlenberg, rector of the Church of the Holy Communion in New York City, promoted the social outreach of the Episcopal Church. With a labor force comprised primarily of women providing health care, education, and economic assistance to the disabled and disadvantaged, the Episcopal Church was a leader in the Social Gospel movement in the United States.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Episcopal Church became increasingly more unified around a central identity, that of a "national church." The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888 was held up by William Reed Huntington and others as a point of unity for all non-Roman Catholic Christians in the United States. Motivated by both the social gospel and a romantic desire to reclaim Anglican establishmentarianism, Episcopalians increasingly saw themselves as a unified body whose calling it was to spread the riches of American society and the richness of Anglican tradition at home and overseas. At the same time, the foreign mission work of the church profited from American imperialism and territorial expansion at the turn of the century, and new missionary districts were added in Alaska, Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, Haiti, Honolulu, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the Panama Canal Zone. The mission of the church, in the United States and around the world, was not so much evangelization and conversion, but rather social regeneration through Christian moral truths and American democracy.

The General Convention of 1919 revolutionized the structures and strategies of Episcopal mission work. To begin with, the convention ratified a constitutional change that provided for an elected presiding bishop. In addition, it consolidated the church's work in missions, education, and social service under

- 3. The most comprehensive history of Episcopal women's ministries in the late nine-teenth and early twentieth century is Mary Sudman Donovan, A Different Call: Women's Ministries in the Episcopal Church, 1850-1920 (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse-Barlow, 1986).
- 4. The Quadrilateral articulated four principles for ecumenical cooperation: the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary for salvation; the Apostles' Creed and Nicene Creed, as sufficient statements of Christian faith; baptism and Eucharist, as sacraments ordained by Christ; and the historic episcopate, locally adapted. The Quadrilateral, although originally intended as an ecumenical document, has increasingly become the defining marks of Anglicanism.

one national coordinating body known as the National Council. And finally, it instituted a very successful nationwide campaign designed to provide immediate and ongoing financial support for the new council and its work. With a new centralized church structure under the leadership of an elected presiding bishop supported by a nationally planned fund-raising program, the Episcopal Church claimed its coming of age as a "national church."

In the two decades following World War II, the Episcopal Church in the United States came the closest to realizing its ideal as a national church. Under the leadership of Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill, the National Council broadened its institutional reach in Christian education, social service, and church extension. When missionaries were expelled from China following the Revolution of 1949, the Episcopal Church increased its missionary efforts in Latin America. Bolstered by the American affluence of the 1950s, and following the leadership of Bishops Walter H. Gray and Stephen Bayne, the church emerged as a significant leader in inter-Anglican conversations. With new mission fields, new money, and new leadership, it began to see itself as the preeminent church in the Anglican Communion.⁵

As independent nations and churches emerged during the 1960s in what had been colonies and mission fields of continental Europe and North America, the national church ideal began to be challenged from overseas and within the United States. The Anglican Congress of 1963, made up of ordained and lay representatives from every church in the Anglican Communion, issued the revolutionary document "Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ" (MRI) that held up a different vision for mission. The Episcopal Church could no longer be Lady Bountiful dispensing good schools, good hospitals, and right ordered worship to dependent missionary districts around the world. Partnership in mission became the new order for the day.⁶ At the same time, the Civil Rights movement, urban unrest, and the social upheaval of the 1960s in the United States resulted in a questioning of the church's calling at home. At the height of this crisis, Presiding Bishop John Hines called on the Episcopal Church to "take its place humbly and boldly alongside of, and in support of, the dispossessed and oppressed peoples of this country for the healing of our national life." In response, the Episcopal Church initiated the General Convention Special Program (GCSP) in 1967 and redirected the national church program and budget to support the poor and those working for social

^{5.} See Stephen Fielding Bayne, ed., An Anglican Turning Point: Documents and Interpretations (Austin: Church Historical Society, 1964).

^{6.} See Stephen Fielding Bayne, Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ (New York: Seabury Press, 1963).

justice in our country. The church's commitment to MRI and GCSP represented fledgling attempts by Episcopalians to respond to the realities of a new world.⁷

Changes afoot in world Christianity, first acknowledged by MRI and GCSP, have only quickened in pace over the last three decades. Anglican mission scholar David Barrett has documented that in 1900, 77 percent of the 558 million Christians in the world lived in Europe and North America. Today only 37 percent of the close to 2 billion Christians do so. Barrett further predicts that in less than three decades, in 2025, fully 71 percent of Christians will live in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific.⁸

The Anglican Communion has experienced deeply these radical demographic changes of the world Christian community over the last four decades. The evolution in contemporary Anglicanism, from a white, predominantly English-speaking church of the West to a church of the Southern Hemisphere, is now undeniable. The Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops, meeting in 1998, pushed church members in the industrialized West to wrestle deeply with the reality that the Anglican Communion is no longer a Christian community primarily identified with Anglo-American culture. Anglicans in the West can no longer rest in the economic and political privilege of colonialism or the theological and philosophical paradigms of the Enlightenment, which have so long defined the church. 10

The Anglican Communion, now a "family" of thirty-eight equal and autonomous churches, is wrestling deeply with the possibilities and limits of new relationships in a new world. Without a clear, central authority structure (such as Roman Catholics have) or an agreed confessional statement (as found among Presbyterians and Lutherans), Anglicans are struggling to discern how to remain together as the body of Christ, the church catholic. What are the limits of Anglican identity, now that most Anglicans do not share a common lan-

- 7. See John Booty, The Episcopal Church in Crisis (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley, 1988).
- 8. David B. Barrett, "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2000," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 24 (January 2000): 24-25. See also a more popular historical presentation of changing global Christian demographics in Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- 9. For a wonderful collection of voices from throughout the Anglican Communion, with a priority on the churches of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Pacific, see Andrew Wingate, Kevin Ward, Carrie Pemberton, and Wilson Sitshebo, eds., Anglicanism: A Global Communion (New York: Church Publishing, 1998). For a discussion of the politics of ongoing Western hegemony in the Anglican Communion, see Ian Douglas, "Radical Mutuality Still out of Reach: Lambeth Analysis," Witness 81, no. 11 (November 1998): 24-27.
- 10. See Ian T. Douglas, "Authority after Colonialism," Witness 83, no. 3 (March 2000): 10-14, and "Lambeth 1998 and the 'New Colonialism," Witness 81, no. 5 (May 1998): 8-12.

guage or culture? Where does authority lie in a global church that looks to the archbishop of Canterbury as a titular head, but who has no legislative or canonical power outside of England? These are the questions that lie at the heart of inter-Anglican conversations today.¹¹

There are still those in the Anglican Communion who believe that Anglicanism's identity lies in a shared British heritage and history. Such individuals would argue that English good taste, liturgical vestments crafted at ecclesiastical haberdashery shops in London, and allegiance to the British monarch are the defining marks of Anglicanism. For such folk the increasing plurality and multiculturalism of the Anglican Communion is a threat to their Anglo-Saxon sensibilities. In their attempt to reclaim the church of the British Empire, they attempt to draw boundaries and set tight doctrinal controls in order to define who is and who is not an Anglican.

Others emphasize that the marks of contemporary Anglicanism lie less in cultural or doctrinal agreement and more in who gets invited to what meeting by the archbishop of Canterbury. Significant attempts have been made to define "four instruments of unity" in Anglicanism, namely, the office of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lambeth Conference of bishops meeting every ten years, the annual gathering of the archbishops of the Anglican Communion known as the Primates Meeting, and the triennial meeting of the Anglican Consultative Council that brings together laypeople, priests, and bishops from each church in the Anglican Communion.¹² In addition, there are a variety of international committees and commissions loosely related to, or called into being by, any of the four instruments of unity as well as a host of "official" and "unofficial" networks related to such particularities as indigenous peoples, women, and peace and justice commitments. It must be noted, however, that the making and unmaking of international Anglican meetings, official and unofficial, is subject to the political and economic forces of a new colonialism where those with money often have more power to set the agenda and control outcomes.

Tensions and difficulties across the churches of the Anglican Communion seem to be exacerbated increasingly at the turn of the twenty-first century. The debate over human sexuality, specifically the place and acceptance of homosexuals in the church, once the exclusive preoccupation of churches in the industrialized West, has been globalized across the Anglican Communion.

^{11.} See Mark Harris, The Challenge of Change: The Anglican Communion in the Post-Modern Era (New York: Church Publishing, 1998).

^{12.} See "The Virginia Report," in *Being Anglican in the Third Millennium: Anglican Consultative Council X*, ed. M. and Nicola Currie Rosenthal James (Harrisburg, Pa.: Morehouse Publishing, 1997), pp. 211-88.

Whether it be pronouncements by the decennial meeting of the bishops of the Anglican Communion at the Lambeth Conference of 1998 or recent attempts by some primates to ostracize perceived "revisionist churches" in the communion, human sexuality, like it or not, has become a defining issue in contemporary inter-Anglican relations.¹³ Even the selection process of the 104th archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend Rowan Williams, has been overly focused on his views toward human sexuality.

As much as some in the press, and in the Anglican Communion itself, would like to put issues of human sexuality at the very center of Anglicanism's life and witness, there are many positive and daring attempts by Anglicans around the world to engage the powers and principalities that control issues of life and death today. The Anglican Communion's united witness in addressing both the evils of international debt and the HIV/AIDS pandemic, specifically in Africa, points to positive and life-affirming actions under way in contemporary Anglicanism.¹⁴ These often underreported efforts by a communion of thirty-eight Anglican churches around the world, comprised of over 70 million members, point to new possibilities for solidarity and action as a global Christian community.

No one can deny that the Episcopal Church and wider Anglican Communion are experiencing profound change. The Episcopal Church in the United States is no longer the church of the establishment bound together by a national church ideal. The realities of the postcolonial, postmodern era have challenged presuppositions about what it means to be an Anglican and have demonstrated that old ways of relating based on inherited structures, nationally and internationally, have lost their efficacy in the new globalized world. Finding new and creative ways for Episcopalians in the United States to order their common life and organize their religious work, both as a local American church and as one Anglican church in a worldwide fellowship, is the order of the day. The Episcopal Church is thus actively wrestling with its mission in the United States and the wider world, particularly given the realities of American society and global tensions after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center.

The 2020 Movement is one response to a changing world. Initiated at the 2000 General Convention, 2020, as the effort is known, seeks to double the

^{13.} On the latter proposal see Drexel W. Gomez and W. Maurice Sinclair, eds., To Mend the Net: Anglican Faith and Order for Renewed Mission (Carrollton, Tex.: Ekklesia Society, 2000).

^{14.} For a discussion of the changing demographics and dynamics of Anglicanism and how the Anglican Communion engages the realities of a postcolonial and postmodern world, see Ian T. Douglas and Kwok Pui Lan, eds., Beyond Colonial Anglicanism: The Anglican Communion in the Twenty-First Century (New York: Church Publishing, 2001).

membership of the Episcopal Church in the first two decades of the twenty-first century. Particular attention is paid to people groups historically underrepresented in the Episcopal Church, such as new immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, as well as the X Generation. Ostensibly, 2020 has a missiological imperative as leaders in the movement emphasize that the Episcopal Church needs to move from "maintenance to mission" if it is to have any future in the twenty-first century.

Responding more directly to the wider contexts of both globalization and the United States's "War on Terror," the bishops have embraced a different vision for the future life of the Episcopal Church. In the fall 2001 and spring 2002 meetings of the House of Bishops, they dedicated themselves to becoming agents of reconciliation both in a church divided over issues of human sexuality and in a world torn apart by terrorism, war, poverty, and disease. The bishops' powerful statement from their meeting of September 2001, fifteen days after the terrorist strikes, charts a future for the Episcopal Church:

We are called to self-examination and repentance: the willingness to change direction, to open our hearts and give room to God's compassion as it seeks to bind up, to heal, and to make all things new and whole. God's project, in which we participate by virtue of our baptism, is the ongoing work of reordering and transforming the patterns of our common life so they may reveal God's justness — not as an abstraction but in bread for the hungry and clothing for the naked. The mission of the Church is to participate in God's work in the world. We claim that mission.

"I have set before you life and death . . . choose life so that you and your descendants may live," declares Moses to the children to Israel. We choose life and immediately set ourselves to the task of developing clear steps that we will take personally and as a community of faith, to give substance to our resolve and embodiment to our hope. We do so not alone but trusting in your own faithfulness and your desire to be instruments of peace.

Let us therefore wage reconciliation. Let us offer our gifts for the carrying out of God's ongoing work of reconciliation, healing and making all things new. To this we pledge ourselves and call our church.¹⁵

Time will tell whether the future of the Episcopal Church will be characterized more by the 2020 efforts to double its size or the bishops' commitment to "wage reconciliation." Perhaps its future might even realize a combination of

^{15. &}quot;On Waging Reconciliation," statement issued by the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church, September 26, 2001, in Ian T. Douglas, ed., Waging Reconciliation: God's Mission in a Time of Globalization and Crisis (New York: Church Publishing, 2002), pp. x-xii.

church growth and new realities of reconciliation, since the two visions need not be set in opposition to each other but are best seen as complementary and mutually reinforcing. What is clear is that the leaders of the Episcopal Church know that change is inevitable. American Episcopalians are called to a new life in a new world as the church seeks "to restore all people to unity with God and each other in Christ." The resources for reconciliation and leadership available for this call in the church's theology and national structures are the subjects of the organizational case study and theological essay that follow.

^{16.} Response given to the catechism question, "What is the mission of the Church?" Episcopal Church, *The Book of Common Prayer* (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1979), p. 855.