Cranmer Theological Journal
2024, Vol. 1, No. 2, 47–68
https://doi.org/10.62221/ctj.2024.203

| *Essay* |

Personal Reflections on the Anglo-Catholic Identity

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This paper explores the origins and significance of Anglo-Catholicism within the Anglican tradition. It traces the history of this movement from its roots in the pre-Reformation English church through the Oxford Movement of the 19th century to its impact on Anglicanism today. The paper examines the key beliefs and practices of Anglo-Catholics, their emphasis on the Catholic heritage of the Anglican Church, and their contributions to the development of Anglican liturgy, theology, and social justice. It also discusses the challenges faced by Anglo-Catholics in the twenty-first century and their ongoing efforts to preserve and promote their distinctive tradition within the broader Anglican Communion.

Keywords: Anglo-Catholic, Church of England, Episcopal Church, John Keble, Oxford Movement, Edward Bouverie Pusey, Tractarian

Introduction

The Anglo-Catholic identity is the culmination of a tradition that emphasizes how Anglicanism has been shaped by its continuity with the "heritage of the Catholic Faith." This includes the entire history of the pre-Reformation English church—dating back to its origins in ancient Britain—as well as how that heritage helped shape the subsequent five centuries of the independent Anglican church. This combined history shaped Anglo-Catholicism as it exists today, both in England and America.

That heritage has been maintained, developed and promoted by Anglo-Catholics and their forebears, both in their contribution to the overall identity of Anglicanism, and also as a distinct identity within Anglicanism more broadly. This paper offers my own reflections on both the origins and relevance of that identity for Anglicans in America today, based on both that which we inherited

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from England, and the parallel Catholic movement in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Such a Catholic expression within the Church of England did not begin with the rival factions of the sixteenth century, but in the English patrimony that extended from St. Alban's in the second century through to Julian's cell in Norwich. While the most visible expression of that Catholicism in the independent Church of England came with the nineteenth-century reform sparked out of Oxford, it has been prominent since those earliest days.

Nonetheless, this ongoing Catholic contribution to Anglicanism was summed up memorably by Lancelot Andrewes, a theologian under both Elizabeth I and James I, in his argument that "One canon reduced to writing by God himself, two testaments, three creeds, four general councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period—the centuries that is, before Constantine, and two after, determine the boundary of our faith."[2]

In this paper, I will highlight the activities and views held by the Catholic Anglicans in both England and the United States. I will begin by reviewing the English patrimony, and how it led to the Catholic influences in the centuries after the Reformation. I then review the development and impact of the Oxford Movement evolved to become the Anglo-Catholicism of the twentieth century. Finally, I trace the Catholic influence from the earliest days of the American church through the nineteenth century, and conclude with brief thoughts about issues facing American Anglo-Catholics today.

This exposition will be filtered through my own experience, born into Anglicanism, as were generations of my family before me in both Wales and England. My identity is as an Anglo-Catholic—including five decades as a priest and three as a bishop—and I cannot recall a time in my life when I did not believe that Anglicanism is truly Catholic. I acknowledge that since the earliest days of the Reformation, the Anglican identity has found multiple expressions, and has often been contested. However, I reject the modern explanation (uniquely popular in America) of Anglicanism as "three streams."[3] Such a characterization confuses the expression of the Anglican faith with its essence. While there may be multiple expressions of Anglicanism, its essence—for all times and in all

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2 Quoted in Robert L. Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes* (London, 1894), 163.

3 The "three streams" conception began with Lesslie Newbigin, *The Household of God* (SCM Press, 1953). It is both widely cited but also often criticized; for the latter, see Gillis Harp, "Navigating the 'Three Streams': Some Second Thoughts about a Popular Typology," *VirtueOnline*, 2009, https://virtueonline.org/navigating-"three-streams"-dr-gillis-harp and Paul Edgerton, "There Should Never Have Been Three Streams," *North American Anglican,* November 17, 2020, https://northamanglican.com/there-should-never-have-been-three-streams/.

places—lies in its heritage from the "one, Catholic and Apostolic Church," the undivided Church that we profess every week in the Nicene Creed.

English Patrimony

Anglo-Catholics claim the heritage of the Church planted in the British Isles as their own, and a part of what is commonly called the "English patrimony." This has been defined as the sum total of the spiritual, pastoral, cultural and social traditions that have come down to us primarily via the experience of Christian life in the British Isles.

This patrimony began with St. Alban, who became the first Christian martyr in Britain in either the third or early fourth century. The English church grew both with the Celtic church and the Roman-Gregorian Mission of Augustine of Canterbury. That patrimony included notables such as Augustine (late sixth century), Bede (c. 673–735), Hilda of Whitby (614–680), Edward the Confessor (c. 1003–1066), Richard of Chichester (1197–1253), and Julian of Norwich (1342–c. 1416) to name a few.[4] Even in the midst of today's secularism and agnosticism, each of the countries of Great Britain still claim earlier saints (also claimed by Anglo–Catholics) as their national patron saint—whether St. George (c. 201–c. 300) in England, St. Patrick (c. 385–c. 461) in Ireland, St. David (c. 500–c. 600) in Wales, or the apostle Andrew in Scotland.

Centuries later, there was a profound need to reclaim the heritage of the Catholic faith that had been planted "in England's green and pleasant land" by saints who shed their blood. Beginning with the sixteenth-century English Reformation and continuing through the Cromwellian Protectorate (1653–1659) and the "Glorious Revolution" (1688), luminaries were raised up to produce an independent English church with a character distinct from the other post-Reformation churches of Europe. The nineteenth-century Oxford Movement drew upon the deposit of faith that had been received—both the original English patrimony and how that patrimony was shaped during the first three centuries of the independent English church.

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[4] Charles Gore, *Catholicism and Roman Catholicism: Three Addresses Delivered in Grosvenor Chapel in Advent, 1922* (A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1922), http://anglicanhistory.org/gore/grosvenor.html.

Anglicanism after the Reformation

From this perspective, let us first analyze how the matter of identity was shaped during Tudor England, setting the stage for a State Church in search of an identity. According to Florence Higham,

> When Henry VIII had broken with Rome and dissolved the monastic orders, he endeavored to halt the course of the Reformation in England by forbidding doctrinal change. It was by no means unreasonable. The denial of the Pope's supremacy, whether justifiable or not, did not run counter to the temper of a rising nation-state; it was a different matter to introduce new dogma which would breed disunity in the Church and might well give rise to faction in the secular sphere.[5]

This position is supported by P. M. Dawley,[6] but assumption that these actions would win a Reformation victory cannot be supported.

It is certainly true that when Elizabeth I became monarch in 1558, she found a Church quite different from the one her father Henry had left—after 11 years of turmoil with the conflicting changes instituted by her brother Edward and her sister Mary. Those who had been convinced that a clear victory for Reformation had been achieved would be disappointed by the new queen. Elizabeth was determined to defend her idiosyncratic Religious Settlement of 1559 without any further progress toward becoming more Reformed, the movement that had been proceeding so rapidly during the reign of Edward VI.[7]

The English bishops who in the 1560s had seen themselves as the natural leaders of continuing change found themselves under Elizabeth defending a status quo, one that many did not believe in. In response to such support, those who often referred to themselves as "the godly" (later "Puritan") believed that the biggest obstacle to living out their understanding of the Reformation lay with the episcopacy, and thus they sought to replace the episcopacy with a system seen in Geneva: a presbyterian one.[8]

As a result, Diarmaid MacCulloch concluded that "when James inherited the English throne with remarkably little trouble in 1603, he also inherited a Church

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[5] Florence Higham, *Catholic and Reformed: A Study of the Anglican Church 1559–1662* (SPCK, 1962), https://archive.org/details/catholicreformed0000high, 1.

[6] Powel Mills Dawley, *John Whitgift and the Reformation* (Adam & Charles Black, 1955), 15.

[7] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation* (Penguin Group, 2003), 371–72.

[8] MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, 372.

of England that had undergone a contest for its identity."[9] In other words, if one were to ask in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries what *real* Reformation looked like, there may well have been as many answers given as there were people asking the question. This movement was not an innovative approach to the nature of Anglicanism. John Jewel (1522–1571), Richard Hooker (1554–1600) and countless others had firmly "maintained the continuity of the reformed Church of England in an unbroken Catholic line."[10]

As Owen Chadwick states, "England was unique in its Reformation, unique in the Church established in consequence of the Reformation. The English Reformation was emphatically a political revolution, and its author, King Henry VIII resisted, for a time ferociously, many of the religious consequences which accompanied the legal changes everywhere else in Europe."[11] The realities of the differences between the Continental Reformation and the English Reformation are simply a matter of record, as are conflicts over the identity of the Church in/of England. Much of this turmoil would eventually provide the seeds of the Oxford Movement.

During the centuries between the Reformation and that movement, perhaps the most important period was the seventeenth century. This included several key events: the executions of the Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud in 1645 and of King Charles I in 1649, the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell from 1653–1658, and the 1660 Restoration of the monarchy. Finally, there was the publication of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, which continues to be the official prayer book of the realm to this day.

The seventeenth century also included important leaders in the church's reclamation of its Catholic heritage. As Higham summarized,

> In no respect was the Anglican Church more truly a synthesis of Catholic and Reformed than in the matters of its piety. There was room within its bounds at the beginning of the seventeenth century for Andrewes' *Preces Privatae* liturgical in form and derivation, and for the sober Calvinism of Lewis Bayly.[12]

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[9] MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, 371.

[10] Raymond Chapman, ed. *Firmly I Believe: An Oxford Movement Reader* (Canterbury Press, 2006), 15.

[11] Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation*. Pelican History of the Church, vol. 3 (Penguin Books, 1964), 97–98.

[12] Higham, *Catholic and Reformed*, 140.

As Geoffrey Rowell tells us in *The Vision Glorious*, "The seventeenth century divines had drunk deeply at the well of patristic theology."[13] The Caroline Divines, living during the reigns of King Charles I and after the Stuart Restoration, cannot be overlooked. Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1625) was clearly the spiritual father of Charles I, and was a translator for the Authorized Version of the Bible. These Caroline Divines also included George Herbert (1593–1633), John Cosin (1594–1672), Thomas Ken (1637–1711) and Thomas Sprat (1635–1713). Among these men, the faith was celebrated in England as an ongoing reality of the "faith once delivered."

Finally, Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667) has been called the "Shakespeare of the Divines" due to his poetic writing style that informed subsequent generations. After serving under Laud's tutorship, Taylor became chaplain to King Charles I. Taylor was imprisoned, retired to Wales, and upon the Restoration was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland.

Between the Restoration and the Oxford Movement, one party within the Church of England continued to favor the church's Catholic heritage over its Reformed one, with a high view of tradition, liturgy, and the Eucharistic service at the altar. Commonly known as "high churchman" they anticipated some (but certainly not all) of the beliefs and actions of the later Tractarians[14] and Anglo-Catholics.

The Nineteenth-Century Catholic Revival

In 1832, the decline of the Church of England caused Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby School, to observe that "The Church as it now stands, no human power can save."[15] Apart from any argument one may have in terms of

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[13] Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism* (Oxford University Press, 1983), 9.

[14] Various terms have been used in the past five centuries for more Catholic-minded Anglicans. "High Church" was used in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century for those who sought a more apostolic and less Puritan Church of England, while after 1833 "Tractarian" referred to the authors of the *Tracts for the Times* and their followers, a group later termed the "Oxford Movement." The 1850s and 1860s brought the controversial rise of "Ritualism," a subsequent movement (with some Tractarian members) that emphasized more Catholic ceremonial worship. The term "Anglo-Catholic"—although sometimes mentioned in Victorian England—became the preferred term for the merger of Tractarian and Ritualistic beliefs in the twentieth century. See Peter Benedict Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 33–43; Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830–1910* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 40–69.

[15] Harold Ellis, *The Hand of the Lord: A Simple Account of the Oxford Movement* (Mirfield Publications, 1958), 9.

divine soteriology or ecclesiology, these sobering words from a trusted leader indicate the concerns of many Churchmen of this period. As Clifford Morehouse later wrote:

> The Church in the first third of the nineteenth century had sunk to a sorry state, both in England and in America. In both countries it was heavily encrusted with worldliness, but in the former country especially, largely because of its establishment, it had almost wholly lost its sense of divine commission in the eyes of the bulk of its adherents, and was generally regarded as little more than an ethical department of the State. Baptisms and Communions were neglected; in many churches the font was filled with an accumulation of debris and the altar was a rickety table that served more often as a convenient place for the minister's overcoat, hat, and riding whip than as God's Board. The Bishop of London recorded that in 1800 there were only six communicants in St. Paul's Cathedral on Easter Day. 'Confirmation,' says a recent historian, 'was administered to hordes of candidates, for the most part unprepared.' The future appeared to be bleak and a movement was needed.[16]

For Anglo-Catholics, the following year marked the long-delayed reawakening of the Church to her nature. On July 14, 1833, John Keble effectively launched the Oxford Movement with his Assize Sermon entitled "National Apostasy." The movement was led by three fellows of Oriel College, Oxford University—Keble (1792–1866), John Henry Newman (1801–1890), and Richard Hurrell Froude (1803–1836)—and was later joined by Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–1882).

That movement "has been characterized by so sober an historian as Bishop Stubbs as the greatest religious change since the sixteenth century, wrought by influences 'more intellectual and more spiritual than those which effected the Reformation.'"[17] It was, as Sydney L. Ollard has said, "a ringing call to Churchmen to realize the immediate danger in which the English Church stood, and to rally

[16] Clifford Phelps Morehouse, *The Oxford Movement*, American Congress Booklet 17 (Morehouse, Published for the Catholic Congress of the Episcopal Church, 1933), https://anglicanhistory.org/usa/acb/17.html.

[17] Morehouse, *The Oxford Movement*.

to her aid."[18] It aroused echoes that have reached to every part of Christendom and that have not yet ceased to reverberate.

The role of the Assize Sermon was much like that of Martin Luther's 95 Theses for the Reformation: neither was the cause of what would follow, but both highlighted pent-up concerns. Reading that sermon raises several questions. First, why would Parliament's proposed suppression of ten bishoprics in Ireland have anything to do with what would be called the Oxford Movement? Second, did Keble and the other authors of the *Tracts for the Times*[19] imagine what would ensue?

In fact, the underlying principle of the relationship between church and state was on the minds of many Englishmen in 1833. To Keble and other Tractarians, the suppression of ten bishoprics in Ireland was seen as "an attack on Church rights and a treatment of bishops as state officials, not as men ordained in a succession going back to the Apostles and holding their order within the Holy Catholic Church."[20]

Keble was clear in his concerns and called upon churchmen to honor their profession and obligations: "Under the guise of charity and tolerance we are come almost to this pass, that no difference, in matters of faith, is to disqualify for our approbation and confidence, whether in public or domestic life."[21]

While some today may not understand Keble's urgency, at the time it resonated with those who believed that the Church is the Bride of Christ, and that the bishops of the Church of England could lay claim to an Apostolic Succession unbroken since the Upper Room. If this sermon began the movement, subsequent meetings, gatherings and responses articulated an actual plan of action. One key gathering was the Hadleigh Conference held at the rectory in Hadleigh in Suffolk from July 25–29, 1833, a small conference that likely laid the groundwork for the *Tracts for the Times*.[22]

What came next was an unapologetic claim that the heritage of the English patrimony was an integral expression of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. This movement was later termed "Catholic Revival," both by supporters

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[18] Desmond Morse-Boycott, *They Shine Like Stars: The Story of the Great Church Revival* (Skeffington & Son, 1947), 87–88.

[19] From 1833 to 1841, "Members of the University of Oxford" published 90 tracts (most anonymously) in the *Tracts of the Times* series. These were authored by Newman, Keble, Pusey and others.

[20] Chapman, *Firmly I Believe*, 1.

[21] John Keble, "National Apostasy" July 14, 1833 (A. R. Mowbray, 1833), http://anglicanhistory.org/keble/keble1.html.

[22] R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833–1845* (Macmillan, 1892), 94–104.

of these efforts to recover the Catholic (i.e., universal) aspects of the undivided early church, and also by opponents who made accusations of "Romanism" or "Papism." Note that while there had been missionary endeavors at this point—often a consequence of colonialism—this was a movement entirely within the Church of England, because the first formal conference of Anglican bishops did not occur until the first Lambeth Conference in 1867.

The publication of the *Tracts*—and the concerns expressed by Keble—were very quickly heard by members of Parliament. At this point in Great Britain, in spite of the lifting of certain civil restrictions on Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, Parliament was decidedly led by those from the Established Church, including graduates of Oxford and Cambridge.[23] As Nockles wrote, in the early nineteenth century a "gradual divorce" had begun such "that religion and politics could no longer be presented as but 'two aspects of the same thing.'"[24] This divorce was fueled by the earlier rise of Methodism and its success in evangelizing workers during the Industrial Revolution, which also was shaping popular understanding of Church and state. As Mammana writes:

> The first result was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, which opened the way for Protestant Dissenters to sit in Parliament. In 1829, Roman Catholic Emancipation did the same for those for whom it was named.[25]

Indeed, the stage was being set for a movement that would cut across classes and recall the Church to her heritage.

Tractarians taught that in baptism we become inheritors of the Kingdom, so we must treat the people of God as royalty. Largely unknown in the Established Church, this dignity gave a new hope to people who had been brought up simply to "know your station." As Geoffrey Rowell says,

> In studies of an earlier period of the Catholic Revival there have been valuable correctives to a tendency to claim too much for the Oxford Movement Leaders. Dr. Peter Nockles has emphasized that the old "High Churchmen" (having a "high view" of the nature of the church)

[23] Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (A. & C. Black, 1966).

[24] Peter Benedict Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 44.

[25] Richard J. Mammana Jr., ed., *Tracts for the Times: Numbers One–Ten* (Littlemore Press, 2000), 12.

> were both more distinct and more theologically alert than some Tractarians allowed.[26]

However, it is yet the very implementation of Tractarian principles into parochial and pastoral life that has endured.

Nonetheless it is important that we note the difference between simply the Established Church and two great movements of religious revival within it, namely Evangelicalism and Tractarianism. Rowell argues the last two had much in common:

> The polemics of nineteenth-century theology, exacerbated by latent anti-Catholicism in British society, led many to view—and indeed to experience—them as two antagonistic movements. More recent scholarship has attempted to re-assess this simple polarity, and has argued that there was more in common than might at first sight be admitted. Many of the leading figures of the Oxford Movement—Newman, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, and Henry Manning had Evangelical backgrounds—although Keble and Pusey did not.[27]

Among Tractarians, numerous plans were discussed for the *Tracts* and other next steps. In the end, Newman's view prevailed: "Everyone has his own taste" and "No great work was ever done by a system, whereas systems rise out of individual exertions."[28] The *Tracts* would be written and distributed. Parish life and pastoral work would be done, and the Established Church would never be the same.

We should acknowledge the names of those most intimately engaged in the Catholic Revival: not only Keble, Pusey, and Newman, but also Charles Marriott (1811–1858) in the initial efforts and Alexander Herriot Mackonochie (1825–1887), Arthur Henry Stanton (1839–1913), and Arthur Tooth (1839–1931) in later generations. Beyond these, there are many others without whom there would not have been a Catholic Revival.

It would be inappropriate to leave this brief survey without acknowledging more fully Edward Pusey, who may have been the most significant person in the

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[26] Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, vii–viii.

[27] Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, 6.

[28] John Henry Newman, "History of My Religious Opinions from 1833 to 1839," *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908) https://www.newmanreader.org/works/apologia65/chapter2.html.

movement, although he since has stood in Newman's shadow. As Desmond Morse-Boycott wrote,

> To the modern Anglo-Catholic, Dr. Pusey looms through the mist of time as an austere giant, who did great works, and was a scholar of massive learning, and revived conventual life in the Church of England, and gave a name [of Puseyite] to the movement other than "Tractarian", but he seems so lofty, lonely, austere, self-disciplined, so aloof from enthusiasm, so sober as a judge, to the young so elderly and to the aged so heroic, that he is, as it were taken for read.[29]

Despite his noble birth, all indications are that Pusey perceived a call to the priesthood at a very young age. His earlier education had served him well: he learned German, Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldee, often working sixteen hours a day with frail health. After building an English and European scholarly reputation, in 1828 he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford and Canon of Christ Church, posts he held until his death.

Although he was not initially a Tractarian, in 1833 Pusey published and signed his "Tract on Fasting." After that, he attracted Evangelical opposition at Oxford, and was falsely accused (and convicted) of heresy for a sermon on Holy Communion preached in May 1843—which resulted in a two-year ban on preaching.[30] In his later career, Pusey edited the *Library of the Fathers*, published his own books of biblical interpretation, and continued his teaching at Oxford. He was later credited with restoring religious life to the Anglican Communion.[31]

Beyond theology and worship, the Oxford Movement spurred broader changes in English society. Keble's book of poems, *The Christian Year*, written in 1827, helped parishioners enrich their spiritual life beyond what was provided by the Prayer Book. It marked the beginning of the movement's efforts to revive the observance of the key holy days of the liturgical year, one that impacted not only Anglicans, but British Christians more generally.[32]

Nowhere was the impact of the movement more visible in the revived importance placed on the observance of Christmas, a concern shared with Charles Dickens. Although he regularly attended Unitarian churches, Dickens was concerned about the lack of regard shown by the Established Church in

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29 Morse-Boycott, *They Shine Like Stars*, 73.

30 Morse-Boycott, *They Shine Like Stars,* 75–76.

31 Morse-Boycott, *They Shine Like Stars,* 121.

32 Joshua King, "John Keble's The Christian Year: Private Reading and Imagined National Religious Community." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 40, no. 2 (2012): 397–420.

general in ministering to the masses and that the Evangelicals provided a spoken Gospel without action.

Rowell attributes the revival of Christmas celebrations at home and in the city to Dickens. On the other hand, he credits the Oxford Movement with the incarnational and particularly liturgical aspects of such celebration, which provided more encouragement to many parishioners compared to the reserved style of the previous generation. By the end of the nineteenth century, the nation's celebration of Christmas had become more prominent, with special services and musical events throughout the season.[33]

In many ways the Methodist movement, with its emphasis on a Rule of Life and its desire to be among the people, had helped pave the way for the Oxford Movement. While the Catholic Revival began at Oxford and was initially led by academic theologians, it had immediate pastoral implications, particularly in raising the importance of the faith for the urban poor:

> They were learned men and part of their achievement was to draw on the inheritance of patristics theology and devotion which had for many years been neglected in Anglicanism. If the Church of England was ill adapted in its organization and government to respond to the increasingly rapid changes in nineteenth century society, nowhere was this more evident than in the expanding urban areas.[34]

Many considered it ironic that the Oxford Movement addressed this need and brought a revival of pastoral care. In a very real sense, these urban parishes became a type of laboratory for the living out of the faith, seeking to address the needs of the marginalized working-class people of industrial Britain. As Rowell concluded:

> If the Oxford Movement may be said to have changed the pattern of Anglican worship it was in these urban parishes that the changes both began and were pressed to extremes. Decorous restraint and academic discourse were alike out of place in the slums. Mystery and movement, colour and ceremonial were more. The sacramental sign could speak more strongly than the written word. But if these were the characteristics of worship in the town parishes influenced by the Oxford Movement, that worship impressed through the devotion

[33] Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, 128–29.

[34] Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, 116.

> and holiness of life and pastoral concerns of the priests who led that worship.[35]

Rowell notes the conclusions of social researcher and reformer Charles Booth:

> Booth himself concluded that in parishes in which the poor outnumbered all the rest 'the High Church section is more successful than any other. They bring to their work a greater force of religious enthusiasm', and their 'evidently self-denying lives appeal….to the imagination of the people.' Nonetheless, 'the churches themselves' were 'largely filled by people from other districts and of higher class attracted by the stir of religious life." "To live a life of voluntary poverty," he wrote, "seems to be the only road to the confidence of the people."[36]

Finally, a discussion of the Oxford Movement would not be complete without considering its role in overseas missions of the nineteenth century, during the great era of Victorian missionaries who helped found most or grow many of the national provinces of the Anglican Communions. The Church of England established missionary societies to take the Gospel, and by implication, an Anglicanized version. While often associated with the Evangelical identity, the Catholic identity was also well represented among these nineteenth century efforts.

Under the Oxford Movement, Religious Orders for men and women were reestablished, and numerous Religious became a part of the missionary endeavors in various parts of the Anglican world. Among the many such orders include the Community of St. Mary the Virgin (1848), the All Saints Sisters of the Poor (1851), Sisters of Saint Margaret (1855), the Society of St. John the Evangelist ("Cowley Fathers") founded in 1866, the Society of the Sacred Mission (1891), the Community of Resurrection (1892), the Society of the Divine Compassion (1894), the Society of St. Francis (1936), Community of St. Clare (1950), as well Anglican versions of the Order of St. Benedict and the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross.

Morse-Boycott credited Pusey with the restoration of the religious life.[37] These orders have been established in various parts of the Anglican Communion, with the Religious often establishing schools and hospitals, many of which stand to this day. In the twenty-first century reality of the Anglican

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[35] Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, 116.

[36] Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, 139–40.

[37] Morse-Boycott, *They Shine Like Stars*, 121.

Communion, the general ethos of a particular Province often reflects the nature of the Missionary Society or Religious Order which began worthy ministry endeavors.

It was not uncommon for Oxford Movement missionary priests to become bishops, one of the most obvious being Frank Weston, SSC, OBE (1871–1924). His rousing address at the Second Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1923 remains a clarion call to all:

> Go out and look for Jesus in the ragged, in the naked, in the oppressed and sweated, in those who have lost hope, in those who are struggling to make good. Look for Jesus. And when you see him, gird yourselves with his towel and try to wash their feet.[38]

Anglo-Catholicism in America

English settlers came to America from a variety of Christian backgrounds and established their colonies with a variety of policies that favored specific religions to a greater or lesser degree. The first colony at Jamestown was decidedly Anglican, and the first Eucharist in America likely occurred there in June 1607. The Virginia and the Carolina colonies officially supported the Church of England, while Anglicanism was also common and (at times supported) in the mid-Atlantic colonies. As in England, the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* was the official prayer book at the time of the Revolutionary War.

For its own preservation, after the Revolutionary War, the American church broke ties with England to form the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Samuel Seabury was consecrated America's first bishop in 1784 and the first American *Book of Common Prayer* was approved in 1789. Over the next 50 years, that church would evolve differently from its English parent as the new nation expanded in territory and population. This divergence would shape how the Oxford Movement was received here.

America's first bishop, Samuel Seabury (1729–1796) was born into Congregationalism and became an Anglican, as did his father, a Congregational minister in New England. The irony in our treatment of Anglo-Catholic identity is that while one can easily follow the progression of the English patrimony in England and the subsequent Oxford Movement—and while Seabury was

[38] *Report of the Anglo-Catholic Congress, London, July 1923* (Society of SS Peter & Paul, 1923), 185–86.

described as being a kindred spirit for High Church clergy—the American High Church development was quite different.

Seabury was described as a "strong, conservative churchman of the Laudian type; unalterably opposed to either theological or ecclesiastical innovations; a true disciple of the non-jurors."[39] Remarkably, having received his consecration as a Bishop from the non-juring Bishops of Scotland, and having agreed to take back to the American church their liturgical changes to the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, Seabury was not only seen as a leading bishop in that endeavor, but "a strong sacramentalist. We owe to his influence the present [1928] form of our Consecration Prayer taken from the Prayer Book of the Scottish Church."[40]

Soon after Seabury's death, then-Presiding Bishop William White (1747–1836) ordained John Henry Hobart (1775–1830), first to the diaconate and then in 1801 to the priesthood. Described as "a larger Seabury, touched with emotion, awake to the necessities and responsive to the spirit of his time,"[41] Hobart was perhaps the leading American High Churchman of the early nineteenth century, serving as the third bishop of New York from 1816–1830. What exactly does "High Churchmanship" mean? In Hobart's own words,

> HIGH CHURCHMAN [is a term] denoting an eminent degree of attachment to the essential characteristics of the Church, and zeal for their advancement.... The *Low Churchman* [is one] who deprecates the distinguishing characteristics of the Church, or who is lukewarm or indifferent in advancing them.[42]
>
> *High Churchmen*, then, in the view which has been exhibited of it, is that term which designates those who insist on the ministrations and ordinances of the Church, as constituted by Christ and His apostles, because they are the means and pledges to the faithful of that salvation which is derived through the merits and intercession, and sanctifying grace of a Divine Redeemer; and who love and adhere to the Liturgy as embodying, and powerfully

[39] Chorley, *Men and Movements*, 139.

[40] Chorley, *Men and Movements*, 139.

[41] Chorley, *Men and Movements*, 140.

[42] John Henry Hobart, *The High Churchman Vindicated: In a Fourth Charge to the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York* (T and J Swords, 1826), 6–7. https://archive.org/details/highchurchmanvin00hoba.

> exhibiting evangelical truth and duty in the purest and most fervent language of devotion.[43]

Flowing from this leader of the High Church wing came numerous disciples who caught the vision of a Church that was not dependent upon the Established Church, but—without the constraints of the Established Church—were able to further a vibrant form of sacramentality. Some of the High Church notables of this period in American Church history are Abraham Jarvis (1739–1813), Thomas Church Brownell (1779–1865), Henry Onderdonk (1789–1858), William Delaney (1797–1865), George Upfold (1796–1872), Thomas Atkinson (1807–1881), William Odenheimer (1817–1879), and John Williams (1817–1899). While they are generally acknowledged as prominent High Churchmen, they did not necessarily adhere to the Ritualism roiling the late Victorian church. As the High Churchmen gained prominence in the American Church, it was prepared to receive the developments from 1833 in the Church of England.

In 1806, Hobart established the Theological Society to train younger New York clergy. In 1814 and 1817, the General Convention supported plans to establish in New York what became General Theological Seminary, which began instruction in 1819 and merged with Hobart's efforts in 1821.[44] Two decades later, the seminary found itself in crisis when the *Tracts for the Times* reached the United States, because it was viewed as furthering the principles of "The Oxford Heresy" (as it was termed by evangelical clergyman James Milnor).

Even before this crisis was resolved, another seminary was founded in Wisconsin by two General Seminary alumni, guided by the principles of the Oxford Movement. Those alumni were William Adams (1813–1897) and James Lloyd Breck (1818–1876), who in 1842 founded a semi-monastic mission under the guidance of the first Missionary Bishop of the Episcopal Church, Jackson Kemper (1789–1870).

Eventually this mission would be named after the two lakes on which it was built: Nashotah House. Those at Nashotah House lived the life envisioned by many of the Tractarians: live in community, pray the Daily Office together, and create new mission churches. Breck wrote in 1842: "We rise at 5 A. M. Matins at 6. The Morning Service of the Church at 9. On Wednesdays and Fridays, the Litany at 12. On Thursdays the Holy Eucharist at the same hour of 12. The Evening Service of the Church at 3, and Family Prayer or Vespers at 6:30 or 7 P.

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[43] Hobart, The High Churchman Vindicated, 19.

[44] Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr., "The Organization and Early Years of the General Theological Seminary," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 5 no. 3 (1936): 147–76.

M. Our students labor between 7 and 9 in the morning, and 1 and 3 in the afternoon."[45] Walter Webb—later bishop of Milwaukee—reported, "On their return at Nashotah [from Green Bay] they began at once the celebration of the Holy Communion; and from October 1842, there has never been a Sunday on which the blessed Eucharist has not been offered, the Divine Service Pleaded on the Nashotah Altar."[46]

With a diocese that was effectively the entire Midwest, Kemper's influence extended beyond Nashotah to found new parishes and dioceses. By the early 1900s, the dioceses from Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana were affectionately called "The Biretta Belt," defined as "dioceses in the vicinity of the Great Lakes that were once considered to be characterized by Anglo-Catholic practices. The term is derived from the traditional fondness of some Anglo-Catholic clergy for wearing a Biretta. Use of this hat was considered by some to be an emblem of Anglo-Catholicism."[47]

To precisely define a date for the rise of Anglo-Catholicism in the United States is difficult, but Chorley dates it around the time of the Civil War.[48] In the Midwest, Nashotah House and Racine College under the leadership of the James DeKoven (1831–1879) were natural institutions for training and mentoring Anglo-Catholics.

Elsewhere, numerous "shrine" Anglo-Catholic parishes were founded and developed, often located in dioceses where the bishop reluctantly acknowledged their existence. Parishes such as St. Mary the Virgin in New York City, Mount Calvary in Baltimore, St. Clement's in Philadelphia, Church of the Advent in Boston, St. Mary's in Pittsburgh, and St. James in Cleveland continued to develop a liturgical life that in many instances exceeded that which was celebrated in the Biretta Belt. These Catholic-leaning Episcopalians were often met by suspicion. One highly visible example was that was that of DeKoven, who twice failed to receive consents for his episcopal consecration after being elected as Bishop of Wisconsin in 1874 and Illinois in 1875.[49]

Any discussion of nineteenth-century Anglo-Catholics must also include Charles Grafton (1832–1912), the Bishop of Fond du Lac from 1889–1912. A Boston

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[45] Charles Breck, ed., *The Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, D.D., Chiefly from Letters Written by Himself* (E. & J.B. Young, 1883), 34.

[46] William Walter Webb, "Nashotah House," *The Western Episcopalian*, 1903, 6; as quoted by Chorley, *Men and Movements*, 257–58.

[47] Don S. Armentrout, and Robert Boak Slocum, eds., *An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church: A User-Friendly Reference for Episcopalians* (Church Publishing Inc., 2000).

[48] Chorley, *Men and Movements*, 268.

[49] Chorley, *Men and Movements*, 328–29.

native and eventually the Rector of Boston's Church of the Advent, he was born into considerable wealth and high social position. After perceiving a call to Holy Orders, his bishop suggested that he go to England, where he met with Pusey and with John Mason Neale, the great hymn translator who was a master of eighteen languages. He remained in England for five years, and found a kindred spirit in Richard M. Benson (1824–1915). In 1866, Benson, Grafton, and Simeon Wilberforce O'Neill made their monastic vows and founded the Order of St. John the Evangelist, with the hope that the "American Fathers" would return home "to organize in the western hemisphere a Mission Society like our own."[50]

Upon being consecrated the Bishop of Fond du Lac, Grafton continued to live the life of a monk, although not in community. He also used his inherited wealth to build and refurbish churches and supplementing clergy stipends. In 1889 he told his diocese,

> Thankful that we in America are free from state control and perplexing limitations of the English rubric, that our Prayer Book here is to be interpreted in conformity with the traditions of the universal Church, as Ordinary, our official ruling is that the Eucharistic vestments, mixed chalice, wafer bread, Eastward position, Lights on the Altar or borne in procession, and Incense are the allowed usage of the Diocese of Fond du Lac.[51]

Anglo-Catholicism Today

The leaders of the Oxford Movement—building on the previous High Churchmen and extended by the subsequent Ritualists—forever changed the complexion of the Established Church of England and its American counterpart. They restored the entire English patrimony, both English and Patristic. They also reclaimed the importance of sacred tradition, reducing (although not eliminating) four centuries of English suspicion of all things "Catholic." On the liturgical and ceremonial side, this included *ad orientem*, elevation of the sacraments, kneeling, genuflecting, and the sign of the cross, as well as candles,

[50] Charles Chapman Grafton, *A Journey Godward of a Servant of Jesus Christ*, The Cathedral ed., *The Works of Charles C. Grafton*, ed. B. Talbot Rogers, vol. IV (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1914).

[51] Charles Chapman Grafton, "Addresses to the Annual Council of the Diocese of Fond Du Lac," in *Addresses and Sermons*, ed. B. Talbot Rogers, *The Works of Bishop Charles Chapman Grafton* (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1914), 146.

stone altars, paraments, and vestments. Perhaps most fundamentally, this Catholic Revival restored the centrality of the sacramental life to Anglicanism.[52]

The center of liturgical life in the Church of England is the reality of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, the church's official prayer book for more than 300 years. Early Tractarians interpreted the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* as being a Catholic book, but the next generation of Anglo-Catholics advocated changes in the *Book of Common Prayer* that would allow for a greater flexibility of interpretation of the "Ornaments Rubric" in worship ceremonial,[53] while their opponents sought to use the prayer book and canons to restrict or ban such worship. A 21-year revision process produced the 1927 "Deposited Book" that was opposed by both Protestant evangelicals and nonconformists, and twice rejected by Parliament.[54]

In the twentieth century, Anglo-Catholic English "Shrine Parishes" became centers of Anglo-Catholic life and practice, including All Saints Margaret Street, St. Mary's Bourne Street, and St. Stephen's Church Gloucester Square. Prominent twentieth-century leaders included Bp. Michael Marshall, Vicar of All Saints from 1969–1975, Fr. Eric L. Mascall, in residence at St. Mary's, and T. S. Eliot, an active parishioner at St. Stephen's. Clergy for these Shrine and other Anglo-Catholic parishes were often trained in Oxford at St. Stephen's House or Pusey House.

Anglo-Catholic worship today remains a minority within the Church of England. After the defeat of the Deposited Book, several Religious Orders and Societies created missals to adapt the Tridentine Roman rite (mostly in English) for Anglican worship. These missals were unofficial and often not tolerated by bishops and dioceses, but their appeal grew. Such Tridentine usage provided examples of what is generally termed Anglo-Papalism. Unlike in the US, Anglo-

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[52] See Nockles, *Oxford Movement,* 307–327; Nigel Yates, *Yates, Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830–1910 (*Oxford University Press, 1999*)*, 375–385; Horton Davies, "The Oxford Movement: The Recovery of Catholic Tradition." In *Worship and Theology in England,* Volume III, Princeton University Press, 1961, 243–282; R. W. Franklin, "Pusey and Worship in Industrial Society," *Worship* 57 no. 5 (1983), 386–416.

[53] The "Ornaments Rubric" in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* says 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."

[54] Bryan Spinks, "The Prayer Book 'Crisis' in England." *Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer,* ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford University Press, 2006): 239–43.

Papalism[55] has become an expression of the Anglo-Catholic tradition for many in England, with a daily liturgical life almost indistinguishable from the Tridentine liturgical life, and an ecclesiological goal of reunion with the Holy See. The latter has also been the goal of many Catholic devotional societies in the Church of England, including the Society of the Holy Cross (1855).

Beginning in the 1960s, the post-Vatican II Roman liturgical reforms posed a dilemma for such Anglo-Papalist parishes. The new liturgy forced a choice between continuing with the existing Cranmerian liturgy, or continuing with the principle that liturgy should be the form mandated by Rome. The parishes that chose the latter, self-described as "Novus Ordo," once again became liturgically indistinguishable from Roman Catholics.

At the same time, provinces in the Anglican Communion began to move towards ordaining women. In 1976, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church approved the ordination of women to the priesthood, along with the approval of a new prayer book. Anglo-Catholics in the Episcopal Church then faced two major challenges: women as priests (effective 1977), and the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* with its various theological and liturgical modernizations. This prompted many to consider leaving the Episcopal Church.

Unlike the last major split from the Episcopal Church—when Evangelicals left in 1873 to form the Reformed Episcopal Church—the 1977 Congress of St. Louis laid the groundwork for an Anglo-Catholic departure, one that formed what became known as Continuing churches that sought to "continue" the faith as they had received and practiced it. Growing out of the Church Union (in the United Kingdom) and the American Church Union (in the American Church) came several organizations who sought to maintain Anglo-Catholic faith and practice while still being communicants in good standing in the Episcopal Church: Coalition for the Apostolic Ministry, Evangelical and Catholic Mission, Episcopal Synod of America, and Forward in Faith, the latter being the first time that English and American Anglo-Catholics united in their opposition to ecclesiological and liturgical innovations.

In the Episcopal Church, a provision was made for dioceses and parishes that rejected women's ordination, but eventually these were ended. While the Church of England also approved women's ordination, canonical legislation

[55] Although today "Anglo-Papalism" can be used to refer to any Anglican whose worship is indistinguishable from Roman practice, it earlier referred to a specific group of Anglicans sought reunification with Rome; see Michael Yelton, *Anglican Papalism: An Illustrated History 1900–1960* (Canterbury Press, 2005).

passed in 1993 and 2014 continues to allow for supporters and opponents to warily coexist.

In 2009, four U.S. dioceses and their bishops officially withdrew from the Episcopal Church; three of these were Anglo-Catholic: Quincy, Fort Worth, and San Joaquin. Later that year, they were joined by the Reformed Episcopal Church and various other jurisdictions to form the Anglican Church of North America (ACNA). Still later, the ACNA helped launch the global GAFCON movement that provides similar opportunities for other Anglicans throughout the world.

At the same time, since the 1970s various Episcopal (and later Church of England) clergy met with Roman Catholic leaders to create alternatives to either remaining in the Episcopal Church or becoming a part of the Continuum. The first wave of departures for Rome came in 1980, when the Roman Catholic Church announced the creation of a “Pastoral Provision” allowing certain married Anglican priests to join that church. A second round of departures came after 2009, when the Vatican announced the creation of three Personal Ordinariates in the United Kingdom, United States, and Australia. This allowed ex-Anglican Roman Catholics to worship in new churches in communion with Rome, using the Roman Rite recast in Cranmerian language—and option also utilized by many Anglo-Papalists.

Finally, some who identify as Anglo-Catholics believed that they must remain in their particular province in the Anglican Communion. The Affirming Catholicism movement was promoted in the 1990s by Frank Griswold (then Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church) and Rowan Williams (later Archbishop of Canterbury). It was Anglo-Catholic in appearance, but sees the conventions and synods of their respective provinces as definitive, affirming as binding the actions of these bodies such as on matters of Liturgy, Holy Orders, and Human Sexuality.

In the end, the Tractarians and subsequent generations of Anglo-Catholics succeeded in recovering the patrimony of the Anglican church with its broader roots in the undivided Church. By the middle of the twentieth century, the entire church—not just Anglo-Catholic practice—had been reshaped by that Catholic Revival.

I thus conclude by first quoting one of the greatest Anglo-Catholic leaders of the twentieth century, the venerable Arthur Michael Ramsey, later the 100th Archbishop of Canterbury: “[W]hile the Anglican Church is vindicated by its place in history, with a strikingly balanced witness to Gospel and Church, and

sound, its greater vindication lies in its pointing through its own history to something of which it is a fragment."[56]

That assessment of the revival's impact is consonant with the oft-quoted 1951 statement by his predecessor, Geoffrey Fisher: "We have no doctrine of our own. We only possess the Catholic doctrine of the Catholic Church enshrined in the Catholic Creeds, and these creeds we hold without addition or diminution."[57]

[56] Arthur Michael Ramsey, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, 2nd ed. (Longmans Green, 1956), 220.

[57] Quoted in "The Church Throughout the World," *The Living Church,* June 24, 1951, 12.