

Chapter 2

Background of the “Continuing Church” Movement

If one had to choose *the* watershed event for the Episcopal Church in the 1970s, it would probably have to be the 1977 “Congress of Concerned Churchmen,” for it was then that the traditionalists began leaving the Church in droves. Yet though the previous dissents had not hurt the Church as much numerically, they nevertheless represent important prologues to the story, for the issues which began bubbling up in the 1960s came to a full boil in the 1970s at the Congress of St. Louis. The tale stretches back even earlier, to two separate incidents the late 19th century. The dispute in the Episcopal Church between Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical led Evangelical Bishop George David Cummins, the assistant bishop of Kentucky, to resign in 1873 and form the Reformed Episcopal Church. A few years previously, the Old Catholic movement had begun in Europe, as traditionalists separated from Rome over dogmas promulgated at the First Vatican Council. Continuing Churchmen of the 20th century would in some cases take their orders from Old Catholic denominations.

The third incident happened in 1921, when the Reverend George Alexander McGuire organized dissident black Episcopalians into the African Orthodox Church. Several breaks took place in the 1960s, at least two of the them in the Southern States. In 1962, the Southern Episcopal Church was founded in Nashville, Tennessee by the Reverend Burnice H. Webster. The Anglican Orthodox Church was founded in 1963 by the staunchly conservative Reverend James Parker Dees of North Carolina, who renounced the liberalism of the Episcopal Church. Another split took place in 1968-1970, creating the American Episcopal Church; several years after that, in 1972, other dissenters created the Anglican Episcopal Church of North America.

Although one could delve long and deeply into the history of all these churches, the two which are most interesting for this study are the REC and the AOC. Though both have historically held themselves apart from the “Continuing Church” as such, they offer intriguing parallels to the story, especially as regards the Episcopal Church’s attitude to “schism.” Especially interesting is the way that each church’s founder dealt with the question of “apostolic succession,” in light of the fact that both Cummins and Dees worked vigorously to return Anglicans to the principles of the English Reformers. In its “Declaration of Principles,” Cummins’ Reformed Episcopal Church repudiates the doctrine altogether; Dees’ Anglican Orthodox Church, on the other hand, despite its insistence on the same Reformation truths, is equally insistent on the succession as a crucial part of the Church’s unity.

Of these two churches, it is easiest to trace the history of the Reformed Episcopalians, in no small part because of the excellent history by Dr. Allen C.

Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians*. Bringing together many original sources, Guelzo places Cummins' movement squarely in its context in 19th and 20th century American Protestantism. His analysis of how the Episcopal Church viewed this "schism," and how it continues to view it, provides at least a glimpse of what the outcome might be for the Continuing Church's relations with the Anglican Communion.

In a way, Cummins appears at first a strange figure to start his own denomination, for his years as an Episcopal rector and bishop had gained him a reputation as a conciliator, one who could work correctly (if not warmly) with High and Low Churchmen alike. During the 1865 General Convention, he had helped to bridge the tensions between the Northern and Southern dioceses, which were engaged in disputes about the status of delegates and clergy from the former Confederacy.⁶ Yet his staunch Evangelical convictions could not stomach Anglo-Catholicism, especially the Anglo-Catholic claim to an exclusive "apostolic succession."⁷ In light of the "Continuing Church"'s insistence on this doctrine, it may seem strange to spend much time in discussing the Reformed Episcopal Church, which, following its 1873 *Declaration of Principles*, "recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy not as of Divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of Church polity."⁸ Indeed, the Church he founded has always moved in separate paths from the "Continuing Church" movement, and shares no part in its beginnings. Despite these differences, however, the history of the Reformed Episcopal Church is still important because of the intriguing parallels it provides, regarding relations between "schismatic" sects and the mainstream Protestant Episcopal Church.

Born on December 11, 1822, to an old family from Delaware with Episcopalian roots, Cummins spent most of his childhood and youth in the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁹ His widowed mother had remarried, to a Methodist preacher, when Cummins was four, and at the age of fourteen the boy was sent to Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He graduated in 1841, as class valedictorian. In 1843, a year before receiving his master of arts degree from Dickinson, he became a circuit rider in the Methodist Episcopal Church.¹⁰ For reasons that are somewhat unclear, he chose to leave the denomination to rejoin the Protestant Episcopal Church. It may have been discomfort at the 1844 schism

⁶ Allen C. Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 99.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁸ "The Declaration of Principles Of the Reformed Episcopal Church Adopted, December 2, 1873," *Ibid.*, 155. See also "The Reformed Episcopal Church Online," the World Wide Web page of the Reformed Episcopal Church, <http://www.recus.org/declaration.html>.

⁹ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 89.

¹⁰ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 89.

between the Northern and Southern Methodists over slavery, or it may simply have been a desire for more status; as a college-educated man, he “was something of an anomaly among the Methodist itinerants, who counted less than 50 among more than 4,000 itinerant preachers with more than what Peter Cartwright called ‘a common English education.’”¹¹

After serving as rector in several Episcopalian parishes in Washington, D.C. and Virginia,¹² as well as at Trinity Church, Chicago, Cummins in 1866 was elected the assistant bishop of Kentucky. He was forced to act cautiously regarding the influx of Anglo-Catholicism in the diocese, for as only the assistant bishop he had no real power to stop it. The bishop ordinary, or chief diocesan bishop, was another Evangelical, the Right Reverend Benjamin Bosworth Smith; but Smith was an old and sick man, and his political power in the diocese had diminished due to struggles with a powerful rector and layman.¹³

Whereas in the 20th century the Anglo-Catholic Episcopalians were the ones who felt driven from the parent Church due to “modernist” and “liberalizing” forces, in the 19th century the situation was reversed. Then it was the Evangelicals who found themselves on the defensive against an Anglo-Catholicism which they believed to be destroying the Church’s historic Protestant faith through ritualism and Romish doctrine. The 20th century Anglo-Catholics and High Churchmen considered that “liberal” changes to the Prayer Book, and the admission of women as priests and deacons, were irreparable tears to the fabric of the Church. In the 1860s and 1870s, the situation facing Evangelicals such as Cummins was very similar. In his 1868 tract *The Protestantism of the Episcopal Church*, written following that year’s General Convention, Cummins considered that creeping Ritualism in vestments, altars, incense, candles, and the like was not so much the trouble as in what these things represented; “Far below all these surface manifestations, where none of them are to be seen as yet, there is a departure from the doctrinal basis of the Reformation.”¹⁴

The split finally came in 1873, in the wake of controversy over Cummins’ participation in a pan-Protestant ecumenical conference. The service was held October of that year, in New York City, by a group known as the Evangelical Alliance.¹⁵ The group included prominent Episcopalians such as William

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹² Christ Church, Norfolk, Virginia; St. James’, Richmond, Virginia; Trinity Church, Washington, D.C., *Ibid.*, 92-94.

¹³ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 107.

¹⁴ George David Cummins, *The Protestantism of the Episcopal Church* (New York: Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge, 1868), 1,3,4; in Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 108, 109.

¹⁵ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 124.

Augustus Muhlenberg,¹⁶ Presbyterians such as Charles Hodge, Lutherans such as Charles Porterfield Krauth, and many others of note in Evangelical circles.¹⁷ Cummins presided over the final communion service of the conference, held on October 12 at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church.¹⁸

This act of intercommunion started in motion the events which ultimately led to Cummins' break with the Protestant Episcopal Church. On October 6, 1873, a letter dated that day appeared in the *New York Tribune*, addressed to Horatio Potter the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York. Signed by William George Tozer, the former Church of England missionary Bishop of Zanzibar, the letter attacked Dean Smith of Canterbury for taking part in the Evangelical Alliance conference without Potter's permission. Tozer considered that Smith, "has so far forgotten what...is due you, as the Bishop of this Diocese, and what is due to himself as a dignitary of the English Church, as to officiate with ministers of various denominations in a communion service which differed materially from that of the English and American Prayer Books."¹⁹ Although Cummins was not mentioned by name in this letter, it "immediately appeared to him that there was yet another agenda under the cloak of the retired bishop's signature." Cummins himself "had performed identically the same 'breach of ecclesiastical order' as Dean Smith only the day before, and there was no way he could avoid concluding that Tozer had meant to hit him with the same stone."²⁰ There was even speculation among many observers that Potter himself was the real author of the letter, and had put Tozer up to penning the missive as a way to satisfy "injured episcopal vanity."²¹

In a reply to Tozer, printed in the *Tribune* on October 16, Cummins denied that either he or the Dean of Canterbury had "violated the ecclesiastical order of the Church of England or of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country."²² Despite the invective which Anglo-Catholic churchmen rained down upon Cummins, the chances that Potter would bring a formal presentment against the

¹⁶ William Augustus Muhlenberg, the rector of the Church of the Holy Communion in New York City, was an early supporter of ecumenism among the Protestant churches. On October 18, 1853, he and eleven other Episcopalian clergy presented a "Memorial" to the House of Bishops, which urged the Church to move away from Anglo-Catholicism and toward greater cooperation with the Protestants. Muhlenberg held that the Episcopal Church's essential doctrines were not based on ordination or ritual. Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 62-63.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁸ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 127.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 130-131.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² "Cummins' reply to Tozer is reprinted in Alexandrine Cummins, *Memoir of George David Cummins, D.D.* (Philadelphia: E. Claxton, 1878), pp. 412-414," in Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 131-132.

Kentucky bishop were slim. The alleged “crime” of collaborating with non-episcopally-ordained clergymen in a joint communion was, canonically, on shaky grounds. It was not clear in either English or American canon law what constituted an “act of intercommunion”; additionally, Cummins had not preached at the service, the Alliance itself was not a rival denomination, “and its services fell neatly into the cracks in the customary arguments about jurisdiction and validity of orders.”²³

Cummins finally resolved the matter on November 10, 1873, when he wrote his formal letter of resignation to Benjamin Bosworth Smith, now the Church’s presiding bishop. About three weeks later, on December 2, at a meeting in New York City, Cummins organized his new church.²⁴ Despite Smith’s efforts, including a joint proclamation with the other bishops declaring Cummins’ episcopal orders “null and void,”²⁵ the Protestant Episcopal Church never brought the former Kentucky bishop to trial. This way, PECUSA was spared the unpleasant publicity, and the possibility that even more Evangelicals would join the Reformed Episcopal Church.²⁶

Yet by and large the Evangelicals who remained in the Episcopal Church did not hold a high opinion of the offshoot. Generally, they “regarded the schism as unnecessary and unlikely to accomplish its purpose to rid the Church of sacerdotalism. They respected Bishop Cummins’ motives, but questioned his judgment.”²⁷ The Evangelical bishops, such as Bishop Henry Washington Lee of Iowa, were Cummins’ severest critics.

Despite vigor for several decades, the REC gradually lost its way in the modernist-liberal controversy, even sliding into reactionary fundamentalism.²⁸ It rejected overtures in the 1930s from the Episcopal Church, but was unable to interest other Protestant bodies in joining its crusade for church union. In an ironic twist, considering developments four decades later, the negotiations in the 1930s were led by Frank Wilson, Bishop of Eau Clair “and the most ultra Anglo-Catholic in the Episcopal Church”; even more surprising, Wilson was prepared to be extremely generous to the Reformed Episcopalians.²⁹ On February 16, 1938, Wilson met with an eight-person commission from the REC, and offered to create a “uniate” relationship between the two churches. ““Their bishops would be invited to sit in our House of Bishops and ours in theirs,” Wilson reported in *The Living Church*. ““Clergy could move freely back and forth accepting calls to

²³ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 132.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 157-160, 184-186.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 151.

²⁷ E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1950), 422.

²⁸ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 320.

²⁹ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 319.

parishes in either direction and communicants would be received without discrimination.”³⁰ Regarding the question of validity of Holy Orders, Wilson “was remarkably untroubled by any defects in Cummins’ ‘intention’ or in [Charles Edward] Cheney’s 1873 consecration.”³¹

By the 1960s and 1970s, however, this was changing. Individual Reformed Episcopalians had begun to regain their sense of pan-Anglican identity, to the point of attending traditionalist conferences in Fairfield, Connecticut.³² In 1988, the Episcopal Church’s General Convention sanctioned the opening of ecumenical discussions with the REC.³³ The discussions with the Episcopal Church are especially interesting, for the way in which the ECUSA 1988 General Convention worded the relevant resolution, changing the words “healing of this particular schism” in the original draft to the “healing of this particular division.”³⁴

As of the mid-1990s, however, no merger with ECUSA has taken place, and the Reformed Episcopal Church maintains a small but apparently stable existence. According to figures published in 1991, total membership was no more than 6,000 communicants.³⁵ According to 1997 figures in *The Christian Challenge*, there were around 9,000 members.³⁶ The REC’s World Wide Web site lists the church as having three theological seminaries, in order of founding, Philadelphia Theological Seminary, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Bishop Cummins Theological Seminary in Summerville, South Carolina, and Cranmer Theological House in Shreveport, Louisiana.³⁷ Guelzo makes no predictions about the church’s future, noting not only the church’s tendency toward infighting and insularity, but also its remarkable resilience.

Before turning to the Anglican Orthodox Church, it is worth discussing an idiosyncrasy in the Reformed Episcopal Church’s treatment of episcopacy, which may also shed light on the AOC’s views of the subject. Though the REC’s theory of episcopacy from the beginning asserted the Reformational doctrine that bishops were nothing more than the foremost presbyters, a hint of prelacy still peeped through. Among other things, “the Reformed Episcopal ordinal still consecrated

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Frank Wilson, “Wherein Do We Differ? The Results of a Conference with the Reformed Episcopalians,” *The Living Church*, 28 September 1938, 291-292, in Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 319-320.

³² Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 334.

³³ Ibid. See also pp. 1,2.

³⁴ Ibid., 2,4.

³⁵ Ibid., 335.

³⁶ Gregory J. Diefenderfer with Jane Nones and Auburn Faber Traycik, “The Traditional Movement Today,” *TCC*, November 1997, 7.

³⁷ “The Theological Seminaries of the Reformed Episcopal Church,” The Reformed Episcopal Church Online, the World Wide Web site of the Reformed Episcopal Church, <http://www.recus.org/seminaries.html>.

Reformed Episcopal bishops almost word-for-word by the pattern of 1662, right down to the ‘Veni Creator Spiritus.’ Confirmation remained an episcopal prerogative, and a careful consecration list from Cummins onward was kept in all General Council journals.’³⁸ As Guelzo wryly notes, the last labor would have been needless had the REC actually meant what it said about the bishops merely being elevated presbyters.

The history and doctrines of the Anglican Orthodox Church are harder to document, partly because of the church’s youth, and partly because churchmembers have not seemed inclined to write formal histories of their denomination. The denominational headquarters in Statesville, North Carolina, is quite accommodating in response to requests for information, and has an extensive amount of information available on the church’s founder, the Right Reverend James Parker Dees. Yet because much of this information is in the form of unsigned and undated pamphlets, it is difficult to trace the development of positions.

Dees was born in Greenville, North Carolina on December 30, 1915, the son of James Earle Dees and Margaret Burgwin (Parker) Dees.³⁹ He graduated in 1938 from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill with a B.A. degree in political science and economics, then took a year of graduate study in international relations. From 1939 until 1942, he worked for the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad in Greenville, North Carolina. For two years after the Second World War, he was a baritone soloist with the New York Opera Company. He then studied at the Protestant Episcopal Church’s Virginia Theological Seminary for his bachelor of divinity degree, graduating in 1949. He was ordained as a deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church on June 29, 1949, and as a priest on January 19, 1950. As a member of the Diocese of North Carolina, he served in charges in Aurora, Beaufort, and Statesville.

A staunch conservative both religiously and politically (in June 1965 he received an honorary doctorate of divinity from fundamentalist Bob Jones University), Dees had grown increasingly disturbed during the 1950s and 1960s by the Episcopal Church’s liberal social teaching (including support for liberation theology) and by its refusal to discipline those such as Bishop James Pike who repudiated basic doctrines such as the Atonement. He had even written to the House of Bishops to oppose Pike’s views, but Pike never received anything more

³⁸ Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, 333.

³⁹ This biographical information is a combination of material from the obituary “In Memorium James Parker Dees 1915-1990,” *The Anglican Orthodox Church News*, March 1991, Vol. 21, No. 3, and also *The Clerical Dictionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America 1962* (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation for The Church Pension Fund, 1962), 91.

than a mild censure.⁴⁰ Dees finally resigned on November 15, 1963 and the following day founded the AOC. Combining a love of “Low Church,” Reformation Anglicanism with a deep regard for Apostolic Succession, the North Carolina clergyman sought consecration at the hands of Bishop Wasyl Sawyna, primate of the Holy Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church.⁴¹ Bishop Orlando J. Woodward of the Old Catholic succession was another consecrator.⁴² The consecration took place on March 15, 1964, in the Cathedral of St. Basil the Great, Emmaus, Pennsylvania.⁴³

The hallmark of the Anglican Orthodox Church, which sets it apart from most of the churches which came out of the St. Louis conference, is its insistence on the principles of the English Reformation. Bishop Dees expounded his views on these principles in his 1971 address “Reformation Anglicanism,” delivered at the dedication of the AOC’s Cranmer Seminary, Statesville, North Carolina. His successor as presiding bishop, the Most Reverend Robert J. Godfrey, makes similar points in his pamphlet “The Anglican Orthodox Church: A Jurisdiction of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.” Godfrey asserts that, based on his research, the AOC “is one of only a few Anglican/Episcopal churches that has remained faithful to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour; the Holy Bible as the Word of God; the Book of Common Prayer (1928); and the 39 Articles of Religion which continue the evangelical tradition.”⁴⁴ In the same pamphlet, he says that the

⁴⁰ “The Anglican Orthodox Church: A Jurisdiction of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church,” by the Most Reverend Robert J. Godfrey, Presiding Bishop [n.d.].

⁴¹ According to the 1963 *Yearbook of American Churches*, a body known as the Holy Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Exile was organized as a parish in New York in 1951, from Ukrainian laymen and clergy who had settled in the Americas after World War II. The church was formally organized in 1954 by two immigrant bishops from Europe at a meeting with clergy and laymen. Wasyl Sawyna is not, however, listed as one of the church’s bishops: the only ones listed are the Most Reverend Archbishop Palladios and the Most Reverend Archbishop Ihor. “Holy Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Exile,” in *Yearbook of American Churches: Information on All Faiths in the U.S.A.* (New York: Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1963), 43.

⁴² “The Anglican Orthodox Church: A Jurisdiction of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church,” by the Most Reverend Robert J. Godfrey, Presiding Bishop. [no date].? According to Don S. Armentrout, Woodward was of the Syrian Antiochene Malabar Succession. Don S. Armentrout, “Episcopal Splinter Groups: Schisms in the Episcopal Church, 1963-1985,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (December, 1986): 305.

⁴³ The Most Reverend James Parker Dees...Some Biographical Data (Statesville, N.C.: Anglican Orthodox Church, n.d.), 1, quoted in Armentrout, 297.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

AOC “has never wavered in its basic tenets,” which include “low Reformation Anglicanism and her Apostolic Succession.”⁴⁵

The AOC’s distance from the official “Continuing Anglican” movement shows clearly in the fact that the Church in its literature never uses the specific term “Continuing Church” nor does it mention the 1977 St. Louis conference. Instead, it focuses its efforts on its own “Orthodox Anglican Communion,” a grouping of churches in various parts of South America, Asia, and Africa. In fact, Dees’ relationship with the Foundation for Christian Theology and *The Christian Challenge* news magazine (powerful movers in creating the Continuing Church) was one of strong antipathy. Then-*TCC* editor Dorothy A. Faber alluded to this dislike in the magazine’s April, 1972 issue, in an open letter to the Right Reverend James L. Duncan, ECUSA Bishop of Southeast Florida. In a Pastoral Letter earlier that year, Duncan had claimed that Dees, *TCC*, and the Foundation were working together to hurt the ECUSA. Faber responded by saying that the FCT “has persistently urged concerned Episcopalians to remain WITHIN the Episcopal Church, and make their voices heard.” Dees, on the other hand, “says that the Episcopal Church has become totally ‘apostate,’ and that Episcopalians should depart from it—and join the Anglican Orthodox Church, of course. He has repeatedly berated the FCT for disagreeing with his position, and for our insistence that people should NOT desert the Church in its hour of greatest need.”⁴⁶

In light of these divisions, the Episcopal Church split which came in the late 1970s makes more sense. Certainly, the specific circumstances differed—Dees and Cummins both acted to a certain degree on their own (Dees especially so) in breaking from the Church, whereas the “Congress of Concerned Churchmen” in St. Louis, Missouri brought larger, more corporate division. Also, Cummins and Dees were self-confessed Evangelicals, whereas many to come out of the St. Louis conference were Anglo-Catholics. At the same time, though, the concerns which motivated them were to some degree the same. The Congress of Concerned Churchmen met in St. Louis on September 14-16, 1977 at the Chase Park Plaza Hotel, to discuss the radical changes in the church’s practice and doctrine over the previous few years. Dees had left in the early 1960s, the first days of the radical changes; by 1977, the changes were largely complete. Attended by about 2,000 traditionalist Episcopal clergy and laity, as well as by

⁴⁵ “The Anglican Orthodox Church: A Jurisdiction of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church,” by the Most Reverend Robert J. Godfrey, Presiding Bishop. [no date].

⁴⁶ Dorothy A. Faber, “A Purely Personal Reply From The Editor To Bishop Duncan,” *TCC*, April 1972, 8. Dees had, on December 20, 1969, declared the Episcopal Church to be apostate, and therefore the Anglican Orthodox Church no longer recognized it as having a valid ministry or sacraments. Armentrout, 298.

some former Episcopalians,⁴⁷ the 1977 convention set forth its principles in the statement of faith known as the “Affirmation of St. Louis.”⁴⁸ The conventioners objected to the radical changes adopted by the Episcopal Church at its 1976 General Convention in Minneapolis, Minnesota.⁴⁹ Among these changes was what eventually became the 1979 version of the Book of Common Prayer. This book’s modernized language (and, some felt, liberalized theology) replaced much of the touch of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer which still existed in the 1928 edition. The other hot issue was the ordination of women.⁵⁰ Calling themselves the “Continuing Church,” the traditionalists claimed to be continuing the traditions which PECUSA had begun to discard. Although even from the beginning the movement contained “Low Church,” or Evangelical elements, the

⁴⁷ Michael F. Gallo, “The Continuing Anglicans: Credible Movement or Ecclesiastical Dead End?” *Touchstone: A Journal of Ecumenical Orthodoxy* (Winter 1989): 29. The task of establishing an exact count of the attendees seems almost impossible. Figures range from around 1,500 to around 1,750 to 2,000. The discrepancies may be due to differences in counting methods—the number of registrations as opposed to those who actually came. Gallo, 29, gives the attendance as about 2,000. Kenneth A. Briggs, who reported on the event as a special correspondent to *The New York Times*, gives attendance as both 1,500 (“Dissident Episcopalians Meet to Discuss New Church,” *The New York Times*, 15 September 1977; “Dissidents Argue Terms to Define Anglican Stand,” *The New York Times*, 18 September 1977, 18) and 1,700 (“Disaffected Episcopalians Secede And Set Up New Anglican Church,” *The New York Times*, 17 September 1977, 8). Perry Laukhuff, at the time the president of the Fellowship of Concerned Churchmen, which convened the Congress, recalls the attendance as being about 1,800. Perry Laukhuff, “I Was at St. Louis,” *TCC*, September 1987, 9. *Christianity Today*, in its October 7, 1977 issue, reported attendance at about 1,750. “The Episcopal Spirit of St. Louis,” *Christianity Today*, 7 October 1977, 60. Armentrout gives the number as 1,746 registrations. Armentrout, “Episcopal Splinter Groups: Schisms in the Episcopal Church, 1963-1985,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (December, 1986), 308.

⁴⁸ See Appendix II for the full text of the Affirmation.

⁴⁹ One of the best sources of information on the convention is *The Christian Challenge* news magazine. Its publisher, the Foundation for Christian Theology, was one of the convention sponsors. The mission of the Foundation, as found on its World Wide Web site at <http://www.bible.net/challenge/mission.html>, is:

- “To defend the Christian Faith as embodied in traditional Anglicanism, defined in Holy Scripture and enshrined in the historic Book of Common Prayer.”
- “To work for the unity of the Church under Christ, based on sound doctrine and discipline, as exemplified by the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1886-1888.”
- “To resist false teaching within the Church.”
- “To restore the Church to her primary mission of proclaiming the Gospel.”

⁵⁰ Opposition to the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church came from two camps. One position held that, for sacramental reasons, it was impossible for women to be priests. The second position held that ECUSA’s General Convention did not have the authority to decide the question, and should have left the issue to a general council or some other kind of catholic consensus across Christendom. Mead and Hill, 135-136.

movement was from the first heavily Anglo-Catholic in theology and practice. This is clearly seen in the name which was eventually given to the Anglican Church in North America, “The Anglican Catholic Church.”⁵¹ Not that the use of the term “Catholic” was not without contention among the St. Louis Congress’ participants. Southerners in particular regarded the word as implying too close a relationship with Roman Catholicism. Perry Laukhuff, president of the Fellowship of Concerned Churchmen, which convened the congress, tried in his opening address to define the word.⁵²

No church structure was put in place at the St. Louis convention. In early 1978, however, some months after the convention, a church known as the “Anglican Church of North America” was organized under the jurisdiction of the Right Reverend Albert Chambers, the retired ECUSA bishop of Springfield, Illinois (served 1962-1972).⁵³ This was the occasion for the consecration of four bishops for the new church. At a ceremony in Denver, Colorado, Chambers consecrated C. Dale David Doren,⁵⁴ Robert S. Morse,⁵⁵ James O. Mote,⁵⁶ and Peter F. Watterson.⁵⁷ The

⁵¹ The Anglo-Catholicism of the movement is also strongly seen in the background of its leaders. For example, the Right Reverend Robert Mercer of the Anglican Catholic Church of Canada, formerly the Anglican Communion bishop of Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, came out of the Anglo-Catholic community in Mirfield, England known as the Community of the Resurrection. Anselm Genders, “‘And They Continued Steadfast...’: The Mirfield Fathers: 100 Years,” *TCC*, Summer 1992, 5.

⁵² Briggs, “Dissidents Argue Terms to Define Anglican Stand,” *The New York Times*, 18 September 1977, 31.

⁵³ Albert Arthur Chambers was born in Cleveland, Ohio on June 22, 1906, the son of Arthur Samuel Chambers and Eleanor Jenny Terbrack. After graduating from high school in Cleveland, he attended Hobart College in New York, receiving the B.A. in 1928. He then attended General Theological Seminary in New York, graduating in 1931 with an S.T.B. Ordained a deacon in May, 1931, and a priest in February, 1932, he spent a good many years in various parishes in New York State. From 1933 to 1936 he was curate of St. John’s Church in Dunkirk, New York, and was also assistant to the Chautauqua Deanery, Diocese of Western New York. After serving from 1936 to 1942 as rector of St. Thomas Church in Neenah-Menosha, Wisconsin, he returned to New York. From 1942 to 1949 he was rector of St. Peter’s Church in Auburn. Then, from 1949 until his elevation as bishop of Springfield in 1962, he was rector of the Church of the Resurrection in New York City. *The Clerical Directory of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America 1962* (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation for The Church Pension Fund, 1962), 62.

⁵⁴ Prior to joining the Continuing Church, Charles Dale David Doren was a Protestant Episcopal priest in the Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. His service included tenure as rector of St. Paul’s Church in Mt. Lebanon. Born on November 18, 1915, in Marvin, South Dakota, he was the son of Ernest Ray Doren and Mae Ella Wheeler. He received his L.Th. from Mountain Lake University, a B.A. from Sioux Falls College, the B.D. from Seabury-Western Theological Seminary. He also had two D.D. degrees, both received in 1955—one from Lane College and the other from Grove City College. He

retired bishop was assisted in this task by Bishop Francisco J. Pagtakhan of the Philippine Independent Church and Bishop Mark Pae of the Korean Anglican Church (the latter being present only through a letter of consent, which he later denied having written).⁵⁸ This lack of three bishops for the initial consecrations later caused a great deal of dissension among the traditionalists, because of concerns over irregularity and even invalidity of episcopal orders.

Chambers himself received a great deal of criticism from the Episcopal Church for his role in these consecrations, including a presentment brought against him by 15 bishops. The bishops charged that Chambers took part in the consecrations at Denver without obtaining approval of the presiding bishop, the

was ordained a deacon in March 1944 and as a priest in November of the same year. Other ecclesiastical posts in the Protestant Episcopal Church included a canonry at St. Mark's Cathedral, Minneapolis, Minnesota, from 1949-1952. From *The Clerical Directory of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1962.

⁵⁵ Robert Sherwood Morse was born April 10, 1924 in San Francisco, California, to Carl Lambert Morse and Estelle Scott Morse. He took his B.A. from Pacific College in 1948 and graduated from Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Illinois in 1950. Ordained a deacon in July 1950 and a priest in February 1951, he served throughout his ECUSA career in California. From 1950 to 1952 he served as an assistant at St. Paul's in Burlingame, California; from 1952 to 1957 he was vicar at St. Elizabeth's in South San Francisco, California. From 1957 to 1961 he took a break from parish work, and served as chaplain at the University of California at Berkeley. From 1961 to 1965 he worked as assistant headmaster at York School in Monterey, California. Then he returned to parish ministry, and from 1966 until apparently 1977 served as rector of St. Peter's Church (Broadway at Wawton) in Oakland, California. As of early 1977 he was also the executive director of the American Church Union, and editor of *American Church News*. From *The Clerical Directory of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1977.

⁵⁶ James Orin Mote, a member of the Order of St. Francis and the Order of the Holy Cross, was born January 27, 1922 in Indianapolis, Indiana, to Harley Harold Mote and Ada Anna Gray Mote. He attended Nashotah House in Wisconsin for theological training, graduating in 1951 (and receiving a D.D. from the same institution in 1975). Becoming a deacon in June 1951 and a priest in February 1952, he served in the Diocese of Colorado. From 1951 to 1956 he served as assistant at St. Mary parish in Denver, Colorado and as the parish's rector from 1957 until at least early 1977. From *The Clerical Directory of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1977.

⁵⁷ Peter Francis Watterson was born August 16, 1927 in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania to Peter Francis Watterson and Louise Mohr Watterson. A 1952 graduate from Bard College, with a B.S., he received his theological education from Philadelphia Divinity School, the S.T.B. in 1955 and the S.T.M. in 1957. He was ordained to the diaconate in May 1955 and to the priesthood in November 1955, and initially served in Pennsylvania. From 1955 to 1957 he was assistant at St. John parish in Norristown, Pennsylvania, from 1957 to 1958, and from 1960 until at least early 1977 served as rector of Holy Spirit parish in the West Palm Beach area of Florida. From *The Clerical Directory of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1977.

⁵⁸ Gallo, 29.

diocesan standing committees, and the other bishops, as required by Title III, Canon 14, Section 1(b) of canon law.⁵⁹ Especially, the jurisdictional rights of the Bishop William C. Frey of Colorado had been abridged by Chambers' action.

Not long after the Denver consecrations, in October of 1978, the ACNA held a Constitutional Synod in Dallas, Texas. At this meeting, the ACNA was formally constituted as the Anglican Catholic Church.⁶⁰ At this Synod, however, Morse (Diocese of Christ the King) and Watterson (Diocese for the Southeastern United States) opposed ratification of the constitution, and chose to retain their dioceses' autonomy.⁶¹ Because of these and actions like them, the ACC was never able to achieve much stability. As Gallo puts it, "each year minor and major shifts occurred in its constituency."⁶² Differences between "High Church" and "Low Church" supporters, fights over canon law and constitutions, as well as personal antagonisms, led to various splits within the movement. The ACC's Diocese of the Midwest, headed by senior ACC Bishop Charles Doren, seceded in 1980; Doren then formed the United Episcopal Church of North America (UECNA).⁶³

Meanwhile, the Continuing Churchmen of Canada were greatly distressed at what they saw as the divisiveness of the American traditionalists. The two main leaders of the Canadian movement were Father Roland F. Palmer,⁶⁴ of the Society

⁵⁹ "Presentment Against Bishop Chambers," *TCC*, August 1978, 7.

⁶⁰ Louis E. Traycik, "The Continuing Church Today," *TCC*, December 1982, 9.

⁶¹ In 1979, these two dioceses held their own national convention, at Hot Springs, Arkansas. This convention led to the creation of a body known as the Anglican Church in America; this apparently did not last too long, however, and Bishops Morse and Watterson remained autonomous. Traycik, "The Continuing Church Today," 9.

⁶² Gallo, 29.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 30. Gallo remarks that the UECNA was "the only really Low Church-oriented group to come out of the St. Louis initiative." James Parker Dees' Anglican Orthodox Church, though also separatist from ECUSA, is a special case; for though it belongs to the Continuing Church movement in aims, it arose about 15 years earlier and self-consciously stood apart from the other dissidents.

⁶⁴ Father Roland Ford Palmer was born in London, England on December 12, 1891, and was educated in Ontario, Canada. His B.A., L.Th., and later a D.D. (honoris causa) he received from Trinity College in Toronto. In 1916 he was ordained a deacon in the Canadian Anglican diocese of Algoma, and in 1917 was ordained a priest there as well. In Algoma he served as the rector in two parishes. In 1919 he entered the novitiate of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, or Cowley Fathers, and was professed in 1922. He taught for a while at Nashotah House seminary in Wisconsin, and also served as the superior of the SSJE House in San Francisco. He returned to Canada in 1928 with two others, and established the Society there. During his clerical career he did much committee work as a member of the General Synod of Canada; among his writings was the musical preference for the Church's 1938 hymn book. He left the Anglican Church of Canada in 1977, in protest of changes to the doctrines and practice of the Anglican Church of Canada, such as the ordination of women. Following his departure from the Anglican Church of Canada, he joined the Anglican Catholic Church of Canada, serving ultimately as the canon of the diocese, honorary archpriest, and dean of the Diocese.

of St. John the Evangelist (Cowley Fathers), and the Right Reverend Carmino J. de Catanzaro. Both men, highly Anglo-Catholic, had come out of the Anglican Church of Canada. Palmer was one of the founders of the Canadian branch of his order; de Catanzaro was known as a Biblical scholar. In fact, the latter had taken part in the Congress of St. Louis, and had had the task of drafting the doctrinal section of the congress' affirmation of faith.⁶⁵ Canada had originally been divided, in 1978, among the various jurisdictions of the ACNA. Western Canada was under Bishop Morse in California, middle Canada was under Bishop Mote in Denver, and the eastern part of the country was assigned to the jurisdiction of Bishop Charles Doren of the ACNA's midwestern diocese, based in Akron, Ohio. As these three United States bishops fought constant wars of faction against each other, de Catanzaro and Palmer realized that their country needed its own "Continuing Church" diocese.⁶⁶ In early 1979, de Catanzaro was elected as bishop for Canada's "continuing Anglican" diocese; on October 12, 1980, he was consecrated in the Westborough United Church with nine bishops in attendance and the Right Reverend Lope Rosete of the Philippine Independent Church as the chief consecrator.⁶⁷ The Canadians' decision to seek autonomy from the United States branch of the movement, while remaining in communion with it, seems to have stemmed as much from the historic differences between the two countries as from any actual disagreements.

Others were also dissatisfied with the state of things. Bishop Pagtakhan, who had assisted at the 1978 Denver consecrations, started the Anglican Rite Jurisdiction of the Americas (ARJA), an umbrella group overseen by his own Philippine Independent Church. The Traditional Episcopal Church, a body headquartered in Florida,⁶⁸ was founded in 1991 by former mainline Episcopalian Richard G. Melli,⁶⁹ in an attempt to establish a jurisdiction which would avoid

Father Palmer did in Victoria, British Columbia on August 24, 1985. Peter Wilkinson, "A Short Biography of the Very Rev'd Roland F. Palmer, S.S.J.E., D.D.," in *Father Palmer, Firm in Faith*, ed. Peter Wilkinson and Joan de Catanzaro, (Ottawa, Ontario: A.C. Convent Society, c. 1995), 3-4. See also Palmer's own pamphlet "What is the Anglican Catholic Church of Canada" reprinted in the same work, 162-164.

⁶⁵ Joan de Catanzaro, *Thou Art A Priest: The biography of Bishop Carmino de Catanzaro* (Ottawa, Ontario: The A.C. Convent Society, 1992), 62.

⁶⁶ De Catanzaro, 74.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ The following information is taken from the Traditional Episcopal Church's World Wide Web site, from the "TEC On-Line Newsletter" for Lent, 1998, <http://swiftweb.com/tec/tecnews4.html>.

⁶⁹ Ordained as deacon (October 11, 1980) and priest (April, 1981) by the Right Reverend Frank Knutti, bishop of the ACC's Diocese of the South, Melli served as the Diocesan Administrative Officer and Canon to the Ordinary. Following Knutti's death, and various problems in the diocese, Melli joined Bishop Walter Adams of the Anglican Episcopal Church of North America. During his time in the Continuing Church, Melli had founded

ecclesiastical wrangling. Melli, who had served in both the Anglican Catholic Church and the Anglican Episcopal Church of North America, was concerned about what he saw as the overpoliticized nature of the Continuing Churches. Following the death of his bishop in the AECNA, Melli and his followers established the Traditional Episcopal Church with himself as the first bishop.

It is difficult for all periods to determine the size of the various Continuing Church bodies.⁷⁰ Gallo, in 1989, placed their total numbers at about 20,000. Three years later, on the occasion of the formation of the Traditional Anglican Communion, Traycik in *The Christian Challenge* estimated that there were roughly 30,000 members in all the Continuing Churches around the world.⁷¹ The World Wide Web sites which the various churches maintain give some idea as to the organizational divisions (e.g., names and number of dioceses and parishes), but provide no account as to numerical strength.⁷² In November, 1997, *TCC* published a survey article which gave statistics on the leading Continuing Church groups. Total membership was estimated at 61,700 to 96,700. The Traditional Anglican Communion had an estimated membership of 25,000 to 50,000. The Anglican Catholic Church was estimated to have 25,000 to 50,000 members. The Anglican Province of Christ the King had about 3,700 members, and the Episcopal Missionary Church had approximately 3,500.⁷³

All these Continuing Churches possess shaky episcopal lineages from the Anglican Communion's official point of view; in fact, the See of Canterbury does

several missions and parishes, as well as the religious order known as the Oblates of the Holy Spirit.

⁷⁰ In 1982, five years after the St. Louis Congress, editor Louis E. Traycik of *The Christian Challenge* placed the problem on the fact that parish reports "in most jurisdictions remain somewhat incomplete or out of date." Louis E. Traycik, "The Continuing Church Today," 15.

⁷¹ It is a sign of the fluidity of the traditionalist movement that even *The Christian Challenge*, which has covered the Continuing Church for so long, is unable to get specific figures. Traycik calls it "difficult to get precise membership figures for almost any part of the Continuing Church." Louis E. Traycik, "Traditional Anglican Communion Leaders Meet in Colorado: Concordat Refined; MDA Pact Proposed," *TCC*, October 1992, 17.

⁷² For example, a World Wide Web brochure on the Anglican Catholic Church says that the denomination "is a world-wide body. Since 1978 it has expanded to include 15 dioceses in the Americas, the United Kingdom, Australia, a bishopric in New Zealand, a deanery in Spain and in South America. In 1984, the historic Church of India (Anglican) was received and constituted as the Second Province; today it has 5 dioceses." (<http://www.wthree.com/sted/brochure/broch4.html>). No mention is made, however, of how large each diocese is, in terms either of congregations or in terms of members.

⁷³ Gregory J. Diefenderfer, with Jane Nones and Auburn Faber Traycik, "The Traditional Anglican Movement Today: An Update On The Continuing/Traditional Anglican Churches," *TCC*, November 1997, 7.

not even recognize these groups officially as being Anglican.⁷⁴ Even so, the position of the churches which came directly out of the St. Louis Convention, is stronger than those of jurisdictions which developed later and never included an ECUSA bishop in their lines of succession. As the Continuing Church movement has grown (and splintered in its own right), its heritage has become increasingly intertwined with that of men whose episcopal lineages are far shakier, the *episcopi vagantes*. This is often due to the exigencies of circumstances; congregations which are desperate to maintain the “Historic Episcopate” are often willing not to look too closely at a prospective primate’s lines of succession.

The Anglican Communion’s attitude toward the *vagantes* has held since the 1920 Lambeth Conference. Canterbury and the other Anglican sees have distrusted the *vagantes*’ consecrations not only on doctrinal grounds, but also because of the itinerants’ small followings and sometimes irregular manner of life. Doctrinally, the itinerants are often suspect because they may have been consecrated by only one bishop, instead of by the traditional three. Perhaps the consecrator was himself of questionable lineage. Other itinerants are men of questionable morality, or may even hold anti-Christian beliefs, such as gnosticism. Still others lack any kind of academic credentials for their holy office.⁷⁵ Yet others seem to have no visible pastoral charge, but instead oversee congregations that apparently exist only on paper.

Sadly, all these charges too often prove true, and are exacerbated as one Continuing Church bishop fights another over questions of precedence or interpretation of ritual, rather than preaching the Gospel. “Sheep-stealing,” or the practice of raiding another church’s congregations or individual clergy, has caused a great deal of distrust among the various Continuing Churches. Sometimes, the change in allegiances comes from below, not above, as a congregation decides to find a bishop more amenable to its own way of thinking. The Reverend Patrick Henry Reardon, at the time an ECUSA priest in the Diocese of Pittsburgh, comments in his 1988 article “Whither Episcopalians?” on the Continuing Churches’ being “early plagued by schism and unseemly brawling.”⁷⁶ For example,

some two dozen congregations of the ACC’s Diocese of the Southwest left ACC, eventually joining the AEC, an older Continuing body founded in 1968, and a scattering of other congregations, mainly in the south and

⁷⁴ The Reverend George H. Clendenin of Glendale, California deals with this question in his article “Communion With Canterbury—To Be Or Not To Be,” *TCC*, March 1978, 13-14.

⁷⁵ See the article “Going on from here,” *Touchstone* Summer/Fall 1988, 13-16, by Continuing Church Bishop Anthony F.M. Clavier, Primus (presiding bishop) of the American Episcopal Church. From an insider’s perspective, he offers a stinging critique of the educational shortcomings of “Continuing” clergy.

⁷⁶ Patrick Henry Reardon, “Whither Episcopalians?” *Touchstone*, Spring 1988, 21.

Middle Atlantic Regions, joined either the AEC or one of the other groups. Later, part of the Anglican Episcopal Church of North America which had not joined in a merger with the AEC in the early 1980s joined the ACC, but later left it.⁷⁷

The ACC's 1995 "Statement On Church Unity," adopted at the 1995 Provincial Synod, went so far as to claim only for itself and its related jurisdictions legitimate status as "the Continuing Church."⁷⁸ The only bishops which the ACC recognized as valid were those in what it called the "Chambers succession," i.e., those who traced their episcopal lineage from the Right Reverend Albert Chambers. Though recognizing all other "Continuing Churches" as possessing episcopal orders, the ACC document did not recognize them as possessing valid episcopal jurisdiction.

Then, too, the Continuing denominations have too often presented merely negative programs. They have known what they opposed—the real or imagined liberalism of the ECUSA—but they have not always created a positive program of their own. Gallo also says regarding the separatists' quest for obtaining apostolic ministry,

there is an impression that an otherwise legitimate concern for the regularity of holy orders in ministry has been rendered shallow and even silly by some of the extraordinary lengths to which the Continuing Anglicans have gone to secure the pedigree. In so doing they have undercut the general confidence in their actions and the soundness of their judgment. Some of these gentlemen seem so anxious about being in apostolic succession that they might almost be accused of running out and kneeling before the first mitred thing that will lay hands on them. As a result many of the ordinations performed in the name of regular orders remain under the cloud.⁷⁹

Reardon's remarks may touch a nerve with many Continuing Churchmen, who see their efforts to obtain the Historic Episcopate as in line with similar concerns within the mainstream Anglican Communion. In the early 1990s, the Continuing Churches attempted not only to clarify some "doubtful" consecrations, but also mend some fences within their own camp. The 1991 Conference on Anglican Unity, held October 2-5 in Deerfield Beach, Florida, was a major effort

⁷⁷ Louis E. Traycik, "The Anglican Church of America: Off And Running," *TCC*, December 1991, 8.

⁷⁸ "Statement On Unity From The Bishops Of The Anglican Catholic Church," *TCC*, May 1995, 10-11. The related jurisdictions are the Province of Christ the King and the United Episcopal Church of North America.

⁷⁹ Gallo, 31.

to end the fragmentation of the Continuing movement. Louis E. Traycik, in the December, 1991, issue of *The Christian Challenge*, presents a first-hand look at the conference, commenting extensively on the “conditional consecrations.” The 500-participant conference, which Traycik calls the largest gathering of non-ECUSA traditionalists since the 1977 congress in St. Louis, inaugurated the uniting church known as the Anglican Church of (or “in”) America. This new denomination brings together the entire American Episcopal Church and a large part of the ACC, at least 120 parishes.⁸⁰

The doubts about the ACC’s orders, which the Conference on Anglican Unity intended to correct, came out of the irregular, *ad hoc* consecrations by Bishop Chambers in Denver, Colorado in 1978. The consecrations in Denver were irregular, because they took place at the hands of only two bishops, rather than the normal number of three (Pae being present not physically but only through the letter of “consent.”)⁸¹ Also, neither the retired Chambers, nor Pagtakhan of the Philippines, nor Pae of Korea, had received permission from higher ecclesiastical authority to take part.

Another step for unity among Continuing Churches had come just about a year earlier, in September 1990, with a concordat among Continuing bishops from around the world to form a denomination known as the Traditional Anglican Communion. The concordat was adopted by eighteen bishops gathered in Victoria, British Columbia on September 26-30, and representing the Anglican Catholic Churches in Australia, the United States, and Canada.⁸² The bishops of the original ACC who chose not to merge with the AEC in 1991 (the merger which created the ACA), continued their existence as “the Anglican Catholic Church (Original Province).” This “Original Province” ACC began to form its own alliances around the world, and also established intercommunion with the UECNA.⁸³

As of the latter half of the 1990s, the Continuing Churches seem to be maintaining themselves, and in some cases even growing. Rivalries among the various churches, however, continue as well. As stated above, many of the churches maintain Web presences, with links to the Web pages of individual congregations as well as to general Christian resources such as Bibles and service books. As *The Christian Challenge* put it in late 1997, for now the Continuum “seems to be ‘holding,’ hovering, collectively, in about the same range as three

⁸⁰ Louis E. Traycik, “The Anglican Church of America: Off And Running,” *TCC*, December 1991, 6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸² Robert M. Strippy and Auburn Faber Traycik, “Traditional Anglican Communion Formed: One Small Step For U.S. Unity; One Giant Leap For World Traditionalism,” *TCC*, November, 1990, 14.

⁸³ Louis E. Traycik, “Traditional Anglican Communion Leaders Meet in Colorado,” *TCC*, October 1992, 16.

years ago, which should make it clear that the continued maintenance of separate jurisdictions, and the making of new ones, means no jurisdiction gets ahead; instead the Continuing Anglican witness as a whole is hindered and held back.”⁸⁴

Along with their continued problems in cooperation, the Continuing Churches also do not seem inclined toward serious apologetic writing in support of their position—most of the information they present is in the form of brief pamphlets, or on denominational Web sites. Those that do provide fuller information, often do not seem to have done a great deal of scholarly work. In searching booksellers’ catalogs, as well as the catalog of the Library of Congress, the subject of traditionalist Anglican churches is represented mostly by directories of independent bishops. Where, then, can one turn to find a “traditionalist” position on the subject of Holy Orders?

Despite their low prestige currently in much of the Anglican world, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion remain a crucial source of teaching for Anglican understanding of the Church’s ministry. The traditionalists who praise the majestic Prayer-Book prose of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, should be equally acquainted with the theological views held by this man and his fellow Reformers. The leaders of the English Reformation were also committed to the foundational authority of the Scriptures, in all that they did. So to determine whether the Continuing Churches have “invalid” ministries, it is best to go back to the foundations—the Scriptures.

⁸⁴ Gregory J. Diefenderfer with Jane Nones and Auburn Faber Traycik, “The Traditional Movement Today,” *TCC*, November 1997, 12.