

# Edward's Change: Doctrine & Liturgy

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



### Cranmerian Caution

Querying the Bishops (January, 1548)

Nature of the Mass?

Celebrating in English?

### Episcopal Responses

Holgate (York): for it!

Bonner (London), Tunstall (Durham): against it!

Include a few English prayers

‘for the instruction and stirring of the devotion of the people’

### *Order of Communion* (March 8, 1548)

Royal proclamation: use from following Easter

Takes conservative advice:

English prayers for preparation

Inserted into Latin Mass

Communion of laity in both kinds

Catholic sacramental *doctrine* not repudiated

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Clerical misgivings over later innovations

May 1548

Mass, matins, & evensong in English (St. Paul's)

End of masses where priest alone communicated

Privy Council Abolitions

Candles, ashes, palms, creeping to the cross,

holy water, holy bread

'all the images remaining in any church or chapel'





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‘A Uniform Order of Prayer’

September 1548

A first draft of the Book of Common Prayer?

Mid-December, BCP debated in Parliament

Divisions surface over Eucharistic doctrine

Tunstall, Bonner, Skip, Thirlby: transubstantiation

Ridley, Holbeach, Goodrich, (Cranmer):

Ratramnus of Corbie; outward/inward

symbolic bread & wine feeds body

spiritual body & blood feeds soul

Cranmer tries to keep the conservatives on board

Approved

New liturgy passes both houses January 21, 1549

Royal assent March 14

Sole legal form of worship Whitsunday, June 9

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### 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*

‘masterpiece of compromise ... studied ambiguity’

No explicit denial of Catholic doctrine

Permitted Protestant usage with clear conscience

Composite from several sources:

- Revision of Sarum Use

- Influence: Quignon's Breviary

- Influence: Lutheran Church Orders

- Influence: von Wied's *Consultatio* (Abp of Cologne)

  - Conservative attempt

  - Combination of Lutheran and Medieval usages

Rites for clergy & laity in one book (first time!)

No Latin!

Overall order of Latin mass retained

Some changes to avoid

- Mass as supplemental to Christ's sacrificial death

- Transubstantiation; change of substances



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1549 *Book of Common Prayer*

Basis:

Patristic authorities

No specific effort to conform to Lutheranism

Eschewal of Lutheran concepts?

No Lutheran version of real presence

No Lutheran doctrine of Christ's ubiquity

No Lutheran disavowal of the canon

Instead a retained and modified canon



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### 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*

“The moderate character of the Book had one outcome most annoying to its author. From his apartment in the Tower Bishop Gardiner announced himself prepared to use it and claimed that its phraseology implied, if it did not specifically affirm, the doctrine of transubstantiation. This degree of latitude had certainly never been intended by the Primate.” (Dickens, 244)

“Taken merely as a spectacle the mass underwent little significant alteration; even the medieval vestments, alb and cope, survived. There also lingered various old-fashioned pieties frowned upon by all Protestants save the most conservative. The Canon still included a prayer for the dead, a commemoration of the Virgin Mary and other saints. Auricular confession was still sanctioned, though its use became a matter for the individual conscience. Anointing was omitted at confirmation but retained at baptism, while extreme unction could still be found in the service for the visitation of the sick.” (Dickens, 244)



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*Of ceremonies, why some should be abolished and some retained*

Included at end of 1549; retained in 1662

Church ceremonies are human inventions

Some to be abolished

godly intent, devolves into vanity & superstition

Others:

indiscreet devotion

‘zeal without knowledge’

Tolerated, they became abuses

Should be ‘cut away and clean rejected’

Some to be retained

Human origin, but C of E intends to preserve

‘make for a decent order’

‘pertain to edification’

Retention/omission small in itself

Contemptuous breaking of order: affront to God

Unauthorized individuals must not

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*Of ceremonies, why some should be abolished and some retained*

Differences of opinion/perspective

Some offended by smallest departure from custom

Some inclined only to recent innovations

Nations: do not condemn practices of others

Each should use such ceremonies as it thinks fit

Avoiding error

Avoiding superstition

Avoiding abuse



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### First Edwardian Act of Uniformity (1549)

Introductory plea: mistaken or disingenuous?

Varied medieval rites caused offence & confusion

Compared with Protestant experimentation!?

### Infractions with Graduated Penalties

#### Clerical Refusal to use new BCP

1: year's profits of 1 benefice + 6 mos in prison

2: permanently lose all benefices + 1 yr in prison

3: life in prison

#### Procuring a cleric to use another form

1: £10

2: £20

3: loss of all goods

No penalty for laity absent from church

Still left to church courts

Less severe than Six Articles

Severe enough to work

# Edward's Change: Doctrine & Liturgy

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### First Edwardian Act of Uniformity (1549)

#### Prayer Book Rebellion

Devon & Cornwall, June-August 1549

Mixed motives: secular, personal, economic

Religious, but not discriminating conservatism

One (odd) document demands return of

The Six Articles

The Latin Mass

Communion in one kind for laity; Easter only

Ban English Bible (it was arming the heretics!)

Candles, ashes & palms, holy bread & water

Reserved & worshipped sacrament as before

Those refusing should die as heretics

Papal v. Royal Supremacy

not at issue

King Henry 'of blessed memory'



# Edward's Protestant Printing

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



John Bale

Former client of Cromwell

Anti-Roman, Anti-Papal, Anti-Mass Polemic

Publication: Domestic & Continental (tr.)

John Calvin

Oecolampadius

Melancthon

Others

Not all crude invective or satire

Metrical Psalms

Hugh Latimer, *Sermons of the Plough*

With John Bradford

Foreshadowing of Christian socialism?

“Commonwealth man”

Protestant views of poverty & social tension

Moralist rather than economic

Advocacy for education, literacy

# Edward's Continental Imports (after 1551)

## Reformation (1547-1553)



Cranmer attempts links to Continent

Friendships and networking; marriage, etc.

Failure: no visit from Luther or Melancthon

Shift in Continental influences

More Strassburg, Geneva, Zürich

Less Wittenberg

Before 1547, from Strassburg

Peter Martyr Vermigli

Bernardino Ochino

1548

Francisco de Encinas

John à Lasco

1548 Interim of Augsburg: Lutheran refugees

Martin Bucer

Received at Lambeth, April 1549

Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge

Cranmer consulted him on Eucharistic theology

Assisted in drafting of Ordinal (1550)

Assisted in drafting of second BCP (d. 1551)



# Edward's Continental Imports (after 1551)

## Reformation

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### Repudiation of Anabaptism

Widespread & diffuse grouping of movements

“disparate & inconsistent groups”

“incapable of forming any common policy”

### Unsavoury to Tudor Englishmen

Potential for anarchy and social unrest

John of Leyden at Münster

### Bad Enough:

Non-extremist English rebels of 30s & 40s!

### May-June, 1535

25 Dutch Anabaptists tried at St. Paul's

14 burned in London & other towns

Until Edward most seem to have been Continentals

### Under Edward

More English Anabaptists (Kent & Essex)

Hooper to Bullinger: Anabaptists attend & bother  
fewer executions; Anabaptism still social threat

More books & ‘new’ movements

Freewillers

Family of Love

# Edward's Edwardian Bishops

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



Ordinal, 1550

Conservative, modeled on Sarum Pontifical  
Bishop, Priest, Deacon

Kept: Prayer, Hands; Chalice, Paten; Crozier

Added: Bible for Priests

Changed Charge:

From: "Receive authority to offer sacrifice and celebrate mass both for the living and the dead."

To: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God and to minister the holy sacraments in this congregation."

Bucer's *De Ordinatione Legitima* aids Cranmer  
Cranmer *blends* reformation & medieval ideas

First use: St. Paul's June 1550



# Edward's Edwardian Bishops

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



Revised Ordinal (with new *BCP*), 1552

Bible only 'instrument'; bishops & priests alike

Episcopal Reconfigurations

Conservatives put out

Nicholas Heath: refuses Ordinal, Fleet Prison, deprived Oct 1551

Stephen Gardiner: breaks Act of Uniformity; deprived Feb 1551

Day and other known conservatives; July 1550

Cuthbert Tunstall falsely accused, tried; 'deprived' 1552

Edward Bonner (previously deprived Nov 1549)

Protestants elevated

Ridley to London

John Ponet to Rochester (then Winchester)

John Scory eventually to Chichester

John Hooper to Gloucester

# Edward's Edwardian Bishops

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



John Hooper

Ex-Cistercian, influenced by Zwingli & Bullinger

Influenced by John à Lasco

‘Single-minded zeal’; inability to compromise

NO ceremonial unless stipulated by Scripture

Refused episcopacy on two grounds

Supremacy sworn by God, saints, evangelists

Vestments: ‘Aaronic’; suggested sacrificing priest

Northumberland consents; Cranmer & Ridley don’t

Not out of enthusiasm for practices per se

Too stubborn & radical a episcopal colleague

Eventual compromise following imprisonment

Removal of ‘saints’

Vestments for ordination, but for regular use



# Edward's Edwardian Clergy

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



### Clerical Marriage

Early clumsiness (Henry's 'reversal')

Steady increase

Much to commend it

Economics

"Natural inclinations"

Several decades of opposition after 1549

Conservative views in the North

Children of clergy as 'priests' calves'

Elizabeth disapproved of bishops' wives

Preferred them not on cathedral precincts

# Edward's *Book of Common Prayer* 1552

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



Ridley's Instructions (May 1550)

Replace "Altars" with "Tables"

Banned: kissing, elevating, traditional gestures

"Table" = meal; no sacrifice means no altar

November 1550: all to follow Ridley

Further arguments about placement of table, etc.

Exclude non-communicants (mass not good work)

Ridley's desires a 'catechumens depart' style

Retention of vestments



# Edward's *Book of Common Prayer* 1552

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



Northumberland's Prayer Book Revision

Early second draft in January 1551

Bucer had reviewed the first one (*Censura*)

Took 2/3 of Bucer's objections, not all as intended

Few changes to Daily Office

Major changes to the mass: no longer called mass!

Canon split in 3 to disrupt sacrificial notions

Prayer: Communion of laity before consecration

Medieval vestments forbidden; surplice only

Table placed east-west; not an altar; north side

No simulation of mass

Words of Administration

From: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."

To: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving."

# Edward's *Book of Common Prayer* 1552

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



Northumberland's Prayer Book Revision

Cranmer's Refusal

Will not revise kneeling at Eucharist

Privy Council

Wants change

On basis of Knox's protest

Privy Council inserts 'Black Rubric'

Kneeling not to adore elements

No presence of Christ's natural body

Second Act of Uniformity 1552

Promotes BCP 1552

Bps: ecclesiastical censures to promote attendance



# Edward's Canon Law & Articles

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



### Reform of Canon Law

Need to reform church law: matrimonial law

Good intentions under Somerset, not carried out

Act passed in 1549 sets up committee of 8

Northumberland does not renew it

Practical reforms not made til canons of 1603-04

Opposition from civil lawyers

Why strengthen a rival system of laws and courts?

### Edward's Journal

Trust effective governance under law to bishops?

(papists, ignorant, old, bad)

Seems to show the influence of Northumberland

Church law and courts survive the Reformation

Influenced, not dismantled, by English civil law

“Through the reign of Elizabeth and far beyond, the church courts continued to grind through their cumbrous and irritating routines, attracting the abuse of the Puritans and the dislike of the laity, still undertaking the tutelage of the nation, yet remote from the spiritual aspirations and sensitive consciences of the age.” (Dickens, 279)

# Edward's Canon Law & Articles

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



### Reform of Canon Law

Cranmer's unfulfilled aspirations

*Reformation Legum Ecclesiasticarum*  
(unpublished until 1571)

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction derived from crown

Church retains control over marriage, tithes, testaments, perjury, slander, benefices

Defiant offenders given to the state, 'all other remedies having been exhausted'

Advanced reforms

Divorce: adultery, desertion, ill-treatment as sufficient cause for either partner

Diocesan conferences: annual, clergy and lay (missed opportunity)



# Edward's Canon Law & Articles

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



## Codification of Anglican Doctrine

Precedents:

1538: 13 Articles

Based on Augsburg Confession

Lutheran dialogue

1549: code signed by licensed clerics

May 1552: draft Articles discussed by bishops

October 1552: to committee of 6 (incl. J. Knox)

42 Articles, June 12 1553

Down from 45; later revised to 39 (1571)

Protestant (Calvinist) interpretation of the faith

# Edward's Canon Law & Articles

## Reformation

(1547-1553)



### Codification of Anglican Doctrine

XII (39.XIII): good works w/out X's inspiration unpleasing to God, nature of sin

XVII: Predestination; strong, supralapsarian

XVIII: no salvation under any law but Christ's

### Theological Oppositions

#### Anabaptists!

Archdeacon Charles Hardwick (1851)

Favored Protestantism of Articles

Traced Anti-Anabaptism to 18 of Them

(ii-iv, viii-x, xv, xviii, xix, xxiv, xxxvi-xlii)

#### Roman Catholics

Roman primacy & infallibility of General Councils (xx, xxii; 39.xix, xxi)

Scholastic accretions (xii, xiii, xxii)

Transubstantiation (xxix; 39.xxviii)

Mass as sacrifice (xxx)



# Edward's Canon Law & Articles

## Reformation

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### Codification of Anglican Doctrine

Eucharistic Theology of Article XXIX

Much modified as 39.XXVIII

Deliberate lack of precision

- 1: receptionism; worthy receivers
- 2: transubstantiation repugnant to plain words of Scripture
- 3: (Lollard/Zwinglian) repudiation of real and bodily presence of Christ
- 4: not commanded by X to be kept, carried, lifted, worshipped

Theological interpretations (Hardwick-Dix)

Cranmer attempts compromise & consensus

Medial between Rome & Anabaptists

Not between Rome & Calvinists/Lutherans

Adiaphorism

(Melancthon, English Melancthonists of 1530s)

Borrowings from Augsburg Confession

(Article xi, "by only faith in Jesus Christ)

Purgatory and Cult of Saints out (xxiii; 39.xxii)