

Towards the Renewal of Anglican Identity as Communion:

The Relationship of the Trinity, *Missio Dei*, and
Anglican Comprehensiveness

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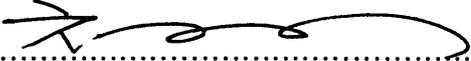
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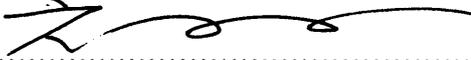
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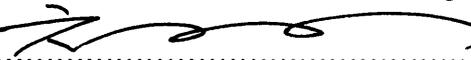
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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to develop a new way of thinking about Anglican identity as Communion. Since that mission is to live in the life of communion, this thesis in turn suggests: 1) Different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* have been the principal cause of the loss of Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion; and, 2) The different perceptions stem from a tribal mentality with regard to the Trinity among Anglicans. Taken together, this thesis argues that a key to the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion is one of developing an alternative way of thinking about the Trinity.

By way of illustrating Miroslav Volf's idea of 'Trinitarian identities,' this thesis suggests that 'the triune God's dynamic relationships' which express His liminal nature is the source for transforming Anglican tribal mentality. This liminality speaks of 'communion-in-mission' as a means to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships, which enables different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* to converge dynamically. This thesis broadens this connection to the life of the Anglican Communion itself in order to discover how such a renewal within its life might inform Anglican self-understanding. F.D. Maurice's understanding of comprehensiveness as 'eschatological liminality' encourages Anglican comprehensiveness to be the Anglican practice of communion-in-mission, namely an Anglican way to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

In bringing together the above threefold aspects of the life of communion, this thesis redefines Anglican identity as a communion which is patterned on the triune God's dynamic relationships and made concrete in a renewed understanding of Anglican comprehensiveness as eschatological liminality informing the Anglican Communion's approach to *Missio Dei* and, by implication, to communion-in-mission.

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Introduction

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 has a literature review on Anglicanism, a description of the current crisis in the Anglican Communion, and a brief note on methodology. Chapter 2 traces the history of Anglican identity by examining the historical background of two notions of Anglican identity and thus discovering new ways of renewing Anglican identity as a communion.

Chapter 3 examines the meaning of the term 'identity' in greater depth as a term which can be used for pejorative reasons thereby distorting its true meaning. Chapter 3, therefore, aims to explore both the theological definition and the social and psychological context of Anglican identity. My discussion draws on both Carl Jung and Erik Erikson whose understanding of identity as dynamic relationships suggests that the nature of identity is 'communion' or participation in the life of one another. They understand the nature of identity not as static and normative but as dynamic, relational, and transforming. Chapter 3 then turns to the question of what it is that prevents the Anglican Communion from living in communion with one another, with the world, and with God.

This leads to Chapter 4 in which I shall explore the kind of theological realities which might inform Anglican self-understanding and renew its identity as a communion. Chapter 4 explores the Trinity and *Missio Dei* as two possible ways of addressing this topic while in turn arguing: 1) That different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* (by implication, evangelical and liberal *Missio Dei*) have been the principal cause of the loss of Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion; and, 2) That different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* stem from their differing perceptions of the

Trinity. My intention in Chapter 4 is, therefore, to seek a new perspective on the Trinity and *Missio Dei*, taking account of where the different perceptions converge. With regard to a new perspective of the Trinity and *Missio Dei*, I appeal to Miroslav Volf whose idea of ‘Trinitarian identities’ described in *Exclusion and Embrace* provides an alternative way for thinking about the Trinity leading to a new perspective of *Missio Dei*. In Chapter 4 I propose to call this perspective ‘communion-in-mission,’ which is conceived as participation in a new perspective of the Trinity which enables different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* to converge dynamically.

Chapter 5 justifies this by seeking a precedent for such an idea of communion-in-mission. My attempt draws on F.D. Maurice whose desire to explain the Christian faith in a Trinitarian communion dimension corresponds to the idea of communion-in-mission and whose engagement with Church politics in his day resembles what must be done today. For this reason, Chapter 5 explores the comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice as he described it in *The Kingdom of Christ* in which he aimed to examine catholicity as the nature of the Church, arguing that it could inform Anglican self-understanding and supply the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion. Chapter 5, therefore, discusses F.D. Maurice’s comprehensiveness, drawing on Stephen Sykes’s *The Integrity of Anglicanism* which is a critique of F.D. Maurice’s comprehensiveness.

Lastly, the concluding chapter, Chapter 6 suggests a convergent set of ideas for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion, uniting the strands of the argument of this thesis.

Chapter 1. The Crisis Facing the Anglican Communion Today

1. Literature Review on Anglican Identity

It is worth outlining some of the key resources for understanding the current debate on the Anglican Communion.¹ Two contemporary books that are relevant to the theme of Anglicanism are: *Anglicanism and the Christian Church: Theological Resources in Historical Perspectives*² by Paul Avis; and *The Integrity of Anglicanism*³ by Stephen Sykes. In his *Anglicanism and the Christian Church* Paul Avis provides substantial accounts of the thoughts of the major Anglican theologians from the sixteenth century onwards, namely from Richard Hooker to F.D. Maurice, focusing on the development of the Anglican doctrine of the Church in dialogue with Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox traditions. Of special relevance to this thesis is Chapter 1 'In Search of Anglican Identity.' In this chapter, Avis argues that Anglican identity is 'fluid, dynamic, vulnerable' and that 'it cannot be created at will, it cannot be guaranteed, it does not need to be defended by ideology, it is not in the church's possession.'⁴ According to him, the identity of the Church is a 'grace given to her by God and received dynamically as she beholds the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.'⁵

¹ The term 'the Anglican Communion' begins to appear in the mid-nineteenth century to refer to 'the provinces of the Anglican family that are linked in fellowship through being in communion with each other and with the Archbishop of Canterbury.' Paul Avis, *Christians in Communion* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Mowbray, 1990), p. 6. Hereafter referred to as *Christians in Communion*. The Report to the Lambeth Conference of 1933 on 'The Anglican Communion' stated: 'The Anglican Communion is a fellowship, within the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of those duly constituted Dioceses, Provinces or Regional Churches in communion with the See of Canterbury.' *The Lambeth Conference 1930: Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with Resolutions and Reports* (London: SPCK, n.d.), p. 55. Hereafter referred to as *The 1930 Lambeth Conference*.

² Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church: Theological Resources in Historical Perspective* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989). Hereafter referred to as *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*.

³ Stephen W. Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism* (London & Oxford: Mowbray, 1978). Hereafter referred to as *The Integrity of Anglicanism*.

⁴ Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Also relevant to the theme of Anglican identity is Stephen Sykes's *The Integrity of Anglicanism*. His aim in his book is to assert the importance of a systematic theological approach to Anglicanism. As he writes in the Preface of the book: 'It is one of my chief aims to show how and why the discipline of systematic theology, applied to the position which the Anglican church actually occupies, can contribute to a deeper self-understanding, and to a more rigorous self-criticism.'⁶ The issue of Anglican identity, that is, the relationship between Anglican identity and its integrity, is at the heart of the debate of the book. Sykes discusses whether Anglicanism has its own integrity as a coherent identity, or 'whether it constitutes something which is recognisable,'⁷ affirming the fact that the integrity of Anglicanism means its coherent identity.⁸ He is concerned that a loss of the integrity of Anglicanism has caused the Anglican Church to be faced with the crisis of Anglican comprehensiveness. Sykes provides significant contributions to the debate on Anglican identity today.

These are three more books that help with the study of Anglicanism. These are *The Study of Anglicanism*⁹ by three editors, Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight; *Anglicanism: A Global Communion*¹⁰ by Andrew Wingate et al. and *The Spirit of Anglicanism: Hooker, Maurice, Temple*¹¹ by three editors, William J. Wolf, John E. Booty, and Owen C. Thomas. *The Study of Anglicanism* is an important volume written by leading Anglican academics from the global Anglican Communion, which examines the basic foundations of Anglicanism. It includes the following

⁶ Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. x.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹ Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, revised edition (London: SPCK; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988). Hereafter referred to as *The Study of Anglicanism*.

¹⁰ Andrew Wingate, Kevin Ward, Carrie Pemberton, and Wilson Sitshebo (eds.), *Anglicanism: A Global Communion* (London: Mowbray, 1998). Hereafter referred to as *Anglicanism: A Global Communion*.

¹¹ William J. Wolf (ed.), *The Spirit of Anglicanism: Hooker, Maurice, Temple* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 87. Hereafter referred to as *The Spirit of Anglicanism*.

themes: the history of Anglicanism, its theology, worship, standards and practices, and its future prospects worldwide. Part III, 'Authority and Method' is significant in that it deals with the dynamic spirit (unity in diversity) of Anglicanism. It looks at the relationship between Scripture, tradition, and reason as 'traditionally constitutive of the Anglican understanding of authority and theological method.'¹² It provides an in-depth discussion of the balance between Scripture, tradition, and reason, taking a historical view of how these terms have been interpreted. This book has become a fundamental text for the study of Anglicanism.

Anglicanism: A Global Communion is a comprehensive survey of the life of the Anglican Communion. It covers issues such as the worship and life of the Church, Church and society, and the Church's mission and its future. It gives some good reflections on the global perspective of Anglicanism. An essay especially relevant to this thesis is Guen Seok Yang's 'A vision for the Anglican contribution in the minority context of Korea over the next decade,' especially Section Five, 'The Church and the future.' In this essay, he argues that the spirit of the *Via Media* of Anglicanism should be understood as 'a missionary spirit' for reconciliation in the Korean context of division such as the division of 'military and civil autocracy,' of 'class and sexual discrimination,' of 'regional confrontation,' of 'religious and cultural exclusivism (including excessive denominationalism within Christianity)' stemming from the ideological confrontation between South and North Korea.¹³ For the purpose of reconciliation in the Korean context of division, Guen Seok Yang stresses the renewal of Church life and structure. He argues, 'Worship, liturgy and education within the

¹² Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. x.

¹³ Guen Seok Yang, 'A vision for the Anglican contribution in the minority context of Korea over the next decade,' in Andrew Wingate, Kevin Ward, Carrie Pemberton, and Wilson Sitshebo (eds.), *Anglicanism: A Global Communion*, pp. 408-409.

Church have to be the activities to witness Christ as the King of peace and reconciliation.’¹⁴ His writing is a challenging Korean Anglican’s view of how the idea of the *Via Media* of Anglicanism needs to be contextualised.

The Spirit of Anglicanism by William Wolf, John Booty, and Owen Thomas explores the fundamental spirit of Anglicanism by presenting the life, work and thought of three representative Anglican theologians: Richard Hooker, F.D. Maurice, and William Temple. The book argues that ‘the spirit of Anglicanism typified by Hooker, Maurice and Temple within the Church of England still lives as a prophetic witness within the far wider Anglican Communion,’¹⁵ despite the fact that many Anglicans differ widely on this contentious issue. Its special relevance to this thesis is that it looks at the idea of Anglican identity. It looks at how these theologians have defined Communion as ‘participation in the Trinity’ (Hooker), ‘transformation towards the kingdom of God’ (Maurice) and ‘synthesis in Christ’ (Temple). From his study of these major Anglican thinkers, Wolf draws the following four essential characteristics of Anglicanism: the spirit of liberality, of comprehensiveness, of reasonableness, and of restraint.’¹⁶ This book concludes with Wolf’s summary of the Anglican spirit:

The spirit of Anglicanism combines tentativeness of statement about itself with finality of commitment to Christ. It is a prophetic spirit daring to act and witness for the liberation of the oppressed. The spirit of Anglicanism ought in its rich resources to find the wisdom to retain its identity and yet to develop through constructive change to meet the demands of the fast-approaching world of the twenty-first century.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 411-412.

¹⁵ William J. Wolf (ed.), *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, p. viii.

¹⁶ William J. Wolf, ‘Anglicanism and Its Spirit,’ in William J. Wolf (ed.), *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, p. 186.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 187.

Finally, two more key resources for this thesis may be mentioned: Ian T. Douglas's article 'Anglican Gathering for God's Mission: A Missiological Ecclesiology for the Anglican Communion,'¹⁸ and Lorraine Cavanagh's Ph.D. thesis 'Meaning and Transformation in the Life of the Anglican Communion.'¹⁹ In his article 'Anglican Gathering for God's Mission' Ian Douglas argues that the current crisis over the divisions of the Anglican Communion needs a missiological and ecclesiological approach, rather than a structural/instrumental trajectory. In other words, a missiological ecclesiology for the Anglican Communion will lift up, celebrate, and encourage more meaningful relationships in God's mission, and thus unite and foster a deeper sense of communion across through enlivened mission relationship. Ian Douglas's idea of 'communion in mission relationship' which reflects the concept of Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the body of Christ (the so-called MRI) from the 1963 Anglican Congress offers a fresh approach to the idea of Anglican identity as Communion.

In her Ph.D. thesis 'Meaning and Transformation in the Life of the Anglican Communion,' Lorraine Cavanagh seeks to discover new and more intuitive ways of thinking about Anglican identity, arising from a deeper understanding of the spiritual significance of communion. Although almost no missiological and ecclesiological material or theories is presented in her work as it makes a plea for ecclesiology in the most general terms, Lorraine Cavanagh's idea of participatory and contemplative ecclesiology on the basis of Richard Hooker's participatory understanding of Church

¹⁸ Ian T. Douglas, 'Anglicans Gathering for God's Mission: A Missiological Ecclesiology for the Anglican Communion,' *Journal of Anglican Studies*, vol. 2.2 (December 2004), p. 12. Hereafter referred to as 'Anglicans Gathering for God's Mission.'

¹⁹ Lorraine Cavanagh, 'Meaning and Transformation in the Life of the Anglican Communion' (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 2003), p. 10. Hereafter referred to as 'Meaning and Transformation.'

life provides into the concept of Anglican identity as Communion, as participation in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

2. The Anglican Communion in Crisis

2.1. *The Current Crisis*

Those Churches that were prepared to take this [an Anglican Covenant]²⁰ on as an expression of their responsibility to each other would limit their local freedoms for the sake of a wider witness; and some might not be willing to do this. We could arrive at a situation where there were 'constituent' Churches in covenant in the Anglican Communion and other 'churches in association,' which were still bound by historic and perhaps personal links, fed from many of the same sources, but not bound in a single and unrestricted sacramental communion, and not sharing the same constitutional structures.²¹

This quotation is from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams' statement, *The Challenge and Hope of Being an Anglican Today: A Reflection for the Bishops, Clergy and Faithful of the Anglican Communion*, following the 2006 ECUSA General Convention's incomplete response to the Windsor Report.²² This would seem to indicate that a formal split within the Anglican Communion may be necessary. Conflicting views on homosexuality, the consecration of women to the episcopate, the loss of confidence in the Church's leadership, and the loss of confidence in its unity in

²⁰ The Windsor Report was published in late 2004 to address the nature of communion following 'the decisions of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America (ECUSA) to appoint a priest in a committed same sex relationship as one of its bishops, and of the Diocese of New Westminster to authorize services for use in connection with same sex unions.' *The Windsor Report 2004 of the Lambeth Commission on Communion* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Morehouse Publishing, 2004), p. 4. Hereafter referred to as *The Windsor Report*. In the Report (paragraphs 113-120, see Appendix Two: Proposal for the Anglican Covenant), an Anglican Covenant was proposed to provide a structural solution to divisions and conflicts related to the issue of homosexuality within the Anglican Communion.

²¹ Rowan Williams, 'The Challenge and Hope of Being an Anglican Today: A Reflection for the Bishops, Clergy and Faithful of the Anglican Communion,' *Anglican Communion News Service (ACNS)*, no. 4161 (2006) <<http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/articles/41/50/acns4161.cfm>> [accessed July 2006]

²² The 75th ECUSA General Convention in 2006 has failed to meet the demands of the Windsor Report. The General Convention adopted a dilute resolution of a moratorium on the consecrations of practicing homosexual bishops.

diversity (a hallmark of Anglicanism)²³ have exacerbated greatly the divisions of the Anglican Communion.

2.2. *The Nature of the Crisis: What Kind of Anglican Identity?*

On the surface it appears as if the current crisis over the divisions of the Anglican Communion stems from conflicting views on homosexuality due to differing interpretations of Scripture between ‘traditionalists’ and ‘liberals’ within the Anglican Communion. Here it is possible to understand the current debates on the divisions of the Communion as one of selective polemics.

In September 2006 Anglican Primates met in Kigali.²⁴ The so-called Global South Primates rejected homosexual practices as incompatible with Scripture and saw it as a symptom of a decaying secular society. They supported Archbishop Williams’ development of the Windsor Report’s proposal for an Anglican Covenant, stating their belief that it ‘will demonstrate to the world that it is possible to be a truly global communion where differences are not affirmed at the expense of faith and truth but within the framework of a common confession of faith and mutual accountability.’²⁵

²³ The term ‘Anglicanism’ signifies the faith, doctrine, and practice of the churches of the Anglican Communion, which is ‘historically descended from the Church of England.’ Borden W. Painter, ‘Bishop Walter H. Gray and the Anglican Congress of 1954,’ *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* xlix: 2 (June 1980), p. 158, cited in J. Robert Wright, “‘Anglicanism, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and Anglican’: An Essay on Terminology,” in Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 477.

²⁴ The primates from the Global South gathered in Kigali, Rwanda in September 2006 in order to discuss a separate structure in the USA pertaining to the issue of homosexuality. See ‘The 2006 Kigali Communiqué’ (2006)

<http://www.globalsouthanglican.org/index.php/comments/kigali_communique/> [accessed December 2006] Hereafter referred to as ‘The 2006 Kigali Communiqué.’

²⁵ ‘The 2006 Kigali Communiqué.’ There are two polarising views on homosexuality within the Anglican Communion today. One view represented by the Anglican churches in the Global South, which rejects homosexual practice as incompatible with Scripture, and as the advocacy of decaying secular society. The other represented by North America, which supports homosexuality as ‘a faith-filled development in the ongoing life of the Anglican Communion.’ Ian T. Douglas, ‘Anglicans Gathering for God’s Mission,’ p. 12.

The Kigali Communiqué called for a ‘separate ecclesiastical structure of the Anglican Communion in the USA,’ declaring the fact that the decisions of the 2006 ECUSA, General Convention raise ‘profound questions on the nature of Anglican identity across the entire Communion.’²⁶

It is, however, very significant to realise that the current divisions of the Anglican Communion fundamentally relate to the fragmentation of its collective life as such (its unity,²⁷ authority, and identity) rather than to disagreement on a particular issue such as homosexuality or women bishops. In other words, the issue of division of the Church is not simply a single matter of theological polemics but a matter complicated by the political, economic, and cultural realities of the Church’s life.

The rapidly changing demography of the Anglican Communion and globalisation espoused by one multinational economic system (capitalism) and the single ‘mega-power’ of the United States affect the debates over unity, authority, and identity in the contemporary Anglican Communion.²⁸ Resulting from the crisis of the Western church-centred mission strategies in the post World War II era and following the end of colonialism, the question of identity has been exacerbated within the Anglican Communion and in particular in sister and brother churches from the Global South.²⁹

²⁶ ‘The 2006 Kigali Communiqué.’

²⁷ Citing the 1993 the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order, Lorraine Cavanagh describes ‘the principal cause and nature of division within the Church as loss of confidence in its fundamental unity in Jesus Christ.’ See Lorraine Cavanagh, ‘Meaning and Transformation,’ p. 21. Also, see Thomas F. Best and Günter Gassmann (eds.), *Official Report of the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order: On the Way to Fuller Koinonia* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1994), p. 120. Hereafter referred to as *On the Way to Fuller Koinonia*.

²⁸ See Ian T. Douglas, ‘Anglicans Gathering for God’s Mission,’ pp. 10-11.

²⁹ According to David Barrett, Anglican mission scholar, 83% of the 522 million Christians in the world lived in Europe or North America in the year 1900. In the year 1996, only 41% of Christians in the world lived in the same area. Barrette predicts that in the 2025, 70% of the world’s Christians will live in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific. See David B. Barret, ‘Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1996,’ *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 20 (January 1996), pp. 24-25,

At present the Anglican churches in the Global South consider themselves to be the predominant church within the Anglican Communion, claiming that they have more than 70 per cent of the active membership of the worldwide Anglican Communion.³⁰ In contrast, the political, economic, cultural, and military dominance of the United States has caused ECUSA to see itself as the pre-eminent church in the Anglican Communion.³¹

All these sectarian and superior impulses have resulted in ambiguities in the balance of relationship between power, unity, and the sources of authority within the Anglican Communion and have thus caused it to be faced with the crisis of division. I, therefore, argue that what really is behind the current conflict over homosexuality is missiological and ecclesiological – what I call *missio-ecclesiological*³² – conflicts over unity and authority, which implies the conflict over the subject of Anglican identity as it affects Anglican approaches to the relationship between unity and authority.

The question of the identity of the Anglican Communion (Anglican identity) has appeared on the official agenda of all sorts of conferences within the worldwide Anglican Communion whenever it has confronted the crisis brought by disagreement on a specific issue. The answer to this question has been made through asking the Anglican Communion itself the following interconnected questions: 1) What is the

cited in Ian T. Douglas, 'Anglican identity and the *Missio Dei*: Implications for the American Convocation of Churches in Europe,' *Anglican Theological Review*, vol. 82, no. 3 (2000), p. 461.

³⁰ See 'The Kigali Communiqué.'

³¹ See Ian T. Douglas, 'Anglicans Gathering for God's Mission,' p. 11.

³² I use the term 'missio-ecclesiological' with a view to emphasising that both the Church and mission are inseparable. The faith of the Church is intrinsically missionary. As David Bosch says: 'Christianity is missionary by its very nature or it denies its very *raison d'être*.' David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1991), p. 9. Hereafter referred to as *Transforming Mission*.

purpose and nature of the Church?; and, 2) How has it conveyed the purpose and nature of the Church within its own historical tradition?

When these considerations are taken together, we are able to understand the two following things. Firstly, the question of Anglican identity is essentially *missio-ecclesiological*: This refers to what kind of mission the Church is called to be (and specifically it refers to the Anglican Communion as ‘a body of people who belong to one another in God’).³³ Secondly, the question of Anglican identity is a matter of how the Anglican Communion has shared the Christian faith in terms of addressing differences in understanding. In this respect, the question of Anglican identity might be viewed as a matter of the relationship between unity and authority which is a way of shaping the Communion into unity. In order to discuss the issue of Anglican identity in this chapter, I shall, therefore, use the term identity as a way of expressing the relationship between unity and authority; that is, a way of expressing how authority is related to unity.

I argue that at present there are two differing and conflicting perceptions of Anglican identity within the Anglican Communion as either ‘Communion’ or ‘tribal identity’ leading to two different Anglican approaches to the relationship between unity and authority. Before beginning further discussion on these two notions of Anglican identity, I shall examine Anglican self-understanding in the context of both unity and authority.

³³ Lorraine Cavanagh, ‘Meaning and Transformation,’ p. 21.

3. Anglican Understanding of the Nature of Unity and Authority

The 1997 Virginia Report and the 2004 Windsor Report give helpful insights into Anglican self-understanding in this respect. They considered in some depth the meaning and nature of unity and authority in addressing the question of the unity of the Anglican Communion following the proposal of the 1985 General Convention of ECUSA on the consecration of women to the episcopate and the election and consecration of Gene Robinson, who was living in a sexual relationship with a partner of the same sex in 2003.

3.1. *The Nature of Anglican Unity*

The Virginia Report describes Anglican unity as ‘a diversity held together in God’s unity and love’:³⁴ ‘The unity of the Anglican Communion derives from the unity given in the triune God, whose inner personal and relational nature is communion.’³⁵

The Virginia Report continues: ‘The eternal, mutual, self-giving and receiving love of the three persons of the Trinity is the source and ground of our communion, of our fellowship with God and one another.’³⁶ This would indicate that the idea of Trinitarian communion is inherent to Anglican unity. This concept needs further discussion.

3.2. *Trinitarian Communion*

The general understanding of Christians about God’s being and acts is expressed in terms of the Trinity. We cannot recognise God’s being without ‘the mediating role of

³⁴ *The Virginia Report of the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission in Being Anglican in the Third Millennium, Panama 1996*, in James M. Rosenthal and Nicola Currie (eds.), *The Official Report of the 10th Meeting of the Anglican Consultative Council X, Panama City* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Morehouse Publishing, 1997), paragraph 2.9, p. 237. Hereafter referred to as *The Virginia Report*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, paragraph 1.11, p. 233.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, paragraph 2.9, p. 237.

the Son and inspiration of the Spirit'.³⁷ the experience of God is 'not of three personal realities in isolation from each other, but of persons in relations, always interweaving and interpenetrating each other.'³⁸ This implies that God has to be understood relationally and communally: 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit, who mutually indwell one another, exist in one another and for one another, in interdependent giving and receiving.'³⁹ It is the life of Trinitarian communion – what I call *the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships*.

This life of the triune God's dynamic relationships, which implies the intrinsic 'mutual indwelling' and 'self-giving and receiving' which exist in the life of the Trinity, allows the three divine persons to share in one another's life, through a process of reciprocal 'permeability',⁴⁰ and thus create unity in diversity without any dissolution or any inequality. The dynamic and relational life of Trinitarian communion is at the heart of the understanding of the Trinity.

³⁷ Robin Greenwood, *Transforming Priesthood: A New Theology of Mission and Ministry* (London: SPCK, 1994), p. 78. Hereafter referred to as *Transforming Priesthood*.

³⁸ Paul S. Fiddes, *Participating in God: A Pastoral Doctrine of the Trinity* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2000), p. 6. Hereafter referred to as *Participating in God*.

³⁹ *Eucharistic Presidency* (London: Church House Publishing, 1997), 2.6., cited in *Mission-Shaped Church: Church Planting and Fresh Expressions of Church in a Changing Context* (London: Church House Publishing, 2004), pp. 84-85. Hereafter referred to as *Mission-Shaped Church*.

⁴⁰ I owe my use of the word 'permeability' to Lorraine Cavanagh who uses it in the following terms: 'The *Via Media* continues to be seen as the hallmark of Anglican identity and this is a helpful interpretation of the spirit of Anglicanism. If we understand the "middle way" as signifying neither inconclusive compromise, or an unstructured synthesis of "inclusive" theologies, but a dynamic holding together of difference in the ongoing life of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, we begin to see how the concept of locality might help to free Anglicans into a more dynamic unity. It could provide Anglicans with a conceptual "middle" space in which to forge new friendships across old divisions. It now becomes especially important to retain a sense of the innate "permeability" of Anglicanism. When brought together, the two concepts of permeability and dynamic allow for the possibility of movement to take place across existing boundaries in the life of communion.' Lorraine Cavanagh, 'The Freeing of Anglican Identities,' *Theology Wales* (2004), p. 22.

3.3. *Anglican Unity in Trinitarian Communion*

The Windsor Report describes Anglican unity in Trinitarian communion in the following words:

We are, by God's gift, in communion with the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and are members of one another in Christ Jesus. We are, in the power of the Spirit, sent into all the world to declare that Jesus is Lord. This grace-given and grace-full mission from God, and communion with God, determine our relationship with one another.⁴¹

Accordingly, the importance of intrinsic 'relatedness' and 'communion' in the life of the Trinity applies to our understanding of the nature of Anglican unity. It indicates that Anglican unity must be characterised primarily by both relatedness and communion, not by an instrumental or formal structure. In other words, whatever the presenting issues, the imposition of an exclusive structural and instrumental approach to the maintenance of the ongoing life of the Anglican Communion may prevent the creation of Anglican unity. As Carlos Calvani points out: "Communion" is not sustained by the consensus of ideas but by the disposition to accept others with their differences, just as Christ embraces and accepts us.⁴²

I have briefly outlined an Anglican understanding of unity as one which is patterned on that of Trinitarian communion. I have illustrated this by drawing on the intrinsic relatedness and communion which exist in the life of the Trinity. The need emerges for an Anglican understanding of the nature of authority in considering the following question: How is this kind of unity in Trinitarian communion to be achieved in the ongoing life of the Anglican Communion?

⁴¹ *The Windsor Report*, paragraph 5, p. 12.

⁴² Carlos Calvani, 'The Myth of [the] Anglican Communion,' *Journal of Anglican Studies*, vol. 3.2 (December 2005), p. 151.

3.4. *The Nature of Anglican Authority*

The 1948 Lambeth Conference identified the nature of Anglican authority as a 'dispersed authority.' According to the statement of the Conference, this dispersed authority, which derives from the relational and communal nature of the divine Trinity, is 'a process of mutual support and mutual checking,'⁴³ which binds the Anglican Communion together. This indicates that Anglican authority should be understood not as a static norm but as one of dynamic and relational means for being unified in the triune God. In other words, Anglican authority is not a centralised power or static system for expressing and shaping unity. Rather, it is one of God's instruments for embodying the unity given in the triune God, participating in His mission for the world.

The 2004 Windsor Report embodies this kind of dynamic and relational nature of dispersed Anglican authority in describing the relationship between the authority of the triune God and that of Scripture. According to the Windsor Report, the authority of Scripture is one of the diverse vehicles of the triune God's authority for His purpose for the world:

Within Anglicanism, Scripture has always been recognised as the Church's supreme authority, and as such ought to be seen as a focus and means of unity...However, the common phrase 'the authority of Scripture' can be misleading; the confusions that result may relate to some of the divisions just noted. Scripture itself, after all, regularly speaks of *God* as the supreme authority. When Jesus speaks of 'all authority in heaven and earth' (Matthew 28.18), he declares that this authority is given, not to the books that his followers will write, but to himself...Thus the phrase 'the authority of Scripture,' if it is to be based on what Scripture itself says, must be regarded as a shorthand, and a potentially misleading one at that, for the longer and more complex notion of 'the authority of the triune God, *exercised through scripture*'...Scripture is thus part of the means by which God directs the

⁴³ 'The Meaning and Unity of the Anglican Communion' from a Committee of Bishops reporting on 'The Anglican Communion,' in *The Lambeth Conference 1948: The Encyclical Letter from the Bishops; together with Resolutions and Reports* (London: SPCK, 1948), Part II, p. 95. Hereafter referred to as *The 1948 Lambeth Conference*.

Church in its mission, energises it for that task, and shapes and unites it so that it may be both equipped for this work and itself part of the message.⁴⁴

At the same time, the diverse and relational nature of dispersed Anglican authority has raised the following key question: How much diversity is to be allowed in today's, to some extent, fragmented and individualistic Anglican Communion due to the different parties (catholic, evangelical, and liberal) within it? Notwithstanding the fact that the nature of Anglicanism is rooted in an ethos in which a constant dynamic interplay of Scripture, tradition, and reason is the characteristic way to Anglican unity,⁴⁵ each party clings to its own sources of authority – catholic to the Church's traditional order, in particular episcopacy, evangelical to Scripture and liberal to its belief in reason or experience.⁴⁶ As a result, they are still in a conflicting tension.

3.5. Two Principles of Dispersed Anglican Authority: 'Adiaphora' and 'Subsidiarity'

Traditionally, the provincial autonomy within the Anglican Communion has been framed by the two following core principles of dispersed Anglican authority: 'Adiaphora' and 'Subsidiarity.' The principle of 'Adiaphora' which signifies literally 'things that do not make a difference,'⁴⁷ has been formulated to express a key distinction between core doctrines of the Anglican Communion, namely between essentials and non-essentials. The principle of 'Subsidiarity' which implies 'the

⁴⁴ *The Windsor Report*, paragraphs 53-55, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁵ The Anglican understanding of the relationship between Scripture, tradition, and reason was well summarised in the Virginia Report. See *The Virginia Report*, paragraphs 3.5-3.11, pp. 244-245.

⁴⁶ Traditionally, there are three parties within the Anglican Communion: 1) The Catholic, strengthened and reshaped from 1830s by the Oxford Movement, which has emphasised the catholic tradition and ecclesiastical authority; 2) The Evangelical which has emphasised the importance of the Protestant aspects of the Church of England, stressing the centrality of the authority of Scripture as definitive for the Church; and, 3) The Liberal which has emphasised the significance of the use of reason or experience in theological exploration, stressing the need to develop Christian belief and practice in order to respond creatively to wider advances in human knowledge and understanding and the importance of social and political action in forwarding the kingdom of God.

⁴⁷ *The Windsor Report*, paragraph 36, p. 21.

principle that matters should be decided as close to the local level as possible,⁴⁸ has been formulated to express the importance of locality in Anglicanism as Jesus Christ became a human being within one particular culture, thereby resisting the temptation of centralism of the Anglican Communion.

In short, the two core principles of autonomy with respect to the dispersed Anglican authority have been formulated to hold together across differences within the Anglican Communion. This indicates that autonomy of a dispersed Anglican authority should be understood not as unlimited freedom but ‘freedom-in-relation’ or ‘autonomy-in-relation,’⁴⁹ as embracing differences. In other words, the autonomy of Anglican authority is ‘a form of limited authority’⁵⁰ on the basis of mutual responsibility and interdependence, not independence. In practice, the 1963 Anglican Congress which considered in some depth the relationship between Anglican identity and *Missio Dei*, identified Anglican life in unity as directly connected with authority and communion, as ‘Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ.’⁵¹

Consequently, the two characteristics of mutual responsibility and interdependence of Anglican autonomy, which are at the heart of the two core principles of ‘Adiaphora’ and ‘Subsidiarity,’ have enabled the Anglican Communion to retain the spirit of dispersed Anglican authority, within today’s, to some extent, fragmented and individualistic Anglican Communion.

⁴⁸ Ibid., paragraph 38, p. 21.

⁴⁹ Ibid., paragraphs 76 and 80, pp. 35-36.

⁵⁰ Ibid., paragraph 77, p. 35.

⁵¹ Since the first Congress was held in London in 1908, two more Congresses were held in Minneapolis in 1954 and in Toronto in 1963. See my discussion in Chapter 2 of the idea of ‘Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ’ the so-called MRI. Chapter 2, pp. 75-76.

In my brief explanation of Anglican unity and authority, I have described the dynamic, relational, and communal nature of the triune God. In other words, the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships, which implies the intrinsic 'mutual indwelling' and 'self-giving and receiving' which exist in the life of the Trinity, is the source and ground of Anglican unity and authority.

This allows us to answer the previous question of how are the two notions of Anglican identity as either Communion or tribal identity to be described. Before answering this, in order to avoid confusion between the two terms, I shall examine a little more historical and etymological background to the way in which Anglican identity can be seen as either Communion or tribal identity.

4. Two Notions of Anglican Identity

As already stated, the question of Anglican identity is a missio-ecclesiological matter: What kind of Church, (the Anglican Communion as a body of people who belong to one another in God), is it called to become in mission? It, therefore, requires an exploration of the Anglican understanding of the purpose and nature of the Church, which could supply the principal source for understanding Anglican identity.

4.1. Anglican Understanding of the Purpose and Nature of the Church

The foregoing discussion suggests that the dynamic and relational life of the triune God is a key to understanding of the Trinity. This implies the two following things. First, God as Creator has called human beings to participate in His life of dynamic relationships and thus live in communion with one another, with the world, and with

Himself.⁵² It is the mission of God (*Missio Dei*) that is ‘to bring into being, sustain and perfect the whole creation,’ and that is ‘to restore and reconcile the fallen creation (Colossians 1.20).’⁵³

Second, the Church is both ‘a sign and disclosure of the kingdom of God,’ and ‘the agent of his mission. It is the community, through whom he acts for the world’s redemption,’ and it exists to bear witness to the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships.⁵⁴ In other words, the Church is an example and image of the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships. As Rowan Williams says: ‘[The Church is] the place where the life of the Holy Trinity is visibly active: the Spirit brings Christ alive in us, and that life is a life of adoration and self-giving directed towards God the Father.’⁵⁵ In 1993 the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order stated the purpose and nature of the Church as follows:

It is in the Church that the Holy Spirit realizes this communion (*koinonia*)... The Church is called to be, in the realm of spiritual life as well as in its commitment to the service of humanity and creation, in harmony with the plan of the Triune God revealed in the Scriptures. It is called, in the power of the Holy Spirit, to manifest the divine life holding out to the world the possibility of being enfolded within that divine life.⁵⁶

What I have described therefore suggests that the Anglican Communion understands the purpose and nature of the Church as bearing witness to the very life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships.⁵⁷

⁵² Also, see John 17.3. All biblical quotations in this thesis are from The New Revised Standard Version of the Bible © 1989 unless otherwise stated.

⁵³ *Mission-Shaped Church*, p. 85.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 94 and 85. See Ephesians 3.10-11.

⁵⁵ Rowan Williams, *Tokens of Trust: An Introduction to Christian belief* (London: Canterbury Press, 2007), p. 135. Hereafter referred to as *Tokens of Trust*.

⁵⁶ Thomas F. Best and Günter Gassmann (eds.), *On the Way to Fuller Koinonia*, pp. 274-275.

⁵⁷ This is more concretely addressed in Chapter 5, The Comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice: An Ecclesiology of Communion.

4.2. *Dynamic Thinking in the Life of the Communion*

This would indicate that the Anglican Communion regards itself as a communion which is in an ongoing state of relationship, participating in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships – what I call *dynamic thinking*, rather than simply as 'a federation or gathering which the words 'Church' or *ekklesia* sometimes signify.'⁵⁸ As

John Zizioulas says:

The Church is not simply an institution. She is a 'mode of existence,' *a way of being*. The mystery of the Church, even in its institutional dimension, is deeply bound to the being of man, to the being of the world and to the very being of God...It is a way of *relationship* with the world, with other people and with God, an event of *communion*.⁵⁹

I propose to call this kind of dynamic thinking about the Anglican Communion the notion of *Anglican identity as Communion*. In order to emphasise the importance of intrinsic 'dynamic relationships' in the life of Anglican identity as Communion, I shall therefore use the term 'communion' as a description of the way in which its members participate in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. The 1988 Lambeth Conference expressed the term *Koinonia* (by implication, communion) not only as a way of describing the relation that exists not only between the Churches of the Anglican Communion but between Christians of different Churches by virtue of their common baptism, illustrating that 'the New Testament uses the term *Koinonia* to

⁵⁸ Lorraine Cavanagh, 'Meaning and Transformation,' p. 22. See Margaret Kane's idea of two forms of the Church in the world: 1) 'Gathered church in which Jesus is present in the teaching, fellowship, breaking of bread and prayers'; and, 2) 'Dispersed church, which in the world encounters Jesus in the hungry, naked, sick and imprisoned.' Margaret Kane, *What Kind of God? Reflection on Working with People and Churches in North-East England* (London: SCM Press, 1986), p. 20. Hereafter referred to as *What Kind of God?* Also see my 'Theological Perspectives: Developing an Interfaith Chaplaincy' (esp. pp. 21-26) for a more detailed discussion of my understanding of the two forms of the Church. Chul-Lai Ro, 'Theological Perspectives: Developing an Interfaith Chaplaincy' (M.Th. dissertation, Cardiff University, 2005). Hereafter referred to as 'Developing an Interfaith Chaplaincy.'

⁵⁹ John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), p. 15. Hereafter referred to as *Being as Communion*.

describe both our fellowship with God (1 John 1.3 and 2 Pet. 1.4) and our fellowship with each other (Acts 2.42, 1 Cor.10.16, 17, 1 John 1.3).⁶⁰

When Anglican identity is understood as a communion, it indicates that the Anglican Communion does not claim to be normative for the Church. In other words, it does not regard itself as 'self-contained, complete and autonomous and thus fundamentally disconnected from the life of other Churches or Christian groupings.'⁶¹ Rather, the Anglican Communion believes that it is called to be a dynamic, relational and transforming Church, one which reflects the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. This thought is given expression in *Dogmatic and Pastoral Concerns*, one of the section reports of the 1988 Lambeth Conference:

The Anglican Communion consists of a family of Churches which say of themselves that they are in communion with each other. At a time when there is debate and disagreement in the family, it is essential to set all consideration of what it might mean to be Anglican in the wider context of the familiar and ancient (indeed biblical) word 'communion'...In the Collect for All Saints' Day widely used throughout the Anglican world we hear of the whole Church in heaven and on earth being bound together in 'one communion and fellowship.'⁶²

4.3. *Static Thinking in the Life of the Communion*

The recent currents in the Anglican Communion do not take account of this dynamic dimension of its life. The contemporary Anglican Communion's styles of life and behaviour have become separated from the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. I call this development *static thinking*. The increased emphasis on

⁶⁰ *The Truth Shall Make You Free: The Lambeth Conference 1988* (London: The Anglican Consultative Council, 1988), p. 5. Hereafter referred to as *The Truth Shall Make You Free*. The 1988 Lambeth Conference put the issue of communion on the top of agenda for Anglicans, expecting the imminent election of a woman to the episcopate.

⁶¹ Lorraine Cavanagh, 'Meaning and Transformation,' p. 22.

⁶² *The Truth Shall Make You Free*, paragraphs 92-93, p. 105.

‘instruments of unity’⁶³ in the Anglican Communion is a clear example of this static phenomenon. The four instruments of unity have become ‘centralized decision-making bodies to dictate matters of identity and authority in the Anglican Communion,’⁶⁴ notwithstanding the fact that the instruments of unity have said that they ‘do not favour the accumulation of formal power by the Instruments of Unity, or the establishment of any kind of central “curia” for the Communion.’⁶⁵

Over the past forty years structural instruments of unity have become increasingly emphasised within the diversity of the Anglican Communion. ‘Two instruments of unity’ in the Anglican Communion (the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lambeth Conference) have now increased to ‘four instruments of unity’ as the Anglican Consultative Council and the Primates Meeting were established in the 1970s. In particular, the Primates Meeting has increasingly been perceived as a ‘locus of authority for the global Communion,’⁶⁶ despite the fact that it has suggested that it has an ‘*enhanced responsibility* in offering guidance on doctrinal, moral and pastoral matters’ rather than a ‘consultative and advisory authority.’⁶⁷ The Primates Meeting occurs annually rather than every other year.

Moreover, in his address to the ‘Future of Anglicanism Conference’ hosted by the Anglican Communion Institute, Archbishop of the Bahamas, Drexel Gomez who was appointed to the Lambeth Commission on Communion⁶⁸ by Archbishop of

⁶³ There are the four instruments of unity as representing the polity of the Anglican Communion, which are the Anglican Consultative Council, the Lambeth Conference, the Primates’ Meeting, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The four instruments of unity are summarised in Section C: Our Future Life Together of the 2004 Windsor Report. See *The Windsor Report*, pp. 41-46.

⁶⁴ Ian T. Douglas, ‘Anglicans Gathering for God’s Mission,’ p. 18.

⁶⁵ *The Windsor Report*, paragraph 105, p. 44.

⁶⁶ Ian T. Douglas, ‘Anglicans Gathering for God’s Mission,’ p. 8.

⁶⁷ *The 2004 Windsor Report*, p. 44.

⁶⁸ The Commission produced the 2004 Windsor Report.

Canterbury Rowan Williams, emphasised the importance of a centralised ‘from above’ authority in the life of the Anglican Communion to settle disagreements within the Communion. He said:

Indeed, the contempt towards the other members of the Anglican family by ECUSA, clearly demonstrates an inherent weakness in our Anglican system that offers no clear guidelines for holding each other accountable and for admonishing one another. While many have found solace in the absence of a central authority, there are many voices within the global community insisting that the time has come for us to introduce some mechanism in our common life to prevent each Province from going in separate directions without reference of the fellow members of the Body.⁶⁹

All this would indicate that a juridical and structural approach to maintaining the unity in diversity of the Anglican Communion may become increasingly dominant within the Communion. We see the dominance of the centralised ‘from above’ authority in the Communion in the 2004 Windsor Report’s emphasis on an exclusive structural/instrumental approach to the maintenance of the Communion with regard to the issue of homosexuality. As Harold Lewis says:

Contract has replaced covenant as the way Anglican live, move, and have their being... [T]he Windsor Report runs the risk of becoming a Trojan horse, and that a precedent might be set for ‘centralized curialization’ of the Anglican Communion – in other words, it would become, in some ways, more like the Roman Catholic Church in its governance, thereby abandoning its historic Anglican ethos.⁷⁰

As the foregoing discussions have revealed, the nature of Anglican unity and authority derives from the dynamic, relational, and communal nature of the triune God. That is to say that the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships, which implies the intrinsic ‘mutual indwelling’ and ‘self-giving and receiving’ which exist in the life of the Trinity, is the source and ground of Anglican unity and authority. In

⁶⁹ Drexel Gomez, ‘Address to the Future of Anglican Communion,’ Anglican Communion Institute, Charleston, South Carolina, 8 January 2004.

⁷⁰ Harold T. Lewis, ‘Covenant, Contract, and Communion: Reflections on a Post-Windsor Anglicanism,’ *Anglican Theological Reviews*, vol. 87, no. 4 (Fall 2005), pp. 601 and 606.

this respect, whatever the presenting issues, the imposition of juridical and structural solutions to disagreements in the Anglican Communion today not only is incompatible with the nature of Anglican unity and authority but may also exacerbate the current divisions of the Communion.

I argue that this kind of juridical and structural response to the challenges of unity and authority constitutes a static situation in the life of the Anglican Communion. We see this non-dynamic, or static, climate of thought increasingly dominating the life of the Communion at province, diocese, and parish level. Here we note the 2008 Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON) as an example of this static climate.

4.4. The 2008 Global Anglican Future Conference

GAFCON was held in Jerusalem from 22-29 June 2008. The conference which was attended by 1,148 lay and clergy participants, including 291 Anglican bishops, was primarily aimed at ‘Anglican leaders who consider themselves to be in impaired communion with the global church because of the consecration in 2003 of openly homosexual bishop Gene Robinson by ECUSA.’⁷¹ The GAFCON statement claims that GAFCON has arisen because a false, or different, gospel which is contrary to the apostolic gospel is being promoted within the provinces of the Anglican Communion. According to the statement, a false gospel ‘undermines the authority of God’s Word written and uniqueness of Jesus Christ as the author of salvation from sin, death and judgement,’ and thus promotes ‘a variety of sexual preferences and immoral behaviour as a universal human right.’⁷² Although GAFCON did not decide to create a formal schism in the Anglican Communion, it would implement immediate and

⁷¹ ‘Global Anglican Future Conference,’ *Wikipedia*
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerusalem_Declaration> [accessed July 2008]

⁷² ‘The GAFCON Final Statement,’ *The Global Anglican Future Conference*, Jerusalem, Israel, 2008.

prudent steps to prepare new ecclesiastical structures, particularly within the liberal provinces of North America:

Our fellowship is not breaking away from the Anglican Communion. We, together with many other faithful Anglicans throughout the world, believe the doctrinal foundation of Anglicanism, which defines our core identity as Anglicans, is expressed in these words: The doctrine of the Church is grounded in the Holy Scripture and in such teachings of the ancient Fathers and Councils of the Church as are agreeable to the said Scriptures.⁷³

Within Anglicanism, as already stated, Scripture has always been recognised as the Church's supreme authority, and as such must be understood as a focus and means of the unity given in the triune God. In other words, the authority of Scripture is one of the diverse vehicles of the triune God's authority for his purpose for the world. Furthermore, as the foregoing discussion suggests, the Anglican Communion understands the purpose and nature of the Church as bearing witness to the very life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. In this respect, GAFCON's emphasis on 'a false gospel' would seem to seek its own security and structure in the context of increasing social and religious diversity. That is to say, GAFCON's static thinking and behaviour about Anglican identity creates a static theological climate and leads to static ways of defining Scripture and issues, creating a barrier between churches and individuals in the Anglican Communion.

Within the far wider Anglican Communion, we find that the same principle hold true with regard to the conflicts related to identity. Static thinking becomes self-referential and seeks its own security and structure, and thus disconnects the activity of the Communion from the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. As a result of

⁷³ Ibid.

this, the Communion becomes a ‘tribal’⁷⁴ church which adheres to fixed beliefs which compete with each other for normative status, thus occupying static ways of defining Scripture and issues and subsequently God Himself. Peter Selby describes a tribal church as an ‘ethnic community,’ based on its own self-protection, which ‘is bound to start with the difficulties, with those who will be unable to accept change, with the pain that adjustment will cause to the existing community.’⁷⁵ I propose to call this kind of static, tribal thinking about the Anglican Communion the notion of *Anglican tribal identity*, which contradicts the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships.

4.5. Anglican Identity as Communion – the Relational Approach

When Anglican identity is understood as a communion, it encourages the Anglican Communion to see the nature of the relationship between unity and authority as relational and communal dynamic as it reflects the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships. In this case, authority is not a centralised power or system to maintain the Communion but a dynamic and participatory means to the unity given in the triune God.

A dynamic understanding of the relationship between unity and authority therefore allows the Anglican Communion to hold to its inclusive attitude towards differences within the Communion and other denominations. It can be open to God’s final purpose of embracing all creation in the world. In other words, this dynamic notion of Anglican identity as Communion enables the Communion to move away from a dominating and self-seeking perfection towards a responsible sharing in God’s

⁷⁴ I owe my use of the word ‘tribal’ to Peter Selby’s idea of ‘a tribal church.’ See Peter Selby, *BeLonging: Challenge to a Tribal Church* (London: SPCK, 1991). Hereafter referred to as *BeLonging*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

concern for the world.⁷⁶ This responsibility includes ‘caring for and confronting groups and institutions, inside and beyond the church, through evangelism, pastoral care, social and political concern, supporting the weak and opposing injustice and bringing help to those in need.’⁷⁷

4.6. Anglican Tribal Identity – the Structural Approach

In contrast, those who hold to a perspective of Anglican tribal identity are advocating structural and instrumental approaches to the maintenance of the Communion. They are preoccupied with static ways of defining the relationship between unity and authority. Their non-dynamic concept of Anglican identity has caused them to understand authority as a static and essential norm for the maintenance of the Communion rather than as part of a process of mutual support and mutual checking which binds the Communion together. As a result, for them, it appears as if authority has become an exclusive and sectarian means of expressing and shaping unity.

Anglicans who hold to this concept of tribal identity feel that taking seriously the realm of the notion of Communion puts their Christian identity at risk. This is because they are worried that the notion of Communion which has a relational and comprehensive nature may fall into a secularism which is incompatible with the Christian truth, as revealed in Scripture. As a result, they, as self-proclaimed true believers, hold exclusive and sectarian attitudes towards addressing differences in understanding. This is the notion of Anglican identity as tribal identity, which dominates the Anglican Communion today and which is found in the current debates on the divisions of the Communion pertaining to the issue of homosexuality.

⁷⁶ Cf. Robin Greenwood, *Transforming Priesthood*, p. 65.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

4.7. Conflict between Two Notions of Anglican Identity: The 2004 Windsor Report

The 2004 Windsor Report gives helpful insights into Anglican self-understanding in this respect. It considers in some depth the meaning and the nature of communion following the decisions of ECUSA to appoint a priest in a committed same sex relationship as one of its bishops and of the Diocese of New Westminster in the Anglican church of Canada to authorise services for use in connection with same sex unions.

In the Windsor Report an Anglican Covenant (the Windsor Draft Covenant) was proposed to provide a structural solution to the current divisions and conflicts due to the different views on homosexuality. To end the current deadlock within the Anglican Communion, the Windsor Report was concerned to ask ECUSA to obey certain obligations. At the present time the Windsor Report has caused Anglicans today to be confronted with a choice between the two opposing views on homosexuality.

Responding to the Windsor Report, Ian Douglas is concerned that a juridical and structural approach to the maintenance of the Anglican Communion has become increasingly dominant within the Communion:

I am particularly thankful for: the authority it gives to Scripture, the biblical hermeneutics it advances, and the underlying emphasis on relationships as basic to a life in communion. I am concerned, however, with the [Windsor] report's overall emphasis on a structural approach to the maintenance of communion. I am not convinced that a reification of the Instruments of Unity offers a life-giving approach to what it means to be an Anglican in today's world. I would much rather have seen a liturgical and missiological approach rather than a structural/instrumental trajectory.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Ian T. Douglas, 'An American Reflects on the Windsor Report,' *Journal of Anglican Studies*, vol. 3.2 (December 2005), p. 156.

Douglas argues that ‘it is clear that conflicts over who is in or not in the Anglican Communion, who is in charge or not in charge of the Anglican Communion, are not going to be solved overnight, even with the dedicated efforts of the Lambeth Commission.’⁷⁹

Vincent Strudwick also argues, presenting the meaning of Christian ‘covenant’: ‘The covenant is not a set of doctrinal statements to which Churches sign up, but a relationship to which they are called. Thus it is not a quick fix, but a way of enabling us to focus on our common mission.’⁸⁰ In principle, the concept of Christian covenant rests on the relationship between God and His people, the Church. In other words, God made a covenant with His Church, calling it to be a witness to His steadfast love for the world.

When these considerations are taken together, we are able to describe Anglican understanding of the nature of covenant as expressing the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships. This suggests that the Anglican Communion does not regard covenant as a legal transaction and agreement for its own sake, which the term ‘contract’ sometimes signifies.⁸¹ Rather, the Anglican Communion regards covenant as a way of being the Church, participating in the very life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships. This indicates that the Windsor Draft Covenant’s emphasis on a structural approach to the maintenance of the Communion should be reconsidered through a process of continuing conversation, reflecting the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships.

⁷⁹ Ian T. Douglas, ‘Anglicans Gathering for God’s Mission,’ p. 18.

⁸⁰ Vincent Strudwick, ‘its relationship, not a doctrinal quiz,’ *Church Times* (7 July 2006), p. 8.

⁸¹ With regard to the idea of the relationship between covenant and contract, see Harold T. Lewis, ‘Covenant, Contract, and Communion: Reflections on a Post-Windsor Anglicanism,’ *Anglican Theological Review*, vol. 87, no. 4 (Fall 2005), pp. 601-607.

The present climate of the conflict in the Anglican Communion does not take account of this contemplative dimension of the nature of covenant. Since the Windsor Draft Covenant was proposed in 2004, the Anglican Covenant process has been established in order to consider the re-establishment of the life of communion in the Anglican Communion. Although the two main stages (such as the Nassau Draft in 2007 and the St. Andrew's Draft in 2008) have been developed, they have significantly contributed to the legalisation of the Covenant, undermining the nature of dispersed authority in the Communion in the future. It requires a brief discussion of the Anglican Covenant process,⁸² indicating the main stages of development to date and of the principle issues at stake, especially with regard to the nature of unity and authority in the Anglican Communion in the future.

4.8. The Anglican Covenant Process

The Joint Standing Committee of the Primates and of the Anglican Consultative Council commissioned a study paper on the idea for an Anglican Covenant in March 2005, *Towards an Anglican Covenant*. At its meeting in May 2006, the Joint Standing Committee asked the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams, to establish a Covenant Design Group (CDG) to promote the project. The CDG held its first meeting in Nassau, the Bahamas, in January 2007, chaired by the Archbishop of the West Indies, the Most Revd Drexel Gomez. The meeting discussed the four following areas pertaining to the development of an Anglican Covenant: 'its content, the process by which it would be received into the life of the Communion, the foundations on

⁸² See the Anglican Communion official website on an Anglican Covenant for a more detailed understanding of the Anglican Covenant process, especially with regard to the Nassau Draft and St. Andrew's Draft. 'An Anglican Covenant'
<<http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/covenant/index.cfm>> [accessed March 2008]

which a covenant might be built, and its own methods of working.’⁸³ The first draft of the Covenant, known as the Nassau Draft, produced at the meeting, emphasised the importance of the authority of Instruments of Communion (Instruments of Unity) in re-establishing trust between the churches of the Anglican Communion today. That is to say that the central proposal of the Nassau Draft was to concentrate power in the hands of Instruments of Communion, in particular the Primates of the Anglican Communion, as the key means of releasing the current deadlock:

Each Church commits itself...to heed the counsel of our Instruments of Communion in matters which threaten the unity of the Communion and the effectiveness of our mission. While the Instruments of Communion have no juridical or executive authority in our Provinces, we recognise them as those bodies by which our common life in Christ is articulated and sustained, and which therefore carry a moral authority which commands our respect.⁸⁴

The Nassau Draft’s overemphasis on Instrument of Communion would result in a narrowing of autonomy of a dispersed Anglican authority. Primarily, I have described a dispersed Anglican authority which derives from the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships, as one of parts of a process of mutual support and mutual checking which binds the Communion together rather than as a static and essential norm for the maintenance of the Communion. In this respect, when the Nassau Draft claims that the theological and communal life of the Anglican Communion will be determined by Instruments of Communion, it appears as if authority has become an exclusive and sectarian means of expressing and shaping unity. As a result, the Nassau Draft was criticised by many Anglicans, in particular the liberal leadership of

⁸³ The Report of The Covenant Design Group meeting in Nassau, 15th – 18th January, 2007 under the chairmanship of the Most Revd Dr Drexel Gomez Archbishop of the West Indies. Hereafter referred to as *The Nassau Draft*.

⁸⁴ *The Nassau Draft*, Section 6, ‘Unity of Communion.’

the Anglican Communion because 'it effectively allowed for the expulsion of provinces that stepped out of line.'⁸⁵

The CDG met again in January 2008 at St. Andrew's House, London, and produced a second draft, the St. Andrew's Draft. The central proposal of the St. Andrew's Draft was to concentrate on the constitutional autonomy of the Anglican Communion at a time of fragmentation. In other words, while the two characteristics of mutual responsibility and interdependence have been at the heart of Anglican autonomy, 'it is now in a place of greater accountability, where our structures must provide a framework for the context of our belief.'⁸⁶ As the St. Andrew's Draft stated:

Acknowledging our interdependent life, each Church of the Communion commits itself...to respect the constitutional autonomy of all of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, while upholding the interdependent life and mutual responsibility of the Churches, and the responsibility of each to the Communion as a whole.⁸⁷

This led to an emphasis on the powers of Instruments of Communion as a juridical and structural means of resolving disputes: 'Each Church of the Communion affirms...we seek to affirm our common life through those Instruments of Communion by which our Churches are enabled to develop a common mind;...the importance of instruments in the Anglican Communion to assist in the discernment, articulation and exercise of our shared faith and common life and mission.'⁸⁸ In this respect, the consequence of the St. Andrew's Draft is likely to be a more centralised and

⁸⁵ Ruth Gledhill, 'Archbishop aims to save divided Church: Call for Anglican bishops to attend Lambeth Conference as conservative clergyman draws up formula to avert schism over gay priests,' *TIMESONLINE* (4 February 2008)
<<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/faith/article3300355.ece?print=yes&randn...>> [accessed July 2008]

⁸⁶ Pat Ashworth, 'Disputed parts of Anglican Covenant redrafted,' *Church Times*
<<http://www.churchtimes.co.uk/contents.asp?id=51143&print=1>> [accessed July 2008]

⁸⁷ The Report of the Second Meeting of the Covenant Design Group, London, February 2008, Section 3, 'Our Unity and Common Life.' Hereafter referred to as *The St. Andrew's Draft*.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

authoritarian Communion, indicating that ‘where a Church does not comply with the will of the majority and after due process has been followed, that Church will have relinquished for themselves “the force and meaning of the covenant’s purpose”⁸⁹.’⁹⁰ It appears as if ‘contract’ has replaced ‘covenant.’ In other words, the Covenant is becoming a contract as a means of excluding those who do not conform. As the Archbishop of the Church in Wales, Dr. Barry Morgan says:

The original intention of a Covenant to affirm the bonds of affection was good. The indications now are that many see it a contract, a means of ensuring a uniform view on human sexuality enforceable by the threat of exclusion from the Communion if one does not conform.⁹¹

The most important thing is the fact that whatever the presenting issues, the imposition of an exclusive structural/instrumental approach to the maintenance of the ongoing life of the Anglican Communion is incompatible with both an Anglican understanding of the nature of covenant and authority. It is also not helpful in resolving the current crisis over the divisions of the Communion. In practice, the current structural/instrumental approaches (such as the Anglican Covenant process, the 2006 Kigali Communiqué, and the 2008 GAFCON) have failed to cope with the current crisis in the Communion. Rather, it has exacerbated the divisions of the Anglican Communion today.

4.9. The Need for the Renewal of Anglican Identity as Communion

This raises the question of where this kind of exclusive and structural/instrumental approaches to the maintenance of the Anglican Communion comes from. In this thesis I argue that static thinking about the Communion, which implies the concept of

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ The Modern Churchpeople’s Union, ‘An Anglican Covenant – St Andrew’s Draft’ (February 2008), p. 2.

⁹¹ Barry Morgan’s view on the Covenant, in *Highlight of the Church in Wales Governing Body* (September 2007), p. 2.

Anglican tribal identity, lies behind the current exclusive and structural approaches to the Communion. A non-dynamic and non-relational thinking of Anglican identity leads to a structural/instrumental approach to the relationship between unity and authority. This has significantly contributed to the fragmentation and polarisation seen in situations of conflict, separating it from the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships which is the source and ground of the life of the Anglican Communion at all levels. In other words, this static thinking creates a static theological climate in its life, thereby predefining and polarising the issue of homosexuality, creating a barrier between parties and individuals in the Anglican Communion.

When Anglican identity is understood as a communion, the Anglican Communion has the confidence in that it is called to be a dynamic, relational, and transforming 'Church,' as opposed to a tribal 'church'. It becomes one which reflects the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. Accordingly, the centrality of the life of Anglican identity as Communion allows the Anglican Communion to hold to its inclusive attitude towards differences within the Communion. It can also be open to God's final purpose of embracing all creation in the world. In other words, a new way of thinking about Anglican identity as Communion allows the Communion to create a hospitable and open space for one another. This might create new opportunities for differences in understanding among Anglicans.

The purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to develop a new way of thinking about Anglican identity as Communion, one which could transcend the boundaries created by static thinking and thus provide another way forward to the current deadlock. In order to fulfil this purpose, this thesis has two subordinate aims. The first is to seek a

fresh perspective on the relationship of the Trinity and *Missio Dei*. Rather than revisiting Anglican theologies in general, I shall examine the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion, informing its ongoing and future life. Secondly, this thesis aims to answer the question of how Anglican comprehensiveness informs Anglican self-understanding.

5. Methodology

5.1. A Systematic Theological Approach

Fundamentally, this thesis takes a systematic theological approach. I accept Karl Barth's definition of 'systematic theology,' or 'dogmatics,' as an 'inquiry,' which implies that systematic theology is 'the self-test to which the Christian Church puts herself in respect of the content of her peculiar language about God.'⁹² The thesis is both systematic, and works at achieving a synthesis. The thesis does not take a purely historical approach to the issue of Anglican identity today. It is necessary also to determine the use of the term 'identity.' It is a pity that some Anglicans regard today's debate on the issue of identity within the Anglican Communion as a reconstruction of British colonialism, especially as they are preoccupied with a purely historical approach to the challenges which it represents to the contemporary Anglican Communion. I will argue that they need to take a theological approach to the meaning of the term identity itself.

Synthesis is a term which refers to the way in which systematic theology 'investigates Christian language by raising the question of...conformity.' 'Language about God has the proper content, when it conforms to the essence of the Church, i.e. to Jesus

⁹² Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, trans. by G. T. Thomson (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1969), I/I, p. 11. Hereafter referred to as *Church Dogmatics*.

Christ,' rather than '[discovering] the measure with which it measures, still less [inventing] it.'⁹³ The term 'synthesis' is used to mean that Christian language has an inner integrity. Methodologically this thesis attempts to combine separate theological ideas in order to discuss the issue of Anglican identity, rather than postulating a new set of facts or radical interpretations.

In particular, the term synthesis lies in the very nature of Anglican method which '[holds] together different sides of a truth which is so rich that no individual or group can appropriate it fully.'⁹⁴ In other words, the methodological orientation of this thesis derives from the Anglican idea of synthesis. This seeks to hold together and combine the three diverse traditions within the Anglican Communion: 1) The Catholic which has emphasised the catholic tradition and ecclesiastical authority; 2) The Evangelical which has emphasised the centrality of the authority of Scripture as definitive for the Church; and, 3) The Liberal which has emphasised the significance of the use of reason or experience in theological exploration.

This Anglican synthesis is summed up in William Temple's enthronement sermon in Canterbury Cathedral in 1942:

So let us set ourselves to gain a deepening loyalty to our Anglican tradition or Catholic order, Evangelical immediacy in our approach to God, and liberal acceptance of new truth made known to us; and let us at the same time join with all our fellow Christians who will join with us in bearing witness to the claim of Christ to rule in every department of human life, and to the principles of His Kingdom.⁹⁵

⁹³ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, pp. 11-12.

⁹⁴ Owen C. Thomas, 'William Temple,' in William J. Wolf (ed.), *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, p. 132.

⁹⁵ William Temple, *The Church Looks Forward* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 5, cited in Owen C. Thomas, 'William Temple,' in William J. Wolf (ed.), *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, p. 132.

In this respect, the methodology of this thesis is to work at a synthesis of the Trinity, *Missio Dei*, and Anglican comprehensiveness. It argues that affirming their dynamic interplay is a way of discovering new ways of thinking about Anglican identity. Anglican unity is made up of a constant dynamic interplay of Scripture, tradition, and reason, which creates a Communion. The methodology of the thesis is not a purely historical and analytical approach. Let us turn then to Chapter 2.

Chapter 2. The Historical Context of Anglican Identity

1. Introduction

Chapter 2 explores the history of Anglican identity. As the foregoing discussions have suggested, identity is a way of expressing the relationship between unity and authority. To look at the history of Anglican identity is, therefore, to trace how the Anglican Communion has approached the relationship between unity and authority when it has confronted the crisis of division. It also helps to sharpen Anglican thinking about its identity in relation to the world of today. I shall, therefore, now examine the historical background of the origin of two notions of Anglican identity with a view to discovering new ways of renewing Anglican identity as a communion.

The discussion takes place in a theological context while taking due note of certain aspects of the history of Anglican identity. This chapter will, therefore, be selective with historical material in order to allow sufficient space to explore some of those theological resources which pertain to the issue of Anglican identity.

2. The Origin of Anglican Identity

2.1. The Church 'in' the World and the Church 'of' the World

I shall begin this part by making a clear distinction between the two following terms: the Church 'of' the world and the Church 'in' the world. A 'Church-centred' view of ecclesiology I have referred to as the Church 'of' the world. In a Church-centred perspective, the Church is central in carrying out God's mission to the world. As Margaret Kane says: 'If God is to reach the world this must happen through the

church and if the world is to reach God this can only happen through the church.’⁹⁶

Accordingly, those who cling to the notion of the Church ‘of’ the world hold to exclusive attitudes towards other churches in terms of addressing differences in understanding, as self-proclaimed true believers. This implies that the exclusive and structural notion of the Church ‘of’ the world is very closely connected to the static notion of Anglican tribal identity.

In contrast, in a ‘God-centred and world-related’ view of ecclesiology, the task of the Church is not to take the initiative in mission activities but to participate in God’s mission for the world as one of His mission agents in the world, embracing a changeable whole world and a whole Church, which is referred to as the Church ‘in’ the world. Hans Küng indicates the nature of the notion of the Church ‘in’ the world:

The nature of the Church is not just given to it, it is entrusted to it. Loyalty to its original nature is something the Church must preserve through all the changing history of that world for the sake of which the Church exists. But it can only do that through change (*aggiornamento*), not through immobility (*immobilismo*); it must commit itself to each new day (*giorno*) afresh, accept the changes and transformations of history and human life, and constantly be willing to reform, to renew, rethink.⁹⁷

Those who grasp the mobile and relational nature of the notion of the Church ‘in’ the world hold to inclusive attitudes towards other churches in terms of addressing differences in understanding, as being a true Christian. This implies that the inclusive and relational notion of the Church ‘in’ the world is closely connected to the dynamic notion of Anglican identity as Communion as it is found in the foregoing discussions. The distinctions I have made between the Church ‘in’ and the Church ‘of’ the world

⁹⁶ Margaret Kane, *What Kind of God?*, p. 28.

⁹⁷ Hans Küng, *The Church*, trans. by Ray and Rosaleen Ockenden (London: Search Press, 1971), p. 14. Hereafter referred to as *The Church*.

provide some helpful insights into the historical background of the two notions of Anglican identity in this respect.⁹⁸

2.2. *Pax Romana: from the Church 'in' Rome to the Church 'of' Rome*

In earliest Christianity *Pax Romana*⁹⁹ was regarded as *Pax Christiana* which means 'peace in Christ,' notwithstanding the fact that they are intrinsically opposed to each other.¹⁰⁰ In the First letter, Clement of Rome defined peace as maintaining the existing order. As a result, he understood that *Pax Romana* which maintained the existing order by the hierarchical military system was a good model for sustaining the church at his time.¹⁰¹

Pax Romana was a political peace which was produced by the Roman Empire, which constitutes the concept of victory and competition. It required the centralised 'from above',¹⁰² power and structural legal means of the Roman Empire in order to maintain the existing order. It was necessary that *Pax Romana* accepted violence to maintain the existing political peace which was closely related to the maintenance of political power. Jesus was executed and killed because he interrupted the violence of *Pax Romana*. *Pax Romana* was 'a peace with bloodshed'¹⁰³ appointed by the centre of power.

⁹⁸ See my 'Developing an Interfaith Chaplaincy' (esp. pp. 21-29) for a more detailed discussion of my understanding of the two different ecclesiologies.

⁹⁹ The term *Pax Romana* was first used by Seneca in order to celebrate the time of peace under Augustus, which means 'the peace which reigned between nationalities within the Roman empire.' *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, vol. XI (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 374.

¹⁰⁰ With regard to parallels between the Church and empire in earliest Christianity, see Klaus Wengst, *Pax Romana and the Peace of Jesus Christ*, trans. by John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 105-135. Hereafter referred to as *Pax Romana and the Peace of Jesus Christ*.

¹⁰¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 105-118.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

In contrast, Jesus came to the world to abolish this kind of *Pax Romana* as a false peace (Ephesians 2.17). *Pax Christiana* is connected to the cross of Christ. It is produced by the blood of His cross (Colossians 1.20). *Pax Christiana* is not an artificial and political peace for the maintenance of power but a self-giving peace which abolishes enmity and creates unity as embracing differences. In Ephesians (2.14-18), St. Paul describes Christ as ‘our peace,’ proclaiming ‘the cross of Christ as the abolition of enmity between Gentiles and Jews, as the reconciliation of these separated groups in a new unity of peace which is a reality to be preserved in the church made up of Jews and Gentiles, as an anticipation of reconciled humanity.’¹⁰⁴

Notwithstanding this, the concept of *Pax Romana* seen in terms of *Pax Christiana* had become increasingly dominant in the established Church in its beginnings under Constantine the Great in the fourth century.¹⁰⁵ This indicates that the Roman Church followed the violent structural system and the centralised ‘from above’ power of the Roman Empire in order to maintain the existing peace and order of the church. Although he is not an Anglican theologian, it is worth noting the views of Meyendorff on the way in which the freedom of the church was lost in its alliance with the Roman Empire. As John Meyendorff says: ‘The new alliance with the Roman empire, whose administrative and legal structures required simplicity and clarity, imposed new servitudes upon the Church including the use of universally agreed upon theological formulae.’¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ On this, see John Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450-680 A.D.* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1989), pp. 28-38: ‘In Constantine, Eusebius sees the divinely appointed agent fulfilling the destiny prefigured by Augustus, and able to assure the cosmic triumph of Christianity...On earth, the emperor is, therefore, the image and agent of Christ.’ Ibid., pp. 31-32.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

Pax Ecclesiana which means ‘peace in the church’ replaced *Pax Christiana*. Correspondingly, *Pax Romana*’s dichotomy of who is right and who is wrong on the basis of the concept of victory and competition became the principal concept of *Pax Ecclesiana*. Anyone who acted against the existing order of the church was regarded as a rebel or heretic. The difference lay only in the fact that the heretic was guilty of treason under *Pax Ecclesiana*. We see this kind of *Pax Ecclesiana* in the exclusive and static notion of Anglican tribal identity today, and which has significantly contributed to the fragmentation of the Communion, judging ‘who is or is not or at least who is or not an Anglican.’¹⁰⁷

The Church ‘in’ Rome as one of the Churches of Christ in the world became the Church ‘of’ Rome which represents the Church of Christ and is central in carrying out God’s mission to the world in the name of *Pax Ecclesiana*. This meant that if the world is to reach and return to God, this could only happen through the Church ‘of’ Rome. It also meant that the Pope’s universal authority was the one and only method for the unity of the churches in the world.

2.3. *Pax Romana and the English Church*

Accordingly, this *Pax Ecclesiana* of the Church ‘of’ Rome caused St. Augustine of Canterbury sent by Pope Gregory the Great to land in Kent in 597. The mission of St. Augustine of Canterbury was meant to re-establish the old Roman imperial and structural ecclesiastical system which had disappeared in the fifth century due to the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain. Before the arrival of St. Augustine of Canterbury, there were two streams of Christianity in Britain: the remnants of the old Romano-

¹⁰⁷ Barry Morgan, ‘Presidential Address to the Governing Body of the Church in Wales September 2003,’ *Theology Wales* (2004), p. 9. See my discussion in Chapter 1 of the notion of Anglican tribal identity. Chapter 1, pp. 22-27.

British church and the old Celtic church coming down from Scotland and associated with people like St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert.

During the time of the mission of St. Augustine's successors, the Synod of Whitby was held in 664 (organised by Oswy, the Northumbria king) in order to discuss the different understanding of the date of Easter among different streams of Christianity in Britain.¹⁰⁸ This synod was the first official encounter of the two different cultures between Rome and Celt in the British Isles. Resulting from Oswy's favour with the custom of Rome, the controversy of the Synod was settled by the victory of St. Augustine's successors (among them Wilfrid and Agilbert), although 'competition between the two cultures and mentalities continued.'¹⁰⁹ This meant that the Church 'in' England, as one of the churches of Christ in the world, became one of the provinces of the Church 'of' Rome: 'The future of English Christianity was now clearly marked. For close on nine hundred years the Church in England would be in communion with, and an integral part of undivided western Christendom.'¹¹⁰ It also implied the English Church's integration into the new Roman imperial and structural ecclesiastical system. In other words, the English Church was seen as a representative of Roman imperial universalism.

The English Church had an identity from the sixth century up to the Reformation. This was an evolving identity, but I would claim it was essentially stable. At the Reformation this identity changed a great deal. The next section will discuss what is meant by identity and how it has changed.

¹⁰⁸ With regard to the Synod of Whitby, also see John Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 116-120.

¹⁰⁹ John Meyendorff, *op. cit.*, p. 319. In fact, 'even after Whitby, the old Celtic practice remained in force for a while at Iona (until 716) and in Wales until 755.' *Ibid.*, p. 319.

¹¹⁰ John Godfrey, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 119.

3. The Rise of Anglican Identity

3.1. The Henrician Reformation and Anglican Identity

The search for the new identity of the English Church and, by implication, Anglican identity began in its attempt to separate from the Church 'of' Rome, beginning with the meeting of the Reformation Parliament in 1529 under Henry VIII. A series of legislative acts of Parliament were passed to break with Rome. The 1533 *Act of Restraint of Appeals* made it illegal for any foreigner to interfere in English law or to have more authority in England than the King. The 1534 *Act of Supremacy* was passed. This act declared that the King was 'the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England.'¹¹¹ The 1536 *Act against the Pope's Authority* removed the last traces of Papal power in England, including the Pope's right to decide disputed points of Scripture. This was the start of the English Reformation.

In the reign of Henry VIII the Reformation was, however, essentially political rather than theological or ecclesiastical. It was a product of a Tudor nationalist resistance to Roman Catholic imperialism. As Mark Chapman says: 'At least at the beginning, the question of political authority came before theology: influenced by a group of advisers, including many church leaders, King Henry VIII came to believe that the Pope had usurped the authority which was rightly his.'¹¹² This meant that in the reign of Henry VIII the English Church was 'effectively nationalized and then, to a significant extent, privatized.'¹¹³ It also meant that the authority of the King replaced

¹¹¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. A. Luders, T.E. Tomlins, et al. (II vols., 1810-28), iii, p. 492, cited in Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 119. Hereafter referred to as *English Reformations*.

¹¹² Mark Chapman, *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 14. Hereafter referred to as *Anglicanism*.

¹¹³ Colin Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity* (London: Church House Publishing, 2005), p. 2.

the authority of the Pope: ‘The authority of the pope in Rome had been rejected, and replaced by a royal supremacy.’¹¹⁴

3.2. *The Religious Elizabethan Settlement*

The English Reformation was settled by a series of decisions under the reign of Elizabeth I. In the decades following Henry VIII’s death, under the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I England was chaotically torn by years of extremism between Roman Catholic and Puritan. Accordingly, in the reign of Elizabeth I a convergent ‘settlement,’ the prelude to the *Via Media* between the two opposing factions, became a political necessity.

In 1559 Elizabeth’s first Parliament proceeded to pass two Acts; the *Act of Supremacy* and the *Act of Uniformity* known as the ‘Elizabethan Settlement,’ as a compromise between the two opposing factions of Roman Catholic and Puritan. The *Act of Supremacy* removed all papal authority and re-established the sovereign as the Supreme Governor of the church: ‘It swept away all foreign authority, both spiritual and temporal, and vested in the Crown the supreme power over the national church, although it was careful to restrict such power and, for example, did not restore the title of “supreme head.”’¹¹⁵ The *Act of Uniformity*, which, ‘playing upon the country’s need for strength through unity,’¹¹⁶ was designed to establish a uniform order of worship by imposing the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*. By combining the 1552 version of the *Book of Common Prayer* with that of the more Catholic 1549 version, a compromise between Catholic and Protestant opinion was worked.

¹¹⁴ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *The Churches in England from Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II, Vol. I, 1558-1688* (London: SCM Press, 1996), p. 34. Hereafter referred to as *The Churches in England*.

¹¹⁶ John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, 3rd edition (Harrisburg: Morehouse Publishing, 1973), pp. 200-201. Hereafter referred to as *A History of the Church in England*.

If generalisation be allowed, as space does not permit a detailed discussion of the Elizabethan Settlement, it was 'a delicate operation to balance a variety of forces ranging from the conservatives to the returned Protestant exiles.'¹¹⁷ Although it resulted in the Church 'of' England, as a national church, under the centralised authority of Queen rather than the Church 'in' England under the rule of Christ, the intention of the Elizabethan Settlement was to return to the Holy Catholic Church of Christ in England, claiming to restore the pure faith of the primitive Church. This thought was expressed in the Bidding Prayer sent out with Elizabeth's Injunctions in 1559: 'For Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Church of England and Ireland.'¹¹⁸

Henry VIII did not wish to claim supreme power over the Church, or make himself like the Holy Roman Emperor. Instead he followed medieval kings, in claiming to be head of the Church, protecting his subjects from bodies such as the Papacy. It was not a wish to intervene in the authority of ministry which he claimed but a civil one. Elizabeth I followed Henry in the same argument. She claimed sovereignty over her people.¹¹⁹

It resulted in a Church that retained a large amount of continuity with the Church of the Patristic and Medieval periods in terms of its use of catholic creeds, its pattern of ministry, its buildings and aspects of its liturgy, and at the same time embodied Protestant insights in its theology and in the overall shape of its liturgical practice: 'It

¹¹⁷ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *The Churches in England*, p. 31.

¹¹⁸ Gee and Hardy, Documents, p. 440, cited in John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, p. 212.

¹¹⁹ See Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 38.

was catholic, but it was also reformed. Its roots ran back to the primitive church, but certain customs and ideas which had clung to it during the Middle Ages had now been cut away.’¹²⁰ As Diarmaid MacCulloch says: ‘From this story of confusion and changing direction emerged a Church which has never subsequently dared define its identity decisively as Protestant or Catholic, and which has decided in the end that this is a virtue rather than a handicap.’¹²¹ This is why the Church of England describes itself as both ‘catholic and reformed.’

This position was defended by certain Anglican apologists such as Matthew Parker, John Jewel, and Richard Hooker in response to the criticisms and threats from Roman Catholics on the one hand and from Puritans both at home and on the continent. Matthew Parker claimed that the English episcopate derived from the visit of Joseph of Arimathea and Jewel also insisted that the Church of England had departed, not from the catholic Church, but from ‘the errors of Rome.’¹²² In his *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* Richard Hooker defended the identity of the Church of England against both the centrality of Papal authority and Puritan claims for the definitive authority of Scripture.

In particular, Hooker, as ‘the Father of Anglicanism,’¹²³ is very important in understanding Anglican identity today, particularly the notion of Anglican identity as

¹²⁰ John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, p. 212.

¹²¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603* (London: Macmillan, 1990), p. 172.

¹²² Paul Avis, ‘What is Anglicanism?’, Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 472.

¹²³ I owe my use of the words ‘the Father of Anglicanism’ to Lorraine Cavanagh who uses it in the following terms: ‘This mystical understanding of the Church is at the heart of Anglican thinking. Richard Hooker, described as the Father of Anglicanism, builds his system of laws on the basic premise of collective mutuality and of participation in God as belonging together in Christ.’ Lorraine Cavanagh, ‘Truth and Meaning: Preaching the Gospel from a Church in Conflict,’ *The Expository Times*, vol. 116, no. 9 (June 2005), p. 291.

‘Communion.’ This is because he endowed the Church of England in the reign of Elizabeth I with the distinctive identity that it has imparted to Anglicans today. A glance at Hooker on Anglicanism may be helpful in this respect.

3.3. *Richard Hooker on Anglicanism: ‘Participation’*

For Hooker, God’s will and purpose for the highest good is ‘wholly identified with his being, in whom the Church participates in a profoundly Christological and eucharistic sense.’¹²⁴ That is to say that Hooker’s thinking is ‘informed by an understanding of the Church as one which is fully integrated, both in the ongoing dynamic of God’s purpose for its highest good and in its relationship.’¹²⁵ Such a relational and participatory understanding of both God and Church life derives from ‘an understanding of divine and natural laws as comprising a complementary system whose source and purpose for the highest good of people is in the dynamic nature of God’s own being.’¹²⁶ He believes that God’s will and purpose is ‘dynamic as a continuing activity which occurs within the movement of historical time and events.’¹²⁷ For this reason, Hooker describes the Church in terms which are both historical and participatory: ‘[E]very former part might give strength unto all that follow, and every later bring some light unto all before’ (I. 1.2).¹²⁸

In his *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* Hooker defines ‘participation’ as being ‘that mutual inward hold which Christ hath of us and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of special interest, property, and inherent copulation’

¹²⁴ Lorraine Cavanagh, ‘The Freeing of Anglican Identities,’ *Theology Wales* (2004), p. 23.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹²⁸ Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (The Everyman’s Library of the Works of Richard Hooker vols. I & II, Ernest Rhys ed.) (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. and E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1907), vol. 1, p. 149. Hereafter referred to as *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.

(V.56.1).¹²⁹ Hooker bases his discussion of ‘participation’ on the two Greek terms ‘*koinonia*’ and ‘*menein*.’ The term *koinonia* means ‘fellowship, a two-sided relationship with emphasis on giving and receiving’¹³⁰ as we participate in the Eucharist and share the bread and the cup with one another in the body and the blood of Christ (1 Cor. 10.16). The term *menein* means that ‘community of life between Father and Son and also the disciples’ sharing in Christ’s life as they do his works.’¹³¹ This would indicate that Hooker’s idea of participation is informed by his understanding of intrinsic relatedness and communion which exist in the life of the Trinity. He explained his term participation in Trinitarian communion as follows:

The Persons of the Godhead, by reason of the unity of their substance, do as necessarily remain one within another, as they are of necessity to be distinguished one from another...the Persons of that Trinity are not three particular substances of whom one *general* nature is common, but three that subsist by one substance *which itself is particular*, yet they all three have it, and their several ways of having it are that which maketh their personal distinction? (V.56.2)¹³²

For Hooker, God is ‘not merely *One*, not a mere unity, but he is the one *God*, that is, the one who is good, the one who includes in his perfect unity all possible good.’¹³³ This would indicate his confidence in the fundamental unity of the Church in Jesus Christ. As the foregoing discussion suggested, we are able to see in Hooker’s thinking of participation in Trinitarian communion the origin of Anglican unity in this respect.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, vol. 2, p. 225.

¹³⁰ John E. Booty, ‘Richard Hooker,’ in William J. Wolf (ed.), *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, p. 18.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹³² Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, vol. 2, pp. 225-226.

¹³³ These terms are from Thomas Hancock’s understanding of God. Although he does not use it in connection with Hooker’s understanding of God, he provides insights into the understanding of Hooker’s idea of participation in the Trinitarian Communion. Thomas Hancock, ‘The Fellowship in God the Source of Humanity’s Fellowship with God,’ quoted in A.M. Allchin, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglican Tradition* (Oxford: SLG Press, 1994), p. 9.

¹³⁴ See my discussion in Chapter 1 of the nature of Anglican unity. Chapter 1, pp. 13-15.

Hooker applied his idea of relational and communal participation to the relationship between Scripture, tradition, and reason which together guaranteed the authority of the Church. Hooker understood the authority of Scripture, tradition, and reason as a means of participation in the life of Jesus Christ, as sacraments are means of participation in His life: 'We receive Christ Jesus in baptism once as the first beginner, in the eucharist often as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life' (V.57.6).¹³⁵ In this respect, we see in Hooker's participatory understanding of authority the origin of Anglican dispersed authority, which signifies the dynamic and relational means for being unified in Jesus Christ.¹³⁶

Consequently, Hooker's participatory thinking of Anglicanism provides us with a conceptual basis for the dynamic notion of Anglican identity as 'Communion,' one which reflects the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. Although Hooker's view of the Church and state of his own day does not correspond closely to our own, the theological circumstances of his day are related in many ways to our own.¹³⁷ After addressing the Eucharistic controversy, he goes on to say:

What these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ, his promise in witness hereof sufficeth, his word he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, O my God thou art true, O my soul thou art happy! (V.67.12)¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, vol. 2, p. 237. In this respect, as we shall see later in Chapter 5 (especially, pp. 189-197), there is a close connection between Hooker's participatory understanding of the authority of Scripture, tradition, and reason, and F.D. Maurice's comprehensive understanding of the six signs of catholicity: Baptism, the Creeds, Worship, the Eucharist, the ordained Ministry, and Scripture.

¹³⁶ See my discussion in Chapter 1 of the nature of Anglican authority. Chapter 1, pp. 16-19.

¹³⁷ The Catholic/Protestant controversy of Hooker's day corresponds closely to the 'traditionalist'/'liberals' controversy in the Anglican Communion today.

¹³⁸ Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, vol. 2, p. 331.

From the time of the Elizabethan Settlement the Church of England took for granted that 'its identity derived from its legal status in the English political framework.'¹³⁹

This meant that the centralised 'from above' authority of traditional hierarchy (queens, kings, rulers, etc.) became a powerful means of expressing and shaping unity. It also led to unity being achieved by violence in the victory and competition of the English Civil War which ended in the 1689 *Act of Toleration*.

3.4. *Anglican Identity in the English Civil War*

In the seventeenth century ongoing conflicts over theological and liturgical issues within the Church of England resulted in the English Civil War (1642-1646). This does not mean that religion was the only cause of the Civil War. The causes of the Civil War were connected to 'the political, constitutional, economic and social context for the story of the churches in these years.'¹⁴⁰ It is 'an overstatement to call the mid-seventeenth century crisis "England's wars of religion," but religion was central in both the causes and course of those epoch-making events.'¹⁴¹

The victory of Parliament over the Royalists, who were associated with the Church of England, in the Civil War abolished the liturgy of the Church of England including the Prayer Book, its calendar, and Episcopal polity which were chosen targets of Parliamentary reformers.¹⁴² After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 this situation was reversed. Those who refused this situation were forced to leave their

¹³⁹ William L. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From state Church to global communion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 70. Hereafter referred to as *The Transformation of Anglicanism*.

¹⁴⁰ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *The Churches in England*, p. 187.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹⁴² See Judith Maltby, 'Suffering and Surviving: The Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Formation of "Anglicanism," 1642-1660,' in Stephen Platten (ed.), *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition: Continuity, Change and the Search for Communion* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2003), pp. 124-125.

posts. These dissenting clergy and their congregations were afflicted until 1689 when the *Toleration Act* gave legal existence to those Protestant groups outside the Church of England as long as they still accepted the doctrine of the Trinity. As Kenneth Hylson-Smith says:

The 1689 Toleration Act provided exemption from the penalties of the Elizabethan Act of 1593 [Act against Seditious Sectaries]¹⁴³ and the Conventicle Act of 1670 for Protestant Trinitarian Dissenters who took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and obtained a licence for their meetings; and those Nonconformist ministers who subscribed to thirty-six of the Thirty-Nine Articles were to be exempt from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity and of the Five Mile Act¹⁴⁴...Only Roman Catholics and those who denied the doctrine of the Trinity were specifically, excluded from the benefits of the Act.¹⁴⁵

After the 1689 settlement the dissenters were accepted and maintained their separate religious life while the Church of England has remained the established Church: 'The Toleration Act of 1689 marked the end of the Church of England's claim to be the national church, the single all-inclusive church of the English people, after almost thirty years of struggle.'¹⁴⁶ This meant that the national church, which had existed at least since the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement, had become the established church. In other words, the 1689 settlement shaped 'the Church of England into one denomination among others, albeit one with many privileges.'¹⁴⁷ It also meant that the synthesised national identity of politics and religion based on the centralised 'from above' authority of traditional hierarchy (queens, kings, rulers, etc.), which had existed at least since the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement, has remained and defined, until now, the identity of the Church of England. Accordingly, thinking of Anglican

¹⁴³ In 1593 an *Act against Seditious Sectaries* was passed, 'imposing severe punishments of imprisonment, banishment and even death for such as refuse to go to church or who attend conventicles.' John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, p. 211.

¹⁴⁴ The *Five Mile Act* which was passed in 1666, forbade 'any nonconformist minister to live or visit within five miles of any place in which he had previously worked.' *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

¹⁴⁵ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *The Churches in England*, pp. 288-289.

¹⁴⁶ John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 105.

¹⁴⁷ Mark Chapman, *Anglicanism*, p. 56.

identity in this way has remained the basis of the structural and instrumental notion of Anglican tribal identity today.

3.5. *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Identity*

Peter Nockles describes early nineteenth-century Britain as ‘an age of imaginative historical reconstruction, born of a self-conscious desire to re-appropriate aspects of a disputed or ambiguous historical past.’¹⁴⁸ This implies that the early nineteenth century’s revolutionary social changes which derived from the secularisation and industrialisation of the two revolutions (i.e. the 1789 French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution) led to a collapse of confidence in the existing old order, in particular causing the Church of England to lose its authority, and thus undermine its relevance to society and state. This indicated the crisis of the authority of the established church. It called for reconsidering the role and nature of the established church; that is, the synthesised national identity of politics and religion, which had existed since the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement. In other words, one consequence of the cataclysmic revolutions for the Church of England was that ‘religion and politics could no longer be presented as but two aspects of the same things.’¹⁴⁹

As a result, in the first half of the nineteenth century the idea of Church reform was very common in English society following a series of Parliamentary reforms.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Peter Nockles, ‘Survivals or New Arrivals? The Oxford Movement and the Nineteenth-Century Historical Construction of Anglicanism,’ in Stephen Platten (ed.), *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition: Continuity, Change and the Search for Communion* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2003), p. 144. Hereafter referred to as ‘Survivals or New Arrivals?’

¹⁴⁹ Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 44. Hereafter referred to as *The Oxford Movement in Context*.

¹⁵⁰ The abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, and the Reform Acts in 1832 were passed. With regard to the context of these reforms, see Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England: From the Sixteenth Century to*

However, the Church of England was largely indifferent to all the vast changes. A general indifference in Church life resulted in the very individualistic thinking within the Church, dividing opinions on the direction of reform within the Church of England.¹⁵¹ This situation resulted in government interference in Church reform. This government action in turn raised the question of the identity of the Church of England, namely the relationship between Church and State. One response came from the Oxford Movement. On July 14, 1833, John Keble preached a sermon before the Judges of Assize at Oxford on the subject of 'National Apostasy' which called for order and authority in the Church as well as State.¹⁵² The Oxford Movement had begun.

If generalisation be allowed, as space does not permit a detailed discussion of the Oxford Movement,¹⁵³ central to the Oxford Movement's policy of Church reform in order to resolve the crisis over the authority of the Church of England was 'the assertion of the Apostolic succession and of the supreme importance and divine nature of the ministry and of episcopacy in particular;...the re-assertion of the centrality of the life of the Church of the sacraments.'¹⁵⁴ Although this kind of supremacy of the traditional ordinances of the Church caused the Oxford Movement to become a turning point of the growth of party conflict within the Church of England,¹⁵⁵ the

the Late Twentieth Century (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), p. 124. Hereafter referred to as *High Churchmanship in the Church of England*.

¹⁵¹ However the historian W.M. Jacob has questioned how bad the eighteenth century Church of England actually was. See his *Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007).

¹⁵² With regard to John Keble's contribution to the mind of the Oxford Movement, see Owen Chadwick (ed.), *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960), pp. 30-41. Hereafter referred to as *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*.

¹⁵³ The context of the Oxford Movement is addressed in detail in Chapter 5, pp. 151-154.

¹⁵⁴ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 5, pp. 151-157 for a more detailed discussion of my understanding of the Oxford Movement in the context of the growth of party conflict within the Church of England in the early nineteenth century.

Movement made a contribution to the paradigm shift of Anglican identity from a synthesised national identity of politics and religion to an ecclesial one.

However, it became a 'Church-centred' identity which is directly connected to the notion of Church 'of' the world focusing on a centralised authority of the bishops, rather than a 'Christ-centred' and 'world-connected' identity which is directly associated with the notion of Church 'in' the world. This meant the Oxford Movement induced the Church of England to reconstruct its authority as hierarchical or 'from above.' Jeremy Morris's brief contrast between J. H. Newman, one of the leading figures of the Oxford Movement, and F.D. Maurice who was contemporary with Newman, defending Anglicanism against static approaches to the life of the Church, on the idea of a *Via Media* supports my argument:

He [Newman] defined the *via media* from the starting point of a common identity with Roman Catholicism, seeing Protestantism as a more fundamental aberration than Romanism. In doing so, he articulated a defence of the doctrinal tradition of Anglicanism which reflected the position of Tractarianism as a whole, and which has been – and arguably remains – profoundly important even today, but which nevertheless was vulnerable in its assumption of a fixed, authoritative point in history. This was a form of historicism: ultimately it made the content of the prophetic tradition of the church dependent on a notional reconstruction of patristic norms. For Maurice, there was no fixed point of history from which the doctrinal character of Anglicanism could be evaluated. Guided by his theology of revelation, and by his conviction that God's ordering of the world was a continuous process, Maurice presented a providential defence of the Church of England. He did not use the language of a *via media*, and even though he did use the term 'comprehensive' at times in relation to Anglicanism, nevertheless he described Anglicanism not as a definite position between other doctrinal traditions, but as a polity containing within itself hints of the greater reality of the universal church.¹⁵⁶

The ecclesiological understanding of the Oxford Movement greatly affected the rise of the Anglican Communion identity at the time of the British Empire. In a time of

¹⁵⁶ Jeremy Morris, 'Newman and Maurice on the *Via Media* of the Anglican Church,' *Anglican Theological Review*, vol. 85, no. 4 (2003), pp. 632-633. Hereafter referred to as 'Newman and Maurice on the *Via Media* of the Anglican Church.'

British Imperialism Newman's fixed and authoritative Church-centred view of Anglican identity had been welcomed largely by the Church authorities for the unity of British colonial churches rather than Maurice's comprehensive Christ-centred and world-connected view of Anglican identity. The characteristic figure of this era was F.D. Maurice, who had a great influence on contemporary Anglican identity. A glance at Maurice's idea of comprehensiveness which is a living principle informing Anglican identity today may be helpful in this respect.

3.6. *F.D. Maurice on Anglicanism: 'Comprehensiveness'*

From the eighteenth century onwards, there has been a rise within the Church of England of the conflict of three parties; the Evangelical, the Catholic, and the Liberal.¹⁵⁷ In particular, the two distinctive parties Evangelicalism (which originated in the evangelical Revival of the eighteenth-century associated in England with John Wesley) and Tractarianism (which is another name of the Oxford Movement)¹⁵⁸ were occupied with the competing and sectarian systems which they used to defend their own doctrinal positions, thus causing the crisis of Anglicanism of F.D. Maurice's day. Maurice believed that the conflict constitutes their exclusive, sectarian, and systematised thinking; separated from the communal life of the triune God. This allowed Maurice to defend Anglicanism against static approaches to the life of the Church, by seeking to discover what I would call the threefold principle of being the Church: 1) The life of Trinitarian communion in Christ as the fundamental task of the Church; 2) The catholicity of the Church as the nature of the Church's faith; and, 3)

¹⁵⁷ See my discussion in Chapter 1 of the three parties. Chapter 1, note 46, p. 17.

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter 5, pp. 154-157 for a more detailed discussion of my understanding of the conflict between Evangelicalism and Tractarianism.

The sociality of the Church, and by implication, *Missio Dei*, as the vision of the Church.¹⁵⁹

The concept of comprehensiveness derived from Maurice's key theological idea of the intrinsic communion which exists in the life of the Trinity and was his principal means for interpreting the source and nature of his threefold principle.¹⁶⁰ For Maurice, comprehensiveness was a means, as 'a divine harmony,'¹⁶¹ which discovers a way of being the Church towards God-given unity, moving across existing boundaries in the life of the Church of England of his day through a process of complementarity: 'All thoughts, schemes, systems, speculations, may contribute their quota to some one which shall be larger and deeper than any one of them.'¹⁶² In other words, Maurice had confidence in that comprehensive thinking in the life of the Church, which derives from the life of Trinitarian communion, could transcend the two parties' competing systems of exclusion through a process of complementing one another unless they distort these systems for their own partisan interests.

In this respect, Maurice's comprehensiveness which reflects the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships might be viewed as a precedent for the replace with a dynamic notion of Anglican identity as Communion. Maurice's principle of comprehensiveness helps shape my idea of Anglican identity as Communion in this thesis.

¹⁵⁹ The threefold principle of Maurice's ecclesiology is addressed in detail in Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁰ F.D. Maurice's comprehensiveness is addressed in detail in Chapter 5.

¹⁶¹ See F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ or Hints to a Quaker Respecting the Principles, Constitution, and Ordinances of the Catholic Church*, II, 4th edition (London: Macmillan, 1891), p. 401. Hereafter referred to as *The Kingdom of Christ*. *The Kingdom of Christ* was first published in 1838 (1st edition). Its second edition was revised in 1842. All page references in this thesis are to the 4th edition of Macmillan except for a few from the 1838 edition.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

4. *Pax Anglicana* (British Imperialism) and Anglican Identity

4.1. The Rise of the Anglican Communion

As a result of British imperialism, by the mid-nineteenth century the Church of England as the established church had become a world-wide church. The term '*Ecclesia Anglicana*' which had meant the established church composed of people living in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland with a few English living overseas had now become broader. Accordingly, a new term 'Anglican Communion' had replaced the old phrase '*Ecclesia Anglicana*.' Since the Anglican Communion formally established itself in the first Lambeth Conference of 1867,¹⁶³ the Report to the 1930 Lambeth Conference on the Anglican Communion stated:

We desire emphatically to point out that the term 'Anglican' is no longer used in the sense it originally bore. The phrase '*Ecclesia Anglicana*' in Magna Carta had a purely local connotation. Now its sense is ecclesiastical and doctrinal, and the Anglican Communion includes not merely those who are racially connected with England, but many others whose faith has been grounded in the doctrines and ideals for which the Church of England has always stood.¹⁶⁴

This also raised a new question about Anglican identity. The question of Anglican identity as a domestic issue within the Church of England became a global issue. This change from a mono-cultural Anglican identity stemming from the sameness of English heritage to a multicultural Anglican identity caused the Church of England to be faced with an identity crisis. This meant that ambiguities in the balance of power and the sources of authority began to emerge. During the period of British colonialism this identity conflict culminated in its exclusive and structural synthesised identity of

¹⁶³ See Mark Chapman, *Anglicanism*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁴ *The 1930 Lambeth Conference 1930*, p. 154. With regard to the context of the term 'the Anglican Communion,' see Alan M.G. Stephenson, *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences* (London: SPCK, 1978), pp. 5-8.

colonialism and mission, which was an extension of the Church of England's synthesised national identity of politics and religion.

4.2. A Synthesised Identity of Colonialism and Mission of the Church of England

Some parts of the Anglican Communion asserted independence in the nineteenth century, especially the Anglican Church in the United States, and the work of Bishop George Selwyn who set up synodical government in New Zealand. Selwyn called an informal synod in 1844 and he got powers in 1854 to give synodical power to his diocese.¹⁶⁵ In spite of other moves to self determination it seemed that the Church of England forgot the experience of the English Reformation in the sixteenth century. The churches 'in' British colonies, and their sister and brother churches, became the provinces of the Church 'of' England as the Church 'in' Britain had become one of the provinces of the Church 'of' Rome in the sixth century. The Church of England replaced the Church of Christ within the Anglican Communion. This meant that the centralised 'from-above' authority of the Church of England was the primary method for the unity of the Anglican Communion. It also indicated that Anglican Communion identity meant the identity of the Church of England.

In the time of the British Empire we saw the rise of *Pax Anglicana* which means 'peace in the British Empire.' This was the nineteenth-century version of *Pax Romana* which accompanied *Pax Ecclesiana*, which would later become a synthesised identity of colonialism and mission that dominated the Anglican Communion identity during the time of British colonialism.

¹⁶⁵ See Perry Butler, 'From the Early Eighteenth Century to the Present Day,' in Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 41.

A review of articles upon church history gives rise to differing views concerning whether missionary influence conformed to colonialism and imperialistic values. For instance, Stephen Neill who served in India and later entered academia, describes the mid-nineteenth century as the 'Heyday of Colonialism.'¹⁶⁶ At that time the missionary enterprise of the Western churches often lay at the heart of the expansionist policy of colonialism. During this period, most Western missionaries were loyal patriots who carried out their duties for the expansionist policy of their own fatherlands, based on a 'synthesised model of colonialism and mission.'¹⁶⁷ They were inherently bound up with colonialism, notwithstanding the fact that they had a passionate mission will and strong faith in Jesus Christ. As Neill points out: 'Missionaries in the nineteenth century had to some extent yielded to the colonial complex. Only Western man was wise and good, and members of other races, in so far as they became westernized, might share in this wisdom and goodness. But Western man was the leader, and would remain so for a very long time, perhaps for ever.'¹⁶⁸

In contrast, Andrew Wall, Professor Emeritus at Edinburgh University, who served as a missionary in Sierra Leone, seems to have discerned that the Gospel preached to the people had a radical effect upon them and their culture outside of his own norms and expectations.¹⁶⁹ The difference between these attitudes may lie within the contexts within which they served. If this is so it may be important to examine the host country or community just as much as the sending authority.

¹⁶⁶ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 2nd edition (London: Penguin Books, 1986), p. 273. Hereafter referred to as *A History of Christian Missions*.

¹⁶⁷ Gyu-Tae Shon, *The History of Ethical Thought of Protestantism (改新教 倫理思想史)* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1998), p. 561.

¹⁶⁸ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 220.

¹⁶⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the understanding of Andrew Walls on the missionary movement, see Tim Stafford, 'Historian Ahead of His Time,' *Christian History & Biography* <<http://www.christianitytoday.com/history/newsletter/2007/ct-mar8.html>> [accessed September 2008]

With such a broad spectrum of possible outcomes we might find that an unconscious attitude of British imperialism has in some places or on some occasions caused the Church of England to follow a synthesised identity of colonialism and mission when confronted with the question of the unity of the Anglican Communion, which accompanied the question of the balance of power and the sources of authority. A certain history of the Anglican Church of Korea may be helpful to understand this argument.

5. British Imperialism and the Identity of the Anglican Church of Korea

5.1. The History of the Anglican Church of Korea during the Era of British Imperialism

The birth of the Anglican Church of Korea was rooted in the ‘synthesised model of colonialism and mission’ of the Church of England. During the nineteenth century the Church of England spread all over the world thanks to the development of British colonialism. The Church of England was established in China, Japan, and in East Asia as well as in America, Canada, New Zealand, India, and Africa. This coincided with the beginning of a period of profound political and social change for Korea. The opening of the Korean ports in 1884 and the treaties with the great powers that followed marked the end of the Chosun Dynasty¹⁷⁰ and the beginning of a flood of Western influence. It was under these circumstances that Britain concluded a treaty with Korea in 1883.

Following the British-Korean Treaty of 1883 the three English bishops to China (Burdon, Moule, and Scott) took the opportunity to appeal to the Archbishop of

¹⁷⁰ The Chosun Dynasty was the final ruling dynasty of Korea, lasting from 1392 until 1910. The name Chosun comes from the ancient dynasty of Korea, Gochosun, which was founded 2333 BC. The Chosun Dynasty came to an end with Japanese annexation in 1910.

Canterbury, the Most Revd. Edward W. Benson, to begin a mission in Korea.¹⁷¹ Eventually, Bishop Charles John Corfe, a successor of the Oxford Movement and a fervent Anglo-Catholic,¹⁷² was consecrated in Westminster Abbey as the first missionary bishop of the diocese of Korea of the Church of England in 1889. He arrived in Korea with a small band of missionaries in 1890 and then began his mission work by opening a number of schools and hospitals.¹⁷³

For over fifty years following the time when Bishop Corfe started to conduct his missionary work in Korea in 1890, the 'synthesised model of colonialism and mission' was at the heart of the mission policy of the early missionary bishops, despite the fact that they had a strong missionary will and a strong faith individually. Bishop Corfe's missionary work in Korea was focused primarily on the English and Japanese who lived in Korea, and not on Koreans themselves.¹⁷⁴ After the Treaty of Alliance between Japan and Britain in 1902 Britain had had a good relationship with Japan. Accordingly, the Japanese and the British were regarded as equals in the Anglican Church of Korea despite the fact that most Koreans were still suffering from

¹⁷¹ See M.N. Trollope, *The Church of Corea* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd, 1915), pp. 28-29, cited in The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *A History of Korean Church I (韓國基督教의 歷史 I)* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Press, 1989), p. 186.

¹⁷² Bishop Corfe's belief was in the Catholic tradition of celibacy, a semi-monastic life, without family or ties. See Jung-Ku Lee, 'Architectural Anglicanism: A Missiological Interpretation of Kangwha Church and Seoul Anglican Cathedral' (Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham University, 1998), p. 105. Hereafter referred to as 'Architectural Anglicanism.' Corfe's Catholic belief has decisively affected the Korean Anglican Church's life.

¹⁷³ When Bishop Corfe began his missionary work, the King in Chosun (Korea) only permitted the early Western missionaries to carry out medical and educational work. As a result, other denominations as well as the Church of England built hospitals and schools early in their mission work and planned their mission work through them. Before Bishop Corfe started to conduct his mission work in Korea, the missionaries of American Presbyterians, Methodists and Roman Catholics had already engaged in mission work. Roman Catholics had started around a century earlier and the first American Presbyterian missionary arrived in 1884. See *ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

¹⁷⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 126.

the effects of Japanese colonial rule, such as the obliteration of Korean culture and history, the outlawing of the Korean language and even of family names.¹⁷⁵

For Bishop Corfe, Koreans were an object of compassion, not mission companions. As Jung-Ku Lee argues: 'It is regrettable that Corfe did not set up Korean native people as mission companions and even during his term of office, he did missionary work in the one-sided way of civilising Korea.'¹⁷⁶ Bishop Corfe regarded the Anglican Church of Korea not as a missional church working with Koreans but as a mere diocese of the Church of England giving aid to the poor Koreans.

Bishop Corfe's political mission policy which linked colonialism with mission had a considerable influence on the approach of his successors. Unlike the American Protestant missionaries in Korea at that time, whose targets were all Koreans, Corfe's successors still focused on caring for the Japanese and the British rather than on Koreans.¹⁷⁷ In particular, when the March First Movement, the non-violent demonstration for independence, took place in 1919, millions of Koreans including many Korean Protestants¹⁷⁸ took part in that movement against Japanese colonial rule. At that time, the English missionaries were indifferent to the Korean independence movement. This political attitude has been one of the major obstacles to the development of the Anglican Church of Korea following Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945.

¹⁷⁵ In 1876 the Japanese forced Korea to establish diplomatic relations with them and then the Japanese annexation of Korea took place in 1910. Japanese colonial rule lasted for 36 years until 1945.

¹⁷⁶ Jung-Ku Lee, 'Architectural Anglicanism,' p. 107.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁷⁸ See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 292: 'The independent spirit of the Korean Protestants made them natural allies of every movement for national independence, and therefore natural objects of the suspicion of the Japanese.'

During the period from 1890 to 1945 the early missionary bishops (who came from wealthy upper-middle-class families and were educated at Oxford)¹⁷⁹ appeared to carry out their missionary work as loyal patriots who were responsible for the expansionist policy of colonialism of Britain based on the 'synthesised model of colonialism and mission' rather than as faithful missionaries for the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They were not pure missionaries of the Church of Christ 'in' Korea working 'with' Koreans but bishops of one of the dioceses of the Church 'of' England, carrying out their duties for the expansionist policy of their own fatherland.

I have briefly outlined a certain aspect of the effect of the Church of England's exclusive and structural synthesised identity of colonialism and mission during the time of British imperialism through the history of the Anglican Church of Korea, focusing on the English missional policy since its foundation in 1890. Admittedly, Korea was never a British colony but this does not mean that the Anglican Church of Korea is free from the suspicion of British economic, cultural, and religious colonialism; the so-called 'Anglo-Saxon captivity'¹⁸⁰ of the Anglican Communion. This has caused the Anglican Church of Korea to be faced with an identity crisis of its own.

¹⁷⁹ See Jung-Ku Lee, 'Architectural Anglicanism,' pp. 104-105: 'C.J. Corfe, bishop of Korea from 1890 to 1904, was a graduate of All Souls College, Oxford. His successor, Arthur Beresford Turner (1862-1910), the second bishop of Korea between 1905 and 1910, was educated at Marlborough, and at Keble College, Oxford. Turner's successor, Mark Napier Trollope, the third bishop of Korea from 1911 to 1930, was educated at Lancing and New College, Oxford.'

¹⁸⁰ With regard to the term 'Anglo-Saxon captivity,' see John S. Pobee, 'Non-Anglo-Saxon Anglicanism,' in Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, pp. 446-459. John Pobee argues that the key to the liberation from Anglo-Saxon captivity is 'the freedom to devise theology and worship consonant with a non-Anglo-Saxon ethos and usage.' *Ibid.*, p. 454.

5.2. The Crisis of the Identity of the Anglican Church of Korea Today: 1945 – the Present

Hope for the Anglican Church of Korea working *with* Koreans dawned when it experienced two great upheavals: Liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 and the 1950-1953 Korean War. Liberation in 1945 was followed by utter confusion in every aspect of Korean life. The Cold War confrontation which followed was only brought to an end when the United States and the Soviet Union to agree to divide Korea at the 38th parallel, even though all Koreans wanted unification. Korea was forcefully separated into two distinct governments and states by the two powers in 1947, as a result the Korean War broke out in 1950. The 1950-1953 Korean War has left not only several million victims but also deep scars of division. During the Korean War, the Anglican Church of Korea lost several Korean and British clergy and a British nun, as well as many churches in North Korea.

Bishop John Charles Sydney Daly, the fifth bishop of the Anglican Church of Korea, came to Korea in 1955 and then began his missionary work, focusing on establishing the Anglican Church of Korea for Koreans and by Koreans. He argued that the Anglican Church of Korea must become genuinely Korean, this established the aim of his mission as being the calling into existence of a self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating Church at the 21st Synod of the Korean diocese, on 25th of June 1965.¹⁸¹ In fact, he was the first missionary bishop to raise the question of identity with Korean Anglicans since the founding of the Anglican Church of Korea in 1890. In order to achieve the aim of his mission, Bishop Daly carried out his missionary work step by step, beginning with the ecumenical movement, which was followed by

¹⁸¹ Jae-Jung Lee, *The Centennial History of the Korean Anglican Church: 1890-1990* (Seoul: The Anglican Church of Korea Press, 1990), p. 36.

social activity, industrial mission, theological education, and preparation for the first native Korean bishop. Here Jin-Man Kim's writing on Bishop Daly's industrial mission is worth noting:

He introduced the idea of industrial mission and started to put it into practice by establishing a bridgehead in the form of an Anglican church in Yongdungpo, an industrial area of Seoul. The idea had never been heard of and the practice did not exactly please the then military government in power. Daly had worked for miners in England, and he saw the need for a Christian witness among the Korean mining communities. The Anglican Church was too small and weak to bring his idea and work to fruition, but his pioneering spirit has been remembered by all the Christian churches in Korea. He taught them that industrial mission was a legitimate work of the church. During the days of military dictatorship, a great number of Christians and Christian bodies involved themselves in the work for workers at their own risk.¹⁸²

Bishop Daly's idea of sociality that articulated the relationship between world/church/kingdom has greatly affected the social missionary organisations in Korea as well as the social mission of the Anglican Church of Korea up to now. In 1965, Bishop Daly divided the Anglican Church of Korea into two dioceses and then put a Korean bishop in Seoul, the capital, while he took the provincial town of Daejeon.

This is worth reconsidering. As Reuben Archer Torrey states:

As far as I know, that's the first time in the history of the Anglican Church that a foreign bishop stepped down and put himself under, as it were, a native bishop. Usually, when they divided it up, the native bishops were put under the foreign bishop. The foreign bishop stayed in the capital, or they moved out of the country completely. I don't know of any case where the foreign bishop stepped down and took the smaller, new pioneering area.¹⁸³

This shows Bishop Daly's strong will towards a sovereign Korean Church as well as his humble and devoted faith. Finally, Bishop Chun-Hwan Lee was consecrated as the first native Korean Bishop of the Anglican Church of Korea in 1965. The aim of his

¹⁸²Jin-Man Kim, 'Korean Anglican Church's Contributions to Christianity,' *Public Lecture*, Seoul, Korea (2001).

¹⁸³ Collection 331 – Reuben Archer Torrey, III. T2 Transcript, *Billy Graham Centre Archives* <www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/trans/331t02.htm> [accessed March 2006]

mission was also to establish the Anglican Church of Korea as an independent Church adhering to Bishop Daly's mission policy. Central to Bishop Lee's notion of an independent Church was the question of the identity of the Anglican Church of Korea.¹⁸⁴ In order to address this question, he attempted to carry out his mission on the basis of the following mission policy: an ecumenical Church rather than a denominational Church; an equality, participation-centred Church rather than an authority-centred Church; a plural progressive Church rather than an exclusive conservative Church.¹⁸⁵

However, history has shown that Bishop Lee's mission policy appeared not to have been successful. At that time, most Korean Anglicans adhered to strong Catholic traditions inherited from the early missionary bishops. As Reuben Archer Torrey points out: 'The Anglicans up to that time had been very very much in their own thing, and having nothing to do with Protestants. They weren't Protestants, they were Catholics, and they just wouldn't touch Protestants.'¹⁸⁶ Moreover, the policy of social mission inherited from Bishop Daly had been sustained in the early stages of Bishop Lee's ministry but Bishop Daly's idea of sociality had faded away in carrying out a social mission. Social mission had been regarded as mere relief work for the outcast, not the real work of the Church. Further, building a number of new churches across the country caused Bishop Lee's missional identity to be faced with a crisis, because most new churches were evangelical and conservative churches.

¹⁸⁴ Jae-Jung Lee, *op. cit.*, 1990, p. 280.

¹⁸⁵ Chun-Hwan Lee, 'The Agony of building churches,' *The Testimony of the Centennial Mission History* (Seoul: The Anglican Church of Korea Press, 1990), pp. 11-12.

¹⁸⁶ Collection 331 – Reuben Archer Torrey, III. T2 Transcript, Billy Graham Centre Archives, <www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/trans/331t02.htm> [accessed March 2006]

Bishop Richard Rutt, the last foreign missionary bishop, left Korea in 1974. It is here worth noting that Bishop Richard Rutt became Bishop of Leicester in 1974. He then later left the Church of England in 1994 for the Roman Catholic Church because of his opposition to the ordination of women to the priesthood. I would mention this because it shows how very Catholic were the foreign missionary Anglican bishops in Korea, and also how much they were close to the spirit of the Oxford Movement, even in 1974.

Since Bishop Richard Rutt's return to Britain, the confusion within the Anglican Church of Korea has been exacerbated. The Anglo-Catholic tradition inherited from the early missionary bishops has been gradually diluted within the Anglican Church of Korea. Although the Korean Church was shaped through the enthronement of the first Korean native bishop in 1965, it failed to transform the inheritance from the English missionary bishops into its own characteristics and its own identity. The grasp of the English missionary bishops during the past 80 years was too wide and deep for the infant Korean Church to escape from.

This process of dilution and confusion within the Anglican Church of Korea gave rise to uncertainty with regard to its identity. The question of identity has arisen during the two decades since the foreign missionary bishops were withdrawn completely in 1974. The Provincial Constitution of the Anglican Church of Korea was declared on the 29th of September 1992 and the first Korean Primate was inaugurated on the 16th of April

1993.¹⁸⁷ The Anglican Church of Korea became an autonomous province within the Anglican Communion 103 years after its foundation in 1890.

In short, the history of the Anglican Church of Korea during last century was one of upheaval and fragmentation. Its confused and fragmented history influenced by British imperialism has led to the identity crisis of the Anglican Church of Korea today. Since its foundation in 1890, the Anglican Church of Korea experienced three great upheavals: Japanese colonial rule, the Korean War, and military dictatorship. It was during the time of Japanese colonialism when the Korean national identity as well as the identity of the Anglican Church of Korea was most threatened. During the Korean War the question of how to survive was imminent, setting the identity issue aside. Under the development of military dictatorship from the early 1960s to the late 1980s, an individual identity and a group identity was ignored. This instability of Korean history, along with its fragmented missional history, has caused the Anglican Church of Korea to fail to retain its own identity.

Moreover, since the foreign missionary bishops were withdrawn completely in 1974, the Anglican Church of Korea has tried to construct its own character as a genuine Korean missional Church. However, as already stated, the Anglican Church of Korea has failed to transform the inheritance from the English missionary bishops into its own character and its own identity. The Anglican Church of Korea has been preoccupied with keeping its inheritance separated from its transformation. Consequently, all these have caused the Anglican Church of Korea today to be faced with an ecclesial and missional crisis over identity.

¹⁸⁷ See 'Brief History of the Anglican Church of Korea' < <http://www.skh.or.kr/story.htm> > [accessed March 2007]

Korean society today has become more complex with the rapid growth of secularisation and increasing religious diversity. In addition to this, and in order to survive increasing social complexity, Korean ‘mega’ churches such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Presbyterian Church, and the Methodist Church are preoccupied with competition over size. This situation has caused the Anglican Church of Korea to become further marginalised. As a result, some Korean Anglicans are faced with a loss of meaning with regard to being Anglican. Others may even feel a certain alienation from the community in which the division between catholic, evangelical, and liberal has been exacerbated.¹⁸⁸ This gives rise to such questions as: Where have we come from? Who are we now? Why are we Anglican, not Korean? Where are we going? Who will we be in the future?

5.3. The Effect of the Church of England’s Synthesised Identity of Colonialism and Mission

In fact, it is the Church which provides a community vision for Christians. The vision is that the Church, as both ‘a sign and disclosure of the Kingdom of God,’ and ‘the agent of his mission – the community through whom he acts for the world’s redemption,’¹⁸⁹ encourages Christians to understand its purpose and nature, which bear witness to the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships. This is why we call

¹⁸⁸ In recent years, the division between the catholic, the Evangelical and the Liberal in the Anglican Church of Korea has been exacerbated. The catholic still remain defensive and give conventional and ambiguous answers (e.g. a reformed catholic Church inherited from Britain; the Church that takes the golden mean, namely, the *Via Media* of Anglicanism, between Roman Catholic and Protestantism) when their identity has been questioned in the last two decades. The catholic tends to deprecate Evangelicals as well as Liberals, defining them as extremists. In the meantime, the growing numbers of Evangelicals in Korea claim that evangelism as the central focus of Scripture is the only answer to the identity crisis of the Anglican Church of Korea today, emphasising the current growth of evangelism in the Anglican Communion. They are preoccupied with Church growth within the Korean Protestant Church akin to that in the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church. In contrast, some Liberals argue that Anglicanism in Korea is no more than a legacy of British colonialism, insisting on constructing a new paradigm of Anglicanism relevant to the context. They appear to be preoccupied with theologies of contextualisation and of liberation.

¹⁸⁹ *Mission-Shaped Church*, pp. 94 and 85.

the Church not a mere institution but a faithful community. Christians search for their meaning in a community's vision provided by the Church. Therefore, if the Church fails to carry out its fundamental task of providing a community vision, there is no significance to its existence. The question of identity lies at the heart of the issue of a community vision, as the question of the identity of the Church is a matter of how the Church is to convey its purpose and nature within its own historical tradition

In this respect, the Church of England's synthesised identity of colonialism and mission, as it stems from British imperialism contributed to the hindrance of the development of the vision of the Anglican Church of Korea. If generalisation be allowed, it was 'Christian ideology' which implies an ideological interpretation of God's will and purpose for its own sake, leading to a form of 'ideological violence' which dominates other religions or other Churches, rather than Christian identity towards God's mission to the world, participating in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.¹⁹⁰

The Church of England saw this kind of paradigm of exclusive Christian ideology in *Pax Ecclesiana* of Roman imperialism. The sister and brother churches of the Anglican Communion saw it in an exclusive Christian ideology in the Church of England's synthesised identity of colonialism and mission of British imperialism. At the present time we see the same exclusivity at work in the competing ideologies

¹⁹⁰ With regard to both 'Christian ideology' and 'ideological violence,' see Rowan Williams, 'The Finality of Christ,' *On Christian Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), pp. 100-106. Hereafter referred to as *On Christian Theology*. Rowan Williams points out two examples of violent Christian ideology: 1) Christian theology against the Jewish people: 'The continuing existence of the Jewish people has indeed been theologized as a sign of the Church's historical incompleteness'; and, 2) The eschatological tribalism of the Third Reich: 'The eschatological tribalism of the third Reich was a mirror held up to Christian ideology.' Williams concludes as follows: 'The Reich's assault on the Jewish people in the urge to bring a kind of finality into history has rightly become for us the paradigm of ideological violence.' *Ibid.*, p. 102.

which divide the Anglican Communion today, culminating in an exclusive and structural approach to the maintenance of the Communion. All these provoke us to realise that the identity of the Church is not something for it to produce but God's grace for it to participate in. As Paul Avis puts it: 'The identity of the church is a grace given to her by God and received dynamically as she beholds the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.'¹⁹¹

As a result of the crisis of the Western church-centred view of mission strategies in the post World War II era and with the ending of colonialism, ambiguities in the balance of relationship between power, unity, and the sources of authority within the Anglican Communion had been exacerbated from 1945 onwards. This gave rise to the question of identity within the Anglican Communion; in particular, sister and brother churches from the Third World. This meant that the Church of England realised that its synthesised identity of colonialism and mission did not dominate the Anglican Communion identity any more. That is to say that the intentional harmony for the unity of the Anglican Communion, which had existed since British imperialism, was impaired. Accordingly, it caused the Anglican Communion to begin to earnestly seek a fresh source for its identity.

6. The Development of Anglican Identity

6.1. The 1948 Lambeth Conference: 'Dispersed Authority'

While it is the case that during the time of the British Empire there was a tendency to centralise church authority, this was not entirely dominant.¹⁹² In 1867 the first Lambeth Conference came about partly in order to resolve the Colenso affair that

¹⁹¹ Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 20.

¹⁹² See Colin Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity* (esp. Chapter 5 'Primacy in the Anglican tradition,' pp. 58-70).

Bishop Gray of Cape Town attempted to discipline Bishop Colenso of Natal about Colenso's liberal views and his published writings, in particular the appearance of *Essays and Reviews* suggested that 'the Church lacked a proper means of defining its beliefs.'¹⁹³ A choice was faced – 'should the Lambeth Conference become a pan-Anglican synod, with powers of a final court of appeal in spiritual matters (i.e. for dealing with problems like Colenso) or should self-determination for colonial Churches, and strong synodical government, be pursued? (i.e. Gray should deal with Colenso via his synod in South Africa).'¹⁹⁴ C.T. Longley, Archbishop of Canterbury, favoured self-determination for colonial Churches. This meant that at the 1867 Lambeth Conference, the Anglican Communion 'set its face firmly in the direction of blessing the development of powerful synodical government, and against the notion of one single discipline framework.'¹⁹⁵ It resulted in dispersed authority becoming formalised in the Anglican Communion.

The 1948 Lambeth Conference played a key role in developing Anglican dispersed authority. The whole question of authority lay at the heart of the Conference. The Conference, as already stated, identified the nature of Anglican authority as a 'dispersed authority.'¹⁹⁶ According to the 1948 Lambeth Conference Report, this dispersed authority deriving from the relational and communal nature of the Trinity is a process of mutual support and mutual checking which binds the Anglican Communion together. The statement from this conference said:

Authority...is single in that it is derived from a single Divine source, and reflects within itself the richness and historicity of the divine Revelation, the authority of the eternal Father, the incarnate Son, and the life-giving Spirit. It

¹⁹³ William L. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism*, p. 202.

¹⁹⁴ Frances Knight, 'Authority in Contemporary Anglicanism: historic roots and contemporary dilemmas,' *Public Lecture*, Lampeter University (6 March 2006).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ See my discussion in Chapter 1 of 'dispersed authority.' Chapter 1, pp. 16-19.

is distributed among Scripture, Tradition, Creeds, the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, the witness of saints, and the *consensus fidelium*...It is thus dispersed rather than a centralized authority having many elements which combine, interact with, and check each other; these elements together contributing by a process of mutual support, mutual checking, and redressing of errors or exaggerations to the many-sided fullness of the authority which Christ has committed to His Church. Where this authority of Christ is to be found mediated not in one mode but in several we recognize in this multiplicity God's loving provision against the temptations to tyranny and the dangers of unchecked power.¹⁹⁷

The 1948 Lambeth Conference realised that the freedom and love of the triune God is the only ground and source of authority. Since the historic 1948 Lambeth Conference, a 'dispersed authority' is one of the major characteristics of Anglicanism.

6.2. *The 1963 Toronto Anglican Congress: Communion in Mission Relationship*

The idea of a dispersed authority encouraged the Anglican Communion to more relationally and missio-ecclesiological approach to the unity of the Communion. This kind of hope dawned when the 1963 Toronto Anglican Congress considered in some depth the relationship between Anglican identity and *Missio Dei*. The focus of the Congress was to respond to the question of how Anglicans were to be faithful to the relational and communal nature of the mission of God (*Missio Dei*) in a new world. The emphasis on the importance of communion in *Missio Dei* led to a more relational less structural conference.¹⁹⁸ The spirit of 'communion in mission relationships'¹⁹⁹ of the Congress was addressed in the following document *Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ* the so-called MRI:

It is a platitude to say that in our time, areas of the world which have been thought of as dependent and secondary are suddenly striding to the centre of the stage, in a new and breath-taking independence and self-reliance. Equally has this happened to the Church. In our time the Anglican Communion has

¹⁹⁷ 'The Meaning and Unity of the Anglican Communion' from a Committee of Bishops reporting on 'The Anglican Communion,' in *The 1948 Lambeth Conference, Part II*, pp. 84-85.

¹⁹⁸ See Ian T. Douglas, 'Anglican Gathering for God's Mission,' pp. 28-35.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

come of age. Our professed nature as a world-wide fellowship of national and regional Churches has suddenly become a reality – all but ten of the 350 Anglican dioceses are now included in self-governing Churches, of one blood with their own self-governing religions and peoples. The full communion in Christ which has been our traditional tie has suddenly taken on a totally new dimension. It is now irrelevant to talk of ‘giving’ and ‘receiving’ Churches. The keynotes of our time are equality, interdependence, mutual responsibility.²⁰⁰

In practice, MRI was an answer to the whole question of authority raised in the post-colonial era. In other words, ambiguities in the balance of relationship between power, unity, and the sources of authority were settled in the term MRI. It also meant that MRI represented a start in the healing of the distorted and unequal relationship between the Church of England and sister/brother churches of the Communion in the time of British colonialism. The Congress reaffirmed ‘dispersed authority’ from the 1948 Lambeth Conference, acknowledging the fact that authority is one of God’s instruments for participating in God’s mission of reconciliation and restoration in the world. Since the 1963 Toronto Anglican Congress, MRI has remained one of the major expressions of the relationship between unity and authority in the life of the Anglican Communion. In this respect, the 1963 Anglican Congress has made a significant contribution to the development of Anglican identity, notwithstanding the fact that the spirit of MRI has become neglected within the Anglican Communion today.

6.3. Michael Ramsey on Anglicanism: ‘Eschatological Incompleteness’

In relation to the development of Anglican identity in this era, Michael Ramsey is very important. His idea of ‘eschatological incompleteness’ gives productive insights into contemporary Anglican identity. It is closely associated with his understanding of

²⁰⁰ Stephen F. Bayne, Jr. (ed.), *Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ with related background documents* (London: SPCK, 1963), pp. 1-2.

Anglicanism. Ramsey did not write as a Trinitarian theologian, but as one concerned with Christology. Nevertheless, just as we can move from Hooker's idea of laws to that of participation, so Ramsey's Christology points to some ideas about Anglicanism being a relational church.

In *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, which is concerned about overcoming the excesses of both Protestant and Catholic tendencies and thereby recovering 'the sense of organic life of the Church as the Body of Christ,'²⁰¹ Michael Ramsey explores the nature of the Church by pointing to the theme of crucifixion-resurrection. He defines the nature of the Church as a 'part of the Gospel of Crucified...S. Peter, S. Paul and S. John show plainly that the meaning and ground of the Church are seen in the death and resurrection of Jesus and the mysterious sharing of the disciples in these happenings.'²⁰² For Ramsey, the Church is an ongoing and incomplete process of participating in the life of the crucifixion-resurrection of Jesus Christ. His Anglican sense of 'eschatological incompleteness' is rooted in his ecclesiology. This is clearly seen in the following terms:

While the Anglican [C]hurch is vindicated by its place in history, with a strikingly balanced witness to Gospel and Church and sound learning, its greater vindication lies in its pointing through its own history to something of which it is a fragment. Its credentials are its incompleteness, with the tension and the travail in its soul. It is clumsy and untidy, it baffles neatness and logic. For it is sent not to commend itself as 'the best type of Christianity,' but by its very brokenness to point to the universal Church wherein all have died.²⁰³

In other words, Anglicanism is an eschatologically incomplete process of participating in God's mission to the world. His idea of eschatological incompleteness

²⁰¹ Geoffrey Rowell, 'Foreword,' in Michael Ramsey, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church* (London: SPCK, 1990), p. ii.

²⁰² Michael Ramsey, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, 2nd edition (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1956), pp. vi and 6. Hereafter referred to as *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

prompts the Anglican Communion to regard itself as a dynamic, relational, and transforming Church. Michael Ramsey believes that Anglicanism has a major role to play in the quest for Christian unity by the very fact that it did not claim to be a perfect or complete theological system.

7. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed aspects of the history of Anglican identity which show it to have particular relevance to the historical background of the origin of the two notions of Anglican identity. The history is seen to be informed by both 'exclusion' and 'structure' which originates in the Church of England's synthesised identity of politics and religion based on the centralised 'from above' authority of traditional hierarchy (queens, kings, rulers, etc.), which has existed since the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement. This has made it possible to argue that this kind of exclusive and structural thinking has dominated the history of Anglican identity and remained and affected, until now, the current static notion of Anglican tribal identity, separating it from the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

In addition to these considerations, I have also argued that God's ongoing dynamic will and purpose for the life of the Anglican Communion has been revealed in its own history; in particular in the works of Richard Hooker, F.D. Maurice, and Michael Ramsey. I have argued that they defended the Anglicanism of their own days against static approaches to the life of the Church, and thus have supplied the basis for the dynamic thinking about Anglican identity. All these encourage the Anglican Communion to reconceive its unity and renew its identity as a communion, participating in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. With this in mind, I

now turn to Chapter 3 in which I shall examine in a deeper way the meaning of the term 'identity.'

Chapter 3. Identity and Communion

1. Introduction

Identity is a term which can be used for pejorative reasons, thereby distorting its true meaning. Some Anglicans regard today's debate on the issue of identity within the Anglican Communion as a reconstruction of British colonialism; especially as they are preoccupied with a purely historical approach to the challenges which it represents to the contemporary Anglican Communion, rather than taking a social, psychological, and theological approach to the meaning of the term 'identity' itself. Chapter 3, therefore, aims to explore both the theological definition and the social and psychological context of Anglican identity. This chapter defines identity as the 'accrued confidence' of creating unity in missional diversity, through the faithful means of ecclesial integrity and authority. It has for its goal the discovery of ways of being the Church.

Chapter 3 will then identify the nature of Anglican identity as a 'communion,' which implies its relational and social nature, which is directly informed and resourced by the theology of Trinitarian dynamic relatedness which in turn shapes an Anglican understanding of mission. Chapter 3 also considers what has caused Anglicans to lose confidence in their identity as Communion. In this chapter, I shall argue that different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* have been the principal cause, as well as the nature of this loss of Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion.

2. What is Identity?

The term 'identity' is difficult to define owing to its diffuse, ambiguous characteristic and to the fact that it has been overused. This has caused Anglicans today to face confusion and uncertainty in debating issues relating to identity within the Anglican Communion. I would argue that it also affects Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion. Theologically, the question of identity is defined by the individual's relationship with God in Christ, and with the Church as the body of Christ. My discussion will, therefore, take account of these two theological aspects of Anglican identity.

2.1. Identity as a Process of 'Individuation'

Generally speaking, identity is our sense of who we are and where we belong: 'Who we are, where we fit in and what we are worth.'²⁰⁴ Psychologically, this refers to a process of 'individuation' of a person or entity which changes over time. Individuation, according to Carl Jung who used it first,²⁰⁵ means 'coming to selfhood' or 'self-realization,' which implies 'becoming one's own self.'²⁰⁶ In order to better understand Jung's idea of individuation, we need to briefly look at his concept of 'self.' Jung defines self as follows: 'The self is not only the centre but also the whole circumference which embraces both conscious and unconscious; it is the centre of this

²⁰⁴ Paul Avis, *A Church Drawing Near* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2003), p. 32.

²⁰⁵ In a text from 1916, *Septem, Sermones ad Mortuos*, Carl Jung used the term 'individuation' in the following words: 'Hence the natural striving of the creature goeth towards distinctiveness, fighteth against primeval, perilous sameness. This is called the PRINCIPUM INDIVIDUATIONIS [principle of individuation].' Carl G. Jung, *Septem sermones ad mortuos*, in *Memories, dreams, reflections* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), p.380, cited in Murray Stein, 'Individuation: Inner Work,' *Journal of Jungian Theory and Practice*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2005), p. 2, <http://www.junginstitute.org/pdf_files/JungV7N2p1-14.pdf> [accessed November 2007]

²⁰⁶ Carl G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, vol. 7, Sir Herbert Read (et al.), trans. by R.F.C. Hull, 2nd edition (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), paragraph 266, p. 173. Hereafter referred to as *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*.

totality, just as the ego is the centre of the conscious mind.²⁰⁷ He also describes the self in the following terms: ‘Conscious and unconscious are not necessarily in opposition to one another, but complement one another to form a totality, which is the *self*.’²⁰⁸ If generalisation be allowed, as space does not permit a detailed discussion of self, self for Jung is the ‘archetype’ which symbolises the totality of the personality, which is reached through striving for unity, wholeness, and integration of the individual.

Individuation for Jung is, therefore, a process of the realisation of our true self, which is achieved by ‘[divesting] the self of the false wrapping of the persona [which implies the ‘mask,’ as a feigned individuality which we present to the world while hiding our true nature]²⁰⁹ on the one hand, and the suggestive power of primordial images on the other.’²¹⁰ In other words, individuation for Jung is ‘a process of *differentiation*, having for its goal the development of the individual personality.’²¹¹ It suggests that identity is a process of developing the self in public and private and also by implication ‘social’ relations, by harmonising the various components of the psyche.

Theologically, in particular with regard to the missio-ecclesiological life of the Anglican Communion, ‘the self’ and ‘harmonising the various components of the

²⁰⁷ Carl G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, vol. 12, Sir Herbert Read (et al.), trans. by R.F.C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), paragraph 44, p. 41.

²⁰⁸ Carl G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, paragraph 274, p. 177.

²⁰⁹ Carl Jung defines persona in the following terms: ‘It is, as its name implies, only the mask worn by the collective psyche, a mask that *feigns individuality*, making others and oneself believe that one is individual, whereas one is simply acting a role through which the collective psyche speaks.’ *Ibid.*, paragraph 465, p. 281.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, paragraph 269, p. 174.

²¹¹ Carl G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, vol. 6, Sir Herbert Read (et al.), trans. by R.F.C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), paragraph 757, p. 448.

psyche' correspond in turn to 'ecclesial integrity' as its inner desire for wholeness towards the unity given in the triune God and 'missional diversity' which is worked out in the demands and expectations of society. In this respect, this psychological concept of identity could be theologically described as follows: identity is a process of developing the Church's 'ecclesial integrity' in its missional diversity.

2.2. *Identity as Dynamic Relationships*

The dynamic of individuation as the ongoing way to discovering true self also expresses the dynamic and relational nature of identity. It is, therefore, opposed to any kind of conformity with the collective or 'primeval' notions of identity as static 'essential sameness.'²¹² According to Paul Avis, two meanings of identity stand in tension: on the one hand, 'continuity, persistence, sameness'; and, on the other 'difference, individuality, development.'²¹³ Avis continues:

The continuity or sameness of individual personal conscious identity was emphasized by such philosophers as Locke, Leibniz and Kant. The theme of developing individuality, however, emerged as a legacy of Romanticism and Idealism, with their emphases in different ways on the shaping power of the mind or feelings. Hegel reacted against the Kantian notion of identity as essential sameness, stressing instead relation and mutuality. Unity for Hegel was not a static 'given,' but came about through the emergence of difference and its ultimate reconciliation.²¹⁴

We see this kind of tension in the two notions of Anglican identity today, which I have described in Chapter 1.²¹⁵ The intrinsic 'dynamic relationships' in the life of Anglican identity as Communion corresponds to the relational and mutual thinking of identity as 'developing individuality' and, by implication, 'a process of individuation.' In contrast, the static and 'tribal' notion of Anglican tribal identity,

²¹² Paul Avis, *op. cit.*, 2003, p. 31.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

²¹⁵ See my discussion in Chapter 1 of the two notions of Anglican identity. Chapter 1, pp. 21-28.

which seeks its own security and structure and thus disconnects the activity of the Anglican Communion from the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships, corresponds to the 'primeval' notion of identity thinking of identity as static 'essential sameness.' A brief discussion of Erik Erikson's idea of 'psycho-sociological' identity is helpful in providing us with a better understanding of this dynamic and relational identity.

2.3. Erik Erikson on Psycho-sociological Identity

Erik Erikson, a psychoanalytic theorist, defines identity as 'the accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity (one's ego in the psychological sense) is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others.'²¹⁶ He understands identity as a process of human development on the basis of his 'epigenetic' principle, which states that 'anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole.'²¹⁷ In other words, for Erikson, our identities are not permanent but can change and be developed by later experiences.

Erikson's idea of developmental process allows him to regard the nature of identity as 'dynamic relationships': '[Identity is] a process "located" *in the core of the individual* and yet also *in the core of his communal culture*.'²¹⁸ For him, human development integrates the influence of society, history, and culture. In other words, identity for Erikson is the dynamic and interactive process of the individual psyche within society.

²¹⁶ Erik Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc, 1980), p. 94.

²¹⁷ Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), p. 92.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

In a historical and cultural context it is ‘a process of increasing differentiation, [which] becomes ever more inclusive as the individual grows aware of a widening circle of others significant to him, from the maternal person to “mankind.”’²¹⁹ This allows us to understand not only that Erikson’s idea of identity as ‘developmental process’ derives from Carl Jung’s concept of identity as ‘a process of individuation,’ but that the nature of identity for Erikson could be described not as static and normative but as dynamic, relational, and transforming. This concurs with the definition given in the *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counseling* on Erikson’s idea of identity:

Identity is both a *process* and an *accrued confidence of integration*. Where it refers to the latter, the phenomenon retains a dynamic quality. Identity is never static or fixed, but represents a kind of personal coherence – recognized by others and sensed and counted upon by the self – which must be maintained and modified in the ongoing interaction of the changing person with changing environments.²²⁰

It also suggests that identity for Erikson, in its dynamic and relational nature, is the ‘accrued confidence’ needed to modify the relationship between the self, others, and the world through the process of participating in the life of one another. In Chapter 1, I described Anglican identity as a communion which is in an ongoing state of relationship, participating in the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships.²²¹ When these considerations are taken together, we are able to understand Erikson’s idea of identity as not only communion but also a reflection of the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships. In the life of the Anglican Communion, this is a theological identity which defines and, in a dynamic sense, continually renews

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

²²⁰ Rodney J. Hunter (ed.), *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counseling* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), p. 565.

²²¹ See Chapter 1, p. 21.

Anglican self-understanding. It now becomes necessary to describe the theological definition of Anglican identity.

3. Defining Anglican Identity

I have described identity in terms of the relationship between the Church's 'ecclesial integrity' and its 'missional diversity' on the basis of Carl Jung's idea of identity as 'a process of individuation.' In Chapter 1 I identified identity as a way of expressing the relationship between unity and authority. Taken together, this would seem to indicate not only that there is a direct connection between the four elements of unity, ecclesial integrity, missional diversity, and authority but that the need emerges for establishing the relationship between them. In other words, to define Anglican identity is to discover the distinctive character of the Anglican Communion, which implies one of a number of ways of being the Church through a process of harmonising the four elements of the life of the Anglican Communion which shape its polity.

3.1. Ecclesial Integrity and Unity

In his *The Integrity of Anglicanism* Stephen Sykes defines Anglican integrity as its 'coherent identity'²²² which binds Anglicans together:

To inquire into the identity of Anglicanism is to ask whether there is any internal rationale binding Anglicans together as 'church'...Anglicanism is not something abstract like courage, but is the quality of being Anglican which belongs to an actually existent series of bodies in communion with, and recognising the leadership of, the see of Canterbury.²²³

²²² Stephen W. Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. 1. Sykes describes the term 'integrity' in the following terms: 'In the first place it can be used to speak of the completeness of some particular object or institution...In this case "integrity" indicates the capacity to recognize the whole identity of the object or institution, as something which is not deficient or impaired. In the second...The 'integrity' of a man is his uprightness, honesty or sincerity; of an institution or group of men their acting according to high standards of moral principle. The title of this book, "The Integrity of Anglicanism," is intended to draw meaning from both these senses.' Ibid., p. 1.

²²³ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

While, as Paul Avis says, accepting that Anglicanism 'does not wish to be different in fundamental doctrine and basic practice,'²²⁴ Sykes argues that there are nonetheless distinctive Anglican characters in ecclesiology with regard to both faith and order. For Sykes, Anglican integrity means the very Anglican tenets which complete or establish its identity. That is to say that Anglican integrity for Sykes implies its particular way of being the Church.

Such an understanding of Anglican integrity as its particular way of being the Church allows us to understand that Anglican integrity is both 'a way of living the Christian life together in the church' and 'a tradition and style of Christian theology.'²²⁵ Which indicates that Anglican integrity is an inner desire for wholeness towards the unity given in the triune God as the foregoing discussion implies. It also allows us to understand that Anglican integrity does not exist for addressing its own perfection or completeness but for participating in the accomplishment of the kingdom of God (Matthew 13.31-52). In this respect, Anglican integrity allows the Anglican Communion not to claim to be normative for the Church but to believe that the Communion is called to be a dynamic, relational, and transforming Church; one which reflects the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. Consequently, we are able to say that Anglican integrity submits to Anglican unity as 'diversity held together in God's unity and love.'²²⁶ In other words, Anglican integrity is a means to the unity given in the triune God.

²²⁴ See Paul Avis, 'The distinctiveness of Anglicanism,' in Colin Podmore (ed.), *Community - Unity - Communion: Essays in Honour of Mary Tanner* (London: Church House Publishing, 1988), pp. 141-55. See also Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. 3: 'I [Sykes] am in profound agreement with [Michael] Ramsey in his theological interpretation of Anglicanism as a communion uniquely committed to labour for a great unity, and conscious of its own incompleteness as a church.'

²²⁵ Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 5.

²²⁶ See Chapter 1, p.13.

3.2. *Missional Diversity and Authority*

In Chapter 1 I identified the nature of Anglican authority as ‘dispersed authority’ derived from the relational and communal nature of the divine Trinity, which is one of God’s instruments for participating in His mission towards the world. That is to say that authority is a means to the ultimate unity given in the triune God which involves the embracing of differences and diversity.

When Anglican integrity is understood as inner desire for wholeness towards the unity given in the triune God (which implies both a way of living the Christian life together in the Church and a tradition and style of Christian theology), it acknowledges that Anglican authority is a legitimate means for being unified in the triune God. It is a legitimate means insofar as it does not exist for its own perfection or completeness but for participating in the accomplishment of the mission of God. That is to say that authority is one of God’s instruments for the promotion of missional diversity as an expression of God’s concern for the world. Such an understanding of authority as a means for participating in God’s mission towards the world allows us to understand that it is natural for Christians as the body of Christ to reflect upon their own faith through difference and diversity.

According to Teo Sundermeier, a German missiologist, ‘God goes in very different ways with us in our respective lives, in our different circumstances, and in our various cultural or national characters.’²²⁷ This allows us to see some spiritual value among other Churches, Christian groupings, or people of other faiths. This is not religious

²²⁷ Teo Sundermeier, ‘*Missio Dei* Today: On the Identity of Christian Mission,’ *IRM*, vol. XCII, no. 367 (October 2003), p. 574.

syncretism but 'faithfulness to a Gospel imperative,'²²⁸ because it is commanded by God (John 17.20-23). So it is based on improving a spiritual value that acknowledges 'the equality of people created in the image of God.'²²⁹ It is the way to be a true Christian as a faithful servant of God, as a vital agent of God's mission. It is also part of Christian identity as 'the accrued confidence of integration' of social, historical, and cultural circumstances.

3.3. Anglican Identity: Accrued Confidence of Creating Unity in Missional Diversity

I have briefly outlined the relationship between ecclesial integrity, unity, missional diversity, and authority with a view to defining Anglican identity. I have illustrated this by drawing a fresh interpretation of the term 'integrity.' I have identified that the relationship between ecclesial integrity, unity, missional diversity, and authority is as follows: both integrity and authority are faithful means to creating unity in missional diversity which is a reflection of the life of a Trinitarian dynamic unity.

In the foregoing discussion, I have suggested that to define Anglican identity is to discover one of a number of ways of being the Church through a process of harmonising the four elements of the life of the Communion, which shape its polity. Prior to this, I quoted Erik Erikson in defining identity through a discussion of 'a process' and 'an accrued confidence of integration.' When these considerations are taken together, we are able to define more concretely Anglican identity as the accrued confidence of creating unity in missional diversity through the faithful means of ecclesial integrity and authority, having for its goal the discovery of one of a number of ways of being the Church.

²²⁸ William Noblett, 'A Multi-Faith Prison Chaplaincy,' *Crucible-London-Board for Social Responsibility* (July/September 1999), p. 166.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

3.4. *Anglican Identity as Communion*

In Chapter 1 I defined the term ‘communion’ as a description of the way in which its members participate in the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships.²³⁰ I also argued that this life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships (which implies the intrinsic ‘mutual indwelling’ and ‘self-giving and receiving’ which exist in the life of the Trinity) allows the three divine persons to share in one another’s life, through a process of reciprocal ‘permeability’ and thus create unity in diversity without any dissolution or any inequality.²³¹ Taken together, this suggests that the nature of Anglican identity defined above by myself could be described as a communion.

It also suggests that the question of Anglican identity is bound up in the question of how Anglicans live in the life of communion. This means that our questions about Anglican identity cannot be answered without incorporating them within the idea of communion. In other words, there can be no Anglican identity without communion with one another, with the world, and with God. John Zizioulas has developed his idea of the relationship between the identity of the Church and communion by stating that ‘there is no true being without communion.’²³² A reflection on this theme is provided by the Report of the *Pastoral and Dogmatic Concerns* of the 1988 Lambeth Conference which stated that: ‘The fundamental theological question about the identity of Anglicanism is what it means for a Christian to be in communion.’²³³

²³⁰ See Chapter 1, p. 21.

²³¹ See Chapter 1, p. 14.

²³² John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, p. 18.

²³³ *The Truth Shall Make You Free*, paragraph 92, p. 105,

Consequently, we are able to say that the challenge to Anglican identity is one of reconstructing its life of communion. We, therefore, now turn to the question of what is meant by a lack of confidence in the life of Anglican identity as Communion.

4. Lack of Anglican Confidence in its Identity as Communion

4.1. Identity and Mission

In Chapter 1 I argued that the question of Anglican identity relates to how the Anglican Communion is to convey the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships within its own historical tradition. My argument also suggested that an Anglican understanding of mission affects the issue of its identity.

Konrad Raiser, the former general secretary of WCC, defines the aim of *Missio Dei* as the nature of mission, as 'the healing of this breakdown in relationships, a new creation, in which people can live in fellowship with God and with one another, and in peace with the whole creation.'²³⁴ For Konrad Raiser, mission is similar to living in communion with one another, with the world, and with God. Tormod Engelsen, a Norwegian missiologist, also emphasises the importance of the communal dimension of mission: 'The salvation that is the aim of *missio Dei* includes both the vertical dimension of communion with God and the horizontal dimension of human relationships.'²³⁵ When these considerations are taken together, we are able to understand that there is a direct connection between an Anglican understanding of mission and Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion. It requires a fresh interpretation of the source and nature of mission.

²³⁴ Konrad Raiser, 'Sermon Preached on 18 August 2002 at the Willingen Mission Festival,' *IRM*, vol. XCII, no. 367 (October 2003), p. 475.

²³⁵ Tormod Engelsen, '*Missio Dei*: The Understanding and Misunderstanding of a Theological Concept in European Churches and Missiology,' *IRM*, vol. XCII, no. 367 (October 2003), p. 485.

4.2. *The Nature of Mission: Missio Dei*

I shall argue that the mission of the triune God as *Missio Dei* is the nature of mission itself. In Chapter 1 I argued that God is to be understood in terms of the relational and communal nature of the Trinity. This also implies that God is a missionary God.²³⁶ In other words, ‘we would not know God if the Father had not sent the Son in the power of the Spirit.’²³⁷ In reflecting on John 20.21 – ‘As the Father has sent me, so I send you,’ Archbishop Barry Morgan says:

God is a missionary God, a sending God, and God’s people are a missionary people, a sending people if they are his followers. It is therefore impossible to talk about God without talking about mission and it is impossible to talk about the Church without talking about mission. Mission is central to the Church’s life because it is central to God. The Church exists in being sent.²³⁸

This indicates that the mission of the Church is fundamentally a response to *Missio Dei*. It is, as Jürgen Moltmann highlights, ‘not the church that has a mission of salvation to fulfil to the world; it is the mission of the Son and the Spirit through the Father that includes the church, creating a church as it goes on its own way.’²³⁹ In other words, the task of the Church is not to take a separate initiative in mission activities, but to participate in the mission of the triune God as one of His mission’s agents in the world. This is manifested in Paul Avis’s notion of the Trinitarian nature of *Missio Dei*:

Father, Son and Holy Spirit together send the Church into the world in mission. Christian mission is an expression of the movement of God towards the world: the Church is an instrument of this movement. Mission precedes

²³⁶ Jürgen Moltmann describes this missional nature of God as ‘self-communicating love.’ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom: the Doctrine of God*, trans. by Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), pp. 107-108. Hereafter referred to as *The Trinity and the Kingdom*.

²³⁷ *Mission-Shaped Church*, p. 85.

²³⁸ Barry Morgan, ‘Presidential Address to the Governing Body of the Church in Wales,’ in *Highlights of the Church in Wales Governing Body* (September 2005), p. 1.

²³⁹ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit: A Contribution to Messianic Ecclesiology*, trans. by Margaret Kohl (London: SCM Press, 1977), p. 64. Hereafter referred to as *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*.

Church. The Church exists because God's mission – in the profound, nuanced sense of *missio dei* – is under way.²⁴⁰

This concept of *Missio Dei* therefore encourages the Church to carry out its mission in a way that exhibits humble and inclusive attitudes towards other Churches as well as to those of other faiths or no faith, moving away from a dominating and self seeking perfection towards a responsible sharing in God's concern for the world. As David Bosch says:

Mission is not competition with other religions, not a conversion activity, not expanding the faith, not building up the kingdom of God; neither is it social, economic, or political activity...It is the good news of God's love, incarnated in the witness of a community, for the sake of the world.²⁴¹

The way in which *Missio Dei* expresses the missional, relational, and communal nature of the Trinity allows us to understand *Missio Dei* as a missional communion of the three divine persons towards the world and the mission of the Church as participation in that mission. In other words, the purpose of the mission of the Church is to live in communion with others, with the world, and with God.

4.3. Different Anglican Perceptions of *Missio Dei*

Nevertheless, there are still considerable disagreements among Christians today about the interpretations of *Missio Dei*. There has been much debate on the issue of *Missio Dei* since it appeared more clearly in the Willingen Conference of the International Missionary Council in 1952. At the present time there are two differing and conflicting views on *Missio Dei*: evangelical and ecumenical *Missio Dei*.²⁴²

Evangelical *Missio Dei* can be defined as *mission as proclamation*, namely,

²⁴⁰ Paul Avis, *A Ministry Shaped by Mission* (London and New York: T&T Clark International, 2005), p. 6. Hereafter referred to as *A Ministry Shaped by Mission*.

²⁴¹ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 519.

²⁴² I, as we shall see later, owe my use of the words 'evangelical and ecumenical *Missio Dei*' to David Bosch. See Chapter 4, p. 100.

‘proclamation of Jesus Christ as universal saviour.’ In contrast, ecumenical *Missio Dei* can be defined as *mission as service and witness*, that is ‘liberating service of the reign of God.’²⁴³ This kind of opposing doctrinal positions between the two circles, which has existed since the 1952 Willingen Conference, has significantly contributed to the fragmentation and polarisation of the life of the Church today. As Theo Sundermeier points out:

On the one hand, there is the rejection of church-oriented mission by J. Chr. Hoekendijk, who saw the church as an ‘appendix’ of God’s coming into the world, the actual *missio Dei* [the so-called ecumenical *Missio Dei*]. On the other hand, one can typically quote W. Freytag, who so esteemed the mission of the church that it became the sign of the last days, and the very meaning of world history [the so-called evangelical *Missio Dei*]. Even if the two positions indicate extremes, they are still operative below the surface today, and may be discerned even in the magazines put out by different mission associations. The magazines of church-run mission societies primarily deal with social problems in the countries of the churches overseas. The evangelical mission magazines, however, focus on the personal experience of faith and conversion, and refer to the relevant social environment at most when their missionaries come under pressure from other religions.²⁴⁴

Similarly, as we shall see later, there are the two conflicting views on *Missio Dei* in the Anglican Communion today. My discussion in this chapter has identified that there is a direct connection between an Anglican understanding of mission and Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion. By this, I argue that these two opposing views on *Missio Dei* have contributed to different Anglican perceptions of mission and thus diminished confidence in Anglican identity as Communion. It, therefore, calls for the establishment of a new perspective of *Missio Dei* which might inform Anglican self-understanding and impart Anglican identity as Communion to

²⁴³ I owe my definition of the two notions of *Missio Dei* to Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder. In their book *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today*, they suggest four models of mission: 1) Mission as participation in the mission of the triune God (*Missio Dei*); 2) Mission as liberating service of the reign of God; 3) Mission as proclamation of Jesus Christ as universal saviour; and, 4) Mission as prophetic dialogue. See Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004), pp. 281-394. Hereafter referred to as *Constants in Context*.

²⁴⁴ Theo Sundermeier, *op. cit.*, 2003, p. 560.

Anglicans, taking account of where their different approaches to *Missio Dei*. The next chapter will discuss this theme.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed aspects of the theological definition and social and psychological context of Anglican identity with a view to avoiding confusion and uncertainty among Anglicans today about the identity of the Anglican Communion. I have defined Anglican identity as the 'accrued confidence' of creating unity in missional diversity through the faithful means of ecclesial integrity and authority and has for its goal the discovery of one of a number of ways of being the Church. I have argued that it is a matter of how the Anglican Communion lives in the life of communion, namely communion with one another, with the world, and with God, participating in *Missio Dei*. I have also argued that it suggests that the challenge to Anglican identity is one of re-constructing its life of communion.

With this in mind, I have described and analysed certain aspects of what is meant by a lack of confidence in the life of Anglican identity as Communion. As a result, I have identified that there is a direct connection between an Anglican understanding of mission and Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion. Consequently, I have argued that different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* have been the principal cause, as well as the nature of the loss of Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion. With this in mind, I now turn to Chapter 4 in which I shall explore a new perspective of *Missio Dei* which might inform Anglican self-understanding and supply the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion.



Chapter 4. Theological Realities for the Renewal of Anglican Identity as Communion: *Missio Dei* and the Trinity

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I argued that different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* have been the principal cause, as well as the nature of the loss of Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion. This would seem to indicate a direct connection between the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion and that of the Anglican understanding of *Missio Dei*. Chapter 4, therefore, explores the kind of theological realities which might inform Anglican self-understanding and renew its identity as a communion by seeking to establish a new paradigm for *Missio Dei* within the context of Trinitarian theology. Such an exercise requires that we take account of where different Anglican approaches to *Missio Dei* converge and, at the same time, retain an understanding of the intrinsic dynamic relationships which is in the life of the Trinity and which is a key aspect of the life of Anglican identity as Communion.

2. The Historical Context of *Missio Dei*: The 1952 Willingen Conference to the Present

In Chapter 3 I have argued that different Anglican views on *Missio Dei* have contributed to different Anglican perceptions of mission and thus diminished confidence in Anglican identity as Communion. This, therefore, requires further examination of the factors causing different Anglican approaches to *Missio Dei*. Before looking at these factors, a brief discussion of the historical development of *Missio Dei* may be helpful. I shall pay particular attention to the way in which the

ideas of *Missio Dei* have been interpreted and modified since the 1952 Willingen conference.

2.1. *The Origin of Missio Dei and the 1952 Willingen Conference*

The term *Missio Dei* originated with Karl Hartenstein, a German mission scholar. He coined this term in his writing in 1933 on the basis of the doctrine of the triune God: 'Mission is today being called to examine itself constantly afresh before God in all respects and ask whether it is what it should be: *missio Dei*, God's Mission, Christ the Lord's great commission to the apostles with which he sent them forth.'²⁴⁵ Karl Hartenstein's notion of the Trinitarian nature of *Missio Dei* is rooted in the Trinitarian theology of Karl Barth.

According to Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroder (American mission theologians), at the 1932 Brandenburg Mission conference Barth rejected the idea of mission 'as a human activity of witness and service, the work of the *church*' insisting that 'it was primarily *God* who engages in mission by sending God's self in the mission of the Son and the Spirit.'²⁴⁶ Barth's Trinitarian concept of mission was taken up by Hartenstein, who 'distinguished it from the *missio ecclesiae*, the mission of the church that takes its existence from its participation in God's mission, which is always accomplished in trinitarian fashion.'²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Karl Hartenstein, *Die Mission als theologisches Problem. Beiträge zum grundsätzlichen Verständnis der Mission*, Berlin, Furche V., 1933, p. 31, cited in Konrad Raiser, 'Sermon Preached on 18 August 2002 at the Willingen Mission Festival,' *IRM*, vol. XCII, no. 367 (October 2003), p. 474.

²⁴⁶ Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 290.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

The idea of *Missio Dei* was first made explicit at the Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Council (IMC)²⁴⁸ in Willingen, Germany, in 1952. In the wake of the crisis of the Western church-centred view of mission strategies in the era of the Cold War confrontation and the end of colonialism, the conference realised that mission is ‘not founded on human intention, nor is the church the foundation of mission,’²⁴⁹ but the triune God’s own activity. In other words, the conference rediscovered that mission comes from God Himself and the Church participates in His mission, as one of His mission agents in the world. The strong emphasis on the centrality of the Church in mission since the first world conference in Edinburgh in 1910 was replaced by the concept of *Missio Dei* anchored in the doctrine of the triune God. The trinitarian nature of *Missio Dei* is manifested in the final statement from this conference:

The missionary movement of which we are a part has its source in the Triune God Himself...We who have been chosen in Christ, reconciled to God through Him, made members of His Body, sharers in His Spirit, and heirs through hope of His Kingdom, are by these very facts committed to full participation in His redeeming mission. There is no participation in Christ without participation in His mission to the world. That by which the Church receives its existence is that by which it is also given its world-mission. ‘As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.’²⁵⁰

Since the 1952 Willingen conference, the idea of *Missio Dei* lies at the heart of the theological thinking about the nature of the mission of the Church.

²⁴⁸ Since its foundation in 1921, the IMC was merged into the WCC at the New Delhi Assembly in 1961. The world missionary conferences then became the general assemblies of the WCC Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME). See Wolfgang Günther, ‘The History and Significance of World Mission Conferences in the 20th Century,’ *IRM*, vol. XCII, no. 367 (October 2003), p. 523.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

²⁵⁰ The Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Council, Willingen, Germany, in 1952 in Norman Goodall (ed.), *Missions under the Cross: Addresses delivered at the Enlarged Meeting of the Committee of the International Missionary Council at Willingen, in Germany, 1952; with Statements issued by the Meeting* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1953), pp. 189-190.

2.2. Two Polarities: Evangelical and Ecumenical *Missio Dei*

The Barthian basis of the trinitarian *Missio Dei* in the 1950s became transmuted into the pro-secularisation theology which happened during the 1960s, and which was inspired by J.C. Hoekendijk who, as already stated, understood the Church as an ‘appendix’ of God’s coming into the world.²⁵¹ David Bosch describes the Western mission trend in the 1960s as ‘the period in which the ecumenical movement and many churches related to it celebrated the idea of secularization, of involvement in the world...and also of the presence of God in other religions.’²⁵² This implied that the WCC had been preoccupied with the development of a socio-political position of the idea of *Missio Dei* since the 1952 Willingen conference. It also implied that *Missio Dei* theology was closely associated with working for justice in the world.

Jacques Matthey (Co-ordinator of the Mission and Evangelism Team of the WCC) says that in the West, especially in the 1960s, *Missio Dei* theology became ‘intimately linked with one particular theological and socio-political approach that responded well to some of the main challenges of the time.’²⁵³ In other words, *Missio Dei* in the 1960s was ‘a theology that gave a mainly positive appreciation of secularization, or even secularism, and favoured a non-religious approach to people and society, and thus criticized the church in an exaggerated way.’²⁵⁴ This gave rise to the neglect of evangelism in the mission agenda of the churches in the West.

²⁵¹ See Chapter 3, p. 94.

²⁵² David Bosch, ““Ecumenicals” and “Evangelicals”: a Growing Relationship?,” *Ecumenical Review*, vol. 40 (1988), p. 462.

²⁵³ Jacques Matthey, ‘God’s Mission Today: Summary and Conclusions,’ *IRM*, vol. XCII, no. 367 (October 2003), p. 580.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 580.

Such a perspective reached its peak at the 1968 Fourth Assembly of the WCC Uppsala, Sweden, ‘where the church was often ridiculed and where the church itself was seen as an arena for mission, together with centres of power, revolutionary movements, universities and urban areas.’²⁵⁵ At the same time, this raised strong reactions from the evangelical circle. Most evangelicals regarded this radical and new missiology in the WCC as ‘proof of its apostasy.’²⁵⁶ The confrontation between ecumenical and evangelical *Missio Dei*, which had existed at least since the 1952 Willingen conference, grew more serious. As David Bosch says: ‘The gauntlet had been thrown down, and the next few years [after the 1968 Uppsala conference] would be characterized by strident altercations between evangelicals and ecumenicals, by attacks and counter-attacks, and by a steady worsening of whatever relations had existed before.’²⁵⁷ This situation called for a more balanced understanding of *Missio Dei*.

2.3. *The Beginning of Convergence: The Bangkok Conference and the Lausanne Covenant*

In the Assembly of the CWME held in Bangkok in 1972/1973 the idea of *Missio Dei* as ‘holistic salvation’ came to the fore. It brought together its evangelical as well as socio-political aspects, without giving priority to one over the other: ‘It is salvation of the soul and the body, of the individual and society, mankind and “the groaning creation” (Romans 8.19).’²⁵⁸ The Bangkok conference acknowledged that the relationship between evangelical and socio-political aspects for mission is not a matter of confrontation or choice but that of harmonisation or integration. This

²⁵⁵ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 291.

²⁵⁶ David Bosch, *op. cit.*, 1988, p. 462.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

²⁵⁸ ‘Salvation and Social Justice: Report of Section II of the Bangkok Conference,’ *IRM*, vol. LXII, no. 246 (April 1973), p. 199.

thought is manifested in the Bangkok conference's emphasis on intrinsic relatedness between individual and social dimensions of salvation: 'Concentration upon the social, economic and political implications of the Gospel does not in any way deny the personal and eternal dimensions of salvation. Rather, these were seen to be so interrelated as to be inseparable.'²⁵⁹

However, the liberation theological trend which dominated the WCC since the Uppsala conference in 1968 caused the evangelical circle to regard the Bangkok conference's idea of holistic salvation as 'pan-religious and humanistic-ideological interpretation of salvation'²⁶⁰ as an extension of the ecumenical position of the 1968 Uppsala conference: '[The Bangkok's holistic salvation] was seen as interpreting "salvation" almost solely in terms of "this worldly improvements," more food, more justice and more freedom.'²⁶¹

A significant evangelical response to the Bangkok conference came from the Lausanne Covenant which was produced by the International Congress on World Evangelization held at Lausanne in 1974 (the Lausanne Congress). Contrary to its purpose of defending itself against the ecumenical position of the Bangkok conference, much of what this covenant affirmed corresponded to the idea of a holistic salvation from the Bangkok conference. It was a start of the convergent of two extreme views of *Missio Dei*. This position is expressed by John Stott, a leading evangelical, on the Lausanne Covenant:

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 198.

²⁶⁰ This criticism is from Peter Beyerhaus, a strong evangelical voice in the Bangkok conference. Cited in David Bosch, *op. cit.*, 1988, p. 463.

²⁶¹ Cited in Athol Gill, 'Christian Social Responsibility,' in C. René Padilla (ed.), *The New Face of Evangelicalism: An International Symposium on the Lausanne Covenant* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976), p. 94.

We all know that during the last few years, especially between Uppsala and Bangkok, ecumenical-evangelical relations hardened into something like a confrontation. I have no wish to worsen this situation...I hope in my paper to strike a note of evangelical repentance...We have some important lessons to learn from our ecumenical critics. Some of their rejection of our position is not a repudiation of biblical truth, but rather of our evangelical caricatures of it.²⁶²

A key to the Lausanne Covenant is the emphasis on the importance of the relationship between evangelism²⁶³ and social involvement. The covenant stated that ‘evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty,’²⁶⁴ notwithstanding the fact that it still maintained the primacy of proclamation for mission. Commenting on the Lausanne Covenant, René Padilla, one of the so-called radical evangelicals, claims that the covenant ‘eliminates the dichotomy between evangelism and social involvement.’²⁶⁵

The Lausanne Covenant has greatly influenced theologically and spiritually those evangelical conferences and congresses which have followed. Since its foundation in 1974, the Lausanne movement has held its own congresses on world evangelism in parallel to the WCC world mission conferences.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the primacy of the Church and evangelism for mission – ‘in the church’s mission of sacrificial service evangelism is primacy’²⁶⁷ – has caused the Lausanne Covenant to be left unfinished and thus led to a conflicting tension between two extreme positions of ecumenical and evangelical *Missio Dei* until now.

²⁶² Cited in Alan J. Bailyes, ‘Evangelical and Ecumenical Understanding of Mission,’ *IRM*, vol. LXXXV, no. 339 (October 1996), p. 490.

²⁶³ The nature of evangelism is, as we shall see later, based on the equality and mutuality of proclamation, service and witness. This means that evangelism includes proclamation, service and witness. However, the term evangelism used in the Lausanne Covenant focused on proclamation.

²⁶⁴ *The Lausanne Covenant*, in J.D. Douglas (ed.), *Let the Earth Hear His Voice: International Congress on World Evangelization, Lausanne, Switzerland* (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1975), p. 5.

²⁶⁵ C. René Padilla, ‘Introduction,’ in C. René Padilla (ed.), *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 11.

²⁶⁶ Wolfgang Günther, *op. cit.*, 2003, p. 532.

²⁶⁷ J.D. Douglas (ed.), *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 5.

2.4. *The Development of Missio Dei: Holistic Missio Dei*

As the foregoing discussion has revealed, the emergence of the idea of *Missio Dei* is rooted in the rediscovery of the life of the Trinity in the mission of the Church. However, the confrontation between both evangelical and ecumenical circles during the period from the 1960s to the 1970s undermined the spirit of *Missio Dei* seen in a Trinitarian way. After tensions between the WCC and the Lausanne Covenant, the two circles began to seek a new ground and a fresh source for renewed dialogue for reconciliation. It was made possible within the reconsideration of Trinitarian *Missio Dei*.

Since the 1980s, there has been a ‘genuine renewal in trinitarian theology in Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal theology.’²⁶⁸ In other words, the Trinitarian understanding of *Missio Dei* was rekindled in the mission of the Church. As one consequence of re-thinking the idea of Trinitarian *Missio Dei*, the document *Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation*²⁶⁹ was adopted in 1982, which is the fundamental text on mission for the WCC. It is a ‘landmark document which draws on insights from Protestant, Evangelical, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic mission theologies.’²⁷⁰

The document *Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation* attempted to maintain ecumenical mission theology in a balance between ‘a clear commitment to the proclamation of the gospel without losing the prophetic challenges of conferences

²⁶⁸ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 291.

²⁶⁹ See ‘Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation,’ in ‘*You are the Light of the World*’: *Statements on Mission by the World Council of Churches 1980-2005* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2005), pp. 1-38.

²⁷⁰ Jacques Matthey, ‘History of World Mission Conference 1910-2005,’ *Plenary Lecture*, The Ecumenical Institute of Bossey (3 November 2005), p. 3.

such as Bangkok.’²⁷¹ This document, which shows the comprehensive and reconcilable characteristic of a holistic *Missio Dei* as a reflection of the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships, has been generally welcomed by both evangelical and ecumenical circles as ‘a statement of convergence.’²⁷² Citing the document *Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation*, Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder sum up the idea of a holistic *Missio Dei* in the following terms:

There cannot be a ‘material gospel’ and a ‘spiritual gospel’; these have to be one, ‘as was true of the ministry of Jesus...There is no evangelism without solidarity; there is no Christian solidarity that does not involve sharing the message of God’s coming reign.’²⁷³

The idea of a holistic *Missio Dei* from the document *Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation* was taken up by the World Mission Conference of San Antonio, Texas, USA, in 1989. The relational and communal nature of a holistic *Missio Dei* is manifested in the first section of the conference’s final document: ‘The Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit is a God in mission, the source and sustainer of the church’s mission (John 20.20; Acts 2). The church’s mission cannot but flow from God’s care for the whole creation, unconditional love for all people and concern for unity and fellowship with and among all human beings.’²⁷⁴

One other important conference relating to the idea of a holistic *Missio Dei* appeared in the 1996 Conference on World Mission and Evangelism in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil. A strong connection was made ‘between the understanding of mission as the participation primarily in God’s mission and the wider understanding of what God’s

²⁷¹ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁷² Alan J. Baillyes, *op.cit.*, 1996, p. 494.

²⁷³ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 309.

²⁷⁴ Frederick R. Wilson (ed.), *The San Antonio Report – Your Will be Done: Mission in Christ’s Way* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1990), p. 25.

mission entails.²⁷⁵ Under the theme of ‘Called to One Hope – The Gospel in Diverse Cultures,’ the conference was fully dedicated to exploring the relationship between the gospel and culture. The Salvador conference insisted on ‘the richness of cultural variety as God’s gift, but also on the gospel imperative to link the affirmation of one’s cultural identity with an openness to other identities.’²⁷⁶ The Salvador conference recognised that all cultures are of equal value to the Gospel. As Christopher Duraisingh, the director of the Salvador conference, says: ‘Salvador held forth the practice of diversity, multiplicity and heterogeneity born out of Christian experiences in concrete, specific and particular contexts.’²⁷⁷ The Salvador conference has encouraged the Church to reconsider the practice of Christian mission identity as a holistic *Missio Dei*.

2.5. *The Challenges to Missio Dei Today*

Over the past fifty years since the 1952 Willingen conference, the idea of *Missio Dei* has expanded and developed the scope of mission theology today. As Jacques Matthey evaluates: ‘*Missio Dei* theology has clearly broadened the horizon and fostered a wide understanding of and approach to mission that are of lasting importance.’²⁷⁸ At the same time, the idea of *Missio Dei* today is confronted by several challenges. There still exists a conflicting tension between ‘cosmocentric’ ecumenical *Missio Dei* which implies the primacy of service and witness for mission, and ‘ecclesiocentric’ evangelical *Missio Dei* which signifies the primacy of

²⁷⁵ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 309.

²⁷⁶ Jacques Matthey, *op. cit.*, 2005, p. 4.

²⁷⁷ The world mission conference of Salvador, Brazil, in 1996, in Christopher Duraisingh (ed.), *Called to One Hope – The Gospel in Diverse Cultures* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998). p. 194.

²⁷⁸ Jacques Matthey, *op. cit.*, 2003, p. 580.

proclamation.²⁷⁹ This kind of bipolar view of *Missio Dei* has challenged the Church of today and contributed to its fragmentation.

In his 'God's Mission Today: Summary and Conclusion' Jacques Matthey points out several major missiological challenges raised from the idea of *Missio Dei* as follows: 1) 'The kingdom of God and human activity, or church and politics'; 2) 'Christian faith and the truth of other religions'; 3) 'The unity of the church and the variety of inculturation'; and, 4) 'God's particular activity in the church and overall activity in creation.'²⁸⁰ He then suggests the need for a new formulation of *Missio Dei* which is better able to meet these challenges.

When in Geneva looking at research material, I interviewed Jacques Matthey.²⁸¹ In response to my question, 'Is there any development of a new formulation of *Missio Dei* since you mentioned it in 2003?' He replied: 'It is not easy to speak about a new formulation of *Missio Dei*. We must not theologise the idea of *Missio Dei*. *Missio Dei* is a hope of being the Church.' I agree with him that it is very difficult to develop a new formulation of *Missio Dei* which can escape from the two extreme perspectives on *Missio Dei*. This is because the idea of *Missio Dei* is not a theory or a system for defending its own doctrinal position but a condition or a means for a way of being the Church towards God-given unity, and thus is affected by complex factors such as social, political, economic, and cultural contexts.

²⁷⁹ Tormod Engelsviken illustrates the development of the idea of *Missio Dei* with the following terms: 'The development that found its most extreme form in the 1960s and early 70s involved a change from a more anthropocentric understanding of mission to a more theocentric, and from a more ecclesiocentric perspective to a more cosmocentric.' Tormod Engelsviken, 'Missio Dei: the Understanding and Misunderstanding of a Theological Concept in European Churches and Missiology,' *IRM*, vol. XCII, no. 367 (October 2003), p. 481.

²⁸⁰ See Jacques Matthey, *op. cit.*, 2003, pp. 581-585 for his detailed discussion of these challenges.

²⁸¹ The Revd. Jacques Matthey, interview by author, 3 November 2005 at The Ecumenical Institute of Bossey.

In his '*Missio Dei – Its Development and Limitations in Korea*' Soo Il Chai describes the historical development of *Missio Dei* in Korea, pointing out its limitations in the context of Korea. He argues that *Missio Dei* has gradually broken down barriers 'between evangelism and humanization, between saving souls and social involvement.'²⁸² Soo Il Chai also argues that new barriers have been produced within Korean churches: barriers between the wealthy conservative churches and the poor progressive churches.²⁸³ He criticises the polarisation of Korean churches today as many conservative and evangelical churches have become market oriented:

The worship styles and the evangelistic methods of the US mega-churches have been directly imported and reproduced. It is growth that is all-important. Pastors of mega-churches even maintain that theology should be abandoned, as it is of no value for church growth. Such churches are well attended and wealthy. The churches that speak of *missio Dei* are, by contrast, mostly small and poor...Churches that engage in *missio Dei* at the grassroots are still poor and small in numbers.²⁸⁴

Soo Il Chai closes his article with the following question which shows us that social and economic factors influence the development of the idea of *Missio Dei*: 'What is the relationship between *missio Dei* and money? and, what is the relationship between *missio Dei* and other religions?'²⁸⁵

Notwithstanding the limitations in developing the idea of *Missio Dei*, I argue that a new formulation of *Missio Dei*, which could help to resolve Christians' contemporary dilemma of deciding between the two extreme views of *Missio Dei*, is now urgent and essential. This is not only because a constructive response to the challenges described above by Jacque Matthey is made possible within the renewal of the idea of *Missio*

²⁸² Soo-Il Chai, '*Missio Dei – Its Development and Limitations in Korea*,' *IRM*, vol. XCII, no. 367 (October 2003), p. 548.

²⁸³ See *ibid.*, p. 543.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 548.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 549.

Dei through a process of receiving a changing world and responding to it but because it could prepare the way for renewed dialogue for reconciliation between the two circles and thus reverse the fragmentation and polarisation of the life of the Church today. Furthermore, it is directly connected to the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion.

In the foregoing discussion, I have briefly outlined the historical context of *Missio Dei*. I have focused on the two different approaches to *Missio Dei* among Christians today: evangelical *Missio Dei* and ecumenical *Missio Dei*. The two differing approaches are usually based on missiological beliefs. Those who hold to an evangelical *Missio Dei* perspective regard mission as evangelism which is based on the notion of the proclamation of Jesus Christ as universal saviour. On the other hand, those who hold to a liberal perspective (these are those called by Bosch 'ecumenicals' on page 100 above) on *Missio Dei* perspective regard mission as service and witness, namely the liberating service of the reign of God. This indicates that different understanding of the relationship between mission, evangelism, proclamation, and service/witness has led to a conflicting tension between the two circles. This situation is similar to different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* today and thus has contributed to the diminishing of Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion. It, therefore, requires a fresh interpretation of the relationship between the components for mission in order to establish a new perspective of *Missio Dei* which will be conducive to the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion.

3. Different Anglican Approaches to *Missio Dei*: Evangelical and Liberal *Missio Dei*

3.1. *The Nature of Evangelism*

First, a fresh interpretation of the relationship between mission, evangelism, proclamation, and service/witness requires the right understanding of the nature of evangelism. This is because disagreement about this relationship among Anglicans today is rooted in their different understandings of evangelism. For some, there are constructive understandings of evangelism as an essential part of Christian mission, while others see the proclamation of Jesus Christ as universal saviour as the equivalent of mission.

David Bosch defines evangelism as ‘the proclamation of salvation in Christ to those who do not believe in him, calling them to repentance and conversion, announcing forgiveness of sin, and inviting them to become living members of Christ’s earthly community and to begin a life of service to others in the power of the Holy Spirit.’²⁸⁶

This indicates that evangelism not only includes both proclamation and service but also relates to the various kinds of dimension and activity of the Church’s mission.

Paul Avis provides some constructive insights into the dynamic activity of evangelism:

In the New Testament, evangelism takes three closely related forms. First, evangelism is to tell good news (*evangelizesthai*): we might say that this is its joyful annunciatory aspect. Second, it is to bear witness (*marturein*): this is its testatory aspect, the giving of solemn testimony. Third, it is to proclaim a message (*kerussein*): this is its fearless proclamatory aspect. From this brief analysis it appears that evangelism is a dynamic activity. It is energetic, outgoing and aims to make an impact.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 10-11.

²⁸⁷ Paul Avis, *A Ministry Shaped by Mission*, 2005, p. 15.

In sum, evangelism is an essential component of the mission of the triune God and proclamation, service and witness are means to evangelism and mission. This indicates that evangelism is not the equivalent of mission. In other words, mission cannot be confined to evangelism. As Jürgen Moltmann argues: 'Mission embraces all activities that serve to liberate man from his slavery in the presence of the coming God, slavery which extends from economic necessity to God forsakenness. Evangelization is mission, but mission is not merely evangelization.'²⁸⁸ Accordingly, the primacy of either proclamation or service and witness should not be emphasised as the nature of mission or evangelism. These two means to evangelism are not isolated and competitive but relational and cooperative: 'There should be no presence [service and witness] without proclamation, we must equally assert that there should be no proclamation without presence.'²⁸⁹

In conclusion, evangelism is a way of continuing 'Jesus' mission of preaching, serving and witnessing to the kingdom of God.'²⁹⁰ This kind of thinking about evangelism allows us to define the nature of evangelism as the mutuality of proclamation, service and witness. In this respect, evangelism is similar to a way of living in the life of communion in response to a missional communion of the triune God. It is, therefore, important to note that in using the term evangelism we should distinguish between the communal nature of evangelism and a narrow understanding of evangelism which is limited to proclamation.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*, p. 10.

²⁸⁹ John R.W. Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World*, 2nd edition (London: A Falcon Book, 1977), p. 55. Hereafter referred to as *Christian Mission in the Modern World*.

²⁹⁰ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 307.

²⁹¹ See my 'Developing an Interfaith Chaplaincy' for a more detailed discussion of my understanding of the nature of evangelism. Chul-Lai Ro, 'Developing an Interfaith Chaplaincy,' pp. 49-53.

Notwithstanding this, Anglican evangelicals who hold to an evangelical *Missio Dei* perspective focus more on the proclamation aspect in their definition of evangelism and mission. In contrast, Anglican liberals who hold to what Bosch above calls an ‘ecumenical’ understanding of *Missio Dei* concentrate more on the service and witness aspect in their definition of evangelism and mission.

A key to the two differing perceptions of evangelism and mission is soteriological beliefs. I have already argued that differing perceptions of *Missio Dei* have a direct connection to differing interpretations of ‘salvation.’ These two different understandings of evangelism and mission are also directly connected to particular understandings of sin.

3.2. *Sin and Salvation*

Traditionally, there are two different understandings of human sinfulness in Christendom: that of Western theology as inspired by Augustine; and that in Eastern theology, those inspired by Irenaeus and Origen. The traditional Western understanding of human sinfulness is fundamentally based on the moral and legal guilt or fall of human beings. In other words, human beings ‘stand before God as guilty, and through Christ that guilt is covered up [Protestant] or taken away [Roman Catholic].’²⁹² Eastern theology, however, understands sin as, ‘the loss of capacity for relation with God, with the subsequent loss of capacity for eternal life.’²⁹³

The contemporary Anglican understanding of human sinfulness tends to echo the Eastern notion of sin, while ‘the Anglican Articles of Religion represent a moderate

²⁹² Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 302.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

version of the Augustinian views on sin.²⁹⁴ In his *Principles of Christian Theology* John Macquarrie defines sin as ‘disorder and imbalance, especially in its aspect of alienation from [a divine] Being...alienation from other people, from the world, from one’s own selfhood.’²⁹⁵ This kind of relational understanding of sin is also expressed in ‘An Outline of the Faith’ from the back of the *Book of Common Prayer* of ECUSA. It describes sin as ‘the seeking of our own will instead of the will of God, thus distorting our relationship with God, with other people, and with all creation.’²⁹⁶

When sin is understood as the distortion of our relationship with others, with the world, and with God, it concerns the whole person²⁹⁷ and requires not only internal and spiritual salvation but also external and physical salvation. Evangelism is a means of the mission of the triune God for this salvation. Thus, salvation should be understood as the triune God’s salvation for the whole world. God’s salvation itself also expresses the relational and communal nature of the mission of the triune God. The mission of the Church is participation in the triune God’s salvation for our broken world: ‘The mission of the Church is to restore all people to unity with God and each other in Christ.’²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ Owen C. Thomas and Ellen K. Wondra, *Introduction to Theology*, 3rd edition (Harrisburg: Morehouse Publishing, 2002), p. 147. Hereafter referred to as *Introduction to Theology*. On this, see Owen C. Thomas and Ellen K. Wondra, *Introduction to Theology*, p. 147: ‘Article IX is a straightforward statement of the classical doctrine of original sin and assumes a literal interpretation of Genesis 3, with Adam understood as the ancestor of all humanity. The word for ‘corruption’ is *depravatio*, depravity, and is thus related to the Reformers’ doctrine of the total depravity of humanity.’ Also see the main articles (articles IX-X and XV-XVI: The Nature of Man) dealing with the doctrine of sin. E. J. Bicknell, *A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, H.J. Carpenter (revision), 3rd edition (London; New York; Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co, 1955), pp. 171-198.

²⁹⁵ John Macquarrie, *Principles of Christian Theology*, 2nd edition (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1977), p. 259.

²⁹⁶ ‘An Outline of the Faith,’ *Book of Common Prayer*, 848, cited in Ian T. Douglas, ‘Anglican Identity and the *Missio Dei*,’ p. 467.

²⁹⁷ John Macquarrie describes salvation as ‘making whole.’ John Macquarrie, *op. cit.*, 1977, p. 335.

²⁹⁸ ‘An Outline of the Faith,’ *Book of Common Prayer*, 855, cited in Ian T. Douglas, ‘Anglican Identity and the *Missio Dei*,’ p. 469.

3.3. Mission as Proclamation: Evangelical *Missio Dei*

In an evangelical *Missio Dei* perspective, salvation is through the Church and is found in Jesus Christ alone: 'There is no salvation outside the church. God's activity through the Holy Spirit is confined to the church.'²⁹⁹ This kind of Christ and church-centred understanding of salvation focuses more on eternal (individual) salvation. Accordingly, this leads to the primacy of the proclamation of Jesus Christ as universal saviour in defining evangelism and mission. In other words, Anglican evangelicals regard the proclamation of eternal salvation in Jesus Christ alone as mission's primary task. This thought is expressed in John Stott's view on eternal salvation. Notwithstanding the fact that he emphasises the importance of keeping a balance between proclamation, service, and witness in mission and evangelism,³⁰⁰ John Stott insists on his position of the primacy of the proclamation of the eternal salvation:

Salvation does not mean psycho-physical health...salvation is not socio-political liberation...It is personal freedom. True, it sometimes results in increased physical and mental health...True also it has far-reaching social consequences...Nevertheless, salvation itself, the salvation Christ gives to his people, is freedom from sin in all its ugly manifestations and liberation into a new life of service, until finally, we attain 'the glorious liberty of the children of God'...He still saves believers through the *kerygma*, the announcement of Jesus Christ.³⁰¹

This is a view echoed by many Anglican evangelicals today. Their core argument is that 'social evils are not to be remedied by social reforms but by evangelism in the

²⁹⁹ Margaret Kane, *What Kind of God?*, p. 28.

³⁰⁰ See James Robertson and John Stott's joint essay on 'Mission Agenda for the People of God,' in *Stepping Stones* for John Stott's comprehensive thinking about mission. John Stott, with James Robertson, suggest nine theses for *Missio Dei* as follows: 1) The people of God have good news to share; 2) The people of God confess Jesus Christ as the unique and universal Saviour and Lord; 3) The people of God are called to proclaim and to convince; 4) The people of God must reach out to all who suffer injustice; 5) The people of God must be seen to be what they claim to be; 6) The people of God must be mobilised and equipped for mission; 7) The people of God must be sensitive to different cultures; 8) The people of God need the spirit of God; and, 9) The people of God need strong incentives for mission. See James Robertson and John Stott, 'Mission Agenda for the People of God,' in Christian Baxter (ed.), *Stepping Stones* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1987), pp. 178-202.

³⁰¹ John R.W. Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World*, pp. 83-107.

narrow sense of bringing about individual conversions.³⁰² They believe that ‘once a significant percentage of the population become committed Christians, social reform [salvation] will take place automatically.’³⁰³ For them, there is, therefore, no salvation outside the proclamation of Jesus Christ through the Church.

Such a Christocentric and ecclesiocentric perspective is in danger of living in an exclusively ‘spiritual’ and ‘churchly’ world³⁰⁴ and thus neglecting the relational and communal nature of the mission of the triune God. As John Stott concerns himself about the distortion of evangelism and proclamation:

At its simplest ‘evangelism’ means ‘sharing the evangel’ and both the main New Testament verbs which are used for it (*euangelizesthai* and *kerussein*) mean the same thing. The English equivalents ‘evangelise’ and ‘proclaim’ have unfortunately acquired through the years (doubtless through Christian malpractice) overtones of superiority and triumphalism which the Greek originals do not have. ‘Proclamation,’ for example, conjures up the image of a government official announcing an edict at the top of his voice.³⁰⁵

The foregoing discussion suggests that proclamation is an essential means to evangelism and mission. This indicates that proclamation is not a matter of the primacy of a specific aspect but a matter of relatedness for wholeness. According to Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder, proclamation is a means of communicating the life and ministry of Jesus Christ: ‘Proclamation...is the act of communicating the gospel *about* Jesus and the gospel *of* Jesus...and it introduces this man whose life and person were so transparent of God...[It] also tells of the gospel *of* Jesus – ...how his miracles called them to be agents of healing and wholeness,...how his inclusively

³⁰² Philip King, *Good News for a Suffering World: What does the Christian faith really have to offer?* (Crowborough: Monarch Publications, 1996), p. 58.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³⁰⁴ Margaret Kane, *What Kind of God?* p. 18.

³⁰⁵ James Robertson and John Stott, ‘Mission Agenda for the People of God,’ *op. cit.*, 1987, pp. 185-186.

lifestyle called them to be inclusive.³⁰⁶ This indicates that proclamation should be not only relational and communal as Jesus Christ Himself expresses the communal nature of the triune God but also humble as Jesus Christ Himself carries out a humble servant ministry. Consequently, this communal and humble proclamation can be moved away from the mind of the primacy of the proclamation of salvation in Jesus Christ alone and in the Church.

3.4. Mission as Service and Witness: Liberal Missio Dei

Anglican liberals focus more on a God and world-centred social salvation as socio-political liberation. As John A.T. Robinson, who had a great influence on contemporary Anglican liberals, argues: ‘Unless religious salvation at least includes social salvation, it is a thing without body and without power.’³⁰⁷ According to Robinson, the Christian gospel is that ‘salvation has been brought down from heaven to earth, that it is possible for the eternal life of God to become incarnate in the historically conditioned lives of men and women on earth.’³⁰⁸ This means that the gospel gives people ‘meaning and fulfilment in society, and unless it is preached in terms of the particular content of this social salvation it becomes irrelevant.’³⁰⁹

It appears as if John Robinson’s overemphasis on social salvation neglects intrinsic relatedness for wholeness, which exists in the life of proclamation, separating ‘the gospel of Jesus’ and ‘the gospel about Jesus.’ In this respect, Robinson’s idea of social salvation has a direct connection to a theocentric and cosmocentric ‘pluralism’

³⁰⁶ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, pp. 357-358.

³⁰⁷ John A.T. Robinson, *On Being of the Church in the World* (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 23. Hereafter referred to as *On Being the Church in the World*.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

which Alan Race refers to as ‘a range of other possible options in the reconciliation of a “truly Christian charity and perceptivity with doctrinal adequacy.”’³¹⁰

This is a view taken by many Anglican liberals today. In his liberal-evangelical dialogue with John Stott, David Edwards, an Anglican Liberal, argues that ‘Evangelicals should not insist on the doctrines...that the cross propitiates God’s wrath because Jesus is our substitute under God’s punishment...that the Bible has to be treated as legislation about morality and information about the future.’³¹¹ In reflecting on Luke 2.30 and 31 – ‘for my eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the presence of all peoples,’ David Edward emphasises the importance of a God and world-centred social salvation: ‘Here is good news for the poor, for the sick, for women and for others who are oppressed.’³¹²

A God and world-centred understanding of salvation leads to the primacy of liberating service and witness of the reign of God in defining mission and evangelism. In other words, Anglican liberals regard the service and witness for socio-political liberation (social salvation) in the reign of God as mission’s primary task. It is important here to realise that the nature of Christian service and witness stems from the ministry of Jesus Christ as the Servant King. His kingship is made real by carrying out a servant ministry that ‘mandates both visiting the sick (Matthew 25) and seeking justice and righteousness as social norms.’³¹³ His humblest ministry of service and witness

³¹⁰ Alan Race, *Christians and Religious Pluralism: Patterns in the Christian Theology of Religions* (London: SCM, 1983), p. 71. The term pluralism (along with the terms inclusivism and exclusivism) allude to the widely accepted typology for Christology proposed by Alan Race in *Christians and Religious Pluralism: Patterns in the Christian Theology of Religions*.

³¹¹ David L. Edwards and John Stott, *Essentials: A liberal-evangelical dialogue* (London, Sydney, Auckland & Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), p. 305.

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 305.

³¹³ Ronald H. Sunderland, ‘The Dignity of Servanthood in Pastoral Care,’ *Journal of Pastoral Care & Counselling*, vol. 57, no. 3 (Fall 2003), p. 269. See my discussion in ‘Developing an Interfaith

enables Christ to be the true the King (John 13.1-17). Thus, service and witness take place in the context of the proclamation of Jesus Christ as the Servant of the Lord (Isaiah 42.1). This indicates that service and witness are inseparable from proclamation. The Dutch Protestant missiologist Johannes Verkuyl articulates this mutuality of proclamation, service, and witness: ‘There is no Kingdom without the King.’³¹⁴

In my brief discussion of different Anglican approaches to *Missio Dei*, I have identified that the different approaches stem from different Anglican understanding of the relationship between proclamation, service, and witness. In other words, the different approaches are rooted in the primacy of either proclamation or service and witness in defining mission and evangelism, which is directly associated with soteriological beliefs. The relational and communal nature of salvation includes both eternal (individual) salvation and social salvation. As David Bosch articulates: ‘It is the “Word made flesh” that is the gospel. The deed without the word is dumb; the word without the deed is empty.’³¹⁵

Notwithstanding this, there are still conflicting tensions between the two circles. An ultimate key to resolving the ongoing conflicting tensions is based on Christological beliefs. In other words, the tension between evangelical and liberal *Missio Dei* is a reflection of the tension between Christocentric and theocentric *Missio Dei*. This indicates that different Anglican approaches to *Missio Dei* stem from different

Chaplaincy’ of the ministry of Jesus Christ as the Servant King. Chul-Lai Ro, ‘Developing an Interfaith Chaplaincy,’ pp. 59-61.

³¹⁴ Johannes Verkuyl, ‘The Biblical Notion of the Kingdom: Test of Validity for Theology of Religion,’ in Charles van Engen, Dean S. Gilliland and Paul Pierson (eds.), *The Good News of the Kingdom: Mission Theology for the Third Millennium* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1993), p. 77.

³¹⁵ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 420.

Anglican understandings of Christology in the doctrine of the Trinity. It, therefore, requires a fresh interpretation of the nature of the Trinity.

4. *Missio Dei* and the Trinity

4.1. The Nature of the Trinity

In order to examine the source and ground of Anglican unity, I have sought in Chapter 1 to establish the life of ‘the triune God’s dynamic relationships.’ The dynamic relationships consist of the three divine persons’ ‘mutual and common participation in life, and a communication in which there is neither lordship nor servitude.’³¹⁶ This would indicate that the equality and mutuality of God’s being and His acts are at the heart of the understanding of the Trinity. In other words, the Trinity is characterised by both equality and mutuality. As Elizabeth A Johnson says:

The power of an interpersonal communion characterized by equality and mutuality, which [the Trinity] signifies, still flashes like a beacon through the dark night, rather than shining like a daytime sun... Yet the central notion of the divine Trinity, symbolizing not a monarch ruling from isolated splendour but the relational character of Holy Wisdom points inevitably in that direction, toward a community of equals related in mutuality.³¹⁷

4.2. The Immanent and Economic Trinity

Generally speaking, the doctrine of the Trinity is thought of in the following two ways: the immanent Trinity which signifies ‘who God is in God’s self’ and the economic Trinity which signifies ‘who God is in relation to God’s creation.’³¹⁸ Both the immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity express the equal and mutual nature of the Trinity as they correspond in turn to God’s being and His acts: ‘*The ‘economic’ Trinity is the ‘immanent’ Trinity and the ‘immanent’ Trinity is the ‘economic’*

³¹⁶ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, p. 56.

³¹⁷ Elizabeth A. Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse*, 10th anniversary edition (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2002), p. 223.

³¹⁸ Owen C. Thomas and Ellen K. Wondra, *Introduction to Theology*, p. 72.

Trinity.'³¹⁹ In both cases, the internal relational life of the immanent Trinity is inseparable from the external missional or participatory life of the economic Trinity: 'The God who is "for us" as Father, Son and Spirit must be like this "in advance" in God's self;³²⁰ there is no other God than one who is open to others in outward-going love, and the God who *makes* communion in the world must already *be* communion.'

³²¹ Citing Pseudo-Dionysius, Jürgen Moltmann provides some valuable insights into the relationship between the two notions of the Trinity on the basis of his idea of the missional nature of God as 'self-communicating love':

In this context 'God is love' means: God is self-communication, and also the desire for self-communication...He communicates himself to his like *and* to his Other...Creation is a part of the eternal love affair between the Father and the Son...The creation of a world is therefore not merely 'an act of God outwardly' – an act in an outward direction; it is at the same time 'an act of God inwardly,' which means that it is something that God suffers and endures.³²²

Moltmann then suggests his thesis about the Trinity as follows: '*Statements about the immanent Trinity must not contradict statements about the economic Trinity. Statements about the economic Trinity must correspond to doxological statements about the immanent Trinity.*'³²³ What his thesis emphasises is 'the interaction between the substance and the revelation, the 'inwardness' and the outwardness' of the triune God.'³²⁴ Moltmann continues: 'The economic Trinity completes and perfects itself to immanent Trinity when the history and experience of salvation are completed and

³¹⁹ Karl Rahner, *The Trinity*, trans. by Joseph Donceel (Kent: Burns & Oates, 1970), p. 22.

³²⁰ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, trans. by G.W. Bromiley and T.F. Torrance (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1975), I/1, p. 383, cited in Paul S. Fiddes, *Participating in God*, p. 6.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³²² Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, pp. 58-59.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

perfected. When everything is “in God” and “God is all in all,” then the economic Trinity is raised into and transcended in the immanent Trinity.’³²⁵

4.3. *Christ in the Trinity*

Citing the Roman Catholic theologian Adam Wolanin, Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroder emphasise the importance of mutual connection between the doctrine of the Trinity and Christology: ‘We can only understand the Trinity by seeing it through the lens of Christology; we can only properly understand Christology through the lens of God’s communal, overflowing trinitarian nature.’³²⁶ In fact, Christology is not only very important for the doctrine of the Trinity but also the basis of the whole of Christian doctrine.³²⁷

As the foregoing discussion suggests the nature of the Trinity is based on equality and mutuality, and both immanent and economic definitions of Trinity refer to the equal and mutual nature of the Trinity. This indicates that the nature of Christology is also based on equality and mutuality. It also indicates that the two terms ‘immanent’ and ‘economic’ reflect one another in defining both the Trinity and Christology. Thus the immanent Christology which signifies who Jesus Christ is, is inseparable from the economic Christology which signifies what he says and does. As Paul Tillich says: ‘The being of the Christ is his work and that his work is his being.’³²⁸

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 161.

³²⁶ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 332. Also see Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, p. 129: ‘The dogma of the Trinity was evolved out of [C]hristology.’

³²⁷ I am, however, not engaged in the doctrine of Christology in all range and depth. I focus only on the mutuality of the doctrine of the Trinity and on a Christology which affects the establishment of a new formulation of *Missio Dei*.

³²⁸ Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology 2*, p. 168.

4.4. Christocentric Trinity

Anglican evangelicals focus more on who Jesus Christ is, which allows them to proclaim the primacy of Jesus Christ as universal saviour in their definition of mission. This is expressed in John Stott's thought, who was disenchanted with the 1968 Uppsala conference and has since had a great influence on contemporary Anglican evangelicals: "I do not see this assembly very eager to obey its Lord's command. The Lord Jesus Christ wept over the city which rejected him. I do not see this Assembly weeping similar tears" over those millions of people who were without Christ and so were perishing.³²⁹ Stott supported an understanding of mission that, 'while including concern for justice and the poor of the world, regarded evangelism or the proclamation of Jesus Christ as mission's primary task.'³³⁰ In his *Christian Mission in the Modern World* Stott expressed his position:

Anything which undermines human dignity should be an offence to us. But is anything so destructive of human dignity as alienation from God through ignorance or rejection of the gospel? And how can we seriously maintain that political and economic liberation is just as important as eternal salvation?³³¹

This kind of Christocentric Trinity, which centres on Jesus Christ and on his role as unique and universal, has been developed as a defence of the uniqueness and absoluteness of Jesus Christ. This development was in response to the rise of the ecumenical *Missio Dei* perspective, in particular the pluralist perspective since the 1952 Willingen conference. Anglican evangelicals are still preoccupied with the absoluteness of Jesus Christ as the totality of Christian faith, although this exclusive

³²⁹ John R.W. Stott, quoted in N. Goodall, *The Uppsala Report 1968* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1968), cited in Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 335.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

³³¹ John R.W. Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World*, p. 35. A concern for justice is nonetheless extremely important in Stott's thought; 'for him mission must keep in balance both the Great Commission and the Great Commandment.' Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 335.

Christocentric Trinity was modified somewhat since the 1974 Lausanne Covenant which, as already stated, was a way of bringing together the two extreme views on *Missio Dei*.

The centrality of Jesus Christ is, of course, the basis of Christian theology. In addition, as we shall see later, the ecumenical *Missio Dei* perspective seems to fall into the danger of neglecting the importance of the immanent Christology and thus compromising the gospel of Jesus Christ. However, the emphasis on the one-sided uniqueness, absoluteness, and totality of Jesus Christ might fall into the opposite danger of a narrow 'exclusivism'³³² and 'tribalism'³³³ and thus undermine the equal and mutual nature of the Trinity. In this respect, we note Rowan Williams' following terms which inform a danger of 'totality' which accompany 'tribalism' in defining Jesus Christ's universality:

There are...two ways of theologizing about his 'universality.' The first is to move immediately to the 'ontological' level, either by developing a metaphysic of the 'cosmic Christ,' or...by trying to construct the system of spiritual knowledge of which Christ is the (or a) 'symbol'...The second option...is to say that the identity of Jesus must engage with the worlds of human meaning for them to be meaningful in any other than 'tribal,' limited contexts: the meaning of Jesus is not the container of all other meanings but their test, judgement and catalyst. Jesus does not have to mean everything; his 'universal significance' is a universally crucially question rather than a comprehensive ontological scheme. We may still want to confess that in Christ 'all things cohere,' but it is possible to understand this as saying not that 'in Christ all meanings are contained' but that 'on Christ's judgement all histories converge.'³³⁴

³³² Alan Race describes 'exclusivism' as 'the view that only in Christian faith can the authentic truth of God's offer of 'transcendent vision and human transformation' in the world be found.' Alan Race, *Interfaith Encounter: The Twin Tracks of Theology and Dialogue* (London: SCM Press, 2001), p. 23.

³³³ See my discussion in Chapters 1 and 6 of a tribal mission and church. Chapter 1, pp. 26-27 and Chapter 6, pp. 227-229.

³³⁴ Rowan Williams, 'The Finality of Christ,' in *On Christian Theology*, p. 94.

For Rowan Williams, Jesus Christ's universality does not signify a 'cosmic Christ' as a 'large-scale tribalism with Christ as source and guarantor of the authoritative and comprehensive system of meaning purveyed by the Church,'³³⁵ neither does it signify an authoritative Christ as a small-scale tribalism with Christ as the totality of Christian faith. For him, Jesus Christ's universality is similar to his universal relationship with God's world and simultaneously his universal participation in that world. Citing Jacques Pohier, Rowan Williams warns of the danger of totality in defining Christology: 'We do not have omnipotence of meaning; we do not proclaim to you the totality of meaning; we have nothing to proclaim but Jesus dead and risen; we have only this news which has no value as a response to everything or as the totality of meaning, but has value in itself.'³³⁶ Consequently, for Rowan Williams, 'Jesus "uniquely" reveals the God whose nature is not to make the claim of unique revelation as total and authoritative meaning.'³³⁷

4.5. *Theocentric Trinity*

Anglican liberals focus more on what Jesus Christ says and does, as the work or function of Christ, which leads to the primacy of the liberating service and witness of the reign of God in their definition of mission. Christology, therefore, 'focuses first and foremost on the "historical Jesus" as presented in the gospel narratives.'³³⁸ Although they are not Anglican theologians, it is worth noting the views of both Hans Küng and Edward Schillebeeckx on the way in which 'preaching, serving and witnessing to the already-present but not yet fully inaugurated reign of God was the

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³³⁶ Jacques Pohier, *God-in Fragments* (London, 1985), p. 294, cited in Rowan Williams, 'The Finality of Christ,' in *On Christian Theology*, p. 105.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³³⁸ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 317.

main preoccupation of Jesus' mission.'³³⁹ Jesus, as Schillebeecks argues, 'saw himself as the eschatological prophet, the one whose task was to announce by word and deed and in his very person the imminent fulfilment of God's promises to Israel. It was for this reign that Jesus lived, and he was handed over to death because of his convictions about the radical transformation of the religious and political world that the reign of God demanded.'³⁴⁰

The focus of such a Christology will be on 'Jesus' humanity, a humanity through which women and men encountered the fullness of God.'³⁴¹ Dedicated completely to the witness to the reign of God, as Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder argue, 'Jesus himself is totally theocentric; he never focuses on himself.'³⁴² This kind of theocentric Trinity, focuses first and foremost on, 'Jesus' own action of preaching about God's love and mercy, bringing comfort and healing to those who suffer, and witnessing to God's inclusiveness by his association with those deemed unworthy of God's concern and compassion.'³⁴³ The idea of the theocentric Trinity has been developed in reaction to the one-sidedness of Western Christocentrism and ecclesiocentrism since the 1952 Willingen conference which emphasised the importance of the trinitarian nature of *Missio Dei*. In fact, this position is not in opposition to the evangelical *Missio Dei* perspective. Rather, it attempts to maintain a faithful balance between the ecumenical and evangelical *Missio Dei* perspectives. It is, as already stated, manifested in the 1982 WCC document *Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation*.

³³⁹ Ibid., p. 317. Within the Anglican Communion itself, we find that the same principle holds true with regard to Anglican liberals' views on Christology.

³⁴⁰ See Edward Schillebeecks, *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), pp. 107-397, cited in Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 317.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 317.

³⁴² Ibid., p. 317.

³⁴³ Ibid., p. 317.

At the present time, however, Anglican liberals' overemphasis on theocentric Trinity has caused them to risk falling into the trap of a uniform pluralism, and thus distort the equal and mutual nature of the Trinity. Every religion has its own religious tradition and experience. This means that all religious men and women believe in their own religious tradition and experiences, but it also means that Christians 'should not abandon too easily their faith in Jesus' Lordship and their obligation to share that faith with the world.'³⁴⁴ Furthermore, in its attempts to remove that religious uniqueness which exists in every religion and thereby establishes the uniformity of religion, we see a new 'large-scale tribalism' with a cosmic Christ: 'The pluralist perspective...seems to propose not a genuine regard for the uniqueness of individual religious ways but a new absolutism and theological imperialism. Ultimately...Hick's and Knitter's brand of pluralism is really a version of exclusivism.'³⁴⁵ The most important thing is the fact that the unity of the Trinity is not uniformity which is based on authoritarianism but unity which is based on difference in understanding. In other words, the nature of Trinitarian unity is not uniformity in numbers but unity in relation.

In this respect, Karen Kilby shows that the issue of 'projection' in the social Trinity can lead to a danger of overemphasis on the theocentric Trinity. In 'Perichoresis and Projection: Problems with Social Doctrines of the Trinity,'³⁴⁶ Karen Kilby explores the implication of problems with the social Trinity and, by implication, the theocentric Trinity. Citing Colin Gunton's understanding of perichoresis 'as a transcendental, as a concept which captures something universal about all being and which is also

³⁴⁴ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 332.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

³⁴⁶ Karen Kilby, 'Perichoresis and Projection: Problems with Social Doctrines of the Trinity,' *New Blackfriars*, vol. 81 (October 2000).

suggestive and fruitful for further reflection,³⁴⁷ Kilby argues that ‘the concept of perichoresis helps us think about close relationships – indeed relationships which are constitutive of persons – without abandoning notions of particularity and difference, without a loss of the self.’³⁴⁸

Kilby then draws on both Jürgen Moltmann and Patricia Wilson-Kastner whose understanding of the social Trinity suggests that ‘social theories of the Trinity often *project* our ideals onto God,’³⁴⁹ and thus distort the concept of perichoresis. Kilby draws on not Jürgen Moltmann’s claim that ‘the Trinitarian persons do not first exist and then enter into relationship, but are constituted and defined by their relationship,’³⁵⁰ but Wilson-Kastner’s understanding, stemming from her feminist commendation of the social Trinity, of the persons as ‘self-possessed yet freely transcending the self – in other words, in some sense they do not have to, but choose to go out of themselves in relationships.’³⁵¹

Taking these claims together, Kilby asks ‘Why do they take opposite positions here, and how would one go about adjusting between them?’³⁵² She suggests that ‘while Wilson-Kastner has her eyes on the danger to women of lacking a sense of self and so emphasises that each of the persons is “self-possessed,” Moltmann is focused on the excessive individualism of the modern West and so maintains that the persons are

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 438. See also Colin E. Gunton, *The One, The Three and the Many: God, Creation and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 129-179.

³⁴⁸ Karen Kilby, *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 438.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 441. My italics.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 440. This needs to be discussed more profoundly in this thesis, because Moltmann simultaneously preserves both ‘person’ and ‘relation’: ‘there are no persons without relations; but there are no relations without persons.’ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, p. 172. For Moltmann, ‘persons are not relations; persons stand in relations that shape their identity.’ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 180. See pp. 133-134 for a more detailed discussion of my understanding of Moltmann’s idea of the relationship between person and relation.

³⁵¹ Karen Kilby, *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 440.

³⁵² Ibid., p. 440.

constituted by their relationships.’³⁵³ In other words, for Kilby, the difference is ‘derived from either the individual author’s or the larger society’s latest ideals of how human beings should live in community.’³⁵⁴ Kilby continues that ‘this is no accident...Rather it is built into the kind of project that most social theorists are involved in that they *have to be* projectionist.’³⁵⁵ She then argues that this projection stems from the social theorist’s different perception of the idea of perichoresis.

According to Kilby, in order to describe perichoresis, ‘the social theorist points to those things which do to some degree bind human persons together, into couples or family or communities – interrelatedness, love, empathy, mutual accord, mutual giving and so on,’ notwithstanding the fact that ‘it has to make the three persons into one God and not just one family of Gods.’³⁵⁶ As a result of this, what is particularly distinctive about the social theorists’ strategy is the following: ‘what is at its heart a suggestion to overcome a difficulty is presented as a key source of inspiration and insight.’³⁵⁷

Karen Kilby seeks a solution to the problem of this kind of projection by drawing on the problems caused by Anselm’s theology centuries before. His understanding of God’s ‘honour’ in formulating his doctrine of atonement suggests that ‘God is all about honour and what is due to one’s honour, and that we too must in various ways make these concepts central to our lives.’³⁵⁸ But this is a circular argument. ‘If Anselm trumpeted as the most important thing about the doctrine those very concepts

³⁵³ Ibid., p. 440.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 441.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 441.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 441.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 441.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 442.

which he himself had imported to solve the intellectual difficulty posed by it, if he had said, these concepts are the heart of the doctrine, they are what we must learn about God and ourselves from the doctrine of the atonement.³⁵⁹

Kilby argues that ‘projection, then, is particularly problematic in at least some social theories of the Trinity because what is projected onto God is immediately reflected back onto the world, and this reverse projection is said to be what is in fact important about the doctrine.’³⁶⁰ Kilby concludes that ‘my own proposal is not that one should move from the social back to, say, a psychological approach to the Trinity – this would simply be to look for a *different* insight – but rather that one should renounce the very idea that the point of the doctrine is to give insight into God,’ suggesting that ‘problems [with the social Trinity] arise when one looks for a particular insight into God of which the doctrine of the Trinity.’³⁶¹ Kilby writes:

The doctrine of the Trinity, I want to suggest, does not need to be seen as a descriptive, first order teaching - there is no need to assume that its main function must be to provide a picture of the divine, a deep understanding of the way God really is. It can instead be taken as grammatical, as a second order proposition, a rule, or perhaps a set of rules, for how to read the Biblical stories, how to speak about some of the characters we come across in these stories, how to think and talk about the experience of prayer, how to deploy the “vocabulary” of Christianity in an appropriate way...Theologians are of course free to speculate about social or any other kind of analogies to the Trinity. But they should not, on the view I am proposing, claim for their speculations the authority that the doctrine carries within the Christian tradition, nor should they use the doctrine as a pretext for claiming such an insight into the inner of God that they can use it to promote social, political or ecclesiastical regimes.³⁶²

In my discussion of the Trinity, I have engaged with the two Anglican approaches to the Trinity: the Christocentric Trinity and the theocentric Trinity. I have sought to

³⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 442.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 442.

³⁶¹ Ibid., p. 443.

³⁶² Ibid., pp. 443-444.

establish that the different approaches stem from Anglican 'tribal' mentality in their thinking about the Trinity, and thus lead to a tribal mentality with regard to *Missio Dei*. Prior to this, I identified the principal cause and nature of loss of confidence in Anglican identity as Communion, as proceeding from a tribal mentality with regard to *Missio Dei*. When these two considerations are taken together, the need emerges for a fresh perspective on the Trinity. Miroslav Volf provides a significant contribution to this subject.

5. A Fresh Perspective of the Trinity and *Missio Dei*

5.1. Miroslav Volf: Trinitarian Identities

In his *Exclusion and Embrace* Miroslav Volf explores the implication of tribal mentality with regard to identity. He focuses on the issue of gender identity, concluding that identity is the main cause of problems relating to sexual difference. By way of introduction he cites Luce Irigaray's argument that 'the problem of sexual difference is the most important challenge humanity faces, more significant than the problems of religious, economic, political, or racial differences and conflicts.'³⁶³ He then draws on not only Elizabeth Johnson's claim that 'gender identity itself is shaped significantly by religious, economic, political, and cultural differences';³⁶⁴ but he also draws on Serene Jones's claim stemming from her response to Luce Irigaray's

³⁶³ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 167. See Luce Irigaray, *I Love to You: Sketch for a Felicity Within History*, trans. by Alison Martin (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), p. 35ff. Irigaray's feminist thought is expressed in the following terms: 'The natural is at least two: male and female. All the speculation about overcoming the natural in the universal forgets that nature is not *one*. In order to go beyond – assuming this is necessary – we should make reality the point of departure: it is two (a *two* containing in turn secondary differences: smaller/larger, younger/older, for instance). The universal has been thought as *one*, thought on the basis of *one*. But this *one* does not exist.' *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁶⁴ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 167. See Elizabeth A. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 155.

critique of what she calls masculine ‘oppositional logic of the same’ that ‘God’s very reality is radically multiple, radically relational, and infinitely active.’³⁶⁵

Taking these claims together, Volf argues that a tribal mentality with regard to gender identity is based on a mentality of the ‘oppositional logic of the same – *a logic that drives all remnants of nonidentity out of the conceptual space occupied by a given identity.*’³⁶⁶ He suggests that self-enclosed identities stem from the fear of losing the self and a mentality of domination of the other: ‘The struggle for survival, recognition, and domination, in which people are inescapably involved, helps forge self-enclosed identities, and such self-enclosed identities perpetuate and heighten that same struggle.’³⁶⁷

Miroslav Volf seeks a solution to the problem of this kind of self-enclosed identities by exploring the relational nature of the ‘Trinitarian identities’ which are beyond ‘loss of the self or domination of the other.’³⁶⁸ In order to do this, he explores Joseph Ratzinger and Jürgen Moltmann’s notions of the Trinity. He first develops the twin ideas of ‘giving of the self to the other’ which he terms ‘self-giving,’ and subsequently ‘the presence of the other in the self’ which he describes as ‘mutual indwelling.’³⁶⁹ These are the two main characteristics of Volf’s notion of ‘Trinitarian identities.’

³⁶⁵ Serene Jones, ‘This God Which is Not One: Irigaray and Barth on the Divine,’ in *Transfigurations: Theology and the French Feminist*, C.W. Maggie Kim (et al.) (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), p. 132, cited in Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 176.

³⁶⁶ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 176. My italics.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

³⁶⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 176.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Miroslav Volf derives his twin ideas of 'self-giving' and 'mutual indwelling' from Joseph Ratzinger's notion of 'complete openness' which defines the being of the Son in the life of the Trinity. According to Ratzinger, the Son is completely 'from the Father', thereby being completely 'for the others.' So the existence of the Son, as being 'from' and 'for' is: 'complete openness':

When it thus becomes clear that the being of Jesus as Christ is *a completely open being, a being 'from' and 'towards,'* that nowhere clings to itself and nowhere stands on its own, then it is also clear at the same time that this being is pure relation (not substantiality) and, as pure relation, pure unity.³⁷⁰

Summing up Joseph Ratzinger's notion of two interrelated aspects of the 'complete openness,' Miroslav Volf draws his ideas of 'self-giving' and 'mutual indwelling' in the life of the triune God, which could contribute to a dynamic understanding of identity which could transcend loss of the self or domination of the other:

First, complete openness entails *complete self-giving*. The Son gives himself to the Father from whom he receives his whole being; and he gives himself to humanity to whom he mediates the Father. Second, the complete openness entails *complete presence of the other in the self*. The Father is so much present in the Son that the Son 'coincides with the Father'³⁷¹; the Son nowhere stands on his own; his 'I' is that of the Father. Consequently, what one sees by looking at the Son is nothing but the Father.³⁷²

In general, Miroslav Volf concurs with Joseph Ratzinger's relational portrayal of the Trinity. He nevertheless argues that Joseph Ratzinger's notion of the Trinity corresponds to Karl Barth's idea of the Trinity as 'holy tautology' – what Jürgen Moltmann calls 'eternal repetition,'³⁷³ which is too close to the logic of the same: 'Barth grounds the Trinity in the formal concept of a self-revealing God and understands the triune God as an "indissoluble Subject" and as "the one God in

³⁷⁰ Joseph Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, trans. by J.R. Foster (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 134, cited in Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 178. My italics.

³⁷¹ Joseph Ratzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 134, cited in Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 178.

³⁷² Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 178.

³⁷³ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, p. 141.

threefold repetition.”^{374, 375} According to Volf, Ratzinger ends up with the most radical kind of hierarchy or inequality within the Trinity, defining the Father as ‘the act of begetting, of giving oneself, of streaming forth.’³⁷⁶ In reflecting on John 5.19 – ‘the Son can do nothing on his own,’ Joseph Ratzinger says:

Since he is nothing beside him, claims no special position of his own, confronts the Father with nothing belonging only to him, makes no reservations for what is specially his own, therefore he is completely equal to the Father. The logic is compelling: If there is nothing in which he is just he, no kind of fenced-off private ground, then he coincides with the Father, is ‘one’ with him.³⁷⁷

In this respect, it appears as if Ratzinger maintains the equal and mutual nature of the Trinity. However, for Volf, ‘the price of *this* equality is, paradoxically, the most radical kind of inequality: the Son is nothing, the Father is everything.’³⁷⁸ Volf, then, points out a danger of Ratzinger’s hierarchal and unequal understanding of the Trinity as holy tautology: ‘If the Son is nothing and the Father everything, then the Father’s giving of his own self amounts to his “colonizing” of the Son’s self. The Son is dissolved by being, so to speak, pushed out of himself.’³⁷⁹ For Volf, this model undermines the equal and mutual nature of the Trinity, and thus fails to provide a viable alternative to a tribal mentality with regard to identity. It allows Volf to move the following question:

³⁷⁴ See Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 348ff, cited in Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 177. Also see Moltmann’s critique of Barth’s idea of holy tautology: ‘Barth holds that the Trinity is a *repetitio aeternitatis in aeternitate*, and believes that he can reconstruct this by means of a shift of emphasis in the statement: “God reveals *himself* as the *Lord*.” But to understand God’s threefold nature as eternal repetition or as holy tautology does not yet mean thinking in trinitarian terms. The doctrine of the Trinity cannot be a matter of establishing the same thing three times. To view the three Persons merely as a triple repetition of one and the same God would be somewhat empty and futile.’ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, pp. 141-142.

³⁷⁵ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 177.

³⁷⁶ Joseph Ratzinger, *op. cit.*, 1970, p. 132, cited in Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 179.

³⁷⁷ Joseph Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, trans. by J.R. Foster (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990), p. 186.

³⁷⁸ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 179.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

Is there a way to repair the damage Ratzinger has done to the notions of 'self-giving' and 'the presence of the other in the self' by the relentless radicality with which he has asserted them? Only if we can affirm self-giving without losing the self and hold on to the presence of the other in the self without slipping into inequality.³⁸⁰

5.2. *Trinity as Persons in Relations*

Miroslav Volf examines the feasibility of his twin notions of 'self-giving' without dissolution and 'mutual indwelling' without inequality by exploring Jürgen Moltmann's notion of a reciprocal relationship between persons and relations. According to Volf, Moltmann refuses to 'reduce persons to relations,' notwithstanding the fact that Moltmann underlines that 'divine persons are not self-enclosed individuals, but are determined in their particular personal identity by other persons.'³⁸¹ In other words, Volf believes that Moltmann retains the concept of person as relation. He both 'dissolves the Trinitarian concept of person' and 'does away with the interpersonal concept of relation.'³⁸² Citing Moltmann, 'there are no persons without relations; but there are no relations without persons,'³⁸³ Volf argues that in order to simultaneously preserve both 'person' and 'relation' we must understand them in a 'reciprocal relationship': 'Persons are not relations; persons stand in relations that shape their identity.'³⁸⁴

³⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 179.

³⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 179-180.

³⁸² Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, p. 173.

³⁸³ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom*, p. 172.

³⁸⁴ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 180.

Accordingly, Volf's idea of the Trinity as 'persons in relations' allows him to understand the Trinity not as hierarchy but as a twofold relational level of 'constitution' and 'life.'³⁸⁵ Citing Jürgen Moltmann, Volf sums up his argument:

We distinguish in the Trinity between the level of 'constitution' and the level of 'life'; the one level speaks about how persons are constituted and the other about how they relate to one another. At the level of the *constitution* of the divine persons, the Father is the 'first' because he is the source of divinity. Without such a source, it would be impossible to distinguish between the three persons; they would collapse into one undifferentiated divine nature. At the level of *relations*, the Son not only 'comes from' and 'goes to' the Father, but the Father has 'given all things into his hands' and 'glorifies the Son' (John 13.1ff.; 17.1). With respect to the immanent Trinity, these statements about the economic Trinity mean that in constituting the Son, the Father gives all divine power and all divine glory to the Son. As the source of divinity, *the Father therefore constitutes the mutual relations between the persons as egalitarian rather than hierarchical*; all persons are equal in power and equal in glory. At the level of the life of the Trinity, the Father is not 'the First,' but 'One among the Others.'^{386 387}

Consequently, for Volf, a new way of thinking about the nature of the Trinity as 'persons in relations' secures the divine persons from the dual threat of dissolution and inequality and thus prevents us from taking refuge in a tribal mentality based on a false understanding of the nature of relationality and personhood in the Trinity.³⁸⁸ In other words, it guards against an understanding of the Trinity which is governed by the 'logic of the same.' The self-understanding of three divine persons in relation allows them to participate in one another and for one another with the mind of 'self-giving' without any dissolution and allows for a 'mutual indwelling' without any inequality. This is why we understand the triune God not as three divine individuals but as three divine persons. Citing R.M. Benson, A.M. Allchin provides a helpful insight into the distinction between person and individual: 'When we speak of the

³⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 180.

³⁸⁶ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*, trans. by Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), p. 308, cited in Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 180.

³⁸⁷ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 180.

³⁸⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 180.

individual we speak of man in his isolation, in his separateness, of man as competitor. When we speak of the person we speak of man in relationship...man as co-worker.'³⁸⁹ The name of that relation for Volf is communion: 'The one God is a communion of three persons in that each dwells in the others and is indwelled by them.'³⁹⁰

Miroslav Volf concludes, with respect to identity, that the dynamic communion of the triune God's 'self-giving' and 'mutual indwelling' (what I have called 'the triune God's dynamic relationships') provides a viable alternative to tribal mentality, transcending the fear of losing the self and a mentality of domination of the other. Summing up his arguments, Volf writes:

The *self-giving* of the divine persons no longer entails a dissolution of the self. Instead, the self-giving is a way in which each divine person seeks the 'glory' of the others and makes space in itself for the others. The *indwelling* of the one divine person in the other no longer entails colonization of the other. Instead, the indwelling presupposes that the otherness of the other – the other's identity – has been preserved, not as self-enclosed and static 'pure identity' but as open and dynamic 'identity-with-non-identity.'³⁹¹

5.3. *The 'Self-giving' and 'Mutual Indwelling': The Triune God's Dynamic Relationships*

I have outlined Miroslav Volf's 'Trinitarian identities' in order to propose an alternative way of thinking about the Trinity which would safeguard the Anglican Communion from the danger of a tribal mentality. I have done this by focusing on a self-enclosed tribal mentality with regard to identity. As a result, I have identified that the dynamic communion of the triune God's 'self-giving' without dissolution and 'mutual indwelling' without inequality – the triune God's dynamic relationships – is a

³⁸⁹ A.M. Allchin, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglican Tradition*, p. 11.

³⁹⁰ Miroslav Volf, 'Being as God Is: Trinity and Generosity,' in Miroslav Volf and Michael Welker (eds.), *God's Life in Trinity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), p. 11.

³⁹¹ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 180.

key to the solution to a tribal mentality with regard to identity. 'Self-giving' now becomes a way of 'creating space.'³⁹² The space is, therefore, intrinsically 'hospitable and open.'³⁹³ Accordingly, the hospitable and open space creates new opportunities for others to dynamically join together. This kind of 'mutual indwelling' allows the self to 'remain itself even after it has received the other.'³⁹⁴ Such an understanding of the Trinity as dynamic relationships prepares the way for a renewed equal and mutual nature of the triune God.

The triune God's dynamic relationships allow the three divine persons to share in one another's life through a process of reciprocal 'permeability' as complementarity, and thus create unity in diversity without any dissolution or any inequality. In this respect, the triune God's dynamic relationships always consist in ambiguous and uncertain conditions. It is here important to note that it is crucial to distinguish between the kind of vague ambiguity and uncertainty which gives rise to a self-protected but at the same time inclusive compromise, and the kind of creative ambiguity and uncertainty – what William Wolf calls 'holy pandemonium.'³⁹⁵ What is needed is a 'creative tension between being exclusive and practicing solidarity with others,'³⁹⁶ and this requires patience. I propose to call this creative ambiguous and uncertain condition 'liminality,' which is a term from *limen*, a Latin word meaning 'threshold' between one state and another.

³⁹² I owe my idea of 'creating space' to Lynlea Rodger who describes it in the following words: 'The life of God and the authority of Jesus make new spaces possible.' Lynlea Rodger, 'The Journey Forward Together: Reflections on Matthew 5.13-36, A Contribution to the Commission on the Anglican Communion and its Life, prepared at the request of Archbishop Robin Eames Chair of the Commission' (2004)

<http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/process/lc_commission/docs/journeyforward.pdf>
[accessed May 2007]

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 180.

³⁹⁵ William J. Wolf, 'Frederick Denison Maurice,' in William J. Wolf (ed.), *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, p. 87. Hereafter referred to as 'Frederick Denison Maurice.'

³⁹⁶ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 168.

5.4. *The Triune God's Dynamic Relationships as Liminality*

In his *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* Victor Turner, a British anthropologist, speaks of 'liminality' as the transition or phase of rite of passage.³⁹⁷ Citing Arnold van Gennep who was 'the first to use the image of the threshold (limen) as a metaphor for being 'betwixt and between' social states,'³⁹⁸ Turner describes that there are three stages in all rites of passage: 'separation,' 'margin (or *limen*),' and 'aggregation.'³⁹⁹ This would indicate that a rite of passage involves some changes to participants, in particular their social status. The first stage of 'separation' is accomplished by separating participants from 'an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions, or from both.'⁴⁰⁰ During the 'marginal' or 'liminal' period as the second stage of a ritual, the characteristics of participants are 'ambiguous,' 'betwixt and between,' 'neither here nor there,' and thus open and acceptable or even hospitable.⁴⁰¹ In the third stage of 'aggregation,' participants' new social status is consummated and reincorporated.⁴⁰²

Turner observes how, in such rites the normal limit to thought, behaviour, and self-understanding between participants is downplayed and thus transformed into new perspectives:

What is interesting about liminal phenomena for our purposes is the blend they offer of lowliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and comradeship. We are presented, in such rites, with a "moment in and out of time," and in and out of secular social structure, which reveals, however fleetingly, some recognition (in symbol if not always in language) of a generalized social bond that has ceased to be and has simultaneously yet to be

³⁹⁷ See Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1977), p. 94. Hereafter referred to as *The Ritual Process*.

³⁹⁸ Paul Bradshaw and John Melloh (eds.), *Foundations in Ritual Studies: A Reader for Students of Christian Worship* (London: SPCK, 2007), p. 73.

³⁹⁹ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, p. 94.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴⁰¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

⁴⁰² See *ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

fragmented into a multiplicity of structural ties. These are the ties organized in terms either of caste, class, or rank hierarchies or of segmentary oppositions in the stateless societies beloved of political anthropologists.⁴⁰³

From this, Turner identifies that during the liminal stage which is characterised by passivity, humility, near-nakedness, contrary to a structured, differentiated, and hierarchical human interrelatedness – what Turner calls ‘structure’ – an ‘unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated’ human interrelatedness emerges.⁴⁰⁴ Turner describes this kind of human interrelatedness based on common humanity and equality as *comitatus* (‘communitas’) and, by implication, ‘community’ or ‘communion.’⁴⁰⁵ In order to articulate his idea of *communitas*, Victor Turner uses Martin Buber’s term community for *communitas*:

Community is the being no longer side by side (and, one might add, above and below) but *with* one another of a multitude of persons. And this multitude, though it moves towards one goal, yet experiences everywhere a turning to, a dynamic facing of, the others, a flowing from *I* to *Thou*. Community is where community happens.⁴⁰⁶

We are now able to say that liminality for Turner (which has the characteristics of humility, equality and mutuality) is a dynamic and relational way of being *communitas*, of being in communion with one another.⁴⁰⁷ He describes this in the

⁴⁰³ Ibid., p. 96.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 96.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 96. According to Turner, there are two major models for human interrelatedness: ‘*communitas*’ and ‘structure.’ He conceives social life as involving a dialectic process between them. See *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴⁰⁶ Martin Buber, *Between man and man*, trans. by R.G. Smith (London and Glasgow: Fontana Library, 1961), p. 51, cited in Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, p. 127.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Gerald Arbuckle’s definition of liminality. He is inspired by Victor Turner, who defines liminality as ‘an intrinsically unstable and uncertain condition, involving the embracing of social meaninglessness (*anomy*), or chaos, for the sake of the expanded creative possibilities it can provide.’ Gerald Arbuckle, ‘Chaplaincy, teams and ecumenism,’ in Giles Legood (ed.), *Chaplaincy: The Church’s Sector Ministries* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), p. 158.

following terms: 'Liminality implies that high could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low.'⁴⁰⁸

Such an understanding of liminality as a dynamic and relational way of being in communion with one another allows us to understand that the triune God's dynamic relationships express itself in the intrinsic 'liminality' which exists in the life of the Trinity. It also allows us to understand that the ambiguity and uncertainty of the triune God's dynamic relationships are not the kind of vague ambiguity and uncertainty but that of creative ambiguity and uncertainty, namely 'holy pandemonium.' These triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality allow three divine persons to escape from the 'logic of the same' which is bound up in the fear of losing the self and in a mentality of domination of the other. Instead, true community involves each divine person's existing in one another and for one another without 'dissolution of the self' and without 'colonization of the other.'⁴⁰⁹

Consequently, we are able to say that the triune God's dynamic relationships are the reason for the three divine persons coexisting in the same one God without any dissolution or any inequality. We, therefore, now turn to what is meant by an alternative way of thinking about the Trinity which would safeguard the Anglican Communion from the danger of a tribal mentality.

5.5. Missio Triunius Communio as 'Communion-in-Mission'

In Chapter 1 I argued that a tribal mentality in defining Scripture, issues, and subsequently God Himself stems from static thinking about the Anglican Communion.

⁴⁰⁸ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, p. 97. Cf. Mark 10.43-44: 'Whoever wishes to become great among you must be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you must be slave of all.'

⁴⁰⁹ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 180.

Thus signifying the notion of Anglican tribal identity, which adheres to fixed beliefs which compete with each other for its own self-protection and structure, contradicting the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.⁴¹⁰ This would seem to indicate a direct connection between the cause of self-enclosed identities suggested by Miroslav Volf and that of Anglican tribal mentality with regard to the Trinity.

This means that conflicting truth-claims among Anglicans, signifying Anglican contemporary dilemma regarding the primacy of either Christocentric Trinity or theocentric Trinity, are rooted in oppositional logic. This is bound up in the fear of losing their existing self-protected and self-referential beliefs and a mentality of domination of the other and, by implication, their competing system of exclusion. It also means that a renewed understanding of the Trinity as 'dynamic relationships' enables conflicting truth-claims to coexist in the same Anglican Communion without any dissolution or any inequality. It is here important to note that this is not just maintenance of the existing self-protected and self-referential truth-claims but a transformational way of coexisting. When the Trinity is understood as 'dynamic relationships' as 'liminality', a new perspective of coexistence emerges, going beyond an exclusive and tribal mentality with respect to the Trinity.

A new way of thinking about the Trinity which is constituted by the triune God's dynamic relationships allows Anglicans to create a hospitable and open space for one another and thus create new opportunities for their differing perceptions of the Trinity to converge dynamically. Primarily, I have argued that different Anglican approaches to *Missio Dei* stem from different Anglican perceptions of the Trinity. Taken together,

⁴¹⁰ See Chapter 1, p. 27.

we are able to say that the establishment of a new perspective of *Missio Dei*, which can avoid a tribal mentality among Anglicans with regard to mission, rests in how they hold the kind of the triune God's dynamic relationships. In other words, the *Missio Dei* is conceived as participation in the triune God's dynamic relationships. I propose to call this perspective *Missio Triunius Communio*, or 'communion-in-mission.'⁴¹¹

In Chapter 1 I argued that a new way of thinking about Anglican identity as Communion allows Anglicans to create a hospitable and open space for one another and thus create new opportunities for differences in understanding among Anglicans to dynamically converge. I also argued in Chapter 3 that different Anglican perceptions of *Missio Dei* have been the principal cause, as well as the nature of the loss of Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion, and that this calls for the establishment of a new perspective of *Missio Dei* which might inform Anglican self-understanding and renew Anglican identity as Communion while also taking account of approaches to *Missio Dei*.

⁴¹¹ The concept of 'communion-in-mission' is not an entirely new idea within the Anglican Communion. It has been recognised for a long while within the Communion since the principle of mutual responsibility and interdependence (*MRI*) was at least first proposed in the 1963 Toronto Anglican Congress (see Chapter 2, pp. 75-76). Furthermore, as we shall see later, in 2005, the Inter Anglican Standing Commission on Mission and Evangelism (IASCOME) presented its Report, 'Communion in Mission' to the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC)-13 in Nottingham, identifying the principle of *MRI*. See The Anglican Consultative Council, *Communion in Mission & Travelling Together in God's Mission* (London: The Anglican Communion Office, 2006), pp. 42-50. Hereafter referred to as *Communion in Mission & Travelling Together in God's Mission*. Nevertheless, it does not diminish the originality of my idea of 'communion-in-mission' in this thesis. This is because 'the heart of the Anglican Communion is a living tradition that is in constant transformation' (*ibid.*, p. 42): 'Tradition is not an ever accumulating hoard of static material. It is living and dynamic' (*The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood; a Second Report*, London: Church House Publishing, 1988, p.149, cited in Peter Selby, *BeLonging*, pp. 40-41). This means that the tradition of 'communion-in-mission' should be continually reinterpreted and redefined within the context of a given tradition through a process of receiving a changing world and responding to it.

When these considerations are taken together, it suggests that the triune God's dynamic relationships are the source and ground of the life of Anglican identity as Communion. This is because it not only can supply the principal source for creating a hospitable and open space for preparing the way for renewed dialogue for addressing differences in understanding among Anglicans, but it can also be conducive to the establishment of a new perspective of *Missio Dei* and, by implication, 'communion-in-mission.'

Again, *Missio Triunius Communio* consists in the 'triune God's dynamic relationships' which express His liminal and, by implication, humble, equal, and mutual nature and these dynamic relationships speak of 'communion-in-mission.' The emphasis on the importance of 'communion in mission' leads to a more inclusive, relational, and cooperative understanding of mission as opposed to one which is exclusive, structural, and competitive. It corresponds to Stephen Bevan and Roger Schroeder's idea of a triune missionary God whose presence in creation is never about imposition but always about persuasion and freedom-reception love.⁴¹² As a result, a focus on 'communion-in-mission' could help to resolve Anglicans' contemporary dilemma regarding the primacy of either proclamation of Jesus Christ alone as universal saviour or liberating service and witness of the reign of God in defining mission and evangelism. Consequently, the centrality of 'communion-in-mission' allows Anglicans to avoid their tribal mentality with regard to mission and thus to live in communion with one another, with the world, and with God in 'the kind of communion in which divine persons live with one another.'⁴¹³

⁴¹² See Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 348.

⁴¹³ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, p. 181.

6. Conclusion: 'Communion-in-Mission' in History, F.D. Maurice

At the same time, this raises the following question: How does the Anglican Communion concretely correspond to the idea of 'communion-in-mission' which is constituted by the triune God's dynamic relationships? As the foregoing discussion suggests, every religion has its own religious tradition.⁴¹⁴ This implies that not only every religion but also every denomination within Christianity has its own linguistic tradition and context of practice in interpreting specific theological realities. It therefore requires a fresh interpretation of the idea of 'communion-in-mission' which might inform Anglican self-understanding.

The contribution of F.D. Maurice to Anglican identity has been criticised by a number of theologians and historians, most notably, Stephen Sykes:

Stephen Sykes, in his *Integrity of Anglicanism*, notes the importance of Hooker and then attacks Maurice and Temple as dangerous and confusing influences in the Anglican Communion responsible, he believes, for a lack of systematic theology and clear thinking, especially on the nature of the comprehensiveness of Anglicanism.⁴¹⁵

Notwithstanding this, in the following chapter I will argue that F.D. Maurice's desire to explain the Christian faith in a Trinitarian communion dimension allows us to examine a precedent for the idea of 'communion-in-mission.' The importance which F.D. Maurice ascribes to the Trinitarian dimension is expressed in the following terms:

I not only believe in the Trinity in Unity, but I find in it the centre of all my beliefs; the rest of my spirit, when I contemplate myself or mankind. But, strange as it may seem, I owe the depth of this belief in a great measure to my training in my home. The very name that was used to describe the denial of

⁴¹⁴ See p. 125.

⁴¹⁵ William J. Wolf (ed.), *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, pp. vii-viii.

this doctrine is the one which most expresses to me the end that I have been compelled, even in spite of myself, to seek.⁴¹⁶

This indicates that F.D. Maurice understands the doctrine of the Trinity 'not as a matter of mere intellectual assent to a fixed dogmatic formula, but as a living apprehension of the reality of God himself.'⁴¹⁷ In other words, for F.D. Maurice, the Trinity is understood 'not as dead or abstract formulas, but as living and life-giving affirmations of faith and hope.'⁴¹⁸ Accordingly, F.D. Maurice's emphasis on the importance of living in the Trinity leads to social mission in response to the triune God's communal and missional life (*Missio Dei*). In his *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology* Michael Ramsey explains F.D. Maurice's teaching on the life of communion in Christian faith: 'Since the Triune God is the creator of the human race, the likeness of His eternal charity dwells in the human race, and the Trinity in Unity is the source of human fellowship in those who repent of their self-centred isolation and discover the true principle of their being.'⁴¹⁹

For this reason, F.D. Maurice not only supplies a direct connection to the idea of 'communion-in-mission' but has much to bring to contemporary thinking on Anglican identity and, in particular, to the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion. With this in mind, I now turn to Chapter 5 in which I shall explore F.D. Maurice's principle of comprehensiveness which could supply the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion.

⁴¹⁶ Frederick Maurice (F.D. Maurice's son) (ed.), *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, Chiefly Told in His Own Letters* (London: Macmillan, 1884), I, p. 41. Hereafter referred to as *Life*.

⁴¹⁷ A.M. Allchin, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglican Tradition*, p. 8.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴¹⁹ Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 55. Hereafter referred to as *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*.

Chapter 5. The Comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice: An Ecclesiology of Communion

1. Introduction

I have suggested in the previous chapter that F.D. Maurice supplies a direct connection to the idea of 'communion-in-mission' which might renew Anglican identity as a communion. Chapter 5 will, therefore, explore the comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice as he describes it in *The Kingdom of Christ*, arguing that it could supply the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion.

Since the English Reformation in the sixteenth century, there have been different traditions of churchmanship in the Church of England. Resulting from the collapse of the old order in a world of rapid political, social, economic, and religious change in the midst of the Industrial Revolution in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century the divisions between evangelical, catholic, and liberal were all exacerbated.⁴²⁰ In particular, the two distinctive parties, Evangelicalism and Tractarianism, were occupied with the competing and sectarian systems which they used to defend their own doctrinal position, thus causing the crisis of Anglicanism of F.D. Maurice's day. Given the new situations, Maurice defended Anglicanism against exclusive, sectarian, and systematic approaches to the life of the Church by seeking to discover the principle of what it means to be the Church.

Here it is important to distinguish between Anglicanism as the identity of the Church of England of F.D. Maurice's day and Anglicanism as the identity of the Anglican

⁴²⁰ From the eighteenth century onwards, there has been a rise within the Church of England of three conflicting parties. With regard to the characteristics of the three parties, see Chapter 1, note 46, p. 17.

Communion today. Anglicanism is the term that was first introduced in the nineteenth century to signify the faith, doctrine, and practice of the Church of England. The definition of the term 'Anglicanism' has become broader since the term 'the Anglican Communion' began to appear in the mid-nineteenth century to refer to 'the provinces of the Anglican family that are linked in fellowship through being in communion with each other and with the Archbishop of Canterbury.'⁴²¹ In sum, the term 'Anglicanism' of F.D. Maurice's day pertaining to the Church of England has become the term 'Anglicanism' which signifies the faith, doctrine, and practice of the churches of the Anglican Communion, which is 'historically descended from the Church of England.'⁴²²

F.D. Maurice's ecclesiological beliefs for defending Anglicanism are based on his confidence in the Church's fundamental unity in the intrinsic communion which exists in the life of the Trinity and signifies 'the triune God's dynamic relationships.'⁴²³ Maurice understood the fundamental task of the Church as one of response to the Trinitarian Communion. This allowed Maurice to identify the principal cause and nature of the division of the Church of England of his day, as loss of confidence in its fundamental unity in the Trinitarian Communion leading to the misunderstanding of the nature of Anglicanism. For Maurice, it, therefore, called for his reinvestigation of the principle of the Church's faith. In his *The Kingdom of Christ* he explored the catholicity of the Church as the comprehensive principle of the Church of England that could transcend the two parties' competing systems of

⁴²¹ Paul Avis, *Christians in Communion*, p. 6.

⁴²² Borden W. Painter, 'Bishop Walter H. Gray and the Anglican Congress of 1954, *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* xlix: 2 (June 1980), p. 158, cited in J. Robert Wright, "'Anglicanism, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and Anglican": An Essay on Terminology,' in Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 477.

⁴²³ Hereafter, in this thesis, the Trinitarian Communion and the triune God's dynamic relationships are interchangeable.

exclusion, identifying the following historical features as the six signs of the catholicity of the Church: Baptism, the Creeds, Worship, the Eucharist, the ordained Ministry, and the Scriptures.

Accordingly, Maurice's understanding of comprehensive catholicity as the nature of the Church's faith led to his idea of the sociality of the Church, which signifies the Church's mission to society towards the whole of humanity and the whole creation. For Maurice, when the Church truly possessed the principle of catholicity, the Church was really for society as a whole. Consequently, Maurice defended Anglicanism by seeking to discover what I have called the threefold principle of his ecclesiology: 1) The life of Trinitarian communion in Christ as the fundamental task of the Church; 2) The catholicity of the Church as the nature of the Church's faith; and, 3) The sociality of the Church as the vision of the Church.

The concept of comprehensiveness was F.D. Maurice's principal means for interpreting the source and nature of his threefold principle. For Maurice, it represented the truth about humanity, which was indebted to Samuel Coleridge,⁴²⁴ as God had made it. Maurice saw the human being – in fact, the whole universe, as always living in the presence of the Creator God, the Divine. That is to say that evidence of religious truths appeals to the whole being of man. As its subject matter religion includes mankind's history and future it includes imagination, conscience, and intelligence. So, what we believe and trust in is not this or that notion, or theory, or scheme, or document, but we believe and trust in the eternal name into which we are baptised, and in which the whole Church and each member of the Church stands –

⁴²⁴ With regard to the influence of Coleridge, see Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 37-43.

God the creator and redeemer. For this reason, Maurice understood that the comprehensiveness of the Church's faith was 'to be found in lives of complete fidelity to God's will'⁴²⁵ which implies the triune God's dynamic relationships. Consequently, as we shall see later, we are able to say that comprehensiveness for Maurice was a means which discovers a way of being the Church towards God-given unity, moving across existing boundaries in the life of the Church of England of his day through a process of complementarity.

Chapter 5 will, therefore, evaluate F.D. Maurice's principle of comprehensiveness leading to a fresh interpretation of Anglicanism for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion. I will draw on a debate on the comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice within the Anglican Communion today, in particular focusing on Stephen Sykes's critiques of F.D. Maurice's comprehensiveness.

In his *The Integrity of Anglicanism* Stephen Sykes argues that the comprehensiveness of Maurice has undermined the integrity of Anglicanism itself in justifying a policy of 'anything goes.' Sykes is concerned that Maurice's dangerous and questionable comprehensiveness has caused the Anglican Communion to be faced with the crisis of sustaining its identity.

2. The Historical Context

In order to understand F.D. Maurice's theological idea of comprehensiveness, it is vital to grasp the various challenges facing the Church of England in the early nineteenth century. This is because Maurice's thought on comprehensiveness was

⁴²⁵ Ibid., p. 113.

shaped by a process of responding to the challenges (particularly political, social, and ecclesiastical controversies of his day) which were derived from both the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

2.1. The Fall of the Old Order

Since the conversion of Constantine the Great in the fourth century, Christians had taken for granted that Christianity was the very basis and principle of their social life. By implication, political stability such as the authority of traditional hierarchy (kings, queens, and rulers) derived from Christian authority. This meant that Christian authority was universally acknowledged and unquestioned, as was the authority of traditional hierarchy.⁴²⁶ It also meant that the authority of the Church and its place in society was indisputable.

However, the early nineteenth-century's revolutionary social changes associated with 'the sense of discontinuity and dislocation engendered by such cataclysmic forces as the French Revolution and industrialization,'⁴²⁷ collapsed this absolute authority of the Church causing it to lose its relevance to society and state. The 1789 French Revolution's political and secular cults of reason, liberty, and egalitarianism became a catalyst for the development of democratic and liberal ideals in British society.⁴²⁸ From around 1770 to the 1840s the Industrial Revolution was under way across Britain, and it often went hand in hand in with revolutionary thinking from the French Revolution.

⁴²⁶ See Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), p. 63. Hereafter referred to as *Evangelicals in the Church of England*.

⁴²⁷ Peter Nockles, 'Survivals or New Arrivals?', p. 144.

⁴²⁸ See Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 6.

As a result, British society began to change rapidly in every aspect. The coming of steam, and therefore of industry, gave rise to a mass movement of population from rural to urban areas due to the economic transformation and thus created new towns and a new class. With all this went 'loss of stability, the tearing up of roots which went deep into the past, the disappearance of old customs and the severing of old ties and loyalties.'⁴²⁹ Boyd Hilton describes the early nineteenth century as: 'the Age of Improvement,' and, at the same time, an 'Age of Atonement':

The first half of the nineteenth century has been called 'The Age of Improvement.' But it was also an 'Age of Atonement,' because improvement, like virtue, was not then thought of as its own reward, merely as terrestrial fumbling towards public and private salvation.⁴³⁰

Consequently the reorganisation of social life, which derived from the secularisation and industrialisation of the two Revolutions, led to a collapse of confidence in the existing old order causing the Church to lose its authority and thus undermine its relevance to society and state. This meant that Christian authority could no longer be taken for granted in British society. The effects of secularisation on the life of the Church were undoubtedly to liberalise and rationalise men's thought. The new spirit of rationalism – with its beginnings as a post-enlightenment phenomenon – inspired a good deal of doubt in many men's minds about established truths. This resulted in the crisis of the authority of the established church. The role and nature of the Church of England was challenged, especially its Anglican theology.

⁴²⁹ John Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, p. 294.

⁴³⁰ Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1785-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 3.

2.2. Oxford's Response to Church Reform: Tractarianism⁴³¹

In the first half of the nineteenth century, in particular from the time of F.D. Maurice's baptism into the Church of England in 1831 up to the publication of the first edition of *The Kingdom of Christ* in 1838, the idea of Church reform was very much common in British society. This followed a series of revolutions such as the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, and the Reform Act of 1832. But the Church of England seemed ill-equipped to defend itself from the threats of a series of Parliamentary reforms. As Kenneth Hylson-Smith points out:

It was an era of the most rapid and most radical change in the history of the country, and yet it was met for the most part by intransigence, conservatism, inflexibility and lack of understanding in the Church of England. The structure and organisation of the Church were archaic, its social and political ideology was outmoded and there was a lamentable absence of insight and vision.⁴³²

Furthermore, divided opinions on the direction of reform within the Church of England caused it not to be put into practice immediately. While some, as John Moorman says, 'clamoured for reform, others saw in the Church a bulwark against revolution and chaos and were afraid to start on reforms which might lead further than was anticipated.'⁴³³ This situation led to the neglect of the Church's task of serving society and resulted in government interference in the reform the Church of England. Government interference raised the question of the relationship between Church and State.

⁴³¹ Tractarianism is 'a name for the earlier stages of the Oxford Movement, derived from the Tracts for the Times issued under its aegis.' F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 1388. Hereafter, in this thesis, the Oxford Movement and Tractarianism are interchangeable.

⁴³² Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England*, p. 124.

⁴³³ John Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, p. 330.

When Lord Althorp introduced a bill into Parliament in 1833 in order to resolve difficulties for church money in Ireland by reducing the number of bishoprics there from 22 to 12, there was much argument about a secular body's interference in the rights of the Church within the Church of England.⁴³⁴ One response came from the Oxford Movement. In the face of the question of the relationship between Church and State, on July 14 1833, John Keble preached to the Judges of Assize at Oxford about the subject of 'National Apostasy,' asserting that 'the Church was entitled to respect, not as a national institution, but as an instrument of the divine will.'⁴³⁵ He saw the Irish Church Bill of 1833 as state interference in the spiritual life of the Church. This was the beginning of the Oxford Movement or Tractarianism.⁴³⁶

If generalisation be allowed, it was a movement of the catholic revival in the nineteenth-century Church of England aspiring to 'the desire to justify the past and to value tradition and history in the face of the critical cuts of rationalism.'⁴³⁷ Although the Irish Church Bill of 1833 provided its initial cause, the Oxford Movement was concerned with wider and deeper issues than the defence of the established Church.⁴³⁸ As Owen Chadwick says: '[Tractarians] wished to find a place and value for historical tradition, against the irreverent or sacrilegious hands of critical revolutionaries for whom no antiquity was sacred; they suspected the reason of common sense as shallow; they wanted to justify order and authority in Church as well as State.'⁴³⁹ The religious fervour of the Tractarians emphasising the revival of the catholic Church

⁴³⁴ See Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 3rd edition (London: SCM Press, 1971), Part I: 1829-1859, pp. 56-57.

⁴³⁵ John Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, p. 338.

⁴³⁶ John Henry Newman regarded the day of John Keble's Assize sermon as the day when the Oxford Movement began. See Owen Chadwick (ed.), *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*, p. 33.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴³⁸ Cf. Elisabeth Jay, *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain* (London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1986), pp. 25-26. Hereafter referred to as *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain*.

⁴³⁹ Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*, p. 12.

caused the Church of England to put its reform into practice at once. As a result, Tractarianism greatly influenced the Church of England doctrinally, spiritually, and liturgically. In this respect, Tractarianism was, as Kenneth Hylson-Smith says, ‘a manifestation of a religious renaissance, or at least the continuation of a spiritual revival.’⁴⁴⁰

However, at the same time Tractarianism became a turning point of the growth of party conflict within the Church of England. It was during this time (from the eighteenth century) that ‘party division’ grew into ‘party conflict,’ culminating in a definition of three distinct parties – High Church (which signifies catholic), Broad Church (which signifies liberal), and Low Church (which signifies evangelical).⁴⁴¹

In fact, prior to the Oxford Movement the distinction between High, Broad, and Low churchmanship was not clearly marked. Low Church at this stage did not signify Evangelicals but the Latitudinarian group of the eighteenth century. When the latitudinarian Low Church party came to be dubbed Broad Church after its extinction, the name Low Church was applied to the Evangelicals.⁴⁴² Furthermore, the Evangelicals often held views in common with High Churchmen. As Peter Nockles argues: ‘The anti-Low Church credentials of Evangelicals prior to 1833 primarily rested on their relatively high views of apostolical authority and order.’⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England*, p. 128.

⁴⁴¹ With regard to the nomenclature of church parties in the early nineteenth century, see Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, pp. 25-43.

⁴⁴² See Francis Warre Cornish, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1910), Part I, p. 6.

⁴⁴³ Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, p. 150.

In order to resolve the crisis over the authority of the Church, the whole Tractarian project rested on the confident claim to be appealing to: 'The apostolical continuity of the Church of England with the primitive Church.'⁴⁴⁴ In other words, central to the Tractarians' policy of Church reform was: 'the supremacy of the Church Visible, an order instituted by Christ and His Apostles, over the Church Invisible of all true believers, bound by a justifying faith and holding forms and ordinances as useful emblems.'⁴⁴⁵ This was rejected by other parties, and above all by the Evangelical party. As Peter Nockles says: 'Apostolical [S]uccession could be valued in terms of historical continuity but the Tractarian view that special grace was communicated in the succession of bishops was repudiated because, for Evangelicals, grace was related to the truth of the Gospel and the power of the Holy Spirit.'⁴⁴⁶ It resulted in competing parties and sectarian systems defending their doctrinal positions and leading to the growth of party conflict within the Church of England.

2.3. The Growth of Party Conflict in the Church of England

Tractarianism and Evangelicalism became two distinctive parties each defining a new Church of England identity from the 1840s onwards.⁴⁴⁷ They made a response to the social challenges which were characterised by secularisation and industrialisation and had different perspectives on the direction of Church reform.

⁴⁴⁴ Peter Nockles, 'Survivals or New Arrivals?', p. 148.

⁴⁴⁵ Elisabeth Jay, *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain*, p. 29.

⁴⁴⁶ Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, p. 152.

⁴⁴⁷ Evangelicalism of the early nineteenth century was affected not only as a result of having to face its own internal issues but also as a consequence of the whole controversy with Tractarianism. See Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England*, p. 118. Also, on the internal issues of the Evangelicals in the first third of the nineteenth century, see Christopher J. Cocksorth, *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought in the Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 79: 'Various disagreements and divisions developed amongst Evangelicals over peripheral theological concerns which, together with a gradual draining of talent as some of its best people went off to the mission field abroad, slowly but surely sapped their strength.' Hereafter referred to as *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought*.

Evangelicalism had been largely occupied with ‘a defence of the faith against what was interpreted as a threat to the supremacy of scripture and the teaching of the Protestant Reformation.’⁴⁴⁸ The Evangelicals had little interest in ecclesiastical authority, namely the Church’s traditional order. They regarded Church order as a means to assist the Church to understand Scripture.⁴⁴⁹ This meant that the Evangelicals had sought to reform the Church by ‘rediscovering the Word and by dismantling the mediatorial system.’⁴⁵⁰ It also meant that the Evangelicals became opponents of Tractarians. They felt that there was a Romanising trend among Tractarians which included a theology of the sacraments and the ordained ministry, in particular that of episcopacy.

Initially, there was, as Kenneth Hylson-Smith says, ‘no great reaction from Evangelicals, and no serious controversy between them and the Tractarians.’⁴⁵¹ Rather, the Evangelicals had a great deal in common with the Tractarians, in particular the common pursuit of holiness against the advance of materialism and rationalism. But the intensity of the Tractarian’s depreciation of the Reformation and their admiration for medieval Catholicism resulted in the increase in Evangelical opposition.⁴⁵²

In contrast, the Tractarians reasserted the Church of England’s identity as part of the catholic Church of Christ, seeking to prove the apostolic continuity of the Church of England with the early and undivided Church.⁴⁵³ The Tractarians, as Elisabeth Jay says, ‘sought to emphasise the possibility of interpreting the doctrines embedded in

⁴⁴⁸ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England*, p. 118.

⁴⁴⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴⁵⁰ Christopher J. Cocksforth, *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought*, p. 87.

⁴⁵¹ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England*, 1988, p. 113.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁵³ See Peter Nockles, ‘Survivals or New Arrivals?’, p. 148.

the Prayer Book in a Catholic manner despite the Protestant intentions of their Reforming framers.⁴⁵⁴ For Tractarians, Church reform was similar to the recovery of the idea of one, catholic, and apostolic Church. As John Henry Newman, the leading figure of Tractarianism, claimed in *Tract 2* 'The Catholic Church': 'It is our duty to do our part in our generation towards its continuance.'⁴⁵⁵

Yet, for Tractarians, the individual liberalism of the early nineteenth century, or 'the Anti-dogmatic Principle' – as John Henry Newman called it,⁴⁵⁶ had deflected the Church of England from the recovery of the Church. The Tractarians regarded the development of individualism and liberalism which accompanied rationalism to be the result of the sectarianism of the Reformation.⁴⁵⁷ This, as we shall see, led to the Tractarians' depreciation of the Reformation; especially Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone. Distrust of the Evangelicals' justifying faith was expressed in John Henry Newman's *Tract 73* 'The Rationalistic and Catholic Spirit Compared,' which sought 'an authority transcending the capacity of individual minds which would also serve to counteract the prevailing atmosphere of rationalism':

Rationalism then in fact is a forgetfulness of GOD's power, disbelief of the existence of a First Cause sufficient to account for any events or facts, however marvellous or extraordinary, and a consequent measuring of the credibility of things, not by the power and other attributes of GOD, but by our own knowledge; a limiting the possible to the actual, and denying the indefinite range of GOD's operations beyond our means of apprehending them...In short, he [the rationalist] owns that faith, viewed with reference to

⁴⁵⁴ Elisabeth Jay, *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain*, p. 29.

⁴⁵⁵ John Henry Newman, *Tract 2* 'The Catholic Church,' p. 3 in *Members of the University of Oxford, Tracts for the Times* (London: J.G. F & J. Rivington, 1840), vol. I (1833-4): 'If then we express our belief in the existence of one Church on earth from CHRIST's coming to the end of all things, if there is a promise it shall continue, and if it is our duty to do our part in our generation towards its continuance, how can we with a safe conscience countenance the interference of the Nation in its concerns?'

⁴⁵⁶ With regard to John Henry Newman's critique of individual liberalism, see John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, new edition (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895), pp. 285-298.

⁴⁵⁷ See William P. Haugard, 'A Myopic Curiosity: Martin Luther and English Tractarians,' in *Anglican Theological Review*, vol. LXVI, no. 4 (October 1984), p. 395.

its objects, is never more than an opinion, and is pleasing to GOD, not as an active principle apprehending different doctrines, but as a result and fruit, and therefore an evidence of past diligence, independent inquiry, dispassionateness, and the like. Rationalism takes the words of Scripture as signs of Ideas; Faith, of Things or Realities.⁴⁵⁸

Accordingly, the Tractarians' hatred for the principles of the Reformation and their love of medieval Catholicism caused them to become opponents of Evangelicals who were interested in a rediscovery of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

2.4. F.D. Maurice's Defence of Anglicanism

The confrontation between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, which had influenced the Church of England since the English Reformation, was rekindled in the sectarianism of Evangelicalism and Tractarianism causing the crisis of Anglicanism.

F.D. Maurice's work was placed in the peak of the growth of party conflict within the Church of the England in the nineteenth century. In *The Kingdom of Christ* Maurice, as we shall see, identified the principal cause and nature of party conflict as Evangelical and Tractarian's competing as sectarian systems which they used to defend their own doctrinal positions. Maurice was in favour of 'the Evangelical sense of the living power of Scripture, and its Christological personalism, its vivid sense of the immediacy of the presence of Christ to the believer.'⁴⁵⁹ However, for him, the Evangelical's exclusive primacy of the authority of Scripture leading to a judgement on correct belief had deflected them from much thought about the authority of the

⁴⁵⁸ John Henry Newman, *Tract 73 'The Rationalistic and Catholic Spirit Compared'* (1836), pp. 3-5, cited in Elisabeth Jay, *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain*, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁵⁹ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 61.

Church's traditional order such as the creeds and the sacraments, despite Luther's own high regard for them.⁴⁶⁰

In fact, Luther believed that 'the Sacrament itself expressed the reality of the Gospel.'⁴⁶¹ For him, the Eucharist was 'the testament, or sign, of the promise of our justification by God's forgiveness through Christ's death.'⁴⁶² As F.D. Maurice says: 'Luther believed at first, and believed to the end of his life, that the Creed and the Sacraments were the great witness for justification.'⁴⁶³ Luther had his belief in the real presence of Christ's body and blood in strict relation to the Eucharistic bread and wine, although he rejected the medieval assertion that 'the doctrine of transubstantiation must be accepted as the means of explaining the eucharistic presence of Christ.'⁴⁶⁴ In his later thought, Luther understood the Eucharist not only as 'a sign and seal of what God has done in Christ' but also as 'actually a means of union with Christ in the most intimate way.'⁴⁶⁵

Like Luther, there were positive evangelical theologians on Eucharistic spirituality such as William Goode and Nathaniel Dimock. They sought to retain the objectivity of the Eucharistic gift not as 'the instrumentality of the Sacrament'⁴⁶⁶ as a

⁴⁶⁰ With regard to F.D. Maurice's objection to the Reformers (by implication, the Evangelicals)' privatised interpretation of Scripture leading to the neglect of the Church's traditional order, see F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, pp. 97-112. Maurice argues that the most consistent and intelligible interpretation of Scripture is 'contained in the doctrine that man is created for union with the Living Word, and that except in union with Him he is not in a true living state' (p. 98).

⁴⁶¹ Christopher J. Cocksworth, *Evangelical Eucharist Thought*, p. 19.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴⁶³ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, p. 106.

⁴⁶⁴ Christopher J. Cocksworth, *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought*, p. 20.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Romanising trend, but as ‘effective instruments...for bringing the communicant into a state of spiritual union and communion with Christ.’⁴⁶⁷

Correspondingly, Maurice endorsed Tractarianism’s attention to the traditional ordinances of the Church. However, the rigidity of Tractarianism repelled Maurice, although he was a strong believer in the Church.⁴⁶⁸ Maurice observed that the Tractarians used the traditional Church order as a means of distinguishing correct belief from incorrect belief. In particular, the realisation of the rupture between Maurice and Tractarianism came on his reading of Edward Bouverie Pusey’s *Tract on Baptism*.⁴⁶⁹

As we shall see later, Maurice understood ‘the importance of sacraments as demonstrations of the free grace of God in Christ and as salutary checks to any excessive preoccupation with our own feelings or faith.’⁴⁷⁰ As Maurice said: ‘Outward signs and tokens have a great worth. They attest the reality and universality of God’s gifts, as in the case of the water in Baptism and the bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper. They prevent men from fancying that their thoughts, and impressions, and beliefs, create the blessings which are bestowed upon us by God’s free grace.’⁴⁷¹ This meant for Maurice that ‘man does not by baptism or faith or any other process acquire a new character, in the sense of certain inherent qualities and properties not

⁴⁶⁷ William Goode, *The Nature of Christ’s Presence in the Eucharist* (London: T. Hatchard, 1856), p. 210, cited in Christopher J. Cocksworth, *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought*, p. 81.

⁴⁶⁸ See Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age: A Survey from Coleridge to Gore* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1971, 1980), p. 170. Hereafter referred to as *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*.

⁴⁶⁹ See Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁷⁰ William J. Wolf, ‘Frederick Denison Maurice,’ p. 82.

⁴⁷¹ F.D. Maurice, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Course of Sermons* (London: Macmillan, 1894), p. 188. See my discussion in this chapter of Maurice’s view on baptism. See pp. 189-190.

before possessed.’⁴⁷² Thus, for Maurice, ‘if baptism gives a man ‘the filial name and the filial privilege’ it is because Christ has first vindicated that name and privilege for all human beings, by himself assuming their flesh.’⁴⁷³

In contrast, Pusey’s notion of baptism seemed to Maurice to mean that ‘the race is given over to the devil except for those individuals who are rescued out of it by a sacramental change of nature.’⁴⁷⁴ For Maurice, this was a complete misinterpretation of the nature of baptism. Maurice saw in this the distortion of the positive principles of Tractarianism as using the ordinance of the Church as a means of exclusion, just as Evangelicalism distorted the positive principles of the Reformation against Tractarianism.

In brief, Maurice believed that the two parties’ shallow and sectarian dogmatism for defending their own doctrinal positions led them away from the renewal of the Church of England’s identity and divided them from each other. This situation encouraged Maurice to explore a fresh interpretation of Anglicanism, which could accommodate internal division within the Church of England. Maurice approached the task by seeking to discover the following threefold principle of his ecclesiology. It reflects his idea of comprehensiveness as derived from his key theological concept of the intrinsic communion which exists in the life of the Trinity: 1) The Trinitarian communion as the fundamental task of the Church; 2) The catholicity of the Church as the nature of the Church’s faith; and, 3) The sociality of the Church as the vision of the Church.

⁴⁷² Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 171.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁴⁷⁴ Alec Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789 to the Present Day* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 85. Hereafter referred to as *The Church in an Age of Revolution*.

Maurice's most important work *The Kingdom of Christ* is both 'an explanation and defence of [his] theological position of the Church of England'⁴⁷⁵ and at the same time a process of shaping his concept of comprehensiveness as a renewed Anglicanism. As Jeremy Morris says: 'A critical appreciation of *The Kingdom of Christ* must be central to any attempt to understand the shape of Maurice's ecclesiology and his view of Anglicanism, since it is by far his most substantial work on the Christian Church.'⁴⁷⁶ I shall, therefore, explore the comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice by examining the threefold theological principle that *The Kingdom of Christ* represents.⁴⁷⁷

3. The Trinitarian Communion Dimension

F.D. Maurice often called himself a 'theological digger.'⁴⁷⁸ When Maurice responded to the crisis of Christian faith, he defended it by 'demonstrating the depth of its theological and devotional roots'; that is, 'a reinvestigation of the nature of orthodox belief'⁴⁷⁹ rather than postulating a new set of facts or radical interpretation. Similarly, Maurice defended the Church of England of his age by reinvestigating the nature of the doctrine of the Church. Central to this reinvestigation was Maurice's key

⁴⁷⁵ B.G. Worrall, *The Making of the Modern Church: Christianity in England since 1800* (Revised edition, London: SPCK, 1993), p. 47. Alec Vidler describes the theme of *The Kingdom of Christ* as follows: 'The Church was a deliverance from all sects and parties.' Alec Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution*, p. 84.

⁴⁷⁶ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 56.

⁴⁷⁷ Although this chapter will seek to discover the threefold principle of Maurice's ecclesiology by focusing on *The Kingdom of Christ*, it will also touch on Maurice's other works where they affect his threefold principle.

⁴⁷⁸ F.D. Maurice regarded the theologian as a digger who has a metaphysical task. See Maurice's letter to John. M. Ludlow: 'My business, because I am a theologian, and have no vocation except for theology, is not to build, but to dig...' Frederick Maurice, *Life*, II, p. 137. Also see Frederick Maurice, *Life* II, p. 295: 'My sole vocation is metaphysical and theological grubbing.'

⁴⁷⁹ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 168.

theological idea of communion. I shall begin this task with examining Maurice's conception of Revelation which is the basis and content of Christian faith.⁴⁸⁰

3.1. *Revelation and Communion*

Revelation for Maurice was not a set of static and commanded propositions from God but a dynamic and reciprocal God-given event which itself expresses the personal and relational nature of God. As Maurice said:

The revelation which the reason demands, cannot be one of merely moral principles or axioms, – it must be the revelation of a living Being. It cannot therefore be one in which events are merely accidents that can be separated from some idea which has tried to embody itself in them.⁴⁸¹

In other words, Maurice understood Revelation as 'the personal God in self-disclosure to human persons, rendering the divine reality accessible to a personal relationship.'⁴⁸² God reveals himself to human beings through his words and acts. God's self-disclosure is known in his encounters with human beings. Human beings must be open to God's self-disclosure and must receive it, trusting that it is truly God's self-revelation. This is because human beings were made for God. Human beings can come to know God only if they freely choose to open themselves up to God.⁴⁸³ In this respect, Maurice's conception of Revelation is a process of dynamic and communicative discovery.⁴⁸⁴ This is expressed by Maurice in the following terms: 'Revelation must be the discovery of God to a creature formed to know Him and be like Him, a revelation therefore to the reason and conscience of men, a revelation of

⁴⁸⁰ Maurice supposed it to be the task of the theologian to set forth the truth of which God had revealed. See Alec R. Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice* (London: SCM Press, 1948), pp. 35-36. Hereafter referred to as *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*.

⁴⁸¹ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, p. 196.

⁴⁸² These terms are from Owen Thomas's understanding of Revelation. Although he does not use it in connection with Maurice's conception of Revelation, he provides insights into the understanding of Maurice's idea of Revelation. Owen C. Thomas and Ellen K. Wondra, *Introduction to Theology*, p. 23.

⁴⁸³ See *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴⁸⁴ See Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 170.

the Will that is every moment acting on his will.’⁴⁸⁵ Jeremy Morris comments in his *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of the Christian Authority*, on Maurice’s use of the word of ‘discovery’ for Revelation: ‘God “discovers” himself to human beings who, in their own lives and experience, “discover” him.’⁴⁸⁶

Maurice’s dynamic and communicative reflections on Revelation were rooted in his understanding of the relationship between time and eternity. He had confidence in the relation of Creator as the eternal and absolute truth to created beings as time-bound historical human beings. This requires Maurice’s understanding of the truth about history. For Maurice the truth was not simply true, it has its own time. In other words, new ages could find different ways of expressing the truth differently.⁴⁸⁷ This did not mean that Maurice was preoccupied with relativism, because he had confidence in the absolute and eternal truth but this is only known in historical terms. This concurs with Maurice’s understanding of history as ‘the gradual discovery’ or ‘revelation’ of the truth.⁴⁸⁸ As Jeremy Morris says:

Maurice’s conception of religious truth as embedded in language, and of language itself as shaped through history, implied not only that history itself could be read as an unfolding record of God’s interaction with his creation, but that the truth of history could be reached only *through* history, since God revealed himself not otherwise than in the events of history.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁵ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, II, p. 511.

⁴⁸⁶ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 174.

⁴⁸⁷ Lorraine Cavanagh’s idea of the truth is helpful to understand Maurice’s concept of the truth about history, although she does not use it in connection with him. In her article ‘The Freeing of Anglican Identities’, she describes: ‘Truth is...received as embedded in history. It is revealed, and its meaning renewed, within the context of the Church’s temporal life through the interpretation received in the context of a given tradition.’ Lorraine Cavanagh, ‘The Freeing of Anglican Identities,’ *Theology Wales* (2004), p. 24.

⁴⁸⁸ See F.D. Maurice, *The Prayer-Book considered especially in reference to the Romish System, Nineteen Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln’s Inn and The Lord’s Prayer: Nine Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln’s Inn in the months of February, March, April 1848* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1902), pp. 118-119. Hereafter referred to as *The Prayer-Book and The Lord’s Prayer*.

⁴⁸⁹ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 65.

Maurice's confidence in the relation of the eternal God to historical human beings allowed him to understand the nature of human beings as human beings for communion with God.⁴⁹⁰ This implied that created beings were not only naturally formed to seek God but led to his conception of Revelation as a process of dynamic and communicative discovery between God and human beings. It also implied that human beings possess the intrinsic spiritual capacity for knowing God, notwithstanding the fact that the limitations of fallen human beings have caused them to make it impossible to know God.⁴⁹¹ It was a fundamental axiom of Maurice that God had created human beings for communion with Himself. For Maurice, all Christian doctrines including the doctrine of Revelation were based on this intrinsic relational communion of God with human beings.

Here it is important to note that 'nowhere did he [Maurice] use the word "communion" of the Trinitarian nature of God himself.'⁴⁹² Maurice 'wrote constantly of God as "unity," in a sense including a dynamic, relational three-in-oneness.'⁴⁹³ It was, as Jeremy Morris says, 'as if he was prepared to acknowledge a parallel between the immanent Trinitarian relationships and the communion of believers with God and with each other, and yet was fearful of compromising the creatureliness of the created order by applying directly the same language he used of God to relationships of faith.'⁴⁹⁴ Such an understanding of Maurice on communion would safeguard

⁴⁹⁰ This concurs with Maurice's understanding of Scripture as we have seen before. See note 460, p. 158.

⁴⁹¹ See F.D. Maurice, *What is Revelation? A Series of Sermons on the Epiphany; to which are added Letters to a Student of Theology on the Bampton Lectures of Mr. Mansel* (London: Macmillan, 1859), pp. 90-93. Cf. Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 172.

⁴⁹² Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 189.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

Anglicans today from the danger of the social Trinity as it is found in the foregoing discussions.⁴⁹⁵

3.2. *Communion and the Trinity*

F.D. Maurice's conception of communion derived from his Trinitarian belief. In fact, Maurice interpreted every Christian theology and his idea of communion in the light of the doctrine of the Trinity:

My desire is to ground all theology upon the Name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; not to begin from ourselves and our sins; not to measure the straight line by the crooked one. This is the method which I have learnt from the Bible. There everything proceeds from God; He is revealing Himself, He is acting, speaking, ruling.⁴⁹⁶

For Maurice, the Trinity itself expresses the true nature of God for communion with human beings. This is a faith which for Maurice not only declares the intrinsic relational nature of God, but which also declares the true nature and calling of human beings. This meant that for Maurice human beings' life of communion with one another, with the world, and with God was a consequence of their destiny and calling. It also meant that for Maurice human beings were called to participate in the very life of Trinitarian communion itself. In a word, the Trinity is the ground and source of Maurice's fundamental axiom that God had created human beings for communion with Himself. As Michael Ramsey says:

Since the Triune God is the creator of the human race, the likeness of His eternal charity dwells in the human race, and the Trinity in Unity is the source of human fellowship in those who repent of their self-centred isolation and discover the true principle of their being.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ With regard to the danger of the social Trinity, see Chapter 4, pp. 125-128.

⁴⁹⁶ F.D. Maurice, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice deduced from the Scriptures*, new edition (London: Macmillan, 1879), p. xli. Hereafter referred to as *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*.

⁴⁹⁷ Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, p. 55.

Maurice's idea of the Trinitarian communion was drawn from the absolute loving unity of the Father and the Son in the Holy Spirit. Jesus Christ as 'the Only-begotten by the Eternal Spirit offered Himself to God'⁴⁹⁸ the Father, who became only a Son who can express the will and purpose of his Father. This is the 'eternal and original union' of the three divine persons as the perfect Communion which is beyond all evil and the universe itself.⁴⁹⁹ This means that the Trinity as the perfect Communion is involved with the world the triune God has created: 'We cannot think of a Being of perfect love as wrapt up in Himself.'⁵⁰⁰ For Maurice, the Almighty is 'not a supreme governing Power, remote and impersonal, but the loving Father of mankind.'⁵⁰¹ Thomas Hancock, one of Maurice's disciples, comments on this thought in his preaching in 1869, with the title 'The Fellowship in God the Source of Humanity's Fellowship with God':

The human person through whom we have access to God is, the faith declares, God the Son... St Hilary boldly said: 'We could not preach one God to men, if we had to preach a lonely God'... The Divine Unity into whose Name the Son through whom we have access to that Unity commands us to baptise all nations and every creature is a Divine Unity; he is not a Divine solitariness, a Divine egotism.⁵⁰²

3.3. *The Trinitarian Communion and the Incarnation*

In this respect, for Maurice, the Incarnation which is 'the revelation of the union of God with human being in Jesus Christ'⁵⁰³ was a consequence of the triune God's intrinsic life of communion with human beings. This implied that for Maurice, if human beings were called to seek God, culminating in the gap between God and his

⁴⁹⁸ F.D. Maurice, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*, p. 194.

⁴⁹⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 194.

⁵⁰⁰ F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, 5th edition (London and New York: Macmillan, 1891), p. 362. Hereafter referred to as *Theological Essays*.

⁵⁰¹ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 170.

⁵⁰² Thomas Hancock's sermon on 'The Fellowship in God the Source of Humanity's Fellowship with God' in 1869, quoted in A.M. Allchin, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglican Tradition*, p. 9.

⁵⁰³ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 173.

creatures [being] overcome finally, God Himself must grant human beings his innermost communal life of the Father and the Son, through the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰⁴ Accordingly, God gave his only son because he so loved the world, and Christ Himself revealed not only the true nature of the triune God as one of divine persons but also the true nature of the human being as the Word made flesh.⁵⁰⁵ Maurice's idea of linking of the inner Trinitarian relations and the relation of the triune God with human beings is as follows:

To think of the Father resting in the Son, in the deepest sense knowing the Son, and of the Son knowing the Father, we must think of a uniting Spirit. And if there is such a Spirit, it must be capable of being imparted... We are sure that it cannot be a Spirit which exalts any one man above his fellow... In so far as they confess it to be the Spirit of a Father, they must confess that it is meant to make them Sons of God; in so far as they confess that it is the Spirit of Christ, they confess that it is meant to make them brothers.⁵⁰⁶

We see in this thought a precedent for the perfect unity of the immanent and economic Trinity, which implies the equal and mutual nature of the Trinity.⁵⁰⁷ As

Jeremy Morris comments:

Economic and immanent modes of Trinitarian language are finely balanced here. The use of words such as 'relation' and 'person,' and the emphasis on the filial relationship of Father and Son as type for the relation of God with humankind, occur in a context in which the shape of God's Trinitarian being emerges for Maurice primarily out of a description of the history of his interaction with his creation.⁵⁰⁸

Maurice's idea of the triune God's interaction with human beings as the perfect unity of the immanent and economic Trinity led to his developing a social doctrine of the Trinity from which he further developed his idea of human being as a social being, thereby leading to his idea of the sociality of the Church.

⁵⁰⁴ See *ibid*, p. 175.

⁵⁰⁵ See John 3.16; 1.14.

⁵⁰⁶ F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, pp. 362-363.

⁵⁰⁷ With regard to the concept of both immanent and economic Trinity, see Chapter 4, pp. 118-120.

⁵⁰⁸ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 176.

Again, for Maurice, the Incarnation was derived from the triune God's intrinsic life of communion with human beings. This implied that for Maurice, God's loving commitment, as the Incarnation, to human beings was similar to His commandment for them. As St John's Gospel says: 'Those who love me will keep my word, and my Father will love them, and we will come to them and make our home with them. Whoever does not love me does not keep my words; and the word that you hear is not mine, but is from the Father who sent me.'⁵⁰⁹

Nevertheless, human beings are fallen beings who are constantly turning away from God. This signifies their rejection of the life of Trinitarian communion, notwithstanding the fact that as the foregoing discussion illustrates, it is their true nature and calling. Maurice identified this as sin. He defined sin as 'the departure from the state of union with [God]'.⁵¹⁰

In this respect, Maurice's idea of sin echoed Eastern notions of sin as 'the loss of capacity for relation with God, with the subsequent loss of capacity for eternal life,'⁵¹¹ rejecting the Western traditional understanding of human sinfulness which is based on the Fall of human beings.⁵¹² However, it seemed to Maurice that the teaching of the Church of his day about sin took a false ground from the beginning thus perverting the Gospel. In particular, Maurice criticised both Protestant and Roman Catholic preoccupation with the Fall as the fundamental basis of their theology, which declared that human beings were evil and that they belonged to a fallen race and then 'proceeded to declare that God had provided through Christ a means by which some

⁵⁰⁹ John 14. 23-24.

⁵¹⁰ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, I, p. 450.

⁵¹¹ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, p. 302.

⁵¹² See Chapter 4, pp. 111-112 for a more detailed discussion of my understanding of human sinfulness.

men – either the baptised or the believers – might be rescued from this condition.’⁵¹³

As Maurice said:

Romish and Protestant divines, differing in the upshot of their schemes, have yet agreed in the construction of them. The Fall of Man is commonly regarded by both as the foundation of Theology – the Incarnation and Death of our Lord as provisions against the effects of it.⁵¹⁴

Protestants and Romanists, even while they denounce and excommunicate each other, yet appear to recognize the fact of depravity, of Evil, as the fundamental fact of divinity. The fall of Adam – not the union of the Father and the Son, not the creation of the world in Christ – is set before men in both divisions of Christendom as practically the ground of their creed.⁵¹⁵

For Maurice, sin was not the prelude to redemption. Again, for Maurice, sin was, as William Wolf comments, ‘self-willed isolation from the true constitution of humankind as created and redeemed by Christ’; that is, ‘the refusal to acknowledge our true center in Christ and the desperate effort to establish a false independence.’⁵¹⁶

This allowed Maurice to link the Trinitarian Incarnation with the concept of Atonement:

When [Christ] offered Himself to God, He took away the sin of the world. We have no right to count ourselves sinners, seeing that we are united in Him. We become sinners when we separate from Him, when we forget His Name, and resume our own miserable separate name.⁵¹⁷

In Maurice’s Trinitarian theology, sin was overcome by the Incarnation of Christ. In other words, the life of Trinitarian communion was fulfilled by the Incarnation of Christ. In this respect, for Maurice, the Incarnation of Christ was the kernel of the life

⁵¹³ Alec R. Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 36.

⁵¹⁴ F.D. Maurice, *The Prayer-Book and the Lord’s Prayer*, p. 118.

⁵¹⁵ F.D. Maurice, *Conflict of Good and Evil in Our Day: twelve letters to a missionary* (1865), p. 170, cited in Alec R. Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 37.

⁵¹⁶ William J. Wolf, ‘Frederick Denison Maurice,’ p. 81. Also see Alec Vidler’s comments on Maurice’s concept of sin: ‘Sin consists in refusing to acknowledge our relation to God in Christ, in forgetting it, in trying to live apart from Him and independently of Him.’ Alec R. Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 43.

⁵¹⁷ F.D. Maurice, *The Epistles of St. John: A Series of Lectures on Christian Ethics* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1890), p. 110.

of Trinitarian communion. For Maurice, the Incarnation was the perfect communion of the divine and human nature in Christ who was the source and ground of the life of Trinitarian communion: 'If Christ be really the head of every man, and if He really have [*sic*] taken human flesh, there is ground for a universal fellowship among men...Now the denial of a universal head is practically the denial of all communion in society.'⁵¹⁸

3.4. *The Trinitarian Communion in Christ as the Kingdom of Christ*

This did not mean that Maurice was a universalist. As he argued:

I despised the Universalist and Unitarian as weak; I do not know that I found anything at all better. When I began in earnest to seek God for myself, the feeling that I needed a deliverer from an overwhelming weight of selfishness was the predominant one in my mind. Then I found it more and more impossible to trust in any Being who did not hate selfishness, and who did not desire to raise His creatures out of it. Such a Being was altogether different from the mere image of good nature I had seen among Universalists. He was also very different from the mere Sovereign whom I heard of amongst Calvinists, and who it seemed to me was worshipped by a great portion of the religious world. But I thought He was just that Being who was exhibited in the cross of Jesus Christ.⁵¹⁹

Rowan Williams' idea of Jesus Christ's universality provides insights into that of Maurice, although he does not use it in connection with Maurice. As the foregoing discussion illustrates, for Rowan Williams, Jesus Christ's universality does not signify a 'cosmic Christ' as a 'large-scale tribalism with Christ as source and guarantor of the authoritative and comprehensive system of meaning purveyed by the Church,'⁵²⁰ neither does it signify an authoritative Christ as a small-scale tribalism with Christ as the totality of Christian faith. Williams understands Jesus Christ's

⁵¹⁸ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, I, p. 258.

⁵¹⁹ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, II, pp. 15-16.

⁵²⁰ Rowan Williams, 'The Finality of Christ,' in *On Christian Theology*, p. 100.

universality as His universal relationship with God's world and simultaneously His universal participation in that world.⁵²¹

Likewise, for Maurice, the universality of Christ the Head of the whole human race was similar to His universal relationship with God's world and simultaneously His universal participation in that world. Maurice regarded Christ as 'the Restorer of Humanity to its true and proper condition...; as the Head and bond of a universal brotherhood.'⁵²² As Alec Vidler comments in his study of the theology of Maurice, 'God's union with our race in the Person of a Mediator is to be received as the interpretation of all other facts, as the kernel mystery of the universe.'⁵²³ In this respect, the life of Christ's universal kingdom was similar to the life of Trinitarian Communion in Christ. Hereafter, the words 'the universal Kingdom of Christ' and 'the Trinitarian Communion in Christ' in this thesis are interchangeable.

Maurice's conception of Revelation as 'the discovery of God's own being and of his ways with the world,'⁵²⁴ was also a process of dynamic and communicative discovery between God and human beings. This allows us to understand Maurice's idea of Revelation as *the discovery of the Trinitarian Communion in Christ*.⁵²⁵ As Bernard Reardon comments in his study of F.D. Maurice's idea of the kingdom of Christ: 'Christ indeed, as Christians are bound to believe, was a full and final revelation of the divine; but the imparting of that revelation to men is a continuing process.'⁵²⁶

⁵²¹ See *ibid.*, p. 105. Also, see my discussion in Chapter 4 of Rowan Williams' idea of Jesus Christ's universality. Chapter 4, pp. 122-123.

⁵²² F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, p. 211.

⁵²³ Alec R. Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 41.

⁵²⁴ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 177.

⁵²⁵ My italics.

⁵²⁶ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, pp. 170-171.

This suggests that for Maurice, authentic human communion, as it is to be rediscovered in the Trinitarian Communion in Christ, is *eternal life*,⁵²⁷ as the true nature and calling of human beings, which is a life of communion with the world, with one another, and with God, through the process of receiving Christ and responding to him. It also suggests that for Maurice, as we shall see later, the Church as the Body of Christ exists to bear witness to the truth of the Trinitarian Communion in Christ as the source and ground of authentic human communion. Maurice himself, who was a strong believer in the Church, described his fundamental task as follows: ‘I was sent into the world that I might persuade men to recognise Christ as the centre of their fellowship with each other, that so they might be united in their families, their countries.’⁵²⁸

3.5. Three Dimensions of Human Constitution for the Trinitarian Communion in Christ: the Family, the Nation, and the Church

As the foregoing discussion has revealed, for Maurice, the truth is only known in historical terms, although it presupposes the absolute and eternal truth as Providence and not the result of human history itself.⁵²⁹ This required the necessity of historical reality, as ‘human constitution,’ which bears witness to the truth of the Trinitarian Communion in Christ. As Maurice said: ‘The spiritual and universal society must be involved in the very idea of our human constitution, say rather, must be that

⁵²⁷ My italics. According to Maurice, eternal life is a corollary of the life of Trinitarian communion: ‘Each portion of that Name into which we are baptized answers to some apprehension and anticipation of human beings...the acknowledgement of that Name, in its fullness and Unity, is Eternal life.’ F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, p. 355.

⁵²⁸ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, I, p. 240.

⁵²⁹ See pp. 163-164.

constitution, by virtue of which we realise that there is a humanity, that we form a kind.⁵³⁰

In *The Kingdom of Christ* Maurice suggested three dimensions of 'human constitution' which embody the Trinitarian Communion in Christ: the family, the nation, and the Church.⁵³¹ Maurice understood the family as 'a microcosm of the relations of mutual dependence which characterize the kingdom of God as a whole,' which is 'the primary form in which the perception of 'spiritual things' is mediated to human beings.'⁵³² As Bernard Reardon comments:

[The family] is the first great bulwark which God has provided against the domination of the senses and of the purely external world, and to be the sphere in which personality, as distinct from mere individuality, is developed. It is in the family that the meaning of authority and obedience is learned. Positive law therefore presupposes the family relationships as its basis; relationships which express, in the simplest form, the necessary dependence of human beings on one another.⁵³³

This led to Maurice's scriptural understanding of the relationship between family and nation as 'personality finds a still wider field for its development.'⁵³⁴ According to the Exodus story of the Old Testament, a nation was established by a family, Abraham's family: 'The laws that had reflected the human relations of the family became the laws of a whole people, a nation.'⁵³⁵ In other words, under the law of national community, 'each man is taken apart from every other. Each one is met with a "Thou." The Law is over families, but is addressed to every one who hears it

⁵³⁰ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, p. 252.

⁵³¹ This was addressed in the second chapter on 'Indications of a Spiritual Constitution,' in Part II of *The Kingdom of Christ* I. See F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ* I, pp. 261-271.

⁵³² Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 76.

⁵³³ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 196.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁵³⁵ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 77.

separately, without reference to his ancestors or his descendants.⁵³⁶ This meant for Maurice that ‘the nation can never be looked on as a purely secular society’ since ‘the foundation of the national community is a *divine* Person.’⁵³⁷

Notwithstanding this, the nation is constantly losing its sense of nationhood and thus creating a vicious sectarianism as many Christian concerns: ‘The Nation has become secular when it has tried to realise itself as a separate body.’⁵³⁸ On this point, although he had confidence in a nation conscious of its nationhood, Maurice expressed his mind in a distrust of democracy:

As to democracy, I regard Lincoln’s inauguration speech as the grandest return from the democracy of the Declaration of Independence to the theocracy of the Pilgrim Fathers that I have seen anywhere...And it was not merely the old Calvinistic theocracy – the divinity minus humanity. In so far as it recognised the Divine vengeance for the wrongs of the coloured race, it implied a Christ as Head of the human race...The horror of democracy which you impute to me is a horror in the interest of the people. I believe the Sovereign has been great so far as he or she confessed a ministry – ignominious so far as he or she has merely clutches at a dominion; that the nobles have been great so far as they have confessed a ministry – ignominious so far as they have been aristocrats or oligarchs. I apply the same maxim to the larger class. If they will accept the franchise as a ministry as an obligation – if any one of them, like Lincoln, accepts any function, be it as high as it may, as a calling – I shall rejoice. If they grasp at any power merely as a power, I believe the voice of Demos will be the devil’s voice and not God’s.⁵³⁹

For Maurice, the distortion of a nation conscious of its nationhood was ‘a vicious sectarianism or party fractiousness which would weaken [the sense of nationhood] by its divisions.’⁵⁴⁰ This led to Maurice’s idea that the very basis of society lay in

⁵³⁶ F.D. Maurice, *Social Morality: Twenty-one Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge*, new edition (London: Macmillan, 1886), pp. 124-125.

⁵³⁷ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 197.

⁵³⁸ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 297.

⁵³⁹ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, II, p. 497. This is a letter to J.M. Ludlow after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. With regard to Maurice’s distrust of democracy, also see Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, p. 47.

⁵⁴⁰ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 197.

keeping its sense of nationhood as embodied in the Trinitarian Communion in Christ.

Maurice understood the Church as the very root of that society.

3.6. *The Church: Witness to the Trinitarian Communion in Christ*

In *The Kingdom of Christ* F.D. Maurice described that the fundamental task, or calling of the Church, is to be ‘the life-giving energy to every body in the midst of which she dwells.’⁵⁴¹ This meant for Maurice that the Church ‘exists to purify and elevate the nation’s mind, to remind those whose power and duty it is to frame and administer the laws both of the significance of law and of the ruin to which false ways must inevitably lead.’⁵⁴² In other words, for Maurice, the Church as the Body of Christ is a universal and spiritual society as a kingdom which was established on ‘the accomplishment of the union of heaven and earth’⁵⁴³ in Jesus Christ: ‘The [c]atholic Church is emphatically a kingdom for *mankind*, a kingdom grounded upon the union which has been established in Christ between God and man.’⁵⁴⁴ Accordingly, Maurice understood the vision of the Church as the representative of all human beings, called to participate in the very life of Trinitarian communion in Christ.

However, for Maurice, this did not mean that the Church itself comprised the Trinitarian Communion, notwithstanding the fact that he distinguished between the Church as the highest part of the spiritual constitution and both family and nation as lower parts.⁵⁴⁵ In other words, Maurice understood the authority of the Church not as

⁵⁴¹ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 314.

⁵⁴² Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 201.

⁵⁴³ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, p. 293.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁵⁴⁵ Despite Maurice’s hierarchal understanding of the spiritual constitution, he emphasised the importance of the relational nature of the spiritual constitution among the family, the nation and the Church: ‘His talks of the Church as the “highest part” of the spiritual constitution, and of the family and nation as lower parts, suggests a hierarchy of separate, but related, elements of social organization within the one spiritual polity.’ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p.

absolute and autonomous, as if the Church itself is the Trinitarian Communion, but as the authoritative means for proclaiming and mediating the Trinitarian Communion in Christ: 'The world is the Church without God; the Church is the world restored to its relation with God, taken back by Him into the state for which He created it.'⁵⁴⁶ In Maurice's ecclesiology, 'the universal kingship of Christ always preceded the historical constitution of the Church, though the Church was nevertheless the corporate and *necessary* means by which Christ's presence in history was actualized.'⁵⁴⁷ In sum, for Maurice, the Church itself presented a direct knowledge of the Trinitarian Communion in Christ.

In view of this methodological understanding in defining the Church, Maurice objected to the Tractarians' elevating its authority above that of every other Christian authority, thereby implying an authority equal to that of the Trinitarian Communion. This is made clear in Maurice's rejection of John Henry Newman's claims of an infallible authority of the Church:

Maurice agreed with Newman about the need for authoritative guidance on the part of the contemporary church, but he denied that an infallible authority had been given. What was given was the historical actuality of Christ and the abiding presence of his Spirit in the entire Christian community. God's judgements were more to be heard in historical events, he believed, than in oracular ecclesiastical authority.⁵⁴⁸

Accordingly, Maurice's understanding of the Church as a witness to the Trinitarian Communion in Christ allowed him to look beyond the Church to all humanity and the whole universe. For Maurice, this meant that the Trinitarian Communion as the triune

78. In this respect, Miroslav Volf's idea of a twofold relational level of 'constitution' and 'life' in the Trinity was hinted at Maurice's hierarchal understanding of the spiritual constitution. See Chapter 4, p. 134.

⁵⁴⁶ F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, p. 343.

⁵⁴⁷ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 203.

⁵⁴⁸ William J. Wolf, 'Frederick Denison Maurice,' p. 63. Also see Maurice's objection to Romanists' exalting the authority of the Church. F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, p. 205.

God's purpose for his creature was not confined to the Church and thus the Church should not seek its own perfection as if people exist solely for the Church, rather than the Church for the whole of humanity.⁵⁴⁹ Maurice believed that the task of the Church was not to take a separate initiative in the Trinitarian Communion, but to participate in the very life of Trinitarian communion in Christ. As Jürgen Moltmann underlines:

The church's first word is not 'church' but Christ. The church's final word is not 'church' but the glory of the Father and the Son in the Spirit of liberty. Because of this the church...has no light of its own or for itself. If it is the true church, the light that is reflected on its face is the light of Christ, which reflects the glory of God.⁵⁵⁰

At this point, though he did not use the language of *Missio Dei*, the concept of *Missio Dei* hints at Maurice's understanding of the Church leading to his developing the sociality of the Church. As the foregoing discussion states, the concept of *Missio Dei* as the nature of mission of the Church is as follows: the task of the Church is not to take a separate initiative in mission activities but to participate in the mission of the triune God, as one of His mission agents in the world.⁵⁵¹ In this respect, for Maurice, the ultimate purpose of the Church is similar to the response to *Missio Dei*.

Consequently, Maurice's universal and comprehensive understanding of the Church led to his reinvestigation of the *principle* of the Church's faith as the nature of the Church, carrying out its fundamental task in being the Trinitarian Communion in Christ. Maurice explored the catholicity of the Church as the principle of the Church's faith for all human kind and for every creature. Maurice's principal work, *The Kingdom of Christ*, dedicated to this topic, gives us an indication of his idea of catholicity.

⁵⁴⁹ Cf. Hans Küng, *The Church*, p. 97.

⁵⁵⁰ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*, p. 19.

⁵⁵¹ See my discussion in Chapter 3 of the concept of *Missio Dei*. Chapter 3, pp. 92-93.

4. Catholicity as the Nature of the Church

4.1. Principles and Systems

I shall begin this section with the distinction which Maurice makes between the terms principles and systems. Positive doctrines or affirmations implying 'the acts of God which create and sustain [the Church]' ⁵⁵² Maurice referred to as principles. Maurice understood a principle as 'a statement or expression which testifies directly [to] a reality, a state of affairs, and [to] the speaker's involvement with that reality.'⁵⁵³

In contrast, the negative sides of the teaching of the Church, which have a direct connection to a party's notion or a sect's opinion, Maurice referred to as systems. For Maurice, a system is 'a statement or expression which is in the strictest sense secondary: it is an attempt to explain or to account for the reality to which a principle testifies.'⁵⁵⁴ This meant for Maurice that 'systems distort reality and thus exclude whole ranges of truth from the scope of human knowledge and appreciation.'⁵⁵⁵ Thus, a system for Maurice is 'a correlative of party or sect' which 'divides human beings and prevents them from having fellowship in the universal Kingdom of Christ.'⁵⁵⁶ In *Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries* Maurice pointed to one of the inherent dangers of a system:

When once a man begins to build a system, the very gifts and qualities which might serve in the investigation of truth, become the greatest hindrances to it. He must make the different parts of the scheme fit into each other; his dexterity is shown, not in detecting facts, but in cutting them square.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵² Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, p. 33.

⁵⁵³ Richard Norris, 'Maurice on Theology,' in Frank McClain, Richard Norris, and John Orens, *F.D. Maurice: A Study* (Cambridge Mass.: Cowley Publication, 1982), p. 11.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁵⁷ F.D. Maurice, *Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1854), p. 222. Also see Bernard M.G. Reardon's comment on Maurice's distrust of system: 'The Bible contains no system, nor for that matter do the creeds or the Prayer Book. The Bible records the history of God's acts towards men, not of men's thoughts about God.' Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 165.

Maurice's distinction between principles and systems was given expression in his distinction between system and method as a dynamic presupposition for interpreting the source and nature of the Christian doctrine, which has a direct connection with principle; in *The Kingdom of Christ*: 'To me these words [system and method] seem not only not synonymous, but the greatest contraries imaginable: the one indicating that which is most opposed to life, freedom, variety; and the other that without which they cannot exist.'⁵⁵⁸ Maurice's distinction between principles and systems gives helpful insights into his idea of catholicity. This is because he saw catholicity as existing to '*set principles free from systems.*'⁵⁵⁹

Although Maurice made clear his opposition to system building, he distinguished between systems themselves which have some true principle and systematisation as a distortion of system. Maurice believed that 'any system that has wielded influence in the world and has stood the test of time has some important truth at the bottom of it'.⁵⁶⁰ and 'I cannot believe that any system is permitted to exist which is not working some good.'⁵⁶¹ For Maurice, to dig down beneath the superstructure and discover this truth was the fundamental task of the theologian.

⁵⁵⁸ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, pp. 272-273. According to Bernard Reardon, Maurice's special gift was 'his ability to discover in dogma a principle not of faction but of unity.' Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century illustrated from Writers of the Period* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 257. Hereafter referred to as *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. Also see W. Merlin Davies on F.D. Maurice's idea of system: 'Maurice would not have us call him a 'systematizer.' His claim was to be methodical, without being systematic.' W. Merlin Davies, *An Introduction to F.D. Maurice's Theology based on the First Edition of The Kingdom of Christ (1838) and the Faith of the Liturgy and the Doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles (1860)* (London: SPCK, 1964), p. 17. Hereafter referred to as *An Introduction to F.D. Maurice's Theology*.

⁵⁵⁹ Richard Norris, *op. cit.*, 1982, p. 17.

⁵⁶⁰ Alec Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 17.

⁵⁶¹ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, p. 59.

4.2. *Two Sectarian Systems: Evangelicalism and Tractarianism*

In the early nineteenth century self-enclosed and sectarian systems pertaining to a series of parties and movements rather than living principles of cooperation were very common in the Church of England. In particular, the two distinctive parties, Evangelicalism and Tractarianism, were preoccupied with the competing and sectarian systems which they used to defend their own doctrinal positions. Maurice believed that these sectarian systems were the principal cause and nature of the division of the Church of England in his day. This prompted him to reinvestigate simultaneously the principles and systems of both Evangelicalism and Tractarianism. In *The Kingdom of Christ* Maurice carried out this work with a dialectic method of affirmations and repudiations through a description of the positive principles and sectarian systems of Pure Protestantism (Lutheranism, Calvinism, Zwinglianism, and Arminianism), Unitarianism, and Roman Catholicism. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of all these systems. I shall, therefore, focus on Luther's theology of justification by faith alone, as it relates to my own argument.

4.3. *The System of Evangelicalism*

In his *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology* Michael Ramsey claims that Maurice is 'one of the few exceptions to the almost constant failure of Anglican theologians to understand Luther.'⁵⁶² This gives us a double meaning. On the one hand, Maurice felt 'an instinctive kinship of spirit with Luther.'⁵⁶³ As Olive Brose comments, 'All Maurice's instincts and sympathies went out to Luther, and his treatment of the turbulent Reformer shows his own capacities at their best.'⁵⁶⁴ On the

⁵⁶² Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, note 1, p. 28.

⁵⁶³ Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 261.

⁵⁶⁴ Olive J. Brose, *Frederick Denison Maurice: Rebellious Conformist* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1971), p. 141.

other hand, in Maurice's age, Luther's view of justification by faith alone, which has a direct connection to the positive principles of the Reformation, had been distorted by the two parties: '[*The Kingdom of Christ's*] most significant and lasting contribution was the rediscovery of the Reformation in an age when its Evangelical heirs had distorted it, and its Tractarian enemies pronounced it dead.'⁵⁶⁵

In *The Kingdom of Christ* Maurice asserted that Luther's justification by faith alone was to set the principle of trust in God and in one another free from the system of individualism which divides human beings and thus prevents them from living in communion with one another and with God:

Trust is the beginning of love, the way of love. A Being who shews that he cares for me, and in whom all love dwells, proposes himself to me as an object of my trust; I trust him, and so enter into a knowledge and participation of his love. And that love works in me to will and to do of his good pleasure.⁵⁶⁶

For Maurice, Luther's justification by faith alone meant that 'men are set free from self-concern to become witness to the divine order in the world.'⁵⁶⁷ It was 'an abandonment of self in openness to God,'⁵⁶⁸ and far from being preoccupied with self-conversion based on one's own private judgement. For Maurice, Luther's justification by faith alone was similar to having confidence in the Trinitarian Communion in Christ. Maurice believed that Luther's principle was at the heart of the spirit and principle of the Reformation.

However, in his age, it seemed to Maurice that the Evangelical heirs had distorted this positive principle of the Reformation into an exclusive system to defend their

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 138.

⁵⁶⁶ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, p. 91.

⁵⁶⁷ Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 268.

⁵⁶⁸ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 73.

doctrinal positions. For Maurice, the Evangelicals had been preoccupied with making ‘the grace of faith’ the ground of justification, as a competing system against the Tractarians’ exclusive concentration on ‘the grace of virtue’ (and, by implication, outward signs and tokens such as baptism and the eucharist) notwithstanding the fact that a quest for the initiative of grace was of concern to Luther, rather than a quest for a means to grace. As Maurice said:

A man’s repetition of his *Credo* does not give him a right to trust in God’s mercy and forgiveness; but if he repeats it as he should, it is a form of trust and affiancing in God. A man’s comfortable impressions and feelings are not reasons of confidence; if they are not mere physical sensations, they are the effects of his resting in his true Friend. Faith then, according to him, could not be looked upon as a grace which we may contemplate and reflect upon in ourselves. By its very nature it is the act of going out of self, the act of entering into union with another from whom all our graces are to be derived. That the power of performing such an act is conferred by God, and is therefore a grace, he of course asserted stoutly; but it made an immeasurable difference whether the grace was supposed to be given to a man as so much stock which he might call his own, or whether its effect was to induce him to disclaim all property in himself, and to live entirely in Christ. It was on this account that he resisted so strongly the argument which the Romanists deduced from the relative excellence of faith and love. Love, they said, is a higher grace than faith, by the testimony of your own St. Paul, and yet you make *the grace of faith*⁵⁶⁹ and not of love the ground of justification. I do not...make what you call the grace of faith the ground of justification. I do not tell a man that he is to ask himself, how much faith he has, and if we have so much, to call himself justified. What I tell him is precisely that he is not to do this, that this is the very trick which he has been practising upon himself, while he has been under your teaching, He is not to think or speculate about his faith at all. He is to believe, and by believing, to lose sight of himself and to forget himself.⁵⁷⁰

Justification for the Evangelicals in Maurice’s day became a system of justification for exclusion, not the principle of justification for the Trinitarian Communion in Christ: ‘When assent to the doctrine of justification was substituted for belief in the Justifier, Protestantism went into the lean, sickly, and yet contentious stage of its

⁵⁶⁹ My italics.

⁵⁷⁰ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, pp. 89-90.

existence, only to emerge from that into indifference – a mere denial of Romanism.⁵⁷¹

4.4. *The System of Tractarianism*

Correspondingly, Maurice observed the Tractarians' mind of system through their exclusive attitudes toward Luther's justification by faith alone. The Tractarians, as Maurice pointed out, over-emphasised 'the grace of virtue' in justification through describing the connection between justification and baptism, based on Pusey's view of baptism – 'sacramental grace [by implication, 'the grace of virtue' or the grace of exclusion created by human beings] changed the *nature* of the believer from a condition of sin to a condition of grace.'⁵⁷² The Tractarians regarded the grace of virtue (such as sacramental grace) as the ground of justification. This led to their depreciation of Luther's justification by faith alone. John Henry Newman accused Luther of 'leaving Christians in bondage to their feelings and morbid cultivation of states of soul.'⁵⁷³

For Maurice, this was a complete misinterpretation of Luther's doctrine. As already stated, Luther's justification by faith alone was not about a discovery for a means to grace but about a quest for the initiative of grace. Maurice thought that Luther redefined the nature of grace distorted by self-referentialism and individualism in his age in order to assert his doctrine of justification by faith. For Luther, grace was not something for human beings to create themselves, thus causing the intrinsic exclusion which is in the mind of fallen human beings, but God's free gift for all humanity. In

⁵⁷¹ F.D. Maurice, *Life*, II, p. 615. See Michael Ramsey's criticism of the distortion of Protestantism's view of justification: 'The Protestant... slips from faith in Christ the justifier into belief in an experience of being justified.' Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, p. 29.

⁵⁷² Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 63.

⁵⁷³ Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 267.

other words, Maurice understood Luther's concept of grace not as *the grace of exclusion* as man-made grace but as *the grace of embrace* as God-given grace.⁵⁷⁴

We see a comprehensive understanding of 'embracing grace' in Scot McKnight who was inspired by Miroslav Volf's idea of 'exclusion' and 'embrace.' In his *Embracing Grace: A Gospel for All of Us* McKnight defines the nature of grace as 'embracing grace,' a grace given by God, which restores us for the good of others and the world.⁵⁷⁵ McKnight regards 'the enemy of grace' as the mind of exclusion stemming from 'individualism.'⁵⁷⁶ For Maurice, Luther like McKnight tried to restore the nature of grace and, by implication, the nature of Christian faith which was distorted by the mind of exclusion derived from the individualistic thinking of faith in his day, through asserting his view of justification by faith alone.

This kind of understanding of *the grace of embrace* meant for Maurice that the Tractarians who were preoccupied with the quest for a means to grace not only misinterpreted Luther's justification by faith but also were in danger of distorting the traditional ordinances of the Church such as the sacraments, the order of ministry, and the authority of the Church's Fathers that Maurice himself endorsed. In fact, Maurice endorsed the Tractarians' High Church attention to traditional Church order, having 'confidence in the historic formularies of the Church of England,'⁵⁷⁷ although the rupture with the Tractarians occurred when Maurice saw in their using the ordinances of the Church the mind of an exclusive system. As Michael Ramsey points out:

Both the Tractarians and Maurice believed in a divine society with divinely ordered marks of its Catholic and Apostolic character. The Tractarians dwelt

⁵⁷⁴ My italics.

⁵⁷⁵ Scot McKnight, *Embracing Grace: A Gospel for All of Us* (London: SPCK, 2007), pp. 125-132.

⁵⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵⁷⁷ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 61.

upon it as a supernatural system standing over against heretical forms of Christianity and contemporary movements without. Maurice was at pains to show how it is related to the half-truths and broken lights of both, and offers the reality of which they were parodies and distorted witnesses.⁵⁷⁸

Maurice observed that the Tractarians had distinguished 'correct' belief from 'incorrect,' using the traditional ordinances of the Church. When the Tractarians used the ordinance of the Church as a means of exclusion, its positive principles became sectarian systems for defending their own doctrinal positions against the Evangelicals as the Evangelicals distorted the positive principles of the Reformation in order to defend their own doctrinal positions against the Tractarians.

Consequently, Maurice believed that the two parties' exclusive sectarian systems led them away from Trinitarian Communion in Christ and divided them from each other. This allowed Maurice to seek his idea of catholicity as the comprehensive principle of the faith of the Church of England that could transcend the two parties' competing systems of exclusion.

4.5. Catholicity through History

In order to understand Maurice's idea of catholicity, we need to begin with an examination of his understanding of the relationship between catholicity, history, and the truth. This is because Maurice's idea of catholicity was based on his view of the truth about history. As the foregoing discussion has revealed, for Maurice the truth is only known in historical terms, although it presupposes the absolute and eternal truth as Providence and not the result of human history itself. The Church for Maurice, as already stated, was a means to witness to the truth in human history, that is: the

⁵⁷⁸ Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, pp. 26-27.

universal truth of the Trinitarian Communion in Christ. Reflecting on F.D. Maurice's *Lectures on the Religion of Rome*, Jeremy Morris comments on Maurice's understanding of the history of the Church: 'The assumption that there is a divine goodness to be sought out in all the vicissitudes of human history became a methodological assumption when it was used as a way of tracing particular ideas through history as evidence of God's providence.'⁵⁷⁹

Maurice's view of the universality of the Church meant for him that the Church conveys universal truth for all humanity and for every creature through history. It is here important to note that for Maurice the universality of the Church did not signify the totality of the Church which accompanies exclusivism and a large-scale tribalism. Like the universality of Christ as it is found in the foregoing discussion, the Universal Church for Maurice meant the Church's universal relationship with God's world and simultaneously its universal participation in that world. In other words, for Maurice, the universal Church as the universal and spiritual kingdom or society was not a place but the state of 'being *in* God father and in Jesus Christ.'⁵⁸⁰ In this respect, he often expressed the Church as a Kingdom of Christ: 'I have found myself in all my private meditations, as well as in preaching, drawn to speak of Christ as a King, and His Church as a Kingdom.'⁵⁸¹ For Maurice, the universality of the Church was similar to his response to *Missio Dei*.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 67.

⁵⁸⁰ F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, p. 205.

⁵⁸¹ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, I, p. 167. However, for Maurice, this did not mean that the Church itself comprised the Kingdom of Christ as it is found in the foregoing discussion. In other words, Maurice understood the authority of the Church not as absolute and autonomous, as if the Church itself is the Kingdom of Christ, but as the authoritative means for proclaiming and mediating of Christ.

⁵⁸² With regard to Maurice's concept of *Missio Dei*, see pp. 177 and 198-199.

Maurice understood the universal truth in history conveyed by the Church as catholicity.⁵⁸³ This meant for Maurice that the Church conveys catholic truth. It also meant that Maurice regarded ‘catholicity’⁵⁸⁴ as the nature of the Universal Church’s faith: ‘The Church exists to tell the world of its true Centre, of the law of mutual sacrifice by which its parts are bound together.’⁵⁸⁵

Consequently, Maurice’s view of catholicity allowed him to reinvestigate the reality of the cause of the internal division of the Church of England in his day by re-examining two sectarian systems of Evangelicalism and Tractarianism.

4.6. The Comprehensive Catholicity: The Catholicity of Protestantism

As the foregoing discussions illustrate, for Maurice, the real enemy of both the Evangelicals and the Tractarians were not the systems themselves but the exclusive sectarianism which existed in these systems. This meant for Maurice that ‘there is a living principle at the heart of every theological system to which that system bears witness, while at the same time that truth is distorted by being isolated and systematised.’⁵⁸⁶ In other words, Maurice believed that both group’s systems could embody the truth of catholicity and also deepen it through a process of complementing one another unless they distort these systems for their own partisan

⁵⁸³ See F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, p. 353.

⁵⁸⁴ In fact, Maurice did not provide the reader with a clear definition of the term catholicity. As Jeremy Morris says, ‘Nor was any attempt made to define “Catholicity,” or at least to produce a systematic concept that could clarify the underlying basis on which Maurice’s selection of historical data rested. This proved a significant weakness of Maurice’s theory, rendering the exact status, or relationship to the Catholic Church, of a whole range of movements of opinion somewhat unclear.’ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 72. I believe that Maurice’s ambiguous position of defining the term catholicity, as already stated, stemmed from his view of anti-notion or anti-system. This means that Maurice’s concept of catholicity can be inferred tacitly in his *The Kingdom of Christ*. See Bernard Reardon on the opaqueness of Maurice’s literary style: ‘The opacity of his style has always been a hindrance to the direct dissemination of his ideas.’ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 254.

⁵⁸⁵ F.D. Maurice, *Sermons preached in Lincoln’s Inn Chapel* (1891), p. 251, cited in Alec Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 68.

⁵⁸⁶ Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 265.

interests: 'All thoughts, schemes, systems, speculations, may contribute their quota to some one which shall be larger and deeper than any one of them.'⁵⁸⁷

For Maurice the positive elements of the systems of both groups were complementary aspects of the truth of the catholicity of the Church, which implies the catholic Church. This meant for Maurice that the nature of the catholic Church is not 'a totalizing or all-encompassing institution that should absorb other forms of social organization [but] the highest part of the spiritual constitution, having a specific role that could legitimately be defended against others if they sought to intrude on it.'⁵⁸⁸

In this respect, we are able to understand Maurice's idea of catholicity as the *catholicity of Protestantism*; as 'a dialectic of catholic substance and protestant principle.'⁵⁸⁹ However, for Maurice, this did not mean that the Church is to be a compromising position of half Catholic and half Protestant: 'Compromise must always tend to the impairing of moral vigour, and to the perplexing of the conscience, if it is anything else than a confession of the completeness of Truth, and of the incompleteness of our apprehension of it.'⁵⁹⁰ What Maurice affirmed and emphasised was that both Protestantism and Catholicism are within the one policy of catholicity which embraces all things and binds all things in one. As Bernard Reardon comments: 'So far from the Church's pursuing a tenuous middle course between two clear and solidly based but antagonistic positions, it is "most Catholic," Maurice judged, when "most Protestant."⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁷ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, p. xxiv.

⁵⁸⁸ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 70.

⁵⁸⁹ See F.D. Maurice, *Right and Wrong Methods of Supporting Protestantism: a letter to Lord Ashley* (London: 1843), p. 18, cited in Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, p. 269.

⁵⁹⁰ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, II, p. 392.

⁵⁹¹ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 202.

Thus, in order to be a true catholic Church responding to the truth of the Trinitarian Communion in Christ, as the fundamental task of the Church, both Protestantism and Catholicism must not exist in isolation but should act in cooperation. Maurice saw this in Anglicanism and for this reason admired the Church of England.

Consequently, Maurice's confidence in the comprehensive catholicity which exists in the life of the Church encouraged him to reconceive the unity of the Church of England beyond the exclusive sectarianism of the Tractariansim and Evangelicalism of his day. For Maurice, this raised the question of how comprehensive catholicity might be identified in the life of the Church: 'Are there any signs in the present day of the existence of a spiritual and universal body upon the earth?'⁵⁹²

5. The Signs of Catholicity: The Six Signs of a catholic Church

In *The Kingdom of Christ* F.D. Maurice identified the following historical features as the six signs of the catholicity of the Church; Baptism, the Creeds, Worship, the Eucharist, the ordained Ministry, and the Scriptures.

5.1. Baptism

The first sign of the catholicity of the Church is baptism. Jesus Christ came to the earth to reveal a Kingdom, which is founded upon 'a union established in His person between man and God, between the visible and invisible world.'⁵⁹³ For Maurice, baptism was 'the admission of men into [the everlasting kingdom or the spiritual and universal kingdom] at the first.'⁵⁹⁴ Maurice believed that when people had received baptism, they became members of 'a common society' which was supposedly

⁵⁹² F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, pp. 301-302.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., p. 302.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 307.

connected with ‘an invisible world,’ who have ‘the same position’ and ‘the same privileges’ under ‘the same responsibilities’.⁵⁹⁵

Baptism asserts for each man that he is taken into union with a Divine Person, and by virtue of that union is emancipated from his evil *Nature*. But this assertion rests upon another, that there is a society for mankind which is constituted and held together in that Person, and that he who enters this society is emancipated from the *World* – the society which is bound together in the acknowledgement of, and subjection to, the evil selfish tendencies of each man’s nature.⁵⁹⁶

So baptism, for Maurice, was both ‘the sacrament of constant union’⁵⁹⁷ and ‘the sacrament of equality’⁵⁹⁸ which dispenses with ‘the idea of all spiritual gradations between human beings.’⁵⁹⁹

5.2. *The Creeds*

The second sign of catholicity is that of the Apostles and Nicene creeds which Maurice described as ‘complementary presentations of the knowledge of God’:⁶⁰⁰ the Apostles’ Creed as a proclamation of ‘the distinct personality of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; the Nicene Creed as ‘a declaration of the Divine relations to men, a declaration of relations in the Godhead.’⁶⁰¹ For Maurice, there was a common relationship between the creed and baptism. Baptism for Maurice was a sign that we are brought into God’s family, thereby becoming capable of glorifying His name with

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 302 and 307.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 331. On this, see Bernard Reardon’s comment on Maurice’s view of baptism: ‘The rite of [baptism] is a declaration of what man redeemed actually is: a child of God; and it bids him live as such.’ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 177.

⁵⁹⁷ In the First edition of *The Kingdom of Christ* Maurice called baptism ‘the sacrament of constant union’. F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ: or Hints on the Principles, Ordinances, and Constitution of the Catholic Church*, 1st edition (London: Darton and Clark, 1838), I, p. 96, cited in W. Merlin Davies, *An Introduction to F.D. Maurice’s Theology*, p. 28.

⁵⁹⁸ Stewart Headlam, one of F.D. Maurice’s disciples, describes baptism as ‘the great sacrament of equality.’ S.D. Headlam, *Christian Socialism: A Lecture* (London: Fabian Society, 1892), p. 7, cited in Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 82.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 82.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 84.

⁶⁰¹ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, pp. 9-10.

one mind and one mouth.⁶⁰² The creed for Maurice was a sign which teaches us, as children of His family, ‘severally and unitedly to acknowledge that name, and how it is related to us.’⁶⁰³

For Maurice, the two creeds’ complementarity of the knowledge of God also meant that in interpreting the Bible, they are not theological systems which qualify anything which the Bible asserts but witness to the principles which explain the meaning and purpose encountered in the Bible. As Maurice said: *‘The creed is a document which has served as a protection to the meaning of the Scriptures against the tendency which the Church doctors in different ages have exhibited to disturb and mangle them.’*⁶⁰⁴

5.3. *Worship*

The third sign of the catholicity of the Church is in the forms of worship in which our fellowship, embodied by the baptism and the creeds, is most entirely realised.⁶⁰⁵ Maurice understood the forms of worship as ‘one of the clear and indispensable signs of a spiritual and universal fellowship.’⁶⁰⁶ Maurice thought that despite their intrinsic locality, acts of worship enable us to find solace and delight: ‘If anything is to break down the barriers of space and time, it must be the worship of Him who is, and who was, and who is to come, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, and whose dwelling is with the humble and contrite heart.’⁶⁰⁷ For Maurice, worship was a sign

⁶⁰² See *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21. Maurice’s italics.

⁶⁰⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

of catholicity that 'in the deepest and most practical sense there is a community which the distinction of tongues and the succession of ages cannot break.'⁶⁰⁸

In this respect, 'continuity' is, as Bernard Reardon comments, 'of positive value and antiquity.'⁶⁰⁹ And, 'the prayers written in the first ages of Christianity are in general more free, more reverent, more universal, than those which have been poured forth since.'⁶¹⁰ It is true that 'prayer itself is a natural human activity, but there is nothing unnatural in its regulation...[i]n any case a society needs *common* prayer, not simply prayer adapted to special temperaments and moods.'⁶¹¹ Maurice believed that 'in common worship men lose their self-enclosed individualism and take the ground which they all share of being justified and redeemed in Christ.'⁶¹²

5.4. *The Eucharist*

The Eucharist is the fourth sign of the catholicity of the Church, which testifies that 'a living and perpetual communion has been established between God and man.'⁶¹³ Maurice understood the Eucharist as 'the bond of a universal life, and the means whereby men become partakers of it.'⁶¹⁴ This meant that 'Christ gives himself to us in the Eucharist, uniting us in his self-oblation to the Father.'⁶¹⁵ As Michael Ramsey comments: 'The *Eucharist* is both sacrifice and sacrament, setting forth Christ in His present self-offering to the Father and enabling us to participate in His self-

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

⁶⁰⁹ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 180.

⁶¹⁰ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 40.

⁶¹¹ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 180.

⁶¹² Ibid., p.180.

⁶¹³ F.D. Maurice, *The Prayer-Book and The Lord's Prayer*, p. 230.

⁶¹⁴ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 59.

⁶¹⁵ Paul Avis, 'Towards a theology of sector ministry,' in Giles Legood (ed.), *Chaplaincy: Church's Sector Ministries* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), p. 7.

offering.⁶¹⁶ For Maurice, like the forms of worship, the Eucharist was a practical sign of catholicity, which expresses our participation in the universality of Christ, going beyond the barriers of space and time:

When they ate this bread and drank this wine, He meant that they should have the fullest participation of that sacrifice with which God had declared Himself well pleased, that they should really enter into that Presence, into which the Forerunner had for them entred, that they should really receive in that communion all the spiritual blessings which, through the union of the Godhead with human flesh, the heirs of this flesh might inherit.⁶¹⁷

5.5. *The Ordained Ministry*

The ordained ministry is the fifth sign of the catholicity of the Church. According to Maurice, the Church stands in certain permanent and universal institutions on which faith of humanity rests.⁶¹⁸ He regarded the ordained ministry as a permanent institution in the life of the Church. The characteristics or functions of the ministry derived from the apostolate in the four gospels witness not only to Christ's representatives but to His own perpetual ministry as an ever-present prophet, king, and priest.⁶¹⁹ For Maurice, this implied that Christian ministry is not *vicarial* but *representative*.⁶²⁰ It was a representative role that 'the minister sets forth Christ to men as present in His Church at all times.'⁶²¹ As Maurice said: 'According to the representative doctrine all ministers exhibit Christ in that office to which they are

⁶¹⁶ Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, p. 30. Also see Bernard Reardon's comment on Maurice's idea of the Eucharist: 'It is the sacrament of his continual presence with his universal family, testifying to each man his own place in that family, and his share in its blessings.' Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 178. According to Reardon, Maurice sees in the Eucharist 'the centre of Christian unity.' *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁶¹⁷ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 63.

⁶¹⁸ See F.D. Maurice, *Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer* (London: Rivington, 1842), p. 8, cited in Alec Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 141.

⁶¹⁹ See F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, pp. 118-119.

⁶²⁰ Alec Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 152. Alec Vidler's italics.

⁶²¹ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 172.

called.⁶²² In contrast, in a vicarial role, like the Roman Catholic view of ministry, the priest is ‘doing the work of one who is absent, and who, only at certain times and under certain conditions, presents himself to men.’⁶²³

Likewise, Maurice regarded the episcopal institution as ‘one of the appointed and indispensable signs of a spiritual and universal society.’⁶²⁴ In *Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer* Maurice expressed the importance of the episcopate in the universal mission of the kingdom of Christ: ‘Bishops being as we believe the witness and representatives of Christ’s universal kingdom, are the very instruments of our communion with other nations. If there be no such institution – no apostleship – in the Church now, then the Church has lost its universal character.’⁶²⁵

Although Maurice emphasised the necessity of the episcopate, he did not adopt the Tractarian or the Roman Catholic view that those who lost it were not churchmen.⁶²⁶ For Maurice, the function of the episcopate was also *representative* and not *vicarial*. This meant for Maurice that whereas the Tractarian and the Roman Catholic Church treated the office of the episcopate as a *vicarial* system which gave rise to sectarianism, under the principle of representative ‘the whole body of bishops – each bishop in his own sphere – present him to men as the bishop or overseer of the Church.’⁶²⁷ As Alec Vidler says: ‘The sight of a bishop ought to carry up men’s thoughts to an eternal, universal bishop, from whom immediately he receives his

⁶²² Ibid., p. 175.

⁶²³ Ibid., p. 172.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., p. 120.

⁶²⁵ F.D. Maurice, *Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer* (London: Rivington, 1842), p. 34, cited in Alec Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 147.

⁶²⁶ See Frederick Maurice, *Life*, I, p. 236.

⁶²⁷ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 175.

authority, whose image he is to reflect, and to whom he is responsible.’⁶²⁸ Maurice saw in the episcopate not a triumphant and sectarian system but the sign of the reality of universal communion.

5.6. *The Scriptures*

The last sign of the catholicity of the Church are the Scriptures. Maurice described Scripture as the reality behind the other signs of catholicity in which to interpret catholicity and at the same time itself sign of the catholicity of the Church.⁶²⁹ According to Maurice, we want to know how the previous signs of catholicity should exist as the exception rather than the rule. For Maurice, this was about the question of how we understand God because we are aware of the existence of two societies, ‘one formed in accordance with the order of God, the other based upon self-will.’⁶³⁰ Maurice believed that Scripture not only explains the meaning of God in His universe, but also tell us ‘how far that meaning is effectual for us at this day.’⁶³¹

However, for Maurice, this did not mean that Scripture supersedes the other signs of catholicity. He emphasised the organic relation between Scripture and the other signs. For him, the Bible and the Church interpret one another: ‘The Church exists as a fact, the Bible shews what that fact means. The Bible is a fact, the Church shews what that fact means.’⁶³² The Bible is, therefore, a living and relational sign, not a dead book in isolation, which guides us to the spiritual and universal society: ‘It is an instrument which the Holy Spirit is always using in order to address and educate mankind.’⁶³³ In

⁶²⁸ Alec R. Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 153.

⁶²⁹ See F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 178.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, p. 214

⁶³³ Alec R. Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, p. 164.

the first edition of *The Kingdom of Christ* Maurice described the catholic nature of the Bible:

The Church tried what she could do without the Bible, and she became weak; the Bible has been set up against the Church, and has been dishonoured; the Reason has been set up against both Church and Bible, and has become partial, inconsistent, self-contradictory. Finally, bitter experience must lead us at last to a conviction, that God's ways are higher than our ways; that a universal Church, constituted in His Son, and endowed with His Spirit, is the proper instrument for using His universal book; and this book the instrument for educating the universal reason.⁶³⁴

I have briefly outlined the six signs of the catholicity of the Church. I have illustrated these by drawing on the intrinsic relatedness and instrumental equality which exist in the life of the signs. According to Maurice, the catholicity of the Church is constituted by the order of the signs taken in its unity. At the same time, Maurice stressed that the order of signs does not initiate catholicity itself, but symbolises and translates it. Catholicity proceeds from the presence of Christ Himself in His Church. He understood the authority of the six signs as a divine means for embodying the comprehensive principle of catholicity, responding to the life of Trinitarian communion in Christ that the Church should reflect.

It is here interesting to note that Maurice's six signs were later affirmed in the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral as essentials of Anglican identity, notwithstanding the fact that it is not usually recognised that Maurice's six signs were the real source of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 'since most commentary on its development stops on the side of the Atlantic with William Reed Huntington's *The Church Idea*, published in 1870.'⁶³⁵ Huntington shortened Maurice's six signs of catholicity into four points of Church life: 1) The Holy Scriptures as containing all things necessary to

⁶³⁴ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, 1st edition, II, p.87, cited in *ibid.*, p. 182.

⁶³⁵ William J. Wolf, 'Frederick Denison Maurice,' p. 88.

salvation; 2) The Apostles' Creeds as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of Christian faith; 3) The two Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; and, 4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted.⁶³⁶ While the Lambeth Conferences of 1920 and 1968 in their commentary on the Quadrilateral 'have come closet perhaps to Maurice's spirit,' 'Anglicanism has been fairly stodgy, defensive and myopic in its use.'⁶³⁷ That is to say that while the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral has been important to ecumenical dialogue, it has been used as a normative and non-negotiable basis for reunion.

6. The Sociality of the Church

Maurice's understanding of comprehensive catholicity as the nature of the Church's faith led to his Christian socialist activities which signify the Church's mission to society towards the whole of humanity and the whole creation. For Maurice, when the Church truly possesses the principle of catholicity, the Church is really for society as a whole. As Thomas Hancock who is one of Maurice's disciples inspired by his thought says: 'If we enter ever so little into the contemplation of the depths of the Catholic Faith – that is, the faith for all human kind and for every creature – we shall find it impossible to separate the unity of the Church from the unity of humanity; we shall find it impossible to separate the unity of humanity from the unity of God in Trinity.'⁶³⁸

⁶³⁶ See 'The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral,' *Anglicans Online* <http://anglicansonline.org/basics/Chicago_Lambeth.html> [accessed September 2008]

⁶³⁷ William J. Wolf, 'Frederick Denison Maurice,' p. 89.

⁶³⁸ Thomas Hancock's sermon in 1869, with the title of 'The Fellowship in God the Source of Humanity's Fellowship with God,' quoted in A.M. Allchin, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglican Tradition*, p. 10.

6.1. F.D. Maurice's Concept of Missio Dei

In Chapter 2 I made a clear distinction between the two following terms: the Church 'of' the world and the Church 'in' the world.⁶³⁹ A 'Church-centred' view of ecclesiology I referred to in this thesis as the Church 'of' the world. In a Church-centred perspective, the Church is central in carrying out God's mission to the world. Accordingly, those who cling to the notion of the Church 'of' the world hold to exclusive attitudes towards other churches in terms of addressing differences in understanding, as self-proclaimed true believers.

In contrast, in a 'God-centred and world-related' view of ecclesiology, the task of the Church is not to take the initiative in mission activities but to participate in God's mission for the world as one of His mission agents in the world embracing a changeable whole world and a whole Church, which is referred to in this thesis as the Church 'in' the world. Those who grasp the dynamic and relational nature of the notion of the Church 'in' the world hold to inclusive attitudes towards other churches in terms of addressing differences in understanding, of what it means to be a true Christian. This implies that the inclusive, dynamic, and relational concept of the Church 'in' the world is closely connected with F.D. Maurice's understanding of the Universal Church as it is found in the foregoing discussion.⁶⁴⁰

For Maurice, the universality of the Church did not signify the totality of the Church, a totality which accompanies exclusivism and a large-scale tribalism. The Universal Church for Maurice meant the Church's universal relationship with God's world and simultaneously its universal participation in that world. In this respect, Maurice's

⁶³⁹ See Chapter 2, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁴⁰ See pp. 175-177.

concept of the universality of the Church was similar to his response to *Missio Dei*.⁶⁴¹ For this reason, I define the universality of the Church as the true life of the Church, as *the sociality of the Church* as it is rediscovered in the life of Trinitarian communion in Christ; which is a life of communion with one another, with the world, and with God, through a process of receiving Christ and responding to him.⁶⁴²

6.2. *Christian Socialism*⁶⁴³

Maurice's understanding of the sociality of the Church led to his Christian socialist activities: 'I seriously believe that Christianity is the only foundation of Socialism and that a true Socialism is the necessary result of a sound Christianity.'⁶⁴⁴ Although his social concern was constantly at the heart of his theology, Maurice's Christian socialist activities were inspired by the growth of Chartism in the late 1840s.⁶⁴⁵

Maurice is often described as the founder of Christian Socialism in England but this is a distortion of his view. The term 'Christian Socialism' could be used for the more negative purpose of the political, economical, and social revolution within the Church of England of Maurice's day and gave rise to the growing complaint about Maurice's Christian Socialism.

⁶⁴¹ Concerning the hint of Maurice's idea of *Missio Dei*, see p. 177ff.

⁶⁴² My italics.

⁶⁴³ This section is not about a detailed analysis of Christian Socialism itself, but about the theological dimension of Maurice's Christian socialist activities.

⁶⁴⁴ F.D. Maurice, *Tracts on Christian Socialism* (London: Christian Social Union, Oxford University Branch, 1849), p. 2, cited in William J. Wolf, 'Frederick Denison Maurice,' p. 64.

⁶⁴⁵ Chartism is the name of the movement of Britain for political and social reform, 1837-48. Its principles were set out in a manifesto called the People's Charter (1838) 'which made six demands—manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, abolition of the property qualification for members of parliament, payment of members of parliament and equal electoral districts.' John Macquarrie (ed.), *A Dictionary of Christian Ethics* (London: SCM Press, 1967), p. 52.

Maurice's interest, however, was not in planning a certain Christian political programme for social revolution but in discovering the Christian foundation of people's life in English society.⁶⁴⁶ In other words, for Maurice, Christian Socialism was a principle for recovering the inherent social life in relation to or cooperation with human beings – *the sociality of human beings as the life of authentic human communion*⁶⁴⁷ – rediscovered in the life of Trinitarian communion in Christ, going beyond the exclusive and competing system which dominated the Church and society in his day. As Bernard Reardon comments: '[Maurice's] views as a Christian socialist are only an attempt to apply basic Christian principles, and to regard him as in the main a social thinker is to misunderstand him.'⁶⁴⁸ This thought was addressed in Maurice's letter to John M. Ludlow:

My business, because I am a theologian, and have no vocation except for theology, is not to build, but to dig, to show that economy and politics...must have a ground beneath themselves, that society is not to be made anew by arrangements of ours, but is to be regenerated by finding the law and ground of its order and harmony the only secret of its existence in God.⁶⁴⁹

6.3. *The Sociality of Catholicity*⁶⁵⁰

In Maurice's day, rather than being a living principle of cooperation, self-enclosed, competing and sectarian systems pertaining to a series of parties and movements were very common in both Church and society. For Maurice, this had a direct connection

⁶⁴⁶ See Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, p. 47ff.

⁶⁴⁷ My italics. I define the sociality of human beings, as the true nature and calling and as the life of authentic human communion. I have described the life of truly human communion as a life of communion with one another, with the world, and with God, through the process of receiving Christ and responding to him. See p. 172.

⁶⁴⁸ Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age*, p. 168.

⁶⁴⁹ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, II, p. 137.

⁶⁵⁰ I owe my use of the word 'the sociality of catholicity' to Daniel Hardy. In the Ramsey Lecture, given at Little St Mary's Church, Cambridge in 1996, he described the sociality of evangelical Catholicism as a way of being the Church for the Church of England which is an intrinsically ecumenical church due to the three parties – evangelical, catholic and liberal – within it. See Daniel W. Hardy, *Finding the Church: The Dynamic Truth of Anglicanism* (London: SCM Press, 2001), pp. 79-94. Hereafter referred to as *Finding the Church*.

with the lack of the sociality of the Church. This is because Maurice believed that the vision of the Church as the representative of all human beings meant that the Church was called to participate in the very life of Trinitarian communion in Christ as it is found in the foregoing discussions. As Alec Vidler comments: 'The Church [for Maurice] was the society which was called to bear witness to [the truth of the life of Trinitarian Communion in Christ] both in its teaching and in the character and quality of its own corporate life.'⁶⁵¹

For Maurice, it required a fresh interpretation of a way of being Church. Maurice believed that Christian Socialism was the very way of being Church for the fragmented society in his time, responding to his idea of the sociality of the Church. In the face of the crisis of party conflict within the Church of England in his day, Maurice developed the comprehensive principle of catholicity made all the more necessary by the fragmentation of society in his time. For him, the fundamental task of the Church was to bear witness to the Trinitarian Communion in Christ towards the whole of humanity and the whole creation. Maurice had confidence in his faith that the vision of the Church is the sociality of the Church, which is its purpose and nature.⁶⁵²

So far I have explored F.D. Maurice's ecclesiology for defending the Anglicanism of his day. I have illustrated this by examining the following threefold principle that Maurice's works represent: the Trinitarian Communion in Christ as the fundamental purpose of the Church, the catholicity of the Church as the nature of the Church, and

⁶⁵¹ Alec Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution*, p. 97.

⁶⁵² Cf. Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 99: 'To study Maurice's ecclesiology in all its breadth is to move from his doctrine of the Church, with its understanding of Catholicity identified historically, to his description of the national and social purpose fulfilled by the Church.'

the sociality of the Church as the vision of the Church. It now becomes necessary to examine the threefold principle which informs his idea of comprehensiveness.

7. The Principle of Comprehensiveness

7.1. *The Liminal Principle of Comprehensiveness: A Means to Unity*

It is true that comprehensiveness was not explicitly pronounced as a single principle of Maurice's ecclesiology. This is because comprehensiveness for Maurice was neither a static theory or a system for defending his ecclesiology but a dynamic means for interpreting the source and nature of his threefold principle. It was hinted at in the threefold principle which comprised Maurice's ecclesiology. In other words, comprehensiveness for Maurice is a living principle informing Anglican identity today. It is not a system which constructs a set of doctrines for defending its own position but a means which discovers a way of being the Church and one which tends towards God-given unity and which moves across existing boundaries in the life of the Church of England of his day through a process of complementarity.⁶⁵³

In this respect, the principle of Maurice's comprehensiveness always consists in the ambiguous and uncertain condition of the triune God's 'dynamic relationships.' This ambiguity and uncertainty can be described as one of liminality. Liminality has the characteristics of humility, equality, and mutuality, which is a dynamic and relational way of being in communion with one another.⁶⁵⁴ It also means that the liminality of Maurice's comprehensiveness is rooted in the intrinsic liminality which exists in the

⁶⁵³ Anglicanism for Maurice, was 'not tied down by systems' for its own self-righteousness, 'must strive to pursue in reference to them,' as being a part of the universal Church. F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, II, p. 429. Jeremy Morris comments on F.D. Maurice on Anglicanism: '[Maurice] described Anglicanism not as a definite position between other doctrinal traditions, but as a polity containing within itself hints of the greater reality of the universal church.' Jeremy Morris, 'Newman and Maurice on the *Via Media* of the Anglican Church,' p. 633.

⁶⁵⁴ See my discussion in Chapter 4 of liminality. Chapter 4, pp. 137-139.

life of the Trinity due to the three divine persons' process of reciprocal 'permeability' as 'complementarity.'

7.2. *Ambivalence and Ambiguity*

Although I dealt with Anglican understanding of ambiguity briefly in the previous chapter, I shall now return to it because of its importance in relation to the principle of comprehensiveness.⁶⁵⁵ The term ambiguity is largely regarded as one of the distinct characteristics of Anglicanism. It is, however, true that it can be overused and misused within the Anglican Communion today. It is important to distinguish between the kind of vague ambiguity, 'ambivalence,' which gives rise to a self-protected but at the same time inclusive compromise, and the kind of liminal and creative ambiguity, as the characteristic of comprehensiveness which leads to 'holy pandemonium.'⁶⁵⁶ The essence of the ambiguity of Anglicanism is a 'holy pandemonium' which is an eschatological belief attitude accompanied by the patience of the crucified Christ, towards God-given unity.

In his *The Pastor as Theologian: The Integration of Pastoral Ministry, Theology and Discipleship* Wesley Carr distinguishes between ambivalence and ambiguity. He defines the term ambivalence as 'the opposed attitudes, feelings or values which the individual may find in tension within himself, almost, but not necessarily, tearing him apart.'⁶⁵⁷ Carr understands ambivalence as the technical term for defending one's own position (belief) or interest, which refers to the 'ability to hold love and hate, good

⁶⁵⁵ See Chapter 4, p. 136.

⁶⁵⁶ William J. Wolf, 'Frederick Denison Maurice,' p. 119.

⁶⁵⁷ Wesley Carr, *The Pastor as Theologian: The Integration of Pastoral Ministry, Theology and Discipleship* (London: SPCK, 1989), p. 111.

and bad together.’⁶⁵⁸ In contrast, for Carr, ambiguity is the term which ‘describes how each situation is suffused with options which are not obviously distinguishable in value.’⁶⁵⁹ He describes ambiguity as a spiritual and eschatological term rooted in the ambiguous nature of the cross reconciling humanity to God which is derived from the intrinsic dynamic and *kairos* as the Providence of God which exists in the life of the cross of Christ. Accordingly, Carr argues that ‘those who are to be saved through the cross of Christ must be allowed to be conscious of their own ambivalent feelings and attitudes towards this symbol [ambiguity].’⁶⁶⁰

Consequently, Wesley Carr’s distinction between ambivalence and ambiguity allows the ambiguity of comprehensiveness as a living and liminal principle for responding to the life of Trinitarian communion in Christ to be a ‘holy pandemonium.’ We are now able to describe Maurice’s comprehensiveness as a divine means to unity which was a liminal means for interpreting the source and nature of the threefold principle of his ecclesiology. It was patterned on the dynamic and relational life of the Trinity and made concrete in his idea of catholicity informing the sociality of the Church and, by implication, to *Missio Dei*.

7.3. *Comprehensiveness and Communion-in-Mission*

I have suggested in the previous chapter that the comprehensiveness of Maurice is a precedent for the idea of ‘communion-in-mission’ a new perspective of *Missio Dei* which could help to mitigate the effects of a tribal mentality among Anglicans with regard to mission and thus might help to renew Anglican identity as a communion. Prior to this, in Chapter 4 I defined communion-in-mission as participation in the

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 111.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 117.

triune God's dynamic relationships.⁶⁶¹ When these two considerations with the above comprehensiveness of Maurice are taken together, it suggests that there are three characteristics which enable both Maurice's comprehensiveness and communion-in-mission to have a direct connection.

The first characteristic is the centrality of the triune God's dynamic relationships. In Chapter 4 I identified that the concept of communion-in-mission consists in the triune God's dynamic relationships which express His liminal and, by implication, humble, equal, and mutual nature and these dynamic relationships speak of communion-in-mission. Similarly, the comprehensiveness of Maurice was grounded in his idea of the Trinitarian Communion in Christ. For Maurice, comprehensiveness was the principle of being the Church which responds to the Church's fundamental purpose of participating in the very life of Trinitarian communion in Christ. Maurice's theological beliefs were based on his confidence in the Church's fundamental unity in the intrinsic communion which exists in the life of the Trinity.

The second characteristic is the inherent liminality as the creative ambiguity and uncertainty which signifies 'holy pandemonium' which is in the life of both the comprehensiveness of Maurice and communion-in-mission. As the foregoing discussion has shown, the triune God's dynamic relationships allow the three divine persons to share in one another's life, through a process of reciprocal 'permeability' and thus create unity in diversity without any dissolution or any inequality. At this point, the triune God's dynamic relationships always consist in the ambiguous and uncertain conditions that I have called liminality. The liminality of communion-in-

⁶⁶¹ See my discussion in Chapter 4 of the idea of 'communion-in-mission.' Chapter 4, pp. 139-141.

mission is grounded in the intrinsic liminality which is in the life of the Trinity. It allows Anglicans to create a hospitable and open space for one another and thus create new opportunities for their differing perceptions of the Trinity to dynamically converge and helps to break down the tribal mentality with regard to *Missio Dei*, which is the principal cause and nature of loss of confidence in Anglican identity as Communion.

Likewise, the comprehensiveness of Maurice has the inherent liminality rooted in the intrinsic liminal life of the triune God. This liminality was at the heart of his idea of the catholicity of the Church. As the foregoing discussion has revealed, Maurice's six signs of catholicity expresses themselves in their liminal nature. For example, Maurice understood worship as an act of breaking down the barriers of space and time with the humble and contrite heart.⁶⁶² Such an understanding of Maurice's comprehensiveness as liminality encouraged him to reconceive the unity of the Church of England, a unity which goes beyond the exclusive sectarianism of the Tractarians and Evangelicals of his day.

The last characteristic which enables both the comprehensiveness of Maurice and communion-in-mission to have a direct connection is the methodological understanding in their definition. In other words, they are conceived of as a means rather than a theory or a system, which is participation in the life of Trinitarian communion in Christ. In Chapter 4 I described the concept of communion-in-mission as 'participation' in the triune God's dynamic relationships. I also described in Chapter 2 Richard Hooker's idea of 'participation' which implies his participatory

⁶⁶² See pp. 191-192 for the intrinsic liminality which exists in F.D. Maurice's understanding of worship.

understanding of Church life. According to him, participation which is informed by the triune God's dynamic relationships, which is being: 'that mutual inward hold which Christ hath of us and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of special interest, property, and inherent copulation' (V.56.1).⁶⁶³

When these two considerations are taken together, an idea emerges as follows: communion-in-mission is not a humanly contrived technical term which consists in a system for defending self-proclaimed true church's doctrinal positions but a spiritual and conditional term which expresses human hope for participating and living in the life of Trinitarian communion in Christ, which is our destiny and calling.

Similarly, as the foregoing discussion has revealed, Maurice's idea of comprehensiveness was not a system or a theory for human beings to contrive but a God-given living principle or a divine means for them to participate in for their life of Trinitarian communion in Christ, which is their true nature and calling. It also allows us to understand the following implication of the comprehensiveness of Maurice: the Church was not established on a humanly contrived system but on 'the accomplishment of the union of heaven and earth' in Jesus Christ.⁶⁶⁴ As Maurice said:

Our church has no right to call herself better than other Churches in any respect, in many she must acknowledge herself to be worse. But our *position*, we may fairly affirm, for it is not a boast but a confession, is one of singular advantage. If what I have said be true, our faith is not formed by a union of the Protestant systems with the Romish system, nor of certain elements taken from the one and of certain elements taken from the other. So far as it is represented in our liturgy and our articles, it is the faith of a Church, and has nothing to do with any system at all. That peculiar character which God has given us, enables us, if we do not slight the mercy, to understand the difference between a Church and a System, better perhaps than any of our

⁶⁶³ Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, vol. 2, p. 225.

⁶⁶⁴ See F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, I, p. 293.

neighbours can, and, therefore, our position, rightly used, gives us a power of assisting them in realising the blessings of their own.⁶⁶⁵

7.4. Conclusion

In my brief explanation of the connection between Maurice's comprehensiveness and the concept of communion-in-mission, I have used the three following characteristics: 1) Their centrality of the Trinitarian Communion in Christ; 2) The intrinsic liminality which exists in their life; and, 3) The methodological understanding in their definition. These three characteristics justify the comprehensiveness of Maurice as a precedent for the idea of communion-in-mission which is conceived as participation in the triune God's dynamic relationships, which allows Anglicans to avoid their tribal mentality with regard to mission and thus to live in communion with one another, with the world, and with God in the kind of communion in which the three divine persons share in one another's life. That is to say that the three characteristics encourage Maurice's comprehensiveness to be the Anglican practice of communion-in-mission (namely an Anglican way to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships) and thus enable the comprehensiveness of Maurice to be the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion.

Notwithstanding this, the comprehensiveness of Maurice has been extensively debated within the Anglican Communion. It, therefore, requires an evaluation of Maurice's principle of comprehensiveness. In the next section I will draw on a debate on the comprehensiveness of Maurice within the Anglican Communion today, in particular focusing on Stephen Sykes's critiques of Maurice's comprehensiveness. This is because polarisation of this debate has been exacerbated to some extent by the

⁶⁶⁵ F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ II*, p. 429.

publication of Stephen Sykes's *The Integrity of Anglicanism* in 1978, which offered an incisive critique of the comprehensiveness of Maurice. The next section will, therefore, respond to some of these critiques.

8. The Debate on the Comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice

8.1. The Crisis of Anglican Comprehensiveness

In *The Integrity of Anglicanism* Stephen Sykes argues that some theologians do not understand the Anglican theological standpoint and that this causes the loss of an Anglican integrity which would bind Anglicans together, although he allows for a distinctive perspective found in their liturgical tradition, in particular that of the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁶⁶⁶ Sykes identifies the ambiguity of Anglican self-definition as a lack of a disciplined systematic theology. He describes this as 'that constructive discipline which presents the substance of the Christian faith with a claim on the minds of men.'⁶⁶⁷ According to Sykes, Anglican theological thought is beset with two problems: 1) The encroachment of liberalism among Anglican theologians; and, 2) The undermining effects of the notion of Anglican comprehensiveness. While acknowledging the importance of the encroachment of liberalism into Anglican thought, it is with the second problem that my thesis is chiefly concerned.

In *The Integrity of Anglicanism* Sykes considers Anglican comprehensiveness to be 'the result of a poverty of thought and of a sheer reluctance to attempt to come to

⁶⁶⁶ Sykes understands liturgy as the means by which a church may retain its own identity: 'The phenomenon of Christian worship makes a vital difference to the conditions under which vigorous argument of a radical kind may be regarded as a constructive contribution...to the performance of Christian identity in the modern world.' Stephen Sykes, *The Identity of Christianity: Theologians and the Essence of Christianity from Schleiermacher to Barth* (London: SPCK; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), p. 265. With regard to Sykes's concept of Anglican integrity, see Chapter 3, pp. 86-87.

⁶⁶⁷ Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. ix.

grips with intractably difficult theological material.⁶⁶⁸ Sykes claims that the concept of Anglican comprehensiveness has undermined the integrity of Anglicanism itself in justifying a policy of ‘anything goes.’ According to Sykes, the comprehensiveness, which holds together diverse and conflicting truth-claims, requires theological justification; how, for example, can diverse and conflicting truth-claims coexist in the same church?⁶⁶⁹ For Sykes, unlimited diversity and the ensuing conflict destroys Anglican integrity. It is with this in mind that he critiques F.D. Maurice’s influence on contemporary Anglican comprehensiveness.

8.2. Critiques of F.D. Maurice’s Comprehensiveness

Stephen Sykes claims that Maurice’s comprehensiveness is based on the questionable principle of the complementarity of apparently opposed truths, which has caused the Anglican Communion to be faced with the crisis of sustaining its integrity. In *The Integrity of Anglicanism* Sykes deprecates Maurice’s comprehensiveness as ‘the romantic nationalism of [his] theology,’⁶⁷⁰ a product of his apologetic theology for defending the Church of England of his day. According to Sykes, the comprehensiveness of Maurice became ‘the interplay of partial positions wrongly calcified as parties,’⁶⁷¹ which led to the de-emphasis of a distinctive doctrinal system.

It is here important to note Sykes’s view on the term ‘system’ because his misgivings concerning Maurice’s comprehensiveness relate directly to both his own and F.D.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁶⁹ See Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. 19. Fundamentally, Sykes agrees that diversity and conflict were inherent in theology. In his *Christian Theology Today*, Sykes claims that theology must be ‘pluriform,’ asserting that modern theology ‘takes place in a most rigorously critical environment.’ Stephen Sykes, *Christian Theology Today* (London & Oxford: Mowbray, 1971), pp. 7-8.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

⁶⁷¹ See George R. Sumner, ‘After Comprehensiveness,’ *Anglican Theological Review*, vol. 86, no. 4 (Fall 2004), p. 639.

Maurice's term 'system' as it is employed theologically. When Sykes speaks of 'system' he refers to a specific doctrinal content or characteristic.⁶⁷² He concentrates on the positive role it plays in theology as well as on the importance of constructive systematic thinking rather than contemplating the theological meaning of 'system' itself:

One has only to consider the work of a modern protestant systematic theologian, Paul Tillich, to realise that by no stretch of the imagination does the articulation of a system imply acceptance of dogma... 'System' can be applied either to the sum of a specific dogmatic content or to an articulated systematic theology written by a specific individual.⁶⁷³

As a result, in *The Integrity of Anglicanism* Sykes always uses the term 'system' as a positive and constructive concept for presenting the substance of the Christian faith without considering the possibility of the system distorting its underlying meaning.

In contrast, Maurice's understanding of system allows for two simultaneously held positions; a principle or positive system which reflects the acts of God which create and sustain the Church, and a negative system or 'a correlative of party or sect' which 'divides human beings and prevents them from having fellowship in the universal Kingdom of Christ.'⁶⁷⁴ In other words, Maurice distinguished between system itself and systematisation. He views systematisation as a distortion of the term system and argues that Anglicanism stands for no single system.

According to Sykes, this kind of understanding of the comprehensiveness of Maurice caused Maurice to turn to a distinctive method which is a complementary practice of 'a union of opposites, both of which are required for the completeness of truth, and

⁶⁷² See Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, pp. 67-68.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 58 and 68.

⁶⁷⁴ Richard Norris, *op. cit.*, 1982, p. 13.

for the practical tasks laid upon it.⁶⁷⁵ For Sykes, however, method implies content in theology. In *The Integrity of Anglicanism* he asks ‘whether or not one can have a distinctive theological method without having a distinctive theological content.’⁶⁷⁶ He said, responding to Michael Ramsey’s claims, based on those of F.D. Maurice, that ‘[Anglicanism] is neither a system nor a confession...but a method, a use and direction.’⁶⁷⁷

However, Sykes maintains that ‘all theological method is intrinsically related to particular theological content...The subject matter of theological method is the explanation of how man can be said to have knowledge of God or to come to understand divine revelation. But what man is is itself part of the content of Christian doctrine. Therefore any understanding of theological method implies a particular theological doctrine or doctrines.’⁶⁷⁸ For Sykes, Maurice and Ramsey’s theological ideas of method are a complete fabrication. Sykes argues that ‘the church of Maurice was a paper church, a figment of his imagination and not the Church of England, where men had the right to call contradiction by its proper name.’⁶⁷⁹

Sykes specifically deprecates Maurice’s principle of complementarity. In *The Integrity of Anglicanism* Sykes argues that if complementarity is to be used in a rational manner, it requires theological justification that ‘both of the alleged truths are true and necessary to the proper depiction of the reality being studied.’⁶⁸⁰ According to Sykes’s dependence on the idea of complementarity, Maurice’s overall scheme

⁶⁷⁵ Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. 16.

⁶⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 64.

⁶⁷⁷ Michael Ramsey, ‘What is Anglican theology?’ *Theology*, vol. 48 (1945), p. 2.

⁶⁷⁸ Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. 72.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

fails to justify why diverse and conflicting truth-claims should coexist in the same Church of England. As a result, Maurice's comprehensiveness became, for Sykes, 'the easiest thing in the world to "hold together" views labelled respectively "catholic," "protestant" (and even "liberal") by a suitable process of emasculation of controversial content.'⁶⁸¹ Maurice's comprehensiveness for Sykes is, therefore, per se, a radically ambiguous and superficial notion:

It must be said bluntly that it [the comprehensiveness of Maurice] has served as an open invitation to intellectual laziness and self-deception. Maurice's opposition to system-building has proved a marvellous excuse to those who believe they can afford to be condescending about the outstanding theological contribution of theologians from other communions and smugly tolerant of second-rate theological competence in our own; and the failure to be frank about the issues between the parties in the Church of England has led to an ultimately illusory self-projection as a Church without any specific doctrinal or confessional position.⁶⁸²

8.3 Misconceptions concerning F.D. Maurice's Comprehensiveness

The publication of Sykes's *The Integrity of Anglicanism* has fuelled the debate on the nature of Anglican comprehensiveness within the Anglican Communion. In his article 'Tolerable Diversity and Ecclesial Integrity,' Philip Turner claims that Anglicans today owe Sykes a considerable debt for exposing the bogus claim that 'Anglicanism is a form of Christianity that has a distinctive theological method (the interplay of Scripture, tradition, and reason) but no specific doctrinal content.'⁶⁸³ He deplores the fact that the Anglican Communion today has failed to take up Sykes's challenge. Turner cites Maurice Wiles's writing from a report on doctrine within the Church of England, as one of the bogus claims of Anglican comprehensiveness:

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁶⁸² Ibid., p. 19.

⁶⁸³ Philip Turner, 'Tolerable Diversity and Ecclesial Integrity: Communion or Federation?,' *Journal of Anglican Studies*, vol. 1.2 (December 2003), p. 37. Hereafter referred to as 'Tolerable Diversity and Ecclesial Integrity.' In particular, Turner agrees with Sykes's emphasis of liturgy in preserving Anglican identity: 'As Bishop Sykes has pointed out, these doctrines [that Anglicans share] are contained within the pages of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the Ordinal, and in canon law. With this complex, their most fulsome presence is to be found in the liturgical forms located in the various *Book of Common Prayer*.' Ibid., p. 36.

What is important for the Christian community at large is not that it gets its beliefs absolutely clear and definite; it cannot hope to do that if they are really beliefs about God. It is rather that people within the community go on working at the intellectual problems, questioning, testing, developing, and seeking the practical application of the traditions that we have inherited from the past.⁶⁸⁴

Notwithstanding his favour of Sykes's emphasis of the doctrinal system in Anglicanism, Turner also points to a deficiency in Sykes's understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity. It is true that in Sykes's *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, it is difficult to find the consideration of the concept of the Trinity, not only in defence of his theological views against Maurice's comprehensiveness but also in his dealing with Anglican theology as a whole. In view of the fact that the doctrine of the Trinity is at the heart of not only Anglican theology but also Christian theology as a whole, this is surprising. As Turner points out:

Sykes is right to contend that Anglicanism has doctrinal content and not simply theological method. Nevertheless, I question his location of this content primarily in the doctrine of the incarnation. I believe, rather, that it is the doctrine of the trinity that is most basic to Anglican belief and practice.⁶⁸⁵

The emphasis of the doctrine of the Trinity in Anglicanism causes Turner to both give his approval of Sykes's emphasis of the doctrinal system but also question the lack of emphasis in Sykes of Trinitarian thought. We see in Turner's following suggestions the importance of Trinitarian thought:

To be sure, the doctrinal content of the *Book of Common Prayer* (in its various guises) does not appear in the form of a confession like that of Augsburg or Westminster. Neither does it appear in a conciliar document like that of Trent or Vatican Two. Rather, the doctrinal content Anglican shares is imbedded primarily in liturgical practices the purpose of which is to form the character of a communion of believers.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁴ Cited in Philip Turner, 'Tolerable Diversity and Ecclesial Integrity,' p. 37. For Maurice Wiles's original essay, see *Christian Believing: The Nature of the Christian Faith and its Expression in Holy Scripture and Creeds – A Report by the Doctrine Commission of the Church of England* (London: SPCK, 1976), p. 130.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

I believe that prayer to the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit lies at the center of the doctrinal content of the *Book of Common Prayer*. It is for this reason that I believe the most serious issue in respect of ecclesial integrity and tolerable diversity that faces the Anglican Communion does not concern women's ordination or the ethics of sex, but attempts to diminish or rid ECUSA's *Book of Common Prayer* of use the Trinitarian name, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.⁶⁸⁷

8.4. *Reconsidering the Trinitarian Comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice*

As the foregoing discussions have sought to show, the comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice is rooted in the triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality. I have also argued in Chapter 4 that the triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality are the reason for the three divine persons coexisting in the same one God without any dissolution or any inequality.⁶⁸⁸ When these considerations are taken together, contrary to the objection raised by Stephen Sykes in *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, it allows the complementarity of Maurice's comprehensiveness to explain the reason for the existence of diverse and conflicting truth-claims in the same Church of England.⁶⁸⁹ In other words, when Maurice's complementarity is understood as one which reflects the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality, a new perspective of coexistence emerges, one which goes beyond competing and excluding systems.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., note 31, p. 37.

⁶⁸⁸ See Chapter 4, p. 139.

⁶⁸⁹ Miroslav Volf suggests the self-enclosed identities stem from the fear of losing the self and a mentality of domination of the other (see Chapter 4, p. 130). This would seem to indicate that conflicting truth-claims within the Church of England of Maurice's day were rooted in them. As the foregoing discussions have revealed, the fear of losing the self and a mentality of domination of the other are overcome by the triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality. These triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality allow the three divine persons to share in one another's life through a process of reciprocal 'permeability' as 'complementarity' and thus create unity in diversity without any dissolution or any inequality (see Chapter 4, p. 136). Thus, the centrality of Trinitarian complementarity enables conflicting truth-claims to coexist in the same Church, without any fear of losing the self or of a mentality of domination of the other.

The centrality of Trinitarian complementarity to his comprehensive ecclesiology also allowed Maurice to understand the doctrinal system not as a sectarian system, which is a static and definite position of what is comprehended and what is excluded, but as an inclusive method which implies a means embracing diverse and conflicting truth-claims in relation to each other, rather than in isolation from each other. In other words, contrary to Sykes's critiques of Maurice's de-emphasis of the doctrinal system, Maurice did not deny the doctrinal system itself or doctrinal consistency.

Rather, by his idea of Trinitarian liminality, Maurice tried to separate positive principles from the doctrinal system, asserting the danger of systematisation and the consequent distortion of the doctrinal system itself. As Jeremy Morris says: 'Maurice was not opposed to the modern idea of systematic theology, but to the substitution of human interpretation for the mystery of God himself.'⁶⁹⁰ In *The Kingdom of Christ* Maurice identified six historical and doctrinal signs as the positive principles of the doctrinal system (Baptism, the Creeds, Worship, the Eucharist, the ordained Ministry, and the Scriptures) as divine means for embodying the principle of catholicity which embraces all things and binds all things in one.

The comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice therefore intrinsically demands the patience of the crucified Christ rather than, as Sykes argues, a facile appeal to his comprehensiveness. Indeed, the life of the comprehensiveness of Maurice is one which imitates the liminal and sacrificial life of the triune God's 'self-giving' and 'mutual indwelling.' It embraces differences, social meaninglessness, and chaos and moves across existing boundaries in the life of communion. Accordingly, this liminal

⁶⁹⁰ Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the Crisis of Christian Authority*, p. 129. Cf. Richard Norris, *op. cit.*, 1982, p. 19.

and sacrificial life leads to an ambiguous and uncertain condition. However, contrary to Sykes's suggestion in *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, the ambiguity of the comprehensiveness of Maurice is not the kind of vague ambiguity or 'ambivalence,' which gives rise to a self-protected but at the same time inclusive compromise, but the kind of creative ambiguity which leads to 'holy pandemonium' which is an eschatological belief attitude accompanied by the patience of the crucified Christ towards God-given unity.

We are now able to refute some of Sykes's critiques of F.D. Maurice's comprehensive view of Anglicanism. Where Stephen Sykes claims that this comprehensiveness is 'the result of a poverty of thought and of a sheer reluctance to attempt to come to grips with intractably difficult theological material,'⁶⁹¹ we can now see that Maurice's comprehensiveness is an appropriate response to the liminal and sacrificial life of the triune God's 'self-giving' and 'mutual indwelling.' Maurice would argue that it is the life of Trinitarian communion which is the true nature and calling of human beings, and at the same time one to which the Christian Church should witness as its fundamental task. The problem with Stephen Sykes's misgivings concerning Maurice's comprehensiveness is that Sykes has failed to consider liminality which is intrinsic to the life of the Trinity and, by implication, to the relatedness which is inherent to Maurice's theological thought.

However, we must also allow for the fact that there was always a national polity in Maurice's comprehensiveness as a means for defending the national Church of England of his day. This, as Sykes argues, could lead Maurice to endorse a kind of

⁶⁹¹ Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, p. 15.

Erastianism. However, contrary to Sykes's suggestion, Maurice never could identify his comprehensiveness with a political tool for 'romantic nationalism.'⁶⁹² As Michael Ramsey says: 'He [Maurice] taught a Christian politics – but he never could identify this politics with the current assumptions about democracy.'⁶⁹³ By his fundamental theological concept of Trinitarian liminality, Maurice could separate positive principles from national polity responding to his idea of the progressive transposition of human relations (the family, the nation, and the Church) towards God-given unity.

In conclusion, Maurice's comprehensiveness was the result of his confidence in the fundamental unity of all humanity in the life of the Trinity. In the 1948 Lambeth Conference statement on theological differences over episcopacy, we find the spirit of Maurice's Trinitarian comprehensiveness:

We acknowledge them to be part of the will of God for us, since we believe that it is only through a *comprehensiveness* which makes it possible to hold together in the Anglican Communion understandings of truth which are held in separation in other Churches, that the Anglican Communion is able to reach out in different directions, and so to fulfil its special vocation as one of God's instruments for the restoration of the visible unity of His whole Church.⁶⁹⁴

9. Conclusion: Comprehensiveness as the Principal Source for the Renewal of Anglican Identity as Communion

In this chapter I have explored the comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice as portrayed in *The Kingdom of Christ*, with a view to discovering whether it could inform Anglican self-understanding as 'communion-in-mission' and thus supply the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion. I have illustrated this by examining the following threefold principle in Maurice's ecclesiological thought: 1)

⁶⁹² Ibid., p. 17.

⁶⁹³ Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*, pp. 112-113.

⁶⁹⁴ *The 1948 Lambeth Conference, Part II*, pp. 50-51. My italics.

The Trinitarian Communion in Christ as the fundamental purpose of the Church; 2) The catholicity of the Church as the nature of the Church; and, 3) The sociality of the Church as the vision of the Church.

I have affirmed that Maurice's comprehensiveness was a divine means to God-given unity, which implies a dynamic and liminal means for interpreting the source and nature of the threefold principle of his ecclesiology. In other words, the comprehensiveness of Maurice is a living principle informing Anglican identity today, which was patterned on the dynamic and relational life of the Trinity and made concrete in his idea of catholicity informing the sociality of the Church and, by implication, to *Missio Dei*. I have re-examined this by drawing on a debate on the comprehensiveness within the Anglican Communion, in particular answering Stephen Sykes's misconceptions concerning comprehensiveness.

Consequently, this understanding of Maurice's comprehensiveness justifies the argument that comprehensiveness is a precedent for the idea of 'communion-in-mission' and thus supplies the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion. With this in mind, I now turn to the next chapter. Chapter 6 as the concluding chapter will suggest a convergent set of ideas for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion, presenting the major findings of this thesis.

Chapter 6. The Triune God's Dynamic Relationships Informing the Life of Anglican Identity as Communion

1. Introduction

The previous chapter has revealed that the comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice is an appropriate response to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. I have argued that the Anglican Communion should witness this relationship as its fundamental task. This would supply the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion and thus release the current deadlock within the Anglican Communion. Chapters 4 and 5 have also shown that there exists in the following areas a fundamental connection between F.D. Maurice's comprehensiveness and 'communion-in-mission' which could supply a viable alternative to Anglican tribal mentality with regard to *Missio Dei*: 1) The centrality of the triune God's dynamic relationships; 2) The intrinsic liminality which exists in their Trinitarian life; and, 3) The methodological understanding in defining their life. In order to suggest a convergent set of ideas for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion, I now seek to unite the strands of the argument within the triune God's dynamic relationships.

2. The Centrality of the Triune God's Dynamic Relationships

My discussion so far has implied that this is made possible within the centrality of 'the triune God's dynamic relationships,' as these dynamic relationships supply a pattern for dynamic relatedness of the life of communion.

2.1. Trinity as Dynamic Relationships

In his *BeLonging: Challenge to a Tribal Church*, Peter Selby argues that we see the Church's tribal mentality most clearly when it takes on the role of defending a truth.⁶⁹⁵ Such a tribal response is directly connected to both the centralised 'from above' power or authority of the Church and the existing order of its own self-protected, self-referential tradition. As the struggle for power intensifies, and as the existing order become unstable, the Church takes refuge in a tribal and family solidarity that Selby calls 'tribal church.'⁶⁹⁶

I now reintroduce the concept of *Pax Ecclesiana* which was described in Chapter 2 in order to illustrate this point. In Chapter 2 I associated the static Anglican tribal identity with the concept of *Pax Ecclesiana*, which reflects the structural system and the centralised 'from above' of *Pax Romana* in order to maintain the existing order.⁶⁹⁷

This concept of *Pax Ecclesiana* affected the Church of England's synthesised identity of politics and religion based on the centralised 'from above' authority of traditional hierarchy, which has existed since the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement. I have argued in Chapter 2 that this kind of exclusive and structural thinking has dominated the history of Anglican identity and remained and affected, until now, the current static Anglican tribal identity, separating it from the life of God.

I now turn to the association between Peter Selby on the Church's tribal mentality and Miroslav Volf's notion of tribal mentality with regard to identity in order to illustrate the principal cause and nature of Anglican tribal mentality with respect to the Trinity.

⁶⁹⁵ See Peter Selby, *Belonging*, p. 59.

⁶⁹⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 37-42. See also my discussion in Chapter 1 of a tribal church pertaining to the static notion of Anglican tribal identity. Chapter 1, pp. 22-27.

⁶⁹⁷ See my discussion in Chapter 2 of the concept of *Pax Ecclesiana* pertaining to *Pax Romana*. Chapter 2, pp. 41-43.

Volf, as we saw in Chapter 4, argues that self-enclosed identities, implying a tribal mentality with regard to identity, stems from the fear of losing the self and a mentality of domination of the other.

Such an understanding of tribalism as a consequence of the fear of losing the self and a mentality of domination of the other allows Miroslav Volf to understand that a key to the solution to a tribal mentality with regard to identity rests in the question of how we can justify why diverse or conflicting identities should coexist in one another without any dissolution or any inequality. Volf then explores the relational nature of the 'Trinitarian identities' which are beyond loss of the self or domination of the other through a process of comparative study between Joseph Ratzinger and Jürgen Moltmann's notions of the Trinity.

Volf concludes that the dynamic communion of the triune God's 'self-giving' and 'mutual indwelling' (what I have called 'the triune God's dynamic relationships') provides a viable alternative to tribal mentality, transcending the fear of losing the self and a mentality of domination of the other. That is to say that the triune God's dynamic relationships allow the three divine persons to coexist in one another and for one another without any dissolution or any inequality.

Correspondingly, I have argued that when the Trinity is understood as the triune God's dynamic relationships, transformation also occurs in Anglican tribal mentality with respect to the Trinity. The weight of this thesis has, therefore, consisted in emphasising that the triune God's dynamic relationships are the source of transforming Anglican tribal mentality with regard to the Trinity and thus living focus

of the life of communion. In this respect, I appeal to Leonardo Boff who defines the question of what is meant by believing in the Trinity in the following terms:

Believing in the Trinity means that at the root of everything that exists and subsists there is movement; there is an eternal process of life, of outward movement, of love. Believing in the Trinity means that truth is on the side of communion rather than exclusion; consensus translates truth better than imposition; the participation of many is better than the dictate of a single one. Believing in the Trinity means accepting that everything is related to everything and so makes up one great whole, and that unity comes from a thousand convergences rather than from one factor alone.⁶⁹⁸

2.2. *Trinitarian Liminality*

As I have already argued in Chapter 4, the triune God's dynamic relationships, as it always consists in the kind of creative ambiguity and uncertainty, speak of 'liminality.' I now reintroduce the concept of liminality described by Victor Turner in Chapter 4, as the nature of the Trinity.⁶⁹⁹ Liminality which is derived from the Latin word *limen*, meaning 'threshold' between one state and another, as we saw in Chapter 4, has the characteristics of humility, equality, and mutuality. It is a dynamic and relational way of being in communion with one another.

Such an understanding of the triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality allows the three divine persons to share in one another's life through a process of reciprocal 'permeability' as complementarity, and thus coexist in the same one God without any dissolution of the self and without any colonisation of the other. That is to say that when the Trinity is understood as 'Trinitarian liminality,' it indicates that Anglicans create a hospitable and open space for one another and thus create new opportunities for their differing perceptions of the Trinity to converge dynamically. This means that

⁶⁹⁸ Leonardo Boff, *Holy Trinity, Perfect Community* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2000), p. xvi.

⁶⁹⁹ See my discussion in Chapter 4 of the triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality. Chapter 4, pp. 137-139.

the triune God's dynamic relationships as liminality directly inform and transform the life of the Anglican Communion. It also means that Trinitarian liminality is the reason for diverse or conflicting truth-claims (by implication, the primacy of either the Christocentric Trinity or theocentric Trinity) coexisting in the same Anglican Communion without any dissolution or any inequality.

2.3. Communion as Participation in the Triune God's Dynamic Relationships

My discussion so far has sought to argue that the triune God's dynamic relationships are the source of the transformation of the Anglican tribal mentality with regard to the Trinity and thus they become the living focus of the life of communion. Such an understanding of the triune God's dynamic relationships as the source and heart of the life of communion now becomes the prelude to the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion.

I now turn to the association between the definition of communion described in Chapter 1 and a reflection on this theme provided by Chapter 3 in order to illustrate this point. In Chapter 1 I described the term 'communion' as a description of the way in which its members participate in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.⁷⁰⁰ The discussion in Chapter 3 has shown that the question of Anglican identity is bound up in the question of how Anglicans live in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

When these considerations are taken together, it suggests that the challenge to Anglican identity is one of articulating and redefining the life of communion within

⁷⁰⁰ See Chapter 1, p. 21.

its own historical tradition, through the process of receiving the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships and responding to it. At the same time, when the renewal of Anglican identity is understood as a dynamic interpretation of the life of communion, I am concerned to retain a dynamic perspective on the way in which the triune God's dynamic relationships are continuously at work transforming the life of communion. It now becomes necessary to examine Anglican practice of the triune God's dynamic relationships as an Anglican understanding of mission, which indicates that the question of how the Anglican Communion is to convey the life the triune God's dynamic relationships within its own historical tradition.

3. The Renewal of the Mission of the Church

My discussion so far has implied that this is made possible within the renewal of *Missio Dei* as 'communion-in-mission,' as it is conceived as participation in the triune God's dynamic relationships. I now focus on communion-in-mission as a means to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

3.1. The Church as Witness to the Triune God's Dynamic Relationships

In Chapter 1 I argued that the Anglican Communion understands the purpose and nature of the Church as bearing witness to the very life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.⁷⁰¹ I turn again to an Anglican understanding of the Church in order to illustrate this point. As I have already suggested, if the triune God's dynamic relationships are at the heart of the understanding of the triune God, it indicates the two following things.

⁷⁰¹ See my discussion in Chapter 1 of the Church as witness to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. Chapter 1, pp. 19-20.

Firstly, the triune God as Creator has called human beings to participate in His life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. In 1993 the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order described faith as 'an existential act of the human person: living in communion with God,' defining human beings as 'relational, koinonia [by implication, communion]-shaped beings – in relation to God and also in all other dimensions of life.'⁷⁰² This means that 'by creating human beings in God's image, God has created them to live in communion with him, in communion with each other, and as responsible stewards of creation.'⁷⁰³ It also means that human beings are already in a relationship with God before they have thought about it.⁷⁰⁴

Secondly, the Church as both a sign and disclosure of the Kingdom of God, and agent of his mission, exists to bear witness to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. The 1993 Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order, as already stated, shows the correspondence between the Church and the Trinity as follows: 'It is in the Church that the Holy Spirit realizes this communion (koinonia)...The Church is called to be, in the realm of spiritual life as well as in its commitment to the service of humanity and creation, in harmony with the plan of the Triune God revealed in the Scriptures.'⁷⁰⁵ As the discussion in Chapter 5 suggested, this also concurs with F.D. Maurice's understanding of the vision of the Church as the Body of Christ, who is the representative of all human beings. The Church is called to participate in the very life

⁷⁰² Thomas F. Best and Günter Gassmann (eds.), *On the Way to Fuller Koinonia*, p. 272.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁷⁰⁴ See Rowan Williams, *Tokens of Trust*, p. 35.

⁷⁰⁵ Thomas F. Best and Günter Gassmann (eds.), *On the Way to Fuller Koinonia*, pp. 274-275. See also Miroslav Volf who describes the Church as "the image of the Trinity": 'Trinitarian relations can serve as a model for the institutions of the church because the triune God is present in the church through the Holy Spirit, shaping the church in the image of the Trinity.' Miroslav Volf, *After Our Likeness: The Church as the Image of the Trinity* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), p. 239.

of Trinitarian communion in Christ and, by implication, the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.⁷⁰⁶

When its purpose and nature is understood as bearing witness to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships, the Anglican Communion regards itself as a communion which is in an ongoing state of relationship, participating in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships, rather than simply as a 'federation'⁷⁰⁷ or gathering which the term 'Church' or *ecclesia* sometimes implies. This means that the Anglican Communion does not claim to be 'self-contained, completed and autonomous and thus fundamentally disconnected from the life of other Churches or Christian groupings.'⁷⁰⁸ That is to say that the Anglican Communion has confidence in that it is called to be a dynamic, relational, and transforming Church, one which reflects the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

3.2. Tribal Mission within the Anglican Communion Today

Nevertheless, as I have already argued in Chapter 1, the contemporary Anglican Communion's styles of life and behaviour do not take account of this dynamic dimension of its life. It appears as if static thinking has replaced dynamic thinking in the Anglican Communion and thus disconnected its activity from the life of the triune

⁷⁰⁶ See my discussion in Chapter 5 of F.D. Maurice's idea of the Church as witness to the life of Trinitarian communion in Christ. Chapter 5, pp. 175-177.

⁷⁰⁷ See my discussion in Chapter 1 of the Anglican Communion as not a federation but a communion. Chapter 1, pp. 21-22. See also Philip Turner's distinction between communion and federation. In reflecting on Ephesians 4.3, Turner argues the principle of what it means to be a communion: 'In describing the virtues and practices that serve the unity of the church, the author [St. Paul] speaks not of "a desire to be with one another" [by implication, a federation] but of "striving earnestly to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph.4.3). He does not list the civil virtues of courtesy, tolerance and mutual respect but a series of virtues and practices that imitate the sacrificial life of Christ.' Philip Turner, 'Tolerable Diversity and Ecclesial Integrity,' pp. 43-44. Turner also argues that 'a series of issues have recently arisen that pose the question of whether or not the Anglican Communion will remain a communion of churches or become merely a loose federation.' *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷⁰⁸ Lorraine Cavanagh, 'Meaning and Transformation,' p. 22.

God's dynamic relationships. As a result of this, the Anglican Communion is becoming a tribal church which adheres to fixed beliefs which compete with each other for normative status, thus occupying static ways of defining Scripture and issues and subsequently God Himself.

A tribal church leads to a tribal mission which holds to exclusive, structural, and sectarian attitudes towards other Churches or Christian groupings in terms of addressing differences in understanding, separating it from the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships – what I call tribal mission. This kind of static and tribal thinking about mission has increasingly dominated the life of the Anglican Communion today at province, diocese, and parish level, and is particularly prevalent in the current debates on the divisions of the Communion pertaining to the issue of homosexuality.

I now turn to the association between conflicting and polarising views on homosexuality within the Anglican Communion today (described in Chapter 1), and two forms of Anglican tribal mission (described in Chapter 4), in order to illustrate this point. The discussion in Chapter 4 suggested the two forms of Anglican tribal mission, which have been the principal cause, as well as the nature of the loss of Anglican confidence in its identity as Communion: 1) Evangelical *Missio Dei* which focuses on the primacy of the proclamation of Jesus Christ as universal saviour in defining mission and thus regards the proclamation of individual salvation in Jesus Christ alone as mission's primary task;⁷⁰⁹ and, 2) Liberal *Missio Dei* which focuses on the primacy of liberating service and witness of the reign of God in defining mission

⁷⁰⁹ See my discussion in Chapter 4 of an evangelical *Missio Dei* perspective. Chapter 4, pp. 113-115.

and thus regards the service and witness for socio-political liberation (social salvation) in the reign of God as mission's primary task.⁷¹⁰

The Evangelical *Missio Dei* perspective has a direct connection to the Anglican churches in the Global South, which rejects homosexual practice as incompatible with the Christian truth, as revealed in Scripture, and as the advocacy of a decaying secular society. The Evangelical *Missio Dei* perspective emphasises the importance of individual salvation. In contrast, a liberal *Missio Dei* perspective has a direct connection to the Anglican churches in North America, which supports homosexuality as 'faith-filled development in the ongoing life of the Anglican Communion'⁷¹¹ on the basis of its principle of the primacy of social salvation.

3.3. Transforming the Idea of *Missio Dei*

As I have already argued in Chapter 1, on the surface it appears that the current crisis over the divisions of the Anglican Communion stems from this conflict between the evangelical *Missio Dei* perspective on homosexuality and the liberal *Missio Dei* perspective on homosexuality within the Anglican Communion. The discussion in Chapter 1 argued that depending on this tension is misleading to the understanding of the principal cause and nature of the current crisis over the divisions of the Anglican Communion. I identified in Chapter 1 the principal cause and nature of the current divisions of the Anglican Communion as static thinking in the life of the Anglican Communion, disconnecting its activity from the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. In this respect, I appeal to Daniel Hardy who emphasises a

⁷¹⁰ See my discussion in Chapter 4 of a liberal *Missio Dei* perspective. Chapter 4, pp. 115-117.

⁷¹¹ Ian T. Douglas, 'Anglicans Gathering for God's Mission,' p. 12.

contemplative thinking of the life of God in the Church's activities in the following terms:

Yet, seeing worldwide Anglicanism, it is clear that the situation is not as it is frequently presented. The churches are not at different points in a spectrum between 'conservative' and 'liberal' (or 'traditionalist' and 'revisionist'). And for the proponents of these positions to label all others – depending on their points of view – as 'decadent' or 'fundamentalist' is misleading to say the least. In practice, the churches are moderate combinations of different voices, and the main question is how they can be deepened further in the richness of God's life in the churches and their mission.⁷¹²

Furthermore, the nature of Anglicanism is, as Norman Pittenger says, rooted in an ethos in which 'conservatism and liberalism are held in balance by the constant appeal to Scripture, history, reason and experience.'⁷¹³ Citing Thomas Cranmer as the source of Anglicanism, implying that Anglicanism is to be found in most forms of catholic Christianity – 'both the integrity and diversity of the Church are rooted in Scripture as it is appropriated within a communion of saints who, over time, conform to certain practices and forms of worship,' Philip Turner describes the spirit of unity in diversity of Anglicanism as follows: 'Anglican history is filled with examples of attempts to locate ecclesial integrity and tolerable diversity by reference to the Articles of Religion, or the Creed, or the authority of the episcopacy, or latterly, identifiable forms of religious and/or social experience.'⁷¹⁴

For these reasons, I have argued that Anglican identity as Communion is not a simple matter of selecting the primacy of either evangelical *Missio Dei* or liberal *Missio Dei*. Instead, I have suggested that it is one of establishing a new perspective of *Missio Dei* which could avoid the two forms of Anglican tribal mission, thus reflecting the life of

⁷¹² Daniel W. Hardy, *Finding the Church*, p. 3.

⁷¹³ W. Norman Pittenger, *The Episcopalian Way of Life* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1957), p. 186.

⁷¹⁴ Philip Turner, 'Tolerable Diversity and Ecclesial Integrity,' p. 33.

the triune God's dynamic relationships. That is to say that the question of Christian mission and identity is not simply a matter of who is right or wrong. Rather, it is, as Wayne Meeks, New Testament scholar, says, a matter of 'how much unity is achievable?' and '[h]ow much diversity is tolerable?'⁷¹⁵

Consequently, we are able to say that the challenge to the life of Anglican identity as Communion is one of transforming static and tribal thinking about mission into dynamic and cooperative thinking about mission, leading to the establishment of a new perspective of *Missio Dei* which is conceived as participation in the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

3.4. Communion-in-Mission as a Means to the Life of the Triune God's Dynamic Relationships

In Chapter 4 I called the *Missio Dei* which could transform static and tribal thinking about mission into dynamic and cooperative thinking about mission and thus supply the principle source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion, *Missio Triunius Communio* or 'communion-in-mission.'⁷¹⁶ Communion-in-mission consists in the triune God's dynamic relationships which express the intrinsic 'liminality' which exists in the life of the Trinity. As I have already stated, 'Trinitarian liminality' has the characteristics of humility, equality, and mutuality. This indicates that communion-in-mission is also characterised by humility, equality, and mutuality.

⁷¹⁵ Wayne A. Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 216.

⁷¹⁶ Citing John Yoder's idea of *Missio Trinitatis*, J. Andrew Kirk describes the correspondence between *Missio Dei* and the Trinity as follows: 'When Christian communities speak about God, by definition they have to speak about Father, Son and Holy Spirit. There simply is no other God. Therefore to speak about the *missio Dei* is to indicate, without any qualification, the *missio Trinitatis*.' J. Andrew Kirk, *What is Mission?: Theological Explorations* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1999), p. 27.

Accordingly, a focus on communion-in-mission allows Anglicans to hold to their inclusive and cooperative attitudes towards differences in understandings within the Anglican Communion and thus move away from a dominating and self-seeking perfection towards a responsible sharing in God's concern for the world. In other words, the centrality of communion-in-mission as a reflection of Trinitarian liminality allows Anglicans to create a hospitable and open space for preparing the way for renewed dialogue for addressing differences in understanding and thus live in communion with one another, with the world, and with God.

Consequently, we are able to say that when mission is undertaken primarily from a place of communion-in-mission, a transformation of the life of the Anglican Communion occurs with regard to mission as the triune God's dynamic relationships begin to work in its life. That is to say that the idea of communion-in-mission refers to the growing realisation of a dynamic, relational, and transforming Church as it is called to be, as the growing awareness of the triune God's dynamic relationships.⁷¹⁷ For this reason, it is communion-in-mission that is at the same time a means to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships and a means for renewing Anglican identity as a communion.

In order to suggest a means to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships informing the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion, I have sought to retain the idea of communion-in-mission. My discussion in Chapter 5 of F.D. Maurice's

⁷¹⁷ See the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order's interpretation the term 'communion' in Christian communions (e.g. the Anglican Communion, the Lutheran Communion, etc.): 'The terms [*koinonia* and communion] refer to the growing realization of churches that, in spite of their separation, they in fact already share 'an existing though imperfect communion': they are not 'out of communion' but share a 'degree of communion.' 'Discussion Report of the Fifth World Conference on Faith,' in *On the Way to Fuller Koinonia*, p. 277.

understanding of the truth about history suggested that although it presupposes the absolute and eternal truth as Providence, the truth has its own time, that is: the truth is only known in historical terms.⁷¹⁸ As the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order at Montreal in 1963 identified:

We can speak of the Christian Tradition (with a capital T), whose content is God's revelation and self-giving in Christ, present in the life of the Church...this Tradition which is the work of the Holy Spirit is embodied in traditions (in the two senses of the word, both as referring to diversity in forms of expression and in the sense of separate communions). The traditions in Christian history are distinct from, and yet connected with, the Tradition.⁷¹⁹

Primarily, I argued in Chapter 1 that the question of mission is a matter of how the Church is to convey its purpose and nature and, by implication, the truth of the triune God's dynamic relationships in its own historical tradition.⁷²⁰ When these considerations are taken together, it suggests that no discussion of the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion is complete without an indication of how such a renewal within its life is to inform Anglican self-understanding and Anglican practise of communion-in-mission, signifying an Anglican way to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

4. Reconstructing Anglican Comprehensiveness

My discussion so far has implied that this is made possible within the reconstruction of Anglican comprehensiveness; reconsidering F.D. Maurice's idea of comprehensiveness which consists in the triune God's dynamic relationships,

⁷¹⁸ See my discussion in Chapter 5 of F.D. Maurice's understanding of the truth about history. Chapter 5, pp. 163-164.

⁷¹⁹ 'Report of Section II: Scripture, Tradition and Traditions,' *The Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order, Montreal, 1963*, in *The Ecumenical Movement: An Anthology of Key Texts and Voices*, Michael Kinnamon and Brian E. Cope (eds.) (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1997), p. 140. See also Eugen Rosentock-Huessy, *The Christian Future or the Modern Mind Outrun* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 99: 'The four Gospels give a model example of this rule that one truth must be expressed in different ways for different times of life, and that the whole truth is conveyed only on several such levels together.'

⁷²⁰ See Chapter 1, pp. 11-12.

and is Maurice's principal means for interpreting the source and nature of his ecclesiology of communion. I now focus on Anglican comprehensiveness as an Anglican way to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

4.1. Reconsidering the Comprehensiveness of F.D. Maurice: Comprehensiveness as Eschatological Liminality

As I have already suggested, for Maurice, comprehensiveness was the principle of being the Church which responds to the Church's fundamental purpose of participating in the very life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. This means that Maurice's comprehensiveness consists in the triune God's dynamic relationships, which itself, as we have seen before, expresses the intrinsic 'liminality' which exists in the life of the Trinity (the so-called 'Trinitarian liminality' which has the characteristics of humility, equality, and mutuality). It also means that Maurice's comprehensiveness is a reflection of Trinitarian liminality. This Trinitarian liminality, as we saw in Chapter 5, was at the heart of Maurice's idea of the catholicity of the Church and encouraged him to reconceive the unity of the Church of England, a unity which goes beyond the exclusive sectarianism of the Tractarians and Evangelicals of his day.

Trinitarian liminality, as already stated, is the reason for the three divine persons coexisting in the same one God, sharing in one another's life through a process of reciprocal 'permeability' as complementarity and thus creating unity in diversity without any dissolution or any inequality. Accordingly, such an understanding of Maurice's comprehensiveness as a reflection of Trinitarian liminality allows his comprehensiveness to explain why diverse or conflicting truth-claims should

coexist in the same Church of England of his day, breaking the existing exclusive and sectarian boundaries between Tractarians and Evangelicals.

In this respect, I now associate Maurice's comprehensiveness with Rowan Williams' idea of 'eschatological boundary breaking.' As I already described in Chapter 1, Rowan Williams describes a distorted kind of the finality of Christ as 'Christian ideology' which implies an ideological interpretation of God's will and purpose for its own sake, leading to a form of 'ideological violence' which dominates other religions or other Churches.⁷²¹ In order to suggest a viable alternative to the static and tribal phenomenon in Christianity, Rowan Williams uses a dynamic idea of 'eschatological boundary breaking' which is affected by 'incarnation of God in Christ', in the following terms:

The Church's proclamation that Jesus is the embodiment of God's speech and purpose, both within and against the empirical political history of Israel, puts the counter-question about the health and faithfulness of the chosen people, setting forth Jesus as a sign of the *eschatological breaking of the boundaries* of a people to create a new world for God. To go on being a Christian is to be committed to that particular breaking through and that particular hope.⁷²²

Such an understanding of Jesus Christ as a sign of eschatological boundary breaking concurs with the Gospel of St. John's statements, namely Jesus Christ is not a purpose or a goal but the way: 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me. If you know me, you will know my Father also. From now on you do know him and have seen him (John 14.6-7).' F.D. Maurice, as we saw in Chapter 5, understands the Incarnation as the perfect communion of the divine and human nature in Christ who was the source and ground of the life of Trinitarian

⁷²¹ Rowan Williams, as we saw in Chapter 2, points out two examples of violent Christian ideology: Christian theology against the Jewish people and the eschatological tribalism of the Third Reich. See Rowan Williams, 'The Finality of Christ,' in *On Christian Theology*, p. 102.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, p. 103. My italics.

communion: 'If Christ be really the head of every man, and if He really have [*sic*] taken human flesh, there is ground for a universal fellowship among men...Now the denial of a universal head is practically the denial of all communion in society.'⁷²³

Such an understanding of Incarnation as the perfect communion of the divine and human nature in Christ becomes the prelude to F.D. Maurice's principle of comprehensiveness. I now suggest that F.D. Maurice's comprehensiveness is 'eschatological liminality' which is a reflection of Jesus Christ's 'eschatological boundary breaking,' signifying Trinitarian Communion in Christ and, by implication, the triune God's dynamic relationships.⁷²⁴

4.2. Comprehensiveness as an Anglican Way to the Life of the Triune God's Dynamic Relationships

When F.D. Maurice's comprehensiveness is understood as 'eschatological liminality,' it allows us to understand that Maurice's comprehensiveness is a precedent for the idea of 'communion-in-mission' as it is also characterised by Trinitarian liminality,⁷²⁵ and thus supplies the principle source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion. Accordingly, we are able to say that while such criticisms still exist within the Anglican Communion today, Anglican comprehensiveness stimulated by F.D. Maurice is not only a living principle informing Anglican identity today but an Anglican way to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

⁷²³ Frederick Maurice, *Life*, I, p. 258.

⁷²⁴ In this thesis, 'eschatological liminality' and 'Trinitarian liminality,' therefore, are interchangeable.

⁷²⁵ See my discussion in Chapter 5 of the fundamental connection between F.D. Maurice's comprehensiveness and 'communion-in-mission.' Chapter 5, pp. 204-208. I identified the triple characteristics as the evidence: 1) The centrality of the triune God's dynamic relationships; 2) The intrinsic liminality which exists in their Trinitarian life; and, 3) The methodological understanding in defining their life.

Again, when Anglican comprehensiveness is understood as ‘eschatological liminality,’ the Anglican Communion has confidence in that it is called to be a dynamic, relational, and transforming Church, as opposed to a tribal church, one which reflects the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships. A focus on Anglican comprehensiveness, therefore, allows Anglicans to create a hospitable and open space for one another, moving across existing boundaries created by static thinking due to the fear of losing the self and a mentality of domination of the other. In other words, the emphasis on Anglican comprehensiveness as eschatological liminality allows Anglicans to hold a more inclusive, relational, and cooperative attitude in terms of addressing differences in understanding and thus be open to God’s final purpose of embracing all creation in the world.

Consequently, the centrality of a renewed Anglican comprehensiveness as eschatological liminality enables Anglicans to avoid their static and tribal thinking and thus prepare the way for renewed dialogue for a reconciliation which could release the current deadlock in the Anglican Communion. For this reason, it is Anglican comprehensiveness that is an Anglican way to the life of the triune God’s dynamic relationships which sustain and inform the life of Anglican identity as Communion.

5. Conclusion: What Kind of Communion?

This thesis has been inspired and motivated by a growing awareness of a need for the transformation of static and tribal thinking and polity in the life of the Anglican Communion – what I have called the notion of ‘Anglican tribal identity.’ This research has shown that static thinking creates a static theological climate in its life,

thereby predefining and polarising issues, in particular, the issue of homosexuality. This has created a barrier between churches and individuals in the Anglican Communion. My research has argued that this static thinking has been the principal cause and nature of the current crisis over the divisions of the Anglican Communion, disconnecting the activity of its life from the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. I have therefore written this thesis in order to suggest a dynamic and relational thinking about the Anglican Communion – what I have called the notion of 'Anglican identity as Communion,' which could transcend boundaries created by static thinking and thus prepare the way for renewed dialogue for a reconciliation which would release the current deadlock.

Within the context of my discussion, I hope to have shown that the triune God's dynamic relationships constitute the life of communion. I have done this by bringing together the following threefold aspects of the life of communion:⁷²⁶ Firstly, *the triune God's dynamic relationships* as the source and heart of the life of communion. I have argued that the challenge to the life of Anglican identity as Communion is one of articulating and redefining the life of communion within its own historical tradition through the process of receiving the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships and responding to it. Secondly, *communion-in-mission* as a means to the life of the triune

⁷²⁶ In his 'Anglicanism: The Only Answer to Modernity' Timothy Jenkins describes the three levels of the life of the Church as follows: 1) Worship as 'a means of intensification of faith'; 2) Common life as a way to Christians' vocation; and 3) Outreach as 'mission.' According to him, 'the life of any church, no matter how small, is focused at three levels – in worship, the development of a common life, and outreach.' Jenkins believes that to develop Christians' common life as a way to their vocation is to develop the idea that 'extension of reach goes hand in hand with this intensification of faith.' In this respect, Jenkins's concept of the three levels of the life of the Church corresponds in turn to my idea of the threefold aspects of the life of communion: 1) The triune God's dynamic relationships as the source and heart of the life of communion; 2) Anglican comprehensiveness (by implication, eschatological liminality) as an Anglican way to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships; and, 3) Communion-in-mission as a means to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. Timothy Jenkins, 'Anglicanism: The Only Answer to Modernity,' in *Anglicanism: The Answer to Modernity* (London and New York: Continuum, 2003), pp. 186-205.

God's dynamic relationships. I have argued that when mission is undertaken as the place of communion-in-mission, a transformation of the life of the Anglican Communion occurs with regard to mission. Thirdly, Renewed Anglican comprehensiveness as *eschatological liminality*, becomes the Anglican way to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships. The discussion in this thesis has argued that when Anglican comprehensiveness is understood as eschatological liminality, inspired by the work of F.D. Maurice, it becomes the Anglican practice of communion-in-mission, namely an Anglican way to the life of the triune God's dynamic relationships.

My discussion in this thesis has revealed that the threefold aspects of the life of communion could supply the principal source for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion, showing that it creates a hospitable and open space for opposing groups and thus creates new opportunities for differences in understanding among Anglicans to converge dynamically. For this reason, I have proposed a threefold aspect in the form of a convergent set of ideas for the renewal of Anglican identity as Communion.

This allows us to reintroduce Anglican identity as a communion which is patterned on 'the triune God's dynamic relationships' and made concrete in a renewed understanding of Anglican comprehensiveness as an 'eschatological liminality' informing the Anglican Communion's approach to *Missio Dei* and, by implication, to 'communion-in-mission.' This new way of thinking about Anglican identity as Communion might enable the rediscovery of a way for renewed dialogue for a reconciliation, a dialogue which would release the life of the Anglican Communion from the effects of static thinking.

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