

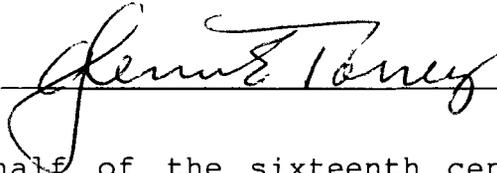
AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Michael S. Podrebarac for the degree Master of Arts

in History presented on 16 May 1992

entitled An Historical Comparison of the Anglican
and Roman Liturgies of the Reformation.

Abstract approved: _____



The first half of the sixteenth century witnessed an overall crisis in the corporate unity of Western Christendom. While the goal of the separate communions which were a result of the Reformation has since been to restore both corporate and sacramental unity, one cannot help but observe the grave misunderstandings which exist between them. Sectarian limits to reason have precluded a more objective approach to the theological differences which exist between the communions; however, the liturgical histories of the Anglican and Roman Catholic reformations reveal that both communions effected ritual as well as theological changes from the practice and philosophy of the Mass of the medieval Church. This revelation encourages both the Anglican and Roman Catholic scholar to appreciate the mutual catholicity of the eucharistic liturgies of the First Book of Common Prayer (1549), the Second Book of Common Prayer (1552), and the Roman Mass according to the Missal of Pope Pius V (1570).

An investigation into this mutual catholicity further reveals the nature of doctrinal revision during the reign of Henry VIII, the true nature of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's Eucharistic theology, and the consequent validity of Anglican orders as both catholic and apostolic in origin. Again, these judgments are made on the basis of historical fact, not sectarian viewpoint.

The relationship between the Church of England and the Church of Rome since the late Renaissance has been at best tenuous. While the years immediately following the Second Vatican Council ushered in a new sense of hope for unity and mutual understanding, the agenda of Rome has been clear: in order for there to be any hope of realistic reunion of any communion with the Roman Catholic Church, the submission of the reformed communion to scholastic dogma is necessary. Hopefully, an examination of such dogma using sound historical method will reduce this requirement in the eyes of all concerned to the level of the absurd. In the final analysis, the Reformation in England did not cause a doctrinal break with the ancient Catholic faith, and the attempts of the Roman Church to identify scholastic dogma with apostolic faith are in many cases un-substantiated by the early Church Fathers.

AN HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF THE
ANGLICAN AND ROMAN LITURGIES OF THE REFORMATION

A Thesis
Presented to
The Division of Social Sciences
EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Michael S. Podrebarac
May A.D. 1992

11. 1
1110
P

Gene E. Torrey

Approved for the Major Division

Faye N. Vowell

Approved for the Graduate Council

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Most sincere thanks go to Professors Glenn Torrey and Samuel Dicks, whose kind assistance and patience allowed for the completion of this thesis.

Dena Podrebarac, good and faithful wife, also is thanked, as her kindred spirit has long been cherished.

Reverence and respect is happily offered to Father Larry Valentine, patient spiritual director for many years. Without his theological guidance, there would exist a grave deficit in this work's Anglican consciousness. "Tu es sacerdos in aeternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech."

Much of the burden of research, especially as regards primary documents, was lifted by Mr. Steven Hanschu, historian and librarian, whose skill in wrangling rare books and manuscripts from other libraries is chiefly admired. The helpfulness of the Interlibrary Loan Office at William Allen White Library adds to the impressive collection of materials already owned by the library.

+ + +

This work is humbly dedicated to the martyrs
of the Protestant, Anglican, and Roman Reformations.
Orate pro nobis.

+ + +

PREFACE

THEOLOGICAL HISTORY FROM A UNIQUE PERSPECTIVE

The Reformation of the church in the sixteenth century resulted in the corporate division of Christianity along several lines. The Eastern Orthodox Church had already grown separate from the church in the West, and its formal separation was recognized from the early part of the eleventh century. The activity in 1517 of Martin Luther and others who followed would divide the western church into Protestant and Catholic sectors.

The point of view assumed by many historical scholars is that among the various Protestant sects, Anglicanism is to be found as an ordinary example. This causes the layman to react to the Church of England and her many national sister churches in a strange and suspecting manner. Why, the layman asks, would the Anglican church have suffered through the turbulent years of reform, restoration to the papal authority, and the return of reform simply to keep a religion which on the surface is very Catholic in design and content?

The answer to this question is not a matter of theological opinion. Anglicanism did not submit itself to all of the viewpoints of the continental Protestants in determining the course of its own revolution and reformation. The existing structures of the Catholic Church were upheld on matters of ministerial authority, eucharistic

worship, and the retention of the scriptures, councils, and creeds. The Mass was not abolished, as it was in the Lutheran and Calvinist movements. Scripture and the tradition of the early Church Fathers was preserved. The securing of priests and bishops with a valid ordinal was the top priority of Henry VIII, Thomas Cranmer, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I. Even James I, many years after the Reformation, would remark to his Archbishop of Canterbury that if there were any truth to the "Nag's Head Fable," which claimed that Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury was mockingly ordained in a tavern, "my God, man, we are no church!"

Mainstream historical interpretations have been an insult to Anglicans through the promotion of two erroneous presumptions. First, the presumption is made that Anglicanism is a form of Protestantism like Calvinism or Lutheranism. Second, the reason for the English break with the papacy is written as the result of Henry's desire for a divorce and annulment which the pope would not grant for political reasons. This second interpretation is especially absurd. In its historical lack of depth it is the same as summarizing the Lutheran reform movement as the product of nothing more than German nationalism.

Discontent with the medieval church was widespread throughout England when it was still presumed that the divorce would be granted. The life of Henry, not to be defended, was really no different than the lives of other

monarchs, including the popes of the day. That Henry effected a catalyst upon the forward movement of things is hardly to be denied. That his pacification was the end-all of the Reformation is, however, a gross historical inaccuracy, as gross as the so-called document, the Donation of Constantine, or the view that St. Peter never lived in Rome, much less died there.

The papal condemnation of Anglican orders in 1896 was a great blow to those who hoped that a favorable judgment would be a concrete step towards reunion of the Anglican and Roman communions. It did not, however, bind Anglicans into believing that their orders were actually invalid, for the judgment of the pope was not consequential to them. But it nevertheless was an insult to the integrity of the English Reformation, and it meant that in the eyes of the Roman tradition, the Anglican Communion was officially un-churched.

In tracing this history from the unique viewpoint of a Roman Catholic who is simultaneously loyal to the validity of Anglican orders, the focus is summarized by the titles of the chapters within the text. The discovery of the medieval doctrines of the Mass will be the first step. Second, the extent of reform under Henry VIII will be analyzed. In the third chapter the comparison shall be made between reform under Cranmer and reform by the Council of Trent. In the final chapter, it will be shown that the correct application of primary historical methods

has not yet been of use in the reunion of Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism. In the viewpoint of the latter, reunion will be secured only upon the submission by the strayed to the scholastic. If this were a reasonable submission, the Reformation in England would never have occurred.

Obviously the focus of attention is upon institutional continuity in the Eucharist, for this factor clearly separates Anglicanism--Low Church as well as High Church--from the accomplishments of the continental reformers who willingly conceded a break with apostolic succession. While much of the theological opinion of this thesis is better suited to an Anglo-Catholic or High Church point of view rather than a Low Church or Evangelical viewpoint, the primary accomplishment of securing the validity of Anglican orders suits the interests of the wide spectrum of contemporary Anglicanism. No attempt has been made to un-protestantize the legitimately Protestant features of the Church of England. But even one who would happily call Cranmer the English version of Luther could not deny his and his followers' insistence upon a valid line of ordination. Luther's efforts at reform were not primarily concerned with apostolic succession.

It is from the perspective of "Roman-Anglo-Catholic" that the author concludes that the Reformation in England weeded the garden more than it planted new vegetables, and that for this reason very little separates Anglican liturgy and Order from what the Church of Rome should,

and according to the Second Vatican Council, does teach.

Some will conclude that this history is simply another perspective among the myriad of sectarian perspectives of the Reformation, each which carries a sectarian bias. The dualism of the author's personal convictions deny such a conclusion. Finally, let it be plainly said that the history presented here wrote the author's theology; the author's theology did not write the history.

Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.

Quicumque Vult
Creed of St. Athanasius

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE:

THREE SCHOLASTIC DOCTRINES OF THE EUCHARIST
AND PRE-REFORMATION OBJECTIONS

1

CHAPTER TWO:

THE EXTENT OF HENRICAN REFORMS REGARDING
EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

30

CHAPTER THREE:

AN HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF THE ANGLICAN AND
ROMAN LITURGIES OF THE REFORMATION

44

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE PAPAL CONDEMNATION OF ANGLICAN ORDERS:
DEFECT OF FORM, INTENTION, OR ROMAN INTEGRITY?

67

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LITERATURE

87

CHAPTER ONE

THREE SCHOLASTIC DOCTRINES OF THE EUCHARIST AND PRE-REFORMATION OBJECTIONS

Therefore, if the Pope ordered me to blow a whistle, to build towers, to sew, to weave a cloth, or to stuff sausages, would not my common sense see that the Pope ordered a stupid thing? Why should I not prefer, in this matter, my own opinion to the Pope's order?

Jan Huss
Czech Reformer

Gabriel, Duns, Durand, and the great rabblement of the school authors...

Thomas Cranmer

Well before the infamous objections of the Augustinian monk Martin Luther concerning the corruption of the medieval church, others placed their lives at the stake (literally) to voice their opinions of the practice and theology of the church. In particular there existed men who reacted vehemently against the doctrines of scholastic theology.

The scholastic movement had presented the church with an understanding of the writings of Aristotle which dominated the life of the church and was codified into all forms of its thought, expression, and action. This was neither more nor less exhibited in the eucharistic theology and practice of the church than in any other medium, and yet the impact of the scholastic movement on eucharistic teaching had a specially significant impact

on Christendom.

Three doctrines of the Eucharist appeared during the Scholastic movement, and all three were very controversial in both the English reformation and the reformation at large. Transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, and the adoration of the Eucharist were managed as a three-legged stool on which rested the theological security of the Catholic Church concerning the Eucharist.

Particularly important to the theological system of the schoolmen was their philosophical reasoning behind the presence of Christ in the consecrated species of the Mass. The words of Christ in the New Testament had given the medieval church its first principle: "This is My Body." The ancient fathers of the church no doubt had given firm assent to this understanding of the Eucharist. St. Paul himself, in a recount to the Corinthians of the events of the Last Supper, describes the Eucharist in terms of the bread and wine being declared Christ's body and blood.¹

At his last meal, Jesus of Nazareth performed a solemn seven-fold action, whereby he took bread, gave thanks and blessing to the Father, broke the bread, and distributed it among his disciples; he took the cup of wine, gave thanks and blessing, and delivered it to his disciples. At each bidding, he offered the instruction, "This is my body ... This is my blood."² This was the starting point for the identification of the bread and wine with Christ's body and blood.

That this common understanding of what Jesus said and did at the Last Supper was passed from generation to generation is assumed, for the Scholastic period cannot be credited with inventing the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Eucharistic species. But what the tradition of the church had left unexplained, the schoolmen, eager to codify their religion, supplemented.

The doctrine employed by the scholastics to explain this mystery of their faith is embodied in the term transubstantiation. Their intention was to express within certain ontological categories a secure and objective character of the sacramental manifestation of the presence of Christ. This they accomplished by drawing a distinction between the outward "accidents" of the objects of bread and wine (as in the chemical and physical properties of bread and wine) and the inward "substance" of bread and wine (a subtle and invisible existence which made the object what it was). Scholastic philosophy was at its best in this conception of the true existence of a piece of bread and a few swallows of wine.

But one cannot accuse the scholastics of being inconsistent. Once they had accomplished the notions of accidents versus substance, they gave an objective explanation of how the sacramental presence of Christ occurs. They reasoned that at the institution during the prayer of consecration (in which the priest repeats the simple instructions of Christ, "This is my body...")

the invisible substance of the bread and wine are changed, by divine authority, into the actual substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and thus he becomes sacramentally present.

Scholastic theology moved the question of Christ's presence in the Eucharist from a matter of identification to a matter of conversion, in other words, how the presence came about. Transubstantiation was an attempt to explain how the change from bread to body and wine to blood took place.

The Medieval justification of this delicate and precise doctrine was simple: only by such a total conversion of the substance of the bread and wine into body and blood of Christ can the institution narrative of Christ be verified.³ The scholastics understood Christ to be holding in his hand at the Last Supper that which appeared as bread and wine in taste, smell, and texture, but which in reality was something quite different.

Some apologies are due here on behalf of the Scholastic period. The schoolmen did not teach that there was any sort of "material" change in the bread and wine. Even though the modern understanding of the term did not exist in the 13th century, it is safe to assume that the denial of any sort of change in the accidents satisfies a denial of any material change. Further, the scholastics did not intend to limit the presence of Christ to one certain place by declaring him present in the sacred

elements. They affirmed that Christ through ⁵ his Resurrection was universally present, and this was a generally accepted belief. Nevertheless, they reasoned that sacramental presence meant a unique and individual presence which the church assembled rejoiced of, for there was nothing else like sacramental presence.

The doctrine of the Eucharist was not a subject of controversy in the early centuries, and the need for a precise definition such as transubstantiation was not required of the early fathers. St. John Damascene perhaps gave the most dogmatic understanding of the real presence of the sacrament when he wrote, "...though the body and blood of Christ remain in the figure of consecration, they are nothing else than the body and blood of Christ...and that I may speak more marvelously, to be clearly the very flesh which was born of Mary, and suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb."⁴ This view went too far for many of his contemporaries, and it tended to restrict the universal presence of the risen Christ which the scriptures and early fathers had affirmed.

This view was not, however, too much for a ninth century monk, Paschasius Radbertus, who published a treatise entitled, "On the Body and Blood of the Lord."⁵ In it he pushed the Damascene view to its extreme, and raised controversy even greater than had the original author. Opponents of Radbertus, in attempting to correct his errors, appeared to be saying that no real change in the bread

and wine took place whatsoever, and for this they were condemned.⁶

The Radbertian view had gained general acceptance in the church by the middle of the eleventh century, and anyone who countered the teaching found themselves condemned. Such was the case in 1050, when Berengar of Tours proclaimed that he sided with the view of John the Scot, one of the earlier opponents of Radbertus who seemed to be denying any real change altogether. He was condemned in Rome in 1059, and was forced to sign a materialistic statement of the faith written by Pope Nicholas II and the Roman Synod. In the statement was written that "the bread and wine placed on the altar are after consecration not only a sacrament but also the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and that these are sensibly handled and broken by the hands of priests and crushed by the teeth of the faithful, not only sacramentally but in reality."⁷ He submitted, but was again in 1079 back to his old teachings and was then required by Pope Gregory VII (who did not particularly hold to the Radbertian view) to merely assent to a belief in a change of substance.

The term transubstantiation had not formally come about when Peter Lombard, perhaps the most influential theologian of the twelfth century, assented that a substantial change occurs in the Eucharist, while the actual breaking of Christ's natural body in the fraction of the bread was absurd. Nevertheless, it was the decree of the

Lateran Council of 1215 that declared the doctrine of transubstantiation as part of the Catholic faith, and its denial heresy.⁹

No theologian has developed the doctrine of this council more than St. Thomas Aquinas, who in the Summa formulated a precise understanding of the relationship between the accidental and substantial elements of the eucharistic elements before and after consecration. Aquinas denied that the substance of bread and wine remained, in any sense, after the consecration and asserted that they were not replaced with the body and blood of Jesus but were changed into these.⁹ This was an attempt to answer the criticisms of those who could not accept a substantial replacement because of the question: if replaced, where do the old substances go? Of course, those theologians who criticized substantial replacement were mistaken in thinking in physical terms rather than ontological terms. Aquinas described in his teaching a construct which did not exist in the physical world; he balanced real presence against the maintenance of outward appearances, both of which were theologically certain.

Further, Aquinas reasoned that for the substance of Christ to begin to exist in the bread and wine, there must be original substance (in this case the substance of bread and wine) which become the subjects of conversion. The substance of bread and wine were converted into the substance of Christ's body and blood.¹⁰ Since Aquinas,

it has no longer been acceptable to stop at merely identifying the sacrament with the body and blood of Jesus Christ; in order to fit the theological mold (especially after the Lateran Council) one must further recognize a substantial change effected in the eucharistic elements.

Aquinas proceeded further to reckon that transubstantiation is in itself miraculous. Because the substance of the bread and wine was changed into that of the body and blood, the accidents (which remained bread and wine) were upheld without a corresponding substance.¹¹ A tree could not remain a tree in the accidental sense if its substance were that of a chicken. Likewise, the noble schoolman left no stone unturned, and allowed that the accidents of the bread and wine were upheld by the very design of God.

After consecration, this miracle was considered possessed by God's use of the quantity of bread and wine in upholding the accidents of bread and wine (in the stead of what would have normally upheld the accidents of a subject, its substance). But why does God insist upon the maintenance of the accidents of bread and wine? Aquinas answered in Article V of Chapter III, Question 75:

I reply that it is apparent to sense that after consecration all the accidents of bread and wine remain. And this indeed happens with reason, by divine providence. First, because it is not customary but abhorrent for men to eat man's flesh

and drink man's blood. Therefore Christ's flesh and blood are set before us to be taken under the appearances of those things which are of frequent use, namely bread and wine.¹²

Aquinas further explained that for the eucharistic food to take on the accidents of flesh and blood would be to the delight of the infidels who would mock Christians for their seemingly cannibalistic measures. Also, the invisible presence of Christ in the invisible means of substance require faith of the communicant, and this, to Aquinas, was of laudable circumstance.¹³

All of these postulates were devised by Aquinas in the manner of Aristotelean reasoning. And although a few modern scholars have questioned his actual knowledge of Aristotle, it may nevertheless be presumed. His school of eucharistic theology remains the basis for the Roman Catholic understanding of the nature of the sacraments.

This investigation of eucharistic doctrine having led to some preliminary conclusions regarding the presence of Christ in the sacrament, it is now possible to investigate the second leg of the scholastic theological stool and inquire as to the nature of the sacrifice of the Mass as it was understood by the school-authors.

The incarnate Son as man offered himself as the living sacrifice for the sins which mankind had brought about through disobedience to God. Orthodox Christian teaching has regarded his sacrifice upon the cross as that

which brought about the reconciliation of God and man, for Christ acted as both high priest and victim in this unusual and unprecedented oblation.

The Eucharist was commonly seen, in summary of the early fathers, as the act by which the church made itself one with Christ in his one supreme sacrifice. This forced a parallel between the cross and the Eucharist. Scholastic development of this parallel was minimal on the eve of the Reformation, for two reasons. First, the late medieval theologians were content with the sketchy theologies regarding the eucharistic sacrifice which had been developed earlier in the scholastic period. Second, the emphasis of the Eucharist, due the definition and elaboration of transubstantiation, was clearly on the real presence, not the sacrificial nature of the Mass.

Sketchy though it may have been, and overshadowed by the real presence, there existed a theology of the sacrifice of the Mass. Nineteenth century Roman Catholic writers tend to single out two theologians from the late middle ages which testify as to an understanding of the sacrifice of the Mass.

The scholastic Gabriel Biel offered some points on the sacrifice of the Mass in his elaborate work, the Exposition of the Canon of the Mass. However, very little of his writings on the sacrifice of the cross and its relationship to the Mass is original. Much of it is an assent to the teachings of the earlier scholastic fathers.

He does mention, however, that the mass is a proper sacrifice because it is a memorial and a representation of the sacrifice of the Cross.¹⁴ This is rather ambiguous language, for it is in another place that Biel, perhaps rhetorically, admits of the cross and the mass being the same sacrifice. His conclusion is that the value of the mass (in terms of overall worth) is less than the value of Calvary.¹⁵ One is left wondering whether or not Biel actually held that the two sacrifices were the same. It could be argued that Biel's ambiguity, due most likely to his focus not on the nature of the sacrifice but rather the presence of Christ, indicates an overall ambiguity in the scholastic conception of the sacrifice of the Mass.

But this argument is easily uprooted in light of the teachings of the Dominican cleric, Thomas de Vio, who later became James Cardinal Cajetan. Cajetan proves to have been instrumental in the promotion of pre-Tridentine Thomism and its eucharistic postulates.¹⁶

In his essay, The Celebration of the Mass, Cajetan distinguished between the sacrament of the Mass and the sacrifice of the Mass, the latter having been of greater significance regarding its overall efficacy. Cajetan explained that the sacrificial nature of the Mass could be further distinguished into two modes: the efficacy which exists with the aid of participants (ex opere operantis) and that which exists by nature of the sacrament itself (ex opere operato). That which exists by itself is the

immolation of Christ whereby Christ is himself offered up in sacrifice, and is the more important of the two.¹⁷ Much of this is a reflection of Biel's work where there is actual clarity regarding the efficacy of the sacrifice.

Here is the crucial line of reference which will lead to havoc at the time of the continental reformation: that Christ is offered in the Mass. If this is so, then who offers Christ in the Mass? Again, Biel provided some vague insight. Biel distinguished between him who offers the Mass "immediately and personally" and him who offers it as the "mediate and principal" offerer.¹⁸ Since Biel identified the former as the priest of the Mass and the latter as the entire church militant joined with Christ, then it is not too far a jump to conclude that it is Christ himself who re-offers himself at each Mass. Biel, in a single passage later in the work, admitted that this Thomistic doctrine was true, when he stated that the sacrifice of the Mass was perfectly pleasing to God in part because Christ himself is the unseen, principal priest of the Mass (*sacerdos principalis invisibilis*).¹⁹ Thus, the priest was only his representative; the work, it was suggested, was done invisibly by Christ. It is clear that Biel was inconsistent here, and this because of an altogether sketchy concept of the eucharistic sacrifice.

This sketchiness, it has already been noted, was due to the overwhelming importance of the real presence. In a sense, theology was being driven by the practice

of the church. People were buying Masses for the dead due to their propitiatory nature. This dubious practice was in need of explanation and defense, especially of what the common folk were getting for their money.

The manifestation of Christ in the host and chalice were much more important in their summary explanations to the ordinary people than were the efficacy of a remote sacrifice to an even more remote deity, remote at least to the ordinary Christian. It was because of this obsession with Christ's presence that the third leg of the medieval eucharistic stool was developed: the adoration of the holy eucharistic species both within and without the Mass.

The adoration of the Eucharist is easiest to explain both in meaning and rational than the other two scholastic doctrines which are the subject of this chapter.

The trend towards an emphasis of the presence of Christ in the sacrament (to the reduction of focus on the sacrifice and, even greater, the meal) was entirely a scholastic achievement. Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux, both early twelfth century school-authors, had given more devotional definition to the consecrated species compared to Aquinas and his philosophical definition. In the sacrament not only were the body and blood of Christ present, but his whole being was considered present, totus Christus.²⁰ Hence, it was no longer correct for the people at Mass to look upon the consecrated host as a thing; rather, it was a person, the very person of Christ, and

was to be afforded the respect which Christ would deserve if he were materially present. Contemplation of the Eucharist was therefore promoted as a good in itself.

This developing devotion was made manifest in several ways. Within the Mass, the consecration was identified as the most sacred and solemn moment of the Mass, in which the priest made Christ incarnate upon the altar. Thus, the practice of slightly elevating the bread and wine was greatly exaggerated: bells were rung, the priest held high the sacred species for several moments (minutes in the most severe situations), incense was offered to the elevated host, his vestment was lifted as if a bridal train, and the people were to look upon the sacramental Christ with reverence and humility. Keep in mind that much of this was a natural extension of scholastic theology which is logical. The criticism to be made here is that this legitimately central point in the Mass came to be for many the only point in the Mass worth paying attention to. The ringing of the first bells signifying the beginning of the consecration called the mass-goer away from his private devotions, business dealings, or small-time gossiping and led him towards the incarnation. To simply look at the sacred host became for many the beginning and end of the Mass. People were even inclined to run from church to church, simply in order to gaze upon the elevated host. Others waited for the signal-bell before they would bother to enter the church (and they would leave immediately

after the elevation).²¹

Because of this momentum in the importance of the single elevation of the host, there came to be those who requested longer showings of the sacrament. As will be discussed later, there were as many priests who were willing to take monetary stipends for the favor. It could happen, as it did in England, that if the priest did not elevate the host high enough, the people attending Mass would be ready to cry out, "Hold up, Sir John, hold up! Heave it a little higher!"²²

The increase of this "sacramental devotion" led to another development: the innovation of the monstrance in which the sacrament would be solemnly placed in a glass box and the glass box placed in a decorated container on a small stand. The priest would be able to lift this apparatus and make the sign of the cross over the people with it. Then it would be placed on the altar, and solemn hours of adoration of the sacrament would then take place within the church. In reformed manner, this devotion continues today.

Wherever the leftover consecrated bread was stored, either in a tabernacle or ambry, the people were expected, when passing by, to genuflect upon one knee in a brief moment of adoration and reverence. These new ways of encountering the consecrated bread were not only meant for the common folk. Priests were given instructions during the fourteenth century that after each touching of the

host they were to genuflect. Further, once the priest had elevated the host during Mass, he was required under pain of excommunication to keep his index finger and thumb together for the remainder of the Canon of the Mass. The solemn ablution of fingers, plates, and chalices after the completion of communion was also encouraged during this time, all as a result of the scholastic doctrines (although in this case, much at the request of the common folk).²³

Despite the apparent success of the school authors to harmonize Christian doctrine with philosophical logic, not all was in harmony. Many new teachings seemed to lead to some sort of abuse, either intentional or not, and the willingness of the supposedly-educated clergy to capitulate to the uneducated desires of the ordinary people (many times at a price) led to the calling out for reforms by several men who were courageous to have done so.

The most influential of all the reformers before the Reformation was John Wycliffe. The details of his reforming efforts give a precise indication as to the state of things in the Christianity of the Middle Ages. A doctor of theology at Oxford, he defended the rights of secular clergy against the rising mediant religious orders. Wycliffe attacked the preference of clerical poverty and its requirement in the monasteries and among members of the orders. He defended the autonomy of civil authority from papal encroachments, and won the respect of both the

monarch and Parliament for his writings. But when he attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, maintaining that while the body and blood of Christ become present, no actual or substantial change occurs, he found himself in less than favorable circumstances with those who had formerly honored him with their loyalty.²⁴ His teaching was condemned, and his writings suppressed at Oxford. Because of his former grace among the English nobility, he was not harmed, and was allowed to live the remainder of his life in peace, undisturbed.

Not only had Wycliffe spoken out against the scholastic doctrines of the Eucharist, he also attempted to point out that these doctrines afforded the priest his main source of power over the people. And certainly this was true, for it has already been established that the people of both ordinary as well as noble means were recognizing in the priest the authority and ability to create God himself on the altar. It was not his call for reform of the order of Mass, not his attack on the manifold offices of popes, cardinals, canons, etc., which caused the decrease of his influence. It was his attack on the theological presence of Christ in the sacrament, specifically his denial of a change in the substance of the bread and wine. For this teaching, he lost his own office and position. His previous popularity had saved his life; however, his followers, the Lollards, would in the future not always be so fortunate.

Not all of the voices before the Reformation were against the doctrine of transubstantiation and the practices which accompanied it. John Huss (1369-1415) was an ardent believer in the doctrine even until his death at the stake for preaching pre-destination and philosophical realism, both tenents which he had learned from the Lollards.²⁵ Even Gabriel Biel was attacked for his involvement in the Conciliar Movement in the church, which adhered to the Councils of Constance and Basel that a general council of the church held more authority than the pope.²⁶ Nevertheless, as has already been shown, he was a radical defender of the scholastic eucharistic doctrines, especially transubstantiation, and is considered one of the last great schoolmen to have written on the subject.

Few theologians were more against the entire theological system of the Mass than Cornelisz Hoen. In A Most Christian Letter Hoen is one of the first Pre-Reformation figures to question the revelatory proofs of the schoolmen and their eucharistic polemics.

Hoen did not deny explicitly the sacramental presence of Christ in the consecrated species. Those who received the Eucharist, he contended, should have understood that Christ had been given to them, and that Christ was theirs once and for all.²⁷ Realizing that Christ had shed his blood for them, the communicant would then turn away from sin and live for Christ alone. But he accused the scholastic authors of having forgotten the faith of the

gospels by teaching that the true body and blood of Christ was made present after the consecration. Denying transubstantiation, he maintained that there were "many subtle theories but no scriptural proofs."²⁸

Not only did Hoen attack the systematized doctrine of the real presence, he also attacked its many results. On the subject of adoration of the sacrament, he likened the adoration of bread by Christians to the adoration of rocks and stones by the heathens of old.²⁹ Hoen was particularly critical of the teaching of Aquinas, employing a scriptural reference from the Gospel of St. Matthew that Christians were not to listen to those who proclaim, "Here is Christ" or "There is Christ" and that those who taught that Christ was in the bread were guilty of deception.³⁰ He wrote of Aquinas:

There were some in the time of Thomas Aquinas who said on this very issue that Christ was in the bread, but only as a sign, that Christ was present not corporeally but only sacramentally. And although Thomas rejected this position as heretical, the Romanists, who hang on his words as if they were an oracle, were not able to explain away Christ's assertion, 'If anyone says to you that Christ is here do not believe him.'³¹

He further refuted the logic of transubstantiation on the grounds that Christ in the Scriptures said that he was many things that he did not transubstantiate into: among

them a rock and a vine.

Hoen was unlike many of the other Pre-Reformation voices because he attached the corruption of practice to the Roman See and the papacy. Recall that Wycliffe had successfully attacked both the papacy and the Mass and failed. Huss attacked only the papacy (so to speak) and Biel attacked in a similar matter, upholding both the real presence and the sacrifice of the Mass. Hoen attacked those that employed scriptural references to Christ saying "This is my body" as the same ones who had the Scripture which read, "Whatever you shall bind on earth is bound in heaven," which to him was the encouragement of the Roman tyranny.³² His work was not in vain; Luther would rely on his writings after the Reformation had begun. Scholastic theology had well spent its force by the end of the Middle Ages, especially in the areas of the Eucharist and priestly ministry.

The situation throughout Europe was similar to that in England as regarded priestly ministry. The effects of Scholasticism were just as prevalent in the priestly ministry of English clerics as they were on the continent. It is necessary, in order to assess the liturgical developments of the English Reformation, to investigate the situation in England prior to the Reformation.

Through an informal widening of the efficacious nature of the Sacrifice of the Mass, there came to be an understanding in the church that, since the effects of

the Mass were many (confer Cajetan) and were not limited to certain times and spaces (Aquinas), then it logically followed that the Mass could and should be offered for both the living as well as the dead. The medieval understanding of sin and punishment held that even after confession and absolution, the intention of the penitent sinner regarding his new chance in life was bound together with a penance, an action performed to satisfy God in showing true repentance for the former self. Those who died after being absolved of their sins but without having completed satisfaction were categorized to be in Purgatory, where the satisfaction due could be achieved.

In the popular mind, Purgatory was merely a step above Hell in terms of its pain and discomfort. The scholastic concept of the church: triumphant, militant, and suffering (Anglicans use the term expectant for this third class), gave an obligation for those on earth, the militant, to offer intercession for those in Purgatory, the suffering, in the same way those in heaven, the triumphant, did for both groups. Nothing could be offered for the souls of the dead which was more efficacious than the Mass, the perfect and most pleasing sacrifice of Christ by Christ to God the Father. And no one else could bring about this great event other than the priest or bishop.

What a priest could do that no layman could ever hope to do became more and more important in late Medieval England. Furthermore, possessing this unique power afforded

the priest the ability to name his price for his sacred services.³³ Certainly the layman's reaction to the ever-increasing cost of Masses was not positive, but unlike the mundane argument over the cost of a chicken, the layman hardly had much freedom to barter over the cost of being saved from the doom of Hell.

The relationship between priests and the laity centered on what could be termed the Cult of the Eucharist. The Mass was understood in two distinct ways: as a spiritual event and one that could be described as a magical event. As it was only a priest who could consecrate, and thus only he who could call forth God to be present in the bread and wine, there grew a mystical aura around the Mass. Other innovations of the celebration of Mass included the rood screen which separated the sanctuary from the nave, the altar rail at which communicants knelt and could not go beyond during the Mass, and the elaborate vestments for the celebrant unique from peasant garb; all contributed to the increasing isolation of priestly power.³⁴ The Mass was viewed almost exclusively as a matter of business between the clergy and God. The people, viewing like spectators, were afforded less and less of any sort of active role. Even Offertory processions, in which those who attended Mass made great ceremony in presenting their oblations to the foot of the altar, were in decline during this time.³⁵

Religious life in England on the eve of the

Reformation was particularly centered around the celebration of the Mass. In fact, many of the abuses which the continental Christians observed, such as the attendance of only those ceremonies "in between the bells," had for the most part ceased by around 1500. It was not uncommon for the laity to follow the Mass, or at least recite the Office of Our Lady during the services.³⁶ Perhaps only some attended other services, but everyone attended Mass.

Of course, there still remained an almost obsessive regard for the consecrated host and its adoration. But this was seen as the high-point in an already important ceremony. The Church in England still encouraged belief in the supernatural qualities of the Mass, and the laity, in order to appropriate those qualities, were at the disposal of the priests. There were Masses for rain or for good weather, and there did rise an increase in the number of Masses offered for the poor souls in Purgatory. This even furthered the dependent role of the laity on the clergy, and left what has been described as a "predisposition to support the clergy."³⁷ Clearly the priest, due to his powers of consecration, developed a great influence over his congregation.

To those who understood the Latin language, and possessed the theological disposition to comprehend both the sacramental as well as sacrificial characteristics of the service, the Mass provided a deep and meaningful action of faith. However, those with such formation were

clearly in the minority.

Expositions of the Mass in English were in circulation at this time, but only the wealthy were able to afford them, and they were often the same educated worshippers who had no great need of them. One example of these books was The Lay-Folk's Mass Book which offered instructions for proper gestures during the Mass as well as prayers to be recited as the priest reached certain points in the Mass.³⁸ Those unable to afford the luxury of a prayer book were encouraged either to simply follow the common gestures of the service or to kneel quietly and recite their own devotions (interrupting them only at the consecration, signaled by the ringings).

Some application between the Mass and the common worshipper could be made by means of the sermon. Popular eucharistic teaching was often promulgated from the pulpit in an order to instruct the faithful in a very basic conceptual understanding of eucharistic doctrine.³⁹ In too many cases, however, the standards of theology were dubious, and the people in the pew were given at best a rudimentary explanation of the Eucharist, sacrament or sacrifice.

The most simple terms were used. One such text, written to aid preachers in the task of educating the faithful, summarized the Eucharist as follows:

...Christ's Body, the which is each day offered up in Holy Church in the altar to the Father in

Heaven in remission of sin to all that live here in perfect charity ... a perpetual memory of his passion for to abide with his people by giving to his disciples and to all other priests, power and dignity for to make his body of bread and wine in the altar by virtue of the holy words that the priest says there, and by working of the Holy Ghost.⁴⁰

In short, the Mass was explained as the offering up of Christ's body in order to procure the forgiveness of sins. Much of what was written in these texts, helpful though they may have been to the common folk, merely reinforced the particular powers and dignities afforded the priesthood.

The layout of the typical medieval English church, with its long chancel (to provide for numerous clerics), rood screen and obscurity of the high altar, made it practically impossible for the people to witness anything except, of course, the elevation. The central purpose of the English Mass was to allow the people to behold their savior under the appearances of the sacred host, and all this done for the propitiation of their sins. Communion was not ordinarily offered, and then mostly during Eastertide, after the long and sometimes harsh penances of Lent and Holy Week.

No single Missal, or order of service, was required of the whole church during the time before the Reformation. Instead, national and regional (and even local) forms of

the liturgy existed according to custom. While they were required to contain certain formulas, including the reading of scripture and the Canon of the Mass, they were otherwise diverse. In England, the predominantly used form of the Mass was the Sarum Mass, its name derived from use at the Cathedral at Salisbury. Its order follows:⁴¹

Collect for Purity

Psalm, Lesser Litany, and Lord's Prayer

Salutation

Introit (priest approached the altar)

Mutual confession and absolution of priest and
the ministers

Collect

Kyrie Eleison

Gloria in Excelsis

Collect for the Day and Memorials

Epistle reading and chants following

The Gradual

Alleluia

Sequence, or Tract

Censing and prayers, the Gospel reading

The Creed

Versicle and bidding, Offertory

Prayers, censing of gifts and the altar

Lavatory

The Secret Prayer

The Canon of the Mass:

Salutation, Preface, Sanctus, Canon, Intercession,
Consecration, Oblation

Lord's Prayer

Agnus Dei

Prayers at the Commixture and the Pax

Prayers at Reception and Ablution

Communion

Post-Communion

Dismissal and Closing Prayer

Last Gospel

According to local custom, additions or deletions were possible. Nevertheless, this form of worship dominated the forms used within England on the eve of the Reformation.

Discontent with the medieval services was widespread, if not universal.

CHAPTER ONE NOTES

¹ 1 Cor. 11:23-27 NIV (New International Version).

² John Lawson, An Introduction to Christian Doctrine (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Francis Asbury Press, 1980), 172.

³ George Smith, The Teaching of the Catholic Church (New York: Macmillan, 1953), 857.

⁴ Henry Bettenson, ed., Documents of the Christian Church (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 147.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 148.

⁹ Aquinas, Summa Theologica, III, Q. lxxxv, A. II.

¹⁰ Ibid., A. III.

¹¹ Ibid., A. IV.

¹² Ibid., A. V.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ John Jay Hughes, Stewards of the Lord (London: Sheed and Ward, 1970), 84.

¹⁵ Ibid., 86.

¹⁶ Heiko A. Oberman, ed., Forerunners of the Reformation (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), 245.

¹⁷ Cajetan, The Celebration of the Mass, Exposition.

¹⁸ Hughes, 86.

¹⁹ Ibid., 90.

²⁰ Smith, 864.

²¹ Joseph A. Jungman, The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origin and Development (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1959), 91.

²² Ibid.

²³Ibid., 92.

²⁴John Wycliffe, Conclusions of J. Wycliffe on the Sacrament of the Altar.

²⁵Ibid., 275.

²⁶Ibid., 272.

²⁷Hoer, A Most Christian Letter (Oberman, 268).

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³R.N. Swanson, "Problems of the Priesthood in Pre-Reformation England," English Historical Review 418 (October 1990): 847.

³⁴Jungman, 84.

³⁵Ibid., 88.

³⁶G.J. Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy (London: Macmillan St. Martin's Press, 1969), 15.

³⁷Swanson, 855.

³⁸Cuming, 18.

³⁹Ibid., 19-20.

⁴⁰Ibid., 20.

⁴¹Francis Procter, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer (London: Macmillan and Co., 1910), 282-294.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EXTENT OF HENRICAN REFORMS REGARDING EUCCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

The first captivity of this sacrament (of the Lord's Supper) is in respect of its substance or its integrity, which the Roman tyranny has taken from us. Not that they sin against Christ who avail themselves of the one species ... but because they sin who by this ruling forbid the giving of both species to those who wish to avail themselves of both....

Luther
Babylonish Captivity
of the Church

Secondly, that communion in both kinds is not necessary ad salutem, by the law of God, to all persons; and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is the very blood....

Henry VIII
The Six Articles, 1539

The uniqueness of the Reformation in England is that, apart from the throwing off of the papal supremacy and the rearrangement of the hierarchy, few items of substantial theological consequence were changed well into its existence. Luther, upon being excommunicated, acted quickly in summoning the support of the political establishment in order to change the religious atmosphere of Germany. Beyond politics and the determination of who was in charge of the church, the early stage of the English Reformation changed little.

For this reason, the English Reformation may be

broken down into three phases of revolution. The first phase is termed the Henrican phase, in which the revolution, as stated before, was of terms of authority rather than theological definitions. The second phase, the Edwardian phase, was a revolution (limited though it sometimes was) of theology, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer being its primary captain. The third phase (if one considers the Marian restoration just a restoring of the papal prerogative), the Elizabethan phase, was concerned with the amalgamation of those catholic and reformed elements which, when instituted, attempted for the pious the return to unblemished catholicism and for the crafty a neat solution to the religious and political disunity within the country.

The Protestant Reformation on the continent was decisive and quick-paced compared to its later counterpart in England. The 1517 posting of Luther's theses was followed in 1520 by the Babylonish Captivity of the Church in which Luther vehemently attacks the whole of the medieval sacramental system. Regarding medieval conceptions of the Eucharist, Luther drew several conclusions, each which he termed a 'captivity' of the sacrament.

The first captivity dealt with the practice of the church in admitting the laity only to the bread and not the cup.¹ The schoolmen taught that there was no need for the administration of both, because logically there could be no true separation of flesh and blood, and the entirety of Christ's corporeal presence was retained in

either species. Several instances in scripture, where Jesus refers to himself only in terms of bread, were employed by patrons of the medieval view, which remained the underlying premise of Roman Catholic sacramental practice.

The second captivity, according to Luther, is what he referred to as the Thomistic "opinion" of transubstantiation. Luther then proposed in embryotic form what would later be known as "consubstantiation" in which the accidents and substance remain those of bread and wine while the presence of Christ is said to be sacramentally under them.² He saw this opinion as more scripturally fitting, since Christ did not distinguish between accidents and substance, and his own instruction to the apostles identified himself with the entirety of the bread and wine, and not with just a certain philosophical description of them.

Luther attacked the scholastic teaching of the Mass as a sacrifice in his third description of the captivity.³ Unable to give precedent in his theology to the possibility of "good works" on the part of man, he indicated that this captivity of the Eucharist had led to much abuse, including Mass stipends and Masses for the deceased.

The issues raised in the Captivity dealt blows to the scholastic system in the same manner that others before Luther had dealt them (but with much less success).

But these issues were not included in the reforming agenda of Henry VIII.

Soon after its publication, the Captivity was attacked by Henry in a theological treatise which defended the practice of the medieval church. For this, he was awarded the honorary title Defensor Fidei, "defender of the faith," which he maintained even after his break with Rome, as have all the monarchs which have followed him.

Henry's theological views on the Eucharist were in no ways diverse from that of Rome's. While he threw off the papal supremacy, he did nothing to discourage the continuation of the papal teaching on the sacraments, especially the Mass.

Unfortunately for Henry, not everyone in England was in agreement. There existed a continuum on which faithful Englishmen could be measured. Thomas More and John Fisher exist on the far right. Their defense of the papacy was in light of Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn and led to their martyrdom. On the other hand, there were not a few among the clergy and even the learned citizenry who wished to see more than the papal prerogative discontinued in English religion. Then, it is presumed, there were those who in conscious followed the example given by the king; they were the true Henrican Catholics.

Henry persecuted them all as he saw fit. Many of the papistical as well as Lutheran souls felt their share of persecution. Those in the middle simply had to

cross the king on some political matter in order to meet their doom.

So insistent was Henry in preserving what he considered as the true catholic religion, that in 1536 he took a great role in defining the Ten Articles of Religion. Their object, according to the title, was to "establish Christian quietness and unity among us and to avoid contentious opinions."⁴ They actually were a sort of proof to England and the world that the catholic faith still remained on the island. Ironically, they followed Luther's early organization of the sacraments in his assertion that the three sacraments of Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance were to be afforded a greater status than the other four. The articles also justified the retention of some of the medieval rites which were considered "good and laudable."⁵ And there was written in them a strong conviction of the real presence of Christ, although the doctrine of transubstantiation was left un-mentioned (Henry held this doctrine, while some of his bishops, influenced by Luther, quietly rejected it).

Other minor reforms in discipline occurred during Henry's reign. Other counter-abuses were committed as well. There was a general laxation of the rules forbidding the marriage of priests, and the idolatrous use of images in church was forbidden, although the images were allowed to remain. The papal pardons and their use concerning Purgatory was denounced. On the other hand, the lands

belonging to the monastic orders were confiscated, and those opposed to the end of medieval catholicism on the island were jailed, some executed.

The Ten Articles seemed to leave things at peace for only a while. One, however, must judge their contents and apparent success in light of the overall religious disunity of the day. There was neither a universal nor uniform application of catholic teaching in Europe either before or after the Reformation. True, the church was in a sense united under the authority of the Roman See, but this did not on the local level translate into the same faith being taught with the same emphasis everywhere. Obviously, this lack of doctrinal consensus, a product of both the established diversity of opinion and new reactions to the formal break with Rome, could have been cured on the surface by reunion with Rome. However, to assume that all was neat and tidy until Luther, Henry, and the other reformers acted out their intentions is to judge the situation ignorantly.

Henry the Tudor king was a man of complex composition, both personally and religiously. He often acted in a manner that did not leave reasonable explanation. First there was the defense of the faith. Then there was the inability to produce a male heir to the throne. Then there was divorce, the break with Rome, the execution of his beloved friend More and the esteemed bishop Fisher. Four years later, we see the defense of the faith again,

with some modification, in the Ten Articles. There were four more marriages. Only thirteen years existed between the break of the English church from the Roman See and the death of the man who brought about this and everything else mentioned above. Defensor fidei?

The general assumption is made that the Ten Articles remain the authoritative expression of the faith of the English church until 1543.⁶ This view fails to take into account the passage of the Six Articles of faith in 1539, which were forced through Parliament on the authority of the King. A return to the strict adherence to medieval doctrine, they were opposed by Cranmer, although he submitted to them, and were given the nickname, "the bloody whip with six strings" by those whose political security and overall livelihood with Henry was endangered by their insistent passage.⁷

The reason for Henry's insistence upon these statutes is as arguable as are the reasons for many of his life's accomplishments. Traditional scholarship has credited them due to Henry's frustration with the breakdown of the Anglican-Lutheran conference of 1538.⁸ If this were the case and the English might have compromised with the Lutherans for political security, then it is obvious that Henry's theological positions were subject to his personal whims and the success or failure of his political machinations. This accusation would be consistent with the outcome of other momentous occasions of Henry's reign.

Another explanation, one not made in traditional histories, would also be consistent with the actions of the theologian-king.

Henry was already forty-three years old when he made the decision to usurp the papal prerogative as concerned his kingdom, setting himself up as Supreme Head of the Church in England. Concerned with the procurement of a son as male heir, Henry sought a divorce never granted except by his own hand-picked Cranmer. One should not forget the fact that he also may have had grave reservations about being married to his brother's widow; a special dispensation was required to justify the original contract (these dispensations were common among royalty). In this light, Henry was plagued by his conscience and chose what could have been considered the lesser of two evils: in light of not getting what he needed, he chose to abandon his loyalty to a corrupt and politically inept papacy. He chose to ease his conscience rather than continue in a religio-political practice, one which no prince relished, due to the heavy taxations and other burdens brought on by submission to the temporal jurisdiction of the papacy. True, the papacy had asserted its divine right to such authority, but no one, save the staunchest of papal loyalists, took this so-called doctrine seriously.

If this reasonable explanation is legitimate, the reason for the Six Articles is understandable from the view of Henry's conscience. He had divorced his first

wife, executed his second, and unintentionally manslaughtered his third as she gave birth to his obsession. Years before, he had murdered one of his best friends and most loyal chancellors, causing scandal. Most recently, he had attempted to seek doctrinal agreement with Lutheran Germany in order to ally with them and enhance his own political security. A most reasonable conclusion at this point is that Henry, merely six years after his excommunication by the pope, was feeling the effect of his conscience. As he had justified his previous actions with the promotion of a purer catholic religion, free from papal corruption and idolatry, so now did he insist on providing a purer catholic religion for his kingdom.

Cranmer had been previously successful in turning the King towards a more open position on religious diversity within the realm, especially to the benefit of some of the teachings of the continental reformers. In 1537, as plans were being made for the joint confession of faith and consequent alliance with the Germans, Cranmer submitted a list of considerations "to induce him to proceed to further Reformation."⁹

Contained in this list are questions which deal with the allowance of matrimony to diocesan priests, the verity of a purgatory after earthly life, the efficacy of the sacrifice of the Mass, and the honor given to sacred images, among other sundry items.¹⁰ Much of what was later accomplished may be credited to the efforts of Cranmer

to soothe the King's ego and make it appear as if the King were coming up with these ideas on his own. For a while it worked well in the advancement of minor principles which were in concord with the Reformation on the continent.

The failure of the talks with the Germans led to the momentary decline of Cranmer's influence on Henry. For one thing, it revealed some of Cranmer's reformational tendencies which were not in keeping with the King's theological outlook. The hope of a joint statement with the Lutherans had allowed a brief respite from strict theological interpretation loyal to the King, and raised the level of discussion of issues in the universities and various other forums. When the talks failed, so failed the attempt to bring reformation polemics at least into open conversation and debate, if not into Parliament.

Henry required the House of Lords to debate and then ascertain the truth with regard to six doctrinal points. Those were a definition of the real presence, the practice of communion under both kinds, the value of religious chastity, the efficacy of private Masses, the divine law as regards clerical celibacy, and the divine law as regards auricular confession.¹²

The Six Articles took three days to be discussed and passed. Henry attended the first and third days of discussion, in part to coerce Cranmer and the other reforming bishops into abandoning their ideas.¹³ Cranmer was willing to show opposition to them even in the presence

of the King, but John Foxe records that he was so respectful and obedient in his manner towards the King that Henry could not be upset with him.¹⁴ Cranmer had good reason to resist, despite his mannerism. According to Foxe, Cranmer had married, and the third Article stated that priests, both before and after receiving Order, could not, by God's law, marry. One must presume that Cranmer did not wish to forfeit either his wife or his collar. In the end, the wife fell victim, and she was put away in true medieval fashion.

Henry's conscience brought about the Six Articles. The articles brought about a last triumph in England for the Old Learning, the Scholastic teachings. The first article reinstated the doctrinal content of transubstantiation, by providing that "there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man."¹⁵ Although he openly denied the other articles, especially the two supporting communion under one kind alone and the mandate of clerical celibacy, it is worthy to note that there exists no record of Cranmer denying the doctrine of transubstantiation at the proceedings of 1539.¹⁶

On the issues of religious chastity, private Masses, and auricular confession, the votes went in favor of the scholastic view. Again Cranmer dissented, but capitulated to the wishes of the King. Cranmer held out as long as any of the other bishops who dissented, but was treated

quite differently, in contrast with bishops Latimer and Shaxton, who despite their eventual capitulation, were forced to resign their bishoprics, Cranmer received at Lambeth the Chancellor Cromwell and Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk who informed him that the King continued his high regard for the archbishop, especially due to his humility, honesty, and loyalty.¹⁷

Although the Six Articles were pushed through Parliament at the design of Henry, there seemed to be a good deal of honor given the King even from those who personally opposed the articles. The loyalty to Henry that his lords showed him crossed over into the absurd, when at this convocation designed to procure a definition of the true catholic faith, the Duke of Norfolk suggested some recompense be afforded the King for his good endeavor of reforming the church in England. The body agreed, and the next day they rushed through a bill which seized the lands of eleven parishes, without any compensation, to provide the King with some hunting ground nearer to Hampton Court.¹⁸ Thus was the King thanked.

The Six Articles were published in a 1543 book, The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man, commonly known as The King's Book. Henry himself wrote the preface. All seven sacraments were placed on an even level, the doctrine of transubstantiation was plainly taught, despite the omission of the actual term, the power of the priesthood was re-elevated, and the Six

Articles were reinforced.¹⁹ It is probable that this text was intended to be the last written on the subject of the true catholic faith in England. At least it remained so until the death of Henry in 1547.

Perhaps the accusation that the Henrican phase of the English Reformation left no substantial change in the doctrinal position of the church seems mistaken at face value. There did exist moments when reform was the focus of attention, and much progress was made during the reign of Henry regarding the translation of the scriptures into English. Cranmer published an authorized translation of the Bible in 1540 under Henry's patronage, and the precedent for scriptures in the vernacular was given special impetus in this arrangement. On the whole, however, reform was tempered by Henry's own temperament, and in the end, the voices of reform were quieted by the insistence of the monarch to uphold scholastic interpretations of medieval catholicism, especially as regards the three primary doctrines on the Eucharist.

CHAPTER TWO NOTES

¹Luther, Babylonish Captivity of the Church. For his answer to this treatise, Henry VIII earned the title, "Defender of the Faith" from the pope.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴E.J. Bicknell, ed., A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1947), 10.

⁵Ibid., 11.

⁶Bicknell makes this assumption in his work, and conspicuously omits reference to the Six Articles.

⁷The Six Articles.

⁸Bicknell, 12.

⁹Cranmer, Some Considerations to His Majesty the King to Induce Him to Proceed to Further Reformation, (1537).

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Bicknell, 12.

¹²Jaspar Ridley, Thomas Cranmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 179.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, v. 264, n. 5.

¹⁵Six Articles, Article I.

¹⁶Ridley, 181.

¹⁷Ibid., 184.

¹⁸Ibid., 180.

¹⁹Bicknell, 17.

CHAPTER THREE

AN HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF THE ANGLICAN AND ROMAN LITURGIES OF THE REFORMATION

There was never anything by wit of man so well devised, or so surely established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted; as (among other things) it may plainly appear by the common prayers in the church, commonly called Divine Service.

Thomas Cranmer
Preface, 1549 Prayerbook

Wherefore it (the Mass) is rightly offered, in accordance with the tradition of the Apostles, not only for the sins, penances, satisfactions and other necessities of the faithful living, but also for the dead in Christ, whose purification is not yet accomplished.

Council of Trent
Session XXII

The death of Henry VIII in 1547 marked the end of the first phase of the English Reformation. That the Anglican church had been established separate from Rome and given its initial Reformation is granted. However, the three scholastic doctrines of the Eucharist: transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, and adoration of the consecrated species remained integral to the eucharistic life of Anglicans well after their successful resistance of the papal supremacy. Hence, in many minds the work of the reformation in England had barely begun.

Histories reveal that Henry VIII was respected after his death for the freedom he had gained for the Catholic Church in England. Contemporary historians,

especially those unsympathetic to the cause of Anglican reform, will liken his nature to that of the despotic tyrant Hitler. But he is nevertheless not to be denied the crucial role of liberator of the Anglican church. Henry did not found the Anglican church, nor did he establish the catholic faith in England. Ironic it may be that the catalyst was a political matter, no competent historian would be so ignorant as to forget just how many times the affairs of the state determined the outcome of the church in the history of Christendom. Contrary to the most intense wishes of Ultramontane philosophy, the papacy itself would not have developed into the great power it was (and remains) were it not for various political transactions of the last nineteen centuries.

An investigation of the second phase of the English Reformation, the Cranmerian phase, begins with a critical evaluation of the theological philosophies of Thomas Cranmer as affected the Eucharist.

The Catholic Encyclopedia states bluntly that "all the reformers denied the sacrificial character of the Mass, and its abolition had always been the decisive step towards separation. For the Catholic Church the Mass was the center of the mystery of salvation...."¹ This is an altogether incorrect assessment of both the English Reformation and the position of Thomas Cranmer, the first Anglican primate of Canterbury. In the first place, Cranmer continued to celebrate Mass after the Reformation in England had begun.

In the second place, Cranmer and his bishops continuously held that the Mass, the Eucharist, was the central act of the worshipping church, as it always had been.

Cranmer and the other reformers of England reacted to the three scholastic doctrines of the Eucharist in a manner that pays them tribute for their conservative nature and their insistence upon sound doctrine. The reaction of Cranmer to the eucharistic problems of the day was slow and cautious, for Cranmer was as much a pastor of the common folk, mindful of their worship needs, as he was a theologian of the church.²

That Cranmer believed in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, while at the same time he denied the scholastic doctrine of transubstantiation, is most certain. What is not certain is simply the date at which he finally rejected this doctrine in favor of his own unique description of sacramental presence known sometimes as virtualism. Noted before was the fact that he did not publicly deny transubstantiation during the debate over the Six Articles in 1539. But one year earlier, he wrote to Lord Chancellor Cromwell:

As concerning Adam Damplic of Calais, he utterly denieth that ever he taught or said that the very body and blood of Christ was not presently in the sacrament of the altar, and confesseth the same to be there really; but he saith that the controversy between him and the prior was because he

confuted the opinion of transubstantiation, and therein I think he taught but the truth.³

The issue Cranmer took with the medieval church was not the matter of Christ being really present in the Eucharist, but rather the scholastic obsession with defining, in precise and Aristotelian terms, how the presence was made to occur. Cranmer taught that Christ was really but virtually received in the Eucharist, due to Christ's actual physical presence in heaven, which could not logically be violated. This is where the archbishop took issue with the schoolmen.

Cranmer strongly reacted to the medieval teaching that the presence of Christ consisted of his natural flesh and blood, "which suffered for us upon the cross, and sitteth at the right hand of the father."⁴ He countered that it was rationally inconceivable that Christ's natural body, which the Scriptures taught was at the right hand of the Father, where he would tarry until his coming forth in glory, was "torn with the teeth of the faithful people."⁵

Cranmer accused the "papistical doctrine" of having violated not only reason, but also the Scriptures and the teaching of the ancient Catholic Church. He knew well the source of the doctrine, and the influence of Aquinas, chief of the school-authors, upon its definition and promotion. Keep in mind that Thomas Cranmer was well-schooled in the learning of the Renaissance, with its emphasis on the ancient fathers of the church.

The second doctrine which Cranmer attacked as an abuse of the Eucharist was the medieval conception of the Mass as a sacrifice and oblation. The most succinct answer he gave to this doctrine was contained in his treatise, Questions Concerning Some Abuses of the Mass. The oblation and sacrifice of the Mass is not termed such because Christ is sacrificed on the altar, but rather because "it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross."⁶ This was his consistent position.

At the disputations at Oxford during the time of the Marian restoration, Cranmer upheld his teaching on the Eucharist. Responding to accusations of heresy, Cranmer stated plainly that there was no need for the repetition of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, for this sacrifice was done once and was sufficient for the whole world.⁷ At the same time, he quoted extensively from St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews which offer that Christ was once offered, "who offering up one oblation for sin, sitteth now forever on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath he made perfect forever those that be sanctified."⁸

The real (defined virtual) presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar was upheld by Cranmer despite arguments to the contrary. Some have even accused the archbishop of having Zwinglian leanings, although this argument is little more than absurd. It is true that both Calvin and Zwingli taught virtual real presence; this brief

connection is not enough to lead to the conclusion that Cranmer was a Calvinist or Zwinglian. Cranmer also commonly taught with the Roman Church the necessity of apostolic succession (which both Calvin and Zwingli abandoned); this has never lead to the accusation that Cranmer was papistical in his leanings! Cranmer's theological positions on the Eucharist were unique from both the continental reformers and Rome.

Because Cranmer denied that it was Christ's natural flesh and blood which was present in the Eucharist, his teachings on reservation and adoration of the sacred host remain unclear. What can be derived clearly, however, is this: Cranmer, even during Henry's lifetime, called upon the King to dissolve the legal status of those rites which tended towards idolatry, including the worship of images and the blessed sacrament.

In his Collection of Tenents Extracted from the Canon Law, Cranmer wrote that both the reservation of the leftover sacramental bread and the "hanging up" or high display of the host in a monstrance were innovations coming from the sixth or seventh century for the former, and the fifteenth century for the latter.⁹ One must understand that for Cranmer the issue lay with the purpose of elevation, adoration, and reservation. In the case of elevation, he denied its usefulness, simply because it was a clear sign of how far-removed the Mass had become from the people, whereby their only activity was to kneel

and stare at the host, believing that the natural body of Jesus was contained therein. Because adoration was apt to lead to idolatrous and superstitious practices (as it clearly had, evidenced by the practice of the illiterate), naturally Cranmer opposed anything of this sort.

He also taught that the sacrament of the body and blood was efficacious to a man only if he willingly received the body and the blood. Without faith, the sacrament made no sense, and actually constituted the condemnation of the soul eating and drinking in an unworthy manner. From St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians he extracted this position.¹⁰

When Thomas Cranmer consolidated the diverse services into one single Book of Common Prayer, it was an innovation from the many service books necessary to perform the rites of the medieval church. It was not, however, an innovation of content; Cranmer's product is not a new rite of the Mass but rather one reformed and translated in the great tradition of the western church. Cranmer did not topple the traditional worship of the church with his first prayer book of 1549.

Records from a bishop's visitation register near this time reveal the state of the pastoral clergy in England. Of the three-hundred eleven clergy which were examined by the bishop, one-hundred seventy-one could not repeat the Ten Commandments in English; ten could not say

the Lord's Prayer, twenty-seven could not identify its author, thirty could not tell where it was to be found.¹¹

These statistics informed the reformers that much was needed in the rejuvenation of the clergy. To Cranmer, much of the needed reform could occur with the reform of the Mass.

Priests of the later Middle Ages had become more like magicians than pastors. As long as they could adequately recite the words of consecration, they could make God present. As long as they could make God present, the people, in their ignorance, were content to pay the stipends for themselves and on behalf of their dead.

At the heart of the matter was the great Canon of the Mass, which the English church had retained since the time of St. Augustine of Canterbury, who was sent to England with it by Pope Innocent in 415. Much hatred had grown for the ancient document, for much of its original purity had been obscured by medieval ceremony. Cranmer insisted in the Prayer Book that this part of the Eucharist, previously recited inaudibly by the priest, be prayed or sung aloud. The priest was no longer to offer the sacrifice sotto voce.¹² It was important to Cranmer that the folk who worshipped at Mass hear the words of Christ just as had his own Apostles at the Last Supper.

Cranmer's translation of the Canon renewed the language of the sacrifice to dwell on Christ's sacrifice, on the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and on the offering by those present of their "souls and bodies, to

be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice."¹³ ⁵² Yet this transposition of language did not alter the traditional form of the Mass; the essential veil of mystery, inescapable in so traditional an action, was present. Cranmer did not promote the puritanical in his composition, knowing full well what the people in their worship needed: not an overthrowing of the Mass but a good English translation which was doctrinally sound.

The Prayer Book of 1552, Cranmer's revision which, in his own pragmatic manner, reflected the influence of some Protestant elements, clearly opposed any notion of propitiatory sacrifice or adoration of the bread and wine, despite the maintenance by him of the Eucharist as a proper sacrifice and of the presence of Christ in the consecrated species. Placed before the consecration in the 1552 Prayer Book was the so-called Prayer of Humble Access, the wording of which denied any sort of propitiation from the sacrifice:

We do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies: we be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table: but thou art the same Lord whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious

blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and
he in us. Amen.¹⁴

By rearranging the various components of the Canon, Cranmer in the 1552 prayer book reformed the medieval Mass of sacrifice, propitiation, and adoration into a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, joined with the sacrifice of Christ on the cross and the personal living sacrifice of each person in attendance. Furthermore, the Eucharist as a sacred meal, distant to the medieval schools, was also restored. This was accomplished by ensuring that the communion occur as soon after the consecration as possible, unlike the medieval service and the 1549 prayer book which included the traditional prayers in between the consecration and communion, including the Lord's Prayer. Also, the close placement of consecration and communion left little time for adoration and worship of the bread and wine, a sincere objective of Cranmer. Thus the order was followed after the Offertory:

Intercession for the Church Militant

Exhortation to the Faithful

Invitation to the Faithful

Confession and Absolution

The Comfortable Words from Scripture

Salutation and Preface

Sanctus

Prayer of Humble Access

The Consecration

Communion of the Priest and People

The Lord's Prayer

Oblation or Thanksgiving

Gloria in Excelsis, Blessing and Dismissal

The emphasis on the eating of the sacrament above its ocular worship is evident, due the rearrangement of such items which in former rites immediately followed the consecration: namely, the Oblation, Thanksgiving, and the Lord's Prayer.

It suffices to briefly mention that the Book of Common Prayer, especially the 1549 version, was received diversely by the faithful and their ministers. Those who favored the medieval conceptions of sacrifice and adoration called for its dismissal, and some returned to the Sarum rite until Edward VI called for the destruction of all old service books save the medieval pontifical, the book for consecrating bishops, which was yet to be reformed.

On the other hand, the Zwinglians in England called for greater simplification of the rites and the elimination of certain images and vestments which reflected the Roman ethos.¹⁵ Cranmer seems to have been agreeable to the simplification of the vestments, but submitted himself to existing legislation regarding them. The Zwinglians, however, refused to obey the laws, and many were imprisoned for their disobedience.¹⁶

To this point Thomas Cranmer has been defended against the accusations that he had Zwinglian leanings in his views on the sacrifice of the Mass and the real

presence. Given what is said above regarding his teaching of eucharistic theology, the charge is absurd. Others have accused Cranmer in the 1552 Prayer Book of revealing some Calvinist leanings. This is an accusation of significance, for it would suggest that Cranmer viewed the Eucharist as merely a symbol of the body and blood of Christ, as did Calvin. Further, it would propose that Cranmer believed only in the spiritual presence of Christ, and not the real presence. Neither of the connections to Calvinist doctrine is evident in either the structure or the wording of the second prayer book. Cranmer shared with Calvin and Zwngli some conceptions of real presence; he did not share with them pre-destination or other innovative doctrines. Further, Cranmer's view of eucharistic presence was unique to him.

That Cranmer was a Calvinist in episcopal clothes is easily refutable, considering his defense at Oxford after the death of Edward of his teaching on the real presence and the real sacrifice, noted earlier. It is true that Cranmer conceded with both Calvin and Luther that only the faithful benefit from the sacrament. Furthermore, all three reformers objected to any credence of a propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass. But Cranmer held the middle ground between the view of Calvin that the body of Christ was eaten only symbolically and the position of Luther that the consubstantiated bread signified the bodily eating of Christ with the teeth. Cranmer held the

position defined by the ancient fathers, which clearly and simply attested to the real presence and the eating of the body and blood of Christ, and found no other distinction or commentary necessary to supplement the plain words of the Scriptures. There is nothing therefore to suggest that the 1552 Prayer Book is overly-Calvinist in nature; Cranmer promoted too much of the catholic teaching to be a Calvinist. Even Cranmer's pro-Roman enemies admitted that his doctrine on the Eucharist was in their opinion, "not distant from the Catholic faith," and some of them would have even used his eucharistic form had they not been predisposed with forced residence in the Tower.¹⁷

In 1545, four years before the first prayer book and two years before the death of King Henry, the Roman Catholic Church assembled for the beginning of the Council of Trent in order to discuss reform within the church and encourage reunion. The Council of Trent met in interrupted segments until 1564, well after the time of Cranmer and the publishing of his prayer book in its original form.

The council discussed the theology of the Eucharist in separate sessions, some years apart. In the eighth session, in October 1551, the subject was the real presence of Christ. The Roman Catholic Church defined the doctrine of transubstantiation as part of the faith by contending that the Catholic Church had always taught, in accordance with the admonitions of Christ, that the entire substance of the bread and wine were converted into the substance

of the body and blood of Christ.¹⁸ 57
The term
transubstantiation, the council asserted, was simply
employed for convenience sake.

Regarding the adoration of the consecrated species, the council was equally decisive and in favor of the established view. The fathers decreed that the adoration due to God (latriae cultum) should be expressed towards the sacrament, as was "always received in the Catholic Church."¹⁹

Reform was a legitimate and anticipated objective of the Council of Trent. This reform was badly needed, for the Reformation both on the continent and in England had led to the polarizing of forces within the larger body of Christendom along sectarian lines. The claims of pro-Roman preachers were incredulous. It was taught to the people that certain fruits of the Mass fall upon those who reverently hear the Mass and adore the Eucharist. Among these were the following: that during the hearing of Mass a person stopped growing older, that after hearing Mass food tasted better, that frequent hearers of Mass would not die a sudden death, and that the souls in Purgatory would not have to suffer during the time one was hearing Mass on their behalf.²⁰ While these falsehoods were not promoted by the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, they were nevertheless promoted by the lower clergy and often-times tolerated by individual bishops who most likely saw in them the ability to maintain control.

To the Protestant and Anglican reformers, these common abuses of the Mass were not the only ones with which to take issue. At the center of the objections was the teaching of the medieval church on the sacrifice of the Mass. Unfortunately, the council did not address this issue until almost its end. In the twenty-second session, celebrated on 17 September 1562, the fathers assembled gave full assent to the propitiatory nature of the Mass both for the living and the dead.²¹ The teaching of the council is reasoned thus: Christ offered himself once and for all on the altar of the cross. Christ also commanded his apostles to perpetuate this sacrifice on the altar of the church, and it is the same victim which is offered. Christ, through the priesthood, offers himself again and again, the only difference being the manner of the offering.²² The fathers decreed that the repetition of this sacrifice did not demean the efficacy of the original oblation on the cross, and that their formulation on the matter was simply the teaching of the Catholic Church from the time of the Apostles.²³

With these decrees, the scholastic conceptions of the Eucharist were formalized into the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. Accompanying the decrees were certain instructions for reform, which were treated with seriousness by the fathers; they did not take what they considered to be abuse lightly. The canons on the Eucharist, which deal with those who deny the teachings

of the Tridentine Council fathers, are aimed at innovators of doctrine:

Canon 1. If anyone says that in the Mass a true and real sacrifice is not offered to God, or that to be offered is nothing else than Christ given to us, let him be anathema.

Canon 3. If anyone says that the sacrifice of the Mass is only one of praise and thanksgiving; or that it is a mere commemoration of the sacrifice consummated on the cross but not a propitiatory one; or that it profits him only who receives... let him be anathema.²⁴

In these two canons Cranmer and his flock are declared cut off from the true church and are thus placed on their own before the judgment of God.

It was further recognized by the council that, due to the diversity of the rites and services which had been employed to celebrate the Mass for hundreds of years before the Reformation, there was need for the promotion of a single authorized rite. Cranmer saw in England the same need for the same reason: to restrict the possibility of localized accretion and abuse. The council decreed that the whole Roman church should return to the use of the liturgy of the city of Rome and that liturgy as it had been celebrated in less corrupt times.²⁵

A Commission was established by Pope Pius V in order to have the ancient sources of the liturgy

investigated, including past uses of the Roman Missal, the liturgy for the See of Rome. In his bull of 14 July 1570, in which he introduced the new missal, Pius V credited the commission of having diligently studied the sources and having thus brought about a missal which was "in conformity with the original norms and rites laid down by the holy Fathers."²⁶

The revision of the Roman Mass provided the following order of worship after the Offertory:

Offering of the Bread and Wine (mixed with water)

Incensing of the Offering

Lavabo

Prayer to the Trinity and the Orate Fratres

The Secret Prayer and Preface

Sanctus and Benedictus

Canon of the Mass: Offering, Consecration, Oblation

Pater Noster (Lord's Prayer)

Fraction Rite and Commingling of Body and Blood

Agnus Dei

Preparatory Prayers for Communion

Communion of the Priest and People

Post-Communion Prayer

Blessing and Dismissal

The Last Gospel

This order closely resembled the order according to the use of the Sarum rite in England, and with the exception of the prayers composed by Cranmer and added to the rite,

is the basic order of the prayer book of 1549.

The greatest and most consequential innovation of the new Roman Missal was the command, clearly set forth in the bull of introduction, that this book was to be, from then on, the universal standard in every church, and that no church was permitted to introduce changes. Only those churches which could demonstrate a clear two-hundred year usage of their own rites were permitted to retain them, such as the rites of the ancient Frankish orders and the Mozarabic rite.²⁷

The full nature of these reforms of the Roman Mass cannot be measured without understanding the pontiff behind the reform. Popular tradition pays homage to the falsehood that none of the Romans wanted reform, and that they were unwilling to investigate the theses of the reformers (many of the same who ultimately refused to attend any of the sessions). While some of the council fathers were presumably thus, the election of Pius V signified a new direction.

As Pope the ascetic man Pius V (Antonio Michele Ghislieri) was serious, stern, conscientious, and completely unworldly. He wore a hair shirt underneath his papal robes, and, as far as his papal administrative duties allowed, continued to live a Dominican monk's life. Inclined to pass up the tiara and the sedia gestatoria (the crown, and throne on which the popes were carried), he desired the pure worship of God in the Mass, without superstition.

He was canonized in 1712. During his canonization proceedings, it was reported that his first official act as pope was to dismiss the papal court jester.²⁸

During much of the same time the Council of Trent was setting down the Catholic Reformation, the Elizabethan phase of the Anglican Reformation was in force. This was preceded by the brief restoration of papal supremacy to England by her half-sister Mary Tudor. The Elizabethan phase amounted to the amalgamation of those elements of the medieval and the Protestant schools which the Church of England considered to be catholic yet reformed. For her work in attempting to unify the English peoples in their religion, Queen Elizabeth I was thanked by the papacy with excommunication. The separation from Rome was complete for the Anglican Church, and the maintenance of the Eucharist and Creeds would mark the reformation in England separate from the Reformation on the continent and the Catholic Reformation.

The first title of the English prayer book was The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion Commonly Called the Mass, while the second prayer book was given the title still in use today, The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.²⁹ During the Elizabethan phase, the use of vestments, incense, bells, music, and the like of sensual trappings was highly encouraged, much to the objections of the Puritanists within the church. But the most important church action of the

Elizabethan reign as regarded the church was the issuance of the Act of Uniformity of 1559 and the publication of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion finalized in 1571.

The Act of Uniformity was passed soon after the publication of Cranmer's 1552 prayer book with some minor revisions. These revisions were primarily concerned with the order of the Eucharist and some practical concessions Cranmer had made in the second version to the Puritanists.³⁰

Elizabeth's act was aimed at restoring the solitary use of the Book of Common Prayer within the entire realm after the Marian reign had re-instituted the medieval Sarum Mass. The queen desired ardently uniformity within the English church, and imposed penalties on those ministers who refused to utilize the reformation Mass.³¹

The Thirty-Nine Articles, published in final form after the papal bull against Elizabeth, are the summarization of Anglican doctrine as concerns what the Anglican reformers held were the errors of the teaching of the Roman church as well as the extreme positions of both the continental reformers and the anabaptists. They constitute less of a definition of Anglican doctrine, which is considered the uncorrupted faith of the ancient church as expressed in the scriptures and creeds, and were a reaction to the practices of the Roman Church before and after the Tridentine reforms.

The clergy was required to submit to them, and even today the Anglican candidates for order pledge

allegiance to the content of their teachings, along with loyalty to the forms of the Book of Common Prayer.³² The Anglican clergy do not affirm every single phrase of the Articles as agreeable to the Word of God, but rather affirm that the doctrine of the Anglican church as set forth in them is agreeable to the Word of God. The pious beliefs of those with scrupulous consciences was and always has been tolerated in the Church of England.

The Elizabethan phase of the Anglican Reformation meant the substantiation of the original reforms of Cranmer as regards the scholastic doctrines. Real presence was affirmed, transubstantiation was left behind as a scholastic corruption of the scriptural norms and ancient faith. The sacrifice of the Mass was upheld, although the Roman propitiatory view was rejected as being related to the unscriptural doctrine of purgatory and pardons. Adoration of the consecrated species was passed over for the humble and worthy consummation of the eucharistic food; all forms of idolatry were discouraged. Here then is the ultimate amalgamation of catholic teaching tempered with reform. To Anglicans of the Elizabethan moderm, this was their faith.

CHAPTER THREE NOTES

¹ New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967 ed., s.v. "Trent, Council of."

² Albert Frederick Pollard, Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965), 229.

³ Ibid., 234.

⁴ Cranmer, Defence of the True and Catholic Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, n.p., 30.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Cranmer, Questions Concerning Some Abuses of the Mass. Located in Brooks, P.N. ed., Cranmer in Context, Minneapolis, Minnesota: Fortress Press, 1989, 59.

⁷ Ibid., Disputations at Oxford. These were held as an attempt by the forces of the Marian Restoration to have Cranmer and his colleagues recant their doctrine. Perhaps Cranmer's ability to make the queen's theologians look like fools was more prominent in the cause for his execution than his doctrinal substance. Located in Cox, J.E., ed., Writings and Disputations of T. Cranmer, Cambridge, 1844, 399.

⁸ Cf. Hebrews 9, 10 NIV.

⁹ Cranmer, Tenents Extracted from the Canon Law Shewing the Extravagant Pretensions of the Church of Rome (1544) sub verbo "Questions Concerning the Mass." Located in Jenkyns, H, ed., The Remains of T. Cranmer, Oxford, 1833, 180.

¹⁰ Cranmer, Defence, 8.

¹¹ Pollard, 188-189.

¹² Rubrics, BCP 1549.

¹³ Canon of the Mass, BCP 1549.

¹⁴ Prayer of Humble Access, BCP 1552.

¹⁵ Cuming, 98.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 94.

¹⁸Session XIII, Chapter 4.

¹⁹Ibid., Chapter 5.

²⁰Jungman, 97.

²¹Session XXII, Chapter II.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid, Chapter IX.

²⁵Jungman, 103.

²⁶Ibid., 104.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Hans Kuhner, ed., Encyclopedia of the Papacy (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), 169-170. This is perhaps the best-written concise life of the pope-saint, and places his biography in the midst of Renaissance corruption.

²⁹Procter, 475.

³⁰Elizabeth I, Act of Uniformity (1559).

³¹Ibid.

³²Bicknell, 26.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROMAN CONDEMNATION OF ANGLICAN ORDERS:

DEFECT OF FORM, INTENTION, OR ROMAN INTEGRITY?

These three communions, the Anglican, the Eastern, and the Roman, trace their descent through the Undivided Church, to the Apostles. When in God's Providence reunion or intercommunion comes, it will have to be brought about by the drawing together of these three branches of the Ancient Church ... who agree in the essentials of Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship.

Archibald Knowles
Anglo-Catholic apologist

We pronounce and declare that ordinations performed according to the Anglican rite are utterly invalid and altogether void.

Pope Leo XIII
Apostolicae curae, 1896

The Anglican and Roman reformations share a common distinction that, unlike the Protestant Reformation, which created diverse communions under the leadership of particular individuals whose names are indelibly linked to them, no new movement apart from the existing church was established. Luther's teachings became the foundation of Lutheranism, Calvin's of the Calvinist sects. But Cranmer's teachings did not constitute the creation of a new church; they were simply employed to purge the existing catholic corporation of medieval corruptions. The same was the case with the Roman Catholic Reformation: the Council of Trent did not begin a new church but rather began a new chapter of the church, reformed in its

principles and unified around what was considered catholic doctrine. To speak of the Henrican or Cranmerian or Tridentine churches, one refers to epochs within the history of the Catholic Church under these persons or councils, not unique or separate churches. This argument is significant to the remainder of the investigation.

Persecution of Roman Catholics, just as persecution of Anglicans and Protestants, is a historical fact. There is plenty of responsibility to share among the zealous persecuting forces which have plagued Christianity for almost its entire existence. Because of this, no further mention of it is needed.

The Anglican church survived the political turmoil of the late seventeenth century and returned to full legal status and establishment after the fall of Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth. But there came to be a change in the power base of the church. The direct effect of the Elizabethan phase was a strengthening of those factions within the Anglicanism who desired an emphasis of the catholic elements of the church. The Revolution of 1688 changed things, and in the restoration of the established church, the pro-Protestant faction gained much of the upper hand in the policy-making of the church. Those who clinged to catholic traditions were aptly named Anglo-Catholics.

The Thirty-Nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer endured the back-and-forth struggles of factions within the church, and the established catholic doctrine

of the Church of England did not change. The practices of several of its bishops and priests, however, and the overall religious atmosphere of the island left much to be desired in light of the precise beliefs of the articles and the prayer book.

The situation came to a boil around 1830. In 1833, Parliament passed legislation which transferred church appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and out of the hands of the canonical courts. This measure led to the legal retention of a priest whose Calvinist views on the sacrament of Baptism were found by the Bishop of Exeter to be inconsistent with the Thirty-Nine Articles.¹ The transfer of appeals action on the part of Parliament was one of many increasing acts which sought to legislate the discipline of the Church of England. The case involving the Bishop of Exeter simply proved that the church no longer had control of its own authority, for it could not even defrock heretics from within its own priesthood.

A small group of Anglican priests from Oriel College at Oxford were alarmed at the ramifications of this case. One of them, Father John Keble, preached a sermon entitled "National Apostacy" in which he condemned the state's attempted control of clerical affairs.² Others were drawn into the call for reform, among them Edward Pusey, William Palmer, and John Henry Newman. These men produced works which were aimed at reforming the religious state of the empire in light of traditional catholic doctrine and

discipline. These works were in the form of tracts on various subjects, and the movement became known accordingly as the Tractarian Movement, or the Oxford Movement (due to its association with the Oxford college).

John Henry Newman was the most influential of the Oxford priests, and yet his pro-catholic views offended many within the church. When he finally published the infamous Tract 90, in which he pressed for an entirely catholic interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles to guard against Protestant errors, he was ordered to cease tract publication, so great was the outcry from the anti-papal factions within the realm (Newman himself was far from papistical at this point).³ Newman eventually left the Church of England and submitted himself to the Roman Catholic faith and the papacy.

Others left the Anglican Communion in favor of the Roman church, but the effect of the Oxford Movement was significant for the Anglo-Catholic position. Reform within the church did occur, and the Anglo-Catholic party succeeded again as the dominant force within the politics of the Church of England, retaining its peak influence from 1890 to around the beginning of the Second World War.⁴ Once again, as in the case of the 1688 revolution and later restoration, the articles and prayer book were not changed, and neither changed the core of Anglican faith.

The re-emphasis of catholic teaching and practice with the Church of England raised an issue in the minds

of some which had been an issue time before. If the reformation of the church in England was a matter of restoring the ancient uncorrupted faith to the English peoples, then did it not logically follow that the catholic Orders of the church were of the same validity as those of the Eastern and Roman communions? The answer for Anglicans was always yes, and this certainty existed in the fact that there had not been any break in the line of bishops in the English Reformation as there had been in the continental Protestant schemes.

If Anglican, Roman, and Eastern Orders were fundamentally the same, valid expressions of the ancient faith, then the question turned to the possibility of corporate reunion for the ancient church. An early proposal for Anglican-Roman Catholic reunion was offered by Ambrose Phillips in 1841, in the heat of the Oxford Movement.⁵ Not much momentum was achieved by this early cause, especially in light of the increase of persecution of those who wished to restore catholic practices throughout the entire Anglican church. Groups such as the Kensitites, the members of the Protestant Truth Society, were most vehement in the persecutions.

The unity movement was promoted primarily by the second generation of the Oxford Movement, organized into the English Church Union under the leadership of the second Viscount Hailfax, Charles Wood. Lord Halifax had previously held a rewarding public career, but resigned it in favor

of leading the Church Union. He was known for his extreme piety and untiring devotion to the cause of Anglican-Catholicism.

His chance meeting with a certain French priest led to a major investigation of the possibility of the corporate reunion of Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism through a Roman judgment on the validity of Anglican Orders. In 1890, while vacationing on the island of Madeira, Lord Halifax met the French Lazarist Fernand Portal. Their informal discussions of various religious matters led to a mutual respect and friendship, and by the end of the year, both were deeply engrossed with the possibilities of corporate reunion.⁶

The reunion of the two catholic communions was doomed from the start. In 1894, Portal published a tract on the historical evidence of the first Prayer Book, its ordinal, and the consecration of certain Anglican bishops. The tract caught the attention of Pope Leo XIII and the Roman Cardinal Rampolla. Leo XIII was considered a conciliatory and broad-minded figure by Portal, and he was glad to hear of the pontiff's notice of the little work.⁷ But the Roman Catholic primate, Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, also noticed the French priest's publication, and was angered by it. Contending in a letter written to the London Times he suggested that Portal was stepping on the toes of his authority, and that corporate reunion was not to be desired.⁸

Vaughan and the other English Roman bishops did all in their power to convince Leo XIII that his at first favorable disposition towards Halifax and Portal was in error. Vaughan was sincerely convinced from the outset that the plan for mutual recognition of Orders was a threat to the Roman Catholic faith in England.⁹ His influence, along with that of several members of the Roman Curia, thwarted the efforts of Portal and Halifax to the end.

Vaughan employed deceit and trickery in his successful effort to have the papacy condemn the validity of Anglican Orders.¹⁰ He misled the pope as regarded the intent of Portal, accusing him of ignoring his own hierarchy while pandering to the Anglican bishops. Furthermore, his three representatives to the commission ordered by the pope in investigating Anglican Orders were men whom he trusted would never capitulate to the validity of such.¹¹

The commission assembled in 1894 was not unanimous in its estimation of the ordinal validity of the Anglicans. Some members of the commission were convinced of validity.¹² But a further commission of cardinals, influenced by Vaughan, turned the pope in the direction which his epistle of condemnation would take.

The papal bull Apostolicae curae, dated 13 September 1896, lists several conditions which the papacy viewed as deficient in ordinations according to the Anglican rite. The primary deficiency existed in the distinction between

the form and matter of a sacrament.

Pope Leo argued that, since a sacrament was an outward sign of an invisible grace, both the inward and outward was required. As regarded the outward form of the rite of ordinations, Leo maintained, the admonition from the ordinal, "receive the Holy Ghost" did not equal the consecration of a priest, or furthermore a bishop.¹³ The pope added that the form was "augmented" by the respective words, "for the Office and work of a priest" and "for the Office and work of a bishop" years after the last of the validly ordained bishops had died. The power to consecrate no longer existed, since the valid hierarchy had died out altogether.¹⁴ Of course, the actual reason for the "augmentations" to the ordinal was to clarify the catholic understanding of Anglicanism on the presbyteriate against the extreme views of Presbyterianism.

Mistakenly identifying the ancient catholic teaching on the sacrificial priesthood with the scholastic instruction of a propitiatory sacrifice of the very body and blood of Christ, the commission was able to convince the pope that the Anglicans did not intend to consecrate priests, much less sacrificing priests who intended to repeat the bloodless sacrifice of Christ on the cross in contrast with the mere commemoration of that sacrifice.¹⁵

For the reasons of defective form in the ordination rites, and defective intention regarding the sacrificial character of the priesthood, Pope Leo XIII declared all

ordinations according to the Anglican rite "absolutely null and utterly void" of the sacrament of Orders. He also ordered the suppression of Portal's earlier review of Anglican Orders, in which a clear decision towards validity was promoted by the simple historical facts.

It is true that the Anglican reformers did not intend to create sacrificing priests of the kind which would offer the Mass of scholastic interpretations. Not even the Anglo-Catholics would deny this, and neither did the bishops of the Church of England.

The Anglican hierarchy responded within a year. The primary attack they placed on Apostolicae curae (next to the poor use of Latin by the Vatican) was Pope Leo's instruction on form and matter. Arguing that only Baptism provided a certain form (the Trinitarian formula) and matter (water), the bishops responded that these conditions were not applicable to the other sacraments, especially Orders.¹⁶

An equally potent attack was made on the issue of the pope's contention that the laying on of hands was the matter also employed for the sacrament of confirmation. In this Pope Leo was attempting to exhibit a consistency of form used by the ancient Catholic Church in the various sacraments. If the pope's contention were so, the Anglican hierarchy argued, then there was a serious defect of form in the historical practice of the sacrament of Confirmation. The Anglicans showed that this form was not consistently followed in the Roman church, for there was variance in

the historical practice of the bishops. The Gelasian Sacramentary was issued with the rubric, "he lays his hand on them," while the Gregorian Sacramentary instructed the bishop to "raise his hands over the heads of all."¹⁷ An examination of the Roman Sacramentary showed this rubric, "stretching out his hands towards those to be confirmed," entirely inconsistent with the pope's standard.

In arguing on Pope Leo's grounds of form and matter the Anglican divines were showing the Roman authority that various forms of the sacraments existed in the church throughout the centuries. It would therefore be impossible to record one rule of thumb. Already substantiated in this investigation is the fact that diversity was the situation prior to the Tridentine reforms, especially in eucharistic practice.

The most substantial attack by the Anglican hierarchy regarded the pope's inference from the Council of Trent that the principal function of the priesthood was the offering of the propitiatory eucharistic sacrifice. The Anglicans were eager in maintaining their position on the sacrifice of the Mass:

"We also truly teach the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and we do not believe it to be a 'bare communion of the sacrifice of the cross'--a belief which seems to be imputed to us in a quotation from that council ... For in the first place, we offer a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving', then we

set forth and reproduce before the Father the Sacrifice of the Cross, and through this sacrifice we 'obtain remission of sins and all other benefits' of the Lord's passion for 'all the whole Church.'"¹⁸

They pointed out that the Roman Canon of the Mass described the sacrifice of the Mass a "sacrifice of praise" and they argued further that nowhere was it to be found that the ancient church defined the sacrifice of the Mass according to the Tridentine directives which themselves were based on scholastic premises.

What is particularly noteworthy about the entire episode is that nothing more has been accomplished regarding the Roman acceptance of Anglican orders. No arguments have been made which can deny the last premise above: there is no evidence for the support of a Tridentine sacrifice in the ancient fathers. The Anglican fathers pointed out that because of this, if the pope's standards were definitive and binding, then all ordinations from both the Anglican and Roman, not to mention the Orthodox ordinals, would be considered invalid due to lack of intention, for the rites of Hippolytus, Gelasius, and even Gregory failed to impart the pope's understanding of priesthood and sacrifice. "Thus in overthrowing our orders he at the same time overthrows all his own and pronounces sentence on his own Church."¹⁹

An example of the historical record clearly sides with the Anglicans against Pope Leo on this matter. The

early medieval Roman rite employed for the ordering of priests is found intact within the rites of the Gelasian Sacramentary. It is to be found nowhere in this rite that the ordinand receives through mention any special power or grace to offer the propitiatory sacrifice of the Eucharist.²⁰ In fact, this teaching is nowhere to be found in any of the ancient rites of ordination, and this was the argument not only of the Anglican bishops in response to Apostolicae curae but also of Cranmer and the English reformers in response to the schoolmen. If these doctrines were to be found in the treasury of apostolic teachings, one would presume that the Roman authority would have in 1896 made mention of it, citing its precise author among the many fathers. Such a citation was conspicuously absent in the pope's epistle.

On a further point, which the Anglican divines did not specifically mention, the understanding of the form and matter of sacraments offered by Pope Leo is out of context with the period of the Reformation. The pope presumed that the correct intention of the sacramental performer must exist in order for the sacrament to be valid. Hence, a heretic who did not believe in sacraments would have a difficult time producing one. This was not the understanding of the Council of Trent, which declared that the minimal requirement of intention is that the minister merely intend to do what the church does.²¹ The council documents do not reveal that a correct belief regarding

the sacrament is necessary for proper intention. Aquinas taught that what was necessary was the utterance of the assigned words which expressed the Church's intention of effecting the sacrament; the opposite argument, that right intention includes a true belief about the sacrament, is in keeping with Donatist school, which the western church condemned as schismatic.²²

This line of analysis, which is absent from the few documents written about the papal condemnation, does not suggest that the Anglican reformers did not express a truly Catholic belief in the sacraments, for it is already proven that the Tridentine beliefs are unique to the school-authors and not the ancient fathers. Cranmer and his contemporaries intended to create catholic priests and bishops, and sacrificing ones at that. But since the pope employed an extension of right intention as part of his condemnation, the placement of the above refutation in this study is both relevant and appropriate.

Both much and little have changed since the papal condemnation of Anglican orders. In 1959, Pope John XXIII called for the first Ecumenical Council since 1870 which he hoped would bring new constitution to the Roman Catholic Church's presence in the modern world. The council was met with much enthusiasm by those who saw in it the hopes of Christian reunion and reform of the scholastic doctrines approved by Trent. Pope John saw the council as providing the forum for a great renewal of the catholic faith.

The Second Council of the Vatican met from 1962 until 1965, even after Pope John's death. Pope Paul VI inherited the council, and proclaimed several reforms, including the restoration of the vernacular languages to the liturgy. The narrow teaching of the Tridentine church on the sacrifice of the Mass and the role of the priesthood also received some correction at the council.²³

The documents of the Second Vatican Council express the highest teaching authority of the Roman Catholic Church. In the Constitution on the Church, proclaimed by Pope Paul VI in November 1964, the described role of the apostolic ministry consisted of three functions: the teaching of doctrine, the worship of sacred rites, and the administration of government.²⁴ The document explains earlier that this ministry is passed on from one generation to another "that, when they should have died, other approved men would take up their ministry."²⁵ Thus, as St. Irenaeus testified, "through those who were appointed bishops by the apostles, and through their successors down to our own time, the apostolic tradition" was manifested and preserved.²⁶

The Constitution also provides the Roman Catholic teaching on the office of a bishop. According to the document, a bishop marked with the fullness of the sacrament of Orders is "the steward of the grace of the supreme priesthood," especially in the Eucharist.²⁷ The source of this teaching is the ancient prayer of episcopal

consecration in the eastern rite. An examination of the entire rite reveals that there is no mention at all of the office being conferred (the same absence in the pre-Elizabethan ordinal of Edward VI) or of the eucharistic sacrifice as the essential grace and power of the priesthood.²⁸ While the rite obviously intended the consecration of sacramental ministers, its lack of such specific language not only parallels it to the early Edwardian ordinal rites, but forces it to share in the rite's condemnation by Pope Leo XIII.

The Second Council of the Vatican was intended to be a clarification of the true nature of catholic teaching against the corruptions which had encumbered it over the centuries. The Decree on Ecumenism admits that the former corruptions were a hazard for maintaining the corporate unity of the catholic faith, for the unique admission was made that the reformation divisions came about "not without the fault of men on both sides."²⁹ It would therefore seem that the avoidance of the dogmatic language of the Tridentine council in the pastoral documents of Vatican II indicate on the part of the Roman teaching authority a willing rejection of the bulk of Tridentine doctrines and anathemas. The exaggeration of these doctrines were necessary in the condemnation of Anglican orders in Apostolicae curae.

Quite simply, if the principles of Trent were perfect in their application of scholastic doctrines, then

there would have been no need for the Constitution on the Church, or the Decree on Ecumenism. At least this stands to reason.

Despite agreements on the essential nature of the sacraments of Eucharist and Orders, issued by the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Conference talks of 1968-1982, Anglican orders are still condemned by the Vatican. The final conclusions produced by ARCIC attempted to forego old polemical problems and limitations of the past in order not to deny the truth, but instead discern it honestly.³⁰

Regarding the document on eucharistic doctrine, the intention of the Commission was to "reach a consensus at the level of faith," so that it could have been said, "this is the Christian faith of the Eucharist."³¹ This was accomplished in terms which surprisingly paralleled those used by the Anglican bishops in their Responsio to Apostolicae curae. It was established that Christ's sacrifice, completed once-and-for-all on the cross, could not be repeated. The Cranmerian phrase of the "one, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice" regarding the cross was affirmed.³² Further, the notions of memorial sacrifice and real presence of Christ are entirely consistent with Cranmer's Defence and the language of the Prayer Book. These notions are recorded earlier in this investigation.

The Commission also produced agreement on the doctrine of ministry and Holy Orders. Admitting minor

differences in the emphasis of the role of the ordained ministry in the two communions, the Commission upheld that what was agreed would be recognized by both the Anglican and Roman Catholic faiths.³³ The emphasis was on the agreement of the two communions on the three-fold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, and the necessity of apostolic succession. "Here are comprised," the Commission wrote, "the essential features of what is meant in our two traditions by ordination in the apostolic succession."³⁴ These features included not only the three-fold ministry, but also the sacramental relation of the actions of the sacrificing priest to the sacrificing Christ.

The ARCIC documents were submitted to the respective authorities of each communion. The Anglican response has been quite positive, in that the essentials agreed upon have represented to Anglicans "a healing for the alienation of the past, a joy for the mutual discovery of our common heritage of faith, and thanksgiving for the progress made."³⁵ Major obstacles to full reunion for the Anglican authorities remain in the Roman dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and Assumption of Mary the Mother of Jesus and the Infallibility of the Pope. Anglicans have never formally questioned the validity of Roman orders.

The response of the Vatican has been quite different. Nearly ten years after the publication of the ARCIC Final Report, the Vatican made formal response to Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey on 5 December 1991.

The response stated that the ARCIC report "constitutes a significant milestone not only in relations between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion but in the ecumenical movement as a whole."³⁶

However, Archbishop Carey admitted a shift in the tone of the Vatican response from a question of what was essentially consonant to a one of seeking an agreement that was "identical with the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church."³⁷ The Archbishop responded that if it were required that one side simply conform to the other's theological formulations, further steps toward reunion could prove hazardous.

Once again, as at the Council of Trent and the condemnation of Anglican orders, the determination of the Roman Catholic Church to force Anglicanism to submit to Roman scholasticism prohibits the reunion of two catholic churches, the first step towards the restoration of the visible unity of the ancient Catholic Church.

CHAPTER FOUR NOTES

¹ Paul Johnson, A History of Christianity (New York: Atheneum Press, 1976), 376.

² Ibid., 377.

³ John Henry Newman, Tract XC (1841).

⁴ Martin Wellings, "Anglo-Catholicism, the 'Crisis in the Church' and the Cavalier Case of 1899," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 42 (April 1991): 239.

⁵ George R. Hubbard, "Sowing the Seed," The Living Church, 2 November 1986, 8.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Hughes, Absolutely Null and Utterly Void: The Papal Condemnation of Anglican Orders, 1896 (Cleveland: Corpus Books, 1968), 34.

⁸ Hubbard, 8.

⁹ Hughes, 39.

¹⁰ Ibid., 69.

¹¹ Ibid., 116.

¹² Bettenson, 274.

¹³ Leo XIII, Apostolicae Curae (1896).

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Responsio (1897) of the Archbishops of England to Apostolicae Curae, IX.

¹⁷ Ibid., X.

¹⁸ Ibid., XI.

¹⁹ Ibid., XX.

²⁰ Dom Gregory Dix, The Question of Anglican Orders (documents and letters) (London: Dacre Press, 1956), 47.

²¹ Cf. Session VII, Canon II.

²² Bettenson's logic in his editorial commentary

also reflects this point of thought, and is commendable.

²³Hughes, Absolutely Null, 291.

²⁴Constitution on the Church, XX.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., XXVI.

²⁸Dix, 44.

²⁹Decree on Ecumenism, III.

³⁰Foreward to ARCIC Final Report, iv.

³¹Final Report, 11.

³²Ibid., 15.

³³Ibid., 29.

³⁴Ibid., 38.

³⁵James Solheim, "After Ten Years, Vatican Responds to Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission," (Anglican Press Service News Release dated 1 February 1992).

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Primary Sources

Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission. The Final Report. Washington: United States Catholic Conference and Forward Movement Publications, 1982.

Aquinas, Saint Thomas. Summa Theologica. (Edited by Mortimer J. Adler) Chicago: Britannica, 1955.

Baum, Gregory, tr. The Teachings (Documents) of the Second Vatican Council. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1966.

Bettenson, Henry, ed. Documents of the Christian Church. New York: Oxford, 1963.

Bicknell, E.J., ed. The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (with Theological Commentary). New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1947.

Brooks, Peter Newman, ed. Cranmer in Context (documents). Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989.

Cox, John Edmond, ed. Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury and Martyr, Relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844.

_____. Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury and Martyr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846.

Dickens, A.G., ed. The Reformation In England (Documents of Modern History Series). New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968.

Dix, Dom Gregory, ed. The Question of Anglican Orders (documents and letters). London: Dacre Press, 1956.

Foxe, John. Acts and Monuments of John Foxe. New York: AMS Press, 1965.

Gee, Henry, ed. Documents Illustrative of English Church History, Compiled from Original Sources. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910.

The Holy Bible. New International Version.

- Jenkyns, Henry, ed. The Remains of Thomas Cranmer, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833.
- McHugh, John, tr. Catechism of the Council of Trent, Issued by Pope Pius V. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1943.
- Oberman, Heiko A., ed. Forerunners of the Reformation. New York: Holy, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966.
- Schroeder, H.J., tr. The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books, 1978.
- Vaughan, Robert, ed. The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, O.D., Illustrated Principally From His Unpublished Manuscripts. London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1831.
- Wright, Charles H.H., ed. Archbishop Cranmer on the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. London: Protestant Reformation Society, 1907.

Secondary Sources

- "After Ten Years, Vatican Responds to ARCIC Commission." Anglican News Service Release. 1 February 1992.
- Cuming, G.J. A History of Anglican Liturgy. London: Macmillan, 1969.
- Fisher, George Park. History of the Christian Church. London: Stoughton, 1913.
- Hubbard, George R. "Sowing the Seed: Anglican and Roman Catholic Relations." The Living Church (2 November 1986) 8-9.
- Hughes, John Jay. Absolutely Null and Utterly Void: The Papal Condemnation of Anglican Orders, 1896. Cleveland: Corpus Books, 1968.
- _____. Stewards of the Lord. London: Sheed and Ward, 1970.
- Jungman, Joseph A. The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1959.
- Kuhner, Hans. Encyclopedia of the Papacy. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958.
- Lawson, John. Introduction to Christian Doctrine. Grand

Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1980.

The New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967, s.v. "Trent, Council of."

Pollard, Albert F. Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965.

Ridley, Jasper. Thomas Cranmer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Smith, Canon George D., ed. The Teaching of the Catholic Church: A Summary of Catholic Doctrine. New York: Macmillan Company, 1953.

Swanson, R.N. "Problems of the Priesthood in Pre-Reformation England." The English Historical Review 105 (October 1990) 845-869.

Wellings, Martin. "Anglo-Catholicism, the 'Crisis in the Church' and the Cavalier Case of 1899." Journal of Ecclesiastical History 42 (April 1991) 239-258.

TO: All Graduate Students who submit a Thesis or
Research Problem/Project as Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for an Advanced Degree

FROM: Emporia State University Graduate School

I Michael S. Podrebarac hereby submit this thesis to
Emporia State University as partial fulfillment of the
requirements of an advanced degree. I agree that the
Library of this University may make it available for use
in accordance with its regulations governing materials
of this type. I further agree that quoting, photocopying,
or other reproduction of this document is allowed for
private study, scholarship (including teaching), and
research purposes of a non-profit nature. No copying which
involves potential financial gain will be allowed without
written permission of the author.

Michael S. Podrebarac
Author

8 May AD 1992
Date

"An Historical Comparison of the
Anglican and Roman Liturgies of
the Reformation"
Title

Stephen B. Cooper
Graduate Office Staff Member

May 15, 1992
Date Received

Distribution: Director, William Allen White Library
Graduate School Office
Author