THE OXFORD HISTORY OF
ANGLICANISM

Volume V

Global Anglicanism, c.1910–2000

EDITED BY

WILLIAM L. SACHS

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ANGLICANISM

General Editor: Rowan Strong

The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I
Reformation and Identity, c.1520–1662
Edited by Anthony Milton

The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II
Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829
Edited by Jeremy Gregory

The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume III
Partisan Anglicanism and its Global Expansion, 1829–c.1914
Edited by Rowan Strong

The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume IV
Global Western Anglicanism, c.1910–present
Edited by Jeremy Morris

The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume V
Global Anglicanism, c.1910–2000
Edited by William L. Sachs

The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume V

Global Anglicanism, c.1910–2000

Edited by
WILLIAM L. SACHS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Contributors

Jeffrey Cox is Professor of History at the University of Iowa. His publications include *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870–1930* (Oxford, 1982), *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818–1940* (Stanford, CA, 2002), and *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York and London, 2008). He is currently at work on a book entitled *The Age of Liberal Religion*.

Peter Eaton has been involved in ecumenical relations since his student days, and throughout his ordained life has been particularly committed to dialogue between the Anglican Communion and the Churches of the Christian East. He was a contributor to *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1997), and to *Feasting on the Word* (Louisville, KY, 2009) and *Feasting on the Gospels* (Louisville, KY, 2015). He was a member of the Standing Commission on Ecumenical and Inter-Religious Relations of the Episcopal Church from 2009 to 2015, and is currently engaged in research on the first three phases of Anglican–Orthodox dialogue. He has been the Bishop of Southeast Florida (TEC) since January 2015.

Michael Gladwin is Lecturer in History at St Mark's National Theological Centre, Charles Sturt University, Canberra. A graduate of the Australian National University and the University of Cambridge, he has written widely on the religious and cultural history of Australia and the British world, as well as the relationship between religion and war in Australian history. He is the author of *Anglican Clergy in Australia, 1788–1850: Building a British World* (London, 2015) and *Captains of the Soul: A History of Australian Army Chaplains* (Newport, NSW, 2013).

Robert S. Heaney is Associate Professor of Christian Mission and Director of the Center for Anglican Communion Studies, Virginia Theological Seminary, USA. He holds a PhD in Philosophical Theology from the Milltown Institute of Theology and Philosophy, Dublin and a DPhil in Theology from the University of Oxford. Previously, he was Senior Lecturer in the School of Theology and Religion and Director of Postgraduate Studies and Research at St John's University of Tanzania. As well as numerous articles and contributions to books, he is the author of *From Historical to Critical Post-Colonial Theology* (Eugene, OR, 2015) and chief editor of *Faithful Neighbors: Christian–Muslim Vision and Practice* (New York, 2016).

Paul Hedges is Associate Professor in Interreligious Studies at the Studies in Interreligious Relations in Plural Societies Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He has previously worked for other British, Canadian, and Chinese universities. He has published ten books and well over fifty academic papers. Recent books include *Towards Better Disagreement: Religion and Atheism in Dialogue* (London, 2017), *Twenty-First Century Theologies of Religions* (co-edited, Leiden, 2016), and *Contemporary Muslim–Christian Encounters* (edited, London, 2015).

Richard J. Jones is the retired Professor of Mission & World Religions at Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia, USA and retired Taha Jabir al-Alwani Chair of Muslim–Christian Studies in the Washington Theological Consortium. A native of Washington, DC, he studied at Oberlin College and the University of Toronto. He served in Ecuador from 1972 to 1975 as an ordained missionary of the Episcopal Church in the USA. He is the author of *How to Talk With Your Muslim Neighbor* (Cincinnati, OH, 1997) and an article on Wilfred Cantwell Smith in the *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (ed. Gerald H. Anderson, Grand Rapids, MI, 1999).

John Karanja is an ordained priest of the Anglican Church of Kenya. He is currently Professor of Church History and African Studies at Trinity Lutheran Seminary in Columbus, Ohio, USA. His publications include *Founding an African Faith* (Nairobi, 1999), 'Evangelical Attitudes toward Democracy in Kenya', in *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa* (Oxford, 2008), and 'Confession and Cultural Dynamism in The East African Revival', in *The East African Revival: History and Legacies* (New York, 2012).

John L. Kater, a priest of the Episcopal Church, is a graduate of Columbia University, the General Theological Seminary in New York City, and McGill University in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. He has worked as a parish priest in the USA, Canada, and Panama, and served as the Education Officer for the Diocese of Panama from 1984 to 1990. He has served as Visiting Professor of Anglican Studies at Sungkonghoe University in Seoul, Korea and for ten years at Ming Hua Theological College in Hong Kong. His publications include *Christians on the Right: The Moral Majority in Perspective* (New York, 1982), *A Faith for Teenagers: Making Sense of Life* (Cambridge, MA, 1987), and *Finding Our Way: American Christians in Search of the City of God* (Cambridge, MA, 1991).

Femi James Kolapo is Associate Professor of African History at the University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada. He received his Master's and doctoral degrees in history respectively from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and York

University, Toronto, Canada. He has previously taught as an assistant lecturer at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria. He is currently finalizing a study on the religious interaction between Nigerian peoples and the Church Missionary Society's all-African-run mission at Gbebe and Lokoja on the confluence of the rivers Niger and Benue in Nigeria. His publications include *The Journals of Church Missionary Society Agent, James Thomas, in Mid-Nineteenth Century Nigeria* (Lewiston, NY, 2012), *Immigrant Academics and Cultural Challenges in a Global Environment* (Amherst, NY, 2009), *The Aftermath of Slavery: Transitions and Transformations in Southeastern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ, 2007, edited with Chima Korieh), and *African Agency and European Colonialism: Latitudes of Negotiations and Containment* (Lanham, MD, 2007, edited with Kwabena Akurang-Parry).

Catriona Laing is Associate Rector at Church of the Epiphany, Washington, DC. Prior to ordination in the Church of England, she worked as Project Manager for the Cambridge Interfaith Programme at the University of Cambridge. Her academic work is in the field of Muslim–Christian relations and the history of Christian mission in the Muslim world, with a focus on prayer.

Grant LeMarquand, born in 1954 in Montreal, Canada, is a graduate of McGill University and Montreal Diocesan Theological College. He was ordained deacon (1983) and priest (1984) in the Anglican Church of Canada, the Diocese of Montreal. He taught biblical studies and theology at St Paul's United Theological College, Limuru, Kenya from 1987 to 1989 before doing doctoral work in New Testament studies at Wycliffe College in the University of Toronto, where he also taught homiletics and mission. In 1998 he moved to Pittsburgh in the USA where he was Professor of Biblical Studies and Mission. In 2012 he was consecrated bishop to serve as the Area Bishop for the Horn of Africa within the Diocese of Egypt with North Africa and the Horn of Africa and now lives in Gambella, Ethiopia. For many years he served as the International Editor for the journal *Anglican and Episcopal History*. He is the author/editor of four books and numerous articles in biblical studies, mission, and African church history. He is married to Wendy LeMarquand, a family physician. They have two children and one grandchild.

Derek R. Peterson is Professor of African History at the University of Michigan. His most recent book, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent* (Cambridge, 2012) won the Herskovits Prize of the African Studies Association and the Martin Klein Prize of the American Historical Association. He is the editor or co-editor of seven books, most recently *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and their Publics in Modern Africa* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2016, with S. Newell and E. Hunter). In 2016 he was elected

Fellow of the British Academy and awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in African Studies. He is currently writing a book about Idi Amin.

Titus Presler is a priest of the Episcopal Church USA and principal-in-exile of Edwardes College in Peshawar, Pakistan. He has served as academic dean at General Seminary and president of the Seminary of the Southwest, and has taught at Episcopal Divinity School and Harvard Divinity School. He has mission experience in India, Zimbabwe, and Pakistan and chaired the Episcopal Church's Standing Commission on World Mission. His publications include *Transfigured Night: Mission and Culture in Zimbabwe's Vigil Movement* (Pretoria, 1999), *Horizons of Mission* (Cambridge, 2001), and *Going Global with God: Reconciling Mission in a World of Difference* (New York, 2010).

Elizabeth E. Prevost holds a PhD from Northwestern University and is currently Associate Professor of History at Grinnell College, where she teaches British and African history. Her research interests include gender and feminism, mission Christianity, imperial knowledge production, and decolonization. She is the author of *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole* (Oxford, 2010), and her work has also appeared in the *Journal of British Studies*, the *Journal of Modern History*, the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, *History Compass*, and various edited collections. Currently she is working on a new project about Agatha Christie and imperial readership.

William L. Sachs is a teacher, writer, and Episcopal priest. He has served churches and taught in seminaries and colleges in Virginia, Connecticut, and Chicago. He is the author of seven books including *The Transformation of Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 1993, 2002) and *Homosexuality and the Crisis of Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 2009, 2014). He is also the author of over 200 articles, reviews, editorials, and book chapters. He lives in Richmond, Virginia.

Louis Weil is the Hodges-Haynes Professor Emeritus of Liturgics at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, where he began teaching in 1988. Prior to that, he taught for seventeen years at Nashotah House in Wisconsin. He is a priest of the Episcopal Diocese of California. In the field of liturgical studies, Weil's published books include: *Liturgy for Living*, co-authored with the late Charles P. Price (New York, 1979; revised second edition, Harrisburg, PA, 2000; third edition in process), *Sacraments and Liturgy: The Outward Signs* (Oxford, 1983), *Gathered to Pray* (Cambridge, MA, 1986; second edition in process), and *A Theology of Worship* (Cambridge, MA, 2001). His most recent book, *Liturgical Sense*, was published by Church Publishing in 2013. In 2013, at its meeting in Montreal, the North American Academy of Liturgy named Weil the recipient of its Berakah Award for his contributions to liturgical studies both within the Anglican Communion and ecumenically.

Professor Weil is a founding member of Societas Liturgica (1969), of the North American Academy of Liturgy (1973), and of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (1989). He served on the Board of Examining Chaplains for six years (1982–8), and has served for four terms on the Standing Liturgical Commission beginning in 1985.

Philip L. Wickeri is Advisor to the Archbishop on Historical and Theological Studies, Anglican Diocese of Hong Kong, and Professor of the History of Christianity at Ming Hua Theological College.

John Y. H. Yieh is The Molly Laird Downs Professor of New Testament at Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, VA, USA. He earned his PhD in Religious Studies from Yale University and has previously taught at Bangor Theological Seminary and Andover Newton Theological School. Among his published books are *One Teacher: Jesus' Teaching Role in Matthew's Gospel Report* (Berlin, 2004), *Conversations with Scripture: The Gospel of Matthew* (New York, 2012), and *The Sermon on the Mount: New Covenant and History of Effects* (in Chinese; Hong Kong, 2015). He has also published several articles on the history and hermeneutics of Chinese biblical interpretation.

Jesse A. Zink is a priest in the Episcopal Diocese of Western Massachusetts and principal of Montreal Diocesan Theological College. A former missionary in South Africa, he is the author of *Grace at the Garbage Dump* (Eugene, OR, 2012), *Backpacking through the Anglican Communion* (Harrisburg, PA, 2014), and a forthcoming book entitled *Christianity and Catastrophe: Sudan's Civil Wars and Religious Change among the Dinka* (Waco, TX, 2018).

Series Introduction

Rowan Strong

Even Henry VIII at his autocratic best could hardly have imagined that his Church of England would, nearly five centuries after he had replaced papal authority with his own, become a global Christian communion encompassing people and languages far beyond the English. Formally, Henry asserted his royal power over the national Church on a more global scale—on the imperial theory that 'this realm of England is an empire' asserted the Act in Restraint of Appeals (to Rome) in 1533. Yet this was sixteenth-century imperial theory serving a national end. England was an empire and therefore King Henry was an emperor, that is, a ruler who was the paramount earthly authority and consequently superior to the papacy. So Henry's Church of England was always a national project, meant first and foremost to be the Church of the English—all the English—who would, if necessary, be compelled to come in. That national politico-religious agenda—a Church of all the English with the monarchy as its supreme head—formed the thrust of the policy of all but one of the succeeding Tudor monarchs. However, that royal agenda of the inclusion of all the English lay at the heart of the problem of this national ecclesiastical project.

At no time since Henry VIII ushered in his religious revolution did all the English wish to be part of this Church of England, though for over two centuries the monarchy and the English ruling classes attempted to encourage, cajole, or compel everyone in England to at least attend their parish church on Sunday. In Henry's reign, religious dissent from this monarchical Church was disparate and small, partly because Henry ensured it was dangerous. So some advanced Evangelicals (as early Protestants were called), such as Robert Barnes and William Tyndale, were executed by the regime in the early years of the religious revolution. Later, some prominent conservatives influenced by Catholic reform, such as Bishop John Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and some members of particular observant religious orders, followed their Evangelical enemies to the scaffold or the block. As the Protestant Reformation unfolded, and Catholic reform began to gather definition, from the reign of Edward VI onwards, those among the English who dissented from, or who were dissatisfied with, this national Church began to increase in numbers. Even those within it argued among themselves as to what the Church of England stood for.

Consequently, the Church of England, and its later global Anglican expansion, was always a contested identity throughout its history. It was contested

both by its own adherents and by its leadership. This series looks at the history of that contestation and how it contributed to an evolving religious identity eventually known as Anglican. The major question it seeks to address is: what were the characteristics, carriers, shapers, and expressions of an Anglican identity in the various historical periods and geographic locations investigated by the volumes in the series? The series proposes that Anglicanism was not a version of Christianity that emerged entire and distinct by the end of the so-called Elizabethan Settlement. Rather, the disputed and developing identity of the Church developed from Henry VIII's religious revolution began to be worked out in the various countries of the British Isles from the early sixteenth century, went into a transatlantic environment in the seventeenth century, and then evolved in an increasing global context from the eighteenth century onwards. The series proposes that the answer to 'what is an Anglican?' was always debated. Moreover, Anglican identity over time experienced change and contradiction as well as continuities. Carriers of this developing identity included formal ecclesiastical dimensions such as clergy, Prayer Books, theology, universities, and theological colleges. Also among such formal carriers of Anglican identity was the English (then the British) state, so this series also investigates ways in which that state connection influenced Anglicanism. But the evolution of Anglicanism was also maintained, changed, and expressed in various cultural dimensions, such as architecture, art, and music. In addition, the series pays attention to how Anglicanism interacted with national identities, helping to form some, and being shaped itself by others. Each volume in the series devotes some explicit attention to these formal dimensions, by setting out the various Anglican identities expressed in their historical periods by theology, liturgy, architecture, religious experience and the practice of piety, and its interactions with wider society and politics.

A word needs to be said about the use of the term 'Anglicanism' to cover a religious identity whose origins lie in the sixteenth century when the name was not known. While recognizing the anachronism of the term Anglicanism, it is the 'least-worst' appellation to describe this religious phenomenon throughout the centuries of its existence. It is a fallacy that there was no use of the term Anglicanism to describe the Church of England and its global offshoots before John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement in the 1830s. Newman and his Tractarian *confreres* certainly gave wider publicity to the name by using it to describe the separate Catholic culture of their Church. However, its usage predates the Tractarians because French Catholic writers were using it in the eighteenth century. It has become acceptable scholarly usage to describe this version of Christianity for the centuries prior to the nineteenth, notwithstanding its admittedly anachronistic nature.[1] Into the nineteenth century

---

[1] John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England* (New Haven, CT, 1991), pp. xiii–xiv; John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689–c.1833*

contemporaries used the terms 'Church of England' or 'Churchmen' to encompass their Church, even in countries and colonies beyond England. However, these names are not acceptable or understood today with their formerly inclusive meaning. The latter is objectionable on gender terms; and the former, while used by Anglicans in a variety of different lands and cultures, only leads to confusion when addressing the Church of England beyond England itself. Consequently, it has long been recognized in the scholarly literature that there is a need for some term that enshrines both the Church of England in England, its presence beyond that nation, and for that denomination over its entire historical existence. The most commonly adopted term is Anglicanism, and has been used by a number of recent scholars for periods prior to the nineteenth century.[2] A less Anglo-centric term—'Episcopal' or 'Episcopalianism'—is widely used in some parts of the world for the same ecclesiastical phenomenon—Scotland, North America, and Brazil. However, that term does not figure as widely as Anglican or Anglicanism in the historical literature, so it is the predominant usage in this series.

Consequently, Anglicanism is understood in this series as originating as a mixed and ambiguous ecclesiastical identity, largely as a result of its foundation by the Tudor monarchs of the sixteenth century who were determined to embrace the whole of the English nation within their national Church. It is, consequently, a religious community that brings together aspects of ecclesiastical identity that other Western Churches have separated. From an English Church that was predominantly Reformed Protestant in the sixteenth century, emerging Anglicanism developed a liturgical and episcopal identity alongside its Protestant emphasis on the Bible as the sole criterion for religious truth. The series therefore views Anglicanism as a Church in tension. Developing within Anglicanism over centuries was a creative but also divisive tension between Protestantism and Catholicism, between the Bible and tradition, between the Christian past and contemporary thought and society, that has meant Anglicanism has not only been a contested, but also at times an inconsistent Christian identity.

Within England itself, the Tudor project of a Church for the English nation became increasingly unrealistic as that Church encompassed people who were not English, or people who thought of themselves less as English than as different nationalities. But it has proved to have a surprisingly long life for the English themselves. The series demonstrates various ways in which the

---

(Cambridge, 1993), ch. 1; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660–1832* (Cambridge, 2000 edn.), p. 256; Nigel Voak, *Richard Hooker, and Reformed Theology: A Study of Reason, Will, and Grace* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 1–5; Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (Oxford, 2003 edn.), pp. 40–61.

[2] John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit, 1984); Thomas Bartlett, 'Ireland and the British Empire', in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), p. 270.

Church over the centuries attempted to enforce, encourage, or cling to its national identity in England, with some degree of success, not least in retaining an enduring cultural appeal for some English who were only loosely connected to its institutional life, or barely to its theological or religious claims. Even today English cathedrals often attract audiences to daily Evensong that otherwise would not be there.

But for those in England and beyond for whom their Church was more central, contestation, and the evolution of identity it prompted, was probably inevitable in a Church that, after its first two supreme heads, was deliberately re-founded by Elizabeth I to be ambiguous enough in certain key areas to give a Church for all the English a pragmatic chance of being accomplished. But this was a loaded gun. A basically Protestant Church, aligned with the Swiss Reformation, but with sufficient traditional aspects to irritate convinced Protestants at home (though less so major European Reformers); but insufficiently Catholic to pull in reformed Catholics for whom papal authority was non-negotiable, simply pleased no one for quite a while. It was neither Catholic fish nor properly Protestant fowl, at least according to those English that wanted the Church of England to conform completely to the worship and polity of Geneva, by the later sixteenth century the pre-eminent centre of international Protestantism. Even Elizabeth's bishops were not entirely comfortable with the Church they led, and some of them tried to push the boundaries towards a properly Reformed Church modelled on that of the New Testament. Until, that is, they realized Elizabeth was having none of it, and made it clear she would not deviate beyond the Church and worship enacted by Parliament in 1558–9. In her mind, though probably in no one else's, those years constituted 'the settlement' of religion. When her archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, refused to suppress the so-called 'prophesyings' of local clergy meeting for what would now be termed professional development, the queen simply suspended him for the rest of his life and put his functions into the hands of an appointed committee. Royal Supremacy was an undoubted component of the Church of England's identity, and Elizabeth and her successors for many years were not about to let anyone forget it, be they bishops or religiously-interfering Members of Parliament.

The fact that Elizabeth emulated the long reigns of her father and grandfather, and not the short ones of her half brother and half sister, meant that her Church of England had time to put down local roots, notwithstanding the 'Anglican' puritans who sought to remake it in Geneva's image; or the zealous Catholic mission priests who hoped to dismantle it by taking Catholics out of it completely.

Where the English went their Church was bound to follow, though this intensified the unhappy situation of Ireland where the English had for centuries sought political domination undergirded by settlement. The consequence of legally establishing a Protestant Church of Ireland was to add

religious difference to the centuries-old colonial condition of that island, whose Gaelic-speaking population remained stubbornly Catholic, in part because the Catholic Church was not English. Generally, the Irish wanted no part of this Church, aside from a small percentage of Irish who stood to gain from alliance with the prevailing Protestant power.

The following century saw the contest for the Church of England become more militant and polarized, until the English went to war to settle the issue among themselves. Perhaps the most surprising development was the emergence of a group of Anglicans who began to publicly advocate for the conservative aspects of the Church of England, a group that coalesced and became another sort of Anglican to the usual sort of Calvinist. This new variety of Anglican was particularly encouraged by specific royal patronage under the first two Stuart kings, James I and Charles I. These new contestants for the identity of the Church have been called by various names—Arminians, Laudians, avant-garde conformists—partly because they were not tightly defined but represented various agendas. Some sought, with the support of Charles I (the first Supreme Governor to be born into the Church of England), to bolster the independence and wealth of the Church; others, to oppose the Church's Calvinist theology and particularly the doctrine of predestination; others, to redress the lack of attention given to the sacraments and sacramental grace compared with the fervour for preaching among the more devout. But all were more or less agreed that the worship of the Church and the performance of the liturgy were woeful and needed to be better ordered, and churches should be more beautiful as aids to devotion and the fundamental significance of the sacraments.

But whether their agenda was liturgical, theological, or sacramental, to their puritan opponents this new Anglicanism looked like Catholicism, and that was the Antichrist from whose idolatrous and superstitious clutches the Protestant Reformation had released the English into true Christianity. They were not prepared to hand over the Church of England to a Catholic fifth-column. But while James I was cautious in his support for these avant-garde Anglicans, liking their support for divine-right monarchy but not their anti-Calvinism, his aesthetic, devout, and imperious son was markedly less so. The religious ball was in the royal court, particularly when Charles pulled off, in the 1630s, a decade of ruling without calling a Parliament, thereby silencing that body's uncomfortable and intolerable demands for royal accountability and religious reform.

The export in 1637 of Charles's particular version of the Church of England to his other kingdom of Scotland, in the form of a Scottish Prayer Book, not only stoked the fires of Scottish Presbyterian nationalism, but also released the pent-up energies of those within the Church of England who wanted an end to what they saw as royal absolutism and religious renovation by would-be papists. The rapid result of this intensification of political and religious

contestation was the outbreak in 1642 of years of civil war in the royal Supreme Governor's three kingdoms. The internal Anglican quarrel, part of wider political differences, ended with the demise of the revolution begun by Henry VIII—the legal abolition of the Church of England, sealed in 1645 in the blood of the beheaded archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud; and followed by that of his Church's head, Charles I, in 1649. For the first time in its legal existence the Church of England (and the Church of Ireland) no longer officially existed.

Then an unexpected thing happened—some people continued to worship and practise their devotional lives according to the use of the defunct Church of England, demonstrating that its identity, though contested, was by this time a genuine reality in the lives of at least some of the English. They did this despite it being illegal, though the republican regime under Oliver Cromwell was not particularly zealous in its proscription of such activities. However, the diarist John Evelyn was present one Christmas Day when a covert congregation in London was dispersed by soldiers while keeping the holy day (proscribed by the regime) by gathering for Holy Communion according to the Book of Common Prayer.[3] Evelyn and others worshipped this way, and numbers of clergy used as much of the Prayer Book as they could in the parishes, notwithstanding that their leaders, the bishops, did little to set an example or to ensure the continuation of their illegal order. Anglican identity through worship and the ordering of the week and the year according to the Prayer Book and the Calendar of the Church of England was now being maintained, not by the state, but at the clerical and lay grassroots.

When Charles II landed in Dover in 1660 as the recognized king of England, after the rapid demise of the republican regime with its non-episcopal quasi-congregationalist Church following the death in 1658 of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, one outcome was the restoration of the legal monopoly of the Church of England. What that legal restoration did not do was to restore the spirituality, devotion, practice, and belief of the Church of England, because these had been ongoing in the period of the Church's official demise. Nevertheless, the legislation that brought back the establishment of the Church of England did newly define some ingredients of Anglican identity.

Before the Commonwealth the Church of England had not made ordination by bishops a non-negotiable aspect of Anglicanism. While it was certainly normal, there were exceptions made for some ministers who had been ordained in non-episcopal Churches elsewhere to minister in the Church of England without re-ordination. Now all clergy in the Church had to be episcopally ordained, with the sole exception of those clergy who came from Churches with a long historic tradition of episcopacy—the Roman Catholic,

---

[3] William Bray (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn FRS* (1878, 4 vols.), I, p. 341 (25 Dec. 1657).

Orthodox, and the Church of Sweden. So from 1660 episcopacy became a basic characteristic of Anglicanism. The result was the expulsion of hundreds of clergy who would not conform to the requirement and to that of using only the Book of Common Prayer in worship. These dissenting clergy and laity, most of whom came from the previous Calvinist and puritan groups, now became permanent Nonconformists outside the Church of England. In 1662 a slightly revised Book of Common Prayer was passed by Parliament as the only authorized liturgy for the Church therefore reinforcing liturgical worship as a fundamental criterion of Anglican identity. Parliament again passed an Act of Uniformity and various other acts against Nonconformist worship. Uniformity was restored as an aspect of Anglicanism. So also was the royal supremacy.

However, while episcopacy has remained virtually unquestioned, and uniform liturgical worship remained uncontested within Anglicanism until the late twentieth century, the same could not be said for the other dimensions of the 1662 resettlement of Anglicanism—legal establishment, the royal supremacy, and uniformity. These identifiers were to be victims of the global success of Anglicanism from the eighteenth century, as the Church of England expanded; first across the Atlantic into North American colonies, and then globally within and beyond the British Empire. The first to go was legal establishment when the Americans successfully ushered in their republic after their War of Independence with Britain and some Anglicans remained in the new state. No longer could these Anglicans be subject to the British crown, or be legally privileged in a country in which they were a decided minority, when the Americans had gone to so much trouble to jettison these things. So an Anglicanism—known after the Scottish precedent as Episcopalianism—came into existence for the first time in history without monarchical headship, but rather as a voluntary association. Even within the British Empire these legal and political aspects of Anglicanism, so much a part of its foundation in the sixteenth century, were in trouble by the 1840s. It was then that the bishop of a very new colony, almost as far away from England as you could get, started acting as though the monarchy and establishment were Anglican optional extras. Inspired by the United States precedent, Bishop Augustus Selwyn began unilaterally calling synods of his clergy just four years after New Zealand had been annexed in 1840 as a crown colony, and a few years later he was leading his Church into a constitution which made authoritative synods of laymen, clergy, and bishops. Voluntaryism was catching on in international Anglicanism.

Contestation and evolution continued to be a part of Anglicanism. One of its most enduring characteristics, the sole use of an authorized liturgical form for public worship, began to be challenged by two mutually hostile internal parties—Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. In some dioceses the latter succumbed to the temptation to use the Roman missal with the permission of

sympathetic diocesan bishops. In contrast, encouraged by the global ambitions of the wealthy diocese of Sydney, some of the former had *de facto* abandoned the use of an authorized Prayer Book entirely. Into this recent Anglican contest has been thrown issues of human sexuality which have conflicted wider society, particularly in the West, but which have been accentuated for Anglicans by questions of how varieties of human sexuality conform or do not conform to the authority of Scripture. So these historical forces have not ceased to play their part within the dynamic of Anglican identity. The post-colonial era following the retraction of the British Empire has brought further criticism, from Anglicans themselves, about the extent to which their denomination was complicit in British imperialism, and that therefore their identity suffers from being an imperial construct. For such Anglican critics, necessary deconstruction has to occur which allows English markers of identity, even as basic as liturgical worship or episcopacy, to be questioned or even relinquished.

Since the nineteenth century and the effective end of the royal supremacy—whether that was exercised by the monarch or the British Parliament—emerging global Anglicanism was increasingly beset into the twenty-first century by the issue of authority. There has been no effective replacement for the royal supremacy, in part because of Anglicanism's historical origins in anti-papal national royalism. Beyond the purely diocesan level, the Anglican Communion struggled to find an operative replacement for the authority of the royal supremacy. Various attempts at authority by moral consensus, all bedevilled by anxiety that something akin to a centralized (i.e. papal) authority was being constructed, were tried. But all such central organizations of an emerging international communion were saddled with the original limitations imposed by Archbishop Longley when he agreed to call the first Lambeth Conference of diocesan bishops in 1867. By repudiating any real global authority, and opting for the consultative label of 'conference' rather than 'synod', Longley found a way to bring opposing parties of Anglicans together. But the emerging Anglican Communion, with its so-called 'Instruments of Unity'—be they the Anglican Consultative Council, or Primates' Meeting—tried to emulate Longley and both avoid the devil—papal centralism—and the deep blue sea—myriad manifestations that belied the claim to unity. True to its origins, Anglicanism perhaps remained more comfortable with its various national existences, than with its international one.

However, the history of Anglicanism is not merely the tracing of the evolution of a now global form of Western Christianity, important though that may be to tens of millions of contemporary Anglican adherents. As part of the historical turn to religion in recent academic interest, in the past two decades there has been a great increase of interest in the history and development of both the Church of England and its global offshoots. Scholars have investigated a plethora of facets of these religious phenomena, from the institutional to the popular, from formal theological belief and worship to

informal, more diffusive faith. Other historians have looked at seminal Anglican figures and movements. As well as specifically religious history, other historians have been recapturing the pivotal importance of Anglicanism in wider social and political contexts.

There has been a general historiographical revision which might broadly be described as moving the Church of England (and religion generally) from the margins to the centre of major economic social, political, and cultural development in English, British, imperial, and global history from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. The Church of England, Anglicanism, and religion more generally are now seen to be seminal dimensions of these various historical periods. So, for example, the significance of religion in the British Empire has now been recognized by a number of important scholars.[4] However, the major religious denomination in that empire, the Church of England, has been only sparsely studied compared to Nonconformity and is just now beginning to be critically examined.[5] Belatedly religion is moving up the scale of historical importance in British, imperial, and global history, but it still lags behind the significance and attention that it has received from historians of England. There have been various studies of the Church of England in its national context, but these have not always been integrated into wider British and global studies.[6]

A number of studies of historical Anglicanism have focused on the narrative of the institutional and theological history of Anglicanism, either as the Church of England or as an Anglican Communion. These include Stephen Neil's now very dated *Anglicanism*, originally published in 1958. More recently, there have been William L. Sachs's *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (1993), and Kevin Ward's *A History of Global Anglicanism* (2006). However, these scholarly histories are single-volume histories that inevitably provide insufficient depth to do justice to the breadth of scholarship on their subject. Anglicanism is now a subject of such complexity as both an institutional Church and a religious culture that sufficient justice cannot be done to it in a single-volume historical treatment.

But there is now sufficient international historical interest and extant scholarship to make an extensive, analytical investigation into the history of

---

[4] Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867* (Chicago, 2002); Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (Abingdon, 2008).

[5] Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire 1700–c.1850* (Oxford, 2007); Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850–1915* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2014).

[6] Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2007); Rowan Strong, *Episcopalianism in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Religious Responses to a Modernizing Society* (Oxford, 2000); Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia* (Melbourne, 2002).

Anglicanism a feasible intellectual project. In undertaking such a challenge the scholars who embarked on the project back in 2012 understand that not only was Anglicanism a religious identity shaped by theological and ecclesiastical understandings, but Anglicans were also formed by non-religious forces such as social class, politics, gender, and economics. Anglicanism has, therefore, been an expression of the Christianity of diverse social groups situated in the differing contexts of the past five centuries—monarchs, political elites, and lower orders; landowners and landless; slave-owners and slaves; missionaries, settlers, and indigenous peoples; colonizers and colonized—and by their enemies and opponents, both within and without their Church.

Introduction

A Century of Anglican Transition

William L. Sachs

FROM ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT
TO GLOBAL COMMUNION

By the beginning of the twentieth century the Church of England had become more than English. What emerged in the sixteenth century as England's Established Church, with Irish, Scottish, and Welsh variations, had spread to every continent. By sheer numbers, the Church encompassed some thirty million people, twenty-four million of them in Britain. Of the remaining six million, over half could be found in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. The English imprint upon the Church was indelible even as its further expansion seemed assured. Early twentieth-century participants in mission discussions, notably at the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908, presumed the Church's extension was their task. Heartened by signs of growth, they could not foresee accurately how this would happen or what it would mean.

In terms of numbers alone, the intentions of mission succeeded abundantly. By the early twenty-first century there were nearly eighty million people claiming adherence to Churches derived from the Church of England, and this could be a conservative estimate. In every region of the globe, including Britain and North America, the Church's population had grown. In some parts of the world, the growth had been dramatic. Adherents in Australia and New Zealand had nearly tripled to almost five million. In the Asia-Pacific region, the numbers had nearly doubled to well over one million.[1]

The most striking instance of the Church's growth and its diversification occurred in sub-Saharan Africa. There, over the course of the twentieth

---

[1] 'Global Anglicanism at a Crossroads', Pew Forum, 19 June 2008.

century, the Church's following increased nearly one hundredfold, from barely half a million to almost fifty million people. Although the number is striking, it is no longer surprising. The growth of African Christianity has become a much discussed phenomenon. The creation of distinctively African Churches, derived from European and North American influences but seeking their own casts, has been analysed often, importantly from the perspectives of those impacted by mission as well as from the viewpoints of those who initiated it. In varied ways befitting different contexts, complex cultural, economic, and political as well as religious factors intersected. Viewed over the course of the twentieth century the result was that Christianity grew dramatically, especially in Africa. Churches that bore the imprint of the Church of England proved especially vibrant.

By the early twenty-first century, Anglicanism's distribution, as much as its numerical growth, had changed its character. In 1900 over 80 per cent of adherents lived in Britain; by 2005 only one-third were found there while over half were African.[2] At a superficial level it can be said that the Church's mission succeeded, if success is defined as sustained growth. But the mention of success raises questions and begs for clarification. A variety of Christian traditions have grown dramatically across Africa, and on every continent, some claiming the religious legacy of their European sources, some representing original, contextual religious expressions. In each case, similar patterns of the translation of religious tradition into circumstances new to it appear. Adaptive processes to balance contextual accommodation with consistency of religious identity prove inevitable. Building new Churches in novel settings presses core questions of belief and practice. There is a dynamism that assumes localized form but follows consistent patterns. The Church of England became a prime instance of this process as missions transitioned to Churches.

This volume in the series considers the global experience of the Church of England in mission and in the transitions of its mission Churches towards autonomy in the twentieth century. The Church developed institutionally, yet more than the institutional history of the Church of England and its spheres of influence is probed. The authors of this book's chapters focus on what it has meant to be Anglican in diverse contexts. What spread from England was not simply a religious institution but the religious tradition it intended to implant. Accordingly, this volume addresses questions of the conduct of mission, its intended and unintended consequences. For instance, in what ways did mission organizations present Christian faith in a distinctly Anglican way? What has it meant to be Anglican as part of a lived tradition in various contexts during the twentieth century? By what paths and in what ways did

---

[2] 'Global Anglicanism at a Crossroads', Pew Forum, 19 June 2008.

mission by Anglicans advance and autonomous Churches emerge? More specifically, how has Anglicanism as a faith tradition taken root, becoming enculturated, as I shall explain, in a variety of settings? How has Anglicanism's advance in mission occurred in the late stages of colonialism and then during the rise of new nations from former colonies? The questions multiply and mark the twentieth century as one of significant Anglican transition.

The intention of mission by Christians has always been the translation of the faith, in the form of the Church, into contexts unfamiliar to it. However, the advance of mission has never been straightforward or free of tensions. The achievement of making converts, building the Church, and securing its sustainability has entailed inherent challenges. The faith has rarely been heard as it has been declared or appropriated in fledgling faith communities as missionaries envisioned. Contingencies and contextual realities of various sorts have intruded, highlighting the cultural divide between those who proclaimed and those who heard. Issues of the integrity of Church life, defined variously, have been rife in the history of mission.[3] Tensions over what it means to be Anglican now have a complex history of their own. The Church's growth seemingly enshrined fault-lines that by the early twenty-first century seemed to divide Anglicans as much as their sense of shared tradition united them.

By broad strokes the history of what became known as Anglicanism seems well established. A set of Churches arose around the globe, stamped by English religious and cultural precedent. They faced the challenges of mission, not necessarily triumphing over them but finding means to survive and even thrive. Anglican mission initiatives often drew English religious frictions into new contexts. Tensions between Church parties affected how mission was conducted. Debates in the Western world over biblical interpretation and the appropriate relation between new scientific theories such as evolution and historic tenets of Christian faith found echoes in the mission field, though rarely with the same vigour.[4] Transplantation of the Church could not be accomplished whole though the influences of its origins were ineradicable.

Yet Anglicans found local footing in various places by similar means. As the twentieth century began, Anglicans already had founded schools and colleges across their mission fields. Church-run schools conveyed more than sufficient clarity to read the Bible, or specialized training to become a Church worker, or even a candidate for ordination, as we shall discover in the chapters included here. Anglicans had also begun, and would develop extensively, social service

---

[3] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY, 1991); Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY, 1996); Andrew Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY, 2002).

[4] Jeff Guy, *The Heretic: A Study in the Life of John William Colenso, 1814–1863* (Scottsville, South Africa, 1983).

institutions including clinics and hospitals, charities and philanthropies, and particular initiatives to benefit poor and marginalized peoples. While Anglicans could not readily transform the cultures that were new to them, much less the societies where they were rooted historically, they sought to ameliorate distressed circumstances and to offer pathways of personal and social advance. Mission became elaborate as cultural and social realities in various contexts became plain and strategies to address them on the basis of the Church's faith took shape.

   Such realities and the tasks they inspired had become apparent and were much discussed among Anglicans by the beginning of the twentieth century. Over the course of the century, as I have described elsewhere, the nature and shape of Anglicanism was transformed.[5] We shall gain new insight into what this meant from the authors whose works are included here. But the implications of this transformation have been apparent, at least to a certain degree. At one level the transformation of Anglicanism concerned what it meant to speak of a family of Churches of English origin. By growth in numbers of Anglicans, the shift towards a global Communion of Churches has been striking. The chapters in this volume explore the global nature and impact of Anglicanism's expansion. The focus is on the results of what Western missionaries intended, the dynamics of mission and its consequences in multiple contexts. By the early twentieth century, it was clear that the mission Churches organized by the Church of England had become a dynamic cluster which functioned at some remove from England and one another. A religious tradition of English beginnings had taken distinctive forms in the mission field. In part this was because missionaries from England and elsewhere often took pains to distance themselves and their intentions from the modes of imperial life. Already early mission sites such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United States had developed a capacity for self-direction. They also became sources of Anglican mission themselves, with American influence becoming notable in Latin American and Asian sites. Beginning in North America, they had created synods to govern the Church in a manner that transcended English precedent. Not surprisingly there had been tensions over the proper locus of religious authority. But the impulse to create synods, and thus to begin to shift authority, had gained ground. The eventual end of control from beyond could be envisioned.

   Even in places that retained a clear direction by missionaries from overseas, the ordination of indigenous peoples had begun, albeit slowly. The tenor of discussion about mission in the early twentieth century centred on how and when to declare that authentic branches of the Church of England had gained sufficient capacity to direct their own affairs. Thus there were signs of

---

[5] William L. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (Cambridge, 1993).

movement towards the goal articulated by Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society in the nineteenth century, namely the rise of 'self-supporting', autonomous Churches. Some mission leaders from the industrialized nations had begun to speak of the 'euthanasia' of mission.[6] They anticipated the withdrawal of missionaries as indigenous Churches coalesced and local leadership took hold.

However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the leaders of mission from Europe and North America concurred that this translation of the Church and its ongoing mission into local hands was not imminent. Nevertheless, as branches of the Church of England arose, albeit fitfully, it was no longer possible to speak simply of an English Church. It had become clear that the family of Churches born of England's Established Church was being defined more broadly on the one hand and more particularly on the other. It was possible to speak of 'Anglicanism', a Christian tradition whose branches were both clearly English and specifically contextual.[7] It was also necessary to speak of its varied contextual expressions. The effort to articulate a distinctive Anglican identity, transcending without dismissing its English foundations, held two implications. First, mission for Anglicans entailed conveying basic truths of Christian faith while explaining its English idiosyncrasies. Second, the success of mission in creating Churches in diverse settings meant that Anglicanism became a variegated quilt. Accounting for unity of Anglican belief and practice while allowing for its variations became a primary challenge during the twentieth century.

The ideal of Anglican unity, and the manner of seeking it, reflected the influence of those who inspired mission's inception. Embracing Anglicanism's varieties while securing its identity became the role of what would be known as 'Instruments of Communion'. The office of the archbishop of Canterbury was enhanced internationally in the nineteenth century by creation of a decennial meeting of all of the Church's bishops, the Lambeth Conference. It has seemed to embody Anglicanism's expanse, its English heritage, and images of the imperial past. In the twentieth century it would be supplemented by periodic meetings of the primates of Anglican provinces and by the Anglican Consultative Council, a body in which laity and clergy other than bishops could participate.

During the twentieth century the idea of an Anglican Communion took concrete form. The Lambeth Conference of 1930 offered a definition of the Communion as a fellowship of Churches, following the ideal of 'the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church', in communion with the see of Canterbury

---

[6] Wilbert Shenk, *Henry Venn—Missionary Statesman* (Maryknoll, NY, 1983); Jehu Hanciles, *Euthanasia of a Mission: African Church Autonomy in a Colonial Context* (Westport, CT, 2002).
[7] Paul D. L. Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church: Theological Resources in Historical Perspective* (London and New York, 2002).

and being 'particular or national Churches' which are 'bound together not by a central legislative or executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the bishops in conference'.[8] Anglicans emphasized mission and sacramental fellowship. They prized local initiative and the integrity of Churches in cultural context. But the idea of Anglicanism which predominated in the twentieth century centred on the ordering of various particular expressions into a unity organized along Western institutional lines. The consolidation of international Church gatherings seemed to stamp the character of Anglicanism until fault-lines appeared to split it irreparably late in the century.

Though Anglicans sought a central means of regularizing their identity, no authoritative governing body emerged. Diversity of outlooks seemingly triumphed over their consensual union. Even the office of the archbishop of Canterbury holds symbolic influence but wields no compelling power of global scope. Images of centralized power are belied by the reality that Anglicans have required consensus-building as the mode of exerting authority. For over a century international gatherings have served as important forums in the search for consensus as Anglicans have faced such vexing issues as polygamy, political transition and conflict, and economic disparity. The issue of the Anglican relation to culture is a recurring one, but it is not the only difficult one. Anglicans have debated, and even divided, over such religious issues as the ordination of women and the place of homosexual persons in the Church. Beneath such fault-lines, basic differences over how to read the Bible and interpret Christian tradition appear. The effort to forge Anglican unity in a 'Communion' of Churches has stumbled over the challenge of blending myriad grassroots realities from various contexts into one religious body.

The pursuit of unity across diverse contexts was not unique to Anglicanism, nor was the means of seeking unity distinctive. The Anglican organizational impulse which arose out of Britain and North America compared favourably with the organizational style of other Protestant Churches and their mission initiatives. It is not surprising that Anglicans interacted significantly with such efforts, as the extent of Anglican participation in the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 attested.[9] The Anglican mission emphasis had been clear at the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908 that helped to inspire Edinburgh. In both events there was informed scrutiny of the conduct of mission in varied contexts. Years of mission experience produced sophistication about the challenges of implanting the gospel in new settings. Anglicans emphasized the apostolic parameters of belief and practice in the creation of

---

[8] Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, 1930, in *The Lambeth Conferences, 1867–1930* (London, 1948).

[9] Brian Stanley (ed.), *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2009).

mission Churches. Though such emphasis was not unique to Anglicans, they gave it distinctive form. The Anglican intention was to create localized expressions of Christian belief and worship that reflected both catholic and evangelical influences of English origin.

Yet the English Church could not be transmitted whole into the mission field. Nor could its autonomous counterparts, notably from North America, fully achieve the mission Churches they envisioned. Mission was a complex process of translation and adaptation that assumed broadly comparable forms across otherwise disparate contexts. By the twentieth century the cultural features that shaped mission loomed large. The Anglican intention was to build 'self-supporting', faithful Churches that joined the English paradigm to contextual ministry. Over the twentieth century the Anglican capacity to become rooted in disparate contexts became the Church's hallmark and its challenge.

SHAPING ANGLICAN IDENTITY

As the century began, the fruits of Anglicanism's proclivity for contextual adaptation and growth across varied cultures seemed apparent. The direction of Anglican life as the creation of a global Communion seemed clear. Anglicans seemed to have forged widespread consensus about mission, and this consensus translated into large-scale organization. Church life, spurred by the influence of the industrialized world, coalesced around the mobilization and dissemination of resources needed to advance mission. Not surprisingly the capacity to generate and bequeath resources gave Anglicans in the West, especially in Britain, but also in the United States, the presumption of authority to direct Church life elsewhere. The symbolic authority of the Church of England, and its counterparts in other wealthy nations, exerted defining influence. Consensus among Anglicans for much of the twentieth century arose on the basis of disproportionate influence, economic and institutional as well as religious. Then consensus faltered as challenges to such influence arose across what had been the Anglican mission field, especially in Africa. The nature and dynamism of Anglican identity comes into focus in the chapters of this book. During the twentieth century Anglicanism proved to be a form of Christianity that was in continuous transition while attempting to gain new coherence and unity.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, it appeared that Anglicans had succeeded in framing their identity as a mission Church. On every continent, branches of the Church of England had arisen and, to differing degrees, become self-governing. They were paralleled by offshoots of the Episcopal Church in Latin America, the Philippines, Japan, and China. From the

perspective of those who managed mission, institutional clarity and coordin-
ation with Anglicans elsewhere continued to be mission priorities. It would
prove to be an elusive goal as the century proceeded. The meaning of being
Anglican was in transition across disparate contexts while the fact of English
and Western influence remained clear. Anglicanism was being organized
institutionally and forged religiously along lines that emphasized contextual
vitality and wider affiliation without loss of oversight from the Church in the
industrialized world. Even as mission Churches grew and adapted contextually
their dependence upon Western resources remained profound.

Thus the historiography of Anglicanism has centred on the spread of the
Church as an institution.[10] In part this has meant that historians have organized
their narratives chronologically and geographically. They have had to account for
dynamic development that assumed both local and general patterns even beyond
the bounds of British imperial influence and North American cultural impact. At
the same time historians have had to take account of how Anglicanism, as a
Church, took root and proved sustainable across diverse cultural contexts.
Informed by larger studies of Christianity's entry into settings new to it, the
best histories have balanced attention to contextual distinctiveness with efforts to
identify consistent, distinguishing marks of being Anglican. More than a Church
history focused institutionally, the study of Anglicanism has suggested the need
for attention to a religious tradition expanding beyond its origins into myriad
cultural settings.[11]

Yet attention to Anglicanism as a religious institution has been sustained.
The chapters in this book presume the importance of this aspect of Anglican
life. What missionaries sought to build, and what proves easiest to trace by
historians, is the growth of an institution and its institutional offshoots. Such
growth can readily be described and measured numerically. But other sorts of
transitions also must be cited and have drawn the attention of historians. The
first is the Church's turn towards indigenous forms of Christian worship and
life. The Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and materials for Christian
education had to be made available in local languages with sensitivity to
cultural values and idioms.[12] Such translations of the faith, an inherent aspect
of mission at all times, had advanced noticeably for Anglicans by the start of
the twentieth century and would continue through the century. Similarly, the
Church's organizational infrastructure grew, notably in terms of governance
in context while structures of Communion would develop through much of
the century.

---

[10] Bruce Kaye, *An Introduction to World Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 2008); Kevin Ward,
A History of Global Anglicanism (Cambridge, 2006).
[11] E.g. Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia* (Carlton, Victoria, 2002).
[12] Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll,
NY, 2009).

Far less accomplished, though discussed and presumed as an eventual fact, the transition of the Church's leadership from missionary to indigenous hands loomed during the twentieth century. Historians rightly have viewed such a transition as a leading measure of Anglicanism gaining contextual integrity as well as sustainability, and the chapters in this book evince such sensibility.[13] However, more than the extension of the Church, the theme of an indigenous Anglicanism which is central to these chapters reveals the elaboration of a religious tradition, a body of Christian belief and practice transcending its origins by becoming enculturated in myriad contexts. This volume points beyond institutional categories and numerical growth alone, towards the development of a religious tradition with particular emphasis on its contextual grounding. The theme is the transition of Anglicanism as a religious tradition beyond its point of origin to fresh expression and influence in various settings. In this sense, Anglicanism was transformed during the twentieth century. How this happened, using various global sites and themes that arose beyond Western Church life as lenses, is our focus.

One doorway to the emphasis upon Anglicanism as religious tradition is the most obvious transition of the twentieth century: 'decolonization'.[14] By the mid-century a widespread withdrawal of missionaries and the resources they could secure had begun. It represented the Church's version of the end of colonial status across most of what had been the British Empire. Gradually over several decades, colonial territories gained independence and assumed the status of nations. In some areas, such as India, the issue was forced by social pressures that had been building for decades and then required reconfiguration of colonial boundaries into national ones. In some instances, notably Kenya, social revolution forced the issue of political independence. A different sort of political turnover occurred in South Africa, where one form of white minority rule succeeded another for nearly fifty years. The fact of decolonization occurred unevenly and without resolving all political and social tensions. Extant frictions, including religious ones, surfaced afresh. The end of empire challenged colonialism without erasing its imprint, and posed new issues of social organization and political direction. Religious life also faced this vortex.

Not surprisingly various forms of connection, and even dependence, continued to link the former colonies to the diminished imperial power, the most apparent being disparities of material and economic resources. It became clear that new nations could require guidance in building their infrastructures.

---

[13] Cf. Susan Billington Harper, *In The Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V. S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2000).

[14] Sarah Stockwell, 'Anglicanism in the Era of Decolonization', in Jeremy Morris (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, vol. IV: *Global Western Anglicanism, c.1900–present* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 160–85.

Basic social institutions including education and social service, economic development, transportation and communication often demanded external influences as new nations pursued plans of development. It could be argued that colonial life bred continued dependence. The transition to national identity based on political independence did not occur immediately but required processes of translating external direction into internal definition. The Church shared in such challenges and in the ways of addressing them.

The prevailing historical assessments of Christianity's relation to colonialism have gained nuance. To be sure, missionary intentions and conduct frequently abetted the presence of colonial power. Often such influence was asserted informally, as persuasive, cultural patterns of morality and decorum. Yet, increasingly, historians have discovered distinctions between empire's influence that could restrict or slow social development and Christianity's role in creating modernity. Missionary work by Anglicans and missionaries of other traditions encouraged local agency and the rise of national identity. The Church was a principal influence in setting the stage for the end of colonialism.[15] Nevertheless, for Anglicans as for other missionary-based Churches, the end of colonialism proved to be one of the twentieth century's most difficult transitions. Just as the Church and empire related in varied ways, so the movement away from colonialism occurred variously.[16] It entailed diverse transitions in different locales, all moving towards self-direction. These chapters reveal that empire and its conclusion meant different things in different places. Even its manner of concluding occurred variously, in some places abruptly and loudly, in other places quietly and gradually. The Church's relation to the rise of national independence wore different faces. Opposition to political revolution, illustrated by missionary criticism of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, contrasted with subsequent widespread Church support for opposition to apartheid in South Africa.[17] It is difficult to generalize about the Anglican relation to the politics of decolonization. The historical record is complex and made more diffuse because Anglicanism also took root beyond British imperial influence, notably in Latin America. It is too simple to say either that the Church was an arm of empire or an agent of political liberation. The Church's story does not mimic the political one in all respects, and these chapters surface important distinctions.

---

[15] Olufemi Taiwo, *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity in Africa* (Bloomington, IN, 2010).

[16] Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (London, 2008); Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004); Andrew Porter, *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2003).

[17] Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York, 2005); Peter John Lee, *Compromise and Courage: Anglicans in Johannesburg, 1864–1999* (Pietermaritzburg, 2005).

To be sure, as an institution the Church's experience of decolonization reflected the course of the political transfer of authority. Similarly Churches in former colonies, many of which had gained measures of self-direction during the colonial era, acquired the full measure of direction as control from beyond ended. In new nations, Anglicans moved to secure their own Church synods, and other channels of Church authority, to raise funds and generate resources, to create their own versions of the Book of Common Prayer, and to implement modes of education and faith formation beyond what existed under colonialism. For these aspects of Church life there was precedent, though the fact of self-direction demanded that they expand.

This volume offers important insights on what decolonization meant for Anglicans as the mission Church in various global locations became self-reliant. It is not enough to speak of the end of the colonial empire, as much as some historians have proven obsessed with it. It is just as important to speak of what happened next to Anglicans and Anglicanism on the basis of diverse contextual experiences. Thus these chapters portray forms of Anglican experience that are more than simply post-colonial. Indeed, as some authors argue, the fact of colonial influence lingers.[18] The continued dependence of the Church in former colonies, especially for funding and material resources, seemingly confirms that Anglican life in many places retains post-colonial dynamics. It is not sufficient to depict an Anglicanism shorn of colonial influence because important legacies of the colonial era remain, notably in terms of economic and cultural influences. But this volume describes efforts to secure an Anglican identity beyond colonialism. The authors of these chapters break new ground in describing the emergence of an Anglicanism shaped more contextually than externally.

The Anglican conflict over homosexuality, which I have analysed elsewhere,[19] focused debate on lingering forms of colonial influence. The debate became pronounced late in the twentieth century and seemed to enshrine Anglican fault-lines over the nature of Christian faith and its appropriate relation to culture. In doing so, the conflict gathered up images of the colonial past and compelled renewed rejections of it. Vigorous opposition to any form of acceptance of homosexuality by Anglicans, especially in Africa and Asia, united them with like-minded clusters of Anglicans in the Western world. With some irony, traditionalist coalitions fostered a shared critique of homosexuality's legitimation as a surrender of the Church to depraved aspects of Western life and the legacy of imposing Western social values upon subject peoples. With further irony, supporters of the acceptance of homosexual persons often advocated political and social liberation broadly, claiming to

---

[18] Ian T. Douglas and Kwok Pui-lan (eds.), *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism* (New York, 2001).
[19] William L. Sachs, *Homosexuality and the Crisis of Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 2009).

see inherent links between Christian faith and the rights of native peoples who had been under colonial control.

The Anglican conflict over human sexuality, including differences over polygamy in Africa for much of the twentieth century and homosexuality latterly, consumed the attention of the Church's structures of governance and consultation. Interweaving such conflicts with the Church's continuing assessment of its colonial past lends welcome complexity to considerations of Anglican history and identity. However, the real story of twentieth-century Anglicanism does not concern the strained circumstances of Church structures, which were intent upon finding theological and pastoral coherence. Conflicts over human sexuality as such are not focal either, though they have called attention to the heart of Anglican experience, especially as colonialism eroded and the Church worked to move beyond it. During the twentieth century Anglicanism became as much the contextual embodiment of a faith tradition as it was a global family of religious institutions. The contextual elaboration of Anglican life is the deeper story of this religious tradition.

As various historians have suggested, and as all factions in the debates over sexuality have echoed, Anglicanism has mirrored the multiplicity of cultures in which it has become rooted. Yet how it became rooted to where it could both identify with various cultural contexts and also claim to be distinctively Christian and Anglican has not been fully understood. This is even more the case for the twentieth century, marking the last phase of colonialism, 'decolonization', and a turn towards contextual autonomy. The intention of becoming indigenous or inculturated, as frequently used terms depict, has been apparent, from the earliest phases of Anglican mission before the twentieth century. But how did the process of achieving growth and gaining contextual identity occur in the twentieth century?

'Indigenous' generally means occurring naturally in a particular place. The term is readily used in the literature of Christian mission as well as historical and cultural studies grounded in ethnography. The term suggests a fixed social order inherent in a given setting. Being indigenous bespeaks a social identity that is given and entails a powerful sense of belonging. For Anglicans, as well as other religious traditions that seek to engage an unfamiliar cultural context, to become indigenous means that mission must secure authentic social footing. But simply intending to be indigenous does not suggest a religious or social process to achieve it. Nor is there a sense of dynamism to accompany a strong emphasis on cultural stability. Studies of indigenous cultures tend to see them as forced to take defensive measures against outside forces in order to survive.[20]

---

[20] Cf. Marshall Sahlins, *Culture in Practice* (New York, 2000); James Clifford, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2013).

'Inculturation' also is a term that is applied to Christian adaptation to a non-Christian setting, especially in regard to liturgy and religious ritual. The term is often used in Roman Catholic discussions to suggest that the task of mission is the faithful translation of core expressions of Church life into new cultural contexts. More of a sense of religious and social process is suggested; but it is essentially a one-way process, in effect instilling liturgy and belief into new settings in ways that replicate religious practice elsewhere.[21] The goal is religious authenticity defined largely externally. In contrast, the chapters in this book reveal that processes of 'enculturation' occurred in Anglican experience during the twentieth century. The experience has not been unique to Anglicans. In fact, through this methodological lens, one can readily understand Christian mission as an interactive process in which a host culture and the one that is arriving adapt to each other.[22]

Although the contributors to this volume speak variously, themselves using such terms as 'indigenous' and 'inculturation', they point towards processes of what I prefer to call 'enculturation'. To speak of 'enculturation' in Anglican life, especially in the twentieth century, is to claim that in diverse contexts Anglicans learned to adapt to basic cultural knowledge and roles. Even as they attempted to exert defining influence religiously, they learned to function in social contexts new to them in ways that proved to be ongoing and dialogical. Anglicans did not simply become enmeshed in cultures, nor could they simply transform them. By religious and social processes, they found ways to exist constructively in disparate cultural contexts, i.e. they became enculturated. As we shall see, this means they gained cultural footing while solidifying basic marks of Christian belief and Church worship and ministry. 'Enculturation' also denotes an ongoing, dynamic, dialogical process of cross-cultural exchange. This means that Anglicanism proved to be an adaptable expression of Christian tradition, marked by variation but stamped by consistent ways of melding faith with patterns of local life. No end-point of mission was reached; 'enculturation' has been marked by ongoing learning and application, by continuing development and expression. The term is frequently applied to pathways of individual development, but it has ready application to social groups and organizations. Thus I apply it to Anglican experience in the twentieth century.

The Anglican capacity to become rooted contextually, which I term enculturation, was apparent at the beginning of the twentieth century. Over the course of the century it became definitive of Anglicanism globally. This capacity was not a result of decolonization per se, but the end of empire intensified contextual challenges. The advance of enculturated forms of

---

[21] Cf. R. C. McCarron, 'Inculturation, Liturgical', and A. E. Shorter, 'Theology of Inculturation', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit and Washington, 2003).
[22] Cf. Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants* (Berkeley, CA, 2005).

Anglicanism exacerbated the conflict over sexuality, but such conflict was not its trajectory. The enculturation of Anglicanism represented the creation of religious life based on appropriations of contextual influences that would reframe English precedent, as these chapters explain. The consistent intention was to build the Church as an expression of the biblical ideal of the kingdom of God. It could be claimed that beyond Western influence, Anglicanism's Christian intentions could find genuine realization. The admixture of contextual influence and English precedent proved fecund.

PATTERNS OF ENCULTURATION

The authors of this volume's chapters handle the fact of Anglicanism taking contextual root in various ways. Obviously the volume presents Anglican experience in diverse settings across various segments of the twentieth century. In the process the contributors reveal that enculturation was marked by dynamic processes that promised to solidify Anglican life around the biblical and sacramental ideal of the kingdom of God. Taken as a whole these chapters describe the enculturation of Anglicanism as a process marked by four points of emphasis. First, and most obvious, Anglicans have laboured to extend the Christian faith and the Church. Second, the Anglican emphasis upon education has posed new means of personal and social development. Third, there have been repeated instances of Anglican efforts to transform regional and national life along moral lines by elaboration of Church-inspired social service and activism. Fourth, Anglicans have laboured amid forms of faith and spirituality more historic to certain contexts. Faced with other faiths, Anglicans often have sought ecclesiastical and personal, official and unofficial encounters in ways that have fostered common ground. Thus the marks of Anglican patterns of enculturation are: *extension*, *education*, *elaboration*, and *encounter*.

The question of Anglican distinctiveness cannot be resolved by this volume. But in their own ways the authors of these chapters affirm it. The four themes of extension, education, elaboration, and encounter are not unique to Anglicans, and the tasks inherent in facing them have not been singular. But how Anglicans have framed and addressed the tasks of enculturation suggest distinctive and even innovative approaches. In the chapters that follow, the authors show how various themes have interwoven across Anglican global experience. Anglicanism emerges as a unity of religious ideals and practices, forging community based on historic precedent, readings of cultural contexts, and adaptive strategies that reflect appreciative approaches.

The theme that appears most consistently in these chapters is the Anglican extension of Christian faith and the Church. Amid various twentieth-century

transitions in Church life, notably decolonization and conflict over sexuality, extension has remained in the forefront of Anglican life. The sheer growth of Anglicanism, especially in what is termed the 'global South', has been dramatic. As John Kater describes, Anglicanism's emergence in Latin America defies familiar assumptions about the Church's relation to British colonialism. Here the impact of the Episcopal Church of the United States has been profound, with surprising growth occurring in the second half of the twentieth century. Adverting to mission's advance in various contexts, and tapping his own work in the Caribbean as well as Latin America, Louis Weil probes the adaptation of Anglican liturgy to new settings and altered circumstances. Weil's chapter enhances our insights into Anglicanism in the Caribbean. Less known than other settings on that continent, the Horn of Africa affords Grant LeMarquand a fascinating context for tracing the Church's extension. Even under colonialism, Somalia was not easily reached or resourced, yet mission persisted with striking results. He takes care to note the cross-cultural dimensions of Anglican mission there.

Mission strategy is explicitly and implicitly treated from diverse perspectives by the authors assembled here. Femi Kolapo is alert to what Anglicans intended and what resulted in the crucial region of West Africa. The Church's growth there has been the most dramatic of any global region. Kolapo enhances our understanding of how this happened and what it has meant. Kolapo also explains the rise and impact of anti-colonial sentiment in Church and society. The process of enculturation there has been striking. Interaction with prophetic movements of local origin has been a formative factor. Similarly Jesse Zink traces Anglican experience amid repeated conflicts in Sudan. How conflict shaped self-understanding there proves to be an invaluable case study, as I shall explain shortly.

Anglicanism's capacity to present itself as a distinctive and adaptive religious tradition is a key aspect of Michael Gladwin's treatment of the Church in Melanesia and Polynesia. He makes the crucial point that Anglicanism has functioned as a religious culture in encounters with contextual social and religious realities in ways that often have been mutually appreciative. The rise of the Melanesian Brotherhood is an important example. Gladwin shows sensitivity to contextual tensions between tradition and modernity, and the Church's relation to emerging nationalism. Enculturation has proven to be a multi-faceted process in which the boundaries between Church, society, and political change have proven porous.

Such developments have been integral to mission, as Elizabeth Prevost demonstrates in her treatment of missionaries in East Africa. Her analysis reinforces the point that Anglicanism has both shaped and been shaped by the settings in which it has developed mission. The contingencies inherent in proclaiming the faith repeatedly outpaced mission strategies developed from afar. Missionaries often were at odds with colonial powers, though missionaries

proved more adept at protest than at decisive change from colonial policies. Over the twentieth century, as she and others in this volume show, the goal of mission shifted from sole emphasis on cultural transformation to the realization of an African Christianity in Anglican thought and practice. Where cultural change remained a priority, it took on a different character, often joined to new forms of nationalism. Theoretical depictions of Anglicanism benefit from the concrete assessment Prevost offers.

During the twentieth century Anglicans both broadened and deepened their encounters with other faith traditions and the social worlds in which they were rooted. The experience of religious difference occurred in various ways. Peter Eaton describes how, formally and informally, relations with Orthodox Churches developed, especially with the Armenian and Russian Churches. As much as formal dialogue, informal conversation highlighted the two traditions' views of ministry and the sacraments. Mutually informative relations resulted even in the absence of official recognition and agreement. From a different perspective, Catriona Laing traces how mission became the discovery of mutual affirmation between Anglicans and Muslims in North Africa, especially in patterns of spirituality and religious practice. There was a shift in missiological thinking during the first half of the twentieth century that was seen in the Middle East as an Anglican turn to collaboration with the cultural and religious environments. As she describes, this entailed appreciative encounters with Islam. Elizabeth Prevost enhances this view with her study of how mission in Africa was influenced by encounters with religious difference.

In a variety of cultural settings, a basic shift in mission strategy occurred as Anglican presence deepened. Anglicans never lost an intention to make converts to the Christian faith, and energies for evangelism have been pronounced, especially in Africa. At the same time, Anglicans learned to appreciate and coexist with a variety of religious traditions, often out of respect and often as political and social necessity. For Paul Hedges this is a prominent theme and other authors echo it. Thus, several chapters describe how Anglicans eased their emphasis on proselytism in favour of forms of Christian witness. One manner, to which Catriona Laing and Philip Wickeri are alert, is the development of a Christian literature to speak to a culture's educated elites. Another manner, as several authors assess, has been the development of Church schools and social service institutions. During the twentieth century, in varied sites, Anglican mission became demonstrative, depicting forms of social benefit as witness to Christian belief. By this means, Anglicans generally intended to deepen their roots in different cultures.

The theme of cross-cultural encounter is central for John Karanja as he considers how Anglicanism became rooted in Kenya, especially among the Kikuyu. For Karanja, the story of mission there concerned less institution-building and more the rise of an Anglican capacity to engage grassroots life constructively. For example, he notes that mission stations could serve as

mediating centres in addressing local family conflicts. Yet Anglicans did not simply endorse local culture; opposition to female circumcision was mobilized to a significant degree by Anglican initiative. Similarly, Derek Peterson considers the phenomenon of the East African Revival, amid broad patterns of contextual spirituality. His writing affords evidence that Christianity in general and Anglicanism in particular assumed contextual form while holding to its core affirmations. Formally and informally, Anglican mission bore the imprint of Western influence. But more than collusion with imperial power resulted. Anglicanism proved generative of new, contextually influential forms of Christian life. A consistent Anglican capacity to interact appreciatively with various cultures is apparent in these chapters.

From a broad outlook, Paul Hedges considers Anglicanism and inter-faith relations. He draws important conclusions about the impact of such encounters upon Anglican sensibilities and priorities. Hedges adeptly considers both contextual developments and the changing positions of international Anglican bodies, especially the Lambeth Conference. The focus of mission gradually shifted from outright proselytism to religious and cultural adaptation. In that shift, enculturation proved to be a dialogical process in which Anglicans made converts to Christian belief and the fellowship of the Church while finding that their own way of framing faith and life were sharpened by the experience. The process of enculturation never concluded, but has continued amid social and political changes.

Nevertheless, Anglicans have attempted to exert transformative influences upon hospitable cultural contexts. As appreciative as Anglicans have been of the social and cultural settings they have encountered, they have also tried to remake them in strategic ways by elaborating Church influence. The familiar images of schools and colleges founded by missionaries are reinforced in these chapters. By the beginning of the twentieth century there already were a number of such institutions. How they changed during the twentieth century, especially in South Asia, is the focus of Richard Jones's chapter, which traces how Anglican education responded to the end of colonialism and the rise of nationalism. Repeatedly, as Jones describes in relation to Islam, Anglicans were a missionary faith shorn of the advantages of empire and functioning with profoundly diminished social status. Even so, Anglicans believed they could serve as catalysts for personal and social development in the Middle East and South Asia.

Education was not the only avenue of development. John Yieh describes the centrality of social ministries sponsored by Anglicans in East Asia, both in what was the British colony of Hong Kong as well as in Japan and Korea, which were beyond the British colonial orb. Whether in colonial contexts or not, the intention and the strategy were the same. Recognizing their minority status even as they made converts and built the Church, Anglicans created social influence disproportionate to their numbers. Their emphasis upon

service, including health care and education, was the vehicle. The chapter by Philip Wickeri gives particular attention to Chinese Anglicanism, especially in Hong Kong. Deftly he joins the theme of the Church's development to the emphasis it placed on ministries of social service. During the twentieth century the Anglican Church became the manager of an inordinate share of Hong Kong's educational institutions, for example. A similar instinct was apparent on the Chinese mainland. Late in the twentieth century the Church helped to facilitate the transition from British colonial rule in Hong Kong to Chinese political control. Beyond the influence their small numbers imply, Anglicans have had notable impact on Chinese, and especially Hong Kong, society. Similarly, Femi Kolapo links Anglican growth in West Africa to a consistent capacity to deliver social service at the grassroots, and to portray social service as practical embodiment of the Christian faith and the life of the Church.

Across such varied settings the intention often was national transformation along moral lines, as well as amelioration of distress and personal development. Anglicans acted on the basis of their legacy as England's religious establishment without necessarily seeking accommodation with the cultural or political status quo. Rather, guided by the biblical ideal of the kingdom of God and the centrality of sacramental worship and ministry, Anglicans witnessed to a different society, which they could not impose but to which they alluded as they responded to social need. Thus Titus Presler echoes Yieh and Jones as he describes the Church's ministries to dispossessed groups of persons in South Asia. In the twentieth century Anglicanism became rooted in mass movements and mission initiatives launched by Indian Christians. A different sort of Anglican ethos posed a different sort of nationalism that challenged cultural patterns enshrining haves and have-nots. Anglican ministries embodied moral witness in efforts to redeem social relations.

Robert Heaney describes how in southern Africa moral witness, and even political activism, encouraged a different nationalism. The struggle to overturn white minority rule, whether locally or from beyond was the same; the bitter reality of apartheid reflected the turn of Anglicanism itself to an African majority and predominantly African leadership. As Heaney has shown in his chapter here and in publication elsewhere, one of the most notable transitions for Anglicanism in Africa has been its acquisition of contextual character and authority.[23] Jesse Zink draws a similar conclusion in his chapter on the Sudan. There Anglicanism has become rooted in the lives of displaced peoples, not social and political elites. Not always able to retain the ideals associated with its establishment past, Anglicanism nevertheless has found novel and diverse cultural footings and has repeatedly emphasized faith as the natural basis for the life of a people.

---

[23] Robert S. Heaney, *From Historical to Critical Post-Colonial Theology: The Contribution of John S. Mbiti and Jesse N. K. Mugambi* (Eugene, OR, 2005).

In his chapter, Jeffrey Cox offers a constructive argument about the process of 'enculturation' as I have termed it. Pursuing a similar approach, Cox moves beyond static depictions of how Anglicanism took root in new contexts. He concludes that a more dynamic sense than simply becoming 'indigenous' is required. To that end, he applies the phrase 'zones of contact', an appropriation from the work of Mary Louise Pratt. Encounters between Western Anglicans and peoples they sought to evangelize occurred in myriad locales. Concluding that transmission of the faith and extension of the Church were intertwined, Cox locates Anglican distinctiveness, and a primary 'zone of contact', in the organizing of dioceses and the consecration of bishops in mission settings. In new cultural contexts, Anglicans thus extended the work of the Church, Cox finds. The logic of creating diocesan life overseen by bishops challenged latent racist sentiments, and forced the issue of training local people as clergy and lay leaders. Not merely the extension of mission, but the process of enculturation could be measured by the rise of diocesan life.

CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions can be drawn from these chapters about the twentieth-century Anglican experience of global development? First, it is important to observe that despite the breadth of the chapters, there are gaps in what this volume covers. Little attention is paid to the development of Anglicanism as a global network, other than to trace its outline. Titus Presler's description of union churches in South Asia enhances the depiction of Anglican variety, but more could be said about the Church's institutional development in its creative variations. More could be said about Anglican life in Africa and the Middle East in this regard. There is little or no reference to some parts of the Anglican world, such as the Philippines and the Caribbean where discussions of the end of colonialism could prove insightful. Nor does this volume follow the track of Philip Jenkins who has depicted Christianity's growth in the global South in tendentious theological terms.[24] These chapters readily identify grassroots theological variations: among the authors various perspectives are apparent and various conclusions about the shape of belief surface. These differences prove more enriching of the Anglican story in the twentieth century than confirming of its conflicted tendencies. More important, the volume portrays a broad unity of practice in Anglican mission featuring appreciative engagements with local cultures.

[24] Philip Jenkins, *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (Oxford, 2008). Also see his *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford, 2011).

Second, what does it mean to engage local cultures appreciatively and why should that question loom large? I have used such terms as 'local', 'contextual', and, above all, 'enculturation' to encompass what the authors of these chapters describe. Over the twentieth century Anglicanism grew because it consistently displayed a capacity to adapt Christian faith and English precedent to diverse social particularities. Increasingly unwieldy as a global Communion, Anglicanism proved flexible amid circumstantial realities. Appreciative, yet also distinctive and prophetic ministries marked its witness in varied settings. Indeed, building capacities for local witness is an evident theme in this book. Repeatedly one finds instances of Anglican resilience, initiative, persistence, and courage, as well as sheer faithfulness. The force of contextual realities, such as political conflict, injustice, and poverty has compelled Anglicans to be clear about who they are as Christians and what they intend as a Church. Such clarity, as we read in this book, reflects the necessity of Anglicans living amid other faiths as a religious minority even where Anglicans show relative numerical strength. The religious conservatism of Anglicans in portions of Africa and Asia is encouraged by having to achieve clarity of conviction in pluralist circumstances. A conservative instinct, by Western standards, can serve to distance local Anglicans from Western counterparts whose initiatives may offend sensibilities and bring lingering hints of colonialism.

Third, as a result, Anglicanism as a Church has assumed distinct or enhanced social characteristics in the contexts this volume considers. Often, as we have seen, there has been little recognition of what membership in the Church has meant in the Western world, for in the settings where it has become enculturated, new kinds of social bonds have emerged. As a profound religious minority, Anglicans have experienced the Church not only as a source of mission and ministry, but as a fellowship. Often in such disparate regions as the Middle East and East Asia, for example, Anglican parishes have gathered as virtual families. Extended time for meals and other social gatherings have accompanied an emphasis on worship. The Church's liturgies, especially rites of passage, have created remarkable social bonds. A similar bond arose among students in Church-run schools, linking students and even families of different faiths. The graduates of Anglican schools often have carried this sense of bond into their careers, even when Christianity, and Anglicanism in particular, has been a religious minority. The chapters in the volume show that Anglicanism has been a source of resilient social bonds, even in the absence of family or amid its dysfunctions. The power of the Church as social fellowship has proven transcendent of empire, at times in spite of missionary influence.

Finally, these pages reveal that during the twentieth century Anglicanism was reconfigured in practice in various global contexts beyond where it originated. As a process of enculturation this has meant ongoing, contextual adaptation. The upshot has been that the influence of Anglicanism as lived,

Christian faith has extended beyond the councils of the Church or its organizational corridors. The Anglican impact on contextual life has tended to outweigh the Church's actual membership, and even its presence as a religious fellowship. Anglicanism has left a broad imprint reflective of more than the intentions of mission or the bounds of empire. Nor were Anglicans, over the course of the twentieth century, defined simply by theological or cultural faultlines. Instead Anglicans cast a vision of redeemed social life rooted in sacramental Christianity while engaging varied faiths and cultures constructively, often as mediators, often also as critics. Thus the chapters of this volume describe how, across a broad swathe of cultural contexts, Anglicanism became enculturated. The influence of context, and the challenge of adaptation to it, framed Anglicanism's twentieth-century experience.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Avis, Paul D. L., *Anglicanism and the Christian Church: Theological Resources in Historical Perspective* (London and New York, 2002).

Bosch, David, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY, 1991).

Clifford, James, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2013).

Cox, Jeffrey, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (London, 2008).

Douglas, Ian T. and Kwok Pui-lan (eds.), *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism* (New York, 2001).

'Global Anglicanism at a Crossroads', Pew Forum, 19 June 2008. <http://www.pewforum.org>.

Hanciles, Jehu, *Euthanasia of a Mission: African Church Autonomy in a Colonial Context* (Westport, CT, 2002).

Harper, Susan Billington, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V. S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2000).

Heaney, Robert S., *From Historical to Critical Post-Colonial Theology: The Contribution of John S. Mbiti and Jesse N. K. Mugambi* (Eugene, OR, 2005).

Jenkins, Philip, *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (Oxford, 2008).

Jenkins, Philip, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford, 2011).

Kaye, Bruce (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia* (Carlton, Victoria, 2002).

Kaye, Bruce, *An Introduction to World Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 2008).

Lee, Peter John, *Compromise and Courage: Anglicans in Johannesburg, 1864–1999* (Pietermaritzburg, 2005).

Lightfoot, Kent G., *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants* (Berkeley, CA, 2005).

McCarron, R. C., 'Inculturation, Liturgical', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit and Washington, 2003).

Porter, Andrew, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004).

Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, 1930, in *The Lambeth Conferences, 1867–1930* (London, 1948).

Sachs, William L., *Homosexuality and the Crisis of Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 2009).

Sachs, William L., *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (Cambridge, 1993).

Sahlins, Marshall, *Culture in Practice* (New York, 2000).

Sanneh, Lamin, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY, 2009).

Shenk, Wilbert, *Henry Venn—Missionary Statesman* (Maryknoll, NY, 1983).

Shorter, A. E., 'Theology of Inculturation', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit and Washington, 2003).

Stanley, Brian (ed.), *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2009).

Stockwell, Sarah, 'Anglicanism in the Era of Decolonization', in Jeremy Morris (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, vol. IV: *Global Western Anglicanism, c.1900–present* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 160–85.

Taiwo, Olufemi, *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity in Africa* (Bloomington, IN, 2010).

Walls, Andrew, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY, 2002).

Ward, Kevin, *A History of Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge, 2006).