The History of the 1980 Anglican Pastoral Provision

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An account informed by contemporary archival records and oral history of the events leading up to the 1980 establishment of canonical permissions to receive married Anglican priests into the Catholic priesthood presents a different perspective than extant media reports and participant memoirs. In this decision can be discerned the confluence of five developments: the sixteenth century English Reformation, which uniquely separated the Catholic and English Churches; the futile attempt to rejoin the two communions in the nineteenth-century Oxford Movement; the Second Vatican Council, which introduced Catholics to a more open stance toward Protestants, and Anglicans in particular, and to a married deaconate; the failure of Anglican-Catholic ecumenical engagement during the 1970s; and the particular interest and force of Bishop Bernard Law. Often considered a liberalizing development, the new policy was actually advanced by some of the most conservative forces in the American Church. The Society of the Holy Cross was more central, while the Pro-Diocese of Saint Augustine of Canterbury was more marginal, to the decision than has heretofore been acknowledged.

Keywords: Anglican Pastoral Provision, Bernard Law, Ecumenism, Anglicanism, Married priests

The reception of married convert priests in the Catholic Church was made possible by a set of policies and permissions established in 1980 that have come to be known as the Pastoral Provision.¹ The term “pastoral provision” refers to a privilege or accommodation that is made for pastoral reasons, to remove barriers to or help facilitate the spiritual growth of a person or group. The accommodation for Anglican converts provided for them to retain certain cultural practices, such as a traditional Anglican liturgy and married clergy, to smooth their entry into the Catholic faith.

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How is it that the Catholic Church came to make such a generous accommodation for Anglicans? And why only for Anglicans, and not other Christian denominations? This article recounts the events and trends that led to the 1980 decision establishing these policies.

**Influences on the Pastoral Provision**

The 1980 decision reflected a unique confluence of short and long term historical and religious trends both within and outside the Catholic Church. It is a tale that begins in the 16th century religious division between Protestant and Catholic and ends in the contemporary religious division between liberal and conservative, with attempts, ultimately futile, to heal the divisions in between. Conceived as an ecumenical initiative in the spirit of Vatican Council II, its establishment reflected the character of the centuries-old forces separating Catholicism and Anglicanism as well as the particular cultural situations of both churches in the 1970s. Most of all, the Pastoral Provision was an idea whose time had come.

Five elements stand out as particularly important for understanding this development: 1) the 16th century English Reformation, which separated Anglicanism from Catholicism in unique ways; 2) the 19th century conversion of the Anglican priest John Henry Newman, which set a pattern for future clergy conversions; 3) the Second Vatican Council, which introduced Catholics to a more open stance toward Protestants, and Anglicans in particular, and to a married deaconate; 4) the failure of ecumenical engagement amid diverging cultural and religious stances of Anglicanism and Catholicism in the 1970s; and 5) the particular interest and force of Bishop Bernard Law, who, long before becoming embroiled in sex abuse scandal as Cardinal Archbishop of Boston in the 2000s, was one of the American Church’s most effective advocates for civil rights and ecumenical unity.

**From Reformation to Newman**

Few dispute that the English Reformation was more a matter of politics than of national conversion. Though views differ on how far Protestant ideals had taken hold among the English people prior to the 1530s, no historian goes so far as to attribute the break with Rome to this cause. Even A.G. Dickens, probably the strongest proponent of the view that receptiveness to Protestantism was well advanced in the popular mind, only claims that changing religious sensibilities meant that “when the King quarreled with the Pope over his divorce, a permanent schism did not
merely become conceivable; it proved actually manageable without arousing much opposition within the realm."

The Protestant religion was imposed upon, not acquired from, the English people, and was accompanied by a violent and thorough suppression of the Catholic faith. The 1535 Oath of Supremacy, requiring the submission of clergy and religious to the King as the supreme spiritual authority in England on pain of death, was hardly the sign of a popular movement. Under Elizabeth, beginning in 1559, attending the Church of England was enforced by heavy fines, and celebrating a Catholic Mass was punishable by death. Catholic priests, and laypersons publicly affirming the Catholic faith, were subject to painful and humiliating public execution, often without benefit of trial, resulting in almost 300 martyrs by 1670. The Catholic character and practice of English parishes was systematically dismantled in a "stripping of the altars" (the title of his study). Altars, chalices, tabernacles for reserving the holy elements, holy-water stocks, pyxes, candles, and other such "superstitious" objects were forcibly removed or destroyed; religious images, stained-glass windows, banners, stoles and crosses were sold or defaced, by order of the Crown; reciting the rosary or praying for the dead was outlawed, bringing heavy fines. It was, as Duffy poignantly concludes, "a relentless torrent carrying away the landmarks of a thousand years." The subjugation of Catholics (and other "dissenters" from Anglicanism) gradually diminished through the succeeding centuries. Active persecution ended with the 1689 Act of Toleration, though Catholic worship continued to be illegal until 1791. Catholics were excluded from Parliament until 1829, and Catholic bishops were not re-established in England until 1850. Catholics continued to suffer discrimination and reduced social standing, which continues to some extent to the present day.

The 1845 Catholic conversion of the Anglican priest John Henry Newman presaged, in many ways, the intellectual dynamics of the Pastoral Provision. Newman, like most of the Pastoral Provision priests, was dismayed at the doctrinal weakness and vacillation of the Church of England.

5. Ibid., p. 593.
in the face of social and cultural change. At first, he tried to renew Anglicanism in a Catholic direction, becoming a leader of the 1830s Oxford Movement, but an intense study of church history led him to conclude that the English Reformation had been an error, and that the Roman Catholic Church, not the Church of England, preserved the true expression of the Christian faith. Through his writings and example, Newman’s intellectual journey inspired many subsequent Anglican converts. To attribute to his influence alone the flow of Anglicans to Catholicism since his time is probably an exaggeration, but not a large exaggeration. The Oxford Movement and the subsequent Anglo-Catholic revival in both England and America disposed generations of Anglican clergy and committed laity to increasing affinity with Roman Catholicism. These considered themselves to be Anglican Catholics rather than Roman Catholics, separated from Rome only by issues of jurisdiction, but in agreement on all important matters of doctrine and worship. In addition to baptismal regeneration and Eucharistic transubstantiation, which, though optional, had always been within the orbit of Anglican belief, Anglo-Catholics also tended to affirm such Roman Catholic beliefs as Mary’s Immaculate Conception and Assumption, and practices such as the rosary, sacramental confession, and Eucharistic adoration or benediction. Many also came to affirm papal infallibility and the schismatic position of Anglicanism, justifying their persistence in the Church of England or Episcopal Church by working for the eventual corporate re-union of Anglicanism with Roman Catholicism. As we shall see below, it was from this Anglo-Catholic context that the demand for the Pastoral Provision originated.

**Vatican Council II and Ecumenism**

Although, for the century following Newman and the Oxford Movement, a stream of Anglo-Catholic clergy were moving toward Rome, there was almost no corresponding movement in the Catholic Church toward welcoming Anglican converts. During this period the Catholic Church was in a process of reaction and opposition to elements of modernity and the secularity which had begun to take root in many Protestant churches. In 1910 Catholic clergy and scholars were required to take an Oath Against Modernism, in which they repudiated relativism, religious pluralism and development, and textual critical Bible scholarship. The difference between Catholic and Protestant was understood as that between truth and

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error; fellowship or dialogue with Protestants as if they were legitimate Christian believers was explicitly prohibited. In response to the Anglo-Catholic attempt to interpret Anglican ordination in a Catholic sense, in 1896 Pope Leo XIII declared Anglican orders to be “absolutely null and utterly void.”

This attitude changed dramatically with the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s, which began to reach out to Protestants as fellow Christians to build positive fellowship and dialogue in a spirit of appreciation and respect. Throughout the Council documents Protestants were referred to as “separated brothers,” and the common features that Protestants shared with Catholics were emphasized and commended. For the first time in Catholic discourse, Protestant communions were called “churches,” and the Council acknowledged and asked pardon for the Catholic Church’s own sins that led to the schism with Protestants. The Council still affirmed the necessity for individuals to find salvation in the Catholic Church, but the change of language and image was telling: the relation between Catholic and Protestant was no longer that of truth to error but of whole to part. Individual Protestants who found their way to Catholic faith and affiliation had to change only some, more or less depending on their denomination, of their beliefs, and were fulfilling, not repudiating, the Christian faith they already possessed.

The Council set forth a nuanced appraisal of various Protestant communities as being in greater or lesser degrees of communion with Catholics. Protestant communions that no longer practiced holy orders or the sacraments (such as Baptists and Pentecostals) were the furthest from Catholicism; those who had retained a partial sense of sacraments and orders (such as Lutherans and Episcopalians) were much closer. Significantly for the future Pastoral Provision, of the latter group the Council observed: “Among those (separated communions) in which Catholic traditions and institutions in part continue to exist, the Anglican Communion occupies a special place.”

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Vatican II also called for the restoration of the ancient office of permanent deacon,\textsuperscript{11} which, when it occurred in 1967,\textsuperscript{12} for the first time permitted married men to serve as deacons. The permanent deaconate proved to be highly popular in the United States, and deacons were universally well received and well regarded. By 2007 over 15,000 married deacons had been ordained and were serving in Catholic parishes in every diocese in the United States,\textsuperscript{13} exposing almost all American Catholics and priests to a positive example of a married man in Catholic holy orders. In 1967 Pope Paul VI cited the Council’s decision to permit married deacons to make a suggestion that directly anticipated the eventual character of the Pastoral Provision. In an encyclical on priestly celibacy, he proposed that “a study may be allowed of the particular circumstances of married sacred ministers of Churches or other Christian communities separated from the Catholic communion, and of the possibility of admitting to priestly functions those who desire to adhere to the fullness of this communion and to continue to exercise the sacred ministry.”\textsuperscript{14}

The Failure of Dialogue\textsuperscript{15}

In 1968, spurred by the ideals of Vatican II, an Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) was formed following a joint declaration of Pope Paul VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury Michael Ramsey (leader of the Church of England and symbolic head of the Anglican Communion) calling for “a serious dialogue founded on the Gospels and on the ancient common traditions [that] may lead to that unity in truth for which Christ prayed.”\textsuperscript{16}

Over the next fifteen years ARCIC produced three “Agreed Statements” on the central theological issues of the Eucharist, ordination, and Church authority, culminating with a widely read Final Report in 1982.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{11.} \textit{Lumen Gentium}, §29.
\textsuperscript{14.} Paul VI, Encyclical Letter on the Celibacy of the Priest \textit{Sacerdotalis Caelibatus}, (Vatican City, 1967), §42.
\textsuperscript{15.} For a guide to abbreviations, see Table 1.
In the eyes of many observers, and certainly of those closest to the dialogue process, substantial progress was made toward a greater level of unity between Catholics and Anglicans. The Anglo-Catholic goal of corporate reunion with Rome seemed, for a time, to be within reach.

But just as the goal of unity seemed to come into view, it suddenly began to move out of reach due to an unprecedented development: In September 1976 the General Convention of the Episcopal Church (the United States-based member church of the Anglican Communion) elected to amend its canons to permit the ordination of women as priests. This action placed two serious obstacles in the path to unity. First, it directly contradicted Catholic doctrine and practice in a serious way. In an exchange of letters prior to the Episcopal Church’s action, Pope Paul VI wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by then Donald Coggan, that “a new course taken by the Anglican Communion in admitting women to the ordained priesthood cannot fail to introduce into [the ARICIC] dialogue an element of grave difficulty. . . .”, and expressed sadness at “so grave an obstacle and threat on that path [to unity].”18 In the polite language of ecumenical discourse, such a statement expressed the strongest possible opposition. The Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (SCDF) observed, in a later commentary, that the ordination of women “was formally opposed to the “common traditions” of the two Communions,” and that “the obstacle [to unity] thus created was of a doctrinal character.”19 This position was no surprise to Anglicans. Archbishop Coggan had written to Paul VI because, he said, “we are aware that action on this matter could be an obstacle to further progress along the path of unity.”20 Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury until 1974, had strongly opposed the ordination of women, due in part, as Peter Stanford notes, to his “realization that any move in the direction of women priests would damage the relations he was fostering with Rome.”21

The ordination of women as priests (and, later, the ordination of women and homosexuals as bishops) not only impeded Anglican unity with Rome, it also impeded the unity of Anglicans with each other. As the prominent ecumenists Mary Tanner and Andrew Faley have recently recounted, “Anglicans’ initial enthusiasm and hope [for unity with Rome] waned, partly due to . . . the threat to internal unity posed by the pressure to allow the ordination of women. . . .”22 Though often unacknowledged, this problem of Anglican unity posed an even more intractable obstacle to Anglican–Roman Catholic unity than the underlying issues themselves, because it was rooted in the constitutive institutional arrangements of Anglicanism itself.

The Anglican Communion is not a single church or even a denomination, but a loose federation of forty-four autonomous national churches, mostly located in former British colonies. There is no single authority to which they are subject; the Archbishop of Canterbury holds an honorary and symbolic leadership role, but has no juridical authority outside the Church of England. While the Anglican churches share a common culture, ethos, and history, they are free to disagree on matters of doctrine and practice—and with the loss of the British Empire as a unifying force, they increasingly do so. This institutional arrangement may be beneficial in many ways for the member churches involved, but it has the disadvantage of making virtually impossible a common initiative on which there is not substantial consensus, such as movement toward unity with Rome.

On the Anglican side, persons or groups favorable to unity with Rome face the dilemma that to breach the schism with Rome threatens to create or deepen divisions with their fellow Anglicans. From the Catholic side, it is difficult to know whether one’s partner in the dialogue toward unity represents the central Anglican view or only a partisan minority view on issues of discussion and dispute. To this day, the Anglican Communion has not resolved the issue of the ordination of women (or homosexuals); various provinces have determined to go their own way. The result for unity was that, as Tanner and Faley summarize, “both within the Anglican communion and in its previously hopeful ecumenical journey with Roman Catholicism, there was a sense of going nowhere.”23

23. Ibid., p. 3.
The hope of corporate reunion with Rome that animated Anglo-Catholic Episcopalians had stalled. It was out of this experience of disappointment that, beginning in 1977, some groups of Anglo-Catholic Episcopal clergy approached Roman Catholic authorities about becoming ordained as Catholic priests—initiatives that eventually resulted in the Pastoral Provision.

Anglo-Catholics Seek Communion with Rome

The Congress of St. Louis

Like the Catholic Church, American Anglo-Catholics realized that the General Convention’s September 1976 decision to authorize the ordination of women seriously compromised for them any further communion with the Episcopal Church. September 16, the day of the vote approving
women’s ordination, became known as “Black Thursday.” On November 3
the Council of the American Church Union (ACU), the largest and most
prominent Anglo-Catholic organization, issued a unanimous statement
that “absolutely rejected” the decision authorizing the ordination of women,
as “contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Episcopal Church” and
apostolic order, and refused to “obey any existing structural authority which
has not the authority of Christ.”

Thousands of Anglo-Catholic Episcopalians reportedly responded with messages of support and agreement.

But where could they go? The week following the ACU statement, on
November 12, 1976, the Fellowship of Concerned Churchmen (FCC)—an
umbrella group of fifteen conservative Episcopalian organizations—issued a
call for a church congress to be held the following September 14–16 in St.
Louis, Missouri, to present “the spiritual principles and ecclesial structure of
the continuing Episcopal Church.” Many of the leaders of the ACU were
also leaders of FCC, and the idea for the congress had come from meetings
that were held consecutively with those that produced the ACU statement
of November 3. For the year leading up to the congress, the ACU and other
organizations worked extensively to bring together the theological and
ecclesiological resources to address the crisis they experienced.

The resulting Congress of St. Louis of September 1977 was, by any
measure, a signal success. Over three thousand persons were present at its
major Eucharist—the largest gathering of traditional Episcopalians ever
held. Held one year to the day following the 1976 General Convention’s
vote to ordain women, the meeting symbolically replaced that depressing
loss with a joyful experience of unity and affirmation.

More importantly, the Congress produced and presented a statement of theological principles

ENS/ENSpresse_release.pl?pr_number=76341.

25. Episcopal News Service, “Fellowship Calls Church Congress (Press Release #
76342),” November 12, 1976, http://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/ENS/ENSpresse_
release.pl?pr_number=76342.

26. Father James Parker, SSC, an Anglo-Catholic leader later involved in the Pastoral
Provision, and chair of the committee that produced the Affirmation of St. Louis, wrote in
his journal: “This is one of the [most] awe-inspiring and magnificent experiences of my life.
... I feel for the first time in [the Episcopal Church] that all of us here have the same religion.
... Would that the Episcopal Church could have been like this.” James Parker, “Journal of
the Rev. James Parker, SSC, September 12, 1976 to October 20, 1977: A Record of the Reac-
tion to the ‘Ordination’ of Women in the Episcopal Church,” p. 95, James Parker Papers,
archived at the American Catholic History Research Center, The Catholic University of
America, 2013.
that met with wide acclaim and agreement among the gathered Anglo-Catholics. The Affirmation of St. Louis was to become the definitive doctrinal statement for the Continuing Anglican Churches, a group of several dozen loosely associated church organizations which were established in the following years. The FCC subsequently became the umbrella group for the Continuing Anglican Churches, with (by 2013) over a thousand parishes in the United States and Canada.27

Despite the urging of the FCC members, including the ACU, to remain united and focused for the year leading up to the Congress, a few defections took place and coalitions began to form throughout late 1976 and early 1977. In practice, those who left early helped to lead and organize subsequent defectors as multiple coalitions formed during this time. For example, on November 26, 1976, St. Mary’s Episcopal Church in Denver, Colorado, became the first parish to defect. In the days following they were “flooded with phone calls and lots of letters requesting information about how to leave the Episcopal Church.” In January 1977 they allied temporarily with a network of defecting churches called the Anglican Church of North America,28 but in May 1977 the parish joined with eight or nine other defecting parishes to form the Diocese of the Holy Trinity. At the Congress of St. Louis the following September, their pastor, Fr. James Mote, was elected the first bishop of the newly-formed Anglican Church in North America (ACNA).

The months, then years, following the Congress saw a scramble of activity as Anglo-Catholic Episcopalians, never very unified, explored a wide diversity of competing institutional options. It was an unsettling and unstable time. Consciences were challenged and lifelong friendships and alliances strained or broken as dozens of parishes, hundreds of priests and thousands of laypersons left the Episcopal Church. Although many individuals and some parishes and priests realigned with existing churches such as a branch of the Orthodox Church or the Polish National Catholic Church (PNCC), most formed new, independent church groups. The ACNA, established by the Congress as the single continuing church for dissenting Episcopalians, was renamed the Anglican Catholic Church in early 1978, and almost immediately split into three churches as two dis-

28. Not to be confused with the Anglican Church in North America, a coalition of Anglican church groups formed in 2008 to connect American Anglican traditionalists with theologically conservative Anglican provinces in the developing world.
senting bishops left with their congregations to form the Diocese of Christ the King and the Diocese of the Southeastern United States. By the early 1980s traditional Anglican defectors from the Episcopal Church had splintered into over 25 independent church groups (see Figure 1).

**The Turn to Rome**

For some Anglo-Catholics, the obvious alternative was to turn to Rome. Following the decisions of the Episcopal Church’s 1976 General Convention, three groups of Episcopalians explored the possibility of reconciling with the Catholic Church: The Society of the Holy Cross (abbreviated as SSC, from its Latin name “Societas Sanctae Crucis”) and the Evangelical and Catholic Mission (ECM), both associations of priests; and the Pro-Diocese of St. Augustine of Canterbury (PDSAC), a group of parishes that broke off from the ACNA. The first and eventually the most active petitioner was the Society of the Holy Cross.

The SSC is a fraternity of Catholic-minded Anglican priests founded in London in 1855 in the wake of the Oxford Movement. Committing themselves to a disciplined rule of life based in Catholic spiritual practices such as Eucharistic adoration, confession, and the Divine Office of daily prayers, priests of the SSC pledge themselves both to reform Anglicanism in a Catholic direction and to pray and work for “reconciliation with the Holy See.” At the time there were about eighty SSC priests in the United States. On December 1, 1976, a synod of American SSC priests delegated the Provincial Vicar of the North American Province, the Reverend James Parker, SSC, to inquire whether properly disposed married Episcopalian priests might be received into the Catholic Church while retaining both their marriage and their priesthood.

For several months Parker consulted and considered the best approach to Rome. Then on February 24, 1977, he received a surprise phone call from a Catholic bishop: Bishop Bernard Law had learned of the SSC’s initiative through a mutual friend, and wanted to know if he could help. No contact could have been more auspicious. An early and forceful supporter of the civil rights movement as a priest in Mississippi, Law had a long and impressive history of promoting reconciliation across racial and religious lines. As

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bishop of Springfield–Cape Girardeau following Vatican II, Law had quickly become a leader in ecumenical affairs. At the time he phoned Parker, Law was the Executive Director of the Committee for Ecumenical and Inter-religious Affairs of the U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) and a member of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU). A Harvard graduate and student of other faiths and cultures, Law had quickly recognized the stark ecumenical implications and pastoral difficulties for Catholic-minded Anglicans resulting from the Episcopal Church’s decision to ordain women.

When Law asked what he wanted from the Catholic Church, Parker said that he would like to see “a uniate arrangement offered with BCP [Book of Common Prayer] and an Anglican ethos with married priests et al.” Law was sympathetic. After a long conversation, when Parker told him he would like to approach the Apostolic Delegate (AD)—the Pope’s representative in Washington, D.C.—Law offered to contact the AD to recommend Parker and help arrange an appointment. For Law and Parker, the conversation was the beginning of a long and productive association: the two men would work closely together for most of the next thirty years, to bring to fruition and then manage the idea that was the subject of their conversation that day.

On April 12 Parker met with the AD, Archbishop Jean Jadot, to submit his proposal to the Holy See. With him were Fr. Larry Lossing and Fr. John Barker, representing the eastern and western regions of SSC respectively. Jadot observed that “Rome will want to be careful that in considering such an arrangement she will not appear to be offending her ongoing ecumenical conversations with what is left of Anglicanism,” and sug-


32. Today the Pope’s U.S. representative also holds the office of ambassador to the United States and is known as the papal nuncio, but prior to 1984 the United States did not have full diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and the Pope’s representative held only the title of apostolic delegate, to represent the Pope in the internal affairs of the American Catholic Church.


gested continued conversation with American Catholic leaders to explore the idea further.

Over the rest of 1977 Law, with Bishop Raymond Lessard of Savannah, worked with the SSC and several other groups of interested Anglicans to clarify their request and present the matter to the NCCB for consideration. In July a meeting between Law, Lessard, Parker, and Fr. Clarence Pope, ECM Representative, as well as two interested Episcopalian bishops, produced a memo which summarized the position of the Anglican petitioners in eleven points. The matter was then discussed at a September 1977 NCCB meeting, where Law and Lessard were named to an Ad Hoc Committee for Convert Married Ministers. In December the same group, with the addition of two other Anglican priests and a Catholic canonist, held an all-day meeting with Bishop Thomas Kelly, O.P., of Louisville, General Secretary of the NCCB, to further clarify questions and problems with the idea.

Canon Albert duBois and the Question of Jurisdiction

Meanwhile, another group was laying the groundwork for what would become its own approach to Rome, under the direction of one of the most prominent and colorful Anglo-Catholic leaders in the Episcopal Church. Canon Albert Julius duBois was the personification of the ideals of Catholic Anglican priesthood. Ordained at age 25, the youngest age possible, and voluntarily celibate, he had been raised in the Wisconsin “biretta belt,” the center of High Church Anglo-Catholicism, and served as the Rector of Ascension and St. Agnes Parish, a prominent and historic Anglo-Catholic congregation in Washington, D.C. In 1950 he became the first executive director of the ACU and editor of its journal, the American Church News, positions he held until he retired in 1974, at which time the ACU named him honorary president for life.

Tall and physically imposing, with strong convictions and a forceful personality, duBois, typically attired in dark suit and full Anglican collar, was for many the face of Anglo-Catholicism in the Episcopal Church.

36. Bishop Bernard Law, “A Review of Developments in the Request for Certain Anglican Clergy for Acceptance into the Catholic Church” July 6, 1979, archived at the American Catholic History Research Center, The Catholic University of America. This document is the basis for the timeline of the following paragraphs.
Dubois had a history of uncompromising opposition to the advancing secularism—what he called the growing apostasy—in the Episcopal Church, but also long experience in building coalitions and unifying, as far as possible, a sometimes fractious constituency. Under his leadership the ACU had long been active in various ecumenical initiatives, and he was widely known and trusted by traditionalists in the Episcopal Church and leaders of other Catholic-oriented churches.

DuBois saw clearly that the crucial issue in the crisis of authority that confronted Anglo-Catholic Episcopalians in 1976 was the question of jurisdiction. He emerged as an important early leader, organizing parish groups and proto-dioceses that became the core of several Continuing Anglican churches; but after a short time of exploration, he focused his efforts exclusively on the establishment of an Anglican Uniate rite in the Catholic Church.

In 1975 duBois co-ordinated a new ACU committee known as “Episcopalians United,” organized in order to “enlist[] support [to oppose women’s ordination] from loyal churchpeople whether or not they are members or supporters of the ACU or endorse the other aspects of our program.”\textsuperscript{39} Episcopalians United was committed to staying in the Episcopal Church; its motto was “No surrender, No desertion.”\textsuperscript{40} Following the decision to ordain women in September 1976, the group was renamed “Anglicans United” and pivoted to focus on the contrary goal: to prepare a way to leave the Episcopal Church. Canon duBois and two of the former officers of Episcopalians United, the Rev. John Barker and the Rev. William Turner St. John Brown, formed the primary leaders of Anglicans United. Longstanding confederates in Anglo-Catholic affairs, these three men, all Catholic-minded celibate Anglican priests, would continue working together under a succession of changing organizational incarnations for the next four years, until their petition to Rome for a uniate diocese was answered by the document outlining the Pastoral Provision.

By January 1977, Anglicans United had contacted a preliminary group of defecting parishes and sympathetic foreign Anglican bishops. On Janu-


\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.
ary 20, the ACU, desiring to maintain unity with the FCC in advance of
the Congress of St. Louis, refused to endorse the project. It was a difficult
and emotional decision. Fr. Parker, present at the meeting, wrote in his
journal, “[The] vote is sad for many of us—most of us feel a love and debt
to Fr. duBois for his great Catholic virtues and leadership for decades—but
unity is vital now. [Canon duBois] is present at this meeting.” 41

DuBois continued organizing a new church organization, intending to
affiliate with the PNCC, but in March that group, after communication
with the FCC, decided not to receive any parishes or priests until after the
upcoming Congress of St. Louis in September. Anglicans United, now a
group of defected Episcopalian parishes looking for ecclesiastical legiti-
macy, began to prepare to launch an independent church at the Congress,
but also explore any other options in the meantime. Aware of the SSC’s
contact with Roman Catholic authorities, in late March Barker asked to
accompany Fr. Parker on his upcoming appointment with the papal
nuncio; to which Parker agreed. An account of that April 12 meeting is in
the previous section of this article.

On May 1, 1977, duBois, Barker, Brown and five other priests,
including Fr. James Mote of St. Mary’s, Denver, met with retired Episco-
palian bishop Albert Chambers to form themselves into the Diocese of the
Holy Trinity (DHT). Altogether they represented six parishes that had
recently left the Episcopal Church. In July twelve clergy gathered at St.
Mary’s in Denver for the first synod of the incipient diocese. 42 On Septem-
ber 16, 1977, as already noted, Fr. Mote was elected the first bishop of the
new Anglican Catholic Church at the Congress of St. Louis.

Division and Delay

But duBois continued to search to unify dissenting Anglo-Catholics
with existing ecclesiastical structures rather than create a new splinter
church. In November 1977, Barker and Brown, representing duBois, who
had a phobic fear of flying, traveled to London and Rome to hold confi-
dential discussions with Anglican and Roman Catholic authorities respec-
tively about the possibility of some sort of jurisdiction to accommodate

41. Parker, “Journal of the Rev. James Parker, SSC, September 12, 1976 to October 20,
42. “St. Mary’s Anglican Catholic Church—A 30-Year History of the Diocese of the
our-diocese/.
Catholic-minded Anglicans who could not conscientiously remain in the Episcopal Church but would be in communion with Canterbury or Rome. They presented themselves as delegates of the still-forming Anglican Catholic Church, though that group would repudiate their overture to Rome within two weeks of their return. Anglican and Catholic authorities both rejected the idea of an affiliate jurisdiction, but Cardinal Franjo Seper, Prefect of the SCDF, did express interest in “the possibility of Episcopalians returning to the Catholic Church while retaining something of their Anglican heritage”—precisely the idea proposed by Fr. Parker to Bishop Law ten months earlier and presented to the papal nuncio the previous April.

Seper evidently communicated with Law about his discussion with Barker and Brown, because shortly after their visit to Rome, as Parker later recounts to his SSC superior, Law contacted him to ask if “a group of a few priests who had withdrawn from [the Episcopal Church] but did not affiliate with the Anglican Church in North America . . . could be attached to our SSC request so that the Vatican could be in official correspondence with an organized entity (our Province).” Since their concerns were in general agreement with those of the SSC and ECM, with the consent of those groups the DHT was attached to the request already in process. One of the DHT representatives was Fr. John Barker, who had been present at Parker’s meeting with the Apostolic Delegate in April of the prev-

43. Stetson, *History of the Pastoral Provision*. Stetson states that the reaction of the SCDF to duBois’ 1977 approach “reject[ed] the idea of any kind of ‘ritual diocese’.”


46. Close students of this history will note that the account presented here, based on archival documents, differs substantially from other extant accounts of these events, based on media reports, which present the actions and documents of the PDSAC as the central focus of consideration that prompted the Pastoral Provision decision. There is no basis for this interpretation in the extensive correspondence and reports that document the Catholic consideration of the question. Apart from an oblique personal reference by Cardinal Seper, the November 1, 1979 petition presented by the PDSAC is never even mentioned by the SCDF, and their particular concern, for a corporate jurisdiction of parishes, was ultimately rejected. According to the primary evidence, the involvement of the PDSAC in the Pastoral Provision petition, while not unimportant, appears to have been belated and secondary, and not at all essential to the progress or eventual outcome of the process.
ous year. In February 1978 Law asked the SCDF, which seemed generally favorable to receiving the Anglicans, to clarify the process needed to resolve the matter. In early March, meeting with leaders of the NCCB in Rome, Archbishop Jean-Jérôme Hamer, Secretary of the SCDF, asked the NCCB to develop concrete proposals for the corporate identity and the Anglican liturgy being considered, which could form a specific basis for further consideration. The SCDF also asked the NCCB to express its opinion, as a body, on three issues: the acceptance of married priests, either individually or corporately; the impact such acceptance may have on the discipline of celibacy; and the acceptance of a corporate Anglican group, either independent of or subject to the local diocesan bishop.

On April 1, 1978, principals of all three interested Anglican groups met with Fr. Henry Bowen, a Catholic canon lawyer, to draft “A Proposal for the Reconciliation of Certain Members of the Anglican Communion to the See of Peter,” which spelled out the form and character of the proposed body for an Anglican common identity. The Proposal called for the establishment of a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with its own bishop in communion with the Pope, in which Anglican traditions and customary usages, particularly married priests and bishops and a liturgy based on the Book of Common Prayer, could be preserved. The ordination of women was explicitly excluded. Membership would be available only to converts, not those raised Catholic. Priests ordained as Anglicans may be subject to conditional (re)ordination as Catholic priests, though they preferred to have their Anglican orders accepted as valid. The new jurisdiction would be financially self-supporting, and would be able to solemnize marriages, own property, and develop its own internal laws and governance with the approval of the Holy See. This document, sent to the SCDF on April 5, was the basis for all subsequent considerations of the question by Catholic leaders.

In May 1978 the NCCB considered this Proposal and the SCDF’s questions. The bishops voted overwhelmingly to admit married Anglican priests. They could not agree on whether they should be admitted as individuals or as part of a common corporate identity, but were, by a large majority, willing to continue exploring this question further so long as any corporate identity envisioned was under the jurisdiction of the local diocesan bishops. These opinions were communicated to the SCDF for further consideration.

On June 29, 1978, duBois, Barker, Brown and several other priests with parishes, formerly of the Diocese of the Holy Trinity, had formed the
Pro-Diocese of St. Augustine of Canterbury,\textsuperscript{47} the name “Pro-Diocese” indicating that it could not become a legitimate diocese until ratified by an authentic Apostolic church. The group elected no bishop; duBois led the venture with the title of “Senior Priest.” The Pro-Diocese was perhaps the first instance of the category of Continuing Anglican groups which Spaulding calls “New Partners as Vehicles for Relating to a Larger Body.”\textsuperscript{48} It had no reason to exist other than to be a vehicle for corporate reunion with Rome, a fact duBois publicized widely. Barker’s account also makes clear that the Pro-Diocese was developed because, in his mind, “the positive conversations held with the [SCDF] were predicated upon the premise of an existing corpus. . .”\textsuperscript{49}

At this point progress in addressing the question appears to have been interrupted for about a year by the death of Pope Paul VI in early August 1978, followed by the untimely death of his immediate successor, Pope John Paul I, only seven weeks later. Among the flurry of matters facing the newly-installed Pope John Paul II in late October 1978, the disposition of the petition(s) of a small group of American Episcopalian priests was displaced for a time by more urgent affairs.

During this hiatus duBois and his associates, to the consternation of the Catholic leaders, continued to press publicly for an Anglican jurisdiction. In late summer 1978 Parker met with the group in Los Angeles “to ask the Pro-Diocese to remain hopeful and quiet.”\textsuperscript{50} But duBois and associates disagreed. They were convinced that by meekly co-operating with the U.S. bishops, as Parker was doing, the SSC proposal would be buried by the ecumenists at the Council for Promoting Catholic Unity (CPCU),\textsuperscript{51} and that they must “badger” the Holy See in order to get results.\textsuperscript{52} They also felt that they had a special personal relationship with Cardinal Seper that favored an approach to the SCDF, due to a mutual acquaintance with Fr. Milan Mikulich of Portland, Oregon, a close friend of Seper’s who had grown up with him in Croatia. On February 13–15, 1979, following months of publicity, they convened the first international synod of the Pro-

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\textsuperscript{47} Armentrout, \textit{An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church}, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{50} Ad Hoc Committee for Convert Married Ministers, “Report.”
\textsuperscript{51} Barker, Personal Interview.
\textsuperscript{52} Ad Hoc Committee for Convert Married Ministers, “Report.”
\end{flushright}
Diocese, claiming to have 45 congregations in the U.S. and England. DuBois’s actions may have reflected his experience in the ecclesiastical conflicts of the Episcopal Church, in which media pressure and personal contacts were often deployed to advantage. But in approaching the Catholic Church, the use of such tactics was a serious miscalculation.

In July 1979, in an apparent effort to unify the divided petitioners and reinforce the urgency of a decision, Law suggested that representatives of the petitioning groups travel to Rome to meet with the SCDF and other dicasteries. In October 1979, at the invitation of the SCDF, a delegation of nine leaders from the ACU traveled to Rome again to present a formal petition to be received into the Catholic Church, which they signed on November 1 of that year. This petition said nothing about a separate jurisdiction, asking only for “the oversight, direction and governance of a Catholic bishop” and that the Pope would determine “the polity and use that would be ours to follow in obedience to and union with the Holy See.”

Shortly thereafter the SCDF indicated that, though approval of a corporate identity was unlikely, it was favorable in principle to receiving the married Anglican priests. The issue was then returned to the NCCB for a formal tally of support, to ensure that there was no substantial objection among the bishops to the possibility of convert married Episcopalian ministers functioning as priests in the United States. Once again, in April 1980, the U.S. bishops indicated their overwhelming support.

Split Decision

Finally, on June 20, 1980, the norms of the Pastoral Provision were approved by Pope John Paul II, and were communicated by way of letter to Archbishop John Quinn, President of the NCCB, on July 22. [See Appendix II for full text of letter.] On the question of married priests, the document provided that “reordination of the Episcopalian clergy, even

54. Stephen E. Cavanaugh, Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church: Reflections on Recent Developments (San Francisco, 2011), Appendix B.
those who are married, shall be allowed after approval of the candidate by the SCDF. Each candidate must make a profession of faith and undergo any necessary theological or catechetical preparation. The married priests were to be ordained subject to the conditions that they may not become bishops, may not remarry if widowed, and any future candidates for the priesthood from reconciled former Anglican parishes would be expected to conform to the rule of celibacy. “Special care,” advised the document, “must be taken on the pastoral level to avoid any misunderstanding regarding the Church’s discipline of celibacy.” On the question of corporate identity, the document stated as a general principle that the “admission of these persons, even in a group, should be considered the reconciliation of individual persons,” and not as an ecumenical unification or

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56. Ibid., p. 11.
57. Ibid., p. 13.
58. Ibid., p. 11.
merger. The document also directed, under the heading of “Structures,” that the reconciled Anglicans would be incorporated into existing dioceses under a local bishop, thereby rejecting the possibility of a separate Anglican jurisdiction. However, noted the letter, this was not intended to exclude the possibility of establishing some other type of jurisdiction for reconciled Anglicans in the future.

The ordination of convert clergy under these conditions and their insertion into existing dioceses were presented as two of three elements, under “Discipline” and “Structure,” constituting a “pastoral provision” designed to permit the retention of a common identity as Anglicans. Under “Liturgy,” the document also approved the use of Anglican liturgical elements by former Anglican priests for former Anglican converts only. Any liturgy celebrated outside this group would have to conform to the regular Roman Rite.

Ironically, the decision communicated by the short letter was a characteristically Anglican resolution: compromising, vague, and subject to competing interpretations. On the two main questions presented—whether married Anglican ministers could be ordained as Catholic priests, and whether parishes of Catholic-minded Anglicans could form their own diocese or similar jurisdiction—the Catholic Church had approved the former but denied the latter. Priests and parishioners could reconcile with the Catholic Church as individuals, but the vision of a corporate reunion of parishes that retained a collective Anglican identity was rejected, though not completely.

In large part the limited and qualified nature of the decisions reflected the concerns of Catholic leaders that neither the rule of clergy celibacy nor ongoing Anglican ecumenical dialogue would be compromised by their action. The married priests were being received under a very narrow, limited and temporary exception to the rule of celibacy, and not as a precursor to a change in the rule itself; and they were being received as individual converts, not as a uniate jurisdiction that might complicate ecumenical relations with Canterbury. The letter of July 22, 1980 reinforced these concerns, cautioning Archbishop Quinn to be careful about “the sensitive areas of ecumenism and celibacy” in publicizing the provision.

Despite this, the announcement of the Pastoral Provision was met with widespread publicity that aggravated both issues, to the jubilation of many American Catholics and the concern of the Vatican and many Protestants. “The First Married Priests” announced the headline in Newsweek, over a story that reported that “[t]he unexpected announcement
seemed to be a first step toward a married Catholic clergy.” 59 “Married Anglican priests could become Roman Catholic priests and remain married,” reported the Associated Press. 60 In a sharp break with the SCDF, Archbishop Quinn’s office fanned the flames: “A lot of people are going to see this as a foot in the door,” said Quinn’s spokesman Father Miles Riley. “A precedent-shattering breakthrough like this has got to have enormous implications.” 61 Quinn himself also described the decision as “precedent-setting.” 62 The SCDF, reportedly upset at the announcement, “replied angrily [to reporters’ questions]: “We know nothing about it. Ask Archbishop Quinn—he has all the answers.” 63

Ecumenical concerns were heightened by Quinn’s statement that the new policy set a precedent in providing for “a continuing ‘organizational structure and common identity’ of the newcomers with the Roman church,” 64 despite the fact that the provision had explicitly rejected establishing a new organizational structure, in part due to ecumenical concerns. The misunderstanding was heightened by the fact that the PDSAC, an organized Anglican jurisdiction, was the only petitioner identified in initial press accounts. Archbishop Quinn had never met the SSC or ECM representatives, and did not mention their involvement, citing only the PDSAC. He may also have been respecting the desire of those two groups to avoid publicity. On the other hand, the PDSAC actively sought publicity; and their statements magnified their involvement. “[W]e are the only identifiable entity involved in this,” Fr. Barker told the press, 65 relating a dramatic story of slipping into the Vatican to present a sensitive petition to reconcile Anglicanism with the Pope. The president of the World Council of Churches commented, “There’s no question but that [the decision] will have a damaging effect” on ecumenical dialogue. 66 Liberal Episcopal bishops William Swing and John Spong publicly denounced the decision, and the latter called for an end to further dialogue with the Catholic Church. 67

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63. Woodward, “The First Married Priests.”
64. “Vatican to Allow Ordination of Dissident Episcopal Priests.”
66. “Vatican to Allow Ordination of Dissident Episcopal Priests.”
Successful Conclusion, Disappointing Beginning

In a startling act of ecumenical accommodation, the Catholic Church had chosen to contravene one of its most controversial and definitive rules in its decision to receive married men as Catholic priests. At the root of this remarkable decision lay, as has been shown, the unique history of the English Reformation, the Oxford Movement and the Second Vatican Council. The proximate causes were, on the Episcopalian side, the stresses caused by the Episcopal Church’s decision to ordain women, and the fractious nature of the emerging Continuing Anglican movement. On the Catholic side, the decision was enabled by an unusual congruence between liberal and conservative forces.

Certainly some would consider it ironic that the Episcopalian Church’s acceptance of the ordination of women led to the Catholic Church’s acceptance of the ordination of married men. However, though both actions were goals of American Catholic progressives in the 1970s, in Catholic thought they are hardly comparable. The male-only priesthood is a matter of theological principle and universal and unbroken practice, while the celibate priesthood is a matter of varying discipline, which has always had exceptions and is not universal today. Pairing the two issues in the persons of these Anglican petitioners appears to have fostered a unique coalition among the bishops in the 1970s. Conservatives supported receiving these Anglican priests who objected strongly to ordaining women, despite their being married. Progressives supported receiving these Anglican priests who were married, despite their objection to the ordination of women.

All of these forces may have come to naught, however, but for the commitment and leadership of one man: Bishop Bernard Law. Although the impetus that led to the Pastoral Provision clearly came from disaffected Episcopalians, American Catholic leadership was quick and welcoming in responding to their concerns; and none was so responsive or so welcoming as Bishop Law. From his first surprise contact with Father Parker to his eventual acceptance of the responsibility to develop and administer the policy as the first Ecclesiastical Delegate, Law actively guided and shepherded the process to its successful conclusion. Within four months of Parker’s meeting with the Apostolic Delegate—an appointment Law had arranged—Law had brought together representatives of disparate groups of dissidents, including two Episcopalian bishops, to produce a consensus draft petition that became the basis for preliminary NCCB action only a month later, and produced a decision from the U.S. bishops in little more than a year. Given the novelty and complexity of the issues, and the highly
deliberative nature of church decision-making processes, this was remarkable progress to make in such a short amount of time. Although many parties contributed to the progress of the question, it was Law’s commitment that was paramount. When in mid-1979 it seemed that the process had stalled, with no response for over a year, it was Law who single-handedly prodded both the SCDF and the leadership of the American hierarchy to resume their consideration of the question.

But it was more than just an impressive feat of management. By providing leadership that brought the petitioners together, Law exerted, from the beginning, the necessary Catholic authority to make the efforts of these Protestant postulants intelligible to Catholic leaders. The SSC, ECM and PDSAC explored the idea of becoming Catholic in a typically Protestant manner, that is, individualistic and disordered; Law received their con-

**Figure 3.** Fr. Christopher Phillips with wife and family after his ordination by Archbishop Patrick Flores in the Cathedral of San Fernando in San Antonio, on August 15, 1983. Fr. Philips founded the first Anglican Use parish, Our Lady of the Atonement, in San Antonio in 1983 in the same year, as authorized under the Pastoral Provision. Photo generously provided by, and reproduced by kind permission of Fr. Christopher G. Phillips of the Personal Ordinariate of the Chair of St. Peter, Pastor Emeritus, Our Lady of the Atonement Catholic Church, San Antonio, Texas.
cerns, from the start, in a typically Catholic manner, that is, collective and ordered. Without Law’s leadership, there is every possibility that the separate petitions would not have persisted, but might have foundered and fragmented through competition and minute disagreements—as they ultimately did to a large extent anyway, and as the efforts of so many Continuing Anglican groups had done. Law provided the solidarity that held the concerns of the petitioners together, combined with the patience and persistence to present them to the magisterium in Rome, that eventually led to a successful conclusion in the Pastoral Provision (see Figure 2).

If the initial publicity of the Pastoral Provision implied more structure than was intended by the new policy, it also anticipated far more participation than eventually occurred. The PDSAC alone reported that it had 63 priests and over a thousand laity prepared to reconcile with Rome, but it was not the only group to forecast sizable numbers.68 Throughout the process of considering the petition of the three Anglican groups, all parties were convinced that the few persons inquiring at that time were the vanguard of a much greater number of interested persons. In early 1977, at the very beginning of the process, the Ad Hoc Committee had reported to the bishops that it was “quite realistic” that over a thousand Episcopalian clergy and as many as 300,000 laity would be highly sympathetic to being received into full communion with the Catholic Church.69 Parker was convinced, at first, that all or almost all SCC priests, and later, that at least a substantial portion of them, would convert to Rome.

All of these estimates proved to be highly inflated. In the five years following the August 1980 announcement of the Pastoral Provision, just 27 married men were ordained Catholic priests; the subsequent five years saw only an additional 17 ordained (see Figure 3). The much-heralded PDSAC turned out to be more promise than substance, yielding only three parishes and the same number of priests. Neither Fr. Barker nor Fr. Brown, who had an unsupportive bishop, were ever ordained under the Pastoral Provision (though both, being celibate, eventually became Catholic priests by ordinary petition). By 2007 the total of married priests ordained had only reached eighty-four. The expected spate of applicants, in short, turned out to be a


trickle. But for those who had worked so hard to achieve a favorable decision, the expectation of large numbers was hard to relinquish. Even as late as December 1982, observing that only 24 priests and three parishes had yet submitted petitions, Law commented, “There are reasons to believe that after [the first group] there may be an increase of requests in this matter.”

The tentative decision on an Anglican jurisdiction was to prove toxic, in all but a small handful of dioceses, to the reception of Anglican parish groups. Under the Pastoral Provision, an Anglican parish or lay group could enter the Catholic Church, retaining its married pastor and a familiar form of worship; but it could not combine with other such parishes to form a common institutional identity; it could only be inserted into an existing Latin Rite diocese, under the authority of the local Latin Rite bishop. Consequently, the “Anglican Use” parishes, as they were destined to be called, were at best relegated to the status of isolated exceptions or anomalies within Latin Rite dioceses. Although some bishops welcomed them, many were not favorable to their formation or continuance; only nine such parishes were ever established, most very small; a third have ceased to exist. After a decade, these bleak results led some Catholic ecumenical observers to call for a less cramped institutional solution for the reception of Anglican Catholics—a call which may have been answered.


71. It is timely to note a recent epilogue to this aspect of the Pastoral provision story. After the erection of the Personal Ordinariate of the Chair of St. Peter in North America in 2012, all but two of these nine parishes ended up abandoning their Pastoral Provision parish status in favor of joining the Ordinariate in its first few years—a development the Holy See encouraged. The two remaining holdouts—Our Lady of Atonement in San Antonio (by far the largest and best known, founded and led until 2017 by Fr. Christopher Philips, depicted in Figure 3) and St. Athanasius in Boston—commenced the process of joining the Ordinariate as well in 2017 at the behest of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, which currently has oversight of the personal ordinariates. “At the direction of the Holy See, all parishes of the Pastoral Provision are to be incorporated into the Ordinariate: a special diocese for Roman Catholics who were nurtured in the Anglican tradition or whose faith has been renewed by the liturgy and evangelizing mission of the Ordinariate.” See “Becoming One,” The Personal Ordinariate of the Chair of St. Peter, accessed August 9, 2017, https://ordinariate.net/news/becoming-one. This new development brings this particular aspect of the Pastoral Provision story to a close, while at the same time belatedly fulfilling for these communities in some real sense the aspiration of Archbishop Quinn’s suggestion that “the possibility of some other type of structure as provided for canonical dispositions, and as suited to the needs of the group, is not excluded.” (See Archbishop Quinn Letter, Appendix II.)

in the North American Ordinariate for Anglican converts established in 2012, following the promulgation of the *motu proprio* *Anglicanorum Coetibus* by Pope Benedict XVI in November 2009.\(^{73}\)

The equivocal nature of the decision establishing the Pastoral Provision resulted in two tracks of priests entering the Catholic Church. For Anglican priests reconciling individually with Rome, without accompanying an Anglican congregation, the Pastoral Provision’s goal of retaining an Anglican identity turned out to be largely unworkable. Other than being married, these men served in Latin Rite dioceses and parishes much the same as any other Latin Rite priest. These priests, beginning with Fr. Parker, willingly conformed to the Latin Rite, being inserted into diocesan structures, if not the presbyterate, relatively seamlessly. Over ninety percent of the men received under the Pastoral Provision have been of this type.

On the other hand, pastors of the Anglican Use have more often exhibited an entrepreneurial spirit that has not always been well received by the hierarchy. In permitting a “common identity” and “ethos,” Catholic leaders were clearly concerned to make an accommodation, a pastoral provision, that would enrich the Church, if they thought in those terms, by adding to its already extensive diversity of cultural and liturgical expressions. The proponents of the Anglican Use have often envisioned enriching the Catholic Church in another sense, by exemplifying a superior liturgy, spirituality, and form of pastoral care that would be attractive to Latin Rite Catholics and a model for improvement of the Latin Rite. In becoming Catholic, the individual petitioners have largely left Anglicanism behind, to learn humbly what it is to be Latin Rite Catholic; the Anglican Use pastors have explicitly, and sometimes aggressively, brought Anglicanism with them to help restore, as they see it, a patrimony that Catholicism has lost. The tension between these two understandings of the place or mission of Catholic Anglicanism has never been resolved over the three decades of applying the Pastoral Provision, and lives on in new ways in the newly-formed North American Ordinariate established in 2012.

Appendix I: Table of Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACNA</td>
<td>Anglican Church in North America</td>
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<td>ACU</td>
<td>American Church Union</td>
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<td>ARIC</td>
<td>Anglican-Roman Catholic International Consultation</td>
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<td>DHT</td>
<td>Diocese of the Holy Trinity</td>
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<td>ECM</td>
<td>Evangelical and Catholic Mission</td>
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<td>FCC</td>
<td>Fellowship of Concerned Churchmen</td>
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<td>NCCB</td>
<td>National Conference of Catholic Bishops</td>
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<td>PDSAC</td>
<td>Pro-Diocese of Saint Augustine of Canterbury</td>
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<td>PNCC</td>
<td>Polish National Catholic Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCDF</td>
<td>Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSC</td>
<td>Society of the Holy Cross (Societas Sanctae Crucis)</td>
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Appendix II: Archbishop Quinn Letter

SACRA CONGREGATIO Roma, July 22, 1980
PRO DOCTRINA FIDEI Piazza del S. Uffizio, 11

Prot. N. 66/77
(In responsione fiat mentio huius numeri)

Your Excellency,

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, in its Ordinary Session of June 16, 1980, has taken the following decisions in regard to the Episcopalians who seek reconciliation with and entrance into the Catholic Church.

I. General Decisions:

1) The admission of these persons, even in a group, should be considered the reconciliation of individual persons, as described in the Decree on Ecumenism “Redintegratio Unitatis,” n.4, of the Second Vatican Council.

2) It will be appropriate to formulate a statute or “pastoral provision” which provides for a “common identity” for the group.

II. Elements of the “Common Identity”:

1) Structures: The preference expressed by the majority of the Episcopal Conference for the insertion of these reconciled Episcopalians into the diocesan structures under the jurisdiction of local Ordinaries is recognized. Nevertheless, the possibility of some other type of structure as provided for canonical dispositions, and as suited to the needs of the group, is not excluded.
2) Liturgy: The group may retain certain elements of the Anglican liturgy; these are to be determined by a Commission of the Congregation set up for this purpose. Use of these elements will be reserved to the former members of the Anglican Communion. Should a former Anglican priest celebrate public liturgy outside of this group, he will be required to adopt the common Roman Rite.

3) Discipline: (a) To married Episcopal priests who may be ordained Catholic priests, the following stipulations will apply: they may not become bishops; and they may not remarry.

(Enclosure)

His Excellency
The Most Reverend John R. QUINN
Archbishop of San Francisco
President, N.C.C.B.

[Handwritten instructions to send copies to designated persons appended at end:]