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# A History of the Ordination of Women in the Episcopal Church, and its Effects on Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialog

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GEORGE FOX UNIVERSITY

A HISTORY OF THE ORDINATION OF WOMEN IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AND  
ITS EFFECTS ON ANGLICAN-ROMAN CATHOLIC DIALOG

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**Title:** A HISTORY OF THE ORDINATION OF WOMEN IN THE  
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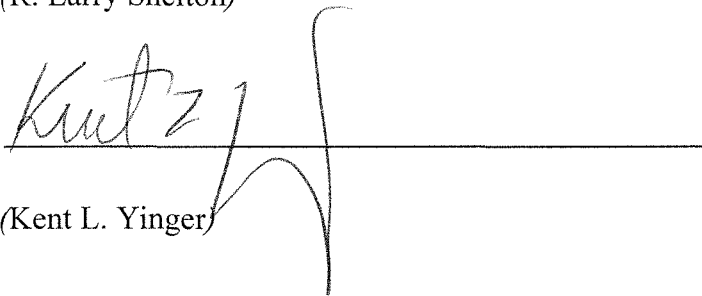
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**Date:** April 28, 2004

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this thesis and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Master of Arts in Theological Studies.



(R. Larry Shelton)



(Kent L. Yinger)



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## ABBREVIATIONS

ARCIC	Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission
ARC-USA	Anglican-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States
CDF	Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith
ECUSA	The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. (Sometimes PECUSA)
IARCCUM	International Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission on Unity and Mission
PBC	Pontifical Biblical Commission
PCPCU	Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity
WCC	World Council of Churches

## GLOSSARY

Anglican. A term indicative of the English origins of the Episcopal Church. Sometimes seen in the expression "Anglican Church," which simply indicates any national church which derives from the Church of England.<sup>1</sup>

Anglican Communion. The worldwide body of Anglican churches. Each national church, or province, is in communion with the Church of England, and recognizes the leadership of the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>2</sup>

Anglican Consultative Council. An international meeting of Anglicans held approximately once every three years. Established by the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1968 to provide a forum for members of the Anglican Communion.<sup>3</sup>

Apostolic Letter. Documents issued by the pope or in his name, e.g. bulls and briefs.<sup>4</sup>

Apostolic Succession. The method whereby the ministry of the Christian Church is held to be derived from the apostles by a continuous succession. It has usually been associated with an assertion that the succession has been maintained by a series of bishops.<sup>5</sup>

Archbishop. A bishop over a group of dioceses or national church; for instance, the Archbishop of South Africa or New Zealand.<sup>6</sup>

Archbishop of Canterbury. The presiding bishop of the Church of England; sometimes acknowledged by American Episcopalians as the honorary spiritual head of the entire Anglican Communion.<sup>7</sup>

Baptism. The Sacramental rite which admits a candidate to the Christian Church.<sup>8</sup>

Bishop. The highest order of ministers in the Christian Church. In Catholic Christendom (incl. the Anglican Communion) Bishops are held to be distinguished from priests chiefly by their power to confer holy Orders and to administer the rite of Confirmation.<sup>9</sup>

Bishop, Diocesan. A bishop in charge of a diocese.

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<sup>1</sup> Gerald L. Smith, "Glossary of Episcopal Things," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://smith2.sewanee.edu/glossary/Glossary--Episcopal.html>.

<sup>2</sup> David E. Sumner. *The Episcopal Church's History 1945-1985*. (Wilton, CT: Morehouse-Barlow, 1987), 205.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Online ed., s.v. "Apostolic Letters," by F.M. Rudge.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Apostolic Succession."

<sup>6</sup> Smith.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Baptism."

<sup>9</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Bishop."

Bishop, Suffragan. A working co-bishop in a diocese but without inherent right of succession when the diocesan bishop retires or resigns. Suffragan bishops are sometimes called by another diocese to become their Diocesan bishop.<sup>10</sup>

Bishop's Advisory Council (BAC). The Bishop's Advisory Committee (BAC) is the mission congregation's counterpart of the vestry of a parish. The BAC manages the temporal affairs of the congregation subject to limitations of civil and canon law. The BAC is responsible for advising the Bishop and the vicar in setting goals, developing programs, developing and overseeing budget, finances and maintaining the buildings and properties of the congregation.<sup>11</sup>

Brief. A papal letter less formal than a bull.<sup>12</sup>

Broad Church. A popular term, coined on the analogy of High Church and Low Church, and current especially in the latter half of the 19th century, for those in the Church of England who objected to positive definition in theology and sought to interpret the Anglican formularies and rubrics in a broad and liberal sense.<sup>13</sup> That party of the Anglican Church which, in matters of doctrine and communion, holds a position between the ritualism and formality of the High Church and the evangelism of the Low Church.<sup>14</sup>

Bull. An official document, edict, or decree, esp. one from the pope.<sup>15</sup>

Canon. In Christian language it was adopted to denote the list of inspired books which the Church regarded as composing Holy Scripture, liturgical rules, esp. that part of the Mass which includes the consecration, and rules concerning the life and discipline of the Church.<sup>16</sup>

Canon Law. The body of ecclesiastical rules or laws imposed by authority in matters of faith, morals, and discipline.<sup>17</sup>

Canon Pastor. A priest on the staff of a cathedral or diocese may be given the title "Canon." On a cathedral staff, the canon is an assistant to the dean. On a diocesan staff, the canon is an assistant to the bishop. Both are addressed as The Reverend Canon . . .<sup>18</sup>

Cardinal. One of the Roman Catholic officials appointed by the pope to his council.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Smith.

<sup>11</sup> Episcopal Diocese of Oregon, "Mission Congregations," *Diocese of Oregon Operations Resource Manual*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.diocese-oregon.org/ORM/orm/02.htm#2.5>.

<sup>12</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "brief."

<sup>13</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Broad Church."

<sup>14</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "Broad Church."

<sup>15</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "Bull."

<sup>16</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Canon."

<sup>17</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Canon Law."

<sup>18</sup> Sumner, 206.

<sup>19</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "Cardinal."

- Cathedral. The primary congregation in a city where the diocesan office is located with a historical affiliation to the bishop's office.<sup>20</sup> The church which contains the "throne" or official seat of the Bishop of the Diocese, hence, the "mother church" of the diocese.<sup>21</sup>
- Catholic. Literally, "universal" or "found everywhere"; usually, however, a reference to the Roman Catholic Church although the term also includes Anglican, Syrian, Greek, Coptic, Russian and other churches. The Episcopal Church is a catholic church. Catholic churches generally accept the teachings of tradition as well as scripture and usually accept the validity of one or more ancient creeds as the summary of the Christian faith.<sup>22</sup>
- Clergy. The group of ordained ministers of a church or denomination; all ministers together as distinguished from lay persons. When used in distinction from laity, the term includes both bishops and priests; sometimes the term refers to all priests *except the bishops*: as in the expression, "All bishops and other clergy..."<sup>23</sup>
- Clerical. An adjective referring to ordained persons and their work.<sup>24</sup>
- Communicants. The members of a local church; those who do or who are eligible to receive communion; loosely identified with the roll of the local church.<sup>25</sup>
- Communion. A group of Christians professing the same faith and practicing the same rites; denomination.<sup>26</sup>
- Confirmation. In Sacramental theology, the rite whereby the grace of the Holy Spirit is conveyed in a new or fuller way to those who have already received it in some degree or fashion at Baptism.<sup>27</sup>
- Consecration. A special service of dedication or ordination; a church may be consecrated—made holy to God's purposes; a service by which an ordained person becomes a bishop.<sup>28</sup>
- Convention. A meeting of a church body, as in a diocesan convention.<sup>29</sup>
- Deacon. The initial level of ordination in the Episcopal Church. Unlike protestant churches where Deacon is a lay order, in the Episcopal Church Deacon is a clerical order. Deacons often have special clerical duties; by tradition the Gospel is read by the deacon if a deacon is on the staff of a church or chapel.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Sumner, 206.

<sup>21</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Cathedral."

<sup>22</sup> Smith.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "Communion."

<sup>27</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Confirmation."

<sup>28</sup> Smith.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

Diaconate. The rank, office, or tenure of a deacon.<sup>31</sup>

Diocese. A unit of church organization; the spiritual domain under a bishop. A diocese may contain many parishes and churches.<sup>32</sup>

Encyclical. A circular letter sent to all the churches of a given area. In early times the word might be used of a letter sent out by any bishop, but in modern Roman Catholic usage the term is restricted to such letters as are sent out by the pope. It has also been used from the first (1867) of the letters issued by the Anglican bishops at the end of the Lambeth Conferences.<sup>33</sup>

Episcopate. The name of a form of church organization which is governed by an overseer.<sup>34</sup>

Episcopacy. The system of church government by bishops. Where it prevails it is commonly held to be the continuation of the institution of the Apostolate by Christ,<sup>35</sup> that is, a perpetuation of the Apostolic Succession.

Eucharist. A "good gift" or thanksgiving; the current usage in the Episcopal Church refers to Communion, or the Lord's Supper.<sup>36</sup>

Excommunication. An ecclesiastical censure imposed by competent authority which excludes those subjected to it from the communion of the faithful and imposes on them other deprivations and disabilities.<sup>37</sup>

Father. A familiar or direct way of referring to some ordained clergy: the Reverend John F. Marks, but—in personal conversation or in the salutation of a letter—Father Marks, Dear Father Marks. Typically used of all Roman Catholic clergy and of some Episcopal clergy.<sup>38</sup>

General Convention. A gathering every three years of the national Episcopal Church; each diocese is represented by appointed or elected deputies. At General Convention the basic regulations and decisions that govern the church are made. For voting, the General Convention consists of the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "Diaconate."

<sup>32</sup> Smith.

<sup>33</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Encyclical."

<sup>34</sup> Smith.

<sup>35</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Episcopacy."

<sup>36</sup> Smith.

<sup>37</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Excommunication."

<sup>38</sup> Smith.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

**High Church.** A designation of a church emphasizing theological or liturgical formality; a church with several vested assistants and many fine utensils used in the service; a church that sings or chants its service rather than reading or speaking it; a church that celebrates the Eucharist every Sunday (though most Episcopal Churches do this now). Such churches sometimes appear to be more "catholic."<sup>40</sup> That party of the Anglican Church which emphasizes the importance of the priesthood and of traditional rituals and doctrines: opposed to Low Church, Broad Church.<sup>41</sup>

**Holy Orders.** A way of referring to ordination among Roman Catholics, Episcopalians and others: an ordained person is spoken of as "being in holy orders"—meaning that the person has made priestly vows and has been admitted by a bishop into one of the levels of ordination.<sup>42</sup>

**House of Bishops.** All the bishops of the Episcopal church sitting as a legislative and judiciary body of the church.<sup>43</sup>

**House of Deputies.** The lay and presbyter delegates to a general convention sitting as a legislative body.<sup>44</sup>

**Laity.** The non-ordained members of a church; all lay persons together; "the people" as distinguished from "the clergy."<sup>45</sup>

**Lambeth Conferences.** Assemblies of the bishops of the whole Anglican Communion held about once every ten years at Lambeth Palace under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>46</sup>

**Lay minister.** A person who is not ordained, but who works closely with a church or religious program. Some lay ministers are unpaid volunteers; some are paid staff members of a church.<sup>47</sup>

**Lectionary.** A book containing the extracts (pericopes) from Scripture appointed to be read at public worship.<sup>48</sup>

**Liturgy.** "Work of the people." 1) Of all the prescribed services of the Church, e.g. incl. the canonical hours, as contrasted with private devotion, 2) Specifically as a title of the Eucharist (as the chief act of public worship).<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "High Church."

<sup>42</sup> Smith.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. Lambeth Conferences."

<sup>47</sup> Smith.

<sup>48</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Lectionary."

<sup>49</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Liturgy."

Low Church. A church that is less formal; a church that does not chant or sing its service; a church that alternates Morning Prayer with Eucharist; such churches sometimes appear to be more "protestant."<sup>50</sup> That party of the Anglican Church which attaches little importance to the priesthood and to traditional rituals, doctrines, etc., and is strongly evangelical: opposed to High Church, Broad Church.<sup>51</sup>

Magisterium. The authority claimed by the Roman Catholic Church, as divinely inspired, to teach true doctrine.<sup>52</sup>

Mass. A title of the Eucharist.<sup>53</sup>

Metropolitan. The title of a bishop exercising provincial, and not merely diocesan, powers.<sup>54</sup>

Mission. A church which is financially dependent on the diocese for its operating budget.<sup>55</sup>

Ordination. A special service for inducting a person into holy orders; the ritual that makes a person a priest or minister.<sup>56</sup>

Parish. A local, self-supporting congregation.<sup>57</sup>

Pope. The title, though now restricted to the Bishop of Rome, was in early times used in the Western (Church) of any Bishop.<sup>58</sup>

Precentor. In cathedrals, the cleric responsible for the direction of the choral services.<sup>59</sup>

Prelate. A term originally of wide connotation, it gradually acquired a purely ecclesiastical reference and still later came to be restricted to Church officials of high rank. In the Church of England the title is restricted nowadays to bishops.<sup>60</sup>

Presiding Bishop. The elected episcopal head of the Episcopal Church in America (ECUSA); the chief administrator and spiritual head of the Episcopal Church. The Episcopal Church *does not* refer to its head bishop as an archbishop.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Smith.

<sup>51</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "Low Church."

<sup>52</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "Magisterium."

<sup>53</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Mass."

<sup>54</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Metropolitan."

<sup>55</sup> Sumner, 210.

<sup>56</sup> Smith.

<sup>57</sup> Sumner, 209.

<sup>58</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Pope."

<sup>59</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Precentor."

<sup>60</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Prelate."

<sup>61</sup> Smith.



- Priest. A special term for the minister of a Roman Catholic, Episcopal, or Orthodox church; originally the term meant someone who performed a sacrifice; later the term referred to those who said Mass.<sup>62</sup> One of the three orders of ordained ministry: bishops, priests, and deacons.<sup>63</sup>
- Primate. The title of the bishop of the "first see," used originally of the metropolitan of a province, then for a time equated with the patriarch, and later applied to the chief bishop of a single state or people.<sup>64</sup>
- Protestantism. The system of Christian faith and practice based on acceptance of the principles of the Reformation.<sup>65</sup>
- Province. One of the major organizational divisions of the Episcopal Church; a group of dioceses usually under the parliamentary direction of a diocesan bishop who serves as president of the province.<sup>66</sup>
- Provost. The head of an ecclesiastical or cathedral chapter.<sup>67</sup>
- Real Presence. In (especially Anglican) Eucharistic theology an expression used to cover several doctrines emphasizing the actual Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, as contrasted with others that maintain that the Body and Blood are present only figuratively or symbolically.<sup>68</sup>
- Rector. The priest who is in charge of a parish congregation,<sup>69</sup> selected and hired by that group.
- Reformation. This somewhat loose term covers an involved series of changes in Western Christendom between the 14th and 17th centuries.<sup>70</sup>
- Reverend Doctor. An ordained person (hence Reverend) who also holds some degree at the doctorate level (hence Doctor)—a way of referring to a priest who was also a professor or to a priest who holds an honorary doctorate; a bishop who held a doctorate would be referred to as the Right Reverend Doctor.<sup>71</sup>
- Roman Catholicism. The term, which denotes the faith and practice of Christians who are in communion with the pope, is used particularly of Catholicism as it has existed since the Reformation, in contradistinction to Protestant bodies.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Sumner, 210.

<sup>64</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Primate."

<sup>65</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Protestantism."

<sup>66</sup> Smith.

<sup>67</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Provost."

<sup>68</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Real Presence."

<sup>69</sup> Sumner, 210.

<sup>70</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Reformation."

<sup>71</sup> Smith.

<sup>72</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Roman Catholicism."

Sacrament. According to the Catechism of the Book of Common Prayer, "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." The two major sacraments are Baptism and the Eucharist, the five minor sacraments being Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony.<sup>73</sup>

See. Properly, the official "seat" or "throne" of a Bishop. This seat, which is the earliest of the Bishop's insignia, normally stands in the Cathedral of the Diocese; hence the town or place where the Cathedral is located is also itself known as the Bishop's see.<sup>74</sup>

Standing Committee. Elected by the people of the [Episcopal] diocese, this body is responsible for the continuity and integrity of the organizational church through such functions as consent to election of bishops, approval of candidates for ordination, and control of fiscal encumbrance of the diocese.<sup>75</sup>

Synod. Council—a formal meeting of bishops and representatives of several churches convened for the purpose of regulating doctrine or discipline. Local or "particular" councils represent the various units—e.g. provinces, patriarchates, exarchates—of the Church, but these are now more often called by other names, e.g. "synods."<sup>76</sup>

Unction. The process of anointing with oil with a religious significance, usually by a bishop or priest, e.g. at the Coronation of a monarch. In the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches Unction is used both at Baptism and Confirmation. The word most commonly applies, however, to the Sacraments of the Unction (or Anointing) of the Sick.<sup>77</sup>

Vatican. The modern Papal residence in Rome on the ancient "Mons Vaticanus," once adorned with the Circus of Nero.<sup>78</sup>

Vestry. The primary governing body for each local parish. Vestry members are normally elected by church members at the parish's annual meeting and serve rotating terms of one to three years.<sup>79</sup>

Vicar. The priest in charge of a mission church, appointed by the diocesan bishop.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Sacrament."

<sup>74</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "See."

<sup>75</sup> Gordon W. Gritter, "Standing Committees," *Episcopal Diocese of El Camino Real*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.ecrweb.org/page/page/389102.htm>.

<sup>76</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Council."

<sup>77</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Unction."

<sup>78</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Vatican."

<sup>79</sup> Sumner, 210.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

## ABSTRACT

Our Lord Jesus Christ prayed that those who share in His calling "may become completely one" (John 17:23 NRSV). Unity is a major goal of many Christian denominations, both within those groups and with other churches. The second half of the twentieth century was an extremely active period of dialogue between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church. However, the question of authority has been a significant roadblock in this quest for ecumenical recovery. Traditional faith practices in each church are determined by markedly different models for arriving at final decisions in matters of doctrine. By way of an international commission, sanctioned and charged by both churches to oversee dialogue in matters of dogma, several noteworthy statements have been published, but none as yet have been mutually agreed upon to any significant degree. A prominent exemplification of the difference in decision-making structures between these two churches is the issue of the ordination of women to the sacramental priesthood. In light of this issue, this paper examines how a very basic difference in traditional authority—the historicity within which decisions are made—has a significant effect on dialogue, and thus the possibility of answering Christ's prayer for unity.

## INTRODUCTION

In March of 1966 The Most Reverend Dr. Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, paid an official visit to Pope Paul VI in Rome.<sup>81</sup> Thus began an era of dialog between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church never before experienced, the focus of which was to be the "unity in truth for which Christ prayed."<sup>82</sup>

In 1970 the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) was formed and began to contribute to the work of dialogue between the two churches. This commission has attempted to get behind the oftentimes formidable obstacle of doctrinal language in order to facilitate an environment of theological concordance.<sup>83</sup> The first two major areas to be examined were the Eucharist, and ministry and ordination. These likewise generated two agreed statements published in 1971 and 1973, respectively. Each also generated an elucidation, both issued in 1979. Between 1976 and 1981 three separate documents on authority in the church—two statements and an elucidation—were also published. All seven papers were combined for publication in 1981, given the overall caption of *The Final Report*, and presented to the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church for evaluation and feedback.<sup>84</sup> A decade later both churches had responded, but neither would sanction completely either the elucidated or redefined statement on authority. Meanwhile, responding to a request from Pope John Paul II and Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie to prepare statements on other important matters,<sup>85</sup> the ARCIC tackled the doctrine of salvation, the concept of communion, and morals and ethics. A

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<sup>81</sup> Mark Santer and Cormac Murphy-O'Connor, "Statement from the Co-Chairmen of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission" (May 12, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/ecumenical/dialogues/rc/authority/chairmenenglish.html>.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> John Wilkins, "Anglican-Catholic commission reaches agreement on authority," *National Catholic Reporter* (June 4, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://natcath.org/NCR\\_Online/archives2/1999b/060499/060499l.htm](http://natcath.org/NCR_Online/archives2/1999b/060499/060499l.htm).

<sup>84</sup> Santer.

third statement on authority, entitled *The Gift of Authority*, was published in 1999, and is the result of the official responses to *The Final Report*.<sup>86</sup> *The Gift of Authority* is markedly different than previous statements in that it advocates the "universal primacy of the bishop of Rome," or papal authority, as a means of ecumenical unity.

The Episcopal Church in the United States of America (ECUSA) has been officially ordaining women to the priesthood since 1977. Its first female bishop was consecrated in 1989. Since then many, but not all Anglican provinces have followed suit; complete consensus has not been reached, even after thirty years of debate and compromise. Certainly this significant shift in tradition, which includes the particulars of its coming about, had or will continue to have an impact on the work of the ARCIC. However, although the ordination of women is an official item on that commission's agenda, only the 1991 statement *The Church as Communion* addresses it at all, and then not even directly. Instead, it is approached as one of several variables to be determined; a final agreement on authority would definitively lay this as well as many other issues to rest.

During the last four decades of these discussions, the Roman Catholic Church, represented by its popes, has reacted ever more stringently against the question of the ordination of women. Roman Catholic actions concerning a priesthood made up of both genders have been such that "full visible unity" seems a distinct impossibility. During these same four decades, the primary focus of the ARCIC has moved from finding and declaring common theological ground to the question of authority—how decisions are made, and who has the final say in matters of doctrine.

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

Is there a direct correlation between this major change in Anglican tradition, recent Roman Catholic directives concerning female clergy, and the ARCIC's shift to an emphasis on papal authority in the church? The purpose of this paper is to explore the possibility of such a relationship. In order to provide substantial background, the first three chapters relate the histories of the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church, papal decrees on the subject of women's ordination, and Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue, respectively. Further clarification is provided in the final chapters through a somewhat more detailed examination of the ARCIC documents and the two denominations' responses to these. An overview of all corresponding events and publications, in the form of a timeline, has been placed in the appendix. In this way it may be more evident whether or not the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church has had any effect on twentieth-century Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue.

## CHAPTER 1 - History of women's ordination in the Episcopal Church

The ordination of women to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church in the United States of America (ECUSA) has a long and complicated history. It is a struggle that involves all members of the Episcopal Church, both clergy and laity, men as well as women, members of the worldwide Anglican Communion, and even other denominations. It is not yet a complete narrative, for the struggle continues, on both sides of the debate as well as all over the world. Regardless of one's feelings about women in the priesthood, this is a fascinating story, and all Christians owe much to those who had and continue to have a part in it.

This particular debate is unique, because of the particular division of pastoral and administrative tasks within both the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion; certain activities, particularly those of a sacramental nature, are restricted to ordained clergy. "The Episcopal Church was one of the latest to ordain women; hence, women had longer to observe men alone leading key parts of the worship service and to dream of also being permitted to do so."<sup>87</sup>

### *Pre-1960*

The Episcopal Church is unique within American Protestantism in that it has traditional religious orders for women. "Episcopal nuns do not comprise a very large group, but there are some eighteen separate orders in the United States, maintaining forty-five or more centers and houses. The earliest of these orders was founded in 1865; the latest, in 1974."<sup>88</sup> Most of these serve the community through traditional female roles such as teaching and nursing. Deaconesses used to represent the other traditional form of full-time church work. Unlike nuns, deaconesses

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<sup>87</sup> Jackson W. Carroll, Barbara Hargrove, and Adair T. Lummis, *Women of the Cloth: A New Opportunity for the Churches* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1983), 95-96.

<sup>88</sup> Carroll, 34.

usually lived independently of one another, and many were married with children. "To some extent, the evolution of the deaconess role provides a model of the changes in the role of women in the church that have been brought about by modernization."<sup>89</sup> The diaconate is based on the ideal of service. "One of the most common activities of deaconesses was nursing, a position early recognized as both traditional women's work and a profession, thus a bridge from the traditional to the modern."<sup>90</sup>

"Episcopal deaconesses were 'set apart' by local bishops in the United States as early as 1885, and such actions were authorized by the General Convention in 1889."<sup>91</sup> They were laywomen with a special status within the church, as they had full-time paid positions.<sup>92</sup>

The nearness of the role of deaconess to that of clergy has long been recognized, and also served as a bridge to ordination for women. Suzanne Hiatt, now an ordained Episcopal clergywoman, says of this issue:

Originally, in the mid-nineteenth century, deaconesses were revived as a low church answer to the high church party's revival of religious orders for women. With a few exceptions, such as the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, deaconesses did not live in community but were attached to parishes, dioceses, and missionary stations (especially in Canada where they were an enormous factor in the missions of the Northwest Territory). In the American church, however, they have been considered clergy since 1970 and are subject to the same rules and have the same privileges as male deacons. All priests, male and female, are also deacons. The office of deaconess no longer exists.<sup>93</sup>

Women have also long sought formal theological instruction within established institutions of higher learning. In 1939, the first woman to graduate from an Episcopal seminary received a degree from Berkeley Divinity School in New Haven, Connecticut.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Carroll, 28.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Carroll, 35.

<sup>94</sup> Sumner, 18.



World War II brought many pastoral difficulties and thus the need for special circumstances.

In 1944 Florence Tim Oi Li became the first woman ordained to the Anglican Priesthood. The Right Reverend R.O. Hall, bishop of Hong Kong, ordained her, having first received permission from the local synod. The archbishops of Canterbury and York repudiated her ordination, and Florence Tim Oi Li voluntarily ceased to exercise her orders.<sup>95</sup>

It was not any easier for laywomen in the 1940s. In 1949 the Diocese of Olympia elected Ruth Jenkins as a deputy to that year's General Convention, and she received more votes than anyone else. "But along with three other elected women deputies, the San Francisco convention refused seating, saying in effect that the time for women deputies had not yet come."<sup>96</sup> At that same Convention, the matter was brought up, in a resolution, to change the word "laymen" in the constitution to "laypersons." "It was defeated in the House of Deputies and never reached the House of Bishops."<sup>97</sup> The next day the House adopted a resolution providing for the seating of the women by courtesy, but without voice or vote. The women declined the invitation, stating that they had been elected as deputies, not as women, and that the issue was one of service rather than courtesy. It was noted by several that on the same day, the \$2 million offering the women had helped to raise for church work was not refused.<sup>98</sup>

The church recognized that an important issue had been raised, and appointed a commission to study the place of women in the church, and to report those findings to the next general convention, in 1952. This commission, which included three women, reported that there was no theological basis for excluding women, and that in eight other provinces of the Anglican

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<sup>95</sup> David E. Bird, Rozanne Elder, R. William Franklin, Joan McGuire, Dennis Mikulanis, and Emmanuel Sullivan, *Receiving the Vision: The Anglican-Roman Catholic Reality Today*, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 108.

<sup>96</sup> Sumner, 7.

<sup>97</sup> Sumner, 8.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

Communion women served on legislative bodies. They presented a resolution that the word "layman" be replaced in the constitution with "Lay Deputy, man or woman." It failed.<sup>99</sup> The 1952 resolution was voted down by the male laity; the attending clergy supported it. It was surmised that the laymen felt that female deputies would be a threat but that the clergy had nothing to lose by allowing women to participate. "According to the Boston Globe account, others gave reasons for their opposition to the resolution—some quite similar to later arguments against the ordination of women: Jesus chose only male apostles, the Bible taught different roles for men and women, and only 'feminist' women wanted leadership positions."<sup>100</sup>

Meanwhile, inroads were being paved with regard to education. In 1958 the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts adopted a formal policy for admitting women to the bachelor of divinity program.<sup>101</sup>

### *1960s*

The resolution (to change the word "laymen" to "laypersons" in the constitution) was again defeated in 1955, 1958, 1961, and 1964. It finally passed in 1967, was ratified in 1970, and twenty-eight elected women deputies were seated on October 12 of that year.<sup>102</sup>

In the 1960s, the debate over the ordination of women began with a debate over their entry into the diaconate. The point in questions was whether deaconesses were "set apart," and therefore a specialized form of lay ministry for women, or "ordered" by bishops (including the laying on of hands and appointed prayers), which implied an ordained ministry.<sup>103</sup> "In 1964, the General Convention changed the canons to read that deaconesses were 'ordered' rather than

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<sup>99</sup> Sumner, 9.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Sumner, 17.

<sup>102</sup> Sumner, 10-11.

<sup>103</sup> Sumner, 15.

'appointed' and adopted a special liturgy for use in the ordination of women as deaconesses."<sup>104</sup>

"The church never really resolved whether or not 'deaconess' was an order of the ministry, but finally abolished the office when it voted to allow women into the diaconate in 1970."<sup>105</sup>

The Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, which gathers once each decade, is one of four recommending groups in the Anglican Communion. (The other three are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Anglican Consultative Council, and the Primates' Meeting.)<sup>106</sup> Members of that church, although well-advised to listen and consider carefully, are not under any ecclesiastical obligation to either approve or accept those recommendations. The Lambeth Conference of 1968 was also hard at work on the issue of the ordination of women to the priesthood. After heated debate, a resolution was passed stating that "the Conference affirms its opinion that the theological arguments as at present presented for and against the ordination of women to the priesthood are inconclusive."<sup>107</sup> Also after considerable debate, the same conference recommended "that those made deaconesses by laying on of hands with appropriate prayers be declared to be within the diaconate."<sup>108</sup> In the Anglican Church male deacons have always been considered clergy; every priest has first been ordained a deacon and remains a deacon as well as a priest.<sup>109</sup> After Lambeth 1968 the ECUSA also ruled that deaconesses were clergy. It also stated that they were to meet the same educational standards as male deacons and be subject to the same canonical requirements for ordination.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Sumner, 16.

<sup>105</sup> Sumner, 15.

<sup>106</sup> Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission, "The Virginia Report" (1997), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/lambeth/reports/report1.html>.

<sup>107</sup> Sumner, 19.

<sup>108</sup> Sumner, 17.

<sup>109</sup> Carroll, 34.

## 1970s

The General Convention of 1970 not only approved the ordination of women to the diaconate, it was also the first convention to vote on the ordination of women to the priesthood.<sup>111</sup> But the motion was defeated then, as it was in 1973,<sup>112</sup> when it never even reached the House of Bishops.<sup>113</sup> The Episcopal Women's Caucus, which includes lay women, seminarians, and deacons, was organized in 1971 in order to further the cause of the ordination of women to the priesthood. It was sponsored by the Episcopal Church's Board for Theological Education, and its statement of purpose was to "actualize the full participation of women in all levels of ministry in the Episcopal Church."<sup>114</sup> The Caucus "has continued to work for a church that honors the ministry of all women, because such a church would honor the ministries of all people."<sup>115</sup>

By 1971 all Episcopal seminaries were admitting women to their programs. The women were not attending in order to study for the priesthood, however, but to prepare themselves for professional lay ministry. An added advantage was that they also met and became acquainted with the future clergy with and for whom they would be working.<sup>116</sup>

In 1971 two women were ordained, within the Anglican Communion, to the priesthood in Hong Kong. Although these ordinations were criticized by many, their validity was never officially challenged.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Carroll, 45.

<sup>111</sup> Sumner, 19.

<sup>112</sup> Bird, 109.

<sup>113</sup> Sumner, 21.

<sup>114</sup> Sumner, 20.

<sup>115</sup> Pamela Darling, "Defending the Episcopal Women's Caucus Angel Project," *A Global Witness* (June 7, 2001), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.thewitness.org/agw/angel.html>.

<sup>116</sup> Sumner, 18-19.

<sup>117</sup> Bird, 108.

On July 29, 1974, eleven female deacons were ordained to the priesthood of the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. They jointly stated that their action stemmed from their sacramental theology, and that they sought to "reaffirm and recover the universality of Christ's ministry as symbolized in the priesthood."<sup>118</sup> Alla Bozarth-Campbell, one of the "Philadelphia Eleven," as they came to be known, recalls:

On July 29, the Feast of Saints Mary and Martha, eleven women were ordained to the priesthood in the Church of the Advocate in the City of Filial Love. The Church died and began to be reborn. Tradition was not broken but fulfilled. Transcended in its structure and transformed in its soul, the Episcopal Church would never be the same again, . . . because at last the fullness of the Gospel had the possibility of being spoken to and through all of God's people, for the barrier that kept women from the freedom and dignity of the children of God was being broken.<sup>119</sup> The miracle of the Philadelphia ordinations was in their symbolic power and value for women and men not only within, but far beyond the boundaries of the Episcopal Church, or of the Christian tradition. The event constituted a symbolic breakthrough for women everywhere in our ability to fully participate in the mainstream of human spiritual life.<sup>120</sup>

The reactions throughout the church and especially from the bishops were swift, if not strong.

The normal process for ordination in the Episcopal Church requires two to three years of examinations by Commissions on Ministries, Standing Committees, and Boards of Examining Chaplains of each local diocese, as well as the local parish vestry. These eleven women did not have the approval of their bishops and standing committees for the ordination. Some of their bishops, while not objecting to the womens' qualifications, did object to their participation in the Philadelphia service.<sup>121</sup>

Two weeks later the Presiding Bishop John Allin called an emergency meeting of the House of Bishops, during which they declared the ordinations invalid.<sup>122</sup> However, at their next regularly scheduled meeting, the bishops endorsed the ordinations "in principle," but this did not

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<sup>118</sup> Bird, 109.

<sup>119</sup> Alla Bozarth-Campbell, *Womanpriest: A Personal Odyssey* (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1978), 126.

<sup>120</sup> Bozarth-Campbell, 121.

<sup>121</sup> Sumner, 24.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

make them valid.<sup>123</sup> In the Episcopal Church, as in all provinces of the Anglican Communion the Eucharistic elements are not considered to contain the Real Presence of Christ unless consecrated, through special prayers, by an ordained priest or bishop. A priest is not considered a substitute for the people, but a leader. As such, "Without such a duly appointed leader there can be no celebration of the Eucharist."<sup>124</sup> "Two dioceses held ecclesiastical trials for priests who permitted women to celebrate the Eucharist in their parishes. Both men were convicted of disobeying a 'Godly admonition' from their bishops."<sup>125</sup> The Rev. Peter Beebe was ordered by the Ecclesiastical Court of the Diocese of Ohio to cease the "ministry of affirmation and compassion to persons suffering outrageously inequitable and humiliating treatment by the authorities of this Church."<sup>126</sup> He was further directed to submit to the authority of his diocese, an order which he proceeded to ignore.<sup>127</sup> During the Diocese of Washington, D.C. trial of The Rev. William Wendt, the court advised their bishop to merely "admonish the accused," and "forbid him to permit any person whose ordination is not in conformity with the canons of the church to exercise his or her ministry in his parish."<sup>128</sup> Father Wendt appealed the decision, in addition to announcing that one of those newly ordained women, The Rev. Allison Cheek, would join the staff of his parish at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church.<sup>129</sup>

In December of 1974 five female deacons presented themselves for ordination to the priesthood at an ordination ceremony for five men in the Diocese of New York, presided over by Bishop Paul Moore. Despite his liberal stance and strong support for women's ordination, he

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, s.v. "Priest, Priesthood."

<sup>125</sup> Sumner, 24.

<sup>126</sup> Carter Heyward, "A Priest Forever," Harper and Row (1976), n.p., [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.womenpriests.org/related/heyw\\_06.htm](http://www.womenpriests.org/related/heyw_06.htm).

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Richard J. Anderson, "Where do we go from here: Prospects for the 1976 Convention," *The Ordination of Women: Pro and Con*, Morehouse Barlow Co. (1975), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womanpriest.org/classic/anderson.htm>.

refused to lay hands on them. They proceeded to walk out, and were followed by a third of the congregation, including the bishop's chaplain.<sup>130</sup>

In March of 1975, two of the Philadelphia Eleven became faculty members at the Episcopal Divinity School, with full priestly duties, including celebrating the Eucharist in the chapel.<sup>131</sup> Four more women were ordained to the priesthood in Washington, D.C. on September 7 of that same year. This was done by the retired bishop of Rochester, who, the Bishop of Washington D.C. declared, "does not have my permission to ordain deacons to the priesthood in this diocese." He also stated that he would not ordain anyone, male or female, until the matter was settled during the next General Convention, in 1976.<sup>132</sup> Presiding Bishop Allin asked that there be no trials for the bishops who had participated in the irregular ordinations, and "the house ended up merely censuring the bishops who violated normal rules of church order."<sup>133</sup> The Presiding Bishop took an officially neutral position, but it seemed clear that the resolution concerning the ordination of women would pass, as sixty-seven bishops announced in June of 1976 that they approved and would sanction by vote thereof.<sup>134</sup>

The 1976 ECUSA General Convention decided that women could be ordained to the priesthood and episcopate, which meant that the canons would change the following calendar year; women could officially be ordained to the priesthood as early as January of 1977. (A constitutional amendment requires two passing general conventions in order to be able to be put into action.)<sup>135</sup> The House of Bishops voted 95 to 61 to endorse.<sup>136</sup> After debate and prayer, the clerical order voted 60 in favor, 39 opposed, and 15 divided. The laity voted 64 in favor, 36

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Sumner, 21-22.

<sup>131</sup> Sumner, 24.

<sup>132</sup> Sumner, 25.

<sup>133</sup> Sumner, 25-26.

<sup>134</sup> Sumner, 26.

<sup>135</sup> Sumner, 28.

opposed, and 13 divided.<sup>137</sup> "This ruling was a major step in the Episcopal Church's reception of the doctrine that women and men should share equally in all facets of the ordained ministry."<sup>138</sup> However, it was one thing to rule for and ordain women. It was quite another for individual parishes to invite women to fully participate in ministry.<sup>139</sup> Approximately 57% had voted in favor, indicating that a substantial number were either opposed or undecided.

Approximately 100 women were ordained to the priesthood in 1977. However, the struggle was far from over. Clergy and laity alike remained opposed, and some bishops refused to even consider candidacy for women. Eventually, however, these bishops retired and were replaced by chief pastors who approved of and supported female priests.<sup>140</sup> "By 1979, almost 300 women had been ordained to the priesthood, and seventy-two of the ninety-three domestic dioceses had canonically resident women who were ordained (priest or deacon)."<sup>141</sup>

### *1980s*

Between 1977 and 1981 the number of female priests in the ECUSA increased by 352 percent, most serving in parish ministry. Female enrollment in Episcopal seminaries continued to increase as well.<sup>142</sup> By 1987 women made up 39 percent of the students in the Episcopal seminaries studying for a master of divinity degree, the standard academic requirement for ordination in the ECUSA. This suggests that bishops and their diocesan commissions on ministry—the body which screens ordination candidates—had accepted females as suitable candidates for the church's ordained ministry.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Sumner, 26.

<sup>137</sup> Sumner, 27.

<sup>138</sup> Bird, 109.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Sumner, 28-29.

<sup>141</sup> Sumner, 30.

<sup>142</sup> Carroll, 5.

<sup>143</sup> Bird, 109-110.



However, at the beginning of the decade, there was a perceived incompatibility between the image of a "minister" and the image of a "woman" in the minds of seventy-four percent of church members surveyed. Thirty-seven percent of women and forty-eight percent of men believed that in the case of more than one minister the senior pastor should be a man. Twenty-nine percent of women and thirty-six percent of men surveyed were concerned that full-time ministers who were also mothers were "likely to have emotional problems due to all the demands placed on them by both jobs."<sup>144</sup>

Nonetheless, the number of female priests in the ECUSA continued to steadily increase, as did the numbers of ordained women serving as rectors and vicars:

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1987	1988
Rectors	24	34	47	70	117	127
Vicars	34	44	60	66	83	93
Assoc./Assts.	222	226	363	434	533	647 <sup>145</sup>

It is the stated policy of the Clergy Deployment Board that categories such as race, marital status, age, and sex will not be used in the operation of the deployment system. Search committees, however, almost routinely admit that they use these categories to screen candidates all the time. In the *Positions Open Bulletin* of February, 1988, among the parishes seeking applications for the position of rector, thirty-one indicated that they would especially welcome applications from women or members of ethnic minority groups.<sup>146</sup>

It has been reported that the ordination of women led to a drop in church membership. However, the Office of Women in Mission and Ministry refuted this claim with statistics

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<sup>144</sup> Carroll, 143.

<sup>145</sup> Bird, 110.

<sup>146</sup> Charles Crane and Diane Crane, *The Clergy Search Dilemma* (Cambridge, MA: Cowley Publications, 1991), 16-17.

showing that attendance in the ECUSA rose between 1974 and 1985. "In addition, there was a paralleled increase in pledged income during that period."<sup>147</sup>

Episcopalians soon began asking when a woman would be elected and consecrated as a bishop in their church. In September of 1985 the House of Bishops passed a resolution expressing its intention not to withhold consent to the election of a bishop on the grounds of gender.<sup>148</sup> The pathway for the first female Episcopal bishop had been cleared.

For the whole of the Anglican Communion, however, the consecration of a woman was a potential pathway to discordance, or worse yet, schism. So for the 1988 Lambeth Conference, the issue of the ordination of women to the priesthood was a crucial, highly visible, and historical turning point. These bishops understood that both established traditions and the spiritual solidarity of Anglicanism were at stake. They recognized that there were provinces "which considered this [the ordination of women] to be a legitimate development within the catholic and apostolic tradition,"<sup>149</sup> and that the consecration of a woman to the episcopate was inevitable. The Lambeth Conference was intent on simultaneously maintaining unity, honoring diversity, and utilizing more than one resource for the discernment of God's will over time. The attending bishops therefore proceeded with caution, issuing resolutions designed to facilitate respect for both positions rather than urging the provinces to hasten toward a unanimous policy. In the first paragraph of their first resolution that year, they stressed the importance of "maintaining the highest possible degree of communion with the Provinces that differ."<sup>150</sup> Among the resolutions was a request that the Archbishop of Canterbury appoint a commission to "examine relationships

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<sup>147</sup> Bird, 111.

<sup>148</sup> Bird, 112.

<sup>149</sup> Jeffrey Gros, E. Rozanne Elder, and Ellen K. Wondra, eds, *Common Witness to the Gospel -Documents on Anglican-Roman Catholic Relations 1983-1995* (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1997), 20.

<sup>150</sup> Gros, 21.

between the various provinces of the Anglican Communion, particularly in light of the ordination of women to the episcopate."<sup>151</sup>

*The Eames Report*, so called because the resulting commission was chaired by the Most Reverend Robert Eames, Primate of Ireland and Metropolitan, "suggests that Anglicans recognize that an unhappy consequence of Christianity's current division is that there is no church whose ordained ministry is not in some way questioned by another." It exhorted those Anglicans who were having trouble with the decision to ordain women to still live "sacrificially with this provisional situation." In other words, they were allowed to not approve. However, they were not allowed to claim that those who did approve were not in communion with them. The main concern of *The Eames Report* was to maintain unity: "The Church, while still preserving unity, will be obliged to live for a time with the fact of disagreement."<sup>152</sup> *The Eames Report* also cited *Implications of the Gospel*, a joint report of the Lutheran-Episcopalian dialogue in the United States, which states that presidency at the Eucharist is not about gender. "The New Testament neither identifies the function of the twelve apostles as presiding at the Eucharist nor identifies maleness as a quality which is necessary for those who preside at the Eucharist."<sup>153</sup> Apparently this concern was adequately addressed by the report; there are no references of disagreement with the contents of *The Eames Report* within the Communion.

On September 24, 1988, The Rev. Barbara Harris was elected as suffragan bishop of Massachusetts. The raising up of a bishop in the ECUSA is a long and thorough process. Once the election has taken place in the local diocese, it has to be confirmed by a majority vote in favor by the standing committees and bishops with jurisdiction throughout the Episcopal Church.

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<sup>151</sup> Bird, 114.

<sup>152</sup> Bird, 115.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

"Thus all orders of the church, ordained and lay, are involved in the process."<sup>154</sup> Bishop Harris was duly elected by this process, and was consecrated as the first female and 834th bishop of the ECUSA on February 11, 1989.<sup>155</sup> Following this historical event, the Archbishop of Canterbury, while affirming that "the Anglican Church does not canonically accept the ministry of either women priests or bishops," acknowledged that the barrier was a "matter of ecclesiastical law and not doctrine."<sup>156</sup> There were recorded directives, but they were also subject to change. A group of six bishops issued a signed statement declaring their refusal to acknowledge Harris as a bishop or "accept any episcopal actions performed by her."

At this point some members actually left the church. Although they were few in number, they were generally very active members. Some left for other denominations, and some, including clergy, have become a part of breakaway Anglican churches. Those who were strongly opposed, yet chose to remain, affiliated with the Episcopal Synod of America, which opposes the ordination of women. It was founded at Fort Worth, Texas, in June of 1989.<sup>157</sup> These members (clergy, laity, and even whole parishes), were and still are considered Anglicans, and therefore within the Communion.

### *1990s*

This decade brought great changes to the whole of the Anglican Communion. Churches in many countries not only accepted women as priests, but bishops as well. The Reverend Dr. Peneolpe Jamieson was consecrated and installed as the seventh bishop of Dunedin (New Zealand) on June 19, 1990.<sup>158</sup> In 1990 the Church of England had over eight hundred female

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<sup>154</sup> Bird, 113-114.

<sup>155</sup> Bird, 114.

<sup>156</sup> Roanne Edwards, "Harris, Barbara Clementine," *Africana.com*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.africana.com/Articles/tt\\_168.htm](http://www.africana.com/Articles/tt_168.htm).

<sup>157</sup> Bird, 111.

<sup>158</sup> Bird, 116.

deacons, and so there was no shortage of candidates when it voted in 1992 to proceed with the ordination of women to the priesthood.<sup>159</sup>

The Anglican Church of Canada, the ECUSA's neighbors to the north, had ordained 275 women by 1991. Some were nominated to the episcopate. In the early 1990s, relations were definitely strained between Canadian provinces which did not ordain women and those which did; this is a matter of public record. However, ordained women have ministered in every Canadian Anglican diocese, and the ordination of women no longer appears as a serious controversy in the Anglican mainstream in Canada. Conversations continue with those provinces which do not recognize women priests, concentrating on "the distinctive contributions, if any, which women may make to Christian spirituality, liturgy, and ministry; and the role of women priests in imaging God and healing women's experiences of isolation and rejection."<sup>160</sup>

Figures distributed at the July 1991 General Convention reported that "over 300 women were in charge of congregations as rectors, vicars, priests-in-charge, interim priests, or as co-pastors. About 650 women deacons and priests serve as assistant or associate priests." In all, between twelve and thirteen percent of the Episcopal Church's 15,000 clergy at that time, were female.<sup>161</sup> Many people who were opposed to the idea of a female rector changed their minds after one was called to their parish. A search committee member recalls her determination not to even consider a woman. "It turned out that she was not only the best qualified and most gifted candidate, but, after she had been called into the parish, a true blessing to our parish family."<sup>162</sup>

Many Anglicans, whether for or against the ordination of women, believed at this time that no action to ordain women should be taken at all "until the whole Church has declared its

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<sup>159</sup> Bird, 118.

<sup>160</sup> Gros, 161-162.

<sup>161</sup> Bird, 111.

<sup>162</sup> Crane, 142-143.

mind, or at least until there is greater ecumenical consensus with Rome and Orthodoxy as well as the Protestant traditions."<sup>163</sup> Nonetheless, The Rev. Jane Dixon was elected suffragan bishop of Washington on May 30, 1992. On June 5, 1993, The Rev. Mary Adelia McLeod was elected as Diocesan Bishop of Vermont. Also in 1993 with the election of The Rev. Virginia Matthews, the Anglican Church of Canada became the third Anglican province to elect a female bishop.<sup>164</sup>

On July 1, 1994, The Rev. Martha Horne became the first female dean of an Episcopal seminary. She was elected to head Virginia Theological Seminary after a search committee had considered approximately sixty names from five Anglican provinces. Virginia Theological is the largest and second oldest of the Episcopal seminaries.<sup>165</sup> Still, significant tension remained over the ordination of women within the Episcopal Church, which was described as "still living in a provisional situation."<sup>166</sup> This is evidenced by the appearance, rapid disappearance, and then almost immediate reappearance of what has come to be known as the "conscience clause."

By the time of the ECUSA General Convention of 1994, most of its dioceses were ordaining women to the priesthood.<sup>167</sup> During that gathering a resolution was passed "guaranteeing both men and women access to the ordination process in this Church."<sup>168</sup> It recognized that not all dioceses participated in the process at that time, and that those who opposed the ordination of women held to a "recognized theological opinion in this Church"—the

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<sup>163</sup> Christopher Hill, "The ordination of women in the context of Anglican/Roman Catholic dialogue," *The Month* (January, 1992): 6-13.

<sup>164</sup> Bird, 116.

<sup>165</sup> Bird, 112.

<sup>166</sup> Bird, 114.

<sup>167</sup> Bird, 112.

<sup>168</sup> ECUSA General Convention (1994), "Reaffirm Canon on Equal Access to Ordination Process for Men and Women," *Resolution C004*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/acts\\_of\\_convention/print\\_resolution.pl?dataset=data1&resolution=1994-C004](http://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/acts_of_convention/print_resolution.pl?dataset=data1&resolution=1994-C004).

"conscience clause."<sup>169</sup> However, the resolution also stated that the Presiding Bishop and the President of the House of Deputies, along with two appointed bishops, would "appoint a committee to promote dialogue and understanding and to discuss how the canon can be implemented in every diocese of this Church."<sup>170</sup>

A 1997 General Convention resolution stated that by 2000 "each diocese where women do not have full access to ordination and where ordained women are not permitted to carry out their full ministries shall develop a process to implement fully" the canons guaranteeing women access to the ordination process.<sup>171</sup> During this Convention the "conscience clause" of 1994 had been in effect repealed; dioceses not ordaining women were basically told they had to allow it.<sup>172</sup>

For this reason, but especially in order to preserve ecumenical dialogue with those traditions which did not ordain women, the Anglican Communion felt it necessary to examine its own authority structures. *The Virginia Report* was prepared for the 1998 Lambeth Conference by the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission, and "is centrally concerned with the principles and structures of authority."<sup>173</sup> *The Virginia Report* not only outlines what binds Anglicans together and how, but also acknowledges that visible unity and issues of interdependence have become more difficult in the face of growing diversity and an ever-expanding Communion. It expresses a need for "global decision making mechanisms" if a "life

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<sup>169</sup> Paula D. Nesbitt, "Women's Ordination: Problems and Possibilities Five lessons from Episcopal women clergy," *Women's Ordination Conference, 2000*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womensordination.org/pages/Nesbitt.htm>.

<sup>170</sup> Bird, 112.

<sup>171</sup> Susan Erdey, "Women's roles in church still unsettled," *Episcopal News Service* (May 25, 2000), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://arc.episcopalchurch.org/ens/2000-105.html>.

<sup>172</sup> Nesbitt.

<sup>173</sup> George Carey, "Statement from the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Publication of 'The Gift of Authority,'" *Anglican Communion News Service*, (May 12, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/acnsarchive/acns1800/acns1841.html>.

of interdependence is to be preserved."<sup>174</sup> Anglicans were asked to study the report and reflect on the questions concerning authority contained therein, which include the issue of universal authority.<sup>175</sup> Initial recipients of the report admitted that it could be useful for encouraging the various branches of Anglican government to become more involved, but objected to the fact that it contained the contrasting concepts of centralization and the authority of assemblies and councils.<sup>176</sup>

In light of developments within the Anglican Communion—the ECUSA's repeal of the "conscience clause," *The Virginia Report*, and most importantly, the presence of eleven female bishops—the Lambeth Conference (of 1998) had to once again, on behalf of the Anglican Communion, deal with the issue of women's ordination. Each of the 700 plus delegates was keenly aware that the ecclesiastical world was watching. They also knew that the fact of this issue pointed to the Anglican Communion's lack of doctrinal structure and compulsory compliance, and that now, more than ever, pastoral caution needed to be exercised. Thus, in Resolution III.2e the attending bishops, quoting *The Eames Report*, affirmed that "although some of the means by which communion is expressed may be strained or broken, there is a need for courtesy, tolerance, mutual respect, and prayer for one another."<sup>177</sup> On August 6 the Anglican representatives "approved an amended resolution stating that bishops should not be compelled to

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<sup>174</sup> Jeff Gross, "Bonds of Communion: Authority - A Neuralgic Concern within the Churches," *Service of Documentation and Studies on Mission*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.sedos.org/english/gross.htm>.

<sup>175</sup> Santer.

<sup>176</sup> Ian Douglas, Margaret Rodgers, Jim Rosenthal, and Manasseh Zindo, "ACC Critiques the Virginia Report," *Anglican Communion News Service*, (September 18, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/acnsarchive/acns1800/acns1890.html>.

<sup>177</sup> Philip Turner, "The 'communion' of Anglicans after Lambeth '98: A comment on the nature of communion and the state of the Church," *Anglican Theological Review* 81, (Spring, 1999): 281-293.



ordain or license women."<sup>178</sup> The "conscience clause" was back. In the world-wide arena, where many provinces were still not ordaining women, this clause still made sense.

Even though Lambeth does not have binding authority, there are two implications. First, those who don't want women clergy can appeal to the collegial spirit of Lambeth by claiming 'conscience.' Second, conservatives have used this resolution to pressure their own churches to reinstate the conscience clause, leaving women clergy vocationally dependent on the attitude of their bishop.<sup>179</sup>

Though guiding and representative of the Anglican Communion, Lambeth is not just about task forces and resolutions. Events can and do get personal. During the 1998 conference, a male bishop walked out of a Bible study being led by a female bishop, but this was the only such incident reported.<sup>180</sup> "The widely anticipated hostility toward the eleven female bishops never surfaced. Additionally, the male bishops interviewed felt that the female bishops represented 'fresh air,' an opportunity to change the Church from a traditional authoritarian leadership model to one that was more relational."<sup>181</sup>

After Lambeth 1998, there were members of the Anglican Communion who still contended that the ordination of women constituted a violation of historical orthodoxy.<sup>182</sup> But they also remained within the church. The Anglican concept of unity was being severely tested and definitively demonstrated. In January of 1999 all of the ECUSA diocesan bishops were surveyed and asked to report on compliance with the canons pertaining to the ordination of women passed at the 1997 General Convention. Most responded, including the three dioceses where implementation had been delayed—San Joaquin, California; Quincy, Illinois; and Fort

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<sup>178</sup> E. T. Malone, Jr., "Conference grants freedom of conscience on women's ordination," *Anglican Communion News Service*, (August 7, 1998), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.episcopalhawaii.org/workshop/lambeth/conclusion/aug9-01.txt>.

<sup>179</sup> Nesbitt.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> William J. Tighe, "When invoking 'the holy spirit' will justify just about anything," *New Oxford Review*. 66 (May, 1999): 37ff.

Worth, Texas.<sup>183</sup> In other words, the even though the last Lambeth Conference had in effect reinstated the conscience clause, in the ECUSA the repeal of the clause was being taken seriously, and dioceses not ordaining women were being compelled toward canonical compliance.<sup>184</sup>

Later that year the Anglican Communion commemorated 25 years of women's ordinations, but it was not a celebration in the traditional sense. Rather, it was an acknowledgement of the wrestling within the Communion over this issue, the steps, even backward, that had been taken, and how far the church yet had to go on this issue before nearly full acceptance would be reached. The Reverend John Peterson, Secretary General of the Anglican Communion Office in London, noted that "the Anglican Communion and the Episcopal Church have a great deal for which to be thankful in the fact that 25 years ago there was a re-awakening which took place of what it means to be a priest of Jesus Christ in the church catholic."<sup>185</sup> Peterson went on to say that the issue of women's ordination had helped Anglicans to "become more aware of the gift of priesthood," and that they had gone through a "time of learning and growing."<sup>186</sup> The Right Rev. Barbara Harris (Massachusetts), who preached at the occasion, noted that "there are lingering doubts that celebration is appropriate, given the climate we are experiencing in the church today." She said that because about 3,000 women had been ordained in the ECUSA, for an approximate total of 9,300 in nearly 26 provinces of the Anglican Communion, it was time to ask, "What have we learned? And why does opposition continue?"<sup>187</sup> Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane of Southern Africa compared the struggle for the ordination

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<sup>183</sup> Erdey.

<sup>184</sup> Nesbitt.

<sup>185</sup> James Solheim, "After 25 years, women priests still raise difficult issues for the church," *Episcopal News Service* (August 4, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://gc2003.episcopalchurch.org/ens/archives/99-112D.html>.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

of women to the struggle for freedom and justice in his country—the liberation movements in Africa.<sup>188</sup> Bishop Charles Bennison of Pennsylvania noted that "we have a long ways to go" before the whole church would be able to celebrate the ministry of women.<sup>189</sup>

Also in 1999, Philip Turner, retired Dean of the Berkeley Divinity School at Yale, wrote of the "impaired communion" of Anglicans, citing the ordination of women as a major reason that there were now parishes that did not directly deal with their own (geographical) diocesan bishops.<sup>190</sup> "Suffice it to say, the differences exist, they did not come out in the Lambeth debates and they are of a sufficiently serious nature to render the communion of Anglicans problematic."<sup>191</sup> Dr. Mary Tanner noted that "The Anglican willingness to tolerate anomaly (for example in the different practices relating to the ordination of women) has led to impairment of communion" and wondered what consequences would ultimately flow from that.<sup>192</sup>

As of 1999 at least, there has been a move to force the Episcopal Church to comply with decisions made during the 1998 Lambeth Conference, citing a resolution advising against attempts to force bishops to accept the ordination of women.<sup>193</sup> "In the Diocese of Pennsylvania, a prominent parish affiliated with the Episcopal Synod of America (ESA), an umbrella organization of those opposed to women in the priesthood and the ordination of homosexuals, voted in April [of 1999] to leave the Episcopal Church."<sup>194</sup> Yet this parish remained Anglican, and other Episcopal dioceses continued to welcome and work with its members. Bishop Paul Marshall, of the neighboring Diocese of Bethlehem, upset by the "increasing polarization"

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Turner.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Gerard Kelly, Charles Sherlock, and Mary Tanner, "Authority: Gift or sticking point," *National Outlook* (August, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://members.ozemail.com.au/~wfnev/Aug99Authority.htm>.

<sup>193</sup> James Solheim, "Traditionalists raise the stakes by challenging authority of diocesan bishops," *Episcopal News Service* (May 26, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://arc.episcopalchurch.org/ens/99-076.html>.

uncharacteristic of Anglicanism, invited an ESA bishop to preside at a confirmation service for traditionalist parishes from the Diocese of Pennsylvania.<sup>195</sup> Gerald Bray, Anglican Professor of Divinity at Beeson Divinity School, and a member of the Alliance of Confessing Evangelicals, maintains that the primary tasks of preaching and teaching in the church were given by God to men, rather than women.<sup>196</sup> He accuses many Anglican churches of "caving in" to various forms of liberalism—"The ordination of women being a prime example."<sup>197</sup>

*2000 and beyond—implications for the next generation*

In 2000 the ECUSA General Convention again faced the problem of "how to deal with the bishops and dioceses that have not fully admitted women to candidacy, priesthood or positions of priestly service."<sup>198</sup> Twenty-four years earlier the Convention had made headlines by permitting the ordination of women as priests, after "acrimonious debate throughout the church," and the debate was still before them.<sup>199</sup> The three dioceses mentioned above—Fort Worth, Quincy, and San Joaquin—had not yet fully complied with canon law in that no female priests served in any of them, although there were women on the ordination track in both orders in San Joaquin. The dioceses said they were in compliance; Fort Worth stated that if one of their congregations called a female rector they would ask a bishop from another diocese to supervise her work. The diocese of Quincy had two female deacons in 2000. The General Convention approved Resolution A045, which once again called for the House of Bishops and Executive Council to continue monitoring the three dioceses' progress toward full acceptance of

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Gerald Bray, "Is there a place for Reform in the Church of England?" *The Theologian* (2001), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.geocities.com/the\\_theologian/content/pastoralia/reform.html](http://www.geocities.com/the_theologian/content/pastoralia/reform.html).

<sup>197</sup> Gerald Bray, "Article Review: The gift of authority—Authority in the church III, Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission (ARCIC)," *Churchman* 113 (No. 3, 1999): 199-214.

<sup>198</sup> Jean Caffey Lyles, "Dealing with rebels," *The Christian Century* 117 (August 2-August 9, 2000): 780-781.

female clergy. It also added a provision to create a task force that would "visit, interview, assess and assist" the dioceses in their compliance with the national canons.<sup>200</sup> "The resolution recognizes the progress made by the Diocese of San Joaquin on accepting women priests, and notes the 'lack of progress' by the Fort Worth and Quincy dioceses. The task force is to make semi-annual reports on the dioceses' efforts to meet a Sept. 1, 2002 deadline for compliance with the canons." The Bishop of Central Florida, John Howe, objected to the planned task force, calling it an "imposition." Bishop Chet Talton of Los Angeles compared the tactics of the three dioceses in question with those used during the Civil Rights Movement in order to avoid receiving non-white priests.<sup>201</sup> There were other strong arguments, both pro and con, from the laity as well as clergy, from every ECUSA province.<sup>202</sup> There were testimonies as to how well (or not) currently allowed provisions were working; in 2000 Bishop Geralyn Wolf (Rhode Island) noted that there was a bishop from outside of her diocese overseeing pastoral care in a parish opposed to women's ordination.<sup>203</sup>

The Episcopal Women's Caucus provides legislative and pastoral support for the ministries of women, lay and ordained. The Caucus Angel Project was developed in order to provide support for the Executive Council Task Force acting in response to the mandate of the 2000 General Convention. It is intended to support the feelings and needs of people who want to experience the ministry of female clergy on a regular basis, so that they may be better able to "discern the value and validity of women in ordained ministry."<sup>204</sup>

Without such experience, the people are hampered in their capacity to discern the value and validity of women in ordained ministry. Our hope is that when the plans

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Erdey.

<sup>201</sup> Lyles.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> David Skidmore, "Bishops approve plan for monitoring women's ordination," *Episcopal News Service* (July 16, 2000), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://arc.episcopalchurch.org/ens/GC2000-083.html>.

<sup>204</sup> Darling.

for the inclusion of women in ordained ministry are ready to be implemented by the leadership, the people will also be ready to receive them and benefit from what they can offer.<sup>205</sup>

On November 3, 2000, The Reverend Paula D. Nesbitt attended the America's Call to Action, an annual national conference for Roman Catholic Church reform, and contributed the following:

- Episcopal women have often had to relocate as there was an 'escape' or 'conscience' clause through which some rectors could indicate their inability to cope with a female colleague. This clause has since been dissolved.
- There has been much abuse of women priests within the Episcopal communities, often left without payment.
- Frequently there is overlap of function between female priests and female deacons.
- Time has not healed the discrimination of opportunity.
- Some congregations indicate that they are 'pleased that they can now afford a man.'
- Male priests reach 'rectorship' within 3 years, whereas women move, often, and without rectorship.
- There appears to be no safety, even in numbers, for women clergy.
- Women clergy, by their presence, catalyze social change.
- Some women bishops supported the 'reintroduction' of the 'escape' or 'conscience' clause.<sup>206</sup>

"For clergywomen," Nesbitt wrote, "the battle may be won, but the struggle is not over."<sup>207</sup> Yet these struggling clergywomen remained Anglicans, as did their male counterparts.

This Anglican struggle has been compared to the Civil Rights Movement, and rightly so; the parallels are evident. Slowly but surely, traditionalist norms and generally accepted beliefs make way for new beliefs, new traditions. These are not accomplished by either isolated rebellion or sudden legislative changes, but by a combination of both, accompanied by a great deal of prayer, discussion, discernment, and compromise. People on both sides of the Civil Rights issue continued to be American citizens. The great majority of Anglicans on both sides of

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Eamonn McCarthy, "Report on a Recent Call to Action Conference," *Brothers and Sisters in Christ* (2001), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.iol.ie/~duacon/nl22-2.htm>.

<sup>207</sup> Nesbitt.

the women's ordination question remained within the Communion in their search to do God's will. With regard to an egalitarian priesthood, twenty-nine years of debate, resolutions, amendments, and compromises have not adequately addressed the problem to the contentment of all, but the majority seems to be satisfied. Whether all agree or are happy about the current state of the Anglican Communion, all are still members of it, and all continue to work toward ever better solutions and harmonization, each according to his or her conscience as guided by the Holy Spirit and Christ's example. This is the living, ever evolving status of the Anglican tradition.

The debates and the progress continued, in all areas of the Communion. In March of 2000, the Bishop of Leicester appointed the first woman Provost in the Church of England. The Rev. Vivienne Faulk had previously served as Vice-Provost and canon pastor of Coventry Cathedral.<sup>208</sup> In November of 2000 the Australian Anglican Church issued draft legislation covering the consecration of women as bishops. "On July 23, 2001, their General Synod accepted a bill for debate which, if passed, would allow the consecrations."<sup>209</sup>

Because not all factions of the Anglican Communion accept the ordination of women, the Episcopal Church is still living in a provisional situation, but one in which these ordinations are becoming increasingly accepted.<sup>210</sup> In the words of one of the first women ordained to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church:

As women enter into new ecclesiastical roles, with responsibilities not only for decision making and leadership in heretofore male arenas of activity, but also for new *symbol-building*, the present order *will* change. All roles, those of both men and women, will change. Nothing will remain the same. We are agents of

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<sup>208</sup> "First Woman Provost in England," *Anglican Communion News Service* 2085 (March 25, 2000), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/acnsarchive/acns2075/acns2085.html>.

<sup>209</sup> B. A. Robinson, "Ordination of Women - developments from 2000-dec. to the present time," *Religious Tolerance.org* (December 19, 2000), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.religioustolerance.org/femclrg8.htm>.

<sup>210</sup> Bird, 114.

transformation. Our transforming power is not in our gender. Our power lies in our having been born, nurtured, and acculturated into a corporate symbol: a symbol not necessarily of 'femininity,' but rather a symbol of difference. As a woman, together with my sisters, I offer a difference—a different ethic, derived from collective exclusion, which I will help build on behalf of other 'outsiders;' a different visual, audible, sensory image I will help create; a different theology I will help shape; a different priesthood into which I have been ordained; indeed, a different Episcopal Church, as one manifestation of catholic Christendom.<sup>211</sup>

The 2001 Electronic Clerical Directory included 3,481 women (over 20%) of the 17,118 listed.<sup>212</sup> In October of 2002, the task force on implementation of canon on women's ministry submitted their final report, after investigative visits to the three ECUSA dioceses that had still not complied with national canons, as they were still citing the international conscience clause. The visits proved disappointingly unsuccessful. The first three-member team felt that the atmosphere in San Joaquin was one of "gracious hostility." "They found that Bishop John-David Schofield has been 'supportive' of women currently in the diocese's ordination process, though he will not ordain them himself."<sup>213</sup> Bishop Schofield stated that he is not convinced that women can truly be ordained, but only "make-believe" priests who would lead their recipients of the so-called sacraments to be excluded from grace. The team to Rhode Island found willingness as well as compliance, but for some reason no woman there has presented herself for discernment in seeking ordination to the priesthood (although several women were preparing for the vocational diaconate). The opinion expressed by the Bishop of Fort Worth, Jack Iker, was that the visiting team was an "unwelcome intrusion into the life of the Diocese, interfering with the internal affairs of the Diocese."<sup>214</sup> Louie Crew of Rutgers University, and the author of an authoritative

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<sup>211</sup> Carroll, 43-44.

<sup>212</sup> Louis Crew, "Female Priests in the Episcopal Church," *Rutgers University*, 2002, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~lcrew/womenpr.html#02>.

<sup>213</sup> Jan Nunley, "Task force on implementation of canon on women's ministry submits final report," *Episcopal News Service* (October 24, 2002), n.p. [Cited March 2004]. Online: <http://gc2003.episcopalchurch.org/ens/archives/2002-249.html>.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.



web-page on the subject of women's ordination in the Anglican Communion, stated in his memo to the task force: "Clearly the bishops are in violation of the canons that they have sworn to uphold. Clearly they should be found guilty in a Court for the Trial of a Bishop."<sup>215</sup> However, it is his hope that the situation will not come to such drastic measures. He goes on to suggest that investigations into compliance with ordination canons be gathered and published for the eight non-domestic Episcopal dioceses, as well as the Dioceses of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela; these latter three are exploring joining the ECUSA.

The task force's monitoring team also turned in a very significant, albeit preliminary, report concerning the percentage of female clergy in the Episcopal Church. "They indicated that, on average, roughly one out of every four Episcopal clergy now serving are women. But some dioceses clearly take up the slack for others."<sup>216</sup> While in one diocese the percentage is 62.5 and in three others over fifty percent, in 27 dioceses (approximately one quarter of the total number of dioceses), the number is around one-third. And in 34 dioceses, fewer than one in five clergy is female.<sup>217</sup> The imbalance does not seem to be political, historical or geographical, as the monitoring group found no correlation between any such factors and the incorporation of women into ordained ministry.<sup>218</sup>

As documented earlier in this chapter, The Reverend Florence Li Tim-Oi surrendered her license, but not her Holy Orders, to the priesthood in 1946. She resumed the practice of her priesthood in the Church in China, as well as in the Anglican Province of Toronto, retiring in 1981. She was awarded Doctorates of Divinity by General Theological Seminary, New York,

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<sup>215</sup> Louie Crew, "Task force on implementation of canon on women's ministry submits final report," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~lcrew/natter\\_02/msg00052.html](http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~lcrew/natter_02/msg00052.html).

<sup>216</sup> Nunley.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

and Trinity College, Toronto. (She died on February 26, 1992, in Toronto and is buried there.) In Minneapolis, on August 4, 2003, the ECUSA General Convention agreed to insert the Anniversary of The Rev. Florence Li Tim Oi's ordination into that church's *Calendar of Lesser Feasts and Fasts*—to be observed on January 24—initially for a three-year trial period.<sup>219</sup>

In spite of reservations and the respected opinions of many, the ordination of women in the Anglican Communion is now an established practice. This new tradition has had a discernable effect on ecumenical relationships, none more significant than dialogue with Rome.

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<sup>219</sup> "Li Tim-Oi's Story," *The Li Tim-Oi Foundation*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.litim-oi.org/timoi-8.html>.

## CHAPTER 2 - History of papal decrees on the subject of women's ordination

The Roman Catholic Church has consistently refused to allow the ordination of women. This was not originally disallowed for reasons declared to be infallible teachings. Nor has it been exclusively resigned to the realm of tradition. Rather it has become, in light of both secular events and the evolution of Anglican theology, a product of authoritative doctrine. During the mid 1970s, in response to developments in the ECUSA concerning women's ordination, the Roman Catholic assertion was that because this teaching relies heavily on unbroken tradition, it is simply not possible, by reasons of authority, to ordain females as priests.<sup>220</sup> Nearly twenty years later, however, a document described as definitive teaching, "set forth infallibly by formal declaration,"<sup>221</sup> was issued by Pope John Paul II. Whether for reasons of tradition or infallible teaching, the result of such declarations is the same—a consistently all-male priesthood.

Many individuals and groups within the Roman Catholic Church have disagreed with this doctrine, and many have spoken out, written, and campaigned against it. However, to explore and collectively record even the most recent or influential of these would result in an extensive history warranting a separate research paper. This discussion—the actual effects of the ordination of women on Anglican-Roman Catholic dialog—will concentrate on official Vatican declarations, documents, and ecclesiastical actions.

The three major papal edicts on the subject of a female priesthood are *Inter Insigniores* (Declaration on the Question of Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood), *Mulieris Dignitatem* (Apostolic Letter on the Dignity and Vocation of Women), and *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* (Apostolic Letter on Reserving Priestly Ordination to Men Alone). Interspersed

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<sup>220</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Online ed., s.v. "Statement on the Ordination of Women," by Francis J. Stafford.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*

with these are correspondence between the popes and the Archbishops of Canterbury, a revised Code of Church Law, a profession of faith required of all, an oath of fidelity required of clergy and theologians, *responsums*, commentaries, warnings, and decrees.

In July of 1975 the Archbishop of Canterbury F. Donald Coggan wrote to Pope Paul VI about "the slow but steady growth of a consensus of opinion within the Anglican Communion that there are no fundamental objections in principle to the ordination of women to the priesthood."<sup>222</sup> The Pope reiterated in a letter the Roman Catholic position that "it is not admissible to ordain women to the priesthood for very fundamental reasons."<sup>223</sup> The reasons given were that Scripture records Jesus choosing men only as his apostles, and the Church not only strives to imitate Christ, but believes that excluding women from the priesthood is in "accordance with God's plan for his church."<sup>224</sup> Paul VI recognized that some churches in the Anglican Communion, namely the Episcopal Church and the Church of England, were seriously considering ordaining women, and in fact this happened in the Episcopal Church shortly afterwards. He warned the archbishop that this would be "a grave new obstacle and threat to reconciliation."<sup>225</sup>

The Pontifical Biblical Commission (PBC) was established by Pope Leo XIII in 1902. Its purpose was to provide a thorough interpretation of Scripture as demanded by the modern era and current events, in order that the Church's teachings "be shielded, not only from every breath of error, but also from every temerarious opinion."<sup>226</sup> However, since 1971 the Commission has

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<sup>222</sup> Pope Paul VI and The Most Rev. Donald Coggin, "Correspondence between Canterbury and Rome (1975-1976)," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/church/cantl.htm>.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Bird, 117.

<sup>225</sup> Hill, 7.

<sup>226</sup> John F. McCarthy, "Pontifical Biblical Commission: Yesterday and Today," *Homiletic & Pastoral Review* (January, 2003): 8-13. Cited March 2004. Online: [http://www.catholicculture.org/docs/doc\\_view.cfm?recnum=4679](http://www.catholicculture.org/docs/doc_view.cfm?recnum=4679).

not been an official instrument of the Roman Catholic Church, but rather a consultative body of scholars whose conclusions are looked to with great respect by the Church.<sup>227</sup> The PBC is now chiefly composed of historical critics.<sup>228</sup> In 1976 the PBC tackled the issue of women's ordination, focusing on Pope Paul VI's ecumenical concerns. The resulting document, by virtue of its unofficial status, was not a declaration, but rather took the form of a report. Nonetheless, because this task had been assigned by the Pope, its findings were taken seriously and have been widely referred to by both those for and against the ordination of women. For the PBC was "unable to settle the question on the basis of Biblical text alone."<sup>229</sup> The Commission's conclusion (with a majority vote of 12 to 5), was that there were no scriptural objections to the priestly ordination of women.<sup>230</sup>

It does not seem that the New Testament by itself alone will permit us to settle in a clear way and once and for all the problem of the possible accession of women to the presbyterate (sic).

However, some think that in the scriptures there are sufficient indications to exclude this possibility, considering that the sacraments of Eucharist and reconciliation have a special link with the person of Christ and therefore with the male hierarchy, as borne out by the New Testament. Others, on the contrary, wonder if the church hierarchy, entrusted with the sacramental economy, would be able to entrust the ministries of Eucharist and reconciliation to women in light of circumstances, without going against Christ's original intentions.<sup>231</sup>

Pope Paul VI had written to the Archbishop of Canterbury about a traditional male apostleship and imitating Christ in that gender-exclusive selection. Here we see that, with regard to the administration of the sacraments, the gender of Jesus himself is also a Roman Catholic

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<sup>227</sup> St. Paul Center for Biblical Theology, "Documents of the Pontifical Biblical Commission" (2003), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.salvationhistory.com/library/scripture/churchandbible/pbc/index.cfm>.

<sup>228</sup> McCarthy, John F.

<sup>229</sup> B. A. Robinson. "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination—Recent history of the debate" (May 23, 2002), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.religioustolerance.org/femclrg10.htm>.

<sup>230</sup> Johannes Nicolaas Maria Wijngaards. "The Question of the Priestly Ordination of Women," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.womenpriests.org/wijnga~1/ord\\_wom1.htm](http://www.womenpriests.org/wijnga~1/ord_wom1.htm).

<sup>231</sup> Arlene Swidler and Leonard Swidler, eds, "Biblical Commission Report *Can Women Be Priests?*" (Paulist Press, 1997): 338-346. Cited March 2004. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/classic/appendix.htm>.

apologetic for an exclusively male priesthood. Even though the PBC could find no specific New Testament evidence that only men may be ordained, its members were reluctant to recommend against traditional Church teachings and beliefs.

The Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) was founded by Pope Paul III in 1542, less than a decade after the English King Henry VIII issued the Act of Supremacy, declaring himself to be the supreme head of the Church in England. The original duty of the CDF was to defend the Church from heresy. It is the oldest of the Roman Catholic Church's nine executive departments.<sup>232</sup> The Congregation's current directive, as defined by Pope John Paul II in 1988, is to "promote and safeguard the doctrine on the faith and morals throughout the Catholic world."<sup>233</sup> The CDF is currently chaired by Prefect Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger and consists of an administrative staff, 25 members (cardinals, archbishops, and bishops), and 28 consultants. The scope of its work is such that the CDF is divided into four departments: the doctrinal office, the disciplinary office, the matrimonial office, and that for priests.<sup>234</sup> There is significant cooperation and collaboration between the CDF, the PBC, and the International Theological Commission, the latter two of which also claim Cardinal Ratzinger as presiding chair.<sup>235</sup>

In October of 1976 the CDF issued a declaration entitled *Inter Insigniores*, which deals with the "question of admission of women to the ministerial priesthood."<sup>236</sup> The contents of the statement, although considerably expanded, are almost identical to the correspondence between the Pope and the Archbishop of the previous year, and in fact refer to it.<sup>237</sup> The primary reason

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<sup>232</sup> The Roman Curia, "Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc\\_con\\_cfaith\\_pro\\_14071997\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_pro_14071997_en.html).

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

<sup>237</sup> Hill, 8.

given in *Inter Insigniores* for rejecting women's ordination is the constant tradition of the Church: "It is a question of an unbroken tradition throughout the history of the Church universal in the East and in the West. This norm, based on Christ's example, has been and still is observed because it is considered to conform to God's plan for his Church."<sup>238</sup> *Inter Insigniores* also considers the priest to be acting in the name of Christ (*in persona Christi*), and comes to the conclusion that this "natural resemblance"<sup>239</sup> of Christ would be distorted if females were to preside over the sacraments.<sup>240</sup> The CDF also felt it necessary to justify the Roman Catholic attitude, explaining that "it is a position which will perhaps cause pain but whose positive value will become apparent in the long run, since it can be of help in deepening understanding of the respective roles of men and of women."<sup>241</sup> Pope Paul VI "approved this Declaration, confirmed it, and ordered its publication."<sup>242</sup> The Declaration was later reiterated by Pope John Paul II.<sup>243</sup>

It is the most precise, and some would say, profound, argument against the ordination of women ever made by the Roman Catholic Church. And it has the endorsement of the Eastern Orthodox tradition. The immediate occasion for the issuance of the Declaration was undoubtedly the decision of the Episcopal Church in America to ordain women to the priesthood. Aside from theology, the main reasons for the objection was the perception of the damage the decision caused to ecumenical relations and dialogue between the three denominations.<sup>244</sup>

Early in 1977 the CDF issued a Commentary on *Inter Insigniores*, reiterating and further expanding upon the declaration issued only three months prior. It addresses specifically the "serious situation" that was "created when ordinations of women were carried out within communities that considered that they preserved the Apostolic succession of order," namely, the

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<sup>238</sup> Hill, 7.

<sup>239</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

<sup>240</sup> Hill, 9.

<sup>241</sup> Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "*Inter Insigniores*" (October 15, 1976), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/church/interlet.htm>.

<sup>242</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

<sup>243</sup> Paul K. Jewett, *The Ordination of Women: An Essay on the Office of Christian Ministry* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1980), 76.

<sup>244</sup> Jewett, 76-78.

ordination in 1974 of eleven women in the Episcopal Church.<sup>245</sup> The Commentary also cites the correspondence between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the ordination of women. Most importantly, however, it stresses the firm position of the Roman Catholic Church in light of the rapidly changing social attitudes toward women in positions of leadership and authority throughout the secular world. It emphasizes the Church's role of upholding tradition. It repudiates accusations of misogyny, citing St. John Chrysostom's commentary on the 21st Chapter of the Gospel of John, in which he understands that "women's exclusion from the pastoral office entrusted to Peter was not based on any natural incapacity, since, as he remarks, 'even the majority of men have been excluded by Jesus from this immense task.'"<sup>246</sup> Repeatedly, the institution by Christ of an all-male priesthood, as evidenced by established biblical canon, notwithstanding the significant contributions made by women to the Church since her inception (and even herein that the Church is referred to in the female), is emphasized. In addition, the admission that scripture was authored by males in a patriarchal society is acknowledged, but the fact remains: Christ and his Apostles were male, therefore all ordained clergy must be of that gender as well.

A new Code of Church Law was introduced in 1983.<sup>247</sup> It specifies who may assist with, among other functions such as Church government, worship services by way of either reading the prescribed Lectionary out loud to the congregation present, and/or assisting the priest and deacons in their sacramental duties. Canon 230, §1 of the Code states that lay *men* of or over the age of eighteen who are qualified for this service as determined by the conference of bishops "can be installed on a stable basis in the ministries of lector and acolyte in accord with the

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<sup>245</sup> Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "*Inter Insigniores*: Official Commentary" (January 27, 1977), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/church/intercom.htm>.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.



prescribed liturgical rite."<sup>248</sup> It notes that in some dioceses, women are also allowed to perform these functions during the course of worship services, especially in the United States, where "the conference of bishops has permitted them to read from the same location inside the sanctuary where the gospel will be proclaimed."<sup>249</sup> In many dioceses women are authorized to distribute (not consecrate) the Eucharist as extraordinary ministers. So, by "temporary deputation" women may assist with worship services in such capacities as reading, preaching, leading prayer services, and administering the sacraments of baptism and communion "when the necessity of the Church warrants it and when ministers are lacking."<sup>250</sup> However, "only a baptized male validly receives sacred ordination,"<sup>251</sup> and therefore women are specifically excluded from the "offices, functions, and ministries that are restricted to clerics."<sup>252</sup>

In a letter to Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie written in 1984, Pope John Paul II confirmed the immovable Roman Catholic position against the ordination of women. He also reminded Archbishop Runcie that the Anglican Communion's decision to accept such ordinations was indeed considered, as Pope Paul VI had predicted, "'an element of grave difficulty' even 'a threat'" to the dialog between the two denominations.<sup>253</sup>

Since that time we have celebrated together the progress towards reconciliation between our two Communions. But in those same years the increase in the number of Anglican Churches which admit, or are preparing to admit, women to priestly ordination constitutes, in the eyes of the Catholic Church an increasingly serious obstacle to that progress.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> J. A. Coriden, T. J. Green, and D. E. Heintschel, eds., *The Code of Canon Law. A Text and Commentary* (London, 1985), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.womenpriests.org/traditio/cod\\_1983.htm](http://www.womenpriests.org/traditio/cod_1983.htm).

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

<sup>253</sup> Pope John Paul II, The Most Rev. Robert Runcie, and Cardinal Jan Willibrands, "Correspondence between Canterbury and Rome (1984-1986)," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/church/cant2.htm>.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

A year later, after meeting with the Primates of the autonomous Anglican provinces, Archbishop Runcie not only replied to the Pope's letter, but also wrote to Cardinal Jan Willebrands, President of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. The Cardinal's response came in June of 1986, six months later. As had the Archbishop, he acknowledged that not all Anglicans agreed on the ordination of women. He communicated that this debate would make the work of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC), the official facilitator of dialog, more difficult, as that group now had no choice but to deal with this issue in the context of their published agreements.

At the end of the 1988 Lambeth Conference, Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie advised Pope John Paul II that some Anglican provinces would most likely elect female bishops in the near future, "and that, despite individual reservations, the rest of the Communion would go along with this in order to preserve unity."<sup>255</sup> The Pope replied that such consecrations "would seriously hinder 'the mutual recognition of the ministries of our Communions,'"<sup>256</sup> referring to the work of the ARCIC.<sup>257</sup> He wrote: "The Catholic Church, like the Orthodox Church and the Ancient Oriental Churches, is firmly opposed to this development, viewing it as a break with Tradition of a kind we have no competence to authorise (sic)."<sup>258</sup>

Pope John Paul II issued the apostolic letter *Mulieris Dignitatem* (on the "Dignity and Vocation of Women") on August 15, 1988. He wrote in part:

In calling only men as his Apostles, Christ acted in a completely free and sovereign manner. In doing so, he exercised the same freedom with which, in all his behavior, he emphasized the dignity and the vocation of women, without conforming to the prevailing customs and to the traditions sanctioned by the legislation of the time.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Bird, 117.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> Gros, 21.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

In March of the following year the CDF issued a "Profession of Faith and Oath of Fidelity."<sup>260</sup> The document contains two parts. The first part consists of the "Profession of Faith," which is carried out via a centuries-long tradition of adding paragraphs to the end of the Nicene Creed, which is recited during the Sunday Mass.<sup>261</sup> These paragraphs serve to organize and categorize different levels and solemnities of church teaching. This Profession is required of all Roman Catholics:

I also believe with firm faith all those things which are contained in God's written word or in tradition and which have been proposed by the Church in a solemn judgment, in either the ordinary or universal magisterium as Divinely revealed and to be believed.

I also firmly embrace and keep everything collectively and individually which with regard to the doctrine of faith and morals is definitively proposed by the same authority.

I also adhere with a religious obedience of will and mind the doctrines which either the Roman Pontiff or the college of bishops pronounce when they exercise the authentic magisterium even though they do not intend to proclaim them in a definitive act.<sup>262</sup>

The second part is required of those undertaking an "Office in the name of the Church,"<sup>263</sup> such as bishop, parish priest, theologian or professor of theology, etc. This is the "Oath of Fidelity:"

I . . . in taking up this office promise to always maintain communion with the Catholic Church either in words that I will speak or in my way of acting. With great diligence and fidelity I will fulfil the tasks which I hold the duties which I have with regard to the Church, whether it is the universal church or the particular church in which I have been called to exercise my service according to the prescripts of the law.

In the fulfillment of my task which has been committed to me in the name of the church, I will keep the deposit of faith undiminished, I will hand it on faithfully and defend them. I will avoid whatever doctrines are contrary to them.

I will follow the common discipline of the whole church and I will promote the observance of all ecclesiastical laws, especially of those which are contained in the code of canon law. With Christian obedience I will fulfil whatever the sacred pastors,

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<sup>260</sup> Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Profession of Faith and Oath of Fidelity" (March 13, 1989), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/teaching/oathfid.htm>.

<sup>261</sup> James H. Provost, "Safeguarding the Faith," *America* (August 1, 1998), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.americamagazine.org/articles/ProvostSafe.htm>.

<sup>262</sup> Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Profession of Faith and Oath of Fidelity."

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

as the authentic doctors of faith and teachers declare or which the governors of the church state and I will give faithful service to the diocesan bishops in order that the apostolic action in the name and the mandate of the Church to the exercise will be fulfilled in communion with that church.

May so God help me and his holy Gospel which I now touch with my hands.<sup>264</sup>

The CDF's *Donum Veritatis* (Instruction on the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian), issued on May 24, 1990, is addressed to the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church, through its bishops.<sup>265</sup> *Donum Veritatis* describes the role of theologians, discusses the mission of the Church's pastors, and presents directives with regard to "the proper relationship between theologians and pastors."<sup>266</sup> No mention is made of the question of ordaining females or even what qualifications in males are required for the priesthood. It explains instead how important proper theology is for the spiritual life of the Church and its members, allowing the body of faithful believers to continually refresh and renew their relationship with God and his Church. "Theology therefore offers its contribution so that the faith might be communicated."<sup>267</sup> However, the document goes on to state that through God's gift of the Holy Spirit, the Church, through its bishops (especially the chief pastor), enjoys the privilege of participating in God's own infallibility "under the guidance of the Church's living Magisterium, which is the sole authentic interpreter of the Word of God, written or handed down, by virtue of the authority which it exercises in the name of Christ."<sup>268</sup> The theologian is to exercise his duties of communicating the truth to the faithful within this parameter. Should the theologian happen to believe he has found another teaching, an error or flaw in the Church's teaching, or even another way of interpreting the same, he is to present his findings to the proper Church authorities, "in an

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<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "*Donum Veritatis*" (May 24, 1990), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/church/donum.htm>.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

evangelical spirit and with a profound desire to resolve the difficulties."<sup>269</sup> Under no circumstances is he to turn to the "mass media" in order to call attention to or gain sympathy for his position, as public opinion has little to do with God's truth. *Donum Veritatis* is an extremely well-crafted document, and amazingly thorough in its task of refuting arguments against the Magisterium as the sole recipient and dispenser of orthodoxy. For example, divine revelation to individuals, however well-meaning and sincere, is viewed with dubiety, because

... access to them is made difficult by man's sinful condition. At the close of this Instruction, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith earnestly invites Bishops to maintain and develop relations of trust with theologians in the fellowship of charity and in the realization that they share one spirit in their acceptance and service of the Word. In this context, they will more easily overcome some of the obstacles which are part of the human condition on earth. In this way, all can become ever better servants of the Word and of the People of God, so that the People of God, persevering in the doctrine of truth and freedom heard from the beginning, may abide also in the Son and the Father and obtain eternal life, the fulfillment of the Promise (cf. 1 Jn 2:24- 25).<sup>270</sup>

On May 22, 1994, Pope John Paul II issued the Apostolic Letter *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* ("Priestly Ordination"). Basically this decree acknowledges that although the Roman Catholic Church has maintained the tradition of ordaining only men and has been faithful in the teaching of that tradition, there are still those who consider the issue to be open to debate.

Wherefore, in order that all doubt may be removed regarding a matter of great importance, a matter which pertains to the Church's divine constitution itself, in virtue of my ministry of confirming the brethren (cf. Luke 22:32) I declare that the Church has no authority whatsoever to confer priestly ordination on women and that this judgment is to be definitively held by all the Church's faithful.<sup>271</sup>

This was not infallible teaching, that is, incapable of error through divine grace. But according to the Profession of Faith paragraphs added to the Nicene Creed in 1989, it had to be

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

"definitively held"—willingly submitted and adhered to—by all Roman Catholics. The CDF reinforced *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* with a *Responsum ad Dubium* (response to doubt):

(October 28, 1995) Dubium: Whether the teaching that the Church has no authority whatsoever to confer priestly ordination on women, which is presented in the Apostolic Letter *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* to be held definitively, is to be understood as belonging to the deposit of faith. Responsum: In the affirmative. This teaching requires definitive assent, since, founded on the written Word of God, and from the beginning constantly preserved and applied in the Tradition of the Church, it has been set forth infallibly by the ordinary and universal Magisterium. This, in the present circumstances, the Roman Pontiff, exercising his proper office of confirming the brethren, has handed on this same teaching by a formal declaration, explicitly stating what is to be held always, everywhere, and by all, as belonging to the deposit of the faith.<sup>272</sup>

This supporting document contains the word "infallibly," which, although referring to the whole body of the Magisterium, makes it seem as if the declaration itself is infallible. The *Responsum* does imply that the declaration is infallible, at least by association. This must be considered a deliberate intention on the part of the CDF, sanctioned by the Pope, who approved the reply and ordered it to be published.<sup>273</sup> Cardinal Ratzinger also issued a letter on that same day, commenting further on both the Pope's letter and the CDF's response. The Cardinal addresses the fact that differences of opinion between denominations regarding the ordination of women "constitutes an additional and inopportune obstacle on the already difficult path of ecumenism."<sup>274</sup> However, he goes on to state that the task of ecumenism, to which the Roman Catholic Church is committed, "requires complete sincerity and clarity in the presentation of one's own faith."<sup>275</sup> The final paragraph explains the Church's view of herself within the secular world:

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<sup>272</sup> Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "*Responsum ad Dubium* Concerning the Teaching Contained in *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*" (October 28, 1985), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.ourladywarriors.org/teach/ordisace2.htm>.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> Joseph Ratzinger, "Regarding the SCDF Responsum on *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*" (October 28, 1995), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.womenpriests.org/church/ratz\\_95b.htm](http://www.womenpriests.org/church/ratz_95b.htm).

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

Concretely, one must never lose sight of the fact that the Church does not find the source of her faith and her constitutive structure in the principles of the social order of any historical period. While attentive to the world in which she lives and for whose salvation she labours, the Church is conscious of being the bearer of a higher fidelity to which she is bound.<sup>276</sup>

In January of 1997 The Rev. Tissa Balasuriya of Sri Lanka was officially excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church. His ecclesiastical crime was the refusal to sign a declaration which contained the sentence: "The Church has no authority whatsoever to confer priestly ordination on women." He had been asked to profess this aspect of faith in order to repudiate his presentation of Mary in a book entitled *Mary and Human Liberation*, in which he referred to Mary as "the first priest of the New Testament along with Jesus." Father Balasuriya also called for the ordination of women.<sup>277</sup> The investigation was carried out by the CDF, which also issued a book later that year that includes a "collection of recent church pronouncements on the female ordination question, along with contemporary scholarly essays supporting their position."<sup>278</sup> The head of the Lateran University at the Vatican and spokesperson for the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop Angelo Scola, also confirmed the church's position: "The church does not have the power to modify the practice, uninterrupted for 2000 years, of calling only men to the ministering priesthood, in that this was wanted directly by Jesus."<sup>279</sup>

In May of 1998, soon after *The Virginia Report* was released, the Pope addressed bishops from Michigan and Ohio on the subject of ordaining women. He directed that they must "explain to the faithful why the church does not have the authority to ordain women,"<sup>280</sup> as it is not a question of either equality or equal rights, but one of theology and service, as determined

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<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

by spiritual gifts.<sup>281</sup> He also explained why other denominations were more susceptible to the suggestion: "Christian communities more readily confer a ministerial responsibility on women the further they move away from a sacramental understanding of the church, the Eucharist and the priesthood."<sup>282</sup>

Also in May 1998 an apostolic letter entitled *Ad Tuendam Fidem* ("To Protect the Faith") was issued. This letter is extremely unusual in that it changes canon law, adding to that corpus the CDF's 1989 *Profession of Faith and Oath of Fidelity*.<sup>283</sup> *Ad Tuendam Fidem* requires that candidates for bishop, theologian, or papal collaborator, plus existing prelates, parish priests, theology teachers, and religious superiors "recite a loyalty oath, expressing belief in 'divinely revealed truths,' and belief in all teachings on faith and morals that have been 'definitively proposed by the Church.'"<sup>284</sup> Specific doctrines were not mentioned in the body of the letter, but it was accompanied by a "Doctrinal Commentary" which gave several examples, including the legitimacy of papal elections, the validity of the canonization of saints, the invalidity of ordinations within the Anglican faith community, the preservation of a male-only priesthood, and the Church's teachings against euthanasia, prostitution, and fornication.<sup>285</sup> "Candidates (and others) must also promise to 'adhere with religious submission of will and intellect' to future teachings announced by the Pope and College of Bishops."<sup>286</sup> Those who refuse to recite the oath, or recite it and then engage in inconsistent activities are subject to disciplinary action ranging from warnings to excommunication.<sup>287</sup> The CDF's commentary on *Ad Tuendam Fidem*

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> Provost.

<sup>284</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.; Francis A. Sullivan, "A New Obstacle to Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue," *America* (August 1, 1998), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://americamagazine.org/articles/SullNewObs.htm>.

<sup>286</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.; Sullivan.



states that anyone who fails to assent to the theology of the Catholic Church, denies any part of it, or even doubts "falls under the censure of *heresy*, as indicated by the respective canons of the Codes of Canon Law."<sup>288</sup> And heretics cannot be considered to be in communion with the Catholic Church:

Every believer, therefore, is required to give *firm and definitive assent* to these truths based on faith in the Holy Spirit's assistance to the Church's magisterium, and on the Catholic doctrine of the infallibility of the magisterium in these matters. Whoever denies these truths would be in a position of *rejecting a truth of Catholic doctrine and would therefore no longer be in full communion with the Catholic Church*.<sup>289</sup>

After the Lambeth Conference of 1998, the first such gathering attended by female bishops, the CDF directed U.S. Bishop John Kinney of Minnesota to order the Liturgical Press, which is run by Roman Catholic Benedictine monks, to stop distributing a book entitled *Women at the Altar*, a discussion of female ordination. The book was written by a Roman Catholic nun, who was warned by her superiors not to speak publicly about the book or its topic.<sup>290</sup>

In August of 1999 Roman Catholic bishops in Australia commissioned a study into the role of women in the church. During the presentation of "Woman and Man: One in Christ Jesus," the Cardinal of Canberra agreed that methods designed to strengthen the role of women in the church should be explored. But he refused to discuss their ordination: "Far from seeing (women's ordination) as inevitable, I would think the final word has been spoken by this Pope and that no future pope will reverse it."<sup>291</sup>

The Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments "does whatever pertains to the Apostolic See concerning the regulation and promotion of the sacred

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<sup>288</sup> Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Commentary on *Ad Tuendam Fidem*" (June 29, 1998), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.womenpriests.org/church/ratz\\_98.htm](http://www.womenpriests.org/church/ratz_98.htm).

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> Robinson, "The Roman Catholicism & female ordination."

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

liturgy, primarily of the sacraments, without prejudice to the competence of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith."<sup>292</sup> In 2001 the question of female altar servers was put to the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments. The answer, in the form of a letter to the inquiring bishop, states that a diocesan bishop does indeed have the option to permit females (girls and women) to serve around the altar during worship. This is to be based on what the bishop perceives to be necessary at the local pastoral level, and no bishop is obligated to include female servers in any altar entourage. Furthermore, "such an authorization may not, in any way, exclude men or, in particular, boys from service at the altar . . . lest confusion might be introduced, thereby hampering the development of priestly vocations."<sup>293</sup> The role of women in the Roman Catholic Church now includes assisting at the altar, but men are given precedence with aiding the priest in the consecration and administration of the Eucharistic elements.

On June 29, 2002, The Right Rev. Romulo Antonio Braschi irregularly ordained seven women into the Roman Catholic priesthood. The resulting *monitum* (warning letter) from Cardinal Ratzinger was swift as well as severe. Because it is also brief and very much to the point, the text is quoted here in its entirety:

On June 29, 2002, Romulo Antonio Braschi, the founder of a schismatic community, attempted to confer priestly ordination on the following Catholic women: Christine Mayr-Lumetzberger, Adelinde Theresia Roitinger, Gisela Forster, Iris Müller, Ida Raming, Pia Brunner and Angela White.

In order to give direction to the consciences of the Catholic faithful and dispel any doubts which may have arisen, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith wishes to recall the teaching of the Apostolic Letter *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* of Pope John Paul II, which states that "*the Church has no authority whatsoever to confer priestly ordination on women and that this judgment is to be definitively held by all*

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<sup>292</sup> David M. Cheney, "Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments," *Catholic-Hierarchy.org* (February 13, 2004), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dxdws.html>.

<sup>293</sup> Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments, "Regarding Female Altar Servers" (July 27, 2001), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/church/femserv.htm>.

*the Church's faithful*" (n. 4). For this reason, the above-mentioned "priestly ordination" constitutes the simulation of a sacrament and is thus invalid and null, as well as constituting a grave offense to the divine constitution of the Church. Furthermore, because the "ordaining" Bishop belongs to a schismatic community, it is also a serious attack on the unity of the Church. Such an action is an affront to the dignity of women, whose specific role in the Church and society is distinctive and irreplaceable.

The present *Declaration*, recalling the preceding statements of the Bishop of Linz and the Episcopal Conference of Austria and in accordance with canon 1347 § 1 of the *CIC*, gives formal warning to the above-mentioned women that they will incur excommunication reserved to the Holy See if, by July 22, 2002, they do not (1) acknowledge the nullity of the "orders" they have received from a schismatic Bishop in contradiction to the definitive doctrine of the Church and (2) state their repentance and ask forgiveness for the scandal caused to the faithful.

Rome, from the Offices of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 10 July 2002.

Joseph Card. RATZINGER, Prefect

Tarcisio BERTONE, S.D.B.

Archbishop Emeritus of Vercelli, Secretary<sup>294</sup>

On August 5, 2002, the CDF issued a Decree of Excommunication regarding the ordaining bishop and the seven women mentioned in the Cardinal's letter of July 10.<sup>295</sup>

Referring to the previous chapter, this is certainly almost the complete opposite of the reaction of the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion to the ordination of the Philadelphia Eleven twenty-six years prior. Not only are the responses radically different, but the means and the methods are far removed from one another as well. Is it possible for two denominations, whose histories and traditions with regard to authority are so polarized, to agree on any aspect of their respective and defining sacramental ministries?

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<sup>294</sup> Joseph Ratzinger, "Monitum regarding the attempted priestly ordination of some Catholic women" (July 10, 2002), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/church/monitum.htm>.

<sup>295</sup> Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Decree on the attempted priestly ordination of some Catholic women" (December 21, 2002), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/church/monitum2.htm>.

### CHAPTER 3 - History of Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue

The issue of authority—where it comes from, who has it, and how it should be exercised and administered—has always been a major dynamic in the Christian Church. Since the time of the apostles, various solutions to the problem of spiritual authority have shaped most of sacred history. Debates, disagreements, and even battles over this issue have spawned spiritual revivals, determined dynasties, and formed and destroyed whole empires. The question of authority in the church has been the basis for the formation of new traditions, and it has caused whole denominations to splinter into dozens of unrelated churches.

At no other time in history was this more evident than during the Protestant Reformation, which began with Martin Luther's challenge to the Western Church in 1517. Disagreements over authority caused the church to split once, and then again and again. These involved theological, doctrinal, and organizational questions—elements of Christianity decided upon by those in charge.

The English Reformation—the beginnings of the Church of England and eventually, the Anglican Communion—was also basically rooted in questions of authority. In order to insure a male heir, the English King, Henry VIII, sought permission for a divorce from Pope Clement VII. The request was denied. Henry's response was his Act of Supremacy (1534), which declared the King of England head (and chief authority) of the church in England. The Act was supported by the English bishops (who were not fond of papal supremacy) and citizens of all classes (who chafed against excessive religious demands), united in striving for a more personal spirituality.<sup>296</sup> The Act was passed by Parliament, and the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church have been at odds over authority ever since.

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<sup>296</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Church of England."

This is not to say that Anglicans do not desire to get along and work with other Christian and even non-Christian groups. They do. A major characteristic and an integral part of Anglican spirituality is the Communion's desire, nay insistence, on the unity of the Church.<sup>297</sup> This desire, or the Anglican ideal of unity, refers to three levels of oneness. Firstly, regardless of individual theologies or regional doctrines, Anglicans are sincerely committed to being a church that many types and temperaments of Christians may call home.<sup>298</sup> "It is neither denominational doctrine nor ecstatic experience that binds Anglicans together. Rather there is a commitment to being the Church, and striving to do what the Church is called to do in the world."<sup>299</sup> Secondly, the Anglican Communion has a keen and active desire to unite with all other Christian denominations as the Universal Church of the whole world. As stated by the 1922 Doctrine Commission of the Church of England, this is ongoing work of primary importance. "It must be the task of many generations to work out that synthesis of different apprehensions of the one revelation of God in Christ towards which our undertaking points."<sup>300</sup> Thirdly, the Anglican hope for the Universal Church is Christ's salvation for all people everywhere. This three-fold mindset has been prevalent throughout the twentieth century.<sup>301</sup> Since 1920, the Lambeth Conference has confirmed the Anglican commitment to unity of one form or another by issuing a steady stream of letters, statements, and reports.<sup>302</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century, one of two major renewal movements within the Church of England, eventually known as "Anglo-Catholicism," sought to strengthen

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<sup>297</sup> Richard Holloway, ed. *The Anglican Tradition*. (Wilton, CT: Morehouse-Barlow Co., Inc., 1982), 85.

<sup>298</sup> Frank C. Senn, ed. *Protestant Spiritual Traditions*. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1986), 125.

<sup>299</sup> Senn, 125.

<sup>300</sup> G. R. Evans and J. Robert Wright, eds. *The Anglican Tradition, A Handbook of Sources*. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991), 401.

<sup>301</sup> Evans, 374-375.

<sup>302</sup> Evans, 377-380.

the church by emphasizing the authority of tradition, apostolic succession, and the sacraments.<sup>303</sup> The Oxford Movement, so named for its acknowledged founders, who were all professors at that institution, did not begin with the intention of proposing a new teaching. Rather these men felt called to focus on sacred rather than secular authority. The Oxford Movement placed a high priority on seeing the church "as a universal institution, endowed with absolute authoritative truth and the sacramental miraculous power of grace and redemption."<sup>304</sup> The focus on unity grew stronger as the movement progressed.<sup>305</sup> As its supporters saw it, the way to unity was through the concept of Apostolic succession. Instead of an exclusionary view, however, they sought to remind all of membership in the universal church—Christ's body, of which there could only be one. To them, Apostolic Succession was a tool for discovering and claiming one's spiritual and historical roots. This quest was generally misunderstood as an embracing of all things Roman Catholic. The bulk of Protestant theology had no use for it, and the Roman Catholic Church was less than willing to legitimize this claim.

The first Vatican Council (1869-1870), defined papal definitions, especially in matters of faith and morals, infallible when issued *Ex Cathedra* ("from the chair"). That is, when "exercising his office as shepherd and teacher of all Christians by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority."<sup>306</sup> In 1896 Pope Leo XIII formed a commission of eight theologians and gave them the task of determining whether or not Anglican Holy Orders were valid. After twelve meetings, the commission had not reached a decision or even consensus. In fact, this group remained

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<sup>303</sup> Justo L. González, *The Story of Christianity, Vol. 2 - The Reformation to the Present Day*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 1985), 271-2.

<sup>304</sup> Walter H. Conser, Jr., "A Conservative Critique of Church and State: The Case of the Tractarians and Neo-Lutherans," *Journal of Church and State* 25 (1983).

<sup>305</sup> Ralph Townsend, *Faith Prayer and Devotion* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 1983), 28.

<sup>306</sup> Norman P. Tanner, ed., "Decrees of the First Vatican Council" (1869-1870), n.p. [cited March 2004].  
Online:  
<http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Valley/8920/churchcouncils/Ecum20.htm#papal%20infallibility%20defined>.

equally divided on the subject (four of the eight denied validity; the other four were doubtful of this). All commission documents were then turned over to a papal theologian "with the mandate to summarize the commission's work and offer his own judgment on the question to the cardinals of the Holy Office and the Pope."<sup>307</sup> He decided that Anglican orders were not valid. The College of Cardinals and the Pope accepted this finding, and on September 13, 1896, Leo XIII issued the bull *Apostolicae Curae*, which declared that Anglican orders "have been and are completely null and void."<sup>308</sup> At that time, *Apostolicae Curae* was not an infallible judgment, although, under papal endorsement, it has since been described as such by prominent Catholic theologians and canonists. However, because all popes since the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) have received the Archbishop of Canterbury as the true primate of the Anglican Communion, at least one influential Roman Catholic, mindful of its ecumenical impact, has strongly recommended that *Apostolicae Curae* "should be simply set aside as obsolete."<sup>309</sup> Regardless of opinions, and in light of official approval, coupled with additional edicts, it falls under the category of "definitive" judgment. It is still a significantly tangible problem with regard to Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue.<sup>310</sup>

The annual Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, a global observance, was initiated in 1908 by an Episcopal priest in Graymoore, New York. The Rev. Paul James Wattson had a keen desire for the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches to reconcile. In 1926 the Faith and Order movement (now the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches) proposed

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<sup>307</sup> Sullivan.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> George H. Tavard, "The gift of authority: The latest report of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission," *America* 181 (July 3-July 10, 1999): 10ff.

<sup>310</sup> Sullivan.

that more Christian denominations pray together for unity, and by 1991 "Ecumenical Sunday" had become an important part of this custom.<sup>311</sup>

In 1928 Pope Pius XI issued an encyclical on religious unity entitled *Mortalium animos*, explaining the dangers of the ecumenical movement; Christians who believed that unity without complete agreement on every doctrine and practice is possible are both misled and misleading.

This being so, it is clear that the Apostolic See cannot on any terms take part in their assemblies, nor is it anyway lawful for Catholics either to support or to work for such enterprises; for if they do so they will be giving countenance to a false Christianity, quite alien to the one Church of Christ.<sup>312</sup>

After the initial success of the ecumenical movement among and between Anglican, Orthodox, and Protestant denominations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Christian leaders proposed the formation of a formal organization in 1937.<sup>313</sup> World-wide events made this difficult, however, and so the World Council of Churches did not come into being until after World War II, on August 23, 1948. The WCC is based in Geneva, Switzerland, and claims a membership of over one hundred denominations. The Roman Catholic Church is not a WCC member, but has worked closely with the Council, and sends representatives to all of its major conferences as well as to its assemblies and organizational meetings.<sup>314</sup>

The Roman Catholic attitude toward ecumenism began to change in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1960 Pope John XXIII established a Secretariat for Promoting

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<sup>311</sup> Lorelei F. Fuchs, "A Brief History of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity," *Graymoor Ecumenical & Interreligious Institute*, New York, NY, n.p. [cited March 2004], online: <http://www.geii.org/Background/Brief%20History.html>.

<sup>312</sup> Pius XI (Pope), "Encyclical on Religious Unity" (January 6, 1928), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/pius\\_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_19280106\\_mortalium-animos\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19280106_mortalium-animos_en.html).

<sup>313</sup> *Wikipedia*, March 14, 2004, s.v. "World Council of Churches." Online: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_Council\\_of\\_Churches](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Council_of_Churches).

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*



Christian Unity in preparation for the Vatican II.<sup>315</sup> During Vatican II Christian theologians and pastors from Protestant denominations were given active observer status at its four official sessions.<sup>316</sup> Increasing numbers of Roman Catholics began to participate in the annual Week of Prayer for Christian Unity,<sup>317</sup> and it was at that time that the Roman Catholic Church, although still declining official membership, began to participate in WCC activities and events.

Among the agenda items of Vatican II was creating and maintaining a dialogue with the Anglican Communion. The *Decree on Ecumenism* acknowledged that, in light of the divisions resulting in the Reformation of the 16th century, the Anglican Communion enjoyed a unique relationship with the Catholic Church.<sup>318</sup> In other words, the Roman Catholic Church officially acknowledged that it shared many things with the Anglican Communion. These common elements, which include the sacraments, an ordained priesthood, and a similar organizational structure, could conceivably provide a foundation for dialogue between the two churches.

The resolutions of Vatican II sowed the seeds for an official two-way dialogue. In 1965, Anglican-Roman Catholic discussions in the United States officially began with the formation of the Anglican-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States (ARC-USA). This was sponsored by the Episcopal Church, USA and the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Conference.<sup>319</sup>

In 1966 Pope Paul VI confirmed the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity as a permanent Vatican congregation. (The name of this group was changed in 1989 to the Pontifical

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<sup>315</sup> The Roman Curia, "The Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/chrstuni/documents/rc\\_pc\\_chrstuni\\_pro\\_20051996\\_chrstuni\\_pro\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/documents/rc_pc_chrstuni_pro_20051996_chrstuni_pro_en.html).

<sup>316</sup> Ibid.; J. M. R. Tillard, "Rome and Ecumenism," *World Council of Churches* (August, 1995), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/what/faith/tillard.html>.

<sup>317</sup> Fuchs.

<sup>318</sup> John Borelli, "Renewal for Anglican-Roman Catholic relations," *America* 183 (August 26 - September 2, 2000): 12-15.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

Council for Promoting Christian Unity.) The purpose of the PCPCU is to promote an ecumenical spirit within the Roman Catholic Church as well as "develop dialogue and collaboration with the other Churches and World Communions."<sup>320</sup> In March of 1966, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, The Most Reverend Dr. Michael Ramsey, paid an official visit to Pope Paul VI in Rome in March of 1966. A historic precedent, of Western catholic primates meeting and communicating face-to-face, had been set. Thus began, from the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls, an era of international Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue.

The emphasis was to be on Christian charity, but most of all, "sincere efforts to remove the causes of conflict and re-establish unity."<sup>321</sup> In their *Common Declaration* the Pope and the Archbishop together thanked God for creating a "new atmosphere of Christian fellowship and inaugurating a serious dialogue to lead to that unity in truth for which Christ prayed."<sup>322</sup> Then Paul VI removed the episcopal ring from his finger and presented it to Dr. Ramsey.<sup>323</sup> The pope's ring, which is ancient in origin, has been since the seventh century the pontiff's gift to each new bishop.<sup>324</sup> This physical act served as the Pope's symbolic acceptance of the Archbishop as an avowed Christian leader. This historic relationship has been handed down and perpetuated by each pope and Archbishop of Canterbury ever since.<sup>325</sup>

Meanwhile, during its fourth meeting in 1967, ARC-USA issued a joint statement on the Eucharist.<sup>326</sup> Issues of authority were considered as well.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> The Roman Curia, "The Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity."

<sup>321</sup> Santer.

<sup>322</sup> Borelli.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>324</sup> Roman Catholic Vestments, "Rings" (May 24, 2003), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://members.ozemail.com.au/~acolyte/Roman%20Catholic%20Vestments/rings.html>.

<sup>325</sup> Tavad.

<sup>326</sup> Borelli.

<sup>327</sup> Michael Shackleton, "Are Anglicans ready to accept the pope?" *The Southern Cross* (April 23, 2000), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://thesoutherncross.co.za/features/anglican.html>.

The *Common Declaration* of 1966 was followed by *The Malta Report*, issued on January 2, 1968, and named for the location in which it was written. *The Malta Report* called for a permanent international commission, which would be responsible for overseeing dialogue and coordinating future joint works between the two churches. Additional recommendations included an additional, more detailed common declaration of faith, annual regional meetings, and "regular consultations on matters of mutual pastoral, evangelistic and liturgical concern, and cooperation in theological education and formation."<sup>328</sup> The recommendations of *The Malta Report* were accepted by both the See of Rome and the Anglican Communion during that same year.<sup>329</sup>

The Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC), first chaired by the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin and the Catholic Bishop of East Anglia, held its first meeting in 1970.<sup>330</sup> "Three main dialogue topics were initially given to the ARCIC: the Doctrine of the Eucharist; Ministry and Ordination; and Authority in the Church."<sup>331</sup> The ARCIC deliberations with regard to the Eucharist and Ministry and Ordination created concordant statements on the substance of the faith in 1971 and 1973, respectively. Although these agreements contained minor denominational variances of vocabulary and theology, they were regarded as final works by their authors.<sup>332</sup> Irrespective of the 1970 ECUSA vote in favor of female deacons, and its ARC-USA roots, the ARCIC *Agreed Statement on Ministry and Ordination* (1973) did not directly address the subject of the ordination of women.<sup>333</sup> However, within the conclusion of this document, the commission spoke to Anglican orders in general by calling for a reappraisal of

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<sup>328</sup> Borelli.

<sup>329</sup> Ibid.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.; Tavad.

<sup>331</sup> Santer.

<sup>332</sup> Tavad.

<sup>333</sup> Hill, 10.

the verdict of *Apostolicae Curae*.<sup>334</sup> "The development of the thinking in our communions regarding the nature of the Church and the ordained ministry, as represented in our Statement, has, we consider, put these issues in a new context."<sup>335</sup> Although these two communions, each of which relies heavily on an ordained ministry, had produced a tentative agreement with regard to function, legitimacy was still in doubt. Furthermore, the question of eligibility was about to surface and intensify.

Between late in 1975 and early 1976, Archbishop of Canterbury Donald Coggan and Pope Paul VI wrote to each other about the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church. Archbishop Coggan's letter informed the Pope about the "slow but steady growth of a consensus of opinion within the Anglican Communion that there are no fundamental objections in principle to the ordination of women to the priesthood."<sup>336</sup> This and a second letter brought two separate but similar replies from Paul VI. The first stated that "we must regretfully recognize that a new course taken by the Anglican Communion in admitting women to the ordained priesthood cannot fail to introduce into this dialogue an element of grave difficulty which those involved will have to take seriously into account."<sup>337</sup> The second letter, written after ECUSA canons have been changed, included this passage:

Our affection for the Anglican Communion has for many years been strong, and we have always nourished and often expressed ardent hopes that the Holy Spirit would lead us, in love and in obedience to God's will, along the path of reconciliation. This must be the measure of the sadness with which we encounter so grave a new obstacle and threat on that path.<sup>338</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Sullivan.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Sumner, 145.

<sup>337</sup> E. L. Mascall, "Some Basic Considerations," *Man, Woman, and Priesthood* (SPCK London, 1978): 9-26. Cited March 2004. Online: <http://www.womenpriests.org/classic/mascall.htm>.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid.

Unity with another denomination is acceptable to the Anglican Communion in any circumstances short of outright heresy.<sup>339</sup> The Roman Catholic definition is significantly more meticulous:

Hence the Church which has Christ for its founder is not to be characterized by any merely accidental or internal spiritual union, but, over and above this, it must unite its members in unity of doctrine, expressed by external, public profession; in unity of worship, manifested chiefly in the reception of the same sacraments; and in unity of government, by which all its members are subject to and obey the same authority, which was instituted by Christ Himself.<sup>340</sup>

In both the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church, the priesthood is a highly visible element of worship, the instrument through which the sacraments are administered, and its members are both representatives of and participants in church government. According to the above circumscription, the ordination of women was indeed a formidable roadblock to fully agreed statements on any subject, just as Pope Paul VI had written. However, only thirteen months later, Paul VI and Archbishop Coggan met in Rome in order to avow the relationship begun by the previous Archbishop of Canterbury, assess the current status of the dialogue, and issue a *Common Declaration* concerning those as well as other issues.

In 1976 the ARCIC issued a statement on church authority.<sup>341</sup> This statement was extensive, but it failed to adequately address, to either church's satisfaction, the problem of the "infallibility and the universal immediate jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome."<sup>342</sup> By that time Anglican developments had brought the specific issue of women's ordination to the ARCIC's agenda. Following a meeting which took place in Versailles in 1978, the ARCIC stated "that those Anglican Provinces which have ordained women to the priesthood believe that their action

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<sup>339</sup> James E. Griffiss, ed. *Anglican Theology and Pastoral Care*. (Wilton, CT: Morehouse-Barlow Co., Inc., 1985), 1.

<sup>340</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Online ed., s.v. "Unity (as a Mark of the Church)," by Charles J. Callan.

<sup>341</sup> Hill, 9.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

implies no departure from the traditional doctrine of the ordained ministry."<sup>343</sup> Neatly sidestepping so that dialogue could continue, the ARCIC reasoned that its task "was concerned with the origin and nature of the ordained ministry, not with who can or cannot be ordained."<sup>344</sup> In order to confirm this opinion as well as in response to this and several questions that arose from the statements on the Eucharist and Ministry and Ordination, two *Elucidations* were issued in 1979. These *Elucidations* also called for a revaluation of the decision on Anglican Orders in *Apostolicae Curae*.<sup>345</sup> The rationale for this request was the agreement that had been reached on the basics of the Eucharist and the "nature and purpose of priesthood, ordination and apostolic succession."<sup>346</sup> These agreements, the Commission stated, had created a "new context in which the questions should now be discussed."<sup>347</sup> The ARCIC was in fact calling for a reexamination of the papacy's traditional authority. Two years later, however, the ARCIC was also re-attempting to define it, as they published two more statements having to do with authority—an *Elucidation* to the 1976 statement, and *Authority in the Church II*.

The four major ARCIC documents—the 1971 and 1973 agreements on the substance of the faith (Eucharist, and ministry and ordination), the 1976 and 1981 statements on authority (*Authority I* and *Authority II*), and the four *Elucidations*, were incorporated into what is known as *The Final Report*.<sup>348</sup> Part of the purpose of *The Final Report* was to establish an atmosphere in which all future dialogues would be conducted: to avoid, at all costs, the controversial and argumentative language of the past.<sup>349</sup> Anglicans and Roman Catholics were to apply all that

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<sup>343</sup> Hill, 11.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

<sup>345</sup> Sullivan.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid.

<sup>348</sup> Michael Root, "The gift of authority: An observer's report and analysis," *The Ecumenical Review* 52 (January, 2000), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online:

[http://www.findarticles.com/cf\\_0/m2065/1\\_52/62298591/p1/article.jhtml](http://www.findarticles.com/cf_0/m2065/1_52/62298591/p1/article.jhtml); Tavad.

<sup>349</sup> Tavad.

they had learned about each other's theology since the English Reformation in order to understand the reasons for their having differed in the first place.<sup>350</sup> Each church was called to recognize that the basic difference between the two is in the way decisions are made, and whether or not members need to adhere to and comply with these decisions in order to remain in respective communion. As it had with each separate document, the ARCIC presented *The Final Report* to the two churches for evaluation and reception in September of 1981.<sup>351</sup>

Individual reactions to *The Final Report*, whether representative of the respondents' denominations or not, were greatly varied. Regardless of personal perspective and corporate focus, however, the work of dialogue continued. The initial tasks had been completed and were awaiting responses, so the original ARCIC disbanded, and a new group of delegates formed a second commission (ARCIC II) in 1982.<sup>352</sup> It was at this time that another meeting between the Pope (John Paul II) and the Archbishop of Canterbury (The Most Reverend Robert Runcie) occurred, this time in Canterbury. They requested that the ARCIC II agenda now include "all that hinders the mutual recognition of the ministries of our two Communion,"<sup>353</sup> specifically, *Apostolicae Curae*.<sup>354</sup> But when the ARCIC II failed to make progress in this area, Cardinal Jan Willebrands, president of the PCPCU, intervened. He reiterated the suggestion that a reappraisal of the verdict was in order. "In the light of progress made in the dialogue there was now a new context in which to judge the 'native character and spirit' of the Anglican ordination rites."<sup>355</sup> This was the third such call for the reexamination of *Apostolicae Curae* within sixteen years.

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<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

<sup>351</sup> Santer.

<sup>352</sup> Root, Tavard.

<sup>353</sup> Sullivan.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

At the request of their chief pastors when they met in 1982, the ARCIC II published *Salvation and the Church* in 1986. This document sought mainly to define ways in which, despite yet unresolved differences (regarding authority), both communions could still work together for the universal salvation of humankind, as defined and dictated by Christ. *Salvation and the Church* addressed both definitions and doctrines of salvation, justification, and good works. Its reception was clouded by official letters between Rome and Canterbury over the fact that ever more Anglican provinces were ordaining women, and the appearance of a new Roman document in 1988. *Observations on ARCIC II's Salvation and the Church*, issued by the CDF, cautioned against "deviations from long accepted terminology" with regard to the doctrines of salvation and justification.<sup>356</sup>

It was through the Lambeth Conference (of 1988) that an Anglican response to *The Final Report* came.<sup>357</sup> The bishops attempted to summarize the responses from the various provinces of the Anglican Communion<sup>358</sup> in order to get a truly comprehensive picture of the whole church's view. This is the Anglican method of reaching majority consensus, and as close to a final decision as that Communion will ever get. For the most part, Anglicans everywhere, spoken for by their bishops, believed that the statements on the Eucharist and ministry were not only "consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans,"<sup>359</sup> but also foundational enough for further dialogue and eventual reconciliation.<sup>360</sup> However, even though the Lambeth response to the authority statements was "generally positive,"<sup>361</sup> it did ask some questions, "especially concerning primacy, jurisdiction and infallibility, collegiality, and the role of the laity."<sup>362</sup> The

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<sup>356</sup> Gros, 2.

<sup>357</sup> Santer.

<sup>358</sup> Root.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> Gros, 67.

<sup>362</sup> Gros, 68; Root.



bishops present at Lambeth in 1988 also passed a resolution in which they recognized and welcomed the implications of the Commission; that the ARCIC II agenda, as they understood it, would now include the issue of the ordination of women.<sup>363</sup>

Another meeting between Pope John Paul II and Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie occurred in Rome in 1989. The *Common Declaration* produced in this instance urged those engaged in dialogue not to minimize the differences in faith between the two churches, but also strongly encouraged them to continue with that work in hopes of resolving those dissensions.<sup>364</sup> While the Pope and the Archbishop did not themselves have an answer they expressed confidence that "through our engagement with this matter our conversations will in fact help to deepen and enlarge our understanding."<sup>365</sup>

Through the Vatican, the Roman Catholic Church finally responded to *The Final Report* in 1991.<sup>366</sup> The Vatican response was more specific than the Anglican in its critique concerning the documents on authority, "especially in relation to the treatment of infallibility and reception, where it found 'a different understanding' from that of the First Vatican Council."<sup>367</sup> Because of the similarities and differences between the two responses, and especially because they had been arrived at by different methods, the ARCIC II had a double burden to shoulder with regard to the question of authority.

On the one hand, the agreements on Eucharist and ministry made authority appear as the one major stumbling block on the path to Anglican-Catholic communion (especially if differences over the ordination only of men are seen as a function of differences over authority). On the other hand, the somewhat guarded Anglican affirmation and critical Vatican response meant that the commission needed to revisit with some care issues already addressed.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> Gros, 66.

<sup>364</sup> Hill, 8.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>366</sup> Bird, 111; Santer.

<sup>367</sup> Root.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

According to one observer at least, not only did the ARCIC need to work on authority in and of itself, but it also needed to revisit and readdress the statements on the Eucharist and Ministry and Ordination, including the corresponding elucidations.

Also in 1991, the ARCIC II produced *The Church as Communion*.<sup>369</sup> In 1994 the ARCIC published *Life in Christ*, a statement on the principles of ethics.<sup>370</sup>

In their *Common Declaration* of 1996 Pope John Paul II and Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey emphasized the need for an agreement on authority: "Unless we can reach sufficient agreement about authority, which touches so many aspects of the Church's life, we shall not reach the full visible unity to which we are both committed."<sup>371</sup> With this statement the ARCIC was acutely reminded of its "double burden"—remaining true to the original goal of full, visible unity, within the parameters of an agreed statement on authority.

In order to preserve dialogue through the work of both the ARCIC I and II, the Anglican Communion was now compelled to examine its own authority structures. *The Virginia Report* was prepared for the 1998 Lambeth Conference by the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission, and "is centrally concerned with the principles and structures of authority."<sup>372</sup> *The Virginia Report* not only outlines what binds Anglicans together and how, but also acknowledges that visible unity and issues of interdependence have become more difficult in the face of growing diversity and an ever-expanding church. It expresses a need for "global decision making mechanisms" if a "life of interdependence is to be preserved."<sup>373</sup> Anglicans were asked to study the report and reflect on the questions concerning authority contained therein, which

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<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid.; Tavad.

<sup>371</sup> Santer.

<sup>372</sup> Carey.

<sup>373</sup> Gross.

include the issue of universal authority.<sup>374</sup> Initial recipients of the report admitted that it could be useful for encouraging the various branches of Anglican government to become more involved, but objected to the fact that it contained the contrasting concepts of centralization and the authority of assemblies and councils.<sup>375</sup>

Both the definition and the practice of unity are substantially different in each of these two communions. Yet their chief primates and the ARCIC continued to publicly call for and work toward a way in which these opposing beliefs could be depolarized.

*The Gift of Authority (Authority III)*, the ARCIC II statement on authority, was released on May 12, 1999. It was announced at Westminster Abbey, which some regarded as an appropriate venue, the Abbey having been built before the English Reformation.<sup>376</sup> This document continues to explore the nature and practice of authority in the two churches. Furthermore, it makes concrete suggestions for dealing with the challenges each faces in relationship to the other on this issue. *The Gift of Authority* asks that the bishops of each church find ways to work together, through the exchange of ideas and shared ministry. It also claims that the work of the ARCIC “has resulted in sufficient agreement on universal primacy as a gift to be shared, for us to propose that such a primacy could be offered and received even before our churches are in full communion.”<sup>377</sup>

Reactions to *The Gift of Authority* were swift and numerous, and spanned the scope from thankful wholeheartedness to disgusted rejection. Both Roman Catholic and Anglican leaders and theologians, clergy and laity, whether or not they saw this statement as directly affecting

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<sup>374</sup> Santer.

<sup>375</sup> Douglas, "ACC Critiques the Virginia Report."

<sup>376</sup> Joel Schorn, "Authority exercise," *U.S. Catholic* 64 (August, 1999): 10.

<sup>377</sup> Standing Committee on Ecumenical Relations, "Reports to the 74th General Convention," (2003), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://gc2003.episcopalchurch.org/documents/RomanCatholicDevelopments.pdf>.

parochial ministry, the Church Universal, or both, urged a careful reading and prayerful reflection upon its contents. The Anglican Communion News Service both summed up and reiterated: "The Commission has responded to the requests of our respective authorities. With their authorisation (sic), it is now published as a Statement agreed by the Commission and put before our Churches for reflection and discussion."<sup>378</sup> The ARC-USA, which meets every six months, issued its *Agreed Report on the Local/Universal Church* in November of 1999.

In May of 2000, under the joint leadership of Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey and Cardinal Edward Cassidy, President of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, thirteen pairs of bishops—one each Anglican and Roman Catholic—from thirteen different countries, met in Mississauga, Ontario, to review and evaluate thirty years of ecumenical dialogue in their provinces.<sup>379</sup> During this meeting the bishops reaffirmed the commitment of their two churches to "full visible unity," and discussed steps to be taken in this direction.<sup>380</sup> The first such step was the establishment of a joint unity commission to "promote and monitor the reception of the ARCIC agreements and to facilitate the visible and practical expression of the 'real but imperfect communion' that the two churches already share."<sup>381</sup> The resultant International Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission for Unity and Mission (IARCCUM) met for the first time in November 2001. The work of the IARCCUM is meant to enhance as well as further facilitate the work of the ARCIC.<sup>382</sup>

In its report to the 2003 General Convention, the ECUSA Standing Commission on Ecumenical Relations stated that the current primary focus of the ARCIC II is the place of the

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<sup>378</sup> Santer.

<sup>379</sup> Standing Committee on Ecumenical Relations.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid.

Blessed Virgin Mary in the life and doctrine of the church, an issue identified in the 1970s as needing clarification with regard to agreed statements.<sup>383</sup> A preliminary draft of an agreed statement on Mary has been discussed, and was considered further in a meeting during July of 2003. The ARCIC II is also studying responses to *The Gift of Authority*.

The ARC-USA is currently working on three projects, including its own response to *The Gift of Authority*. The ARC-USA's Episcopal members have "expressed their conviction that there are significant issues remaining before the ARCIC II proposal on universal primacy can be accepted."<sup>384</sup> A second element of the project on authority, the significance for hierarchical and sacramental churches in a democratic and secular society, is also under development. The report focuses on the high degree of ecclesiastical agreement between the two churches, as well as areas of difference that still need to be addressed. The ARC-USA continues to discuss and work on refining its 1999 document, the *Agreed Report on the Local/Universal Church*. This group is also preparing a study program on shared Anglican-Roman Catholic understandings of baptism and the Eucharist for use in local adult study groups. The program will emphasize the degree of communion the two churches already hold, and it is hoped that it will give participants an opportunity to share and deepen their experience of this communion. The study guide will make clear what are the current barriers to shared eucharistic fellowship, and it is anticipated that the program will assist with achieving the goals established in Mississauga and given to The IARCCUM.

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<sup>383</sup> Ibid.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

The second meeting of the IARCCUM was held in Malta from 19 to 23 November 2002.<sup>385</sup>

This new body, focusing on communion in mission, was launched . . . with strong encouragement for its work by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Pope John Paul II. At that meeting the Commission began to work in three areas to make further progress towards visible unity between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church which will strengthen the mission of the Church of Christ.<sup>386</sup>

On November 24, 2002, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, as President of the Vatican's CDF, signed a document stating that "[Pope] Leo XIII's (1878-1903) bull *Apostolicae Curae* is infallible. According to Leo, Anglican orders are null and void, and Anglican bishops are not bishops at all."<sup>387</sup> Late in 2003, Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue suffered another setback. "In light of ecclesiological concerns"<sup>388</sup> raised by "recent developments within the life of the Anglican Communion"<sup>389</sup> (the consecration of an openly gay, practicing homosexual bishop), the decision was made by both its Roman Catholic and Anglican leaders to put the work of the IARCCUM on hold. The decision was also made, also in light of this controversial consecration, that the work of the ARCIC would continue, in part in order to find a way for the two churches to jointly reflect upon this issue with respect to already published agreed statements.<sup>390</sup> In February of this year, the ARCIC II completed a work entitled *Mary: Grace and Hope in Christ*,

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<sup>385</sup> "International Anglican Roman Catholic Commission for Unity and Mission Communiqué," ACNS 3234 (December 18, 2002), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/articles/32/25/acns3234.html>.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> Wilkins.

<sup>388</sup> "Concerning the future work of the Anglican Roman Catholic Dialogue," *Anglican Communion News Service* 3700 (December 2, 2003), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/articles/37/00/acns3700.html>; Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, "Vatican Statement on Catholic-Anglican Dialogue," (December 2, 2003), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.zenit.org/english/visualizza.phtml?sid=45569>.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid.

and submitted it to the PCPCU, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Anglican Consultative Council for review and response.<sup>391</sup>

Will the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church ever achieve full visible unity? Is what was conceivable in the mid-twentieth century now simply impossible, because of social developments that have occurred since that time? Is it truly the task of these two communions to reconcile into one way, or would God's Kingdom on earth be better accommodated by providing a place of respite for a multitude of spiritual temperaments? An examination of documents produced thus far by the ARCIC may provide some insights, or at least help in discerning whether the path taken thus far is still a feasible one.

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<sup>391</sup> "Anglican - Roman Catholic International Commission," *Anglican Communion News Service* 3765 (February 3, 2004), n.p., [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/articles/37/50/acns3765.cfm>.

## CHAPTER 4 - Analysis of the first four ARCIC documents

The Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church have engaged in official dialog since the formation of the ARC-USA in 1965. Three separate groups made up of both Anglicans and Roman Catholics are currently involved in producing agreements and developing projects designed to pave the way for reconciliation and visible unity. The ARC-USA and the ARCIC (I and II) have produced and published several papers documenting commonly held theology and doctrine. The IARCCUM was a new organization, having held their first meeting in 2001, after issuing a *Communion in Mission* statement the previous year. The IARCCUM's primary focus was to continue working on a Common Declaration of faith for presentation to the authorities of both churches.<sup>392</sup> This Commission was also charged with communicating what dialogue has already been achieved, in particular the work of ARCIC, and to find and implement ways of putting those published agreements into practical action.<sup>393</sup>

Both the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church have dioceses, parishes, and missions throughout the world, in every continent if not every country. Canon James Rosenthal, Communication Director for the Anglican Communion, reported to the 1998 Lambeth Conference that there were 76.6 million Anglicans worldwide.<sup>394</sup> The Pontifical Yearbook for 2001 cited the number of Roman Catholics worldwide in 1999 as 1.038 billion.<sup>395</sup>

Because the ARC-USA is a national rather than an international organization, and the IARCCUM, before its work was suspended, was designed to serve as a support group for the

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<sup>392</sup> "Articulating a Common Vision," *Anglican Communion News Service* 3480 (June 17, 2003), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/articles/34/75/acns3480.html>.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid.

<sup>394</sup> Bob Libby, "How many Anglicans are there?" *The Lambeth Daily* 16 (August 8, 1998), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/Lambeth1998/Lambeth-Daily/08/howmany.html>.

<sup>395</sup> "Vatican reports number of Catholics worldwide up 1.6%," *Credo*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.credopub.com/archives/2001/iss20010423/20010423p19.htm>.



work that the ARCIC has already done, this chapter and the next will examine the ARCIC publications only. This discussion will further be limited to those documents produced and/or presented after the change in the ECUSA canons, in 1977, that allowed for the ordination of women to the sacramental priesthood. These publications include *The Final Report* (1981), *Salvation and the Church* (1986), *The Church as Communion* (1991), *Life in Christ* (1994), and *The Gift of Authority* (1999). Because the reception of the first four documents was instrumental in the conception and crafting of the fifth (which is distinctly different in its approach to visible unity), this chapter deals with the first four only, while Chapter 5 is devoted exclusively to discussing the remaining work. These documents are somewhat lengthy and fairly complex; a complete theological and doctrinal analysis of each one, including the bulk of commentaries and editorials, would require time and space far beyond the scope of these two chapters. In 1990 the University Press of America published the collected responses to *The Final Report* of Anglicans and Roman Catholics in the United States. A collection of global responses to *The Final Report* and *Salvation and the Church* was published in 1994. It is not the purpose of these chapters to repeat or even continue this work. Instead, a summary of the purpose each document will be presented, as well as Anglican and Roman Catholic responses, with particular emphasis on the subject of women's ordination. Of all of the agreed statements, however, only *The Final Report* has generated official responses<sup>396</sup> (from Lambeth Conferences and the Vatican).

*The Final Report*, published and presented to their two churches by the ARCIC in 1981, is actually a compilation of seven separate but closely related documents: an agreed statement on Eucharistic Doctrine (1971), a statement on the Doctrine of the Ministry (1973), *Authority in the*

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<sup>396</sup> John Hind and Cormac Murphy-O'Connor, "Where are we going now?" *Priests & People* (January 2001), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.priestsandpeople.co.uk/cgi-bin/archive\\_db.cgi?priestsppl-00061](http://www.priestsandpeople.co.uk/cgi-bin/archive_db.cgi?priestsppl-00061).

*Church I* (1976), elucidations each on the 1971 and 1973 statements (1979), an elucidation on the 1976 authority statement (1981), and finally, *Authority in the Church II* (1981). Although various groups in both churches responded to one or more of these documents as they were presented, here we will concentrate on this work as a whole.

In its introduction, *The Final Report* first of all establishes that although the two communions have been separated for over 400 years, there are many common bonds. These commonalities include faith in the one true God, reception of the same Spirit, a common baptism, and declaration of the same Christ.<sup>397</sup> Theological and doctrinal differences concerning the Eucharist, the ordained ministry, and "the nature and exercise of authority in the Church,"<sup>398</sup> however, have been significant. The ARCIC states that it is convinced that substantial (rather than complete) agreement on these issues is possible. It was with that attitude and mindset that the ARCIC made the decision to avoid, wherever possible, the controversial language that has traditionally differentiated these doctrines. The introduction goes on to discuss at length the ARCIC's understanding of *koinonia* (communion), as this concept provides a theological foundation for each section, thus binding the work together as a whole.

This *koinonia* is described not as the Church itself, but rather what binds its members together with each other as well as to God, and God in Christ to its members: "Among the various ways in which the term *koinonia* is used in different New Testament contexts, we concentrate on that which signifies a relation between persons resulting from their participation in on and the same reality. . . . Moreover, sharing in the same Holy Spirit, whereby we become members of the same body of Christ and adopted children of the same Father, we are also bound to one another in a completely new relationship. *Koinonia* with one another is entailed by our *koinonia* with God in Christ."<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> Christopher Hill and Edward Yarnold, eds., *Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity* (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1994), 15.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 16.

Many Anglican and Roman Catholic groups have since responded to *The Final Report*. The majority of these commentaries were written in the decade following its publication, and include reports from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (1982), the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (1985), and the Church of England Faith and Order Advisory Group (1985). In addition, these groups and others have also responded to the official Anglican (Lambeth 1988) and Roman Catholic (1991) responses.

In considering *The Final Report*, the Lambeth Conference, at the request of ARCIC, held two questions uppermost: 1) Are the Agreed Statements consonant with Anglican faith?, and 2) If so, do they enable us to take further steps forward?<sup>400</sup> The bishops were also considering the *Emmaus Report*—a collection of responses from the Anglican Provinces. The first three (of five) paragraphs of Resolution 8 passed at Lambeth 1988 state that the Conference:

1. Recognises the Agreed Statements of ARCIC I on "Eucharistic Doctrine, Ministry and Ordination," and their Elucidations, as consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans and believes that this agreement offers a sufficient basis for taking the next step forward towards the reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith.
2. Welcomes the assurance that, within an understanding of the Church as communion, ARCIC II is to explore further the particular issues of the reconciliation of ministries; the ordination of women; moral questions; and continuing questions of authority, including the relation of Scripture to the Church's developing tradition and the role of the laity in decision-making within the Church.
3. Welcomes "Authority in the Church " (I and II), together with the Elucidation, as a firm basis for the direction and agenda of the continuing dialogue on authority and wishes to encourage ARCIC II to continue to explore the basis in Scripture and tradition of the concept of a universal primacy, in conjunction with collegiality, as an instrument of unity, the character of such a primacy in practice, and to draw upon the experience of other Christian Churches in exercising primacy, collegiality and conciliarity.<sup>401</sup>

As had Lambeth, the Vatican also considered whether or not the statements were

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<sup>400</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 154.

<sup>401</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 153-154; Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops (1988), "Resolution 8," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/archive/1988/1988-8.htm>.

consonant with Catholic faith as well as the weight of other opinions within its communion before issuing an official opinion on *The Final Report*. In fact, the Holy See arranged for its final response to be produced jointly by the CDF and the PCPCU. However, although the analysis of the agreed statements differs only slightly from the CDF's 1982 response, the official Roman Catholic response carries the full authority of the Vatican itself.<sup>402</sup> It states:

1. The Catholic Church gives a warm welcome to the Final Report of ARCIC I and expresses its gratitude to the members of the International Commission responsible for drawing up this document. The Report is a result of an in-depth study of certain questions of faith by partners in dialogue and witnesses to the achievement of points of convergence and even of agreement which many would not have thought possible before the Commission began its work. As such, it constitutes a significant milestone not only in relations between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion but in the ecumenical movement as a whole.
2. The Catholic Church judges, however, that it is not yet possible to state that substantial agreement has been reached on all the questions studied by the Commission. There still remain between Anglicans and Catholics important differences regarding essential matters of Catholic doctrine.
3. The following Explanatory Note is intended to give a detailed summary of the areas where differences or ambiguities remain which seriously hinder the restoration of full communion in faith and in the sacramental life. This Note is the fruit of a close collaboration between the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, which is directly responsible for the dialogue—a dialogue which, as is well known, continues within the frame work of ARCIC II.
4. It is the Catholic Church's hope that its definitive response to the results achieved by ARCIC I will serve as an impetus to further study, in the same fraternal spirit that has characterized this dialogue in the past, of the points of divergence remaining, as well as of those other questions which must be taken into account if the unity willed by Christ for his disciples is to be restored.<sup>403</sup>

The Note referred to in Paragraph 3 of the Roman Catholic response first of all acknowledges that the members of the ARCIC "were able to achieve the most notable progress toward a consensus."<sup>404</sup> This comment refers to both the statements on the Eucharist and the ordained

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<sup>402</sup> Michael Davies, "Whence Ecumenism? The Vatican and ARCIC," *AD2000* Vol, 5, No. 3 (April 1992), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://ad2000.com.au/articles/1992/apr1992p10\\_750.html](http://ad2000.com.au/articles/1992/apr1992p10_750.html).

<sup>403</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 156-157.

<sup>404</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 157.

ministry. With regard to authority, however, the Catholic Church points out that the ARCIC itself has not made any claim to a "substantial agreement."<sup>405</sup> The Note continues at some length with regard to the authority of the pope, papal infallibility, and the Petrine ministry of the Church. It quotes statements within *The Final Report* that point to Anglican reservations about authority, and concludes repeatedly that much further study is needed, as "certain statements and formulations in respect of these doctrines that would need greater clarification from the Catholic point of view."<sup>406</sup> Much attention is given to the Roman Catholic definition of Holy Orders (ordination to the priesthood) "as a sacrament instituted by Christ, and not therefore a simple ecclesiastical institution."<sup>407</sup> This brings us to Paragraph 25 of the Note, which states:

25. The Commission itself has, in *Ministry and Ordination: Elucidation*, para. 5, referred to the developments within the Anglican Communion after the setting up of ARCIC I, in connection with the ordination of women. The Final Report states that the members of the Commission believe 'that the principles upon which its doctrinal agreement rests are not affected by such ordinations; for it was concerned with the origin and nature of the ordained ministry and not with the questions (of) who can or who cannot be ordained.' The view of the Catholic Church in this matter has been expressed in an exchange of correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which it is made clear that the question of the subject of ordination is linked with the nature of the sacrament of Holy Orders. Differences in this connection must therefore affect the agreement reached on *Ministry and Ordination*.<sup>408</sup>

In other words, although both the Anglican Communion and even the Roman Catholic members of the ARCIC believed that an agreement on ordination could be reached without discussing gender, the Vatican believed that this was a central issue and therefore could not be in any way avoided. The underlying point of difference is whether or not the sacrament of Holy Orders was instituted by Christ himself. The Anglican teaching is that Our Lord instituted only two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, and that the other five (confirmation, ordination, holy

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<sup>405</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 158.

<sup>406</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 162.

<sup>407</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 163.

<sup>408</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 164.

matrimony, reconciliation of a penitent, and unction), are only of ecclesiastical institution, having evolved in the life and tradition of the Church.<sup>409</sup> The issue of authority here is twofold: whether or not Christ personally instituted the sacrament of ordination, and, is either church able to make a decision concerning the perceived specifics thereof?

When Pope John Paul II and Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey met in 1992 regarding *The Final Report*, the subject of the ordination of women was also discussed. Archbishop Carey "expressed his conviction that this development is a possible and proper development of the doctrine of the ordained ministry."<sup>410</sup> The Pope reiterated the Catholic Church's position that it was not authorized to make such a decision, and furthermore, that this development constituted "a grave obstacle to the whole process of Anglican-Roman Catholic reconciliation."<sup>411</sup> However, both agreed that further study of this controversy must be done with regard to ecumenical aspects.<sup>412</sup>

*Salvation and the Church* is not an authoritative declaration of either church, but rather a joint statement of the ARCIC II, published in order "that it may be discussed and improved by the suggestions received."<sup>413</sup> *Salvation and the Church* addresses the doctrine of justification "which at the time of the Reformation was a particular cause of contention."<sup>414</sup> The prevailing cause of this study and subsequent statement resulted from the opinion that the subject is central to the Christian faith, and unless there is full doctrinal agreement on this issue, "there can be no full doctrinal agreement between our two Churches."<sup>415</sup> Categories within the document include

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<sup>409</sup> Michael Davies, "Truth Prevails (The Vatican Response to ARCIC)," *Christian Order* (June/July 1992), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.christianorder.com/features/features\\_1992/features\\_junjul92.html](http://www.christianorder.com/features/features_1992/features_junjul92.html); "An Outline of the Faith," *The Book of Common Prayer*, (Seabury Press, 1979), 860.

<sup>410</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 185.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

<sup>413</sup> Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission II, *Salvation and the Church* (1987).

<sup>414</sup> Ibid.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

the nature of God's will with regard to reconciliation, historical points of agreement and disagreement, faith and confidence in individual salvation, righteousness, good works, and the role of the church. The ARCIC II concludes by stating that the doctrine of justification and the role of the church in salvation need no longer separate the two communions. This was not to say that differences did still not exist, or that differences of opinions would be expressed in the responses that had been invited and were sure to follow. Rather the meaning and intent of this statement was that no remaining differences could justify continued separation; that "essential aspects of the doctrine of salvation and on the Church's role within it"<sup>416</sup> had been agreed on to such an extent that the two churches could witness together God's salvation to the world.<sup>417</sup>

The Lambeth Conference of 1988 had also responded to both the formation of the ARCIC II and to *Salvation and the Church* in the last two paragraphs of Resolution 8, which state:

4. In welcoming the fact that the ordination of women is to form part of the agenda of ARCIC II, recognises (sic) the serious responsibility this places upon us to weigh the possible implications of action on this matter for the unity of the Anglican Communion and for the universal Church.
5. Warmly welcomes the first Report of ARCIC II, "Salvation and the Church" (1987), as a timely and significant contribution to the understanding of the Churches' doctrine of salvation and commends this Agreed Statement about the heart of Christian faith to the provinces for study and reflection.<sup>418</sup>

In reference to Paragraph 4, It is not clear whether the bishops at Lambeth misunderstood the ARCIC II's specific agenda, or understood an implied one. In 1982, when Pope John Paul II and Archbishop Robert Runcie announced the formation of the ARCIC II, they placed on its agenda the study of "all that hinders the mutual recognition of the ministries of our two

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<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

<sup>418</sup> Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, "Resolution 8."

Communions."<sup>419</sup> This certainly could have, and probably did refer to *Apostolicae Curae* (Pope Leo XIII's judgment that Anglican orders were invalid), confirmed by a letter from the president of the PCPCU to the ARCIC II proposal for a reappraisal of that document.<sup>420</sup> However, it certainly could have also referred to the fairly new "grave obstacle and threat to reconciliation," the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church. At any rate, Lambeth was looking to the ARCIC II to help sort out both the inter and intra-denominational problems caused by the 1977 change in the ECUSA canons. *Salvation and the Church* did not address this subject. Nonetheless, Lambeth "warmly welcomed" the ARCIC II's joint statement, and requested input, as the ARCIC II itself had, from the Anglican provinces.

At this writing there have been no official Vatican responses to *Salvation and the Church*. However, in light of the close association between the observations and opinions of the CDF to previous responses, we may get a general, if not fairly accurate perspective of Rome's eventual response to the ARCIC II's first work by examining these. In November of 1988, the CDF published its *Observations on ARCIC II's Salvation and the Church*. An oft-voiced criticism of *The Final Report* by both Anglicans and Roman Catholics, but especially Roman Catholics, was repeated here—that the descriptions used by the ARCIC were vague and ambiguous. "Although Catholic teaching was never specifically repudiated it was never specifically affirmed."<sup>421</sup> In its goal of avoiding controversial, "historically polemical" language, the ARCIC had come up with definitions for various aspects of the Christian faith that were neither particularly Anglican nor Roman Catholic. While Lambeth had found, for the most part, that the agreed statements were consonant with the Anglican faith and gave the go-ahead for the

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<sup>419</sup> Sullivan.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid.

<sup>421</sup> Davies, "Whence Ecumenism? The Vatican and ARCIC."



ARCIC's work to continue, Rome continued to insist that that the language be more specific:

Certain formulations in the Report are not sufficiently explicit and hence can lend themselves to a twofold interpretation, in which both parties can find unchanged the expression of their own position.<sup>422</sup>

This opinion was also repeatedly expressed in the CDF's Observations on *Salvation and the Church*.<sup>423</sup> While the CDF did not disapprove of the ARCIC's attempt to express the common faith in neutral language, clearly a substantially more Roman Catholic phraseology was desired. The Rev. Peter Holloway, Editor of the Roman Catholic magazine "Faith," summed this up nicely:

In the Agreed Statement of the Commission no evidence whatever can be found of a convergence of doctrine which has any definite meaning. Nothing in it can be found which would distinguish Roman Catholic from Anglican doctrine, or either of these from Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, or Congregationalist doctrine for that matter. To speak therefore of a "substantial agreement" which would satisfy Roman Catholic . . . doctrine is totally an illusion.<sup>424</sup>

Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey wondered whether the CDF had asked itself instead whether or not the agreed statements were identical with the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church (rather than whether or not they were consonant with its faith).<sup>425</sup>

In 1991 the ARCIC II published the agreed statement *The Church as Communion*. The perceived need for this document was the responses to *The Final Report* and *Salvation and the Church*, which "have contributed to progress in mutual understanding and growing awareness of the need for ecclesial communion."<sup>426</sup> In short, the ARCIC II, through *The Church as Communion*, sought to respond to criticisms regarding ambiguous language by focusing on what

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<sup>422</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 81.

<sup>423</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 247.

<sup>424</sup> Davies, "Whence Ecumenism? The Vatican and ARCIC."

<sup>425</sup> Arthur Jones, "Anglicans Evaluate Vatican's response to ARCIC I," *National Catholic Reporter* Vol. 28 (December 20, 1991), 8.

<sup>426</sup> Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission II, *Church as Communion* (1991).

Anglicans and Roman Catholics already hold in common:

2. This statement on communion differs from previous ARCIC reports in that it does not focus specifically on doctrinal questions that have been historically divisive. Nor does it seek to treat all the issues pertaining to the doctrine of the Church. Its purpose is to give substance to the affirmation that Anglicans and Roman Catholics are already in a real though as yet imperfect communion and to enable us to recognize the degree of communion that exists both within and between us.<sup>427</sup>

Subcategories include scripture, sacraments, apostolicity, catholicity, and holiness, unity and ecclesial communion, and communion between Anglicans and Roman Catholics. Basically, *The Church as Communion* is yet another elucidation by the ARCIC on its previous documents, particularly those which make up *The Final Report*. *The Church as Communion* does not attempt to, much less claim that common ground can be found through neutral language, as this was clearly not an acceptable strategy where the Vatican was concerned. It seems that the ARCIC II was not so much concerned with finding new common ground as with reiterating and further defining established mutual theology and doctrines. Unlike *Salvation and the Church*, *The Church as Communion* does address the specific subject of the ordination of women, but not through a discussion of the sacramental nature of ordination. Rather it acknowledges that the broader scope of this difference of opinion is a matter of authority in the church; who has the power to approve or disapprove of such breaks with tradition:

It is evident that the above issues (validity of Anglican orders, admission of women to the priesthood), are closely connected with the question of authority. We continue to believe that an agreed understanding of the Church as communion is the appropriate context in which to continue the study of authority in the Church begun by ARCIC I. Further study will be needed of episcopal authority, particularly of universal primacy, and of the office of the Bishop of Rome; of the question of provincial autonomy in the Anglican Communion; and the role of the laity in decision-making within the Church. This work will take into account the response of the Lambeth Conference 1988 and the response of the Roman Catholic Church to the Final Report of ARCIC I.<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> Ibid.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

The groundwork had now been laid for the ARCIC II's *Authority in the Church III, The Gift of Authority*.

The ARCIC was the first international bilateral dialogue to address the subject of morals, and it had received many requests to do so.<sup>429</sup> *Life in Christ: Morals, Communion, and the Church*, was presented to the two churches in 1994. Paragraph 1. of this document begins:

"There is a popular and widespread belief that the Anglican and Roman Catholic Communion are divided most sharply by their moral teaching."<sup>430</sup> The Roman Catholic teachings on divorce and birth control, for instance, which Anglicans may or may not agree or comply with, are well known. However, this may not always be a question of right or wrong, but again, of authority. "The Archbishop of Canterbury holds no actual authority on issues of faith and morals, which can vary wildly from one bishop to the next. One Anglican bishop may support abortion, homosexuality or fetal experimentation, while another may reject them."<sup>431</sup>

Nicholas Peter Harvey, a member of the English Anglican-Roman Catholic Committee, wondered about responses to this document, whether from individuals or groups; had they been generally positive or negative? When he checked, four years after the publication of *Life in Christ*, with both the PCPCU and London's Anglican Communion office, neither had any comment at all. Rome's spokesperson stated: "I really have seen nothing to speak of about *Life in Christ*."<sup>432</sup> Of course, no response had been requested. This was understandable in light of the less than positive responses to the ARCIC's previous works. The ARCIC had always

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<sup>429</sup> Idris Edward Cardinal Cassidy, "A Decade of Bilateral Dialogue: The Vatican Experience," *National Council of Churches in Australia, Consultation on Bilateral Dialogues* (Melbourne, February 5, 2003), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.ncca.org.au/\\_data/page/104Bilateral\\_Consultation1.doc](http://www.ncca.org.au/_data/page/104Bilateral_Consultation1.doc).

<sup>430</sup> Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission II, *Life in Christ* (1994).

<sup>431</sup> Peter W. Miller, "The Futility of ARCIC," *Seattle Catholic* (January 4, 2002), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.seattlecatholic.com/article\\_20020104\\_The\\_Futility\\_of\\_ARCIC.html](http://www.seattlecatholic.com/article_20020104_The_Futility_of_ARCIC.html).

<sup>432</sup> Stephen Platten and Nicholas Peter Harvey, "The Search for integrity in ecumenism and ethics / Response," *The Month* Vol. 32, No. 8 (August 1999): 305ff.

avoided controversy and debate over specifics,<sup>433</sup> clarifying in each subsequent document that the purpose of the agreements was not to break new ground but to make plain the way already paved.

Did this lack of response mean that the two churches were no longer interested in an ecumenical relationship? According to the ARCIC's next document, *The Gift of Authority*, the answer would seem to be instead that a radically new approach was being called for, one that would either succeed without question or fail miserably.

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<sup>433</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 5 - *The Gift of Authority*

*The Gift of Authority* was published and presented to the ARCIC's two churches in May of 1999. It had been eighteen years since this group presented a document having to do with authority. This latest offering called for a "new concept of papal authority, whose universal primacy, it says, should be a gift received by all churches."<sup>434</sup>

The purpose and focus of the ARCIC has always been to foster reconciliation and pave the way for visible unity. Agreed statements thus far, as the term "agreed" refers to the ARCIC members rather than the communions they represent, had failed to do so. The strategy of avoiding controversial or even specific language in order to provide a starting point for more fruitful dialogue only succeeded in raising the question of authority in the church—which teachings are truly orthodox, and who decides how those beliefs will transfer into theology and practice. An entirely new type of agreed statement was necessary if the work of the ARCIC was to continue. As the Anglican Communion has no one method or person of such authority, and its members are not required to adhere to any, much less the whole body of Anglican doctrine, the focus of *The Gift of Authority* had to be on the definitive authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

Late in 2001 Njongonkulu Ndungane, the Anglican Archbishop of South Africa, wrote: "The authority referred to in *The Gift of Authority* is primarily the authority of the Pope."<sup>435</sup> Anglican Bishop Mark Santer, co-chair of the ARCIC, replied to "fears expressed at the press

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<sup>434</sup> Jerry Hames, "Agreement poses hard questions in search for unity," *Episcopal Life* (June, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://arc.episcopalchurch.org/episcopal-life/ARCIC.html>.

<sup>435</sup> Njongonkulu Ndungane, "Scripture: What is at issue in Anglicanism today?" *Anglican Theological Review* 83 (Winter, 2001): 11 ff.

launch that many Anglicans would see in the report the recognition of papal claims."<sup>436</sup> Both bishops were correct as well as to the point. Since the publication of *The Gift of Authority*, there has been considerable debate on whether or not it is truly a bid for papal primacy in full. Like Bishop Santer, Frank Griswold, Presiding Bishop of the ECUSA, knew that of all of the "articulations of authority . . . the one that will doubtless cause most comment is the primacy of the Bishop of Rome."<sup>437</sup> He said that Anglicans would "have to consider what kind of papal authority they might accept."<sup>438</sup> In addition, the "final section of the text recommends that, as a step toward full communion, Anglicans and Catholics share in the 're-reception' of the exercise of the universal primacy of the bishop of Rome."<sup>439</sup> This was not a call to decide whether or not to accept it, but to discern which form would be acceptable. As we saw in previous chapters, its current form refutes the validity of Anglican orders and does not tolerate discussions concerning the ordination of women. Furthermore, by its own definition, this form is virtually unchangeable.

*The Gift of Authority* states that the ARCIC, representing both communions, has "already achieved agreement on at least six points"; four of which "concern the Papacy either directly or indirectly."<sup>440</sup> Recall Paragraph 3. of Resolution 8 from Lambeth 1988, which encouraged the ARCIC II to "continue to explore the basis in Scripture and Tradition of the concept of a universal primacy. . . ."<sup>441</sup> *The Gift of Authority*, however, states in the Introduction that

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<sup>436</sup> Glyn Paffin, "ARCIC agrees papal role," *Church Times* (May 14, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://copies.anglicansonline.org/churchtimes/990514/news2htm>.

<sup>437</sup> Frank T. Griswold, "Statement from the Most Reverend Frank T Griswold, Presiding Bishop and Primate of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, newly appointed (1999) Co-Chair of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission," *Anglican Communion News Service* 1842 (May 12, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/acnsarchive/acns1800/acns1842.html>.

<sup>438</sup> David Harris, "ARCIC document 'vision of future reality,'" *Anglican Journal* (October 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/125/08/canada07.html>.

<sup>439</sup> Borelli.

<sup>440</sup> Bray, "Article Review," 200.

<sup>441</sup> Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, "Resolution 8."

Lambeth had expressed "the need for a universal primacy exercised by the Bishop of Rome," and "the need for the universal primate to exercise his ministry in collegial association with the other bishops."<sup>442</sup> Lambeth did not express a need for primacy, only encouraged the Commission to continue to explore the concept, in various ways, including the views and practices of other Christian churches, and how the laity would figure into denominational decision-making.<sup>443</sup> The Vatican, while recognizing that significant progress had been made, understood that "the most that has been achieved is a certain convergence, which is but a first step along the path that seeks consensus as a prelude to unity."<sup>444</sup>

*The Gift of Authority* outlines a sense of papal primacy in which the pope "in certain circumstances . . . has a duty to discern and make explicit, in fidelity to scripture and tradition, the authentic faith of the whole church, that is the faith of all the baptized in communion."<sup>445</sup> It may be that both the Catholic Church and the ARCIC, noting well the innate flexibility of the Anglican Communion evident within the discussions on female ordinations, assumed it was flexible enough to accept the doctrine of papal primacy. This assumption may or may not be accurate. We have seen that the result of the ordination of women in the Anglican Communion, while in dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, was a very strong message from the popes, reinforced by ever increasing authority over the beliefs and actions of their communicants. This chapter shows the specifics of the doctrines of pontifical leadership.

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<sup>442</sup> Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission II, *The Gift of Authority* (1999).

<sup>443</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 153, 155.

<sup>444</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 158.

<sup>445</sup> Schorn, 10.

## Bishop of Rome

*The Gift of Authority* never refers to the authoritative head of the Roman Catholic Church as "the pope," but only as either "Bishop of Rome" or "universal primate." Anglicans do not have anything like a pope. Although each Anglican bishop is in communion with the See of Canterbury, the archbishop has "no authority outside the Church of England, nor does the Lambeth Conference of bishops over which he presides every ten years assert authority over anyone."<sup>446</sup> Anglicans have quite a few bishops—approximately 700 in number—as well as primates. The term "Bishop of Rome," however, is synonymous with "pope," ever since 1073, when Pope St. Gregory VII "formally prohibited its use by any other Bishop."<sup>447</sup> Although *The Gift of Authority* is about more than the pope, his ministry is considered in the context of the exercise of authority in both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Communions.<sup>448</sup> It declares that he has a specific ministry—that of discerning the truth. This is the "gift," and why the document is so named.<sup>449</sup> This gift—the pope's unique ability to discern the truth for all Christians—is such that the document proposes that "the world's Anglicans accept the papal authority of the Bishop of Rome even before the two traditions achieve full communion."<sup>450</sup> "Where previous commission documents drew back, this one then takes the jump of commending the primacy of the bishop of Rome as 'a gift to be received by all the churches.'"<sup>451</sup> Even Bishop Mark Santer, who decried the Anglican focus on the pope, said that the document addressed "the significance

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<sup>446</sup> Reginald Stackhouse, "Anglicans cannot accept universal primacy of the pope," *Anglican Journal* (February 2000), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/126/02/oped03.html>.

<sup>447</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Pope, The."

<sup>448</sup> Charles Sherlock, "Authority: Gift or sticking point - II. Anglican angles," *National Outlook* (August 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://members.ozemail.com.au/~wfnev/Aug99Authority.htm>.

<sup>449</sup> Cedric Pulford, "Will Anglicans accept papal authority?" *Ecumenical News International* (July 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://members.ozemail.com.au/~wfnev/July99ARCIC.htm>.

<sup>450</sup> "Text calls Anglican to accept Pope's primacy," *Anglican Journal* (June 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/125/06/world02.html>.

<sup>451</sup> Wilkins.



of the Bishop of Rome in a reunited Church and the place his ministry has in God's providential plan for his Church."<sup>452</sup> The statement from the co-chairs of the ARCIC said that the document "builds on the agreement about the Bishop of Rome in the ARCIC's previous work."<sup>453</sup> Again, we need to remember that used in this context, the word "agreement" refers to the ARCIC members rather than Lambeth or the Vatican.

It would be simple to state that *The Gift of Authority* is a bid for papal primacy, and leave it at that. It takes only a glance at the titles of the various articles to ascertain that much of even learned popular ecclesiastical opinion: "Pope needed as spokesman, bishop says;" "Embrace Pope's teachings, Anglicans urged: Commission seeks greater unity between faiths;" "ARCIC agrees papal role;" "Will Anglicans accept papal authority?;" "Are Anglicans ready to accept the pope?;" "Text calls Anglicans to accept Pope's primacy;" and so on. However, it is important to explore what that type of authority would mean to Anglicans, as it does to Roman Catholics. In order to do that we need to determine the definitions of and differences between "papal infallibility," "papal primacy," and "universal primacy," as well as which of these *The Gift of Authority* is calling for, and in what ways.

## **Infallibility**

"Infallibility," as defined by the Christian Church, is the "inability to err in teaching revealed truth."<sup>454</sup> It is further described as a negative condition, and complementary to the concept of inspiration, which is regarded as a positive mode. The dogma of "Papal Infallibility" is considered to be divinely revealed, first of all. Basically, it is this: when the pope speaks *ex*

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<sup>452</sup> Santer.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid.

<sup>454</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Infallibility."

*cathedra* (from the seat) "as pastor and teacher of all Christians . . . a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the whole church" it is impossible for him to make a mistake while doing so.<sup>455</sup>

There are some basic provisions of this doctrine, such as what it is not and when and how it can be used and applied. Interestingly enough, even though divinely revealed, it is not the same as inspiration or even revelation. The doctrine also contains scriptural and traditional "proofs" as well as answers to the most common objections. One of the most interesting aspects of papal infallibility is that since this doctrine was issued *ex cathedra*, it cannot possibly be wrong. In other words, it serves to prove itself. *The Final Report* spoke of the indefectibility of the Church: "when the Church meets in ecumenical council its decisions on fundamental matters of faith exclude what is erroneous."<sup>456</sup> Indefectibility means without fault, unlikely to fail.<sup>457</sup> This is not quite the same as infallibility (divine protection from any error), but it is closely related. Both people and institutions may be considered infallible and/or indefectible. *The Gift of Authority* states that agreement on authority between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion now extends to "the possibility, in certain circumstances, of the Church teaching infallibly at the service of the Church's indefectibility."<sup>458</sup> The reference here is to an institution rather than a person, but the point is that it has gone from indefectibility to infallibility, which is the stronger concept. *The Gift of Authority* does not use the word "infallibility," but it does say that in certain circumstances the Bishop of Rome "has the duty to discern and make explicit the authentic faith of the whole church."<sup>459</sup> Neither does it state that he would be able to do this all by himself, without consulting with anyone else,<sup>460</sup> but as we

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<sup>455</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Online ed., s.v. "Infallibility," by P.J. Toner.

<sup>456</sup> Tavad.

<sup>457</sup> *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed., s.v. "Indefectible."

<sup>458</sup> Tavad.

<sup>459</sup> Hames; Shackleton.

<sup>460</sup> Tavad.

explore the meaning of "papal primacy," we will see that it is certainly the pope's privilege to make solitary decisions. Thus, by *The Gift of Authority's* acknowledgement of a unique Petrine succession, it both implies and gives credence to the concept of indefectibility at least, if not infallibility.

## **Papal Primacy**

Simply stated: "The supreme episcopal jurisdiction of the pope as pastor and governor of the Universal Church."<sup>461</sup> This readily understood definition is based upon an officially approved explanation: "The title *pope*, . . . is at present employed solely to denote the Bishop of Rome, who, in virtue of his position as successor of Saint Peter, is the chief pastor of the whole Church, the Vicar of Christ upon earth."<sup>462</sup> The purpose of this doctrine is to insure salvation for those who do not fully understand all teachings necessary for salvation. In October of 1998 the CDF released a document entitled "Considerations: *The Primacy of the successor of Peter in the mystery (sic) of the Church*,"<sup>463</sup> which explains "papal primacy as a guarantee against arbitrary judgments, as an assurance of the Church's unity and 'fidelity to the Word of God.'"<sup>464</sup> *The Gift of Authority* also states that this is a specific ministry of the Bishop of Rome, who exercises his authority "for the sake of fragile Christians."<sup>465</sup> The Vatican's document goes on to say that because the primacy of Peter can be traced directly to the Gospel, the pope's role is unique in all the world, different from all secular or even any other sacred establishment: "The Successor to Peter is the rock which, against all arbitrariness and conformism, is the guarantee of a rigorous

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<sup>461</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Online ed., s.v. "Primacy."

<sup>462</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Online ed., s.v. "Pope, The," by G. H. Joyce.

<sup>463</sup> The Roman Curia, "Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith - Documents," n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cfaith/doc\\_doc\\_index.htm](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/doc_doc_index.htm).

<sup>464</sup> "New Vatican Document on Papal Primacy," *Daily Catholic* Vol. 9, No. 214 (November 2, 1998), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.dailycatholic.org/issue/98Nov/nov2tx2.htm>.

<sup>465</sup> Tanner.

fidelity to the Word of God."<sup>466</sup> It also points out that even though he does consider input from his bishops, only the pope has the authority to ultimately decide how his particular ministry is to be carried out. (The document also reaffirms that it is only the pope, with or without the assistance of an ecumenical council, who can make a final judgment on the exercise of papal ministry. On the other hand, it notes that the papal primacy is not a matter of absolute power, since the pope, like Peter, makes his decisions in a collegial setting, after consulting with the bishops of the world. Against that background, the document suggests that all Christians should pray for a favorable resolution of the discussion on papal primacy—a resolution that would allow Church unity and the exercise of papal primacy as Christ intended it.)<sup>467</sup> The ARCIC upholds this teaching within *The Gift of Authority*, which states that the pope will "promote the common good in ways that are not constrained by sectional interests, and offer a continuing and distinctive teaching ministry, particularly in addressing difficult theological and moral issues." "So even if the entire college of bishops is ranged against him, the Pope need not feel constrained by 'sectional interests' and is free to utter his prophetic message, regardless of what anyone else might think about it."<sup>468</sup> This is an important point to understand. *The Gift of Authority* refers again and again to the "universal primacy" of the Bishop of Rome, which is exactly the same as the papal primacy of the Roman Catholics. There is no difference.

## **Universal Primacy**

"Universal primacy" refers to the chief pastor of the whole Church, "the Vicar of Christ upon earth." This person is the pope, or Bishop of Rome, by "virtue of his position as successor

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<sup>466</sup> "New Vatican document on papal primacy," *Daily Catholic*.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> Bray, "Article Review," 213.

of St. Peter."<sup>469</sup> Papal primacy refers to the Roman Catholic Church. Universal primacy is this concept applied to the Church Universal—all Christians of every denomination. As his authority now applies to members of his own communion, it would, if all branches of Christianity were to agree, apply to them as well. *The Gift of Authority* is calling for the Anglican Communion to submit to the total authority of the Roman Catholic Pope—someone who may exercise sole authority and, when expounding upon the magisterium, is believed to be incapable of error. When referring to the universal primacy of the bishop of Rome, *The Gift of Authority* basically reiterates Roman Catholic papal doctrine, stating that it has "come to a deepened understanding of a universal primacy which serves the unity of all the local churches" (Paragraph 6, Introduction). This appears to be a reaction to the Anglican encouragement "to continue to explore the basis in Scripture and Tradition of the concept of a universal primacy,"<sup>470</sup> and the Vatican's objection to stipulations found in *Authority I* and *Authority II*.<sup>471</sup>

An important section of *The Gift of Authority* with regard to the Bishop of Rome is: "Primacy: The Exercise of Authority in Collegiality and Conciliarity" (Paragraphs 45-48). These paragraphs outline the meaning of primacy; "what the Church of Rome expects all other Christian churches to acknowledge."<sup>472</sup> "It is perfectly clear from these paragraphs that there can be no communion with the Bishop of Rome without submission to his universal primacy, a 'gift to be received by all the churches.'"<sup>473</sup>

"The Commission's work has resulted in sufficient agreement on universal primacy as a gift to be shared, for us to propose that such a primacy could be offered and received even before

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<sup>469</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Online ed., s.v. "Pope, The," by G. H. Joyce.

<sup>470</sup> Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, "Resolution 8."

<sup>471</sup> Hill and Yarnold, 160-162.

<sup>472</sup> Bray, "Article Review," 209.

<sup>473</sup> Bray, "Article Review," 210.

our churches are in full communion" (*Gift of Authority*, paragraph 60). While the Commission itself may have reached the type of agreement that warrants sharing, what the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church were asking for was exploration and clarification, respectively. If sufficient agreement had been reached by the ARCIC's two churches, it would not have been necessary to put forth such a radically different third work on authority. It would seem that the formation of the ARCIC is in itself a contradiction to the universal primacy of the Bishop of Rome, except for the fact that the Commission is now advocating that primacy. The pope may in fact, by the recommended deadline of 2004, take into account the opinions of Roman Catholic and even Anglican bishops, but the official response will come from him, through the Vatican, as have all other official responses to the ARCIC publications. Anglicans have no such final authority, and many may simply decide not to agree or comply with the proposals set forth in *The Gift of Authority*.

## CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the history of the ordination and consecration of women, first in ECUSA and eventually throughout the Anglican Communion, particularly in North America and western Europe. It has also related documented evidence of the Roman Catholic attitude toward these events, which include the Vatican's officially consistent responses and answers to inquiries from its own membership with regard to a gender-inclusive priesthood. It has been clearly demonstrated, through the lens of this issue, that although Anglicans and Roman Catholics have much in common, perhaps more than any other two denominations, their respective authority structures are extremely polarized.

The official definition of sacred (Christian) authority distinguishes it from that of the civil, and describes it as "mainly a power to influence belief or conduct."<sup>474</sup> Christians believe that the teachings of Jesus are the final authority,<sup>475</sup> but, as his incarnate word has been transmitted through the Apostles by at least two mediums—written as well as oral tradition<sup>476</sup>—a problem exists with regard to definitive authority, especially between the Catholic and Protestant denominations. Roman Catholics hold that authority is found within the whole body of the Church, which encompasses the sayings of Christ as recorded by the Apostles, the additional teachings of these authors of scripture, and the historic traditions resulting from this twofold combination.<sup>477</sup> "Protestants, however, . . . have commonly confined this authority to the Bible, guaranteed by its appeal to the individual conscience rather than by the consent of the Church."<sup>478</sup> Anglicanism, as the recognized *via media* (middle way), takes into account scripture

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<sup>474</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Authority."

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*

and tradition coupled with reason; God's Word takes precedence, but the historical context of apostolic actions is always seriously considered.

Authority determined the biblical canon, and the Bible is a part of the Christian authority structure. There are still debates over these books—which translation to use, whether or not to include the apocrypha, etc. Newer methods of criticism, archeological discoveries (including newly discovered gospels), have added to the debate on biblical authority. Authority was central in the split between the Eastern and Western churches, and it was the basic reason for the Reformation.<sup>479</sup> Authority is the instrument through which the Church "teaches, acts and reaches doctrinal decisions in faithfulness to the Gospel."<sup>480</sup> Authority is not merely a theory. It is a real and practical aspect of every facet of Christianity, and every theology and denomination has attempted to address it. According to The Right Reverend Mark Santer, Bishop of Birmingham and Co-Chair of the ARCIC I, "the issue of authority comes up sooner or later, in one form or another, in every dialogue which addresses itself seriously to the questions of communion and unity."<sup>481</sup> The question of authority has always been, and will always be integral to the Church Universal. It is a necessary and formidable task to address the overall issue of sacred authority.

It is also a perpetual task. Even for the Roman Catholic Church, wherein perspectives with regard to worldly events and developments seldom change, there is a need, as perceived by its popes and supported by the Vatican Congregations, to continually reiterate its position on various issues. Anglicans are likewise aware of the continuing task of defining authority, albeit through the whole body of church membership rather than a singular, primary successor to

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<sup>479</sup> Douglas, "ACC considers *The Gift of Authority*."

<sup>480</sup> Gross.

<sup>481</sup> Ian Douglas, Margaret Rodgers, Jim Rosenthal, and Manasseh Zindo, "ACC considers *The Gift of Authority*," Anglican Communion News Service 1893 (September 21, 1999), n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/acnsarchive/acns1800/acns1896.html>.



apostolicity. In light of the debate over women's ordination, the 1922 statement of the Doctrine Commission of the Church of England appears to hold true: "There is not, and the majority of us do not desire that there should be, a system of distinctively Anglican Theology."<sup>482</sup> Anglicans have inherited and perpetuate the faith of Catholicism, but this is manifested in many different forms and interpretations.<sup>483</sup> They are also heirs of the Reformation; their "spiritual tradition is Protestant in that it repudiates the papacy with its infallibility and universal jurisdiction."<sup>484</sup> Anglican theology is not done by individuals, but rather by parties or interest groups within the Church. "Anglicanism has always been a corporate enterprise, and there has grown up in Anglicanism something of a group method in theology."<sup>485</sup> This includes laity as well as clergy, at the parochial and diocesan levels as well as through provincial, national, and of course international assemblies. And while it is true that there is no one Anglican theology, perhaps because it comes from so many places,<sup>486</sup> it is also true that there is definitely an Anglican way, an attitude and tradition in which theology is done. This tradition has been shaped by many factors, including the Book of Common Prayer, the sacraments, the Lectionary, and, beginning in the early twentieth century, global ecumenism.<sup>487</sup>

The ARCIC II has made the claim that "present-day Anglicans are 'open to and desire a recovery and re-reception under certain clear conditions of the exercise of universal primacy by the Bishop of Rome.'"<sup>488</sup> However, these "certain clear conditions" have neither been defined nor specifically addressed in *The Gift of Authority*. As evidenced by the evolution of events

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<sup>482</sup> Evans, 401.

<sup>483</sup> Evans, 402.

<sup>484</sup> John R. H. Moorman, *The Anglican Spiritual Tradition* (Springfield, IL: Templegate Publishers, 1983), 210.

<sup>485</sup> Senn, 128.

<sup>486</sup> Griffiss, 1.

<sup>487</sup> Ibid.

<sup>488</sup> Pulford.

surrounding a single issue, there is not, in the Anglican Communion, consensus on either necessity or conditions. This directly contradicts the ARCIC II declaration in *The Gift of Authority* that an agreement has been reached that "the college of bishops can come to a judgment that, faithful to Scripture and consistent with apostolic Tradition, is free from error."<sup>489</sup> The question may be raised whether or not "maintaining the Church in truth" is truly "one of the essential functions of the episcopal college."<sup>490</sup> As demonstrated earlier, this is not consistent with either historical or present-day Anglicanism. Concordant with the Anglican ethos, the function of its bishops is not only arbitrary, subject to change, and different in each diocese or province, but also extremely situational. Anglican bishops minister according to both their pastorates and personal gifts. Within the canonical framework, they exercise authority according to need and ability, both of which refer to all baptized members under their jurisdiction, whether ordained or not. In contrast to the Roman Catholic Church, neither bishops nor priests are dispatched from a central headquarters, i.e. the Vatican, but are individually called by each geographical region through a selection process which takes into account discerned need and corresponding spiritual giftedness. It follows that all of these separately selected and elected (by both clergy and laity) bishops have and will continue to hold, widely differing opinions in matters of scriptural interpretation, doctrinal practice, and living faith.

*The Gift of Authority* states that both communions agree that "the teaching authority of the bishops is exercised collegially (all bishops as a united college). This is so even for individual bishops, those in general council and when the primate speaks on their behalf."<sup>491</sup> This is not entirely true, as we saw in the first chapter. Because of a few bishops who went

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<sup>489</sup> Santer.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid.

<sup>491</sup> Shackleton.

against canons and ordained women to the priesthood, the Anglican Communion has been able to move forward with regard to this issue, see it in practice, and discern its validity. (If it were not for three Scottish bishops in the eighteenth century, who consecrated the first bishop of the United States, there would not have been an Episcopal Church at all.) This is the Anglican "weakness," if you will, through which God works in order to strengthen that Communion. In the words of a theological college principal: "That we lack a Pope is not a failure of Anglicanism, but one of its strengths. It belongs to the essence of who we are, and is not something to be regretted."<sup>492</sup> Yet *The Gift of Authority* "seeks to make clear how in certain circumstances the Bishop of Rome has a duty to discern and make explicit, in fidelity to Scripture and Tradition, the authentic faith of the whole Church, that is the faith of all the baptised (sic) in communion."<sup>493</sup> This is not possible if the authentic faith of the whole Church must, in the Anglican mindset, take into account, honor, and embrace all possibilities and points of view. This may very well indeed include papal primacy, but not to the exclusion of any other authoritative facilities.

But the overall purpose of the ARCIC statements is to create a dialogue in order to "remove the causes of conflict and re-establish unity"—"the unity in truth for which Christ prayed," and "the full visible unity to which we are both committed." As stated by the 1922 Doctrine Commission of the Church of England, "It must be the task of many generations to work out that synthesis of different apprehensions of the one revelation of God in Christ towards which our undertaking points."<sup>494</sup> As we have seen, full agreement over even one issue within

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<sup>492</sup> Peter Jensen, "The latest report on Anglican-Vatican relations spells either the end of the Anglican Church or ARCIC," *culture@home*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: <http://www.anglicanmedia.com.au/old/cul/ARCIC.htm>.

<sup>493</sup> Santer.

<sup>494</sup> Evans, 401.

the Anglican Communion can and does take decades. Yet, knowing this, and even while such a lengthy consensus has been in the process of taking place, the architects of *The Gift of Authority* advocated the acceptance of a concept that is contrary to such a process, even before full communion is achieved, much less worked out in practice.

As evidenced by actions resulting from the ordination and consecration of women in the Anglican Communion, there seems to be little chance of full communion being achieved in the near future. This may be attributed to the Vatican influence, fueled by its responses to Anglican events. Roman Catholic rules have become so strict, doctrine so narrow, edicts so specific, and the penalties for disobedience so severe, that it would seem foolish for bishops sent by Rome to make any attempt at reconciliation at the diocesan level. When placed on a timeline, it is readily apparent that almost every single document discussed in this paper was issued immediately following an ECUSA or Anglican event or action concerning the ordination and/or consecration of women (see appendix). Also conspicuous is the fact that as the ordination and consecration of women in the Episcopal Church became more widespread as well as acceptable to the whole of the Anglican Communion, the occurrence and rigidity of these documents from Rome became correspondingly more severe. The judgment that Anglican orders are invalid has been declared infallible. Women cannot ever be considered priestly candidates. Shared ministry before full official communion is not possible, and full communion is not possible without full submission to the universal primacy of the Bishop of Rome. The papacy seems to have stymied itself with regard to ecumenical relations.

The popes and Archbishops of Canterbury expressed hope that the ARCIC groups would be able to construct a solution to the gender issue of ordination. This conclusion submits that the ARCIC II, in an effort to preserve dialogue, was responding to the developments and subsequent

actions of each communion within the context of the issue of the ordination of women as well as the direction of their respective leading primates. The Anglican Communion was, and still is, involved in an ongoing controversy which has resulted in the perceived need for a more centralized, definitive decision-making process. The Roman Catholic answer was, and still is, through a continuous, evermore stringent spate of apostolic letters and declarations from the Vatican, insistence on adherence to an unchanging tradition.

"This consensus in principle (of the universal primacy of the Bishop of Rome) has not yet been approved officially by either side."<sup>495</sup> A response may come by the suggested date of 2004, but if past events are any indication, it will come at separate times, through separate methods. Anglicans will most likely respond through their bishops at the next Lambeth Conference, in 2008. Newly enthroned Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams has not yet commented on *The Gift of Authority*, although responses have come from several individual primates. The ARC-USA began their study in January of this year.<sup>496</sup> Based on previous events and practices, it is safe to assume that the Roman Catholic response will come from the Vatican, and be based on recommendations made by the CDF and the PCPCU.

The question of authority was not a casual or incidental subject for dialogue. It was an original and intentional task given to the ARCIC I. This does not seem entirely consistent with the original recommendations, of *The Malta Report* of 1966, to find ways of fostering visible unity between the two churches. It may be possible to discover what individual or group was of the opinion that an agreement on authority would lead to visible unity, but the fact remains that it does not seem to be effective, at least through methods employed thus far. To the Anglican

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<sup>495</sup> Shackleton.

<sup>496</sup> ENS, "Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue in U.S. Releases Statement on the Church," *Episcopal Church Office of Ecumenical and Interfaith Relations*, n.p. [cited March 2004]. Online: [http://www.episcopalchurch.org/6947\\_9396\\_ENG\\_HTM.htm](http://www.episcopalchurch.org/6947_9396_ENG_HTM.htm).

Communion and the Roman Catholic Church, authority employs radically diverse influences and results. Structurally, and even sacramentally, an agreement on authority seems feasible, but a closer examination and critical comparison seems to demonstrate otherwise. Perhaps a better solution for Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue would be to abandon altogether the subject of authority in favor of revisiting and redefining demonstrable concepts of visible unity.

## CHRONOLOGY

Anglican Communion  
**1534:** Henry VIII issues *Act of Supremacy*.

**1833-1845:** Oxford Movement.

**1968:** Lambeth Conference findings on male-only priesthood inconclusive.  
**1970:** Women allowed into the ECUSA diaconate.

**1974:** Eleven women ordained by ECUSA bishops.

**1976:** ECUSA votes in favor of women's ordination & consecration.  
**1977:** ECUSA canons change.

**1988:** Lambeth responds to *Final Report*, commissions *Eames Report*.

Popes and Archbishops of Canterbury

**1966:** Pope and Archbishop meet, issue *Common Declaration*.

**1968:** *Malta Report* recommendations accepted.

**1975 - 1976:** Pope and Archbishop exchange letters on subject of women's ordination.

**1977:** Pope and Archbishop meet, issue *Common Declaration*.

**1982:** Pope and Archbishop meet, issue *Common Declaration*.  
**1984 - 1986:** Pope, Archbishop, and Vatican exchange letters.  
**1988:** Archbishop advises Pope of imminence of female Anglican bishops.

Roman Catholic Church

**1542:** Founding of CDF.

**1896:** *Apostolicae Curae*.  
**1962:** Vatican II, *Decree on Ecumenism*.

**1975:** PBC Report on exclusively male priesthood.  
**1976:** *Inter Insigniores*.

**1983:** New Code of Church Law allowing females to assist at altar.

**1988:** *Mulieris Dignitatem*.

ARCIC

**1965:** Formation of ARC-USA.  
**1966:** *Malta Report*.

**1967:** ARC-USA Agreed Statement on Eucharist.

**1970:** Formation of ARCIC.  
**1971:** Agreed statement on the Eucharist.  
**1973:** Agreed statement on Ministry & Ordination.

**1976:** *Authority I*.

**1979:** Elucidations on Eucharist and Ministry and Ordination statements.  
**1981:** Elucidation on *Authority I*; *Authority II*.  
*Final Report*.  
**1982:** New ARCIC forms and examines *Apostolicae Curae*.

**1987:** *Salvation and the Church*.

## Anglican Communion

**1989:** First ECUSA female bishop, formation of ESA.

**1994:** ECUSA guarantee to women, and "conscience clause" for those opposed.

**1997:** ECUSA resolution to implement ordination canons, "conscience clause" repealed.

**1998:** *Virginia Report*, Lambeth reinstates "conscience clause."

**1999:** ECUSA surveys bishops re: compliance with ordination canons, commemorates 25 years of women's ordination.

**2000:** ECUSA works toward compliance of ordination canons. First female English provost, Australian bishop.

**2003:** ECUSA consecration of openly gay bishop.

## Popes and Archbishops of Canterbury

**1989:** Pope and Archbishop meet, issue *Common Declaration*.

**1996:** Pope and Archbishop meet, issue *Common Declaration*.

## Roman Catholic Church

**1989:** *Profession of Faith and Oath of Fidelity*.

**1990:** *Donum Veritatis*.

**1991:** Vatican responds to *Final Report*.

**1994:** *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*.

**1995:** Affirmation of *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*.

**1997:** Priest excommunicated for writing book on women's ordination.

**1998:** *Ad Tuendam Fidem* (1989 Profession of Faith becomes Canon Law), Vatican suppresses distribution of new book on women's ordination.

**2002:** Seven women irregularly ordained. *Apostolicae Curae* declared infallible. Ordaining bishop and seven women excommunicated.

## ARCIC

**1991:** *Church as Communion*.

**1994:** *Life in Christ* (statement on ethics.)

**1999:** *The Gift of Authority*.

**2000:** Formation of IARCCUM.

**2003:** IARCCUM put on hold.

**2004:** ARCIC II statement *Mary: Grace and Hope in Christ*.



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