

The Journal
of
The Church of England
(Continuing)



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CONSTITUTION

1. **Doctrine:** The doctrine of the Continuing Church shall be that of the 39 Articles of Religion understood in their original, natural and intended sense.
2. **Worship:** The worship of the Continuing Church shall be generally according to the Book of Common Prayer (1662).

The Authorised Version of the Bible shall be the only version used in the lectern and the pulpit and in public readings and expositions at all meetings of the Continuing Church.

3. **Ministry:** The consecration and ordination of ministers shall be according to the Ordinal of the Book of Common Prayer (1662). The Continuing Church believes in the ministry of women according to Scripture which does not permit them to teach or exercise authority, particularly as bishops, priests, and deacons.
4. **Discipline:** The church shall be episcopally governed. A general assembly shall be held not less than once a year consisting of the bishop and the ministers of the church and representatives of the local congregations to transact the business of the denomination and for mutual encouragement and edification.
5. **Membership:** New churches may apply for membership of the Continuing Church on the basis of their agreement with the doctrine, worship and discipline of that body.

Membership of the local church shall be on the basis of baptism and confirmation and approval by the local presbyter.

Any matters incapable of resolution shall be referred to the Ordinary.

The Continuing Church publishes a prayer letter, "Intercessions." It is available free of charge to those who would like to receive news and to pray for the various needs.

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Contributions toward postage costs are gratefully received.

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Dear Friends,

The cause of this *Journal* appearing so late is largely mine and the others who have not provided articles, though repeatedly asked to do so, as well as technical difficulties in the final stages of production.

We are coming to the Annual Day Conference at Benson on Saturday July 1st, and look forward to an excellent day, as we had last year when Canon Patrick Sookhdeo spoke so ably on Islam. The tapes are still available. This year we have the Rev. Baruch Maoz from Israel, pastor of a flock which God has blessed in many ways. We shall listen to Bishop David Samuel and Pastor Maoz speak on Israel's Importance in History and Today. That is the most pressing subject before world leaders today, and before God's Church. We shall have good teaching and games for children, meet to discuss our own Church of England (Continuing) affairs, and enjoy happy fellowship on the grass outside at midday. It is a wonderful opportunity, and please invite others. The day that the Lord will come is unknown, but the signs grow daily. Let us be found with our lights burning and our loins girt, so that when He comes we may open to Him.

The great mark of God's pleasure is upon you and the stand you have taken for His truth and honour. We are united, happy, faithful and disciplined. We long to grow more holy, more like Christ, more willing in His service, but let us give thanks for all the past, and hope for the future. Please pray for the sick, the elderly, the leaders of the churches and above all that God will send forth more labourers into His harvest. Our growth is in founding new groups. We need ordained men. They come only by your prayers.

Pray also for the Rees-Evans family in East Africa, and for all our scattered members. God is with us, but we need one another, so come to Benson and let nothing stand in the way of that. May God give us the weather and fill our speakers with His Spirit, and give us all expectant hearts,

Your friend and bishop



Edward Malcolm

THE 1928 PRAYER BOOK¹

Edward Malcolm

The Episcopal Church of the United States of America (ECUSA), which is the Anglican Church in the USA, took its American Prayer Book largely from the book known over here as the 1928 Prayer Book. The Protestant Continuing Churches in the USA base their stand, generally speaking, upon this American Prayer Book. Therefore the matter has come up repeatedly, and it may interest you to know something about the matter. Whilst we welcome their stand, and have much in common with them, we do not feel able to accept the 1928 Book. Possibly you have at some time been to a church which used the 'Shorter', or 'Deposited' Book, as it was sometimes called, and experienced its use?

WE stand for the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, and regard the 1928 Book use as dangerous and unacceptable. In Britain the 1928 Book was the result of about a century of pressure from the Anglo Catholics who, whilst saying they accepted the 1662, and that it, and the Articles of Religion, taught their position, meaning Anglo Catholicism, and so supported them, in fact acted and knew the contrary. They were duplicitous. Newman spoke with two faces, one Protestant so as not to get thrown out of the Church of England when his movement was still very new and weak. And the other, later and bolder, said that the Articles were something he wished to get rid of and replace them by the Creeds alone. At heart they knew the 1662 and the Articles were thoroughly against them, and so to stay within the Church of England, Newman and others justified themselves before men by a series of 'Tracts'. For instance the notorious Tract 90 said that Article 31 which called Masses "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits", only meant a certain bad Mass once seen by some Reformers, not the Mass in general! In fact Anglo-Catholics always showed a tendency to either drop the 1662, or change it, or illegally use the 'English Missal'. Thus, at the earliest opportunity they sought to replace the Book of Common Prayer by the 1928 Book. We do not accuse that book of being the Roman position, but of putting the clock back to that long period when the Church was being deformed, before she was reformed.

The full Mass as taught by Rome, was the end result of a long process, covering centuries, of growing departure from Scripture in the Church. The 1928 Book is a deliberate return to that long period during which various practices such as 'epiclesis' and adoration of the elements and a large number of other abuses of primitive Christianity crept in, often by well-meaning phrases such as the one that named Mary 'theotokos'. To call Mary the 'God-bearer' was not wrong if understood, but was open

1. *This article has arisen out of correspondence on the subject*

to abuse. 'Epiclesis' or calling down the Holy Spirit upon the elements of bread and wine at Communion, was to erroneously believe that inanimate objects could receive the Holy Spirit and so become the body and blood of Christ. The Mass thus crept in slowly from the build-up of a number of false ideas. The 1928 Book was a return, not to the Mass as such, but to the dark period when the Church had departed in many ways from the faith of the Apostles. The reintroduction of this wrong teaching would once again inevitably lead to the reintroduction of the Roman Mass.

When the idea of this new book came to the fore in 1922, Protestant clergy such as Dean Wace and Dr. Daniel Bartlett, backed by the Church Association (later Church Society), and Church Pastoral Aid Society, took a strong line against it. The result was a movement so powerful that Parliament had to take note. The Book had to come to Parliament as it changed the doctrines of the Church of England, something the Bishops could not do without legislation in the House. One Member, the Home Secretary Johynson Hicks, also called Viscount Lamb, spoke so well that he was likened in the reports of the debate to one of the old Covenanters, full of fire and of the Spirit against such a dishonour to the Lord.

That 1928 book was rejected by Parliament voting 517 to 133 in 1927, and by 396 to 153 in 1928, and you might have thought that would be the end of the matter. Indeed, at least one church was erected in thankfulness for God's deliverance, in Felixtowe. Not so, but it was then published and circulated by the Bishops under a large type heading note, "The publication of this book does not directly or indirectly imply that it can be regarded as authorised for use in churches". In other words, the Anglo-Catholics went right ahead, refusing to accept that decision. The bishops, who had turned a blind eye, were deeply upset by Parliament, and to bypass it, in 1928 declared 'Lawful Authority' in Synod. The explanation of that phrase. 'lawful authority', is that clergy swore obedience in the Declaration of Assent, 'except in so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority'. Thus the lawbreakers were legalised in illegal mass vestments, stone altars, habitual secret confessionals, by a later change, Draft Canon 13. This canon took a way out of the difficulty by defining 'Lawful Authority' afresh, and by further experimenting with new services other than the Book of Common Prayer. It thus became the avenue through which the 1967 new 'Order of Holy Communion' was brought in, and eventually the 1980 Alternative Service Book and then the services of Common Worship in the Church of England, now being replaced by a further Common Worship, a virtual free-for-all. In addition, the damage done by General Synod can hardly be overestimated. We blame much of it on that 1928 Book.

That illegal Book is what the Churches following on from ECUSA are, in essence, seeking to defend and use. We admit it is not actual Romanism, but we say it is somewhat of a compromise book, being deliberately phrased so as to be interpretable either way by the user, Protestant or Anglo-Catholic. However the

ingenuity of the compilers was not sufficient to do that when they reached the heart of the controversy, the Holy Communion Service. And indeed, one argument which swayed the House of Commons against allowing the Book was that the Holy Communion had Alternative Rites, which was regarded as reprehensible, especially as one was clearly Roman Catholic in intent. There was still enough regard for Truth in those days for this to sway the vote. Since then, when the Anglo-Catholics felt strong enough, beginning in the 1960s, they produced a series of Alternative Service Books, all marked by the same dishonesty shown in the 1928 Book, only this time better done. They sought to accommodate everyone, of all persuasions, by use of ambiguous language, but in the Holy Communion service they did this by having various alternative Rites. I know by talking to them they were much against the clarity of the 1662 and were glad to be quit of it. The 1928 Book introduced dishonesty as a tool.

Thus it is clear to us that the American Continuing Churches are defending a somewhat different position to our own. We are set to defend the original Protestant Martyrs' and Reformers' faith, as expressed in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and 39 Articles. We have a wholesome fear of watering down that position, as we have suffered greatly from Anglo-Catholicism and its fruits. The reason is, not just the terrible evils of Rome and its rejection of the heart of the Gospel, Justification by Faith and all the things you well know, but also that the Anglo-Catholic and Liberal Bishop Gore, when Archbishop, said in his autobiography that he had 'married' Anglo-Catholicism to Liberalism. He was a Liberal in his view of Scripture, something the early Anglo-Catholics were heartily against. Such men as Pusey earlier defended Scriptural Inspiration and Infallibility strongly. Thus Anglo-Catholicism accepted Liberalism, which Gore saw as his great achievement.

Thus we blame Anglo-Catholicism heavily, both for dishonestly taking over our Church of England and then, even worse, for allowing an even more evil thing in under their auspices, namely Liberalism. They love to blame the Protestant right of Private Judgment for all the inroads of Liberalism, but in fact it was they who allowed the Liberals into seats of authority, which the 39 Articles in their proper and intended sense kept them out of. Bishop Hensley Henson was the first Liberal made a bishop. He was the obvious choice, but it meant swallowing the fact he was a Liberal in his view of Scripture. He says in his autobiography that he was approached, and told that he would be made a bishop if he would agree to say nothing of his views publicly. He was soon followed by openly avowed Liberals like Barns of Birmingham, a man who, having publicly promised to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines at his consecration, accepted the perks of office, and used his position to deny publicly the resurrection each Easter, and you know to what depths they have now sunk. We say of Anglican clergy by and large today, 'fancy dresses with liberal hearts'.

Thus we blame the Anglo-Catholics and their 1928 Book for hypocrisy and lawlessness, and then for taking over authority. Once they were in, to my certain knowledge, they excluded all true believers and Protestants from positions of authority, or only appointed such as would bend their way. All men who would have taken a stand against them they kept out. Thus they ruled, to the great detriment of our nation and the Gospel. Thus it was a dictum amongst us for many years that if an evangelical became a bishop or was given any higher position, then he was unsound. And it was true, for I grew up in Church of England rectories, and watched the whole charade at first hand in a ringside seat.

However, Liberalism is also as you well know a dishonest and insidious evil, and they in their turn ousted the Anglo-Catholics just as the Anglo-Catholics had ousted the Protestants, and so the Liberals took the reins of power from the Anglo-Catholics. Thus in 1996 we were faced by something quite new, namely, for the first time since the Sixteenth Century Reformation, the Church of England was enshrining as a required belief that women could be ordained and take authority over men. Up to them, Scripture was the source of Anglican doctrine. It is true many unofficial statements had been made against Scripture by individual bishops and influential figures, but none of them had actually overturned the official position. That position was the Articles, based on Scripture alone. And they were contained in the covers of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer alone, and nowhere else, certainly not in the 1928 Book.

That marked the topstone of their triumph, the keystone of the arch of the Liberal takeover. Our founder, Bishop David Samuel, saw that clearly, and so did a surprisingly small band of us who stood with him. The birth of the Church of England (Continuing) is not simply the Ordination of Women Measure passing the Synod, but the fact that was a watershed. From that point in 1996 on, it was clear to us that every doctrine emanating from the Liberals who were now firmly in control, would be man-made, not based solely on God's Word. And so it has sadly proved. Each day we live we see we fresh proofs. They teach for the commandments of God the commandments of men. Our Lord called such people hypocrites.

Further, to stay, we had to give assent to the new Canons, which stated that 'he' in the Ordinal meant 'she', a seemingly minor piece of dishonesty, but that was what the 1928 Book, that Trojan horse, brought in as acceptable within the Church of England. And that if I wished to take another Parish, and I was coming to an age in life when this was likely to be forced upon me shortly, then to get in to the new parish I had to renew my oath of obedience to the Bishops 'in all things lawful and honest', a phrase which at law has always been upheld to mean 'in accordance with the Canons'. And it was made clear in my presence at the time, it meant from the heart, not a feigned obedience, whilst privately practicing 'reservation'. That was something Newman taught his followers, and all the early Anglo-Catholics, and the

host of later ones, all practiced reservation, whilst swearing to believe and uphold the plain sense of the Articles, a thing they had absolutely no intention of doing. I have always heartily despised them for it. I will, God helping me, never be such a hypocrite.

Had the Anglo-Catholics formed their own Church, I would not have agreed with them in the least, but I would have respected their position. Instead they wormed their way into ours, and overturned all it was founded to uphold. I do not respect Evangelicals who claim to stand by the Bible, who have stayed on in the Church of England, and who have made an oath of obedience since 1996, for at heart they are practicing reservation, something God can never bless. We say the same to churches who stayed on in today's Church of England. They complain about the clergy, their 'office hours' approach to availability, their dropping evening services, their whole approach to the rough side of ministerial life, and of giving one's self and one's family up for the good of the Church of God entrusted to their care by the Chief Shepherd. Rather than complain, they ought to be asking themselves, 'should we be here?'

I would digress, and ask those clergy, was the Lord Jesus just 'an enabler'? Did He expect the disciples to be so encouraged by His preaching that they would die on the cross whilst He occupied Himself in going on preaching to them? There is such a thing as example, as leadership, as getting one's hands dirty. The Theological Colleges and Evangelical Societies, just as we warned, are producing a very different class of men. In fact they are mainly producing women. How can these young men stomach training, at a theological college which accepts women for ordination alongside them? I see learned books being written on the clergy and the canons, but am unimpressed. To obey is better than the sacrifice of scholarly hours to such exercises. Thus the Evangelical churches who refused to take the line we did but stayed, have clergy now coming to them of a very different stamp. All these churches are doing, when all the talk about 'all this does not affect us in our local church' is removed, is propping up the Liberals, both by presence and funds. One academic speaking to me not long ago, likened the present day Church of England to 'the mafia', a conspiracy of silence when feeling got at. All stick together and no one can touch us. Does it honour God to be a 'teflon don' when in the court of God's Word?

To return to the subject, much of all this we blame on the 1928 Book, and so you can see the depth of our opposition to it. Clearly in the USA it is viewed differently, but we would respectfully suggest to those who have stayed within the Church of England in Britain, and to the American Protestants in Continuing Churches, in Oliver Cromwell's famous words to the Scottish Covenanters over the matter of the King, "Gentlemen, for God's sake, consider that ye might be wrong."

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS¹

David Samuel

Introduction

I THINK the clash of the Reformation was not so much between civilisations but between an individual's conscience and a theocratic church, and that is really what I want to say something about this morning. The whole thing is found in the conscience of Martin Luther, and Martin Luther repays study. We need to look more closely at his experience, particularly the experience that he had immediately prior to his outward clash with the Church of Rome and with the Papacy; because there, in his heart, in his experience, in his mind, was the real seed of the Reformation which God had sown. And we need to know something about that, and indeed we need to *recover* that experience. If we are today to be able to stand against those forces which militate against Christianity—against ideologies, against philosophies, against regimes which are contrary to the teaching of the Bible, the teaching of the Gospel—then I think we have to go back and study this microcosm of Luther's heart and conscience and mind.

In a sense, Luther's experience must be the experience of every truly converted Christian. He was not unique in that sense. He was unique in the sense that God singled him out at that particular time when there was thick darkness upon the face of Europe and upon the church, the medieval church. God singled him out for this revelation, but it was not a revelation peculiar to Martin Luther; it is something that all those who are regenerated by the Word of God and the Spirit of God must experience if they are to be true Christians.

For Luther it was a very intense and powerful thing. If it had not been so, if God had not inscribed it upon his heart and mind and conscience in the way that he did, he would not have had the strength with which to challenge the papacy. On what ground could he challenge the autocracy of the pope, the theocracy of the Roman Catholic Church's immense power that it wielded over the whole of Europe at that time? This must have been something immensely powerful, this spiritual force that moved within Luther—the work of the Holy Spirit, the ground on which he was able to challenge the power then of the Church of Rome and its hold over people's minds and hearts and bring to light the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. This is a wonderful thing for us to think about and to remember, and it needs to be something that is burning in our own hearts today if we are to challenge the darkness of our own times.

1. *This paper was first given at the General Assembly in 2005*

A certain Irish judge is supposed to have declared that he would take great care to be neither partial nor impartial in the case that was being tried before him. There are those who believe that the right way to approach Luther is in an objective and disinterested fashion. As Julius Hare pointed out in his *Vindication of Luther*, “Impartiality in its mere negativeness is a sorry qualification for forming an estimate of intellectual or moral grandeur.” “To understand Luther,” he said, “you must love him.” And that is something that I’ve experienced myself. In reading Martin Luther and reading of his experiences, you learn to love the man and what he came to stand for. Or, better still, to understand Luther you must love the truth that Luther loved, you must believe in the Word that Luther believed in. There is no ground of moral or spiritual neutrality from which you can otherwise judge him.

Was it not something similar to this that Paul said? “The spiritual man judges all things; yet he himself is judged of no man.” The worldling has no criteria for judging these matters. Only those who are themselves spiritual can judge of and receive spiritual truth. To the natural man the things of the Spirit of God are foolishness. So, as I have said to you before, we have to have recreated within our own heart the experience that Luther had, in order to appreciate him and what he said and to understand him. And there is no ground of moral neutrality by which you can judge him. You must get into the mind of the man, and the only way to do that is to be converted as Luther was himself converted; to have this spiritual mind that Paul talks about which was in Christ Jesus. And when we have that, then we see the significance and the relevance of all that Luther was saying.

Now it is essentially in this realm that we are moving when we speak of Luther and the Reformation. He was a man who judged of spiritual things. He had, by the Spirit of God, a discernment and understanding of spiritual truth. I am reminded of the story of Billy Bray—you know Billy Bray, the Cornish Methodist lay preacher, how enthusiastic he was—and there was one occasion apparently when a Methodist circuit minister came to preach, and his sermon was rather dead. But suddenly it came alive—there was something about the man that was different—and Billy Bray jumped up and he said, “The preacher is converted!” The preacher was converted by his own sermon. How many men have been converted by their own sermons? I think quite a number. You see, if we have this spiritual experience ourselves we can discern it in others. And so, that is the important thing; that is what Billy Bray saw in the preacher and shouted out, “The preacher is converted!”

Well, Luther had very few peers in the age in which he lived. He was a pioneer, bringing to light things which had been hidden in darkness. The consensus of thought of the age was against him. He had to affirm in the face of opposition, persecution and ridicule that his interpretation of the Word of God was the right one and that the doctors of the Church of Rome were wrong. The tradition of the Church and the pope himself were wrong. Clearly, there can be no real appreciation

of Luther unless there is some spiritual kinship with him; unless we experience ourselves a love of the truth which he himself knew and loved. “How dearly Martin Luther loved St. Paul! How dearly would St. Paul have loved Martin Luther! And how impossible that either should not have done so.” wrote Samuel Taylor Coleridge in *Luther’s Table Talk*. You see, this is where we all start—spiritual discernment. You will not appreciate Luther, you will not understand what he’s talking about, unless you have the same experience of the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit renewing your minds and hearts, giving you the discernment to see and judge of spiritual things.

Luther’s spiritual awakening

I want, therefore, to begin with a short account of how Luther came to an appreciation and understanding of spiritual truths—those truths that were hidden from his contemporaries; how he was able to break free from the prevailing opinions and views of his age. For here we are at the heart of the matter. This is the root of the Reformation; this is where it all took place. You know, people seem to think that movements must be launched with the fanfares of trumpets; there have to be great conferences in order to arrive at what is necessary to put over to people. There was nothing like that about the Reformation. It all began in one man’s heart and it was from this that this light which had been kindled spread out until it shone over the whole of Europe. The key to this is to be found in a phrase that was often on the lips of Luther, ‘*Coram Deo*’—in the presence of God—that is the key to the whole thing—living in the presence of God.

In 1545 when reviewing his life, Luther wrote of his early experience as a monk: However irreproachably I lived as a monk, I felt myself to be in the presence of God—*coram Deo*; to be a sinner with a most unquiet conscience. Nor could I trust that I had pleased Him with my satisfaction. I did not love—nay, rather, I hated—the just God who punished sinners. At last. God being merciful, as I meditated day and night on the connection of the words, namely, ‘The justice of God is revealed in it:’ [that’s Romans 1:17—‘the justice’ or, as we have it in the Authorised Version, ‘the righteousness’ of God is revealed in it,] ‘As it is written. The just shall live by faith.’ There I began to understand the justice [or the righteousness] of God as that by which the just lives by the gift of God, namely by faith. This straightway made me feel as though reborn, and as though I had entered through an open gate into paradise. From then on the whole face of the scripture appeared different.

That was the heart of his experience. He had wrestled with this whole thing: the righteousness of God. He could only see the righteousness of God *condemning* him. And then the Holy Ghost revealed to him that the righteousness of God—though it

did condemn—the righteousness of God in Christ, through faith, *justified* us, justified him and put him right with God, and that was the heart of the whole thing. The sense of being before God, in the presence of God, so that His eyes were upon everything that he, Martin Luther, did, in the scripture phrase “All things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do” (Heb. 4:13), was that which led Luther to discern the depth and meaning of scripture which was hidden from his contemporaries.

It was that that led him ultimately to the discovery of the gospel that was incomprehensible to those who had not trodden the path of suffering, or as he called it *‘anfechtung’* (that is a German word meaning ‘temptation’) and condemnation in the presence of God that Luther had experienced. As he says elsewhere, not reading and speculating but living, dying and being condemned make a real theologian. Theology has to do with life. It is learned from life and experience and not just from books. It is not the product of mere academic theorising. “I did not learn my theology,” said Luther “all at once. I had to search for it where my temptations took me.” It was Luther’s ‘bruised conscience’, to use John Bunyan’s great phrase, which was his true teacher, not Spalatin or any of the doctors of the monastery at Erfurt.

So you see, this was the great thing that Luther experienced. First of all, the sense of being condemned by the righteousness of God—he could not get away from that. And this led him into what he called *anfechtung*—temptation, trial, dread, fear, fear of condemnation. I think the word *‘anfechtung’* has been used by the existentialists in the form of *‘angst’*—dread, an unnameable dread—and this is what Luther experienced when he read the scriptures. He felt condemned, utterly condemned before God. There was no way he could put himself right. The monastery prescribed rules. You followed a rule of life and by that rule of life you hoped to be justified, and he knew he wouldn’t be because he could never fulfil it. He might fulfil it outwardly in the letter but he could not fulfil it inwardly in the heart, in the spirit of it. And therefore it was this spiritual understanding which Luther felt was such a heavy burden and condemnation upon his conscience. Then he came to see by reading the scriptures that it was the righteousness of God, which he feared, in Jesus Christ, which justified him because those who believe in Jesus Christ are justified through the righteousness of Christ being imputed to them. Through faith, the righteousness of Christ is counted to the believer and he stands before God in the perfection of Christ’s righteousness. That was the thing that set him free. And at that moment, he said, he felt as if his soul were a bird that had been released from a cage and flew up into the heavens.

So the term *‘anfechtung’*, temptation, as used by Luther, did not mean carnal temptation, mere outward temptation; he was talking about spiritual temptation, spiritual suffering and conflict. The whole meaning of *anfechtung*, for Luther, lies in the thought that the man has this experience *coram Deo*, before God, and that he is

less the active intelligence imposing on the stuff of the universe around him than the subject of an initiative and action from God who employs the whole of man's existence as a means of bringing men to an awareness of their need and peril. *Anfechtung* means to experience the wrath and anger of a holy God before whose gaze nothing can stand. To know that the condemnation of sin is just and that there is no escape from the consequences of the awful sentence. To such a man who has offended God, all things work together for ill. "When he is tormented," says Luther, "in *anfechtung*, it seems to him that he is alone. God is angry only with him. So it was with Adam and Eve when they sinned. Had not God come when the cool of the day arrived, they would never have noticed their sin, but when He came they crawled away." Thus, *anfechtung* is that condition in which man's conscience is awakened to understand that he has sinned against a holy God. He experiences all the terror of this in God's presence. From this he knows there is no escape. "If I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there." (Psalm 139:8).

The fear of God

Now I think, myself, that this is a dimension, a spiritual dimension, that is missing from Christianity today (when I say 'Christianity' I am talking generally)—a spiritual dimension that is missing from the institutional church today. Where is the fear of God amongst us? I think there can be no revival of spiritual things—people cannot break through as Luther did to this understanding of the righteousness of God which justifies—until first of all they are cast down by this terrible fear of God. And that, I think—the sense of the fear of God—is missing from the institutional church (I speak generally) today. Are not our services all light? Are we not supposed to entertain people, make them feel at ease, make them feel comfortable, smile at them? You see, all this is the atmosphere, the culture, that has invaded the churches today, and the whole sense of the fear of God is not there. I know it is there in many places but not generally in the institutional church, and I think it is because of that that we are alienated from God and we cannot come through into the experience that Luther had, which is essential Christianity.

The result of this (*anfechtung*) is that the soul begins to murmur against God and to hate God. "He will," says Luther, "hate the law and from day to day he will turn more and more against God." You see, as he begins to understand this fear of God, so he begins to turn against God. And as his hatred of God grows, the more his fearful conscience persists. How can the soul make acts of love to God while within there is this torment of secret rebellion? People are not, to use a phrase, 'dialectical within themselves' today. That is, they must experience this conflict, this inner struggle, this experience that Luther had of temptation, which he calls *anfechtung*. There is this sense of being condemned by God before we can be liberated by the gospel.

Coram Deo and Anfechtung

This is sufficient to show us what Luther meant by ‘living before God’—*coram Deo*—and its consequent spiritual suffering and torment, *anfechtung*, which the sinner experiences. These lessons in the school of suffering equipped Luther to understand the Bible in a way that his contemporaries did not understand it. They enabled him to grasp the biblical categories of law and sin, when they had been effectively lost in the medieval church, as they are lost to us today. They enabled him to understand that sin is not just the outward acts that we commit, which are contrary to the moral law of God, but that the root of sin is found in man’s nature. Sin is an infection of the heart, a radical disorder in human nature which renders all its acts sinful in the sight of God. These lessons led to a holistic and existential awareness of sin which is expressed in the biblical concept of ‘the flesh’ and ‘the mind of the flesh’. “They that are in the flesh cannot please God.” (Romans 8:8) That does not mean that they are those who follow carnal lusts and appetites, but those who may be most refined and cultured and religious and moral but are natural men and do not know what it means to live before God.

Now, this experience of living before God, of temptation in this spiritual sense, is the clue to Luther’s doctrine of justification by faith. Because it is when the sinner understands his sin in this way, as universal and inescapable condemnation when all hope is extinguished, that he must cry out to God—yes, to the God who is there to condemn him. That is the beginning of faith. Faith, you see, exists in contradiction, in paradox. When we feel the condemnation of God upon us, it is then that faith cries out to God, to the very God who condemns. That is the beginning of faith. Faith, by definition, exists in the face of that which negates it. “Hell,” said Luther, “is no more hell if you can cry out to God, but nobody will ever believe how hard it is to cry unto the Lord.” He illustrates this from Jonah’s distress in the whale’s belly, and the story of the Canaanite woman. Remember when Jesus rejected her; told her to go away? She persisted. She went on, in the face of his rejection.

And that is what the awakened sinner does who understands sin and feels the weight and burden of it upon his heart and mind and conscience; he still persists in calling upon God, yes the very God who seems to reject him and condemn him. God kills in order that he might make alive. For man to be made aware of God’s presence is grace, even though it is accompanied by the terrible consciousness of sin. “Grace that is faith, hope and love is not infused without sin also being poured out at the same time”, says Luther.

That is, the sinner is not justified unless he first be condemned. He is not made alive unless he first be killed. He ascendeth not into heaven unless he first descend into hell. Wherefore the infusion of grace must needs be attended with bitterness, tribulation and suffering, under which the old man groans, not being able to bear his casting out with any kind of patience. But

if under this tribulation a man be patient and wait for the hand of Him that is working in him and infusing grace or communicating it unto him, he is thereby proved and shall find faith and hope and love.

That is it. Faith perseveres, in the face of negation and denial and condemnation, in believing that the God who condemns is the God who also justifies. The righteousness of God which condemns us is, in Jesus Christ, the righteousness of God which saves us. “This is the rule of the whole Christian life,” says Luther. “This is the way that grace is infused, not only at first but also at every communication. The old man is always more and more crucified and sin is expelled as grace more and more enters in, until death according to Revelation 22:11.”

Conclusion

Well now, that is Luther’s understanding of righteousness, of condemnation and deliverance and of being made righteous before God by faith in the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ. What a wonderful thing it is! You see it was so intense and real to him that he was able to stand up against the papacy, against the corruption of the medieval church. It was this that sustained him and made him strong in the face of all his enemies. And I feel unless the church recaptures this experience, unless Christians are moved in the same way today and motivated by this gospel of the righteousness of God in Jesus Christ, then we cannot hope to succeed in beginning to tackle the enormous task that faces us in the secularism of the twenty-first century.

Now, I speak about this because I think this is the crux of the matter as far as I am concerned. The clash at the time of the Reformation was between this individual man’s conscience and this curtain of darkness that lay over Europe. And what God did once, of course he can do again. The God of our fathers is our God, and we must believe that though the darkness is so thick spiritually upon our land that you can feel it, yet God can bring light out of the darkness wherever this gospel of Luther—this gospel of Paul, this gospel of God in the scriptures—is preached again.

So that is what I want us to seek to try to do, by God’s grace, in our time and in our generation. The Church of England (Continuing) is a small insignificant body in this land. So was this monk in the monastery at Erfurt. He was just an individual. He was a non-entity as far as the pope was concerned in his palace in Rome, reigning there with his cardinals over the whole of Europe. His word was law. This monk was a non-entity. And what could he do, we might say, to change the face of things? Well, in the providence of God, that is what happened. And we must believe that the God of our fathers is our God. And though every-thing seems to be weighted against us today, yet if we hold fast to God’s Word, and if we declare the truth as it is in Jesus, then God can do mighty things, even in our generation.

I trust that Luther's experience is your experience, because it is not unique to him. This is what the Christian goes through, and what he experiences, when the grace of God touches his heart and delivers him from sin and condemnation and, through the Lord Jesus Christ and his righteousness, reconciles him to God.

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FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE

or, Why Did Henry VIII Break With Rome?

Edward J Malcolm

There is a common perception, among all sorts of people, that Henry VIII broke with Rome, and so brought about the English Reformation, because he wanted to divorce his first wife. It is believed that the result—an independent Church of England—was a novelty for which there was no precedent. The doctrinal quarrels that followed the split have been described as arguments over words, and there are people today who are working very hard for the reunification of the Protestant Church of England with the unreformed Church of Rome. They think that they are taking England back to her original position, but the facts of history do not agree.

This article will attempt to describe, first, the situation that prevailed prior to the rise of the Tudor dynasty, looking at the origins of papal influence in England, and at resistance to such influence—in particular in reigns of Henry II and ‘Bad’ King John. Then, we shall give a summary of Henry VIII’s reasons for acting, and look at the action he took, in order to show what it was that he intended by the removal of papal authority from this realm.

1. An Unequal Marriage

The date on which Christianity arrived in Britain cannot be known for certain. However, it was here by the beginning of the third century, and some have suggested that it may have been here as early as AD 40. British bishops are known to have attended the Council of Arles (AD 314). So the arrival of Augustine at Canterbury in 597 did not bring Christianity for the first time.

Southern Britain had felt the effects of the Saxon invasion. The result of this influx of warriors, hungry for land more than for spoil, was that the Britons were pushed further and further west, into Wales and Cornwall. There was no love lost between the Britons and the settlers, one result of which was that the Celtic Church did not preach the Gospel to the newcomers. This task fell to Augustine.

There were now two sorts of Christianity in Britain, the Celtic Christianity of the indigenous British Church, and the Roman Christianity of Augustine, his monks, and those tribes who had been converted under him. The best evidence for the difference lies in the dating of Easter, held by each party. While Augustine naturally followed Rome’s dating, which was common for the Western Church, the Celtic Church followed the original, Eastern dating.

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The difference was not resolved until the Synod of Whitby in AD 664, at which the Celtic bishops were persuaded to drop the Eastern date, and adopt the Western. However, the submission was about far more than just when to celebrate the death and resurrection of our Lord; it was about who is in charge, and this success caused the British bishops to submit to the Pope for the first time in the history of the Celtic Church. From now on there was, officially, one Church in Britain, and it was subject to the Bishop of Rome. The unequal marriage had begun.

One of the tools in the papal arsenal for keeping control in the various provinces of the Western Church was the office of legate. This was a judicial office, and the holder of it was responsible for legal matters in ecclesiastical circles. It was, consequently, an office of immense prestige and power. Indeed, such was its importance that it was held by the Archbishop of Canterbury, since he was the senior ordained man in the English Church. However, on occasions the Pope appointed the Archbishop of York, or even the Bishop of Winchester to this office, thus making the Archbishop subject to one of his diocesans!

Yet for all the importance of the office of papal legate, the first millennium saw a grand total of one legatine council in Britain. To quote the historian R. W. Southern,

There were no legatine councils held in England before 1070 except in 786 when two legates of Adrian I visited the country. The between 1070 and 1312 there were at least twenty-one, and perhaps as many as thirty. Then after 1312 there were no legatine councils till we get a last short burst of activity under Wolsey between 1519 and 1523... (*Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970 p. 108)

Southern does point out that councils are only one way of gauging both legatine and papal activity. However, he says that this pattern was common throughout Europe at the time, and that the two and a half centuries at the beginning of the second millennium mark a period of heightened papal activity. It is to that period that we now turn.

2. A Troubled Marriage

Following the Norman Conquest a number attempts were made to reform the legal structures of England. It was the duty of the monarch to ensure that his people had good laws, and so, in the reign of Henry II, a serious attempt was made to reform the law and its administrative structures. This would lead, inevitably, to conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities.

The theory of monarchy at the time was quite straightforward. "Early medieval kingship claimed authority from God, who had set the king above his subjects to protect and govern them for their common good in peace and justice." (Gerald

Harriss, *Shaping of Nation: England 1360-1461*, Oxford: OUP, 2005, p. 3). As God's deputy, the king's will was all-sufficient in declaring and enforcing what he deemed to be law. Indeed, Harriss points to the elements of ordination that were present in the coronation service—the singing of *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the ring, and anointing with oil.

However, the king, though God's deputy in law, was nevertheless a man, and as such, corrupt. The Church's power to “bind and loose from sin did not stop at the steps of the throne” (Harriss, p. 4), and the king had to accept papal admonitions as any son of the Church must. Yet the theory of monarchy meant that, though the king was subject to the Pope as a man, he refuted his authority as a ruler, a position strengthened by the revival of Roman law in the twelfth century, which vested absolute power in the person and will of the monarch.

When Henry II (ruled 1154-1189), then, came to reform the laws of England, he was doing so as God's agent in the civil sphere, and as a son of the Church in ecclesiastical matters. He was the highest court of appeal in the former, and subject to a foreign authority in the latter. Conflict could hardly be avoided, especially as Henry's reforms were taking place at precisely the same time as another reformation was being put in hand. This other, counter, reformation, is summarised by the historian Frank Barlow like this—

...by the twelfth century the pope was advancing towards monarchical powers in the church, kings were being stripped of their priestly character, the laity was being forced out of active participation in ecclesiastical affairs, the clerical hierarchy was undertaking a mission to reform the world, a mission which was to lead to the excommunication and even deposition of kings, to the pope's feudal lordship over secular kingdoms, and to the political authority which made Pope Innocent III the real emperor of Christendom. (*The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216*, Fourth Edn., Harlow: Longman, 1988, p. 236).

It was the forcing out of the laity from participation in ecclesiastical affairs that caused the most bitter problems. For Henry this would come to a head in his confrontations with his former friend, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Beckett.

3. A Violent Marriage – Part 1

The order of events during the time of Beckett's Archbishopric is quite involved and cannot be set down briefly. The main areas concerned the conflict between Henry's desire to reform certain actual abuses in the Church with Beckett's determination to maintain the increased powers that had been won both openly and by stealth during the weak reign of King Stephen.

The abuses Henry wanted to reform were three—the sheltering of criminal clergy from proper justice, the rapacious nature of sentences imposed on laity found guilty of moral charges, and the encroachment of ecclesiastical courts into areas traditionally under the jurisdiction of civil courts. He saw the best route to this lay in getting the bishops to agree to maintain the situation that existed in reign of Henry I, with regard to customs and practices.

To this they willingly agreed, but when Henry codified these as the Constitutions of Clarendon in January 1164, and required the bishops to sign them, they refused. While the customs and practices remained unwritten they could hardly be forced to comply, because what the custom was that pertained in Henry I's time was a matter of legal opinion. However, when the written document was produced they would have been bound by a Code and to this they could not agree, especially as its main purpose was to limit ecclesiastical involvement.

In order to break the will of the bishops Henry determined to ruin their leader, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Beckett had been put forward for the role by the former Archbishop, Theobald. Beckett was a friend of Henry. He was also likely to want to consolidate the newly-won powers of the Church. As such he appeared to be the ideal candidate, who could maintain the peace while upholding the ecclesiastical privileges. Henry agreed, albeit reluctantly, to the appointment, on the ground that Beckett would co-operate with him in reforming the Church. Beckett, though, was his own man, and spurned friendship with Henry while doing all in his power to increase Church claims.

The result was that Henry began to use the law to ruin Beckett. Civil charges were brought, and although Beckett was cleared of the major charges, he was found guilty of minor ones. However, when he saw that the bishops were being manoeuvred into a position from which they would have to find him guilty of serious financial impropriety, Beckett appealed to the Pope. This played straight into Henry's hands, because such action was expressly forbidden by the Constitutions of Clarendon. Beckett fled to Flanders.

Negotiations for the return of the Archbishop were put in hand, but would be drawn out for six years, from October 1164 until November 1170. In the end, the speed of the final settlement would prove to be Beckett's undoing. He returned determined to assert all his rights, especially over a long list of individuals and institutions who he believed had 'usurped' his authority. In fact, they had simply continued the work of the Church in the absence of the Archbishop, but in that they did not have his express permission to do so, Beckett was out for satisfaction.

When he went north on visitation to York, bearing a papal bull that had already been rescinded—and he knew it—word went out that he was advancing with an army. Henry sent senior barons to order him back to Canterbury or face arrest. Not unnaturally, the barons were wary of threatening the Archbishop of Canterbury

directly, though their intervention did cause him to return to Kent. Henry berated the barons for their cowardice, and four seasoned household knights took Henry at his word. They came to Canterbury and demanded that Thomas Beckett accompany them. He resisted. Accounts suggest that he was backed up by a large crowd of monks. The four knights felt threatened, and attacked with their swords. Contemporary descriptions of the ensuing carnage are gruesome. Suffice it to say that at the end Thomas Beckett was very dead.

The Pope, who had done so little during the negotiations over Beckett's exile, now leapt into action. Henry's continental lands were put under interdict. All who had taken part in the murder were excommunicated. Although Henry was not named on this list, he was nevertheless subjected to a personal interdict. He was required to maintain two hundred knights to defend Jerusalem at his own expense for one year, and was to go on crusade himself for three years. More significantly, he was required to grant freedom to the English Church to appeal to the Pope (the Benefit of Clergy), to revoke all customs he and his grandfather had introduced that were deemed injurious to the Church, and to pardon those who had sided with Beckett during his exile. Henry, kneeling before the papal legates Albert and Theodwin, agreed to it all.

Although, following Beckett's death, Henry had some success in getting the Constitutions agreed by the Pope, the trade-off was fatal. The English clergy were subjected to civil law in a wide range of cases, but their right of appeal to the Pope was guaranteed. The grip of papal claims on England was tightening, and a strong king who had stood up to papal and ecclesiastical arrogance had been broken. The stage was now set for further confrontation, and it would not be long in coming.

4. A Violent Marriage – Part 2

The reign of King John (1199-1216) contained the next major episode in the uncomfortable marital relations between the English people and the Church of Rome. To be sure, most people had no difficulty in accepting the claims of the Pope, and when Beckett had returned after his exile there had been general rejoicing among the populace. However, it was always in the realms of law and politics that trouble arose, for it was always here that the ingredients of conflict existed.

As for Henry II, so for John, it was the Archbishop of Canterbury who was the source of so much trouble, and again, it was in the area of authority; who had the right to choose the successor to the highest ecclesiastical office in England?

The death of Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1205 would reopen old wounds. King John sent a messenger to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, telling them to elect John Grey, Bishop of Norwich, as the new Archbishop, but the monks had already elected their sub-prior, Richard. Earlier, in 1204, Pope Innocent III had supported John's candidate for the bishopric of Winchester, overturning a local

election and rerunning it in Rome to reach John's chosen result. It was, therefore, with confidence that John sent his delegates to Rome to affirm the election of Norwich to Canterbury, in the face of the rival claim from Canterbury itself. To his fury, the Pope quashed both elections, and consecrated Stephen Langton as Archbishop.

John replied by closing the Channel and demanding the rerunning of the election. The Pope refused. John threatened to chase all clerics out of the realm, and to mutilate any Italians he found in England. The Pope was unmoved. John exiled the monks of Christ Church, and Stephen Langton languished in Rome.

The Pope threatened an interdict. John threatened conversion of the nation to Islam, so the later chroniclers reported, though this is highly dubious. What he did threaten was to fine any clergyman who observed the interdict, and, when the interdict was imposed, did just that. His fines had little effect, so he banned the clergy from keeping housekeepers and concubines (the two were one and the same usually).

John was deposed as king by papal bull. He disregarded the order. The Pope required King Philip Augustus of France to enforce the deposition. John replied by gathering together the largest army England had ever seen, and inflicted two heavy naval defeats on the French fleet. However, a Scottish invasion diverted him and the northern barons, after throwing the Scots back, considered their contribution over. The southern barons agreed, and John's army melted away. He could no longer resist French military might. So he sued for peace, offering England to the Pope as a vassal state, and receiving back his crown from the papal legate, to rule as a subject of the Pope. John's act was, for him, a masterstroke, because France was now an aggressor against the Pope's favoured son. Philip Augustus had to sue for peace.

King John had to pay a fine, which was set at one thousand marks, roughly three times the exorbitant annual 'Peter's Pence'. Some have argued that the interdict was hardly observed by the English clergy. This seems highly improbable, because John was also required to pay compensation for the fines levied and the land confiscated. The sum required was one hundred thousand marks, and John considered this fair. Clearly many clergy had observed the terms of the interdict.

Stephen Langton now came to England to take up his post as Archbishop. A number of vacancies needed to be filled, but when Langton saw the way in which John and Innocent III carved up the spoils between them, appointing their own men to the plums, Langton began to resist the papal will. For this he was removed from office by the very Pope who had been ready to go to war to see him take up that office!

The result of King John's confrontation with the Pope was that England was now under the temporal as well as spiritual oversight of the Pope. English kings would rule by papal permission, and the power of the Church was guaranteed, where it did not conflict with papal claims. The power of the clergy was immense, and would

soon grow to such an abusive level that it would be something of an open scandal. However, England would, after the grand successes of Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt, adopt a far more isolationist policy towards the continent, and this would be followed by the Wars of the Roses. Not until the more settled Tudor dynasty would these abuses be dealt with, with consequences more far-reaching than could possibly be imagined.

5. The Mask Slips

The reign of the Tudor dynasty marked the end for papal claims in England, but the way in which this came about was most unexpected. The inscrutable mask of papal infallibility would be seen to slip in matters surrounding the marital concerns of the English crown.

Henry VII knew that England was vulnerable. France straddled England like a colossus, one foot in Normandy, the other in Edinburgh. Henry needed friends, and none were more suitable than the founders of the new Spanish dynasty, Ferdinand of Aragon and his bride, Isabella of Castile. They pushed on France's southern border, and provided the necessary counter to French military might. Henry followed the accepted path to secure the position by marrying his eldest son, Prince Arthur, to the Princess Catherine of Aragon. The match cemented relations between the two countries, but the untimely death of the young English prince in 1502 threatened to weaken it.

Henry had another son, trained and destined for the Church, Prince Henry. Henry was now in line to inherit the throne, and political expediency required that he be married to provide an heir for himself. Henry VII saw that he could do far worse than have Henry marry Catherine himself, thus continuing the bond between England and Spain. There was a catch. She had been married to Prince Arthur, and thus to marry Henry would mean marrying within the bonds of kindred and affinity, which would be a forbidden marriage. So King Henry and the Spanish court applied to the Pope for dispensation, and seven years later, in 1509, it was granted.

Prince Henry maintained that he always entertained doubts about the legitimacy of the marriage. Certainly, by 1514 the series of miscarriages and still-births caused him to apply to the Pope for an annulment, but the birth of Princess Mary in 1516 eased his conscience, at least for a while. By the mid 1520s, however, he was certain the marriage was an offence to God, and Diarmaid McCulloch accepts that his doubts arose long before he ever met Anne Boleyn (*Thomas Cranmer*, New Haven and London; Yale University Press, 1995, p. 42).

Cambridge scholars were called on to give their opinion. Leviticus 18 and 20 threatened the death of sons in forbidden marriages. As Henry had no son, the threat had proved real. When John Fisher pointed to the law of levirate marriage in Deuteronomy which required the brother of a dead man to marry the widow and

raise up an heir, Henry dismissed this by pointing out that he had no son! His response was to petition the Pope. "...Henry was out to persuade the papacy to share his view that the earlier papal dispensation for the supposed marriage had been an impossible use of papal power, because it flouted an eternal prohibition of God..." (McCulloch, p. 43). The issue at stake was the lack of issue. If this marriage was lawful, why was there no heir? If it was unlawful, why had the Pope sanctioned it? The potential consequences of the verdict were seen to be far-reaching, and none were keen to rush to a conclusion, except the King, who was growing increasingly anxious for a male heir.

Various royal servants were instructed to take up the King's Matter, but there was little progress until the recently-promoted Dr Stephen Gardiner recommended an obscure Cambridge Fellow to the King. Dr Thomas Cranmer became involved in the Divorce, and suggested that the lawfulness of the Pope's permission be put to the European universities for their considered judgement. Although this was not the first time such a course had been suggested—Martin Luther had wanted the universities to rule on his grievances with the Church—it was novel in that it made a decree of the Pope subject to humanistic and secular judgement. Those universities which did reply found in Henry's favour, though accusations of bribery and corruption tainted the verdict.

6. Decree Nisi

At the same time as the universities were considering the matter Henry was facing a different question, that of ecclesiastical abuses. In 1515 a London merchant, Richard Hunne, had dared to take a stand against Church fees. He had been put in the Lollard's Tower, and was found there hanged a short while later. Rumours of murder had been rife.

The Church was thought of as too powerful, too rich, and too loyal to a foreign authority. To make matters worse, not all appointees were even English, and the tithes from parishes and even some dioceses were being sent abroad. Many parishes had only the ministry of poorly-paid curates, while rich Rectors gathered in the proceeds of various livings, none of which they ever visited.

When Wolsey fell from grace in October 1529, Henry paid a visit to the official residence of the Archbishop of York in London, and professed himself outraged by the wealth he found there. This was not the unworldly Church that was supposed to exist. Henry and the House of Commons were agreed that this situation had to be addressed. They were spurred on in this by Bishop Fisher's accusation that the motivation for reform was lack of faith.

Laws were enacted for the reform of the Church in England. The first, in 1529, was the Probate Bill, which removed from the parish clergy the power to charge 'mortuary fees', a payment levied on every death, regardless of class or status. The

clergy also levied a charge on every Will, without any apparent justification, hence the title of the Bill. This power was removed. Significantly, the Bill also reformed the right of sanctuary, so that the Church could no longer harbour the King's enemies.

The next area that concerned Henry was Annates, the requirement of new episcopal appointees to pay over their first year's income to the Pope. The loss of English revenue would be a serious blow to the Papacy. Then, in December 1530, the Attorney-General accused the whole body of the clergy of breaking the fourteenth-century statute, of Praemunire and Provisors. This had been enacted to limit the power of the Pope, by reducing the right of appeal to an authority outside England. Convocation was allowed to pay a fine—£100,000 from Canterbury and £19,000 from York—to avoid prosecution. On February 7 1531 the clergy acknowledged the King as “their special Protector, one and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even supreme head”.

7. Decree Absolute

Henry's divorce from Catherine was not yet a fact, although in practice Henry seems to have been living openly with Anne Boleyn. The Pope had failed to accept the ruling of those universities that had replied to Cranmer's Question. Henry began to show his strength. He warned the Pope, through his Legate in England, that no excommunication, interdict or process compulsory would have any effect on the clergy, and that any attempt by the Pope to refuse to recognise any ecclesiastical appointee would lead to a rigorous enforcement of the Act of Annates.

Then came the Supplication against the Ordinaries. The Ordinary is the bishop or his deputy who has ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In short, this Act was to limit the power of the Church to govern itself, by its own courts. The King became the highest court of appeal, (something which Henry II had desired but failed to get) and so, in effect, master of the Church in England.

Archbishop Warham, an opponent of reform, died. Henry forwarded the name of Thomas Cranmer to the Pope as successor, and included a threat to enforce the Act of Annates in full. The Pope saw fit to agree to the appointment, and Cranmer was consecrated. He swore the usual oaths to the Pope, but with reservations, both before and after. His consecration was with full ceremony, and with no innovations. The new Archbishop of Canterbury had full papal authority. Two days later a Bill was introduced in Parliament vesting the Archbishop of Canterbury with all the Pope's former jurisdictional powers in England. This Act in Restraint of Appeals completed the break with Rome.

8. Happily Everafter?

The reform of the Church of England under Henry VIII, then, owed everything to political will and not to doctrinal changes. The abuse of papal power had, through

the first half of the second millennium, led to confrontation and conflict between the triple tiara and the English throne. This had been caused in part by the inevitable collision of two diametrically opposed theories of monarchy. The philosophy of English kings that they ruled as God's agents without foreign interference was met by the claim of the Pope to be King of kings and Lord of lords, and so to have jurisdiction over every nation. When conflict arose, it was very often kings who came off worst, because the whole machinery of the Church and the awe that its claims engendered in the common folk, meant that it had weapons at its disposal that no earthly king could meet.

So it was that the traditional freedoms of English monarchs were eroded by the spurious claims of papal aggression. King Henry II stood up to the Pope, but the murder of Thomas Beckett destroyed what progress he had made, and left England worse off. It needs to be understood that it was not just the king's majesty that suffered, but all men suffered equally, in that powerful clergy who considered themselves above the law preyed upon all, rich or poor, as whim and greed dictated. Luther's descriptions of the priests in his day, though taken from the depths of clergy depravity, serve as sober lessons in this matter.

When King John sought to assert the ancient freedoms of the English to appoint their own spiritual leaders, political intrigue and vested interests withstood him successfully. The result was yet more gloom for England, as the Pope became master of the realm, a situation not finally remedied until Henry VIII was stirred to action by the arrogance and self-interest of the papacy. When he called the Pope to take responsibility, and subjected the claims of the papacy to reason and justice, the edifice began to crumble.

Henry's marital concerns may have been the catalyst, but were by no means the underlying cause of the break with Rome. Yet when it came, England was relieved of the papal tyranny, though the Protestant Reformation in England was as yet being persecuted by that same king who made himself the head of the Church of England. Politics freed men from slavery to the temporal claims of the Bishop of Rome, but it was not until the Protestant Reformation began to take hold in this realm spiritually with the glorious doctrine of justification by faith alone being preached, that men and women were freed from the darker tyranny of slavery to sin and the eternal claims of hell.

ON BAPTISM¹

Thomas Cranmer

AND for this consideration our Saviour Christ hath not only set forth these things most plainly in his holy word, that we may hear them with our ears; but he hath also ordained one visible sacrament of spiritual regeneration in water, and one another visible sacrament of spiritual nourishment in bread and wine, to the intent that, as much as is possible for man, we may see Christ with our eyes, smell him at our nose, taste him with our mouths, grope him with our hands, and perceive him with all our senses. For as the word of God preached putteth Christ into our ears; so likewise these elements of water, bread, and wine, joined to God's word, do after a sacramental manner put Christ into our eyes, mouths, hands, and all our senses.

And for this cause Christ ordained baptism in water, that as surely as we see, feel, and touch water with our bodies, and be washed with water; so assuredly ought we to believe, when we be baptized, that Christ is verily present with us, and that by him we be newly born again spiritually, and washed from our sins, and grafted in the stock of Christ's own body, and be apparelled, clothed, and harnessed with him in such wise, that as the Devil hath no power against Christ, so hath he none against us, so long as we remain grafted in that stock, and be clothed with that apparel, and be harnessed with that armour. So that the washing in water of baptism is, as it were, a showing of Christ before our eyes, and a sensible touching, feeling, and groping of him, to the confirmation of the inward faith which we have in him.

ON 'SAINTS' IN COLOSSIANS 1:2²

John Davenant

SAINTS. That is, sanctified by the laver of baptism. Whence, says the Apostle, I Cor. vi. 11, *Ye are washed, ye are sanctified*. But when the Apostle calls all baptised persons *saints*, he speaks according to the rule of charity, which directs us to presume good of everyone, unless the contrary be shown. And for the very best reason baptised persons are called saints. For saintship imports two things: First, cleansing

1. Cranmer on the Lord's Supper, Berith Publications edition, pp 19f.

2. Colossians, John Davenant (Bishop of Salisbury 1621-41) Banner of Truth Trust, pp 20-24.

from impurity: whence Isidore [a disciple of Chrysostom] writes, *That a saint is so called from two words sanguine tinctum; i.e. to be as it were tinged with blood; because anciently they who wished to be purified, were sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifice.* Secondly, it denotes a special dedication to the Divine worship: whence we call not only men, but temples and vessels, holy; because they are set apart to sacred uses in the worship of God. In both these respects a baptised Christian is called a saint.

For, first, he is in baptism cleansed from original corruption, and the imputation of all sins. Whence it is called, in Titus iii. 5, *the laver of regeneration.* And in Acts ii. 38, it is said, *Be baptised every one of you for the remission of sins.* Hence also that saying of Nazianzen, *The water cleanses the body visibly; the Spirit accompanying it also invisibly cleanses the soul.* Hence also that ancient custom of putting white robes upon baptised persons; by which ceremony they signified the purification of their souls effected by virtue of holy baptism, as Lactantius expresses in that line, *De Pascha v. 93,*

*Fulgentes animes vestis quoque candida signat:
Likewise the white raiment betokens their resplendent souls.*

Neither does this purification consist alone in the washing away of sins, but in the combined infusion of spiritual graces; of which subject Parisensis [William of Aveurne] elegantly writes, *Like as a royal treasurer gives the gifts promised by the King to him who produces the royal signet; so the Holy Spirit, the dispenser of spiritual gifts, imparts spiritual graces to those whom he beholds bearing the sign of holy baptism.* Peter promises this to the baptised, Acts ii. 38, *Be baptised every one of you in the name of Christ, AND YE SHALL RECEIVE THE GIFT OF THE HOLY GHOST.* And this is the first reason why Paul calls baptised persons *saints.*

Secondly, they are called saints, because in baptism they are in an especial manner dedicated to the service of God. For in baptism a covenant is entered into with God. He receives us under his protection; we acknowledge him for our Lord, and renounce all other lords, viz. the world, the flesh and the devil. We are therefore, as it were, the consecrated vessels set apart from profane uses to the sacred service of God. In this respect Nazianzen calls baptism, the covenant of a more holy life with God; and Peter, I Epis. iii. 21, *the answer (eperotema) of a good conscience towards God.*

From the consideration of this characteristic many inferences might be deduced; we shall deduce three.

1. Whereas the Apostle calls not this or that good man, but the Colossians promiscuously, saints, as many as put on Christ by baptism; hence we learn, that we must think and speak well of all who profess religion, unless by clear and manifest deeds they shew themselves to be ungodly and hypocrites. For the Apostles always, when they descend to particular men or churches, presume every Christian to be

elect, sanctified, justified, and in the way of being glorified, until he himself shall have proven himself wicked or apostate. So Paul writing to the Corinthians affirms indiscriminately concerning them, *ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified*, 1 Cor. vi. 11. For as in those things which relate to faith, we must speak and think according to Scripture, which is a certain and infallible rule: so, in other things which relate to charity, it is sufficient to think and to speak according to the probability of appearances. This rule may deceive; yet not by any fault or hazard of him who thought better of another than he truly deserved, but rather of that hypocrite, who was a different and much worse man that he appeared or seemed to be.

Secondly, Whereas all of us who have been baptised are called saints, we are admonished of our duty, which is to SERVE GOD IN HOLINESS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS ALL THE DAYS OF OUR LIFE. For if we are without the life of saints, the name of saints will profit us nothing. *The participation of names or titles*, says Tertullian, *determines not the real state of things*. Although therefore hypocrites may be classed under the same denomination with true saints, yet they shall not receive the same rewards from Him who searches hearts.

Lastly, Whereas we are called saints because we have been consecrated to the service of God in baptism, it plainly follows, that every Christian who serves the devil, the flesh, or the world, is guilty of sacrilege; for he perverts the vessels consecrated to God, i.e. his body and his mind, to profane, nay devilish uses. Well spake the Orator, *It is established by the common law of nations, that mortals may not appropriate to their use that which is consecrated to the service of immortal gods*. But how much more shameful and abominable is it, that the devil should be allowed to take for his use a Christian, holy, and dedicated to God by baptism.

In view of the concern expressed by some readers of the *Journal* regarding Mr du Barry's articles on Baptism, the Committee of the Church of England (Continuing) wish to make it clear that they do not represent the teaching of the Church of England (Continuing).

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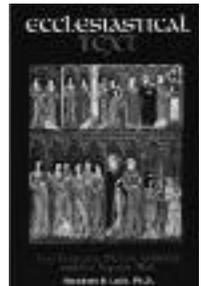
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