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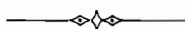
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so much as a *blade of grass* from the sacred spot. And this was but a specimen of many such letters that he was accustomed to receive. The Americans would have purchased Shakespeare's house—they *have* placed a stained window in his church at Stratford. Had we, at home, their reverence, we should have purchased for the English people for ever Coleridge's cottages at Clevedon and Nether Stowey, and the house where Tennyson was born—all which were (and, it may be, are) to be had for a trifling sum. Perhaps they may reproduce Glastonbury Abbey in America. But such flights are not, it would seem, for the stolid, moneyed, Philistine Briton.

Farewell, solemn and piteous gray Ruin! No, pity is not the word; rather deep reverence befits sublimity in low estate. Protest still, and appeal, ye mute uplifted arms! And oh! Glastonbury people, rejoice in your possession; and, people of England, guard jealously the shell of a vanished glory!

I. R. VERNON.



## ART. II.—REPLIES TO THE POPE'S BULL.

THE Pope's Bull (*Apostolicæ Curæ*) has given rise to a great deal of literature. He has condemned the Church of England as having no valid ministry, and the defenders of that Church have naturally risen to repel the charge. This they have done very effectually, showing, in the first place, that the Church of England has retained in her ordination services everything which was deemed essential by the early and undivided Church, and, in the second place, that the continuity of the Church of Rome cannot be assured if something more was necessary for the validity of ordination than was found in the early Church. So far the defenders of the Church of England will seem to most unprejudiced persons to have proved their case against the condemnation of the Papal Bull.

But some of these writers, in repelling the Pope's attack, have used a line of argument which is calculated to give more concern to the friends of the English Church than to her opponents, and which tends to compromise the general position of the Church in reference to the Church of Rome. It is to be regretted that the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge seems to have lent its authority to an argument of this kind; for the publication which has attracted most attention in its opposition to the Pope's charge is one that has been issued by this Society, under the auspices of

the Church Historical Society, written by the Rev. F. W. Puller, of the Cowley Mission; and this pamphlet, as will be shown, is very misleading in reference to some very important subjects.

To confine ourselves, then, to the pamphlet in question, the first part of it is written to show that there is no defect of form in the English ordination service. It is made clear that no one form of words has been recognised by the Catholic Church as the only valid form of ordination, that the forms have varied considerably in different Churches at different times, and that our Prayer-Book form, whether we consider it as it was worded in the reign of Edward VI., or as it has been worded since the last revision, fulfils all the conditions which, even by Roman Catholic authorities, have been held necessary. The pamphlet discusses this point with much learning and ability, and so far deserves the hearty acknowledgments of English Churchmen. But upon the second part of this pamphlet many Churchmen will pass a very different judgment. Its special subject is the intention of the English Ordinal; and in order to show the intention of the Ordinal, it seemed necessary to justify the intention of those divines who drew it up, for the Pope had condemned their intention; and the main charge which we have to make against this part of the pamphlet is that there runs through it an assumption that the intention of the Church of England is in substantial agreement with the intention of the Church of Rome upon the points of doctrine upon which the Pope condemns the English Church. It will be remembered that the Pope in his Bull had condemned the Church because the words of its ordination service do not "definitely express the sacred order of Priesthood, or its grace and power, which is chiefly the power of consecrating and of offering the true body and blood of the Lord (Council of Trent, Sess. xxiii., Can. 1) in that sacrifice, which is no nude commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the Cross (*ibid.*, Sess. xxii., de Sacrif. Missæ, Can. 3)."

Thus the Pope makes it plain that he condemns the Church of England in reference to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, because it has rejected that doctrine of the sacrifice which was affirmed by the Council of Trent; and, accordingly, he adds: "In vain those who from the time of Charles I. have attempted to hold some kind of sacrifice or of priesthood have made some additions to the Ordinal. In vain also has been the contention of that small section of the Anglican body formed in recent times that the said Ordinal can be understood and interpreted in a sound and orthodox sense. Such efforts, we affirm, have been, and are, made in vain, and for this reason, that any words in the Anglican Ordinal, as it now is, which

lend themselves to ambiguity cannot be taken in the same sense as they possess in the Catholic rite."

Now, how does Mr. Puller meet this plain charge of the Pope, that the Church of England has rejected that doctrine of the Mass sacrifice which is contained in the Roman Catholic rite? He might have met it by showing that the Church of England has retained the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the sense which she considers primitive and Scriptural, and that it is not necessary to hold it as affirmed by the Council of Trent. But instead of doing this, he says not a word to show that the doctrine of the Mass sacrifice, as required by the Pope, is not obligatory. He argues as if the Pope could not be gainsaid in declaring it obligatory, and, accordingly, he says that the Pope had been misled, that he had been deluded by some of his advisers into imagining that the doctrine of the priesthood and the sacrifice had been suppressed in the English Church. He says: "The Church of England determined at that time (in the sixteenth century) to continue the primitive and mediæval priesthood, and she has continued it to this day." "That priesthood has always, from the Day of Pentecost onwards, offered the Eucharistic Sacrifice to God." Thus the reader of the pamphlet is led to suppose that the Pope would not have condemned the English Church if he had understood her real tenets—in other words, that the doctrine of the Church of England in reference to the Eucharistic Sacrifice and that of the Church of Rome are substantially and essentially one and the same.

But further, in order to answer the Pope's objection as to the animus of the English Reformers, and to show that our formularies need not be interpreted in the sense which the Pope attributes to them, Mr. Puller argues that our Reformers, when they struck out sacrificial words from our English formularies, were not opposing that doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which the Pope affirms as necessary, but that they were only opposing some extravagances which had been broached by Roman Catholic divines, such as the doctrines condemned by Vasquez, and the opinion attributed to Catharinus that sins committed before baptism are remitted through the sacrifice of the cross, but all post-baptismal sins through the sacrifice of the altar. This argument has been used much of late in order to evacuate our Thirty-first Article of any opposition to the Romish Mass, as though it had only been directed against some popular errors in connection with the Mass. But if anyone wishes to see how destitute the notion is of any solid foundation, he may be referred to two small but learned volumes written by the Rev. N. Dimock: "Dangerous Deceits," and "Missarum Sacrificiæ" (Elliot

Stock). Mr. Dimock, in reference to the Thirty-first Article, pertinently asks those who would read a new sense into it, as though it were directed against such errors as those of Catharinus: "Can they produce any one saying from any one of the writings of any one among the divines of any authority, on either side of the controversy, which can fairly be said to give any solid support to their view?" And he asks whether it is conceivable that our Reformers should have been opposing extravagances of this kind, "and the whole succession of our divines from the Reformation downwards be utterly ignorant of it." The doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice was, as Mr. Dimock says, "the subject of continual controversies between the learned divines of England and of Rome in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries . . . and on neither side was it ever (I believe) even questioned that the matter in dispute between the Churches was the very doctrine of the Mass itself, and nothing else." It is to be hoped that, unless Mr. Dimock's statements can be refuted, and his proofs shown to be untrustworthy, the attempt to evacuate our formularies of all opposition to the Romish Mass will not be repeated any more. Cardinal Newman acknowledged in his late years how untenable had been his own position in reference to this subject. In "Via Media" (Longmans, 1891), he wrote: "There is no denying that these audacious words (blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits—Article XXXI.) apply to the doctrinal teaching as well as to the popular belief of Catholics. What was commonly said" (that the priest offers Christ for the quick and the dead—Article XXXI.) "was also formally enunciated by the Œcumenical Hierarchy in Council assembled." And again, "What the Thirty-first Article repudiates is undeniably the central and most sacred doctrine of the Catholic religion, and so its wording has ever been read since it was drawn up."

But a further charge must be brought against the pamphlet in question. It is this: Mr. Puller, in order to show that the Pope had been misled as to the tenets of the English Church, has quoted some great English divines, and left an impression that they maintained doctrines which they have strongly and emphatically repudiated. He has relied upon their declaration of belief in a Eucharistic Sacrifice, as though they must have meant by that term the same Eucharistic Sacrifice which the Pope holds as an obligatory subject of faith. He could hardly have been aware that the divines whom he quotes considered the doctrine of the Church of England upon the Eucharistic Sacrifice as separated by an impassable gulf from that of the Church of Rome, and that they had declared the doctrine of the Romish Mass, which the Pope holds obligatory, to be

blasphemous. But let them speak for themselves. Mr. Puller has singled out four names from the great divines of our Church, saying: "These are representative names among the theologians of the Church of England during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., and they one and all bear witness to the fact that the English Church had retained priesthood and sacrifice, and that she taught the truths connected with them to her people." The four divines thus singled out are Bishops Jewel, Bilson and Andrewes, and Dean Field, and the following extracts will show how far the sacrifice which they acknowledge is the same as that which the Pope declares obligatory.

(1) Jewel—"They did tell us that in their Mass they were able to make Christ the Son of God, and to offer Him unto God His Father for our sins. O blasphemous speech! and most injurious to the glorious work of our redemption. . . . Shall he that is conceived in sin, in whom there dwelleth no good, who is altogether unprofitable, and hath no entrance unto the Father but through Jesus Christ, make intercession to the Father that for his sake He will look upon and receive His Son, even because he doth offer Him for a sacrifice? What is blasphemy, if this be not? Such kind of sacrifice we have not. . . . It is the blood of Jesus which cleanseth us from all sin. This is our sacrifice, this is our propitiation, this is the propitiation and sacrifice for the whole world. How, then, saith Pope Pius we have no sacrifice?" (P.S., 1139, 1140).

Again, Jewel writes: "Thus we offer up Christ, that is to say, an example" [referring to a quotation from Chrysostom] "a commemoration, or remembrance, of the Death of Christ. This kind of sacrifice was never denied, but Mr. Harding's real sacrifice was never yet proved."

(2) Bilson says: "You will have a real corporal and local offering of Christ's flesh to God the Father under the forms of bread and wine, made by the priest's external gestures and actions for the sins of such as he lists. This is, we say, a wicked and blasphemous mockery."

Then, in answer to an objection that Christ is daily offered in the Church, he says: "Not in the substance, which is your error, but in signification, which is their doctrine (the Fathers') and ours. Take their interpretation with their words, and they make nothing for your local and external offering of Christ. . . . The Catholic Fathers, I can assure you, say Christ is offered and Christ is crucified in the Lord's Supper indifferently" ("True Difference," pp. 690, 691, 700).

(3) Andrewes distinguishes between two senses in which the word "sacrifice" is used. "Sacrificii vocabulum sumitur dupliciter, proprie et improprie," and he writes: "There is but

one Sacrifice veri nominis, properly so called, that is, Christ's death, and that sacrifice but once actually performed at His death, but ever before presented in figure from the beginning, and ever since represented in memory to the world's end" (Sermon II., 300). And in his answer to Bellarmine, he writes: "Vos tollite de missâ transubstantiationem vestram, nec diu lis erit de sacrificio; memoriam ibi fieri sacrificii damus non inviti. Sacrificari ibi Christum vestrum de pane factum nunquam daturi."

(4) Dean Field writes: "The best and principal men that then lived taught peremptorily that Christ is not newly offered any otherwise than in that He is offered to the view of God, nor any otherwise sacrificed than in that His sacrifice on the cross is commemorated and represented."

Again: "We admit the Eucharist to be rightly named a sacrifice, though we detest the blasphemous construction the Papists make of it."

Again: "It is made clear and evident that the best and worthiest among the guides of God's Church taught, as we do, that the sacrifice of the altar is only the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and a mere representation and commemoration of the sacrifice once offered upon the cross, and consequently are all put under the curse and anathematized by the Tridentine Council" ("Of the Church-Book," III., vol. ii., pp. 59, 72, 83, 94).

The above extracts show that the view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which the writers maintained is certainly not one which would be considered satisfactory or sufficient by the Pope. In fact, as Field acknowledges in the last quotation, their views were anathematized by the Council of Trent. Therefore the conclusion must be, if these writers are "representative names among the theologians of the English Church," that the Pope in condemning the doctrine of that Church upon the Eucharistic Sacrifice, did not condemn it because he had been misled or deluded about the tenets of our Church upon this subject, or because he had misunderstood the position which her representative theologians had taken up, but he condemned it because the doctrine which the Church of England holds in reference to the sacrifice of the Eucharist is essentially different from that held by the Church of Rome.

The extracts which have been given sufficiently indicate where the essential difference lies, apart from the question of transubstantiation; they show that the writers willingly acknowledge in the Eucharist a sacrificial offering for God's acceptance of everything which man can give and offer for His acceptance, such as the offering of thanks and praise, and of our bodies, souls and spirits. But they deny that man can

offer for God's acceptance that which Christ alone had to offer—the body and blood which He yielded up upon the cross. If the reader will refer to the first extracts from Jewel, he will see that what is condemned so strongly by him is the notion that man can properly make intercession to God that He will accept the sacrifice of His only-begotten Son. The pleading of that sacrifice is quite another matter. In pleading it, we are not asking Him to accept the sacrifice, but to accept us for the sake of the sacrifice once made. And this the writers whose names have been brought forward allow to be a right accompaniment of the Lord's Supper. But to offer to God for His acceptance the body and blood of Christ once offered upon the cross is regarded as a presumptuous reversal of the right position of man before God, in forgetfulness that man is only the receiver of God's inestimable gift, and that he has nothing to bring to God in return but his thanks and devotion.

It may be added, as the name of Cranmer has been also prominently brought forward in this discussion as acknowledging a sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, that the following words, taken from the preface of his "Defence of the Sacrament," in 1550, will serve to show whether he gave any support to the Mass doctrine which the Pope requires: "The rest is but branches and leaves, the cutting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree . . . leaving the body standing and the roots in the ground; but the very body of the tree, or, rather, the roots of the weeds, is the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the altar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard, will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions."

P.S.—Many Churchmen will be glad to see that the Archbishop's answer to the Pope's letter, which has just appeared, states the Anglican view of the Eucharistic sacrifice in close accordance with the divines quoted in this article.

E. J. BIRCH.

